

EVUL MEDIU NETERMINAT
A BEFEJEZETLEN KÖZÉPKOR
THE UNFINISHED MIDDLE AGES

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*Omagiu adus profesorului Adrian Andrei Rusu
cu ocazia împlinirii vârstei de 70 de ani*

*Tanulmányok Adrian Andrei Rusu professzor
köszöntésére 70. születésnapja alkalmából*

*Studies in honour of professor Adrian Andrei Rusu
on his 70th birthday*

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MONARCHICAL ORDERS IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY: THE ORDERS OF SAINT GEORGE AND THE DRAGON¹

Pál Lővei

The Order of Saint George, founded by the Hungarian king Charles I (1307–1342) of the Neapolitan House of Anjou, was the earliest secular monarchical order in Central Europe and perhaps the first in all of Europe.² The order was a brotherly society of knights whose patron saint was St. George (*universitas societatis fraternalis militiae titulo Sancti Georgii insigniti*).³ The only surviving record and source of knowledge about the order is the so-called letter of foundation.⁴ The text consists of two parts. First is a listing of the bylaws drafted with the consent of the country's prelates and witnessed by the chapter of Esztergom. Second are the provisions appended at the request of and in the presence of the king. The two parts were written in different hands; thus, the date appearing on the document, 24 April 1326 (St George's Day), indicates the date of the king's amendments.⁵ Therefore, the founding of the order must have taken place at an earlier time, especially given that the seal of the order had already been applied to the document. The fragmented, but surviving seal takes the shape of a shield and depicts the patron saint of knights, the dragon killer (**Fig. 1**). A few words of the legend remain: ...MILITVM ...T GEORGIE ...⁶ The foundation may not have been in 1326, but it must have taken place only a short time before that.⁷

The bylaws prescribe the dress of the maximum fifty members: a cowed, knee-length black robe with the Latin motto *in veritate iustus sum huic fraternali societati* (In truth I am faithful to this fraternal society) on the chest. The knights had to wear letters deemed "typical" in the text: probably metal letters, perhaps the initials S and G forming a chain or insignia. Members were required to meet three times a year and only the two judges of the order could pass judgment over them. A new member was accepted only with the unanimous support of the others and swore to protect the king and come to the aid of his fellow knights.

¹ Hungarian version of this study: LŐVEI 2014.

² BOULTON 1987; VESZPRÉMY 1994; BOULTON 2000, p. 27–45; for a summary and introduction to medieval Hungarian chivalric orders and European analogies, see: LŐVEI 2005; LŐVEI 2006.

³ ERDÉLYI 1925, p. 249–258; KOVÁCS 1987, p. 218; KURCZ 1988, p. 128–132; ZOMBORI 1988, p. 159–160; LŐVEI 1994; VESZPRÉMY 1994; LŐVEI 2021.

⁴ DL 40.844: FEJÉR 1829–1844, VIII/3, p. 163–170; XI/1, p. 432–439; PÓR-SCHÖNHERR 1895, p. 138–139; RÁCZ-LŐVEI 2006.

⁵ Boulton's analysis contains the date George's feast is usually honored abroad: April 23. BOULTON 2000, p. 30.

⁶ BALOGH 1934, p. 18; MAROSI 1982, p. 148 (CAT. 46).

⁷ Boulton considers the actual date the order was founded to be the year prior to the date on the document: BOULTON 2000, p. 30; according to Erik Fügedi the order was founded in 1318 or shortly thereafter: FÜGEDI 1986, p. 394–395; László Veszprémi places the date of foundation between 24 April 1323 and 1324: VESZPRÉMY 1994, p. 3–11.

The founding of the Order of Saint George was part of a series of events following the consolidation of royal power in Hungary. On 24 June 1318 the king had married Beatrix of Luxembourg and in these years the first royal tournaments were organized. (The ostrich-shaped crest of the ruler certainly dates to this period, as do the first donations of heraldic crests to nobles, which helped to identify them in the tournament.)⁸

Aside from Charles I's letter of foundation no other source mentions the order, which must have been short-lived and not well known among European rulers. Yet, at the far end of the continent, similar institutions were established not long after (**Fig. 2**). In 1330, Alfonso XI, king of León and Castile, founded the Knights of the Band (*Orden de la Banda*),⁹ which was followed by the still-existing English Order of the Garter, instituted in 1348 by Edward III in honor of Saint George.¹⁰ Besides the ruler and the heir to the throne, twenty-four other knights belonged to the Order of the Garter. As a result, the most frequent number of members in an order of knights became twenty-four. (This was the number of members in King Sigismund's Order of the Dragon and also in the Order of the Golden Fleece.) The English order of knights also obtained its own seal soon after it was established.¹¹

Of the Central European chivalric orders, the Order of the Braid (or Tress), founded between 1365 and 1386 by Prince Albert "the Braided" of Austria, barely survived the death of its founder in 1395.¹² The royal coat-of-arms of several Austrian princes around 1400 were accompanied or enclosed by the symbol of the Order of the Salamander, a four-legged animal always shown bent into a circular form.¹³ The rulers of the house of Luxembourg also instituted chivalric orders. Wenceslas made extensive use – on the scale of Western European rulers – of the rich treasury of insignia and letter devices in his buildings, codices, decorative objects, and money.¹⁴ (**Fig. 3–4**). According to the only contemporary written source referring to the Czech king's order, the Order of the Torse (or Towel),¹⁵ in 1401 the ruler presented the Hungarian palatine, Miklós Garai, with a "clenodium symbolizing the friendship and fraternity of the Czech king" along with a considerable annuity.¹⁶

Next, the Hungarian king Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437) established the Order of the Dragon.¹⁷ (**Fig. 5**). The badge of the order is described in the letter of foundation of 12 December 1408 as follows: "... As a sign or emblem, the symbol or image of the dragon is rounded into a circle with its tail wrapped around the neck, while its body is cleaved along the back from the tip of its nose to the end of its tail; a red cross is placed lengthwise along the inner edge of the wound, which is white and bloodless because of the loss of blood, reminiscent of the pattern worn or used by knights bearing the flag of the martyr Saint George: a red cross on a field of white. We also choose

⁸ VAJAY 1967; VAJAY 1969; KOVÁCS 1980, p. 236–237.

⁹ BOULTON 2000, p. 46–95.

¹⁰ NEWTON 1980, p. 41–46; LIGHTBOWN 1992, p. 253–254, 297–298; BEGENT–CHESSHIRE 1999; BOULTON 2000, p. 96–166; COLLINS 2000.

¹¹ BEGENT–CHESSHIRE 1999, p. 83–85.

¹² GANZ 1905–1906, p. 54; PROCHÁZKA 1974, p. 13; BOULTON 2000, p. 338–342, DIAGRAM 12.9.

¹³ PROCHÁZKA 1974, p. 13; BOULTON 2000, p. 342–343, ill. 12.12. The first collectors of such relics were tended to confuse images of the salamander forming a circle with the animal in King Sigismund's Order of the Dragon insignia, for example: FRONNER 1870, p. CXIV–CXV, ill. 1–2.

¹⁴ KOVÁCS 1987A, p. 136–140; STUDNIČKOVÁ 1992, p. 320–321; STUDNIČKOVÁ 2009; STUDNIČKOVÁ 2017; STUDNIČKOVÁ 2019.

¹⁵ Based on the existing connection to the love knot, the term handkerchief would be more apt: KOVÁCS 1987A, p. 137–140.

¹⁶ BARANYAI 1925–1926, p. 572–573; ZSO II/1, p. 142 (no. 1201).

¹⁷ BARANYAI 1925–1926, p. 561–591, 681–719; KOVÁCS 1988, p. 102–105; LÓVEI 1990, p. 64–67; GRAUS 1996; BOULTON 2000, p. 348–355, 571–573; LÓVEI 2021A.

this and accept it, and would like to adopt it as befits our society as the uniform adornment, so that we, as faithful barons and lords, shall clearly and publically wear it and use it..."¹⁸ (Figs. 6–8) András Csapi's letter patent of nobility, issued ten years later, contains an image of the dragon encircling his coat of arms and a written description: "a dragon encloses and surrounds the shield; on its back a red cross; with a total of four legs, front and back, and wings on each side, the dragon is shown with open mouth, and under its pointy nose, a red tongue extends from behind white teeth; its ears are pointed upwards; its tails is wrapped three times around its neck, weaving around it; the tip of the tail rises up straight..."¹⁹

The silver badge of the Order of the Dragon in Berlin²⁰ and numerous other depictions show a flaming cross above the dragon. (Fig. 9) Sigismund's choice of this Gothic reinterpretation of the triumphant burning cross of the Roman emperor Constantine the Great must have been made before the order was established, probably in connection with the Hungarian king's preparations to fight the Turks, the attackers of Christianity, at Nicopolis (in today's Bulgaria).²¹ Descriptions, depictions, and surviving relics tell us the arms of the cross bore an inscription: *O quam misericors est Deus, iustus et pius, or quam misericors est dominus, iustus et paciens* ("Oh, our merciful God who is true and pious" or "patient.")²² (Fig. 10)

Sigismund's goal in founding the Order of the Dragon was similar to that of other rulers: to strengthen his own position, gain assistance in achieving his political aims, and acquire yet another tool with which to closely align key players in the consolidation of his power. In addition, he wanted to ensure an heir to the throne. Especially important in this respect was the contract of 1402 with the Austrian princes²³ and later his marriage to Barbara of Cilli, which produced a child shortly after the order was founded.²⁴ The members of the order were "the followers of the ancient dragon," who swore to serve the true faith and destroy pagan armies (which meant the Turks following the defeat at Nicopolis), heretics, and other nations endangering the ruler's lands. The document prescribed the members' obligations should one of them die. Sigismund drafted an amendment to this provision in 1433, requesting the pope's permission to make the change at the time of his coronation as emperor in Rome: those knights who could not be present at the burial of a fellow member had to provide financial support to the hospital of Elizabeth in Felhévíz on the outskirts of Buda.²⁵

¹⁸ DL 9.470; translated from the Hungarian: BARANYAI 1925–1926, p. 575. The original text: „...signum seu effigiem draconis incurvati per modum circuli cauda sua collum circumgyrantis divisi per medium dorsi ad longitudinem a summitate capitis et nasi usque ad extremum caudae effluente sanguine in interiore rima scissurae alba, et sanguine intacta per longitudinem rubeam crucem, sicuti et quemadmodum sub ipsius gloriosi martyris Georgii vexillo militantes crucem rubeam in albo campo ferre solent”. FEJÉRPATAKY 1883, p. 117; RÁCZ 2006.

¹⁹ DL 98.825: FEJÉRPATAKY 1883, the original text: „...clipeus dracone cruce rubea in dorso signato cum pedibus quatuor ante et retro diiunctis et pennis quasi divisus ex utroque latere fuit circumdatus et circumflexus, cuius draconis os apertum et inter dentes albos lingua rubea extensa rostro sub acuto et auribus erectis videbantur, cuius draconis collum caude propria tripliciter circumdedit et circumflexit, cuiusque caudae finis seu pars extrema erat erecta...”; JÉKELY 2006.

²⁰ LAMBACHER–LŐVEI 2006. Several inventories of the estate mention dragon badges made of gold with ornaments of precious gems: BALOGH 1966, I, p. 376–377; KOVÁCS 1982, p. 92.

²¹ KOVÁCS 1987A, p. 142–144.

²² BARANYAI 1925–1926, p. 590; KOVÁCS 1987A, p. 143; LŐVEI 1987, p. 149.

²³ Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Allgemeine Urkundenreihe 1402.IX.21.: FEJÉR 1829–1844, X/4, p. 134–140, no. XLVII; FAZEKAS 2006; LŐVEI 2009.

²⁴ For analyses discussing various issues concerning the circumstances of the order's foundation and the political background: PÓR–SCHÖNHERR 1895, p. 408; BARANYAI 1925–1926; FÜGEDI 1974, p. 75, 165–166; ENGEL 1977, p. 59–62; MÁLYUSZ 1984, p. 60–67; GRAUS 1996.

²⁵ FRAKNÓI 1893, p. 3, 7–8; BARANYAI 1925–1926, p. 706–708.

The badge's connection to Saint George places the Order of the Dragon in a long line of chivalric orders that chose the warrior saint as patron.²⁶ The composition of the dragon encircling the Csapi coat-of-arms was not unprecedented either.²⁷ The insignia of the orders of the Garter, Braid, and Salamander also made use of this motif. The fashion of the chain of chivalric orders wrapped around a shield²⁸ likewise dates to the period around 1400. The dragon carrying the coat of arms, however, is the most spectacular design in medieval Hungarian heraldry, and its impact was felt into the twentieth century. It was not only a prominent part of the official display of the ruler and his court, appearing, for example, on the stove tiles in the ruler's residence, but also cropped up in the Czech lands, Austria, Dalmatia, Italy and Poland – probably because Sigismund and his successors had bestowed the honor of membership on foreign knights.²⁹

Several images provide us with an idea of how the emblem was worn. It was not affixed to a chain around the neck or worn as a collar. Instead, the small dragon, with or without a flaming cross, was strung on the left side of a braided cord fastened to each shoulder. This can be seen in a portrait of Sigismund by Pisanello,³⁰ on the tomb of Stibor of Stiboric the younger in Buda,³¹ and on the tomb of Louis II (†1419), the prince of Silesia, who traveled through western Europe in the company of Sigismund. The Silesian prince's tomb monument can be found in the Church of Peter and Paul in Legnica.³² Other images showing the badge on a cord appear on a fragment depicting a donor in Bobovac (Bosnia)³³ and on the gravestone of Louis XI (†1440) in the former Cistercian monastery of Kirchheim am Ries.³⁴ Louis XI was the Lord of Oettingen and steward in Sigismund's imperial household. The bronze statue of Konrad von Weinsberg, which was cast in Nuremberg between 1424 and 1428 and once stood above his tomb in the former Cistercian church in Schöntal, shows no traces of a cord, however.³⁵ Eloquent testimonies to Sigismund's personal use of the insignia are the enamel dragon jewel found in his grave in Várad (Oradea, Rumania) (the object is known today only from an eighteenth -century drawing)³⁶ and the sword with dragon emblem that was hung above his seat in Windsor when he was inducted into the Order of the Garter during a trip to England (today in York).³⁷

Other portraits of members of the order do not show the dragon badge on a cord. Instead, the dragon is worn alongside other insignia of chivalric orders. For example, in the portrait of Tyrolean poet Oswald von Wolkenstein³⁸ and the image of Giovanni Francesco Capodilista on horseback,³⁹ the dragon with blazing cross is fastened to the embroidered white stole of the Order of the Jar of

²⁶ BERGMANN 1868; PROCHÁZKA 1974, p. 13–14; KOVÁCS 1987A, p. 141–142; BOULTON 2000, p. 279–288, 399, 559–564, 587–589, 598–602.

²⁷ LEONHARD 1976, 332–334.

²⁸ The first summary of the Hungarian relics: BÁRÁNY 2013.

²⁹ For an extensive but by no means complete record of the Hungarian and non-Hungarian people and families linked to the order, the heraldic connections, and surviving relics of the Order of the Dragon known from both written and visual sources, see LÓVEI 1987; LÓVEI 2003; LÓVEI 2011.

³⁰ CORDELLIER 2006; STUDNIČKOVÁ 2010.

³¹ LÓVEI 1999; LÓVEI 2006A; LÓVEI 2017; LÓVEI 2020.

³² KACZMAREK 1991, p. 13–23, ill. 1.

³³ FEKEŽA–GAVRILOVIĆ–LÓVEI 2006, p. 448–449, ill. 1.

³⁴ FEDER 1999, p. 15–16.

³⁵ HORVÁTH 1937, p. 55; HIMMELHEBER 1962, p. 335–336, DIAGRAM 324; FEDER 1999, p. 13, 15.

³⁶ KOVÁCS 1982; TAKÁCS 2006.

³⁷ LÓVEI 2002; LÓVEI 2006B.

³⁸ SZAKÁCS 2006.

³⁹ JÉKELY–SCOTT 2006.

Aragón. The 1448 will of Balázs Sági of the Hungarian Ákos clan mentions a gilt dragon and a white stole with a dragon woven into it.⁴⁰

Most depictions of the dragon insignia appear on tombstones, death shields, in armorials, in Sigismund's seals, and in letters patent. In these cases the emblem is not an accessory to be worn but a heraldic element. A sign of the prestige attached to membership in the order is the frequency of dragon insignia not just in the Carpathian Basin but in Austria, Dalmatia, Slovenia, Germany, Switzerland, Silesia, and Italy.⁴¹ (Figs. 11–14) A portion of these are displayed together with other badges of chivalric orders, for example, on the sepulchral monuments of the Perényi family⁴² (Fig. 15) and in the stone carvings in Tar and the castle of Kisnána, associated with buildings belonging to Lőrinc Tari and his family.⁴³ Tari was famous for his pilgrimage to Saint Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland. Some dragon insignia are shown along with as many as six other badges (the European "record" is held by Ulrich Ketzler, the alderman of Nuremberg, who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1462 and had a collection of seventeen insignia⁴⁴).⁴⁵ (Fig. 16) In fifteenth-century Hungarian heraldry, the majority of foreign emblems belong to the Aragonian Order of the Jar.⁴⁶

Although the Order of the Dragon was established by Sigismund in 1408 as a Hungarian order, with twenty-four members including himself and his wife, later it became a tool of diplomacy. This explains the widespread distribution of artifacts of the Order of the Dragon. In the words of Éva Kovács,⁴⁷ "King Sigismund's contribution to the international trove of emblems was his dragon badge." Just three months after the order was established, on 16 February 1409 in Sopron, under the leadership of Ernest, Duke of Austria, and Albert V, twenty-four noblemen from Austria and Styria joined the order.⁴⁸ In the same year, Hervoja, the voivode of Bosnia and prince of Spalato, also became a member. Numerous Italian elites joined in 1411 and 1412 and later in 1433 and 1434, following Sigismund's coronation as emperor. In 1420 Schanko von Wartenberg, a Czech nobleman, and in 1431 Vlad, the claimant to the throne in Havasalföld ("terra Transalpina", the southern part of today's Rumania) and later the voivode of Havasalföld (whose name "Dracul", despite all his cruelty, certainly referred to his dragon badge),⁴⁹ also joined. In 1416 Sigismund accepted into the order King Ferdinand of Aragon and his sons, thirty Aragonian noblemen, the English king Henry V, and the grand duke Vitold of Lithuania. Vitold may have bestowed membership on others. After all, Albert, Sigismund's successor, had permitted Alphonse, the bishop of Burgos, to confer his badge on thirty other noblemen in 1438, and Prince John of Norfolk to bestow his on six noblemen. Such conferment of membership was often reciprocal: Sigismund and his entourage all received emblems of the Order of the Jar, which they were empowered to give to others. In 1416 in England, Sigismund became a member of the Order of the Garter, and after his death Albert took his place.⁵⁰ Sigismund's

⁴⁰ DL 14.134 (extract: Institute for Art History, Research Centre for the Humanities, Archival Collection).

⁴¹ LÓVEI 1987; MIRNIK 2008; LÓVEI 2011.

⁴² LÓVEI 2006C; LÓVEI 2006D; BÁRÁNY 2013, p. 16–21; JÉKELY 2016, p. 161, 172, Figs. 8–9.

⁴³ PAMER 1970, p. 309, ill. 395; CABELLO 1987, p. 289, 291, 294–295; CABELLO 1993, p. 44–46, 24, 26, 29, 31, ill. 75–76; PAMER 2003, p. 133–136. On the pilgrimages of barons and noblemen, and in particular members of the Order of the Dragon, see: CSUKOVITS 2003, p. 148–156.

⁴⁴ SCHULTZ 1892, p. 380, DIAGRAM 516–517; AIGN 1961, p. 85, 86. (NOS. 6, 12), DIAGRAMS 6, 8, 10.

⁴⁵ FRONNER 1870; LIND 1892, p. 50, 60, 80, 90, 104, diagrams XXV/2, XXX/6, XL/2, XLV/2; LÓVEI 1987; FEDER 1999.

⁴⁶ PAPP 2000; CF. LÓVEI 2006C; LÓVEI 2006D; PAPP 2006; BÁRÁNY 2013, p. 16–21.

⁴⁷ KOVÁCS 2004, p. 269.

⁴⁸ SMITMER 1895; BARANYAI 1925–1926, p. 685–686; RÁCZ 2006A.

⁴⁹ MAROSI 2004, p. 447; MUREŞAN 2002, p. 385–394.

⁵⁰ TELEKI 1853, p. 60–61 (no. XXVI); SMITMER 1895; ALTMAN 1896–1900, I, p. 6, 10 (no. 152), p. 11 (no. 159),

appointment in 1418 of Guartius Fernandi as his advisor sheds light on the process by which membership was awarded. With his appointment, Fernandi was simultaneously admitted into the Order of the Dragon and required to swear on the regulations of the order in front of Henry, the heir to the thrones of Aragón and Sicily.⁵¹

While the use and conferment of the Order of the Dragon had a ceremonial aspect, for a time, at least, its political goals were not forgotten: in 1412 the ruler called upon the members of the Order of the Dragon to take part in the war against the Austrian prince Frederic.⁵² Furthermore, disputes between the members of the order were resolved in accordance with the regulations established in the letter of foundation. For example, in 1431, peace was established between Heinrich von Plauen, burgrave of Meissen, and the Czech Also von Sternberg in a document signed by twenty-nine Hungarian, German, Austrian, and Italian noblemen. The list of names ends with the remark “and other members of the Order of the Dragon.” Obviously von Plauen and von Sternberg also belonged to the order.⁵³

Sigismund's order did not end completely with his death. King Albert and her wife, the daughter of Sigismund, Elizabeth, later King Matthias Corvinus, and also Holy Roman Emperor Frederich III, conferred membership on others.⁵⁴ Probably King Vladislas II Jagiellon did, too.⁵⁵ Although the order's afterlife was relatively long, the frequent dynastic changes in the last centuries of the Hungarian Middle Ages did not help it to survive. The monarchical orders of the late medieval period – in a renewed form – lasted in the modern period in only a few cases. The English Order of the Garter and the Danish Order of the Elephant are today among the most distinguished honors one can receive. Although the Habsburgs made use of the Order of the Dragon a few times in the fifteenth century, by the time they occupied the Hungarian throne in the sixteenth century, they had already replaced it with their own prestigious order: the Order of the Golden Fleece, instituted by the Burgundian prince Philip the Good in 1429/1430.⁵⁶ Its insignia, vestments, and chains bearing stylized firestones and fire steel are housed in Vienna's Weltliche Schatzkammer. The insignia of the Golden Fleece became the emblem of the Habsburgs in 1477 with Maximilian's marriage to Mary of Burgundy. In the modern period the most important figures of the Hungarian aristocracy were all honored with induction into the Order of the Golden Fleece.⁵⁷

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⁵¹ VARJU 1897, p. 47.

⁵² VARJU 1897, p. 47.

⁵³ ALTMANN 1896–1900, II, p. 167 (no. 8465).

⁵⁴ BALOGH 1966, I, p. 376–377; LÓVEI 1987, p. 159, 161, 164; DÜNNEBEIL 2017.

⁵⁵ Miklós Oláh's formulary. Library of the Provost of Jászó. Manuscript 78: DF 282.621.

⁵⁶ BLOCKMANS 1988; BOULTON 2000, p. 356–396; COCKSHAW–VAN DEN BERGEN–PANTENS 1996; STEEB 1996; DÜNNEBEIL 2007.

⁵⁷ PANDULA 1988.

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Hoforden in mittelalterlichen Ungarn: die Sankt-Georgs-Gesellschaft und der Drachenorden

Abstrakt

Nach unseren Kenntnissen wurde der im ganzen Europa früheste Hoforden, die Sankt-Georgs-Gesellschaft von Ungarn vor dem 24. April 1326, dem Tag des heiligen Georg, von Karl I. von Ungarn aus dem neapolitanischen Zweig des Hauses Anjou gegründet, wie dies durch das Datum der an jenem Tag bereits um einige Punkte ergänzten Ordensstatuten bezeugt ist. Obwohl der Ritterorden Karls I., der außer der Stiftungsurkunde in keinem Dokument erwähnt wird und sicherlich von kurzer Lebensdauer war, und in den Herrscherkreisen Europas kaum bekannt geworden sein kann, kam es am anderen Ende des Kontinents kurz darauf zur Gründung ähnlicher Institutionen. Der mehr als achtzig Jahre später, am 12. Dezember 1408 durch König Sigismund von Luxemburg gegründete ungarische Drachenorden war viel mehr erfolgreich: unter anderem kennen wir zahlreiche Kunststücken mit Darstellungen des Ordenszeihens.



Fig. 1. The seal of the so-called letter of foundation of the Order of Saint George; Budapest, MNL OL, DI 40.844 (photo: Budapest, Institute of Art History, Research Centre for the Humanities, photo inv. nr. 27807)



Fig. 2. Herolds with insignia of several monarchical orders of knighthood, after 1473; vaulting of the cloister of the former Cistercian nunnery, Himmelkron, Franconia (photo: Pál Lóvei)



Fig. 3. The badge of the Order of the Torse of King Wenceslas of Luxemburg on the façade of the Old Town Bridge Tower in Prague, Bohemia (photo: Pál Lővei)



Fig. 4. The insignia of the Order of the Torse painted on the vaulting of the Old Town Bridge Tower in Prague, Bohemia (photo: Pál Lővei)



Fig. 5. The herold of Sigismund of Luxemburg with the badge of the Order of the Dragon, after 1473; vaulting of the cloister of the former Cistercian nunnery, Himmelkron, Franconia (photo: Pál Lóvei)



Fig. 6. The badge of the Order of the Dragon, painted shortly after 1408; former Augustinian church (today parish church), Siklós, Hungary (photo: Pál Lóvei)



Fig. 7. Detail of the St Sigismund Altar with the arms of Sigismund von Neuhaus, surrounded by the emblem of the Order of the Dragon; church of pilgrimage (parish church), Maria Neustift, Krain (today Ptujška Gora, Slovenia) (photo: Pál Lóvei)



Fig. 8. Detail of the tombstone of Sigmund von Neuhaus (†1429), with the badge of the Order of the Dragon; church of pilgrimage (parish church), Maria Neustift, Krain (today Ptujška Gora, Slovenia) (photo: Pál Lővei)



Fig. 10. The tombstone of Reinprecht von Walsee (†1450), his arms accompanied by different badges, above in the middle the badge of the Order of the Dragon; parish church, Säusenstein, Lower Austria (photo: Pál Lővei)



Fig. 9. Detail of the tombstone of Chunrat Pessniczer (†1438) with the badge of the Order of the Dragon; Minorite church, Pettau, Krain (today Ptuj, Slovenia) (photo: Pál Lővei)



Fig. 12. Coat of arms of the Scolari family with the Order of the Dragon; Scolari-house, Florence, Italy (photo: Zsombor Jékely)



Fig. 11. Coat of arms of Peter Juncker (†before 1504), surrounded by the emblem of the Order of the Dragon; walled in the gateway of the house I. Lugeck 7, Vienna, Austria (photo: Pál Lóvei)



Fig. 13. Plate with the coat of arms of Tommaso Martani (1478), detail with the badge of the Order of the Dragon; Bargello, Florence, Italy (photo: Szilárd Papp)



Fig. 14. Badge of the Order of the Dragon; San Fermo Maggiore, Verona, Italy (photo: Szilárd Papp)



Fig. 15. Tombstone of János Perényi (†1458) with badges of the Order of the Dragon and the Order of the Jar of Aragón, 1438/1439; parish church, Terebes, Hungary (now Trebišov, Slovakia) (photo: Imre Takács)



Fig. 16. Wall memorial of Heinrich Keczel (†1438) – a member of the Keczel (Ketzell) family of pilgrims – with insignia of different orders; Sebalduskirche, Nuremberg, Bavaria (photo: Pál Lővei)

LISTA ABREVIERILOR

- ActaMN* – *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP – *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Zalău.
AHA – *Acta Historiae Artium*, Budapesta.
AIIA. Cluj-Napoca – *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie. Cluj-Napoca.*
AIIA. Iași – *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol”*, Iași.
AICSU – *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane*, Sibiu.
AM – *Arheologia medievală*. Reșița, Cluj-Napoca, etc.
Arh. Moldovei – *Arheologia Moldovei*, Iași.
CCA – *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice*. București, etc.
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MCA – *Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice*, București, etc.
MMS – *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, Iași.
RCAN – *Revista de Cercetări Arheologice și Numismatice*, București.
RI – *Revista de istorie (Revista Istorică)*, București.
RMI – *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, București.
RMM.MIA – *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Monumente Istorice și de Artă*, București.
RRH – *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, București.
SCIA.AP – *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică*, București.
SMIM – *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, București.
Sz – *Századok*, Budapesta.
TSz – *Történelmi Szemle*, Budapesta.
TT – *Történelmi tár*, Budapesta.
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