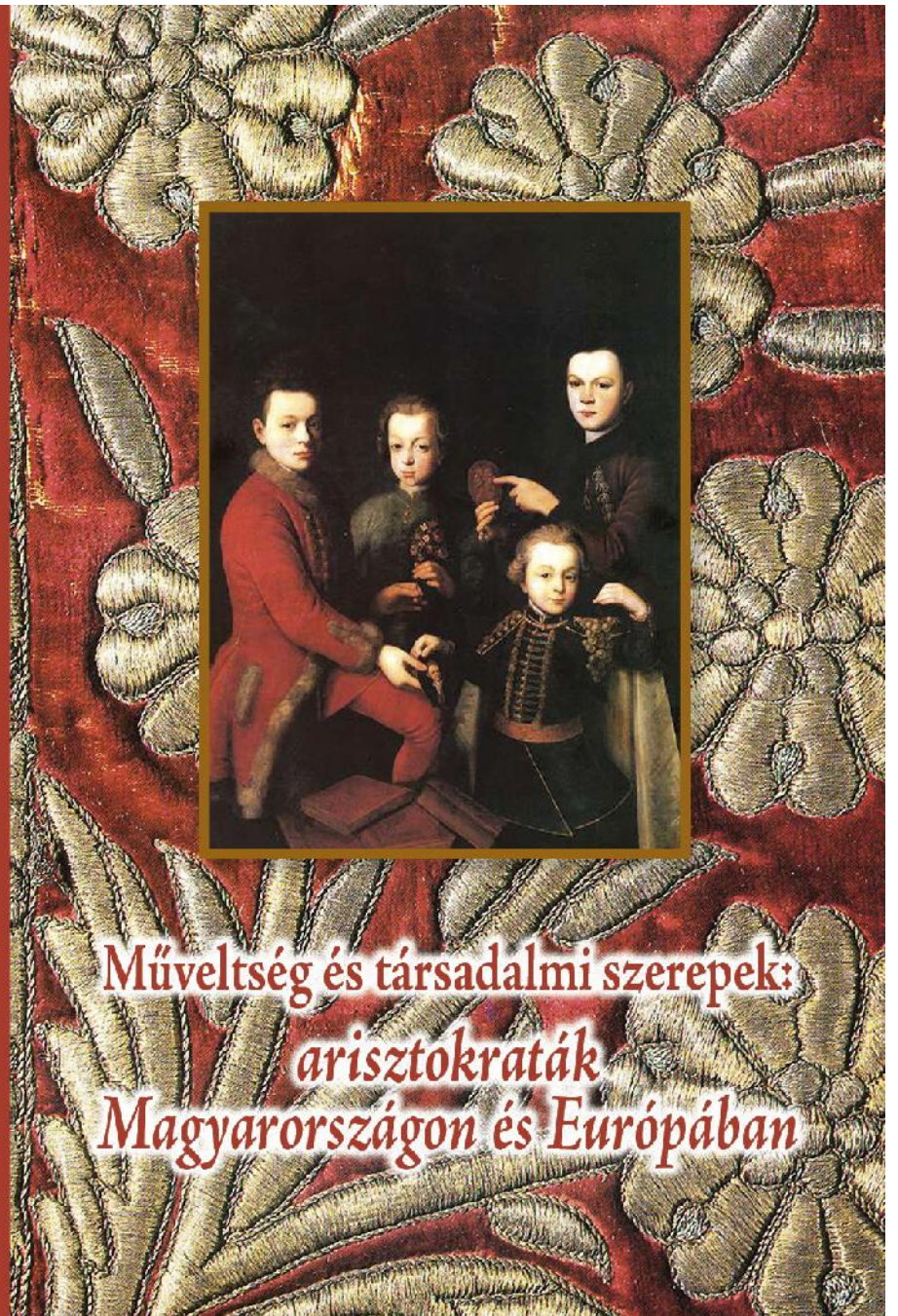


None the Emperour for a special love, made Erle Richard to be his friend  
to geve hym seynt Georze here Englisshmenys addevery to bring into  
but Erle Richard heving the Empe for that he in his dome pson was  
England, he by endenture restored hit to by assent / saying the de  
hit by his dome pson / shulde be more acceptable, & worshipfull of us  
so he did / for in shorte space after he come into England, and was  
knigght of the Garter and offered by the holy spirit hym self, when  
worshipfullly yet kept at Wyndesore And in his comynge & troyng  
Erle Richard then began fapteme the howsably respected hym And  
said to the King that no yme cristyn for wysdom wortur / manlyde  
a nyght knigght wold have of thele of wourdlysh addyng pte. that  
were list, yet myght hit be founde anym in hym And so end after  
undur was called the  
fudre of Embery



Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek:

arisztokraták Magyarországon és Európában



Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek:  
arisztokraták  
Magyarországon és Európában

MŰVELTSÉG ÉS TÁRSADALMI SZEREPEK: ARISZTOKRATÁK  
MAGYARORSZÁGON ÉS EURÓPÁBAN

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SPECULUM HISTORIAE DEBRECENIENSE 18.  
(A Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézete Kiadványai)

*Sorozatszerkesztő:*

PAPP KLÁRA



**Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek:  
arisztokraták  
Magyarországon és Európában**

**Learning, Intellect and Social Roles:  
Aristocrats  
in Hungary and Europe**

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BÁRÁNY ATTILA, OROSZ ISTVÁN, PAPP KLÁRA,  
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## ELŐSZÓ

2013 szeptemberében az OTKA pályázat tagjai meghívást kaptak az Eperjesi Egyetemre, a „Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: a 17–20. századi arisztokrácia műveltsége, művészetet és az oktatás fejlesztését, a birtokok építését, modernizációját támogató tevékenysége” című konferenciára, amelyet a város polgármestere mellett a kassai magyar főkonzul asszony nyitott meg. A 22 előadó közül többen elküldték tanulmányaikat jelen kötetünkbe.

A Debreceni Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kara működésének 100. évfordulóján, 2014 októberében a Kar egy 12 szekcióban tartott előadássorozattal tisztelgett az elődök emléke előtt. A Történelmi Intézet két szekció munkáját szervezte, „Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: az arisztokrácia változó társadalmi szerepe” címmel. Mindkettő az arisztokrácia kutatásának új elméleti és módszertani irányait kívánta bemutatni, az egyik európai kitekintéssel idegen nyelven, a másik elsősorban a kora újkorra és az újkorra koncentrálva, az intézet határon túli partner intézményei kutatóinak bevonásával, magyar nyelven. Az idegen nyelvű szekció munkáját a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia – Debreceni Egyetem „Magyarország a középkori Európában” **Lendület kutatócsoportja** és annak vezetője, Bárány Attila szervezte, az ő írásaik és neves külföldi vendégeik tanulmányai is szerepelnek a kötetben. A szekciók plenáris előadói Jean-Luc Fray professzor (Université Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand) és jómagam voltunk.

Mivel 2013 végén megalakult, s 2014 tavaszán az egyetem szenátusa által is elfogadást nyert a **Nemzetközi Inter-Regionális Társadalomtörténeti és Néprajzi Kutatási Központ**, a most az olvasóközönséghez kerülő kötet a „Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: arisztokraták a 17–20. századi Magyarországon” című, az **OTKA által támogatott 83521 azonosító számú pályázat** résztvevői mellett az abban megnevezett egyetemek kutatóinak első közös bemutatkozása is.

Az arisztokrácia fontos, bár állandóan változó, és fő tendenciájában csökkenő szerepet játszott Magyarország politikai, társadalmi, gazdasági és kulturális elitjének történelmében. A főúri réteg azonban soha nem volt egységes, néhány fokkal egyszerűen megragadható és leírható csoport. Ahogyan változtak a politikai-társadalmi viszonyok, úgy változott és módosult az arisztokrácia helye



*és szerepe, még hangsúlyosabbá téve egyébként is meglévő belső differenciáltságát. Az arisztokrácia társadalmi szerepének, tevékenységének összetett és árnyalt vizsgálatát azért is fontos kiemelni, mert a korábbi évtizedekben számos felszínes, megalapozatlan és ideologikus állítás kapcsolódott hozzájuk. A kötetbe tanulmányokat publikáló hazai és külföldi történészek éppen ezért azt kívánják a középpontba állítani, hogy az arisztokrácia tevékenysége, közéleti szerepvállalása hogyan, milyen területeken érvényesült, s ehhez kapcsolódva tudásuk, műveltségük milyen feladatok ellátására, pozíciók birtoklására tette őket alkalmassá.*

*A Magyar Királyság meghatározó szerepet betöltő társadalmi rétegét alkotta az arisztokrácia, amely az uralkodói hatalomtól fontos feladatokat kapott az ország irányítására és vállalta is a rangjának megfelelő szerepvállalást.*

*Ahogy Magyarországon belül Erdély külön régiót alkotott, úgy az arisztokrácián belül is sajátos réteget képeztek az erdélyiek. Az erdélyi arisztokraták társadalmi helyzetének, életkörülményeinek, karrierlehetőségeinek a vizsgálata jelenti a vizsgálatok második fő ívét. A 17. században a térség politikai-közigazgatási értelemben a fejedelmi udvar köré szerveződött, s a fejedelmek természetesen saját udvartartással rendelkeztek. Az erdélyi mágnásokat magyarországi társaiknál hagyományosan nagyobb és jelentékenyebb politikai, valamint társadalmi aktivitás jellemezte. Az erdélyi arisztokraták társadalmi szerepvállalásának kiemelkedő területeként jelölhető meg az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület.*

*A reformkori és a dualizmus-kori arisztokrácia különösen érzékenyen reagált a hagyomány kontra megújulás dilemmájára, az új jelenségekhez igazodva formálta ki saját társadalmi-közéleti szerepeit, de tudatosan új mintákat is teremtett. A 19–20. századi, átalakuló, modernizálódó Magyarország többször is új kihívások elé állította, társadalmi szerepének újragondolására készítette az arisztokráciát, amelyet a szerzőink tanulmányai a korábbi korszakokhoz hasonlóan alaposan vizsgálnak.*

*A sokrétű vizsgálatok eredményeit tartalmazó gazdag kötet reményt ad arra, hogy tanulmányai számíthatnak a szakmai közönség mellett az arisztokrácia iránt érdeklődő olvasóközönség figyelmére is.*

*Prof. Dr. Orosz István  
akadémikus*

## FOREWORD

*In September 2013 the members of the OTKA (Hungarian National Research Fund) Research Group of the University of Debrecen were invited to the University of Prešov, to give papers at the conference „**Learning and Social Roles: 17<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century Aristocracy and its Culture, Art and Education Patronage and its Support of Agrarian Modernization**”. The conference was opened by the Mayor of Košice and Her Excellence The Chief Consul of Hungary in Košice. Several of the 22 speakers are representing themselves with their papers in the present volume.*

*The volume is the proceedings of the international conference held to address the centennial anniversary of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Debrecen in October 2014. The Faculty aimed to honour the memory of the forefathers in a series of papers, read in 12 sessions. The Institute of History organized two sessions, entitled “Learning, Intellect and Social Roles: the Changing Social Role of the Aristocracy”. Both wished to introduce new theoretical approaches and research methods in the study of aristocracy, which could bring forward new innovative possibilities, one with a European perspective, mainly in the field of medieval studies, in the company of renowned international scholars giving papers in English, German and French languages, the other focusing on the Early Modern and Modern Times, embracing those scholars, who have long been in a fruitful co-operation with the Institute, mainly from Hungarian-language research centres in present-day Slovakia and Romania. The former, foreign-language medieval session was furthered by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen „**Lendület**” **Research Group** „**Hungary in Medieval Europe**” and its organization was greatly helped by its leader, Attila Bárány. The articles of the research group and the ones of their guest-speakers of research centres from France through Poland to Germany are also to be found in the proceedings. The key-note speakers of the sessions were Professor Jean-Luc Fray (Université Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand) and myself.*

*Since upon the initiative of the Institute of History the **International Inter-Regional Social History and Ethnography Research Group** was established at the end of 2013 – which was also acknowledged by the Senate of the University of Debrecen in Spring 2014 –, the volume is the first occasion where its members can introduce themselves to the public. The proceedings is also the fruit of the work of the members of several institutions within the **OTKA project** „**Culture and Social Roles: Aristocrats in 17<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century Hungary**” (registration no. 83521).*

*Aristocracy played an important, but continuously changing and in its major tendency decreasing role in the history of European political, social, economic*

*and cultural elite. However, the higher nobility was never a uniform layer that can be easily grasped and described with a few simple characteristics. As political-social relations were changing, its place and role did alike vary, further deepening its inner, existing differentiation. It is worth highlighting a more complex and balanced investigation of the social role and activity of the aristocracy, since in recent decades it has received many superficial, unfounded and ideological statements. Therefore, the proceedings aim to focus the way and the spheres the aristocracy played an active public role, and in relation to this, what tasks and positions they were to be assigned upon their intellect and learning.*

*The higher nobility played a decisive role in Europe and was thus allotted important tasks in the government which they duly undertook.*

*As Transylvania was a separate region within the Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvanian higher nobles had peculiar characteristics within the Hungarian aristocracy. The panel's second focus is the study of the social role, living circumstances, career possibilities of Transylvanian aristocrats. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the government and administration of Transylvania was organized around the princely court, the princes had an own household. Transylvanian magnates played a more active and more significant political and social roles than their counterparts in Royal Hungary, as it is to be seen in the workings of the Transylvanian Museum Association.*

*The aristocracy of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Reform Period was particularly sensitive towards the dilemma of tradition versus reform. It formed its own social and public roles aligning to the new phenomena, but it also made new patterns. They were to see many challenges in the modernization of 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century Hungary, and were to re-evaluate their social roles, which are to be presented in the prospective papers here, also giving a deep insight into these issues in earlier periods.*

*The volume involving the results of manifold investigations leads us to hope that its articles would attract the attention not only of the academic but a wider public.*

*Prof. Dr. István Orosz  
Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

**Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek  
a középkorban /**

**Learning, Intellect and Social Roles  
in the Middle Ages**

ÁDÁM NOVÁK

## THE SEAL USAGE OF HUNGARIAN ARISTOCRATS IN THE 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY\*

In my paper I would like to summarize the historiography of the Hungarian sphragistic studies in two steps, by which I wish to point out the deficiencies and also the current projects. As an introduction of the topic I will present my research results regarding the seal usage of János Perényi, Master of the Treasury. After the introduction I intend to show both the importance and the difficulties of investigating poly-sigillic diplomas and I also present a short introduction of my project which focuses on such diplomas issued/published between 1439 and 1457. In the second part of my paper I wish to highlight the observations I have made so far on seal usage, namely that there is indeed a certain consistency in the seal usage of secular dignity.

### INTRODUCTION

Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz<sup>1</sup> and Imre Szentpétery<sup>2</sup> were the two illustrious historians who put down the bases of Hungarian sphragistics and diplomatics before WWII. It reflects the permanency of their synthesizing works that both were republished in the 1990s and only with modest corrections. However, this also means that there was no wide-spread sigillographic research in the second half of the twentieth century or that its results were not put in a monograph. Of course we must not forget about the researchers of medieval auxiliary sciences – Géza Érszegi, László Solymosi, Iván Bertényi – or about their works.<sup>3</sup> Neither should

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\* The article is supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen “Lendület” Research Group “Hungary in Medieval Europe” as well as by the Inner Research Grant of the University of Debrecen.

<sup>1</sup> Kumorovitz, Lajos, Bernát, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban. Der Gebrauch von Siegeln in Ungarn im Mittelalter*. (second, expanded and revised edition). Budapest, 1993.

<sup>2</sup> Szentpétery, Imre, *Magyar oklevéltan*. Budapest, 1995.

<sup>3</sup> For example: *Sigilla regum – reges sigillorum. Királyportrék a Magyar Országos Levéltár pecsétséggyűjteményéből*. Ed. Érszegi, Géza. The description of the seals by Sölch, Miklós. Pho-

we forget about the undisputedly useful and everlasting works of art historians - Jolán Balogh, Pál Lövei, Imre Takács and Imre Bodor.<sup>4</sup> Many analyses and disclosures have been published owing to the researchers listed above. Moreover, thanks to the National Archive of the Hungarian National Archives<sup>5</sup> the publication of a new series was started in 2012 which aims to collect the sphragistic relics of medieval Hungary. The first volume presents the seals of the House of Árpád, accompanied by the publications of colourful imprints and introductory articles of art historians.<sup>6</sup> However, as the review of the above mentioned volume has pointed out, the writer and editor of this publication made several mistakes.<sup>7</sup>

This is due to the fact that until now no usable index has been made on (our) medieval seals. Although the index made by Dezső Csánki in 1889 was a great step forward in that era, it is out of date today.<sup>8</sup> Since this work incorporates only the core stock of the HNA it is incorrect and incomplete. The seals of the many documents and even the documents themselves have perished since Csánki's work was published.<sup>9</sup> Although the NA HNA Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary (DA-DP)<sup>10</sup> makes the viewing of the pictures of the seals easier, for which the researchers of medieval history should be truly grateful, the search functions are only indirectly suitable for collecting seals.<sup>11</sup> For the time

tographed Szelényi, Károly. Budapest, 2001.; Solymosi, László, *Írásbeliség és társadalom az Árpád-korban: diplomatikai és pecsétani tanulmányok*. Budapest, 2006.; Bertényi, Iván, *A címertan reneszánsza: tanulmányok*. Budapest, 2010.

<sup>4</sup> For example: Balogh, Jolán, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*. Budapest, 1966.; Lövei, Pál, "Sokpecsétetes oklevelek a 14–15. századi Magyarországon", = *Ars Hungarica* 39, No. 2., 2013, 137–144.; *Megpecsételt történelem: középkori pecsétek Esztergomból*. Ed.: Hegedűs, András. Esztergom, 2000.; Bodor, Imre, "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink I. Az Árpád-ház pecsétjei", = *Turul* 74, 2001, 1–20. and Bodor, Imre, "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink II. Egyházi és világi pecsétek", = *Turul* 75, 2002, 11–22.; Bodor, Imre – Fügedi, Erik – Takács, Imre, *A középkori Magyarország főpapi pecsétjei a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportjának pecsétmásolat-gyűjteménye alapján*. Budapest, 1984.

<sup>5</sup> Hereinafter: NA HNA

<sup>6</sup> Takács, Imre, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei – Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty*. Budapest, 2012.

<sup>7</sup> Kurecskó, Mihály, Takács, Imre: *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei. Corpus sigillorum Hungariae medievalis I.* = *Turul* 86, 2013, 77–79. (Review)

<sup>8</sup> Csánki, Dezső, *A Magyar Királyi Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Osztályában őrzött pecsétek mutatója*. Budapest, 1889.

<sup>9</sup> The best example for this are the seal index of Woiwode Transylvanian and that of Banus Machoviensis Miklós Újlaki. In the index from the period between 1434 and 1458 there are 12 seals. Out of these there are only 4 pieces left today in their original form. Or we can mention the destroyed archive of the Hédervári family.

<sup>10</sup> NA HNA Diplomatic Archive and Diplomatic Photocollection

<sup>11</sup> In the database we can search only to the characteristics of the charters, not directly to the seals.

being, pictures of diplomas kept outside of NA HNA are available only in black and white photograph format and the analysis of the seals, primarily that of those kept abroad, require field trips to archives abroad. However, it is not possible to conduct a comprehensive research without collecting and analysing all seals available for a given topic.

It makes the researchers' work even more difficult that there are no available indices regarding seals kept in foreign archives. This is most likely the reason why the seal of Queen Consort Isabel, the wife of King Ladislaus V was left out from the seal catalogue mentioned above.<sup>12</sup> It is impossible to conduct an analysis of the seal usage of the Master of Treasury by relying on the database. For instance we know of a case where none of the treasurer's twelve seals are kept in the collection of the NA HNA.<sup>13</sup>

I faced these problems while putting together the seal index of the Archív mesta Košice,<sup>14</sup> studying the correspondence of magnates written after the death of Ladislaus V, and while collecting material on the seal usage of János Perényi, Master of the treasury.<sup>15</sup> As mentioned above, no such seal index has been made yet, and there is no analogy for the examination of the seal usage of a secular dignity.

I wrote my MA thesis about the career of János Perényi and in the scope of my PhD research I am working on a detailed elaboration of this thesis. During Erasmus studies in 2012<sup>16</sup> I visited the Slovakian cities that were under the authority of the Master of the Treasury in the Middle Ages and collected the coloured photocopies of all of Perényi's published letters.<sup>17</sup> Completing this work with the analysis of poly-sigillic diplomas I created the seal index of the Treasurer. In the period between 1424 and 1458 altogether 33 of his seal imprints can be identified.<sup>18</sup> While conducting this research it became clear to me that Perényi only used 4 different seals during his whole life.<sup>19</sup> With the help of a timeline,

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<sup>12</sup> Novák, Ádám, "Izabella királyné pecsétjei", = *Turul* (under publication).

<sup>13</sup> The NA HNA do not keep any charters from Master of the treasury János, Rozgonyi.

<sup>14</sup> 6 month archival internship in the Archív mesta Košice (AmK) by the Campus Hungary scholarship.

<sup>15</sup> Novák, Ádám, "15. századi pecséthasználát id. Perényi János tárnokmester pecsétjeinek tükrében", In. *VIII. Szegedi Medievalisztika Doktorandusz Konferencia tanulmánykötete* (under publication).

<sup>16</sup> 2 semester study program at the University of Prešov – Erasmus LLP.

<sup>17</sup> Archív hlavného mesta SR Bratislavy (AhmB), Štátny archív v Prešove, Pobočka Prešov (ŠAP PP), Štátny archív v Prešove, Pobočka Bardejov (ŠAP PB), Štátny archív v Bratislave Pobočka Trnava (ŠAB PT)

<sup>18</sup> Novák, 15. századi pecséthasználát.

<sup>19</sup> Examples: 1st NA HNA Diplomatic Archive (Hereinafter: DA) 11 470. 2nd DA 12 937. 3rd DA 70 241. 4th DA 70 900.

which can be found in the supplement of this paper, I illustrated the changes occurring in the use of these seals.<sup>20</sup> The form, content and character of the published documents do not show any specific order. We can find every type of seal on all the following document types: missilis, judgment letter, direct order and poly-sigillic diploma. He continuously held the office of the treasurer from 1439.<sup>21</sup> Since he seems that Perényi returned to the use of two specific seals from time to time we cannot talk about forgery or the theft of seals. However, in a certain period he only used one type, thus some consistency can be observed here. The question is whether this can be viewed as an individual case, or rather a common phenomenon, and whether we can find an analogy similar to this. The investigation of this analogy, however, requires a separate research.

“The first step of collecting the unrevealed and unpublished noble seals, seal rings [...] is evidently the processing of the so-called poly-sigillic diplomas, which [...] requires a relatively small effort and promises the greatest results” – states Pál Lövei in his typological research regarding poly-sigillic diplomas.<sup>22</sup> The significance of the diplomas in studying political history had long been realized by Bernát Lajos Kumorovitz: “Thus the trustee seal diplomas enlighten the struggle between sovereign authority and the intentions of the orders.”<sup>23</sup> Being true to his word Kumovitz started collecting such diplomas. The significance of these diplomas from the perspective of social history was highlighted by Pál Engel in his book on archontology: “We mainly find aristocrats and noblemen in most of the documents, [...] who, for some reason, [...] had such a great political power that they could occasionally or regularly participate in the counsels of dignitaries.”<sup>24</sup> Besides, poly-sigillic diplomas could be contracts, arrangements, enactments, invitations, often donations, and can also be seen as important diplomatic relics due to their high level of elaboration.

Despite all that, their collection, listing and analysis have not been carried out. Of course essays have been written on single diplomas,<sup>25</sup> but an analysis

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<sup>20</sup> See at the 1. supplement.

<sup>21</sup> Engel, Pál, “Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457”, In. *Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV.* Budapest, 2003.; Novák, 15. századi pecséthasználat.

<sup>22</sup> Lövei, Sokpecsétés oklevelek, 2013. 137–138.

<sup>23</sup> Kumorovitz, A magyar pecséthasználat, 1993. 83.

<sup>24</sup> Engel, Magyarország világi archontológiája, 2003.

<sup>25</sup> For examples: Csánki, Dezső, “Harmincpecsétés oklevél 1511-ből”, = *Turul* 5, No. 1–2, 1887, 1–11. and 49–59.; Szentpétery, Imre, “Hédervári, Imre 1447-iki felmentő levele”, = *Turul* 20, No. 4, 1902, 153–165.; Lövei, Pál, “Az ország nagyjainak és előkelőinek 1402. évi oklevelén függő pecsétek”, In. Neumann, Tibor – Rácz, György (ed.), *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére.* Budapest–Piliscsaba, 2009. 149–182.; Engel, Pál – Lövei, Pál, “Sokpecsétés oklevelek 1323-ból és 1328-ból”, In. *Bardoly, István – László, Csaba (ed.) Koppány Tibor hetvenedik születésnapjára: Tanulmányok.* Budapest, 1998. 133–148.; Novák, Ádám,



processing all diplomas concerning a given period is yet to be made. However, such works are particularly suitable for examining seal usage and by relying on them the secular and spiritual seal index of a given period can also be made. Or to be more precise the data gained this way can form the basis for examining the seals on diplomas. Listing diplomas should not cause any problem; by applying different search modes when using the database of NA HNA DA–DP and by comparing these research results the results with the relevant published literature a nearly complete list can be put together in a fairly short time. After this process, however, the researcher has to face numerous difficulties. A significant number of letters are only available in foreign archives, thus collecting them is time and money consuming. The identification of the seals is not always so simple either, since for example no catalogue has been made concerning the era between 1439 and 1457.

### THE RESEARCH PROJECT

For my research I have chosen a period, which is interesting and diverse from the perspective of politics, social history and sigillography. After the death of both King Sigismund and King Albert the previously commonly accepted order changed, and according to my hypothesis this can be observed in seal usage as well. But to prove this hypothesis first we have to get acquainted with the available seals. It is a peculiarity of this era that a vast number of poly-sigillic diplomas were issued, mostly during the civil war. Classic poly-sigillic diplomas (privilegial, parchment, ruler and dignitaries as well as envoys of the counties) are, however, still too rare to lead us to an adequate result. That is why I extended the scope of my research to the so called multi-sigillic diplomas. These diplomas contain the seals of at least three people, excluding monarchs. The letters issued by counties do not fall into this category. I adjusted the time frame of my research to that of Pál Engel's archontology, so in other words its end date is 1457.<sup>26</sup> The reason for this is that with the death of King Ladislaus V and then the election of King Matthias this period came to an end, and a new era started which introduced fixed rules in the practice of issuing this type of diplomas. Besides we know from the work of Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz that tutelary seals

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“Levelek Budáról. Az országnagyok levelei a városoknak V. László halála után”, In. Gál, Judit – Péterfi, Bence – Vadas, András – Kranzieritz, Károly (ed.) *Miccae Mediaevales III. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a magyar középkorról és Európáról*. Budapest, 2013. 153–166.

<sup>26</sup> Engel, Magyarország világi archontológiája, 2003.

quickly disappeared from the diplomas of King Matthias.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, no catalogue has been made so far which would collect the seals of this period.

The primary aim of my research is to put together a critical register of multi- and poly-sigillic diplomas. The number of the diplomas which meet the above mentioned criteria is 65. Based on the works of András Kubinyi<sup>28</sup> and Pál Engel<sup>29</sup> I categorized them in 62 different scores. In each description I not only provide the essential characteristics of the given diploma, such as the date and place of its issue, HA score and content, but also the place where it is currently kept, its score yonder and all details regarding publications on the given diploma. I also describe the external aspects of the diplomas, touching upon the identification of the seals attached to them. I have already prepared the main structure of the register, but I have only partially collected the data so far. There is no point in publishing this non-complete list, until the end of the research I must unfortunately set it aside.

My second goal is indexing the seals of the diplomas I have examined either in their original, or in a photographic form. In the index I am going to present the seals in the order of the owners who issued them and I provide a bibliographic compass regarding their description and publication. I consider it important to make every item visible, even if the seal on the diploma has not survived, or its photo is not available for publication. That is why in such cases I look for analogies in the database of the HNA OL DA. It is already evident that in certain cases no analogies can be found. My intention is to collect such diplomas and publish them separately with photographs.

And finally I also intent to make a supplement for Pál Engel's archontology. It is a proof of his thoroughness that I have found only a handful of items in the whole work which require modification. However, I am able to add 39 further documents to the sources shown in one chapter of his book entitled "Peerage and dietary envoys". Based on the method of the work quoted above I could also provide additional information on the prosopography of the people mentioned in the diplomas.

Later I am going to include all of these in a digital database. The reason for this is to make further researches easier and that in my opinion the pictures of seals can be used best in digital form. Another unnegligible factor is that the cost of printing the pictures of seals in usable quality matches that of the expanses of creating a database.

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<sup>27</sup> Kumorovitz, Lajos Bernát, *Mátyás király pecsétjei*. Budapest, 1932.

<sup>28</sup> Kubinyi, András, "Bárók a királyi tanácsban Mátyás és II. Ulászló idejében", = *Századok* 122, 1988, 147–213.

<sup>29</sup> Engel, Magyarország világi archontológiája, 2003.

The basis of my research was the archontology of Pál Engel. At first I tried to look up the original versions of the secondary sources referred to in this book. Then I conducted a research in the database of the NA HNA DA–DP by giving the seal number and the names of monarchs and dignitaries. Finally I looked through the original diplomas indexed under the title “Dignitaries”.

The number of diplomas collected this way is 65. Concerning their form there are 32 privilege,<sup>30</sup> 23 patens<sup>31</sup> and 10 missilis letters.<sup>32</sup> I could examine only some of the seals thoroughly. Other than the database of the NA HNA I have made examinations in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, in the archives of Pozsony, (Bratislava, Slovakia), Kassa (Košice, Slovakia), Nagyszeben (Sibiu, Romania) and Sopron, in the archiepiscopal archives of Veszprém as well as in the Primate archives of Esztergom. The requested photocopies of the poly-sigillic diplomas kept in the archive of Bártfa (Bardejov, Slovakia) have not arrived yet and I wish to examine the material kept in Körmöcbánya and Lőcse (Kremnica and Levoča, Slovakia) 2014 in separate research trips. Thanks to Pál Lővei I was able to survey the seal material of two diplomas out of the five which are kept in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. I could examine these based on the black and white photocopies made by Pál Engel, however, their contents have not yet been fit into the statistics hereunder. By winning a scholarship I will be able to study the diplomas kept in the Arhiv Republike Slovenije in Ljubljana in the summer of 2015.

The seals of Polish monarchs and dignitaries are not included in the statistics, and neither are six further documents which contain the seals of county envoys, gentries and such persons with whom Jan Jiskra had signed contracts. So far I have been able to describe 49 diplomas and the seal material of 35 of these were included in the index. The seals of 3 towns, 61 individuals – out of which 17 are spiritual persons– and also that of the national council have been indexed. Altogether I have worked with 175 seal imprints and I could identify 97 different items.

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<sup>30</sup> DP 258 081., DA 39 290., DP 289 005., DA 39 291., DP 289 004., DP 289 127., DA 13 554., DP 289 006., DP 289 009., DP 287 160., DP 287 161–2., DP 258 346–7., DA 39 293., DP 258 234., DP 271 267., DP 250 168., DP 287 192., DP 250 001., DP 270 290., DA 14 379., DA 14 405., DA 63 157., DP 287 198., DA 94 480., DP 287 204., DP 203 028., DA 24 764., DA 15 088. and a diploma from Szentpétery, Hédervári, Imre, 1902, 155.

<sup>31</sup> DA 13 457., DA 13 633., DA 13 647., DA 44 321., DP 249 795., DP 249 997., DP 282 582., DA 107 533., DP 237 766., DP 201 289., DA 55 295., DA 80 828., DA 50 583., DP 270 275., DA 102 498., DA 80 930., DA 73 005., DA 31 664., DP 244 802., DA 81 191., DA 81 190., DP 270 319. és DP 244 825.

<sup>32</sup> DP 239 734., DP 240 862., DP 250 106., DP 213 347., DP 213 348., DA 81 209., DA 81 210., DP 228 791., DP 213 680. és DP 270 334.

## OBSERVATIONS ON SEAL USAGE

With the help of the database created this way I got an insight into some respects of secular seal usage in the late fifteenth century. The aristocracy regarded the monarchs' seal usage as an example in every possible way; a phenomenon researchers call "imitatio regis".<sup>33</sup> When the king was using several seals simultaneously<sup>34</sup> so did the dignitaries. During my research on poly-sigillic diplomas I have not come across seals that were used by the dignitaries on judgement letters or mandates. Thus we can separate "juridical" or "official" and "private" seals in the cases of Palatine László Garai<sup>35</sup> and Lord Chief Justice László Pálóci.<sup>36</sup> Their "official" seals were considerably ornamented and their size was also bigger. Based on the seal usage of both small and large chanceries we can presume that the official seals of the dignitaries were kept by their vicarious, and they themselves kept the "private" seals. This could help developing the itinerarium of some of the Great Officers.

The representation of power is one of the less researched areas and can also be observed through seals. Count title granting show the differentiation of the nobility. At the appellation the use of red wax was allowed and we know of five people who used red wax. Despite the fact that the Serbian despot, György Brankovics was only one amongst the greater land owners he managed to put himself before his fellow-nobleman by the adoption of red wax.<sup>37</sup> As former governor, Chief Captain and the greatest landholder in the country, János Hunyadi also obtained the honour of becoming a count, granted by King Ladislaus V, as well as the right to use red wax.<sup>38</sup> Matkó Tallóci,<sup>39</sup> György Kórógyi<sup>40</sup> and Zsigmond Frangepán<sup>41</sup> were also able to use it after the title was granted to them.

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<sup>33</sup> Kumorovitz, A magyar pecséthasználat, 1993. 59.; Körmendi, Tamás, "A magyarországi nemzeti címerek kialakulásának kérdéséhez", = *Századok* 143, No. 2, 2009, 391–426. 392.

<sup>34</sup> Kumorovitz, Lajos, Bernát, "A magyar királyi egyszerű- és titkospecsét használatának alakulása a középkorban", In. Miskolczy, Gyula – Károlyi, Árpád – Angyal, Dávid (ed.) *A gróf Klebelsberg Kunó Magyar Történetkutató Intézet Évkönyve VII.* Budapest, 1937. 69–112.

<sup>35</sup> Official: 13 March 1449. DA 14 234. Private: 17 June 1450. DA 14 379.

<sup>36</sup> Official: 10 December 1453. DL 2180. Private: 13 September 1453. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Allgemeine Urkundenreihe (HHStA AUR) 1453. 09. 13. DP 287 204.

<sup>37</sup> 17 September DA 39 290.

<sup>38</sup> See down below.

<sup>39</sup> As "comes de Cetine". 16 December 1443. Archive Archbishop of Esztergom Acta radicalia 47 1 30. DP 237 766.

<sup>40</sup> As "comes de Castellis". 19 December 1454. DA 81 190.

<sup>41</sup> As "Groff Segniae Weglae et Modrussae". 13 September 1447. Szentpétery, Hédervári, Imre, 1902, 155.

The separation of different branches of the family was quite hard due to the usage of a mutual coat of arms. Dezső Garai from the “Banic” part of the family wanted to differentiate himself from the “Palatinal” side, namely from Miklós Garai and his son, László Garai. That is why the snake with a crown on its head always turns to the left on his seals. We know very little of his funeral ceremony or his building operations, so we can only see his representational efforts in his seal usage. Only a few have survived and we know just two complete seals.<sup>42</sup>

As a result of the research we are able to look for analogies for comparison. As we have seen aristocracy took the ruler as an example in every way. Thus they changed their seals when they gained a new title. János Hunyadi also used different seals as Voivode Transylvanian,<sup>43</sup> as Governor,<sup>44</sup> then as Chief Captain.<sup>45</sup> Choosing him as prime dignitary led to the first change. King Ladislaus V gave him a new coat of arms<sup>46</sup> after Hunyadi resigned from the post of governor, so changing his seal was again obvious. There is another example: in the seal field of Steward László Pálóci his family’s coat of arms can be seen.<sup>47</sup> After naming him Lord Chief of Justice in 1446<sup>48</sup> his new title, *Judex Curie Regie* appears on the circumscription of his seal.<sup>49</sup> Yet János Perényi did not change his office or his rank.

There were only a few dignitaries who could keep their duties during and after the civil war as well. One of them was the Banus Machoviensis László Garai, who was expelled though by King Vladislas I, but continued calling himself the same way. He was given the title Ban once again after the death of Vladislas.<sup>50</sup> However, he changed his seal at some time before 1445.<sup>51</sup> He held the office of the Palatine of Hungary after 1447.<sup>52</sup>

His fellow Banus, Miklós Újlaki, who held the title of Voivode of Transylvania at the same time, also changed his seal at the turn of 1444<sup>53</sup> and 1445.<sup>54</sup> He

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<sup>42</sup> 10 October 1408. DA 9431. and 19 December 1420. DA 79 650.

<sup>43</sup> 8 February 1445. DA 50 583.

<sup>44</sup> 17 June 1450. DA 14 379.

<sup>45</sup> 19 December 1454. DA 81 191.

<sup>46</sup> 1 February 1453. DA 24 762.

<sup>47</sup> 17 September 1439. DA 39 290.

<sup>48</sup> First mention from 9 June 1446. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 2003.

<sup>49</sup> 15. July 1456. AmK Collectio Schwartzbachiana 279. DP 270 319.

<sup>50</sup> First time between 1431–1441, second time between 1445–47. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 2003.

<sup>51</sup> 17 September 1439. DA 39 290. or 5 January 1440. DP 262 222. and 1445. DA 64 766.

<sup>52</sup> Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 2003.

<sup>53</sup> 23 September 1444. DA 102 491.

<sup>54</sup> 8 February 1445. DA 80 828.

added an angel holding a shield to the catchet he inherited. This heraldic trick was introduced in Hungary by him. Presumably a radical turn in politics could have been behind his seal change but proving this requires further investigation. Still it is clear that the two dignitaries' seal renewal synchronizes with the method mentioned above, regarding János Perényi.<sup>55</sup>

Apart from János Perényi, Miklós Újlaki was the only dignitary who held the same office throughout the examined period.<sup>56</sup> He produced a massive amount of diplomas in the period and 56 seal imprints can be identified out of these. That is why I made an almost complete seal index of Miklós Újlaki as an analogy. These 56 seals clearly show that he used six different moulds. Four of these can be seen as private seals he used on poly-sigillic diplomas, missilis letters and orders. I made a timeline concerning his seal usage.<sup>57</sup> One of these four is his seal-ring.<sup>58</sup> He was using only this and his third round-shaped seal at the same time, the others were used in consequent timeline, never permanently. Two of his juridical seals can be easily separated from the others.<sup>59</sup> He was using one of them at the time of the congregation at Somogyvár between May and July, 1444.<sup>60</sup> The other he used as a colleague of Ban János Korógyi in the Osijek courts in 1453–1454.<sup>61</sup> It is distinctively noticeable from the data that he never used this two seals on poly-sigillic diplomas.

## SUMMARY

I believe I was able to point out in my paper that seal usage in the fifteenth century is worth researching. In case of late medieval monarchs differentiation in seal usage is very clear. As opposed to the secular seal usage, that of the monarchs has already have been processed almost completely. In the work of Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz the chapter concerning the late-medieval period only provided an outline of the main tendencies. In excuse of Bernát Kumorovitz he could not have done otherwise since collecting and analysing seals is not an easy task even in the circumstances of the 21st century. On the other hand the work flatters political historians, art historians and social historians with interesting findings. But a comprehensive synthesis cannot be done without complete seal indices. To

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<sup>55</sup> See in the 1. supplement.

<sup>56</sup> Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 2003.

<sup>57</sup> See at the 2. supplement

<sup>58</sup> See at the 2. supplement No. 4.

<sup>59</sup> See at the 3. supplement

<sup>60</sup> See at the 3. supplement No. 6.

<sup>61</sup> See at the 3. supplement No. 5.

achieve this cooperation between archives and those who study sphragistics would be crucial. Until this comes to reality the collection of poly-sigillic diplomas could be sensible. My far-gone research makes possible the investigation of a particular period. According to this we could point out that while crystal clear rules cannot be set up regarding seal usage in the era, tendencies surely can. It is evident that the seal usage of János Perényi is not unique. At the turn of 1444 and 1445 many dignitaries felt the need to reflect the political changes in their seals.

The analogies mentioned as examples do not reflect that anybody had returned to the use of a former seal. However, the representation of power through seals was unquestionably important in the period. We have seen several examples to the importance of using red wax. János Perényi is also known for ascribing great significance to power representation. His tombstone announces that he was the Master of the Treasury in the reign of both King Sigismund and King Albert. Besides, the symbol of the Order of the Dragon and that of the Order of the Jar of Aragon appear on the tombstone, together with the insignium of the English Lancaster House, the SS chain.<sup>62</sup> Despite its crowdedness, the red marble raised to honour Perényi's memory for eternity intended to propagate his loyalty to the two monarchs even after his death.

However, the question still remains: what did Perényi want to represent to the world through his seals? As I had already pointed out in a previous paper, it could have had something to do with his political engagement after 1445. However, this can only be proved by the examination of written sources which shall be a task of the near future.

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<sup>62</sup> Bárány, Attila, "A fejedelmi lovagrendek hatása a magyar bárói társadalomban" In: Papp, Klára – Püski, Levente (ed.) *A magyar arisztokrácia társadalmi sokszínűsége, változó értékek és életviszonyok*. Debrecen, 2013, 16–20. 18.

## SUPPLEMENTS

## 1. supplement: Timeline of János Perényi's seal usage

No. 1.<sup>63</sup>No. 2.<sup>64</sup>No. 3.<sup>65</sup>No. 4.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> 31 January 1424. DA 11 470.

<sup>64</sup> 29 June 1440. Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie dok. perg. nr. 5581. DP 289 006. This photo is taken of black-and-white photocopies, which were ordered by Pál Engel. I could use them thanks to Pál Lóvei.

<sup>65</sup> 15 March 1439. AhmB Mesto Bratislava Listiny No. 1092. DP 239 718.

<sup>66</sup> 20 September 1452. DA 70 900.



## 2. supplement: Timeline of Miklós Újlaki's private seal usage

No. 1.<sup>67</sup>No. 2.<sup>68</sup>No. 3.<sup>69</sup>No. 4.<sup>70</sup>


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<sup>67</sup> 23 June 1442. DA 13 683.

<sup>68</sup> 14 September 1454. DA 102 837.

<sup>69</sup> 2 May 1457. DA 93 277.

<sup>70</sup> 7 April 1456. DA 24 764.

## 3. supplement: Misklós Újlaki's "juridical" seals

No. 5.<sup>71</sup>No. 6.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> 26 October 1453. DA 81 112. Újlaki – or his familial – used this kind of seal in the court of Banus Machoviensis.

<sup>72</sup> 21 June 1444. DA 103 601. Újlaki – or his familial – used this kind of seal in congregation for Somogy and Verőce counties between 1444 May and July.



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