DAS KONZIL VON KONSTANZ UND UNGARN



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Das Konzil von Konstanz und Ungarn

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Herausgegeben von Attila Bárány
unter Mitarbeit von Balázs Antal Bacsa

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Vorwort

„Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris": das war der Titel jener Tagung im Bereich der Geschichtswissenschaften, die zwischen 5. und 7. November 2014 in Debrecen veranstaltet worden war, und der folgende Band enthält eine Auswahl dieser Vorträge. Ein Konferenzband in Ungarisch mit größerem Umfang war schon erschienen (*„Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris". Tanulmányok a konstanzi zsinat 600. évfordulója alkalmából*. Debrecen, Printart-Press, 2014.); hier handelt es sich aber nicht nur um bloße Übersetzungen, sondern die überarbeitete und ergänzte Versionen der ungarischen Aufsätze aus dem Band von 2014 werden hier veröffentlicht.

Die Veranstalter der Konferenz, bzw. die Herausgeber dieses Bandes – László Pósán und Attila Bárány – sind die Mitarbeiter des Historischen Instituts an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Debrecen, die zahlreiche Organisationsanlässe hatten. Einerseits, die rege Erforschung des Zeitalters Sigismunds von Luxemburg an dem Historischen Institut der Universität Debrecen: 1997 war eine Tagung unter dem Titel „Sigismund Tagung 1387-1997" veranstaltet worden, an der sowohl internationale – Jörg. K. Hoensch – als auch ungarische Spitzenforscher – unter anderen Pál Engel und András Kubinyi – teilgenommen hatten (der Tagungsband selbst ist ein paar Jahre später erschienen: *Das Zeitalter König Sigmunds in Ungarn und im Deutschen Reich*. Hrsg. Tilmann Schmidt – Péter Gunst, Debrecen, 2000). Der Herausgeber und die Verfasser des vorliegenden Bandes beschäftigten sich mit den verschiedenen Aspekten des Zeitalters Sigismund, unter anderen mit dem Konzil von Konstanz auch.

Andererseits, die Universität Debrecen hatte die Absicht sich an das Projekt der heutigen deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft anzuschließen („Das Konziljubiläum 2014-2018. *600 Jahre Konstanzer Konzil*"), welches die Erinnerung an das Konzil von Konstanz im Sinn hat. Mit diesem Tagungsband versuchen wir die Ergebnisse der ungarischen Forscher über das Konzil und das Zeitalter König Sigismunds dem internationalen Publikum zugänglich zu machen.

Drittens, an dem Historischen Institut der Universität Debrecen ist eine Forschungsgruppe jahrelang tätig (deren Forscher auch die Teilnehmer der Tagung waren), die sich mit dem Bild und Ort des mittelalterlichen ungarischen Königreiches, und seinen Beziehungen zu den westeuropäischen Ländern befassen. Der Ausgangspunkt dieser Forschungsgruppe war ein Projekt im Rahmen der Forschungsuniversität Debrecen zwischen 2010 und 2012 (*Memoria Regum – Die Erinnerungen und Erinnerungsorte der mittelalterlichen ungarischen*

Könige im Europa). Seit 2014 entwickelte sich dieses Projekt zur „Lendület"-Forschungsgruppe der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Universität Debrecen unter dem Titel „Ungarn im mittelalterlichen Europa". Diese Forschungsgruppe leistete ihren Beitrag nicht nur in der Verwirklichung des Tagungsbandes, sondern durch die Vorträge der „inneren" Teilnehmer aus Debrecen, sondern die „äußeren" Teilnehmer des Projektes (von dem Lehrstuhl für Mittelalterliche Geschichte der Universität Szeged, bzw. dem Historischen Institut der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften).

Wir hatten den Versuch die ungarische Forschungslage des Zeitalters des Konstanzer Konzils und König Sigismunds in einem möglichst breiten Horizont bekannt zu machen. Deswegen erwarteten wir die Vorträge mit den folgenden Schwerpunkten: die Hauptthemen des Konzils (Reform, Konziliarismus und Union); das Konzil als die erste allgemeine „Friedenskonferenz" des christlich-spättmittelalterlichen Europas; diplomatische Beziehungen; höfische Kultur und Repräsentation. Die Aufsätze folgen diese thematischen Schwerpunkte.

Die Verfasser des Bandes sind die Forscher und Universitätslehrer der bedeutsamsten geschichtswissenschaftlichen Institute und Forschungszentren innerhalb und außerhalb Ungarns. Neben den Mitgliedern der „Lendület"-Forschungsgruppe waren auch das Ungarische Museum für Kunstgewerbe, die Károli-Gáspár-Universität der Ungarischen Reformierten Kirche, das Historische Institut der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, die „Lendület"-Forschungsgruppe „Heilige Krone Ungarns", die Pázmány-Péter Katholische Universität, die „Lendület"-Forschungsgruppe für Kirchengeschichte der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Pázmány-Péter Katholische Universität, die Universität Pécs, die Universität Szeged und der „Járom" Kulturverein an der Konferenz vertreten.

Der Band ist zweisprachig, wir haben zwar das Englische in dem Index als Grundsprache benutzt, und die Namen sind auch in den deutschsprachigen Aufsätzen nach dem englischen Sprachgebrauch veröffentlicht. Der Index wurde von Balázs Antal Bacsa zusammengestellt.

Attila Bárány

Lehrstuhl für Geschichte
Universität Debrecen
Universität Debrecen – Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften
"Lendület" Forschungsgruppe "Ungarn im mittelalterlichen Europa"
http://memhung.unideb.hu/
https://unideb.academia.edu/MagyarorszagakozepkoriEuropaban

Zsombor Jékely

Armorials and Grants of Arms: Heraldic representation of Hungarian nobles at the time of the Council of Constance

Heraldic literature in Hungary has emphasized for a long time that the period of the Council of Constance played a determining role in the development of Hungarian heraldry. Armorial letters issued by King Sigismund multiplied during these years, as Hungarian nobility wanted to conform to western standards of heraldic representation.[1] The grants of arms were usually given to families already with estates and noble titles, rather than to newly ennobled families.[2] At the time of the Council, heraldic representation was already well-established in the circles of the aristocracy, as various international armorials – especially the Chronicle of Ulrich Richental – attest. In the present paper, I would like to call attention to another armorial book from the time of the Council, using it also to study any connections between new grants of arms and armorials. First, however, I would like to provide a brief overview of the history of grants of arms in Hungary.[3]

The donation of arms in charters issued in privilege form and sealed by the king was a development of the Sigismund-period in Hungary. We know of only three donations of heraldic elements to nobles – specifically crests – from the Angevin period, all from the period of Charles Robert, but these

[1] My general overview on grants of arms in the reign of King Sigismund is currently in print, with the title *Grants of arms for Hungarian nobles at the court of King Sigismund (1387–1437)*. It was presented at the conference *Wappenbriefe und Standeserhöhungsurkunden als Ausdruck europäischen Kulturtransfers? Beiträge zur diplomatischen Norm und sozialen Praxis im späten Mittelalter* (Opava, March 14, 2013). A brief overview can also be found in: Zsombor Jékely, "Die Rolle der Kunst in der Repräsentation der ungarischen Aristokratie unter Sigismund von Luxemburg," in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387–1437*, ed. Imre Takács (Budapest-Luxembourg: Philipp von Zabern, 2006): 298–310. [hereinafter: *Sigismundus* Cat.]

[2] A brief overview of grants of arms during the Council of Constance: Andreas Zajic, "Heraldische Souvenirs aus Konstanz? Wappenbriefe aus der Zeit des Konzils," in *Das Konstanzer Konzil, 1414–1418 – Weltereignis des Mittelalter. Katalog*. Ed. Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (Darmstadt: Theiss, 2014) 284–285.

[3] Scholarly research on grants of arms started early in Hungary, and the literature on the subject is quite impressive. See, among others: József Csoma, "Zsigmond király címerlevelei," [Armorial letters of King Sigismund] *Turul* 14 (1896): 1-14. [hereinafter Csoma, "Zsigmond király,"]; István R[ugonfalvi] Kiss, "Természetes ábrázolás az 1526. év előtti magyar czimerekben, I–III," [Natural representation in the Hungarian coat of arms before 1526] *Turul* 21 (1903): 49–56, 119–125, 162–171; József Csoma, „Mohács előtti címereslevelek nyomai," [Traces of armorial letters prior to Mohács] *Turul* 24 (1906): 13–25. Publications of grants of arms in the journal Turul have also been collected as independent publications:

charters contain no pictorial depiction of the donations.[4] Similarly, the only known heraldic donation of King Louis the Great – the grant of arms to the town of Kassa (Košice/Kaschau, Slovakia) from 1369 – contains no image.[5] The stream of armorial letters only started during the rule of Sigismund, and really only in the period after his rule became fully stabilized in Hungary by 1403.[6] One impetus for the wider spread of heraldic representation must have been provided by the colorful army of French and Burgundian knights, who gathered in Buda on the way to the disastrous crusade of Nicopolis in 1396. Johannes de Thuróczy recorded in his late-fifteenth century chronicle that the painted coats of

Monumenta Hungariae Heraldica. Magyar czimeres emlékek I–III. [Hungarian armorial relics] Ed. László Fejérpataky (I–II.), Antal Áldásy (III.) (Budapest, MTA: 1901, 1902, 1926) [Hereinafter: *MHH* I–III]. Catalogues of armorial charters have also been published Antal Áldásy, *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum könyvtárában található címereslevelek jegyzéke,* I–VIII. [Register of the armorial diplomas held in the library of the Hungarian National Museum] [Budapest, A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Könyvtára, 1904–1942); Idem, *Címertan* [Heraldics] (*A magyar történettudomány kézikönyve II.6.*) (Budapest, 1923, new edition Máriabesnyő – Gödöllő: Attraktor, 2004. Ed. Attila Bárány). In the period after WWII, the publications of Dénes Radocsay are of great significance: Dénes Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder auf Ungarischen Adelsbriefen," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1958): 317–358. [hereinafter: Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder, I,"] Idem, „Gotische Wappenbilder auf Ungarischen Adelsbriefen II." *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 10 (1964): 57–68. [hereinafter: Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder, II,"]; Idem, „Wiener Wappenbriefe und die letzten Miniatoren von Buda," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19 (1973): 61–73. The subject was also treated in the context of exhibitions during the last few decades.

[4] Throughout this article, I am giving the DL or DF number of all the charters where this is known, to facilitate the study of photos of the original documents in the DL-DF database. "Hungaricana Archives of Diplomas and Charters," http://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/ – last accessed 11 July 2016.
Bibliographical references are restricted to the most important publications. For the Angevin charters, see: 1326 – DF 262 464. (Vas Megyei Levéltár), 1327 – DL 50 507 (Donch) and 1332 – DL 50 508. See Szabolcs Vajay, "A sisakdísz megjelenése a magyar heraldikában," [The presence of crest in Hungarian heraldics] *Levéltári Közlemények* 40 (1969): 279–287. These documents are also discussed by Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder, I," 318. and Iván Bertényi, "A 'sisakdísztől' a 'teljes címer'-ig," [From 'crest' to complete 'coat of arms'] in Bertényi Iván, *A címertan reneszánsza, Tanulmányok* (Budapest: Argumentum, 2010) 28–33. [hereinafter Bertényi, *A címertan*]

[5] The surviving charter refers to the plan that it should be issued in a full privilegial form, presumably with illumination, see Martin Roland and Andreas Zajic, "Illuminierte Urkunden des Mittelalters in Mitteleuropa," *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 59 (2013): 354. [hereinafter: Roland and Zajic, "Illuminierte Urkunde,"] with references to earlier publications.

[6] For the political situation of the period, see Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen – A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001) 209–228 (Sigismund's Consolidation). See also the relevant chapter in the monograph: Jörg K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund – Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368–1427*, (München: Beck, 1996) 119–147.

arms of the knights leading the troops were put on display in the church of the Dominicans in Buda, and were still to be seen in his days.[7]

The first two surviving donations of coats of arms – the Csentevölgyi armorial from 1398[8] and the Semsei armorial from 1401[9] – are similar to the Angevin examples in their lack of decoration.[10] Their wording, however, also indicates that the same donation was to be issued later in a fuller format, with the great seal of the ruler, and, presumably, with a painted depiction of the arms. In any case, the first known Hungarian armorial donation which conforms to our modern notion of this document type is the letters patent for the Tétényi family, which was issued at Buda in 1405.[11] The grant was issued for Peter Tétényi, castellan of Buda, and his brother, András, as well as for relatives of the former, the Haraszti family. The practice of issuing armorials appears to have been modeled on the imperial practice: the first such illustrated documents survive from the chanceries of Emperor Louis the Bavarian[12] and Charles IV.[13] On the Tétényi grant of arms, the depiction of the coat of arms appears in the middle of the charter, as was the practice in the case of documents issued by the chancery

[7] "*Quorum nobilitatis armorum insignia Bude in claustro sancti Nicolai confessoris erga fratres predicatorum tabulis arte pictoria inscripta ac parietibus affixa meos usque ad annos pro memoria stetere.*" Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum.* I, ed. Elisabeth Galántai and Julius Kristó, (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1985) 214. (chapter 203). Originally published in 1488. Henrik Horváth called attention to this source, see Henrik Horváth, *Zsigmond király és kora. König Sigismund und seine Zeit*, (Budapest: Székesfőváros, 1937) 147–154.

[8] DL 50 509.

[9] DL 84 811.

[10] We also have to mention the armorial letter of the Pochyk family, which dates from 1404, but survives only in a transcription from 1406, without illumination: DL 75 933. On these first examples, see Tünde Wehli, "Magyar családok címereslevelei," [Armorial letters of Hungarian families] in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában,* I–II ed. László Beke, Ernő Marosi and Tünde Wehli (Budapest, 1987) 382. [hereinafter: Wehli, "Magyar családok,"]; edited volume hereinafter: Zsigmond Cat.]

[11] DL 64 122.

[12] Friedrich Bock, "Der älteste kaiserliche Wappenbrief," *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 41 (1932): 48–55. (donation of Emperor Louis of Bavaria, 1338); Robert Suckale, *Die Hofkunst Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern* (München: Hirmer, 1993) 36–37. On the 1338 donation, see also Roland and Zajic, "Illuminierte Urkunde," 346 ff. For some earlier examples of illuminated charters, specifically donations of arms to cities such as Viterbo (1316), see also Roland and Zajic, "Illuminierte Urkunde," 341, and 28. For armorial letters in general, see also Gustav Pfeifer, ed., *Wappen und Kleinod: Wappenbriefe in öffentlichen Archiven Südtirols* (Bozen: Athesia, 2001).

[13] Anton Legner, ed., *Die Parler und der schöne Stil 1350–1400: Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern: Resultatband zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Kunsthalle Köln* (Köln: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1980), plate T 2–3; see also Vol. I. 36. (donation of Charles IV, 1355); Pietro Toesca, *Italienische Miniaturen der Fondazione Giorgio Cini* (Venedig: Pozza, 1977) 15.

of the Holy Roman Empire.[14] Very soon, however, a distinctly Hungarian type of armorial letters was created: in these charters the arms are depicted not in the middle of the charter, but at the beginning (in the upper left corner), in the place of a decorative (and very large) initial. This lead to a change in the position of the shield in the image, as the shields were always tipped towards the name of the ruler (usually included in the *intitulatio* of the charters).[15] So, shields in Hungarian armorials are tipped to the (heraldic) left. The first known armorial letter of this type was issued in 1409: it is the now-lost Garázda armorial, which is only known from the late 19th century copy.[16] The Hideghéti armorial from 1411[17] and the Eresztvényi armorial from 1414[18] also follow this type.[19]

Issuing armorial letters became a lot more common with the election of Sigismund as King of Romans, and reached a peak during his long journey to his coronation in Aachen and then to the Council of Constance. Between September 1414 and the beginning of 1419, during the long western European journey of King Sigismund, we know 45 armorial letters issued by the Hungarian chancery of the ruler for Hungarian nobles (even if some only survived in copies). Most of these were issued in Constance: the thirty armorials dating from there represent almost one third of the total number of Hungarian armorials known today from

[14] Compare for example with the armorial letter issued by King Wenceslas for Conczmann von Staffort in 1392 (Generallandesarchiv Karslruhe), see Roland and Zajic, "Illuminierte Urkunde," 359. and 19. For contemporary developments, see also Ludwig Freidinger, "Das Wappen- und Siegelwesen um 1400," in *Schatz und Schicksal. Steirische Landesausstellung*, ed. Otto Fraydt von Fraydenegg und Monzello (Graz: Kulturreferat der Steiermärkischen Landesregierung, 1996) 165–176.

[15] Csoma, "Zsigmond király," 12. Also discussed in detail: József Csoma, *A magyar heraldika korszakai*. [Periods of Hungarian Heraldry] (Budapest, 1913, new edition: ed. Attila Bárány, Gödöllő: Attraktor, 2008) 45–46.

[16] Gyula Schönherr, "A Garázda nemzetség címeres levele," [The armorial letter of the Garázda clan] *Turul* 12 (1894): 9–11. The original charter was in the Teleki family archives at Gyömrő, and Schönherr mentions that he had arranged not only the color copying of the armorial, but also its photography. However, I only know the color illustration he published along with his article.

[17] DL 95 026.

[18] DL 92 447.

[19] The original of the Hideghéti armorial letter was destroyed in WWII. It is only known from a photo (kept at the National Archives under DL 95 026) and the following publication with color illustration: László Fejérpataky, "A harmadik festett armális," [The third illuminated armorial charter] *Turul* 26 (1908): 110–113. For the Eresztvényi family armorial letter, issued in Speyer, see: Gyula Schönherr, "Az Eresztvényi család czímeres levele az 1414. évből," [The armorial letter of the Eresztvényi family from 1414] *Turul* 13 (1895): 110–113.; Sigismundus Cat. 408, cat. no. 4.122. See also *MHH* III. 13–15.; I. 35–36.

the period of Sigismund.[20] Sigismund was accompanied by a large retinue of nobles to the Council, and the exposure of these nobles to western standards of heraldic representation lead to an increase in requests for and donations of arms.[21] An analysis of these grants of arms reveals that these donations were generally not made to the highest ranks of the nobility, as they already had well-established family coats of arms by this time. This is confirmed by armorial books dating from and after the time of the Council of Constance.[22] Most well-known in this respect is the Chronicle of Ulrich Richental, which documents all aspects of the Council, and is known from seven illustrated manuscript versions, as well as an incunabula dating from 1483.[23] These copies include one of the largest international collections of coats of arms from the period, including the insignia of the most important Hungarian nobles. Richental also describes the custom of marking houses with coats of arms, where important people stayed during the council. Among Hungarian coats of arms, Richental includes the

[20] The most complete list of Hungarian grants of arms from the period of Sigismund is: Éva Nyulásziné Straub, "Mohács előtti címereslevelek," [Armorial letters prior to Mohács] in *Studia professoris – Professor studiorum. Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára*, ed. Tibor Almási, István Draskóczy and Éva Jancsó (Budapest, 2005) 245–260. See also: Éva Nyulásziné Straub, *Öt évszázad címerei a Magyar Országos Levéltár címereslevelein. Wappen aus fünf Jahrhunderten auf Wappenbriefen im Ungarischen Staatsarchiv*, [Coat of arms of five centuries. The armorial letters of the Hungarian National Archives] (Szekszárd: Babits, 1999[2]). See also the checklist of armorials in the National Archives: Éva Nyulásziné Straub, *Magyar Országos Levéltár – Címereslevelek jegyzéke, A Magyar Országos Levéltár segédletei* 7 [Hungarian National Archives – Register of Armorial letters, Supplements of the Hungarian National Archives] (Budapest: MOL, 2000[2]). The latter is also available online at the "Hungaricana Library," http://library.hungaricana.hu. See also her overview: Éva Nyulásziné Straub, "Zur Geschichte des ungarischen Wappens," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 25 (2000/2001): 297–309.

[21] The retinue of Sigismund in Constance has not been fully reconstructed. Attila Bárány made an attempt to list Hungarians accompanying Sigismund to his trip to England in 1416: Attila Bárány, "Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete," [The Entourage of King Sigismund in his 1416 England visit] *Aetas* 19 (2004): 5–30. For comparison, a more extensive list of Hungarians accompanying Sigismund to Rome on his imperial coronation has been published: Péter E. Kovács, "Emperor Sigismund's Coronation in Rome," in *Infima Aetas Pannonica – Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. Péter E. Kovács and Kornél Szovák (Budapest: Corvina, 2009) 97–162. The itinerary of Sigismund has been reconstructed several times, most recently see Itineraria.

[22] On armorial books in general, see Torsten Hiltmann, "Potentialities and Limitations of Medieval Armorials as Historical Source. The Representation of Hierarchy and Princely Rank in Late Medieval Collections of Arms in France and Germany," in *Princely Rank in late Medieval Europe. Trodden Paths and Promising Avenues*, ed. Thorsten Huthwelker, Jörg H. Peltzer and Maximilian Wemhöner (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2011) 157–198.

[23] Otto Feger, ed., *Ulrich Richental. Das Konzil zu Konstanz. Band I: Faksimileausgabe der Konstanzer Handschrift; Band II: Kommentar* (Konstanz – Starnberg: Thorbecke – Josef Keller, 1964); Lajos Thallóczy, "Balkáni (déli-szláv) és magyar czimerek és pecsétbeli emlékek (Oklevelek és egyéb források, Ulrich v. Riechenthal, Konrad v. Grünenberg czimeres gyüjteményei alapján),"

arms of the great lords of Hungary: Hermann of Cilli [Zilli/Celje], the father-in-law of Sigismund; Palatine Nicholaus Garai, Filippo Scolari, Stibor of Stiboric, archbishop John Kanizsai and a few others, such as members of the Perényi family or Peter of Léva.[24] These coats of arms are found in a number of other armorials which relied on the compilation of Richental: such as the Donaueschingen armorial (Karlsruhe)[25] and Conrad Grünenberg's Wappenbuch from the 1480s.[26]

I would now like to call attention to another collection, which is both earlier and more relevant for the study of armorial letters: the *Livro de Arautos*, a Portuguese manuscript today in the John Rylands Library in Manchaster (Latin Ms 28).[27] This unfinished manuscript was likely begun in Constance in 1416, and it represents the efforts of a Portuguese herald for compiling a complete overview of heraldic images and devices from all of Europe. The section dedicated to the Hungarian retinue of Sigismund is quite important, even though not all coats of arms can be identified. The section begins with a full-page depiction of

[Balkanian (Southern-Slavic) and Hungarian coat of arms and sigillographic relics (Diplomas and other sources based on the collections of Ulrich von Richenthal and Konrad von Grünenberg)] *Turul* 25 (1908): 49–64, 97–110; Gisela Wacker, "Ulrich Richentals Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils und ihre Funktionalisierung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Aspekte zur Rekonstruktion der Urschrift und zu den Wirkungsabsichten der überlieferten Handschriften und Drucke" (PhD diss., Eberhard Karls Universität, Tübingen, 2002).

[24] See Jékely, in Sigismundus Cat. 298, and fig. 1 (New York Public Library, Spencer Ms. 32).

[25] Donaueschingen Wappenbuch, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Hs. Don. 496. Hungarian coats of arms on f6r, f27r-29v. See Steen Clemmensen, ed., *Donaueschinger Wappenbuch* (Farum, 2012). Available on "Donaueschinger Wappenbuch," http://www.armorial.dk/german/Donaueschingen.pdf. – last accessed July 12, 2016.

[26] Konrad Grünenberg, "Das Wappenbuch Conrads von Grünenberg, Ritters und Bürgers zu Constanz" München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 145, [S.l.], c. 1480, – available in a digital facsimile "Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum," http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00035320/images/ – last accessed July 12, 2016. Hungary is on page 38, various coats of arms of Hungarian are also included, such as Filippo Scolari, 134, Szentgyörgyi-Bazini family, the Kanizsai family, the Garai family, 138. Another copy: Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußicher Kulturbesitz, VIII. HA II. Heraldische und Genealogische Sammlungen, No. 21. See Steen Clemmensen, ed., *Conrad Grünenberg's Wappenbuch*, 2009, available on "Conrad Grünenberg's Wappenbuch," http://www.armorial.dk/german/Grunenberg.pdf – last accessed July 12, 2016.

[27] Manchester, The John Rylands Library, Latin MS 28. Pages of the manuscript can be consulted online "Rylands Medieval Collection," http://enriqueta.man.ac.uk/luna/servlet/Man4MedievalVC~4~4 – last accessed July 12, 2016. For a codicological description, see Montague Rhodes James, ed. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in The John Rylands Library at Manchester* I. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1921), 78–81. The text of the manuscript was published: Aires Augusto Nascimento, "Livro de Arautos, De Ministerio Armorum, Script. anno MCCCCXVI, ms. lat. 28, J. Rylands Library (Manchester): estudo codicológico, histórico, literário, linguístico, texto crítico e tradução" (PhD diss., Universidade de Lisboa, 1977).

the flag of Hungary (decorated with the silver and red stripes of the Arpadian dynasty) accompanied by the full insignia of Sigismund's Order of the Dragon.[28] The arms included on the first page[29] are those of: Hermann of Cilli, Nicholaus Garai, Count Thomas of Korbavia, and a member of the Héder-clan, probably Lawrence Hédervári, who was documented in the retinue of the king.[30] On f43r we see the full achievement of four members of the Perényi family, as well as that of Balázs Buzlai, who was in their retinue as their *familiaris*.[31] The various members of the Perényi family are all identified by inscription, and they are distinguished by the various insignia of knightly orders placed next to the crests: two has the emblem of the Order of the Dragon, while three also carry the

More recently, Werner Paravicini called attention to it: Werner Paravicini, "Signes et couleurs au Concile de Constance. Le témoignage d'un héraut d'armes portugais," in *Signes et couleurs des identités politiques. Du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Denise Turrel et al. (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008) 155–187. The coats of arms included in the book were listed: Steen Clemmensen, ed., *The Herald's Book al. Livro de Arautos al. De ministerio armorum. An armorial of the Council of Constance 1414–1418 by an anonymous Portuguese herald* (Farum, 2011), available online "The Herald's Book" http://armorial.dk/german/Arautos.pdf – last accessed July 12, 2016. In Hungary, so far only Pál Lővei mentioned the manuscript, on the basis of Paravicini's publication, and in connection with the insignia of the Order of the Dragon: Pál Lővei, "Újabb ismeretek a Sárkányrend emlékeiről," [Recent findings on the relics of the Order of the Dragon] in *Erősségénél fogva várépítésre méltó. Tanulmányok a 70 éves Németh Péter tiszteletére,* ed. Juan Cabello and Norbert C. Tóth (Nyíregyháza: Jósa András Múzeum, 2011) 259–266.

[28] f42r

[29] f42v

[30] For the identifications given in the text, I have used the genealogical tables compiled by Engel, see: Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár, Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1301–1457, Középkori magyar genealógia* [Hungarian Middle Ages database. Secular archontology of Hungary 1301–1457, Medieval Hungarian genealogy] *CD-ROM* (Budapest: Arcanum, 2001). See also Pál Engel, "Zsigmond bárói: rövid életrajzok," [The barons of Sigismund: short biographies] in Zsigmond Cat. I. 405–458. (with genealogical tables). We have no knowledge of a member of the Korbáviai family named Thomas at this time. János (John) of the family, Master of the Table and a member of the Order of the Dragon was documented in Aachen, so I think the coat of arms can be associated with him.

[31] The Perényi family members are the following: Nicholaus Perényi, son of Pál, of the Rihnó branch, Master of the Horse in 1417–1420. Nicholaus Perényi, son of Nicholaus, of the Terebes branch, Master of the Horse 1420–1428. Nicholaus Perényi, probably the son of John, mentioned last in 1419. John Perényi, magister tavernicorum. His brother, Stephen, who was also present at the council, is missing from the list. See Engel, *CD-ROM*, as in previous note and Id., "Zsigmond bárói – A Perényiek," [The barons of Sigismund – The Perényis] in Zsigmond Cat. I. 437–439, 456. For the Perényi family, see also the study of Ádám Novák, *Die Söhne des Adlermannes. Ein Adelsgeschlecht in der Gefolgschaft König Sigmunds von Ungarn,* in the present volume.

English Collar of SS around the helmet.[32] Balázs Buzlai, who received his coat of arms from Sigismund in Perpignan in 1415, also has the Collar of SS. The other coat of arms of the Hungarian group are somewhat harder to identify: on f43v there are two arms associated with members of the Gutkeled clan: likely Nicholaus Maróti and another member of the family (Anthony Málcai Márki, son of Jacob, a member of the Sárvármonostor branch of the Gutkeled clan) and the coat of arms of Imre Leszteméry.[33] On this folio and the next,[34] there are several more coats of arms with the names given above: still, their identification presents a problem. The coats of arms on ff45r-v, if indeed they are part of the Hungarian series, have so far not been identified, and there are no inscriptions to help in this process.[35] In another part of the manuscript,[36] the identical coats of arms of Peter and Nicholaus Bebek can be seen. On the other hand, the manuscript does not include a number of Hungarian arms which are usually included in manuscripts of the Richental tradition.

The depictions are interesting in many respects: first, they represent firsthand knowledge of the coat of arms, as they are evidently the result of a documentation campaign carried out in Constance. Second, the manuscript depicts a great number of insignia of various knightly orders, for example the SS-collar, which several nobles acquired when they travelled to England with

[32] On the English insignia, see Attila Bárány, "English chivalric insignia in Hungary," in *Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: arisztokraták Magyarországon és Európában. Learning, Intellect and Social Roles*: *Aristocrats in Hungary and Europe*, ed. Attila Bárány et al. (Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézete, 2014) 73–96.

[33] The identification of two further coats of arms on this page is uncertain.

[34] f44r

[35] One way to identify these coat of arms would be to carry out a detailed comparison with charters sealed with many seals, such as a document from 1402 with many seals, see Pál Lővei, "Az ország nagyjainak és előkelőinek 1402. évi oklevelén függő pecsétek," [Pendant seals on the diploma of the noblemen of Hungary from 1402] in *Honoris causa, Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére*, ed. Tibor Neumann and György Rácz (Budapest–Piliscsaba: MTA TTI, 2009), 149–182. See also Sigismundus Cat. 62, cat. no. P8. Such an analysis, however, is beyond the scope of the present paper.

[36] f85r

Sigismund.[37] It also includes several beautiful renditions of the insignia of the Order of the Dragon, founded by King Sigismund in 1408. These depictions indicate that these devices form part of the heraldic representation of nobles and knights. Third, unlike the images in the Richental-manuscripts, here generally the full achievement (shield and crest) is illustrated, giving a chance for a much better comparison with armorial letters. In fact, the manuscript does provide chances for such direct comparisons. The second shield in the Hungarian series, that of Palatine Nicholaus Garai,[38] seems to follow very closely the image on the armorial letters he received in Paris from King Sigismund and King Charles VI – in particular, the left shield on these charters, with the blue ostrich feather in the crest.[39] In at least one other case we can surmise that the illuminator had a chance to look at an original armorial: the coat of arms of Balázs Buzlai was given by Sigismund in Perpignan in 1415. Although this original armorial letter is now lost, it is known from copies that the depiction conformed to the one we find in the manuscript.[40] Even more interesting is the case of Imre Leszteméri, whose family only received a formal grant of arms from Sigismund in 1422 in Nuremberg,[41] thus many years after the Council. However, in the donation letter it is stated that they presented their old family insignia, and asked Sigismund for its confirmation. In fact, this coat of arms – showing an arrow shooting through an armored leg – is already shown in the Portuguese armorial, so it must have been already in use in Constance. This must have been common practice: there are many documented cases where the wording of the grants of arms indicates that the donation was given at the request of the family. In their supplication, members of the family presented their coat of arms and then requested the renewal, confirmation or expansion of these insignia. This

[37] On these societies, especially the Order of the Dragon, see: Pál Lővei, "Hoforden im Mittelalter, unter besonderer Berücksichtingung des Drachenordens," in Sigismundus Cat. 251–263. See also: Milada Studničkova, "Drehknoten und Drachen. Die Orden Wenzels IV. und Sigismunds von Luxemburg und die Polysemantik ihrer Zeichen," in *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im Europäischen Kontext*, ed. Jiří Fajt and Andrea Langer (Berlin – München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 377–387. See also Ivan Mirnik, "The Order of the Dragon as reflected in Hungarian and Croatian heraldry," in *Genealogica et heraldica. St. Andrews MMVI. Myth and propaganda in Heraldry and Genealogy. Proceedings of the XXVII[th] International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences St Andrews, 21–26 August 2006,* II, ed. James D. Floyd and Charles J. Burnett (Edinburgh, 2008) 563–588.

[38] f42v

[39] On these armorials, see below.

[40] The document survives today in a simple 18[th] century copy, without a miniature (DL 71 753.). However, László Fejérváry copied it from the original in his manuscript, which was later published in Géza Csergheő, "A valódi Buzlay-címer," [The real Buzlay coat of arms] *Turul* 6 (1888): 41–42.

[41] DL 50 520.

was the case with the Suki and Nagymihályi families, also during the time of the Council. Thus it is clear that already at the start of the process, some sort of pictorial record of the coat of arms existed.[42] All this shows that the process of obtaining grants of arms was more complicated than often thought. In any case, the international gathering at the Council of Constance must have acted as a catalyst on Hungarian heraldic representation, as it exposed to hundreds of nobles to the most up-to-date artistic endeavors of the period.[43]

The artistic level of grants of arms issued in Constance is of a very high level overall. The Council of Constance, which meant the extended presence of the royal court of Sigismund (not to mention other dignitaries, including the pope), naturally drew artists from near and far, who all hoped for some kind of commissions. Several of them did in fact receive commissions from Sigismund or members of his court – let us mention here the painters who decorated the Augustinian church next to which Sigismund was housed during his stay,[44] or the Parisian goldsmith Arnold von Boemel, who made the imperial double seal of Sigismund in 1417.[45] Locals participated in these commissions, but it is also not surprising that we see foreign miniature painters appearing on the shore of Lake Constance as well. At least two such painters come from a famous workshop active in Bohemia: the workshop of the so-called Gerona Martyrology. This workshop – first analyzed in detail by Mojmir Frinta and more recently by Milada Studničkova – was active during the first decade of the 15th century, creating a series of luxury manuscripts for high-ranking commissioners in Bohemia.[46] It seems that the workshop – which utilized several innovations

[42] The donations expressed in armorial letters often meant only the expansion or elaboration of already existing family arms. This fact, as well as the use of family coat of arms in various forms is analyzed in detail by Iván Bertényi, "Címerváltozatok a középkori Magyarországon," [Variants of coat of arms in medieval Hungary] *Levéltári Közlemények* 59 (1988): 3–80, also Bertényi, *A címertan,* 78–149.

[43] This aspect is pointed out by: Erik Fügedi, *Uram, királyom… A XV. századi Magyarország hatalmasai* [My lord, my king… Noblemen of the 15th century Hungary] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1974) 148–150.

[44] Overview after the most recent restoration: Johannes Zahlten, *Die Fresken aus der Konzilszeit in der Konstanzer Dreifaltigkeitskirche* (Hefte zum Konstanzer Konzil, 1) (Karlsruhe: Badischen Landesmuseum, 2009).

[45] *Sigismundus* Cat. 186–187, cat. no. 3.18 (Ernő Marosi).

[46] See Mojmir S. Frinta, "The Master of the Gerona Martyrology and Bohemian Illumination," *The Art Bulletin* 46 (1964): 283–306. See also Id., "Some Thought-provoking Musing: Angevin – Luxemburgian – Corvinian," *Ars* 29 (1996): 73–89, where he calls attention to the connections with armorial letters. For a more recent analysis of the workshop, see: Milada Studničková, "Las iluminaciones del Martirologio de Usuardo," in *Martirologio de Usuardo, Volumen de estudios*, ed. Manuel Moliero (Barcelona: M. Moliero, 1998) 93–162.

of Franko-Flemish painting – took the place of the workshop of the Wenceslas Bible as the leading group of Bohemian painting at this time, illuminating the Bible of Konrad von Vechta (later the archbishop of Prague) by 1403, and a series of other manuscripts. Based on the evidence of armorials, some of these illuminators went to Constance – and some even followed the royal court back to Hungary, as conditions became less favorable for luxury commissions in Hussite-torn Bohemia.

The first illuminator from this group already appeared in 1414, in Aachen: he illuminated the Bocskai-armorial there (Pannonhalma, Archives of the Benedictine Archabbey[47]), and during 1415, an entire series in Constance. Depictions of the coat of arms were generally incorporated into a golden quatrefoil frame, which in turn was placed in a blue or red rectangular frame. The corners formed between the two frames are generally decorated with rich floral decorations or busts of angels, all executed in the color of the background field of the coat of arms. The compositional solution employed here was a favored one of Central European painters, especially in Bohemia. Already around 1390, a coat of arms was included in such a quatrefoil frame on the margin of a Bohemian Bible in the library of Zagreb cathedral.[48] The decorative system, where the corners were filled with vine and scroll motifs, and flowers, was often employed by the Martyrology-workshop: the initials from the liturgical manuscripts (namely an antiphonal) of Sedlec being a case in point (a comparison which is more relevant for another group of illuminators, active at Costance in 1418, which will be discussed below).

The series of grants of arms in this first group include the Liptai armorial (today in Paris, private collection),[49] as well as the Keszői, Tamásfalvi[50] and Hotvafői[51] armorials, dating from April and May 1415.[52] Perhaps the nicest – certainly the best preserved – work in the series is the armorial letter of Anthony

[47] DF 262 383.

[48] Sigismundus Cat. 595–596, cat. no. 7.33 (Zsombor Jékely).

[49] Szabolcs Vajay and Dénes Radocsay, "Egy Zsigmond-kori címeradomány," [A donation of coat of arms from the Sigismund era] *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 21 (1972): 272–278.

[50] DL 50 513.

[51] DL 50 514.

[52] The Keszői armorial is now lost, it is known from Ede Reiszig, "A Keszői Jakab czimerlevele," [The armorial of Jakab Keszői] *Turul* 23 (1905): 127–130, with illustration. At that time it was at the Retsky family archive, Tiszabura, see also *MHH* III, 19–20. For the others, see Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder, I," 322–323, 352.

Somkereki,[53] which was issued on January 26, 1415.[54] Perhaps the now lost Kőszegi armorial also belonged to this series.[55] The most interesting example of this group was not even issued by Sigismund, but by Ferdinand I King of Aragon, in Perpignan (where Sigismund went to negotiate to end of the papal Schism). It is the armorial letter of the Hetyei family, now in Sopron.[56] The format of the armorial is remarkable: the text, no doubt issued by the chancery of Ferdinand, is on the right side, while the entire left side is occupied by the depiction of the coat of arms. The painter belongs to the same group as mentioned above, but was not the same as the so-called First Constance painter introduced above (Radocsay called him the "Second painter of arms in Konstanz"). In any case, his activity is closely related to other armorials issued in Constance. So, we have to assume either that he travelled in the retinue of Sigismund to Perpignan (and then maybe on to Paris, London, etc.) or that the recipient, a member of the Hetyei family, only commissioned the illumination once he had returned to Constance.[57]

Two other armorials issued during this journey of Sigismund stand out: the Garai armorials, issued in Paris in 1416. There are two versions of this exceptional armorial letter, both issued on the same day (March 26) in Paris, but one issued by King Sigismund, while the other by Charles VI, King of France (both at the Slovenský národný archív in Bratislava[58]).[59] This special honor was bestowed upon Nicholaus Garai, the closest ally of King Sigismund, the Palatine – that is the highest-ranking secular aristocrat of Hungary (mentioned in contemporary sources as the Great Count of Hungary) – who was also the King's brother in

[53] DL 104 871.

[54] *MHH* I, 37–38; Szidónia Weisz, "'...nobili Anthonio… hic depincta arma… concedimus' – Somkereki Antal címere 1415-ből," [The coat of arms of Antal Somkereki from 1415] *Levéltári Szemle* 58 (2008): 71–77. See also Sigismundus Cat. 409–410, cat. no. 4.126.

[55] József Csoma, "Kőszegi László czímerlevele," [The armorial letter of László Kőszegi] *Turul* 10 (1892): 72–75, with illustration; *MHH* I, 39–40.

[56] DF 283 583.

[57] László Fejérpataky, "A Hettyey család aragóniai czímere," [The Aragonese coat of arms of the Hettyey family] *Turul* 15 (1897): 187–189., with illustration; *MHH* II. 17–18. See also: Ernő Tompos, "Wappenbriefe (1418–1483) in Sopron," *Neues Jahrbuch der Heraldisch-Genealogischen Gesellschaft Adler* 3/7 (1967–1970): 77–87.

[58] DF 265 782 and DF 265 783.

[59] Sigismundus Cat. 406–408, cat. no. 4.121a-b (Marta Melníková – Zsombor Jékely). See also Dušan Buran, ed., *Gotika, Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* (Bratislava, 2003), 798–799., cat. no. 6.2.14 (Hereinafter: Buran, *Gotika*); Jiři Fajt, ed., *Karl IV. Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden. Kunst und Repräsentation der Hauses Luxemburg 1310–1437* (München-Berlin, 2006), cat. no. 213. (Dušan Buran) [hereinafter Fajt, *Karl IV*].

law.[60] Sigismund's charter refers to all the military services of Nicholaus Garai, and issues a renewed and expanded coat of arms for him. The French charter refers to the donation of Sigismund. The pictorial decoration of the two armorials is the same: the image is placed in the center of the document, and there are two shields depicted in the red field of the background, both depicting the coiling golden snake of the family. The insignia also includes the emblems of the Order of the Dragon and King Wenceslas' Order of the Kerchief. Upon closer inspection, however, we can establish that it was not the same painter who painted the two images: the armorial letter issued by the King of France copied the charter of Sigismund, paying close attention to details but diverging in heraldically insignificant matters (such as the relationship of the shield to the frame of the image). It is interesting to see, however, that in terms of their script and overall format, the two documents are very similar (including the missing initials from the names of the rulers) – I suspect that both were prepared by the chancery of Sigismund, and the seal of the French king only had to be appended to the ready-made document. Unfortunately, we have no information about the painters of the heraldic devices, but they do stand out, and were likely the work of French painters. We have no other examples of such an elaborate, double donation, with double shields – it was something clearly only fitting for an aristocrat of the highest standing.

Back in Constance, the quatrefoil frame remained a favorite motif for armorials issued during the later phase of the Council as well (1417–1418). Two examples from 1417 (the Farnasi, and the Szirmay armorial letters[61]) indicate this,[62] while another series made in 1418 by illuminators originating from the Martyrology workshop represent one of the highest achievements of the genre (Radocsay called this illuminator the third painter of arms in Constance).[63] The heraldic devices are framed in a very spectacular fashion, with a rectangular outer frame treated in various strong colors – light greens and blues dominate – in front of which the golden central quatrefoil frame seems to jump off the page, with bright pink or red colors as background to the actual heraldic depiction. A characteristic feature of the master is the use of strong contrasts, apparent in the pink background of the quatrefoil frame which visually seems to hover in front of

[60] On Nicholaus Garai, see Tünde Árvai, 'Magnus comes de Hungaria' – Garai Miklós nádor Nyugat-Európában" [Palatine of Hungary, Miklós Garai in Western-Europe] in "*Causa unionis causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris" Tanulmányok a Konstanzi zsinat 600. évfordulója alkalmából*, edited by Attila Bárány and László Pósán (Debrecen, Print-Art, 2014), 316–327.

[61] DL 98 477 and DL 67 416.

[62] *MHH* I. 43–44.; Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder, I," 352.

[63] Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder, I," 327.

the green or blue background. This field in turn is decorated with the finest vine scroll motif and small flowers. The comparison with manuscript illuminations is especially relevant here – the decoration of the frame and border of these armorials follows exactly the method employed at the Sedlec choir books.[64]

This master painted the Nagymihályi armorial[65] and the Suki armorial (Cluj, Arhiva Istorica a Filialei Din Cluj a Academiei RR.)[66], as well as the Lászlókarcsai Török armorial (in Sopron),[67] the Chese armorial[68], and the original Csapi armorial[69] as well.[70] Albert Nagymihályi, as prior of Vrana (thus the prior of the Knights of St. John in Hungary) was a member of the aristocracy, and his armorial is one of the most spectacular of the entire period of the Council. In addition to these works, it seems that the master also painted the Koromházy armorial, which I only know from a black and white photograph (Slovenský Národný Archív).[71] He was also the painter of the grant of arms of the Hassági family[72] – here instead of the quatrefoil, the inner frame is also a square, standing on its tip (Slovenský Národný Archív).[73] The master apparently left Constance and moved with the court and the chancery, as he made the decoration of the armorial letter of Benedict Olsvai, which was issued on Sigismund's journey back to Hungary, in Passau (on November 19 – Slovenský Národný Archív).[74] This particular charter is probably the most colorful and most richly decorated in the entire series. The painter also worked on the illumination of armorials issued to non-Hungarian subjects of Sigismund, as the Claricini-armorial proves, which

[64] Sigismundus Cat. 588–590, esp. cat. no. 7.23, 7.25 (Milada Studničkova). For other pages from the Sedlec Choir Books, see: Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiři Fajt, ed., *Prague – The Crown of Bohemia, 1347–1437* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005) 282–285., cat. no. 124. (Barbara Drake Boehm).

[65] DL 85 682.

[66] DF 254 917.

[67] DF 202 133.

[68] DL 105 473.

[69] Which is now lost, medieval copy: DL 98 825.

[70] See *MHH* I. 49–54.; *MHH* II. 23–24.; Sigismundus Cat. 345–346., cat. no. 4.46. (Zsombor Jékely). See also cat. entries no. 4.127 (Nagymihályi). and 4.128 (Olsvai). there. The Chese (Csese von Dansa) armorial and a medieval copy of the Csapi armorial were published by Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder, II," 57–68. See also Wehli, "Magyar családok," 383–384. and cat. M.23 – M.24. For the Order of St. John, see Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150–1387* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010).

[71] DF 259 309.

[72] DF 251 661.

[73] *MHH* II. 27–28.

[74] DF 251 660.

was issued by Sigismund to the Claricini brothers in Constance, on January 28 of 1418.[75] Another master originating from the same artistic circle, the Martyrology-workshop – but not the same painter as the one discussed above – definitely appeared in Hungary, where in 1423 he painted the armorial letter of the town of Kassa (Košice/Kaschau, Slovakia). (This replaced the first armorial of the town, given by Louis the Great in 1369). The painter later apparently moved on to Cracow, working for Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki.[76]

The rich production of the Constance years of course is also represented by a large number of other documents not discussed here. These were painted by various painters, and do not fit into the series analyzed above.[77] The grant of arms to Hungarian nobles by Sigismund continued after the Council of Constance with less intensity. These armorial have been discussed in other publications before, and are not the subject of the present study (although the entire material is relied upon when making certain conclusions).

We have seen that armorial letters can often be grouped based on the style of the decorations. However, one of the vexing questions of the period concerns the identity of the illuminators and the nature of their employment or commission.[78] As demonstrated above, in several cases we can find armorials decorated by the

[75] Brno, Moravská Galerie, see Roland and Zajic, "Illuminierte Urkunde" (2013), 368 and 21.

[76] Milada Studničková, "Böhmische Orientierung in der Miniaturmalerei: Der Kreis der Meister von Gerona," in Sigismundus Cat. 529–535. For the Kassa armorial, see: Buran, *Gotika*, 799–800, cat. 6.2.16. See also: Gyöngyi Török, "Középkori magyarországi könyvfestészet," [Hungarian medieval codex illumination] in *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon*, ed. András Vizkelety (Budapest: OSzK, 1985), 35–48; Fajt, *Karl IV*, cat. no. 215.

[77] These have been published by Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder, I". For a few specific examples, see: Iván Bertényi, "Simon von Barrwys Wappenbrief aus dem Jahre 1417," in *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa 1387–1437. Beiträge zur Herrschaft Kaiser Sigismunds und der europäischen Geschichte um 1400. Vorträge der internationalen Tagung in Budapest vom 8.–11. Juli 1987,* ed. Josef Macek, Ernő Marosi and Ferdinand Seibt (Warendorf, Fahlbusch, Hölscher, Rieger 1994): 220–226 (see DL 50 515); see also Bertényi, *A címertan*, 299–303. For the armorial letters of Benedict Vadkerti (DL 50 510, issued in Constance in 1415), as well the armorials of Imre Kispalugyai Boda (DL 98 441, issued in Constance in 1417) and Peter Csontos (DL 50 517, issued in Basel in 1418), see Sigismundus Cat. 408–412, cat. no. 4.123, 4.124, 4.129.

[78] The most important attempt to analyze and separate various masters was in Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder, I" 322–330; see also Wehli, "Magyar családok," 383–384. For the education and status of artists in medieval Hungary, see Éva Gyulai, "*Docta manu – placibilia opera*, Tanult kézzel – gyönyörködtető művek, A művészi munka oktatása és elsajátítása a középkorban," [With erudite hands – rejoiceing works, Teaching and learning art in the Middle Ages] *A magyar iskola első évszázadai – Die ersten Jahrhunderte des Schulwesens Ungarn (1000–1526)*, ed. Katalin G. Szende and Péter Szabó (Győr: Xántus János Múzeum, 1996): 97–108. For possible connections with documented miniature painters: Ernő Marosi, ed., *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [Hungarian art c. 1300–1470] I–II (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987): I. 630–632 (Gyöngyi Török, "Címereslevelek").

same illuminator (or a small workshop), especially in the period of the Council of Constance. The same painter often worked illuminating armorial letters issued by both the Hungarian and imperial chancery of Sigismund. In a few cases, we can even demonstrate that these painters moved with the court and chancery of Sigismund, as they have painted armorial letters issued in different towns. In an earlier publication (the Sigismund catalogue of 2006) I was rushed to generalize that illuminators were possibly in the employment of the chancery.[79] In response to criticism recently advanced by Andreas Zajic und Petr Elbel concerning the association of these painters with the chancery, included in their study published in a 2012 study volume on King Sigismund,[80] I now have to state that indeed, we have no evidence of the actual employment of any painters by the chancery as such. We can only talk of painters working in association with the chancery or active in the vicinity of the chancery. In the case of Constance, these are not only local painters, but well-trained illuminators stemming from leading workshops, such as the Martyrology-workshop. It seems that these miniature painters had well-established connections with the chancery of Sigismund, and their services were employed over and over again. Presumably, some of these painters followed the court, in hopes of repeat employment – and some even followed Sigismund back to Hungary. To understand this process more closely, a comparative analysis is needed with Sigismund's imperial chancery and his donations to non-Hungarians, to get a wider range of material. We also have very little information about the workings and record-keeping activity of the chancery in the case of donations of arms. Heralds must have been employed, but we have no knowledge of any kind of court armorial books intended for keeping track of the heraldic devices granted. The circumstances of the actual decoration of the charters are not entirely clear, either. There are later sources which indicate that once the chancery issued and sealed the official grant of arms, it was often the responsibility of the recipient to secure an illuminator and get a picture of the new coat of arms.[81] This naturally had to conform to the description of the arms, which was generally given in the text of the charter. This working practice is indicated by armorials where the field for the image was left blank – for some reason or another, the recipient never got around to commission and image,

[79] Jékely in Sigismundus Cat. 298–300.

[80] Andreas Zajic and Petr Elbel, "Wappenmarkt und Marktwappen. Diplomatische und personengeschichtliche Überlegungen zum Wappenbrief König Sigismunds für Mohelno aus der Zeit des Konstanzer Konzils," in *Kaiser Sigismund (1368–1437). Zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen.* ed. Karel Hruza and Alexandra Kaar (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 2012): 326–338. [Hereinafter: Zajic and Elbel, "Wappenmarkt,"]

[81] Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder," 318. For the process of illuminating armorial letters, see Zajic and Elbel, "Wappenmarkt," 326–338.

as is the case with Bossányi armorial[82] (Constance, 1415) (The very rare cases where there is neither image, nor description of the armorial donation should be regarded as anomalies or fragments, such as the Szentlászlói armorial[83] issued in 1431 in Nuremberg).[84] Given the strict (although not always observed) rules of heraldry and the complex language of the documents, illustrations had to be carried out by trained professionals – it is thus no surprise that we find several painters whose work appears on several armorials. There is certainly material here for further research.[85]

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Looking back at the period of Sigismund, we can state that after the Council of Constance, the use of armorial devices and heraldic representation increased in Hungary in all ranks of the nobility, not just the aristocracy. I would like to bring one example for this: the case of the Suki family from Transylvania. When John Suki travelled to the Council of Constance as a member of the king's retinue, he received a new donation of coat of arms, showing a head of a wolf, rising from a crown. On the Suki armorial, the shield shows the standing wolf in full, holding a lamb in its jaws. The crest shows only the head of the wolf holding the lamb. The armorial dates from March 29, 1418, and was painted by one of the best painters in the service of the King in Constance, as I already demonstrated above. Upon returning home, the Suki family proudly displayed their heraldic device on their commissions. Their family church, at Magyarszovát (Suatu, Romania), was rebuilt and decorated during the first quarter of the 15th century. As such family churches in effect became similar to private chapels of the nobles, they expressed their right to them with a display of their coat of arms – this can be seen here as well. On all four capitals supporting the (now-lost) vault of the church, the Suki coat of arms appears in the older, simple form (head of a wolf emerging from a crown). Three of the original keystones also survive. The one currently walled in above southern portico of the church again shows the Suki arms, this time in the full form: on the shield, a standing wolf is holding a sheep in its mouth (the crest

[82] DL 50 511.

[83] DL 30 789.

[84] It is also possible that the entire left side of the armorial is missing, with the large miniature torn off in half.

[85] In 2014, a conference was dedicated to the topic of heraldic painters: Peintres et artistes heraldistes au Moyen Âge / Heraldic artists and painters in the Middle Ages – Poitiers, 10–11 April, 2014. See a summary by Elmar Hofman, "Report of the conference 'Peintres et artistes heraldistes au Moyen Âge / Heraldic artists and painters in the Middle Ages' – Poitiers 10–11 April 2014," *Heraldica Nova blog*, October 14, 2014, http://heraldica.hypotheses.org/1533.

is not depicted). The Suki arms also appear on the magnificent chalice donated by Benedict Suki to the cathedral of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Romania) around 1437. Here the heraldic device was meant to preserve the identity of the donor and patron for eternity – in this case successfully for over half a millennium.[86] In other cases, we can find examples when the heraldic decoration of a church follows quite faithfully the type included in the grant of arms: the Transylvanian Somkereki family for example must have provided their armorial letter as a model to a sculptor working in the church of Gernyeszeg (Gorneşti, Romania) under their patronage. Their shield and crest are carved inside a quatrefoil frame above the door leading into the church.[87] Finally, when nobles were laid to rest, they were placed under tombstones decorated with their coat of arms. Despite the appearance of full figural tombstones by the end of the 14th century, the heraldic tombstone remained the favorite type in Hungary throughout the Sigismund period.[88] One of the most refined examples of this type is the tomb slab of John Perényi, carved in 1438–1439, after the death of his brother, when he apparently took a deep interest in the afterlife – although he lived on for another 20 years. His tombstone at Tőketerebes (Trebišov, Slovakia), as well as the one he had commissioned for his brother (Stephen Perényi, tombstone at Rudabánya), depicts the family coat of arms, along with various insignia of the knightly orders – just as we have seen in the armorial of the Portuguese herald at the Council of Constance.[89] The desire of noble and aristocratic patrons for the preservation of their memory resulted in the commission of a series of similar works, creating a rich heraldic encyclopedia in all media for us to decipher.

[86] On the patronage and heraldic representation of the family, see: Zsombor Jékely, "European Patterns of Patronage in Medieval Transylvania: The Suki Family," in *Confluențe. Repere europene în arta transilvăneană / Convergences. European Landmarks in Transylvanian Arts / Konfluenzen. Europäische Bezüge der Siebenbürgischen Kunst*, ed. Daniela Dâmboiu and Iulia Mesea (Sibiu: Muzeul National Brukenthal, 2007) 17–24. For the bibliography of the chalice, see: Sigismundus Cat. 385–386. cat. no. 4.95 (Evelin Wetter)

[87] Szidónia Weisz, "The Price of Fidelity. Donations of Coats of Arms for Nobles from Transylvania during the reign of King Sigismund of Luxemburg", (MA Thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2007), 92.

[88] Pál Engel, Pál Lővei and Lívia Varga, "Grabplatten von ungarischen Magnaten aus dem Zeitalter der Anjou-Könige und Sigismunds von Luxemburg," *Acta Historiae Artium* 30 (1984): 33–63.

[89] Sigismundus Cat. 348–350., cat. no. 4.52, 4.53 (Pál Lővei).



Fig. 1. Hungarian coat of arms in the Chronicle of Ulrich Richental, c. 1460 (New York, New York Public Library, Spencer Collection Ms. 32)

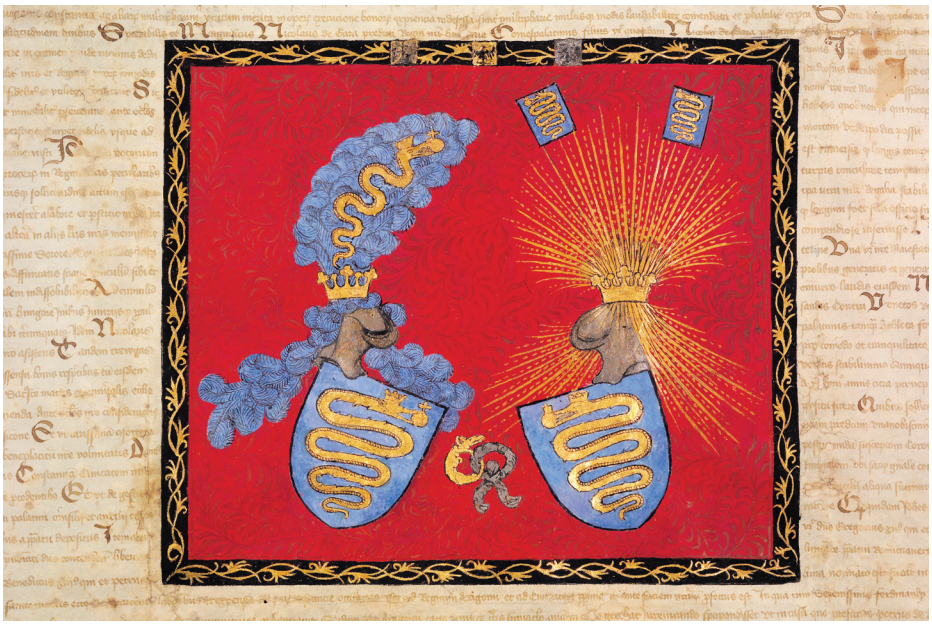


Fig. 2. Armorial letter donated by King Sigismund to Nicholaus Garai in Paris, 1416 (Bratislava, Slovenský Národný Archív) *Photo: Attila Mudrák*



Fig. 3. Coat of arms of Hungarian barons (Cillei, Garai, Korbáviai, Hédervári) in the armorial *Livro de Aurotos,* c. 1416-1417 (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin Ms 28)



Fig. 4. Coat of arms of Hungarian barons (Maróti, Leszteméri and other families) in the armorial *Livro de Aurotos*, c. 1416-1417 (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin Ms 28)



Fig. 5. Armorial letter of Imre Leszteméri, Nuremberg, 1422 (Budapest, Hungarian National Archives, DL 50 520) *Photo: Attila Mudrák*



Fig. 6. Armorial letter of Anthony Somkereki, Constance, 1415 (Budapest, Hungarian National Archives, DL 104 871) *Photo: Attila Mudrák*



Fig. 7. Armorial letter of Albert Nagymihályi, Constance, 1418
(Budapest, Hungarian National Archives, DL 85 682) *Photo: Attila Mudrák*



Fig. 8. Coat of arms of four members of the Perényi family and Balázs Buzlai in the armorial *Livro de Aurotos*, c. 1416-1417
(Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin Ms 28)



Fig. 9. Tombstone of John Perényi, carved in 1438-39 (deceased in 1458) (Tőketerebes / Trebišov, parish church) *Photo: Attila Mudrák*

Abkürzungen / Siglenverzeichnis

ANF	Archives nationales (France), Paris
ASF	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
ASF	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
BAV	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
Cameralia	*Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297–1536)*. I-II. Eds. †József Lukcsics – Péter Tusor – Tamás Fedeles. Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, 9–10. (Budapest – Roma: Gondolat, 2014)
Consistorialia	*Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1426-1605)*. Eds. Péter Tusor – Gábor Nemes. Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, I. 7. (Budapest – Roma: Gondolat, 2011.)
DF	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény
DL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár
DMA	*Dictionnaire du Moyen Âge*, edited by Claude Gauvard – Alain De Libera – Michel Zink (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002)
Eubel, *Hierarchia*	Conrad Eubel et al., *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi, sive Summorum Pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum perducta e documenta tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta,* I-III (Monasterii: Sumptibus et Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913-23)
Finke, ACC	*Acta concilii Constanciensis* I-IV. Hrsg. Heinrich Finke – Johannes Hollnsteiner – Hermann Heimpel (Münster: Regensbergsche Buchhandlung, 1896-1928.)
Fraknói, *Relationes oratorum*	*Relationes oratorum pontificiorum. Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései 1524–1526*. (Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Vatikáni Magyar Okirattár, Series 2, t. 1.) (Budapest, 1884 [2001])

Index	*Index actorum Romanorum pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum* (Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1975-2003.) [I-III. Bernard Barbiche: *Les actes pontificaux originaux des Archives Nationales de Paris*. Citta del Vaticano, 1975-1982; IV. Brigide Schwarz: *Die Originale von Papsturkunden in Niedersachsen*. Citta del Vaticano 1988; V. P. N. R. Zutshi: Original Papal letters in England 1305-1415. Citta del Vaticano 1990.; VI/1-2. Tilmann Schmidt: *Die Originale der Papsturkunden in Baden-Württemberg 1198-1417*. 1. Teil: 1198-1341, 2. Teil: 1343-1417. Citta del Vaticano, 1993.; VII. Tilmann Schmidt: *Die Originale der Papsturkunden in Norddeutschland (Bremen, Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Schlezwig-Holstein) 1199-1415*. Citta del Vaticano, 2003.]
Itineraria	*Királyok és királynék itineráriumai, 1382–1438. Itineraria regum et reginarum (*1382-1438*)*, Ed. †Pál Engel – Norbert C. Tóth. Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam, 1. (Budapest: MTA, 2005)
Katona, *Historia critica*	Stephanus Katona, *Historia critica regum Hungariae* I–XLII (Pestini–Posonii–Cassoviae–Claudiopoli–Budae: 1779–1813)
Kerler, DRTA	*Deutsche Reichstagakten unter Kaiser Sigmund*. Abth. 1-3. (1410-1431) Hrsg. von Dietrich Kerler. (München: Oldenbourg/Cotta – Gotha: Perthea, 1878-1887) [*Deutsche Reichstsagakten*. Ältere Reihe. *Deutsche Reichstsagakten unter Kaiser Sigmund.* Abth. 1-6. Hrsg. von Hermann Herre – Dietrich Kerler – Gustav Beckmann (München: Oldenbourg/Cotta, 1878 – Gotha: Perthea, 1906.)]
MHH	*Monumenta Hungariae Heraldica. Magyar czimeres emlékek I–III*. [Hungarian armorial relics] Eds. László Fejérpataky (I–II) – Antal Áldásy (III) (Budapest, MTA: 1901, 1902, 1926)
MNL OL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár
OBA	Ordensbriefarchiv, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

PRO	Public Record Office / The National Archives (TNA), Kew, Surrey, England
RI	*Regesta Imperii* XI. 1-2. *Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds* (1410-1437). hrsg. von Johann Friedrich Böhmer; verzeichnet von Wilhelm Altmann (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1896-1900.)
Richental, *Chronik*	Ulrich von Richental, *Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils 1414–1418*. Hrsg. Thomas Martin Buck. Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen, herausgegeben von Stadtarchiv Konstanz, 41. (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2011.)
Rymer, Foedera	Rymer, Thomas, *Foedera*, *conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae*. I-XX. London, 1704-35. [London Edn]; Haag, 1739-45. I-X. [Haag Edn]
Sigismundus Cat.	*Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387–1437.* Ausstellungskatalog. Ed. Imre Takács. (Budapest-Luxembourg: Philipp von Zabern, 2006)
Skorka, *Eberhard Windecke*	Renáta Skorka, *Eberhard Windecke emlékirata Zsigmond királyról és koráról.* (Budapest: História-MTA, 2008)
Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum*	*Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex Tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta collecta ac serie chornologica disposita. I: Ab Innocentio PP. III. usque ad Paulum PP. III. (1198–1549). II: A Clemente VII. usque ad Pium VII. (1524–1800) cum additamentis saec. XIII. et XIV.* Ed. Augustinus Theiner (Romae – Zagrabiae: 1863–1875)
Wolkenstein	Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein. Text der Ausgabe von K. K. Klein (unter Mitwirkung von Walter Weiß und Notburga Wolf), in der Fassung der 3. Auflage (von Hans Moser, Norbert Richard Wolf und Notburga Wolf), Tübingen, 1987. Hrsg. von Sieglinde Hartmann – Ulrich Müller. (Digitaliziert von von Bettina Hatheyer, im Auftrag der an der Universität Salzburg situierten „Mittelhochdeutschen Begriffsdatenbank“/ MHDBDB“ und der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft.) [http://www.wolkenstein-gesellschaft.com/texte_oswald.php]

Zsigmond Kat.	*Művészet Zsigmond király korában.* I–II. Eds. László Beke – Ernő Marosi – Tünde Wehli (Budapest, MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1987)
ZsO	*Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*. (Budapest: MTA – NML, 1951–2013) I–II/2. (1387–1410) Ed. Elemér Mályusz. III–VII. (1411–1420) Ed. Iván Borsa. 1993–2001.; VIII–IX. (1421–1422) Eds. I. Borsa – Norbert C. Tóth. 2003–2004.; X. (1423) Ed. N. C. Tóth. 2007.; XI. (1424) Eds. N. C. Tóth – Tibor Neumann. 2009.; XII. (1425) Eds. N. C. Tóth – Bálint Lakatos. 2013. (A MOL kiadványai II., Forráskiadványok 1., 3., 4., 22., 25., 27., 32., 37., 39., 41., 43., 49.; 52)

Liste der Autoren

Attila Bárány („Lendület“ Forschungsgruppe „Ungarn im mittelalterlichen Europa“, Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften – Universität Debrecen)

Réka Bozzay (Universität Debrecen)

Sándor Csernus (Universität Szeged – („Lendület“ Forschungsgruppe „Ungarn im mittelalterlichen Europa”, Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften)

Péter E. Kovács (Forschungszentrum der Philosophische Wissenschaften, Institut für Geschichte, Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften – „Lendület“ Forschungsgruppe „Ungarn im mittelalterlichen Europa“)

Géza Érszegi (Eötvös-Loránd-Universität, Budapest)

Tamás Fedeles (Universität Pécs)

Zsombor Jékely (Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Budapest – Károli-Gáspár-Universität der ungarischen Reformierten Kirche, Budapest)

Ádám Novák („Lendület“ Forschungsgruppe „Ungarn im mittelalterlichen Europa“, Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften – Universität Debrecen)

László Pósán (Universität Debrecen – „Lendület“ Forschungsgruppe „Ungarn im mittelalterlichen Europa“, Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften)

Katalin Prajda (Universität Chicago – Forschungszentrum der Philosophische Wissenschaften, Institut für Geschichte, Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften)

Melina Rokay (Universität Belgrad)

Péter Rokay (Universität Novi Sad)

Beatrix F. Romhányi (Károli-Gáspár-Universität der ungarischen Reformierten Kirche, Budapest)

Péter Tusor (Katolische-Péter-Pázmány-Universität, Piliscsaba – „Lendület“ Forschungsgruppe Kirchengeschichte, Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften)