

Iconographic changes of ecclesiastic seals in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom (illustrated by the example of Spiš Chapter provosts)

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The study deals with the evolution of great seals used by provosts of the St. Martin's Spiš Collegiate Chapter in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. A seal image used to be an important part of seals. From the iconographic point of view the most interesting are seals of clerical institutions and dignitaries. These items, containing a large number of depicted motifs, became an important source of research in the area of medieval iconography, hagiography, heraldry and the history of art in general. The study introduces the evolution and metamorphoses of motifs as they appeared on Spiš provosts' seals during the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries.

Key words: seal, provost, Spiš Chapter, Spiš Provostry, the Middle Ages, iconography, hagiography

Introduction

Seals belong to the category of visually attractive and valuable historical sources from the Middle Ages.¹ They represented, first of all, a necessary part of a written legal document.² A dominant component of any seal was its image, bearing multiple meanings. Thanks to the connection of the legal roles with the physical aspect (image, text) seals became a source of interest for a number

of scholars.³ The wide range of information, research subjects and methodical approaches turns seals into a complex and interdisciplinary source.⁴ From the iconographic point of view the seals of clerical institutions and persons in particular are considered to be significantly diversified historical sources. Thanks to the rich variety of patterns and motifs they represent an important source material for research in the area of art history, history of artistic craft, historical patron saints, hagiography, religiosity, ecclesiastic and secular history.⁵ In many cases a thorough iconographic and iconological analysis tends to bring valuable information, that cannot be found in written sources. Seal images bear many types of depictions of the owners (portraits), saints and their attributes, hagiographic scenes or architectural motifs.⁶ This all enriches our knowledge of often unknown iconographic variants, schemes and contexts.⁷ At the same time seals are useful

³ In the beginnings of critical research of history a seal analysis predominantly represented an important criteria for judging the authenticity or falsity of the whole document. J. Mabillon was the first to fully exploit its potential in his ground-breaking work *De re diplomatica libri VI*, Paris 1681. One chapter of this work was devoted to royal seals. T. Vogtherr, *Urkundenlehre*, Hannover 2008, 13; Lehotská, *Průručka diplomatiky*, 22.

⁴ Summary of the seal research importance v. F. Beneš, *Význam pečeti pro bádání o minulosti*, Praha 1945.

⁵ Cf. E. A. New, *Seals and sealing practices*, London 2010, 26–29. M. Glejtek, *Neznáme cirkevno-sfragistické artefakty zo stredovekého Spiša*, *Konštantínove listy* 9/1 (2016) 50–51; W. Maleczek, *Kardinalssiegel und andere Abbildungen von Kardinälen während des 13. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Die Kardinäle des Mittelalters und der frühen Renaissance*, ed. J. Nowak, Firenze 2013, 229–230; M. Hlebionek, *Pieczenie pierwszych Piastów, czyli o tym, co było, być mogło albo nie istniało w ogóle*, in: *Studia nad dawną Polską III*, ed. T. Sawicki, Gniezno 2013, 133–134.

⁶ M. Glejtek, *Niekoľko poznámok k ikonografii stredovekých cirkevných pečatí*, *Konštantínove listy* 3 (2010) 62–87.

⁷ For universal possibilities of seal and seal image application in historical and fine arts research see newer works e.g. M. Bolom-Kotari, *Pečeť jako obraz individua. Několik příkladů z prostředí představených moravských klášterů v raném novověku*, *Studia Historica Nitriensia* 21/2 (2017) 297–309; M. Glejtek, *Stredoveká cirkevná pečať – prameň kresťanskej ikonografie*, Hradec Králové 2013, 93–129; T. Diederich, *Siegelkunde. Beiträge zu ihrer Vertiefung und Weiterführung*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2012; *Die Bildlichkeit Korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter. Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch*, ed. M. Späth, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2009; J. Robinson, *Medieval seals: image and truth*, in: *Medieval coins and seals. Constructing identity, signifying pow-*

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¹ The study was created at the Department of History FF UKF in Nitra as part of the project VEGA No. 1/0006/18: “*Imago Episcopi – the Bishop's Power and its Presentation in the Middle Ages*”.

² Since this study is neither strictly sigillographic nor diplomatic, for the contextual reasons I would like to add that by attaching a seal to a document the owner affirmed his assent to the content. Besides, the seal protected the document from forgery and in many cases served as a means of physical closing (e.g. *litterae clausae*). With an exception of a small number of cases (e.g. notary instruments) a seal had to be part of all written legal documents. In addition, a seal was used in many other ways, mainly as a means of law even without being attached to a document (e.g. sealing of goods, *Dei Judicium* – ordeals, court subpoenas). Cf. A. Stieldorf, *Siegelkunde*, Hannover 2004, 32–59; D. Lehotská, *Průručka diplomatiky*, Bratislava 1972, 108–109; M. Glejtek, *Pečať ako prostriedok symbolickej komunikácie. Predovšetkým na príklade panovníckych, cirkevných a mestských pečatí v stredovekom Uhorskom kráľovstve*, in: *Od symbolu k slovu. Podoby stredovekej komunikácie*, ed. M. Hlavačková, Bratislava 2016, 317–322; E. Kittel, *Siegel*, Braunschweig 1970, 116–131; H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien I*, Leipzig 1912, 683–686; M. Hlebionek, *Pieczenie Piastów kujawskich*, Inowrocław 2011, 7–8.

comparison tools. Personal seals, for example, have the advantage of enabling us to know when exactly they were created and used. It is true mainly if the seal was placed on a precisely dated document or if we know when the person held a particular office. In the Hungarian Kingdom, like in other medieval states, clerical institutions and clerical dignitaries were the most significant users of seals, alongside the ruler.⁸

In the oldest period (eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century) we obtain information about seals mainly from legal sources. These predominantly refer to archbishops' and bishops' seals. They used seals mainly for administration of justice, as a subpoenaing instrument of the clerical dignitary's court.⁹ In addition, the sources mention the use of archbishops', bishops' as well as archdeacons' seals on written documents of legal character.¹⁰ Although we know that in the Hungarian Kingdom clerical dignitaries used seals as early as the eleventh century, the oldest seals preserved till today date back to the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹¹ These were seals of the above mentioned highest clerical dignitaries, abbots of convents and clerical institutions (convents and chapters).¹² The basic functions of a seal in its relationship to the document within the Hungarian Kingdom more or less correspond with the development in all the Europe. Despite this, in the oldest phase of the Hungarian development, as early as the eleventh

century, royal monogram had a more important role on a royal document than a seal. Nevertheless, the preserved originals of charters from the twelfth century clearly state that no charter, or a document, of a legal nature could do without an attached seal, whether these were seals of the issuer, co-issuer or the witnesses of the stated legal act. A seal was a necessary part of charters issued by all issuers including the provosts and members of chapters as well as chapters as independent institutions.¹³ The charters of public notaries represented the only exemption. Notary instruments issued by them did not need an attached seal. The notary sign, painted on the document, was sufficient.¹⁴ We can also mention chirographs. These, however, usually did not substitute the seal, they only supplemented it.¹⁵

In the process of studying the seals of chapter provosts, we often have to deal with the absence of written sources about their usage as well as with the fragmentation of the physically preserved seals.¹⁶ The oldest seals of the Hungarian provosts preserved till today date back to the second half of the thirteenth century. And we are talking about only few artefacts. It is more common to encounter seals from the beginning of the fourteenth century, which is rather paradoxical since in Hungary there had been more than ten cathedral and even more collegiate chapters lead by provosts.¹⁷ Undoubtedly, they issued documents with their own seals, although they have not been preserved. The lack of sources is one of the reasons why researchers paid little attention to seals of provosts as well as canons of Hungarian chapters. In the case of some chapters we have no information about their provosts' seals for the entire medieval period, or we know of only one. Instances of having more successive seals preserved till today within one institution are rather exceptional.¹⁸ However, only in such cases are we able to try to

er, ed. S. Solway, Turnhout 2015, 361–375; B. M. Bedos-Rezak, *When ego was imago. Sign of identity in the middle ages*, Leiden–Boston 2011; P. Zubko, *Hagiografické motívy vo sfragistike ako historický prameň*, Konštantínove listy 6 (2013) 102–109.

⁸ In detail e.g. I. Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei*, Budapest 2012, 9–38; L. B. Kumorovitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban*, Budapest 1993, 30–49.

⁹ Provisions of the king Koloman state, that “*Episcoporum et comitum capellani vel reliquorum, per sigillum episcopi vel archiepiscopi ad causandum cogantur; Si clericus cum laicis causam habet, per sigillum iudicis laicus cogatur; si vero laicus habet causam cum clerico, per sigillum episcopi vel archiepiscopi clericus cogatur, ab eis que coram iudice suo examinentur.*” *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae. The laws of the Mediaeval Kingdom of Hungary 1000–1301*, I, ed. J. Bak, G. Bönnis, J. Ross Sweeney, Idyllwild 1999, 25 (Cap. V–VI).

¹⁰ Provisions of the I. Esztergom synod from the beginning of the twelfth century state: “*Episcopus ad episcopum sine litteris et sigillo legacionem non mittant*” *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis*, 61 (Cap. XX). Archdeacon seals were first mentioned in the charter of Koloman I. from the year 1111, by which he grants Dalmatian bishops and archbishops the right to use seals: “*Postea necessarium duximus, cum utriusque regni universo consilio, ut qua libertate fruuntur clerici Hungarie, fruuntur et clerici Dalmatie; scilicet, ut qualiscunque potentiae sigillo non stringantur, sed solo episcoporum, et archidiaconorum suorum sigillo et iudicio, lege canonum cogantur, et iudicentur.*” Kumorovitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat*, 17, 24; *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* II, ed. G. Fejér, Budae 1829, 56–58.

¹¹ This period is characterized by a significant rise of written documents issued by all types of issuers, not only from clerical environment (e.g. the ruler's office, the highest district dignitaries, later also districts, towns and common noblemen). R. Marsina, *Štúdie k Slovenskému diplomatáru* I/2, Bratislava 1973, 10–11; idem, *Štúdie k Slovenskému diplomatáru* II, Bratislava 1989.

¹² Editions of medieval seals of clerical dignitaries and institutions v. also: *A középkori magyarország főpapi pecsétjei a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportjának pecsétmások – gyűjteménye alapján*, ed. I. Bodor, Budapest 1984; *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, ed. I. Takács, Budapest 1992; J. Jerney, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek mint hielmes és hiteles helyek története*, Magyar Történelmi Tár 2 (1855) 3–166 (figs. 1–100); A. Gulin, *Hrvatska crkvena srednjovjekovna sfragistika*, Zagreb 1998.

¹³ Cf. I. Szentpéteri, *Magyar oklevéltan*, Budapest 1930, 68–79, 112–115, 140–141; Kumorovitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat*, 58–59; V. Rábik, *Pečat v stredovekom uhorskom zákonodarstve*, in: *Pečate a ich používateľia*, ed. J. Ragačová, Bratislava 2007, 107–108.

¹⁴ Cf. P. J. Schuler, *Genese und Symbolik des nordeneuropäisch-Notarszeichens*, in: *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden. Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik*, ed. P. Rück, Sigmaringen 1996, 669–688; S. Zavorský, *Verejný notariát v stredovekej Bratislave*, in: *Diplomatická produkcia v stredovekom meste*, ed. J. Ragačová, Bratislava 2005, 172–180.

¹⁵ Glejtek, *Stredoveká cirkevná*, 77–78.

¹⁶ It is a completely different case with seals of convents and chapters, or archbishops, their appearance has been often preserved continuously since the first half of the thirteenth century. This enabled a complete analysis of their evolution in detail. Cf. P. Rainer, *A középkori veszprémi püspökök pecsétjei (XIII–XVI század)*, in: *Tudomány és művészet Veszprémben a 13–15. században*, ed. Z. Fodor, Veszprém 1996, 42–56.

¹⁷ Cf. T. Fedeles, *Die ungarischen Dom- und Kollegiatkapitel und ihre Mitglieder im Mittelalter. Forschungsstand, Aufgaben, Initiativen*, in: *Documenta Pragensia Supplementa II. Kapituly v zemích koruny České a v Uhrách ve středověku*, ed. J. Hrdina, M. Maříková, Praha 2011, 161–195.

¹⁸ Fragmentation of Hungarian sources is even more apparent when compared with the neighboring countries. For example, in Germany there are instances when we are able to gradually reconstruct as many as 7 types of great seals which had been used sequentially by a single chapter dignitary over several decades, v. I. Guerreau, *Otto I. von Wohldenberg. Form und Funktion der Selbstdarstellung eines norddeutschen Weltgeistlichen im Spiegel seiner Siegel*, in: *Das Siegel. Gebrauch und Bedeutung*, ed. G. Signori, Darmstadt 2007, 45–52. However, even the thorough work of A. Gulin, in which he maps available medi-



Fig. 1. The seal of provost Mothmerius (1278), Slovak National Archive, Bratislava

reconstruct their evolution in a longer time period. The St. Martin's Collegiate Chapter in Spiš and the Spiš Provostry are among these institutions.¹⁹

The Spiš Provostry was established at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was located at the northernmost part of the Esztergom Archdiocese as well as of the Hungarian Kingdom. The Provostry was most likely established as a royal foundation. The oldest provost known by his name was Adolf (1209). From its size and division into parishes the Spiš Provostry corresponded with an archidiaconate. In Hungarian Kingdom these corresponded with the borders of districts. The Esztergom Archdiocese was divided into two such provostries (Bratislava Provostry and Spiš Provostry) and ten archidiaconates. In addition to tasks related to church administration and pastoral guidance of parishioners the Spiš Provostry played other important roles as well. Through the Provostry rulers were able to promote their interests and assert their influence in the northern part of the Kingdom more efficiently. Provosts had a lot of power over their territories. Some of them exceeded powers of archdeacons. Several were equal to the powers of bishops in a diocese. Provosts, for example, were able to grant permissions for building new churches, to establish new parishes or to ordain priests during parish beneficia. In the fifteenth century they even acquired the right to use pontificals (the miter and the crosier) during liturgy that clearly distinguished them from archdeacons. The specific position of provosts with an image of autonomous status in the archdiocese is documented by several competitive disputes between provosts and Esztergom archbishops which persisted until modern times. From the beginning the choice of the provost was subject to the patronage right of the Hungarian kings. Later, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, sources inform us that the prov-

osts were elected by the members of the Spiš Chapter. In many cases they were persons close to the royal court. Initially, the Provostry and the Chapter represented the same institution. From the period of late Middle Ages until the eighteenth century it is necessary to distinguish two independent institutions. The Spiš Provostry was the clerical-administrative unit formed by a vast network of parishes and other smaller beneficia. At the same time the provost was the highest representative of the second institution – the Chapter, which had resided at the St. Martin Cathedral since the Provostry's establishment. The Chapter had these dignitaries: canon-lecturer and canon-custodian, elected dean and other canons. Their number varied depending on economic and political situations. There was an office of the place of authentication at the Chapter lead by a canon-lector. The place of authentication performed various public notary and other lower judiciary acts. By the character of its activities it resembled public notaries as we know them from Western Europe. The Spiš Provostry underwent an interesting development from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The last Middle Ages Spiš provost John Horváth joined the reformation in 1544 along with most of the Provostry's priests. Until the seventeenth century the Spiš Chapter had been one of the few institutions in Spiš that did not succumb to reformation. During the reformation and anti-reformation period, bishops of the more southern Hungarian dioceses, which were occupied by the Osmons, began to take the office of provost. Later, prelates referred to as *episcopus electus* and *episcopus titularis* become provosts. Unlike the former ones, these were honorable ranks and they did not lead the dioceses as proper bishops. The most significant change occurred in 1776 when the Spiš Provostry was transformed into a diocese lead by a resident bishop. The collegiate chapter changed into a cathedral chapter.²⁰ A relatively vast number of documents related to the history of the Spiš Provostry as well as the Spiš Chapter have been preserved in several archive funds to this day. A vast written agenda was created by provosts, the chapter and its members as well as by the office of the place of authentication.²¹ The most valuable archive collections stored in

²⁰ Basic information about the history of Spiš Provostry and the Spiš Chapter v. P. Labanc, M. Glejtek, *Spišské prepoštvstvo na prelome stredoveku a novoveku I. Príspevok k náboženským dejinám Spiša*, Trnava–Kraków 2015, 12–13; P. Labanc, *Spišskí prepošti do roku 1405*, Kraków–Trnava 2011, 19–20; idem, *Niekoľko úvah o vzdelaní v prostredí Spišskej kapituly v stredoveku*, *Studia historica Nitriensia* 21/1 (2017) 6; idem, *Personálne obsadenie Spišskej kapituly v čase pôsobenia Pavla a Henricha (1301–1323)*, *Konštantínove listy* 9/1 (2017) 39–49; M. Homza, *Počiatky kresťanstva na Spiši*, in: *Historia Scepusii I*, ed. M. Homza, A. Sroka, Bratislava–Kraków 2009, 233–284; H. Ruciński, *Cirkevné štruktúry na Spiši v neskorom stredoveku*, in: *Historia Scepusii I*, ed. M. Homza, A. Sroka, Bratislava–Kraków 2009, 400–429; T. Trajdos, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja na Spiszu*, in: *Terra Scepusiensis. Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša. Stan bádania nad dziejami Spiszu*, ed. R. Gładkiewicz, M. Homza, Levoča–Wrocław 2003, 467–486; V. Olejník, *Dejiny Spišského prepoštstva v rokoch 1526–1776*, in: *Historia Scepusii II*, ed. M. Homza, A. Sroka, Bratislava 2016, 608–673; P. Zubko, *Dejiny Spišského biskupstva (1776–)*, in: *Terra Scepusiensis. Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša. Stan bádania nad dziejami Spiszu*, ed. R. Gładkiewicz, M. Homza, Levoča–Wrocław 2003, 599–600.

²¹ For the places of authentication v. A. Švecová, *Inštitúcia hodnoverných miest ako kvázi verejných notárov v stredoveku*, in: *Acta Universitatis Tyrnaviensis. Iuridica II*, ed. J. Lazar, Trnava 2005, 169–181; V. Rábik, *Diplomatická produkcia Hodnoverného miesta pri Nitrianskej kapitule na konci stredoveku (Protocollum extraseriale parvum*

eval seals from the Balkans, does not deal with these seals. Cf. Gulín, *Hrvatska crkvena*.

¹⁹ Glejtek, *Neznáme cirkevno-sfragistické*, 51.



Fig. 2. The seal of provost-bishop Jacob (1298), Spiš Archive in Levoča (photo: Š. Péchy)

Slovakia are mainly the funds: *Spišské prepošstvo* (The Spiš Provostry), *Súkromný archív Spišskej kapituly* (the (The Private Archive of the Spiš Chapter) and *Archív hodnoverného miesta Spišskej kapituly* (The Archive of the Authentication Place of the Spiš Chapter).²² Many valuable sources are placed in the funds of the Hungarian National Archive (Országos Levéltára Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár). In many cases, these funds also contain unique preserved seals of a wide spectrum of issuers. Particular items from sources which enable us to reconstruct the development of Spiš provosts' seals are, naturally, stored in

1483–1509), in: *Ideové prvky národného príbehu v dlhom 19. storočí*, ed. M. Kohútová, E. Frimmová et al., Bratislava 2014, 145–152; J. Šedivý, *Kancelária Bratislavskej kapituly v stredoveku*, in: *Alis volat propriis. Sborník příspěvků k životnímu jubileu Ludmily Sulítkové*, ed. H. Jordánková, Brno 2016, 24–44; idem, *Od listiny k spisu. Proces vzniku „spisovoj agendy“ na príklade neskorostredovekých písomností Bratislavskej kapituly*, in: *Datum per manus. Prátele, kolegové a žáci Zbyňku Svitákovi k 60. narodeninám*, ed. L. Führer et al., Brno 2015, 57–69; M. Mayer, *Hodnoverné miesta a ich pečate*, *Vlastivedný časopis* 17/3 (1978) 116–121; L. Solymosi, *Die glaubwürdigen Orte (loca credibilia) Ungarns im 14. – 15. Jahrhundert*, *Archiv für Diplomatik* 55 (2009) 175–190; F. Eckhart, *Hiteles helyeink eredete és jelentősége*, *Századok* 47 (1913) 640–655. For the quantitative and qualitative analysis of charters issued by the place of authentication at the Spiš Chapter v. P. Labanc, ... *qui demum ad nos reversi nobis concorditer retulerunt, quod...* *Niekoľko poznámok o spôsobe získavania informácií v právnych konaniach v 13. a 14. storočí*, in: *Od symbolu k slovu. Podoby stredovekej komunikácie*, ed. M. Hlavačková, Bratislava 2016, 143–158; A. Švecová, *K počiatkom činnosti hodnoverného miesta pri Spišskej kapitule*, in: *Studia historica Tyrnaviensia III*, ed. J. Šimončíč, Trnava 2003, 49–58; E. Javošová, M. Kuzmíková, *Verejnoprávna funkcia Spišskej kapituly v stredoveku*, in: *Studia archaeologica Slovaca Mediaevalia* 3–4, Bratislava 2001, 265–271; Marsina, *Stúdie II*, 133–135.

²² The basic information about the funds v. V. Olejník, *Písomné poklady Spišskej kapituly*, in: *Acta Musei Scepusiensis* 2008, ed. M. Novotná, Levoča 2009, 9–34.

many other archival institutions in Central Europe. When reconstructing the evolution of Spiš provost seals' iconography, we drew mainly from documents stored in the above-mentioned institutions.

In this study we are predominantly going to be concerned with the so called great provosts' seals. Above all, we mean their legal position in the office. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries other types of seals came into existence due to spread of administration.²³ While an owner could use these more freely and he was able to have more of them, it was possible to have only one great-main seal. To be able to determine what type of seal it was is often difficult due to lack of source preservation. For the purpose of this paper to this category were included seals based on their size, seal image and the period context. We are going to designate as great all the seals, whose iconographic content is formed by hagiographic motif, the owner's image or by a combination of more types of images. A great seal was usually of the biggest size, had the most extensive image equipment and the most extensive text (circular text, legend). From the iconographic research point of view these are the most important seals. In a short discursion at the end of this paper we are going to discuss other types of seals as well. These, however, haven't been preserved as often and their motifs are more uniform.

Right from the start, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that in case of seals of several Spiš provosts there are more preserved copies. In this study I primarily refer to a copy I had an opportunity to study physically or based on a reproduction of high quality. There are also some sources available through published edition. It is not possible to preclude the possibility that seals of other Spiš provosts will appear in archive funds, which we were not able to study as they weren't available. This kind of sphragistics research will probably never be able to fully finish. There is always a possibility that new sources will surface and these may append our knowledge and make it more precise.

Great seals of Spiš provosts

The seals of the first Spiš provosts Adolf (1209) and Mathew (1239–1261/1262) are, unfortunately, unknown. It doesn't mean, however, that they did not use their own seals. At least the corroboration formulas of charters that Mathew issued in 1245, 1249 and 1257 directly mention his seal: „*presentes litteras concessimus sigilli nostri munimine roboratas*“; „*ex litteris Mathei de Scepus, quam Petri de Jasov, prepositorum eorundem sigillo sigillatis*“; „*eorum sigilla litteris presentibus apponi*“.²⁴ It means that he owned and used one, although it hasn't been preserved to this day.

²³ For example the smaller seal (*sigillum minus*), the secret seal (*sigillum secretum*), or the ring seal (*sigillum annulari*). Cf. Glejtek, *Stredoveká cirkevná*, 43–49; M. Bolom-Kotari, *Pečeti hradiských premonstrátů v pozdním středověku a raném novověku*, Červený Kostelec 2015, 73–77.

²⁴ Cf. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae II*, ed. R. Marsina, Bratislava 1987, 129, No. 194; 238, No. 341*; 406–407, No. 586. V. Rábik, *Stredoveké cirkevné pečate spišskej proveniencie. Sonda do problematiky*, in: *Terra Scepusiensis. Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša*, ed. R. Gładkiewicz, M. Homza, Levoča–Wrocław 2003, 329.



Fig. 3. The seal of provost Paul (1303), Spiš Archive in Levoča (photo: M. Glejtec)

The first known seal belonged to provost Mothmerius²⁵ (1278, fig. 1)²⁶ and it has been discovered only recently.²⁷ This seal hasn't been published nor analyzed in any specialized literature. Its value rests in the fact that we know of only few Hungarian provosts' seals dating back to the thirteenth century.²⁸ A half figure of a

²⁵ At the beginning of his residence at Spiš, provost Mothmerius (1262/1263–1281) held the rank of Queen Mary's chancellor. In addition, he was the tutor of future King Ladislaus IV., the son of King Stephen. The fact that Mothmerius belonged among the most significant representatives of the clergy can be ascertained from a unique source, his own testament. It tells us about his property status as well as about his library. Mothmerius probably died while holding the post of Spiš provost. The last time he appears in the sources is in the autumn of 1281. Cf. Labanc, *Spišské prepošti*, 79–82; A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, Budapest 2011, 115; M. Pirhalla, *A Szepesi prépostság vázlatos története kezdetétől a püspökség felállításáig*, Lőcse 1899, 20–26; J. Hradzsky, *Initia progressus ac praesens status Capituli ad sanctum Maritimum E. C. de Monte Scepusio*, Szepesváralja 1901, 299–302.

²⁶ In parenthesis I indicate the first year, when the type of seal or the exemplar I had available and used for the analysis was documented. The seal is located in: Slovak National Archive, Bratislava, fund (henceforth: F) Bárcai z Barce, fascikel 35, numero (henceforth: No.) 3. Measurements: Ø 34 mm, shape: round, circular text: [///] MOTHMERII P(re)POSITI * DE.

²⁷ I express my gratitude to Mgr. Peter Labanc, PhD. from the Department of History, Philosophical Faculty of The Trnava University in Trnava, who called my attention to the seal's existence and who provided me with its reproduction. For a long time, he has been systematically studying the Middle Ages history of the Spiš priory.

²⁸ Before the end of the thirteenth century in the whole Hungarian Kingdom we only know of the seals of Buda provosts Akos (1257) and John (1271) and the Székesfehérvár provost Farkas (1266). The Hungarian National Archives, Országos Levéltára Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (henceforth: MNL OL DL) 457; 643; 614.

saint-bishop with a mitre on his head and an aureole around his head dressed in liturgical clothing (chasuble) is placed in the seal field. In each hand he is holding a small cross whose arm ends are adorned by small balls.²⁹ A similar decoration (small balls) can also be seen on the three corners of a western style low bishops' mitre.³⁰ Crosses in hands are very untypical bishop symbols in Hungarian as well as West European environment. In our opinion, in this case typical western elements (double-corner mitre) are combined with byzantine-eastern attributes (crosses). In Middle European and Western European sources a bishop is always depicted with a bishop's crosier, curved at the top (the head). The other hand is either raised in blessing or is holding a book. Our assumption that this is St. Martin can be supported by several arguments. The portrayal obviously represents a saint-bishop. A very similar half-figure of a saint-bishop (with the exception of the crosses) is known from other ecclesiastic seals.³¹ Spiš Chapter was dedicated to bishop St. Martin of Tours.³² It is highly probable that in his seal the provost would have portrayed the patron of his own institution.³³ The fact, that around the figure we can see several letters of a legend which could be reconstructed as the one of St. Martin, is also important.³⁴ To explain why this saint is untypically holding crosses in his hands is not easy. In our opinion, depiction of St. Martin might be influenced by the seal's engraver. We are arriving from the fact that provost Mothmerius had held the post of a chancellor for the byzantine princess Mary Laskarina, the wife of Hungarian king Bela IV.³⁵ We know that in her procession in Hungary there was a goldsmith who had most likely also been of byzantine origin. And that could be the reason why the bishop is portrayed with insignia not typical for western customs. This engraver could have portrayed a saint that partially corresponded to the byzantine motifs. This is, however, only a hypothesis as direct evidence is still missing and, therefore, this issue remains open.

²⁹ An interesting parallel represents the denarius of Bela IV., displaying two Early Gothic shields with double armed crosses. The crosses' ends are similarly decorated by striking small balls. A connection between these artefacts, deriving from the application of similar decorative elements, is questionable, although tempting. Cf. Takács, *Az Árpád-házi*, 41.

³⁰ Cf. A. Pikulski, *Mitra: studium historyczno-artystyczne*, Lublin 2002, 127 sqq.; B. B. Heim, *Heraldry in the catholic church. Its origin, customs and laws*, Gerrards Cross 1981, 62–63.

³¹ E.g. portrayal of St. Adalbertus in the seal of Esztergom Chapter or of St. Emeramus in the seal of Nitra Chapter cf. *A magyarországi káptalanok*, 58–59, 74–75, No. 16. 2, 33. 2, T. V, X.

³² Dominance of hagiographic motifs on ecclesiastic seals is quite understandable. Identification of a clerical institution with its saint-patron persisted, with a few exceptions, well into the modern times. Cf. Zubko, *Hagiografické motívy*, 102–109.

³³ The seals of the mentioned provosts Akos and John portray St. Peter, or his attributes (keys) in a similar way.

³⁴ There are two letters „M“, „A“ standing on top of each other on the left of the figure and on the right side there is the letter „T“ (= *Martinus*). This is the only letter from a group of about three on this side of the field that is literate.

³⁵ Labanc, *Spišské prepošti*, 79; *Regesta ducum, ducissarum stirpis Arpadianae necnon reginarum Hungariae critico-diplomatica*, ed. E. Szentpétery, A. Zsoldos, Budapest 2008, 52, No. 60.

Another known seal belonged to provost Jacob³⁶ (1298, fig. 2).³⁷ His position was specific since in addition to being the chapters' provost he was also bishop *ad personam* at the same time.³⁸ Being the provost with bishop consecration was, undoubtedly, a prestigious matter. The Spiš provost clearly emphasized this rank also in the charters' intitulations.³⁹ Similarly, Jacob adjusted the iconography of his seal to bishops' seals of that period. Since the beginning of the fourteenth century they usually depicted a portrait of its owner with his respective pontificals (miter, crosier, pallium).⁴⁰ In his seal the

³⁶ Provost Jacob (1284–1301) was originally from Spiš. Before becoming provost, he was resident in the Spiš Chapter as its member. Thanks to his title as canon-lecturer he was in charge of the clerics' education in the chapter school and was the head of the authentication place. As a faithful ally of the King he and the brothers enjoyed the King's support. It manifested itself through several donations. Later, as a result of growing anarchy caused also by the ruler Ladislaus IV. He turned away from the King. Subsequently, he began to support King Andrew III. The favorable relationships between Jacob and both secular leaders as well as the church hierarchy manifested themselves in his nomination as bishop *ad personam*. The members of the provost's family gradually achieved high ranks in both the clerical as well as secular hierarchy of the kingdom. The family history is relatively well researched. Jacob died while holding the rank of Spiš provost-bishop, v. Labanc, *Spišskí prepošti*, 85–105; idem, *Die Ahnen und Verwandten des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes von der Zips (1394–1397)*, in: *Slovakia and Croatia. Historical parallels and connections (until 1780)*, ed. N. Budak, M. Homza, Bratislava–Zagreb 2013, 246–258; Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi*, 95; Z. Kovács, *Jakab I. Szepesi prépost és püspök*, in: *Korai magyar történelmi lexikon (9–14. század)*, ed. Gy. Kristó, Budapest 1994, 299; Pirhalla, *A Szepesi prépostság*, 27–36; Hradsky, *Initia progressus*, 308.

³⁷ The seal is located in: The Spiš Archive in Levoča (henceforth SA Le), Fund (henceforth F.) The Private Archive of Spiš Chapter, originally Súkromný archív Spišskej kapituly (henceforth SaSk), Scrinium (henceforth Scr.) VII, Fascicle (henceforth Fasc.) 3, No. 1. Measurements: 55x30 mm; shape: pointed-oval, circular text: D(e)I • GRA(tia) • || EP(iscop)I • SCYPVSIE(n)SIS. An edition of a seal: F. Žifčák, *Spiský prepošt Jakub 3.1.12*, in: *Terra Scepusiensis – Terra Christiana 1209–2009*, ed. M. Novotná, Levoča 2009, 170; M. Glejtek, *Nové poznatky k stredovekým pečatiam členov Spišskej kapituly*, in: *Acta Musei Scepusiensis 2010–2011*, ed. M. Novotná, Levoča 2012, 8–9; Glejtek, *Stredoveká cirkevná*, 153–154.

³⁸ Labanc, *Spišskí prepošti*, 97.

³⁹ „*Jacobus miseracione Divina episcopus Scepusiensis*“; Glejtek, *Nové poznatky*, 9.

⁴⁰ Although sigillography calls them portrait seals, as they portray the owner, we are not able to talk about a real portrait, capturing the physiognomy of a particular person. This type of individualization became possible during the fifteenth century. It is not viable to generalize too much in portrayals. Although till the end of the fourteenth century the portrait-style bishop seals dominated, we are able to encounter new concepts of seal images as early as the second half of the thirteenth century. And vice versa, there are some archdioceses that stayed faithful to portrait-style seals throughout the Middle Ages, v. L. Freidinger, *Siegelgebrauch und Wappenführung der Bischöfe von Seckau in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Teil 1: (1218–1337)*, Mitteilungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchivs 48 (1998) 119–141; idem, *Siegelgebrauch und Wappenführung der Bischöfe von Seckau in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Teil 2: (1337–1452)*, Mitteilungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchivs 48 (1999) 63–87; R. Nový, *Pečeti pražských a olomouckých biskupů. Studie ze sfragistiky přemyslovského období*, Sborník archivních prací 10 (1960) 181–203; J. Krejčíková, *Das Ostmitteleuropäische Bischöfliche Siegelwesen bis ca. 1300*, in: *Die Diplomatik der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250*, ed. Ch. Haidacher, W. Köfler, Innsbruck 1995, 197–201; V. Glenn, *Glasgow, Italy and France: thirteenth and early fourteenth century seals from the cathedral*, in: *Good impressions: image and authority in medieval seals*, ed. N. Adams, J. Cherry, J. Robinson, London 2008, 42–51; Kittel, *Siegel*, 389 sqq.; M. Gumowski, *Handbuch der Polonischen Siegelkunde*, Graz 1966, 71–75; *Rheinische Siegel II. Die Siegel der Erzbischöfe von Trier (956–1795)*, ed. W. Ewald, Bonn 1910.

provost is portrayed as a standing figure dressed in a chasuble, with a miter on his head, a crosier in his left hand and his right hand raised in blessing (*benedictio*). There is no difference between this seal and seals of other Hungarian archbishops and bishops.⁴¹ This iconographic type also fully corresponds to the customs of other Middle and Western European counties. It had been exceptionally popular from the early Middle Ages. It arises out of the concept of rulers' (kings', emperors') seals. An important part of the ruler's portrait on the seal had been the insigne of the royal power, such as the crown, scepter, spear, sphere and the cloak. The prelate, on the other hand, emphasized his spiritual power. Symbols that were typical for prelates included the sacral vestment, an ancient symbol of power – the bishop's crozier, in the case of archbishops the pallium, the bishop's stool (from which the bishop teaches the people), the Bible (whose texts bishops interpreted), the blessing gesture and, later, the liturgical headgear – the miter.⁴² Despite its one hundred years long popularity, the portrait motif began to gradually disappear from the seals of clerical dignitaries at the turn of the fourteenth century.⁴³

For some time after taking up his office, Jacob's successor, provost Paul,⁴⁴ probably still used his older seal (1303) from the period of his residency in Kalocsa.⁴⁵ Later, as the Spiš provost he completely changed this seal

⁴¹ The prelate could stand or sit on his throne. Sometimes he can hold a book (the Bible) in his hand instead of having it raised in blessing. The archbishop is displayed with the pallium on his shoulders. These are the basic variants that can differ in details. The most complete edition of portrait-style seals of Hungarian bishops v. *A középkori magyarországi*, 37–42, T. I–V, No. 1–24. Cf. Kumorovitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat*, 66.

⁴² Cf. Glejtek, *Pečat ako prostriedok*, 324–325.

⁴³ Although during the course of the fourteenth century prelates mostly abandoned these portrait motifs, there are still many cases, when within one diocese they stayed in use till the end of the Middle Ages. Cf. T. Krejčík, *Pečeti v kultúre stredoveku*, Ostrava 1998, 228–231.

⁴⁴ In 1301 the provost of Kalocsa Paul (1301–1315) was elected the provost of Spiš Chapter by its members. Before arriving in Spiš he also held the office of Queen Agnes's chancellor. She was the wife of King Andrew III. He was an ally of Charles Robert since his arrival in Hungary. He also worked in royal diplomatic services. From the king he received important privileges for the Chapter, for example in the judicial area. The provost significantly helped to stabilize the ruler's position in Spiš and was his important ally. He died while holding the rank of Spiš provost, v. Labanc, *Spišskí prepošti*, 106–113; Pirhalla, *A Szepesi prépostság*, 36–43; Hradsky, *Initia progressus*, 329.

⁴⁵ The seal has a pointed-oval shape and depicts a standing figure holding an upraised sword. It is probably St. Paul, the Apostle. He was the patron of the Kalocsa Chapter. He was depicted in the same composition on the Chapter seal. It is interesting that he used the seal for a relatively long time after becoming the Spiš provost. It is stated in the *intitulatio* of the mentioned charter from January thirteenth, 1303 („*magister Paulus prepositus Scypisiensis*“). The fact that it is most likely the Paul's seal is mentioned also in the first legible part of the seal's circular text: + S(igillum) • MAGIST(R)I • PA(ulus) // In Kalocsa the provost preferred the older type, purely hagiographic, seal with the patron of the institution he lead. In his Spiš residence he became inspired by a new “modern” conception. According to the preserved sources we are not able to determine precisely when the new seal congruent with the rank of Spiš provost was created. We can assume that it was long before the oldest preserved copy from 1309. The seal of Paul as the provost of Kalocsa is located in: MNL OL DL 63628. About the seal of the Chapter v. *A magyarországi káptalanok*, 67–68, No. 25, T. IX. About the change of seal matrices after the owner had changed position v. M. Glejtek, *Výmena veľkých pečatidiel uhorských prelátov a cirkevných inštitúcií v stredoveku*, Kultúrne dejiny 8/1 (2017) 9–22.



Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the seal of provost Henry (1316), after Glejtec, *Nové poznatky*, 10 (drawing: M. Glejteková)



Fig. 5. The seal of provost John (1326), Spiš Archive in Levoča (photo: M. Glejtec)

(1313, fig. 3).⁴⁶ Following the example of West European prelates the clerical dignitaries of Hungarian Kingdom also began to gravitate towards more complicated combination seals. They mostly have a pointed-oval shape and are horizontally divided into several levels that form mutually linked logical units. Often there are two or three levels, but there can be many more. The scenes are set in an architectural framework. It can be simple, but also very detailed, formed by many tabernacles, niches, pinnacles, etc. The depicted architecture resembles a gothic altar, or the interior of an entire temple.⁴⁷ In the seal of provost Paul this concept is relatively simple. In the more dominant lower part there is a portrait of the owner-provost. He is standing in front of an altar with the host raised in his hands and a chalice placed on the altar stone (mensa). It is a typical scene – of a clergyman serving the Holy Mass. In the top third of the seal there is a half figure of St. Martin placed in a tabernacle. He is displayed as a bishop with the mitre on his head and the crozier in his left hand. His right hand is raised in blessing. St. Martin, as we have stated already, was the saint-patron of the chapter church and the Chapter. The seal symbolically depicts the provost

⁴⁶ The seal is located in: SA Le, F. SaSk, Scr. X, Fasc. 1, No. 15. Measurements: 55x30 mm, shape: pointed-oval, circular text: S(igillum) PAVLI PREPOSITI D(e) SCIPES. An edition of a seal: Glejtec, *Stredoveká cirkevná*, 154–155; Rábik, *Stredoveké cirkevné*, 330.

⁴⁷ Artistically most valuable and iconographically richest are the seals of some cardinals and patriarchs. In many cases engraved matrices represent the highest level of arts (goldsmith) craft. Cf. M. Slivka, *Pohlady do stredovekých dejín Slovenska (Res intrinsecus lectae)*, Martin 2013, 147–148. The seals of Esztergom archbishops Demetrius (1379), Thomas (1505) and John (1391) belong to the category of such pieces of art, v. *Megpecsételt történelem. Középkori pecsétek Esztergomból*, ed. A. Hegedűs, Esztergom 2000, 117, No. 89; 125, No. 95; *A középkori magyarország*, T. XII, No. 59, 63.

while serving the Holy Mass in front of the saint patron of the provost's temple as well as of the whole institution he lead. The seal of Spiš canon Goblinus offers an interesting parallel. It only displays a scene of a kneeling owner in front of an altar on which a chalice is placed. The seal is preserved on a document from 1301 by which the canons confirmed their choice of provost Paul. The owner is on both sides accompanied by a star and the Moon in a way that is known from the II. type of the institutional seal of the Chapter.⁴⁸ It is quite probable that these symbols have their origin in this seal.

The following provost Henry⁴⁹ (1316, fig. 4) placed his portrait in the smaller, bottom, part of the seal.⁵⁰ This is a typical adoration depiction. The provost is kneeling down with his hands clasped, looking upwards at the saint. In the combination seals of clerical dignitaries depicting the owner adoring saints is the most popular type of depiction. The provost's seal is dominated by the depiction of St. Martin as a bishop in the top part of the field.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Cf. Rábik, *Stredoveké cirkevné*, 326–329.

⁴⁹ Henry (1315–1322/1323) became the Spiš provost directly after holding the office of Buda Collegial Chapter's provost. Until 1318 he had also functioned as the chancellor of the Esztergom archbishop. In 1323 he was promoted to Veszprem bishop and left the Spiš region, v. Labanc, *Spišské prepošti*, 113–116; Pirhalla, *A Szepesi prépostság*, 43–44; Hradzsky, *Initia progressus*, 333.

⁵⁰ The seal is located in: SA Le, F. SaSk, Scr. X, Fasc. 1, No. 17. Measurements: 55 x 35 mm; shape: pointed-oval, circular text: S(igillum) HENRICI PRE[///] DE SCEPVS. An edition of a seal: cf. *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae* II, ed. V. Sedlák, Bratislava 1987, 56; Glejtec, *Nové poznatky*, 10; idem, *Stredoveká cirkevná*, 155.

⁵¹ After being named the bishop of Veszprem, Henry started using a new bishop's seal as well. Its iconography changed significantly. A dominant portrait motif is depicted in the pointed-oval field. In the



Fig. 6. The seal of provost Dominic (1357), Spiš Archive in Levoča (photo: Š. Péchy)



Fig. 7. The seal of provost Benedict (1363), after Vrteř, *Osem storočí*, 102 (photo: Š. Péchy)

Provost John⁵² (1345, fig. 5) kept a similar structure of the field in his seal.⁵³ There was, however, one significant change. In place of St. Martin the provost chose to depict Madonna with baby Jesus in her hands in the upper part of the field. This is a fundamental change. God's mother took preference over the institution's patron. We think that such serious diversion from customs could be

architectural framework there is a sitting figure of the prelate with his pontificals. On his head he has the miter, in his left hand he is holding the bishop's crosier, his right hand is raised in blessing and on the shoulders, on his chasuble, there is the rationale. Although his rationale resembles a pallium, he had no right to use it since he wasn't a head of an archdiocese, just a diocese. In the upper corner of the seal there is a small half-figure. As a result of the impression's quality it is not possible to determine its identity precisely. However, it seems to be the Madonna with a baby in her arms. The dominance of the owner's portrait is typical for the iconography of older types of bishop – portrait seals. But the small hagiographic motif placed above the bishop represents the penetration of new elements and the creation of more complicated combination seals. The seal is located in: MNL OL DF 230047 (1325).

⁵² In 1323 the Bosnian provost John (1323–1348/1349) was voted the Spiš provost. Until 1326 he had also held the rank of Esztergom archbishops Boleslaus and later Csanád's chancellor. In 1348 he attempted along with his mother, Queen Elizabeth, and King Ludovicus I. to elevate the Spiš Provostry to episcopate. Despite the early initiative the establishment of an episcopate did not occur. John died while holding the office of Spiš provost. In older sources he is mistakenly identified as a different John, who became the Veszprem bishop. It is, however, a refuted error, v. Labanc, *Spišské prepošti*, 116–130; Pirhalla, *A Szepesi prépostság*, 44–51; Hradzsky, *Initia progressus*, 335.

⁵³ The seal is located in: SA Le, F. SaSk, Scr. X, No. 20. Measurements: 45 x 35 mm; shape: pointed-oval, circular text: S(igillum) • IOH(ann)IS • P(re)POS(it)I • EC(c)LE(sie) S(ancti) • MART(ini) • DE • SCEP(us). An edition of a seal: Glejtek, *Stredoveká cirkevna*, 155–156; Rábik, *Stredoveké cirkevne*, 330–331; F. Žiřák, *Spiský prepošt Ján 3.1.27*, in: *Terra Scepusiensis – Terra Christiana 1209–2009*, ed. M. Novotná, Levoča 2009, 178–179. Another copy of the seal: MNL OL DL 31070 (1326); *A középkori magyarország*, 63–64, No. 4, T. XVIII.

the owner's expression of Marian reverence or its spread in the Chapter setting.

The following seal belonged to provost Dominic⁵⁴ (1357, fig. 6).⁵⁵ Like in the previous cases, it's filled with an architectural framework divided into two fields. In the central niche placed in the lower part there is the provost, turned to the left, with his hands clasped in prayer. Two Early Gothic coat of arms shields on the sides represent a new element. On the left side there is a double cross, on the right there is a jewel, both represent the Bubek family coat of arms.⁵⁶ A significant change occurred in the upper part of the field. The provost returned to depicting St. Martin. However, it isn't a portrayal of the bishop anymore. St. Martin is sitting on a horseback as a knight and he is dividing his cloak with the sword. He is handing a part of the cloak to a beggar placed behind the horse. This is a depiction of a known story about the meeting of St. Martin and

⁵⁴ When elected the provost of Spiš, Dominic (1375–1360) held the rank of provost at the Cathedral of St. Thomas Becket in Esztergom. During his office as the Spiš provost he spent most of the time outside the Provostry. It required having a deputy – the vicar. Several clerics had held this post. In 1360 he was elected the Csanád bishop. Cf. Labanc, *Spišské prepošti*, 138–145; idem, *Dominikus, Bischof von Cenad (1360–1373) und Oradea (1373–1374), und sein Wirken vor der Bischofsweihe*, *Transylvanian Review* 26/3 (2017) 80–93; I. Petrovics, *Bebek*, in: *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)*, ed. Gy. Kristó, Budapest 1994, 87; Pirhalla, *A Szepesi prépostság*, 54–56.

⁵⁵ The seal is located in: SA Le, F. SaSk, Scr. IX, Fasc. 5, No. 5. Circular text: S(igillum) DOMIN(ici) PREPO I SITI [SCEP] VSIEN(sis), cf. L. Vrteř, *Osem storočí slovenskej heraldiky*, Martin 2003, 89. The author incorrectly states that it is the seal of cleric Jacob, v. Labanc, *Dominikus*, 89.

⁵⁶ About the reconstruction of the family coat of arms v. J. Csoma, *Magyar sírkövek I. Bebek György sírköve 1371*, *Turul* 6/4 (1888) 160–164.



Fig. 8. The seal of provost Nicolas (1387), after Žižčák, *Spišský prepošt*, 180 (photo: Š. Péchy)

a beggar.⁵⁷ At the same time it is the motif of two types of institutional seals of the Spiš Chapter used from the thirteenth century.⁵⁸ Although this type of depiction of St. Martin was well known in the Chapter, no one until Dominic decided to get inspired by it. It was also the first time the coat of arms became a part of the provost's seal.

The seal of the following provost Benedict⁵⁹ (1363, fig. 7) is divided into three horizontal parts.⁶⁰ The bottom part is the smallest and it contains an Early Gothic shield with the provost's coat of arms. It is formed by a lying deer placed in a shield. In accordance with the gen-

⁵⁷ „Once in winter as he was passing through the gate he met a naked poor man. When nobody had given him a pittance, Martin understood that he was prepared for him, he drew his sword, divided the cloak he was wearing, gave one part of it to the poor man and the rest he put back on.“ cf. J. de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, Praha 2012, 320.

⁵⁸ Cf. Rábik, *Stredoveká cirkevné*, 326–329.

⁵⁹ Benedict (1360–1379) acquired the rank of Spiš provost as the chaplain of the King. It was the ruler Ludovicus I. himself who asked the Pope to reserve the Provostry for Benedict. We know that he finished the study of canon law at the university in Padova. As was the case with his predecessor, Benedict also let his vicar run the Provostry. In this case it was the member of the Chapter, canon-cantor Paul. In 1379 Benedict became the bishop of Veszprem, v. Labanc, *Spišský prepošti*, 145–148; Pirhalla, *A Szepesi prépostság*, 56; Hradszky, *Initia progressus*, 343.

⁶⁰ The seal is located in: SA Le, F. The Spiš Provostry, originally Spišské prepoštstvo, No. 82, v. Vrteľ, *Osem storočí*, 102. Measurements: 60 x 35 mm; shape: pointed-oval, circular text: S(igillum) BENEDICTI PREPOSITI ECCL(es)IE S(an)CT(i) MARTINI DE SCEPES. An edition of a seal: Glejtec, *Stredoveká cirkevné*, 156; Rábik, *Stredoveká cirkevné*, 331. Another copy of the seal: MNL OL DL 71650 (1371); *A középkori magyarország*, 67, No. 19, T. XX; Z. Bándi, *A Magyar Országos Levéltár Anjou-kori pecsétkiállítás*, 1982. szept. 22-től, *Levéltári Közlemények* 53 (1982) 189, No. 79.

eral trend, the provost's portrait started to be replaced by a much more appropriate and trendier identification symbol – his coat of arms. The middle part depicts St. Martin as a knight on horse, already known from Dominic's seal. The top part shows Madonna with baby Jesus in her arms placed in a niche. Provost Dominic was probably inspired by the seals of both of his predecessors and combined motifs known from John as well as Dominic in a single seal. At the same time he dispensed with the owner's adoration portrait.⁶¹

The next known seal belonged to provost Nicolas⁶² (1387, fig. 8).⁶³ The concept of the seal field is a little simpler. In the niche in the bottom corner there is the left turned kneeling figure of the seal's owner. The more dominating upper part is filled with a gothic architectural framework. It is dominated by a figure of a bishop with the miter on his head sitting on a throne. His right hand is raised in blessing. In his left hand he is holding the crozier and another object, probably a book. The figure may be interpreted in two possible ways. The first suggests that it is a depiction of the personal-baptismal patron of the seal's owner. It was St. Nicolas who is often depicted as a bishop. The fact that the provost would give priority to his personal patron over the patron of the clerical institution was not at all exceptional. In the Hungarian setting we know of several such cases not related solely to provosts, but other chapter members as well.⁶⁴ These seals could be called canting seals. Similar cases can be found in heraldry, when the coat of arms sign evokes the owner's name. The other possible interpretation proposes that it is, in fact, St. Martin, the Chapter's patron.

⁶¹ After leaving Spiš, Benedict as the bishop of Veszprem used an iconographically rich seal with a pointed-oval shape. In the upper part there is a half figure of Madonna. In the middle section there are two niches, St. Michael the Archangel – the patron of the Veszprem cathedral and diocese, is placed in the left one. In the right one there is St. Martin as a knight on a horse dividing his cloak with the sword. In the lower part of the seal there is the owner's figure flanked on both sides by an identical coat of arms seal with a stag. It is very interesting that Benedict preserved the memory of the Spiš Provostry's patron – St. Martin in his bishop's seal as well, although he had no longer worked there. He even preserved the iconographic depiction of the saint as a knight known from his provost seal. Likewise, in both of the seals he depicted a half-figure of Madonna in the upper part of the field. The seal is located in: MNL OL DL 69994 (1387); cf. *A középkori magyarország*, 53, No. 61, T. XIII; Bándi, *A Magyar Országos*, 188, No. 76.

⁶² At the time of being named the Spiš provost, Nicolas (1382–1392) was holding the rank of a secret chancellor to Queen Mary. It is mentioned in several charters relating to solving various disputes. They were related to the relationships between the provost and his subjects as well as between the provost and the Chapter. Nicola died as the Spiš provost, v. Labanc, *Spišský prepošti*, 150–152; N. C. Tóth, *A székes-és társaskáptalanok prépostjainak archontológiája 1387–1437*, Budapest 2013, 62; Hradszky, *Initia progressus*, 346; G. Érszegi, *Titkos kancellária*, in: *Korai magyar történelmi lexikon (9–14. század)*, ed. Gy. Kristó, Budapest 1994, 678; Pirhalla, *A Szepesi prépostság*, 61–63.

⁶³ The seal is located in: SA Le, F. SaSk, Scr. 4, Fasc. 5, No. 1. Measurements: 31 x 19 mm; shape: pointed-oval, circular text: S(igillum) . NICOLAI P(re)POSITI SCEPSIEN(sis). An edition of a seal: F. Žižčák, *Spišský prepošt Mikuláš 3.1.30*, in: *Terra Scepusiensis – Terra Christiana 1209–2009*, ed. M. Novotná, Levoča 2009, 180.

⁶⁴ For example the seal of Bratislava Chapter provost Serafin (1302) is a typical one. Instead of depicting St. Martin, the Chapter's patron, he chose Serafin with six pairs of wings. The seal of canonist-lecturer Mark (1396) is a typical seal for the Spiš environment. The field is filled with a winged lion with a book in its paws, the symbol of St. Mark the evangelist. Cf. M. Glejtec, *Niekoľko poznámok k vzťahu medzi cirkevnou heraldikou a sfragistikou*, *Genealogicko-heraldický hlas* 27/1–2 (2017) 20.



Fig. 9. Reconstruction of the seal of provost George (1421), after Glejtek, *Nové poznatky*, 12 (drawing: M. Glejteková)



Fig. 10. Reconstruction of the coat of arms seal of George of Kaniža (1402), after Glejtek, *Nové poznatky*, 11 (drawing: M. Glejteková)

The last known great seal belonged to provost George⁶⁵ (1421, fig. 9).⁶⁶ It is horizontally divided into

⁶⁵ When named the Spiš provost, George (1419–1433) was the provost of Győr. Originally, he came from the Spiš region and his family belonged to the most significant citizens of Kežmarok. His life was strongly influenced by the Hussite campaigns. In 1433 provost George became their captive, too. He was taken to Prague, where he died, v. Labanc, Glejtek, *Spišské prepošstvo*, 34–35; Tóth, *A székes- és társaskáptalanok*, 62; Hradsky, *Initia progressus*, 360–361.

⁶⁶ The seal is located in: MNL OL DL 74887. Measurements: 42 x 28 mm; shape: pointed-oval, circular text: S[igillum] GEORGII

two parts. In the lower one there is the provost's coat of arms shield. The coat of arms figure is a goat standing on a crown and leaning up against a cliff.⁶⁷ The more extensive upper part is filled with a standing knight dressed in a cloak. This representation of a saint has no parallel in the environment of the Spiš Chapter. I think, it is again a depiction of the provost's personal patron. The issue, however, cannot be definitively closed at the moment. The fact remains that the fifteenth century brought a significant loosening of the seal customs. If the provost had chosen his personal patron over the institutional one, it would have corresponded to the overall development of the clerical official's seals. This represents only a step from using pure coat of arms seals without any link to the institutional saint patron.

Other types of Spiš provosts' seals

In addition to great seals, some provosts used other types of seals as well. These were not the main seals, they occupied a hierarchically lower position in the provost's office. In regards to the fact that we don't know their period designation it is difficult to determine their type.⁶⁸ We must satisfy ourselves with the description alone. As of now we know four types of these seals belonging to three provosts. All of them are filled with a coat of arms motif. The oldest belonged to provost George of Kaniža⁶⁹ (1402, fig. 10).⁷⁰ The center part is not filled with the entire coat of arms, only with a typical Kanižai's coat of arms figure – the eagle's wing with claws around the edges. In the case of provost George of Brezovica we know of an unclear impression containing probably a coat of arms with a helmet (1432, fig. 11).⁷¹ The last two known types of coat of arms seals belonged to provost John Stock,⁷²

[///] PREPOSITI [///]. An edition of a seal: Glejtek, *Nové poznatky*, 12; idem, *Stredoveká cirkevná*, 157.

⁶⁷ Reconstruction of the coat of arms according to the coat of arms shield of the second member of the Berzevici family line placed on the document. Cf. J. Siebmacher, G. Csergheő, *Wappenbuch des Adels von Ungarn sammt den Nebenländern des St. Stephans Krone*, Nürnberg 1885–1892 (CD verzia, Arcanum Adatabasis), heslo: Berzeviczy de Berzevicze.

⁶⁸ These could be smaller ring or secret seals. Precise definition of the type of seal is, however, rather difficult in Hungarian sources, since during the entire Middle Ages the terminology wasn't settled and the same seal often had two different names, v. Glejtek, *Výmena veľkých*, 9.

⁶⁹ The naming of George of Kaniža (1393–1405/1406) the provost of Spiš was probably related to his cousin John's status. He held the rank of Esztergom archbishop. Doubts about George's ability to maintain the office were raised the canonic visitation of the Esztergom Chapter from 1397. It mentions the Pope's condition stating that if he is not able to speak Latin, sing and swear an oath, he must learn it within a year. He then held the office of Spiš provost until 1405/1406. At that time he became provost of the Chapter in Požega, v. Labanc, *Spišské prepošti*, 152–155; Tóth, *A székes- és társaskáptalanok*, 62; Hradsky, *Initia progressus*, 348.

⁷⁰ The seal is located in: MNL OL DL 60492. Measurements: 25 x 13 mm; shape: oval; circular text: S[IGILLVM] GEORGII PREPOSITI. An edition of a seal: Glejtek, *Nové poznatky*, 11.

⁷¹ Measurements: Ø 13 mm; shape: circular; without legend. An edition of a seal: Glejtek, *Nové poznatky*, 13.

⁷² Before his arrival to Spiš John Stock (1433–1464) had held the office of St. Peter Collegial Chapter's provost in Old Buda. In addition to this, he was a physician and an advisor to King Sigismund of Luxembourg. He came from Silesia and studied in Krakow and Vi-

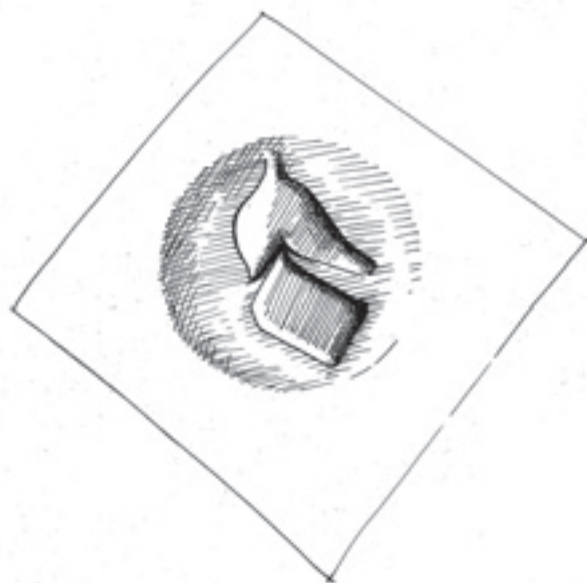


Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the coat of arms seal of provost George of Brezovica (1432), after Glejtek, *Nové poznatky*, 13 (drawing: M. Glejteková)



Fig. 12. The seal of provost John Stock (1449), after Vrteř, *Osem storočí*, 127 (photo: ř. Pěchy)

they are of octagonal shape and differ in size (1449,⁷³ 1450,⁷⁴ fig. 12). Again, they are not filled with the entire coat of arms, only with the coat of arms figure – crossed sprigs with roots. While in the case of the latter provost we cannot preclude the existence of another – great seal, his successors probably systematically used only the coat of arms seals of smaller dimensions corresponding to the new age development.⁷⁵

The overall review of the seal iconography

Between the years 1201 and 1511 twenty one known persons held the office of Spiř provost.⁷⁶ There were nine seals at our disposal, which we denominated as the so called great ones (Scheme I.). Their uniform representation enables us to relatively reliably map the gradual evolution of their physical appearance (shape, size), but more importantly the changes of the seal image. The oldest phase, from the time of the Chapter's establishment

enna. In 1422 he received his Doctorate of Medicine in Padova. In the first part of his residence in Spiř he mostly served the rulers. Later he focused mainly on running the Provostry. Among his most significant achievements was the convocation of the Synod to Levoča in 1460 and the beginning of an extensive reconstruction of the St. Martin Cathedral itself. He died while holding the office, v. Labanc, Glejtek, *Spiřské prepořtstvo*, 35–36; Tóth, *A székes- és társaskáptalanok*, 62; Pirhalla, *A Szepesi prépostság*, 85–101; Hradzky, *Initia progressus*, 363.

⁷³ The seal published by: Vrteř, *Osem storočí*, 127. Measurements: 35 x 35 mm; shape: octagonal; the text is illegible. An edition of a seal: Glejtek, *Stredoveká cirkevná*, 157; Rábik, *Stredoveké cirkevné*, 332.

⁷⁴ The seal is located in: The Spiř Episcopate Archive (Archív Spiřského biskupstva), F. Place of Authentication – the Spiř Chapter, originally Hodnoverné miesto Spiřská kapitula, shape: octagonal, the text is illegible. An edition of a seal: M. Glejtek, *Pečate spiřských prepořtov od polovice 15. storočia do roku 1776*, in: *Studia theologica Scepusiensia III. Z dejín Spiřského prepořtstva*, ed. L. Hromják, Spiřské Podhradie 2010, 253.

⁷⁵ The seals of Spiř provosts from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century were all coat of arms seals. Cf. Glejtek, *Pečate spiřských*, 251–271 (figs. XXVII–XXXVIII).

⁷⁶ Cf. Labanc, Glejtek, *Spiřské prepořtstvo*, 39–40.

till the first known seal of provost Mothmerius (1278) is, however, missing. Before he entered the office there had been two provosts: Adolf and Mathew. Since we have no information about any of Adolf's documents and in the case of Mathew we only know of few, the absence of a preserved seal is not surprising.⁷⁷ However, we are able to state that at least Mathew surely owned a seal. Corroborations of some of his documents say that he used his own seal (*sigilli nostri*) for sealing a document.⁷⁸ We don't know what its appearance was and what image it bore. If we look at parallels from settings outside Hungary, it was common in the first half of the thirteenth century to depict the owner's portrait.⁷⁹ We may, however, also consider hagiographic symbolism referring to the Chapter's patron, as we know from the provosts' seals of the second half of the thirteenth century. In regards to the lack of sources from the oldest known phase in the thirteenth century, special attention should be paid to the seal of provost Mothmerius. Specific combination of elements in the representation of the saint bishop (Western as well as Eastern elements) has no parallel among seals of Hungarian prelates. Hagiographic scene of the Chapter's patron corresponds to other known seals of Hungarian provosts of this period. Provost Jacob's seal breaks out of the overall context of seal evolution. It fully corresponds to the scheme of period bishop seals. Later seals developed combined iconographic schemes. They typically combine the

⁷⁷ About issuing of documents on Spiř between 1235 and 1270 cf. P. Labanc, *Neznáme diplomatické pramene k dejinám Spiřa z obdobia vlády Bela IV. (Príspevok k Spiřskému diplomatáru II.)*, in: *Z minulosti Spiřa*, ed. I. Chalupceřký, Levoča 2015, 213–214.

⁷⁸ E.g. document from 1245, cf. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris*, 129, No. 194.

⁷⁹ Cf. I. Guerreau, *Klerikersiegel der Diözesen Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Paderborn und Verden im Mittelalter (um 1000 – 1500)*, Hannover 2013, 311–312; J. Pakulski, *řredniwieczne pieczęcie prałatów i kanoników kapituł katedralnych metropolii gnieźnieńskiej*, in: *Duchowieństwo kapitułne w Polsce řredniowiecznej i wczesnonowożytniej*, ed. A. Radziwiński, Toruń 2000, 180–181; W. Ewald, *Siegelkunde*, Berlin 1914, 219.



Scheme 1. Evolution of large seals of Spiš provosts in the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries

seals owner's portrait with figures of saints. The owner is gradually accompanied and later fully replaced by the identification symbol *pars excellence*, his personal coat of arms. The mentioned elements are usually set into a Gothic architectural framework formed by a combination of pillars, pinnacles, tabernacles and niches. They appear in the same way in many other pieces of art. We can watch the evolution of depicting St. Martin (bishop, knight) as well as the owner (pontification portrait, serving of the Holy Mass, praying). Identifying the saints in seals of provost Nicolas and provost George is difficult. In these cases it is possible to lean more towards depiction of personal baptismal patrons, St. Nicolas and St. George. However, we cannot discount the possibility that it is, actually, St. Martin. Totally unexpected is episodic omission of the figure of St. Martin and its replacement by Madonna, even if we only see it in the seal of provost John. On the contrary, depicting just the saint patron alone is known only from a single seal, the very first seal belonging to provost Mothmerius. From the artistic rendering point of view, all provosts' seals reflect the artistic movements of their period. At the same time they point to possibilities of the submitter (the provost) as well as the executor (the engraver). In majority of the cases it seems that these are pieces of art created under local conditions and they do not significantly outclass the average production. If we compared them with seals of contemporary Hungarian cardinals or some of the bishops, we would see a significantly lower level of artistic rendition. It suggests that provosts most likely had their seals made under local conditions. The seal of provost Dominic is exceptional to a point. It is the most accomplished and of the highest quality among known Spiš provosts' seals. We can notice a detailed damascening of the surface behind the hagiographic scene as well as the finishing of the architectural elements with tiny pinnacles. This seal is the one that most closely evokes the high quality seals of the highest prelates and it is quite possible that it was created in one of the more important Hungarian centers or even outside Hungary.

Based on their iconography the large seals of Spiš provosts correspond with the evolution of provosts' seals in other Hungarian chapters. It was typical in the thirteenth century to depict the patron saint of the chapter or his symbol in the rounded field of a seal.⁸⁰ There are

⁸⁰ Cf. the seals of Buda provosts Akos and John: MNL OL DL 457 (1257); 643 (1272), v. M. Glejtek, *Pečate členov kapitúl v stredovekom Uhorsku. Príspevok k ikonografii a premenám personálnych pečatí*

provosts who preferred this conception in later times as well.⁸¹ Gradually, other motifs were added up. We can also see, as was the case in Spiš, the owners' personal patrons,⁸² a combination of various saints⁸³ or a connection of hagiographic, portrait and heraldic motifs.⁸⁴ In the fifteenth century smaller coat of arms seals, which we are going to deal with, became increasingly popular.⁸⁵

In addition to great seals we also mentioned four coat of arms seals, belonging to three provosts. There is no doubt, though, that other provosts used them as well. These seals were practical and at the beginning had been used mostly for sealing documents of temporary validity (e.g. letters, reports). It means they were often destroyed along with the document right after their keeping became unnecessary. The preserved sources suggest that these smaller size seals were filled mainly with the owner's coat of arms. Archbishops and bishops also used these seals.⁸⁶ The first provost who supposedly started using his coat of arms seal only was John Stock. In the late Middle Ages it was typical for the clerical dignitaries to use their great ostentatious seals less frequently and to switch over to simpler, cheaper and more practical seals (often ring seals). It coincides with the evolution of provosts' seals in the fif-

prepoštov a kanonikov, in: *Mikulovské kolejni kabinety pomocných věd historických I*, ed. K. Maráz, Brno 2017, 184–185. There, v. the general overview of the evolution of provosts' seals in Hungary.

⁸¹ Cf. the seal of the Bratislava provost Laurentius: MNL OL DL 42762 (1401).

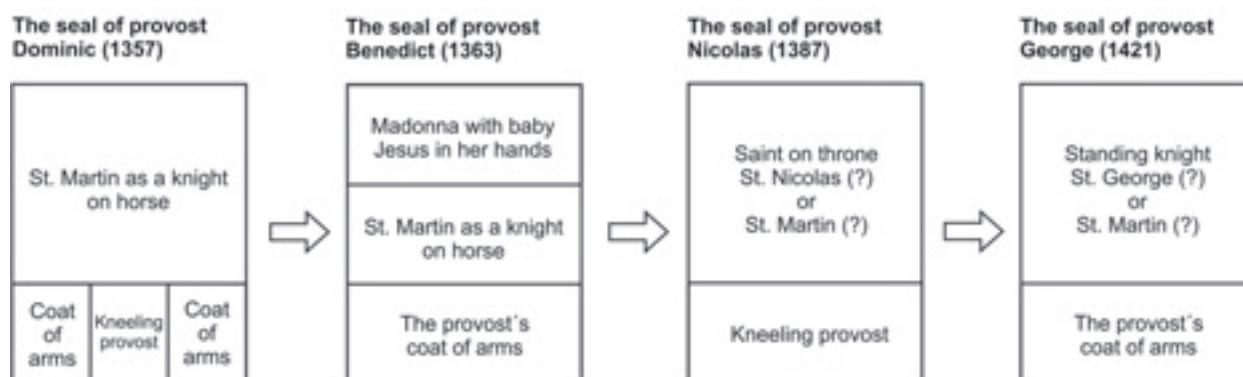
⁸² Cf. the seal of the Bratislava provost Serafinus: *Regesta diplomatica*, No. 14 (1302), v. Glejtek, *Pečate členov*, 185.

⁸³ Cf. the seals of the Esztergom provost Theofil *A középkori Magyarország*, 63, No. 1, T. XVIII and the Veszprem provost John MNL OL DL 5159 (1363); *A középkori Magyarország*, 67, No. 18, T. XX.

⁸⁴ Cf. the seal of the Varadinum (Oradea) provost Michael: MNL OL DL 8569 (1400); Buda provosts Stephen: MNL OL DL 5076 (1361) and Lukas: MNL OL DL 3750 (1390); *A középkori Magyarország*, 66–67, No. 16, T. XX, 68, No. 23, T. XXI.

⁸⁵ Cf. the seal of the Esztergom provost Dominic: MNL OL DL 102437 (1424); the seal of the Eger provost Phillip MNL OL DL 14367 (1450); the seal of the Eger provost Lukas MNL OL DL 17600 (1474); the seal of the Szekesfehervar provost Dominic: MNL OL DF 201479 (1483).

⁸⁶ There is a relatively large number of examples from Hungary from as early as the fourteenth century. Many documents sealed by these types of seals can serve as a prove of their popularity. A seal that initially served as an accessory seal started to substitute the great seal for practical reasons. Many samples v. P. Lövei, „... jelen levelünket ... szokott pecsétjeinkkel meg is erősítettük ...”, *Sokpecsétes oklevelek megpecsételési folyamata*, in: *A feledés árja alól új földeket hódítok vissza*, ed. I. Bardoly, L. Jurecskó, Gy. Sümegi, Budapest 2009, 109–117; D. Csánki, *Harminczhat pecsétes oklevél 1511–ből (Első közlemény)*, Turul 5/1 (1887) 1–11.



teenth century outside Hungary, as we are going to show below. One of the first people who significantly changed their seals in accordance with this trend were the chapter canons and provosts. Archbishops and bishops' seals underwent this change in the first half of the sixteenth century. The switch from splendid seals to the smaller coat of arms seals can denote a symbolic change from the Middle Ages to the modern times in the area of using seals within clerical settings.⁸⁷

To be able to fully assess the material introduced in this study we need to place it into context of development in other chapters outside Hungary. The most important sources are from a period not documented in the Hungarian Kingdom. In Polish cathedral chapters during the whole thirteenth century we find mostly portrait seals depicting its provost as a standing figure, holding for example a cross, a book or a candle. In the fourteenth century combination seals with the praying owner started to appear. In the second half of the fourteenth century as well as in the fifteenth century seals started to be dominated by the coat of arms, like in Hungary.⁸⁸ This development essentially corresponds to the evolution in Germany. In the thirteenth century the owner's portrait dominated. In the first half of the fourteenth century it was accompanied by the owner's coat of arms and during the whole fourteenth century we may witness various combinations of depicting saint patrons, either adored by the owner in the bottom part of the seal, or accompanied, or substituted, by his coat of arms. In the fifteenth century seals started to be dominated by the coat of arms or by a combination of the coat of arms and a hagiographic motif.⁸⁹ The portrait seal as the first iconographic phase of the provosts' seals in the thirteenth century is known also in the Czech Kingdom. The provost is depicted as a clergyman, either standing or sitting, often holding a palm, a book, etc. in his hands. We also know of cases when the owner is depicted crossing himself, typical mostly for bishops, but also, for example, dictating a text. As early as the second half of the thirteenth century a purely hagiographic motif (depiction of a saint patron) started to appear along with the adoration motif (the kneeling owner praying to a saint). In the fourteenth century the range of motifs widened. Alongside the

typical combination seals (saint – praying owner – coat of arms) there were also simpler scenes of saints' symbols. In the fifteenth century the coat of arms in various versions started to significantly dominate the seals, as was known from other territories.⁹⁰ In this context Hungarian sources also fit into the overall evolution of the provosts' seal images in the Middle and Western Europe. We may not, however, talk about any kind of uniformity. On the contrary, the seals of representatives as well as the members of chapters demonstrate an interesting variability. It is often influenced by the customs of a particular chapter as well as by individual ideas of the seal's owner.⁹¹ This variability manifested itself even more in the seals of common chapter members. For comparison we are going to mention a few examples from Spiš. Despite the fact that from the chapter's establishment till the end of the Middle Ages there had been dozens of clerics, we only know of less than ten canonic seals preserved till today. In the case of canons the range of motifs is relatively wide. The reason might be that many of them had not been tied only to the Spiš Chapter, but functioned as priests in parishes or other chapters. We have already mentioned, for example, the seal of canon Goblinus (1301), depicting the owner serving the Holy Mass.⁹² The seal of canon Jacob, however, comes from the same period.⁹³ In his case it is more of a seal of the priest of Spišské Vlasy.⁹⁴ Depiction of the canon praying to Agnus Dei also represents the parochial saint patron – St. John Baptist. Canon Frovinus' seal (1342) combines Marian symbolism with the image of St. Peter, probably referring to his Polish canonry.⁹⁵ The seal of canon Paul (1362), divided into two parts, comes closest to provosts' seals.⁹⁶ In the lower part we may see the

⁹⁰ V. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Regni Bohemiae* VII/6, ed. K. Maráz, Brunae 2013, 25–29, T. XIV–XVII; J. Krejčíková, T. Krejčík, *Úvod do české sfragistiky*, Ostrava 1989, 63–67.

⁹¹ Cf. M. Gumowski, *Sfragistyka polska*, in: *Sfragistyka*, M. Gumowski, M. Haisig, S. Mikucki, Warszawa 1960, 216. While the majority of provosts in the first half of the fourteenth century shifted from portrait seals to combination seals, there are many cases when the purely portrait seals held on till the end of the fourteenth century. In the Austrian environment cf. P. Kletler, *Die Kunst im Österreichischen Siegel*, Wien 1927, figs. 23, 28, 30, 37, 102 (T. XIII–XV; XXXVII).

⁹² Cf. Glejtek, *Stredoveká cirkevná*, 158; Rábik, *Stredoveké cirkevné*, 332.

⁹³ Cf. Glejtek, *op. cit.*, 158; Rábik, *op. cit.*, 332.

⁹⁴ The seal's circular text directly refers to it, too: + S(igillum) IACOBI [PLEB?]ANI D' LATIN[A//]. *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Cf. Glejtek, *op. cit.*, 158–159; idem, *Nové poznatky*, 6, 13–14.

⁹⁶ Cf. Glejtek, *Stredoveká cirkevná*, 159; Rábik, *op. cit.*, 333.

⁸⁷ Cf. M. Glejtek, *Vývoj erbů vyšších církevních hodnostářů na Slovensku do konca stredoveku*, in: *Kontinuita a diskontinuita genealógie a heraldiky*, ed. Š. Drahošová, P. Keresteš, M. Šišmiš, Martin 2010, 63–68.

⁸⁸ Cf. Pakulski, *Średniowieczne pieczęcie*, 181–186.

⁸⁹ Cf. Guerreau, *Klerikersiegel*, 311–317.

canon in adoration posture and in the upper part there is the figure of St. Martin as a bishop. Canon John (1396) probably depicted the whole figure of St. Martin, too.⁹⁷ But the following canonic seals are already dominated by personal symbols. Canon Mark (1396) depicted a winged lion in his seal, which is a symbol of his own baptismal patron.⁹⁸ Another canon John (1412) kept the great pointed-oval type of seal, but he filled it with his own coat of arms.⁹⁹ And the following known seals have the character of smaller round shaped matrices that are not tied to any chapter patron saints.¹⁰⁰ The abandonment of great Late Gothic pointed-oval seals correlates with the evolution of provosts' seals. Based on the preserved sources, though, it is not possible to come to any precise conclusions. It is apparent, however, that canonic seals partially copy the metamorphosis of the provosts' seals. After the initial phase represented by portraits, through depiction of chapter's saint patrons, all the way to the last phase, beginning as early as the end of the fourteenth century, characterized by the preference of seals depicting the owner's personal saint patron or his coat of arms. We need to add seals respecting the canons' other stations. Similar variability can also be observed in seals of other lower ranked clerics (priests, vicars, etc.).

The study has predominantly dealt with the iconographic assessment and description of changes to Middle Ages Spiš provosts' seals. The significance of studying these artefacts, however, lies in one more important area. The seal matrix, through which the seals were created, belonged to a small number of personal items that could be studied. Undoubtedly, there were more factors influencing the appearance of the seal matrix and the choice of image for the seal. It had to match the period customs and conventions, because stability and immutability had been values that the Middle Ages society appreciated for a long time. On the other hand, we can see that many of these seals brought new elements and ideas.¹⁰¹ The seals included in this study demonstrate that none of the provosts mechanically copied the motifs of his predecessors. There was always an innovation, which made the seal unique. Obviously, we are unable to determine who stood behind these changes. It could have just been the engraver's invention. However, we cannot preclude the possibility that seals also reflected the future owner's personal ideas (esthetic taste, religious feelings).¹⁰² The seal, after all, was the provost's main identification element, it reflected his status and, thus, represented him during one of the most significant forms of communication – issuing of documents. The seal was, surely, one of the main means of symbolic communication, through which the owner mediated information about himself to the document's recipient.¹⁰³ The seal also represented a

medium through which cultural and art transfers from various clerical as well as profane environments in the Hungarian Kingdom occurred. Only in the cases of three of the known provosts can we say with certainty that they had their family ancestry in Spiš. Many came from the close vicinity of kings and queens as their chancellors and advisors. Others worked in clerical institutions. Each clerical center had its own traditions and specifics. The provosts then brought their experience from other social, artistic and intellectual environments into their new station. Undoubtedly, they applied a lot of these in their new environment. Their own preferences cannot be underestimated even in the case of their seals' appearance. The seals belonging to provosts who resided in other places before or after their Spiš residency enable us to make interesting comparisons. We can return to the two seals of cleric Benedict. After being named Veszprem bishop, he left Spiš. In his new (bishop's) seal, he atypically depicted St. Martin, reminiscing his previous residency. Clearly, this must have been the provost's wish that can be considered quite unusual. On the other hand, provost Paul totally abandoned his older iconographic scheme (with St. Paul) after moving from Kaloča Chapter to Spiš. The similarity of depicting a priest while serving the holy mass with the seal of canon Goblin suggests new inspirations in Spiš. In connection with Paul we need to mention another fact. Even one year after being elected the Spiš provost he used the outdated seal matrix from Kaloča. It might have been the result of his tenuous position related to the clerical-political situation. After being elected, the provost did not reside in Spiš and his position was not certain for some time.¹⁰⁴ This insecurity may have led to a delay in creating a new seal matrix. We also shouldn't discount a need of longer time for preparing the new seal matrix.¹⁰⁵

Based on the status of preserved sources within written material that has been known to us so far, we consider the complex of great provosts' seals to be almost complete. However, other sources might be discovered in smaller archive funds. Predominantly, we predict discoveries of other than great seals on various types of documents which have been escaping the scholars' attention. These discoveries might deepen our knowledge and make it more precise. The question of using great seals by the last medieval provosts (J. Stock, J. Bak, J. Horvath) also remains open. The fact that we have not been able to find out if any of them used great combination seals, may or may not suggest that they'd had no need to own them. Particularly interesting subject requiring further study is the relationship between the seals of provosts and their subordinates, the canons. It seems that a takeover of motifs and inspirations occurred in several cases and we need to find out if this happened between provosts and canons within one chapter or between members of various chapters. Last but not least, the comparison of the research results with other types of sources would be a challenge for further scholars.

⁹⁷ Cf. Glejtek, *op. cit.*, 160; idem, *Nové poznatky*, 6, 13–14.

⁹⁸ Cf. idem, *Stredoveká cirkevná*, 160; idem, *Nové poznatky*, 6, 16–17.

⁹⁹ Cf. idem, *Stredoveká cirkevná*, 160; Vrteř, *Osem storočí*, 126.

¹⁰⁰ Glejtek, *op. cit.*, 161; idem, *Nové poznatky*, 17–18.

¹⁰¹ Cf. T. Krejčík, *Ikongrafie cirkevných pečeti v českém státě ve 13.–15. století*, in: *Sacri canones servandi sunt, Ius canonicum et status ecclesiae saeculis XIII–XV*, ed. P. Krafl, Praha 2008, 525.

¹⁰² Glejtek, *Pečata ako prostriedok*, 322, 348.

¹⁰³ However, we are not able to talk about individuality in the current sense of the word. A person had been identified mainly with his particular „professional“ group in society and he also adjusted

his own individual identification symbols to this group, v. B. M. Bedos-Rezak, *Medieval identity: a sign and a concept*, in: *Medieval coins and seals. Constructing identity, signifying power*, ed. S. Solway, Turnhout 2015, 23–63.

¹⁰⁴ Labanc, *Spišskí prepošti*, 106–107.

¹⁰⁵ For the analysis of several cases of Hungarian prelates v. Glejtek, *Výmena veľkých*, 10–14.

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Иконографске промене црквених печата у средњовековном угарском краљевству (пример провоста каптола Спиша)

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Студија је посвећена опису и иконографској анализи печата које су користили у средњем веку провости Спишког колегијалног каптола светог Мартина. Тај каптол је био важна црквена институција на северној граници угарског краљевства. Данас знамо за осам великих средњовековних печата спишких провоста и неколико других типова њихових печата из периода од XIII до XV века. Најстарији је печат провоста Мотмерија (1287). На њему је представљена полуфигура светог Мартина као бискупа, али са неуобичајеним крстовима у рукама. Док је представа његове фигуре у сагласности са западноевропским обичајима, крстови у његовим рукама указују на византијски утицај. Власник следећег сачуваног печата је провост и бискуп *ad personam* Јаков (1298). На том печату изведен је провостов понтификални портрет на начин који је био типичан за печате угарских бискупа у XIII веку. Следећи провост Павле (1313) поделио је поље свог печата у два одељка. У доњем је представа свештеника који служи свету мису. Мање, горње поље заузима полуфигура светог Мартина као бискупа. Комбиновани печати који представљају власника упоредо са неком хагиографском сценом, касније надопуњени грбом, постају најпопуларније типско решење печата високих прелата од почетка XIV века. Наредни провост, Хенри (1316), додао је под ликом светог Мартина на печату властити портрет у виду клечеће фигуре у молитви. На следећем печату, који је припадао провосту Јовану (1326), фигура светог Мартина замењена је представом Богородице с Христом младенцем у рукама. Такво решење упућује можда на провостово посебно поштовање Богородице, јер јој је при избору решења за свој печат дао предност у односу на патрона Каптола. На печату провоста Доминика среће се, први пут, власников грб на два штита (1357), а између њих портрет клечећег провоста. Горњи део заузима фигура светог Мартина као витеза на коњу, који мачем дели свој огртач и даје један његов део просјаку. Та сцена може се видети и на другим средњовековним

печатима каптола Спиша. На печату провоста Бенедикта, власник је заступљен само представом свог грба (1363). Средишње поље печата заузима сцена са светим Мартином, као на печату провоста Доминика. Изнад тога је представљена Богородица са Христом дететом у рукама, каква се могла видети на печату провоста Јована. Следећи печат припадао је провосту Николи (1387). Његов доњи део испуњава клечећа фигура власника, а у горњем делу печата је представљен неки бискуп на престолу. То може бити власников лични заштитник свети Никола. Друго могуће објашњење је да је на печату представљен свети Мартин. Последњи познати комбиновани печат, који је припадао провосту Георгију, има власников грб у доњем делу (1421). Горње поље садржи представу витеза. То може бити власников патрон-имењак Георгије, али реч такође може бити и о некој нетипичној представи светог Мартина. Поред великих печата, познато је и неколико грбовних печата провоста. Грб, или неки знак са грба, постао је основа свих печата провоста и у новије доба.

Описани узорци омогућују да се сагледају све основне еволутивне фазе метаморфоза печата провоста од XIII столећа. Може се уочити неколико постепених промена у представљању светог патрона Каптола, као и у представљању власничких портрета. Упркос поштовању основних обичаја датог периода, сваки печат је оригиналан. Сви власници су модификовали основни модел да би дошли до решења свог печата. Иако није могуће поуздано утврдити да ли су те модификације последица јасне намере сваког наредног провоста или инвенција творца калуца за печат, оне сведоче о засебном приступу припреми сваког печата. Поменути печати представљају значајне изворе који бацају светло на развој иконографске композиције печата провоста у Средњој Европи. Њихов значај постаје још већи ако се у обзир узме чињеница да се у каптолима Угарске Краљевине веома ретко проналазе сачувани печати који су припадали провостима.

