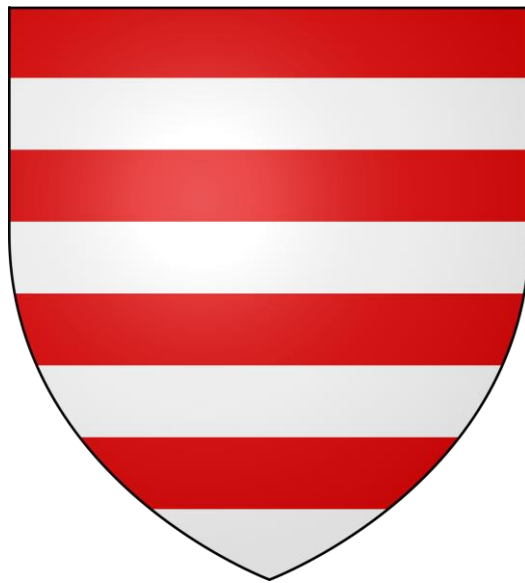


Jordan Voltz

**HOW THE ÁRPÁDS GOT THEIR STRIPES:
CHANGES IN THE DENOTATION OF THE ÁRPÁD STRIPES
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES**



MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2020

**HOW THE ÁRPÁDS GOT THEIR STRIPES: CHANGES IN THE DENOTATION OF
THE ÁRPÁD STRIPES DURING THE MIDDLE AGES**

by

Jordan Voltz

(United States)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique,
Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

Examiner

Budapest
May 2020

**HOW THE ÁRPÁDS GOT THEIR STRIPES: CHANGES IN THE DENOTATION
OF THE ÁRPÁD STRIPES DURING THE MIDDLE AGES**

by

Jordan Voltz

(United States)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique,
Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Reader

Budapest
May 2020

**HOW THE ÁRPÁDS GOT THEIR STRIPES: CHANGES IN THE DENOTATION
OF THE ÁRPÁD STRIPES DURING THE MIDDLE AGES**

by

Jordan Voltz

(United States)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique,
Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Supervisor

Budapest
May 2020

I, the undersigned, **Jordan Voltz**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 31 May 2020

Signature

Abstract

This paper looks at the changes in the denotation of the Árpád stripes during the Middle Ages (1000-1526) by analyzing royal seals, the *Chronicon Pictum*, and the *Chronica Hungarorum*. Beginning as a powerful symbol wielded by members of the Árpád dynasty, it was also used by important magnates in the Hungarian kingdom. The Angevins used the Árpád stripes to indicate their descent from the saintly Árpád dynasty and transformed it into a symbol to represent the dynasty. After the Angevins, the Árpád stripes took on a royal or territorial meaning, and were often paired with the patriarchal cross in order to indicate the Hungarian kingdom or its territory. It also plays a key role in representations of the *natio Hungarica* in the above chronicles, where the Árpád stripes illustrate the longevity of the Hun-Hungarian connection.

Acknowledgements

This paper is dedicated to Johnathan Morales (Westmore) and Linda Schwartz, who have always encouraged me to pursue my own path and never doubted that I could overcome its obstacles.

This paper is also dedicated to my family: My mothers Ty and Shawn; my fathers Scott and Tim; my grandparents Mary and Jeff; my sisters Rachel, Vanessa, Raquel, and Tiffany; my aunts, uncles, and cousins of which there are too many to name, but Auntie Eve and my cousin Jack deserve special mention. A very special mention belongs to Mary and Eve, who have been unswerving pillars of support and encouragement since I was born.

One day, I hope that they all will experience the beauty that I have found in Hungary.

Very special thanks go to my friends: my class cohort, Dana Bergman, Bree Elise, Colton Seth, and Geoffrey McGinnis. Love and thanks to Viktoriia Dremova for supporting me during the writing of this thesis.

Academic thanks belong to the numerous professors who have helped me with this thesis: Gábor Klaniczay, András Gerő, Constantin Iordachi, and József Laszlovszky to name a few. Special thanks to Roland Szaniszló for assistance in research and translation.

Table of contents

List of Abbreviations	v
Introduction.....	1
0.1 Fáber vs. Hungary: Before and Beyond.....	2
0.2 Aims and Methodology.....	7
0.3 Historiography	14
Chapter 1: Conflicted Origins and Inter-Dynastic Conflict – The Árpáds	18
1.1 Theories of Origin- ‘Native’ and ‘Foreign,’ Aragonia and St. Stephen	20
1.2 The Use of the Árpád Stripes by Árpádians	27
1.3 The Use of the Symbol by Non-Árpádians.....	35
1.4 Chapter 1 Conclusion.....	39
Chapter 2: Fixing the Stripes to the Dynasty - The Angevins	41
2.1 The Angevins, The <i>Beata Stirps</i> , and the Stripes	44
2.2 Angevin Heraldry in Architecture and Seals	46
2.3 The Árpád Stripes in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle	50
2.4 Chapter 2 Conclusion.....	58
Chapter 3: The Stripes and the Kingdom and Territory of Hungary	59
3.1 The Seals of the Kings of Hungary after the Angevins	65
3.2 <i>Chronica Hungarorum</i> , Matthias, and the Árpád Stripes.....	76
3.3 Chapter 3 Conclusion.....	84

Conclusion	86
Bibliography	88

List of Abbreviations

CHAP János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Pelzo, 1488, Augsburg, p. 74, accessed May 29, 2020. <http://thuroczykronika.atw.hu/pdf/Thuroczy.pdf>

CHAS János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár: Digitális Könyvtár [Széchényi State Library: Digital Library] Elektronikus Dokumentum [Electronic Documents], *Latin*, 2599, 1488, Augsburg, accessed May 29, 2020. <http://nbn.urn.hu/N2L?urn:nbn:hu-101285>.

Some of the royal portraits of Árpád rulers are absent from the CHAS manuscript, and the author will refer to CHAP for these portraits.

CHAC János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Biblioteca Digitala BCU Cluj [Digital Library BCU Cluj], Latin, FCS BMV10 1488, Augsburg, fol. 1a.

CHHe János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, German, Cod. Pal. germ. 156, 1490, accessed May 29, 2020. <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg156/0001>.

CHBr János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Evangelikus Országos Könyvtár [State Evangelical Library], Latin, EOK R 1.453 – GW M 14782, 1488, Brno, accessed May 29, 2020. https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/EvangelikusOsnyomtatvanyok_EOK_R_1453/?pg=128&layout=s.

List of Figures, Tables or Illustrations

- Figure 1: October 23rd 2006, around Corvin Center. József Debreczeni, A 2006-os ősz [The Autumn of 2006] (Budapest: DE.HUKÖNYV, 2012), 289.....4
- Figure 2: Protestors steal a decommissioned tank. József Debreczeni, A 2006-os ősz [The Autumn of 2006] (Budapest: DE.HUKÖNYV, 2012), 292.....4
- Figure 3: The Arrow Cross flag as defined in 23/1945 M.E. See footnote 15.5
- Figure 4: Denar from the reign of St. Stephen (997-1038) [H2; CNH I.-;ÉH0; R -]. Csaba Tóth, József Géza Kiss, András Fekete ed., Az Árpád-kori magyar pénzek katalógusa I. (Szent) Istvántól Imréig [Catalogue of Árpadian coinage I: From King Saint Stephen to Imre], tr. Alan Campbell (Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2018), Entry 1.122
- Figure 5: The cover of the first volume of the Hungarian edition of the Kings and Crosses graphic novel series. St. Stephen is depicted horseback with an Árpád striped flag. The Árpád striped flag also occurs throughout the novel in St. Stephen’s retinue. Cover art by Tamás Gaspar. János Mészáros, Királyok és Keresztek: Voluntas Tua [Kings and Crosses: Voluntas Tua] (Hungary: Enter Studio, 2017).....23
- Figure 6: The Arms of the House of Barcelona. Or, four pallets gules.25
- Figure 7: A fragment of the mural depicting the Conquest of Majorca. King James of Aragon and Count of Barcelona is sitting in his tent surrounded by his supporters. Anonymous, “Conquest of Majorca,” Catalonian National Museum of Art, <https://www.museunacional.cat/en/colleccio/mural-paintings-conquest-majorca/mestre-de-la-conquesta-de-mallorca/071447-cjt>. (last accessed May 29, 2020)26
- Figure 8: Another fragment of the mural depicting the Conquest of Majorca. A soldier of King James is assaulting the walled city of Medina Mayurqa and raising his lord’s banner. Anonymous, “Conquest of Majorca,” Catalonian National Museum of Art,

<https://www.museunacional.cat/en/colleccio/mural-paintings-conquest-majorca/mestre-de-la-conquesta-de-mallorca/071447-cjt>. (last accessed May 29, 2020)26

Figure 9: King Emeric’s Golden Double Seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum: Royal Portraits on Seals from the Hungarian National Archives*, ed. Géza Észregi (Budapest: Hungarian Pictures, 2002), 43.28

Figure 10: King Andrew II’s Golden Double Seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum: Royal Portraits on Seals from the Hungarian National Archives*, ed. Géza Észregi (Budapest: Hungarian Pictures, 2002), 47.30

Figure 11: Béla IV’s Golden Double Seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum: Royal Portraits on Seals from the Hungarian National Archives*, ed. Géza Észregi (Budapest: Hungarian Pictures, 2002), 55.32

Figure 12: A crest depicting the patriarchal cross in the Gozzoburg monastery’s Wappensaal. Béla IV often styled himself with the patriarchal cross. Georgina Bábinszki, “Ein Herrscherprogramm im Stadtrichterpalast? Die Wandmalereien im Turmzimmer der Gozzoburg in Krems,” Master’s Thesis (University of Vienna, 2017), 105. <http://othes.univie.ac.at/46142/1/48256.pdf>.32

Figure 13: Andrew III’s ducal equestrian seal. Imre Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei*, [Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2012), 149.....34

Figure 14: Péter Bören Aba’s Master of the Treasury seal. Tamás Körmendi, “Az Aba nemzetség címerváltozatai a középkorban” [The heraldic changes of the Aba family in the middle ages], *Turul* 84 (2011): 129.37

Figure 15: Amadeus Aba’s seal. Tamás Körmendi, “Az Aba nemzetség címerváltozatai a középkorban” [The heraldic changes of the Aba family in the middle ages], *Turul* 84 (2011): 129.....38

Figure 16: The impaled Angevin-Árpáadian arms after Louis I's revision.....	42
Figure 17: Charles I's double seal, Antal Pór and Gyula Schönner, "Az ország belállapota Károly uralkodása alatt," [The internal state of the country under Charles' reign] in A magyar nemzet története, ed. Sándor Szilágyi (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1895), last accessed May 29, 2020. Available online at https://mek.oszk.hu/00800/00893/html/img/nagy/20c9.jpg	43
Figure 18: King Louis's princely seal. Antal Pór and Gyula Schönner, "Károly családi viszonyai: Az utolsó évek" [The relations of Charles's family: The last years], in A magyar nemzet története, ed. Sándor Szilágyi (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1895), last accessed May 29, 2020. Available online at https://mek.oszk.hu/00800/00893/html/img/nagy/20a5.jpg	44
Figure 19: Louis I's second royal seal. Antal Pór and Gyula Schönner, "Bosnya ügyek: Magyar hadak a szentszék szolgálatában" [Bosnian affairs: Hungarian troops in the service of the Holy See], in A magyar nemzet története, ed. Sándor Szilágyi (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1895), last accessed May 29, 2020. Available online at http://mek.oszk.hu/01900/01948/html/index139.html	44
Figure 20: Santa Maria Donna Regina Vecchia apse ceiling. Aldo Natale, "Donna Regina Vecchia," Instagram, accessed May 29, 2020. https://www.picuki.com/media/2048290548332617469	48
Figure 21: Vaulted arch beneath the gallery. Image from "Complesso Monumentale Donnaregina, Museo Diocesano Napoli," Tripadvisor, accessed May 29, 2020. https://www.tripadvisor.it/Attraction_Review-g187785-d2046069-Reviews-Monumental_Complex_Donnaregina_Diocesan_Museum_of_Naples-Naples_Province_of_Naple.html?m=19905	48

Figure 22: Attila fighting the Romans at Cezumaur. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: *Chronica de gestis hungarorum*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi et al., trans. Alick West (New York: Talpinger, 1970), fol. 5.....53

Figure 23: Battle of Mogyoród. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 8553

Figure 24: Illustration of Louis I. The black on Louis I’s Árpád stripes was originally silver, but it has since degraded and discolored. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 1.55

Figure 25: Illustration of St. Stephen. In contrast to Louis I, Stephen’s Árpád stripes were painted white. Depictions of the Árpád stripes in the chronicle is mostly white. Only the heraldry on folio 1 and St. Ladislaus’ axe-head on folio 93 is silver. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 20.55

Figure 26: The Murdered Ladislaus IV. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 65b.56

Figure 27: The Battle of Rozgony. Charles I is illustrated on the center-right with a full helmet and crown. His red tunic depicts the patriarchal cross and his shield shows the impaled arms. One of his standard bearers is lying on the ground with a broken banner with the patriarchal cross, and another stands beside the castle with his impaled arms. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 69b.....57

Figure 28: The Birth of Louis I. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 70.57

Figure 29: Ornate border on the bottom of the title page in the *Chronicon Pictum*. Note that the silver has been recolored in this image. In the manuscript, the silver portions are discolored black. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 1.58

Figure 30: “The Emperor Charles IV and his son Sigismund on horseback followed by courtiers, as he formally conducts Sigismund into the margravate of Brandenburg.” “Lot 26: Eberhard Windeck, *Das Buch von Kaiser Sigmund, the Life and Times of the Emperor*

Sigismund, in German, Illuminated Manuscript on Paper,” Sotheby’s Western Manuscripts and Miniatures and the Korner Sale, July 7 2009, e-catalogue, accessed May 28, 2020, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2009/western-manuscripts-and-miniatures-and-the-korner-sale-109740/lot.26.html>.....67

Figure 31: King Sigismund’s seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 69.....68

Figure 32: Emperor Sigismund’s seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 69.....68

Figure 33 One of Wladislaus I’ seals and used on July 23, 1444. This is seal (4) in Novák’s paper. Ferenc Döry, “I Ulászló magyar király pecsétjei.”..... 70

Figure 34: Matthias’ Golden Double Seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 73.72

Figure 35: Matthias and Beatrix’s heraldry in János Thuróczy, Chronica Hungarorum. CHAS, 7. Note that pages in the Augsburg manuscript will be referred to by the pagination of the .pdf provided by the library......72

Figure 36: King Ferdinand I’s seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 7775

Figure 37: King Rudolf I’s seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 77.....75

Figure 38: The Mongol Invasion depicted in the Heidelberg *Chronica Hungarorum* with the Árpád stripes in the bottom right corner. Of potential interest are the color of the Mongols’ flags, which largely resemble those of the Árpád stripes. *CHHe*, fol. 1v.....78

Figure 39: The Mongol Invasion depicted in the Brno *Chronica Hungarorum* with the Árpád stripes in the bottom left corner. *CHBr*, p. 8.....78

Figure 40: The Mongol Invasion depicted in the Augsburg *Chronica Hungarorum* presented to Matthias. The text above it reads “The Tatars entered into Hungary in the time of King Béla IV.” *CHAS*, 309; *CHAP*, p. 309.....79

Figure 41: Attila/Árpád invading Pannonia in the Augsburg *Chronica Hungarorum* presented to Matthias. The enemy depicted in the left image are the Romans, and the enemy on the right is Svatapoluk’s army. *CHAP*, p. 31, 59.....80

Figure 42: St. Stephen in Chronica Hungarorum. CHAP, 74.....82

Introduction

The Árpád stripes have had a long and varied history. During the Middle Ages, the symbol was used to indicate different things, although this has yet to be mapped in detail. This study seeks to do just that; to understand the major changes in the Árpád stripes's denotation throughout the Middle Ages. To do so, the author primarily analyzes the seals of Hungarian kings after King Emeric and two popular illustrated chronicles the *Chronicon Pictum* and the *Chronica Hungarorum*. Additionally, the author looks at the Santa Maria Donna Regina and various other seals, like those of palatines and queens.

The first chapter discusses the competing theories of the Árpád stripes' origins, analyzes the seals of some 13th century Hungarian kings, and looks at variations of the Árpád stripes which appear on the heraldry of non-Árpádians.¹ The chapter concludes that it is very likely that the symbol did not represent the Árpád dynasty during the Árpád era. This study argues alongside other scholars like Iván Bertényi that the Árpád stripes were derived from the Barcelona dynasty. Arms which are clearly derivative from the Árpád stripes passed into the heraldry of figures with important roles within the Hungarian kingdom, where it came to be a symbol of power. The second chapter investigates the Angevin dynasty's usage of the Árpád stripes in their heraldry, their architecture, and in the *Chronicon Pictum*. The modern association between the Árpád stripes and the Árpád dynasty begins in the Angevin dynasty, as they used the stripes to visually connect themselves with the Árpáds. This was done in order to bolster their perception of dynastic sanctity and represent themselves as heirs to the Hungarian

¹ When necessary, the author will define more obscure heraldic terminology in the footnotes, but the reader is encouraged to consult Stephen Slater's text for an overview of heraldic terminology. For now, it is sufficient to mention that 'arms' or 'coat of arms' refers to the heraldic depiction of an individual or dynasty which is usually presented on a shield, but can also be depicted on a banner or other such device. 'Blazonry' is the description of the arms via heraldic language, which will be English in this study. Stephen Slater, *The History and Meaning of Heraldry: An Illustrated Reference to Classic Symbols and their Relevance* (London: Anness, 2004), 68-69.

kingdom. The final chapter looks at the seals of Hungarian kings after the Angevins and the *Chronica Hungarorum*. Drawing on the *Tripartitum*, this chapter argues that there was a primary association between the Árpád stripes (alongside the patriarchal cross) and the Kingdom of Hungary and its territory. It is difficult to suggest how this shift happened, but documents from the period attest to a changing meaning in Hungarian royal symbols. This process is perhaps further accelerated by the presence of Hungarian rulers with no dynastic connection to the Árpád dynasty, such as Matthias. While this paper does not investigate it, the author suspects that the Árpád stripes remained in this position until well into the 19th century.

0.1 Fáber vs. Hungary: Before and Beyond

On May 9, 2007 the Hungarian Socialist Party held a demonstration against racism as a reaction to the waves of right, far-right, and anti-governmental protests which began in the autumn of 2006 (see Fig. 1 and 2). This demonstration took place at the “Shoes on the Danube,” a memorial for Hungarian Jews murdered during the Holocaust. Nearby, there was another demonstration held by the far-right party *Jobbik*. A man named Károly Fáber appeared at the socialist demonstration, “holding the so-called *Árpád*-striped flag,” a flag flown frequently in these far-right protests, and he was later arrested for refusing an order by the police to “remove the banner or leave.”² He argued that the flag was “a historical symbol, and no law forbade its display.”³ After Fáber was convicted in Hungary, he turned to the European Court of Human

² Fáber v. Hungary, 40721/08, Judgment, Second Section, (ECHR. Strasbourg. 2012), 1-2, accessed May 29, 2020. <http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre?i=001-112446>. It is unknown to the author how or why the Árpád stripes became a symbol for the 2006-7 protest, but the author believes that answer might lie somewhere in the idea of the Árpáds as the “Hungarian national dynasty.” András Gerő, “A National Fable: The Case of the House of Árpád,” in *A Hungarian National History Book*, ed. Gergely Bottyán, tr. Thomas J and Helen D. Kornfeld (Budapest: Institute of Habsburg History, 2015), 15-50.

³ Ibid. 2.

Rights where he appealed his conviction on the grounds of freedom of speech.⁴ In 2012, the ECHR ruled six to one in Fáber's favor, and he was awarded damages.⁵

In the ECHR judgment, the description of the Hungarian court proceedings mentions that Fáber submitted, "the opinion of a heraldic expert ... stating that the flag in question was a historical one."⁶ The Árpád stripes are one of the oldest recorded symbols in Hungarian history, and the government's "Magyar nemzeti és történelmi jelképek" website [national and historical symbols of Hungary] includes it in their series of historical flags.⁷ It was first documented during the Middle Ages on the seals of the first dynasty of Hungarian kings, the Árpád dynasty, but it has had a lengthy afterlife. The ECHR judgment also invokes the June 20, 2008 Report of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance on Hungary, which mentions that *Jobbik's* paramilitary group, the Magyar Gárda [Hungarian Guard], used,

"flags closely resembling the flag of the Arrow Cross Party, an openly Nazi organisation that briefly held power in Hungary during World War II, and during whose spell in power tens of thousands of Jews and Roma were killed or deported."⁸ (See Fig. 3)

The Árpád striped flag is clearly the flag being referenced here. The tension at the core of the ECHR judgment is largely between the flag as a historical object and the flag's meaning in the history of Hungarian nazism. This tension also underlined the public debate about the flag.

⁴ Ibid. 7.

⁵ Ibid. 19-20.

⁶ Ibid. 2. The proceedings of the Hungarian case are private, so it is unknown what was included in this opinion.

⁷ An English version of the website is available, but it does not include all of the resources that the Hungarian website provides. "A történelmi zászlók galériája" [The gallery of historical flags], "Magyar nemzeti és történelmi jelképek" [Hungarian national and historical symbols], accessed May 29, 2020. <http://www.nemzetijelkepek.hu/tortenelmi-galeria-4.shtml#galeriakep>.

⁸ Fáber v. Hungary, 5.



Figure 1: October 23rd 2006, around Corvin Center. József Debreczeni, A 2006-os ősz [The Autumn of 2006] (Budapest: DE.HUKÖNYV, 2012), 289.



Figure 2: Protestors steal a decommissioned tank. József Debreczeni, A 2006-os ősz [The Autumn of 2006] (Budapest: DE.HUKÖNYV, 2012), 292.

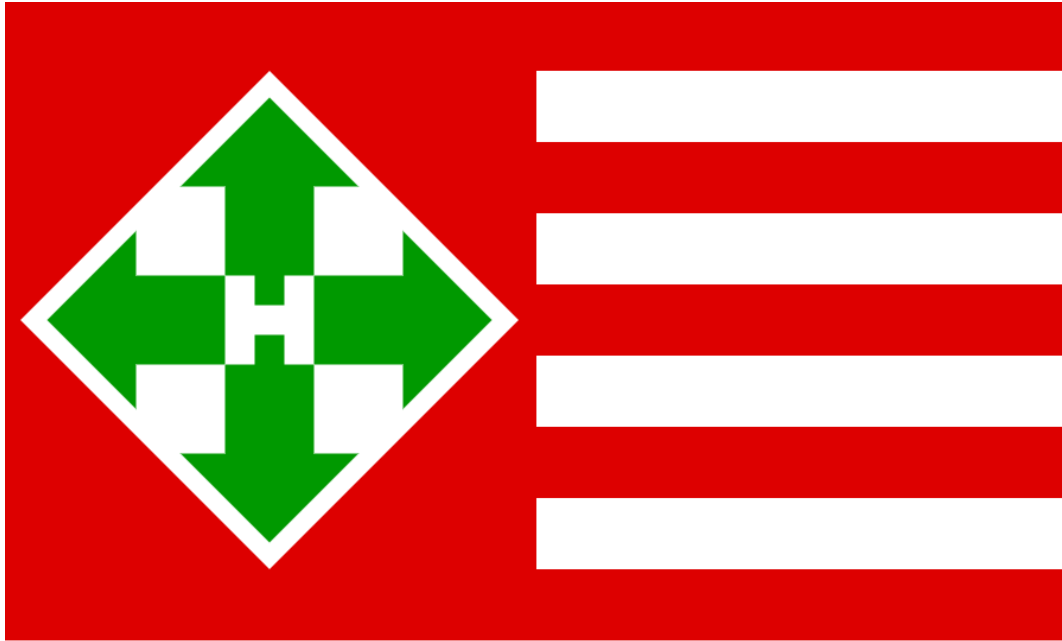


Figure 3: The Arrow Cross flag as defined in 23/1945 M.E. See footnote 15.

While the major newspapers in Hungary provided their own analysis of the flag and often relied on professional historians for opinions, I would like to mention here 3 other sources of public history which inspired me to write about the Árpád stripes: far-right webpages dedicated to the topic, Éva Orbán's "Amit az Árpádsávós zászlóról illik tudnunk" [What we need to know about the Árpád-striped flag], and László Karsai's "A nyilas zászlók története" [The history of the fascist flags].⁹

Between 2006 and 2008, the number of internet subscriptions in Hungary was growing dramatically and enabling more people to access web pages in their homes.¹⁰ Amongst these pages were far-right amateur news and history blogs and political party websites dealing with the ongoing protests. Most of these websites are now shuttered, but their text can be largely

⁹ Éva Orbán, *Amit az Árpádsávós zászlóról illik tudnunk* [What we need to know about the Árpád-striped flag], (Budapest: Technika alapítvány and Szent László király alapítvány, 2007). László Karsai, "A nyilas zászlók története" [The history of the fascist flags], in *hetek* XIV/40 (December 8, 2010), accessed May 29, 2020. http://www.hetek.hu/hit_es_ertekek/201010/a_nyilas_zaszlok_tortenete. For far-right websites, see footnote 11.

¹⁰ Központi sztatistikai hivatal [Central statistics office], "4.7.9.1. Number of the Internet subscriptions by access services, 31 December (2003–2015) – Update: 10.08.2016," accessed May 29, 2020. https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat_annual/i_oni001.html.

retrieved via the Wayback Machine. A case example is the website *arpadsavos.hu*, set up by *Jobbik* on Árpád's name day in December 2006, which includes a brief history of the Árpád stripes designed to distance the current protest symbol from its fascist cousin by emphasizing its differences.¹¹ The most common argument found in these histories is that the Árpád stripes contains four red stripes and four white stripes, while the Arrow Cross flag contains five red stripes and four white stripes, thus making them two completely different symbols with their own meanings.

A similar methodological movement can be found in Éva Orbán's "Amit az Árpádsávós zaszról illik tudnunk" [What we need to know about the Árpád-striped flag]. The book is a small historical text designed for a public audience and published in 2007.¹² The opening is especially cognizant of the current political situation, and provides a hope that "what I have will come across is helpful for politicians, reporters, and journalists to correct their erroneous or incomplete knowledge."¹³ The book also contains interviews with Iván Bertényi and Attila Pandula, two well-known experts in medieval Hungarian heraldry. In her "Subjektív befejezés," [Subjective conclusions] she concludes that the Árpád striped flag is not the same as the Arrow Cross flag, and that the Árpád stripes need to be treated with the respect that a "medieval, glorious, historical relic" and national symbol deserves.¹⁴ Her reasoning is that the Árpád stripes only refer to the Árpád dynasty, and that the red and white stripes on the Arrow Cross flag is not an Árpád striped flag because the Arrow Cross insignia is an integral part of

¹¹ "Nemzeti jelképünk: az Árpád-sávós lobogó" [Our national symbol: the Árpád-striped banner], Árpádsávós [Árpád stripes], www.arpadsavos.hu. The site is now discontinued, page archived on September 1, 2008, is available on Wayback Machine, accessed May 29, 2020. https://web.archive.org/web/20071021083800/http://www.arpadsavos.hu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=61.

¹² Orbán, "Amit az Árpádsávós" 7-8.

¹³ Ibid. 8.

¹⁴ Ibid. 69-71.

the flag, and the Arrow Cross flag should be understood in its entirety as a reference to the party.¹⁵

In a 2010 article written for the magazine *hetek*, historian of Hungarian anti-semitism László Karsai reflects on the recent popularity of the Árpád-striped flag. Karsai is not hesitant to denounce those who fly it as racist and claim that *Jobbik*'s leaders are aware of its history. He delves into the details of the Arrow Cross's use of the Árpád stripes, even noting its insignificant appearances. He describes the fascist interpretation of the Árpád stripes as a "symbol of Hungarian national socialist and imperial thought," which symbolized that the new life of European nations would be a return to its true, ancient roots.¹⁶ While Karsai lacks a medieval analysis of the symbol, he grounds the modern meaning of the symbol in its 20th century history and connects it to the present via the leaders of *Jobbik*.

These issues about the flag's history and meaning also lives at the center of this study. However, this study will instead focus on the often-overlooked changes which occurred in the denotation of the Árpád stripes during the Middle Ages (1000-1526).

0.2 Aims and Methodology

This study has three goals: 1) to synthesize Hungarian language resources on the topic and make the topic more accessible to non-Hungarian speakers, 2) to provide some preliminary work detailing the history of this symbol and its changes throughout time, 3) to demonstrate

¹⁵ Ibid. 63. Of course, this misses the point that the Arrow Cross identified the Árpád stripes as a separate, but constituent part of their iconography, as defined in 23/1945 M.E. Iván Bertényi, "A 'Szálasi-címer'" [The 'Szálasi insignia'], *Rubicon* XXVI 281 (2015): 71-73, accessed May 29, 2020. http://www.rubicon.hu/ma_files/2015_04_71.pdf.

¹⁶ "A fasizmus és a náciizmus előretörése, vagyis a nyilas újság megfogalmazása szerint: 'Az európai nemzetek új élete' elősegítette az ősi gyökerekhez való visszatérést. 'Így jut el a magyarság is az Árpádok zászlajához, amely a gyáripari munkásság nemzeti sportnapján már büszkén lengett és ugyanez díszítette a Magyar haza, magyar kard kiállítás főbejáratát is' - szögezte le a Pesti Újság, félreérthetetlenül közölve, hogy itt bizony plágium történt: ők voltak a „liberális" 1848 óta az elsők, akik az Árpádok ősi lobogóját mint a nemzetiszocialista, birodalmi gondolat jelképét újra használni kezdték." Karsai, "Szálasi."

the value of Medievalism Studies to Medieval Studies, and the untapped field of Hungarian Medievalism Studies.

The main methodological underpinning of this thesis is what David Marshall calls “genealogical medievalism,” in which a genealogical project is undertaken in order to understand how the medieval meaning of a medieval object transformed into its post-medieval meaning.¹⁷ Medievalism is a relatively recent field in Medieval Studies which analyses the post-medieval afterlife of medieval objects and ideas about the Middle Ages.¹⁸ Genealogy is a form of “effective history,” designed to effect the present, which situates the author within the present in order to explain the process which resulted in the present situation of the analyzed object.¹⁹ For Marshall, “genealogical medievalism addresses the accumulative production of an idea of the Middle Ages.”²⁰ However, Marshall’s understanding of genealogical medievalism oversimplifies and homogenizes the position of the Middle Ages by periodizing the Middle Ages as a single analytic unit instead of treating it as a complex, composite period. This can result in a simplistic analysis in which a singular ‘medieval’ meaning is assigned to the object and thus reinforces a medieval/modern binary which scholars of medievalism like Richard Utz seek to deconstruct.²¹ As this study will show, the meaning of medieval objects, such as the Árpád stripes, changed dramatically during the Middle Ages.

As a result, it is important to understand the Árpád stripes during the time in which it was used and to resist modern narratives which isolate the symbol as having a single meaning, such as it being the dynastic arms of the Árpád dynasty. However, the author was placed at a terminological cross-roads in doing so, given that the two most common terms to describe the

¹⁷ David Marshall, *Mass Market Medievalisms* (London: McFarland & Company, 2007), 4.

¹⁸ David Matthews, “Introduction” in *Medievalism: A Critical History* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), 1-12.

¹⁹ Colin Koopman, *Genealogy as Critique: Foucault and the Problems of Modernity* (Indiana University Press, 2013), 26, 58-60.

²⁰ Marshall, *Mass Market Medievalisms*, 4.

²¹ Richard Utz, “What’s Love Got to Do with It? Our Middle Ages, Ourselves,” in *Medievalism: A Manifesto*, (Kalamazoo and Bradford: Arc Humanities, 2017).

symbol are ‘árpádsáv’ [Árpád stripes] and ‘Árpád-házi címer’ [the arms of the Árpád dynasty]. Given that the aim of this study is to deconstruct this association between the symbol and the dynasty and to demonstrate its formation, the author initially considered this terminology to be ill-fitting. Another term that appears in the (primarily older) literature is ‘magyar pólýás’ [Hungarian bars], which is initially more descriptive of the symbol, but the description of the symbol as ‘Hungarian’ mischaracterizes one of the most important recent developments in research of the symbol, namely its likely foreign origin.²² While the author initially considered using an abbreviated form of its blazon, BGA8 or barry of eight, gules argent, the author also encountered problems here. As Torsten Hiltman points out, the post-medieval discipline of heraldic science may be ill-suited to some describing medieval heraldry.²³ This is particularly the case when it is unclear how certain arms were formed. For example, it is unclear whether the Árpád stripes are blazoned eight barries of red and silver (as described above), red with four barries of silver (gules, barry of four argent), or silver with four barries of red (argent, barry of four gules). There are also arguments about the origin of the symbol which rely upon a certain blazon, and this study’s interest is not in the origin of the symbol, but rather in its semantic transformation.

It is also important to note here that the symbol was not formalized until 1874, and appears in many different forms until the 19th century. Often these depictions have a varied number of barries, but they are identifiable because of their alternating silver (often represented as white) and red pattern.²⁴ The author considers all of these different variations to be the Árpád stripes.

The author decided to use the term “Árpád stripes” for 3 reasons: Firstly, the term correctly identifies the modern semantic valence of the symbol, that being its linkage to the Árpád

²² See Chapter 1.1

²³ Torsten Hiltman, “The Emergence of the Word ‘Heraldry’ in the Seventeenth Century and the Roots of a Misconception,” in *The Coat of Arms* vol. 11 no.2 (2015): 115-116.

²⁴ Orbán, “*Amit az Árpádsávós,*” 85-87.

dynasty, without claims made by similar terms that it was the arms of the Árpád dynasty. Secondly, although the term describes the modern result of a historical process that the author aims to deconstruct in this study, genealogy requires that the author address the historical object in their present, and this terminology does so. Lastly, although the term itself is very modern, the choice of modern language enables the study to be more discoverable and accessible by non-medievalists, such as those interested in writing a more modern history of the Árpád stripes. The author is not making a statement that the Árpád stripes should always be referred to as such, but rather encourages other historians to select their own terminology as best befits their own work.

When dealing with 'meaning' in an analytical work, it is important to provide some explanation. The author divides an image's meaning into denotational and connotational paradigms. An image's denotation is what the image refers to outside of the image, while an image's connotation is what ideas and opinions the audience ascribes to the image. Antii Leino in "On the Semantic Basis of Heraldic Propaganda" criticizes the connotational aspect of this framework because images such as heraldry are often polysematic, in that they can provide multiple meanings to multiple different audiences.²⁵ Additionally, as Leino and Hiltman point out, it is important to remember that heraldry was often involved in public life, and as a result, publics also had their own meaning attached to heraldry.²⁶ As a result of the absence of information about the connotational meaning of the Árpád stripes during the Middle Ages, the author will be solely looking at its denotation. To this end, Leino notes that the main function of heraldry was to serve as a visual representation of the ruler, in that the denotation of a

²⁵ Antii Leino, "On the Semantic Basis of Heraldic Propaganda or What Do Arms Mean and How?" *Myth and Propaganda in Heraldry and Genealogy: Proceedings of the XXVII International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences, St. Andrews, 21– 26 August 2006* vol. 1 (2008): 2-9, accessed May 29, 2020. <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:uta-201311291664>.

²⁶ Leino, "Semantic," 8-9. Hiltman, "Emergence" 107-113.

heraldry is often the ruler themselves.²⁷ While this works for personal heraldry, it also works for heraldry depicting a ruler's domain, where different polities under the ruler were represented by that polity's heraldry. Thus, an investigation into the changing denotation of a heraldic object has a valid premise.

While the author treats the Árpád stripes as a heraldic symbol, some flexibility is necessary in order to understand its dynamic movement across different source media. It is important that source criticism is integrated with heraldic analysis. While each source will be dealt with when they are brought up for analysis, it is worthwhile to provide some basic media criticism which addresses the different media which this study engages with: seals and manuscripts.²⁸

Géza Érszegi states that individual rulers often used arms on their seal from their personal heraldry, and this is very apparent in Árpáadian seals.²⁹ Seals were intended to communicate the authority of the individual who bore them, and many royal symbols would depict the ruler on the obverse and their heraldry on the reverse.³⁰ It is also common to find an inscription around the edge of a seal which describes the bearer and their domain. Likewise, when the ruler added a new polity to their domain, a new seal was usually issued to indicate this.³¹ Additionally, if it was suspected that an unauthorized copy of the seal existed or the seal matrix was worn out,

²⁷ Leino, "Semantic," 3-4.

²⁸ While this study also mentions coins and armorials, it does not analyze them.

²⁹ Géza Érszegi, "Introduction," in *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum: Royal Portraits on Seals from the Hungarian National Archives*, ed. Géza Érszegi (Budapest: Hungarian Pictures, 2002), 20.

³⁰ Ibid. 20. There is a wealth of fantastic material on the topic of seals in Bernát Kumorowitz's, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban* [The history of Hungarian seal usage in the Middle Ages] and *Megpecsételt történelem. Középkori pecsétek Esztergomból* [Sealed history. Medieval seals from Esztergom], but unfortunately the author was unable to access these texts at the time of writing due to circumstances beyond their control. The reader is encouraged to consult these sources for further detail. Bernát Kumorowitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban* [The history of Hungarian seal usage in the Middle Ages], (Budapest, 1944). András Hegedűs ed., *Megpecsételt történelem. Középkori pecsétek Esztergomból* [Sealed history. Medieval seals from Esztergom], (Esztergom, 2000).

³¹ Érszegi, *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 20.

a new seal matrix would be issued.³² During and after the High Middle Ages, these seals were normally kept in the chancellery.³³

Seals were largely used (amongst other rituals) to authenticate documents via the authority of the person depicted on the seal, and the seal matrix was usually placed in wax to create a wax seal.³⁴ For important documents such as bulls, kings would authenticate their documents by attaching the seal itself to the document.³⁵ Rulers also had different seals for different purposes, often using different seals when interacting with different polities, which often included heraldry indicating their rule over the polity. Signet rings were also a common way to authenticate letters and documents during the High and Late Middle Ages, being used by the ruler instead of by the chancellery, and either contained the bearer's heraldry or an inscription which referred to them.³⁶ Unless otherwise stated, the seals analyzed in this study are royal seals, often called seals of majesty, which refer to the authority of the king.³⁷ Some of these seals, particularly the seals after King Emeric, were double seals or seals which were imprinted on the front and back.

Manuscripts, and in particular illuminated or picture chronicles, served a different purpose. Illuminated chronicles were large, expensive projects and were often commissioned by rulers to position them favorably within the history of their polity; this is especially the case in Hungary, where chronicle authorship evolved alongside the royal court.³⁸ Picture chronicles, in which text and images were first engraved into a press and then printed onto a chronicle,

³² Ibid. 16-19.

³³ Ibid. 22-23.

³⁴ Ibid. 11. P.D.A. Harvey, "This is a Seal," in *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*, ed. Phillip R. Schofield (Oxbow, 2015).

³⁵ Érszegi, *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 12. Bulls were usually authenticated with either lead or gold seals.

³⁶ Ibid. 11, 23.

³⁷ Ibid. 21-22.

³⁸ Nora Berend, "Historical Writing in Central Europe (Bohemia, Hungary, Poland), c.950-1400," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing* vol. 2, ed. Sarah Foot, Chase Robinson, and Ian Hesketh (Oxford, 2012), 313. Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative," *History and Theory* vol. 22 no. 1 (1983): 47-52, accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2505235>.

evolved from them. Both texts usually required laborers specialized in their craft. The texts analyzed in this study are the *Chronicon Pictum* and the *Chronica Hungarorum* and are both rich in heraldic imagery.

Gabrielle M. Spiegel describes the medieval historian as seeking “to convey to his prospective audience of readers or auditors as direct and vivid an impression of past and present reality as possible.”³⁹ This collation of past and present reality is important because it enabled ideas of history, “residing in the perceptual field of history [to be] transcribed in accordance with the prevailing techniques of pictorial illustration.”⁴⁰ This is apparent in the heraldry depicted in the Hungarian *Chronicon Pictum*, in which the illuminator used mythical imagery to refer to the ancient lineage of certain people or it uses a family’s newer arms in a historical setting.⁴¹ This can also be seen in the addition of elements from oral histories to Hungarian chronicles.⁴²

Another symbol which frequently appears in this study is the patriarchal cross.⁴³ With the Árpád stripes, the patriarchal cross shares a prominent (if not more prominent) position in the history of Hungarian royal heraldry.⁴⁴

With regards to naming conventions in this study, I have used the Latin and English versions of the names of Hungarian kings. For other people, such as authors, I will use the Hungarian or English version of their names.

³⁹ Spiegel, “Genealogy,” 44.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 45.

⁴¹ Berend, “Historical Writing,” 313.

⁴² Ibid. 319

⁴³ The patriarchal cross appears with many different titles in both Hungarian and non-Hungarian sources: kettőskereszt [double-cross], double-barred cross, apostolic cross, etc. The author has decided to use ‘patriarchal cross’ owing to its very likely transfer from Byzantium. Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk and Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900-c. 1300* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 317.

⁴⁴ It also occupies a prominent place in the national heraldry of other countries, such as Lithuania and Slovakia.

0.3 Historiography

While there is quite a lot of literature about the Árpád stripes prior to the 19th century, much of the early literature will be discussed later in the article because they directly shaped or reflected the meaning of the Árpád stripes during their time. The historiography regarding the origin of the Árpád stripes will be covered in 1.1.

Instead, this section will cover the writings of authors after the formation of the Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság [Hungarian Heraldry and Genealogical Society] in 1883. The journal of society, *Turul*, would include many of the articles which are cited in this study. *Turul* was established with an explicitly nationalist, aristocratic premise and was born from the need to clarify many of the ahistorical myths prevalent in society.⁴⁵ Additionally, it sought to collect, preserve, and interpret the history of Hungarian nobility, particularly their heraldry, using the scientific techniques of the time.⁴⁶

Béla Pósta authored an article for the first of *Turul*'s 1885 publications which synthesized previous writings on the Hungarian national coat of arms while providing an analysis of historical depictions of these arms.⁴⁷ Instead of investigating the formation of the arms and their meaning within different eras, Pósta tries to establish a static meaning for these stripes in order to understand the meaning of the Hungarian state arms, whose formal structure had been recently established in 1870. Drawing on the writings of two classical Hungarian authors, he suggested that the red bars are blood, while the white bars represented the 4 rivers in the

⁴⁵ Béla Radvánszky, "Néhány szó olvasóinkhoz" [A few words to our readers], *Turul* 1883-1 (1883), accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1883-2/1883-1-3/nehany-szo-olvasoinkhhoz-6D/>. Unsurprisingly, these premises have fled the journal in the present day.

⁴⁶ Nagy Iván, "Elmélkedés a címér- és származástan méltatásáról" [Reflections on the coats of arms and an appreciation of their genealogy], *Turul* 1883-1 (1883), accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1883-2/1883-1-3/elmelkedes-a-czimer-es-szarmazastan-meltatasarol-80/>.

⁴⁷ Béla Pósta, "Egy pár szó a magyar címér-kérdéshez" [A few words about the question of the Hungarian coat of arms], *Turul* 1885-1 (1885), accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1885-1805/1885-1-1806/egy-par-szo-a-magyar-czimer-kerdeshez-1888/>.

Kingdom of Hungary. Although Pósta believed that the Árpád stripes had existed prior to King Emeric, he argued that Emeric and Andrew II formalized the pattern and number of the stripes, but this pattern was lost to future writers due to the tribulations of Hungarian history.⁴⁸ He then compares these tribulations with the chaotic and varied depictions of the Árpád stripes in historical sources:

There is no nation in the world that has experienced as much turmoil as ours. How many shatterings, how much hegemony did it have to endure? How many monarchies did the nation see above it, and how many cultures did it feel? Is it any wonder that in such circumstances we find instability in the use of the coat of arms? It takes a long, very long time and very stable conditions so that one or another coat of arms would be so entrenched in the comprehension of the peoples that some of its details, losing their original specialist meanings, would be regarded as a single symbol that could not be changed at all; and our coats of arms did not have such stable conditions.⁴⁹

In Pósta's work, we can see that the meaning of the Árpád stripes is closely connected to the history the nation which has its history embodied in the kingdom. Drawing upon many of the same sources that this study does, Pósta has a similar goal as this study: to understand the meaning of these national symbols. However, he treats their meanings as static because he is seeking to assign meaning to the present coat of arms and is not looking to historicize the meaning of the stripes in their respective periods.

From here, my study shares much in common with many popular histories of the Hungarian coat of arms. Notable inclusions in this genre are József Laszlovszky's "A magyar címer története" [The history of the Hungarian coat of arms] and Iván Bertényi's "Magyar címertan"

⁴⁸ Pósta believes that these arms pre-existed Emeric and Andrew II, but does not provide any evidence for this. He also compares these tribulations with the chaotic and varied description of the Árpád stripes.

⁴⁹ Pósta, "Egy pár szó a magyar címer-kérdéshez." "Nincs nemzet a világon, mely annyi hányattatást élt volna át, mint a mienk. Hányféle beütést, mennyiféle hegemóniát kellett átszenvednie, mily számos uralkodóházat látott maga fölött s hányféle cultura behatását érezte? Csoda-e ha ily viszonyok között a címer használatában ingatagságot találunk? Hosszú, igen hosszú idő és igen stabilis állapotok kívántatnak ahoz, hogy egy vagy más címeralak olyannyira megrögződjék a népek felfogásában, hogy egyes részletei elvesztvén eredeti specialis jelentésüket, az egészen meg nem változtatható egységes symbolumnak tekinthetők. Ilyen állapotok pedig a mi címereinknek nem jutottak."

[Hungarian heraldry].⁵⁰ These histories focus on the construction of the current coat of arms, and have the same genealogical methodology which this study employs. However, owing to their focus on a popular audience, these histories are not designed to deeply document and analyze the appearance of these arms in historical sources. These sources are very well researched and produced by experienced and professional historians who are very knowledgeable about a wide range of sources from different periods of history. They tend to focus on the most important points in the development of a symbol for the sake of brevity, at the expense of showcasing the more repetitive elements of its history. In contrast, this study limits its scope in both sources and the periods in which the subject is studied. Additionally, these sources look at the construction of the Hungarian coat of arms, while this study only analyzes the Árpád stripes.

Much of Iván Bertényi's work has been critical to this thesis, and he is cited throughout. The desire to pursue this study came from a paragraph which I read while researching the origin of the Árpád stripes,

“As the princely coats of arms began to symbolize the countries and provinces of their owners in the course of further development, the Count of Aragon, the royal bars, also became the coat of arms of Aragon, and they still appear in the coat of arms of Spain. In the Hungarian context, a similar process took place: the Hungarian kings soon symbolized not only the ruler and his family with a coat of arms with a variable number of bands, they appeared not only as symbols of some royal officials and royal-owned cities, but soon they also began to refer to Hungary alongside the other symbol of power, the double cross.”⁵¹

⁵⁰ József Laszlovszky, *A Magyar címer története* [The history of the Hungarian coat of arms] (Budapest: Pytheas, 1990). Iván Bertényi, *Magyar címertan* [Hungarian heraldry] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003).

⁵¹ Iván Bertényi, “Az Árpád-házi királyok címere és Aragonia” [The royal heraldry of the Árpád house and Aragonia], in *Királylányok messzi földről* [Princesses from foreign lands], ed. Ramon Sarobe, Csaba Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009), 194-195. “Mivel a fejedelmi címerek a további fejlődés során szimbolizálni kezdték tulajdonosaik országait, tartományait is, az aragón grófi, királyi cöplök Aragónia cymeréve is váltak, s ma is szerepelnek Spanyolország címerében. Magyar vonatkozásban is hasonló folyamat játszódott le: a magyar királyok változó számban sávozott mezejű címerpajzsral hamarosan nemcsak az uralkodót és családját szimbolizálták, nemcsak egyes királyi tisztségviselők, királyi tulajdonú városok jelképeiként tüntek fel, hanem hamarosan Magyarországra is utalni kezdtek a másik hatalmi jelkép, a kettős kereszt mellett.”

This study was written to investigate the idea that the *Árpád stripes* changed in their referents throughout its medieval history, and to detail this development in an academic work.

Chapter 1: Conflicted Origins and Inter-Dynastic Conflict – The Árpáds

The first documented and uncontroversial evidence of the Árpád stripes is on the reverse of the double seal of King Emeric (1196-1204).⁵² There appears to be a series of animals on the red bars of the arms, which are very likely lions passant, given that the arms of his successor Andrew II's (1205-1235) famous double seal were also charged with them.⁵³ These two seals are the only golden double-sided seals from the Árpád dynasty which would depict the Árpád stripes because Andrew II's successor, Béla IV (1235-1270), replaced the Árpád stripes with a patriarchal cross.⁵⁴ The only other member of the Árpád dynasty who used the symbol on their seal is Andrew III (1290-1301), who utilized the Árpád stripes on his ducal equestrian seal where it features prominently on his shield.⁵⁵ It would also appear on a number of other seals, including those held by individuals who were not a member of the Árpád dynasty, throughout the dynasty's reign.⁵⁶

We also know that the Árpád stripes were in circulation outside of the Kingdom of Hungary as a symbol representing the kingdom, due primarily to English armorials which have survived.⁵⁷

There is also a *Wappensaal* in the Gozzoburg monastery in Krems which possibly depicts the

⁵² *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum: Royal Portraits on Seals from the Hungarian National Archives*, ed. Géza Észregi (Budapest: Hungarian Pictures, 2002), 42. Other less credible instances of the Árpád stripes will be presented in the next subchapter.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 42, 46. conservatively refers to these charges as “animals,” although most modern reconstructions of his seal depict them as lions passant. Literature on the topic also widely refers to them as lions. *Passant* refers to the attitude of the lion, of which there are many. Slater, 80-81.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 54.

⁵⁵ Imre Takács, *Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei*, [Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2012), 149, 183.

⁵⁶ Mentioned in Albert Nyáry, *A heraldika vezérfonála* [The guide to heraldry] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1886), 45-46, accessed May 29, 2020. <https://mek.oszk.hu/07300/07311/07311.pdf>. Potentially Jacob, a Bishop of Nitra, used the symbol in a double seal alongside the patriarchal cross in a donation in 1217, although the author is suspicious of the validity of this, and I have yet to find any documentation which validates or disproves this. While we can be sure that the patriarchal cross and the Árpád stripes were in use during this period, I omitted this source from the body of my text.

⁵⁷ Eszter Tarján, “Fictitious or Not? Central and Eastern European Coats of Arms in the Early English Rolls of Arms,” MA thesis (Central European University, 2018).

Árpád stripes in a crest, which would have been illustrated as the result of a meeting in mid-late 13th century, during Béla IV's reign.⁵⁸ Today, this potential depiction of the Árpád stripes remains faded and missing a helmet. There is also a patriarchal cross in the same *Wappensaal*, and it is much more likely that this refers to the Kingdom of Hungary. Unfortunately, there are no surviving armorials from Hungary during this period.⁵⁹ While the Árpád stripes appear in other armorials that were begun during this period, there is clear evidence that many of these armorials were updated or modified since they were initially authored.

This chapter will investigate the use of the Árpád stripes during the Árpád dynasty with the aim of demonstrating that it was not unilaterally used to refer to the Árpád dynasty. The earliest indication that rulers used the Árpád stripes in this manner is by Andrew III, who possibly used it to underline his membership within the Árpád dynasty. It is difficult to accurately determine what the Árpád stripes referred to during this time period, as different rulers used it in different circumstances for different reasons. However, it is easy to complicate the notion that the Árpád stripes referred to the Árpád dynasty during this time by historicizing the Árpád stripes when it appears. First, this chapter will address one of the most controversial topics regarding the Árpád stripes: its conflicted origin story. Next, it will position the seals of King Emeric, Andrew II, Béla IV, and Andrew III within their historical context in order to understand why the Árpád stripes appeared and disappeared from these rulers' seals. Finally, this chapter will look at the use of the Árpád stripes by Hungarian elites in order to understand how the symbol spread into the heraldry of those who served the king.

⁵⁸ Helga and Buchniger Schöpfungler-Lechner, "Der Wappensaal der domus gozzonis in Krems," in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 62 no. 4 (Vienna: Günther, 2008): 603–617.

⁵⁹ György Rác, "The Heraldry of Angevin-age Hungary and its Reflections in the Illuminated Chronicle," in *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, ed. János M. Bak and László Veszprémy (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018), 114.

1.1 Theories of Origin- ‘Native’ and ‘Foreign,’ Aragonia and St. Stephen

The historiography regarding the origin of the Árpád stripes is quite diverse and controversial. There are two primary strands of thought: the Árpád stripes was either of ‘native’ origin or created with ‘foreign’ influence. While this dichotomy may seem ridiculous from an academic perspective, it is important to remember that the Árpád stripes is a symbol which has been historically associated with national identity, and as a result, both popular and academic literature have been a part of this discourse.⁶⁰ The Hungarian nationalist public and some academics have historically clung the ‘native’ Hungarian origin of the Árpád stripes because it remains one of the earliest Hungarian symbols and thus holds a strong connotational value which reinforces their nativist ideology. Hungary is not the only European country in which nationalist ideologues have linked their ideology to their medieval past, but the Árpád stripes has become an important symbol in expressing this link.⁶¹

Unfortunately, because early academic literature on the “Árpádian Stripes” denoted it as Hungarian and imbued it with national connotations, much of the academic discourse began in this ‘native’ and ‘foreign’ binary. Presently and historically, the Hungarian public, particularly nationalists, identify it as a ‘native’ symbol.⁶² However, present academic literature is widely convinced of its ‘foreign’ influence, although there are still some detractors like László Baják.

⁶⁰ It goes without saying that literature on the ‘native’ origin and ‘foreign’ influence of the symbol are pregnant with concerns imposed by the prevailing discourses of their time, particularly in the 19th-21st centuries. It would be absurd to apply either of these categories wholesale to the development and production of medieval symbols because these present categories would not have historically existed in the manner in which the discourse represents them. This can be seen in the article by László Baják, “Milyen volt az első Magyar címer?” [What was the first Hungarian coat of arms like?], where his interest is placed on the ‘Hungarian-ness’ of the Árpád stripes.

⁶¹ Gábor Klaniczay, “The Myth of Scythian Origin and the Cult of Attila in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Multiple Antiquities - Multiple Modernities. Ancient Histories in Nineteenth Century European Cultures*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, Michael Werner, and Ottó Gecser (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2011), 185-212.

⁶² Present examples have been cited in footnote 11, but historical examples can be found amongst the authors listed in Ferenc Donászy, *Az Árpádok címerei* [The heraldry of the Árpáds] (Budapest: Sárkány-nyomda, 1937), 7-8.

While the last chapter will concentrate on the early nativist authors, special attention will be given here to Baják who is one of the most recent proponents of this nativist theory. In his recent article “Milyen volt az első magyar címer?” [What was the First Hungarian Coat of Arms like?] on the Hungarian National Museum’s website, he proposes that the Árpád stripes were the first Hungarian symbol.⁶³ His argument is derived from a coin minted during St. Stephen’s reign (1000/1-1038) which depicts the *lancea regis* and some unidentified accessory hanging from the head of the spear (see Fig. 4).⁶⁴ He argues that the unidentified accessory is a flag depicting the Árpád stripes, and then proceeds to claim that the symbol was used during the reign of St. Stephen, despite no other surviving evidence of this.⁶⁵ While the accessory hanging from the lance is identified as a flag in a major numismatics catalog and does appear to have a series of lines which resembles that in the Árpád stripes, those are its only similar characteristics.⁶⁶ If the flag in the coin truly depicted the Árpád stripes, it would have profound implications which the author does not address.⁶⁷ While it is possible that this is the first instance of the Árpád stripes, it would require significantly more research to determine this definitively.

⁶³ László Baják, “Milyen volt az első Magyar címer?” [What was the first Hungarian coat of arms like?], *Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Blog*, November 2016, accessed May 29, 2020. <https://mnm.hu/hu/cikk/milyen-volt-az-első-magyar-cimer>. It is worth noting that at the end of Baják’s article, he advises the reader to consult the next issue of the Hungarian National Museum’s academic journal, *Folia Historica*, for a “more detailed description of the author’s new ideas,” but the following issue of *Folia Historica* did not contain an article by Baják, nor could the author locate any further publications by Baják on the subject.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Csaba Tóth, József Géza Kiss, András Fekete ed., *Az Árpád-kori magyar pénzek katalógusa I. (Szent) Istvántól Imréig* [Catalogue of Árpáadian coinage I: From King Saint Stephen to Imre], tr. Alan Campbell (Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2018), Entry 1.1.

⁶⁷ Amongst these is the idea that the Árpád stripes was first utilized as flag, rather than as a heraldic seal. Given the recent popularity of the Árpád stripes on flags during the 2006-7 protests, if Baják’s statements were true this would mark an interesting turn in the history of the symbol. Additionally, it would pose serious questions about why the kings after St. Stephen and before Emeric didn’t utilize the Árpád stripes, or why none of it survived.



Figure 4: Denar from the reign of St. Stephen (997-1038) [H2; CNH I.-;ÉH0; R -]. Csaba Tóth, József Géza Kiss, András Fekete ed., *Az Árpád-kori magyar pénzek katalógusa I. (Szent Istvántól Imrétől)* [Catalogue of Árpadian coinage I: From King Saint Stephen to Imre], tr. Alan Campbell (Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2018), Entry 1.1⁶⁸

Additionally, Baják argues that Béla III (1172-1196) also used the Árpád stripes as a heraldic device prior to Emeric because Béla III often conducted diplomacy abroad and needed a heraldic device with which to do so.⁶⁹ However, this is unlikely because Béla III utilized the patriarchal cross on currency during his reign and one of his descendants, Béla IV, likely adopted the patriarchal cross due to his respect for his reign.⁷⁰ Given the paucity of evidence, it seems unreasonable to make this claim with certainty.

Baják's work has also had an influence on public historical literature, such as Levi and Sinonimo's *Királyok és Keresztek* [Kings and Crosses] graphic novel series.⁷¹ In their blogpost, "Mi tudjuk, milyen az Árpád-sáv, és nem félünk használni" [We know what the Árpád stripes are like, and we are not afraid to use it], the authors justify their depiction of St. Stephen holding an Árpád striped flag (see Fig. 5) by citing Baják's work, and largely repeating his arguments

⁶⁸ Many of the pictures in this chapter were taken by the author strictly for research purposes, and were not intended to be published in this thesis. The author intended to re-take these pictures at a higher quality with the aim of publishing them, but unfortunately the author was unable to access these images at the time of writing due to circumstances beyond their control. The author apologizes for the low-quality of many images included in this chapter, and for the absence of other images which they were also unable to access.

⁶⁹ Again, despite no surviving evidence testifying to Béla III's usage of it.

⁷⁰ Bertényi, *Magyar címertan*, 63.

⁷¹ János Mészáros, *Királyok és Keresztek: Voluntas Tua* [Kings and Crosses: Voluntas Tua] (Hungary: Enter Studio, 2017). The graphic novel series has also received French and English translations.

from his HNM entry.⁷² Like Baják, Levi and Sinonimo are explicitly dismissive of the ‘foreign’ influence on the Árpád stripes.⁷³

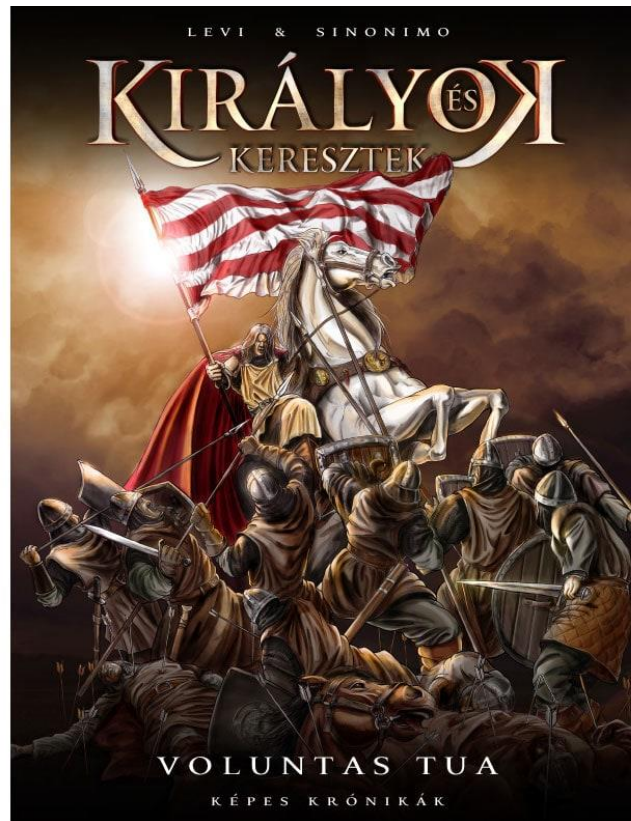


Figure 5: The cover of the first volume of the Hungarian edition of the Kings and Crosses graphic novel series. St. Stephen is depicted horseback with an Árpád striped flag. The Árpád striped flag also occurs throughout the novel in St. Stephen's retinue. Cover art by Tamás Gaspar. János Mészáros, *Királyok és Keresztek: Voluntas Tua* [Kings and Crosses: *Voluntas Tua*] (Hungary: Enter Studio, 2017).

To the best of my knowledge, the first person to explore the notion that the Árpád stripes have foreign origins is Ferenc Donászy, who posed this question in his 1937 *Az Árpádok címerei* [The Heraldry of the Árpáds].⁷⁴ His work begins by expressing skepticism towards the existing literature, particularly literature discussing its origins. Of note amongst these are the “violent

⁷² Királyok és Keresztek, “Mi tudjuk, milyen az Árpád-sáv, és nem félünk használni” [We know what the Árpád stripes are like, and we are not afraid to use it], *Királyok és Keresztek Blog*, 2016, accessed May 29, 2020. <http://www.kiralyokeskeresztek.hu/arpad-sav-tudnivalok/>.

⁷³ An interesting rebuttal of the idea that Constance of Aragon was the one who influenced the development of the Árpád stripes in Hungary is copied from Baják to Levi and Sinonimo. Baják claims that there is no way that the Árpád stripes would have been adapted into Hungary from Constance of Aragon because of a source which claims that she was widely despised by the Hungarian people.

⁷⁴ Donászy, *Árpádok címerei*, 20-30. Bertényi, *Magyar címertan*, 64.

explanations” offered by the influential 18th and 19th century Hungarian historians, Sándor Horváth and István Horvát, who argued that the stripes represented, “Hungarian bravery and the 7 Tribes.”⁷⁵

In particular, Donászy suggested the Árpád stripes’ connection with Aragonia and the Barcelona dynasty. The Árpád stripes strongly resembles the Aragonian coat of arms used by the Count of Barcelona and King of Aragon after Aragon and Barcelona were merged by a dynastic union under the Barcelona dynasty.⁷⁶ The Barcelona family’s coat of arms also has a field of *barries*, but they run vertically instead of horizontally (termed *pallets*), and the silver is replaced with gold (see Fig. 6).⁷⁷ However, some illustrations of the heraldry from the late 12th and early 13th century either strongly or perfectly resemble the Árpád stripes (see Fig. 7 and 8).⁷⁸ Emeric’s wife, Constance, was the daughter of Alfonso II of the Barcelona dynasty and he was the first ruler to hold both of the titles King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona. Donászy argues that Constance and Emeric developed the Árpád stripes together after she arrived in Hungary.⁷⁹ Later scholars such as Iván Bertényi have developed this thesis and have demonstrated that the Árpád stripes appeared on the Iberian peninsula in a rare style of depicting the arms of the Barcelonian house.⁸⁰ Further evidence of a western connection has

⁷⁵ Donászy, *Árpádok címerei*, 8. For more on the works and legacy of István Horvát see Gábor Klaniczay, “The Myth of Scythian Origin and the Cult of Attila in the Nineteenth Century.”

⁷⁶ Bertényi, “Árpád-házi királyok címere,” 191-195.

⁷⁷ The blazon of the arms is Or, four pallets gules. See Fig. 6

⁷⁸ Of note are the wall paintings in the Mudejar Cathedral in Teruel and the murals of the Conquest of Majorca in Barcelona (Fig. 4 and 5). The Conquest of Majorca depicts Alfonso II’s grandson, James I, conquering the Balearic Islands in 1231. The author intended to reprint the image of a knight from the Mudejar Cathedral who is holding a shield depicting arms which looks remarkably similar to the Árpád stripes, but unfortunately the author does not have a suitable quality scan of the image and they have been unable to locate any digital rendition of the image. It can be found on Bertényi, “Árpád-házi királyok címere,” 195.

⁷⁹ Donászy, *Árpádok címerei*, 21.

⁸⁰ The photo included in Bertényi’s work depicts a knight on horseback with a shield depicting the Árpád stripes. It is a fresco taken from one of the coffered ceilings in the Cathedral of Saint Mary of Mediavilla of Teruel in Aragon. The author would reprint the image in Bertényi’s text within the document, but unfortunately my scan of the article does not adequately represent the image, and I am unable to access the text at the time of writing. In lieu of this, I have decided to instead show the murals of the Conquest of Majorca which depicts James I’s conquest of the island in 1229. This mural was originally made in the house of a 13th century merchant named Bernat de Caldes and was discovered in 1961. Bertényi, “Árpád-házi királyok címere,” 195. Bertényi, *Magyar címertan*, 66-67. Anonymous, “Conquest of Majorca,” Catalanian National Museum of Art,

been indicated by scholars such as Imre Takács and Emma Bartoniek, who have demonstrated that the structure of Emeric's seal was highly influenced by French trends.⁸¹ Both Bertényi and Donászy pay special attention to the use of lions on Emeric's seal, matching it with the lions which Aragonian lords usually styled themselves with, and they use it as evidence that Hungary was beginning to adopt western heraldic trends via royal connections.⁸² It is of the author's opinion that there is enough evidence in their works to suggest that there is likely a transfer history of the Árpád stripes from Aragon to Hungary.

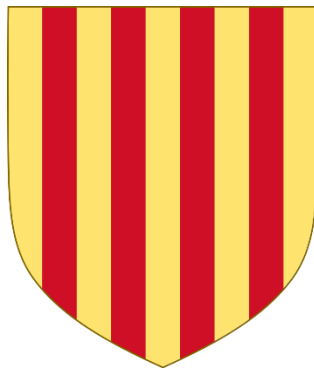


Figure 6: *The Arms of the House of Barcelona. Or, four pallets gules.*

<https://www.museunacional.cat/en/colleccio/mural-paintings-conquest-majorca/mestre-de-la-conquesta-de-mallorca/071447-cjt>. (last accessed May 29, 2020) (see Fig. 7 and 8)

⁸¹ Takács, *Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei* [Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty], 65. Emma Bartoniek, "Az Árpádok ércpecsétjei" [The metal seals of the Árpáds], *Turul* 41 (1924): 20-26,

⁸² Donászy, *Árpádok címerei*, 26-30. Bertényi, "Árpád-házi királyok címere," 190. On Hungarian-Mediterranean connections and the impact of Mediterranean chivalric influence see Attila Zsoldos, *The Árpáds and their Wives: Queenship in Medieval Hungary*, tr. Tamás Pálosfalvi (Rome: Viella, 2019), 180. Tarján, "Fictitious or Not?" 33-34.



Figure 7: A fragment of the mural depicting the Conquest of Majorca. King James of Aragon and Count of Barcelona is sitting in his tent surrounded by his supporters. Anonymous, "Conquest of Majorca," Catalanian National Museum of Art, <https://www.museunacional.cat/en/colleccio/mural-paintings-conquest-majorca/mestre-de-la-conquesta-de-mallorca/071447-cjt>. (last accessed May 29, 2020)



Figure 8: Another fragment of the mural depicting the Conquest of Majorca. A soldier of King James is assaulting the walled city of Medina Mayurqa and raising his lord's banner. Anonymous, "Conquest of Majorca," Catalanian National Museum of Art, <https://www.museunacional.cat/en/colleccio/mural-paintings-conquest-majorca/mestre-de-la-conquesta-de-mallorca/071447-cjt>. (last accessed May 29, 2020)

1.2 The Use of the Árpád Stripes by Árpádians

Regardless of the origin of the Árpád stripes and its potential prehistory, the earliest documented usage of the Árpád stripes are on the seals of King Emeric and Andrew II. The Árpád stripes is perhaps best known during this time period for its usage on Andrew II's golden double seal which was famously attached to his Golden Bull.⁸³ Born from internal crises following Andrew II's participation in the crusade, the golden bull was an influential decree which established and confirmed the rights of the nobility.⁸⁴ However, the Árpád stripes did not continue into Béla IV's golden double seal, where it was replaced with the patriarchal cross.⁸⁵ Andrew III (1290-1301) equestrian ducal seal is the final use of the Árpád stripes on a seal from the Árpád dynasty. It is difficult to precisely date this seal, but we can assume that it was used during Ladislaus IV's reign (1272-1290) and prior to Andrew III's ascension to the throne in 1290.⁸⁶

This sub-chapter will detail the seals of the three Árpád kings who used the Árpád stripes on their seal and historicize it within their reign. It will also look at the use of the patriarchal cross by Béla IV, who interrupted the continuity of rulers using the Árpád stripes.

The previous subchapter dealt with Emeric's seal (see Fig. 9) and some of his marital history, but his reign will be briefly dealt with here for the purpose of contextualizing Andrew II's reign. Emeric's brief rule was characterized by an expansion of the Hungarian kingdom into the Balkans.⁸⁷ Additionally, he faced animosity from his younger brother, the later Andrew II,

⁸³ *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 46.

⁸⁴ Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary: 895-1526*, tr. Tamás Pálosfalvi, ed. Andrew Ayton (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 93-95.

⁸⁵ *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 54.

⁸⁶ Takács, *Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei* [Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty], 183.

⁸⁷ Imre also utilized the title "King of Serbia." Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk and Przemysław Wiszewski, 441. Engel, *Realm*, 88.

who revolted against him twice.⁸⁸ After being appointed as his regent, Andrew II often referred to himself as the King of Hungary.⁸⁹ His seal was found attached to his 1202 golden bull.⁹⁰



Figure 9: King Emeric's Golden Double Seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum: Royal Portraits on Seals from the Hungarian National Archives*, ed. Géza Észregi (Budapest: Hungarian Pictures, 2002), 43.

Andrew II dramatically reshaped the political situation within Hungary by consolidating power under powerful noble families and barons.⁹¹ These barons were headed by a palatine, who wielded judicial and military authority over the barons.⁹² These reforms, and many others, “provoked general indignation and discontent,” and would result in an even greater transformation of the nobility’s status.⁹³ Constance would also complain to the pope that Andrew II seized the income of two provinces which Emeric allotted to her.⁹⁴ Upon her

⁸⁸ Engel, *Realm*, 89. Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 234.

⁸⁹ Engel, *Realm*, 89.

⁹⁰ Takács, *Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei* [Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty], 66.

⁹¹ Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 427-8. Engel, *Realm*, 91-93.

⁹² Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 427-9. Engel, *Realm*, 92.

⁹³ Engel, *Realm*, 93.

⁹⁴ Zsoldos, *Árpáds and their Wives*, 88-89.

husband's death, her influence as Dowager Queen is conspicuously absent from the early reign of Andrew II.⁹⁵

Andrew II's later reign would be defined by internal divisions. After returning from a crusade, Andrew II found his realm in complete disarray. Following a revolt in 1222, Andrew II issued the Golden Bull which, among other things, established the rights of the nobility in contradistinction to the king and rectified many of his earlier political works.⁹⁶ His later reign saw him cowing to pressure from the Church. In particular, he issued another golden bull (1231) supporting the Church and the Treaty of Bereg (1233) which laid out the basic privileges of the Church within the kingdom.⁹⁷

Andrew II's double golden seal (see Fig. 10) is well known today in Hungarian popular culture, and is perhaps the most popular medieval item depicting the Árpád stripes. It appears on Andrew II's statue in Budapest's Heroes Square, where he is depicted holding the 1222 Golden Bull, and his attached seal is colored gold.⁹⁸ It is very likely that his Golden Bull was sealed with his gold double seal.⁹⁹ The reverse of the seal depicts a shield charged with the Árpád stripes, and like Emeric, the bars are charged with lions passant.¹⁰⁰ Shields have also been added to the center of each barry, and the lions have been turned to face them in order to create the impression of symmetry. However, the legend on the reverse does not list the territories under his rule, as Emeric's does, but instead describes whose seal this is, and who his father is. While Andrew II's seal draws clear inspiration from Emeric's, it is difficult to make any conclusive statements regarding his motives in designing his seal. While his animosity towards

⁹⁵ Ibid, 141.

⁹⁶ Attila Zsoldos, "II. András aranybullája" [Andrew II's Golden Bull], *Történelmi szemle* LIII 1 (2011): 1–38. Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 428-9. Engel, *Realm*, 94.

⁹⁷ Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 383. Engel, *Realm*, 96.

⁹⁸ András Gerő, "The Altar of the Nation: The Millennium Monument in Hungary," in *Imagined History: Chapters from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Hungarian Symbolic Politics*, ed. Peter Pastor and Ivan Sanders, tr. Mario D. Fenyo (New Jersey, Center for Hungarian Studies, 2006), 190.

⁹⁹ Észregi, *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 15.

¹⁰⁰ *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 46.

Emeric could potentially be demonstrated by the changes he made to his seal, the larger question remains as to why he also utilized the Árpád stripes.



Figure 10: King Andrew II's Golden Double Seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum: Royal Portraits on Seals from the Hungarian National Archives, ed. Géza Érszegi (Budapest: Hungarian Pictures, 2002), 47.*

Andrew II's son, Béla IV, had revolted against Andrew during his reign and was heavily involved in resisting his father.¹⁰¹ Upon assumption of the throne, he marked his distinction from his father by persecuting many of his father's advisors.¹⁰² Engel writes that the actions early in his reign "bore witness to the king's determination to interpret royal power as being almost absolute," in contrast to the reign of Andrew II.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Béla IV was also coronated with Andrew II's consent in 1214 "due to pressure from nobles." Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 425. Engel, *Realm*, 98.

¹⁰² Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 430. Engel, *Realm*, 98.

¹⁰³ Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 430. Engel, *Realm*, 98.

Béla IV's seal (see Fig. 11) is remarkable because it marks a shift in the heraldry of his predecessors, while keeping much of the same form. The reverse of his seal replaces the Árpád stripes with the patriarchal cross, while preserving the form of the text.¹⁰⁴ It is easy to interpret his revision of his father's arms on his golden seal as a rejection of his father, but it more likely refers to the symbols used by his grandfather Béla III, who Béla IV strongly admired and to whose state he attempted to return the kingdom.¹⁰⁵ Béla's reign also coincides with the estimate given for the frescoes on the Gozzoburg *Wappensaal* (mid-late 13th century), and thus it is possible that the Árpád stripes remained in use during his reign.¹⁰⁶ However, it is significantly more likely that he was represented by the patriarchal cross, given that he utilized the same symbol on his double crest (see Fig. 12).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 54.

¹⁰⁵ Engel, *Realm*, 98. Tamás Körmendi, "A magyar királyok kettőskeresztes címerének kialakulása" [The first appearance of the double-cross variant of the Hungarian kings' coat of arms], *Turul* 84 (2011): 73-83.

¹⁰⁶ Georgina Bábinszki, "Ein Herrscherprogramm im Stadtrichterpalast? Die Wandmalereien im Turmzimmer der Gozzoburg in Krems," Master's thesis (University of Vienna, 2017), 12-16, accessed on May 29, 2020. <http://othes.univie.ac.at/46142/1/48256.pdf>.

¹⁰⁷ Bábinszki, "Herrscherprogramm," 105.



Figure 11: Béla IV's Golden Double Seal. Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum: Royal Portraits on Seals from the Hungarian National Archives, ed. Géza Észregi (Budapest: Hungarian Pictures, 2002), 55.



Figure 12: A crest depicting the patriarchal cross in the Gozoburg monastery's Wappensaal. Béla IV often styled himself with the patriarchal cross. Georgina Bábinszki, "Ein Herrscherprogramm im Stadtrichterpalast? Die Wandmalereien im Turmzimmer der Gozoburg in Krems," Master's Thesis (University of Vienna, 2017), 105. <http://othes.univie.ac.at/46142/1/48256.pdf>.

The end of Stephen V's brief reign (1270-1272) and the beginning of Ladislaus IV's reign marks a decisive shift in Hungarian politics which would see, as Engel describes, "a rapid decline of central power and brought about an anarchy that culminated in 1301 with the dying out of the Árpáadian dynasty."¹⁰⁸ Out of this moment, there was a broad increase in the political influence of the nobility who were empowered by previous legislation such as the Golden Bull of 1222 and its almost exact reconfirmation by Béla IV in 1267.¹⁰⁹ Multiple lords rebelled against Ladislaus IV, and following the Church's intervention to quell the chaos within the realm, Ladislaus' reign ended when he was murdered.¹¹⁰ Supposedly childless, Ladislaus IV marked the end of the most continuous branch of the Árpád dynasty.¹¹¹

However, there was a grandson of Andrew II in Venice who was brought to Hungary and crowned as Andrew III by the nobility and the Church.¹¹² Andrew III's rule was defined by his attempt to consolidate power behind the throne amidst the nobility continuing to carve out their own local influence.¹¹³

Donászy argues that Andrew III used the Árpád stripes to refer to his descent from the Árpáadian dynasty amidst the violent struggle for the kingdom of Hungary.¹¹⁴ If this is the case, it is notable because the future heirs of the kingdom of Hungary, the Angevin dynasty, would also utilize the Árpád stripes in their heraldry during the same time, and would continue Andrew III's pattern of using the Árpád stripes as a reference to the Árpáadian dynasty. In doing so, the

¹⁰⁸ Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 430-1. Engel, *Realm*, 101. Although the author was unable to access the text at the time of writing the author is certain that, Jenő Szűcs's, "Az utolsó Árpádok" [The last Árpáds] contains relevant information for the interested reader. Jenő Szűcs, "Az utolsó Árpádok" [The last Árpáds] (Budapest: Osiris, 2002).

¹⁰⁹ Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 431. Engel, *Realm*, 119-120.

¹¹⁰ Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 472-3. Engel, *Realm*, 109.

¹¹¹ Engel, *Realm*, 110.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 110.

¹¹³ As indicated by Attila Zsoldos, recent research by József Gerics has also indicated the unprecedented reforms undertaken by Andrew III in accomplishing this goal. Attila Zsoldos, "III. András nádorai" [The palatines of Andrew III], *Történelmi szemle* LII no. 3 (2010): 303. József Gerics, "Rendi intézmények III. András korában" [Legal institutions in the time of Andrew III], in *A korai rendiség Európában és Magyarországon* [Early estates in Europe and Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987), 283-309. Engel, *Realm*, 110.

¹¹⁴ Donászy, *Árpádok címerei*, 14.

Árpád stripes were used as a visual sign for some of his allies to indicate their allegiance to him. The use of the Árpád stripes amongst Andrew III's supporters will be discussed in the next subchapter.

Andrew III used the symbol on his ducal equestrian seal, where it appears on his shield (Fig. 13). The form of the seal is similar to other Árpáodian ducal equestrian seals, such as that of his predecessor, Stephen V.¹¹⁵ Stephen V, Duke of Styria instead has the lions of Styria on his shield. Takács argues that the use of the Árpád stripes on Andrew III's shield was “a clear attempt to distance himself from the representation of his princely rival Ladislaus IV.”¹¹⁶ Engel mentions that Andrew III encountered suspicions from local lords regarding the legitimacy of his descent, and thus it seems possible that he adopted the Árpád stripes in order to connect himself to Andrew II, from whom he drew legitimacy.¹¹⁷



Figure 13: Andrew III's ducal equestrian seal. Imre Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei*, [*Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty*] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2012), 149.

¹¹⁵ Equestrian seals were popular in Western Europe for around 150 years and were likely influenced by Spanish knights. In the Árpád era, they appear between 1200 ad 1300 on the seals of kings, princes, and dignitaries. Veszprémy suggests that the Árpáodian uses of the equestrian seal are an indication of the bearer's aspirations for power. Takács, *Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei* [Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty], 127. László Veszprémy, “Lovaspecsétek Magyarországon” [Equestrian seals in Hungary], in *Lovagvilág Magyarországon: lovagok, keresztek, hadmérnökök a középkori Magyarországon* [The world of knights in Hungary: knights, crosses, and military engineers in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, 2008), 119-126.

¹¹⁶ Takács, *Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei* [Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty], 183.

¹¹⁷ Engel, *Realm*, 110.

From this, we can see that the Árpád stripes was not used by the Árpád dynasty in a way which unilaterally referred to their dynasty. Béla IV opted to not use the symbol and replaced it with another, the patriarchal cross. The decision to use the Árpád stripes in the ruler's heraldry was a decision made by each individual ruler, and it is likely that they made it to express certain aspects of their rulership in agreement or dissent from their predecessors. Conflict between claimants and their desire to emulate their predecessors potentially played a role in determining the heraldry of the ruler. As the next subchapter will detail, the Árpád stripes were used widely outside of the Árpád dynasty and were often adopted into the heraldry of the families which used them.

1.3 The Use of the Symbol by Non-Árpádians

More depictions of the Árpád stripes would survive on the seals of non-Árpádians than on those of the members of the Árpád dynasty. Those who utilized the symbol or some variation of it were gifted it to them by Árpáadian kings, either as a result of their office or as a mark of allegiance with the king. This begins a general trend in the Árpád stripes' lifespan amongst non-Árpádians during the Árpád era, in which gifts of the arms for official purposes would often replace, permanently or temporarily, the original arms of the family.

György Rácz details the usage of the Árpád stripes by other non-Árpáadian members who were frequently important elites within the kingdom.¹¹⁸ Rácz provides a list of those from 1275 until 1358 and places their usage of the Árpád stripes by these into 3 categories: to illustrate their tribal bonds, their official status, or their familial association.¹¹⁹ A list of those court officials

¹¹⁸ György Rácz, "Az Árpádok sávozott címere egyes főúri pecsétéken a XII-XIV. században" [The barry arms of the Árpáds on some magnates' seals of the 13th and 14th centuries], *Levéltári Közlemények* 63 (1992): 123-135, accessed May 29, 2020. https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/LeveltariKozlemenyek_63/?pg=124&layout=s.

¹¹⁹ "A felsorolt személyek közül társadalmi környezetük és az állami-politikai életben betöltött szerepük alapján három „csoportot" tudunk körülhatárolni; az első nemzeti köztudású, a második hivatali jellegű, a harmadik pedig (hűbéri) familiáris." Rácz, "Árpádok sávozott címere," 125.

who used the symbol can be found in Rácz's text, but he draws some interesting conclusions from his study. A list of those court officials who used the symbol can be found in Rácz's text, but he draws some interesting conclusions from his study. Only a few will be investigated here, but they point to a broad pattern which shows that the Árpád stripes, being a potent symbol, was adopted in a broad manner.

Rácz argues that there is usually a connection between the use of the royal shield and the political activity of the person wielding it, to the extent that it functioned as a "badge of power" for the holder.¹²⁰ Tamás Körmendi agrees that these arms were derived from the Árpád stripes, and argues that Péter Aba's badge of power eventually evolved into the family branch's heraldry.¹²¹

A prime example of this would be the heraldry of the Aba family.¹²² Throughout the 13th and 14th century, the arms of the Aba clan in their position as either palatine or master of the treasury were represented with a similar symbol. In the case of the Aba family, which began using a coat of arms very similar to the Árpád stripes in the later 13th century, Rácz suggests that it began as a symbol of power given to Péter when he held various court positions from 1274 until 1283 (Fig. 14).¹²³ Additionally, other members of the Aba family, such as the palatine Makján, would wield the symbol and Rácz is certain that the Árpád stripes would not have been granted to him, "since Ladislaus IV's personality was not close to such a 'Western' mentality, [and] moreover, the political storms did not favor the award of such a 'donation.'"¹²⁴ His successor was the palatine Amadeus Aba, who fought alongside Andrew III and against

¹²⁰ Ibid. 63.

¹²¹ Tamás Körmendi, "Az Aba nemzetség címerváltozatai a középkorban" [The heraldic changes of the Aba family in the middle ages], *Turul* 84 (2011): 109-129, 129-130.

¹²² Rácz, "Árpádok sávozott címere," 124, 126.

¹²³ Ibid. 126.

¹²⁴ Ibid. 126. "Teljesen kizárhatjuk tehát, hogy az 1270-es és 80-as években királyi engedéllyel vagy adományból került volna a pólya az Abák pajzsába, hiszen IV. László személyiségéhez nem állt közel egy effajta 'nyugati' mentalitás, ráadásul a politikai viharok sem kedveznek egy ilyen „adomány” megszületésének."

Charles I of the Angevin dynasty, and Amadeus also wielded a variant of the Árpád stripes (Fig. 15). As will be discussed in the next chapter, Charles I was a ruler who also displayed the Árpád stripes prominently in his heraldry. All of this provides evidence that the Árpád stripes has had a complex history, and one which frequently moves from one category of symbol to another.



Figure 14: Péter Bören Ába's Master of the Treasury seal. Tamás Körmendi, "Az Ába nemzetség címerváltozatai a középkorban" [The heraldic changes of the Ába family in the middle ages], Turul 84 (2011): 129.



Figure 15: Amadeus Aba's seal. Tamás Körmendi, "Az Aba nemzetség címerváltozatai a középkorban" [*The heraldic changes of the Aba family in the middle ages*], *Turul* 84 (2011): 129.

Likewise, 2 Palatines, Pát (1213) and Gyula Kán (1224) used the Árpád stripes on their seals.¹²⁵ The palatine Gyula likely received the Árpád stripes from Andrew II, where it appears on Gyula's official seal.¹²⁶ It is possible that it passed into the Nékseji family from him, as Demeter Lipóczi, a master of the treasury for Andrew II, married Gyula's daughter.¹²⁷ The Nékseji family's heraldry is best known from the Nékseji bible, where it appears as two black bars on a white field.¹²⁸ It is also worth noting that Demeter's and the Nékseji family's heraldry is very similar to the symbol assigned to Péter in his position of master of the treasury.¹²⁹ From the Nékseji family, Rácz and Körmendi speculate that the colors of their arms were passed onto their later heraldry, a black eagle on a white background.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ The author apologizes for the lack of illustrations of their seals. The author is certain that many of these they appear in Kumorowitz's text, and encourages the reader to consult his work for those illustrations.

¹²⁶ Ferenc Donászy, "Az oroslán ábrázolása a magyar heráldikában" [The representation of the lion in Hungarian heraldry], *Turul* 55 no. 1 (1938), accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1938-177DE/1938-12-177DF/az-orosl-an-abrazolasa-a-magyar-heraldikaban-17804/>.

¹²⁷ Rácz, "Árpádok sávozott címere," 127.

¹²⁸ Körmendi, "Aba nemzetség," 115.

¹²⁹ Péter's seal is not colored, so it is difficult to know which colors were on his seal. However, hatches on the seal generally indicate that the hatched element of the seal has a metallic color. This would align Péter's arms perfectly with Demeter and the Nékseji family's heraldry, if the bars on latter's heraldry were metallic instead of black.

¹³⁰ Rácz, "Árpádok sávozott címere, 131. Körmendi, "Aba nemzetség," 109.

Additionally, during the time of Andrew III, Rácz argues that the symbol suffered a form of “inflation” after being granted and used so widely amongst Hungarian elites and became more “plastic” as a result.¹³¹ During Andrew III’s reign, the symbol was shared prolifically amongst his supporters in order to indicate and codify their loyalty towards him.¹³² In 1299, the Árpád stripes appears on seals of Amadeus Aba, Pál Komáromi, and Demeter the count of Zólyom.¹³³ Rácz speculates that the use of the Árpád stripes by his allies was intended to “codify” their relationship during a time when alliances were shifting.¹³⁴ When Andrew III died in 1301, the Árpád dynasty ended and Charles I moved to seize the throne.

1.4 Chapter 1 Conclusion

From this chapter, we can conclude that there was no single referent for the Árpád stripes during the Árpád era. Each ruler used the Árpád stripes differently, likely according to the political necessities of the time or as a representation of their descent from previous Árpádians. However, there is nothing to indicate that there was a shared understanding that it was the symbol of the Árpád dynasty. During the same time period, the patriarchal cross also emerged as a symbol used by the Árpád dynasty, and like the Árpád stripes, its use by Árpád kings depended upon the individual using it. The BG8 also saw use by Hungarian elites, who were either granted the use of the symbol by the king or utilized it as part of their office. Occasionally, those who used the symbol incorporated it into their family heraldry on either a temporary or permanent basis.

¹³¹ Rácz, “Árpádok sávozott címere,” 130-1.

¹³² Ibid. 131. Again, the author apologizes for not including the illustration of these seals.

¹³³ Ibid. 125. For more on Amadeus, see Zsoldos, “III. András nádorai,” 307-314.

¹³⁴ Ibid. 130-131.

Under the Angevin dynasty, the symbol was subject to greater standardization, and was often used to refer to the Árpád dynasty.

Chapter 2: Fixing the Stripes to the Dynasty - The Angevins

In the previous chapter, we saw the emergence of the Árpád stripes and witnessed how infrequently it was adopted by individual rulers. We saw how these rulers might have used the Árpád stripes as a heraldic device for personal identification, but that it was not unilaterally used as a heraldic device for the dynasty. However, in Hungary's fracturing political landscape the last Árpáadian king, Andrew III, made a decisive attempt to disseminate the symbol amongst his supporters in order to illustrate their allegiance to him.¹³⁵ This trend continued in the Angevin dynasty, where the symbol retained a strong political valence, but its meaning was transformed by the new dynasty in order to represent its connection to the Árpád dynasty.¹³⁶ This chapter will analyze Angevin sources which situate the Árpád stripes and the Angevin arms in a position which indicates that the Angevins used it as a heraldic device to represent the Árpáadian dynasty. It will focus on unique sources and those which were important to the development of the Árpád stripes as an Árpáadian dynastic symbol.

The Angevin dynasty utilized the Árpád stripes prolifically, both publicly and privately. The most common form in which it appears is impaled per pale with the Capetian Angevin arms, where it occupies the dexter position (Fig. 16).¹³⁷ This impalement attempted to legitimize the

¹³⁵ Rácz, "Árpádok sávozott címere."

¹³⁶ András Hegedüs argues that the Árpád stripes began to be used as a symbol of the Hungarian kingdom under the Angevin dynasty, and that it was by no means a family symbol of the Árpáds. While it is certainly possible that the symbol began to be used as a symbol of the Hungarian kingdom, the author has come to a different conclusion: the Angevins used it as a symbol to connect themselves to the Árpád dynasty in order to bolster their dynastic sanctity. The appearance of the Árpád stripes in the Santa Marina Donna Regina in Naples complicates the idea that it was a symbol for the Hungarian kingdom. András Hegedüs, "A Magyar Királyság és uralkodóházainak címerei a Képes Krónika ábrázolásain" [The Hungarian kingdom and its rulers' heraldry in the representations of the Illuminated Chronicle], *Ars hungarica* 2013 1 (2013): 82-90, accessed May 31, 2020. <http://real-j.mtak.hu/4968/1/Ars%20Hungarica%202013.pdf>.

¹³⁷ In heraldry, impalement describes the practice of combining two arms. Usually, arms are impaled as a result of marriage. The terms dexter (right) and sinister (left) are used to refer the position of the families' arms within the impalement. The arms in the dexter position are generally given greater emphasis, and usually belong to the husband. Dexter and sinister placements are determined from the bearer's position. The term *per pale* refers to the division of the shield vertically for each of the family's arms. Slater, *Heraldry*, 111-112.

Angevin claim on the kingdom of Hungary by emphasizing the dynastic ties between the Árpádians and Angevins. In doing so, it projected an image of the Árpád stripes as the Árpáadian dynastic device. Many aristocratic women, such as Mary of Hungary and Elizabeth Piast, were influential in the creation and dissemination of the impaled arms during the Angevin era. In the Árpád and Angevin dynasty, they often wielded direct political power in a limited sphere, and were often coronated.¹³⁸ As Christopher Mielke states, aristocratic women seized upon the emergent tradition of heraldry to provide a “visual cue of rank and status.”¹³⁹ Citing Danbury’s “Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority,” he argues that on seals, “heraldry emphasized marital links, descent, family ties, and even social aspirations of the person wielding it.”¹⁴⁰ Mielke also emphasizes the instability of aristocratic women’s power, and that heraldry provided them a stability by depicting the history of their descent.¹⁴¹ The Angevins continued many of the regional trends established by the Árpáds, in which queens held relatively substantial power in the kingdom, but the end of Angevin rule and particularly the rise of King Sigismund correlates to a “major transformation” and decline of their power.¹⁴²



Figure 16: The impaled Angevin-Árpáadian arms after Louis I's revision

¹³⁸ Occasionally, these queens would also receive direct investiture. Zsoldos, *Árpáds and their Wives*, 21- 23, 183,

¹³⁹ Christopher Mielke, “Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears: The Material Culture of Medieval Queens of Hungary: 1000-1395,” Ph.D. diss. (Central European University, 2017), 13, 36, 43.

¹⁴⁰ Mielke, “Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears,” 36. Also see Elizabeth Danbury, “Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority” in *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals*, ed. Noel Adams, John F. Cherry, and James Robinson (London: British Museum, 2008), 20.

¹⁴¹ Mielke, “Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears,” 49-50.

¹⁴² Zsoldos, *Árpáds and their Wives*, 183- 186.

György Rácz notes that Mary of Hungary was the first to unite the two coats of arms after she asserted the claim of her son to the Hungarian throne in 1290, and that she gave this device to Charles Martell, who would then pass it on to his descendents.¹⁴³ Notably, on Mary's arms the Árpád stripes were impaled on the sinister side of seal and the Angevin lilies on the dexter, as according to Western European heraldic tradition.¹⁴⁴ It remained this way under Charles I's reign (1301-1342) (see Fig. 17 and 18), but Louis I (1342-1382) reversed the order, placing the Árpád stripes in the dexter and the Angevin arms on the sinister (Fig. 19).¹⁴⁵ It is possible that the Árpád stripes were adopted by Mary of Hungary because her competitor for the throne, Andrew III had previously utilized the Árpád stripes on his ducal seal and amongst his allies,¹⁴⁶ in order to distance himself from his other rival, Ladislaus IV.¹⁴⁷ Regardless, as stated in the previous chapter, the Árpád stripes were in circulation via armorials outside of Hungary, although there are no known Neapolitan armorials prior to the Angevin ascendancy to the Hungarian throne.¹⁴⁸



Figure 17: Charles I's double seal, Antal Pór and Gyula Schönner, "Az ország belállapota Károly uralkodása alatt," [The internal state of the country under Charles' reign] in *A magyar nemzet története*, ed. Sándor

¹⁴³ György Rácz, "The Heraldry of Angevin-age Hungary and its Reflections in the Illuminated Chronicle," 112.

¹⁴⁴ Carl Alexander von Volborth, *Heraldry of the World*, tr. Bob Gosney and Inge Gosney (Copenhagen: Blanford, 1973), 42.

¹⁴⁵ The impaled Angevin arms are most frequently remembered according to Louis's revision of them, perhaps as a result of the *Chronicon Pictum*. There are also earlier examples of the Árpád stripes placed in the dexter and the lilies in the sinister, such as a denar of Charles I issued in 1338, but these are largely exceptions.

¹⁴⁶ Takács, *Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei*, 149.

¹⁴⁷ Takács, *Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei*, 183. It is also worth noting that Andrew III's later double seal bears the patriarchal cross on a shield instead of the Árpád stripes.

¹⁴⁸ Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, tr. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge, 2002), 295-394. Tarján, "Fictitious or Not?"

Szilágyi (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1895), last accessed May 29, 2020. Available online at <https://mek.oszk.hu/00800/00893/html/img/nagy/20c9.jpg>.



Figure 18: King Louis's princely seal. Antal Pór and Gyula Schönner, "Károly családi viszonyai: Az utolsó évek" [The relations of Charles's family: The last years], in *A magyar nemzet története*, ed. Sándor Szilágyi (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1895), last accessed May 29, 2020. Available online at <https://mek.oszk.hu/00800/00893/html/img/nagy/20a5.jpg>.



Figure 19: Louis I's second royal seal. Antal Pór and Gyula Schönner, "Bosnya ügyek: Magyar hadak a szentszék szolgálatában" [Bosnian affairs: Hungarian troops in the service of the Holy See], in *A magyar nemzet története*, ed. Sándor Szilágyi (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1895), last accessed May 29, 2020. Available online at <http://mek.oszk.hu/01900/01948/html/index139.html>.

2.1 The Angevins, The *Beata Stirps*, and the Stripes

It is evident that the impalement of the Angevin and Árpádian arms was intended to serve as an argument for the legitimacy of the Angevin ascendancy to the Hungarian kingdom. The Angevin dynasty made many attempts to link themselves to the Árpád dynasty throughout their reign, but their use of heraldry to this end has not yet been adequately explored. To begin with,

we should look at other methods which the Angevins used to connect themselves to the Árpád dynasty.

There is a great deal of literature discussing the Angevin use of the Árpáadian saints to illustrate their connection with the dynasty. Dragoş Năstăsoiu details how the Angevin kings Charles I and Louis I of Hungary presented a continuity of sanctity through the two dynasties with murals of St. Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislaus.¹⁴⁹ This continuity was demonstrated through the presentation of sanctity as a hereditary element which André Vauchez refers to as the *beata stirps*. As Vauchez explains, the *beata stirps* represented a transformation of, “the notion of sanctity into a sort of familial feature that affected members of the dynasty preferentially, investing them with the prestige capital of their holy ancestors.”¹⁵⁰ The Angevin dynasty frequently promoted Árpáadian saints, as Gábor Klaniczay notes in their repeated advocacy of Margaret’s sainthood.¹⁵¹

I suggest that the Angevin impalement can also be read as a visual representation of the Angevin-Árpáadian *beata stirps* and thus a heraldic argument for their legitimacy to succeed the Árpád dynasty to the throne of Hungary. Năstăsoiu argues that members of the Angevin dynasty were aware of the sanctity of the Árpáadian dynasty and asserted their own dynastic sanctity in order to suggest the two dynasties be merged via their “indestructible link of the ruler to the divine power, which thus granted the prosperity of the kingdom and discouraged any attempt to undermine the authority of a character associated with sanctity.”¹⁵² As Janis

¹⁴⁹ Dragoş G. Năstăsoiu, “Political Aspects of the Mural Representations of *Sancti Reges Hungariae* in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 16 (2010): 93-119.

¹⁵⁰ Năstăsoiu, 95-6. See also André Vauchez, “*Beata stirps*: sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles,” in *Famille et parenté dans l’Occident médiéval*, ed. Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977), 397-406.

¹⁵¹ Gábor Klaniczay, “Efforts at the Canonization of Margaret of Hungary in the Angevin Period,” *Hungarian Historical Review* 2 no. 2 (2013): 313-339.

¹⁵² Dragoş G. Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti Reges Hungariae* in Mural Painting of Late-Medieval Hungary,” MA thesis (Central European University, 2009), 24-25.

Elliot explains, there is a history of the Angevin dynasty engaging in this kind of rhetoric.¹⁵³ In impaling their arms and distributing it widely, the Angevins linked themselves to the Árpád dynasty by providing the dynasty with a stable symbol within the rules of heraldry and thus established the Árpád stripes as a symbol referring to the Árpád dynasty. To see more evidence of this, we should turn to instances of the Angevin dynasty's use of the symbol within the emergent culture of Hungarian heraldry.

2.2 Angevin Heraldry in Architecture and Seals

The Angevin dynasty is widely seen for bringing mainstream chivalric culture into the kingdom of Hungary. With the expansion of chivalric culture came tournaments, and subsequently a broader culture of heraldry amongst the nobility.¹⁵⁴ László Veszprémy's article "The Knightly Culture of the Hungarian Barons," illustrates how this chivalric culture influenced the nobility and barons and the era was "the first heyday for the spread of coats of arms amongst the nobility," and beyond.¹⁵⁵ For this reason, historians like Rácz have referred to the Angevin era as the "flourishing of chivalresque culture and concomitantly ... the 'peak' of Hungarian heraldry."¹⁵⁶ Likewise, during this period, Hungarian heraldry began to conform more to western heraldic systems, although it would still remain flexible.¹⁵⁷

Christopher Mielke notes that the "Árpáadian-Angevin coat of arms was used by members of the immediate family and those related by blood," but also notes the other arms depicted on

¹⁵³ Janis Elliot, "The Last Judgement': The Cult of Sacral Kingship and Dynastic Hopes for the Afterlife," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth Century Naples* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 177.

¹⁵⁴ László Veszprémy, "The Knightly Culture of the Hungarian Barons: Ideals and Practice," in *Formation intellectuelle et culture du clergé dans les territoires angevins* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2019), 297-314. Engel, 147.

¹⁵⁵ Veszprémy suggests that this spread was due to the "participation of thousands of Hungarian mercenaries in Italy." Veszprémy, "Knightly Culture" 311.

¹⁵⁶ Rácz, "Heraldry of Angevin-age Hungary," 111.

¹⁵⁷ Bertényi, *Magyar címertan*, 68-69.

these objects, such as the Polish eagle and the patriarchal cross.¹⁵⁸ The Angevins used the impaled arms on many objects in aristocratic and courtly life. These existed not only in Hungary, but in Aachen, and Naples as well.¹⁵⁹ The spread of these objects demonstrates an international dissemination of the Árpád stripes representing the Árpáadian dynasty via the impaled arms, and they likely influenced foreign armorials.

The first recorded usage of the stripes by the Angevin dynasty is on a series of frescoes commissioned by Mary of Hungary in the Neapolitan Santa Maria Donna Regina Vecchia, following an earthquake which damaged the convent in 1293.¹⁶⁰ One fresco spans the umbrella vault in the convent's apse and depicts the often-used impaled form (see Fig. 20). Faded remnants of the impaled form can also be found in the vaulted archway in the narthex (see Fig. 21). Additionally, Angevin-Árpáadian heraldic devices can be found amongst the religious iconography in the nun's choir and in the crypt beneath the choir.¹⁶¹ A series of Angevin arms and Árpád stripes in lozenges can also be found in a decorative band between two frescoes on the west wall above the gallery.¹⁶² Elliot notes that the Donna Regina Vecchia is remarkable for its time because it is "a rare example of aristocratic convent architecture in Italy," containing features for use by the Neapolitan nobility, Franciscan nunnery, and the laity.¹⁶³ Elliot also notes that the Franciscans were frequently patronized by the Angevins, and that this was a critical element in their political self-fashioning.

¹⁵⁸ Mielke, "Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears," 72.

¹⁵⁹ Éva Kovács, "I. Lajos király címerei Aachenben," [King Louis I's heraldic symbols in Aachen], in *Művészet I. Lajos Király korában, 1342-1382* [Art in the age of King Louis I, 1342-1382], 107-8. Antal Pór, "Erzsébet királyné aacheni zarándoklása 1357-ben" [The pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth to Aachen in 1357] *Századok* 35 (1901): 11-13.

¹⁶⁰ Elliot, *Church*, 2.

¹⁶¹ Notably, amongst this iconography is a cycle of the 'Life of Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia-Hungary,' who was Mary of Hungary's great aunt, canonized in 1235. Elliot, *Church*, 5.

¹⁶² Elliot, *Church*, 3.

¹⁶³ Elliot, *Church*, 2-4. Beside the long narrative cycle dedicated to Elizabeth of Thuringia-Hungary, there is the tomb of Mary of Hungary, and a fresco depicting the trio of Hungarian saints: Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislaus. See Cordelia Warr, "The *Golden Legend* and the cycle of the 'Life of Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia-Hungary,'" in *The Church of the Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography, and Patronage in 14th century Naples* (Ashgate, 2004), 155-174.



Figure 20: Santa Maria Donna Regina Vecchia apse ceiling. Aldo Natale, "Donna Regina Vecchia," Instagram, accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.picuki.com/media/2048290548332617469>.



Figure 21: Vaulted arch beneath the gallery. Image from "Complesso Monumentale Donnaregina, Museo Diocesano Napoli," Tripadvisor, accessed May 29, 2020. https://www.tripadvisor.it/Attraction_Review-g187785-d2046069-Reviews-Monumental_Complex_Donnaregina_Diocesan_Museum_of_Naples-Naples_Province_of_Naple.html?m=19905.

Some Angevin rulers had the Árpád stripes or the impaled arms depicted on town seals of important towns in Hungary. Queen Elizabeth Piast issued a seal matrix for Óbuda, which it uses to this day, depicting what is presumably the queen's palace flanked by the impaled arms and the Polish eagle.¹⁶⁴ In 1357, Esztergom received a new town seal depicting the Árpád stripes in front of a Gothic palace.¹⁶⁵ The Árpád stripes and Anjou lilies can also be found on a tapestry recovered from a well in the Buda castle and on the Angevin's *globus cruciger*.¹⁶⁶

Aside from the Angevin kings discussed previously, the impaled arms were depicted frequently on the seals and signet rings of many who were associated with or related to the Angevins. Kumorowitz also mentions that the impaled arms were often used by the administration of the king on their seals and signet rings.¹⁶⁷ The signet ring of Elizabeth Piast, a wife of Charles I and regent of Poland, depicts the impaled arms within a lozenge¹⁶⁸ while her seal depicts the impaled arms on a shield alongside a second shield with the Polish eagle; the whole assembly is topped with a crown.¹⁶⁹ The later Mary of Hungary, queen regnant from 1382-1395, utilized the impaled arms on all of her seals and signet rings. Her usage of heraldry changed dramatically throughout her life. Uniquely, her second signet ring places the Árpád stripes in

¹⁶⁴ Mielke, "Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears," 428. Queen Elizabeth Piast was a patron of architecture in Hungary, particularly in Buda and Óbuda, and the Óbuda seal preserves this. She was also responsible for taking the arms to Aachen when she was on pilgrimage there. See Eva Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture," *Acta Historiae Artium* 20 (1974): 13-36. Elizabeth also continued the "ancient tradition" of relations between the queen and the *ispánate* of Beszterce when, perhaps like St. Stephen's wife, Gisella, she granted privileges to her own settlers there. She also assumed the reginal patronage of the Hánta collegiate chapter of the diocese of Veszprém in 1326, a diocese which was frequently linked to the Hungarian queenship under the Árpáds. Zsoldos, *Árpáds and their Wives*, 29, 53-55.

¹⁶⁵ Their previous seal was a double seal similar to that of Buda, in which the face depicted the same Gothic palace and the obverse depicted the Árpád stripes on a shield. Bertényi, *Magyar címertan*, 86.

¹⁶⁶ Iván Bertényi and László Szende, *Anjou-királyaink és Zsigmond kora* [The age of the Angevin kings and Sigismund] (Budapest: *Officina*, 2011), 124. Also see Mielke, 68-70, 451. Éva Kovács, "Magyar országalma" [Hungarian *globus cruciger*], in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382*, [Art in the age of King Louis I, 1342-1382] ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth, and Livia Varga, (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1982), 98-99.

¹⁶⁷ This likely included advisors, palatines, and the governors of Transylvania, although this is a tradition carried over from the Árpáadian dynasty. Kumorowitz, *Magyar pecséthasználát*, 46-49, 68-70.

¹⁶⁸ Lozenges are usually associated with women in the western heraldic tradition. Mielke, "Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears," 412.

¹⁶⁹ Mielke, "Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears," 414-15. Interestingly, the impaled arms have the Árpád stripes in the sinister position while the Angevin lilies are in the dexter. She also seems to be "the only person using both the Hungarian-Angevin and Polish coats of arms." See Mielke, "Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears," 74.

the sinister and the Angevin lilies in dexter, and her third signet ring depicts the crest of her father Louis I.¹⁷⁰

2.3 The Árpád Stripes in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle

As shown previously, the impaled arms were used widely as a heraldic device and religious-political tool by the Angevin dynasty. Likewise, the *Chronicon Pictum*, a historical work commissioned by the Angevin dynasty, uses the Árpád stripes and impaled arms in a similar, but unique way.¹⁷¹

In the chronicle, the Árpád stripes often appears in its unimpaled form with Árpáadian kings. Historians view the historical validity of the heraldry depicted in the *Chronicon Pictum* as somewhat mixed. Ilona Berkovits reads the illustrations as an expression of social politics, and the illustrator's use of heraldry conforms more to a contemporary perspective than a historical one.¹⁷² Rácz and Bertényi instead argue that the illustrations in the chronicle can be used as a quasi-substitute for the lack of Hungarian armorials, and Rácz's argues that some of it is anachronistic or inconsistent.¹⁷³ While there is truth to both of these arguments, they do indicate that the Árpád stripes is used within the text in order to connect it to the impaled arms.

While Rácz mentions the anachronistic assignment of heraldry to the enemies of Hungary, he does not elaborate upon the anachronistic assignment of heraldry to Hungarian dynasties, in particular the Árpáds.¹⁷⁴ Rather, his emphasis is on the inconsistency of heraldic devices used

¹⁷⁰ Mielke, "Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears," 425, 426.

¹⁷¹ *Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth Century Illuminated Codex*, ed. and tr. János M. Bak and László Veszprémy (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2018).

¹⁷² Ilona Berkovits, "A magyar feudális társadalom tükröződése a Képes Krónikában," [The reflection of Hungarian feudal society in the Illuminated Chronicle], *Századok* 87 (1953), 72-109.

¹⁷³ Rácz "Heraldry of Angevin-age Hungary," 114. Also see Iván Bertényi, "A Képes Krónika mint címeres könyv és mint heraldikai forrás" [The Illuminated Chronicle as an armorial and heraldic source], in *A címertan reneszánsza: Tanulmányok* (Budapest: Argumentum, 2014), 28-33.

¹⁷⁴ "The anachronistic assignment of heraldry to the images of early medieval events such as the German eagle on the flag for 1040 serves the purpose of identification of opponents and is thus significant. While the coat of arms for the Anjou—such as the combined shield and the ostrich—are throughout represented correctly, the heraldry in the images of earlier times is rather inconsistent." Rácz, 114.

to represent Árpádians after Saint Stephen and these devices often alternate between the patriarchal cross and the Árpád stripes.¹⁷⁵ It is important to mention here that the Árpád stripes did not become the sole heraldic device for the Árpáadian dynasty under the Angevin reign, but rather, it co-existed with the patriarchal cross in this position.¹⁷⁶ Ilona Berkovits argues that these two symbols were often used as heraldic devices in the chronicle to, “draw a distinction between those fighting for the progress of the country, of whom the illuminator approved, and their opponents.”¹⁷⁷ However, Berkovits also argues that the Árpád stripes were simultaneously used to illustrate the dynastic ties between these opponents:

It was obviously necessary for the miniaturist to show that the victorious King Stephen I was a member of the same dynasty as Koppány; the blood of the Árpáadian tribe flowed in the king’s veins and in the veins of some of the rebel leaders who he defeated.¹⁷⁸

While Berkovits’s argument is somewhat reductive and does not explain every instance of the Árpád stripes, such as the illustration of Attila’s battle at Cezumaur where it indicates Hungarian participation in Attila’s invasion (see Fig. 22), it does explain many illustrations which depict both the Árpád stripes and the patriarchal cross in the same image.¹⁷⁹ For example, in the Battle of Mogyoród depicting Ladislaus and Géza against King Solomon, Ladislaus is taking Géza’s patriarchal cross banner and heroically charging Solomon’s knights, the latter of

¹⁷⁵ “The double cross appears on the banners of Solomon and Andrew II and on one of the shields of St. Ladislaus, but on the flag of Samuel Aba and the shield in another picture of St. Ladislaus has the red-silver bars. In the part about the dynastic conflicts of the eleventh century, in one miniature King Solomon is flying a banner with the bars and Prince (St) Ladislaus one with the double cross. The combination of these signs of the kingdom remained valid for the Anjou period as well.” Rác, “Heraldry of Angevin-age Hungary,” 114-115.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. 114.

¹⁷⁷ Dezső Dercsényi, “The Illuminated Chronicle and its Period,” in *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de gestis hungarorum*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi et al., trans. Alick West (New York: Tappan, 1970), 33.

¹⁷⁸ “Nyilvánvalóan szükségesnek tartotta érzékeltetni a miniaturista, hogy a győztes I. István király Koppány nemzetségével egyazon nemzetségből származott; a király ereiben is az Árpád-nemzetségnek a vére folyt, amelynek egyes vezető lázadó egyéniségeit I. István legyőzte.” Berkovits, “magyar feudális,” 85.

¹⁷⁹ Many Hungarian chronicles include a narrative of Attila’s occupation of Pannonia as the first instance entry into the territory by the Hungarians. Like the *Chronicon Pictum*, Hungarian participation in the invasion is depicted by Hungarian heraldry. Berkovits, “Magyar feudális,” 85. Also, see chapter 3 for an explanation of how this illustration may fit into the concept of the *natio Hungarica*.

which are represented with the Árpád stripes (see Fig. 23).¹⁸⁰ The illustration uses the patriarchal cross banner to stress the cult of St. Ladislaus, and the Árpád striped banner to illustrate Solomon's dynastic ties with his opponents.¹⁸¹ Dániel Bagi highlights that contemporary authors viewed Solomon's usurpation of the throne from Béla, Solomon's uncle and the father of Ladislaus and Géza, as uniquely treacherous because it violated the dynasty's succession laws.¹⁸² The two symbols both bind and distinguish these two Árpádians from each other by illustrating a narrative of internecine violence.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ *Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians*, 225. "Duke Ladislaus changed his standard for that of Duke Géza with the intention that Salomon, believing that these were Géza's men whom he had recently defeated, should attack more boldly the column bearing Géza's flag... But when the King came near to Ladislaus' army and recognized that it was [Ladislaus], in his fear and terror he ordered his standard bearers to turn his troops aside against Duke Geysa."

¹⁸¹ The author, and especially the illustrator of the chronicle, are very interested in promoting the cult of St. Ladislaus. Dercsényi, 26-28. Kornél Szovák, "The Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-Century Hungary (Remarks on the Legend of St Ladislaus and the Illuminated Chronicle)," in *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, 159-180. Also of potential interest is a painting of St. Ladislaus attributed to Simone Martini, an artist in the employ of the Neapolitan Angevins. Giovanni Paganini, "An Attribution to Simone Martini," *Burlington Magazine* 90, no. 540 (1948): 74-80.

¹⁸² Dániel Bagi, "Dynastic Conflicts," 139-145.

¹⁸³ *Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians*, 227. This tragedy is evident in the text as well, as the chapter concludes with a remark about how "the greater part of the warriors of the Hungarian kingdom is also said to have perished."



Figure 22: Attila fighting the Romans at Cezumaur. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: *Chronica de gestis hungarorum*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi et al., trans. Alick West (New York: Tappinger, 1970), fol. 5



Figure 23: Battle of Mogyoród. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 85

Berkovits' argument is in line with the Angevin's promotion of Árpáadian dynastic sainthood, although there is an interesting complication. In the chronicle, the Árpád stripes is often used

to mark the dynastic succession of the Árpáds, while the patriarchal cross is used to mark the dynasty's saintly lineage and its ties to the church, but they both function as referents to the dynasty. A similar parallel can be found between the portrait of Louis I on the title page of the chronicle and the illustration of St. Stephen (see Fig. 24 and 25).¹⁸⁴ Both Stephen and Louis I are wearing a tunic with the Árpád stripes, but Stephen is illustrating his saintly status by holding a banner and shield with the patriarchal cross. The last instance of the Árpád stripes in the chronicle is on the tent of Ladislaus IV, where he is found murdered, and none of the oligarchs succeeding him are depicted with the Árpád stripes (see Fig. 26).

¹⁸⁴ As noted in chapter 1, there is no evidence that St. Stephen ever utilized the Árpád stripes.



Figure 24: Illustration of Louis I. The black on Louis I's Árpád stripes was originally silver, but it has since degraded and discolored. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 1.



Figure 25: Illustration of St. Stephen. In contrast to Louis I, Stephen's Árpád stripes were painted white. Depictions of the Árpád stripes in the chronicle is mostly white. Only the heraldry on folio 1 and St. Ladislaus' axe-head on folio 93 is silver. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 20.



Figure 26: *The Murdered Ladislaus IV.* The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 65b.

While the impaled arms do not make their appearance in the text until late in the chronicle, during Charles's battle against the sons of Amadeus Aba and Máté Csák at Rozgony (see Fig. 27), they occur in several prominent places. Firstly, it appears in the bottom left corner on the first page of the manuscript, followed by the patriarchal cross in the center and the crest of Louis I on the right (see Fig. 29). On the following page, Charles is depicted with his arms and a *globus cruciger* in a manner similar to the previous Árpáadian kings. The page afterwards concludes with two trumpeteers announcing the birth of Louis. Their trumpets bear the impaled arms and extend far beyond the border of the illustration and into the right margin, heralding the arrival of Louis I (see Fig. 28). The Angevin usage of the impaled arms likely represents the return of the Árpáadian bloodline on the Hungarian throne.

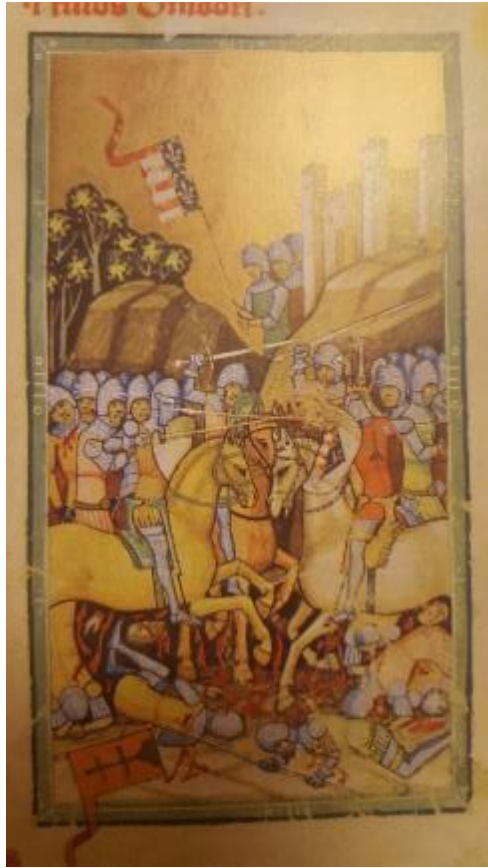


Figure 27: The Battle of Rozgony. Charles I is illustrated on the center-right with a full helmet and crown. His red tunic depicts the patriarchal cross and his shield shows the impaled arms. One of his standard bearers is lying on the ground with a broken banner with the patriarchal cross, and another stands beside the castle with his impaled arms. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 69b.



Figure 28: The Birth of Louis I. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 70.



Figure 29: Ormate border on the bottom of the title page in the *Chronicon Pictum*. Note that the silver has been recolored in this image. In the manuscript, the silver portions are discolored black. The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 1.

The use of the Árpád stripes alone and in the Angevin arms throughout the manuscript undoubtedly popularized the image of the Árpád stripes as an Árpáadian dynastic device. Additionally, like the foreign flags depicted in the *Chronicon Pictum*, the manuscript's illustrator anachronistically wrote the Árpád stripes farther back into history than the surviving evidence suggests. This is the first instance of the Árpád stripes being used anachronistically to represent the Árpáadian dynasty, and this practice would be repeated in future manuscripts.

2.4 Chapter 2 Conclusion

The Angevins utilized the Árpád stripes to represent the Árpád dynasty in various ways. They used it to indicate their rightful succession to the kingdom of Hungary by demonstrating their links to the Árpád dynasty and as a visual representation of the link between the two dynasties by emphasizing their shared dynastic sainthood. In the *Chronicon Pictum*, the Árpád stripes is used to represent the Árpád dynasty, and the impaled Angevin-Árpáadian arms indicates that the Angevin's ascension to the throne of Hungary entails a return of the Árpáadian bloodline. Aristocratic women played a significant role in the dissemination of the Árpád stripes, as Mary of Hungary introduced it among the Angevins, and both her and Elizabeth Piast's public works utilize the symbol extensively. The following chapter will look at the confusion of the symbol's referent after the Angevins, and discuss its emergent function as/within the state arms.

Chapter 3: The Stripes and the Kingdom and Territory of Hungary

Following the Angevin dynasty, the referents of the Árpád stripes diverged dramatically. In particular, there was a new trend in which it referred to the Kingdom of Hungary and the territory it encompassed. While the first kings of Hungary after the Angevins could use it to claim descent from the Árpád dynasty, later kings such as Matthias could not.¹⁸⁵ This is evident on the seals of Hungarian rulers after the Angevins, but also has its explanation in some of the key texts produced during this period: János Thuróczy's c. (1435 – 1489) *Chronica Hungarorum* and István Werbőczy's (1458-1541) *Tripartitum*. These texts were widely reprinted in the centuries after their publication, and likely influenced widespread understandings of the Árpád stripes amongst the elites who read them. Additionally, a new form of the Árpád stripes would appear that would later become a widely accepted arms of the kingdom of Hungary: the impaled Árpád stripes and the patriarchal cross.

It is also worth conceptually detailing Renaissance and post-Renaissance authors' understanding of "Hungary," being a multivalent political concept which Tibor Klaniczay notes changed through the 15th to 17th century.¹⁸⁶ The term *Hungaria* occurs frequently in both Thuróczy's and Werbőczy's texts which was largely used to refer to the territory of the kingdom of Hungary during that time, with the noted exception of the Kingdom of Croatia.¹⁸⁷

However, as Tibor Klaniczay states, "by the second half of the 16th century a more restricted

¹⁸⁵ "Mátyás nem volt rokon az Árpádokkal s nem az Árpád verség alapján uralkodott, tehát itt a vágásos címer jelentése szerint már nem genealógiai, hanem területiális címernek tekintendő, mely ugyanazt a társországok nélküli, szűkebb Magyarországot jelenti, mint ugyanakkor s azóta a kettőskereszt." Sebastyén József Köpeczi, "A Brassai fekete templom Mátyás-kori címerei" [The heraldry of the Matthias era Brasov Black Church], *Erdélyi tudományos füzetek* vol. 8 (1927): 18, accessed May 29, 2020. https://eda.eme.ro/bitstream/handle/10598/8702/EME ETF_008_Sebastyen-A%20brassai%20Fekete-templom%20Mátyás-kori%20címerei.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y.

¹⁸⁶ Tibor Klaniczay, "The Concepts of *Hungaria* and *Pannonia* in the Age of the Renaissance," *Hungarian Studies* vol. 10 no. 2 (1995): 173-190, accessed May 29, 2020. http://real-j.mtak.hu/5669/2/1995_NUMBER%202.pdf.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 174.

concept of Hungária began to be formed, though slowly and gradually, which became completely general and accepted in the 17th century. It differs from the one described above in its exclusion of Sclavonia beyond the Drava and of the historical Transylvania.”¹⁸⁸ This did not mean that these territories ceased to be recognized as belonging to the King of Hungary, but rather that genitives were often deployed to demonstrate these territories’ connection to the Hungary or the territory was mentioned independently and without reference to Hungary.¹⁸⁹ This territory was also recognized as “inhabited by several peoples.”¹⁹⁰ It is also important to note that, although the political territory of Hungary would undergo great shifts during the 15th-17th century, such as Ottoman and Austrian occupation, this territory remained a part of *Hungaria*.¹⁹¹ However, frequently in the humanist tradition, the term *Hungaria* was replaced with *Pannonia*, although many were aware of the discrepancies between the territories historically referred to as *Pannonia* and previously referred to as *Hungaria*.¹⁹² While this would become complicated in reference to Transylvania and its history in the province of *Dacia*, it should be noted that even a conservative understanding of *Hungaria* would refer to the territory which István Werbőczy uses to define the Árpád stripes, even though the border of Slavonia lay on the Sava river.

This understanding of the Árpád stripes as referring to a territorial entity is supported by a well-known and widely circulated compilation of legal texts published by István Werbőczy in 1514 called *Opus tripartitum juris consuetudinarii inclyti regni hungariae* or more commonly referred to as the *Tripartitum*.¹⁹³ While discussing the rights of the Church in the Kingdom of

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. 174.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. 178-9.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. 185.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. 179.

¹⁹² Ibid. 182.

¹⁹³ János M. Bak, “The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae*; Online Edition,” in *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae: The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. and trans. János Bak, et al. (Utah: USU Libraries, 2019), 7, accessed May 28, 2020, https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4.

Hungary in the *Tripartitum*, Werbőczy provides a brief history of the symbols used in the Kingdom of Hungary,

Hence, [St. Stephen] also merited the name of king and apostle, because he represented the apostles in this world by his teaching, good works, and example. For this reason he deservedly earned by grant of the supreme pontiff the right to have the double cross as his coat of arms as a sign of his holiness, so that he is rightly called king and apostle. Hence from his time the Hungarian people have and use the double cross as their arms and insignia. And the representation of the four rivers, namely the Ister or Danube, the Tibiscus or Tisza, the Sava, and the Drava, they took from the country of Pannonia where the Hungarians now dwell and live.¹⁹⁴

Werbőczy acknowledges and describes the Árpád stripes by defining it as four barries on a field of red, and assigning each bar to a river in the territory of the Hungarian kingdom.¹⁹⁵

Bertényi also reflects on a seal used for Slavonia in 1496 consisting of two bars which are meant to indicate the Sava and Drava rivers.¹⁹⁶ While Werbőczy was very young when Matthias died, it is possible that his writings reflect an understanding of the Árpád stripes which developed in post-Angevin Hungary, given that his text was derived from a collection of

¹⁹⁴ István Werbőczy, “*Opus tripartitum juris consuetudinarii incltyi regni hungariae*,” in *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae: The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. and trans. János Bak, et al. (Utah: USU Libraries, 2019), 1215, 1387, accessed May 28, 2020, https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4. “*Unde etiam rex & apostolus dici meruit eo quod vices apostolorum in terris praedicatione & bonorum operum atque exemplorum exhibitione gessit & propterea duas quoque cruces per collationem summi pontificis in signum suae sanctitatis quod scilicet rex & apostolus iuste diceretur, digne meruit habere pro armorum insignibus unde ab illius tempore gens Hungarica duplicatam crucem pro armis ac insignibus habere pariter & gestare consuevit. Insignium namque quatuor fluminum scilicet Histri seu Danubii ac Thybisci seu Thyciae necnon Zave & Drave a regno Pannoniae quod modo Hungari incolunt atque inhabitant pro se vendicavit.*”

¹⁹⁵ This idea that the 4 silver barries on the Árpád stripes refer to the rivers in the territory of the Hungarian kingdom would often resurface in revanchist rhetoric following the Treaty of Trianon.

¹⁹⁶ Bertényi, *Magyar címertan*, 71. Werbőczy also mentions that they often idolized Matthias’s reign. He also speaks of the glory of Matthias’s reign in territorial terms, “Under Matthias, Werbőczy declared, the boundaries of the kingdom had been extended and after his battles the severed heads of his enemies were piled in carts. By contrast, the kingdom today was on its knees, and had fallen into decline, oppression and ignominy, with its king being only a minor.” Martyn Rady, “Stephen Werbőczy and his *Tripartitum*” in *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae: The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. and trans. János Bak, et al. (Utah: USU Libraries, 2019), 1176-1193, accessed May 28, 2020, https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4.

communications from the chancellery and other texts in circulation.¹⁹⁷ It is also possible to detect this territorial interpretation of the Árpád stripes in Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum*.

Thuroczy's book was reprinted many times and was widely circulated throughout the following centuries.¹⁹⁸ It tells the history of Hungary from its origins until the time of the author during the rule of Matthias.¹⁹⁹ The 3 editions of the *Chronica Hungarorum* which will be analyzed in this chapter are the earliest editions of the chronicle, and form the basis for the later works analyzed in the next sub-chapter. This includes the 1488 Brno edition, the 1488 Augsburg edition presented to Matthias, another and the 1490 Bavarian manuscript. In the works analyzed in this chapter, the Árpád stripes often functions within many of these narratives as a reference to the territory of the kingdom of Hungary. The illustrated manuscripts which circulated abroad, such as the Bavarian edition of the *Chronica Hungarorum*, used the heraldry within the chronicle to stress the political achievements of Matthias.

It is also possible that the Árpád stripes quartered with the patriarchal cross served as a proto-national symbol during this period. Mroziewicz argues that it is possible to conceptualize the emerging trends of nation and state-hood in early modern Hungary. It is possible that the Árpád stripes quartered with the patriarchal cross was used during this time to refer to some emergent understanding of the Hungarian nation, but the lack of clarity in the symbol's meaning and our understanding of early Hungarian understandings of nationhood make it difficult to say with certainty. As I will suggest later, it is possible that this occurs in the depictions of battle in the

Werbőczy also mentions that they often idolized Matthias's reign. He also speaks of the glory of Matthias's reign in territorial terms, "Under Matthias, Werbőczy declared, the boundaries of the kingdom had been extended and after his battles the severed heads of his enemies were piled in carts. By contrast, the kingdom today was on its knees, and had fallen into decline, oppression and ignominy, with its king being only a minor."

¹⁹⁸ Karonlina Anna Mroziewicz, "Imprinting Identities: Illustrated Latin-Language Histories of St. Stephen's Kingdom (1488-1700)," PhD diss. (University of Warsaw, 2014), 239-247. Also see the following for a list of the known existent editions, Farkas Gábor Farkas, "On the Provenience of the Copies of Thuróczy: *Editio princeps* of the *Chronica Hungarorum*," *Studia Bibliographia Posoniensia* 2018 (2018): 11-24.

¹⁹⁹ György Rózsa, "A Thuróczy-krónika illusztrációinak forrásai és a középkori magyar királyok ikonográfiája" [The sources of the Thuróczy chronicle's illustrations and the iconography of medieval Hungarian kings], *Művészettörténeti Füzetek* 25: *Grafikatörténeti Tanulmányok* (1998): 11.

Chronica Hungarorum. In 1848, the colors of the Árpád stripes were incorporated into the Hungarian revolutionaries' tricolor, and there is certainly a history of the tricolor in the lineage of the Árpád stripes that is yet to be written.²⁰⁰ Unfortunately, the scope of this thesis prevents such a history from being written here. Nonetheless, the author considers it worthwhile to briefly sketch the emerging national tendencies here.

Mroziewicz's doctoral thesis (and later book) argues that early books imprinted early national identities on its readers.²⁰¹ Building off of the works of Anthony Smith, Eric Hobsbawm, and Benedict Anderson, Mroziewicz argues that early printed books, and in particular their imagery, helped construct an understanding of Hungarian proto-national identity for its elite, Latin readers.²⁰² However, it is important to draw clear distinctions between our contemporary understanding of Hungarian national identity and pre-existing forms. Jenő Szűcs elaborates on Simon of Kéza's use of the *natio Hungarica* in Simon's *Gesta Hungarorum*, in which Simon integrates the oral tradition of the Hun-Hungarian connection into written sources in order to create an ancient lineage for the Hungarian kingdom.²⁰³ Szűcs argues that later writers would bind this tradition to the Hungarian nobility by demonstrating that the nobility participated in the Hun's conquests, and thus create the *natio Hungarica* composed of ancient warrior families. It is interesting to note the Hun-Hungarian connection in his arguments, given that the earliest

²⁰⁰ Bertényi suggests that this was due to the prevalence of Werbőczy's text during this period, despite the text being "the bible for the nobility." Bertényi, *Magyar címertan*, 71.

²⁰¹ Mroziewicz, "Imprinting Identities: Illustrated Latin-Language Histories of St. Stephen's Kingdom (1488-1700)," 8-33.

²⁰² Mroziewicz, "Imprinting Identities: Illustrated Latin-Language Histories of St. Stephen's Kingdom (1488-1700)," 34-39. In particular, she takes issue with Anderson and Hobsbawm's argument that the nation did not exist prior to the invention of "print capitalism," such as the newspaper, which provided a horizontal community fixed in time and utilized vernacular language. She instead posits Smith's understanding of "nations before the era of nationalisms," in which ethnic communities communicated an understanding of their ethno-history. Smith, 387-395. She then opts to look at sources prior to print capitalism in order to understand how certain national forms and narratives emerged which would inform those which would circulate under "print capitalism." Regarding the role of imagery, see Mroziewicz's later article: Karolina Anna Mroziewicz, "Natio made visible: The Hungarian Political Community in Illustrated Books (ca. 1350-1700)," *Colloquia Humanista 5: Nation. "Natsiya." Ethnie*, (2016): 19-36.

²⁰³ Jenő Szűcs, "Theoretical Elements in Master Simon of Kéza's *Gesta Hungarorum* (1282-1285 a.d.)," ed. and tr. by Gábor Klaniczay (CEU Press), (forthcoming).

depictions of both the Árpád stripes in the *Chronicon Pictum* and the Árpád stripes quartered with the patriarchal cross in the *Chronica Hungarorum* appear in the Hun army. These depictions may have been made in order to present the longevity of the *natio Hungarica*, and especially in the *Chronica Hungarorum*, to illustrate its critical role in the Hungarian kingdom.

Mroziewicz also concludes that Werbőczy refers to the political nation of Hungary as “limited to the nobility and aristocracy exclusively,” and demonstrates that portraits of the Hungarian nobility demonstrated this national identity.²⁰⁴ Particularly, Matthias was positioned at the center of this “national-oriented framework,” and the works created during and after his reign would become influential and widespread amongst in the “Hungarian cultural and political scene,” where they informed a narrative of national dissent amongst Hungarian elites.²⁰⁵

The following sub-chapter will analyze the changes in the heraldry depicted on seals after the Angevin dynasty with a focus on Matthias’ various heraldic representation.

²⁰⁴Mroziewicz, “Imprinting Identities,” 196, 227-230.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. 42.

3.1 The Seals of the Kings of Hungary after the Angevins

This subchapter will look at royal seals after the Angevin dynasty and will also discuss the various uses of heraldry by Matthias. In these seals, we can see a shift away from the Angevin's use of the Árpád stripes to indicate their dynastic ties with the Árpád dynasty, and towards an indication that the Árpád stripes functioned as a reference to the owner of the seal's political-territorial claim to the kingdom of Hungary. While Sigismund adopted Angevin heraldic conventions in his royal seal, his imperial seal clearly diverged from this. First, it is worthwhile to provide a brief history of the kings represented here.

The death of Louis I triggered a succession crisis which was won by Charles II (1385-1386), a nephew of Charles I, but was quickly succeeded by Sigismund (1387-1437) who won the support of the barons and they elected him as regent.²⁰⁶ After Sigismund's accession to the throne, he moved on Rome and acquired the imperial crown in 1431.²⁰⁷ His death prompted the election of his daughter Elizabeth's husband, Albert (1437-1439), although Elizabeth would try to govern in the same manner as previous queen regents, but with little effect.²⁰⁸ Albert's death triggered another succession crisis between Elizabeth's son, Ladislaus V (1434-1444), and Wladislaus (1440-1457) who were both coronated in the same year.²⁰⁹ Out of this chaos and owing to an increased Ottoman threat, the Transylvanian baron John Hunyadi acquired the voivodship of Transylvania, and later the regency.²¹⁰ His son, Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490), ascended to the throne after the death of Ladislaus V and brought with him an expanded Hungary and integrated it into prevailing Renaissance trends.²¹¹ Following the death of

²⁰⁶ Engel, *Realm*, 195-199. This election would reverberate through Hungarian chronicles afterwards, with many historical kings in the chronicles receiving their throne through elections. János Bak, "Hungary: Crown and Estates," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History* vol. 7, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge, 2008), 707.

²⁰⁷ Engel, *Realm*, 199-208, 231.

²⁰⁸ Engel, *Realm*, 278-9. Bak, "Hungary," 713.

²⁰⁹ Engel, *Realm*, 278-283. Bak, "Hungary," 713-4.

²¹⁰ Engel, *Realm*, 278-297. Bak, "Hungary," 715-8.

²¹¹ Engel, *Realm*, 298-322. Bak, "Hungary," 718-723.

Matthias, the Habsburgs and the Jagellonians began competing for the throne. Wladislaus II (1490-1516) of the Jagellonian dynasty won the initial succession dispute, and the kingdom would pass onto his son, Louis II (1516-1526), who would later die in the Battle of Mohács.²¹² After a struggle, the kingdom would then pass to the Habsburgs, where it would remain.²¹³

King Sigismund's first seal follows the structure of the previous Angevin seals in both design and heraldry (see Fig. 31). The heraldry on his seal contains two shields impaled with the Árpád stripes in the dexter, with one including an eagle and the other including the rampant lion of Brandenburg on the sinister.²¹⁴ This resembles his heraldry in a miniature in Eberhard Windecke's *Das Buch von Kaiser Sigmund*, but the position of the arms are reversed (see Fig. 30).²¹⁵ His imperial seal depicts him with 6 shields containing the heraldry of territories under his dominion (see Fig. 32).²¹⁶ The patriarchal cross and the Árpád stripes are placed on separate shields, and judging by the legend, both seem to reference the kingdom of Hungary.²¹⁷

²¹² Engel, *Realm*, 345-361. Bak, "Hungary," 723-726.

²¹³ Engel, *Realm*, 364-371. Bak, "Hungary," 726.

²¹⁴ *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 69.

²¹⁵ The Windecke chronicle supposedly contains multiple illustrations of the Árpád stripes in Sigismund's heraldry, but the author was unable to access the text for various reasons, and unfortunately it must be glossed over here. The most descriptive source accessible to the author was a document listing the features of the chronicle for an auction on Sotheby's. From this document, the author can glean that there are multiple illuminations in this chronicle which could be relevant to the thesis. These would include pages 10, 42, 51, 82, 87, and 148. Only 5 known texts of this chronicle have survived, so its impact on the history of the Árpád stripes is questionable. "Bibliography, Provenance, and Description of Eberhard Windecke, *Das Buch von Kaiser Sigmund, the Life and Times of the Emperor Sigismund*, in German, Illuminated Manuscript on Paper," Les Secrets de Jeanne, website, accessed May 28, 2020, <https://www.jeannedomremy.fr/TextesDivers/Windecke.pdf>.

²¹⁶ *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 69.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* 68.



Figure 30: "The Emperor Charles IV and his son Sigismund on horseback followed by courtiers, as he formally conducts Sigismund into the margravate of Brandenburg." "Lot 26: Eberhard Windeck, Das Buch von Kaiser Sigismund, the Life and Times of the Emperor Sigismund, in German, Illuminated Manuscript on Paper," Sotheby's Western Manuscripts and Miniatures and the Korner Sale, July 7 2009, e-catalogue, accessed May 28, 2020, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2009/western-manuscripts-and-miniatures-and-the-korner-sale-109740/lot.26.html>.



Figure 31: King Sigismund's seal. Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum, 69.



Figure 32: Emperor Sigismund's seal. Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum, 69.

The structure of the Jagiellonian and Habsburg seals continue in the tradition of Sigismund's imperial seal, in which the Árpád stripes is used to refer to the Kingdom of Hungary. Albert's seal drops the patriarchal cross, but retains the Árpád stripes as a reference to the Kingdom of Hungary.²¹⁸ It reappears on Ladislaus V's seal, placed opposite of the Árpád stripes and remains a reference to the kingdom of Hungary.²¹⁹ Wladislaus' seals also depict the first instance of the Árpád stripes impaled with a patriarchal cross (see Fig. 33), although Ádám Novák highlights the importance of the patriarchal cross in Jagiellonian heraldry and suggests that the arms are an impaled "hybrid" of Hungarian and Jagiellonian charges in contrast to Ferenc Döry, who clearly implies that it is a Hungarian symbol.²²⁰ Louis II seal has a shield in its center which is quartered with the Árpád stripes in the 1st and 4th quarter, while a lion rampant occupies the 2nd and 3rd.²²¹ It is fixed in the center of the seal and the patriarchal cross is positioned to its upper right in a separate shield. Wladislaus II's seal depicts the king seated in *maiestas* position and the Árpád stripes appears on a shield in the top right alongside four other shields representing other polities.²²²

²¹⁸ *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 70-71.

²¹⁹ *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 70-71.

²²⁰ Ádám Novák, "Additions to the itinerary and seals of King Wladislaus I of Hungary in the light of recent Hungarica research," in *The Jagiellonians in Europe: Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*, ed. Attila Barány and Balázs Antal Bacsa (Debrecen: MTA University of Debrecen "Lendület", 2016), 49-50. <http://real.mtak.hu/90733/1/Jagello%20-%202016.pdf>. Ferenc Döry, "I Ulászló magyar király pecsétjei" [The seals of Wladislaus I of Hungary], in *Turul* 36 (1918–21): 32–3, accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1918-1921-14CFC/1918-1921-14CFD/vegyes-14E11/i-ulaszlo-magyar-kiraly-pecsetjei-14E12/>. This is a much larger topic and I do not have the authority to contribute to it.

²²¹ József Szalay, "II. Lajos" [Louis II], in *A magyar nemzet története* [The history of the Hungarian nation], vol. 2 ed., Lajos Baróti (Budapest: Athéneum, 1895), accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/MagyarNemzetTortenete-a-magyar-nemzet-tortenete-9A23/szalaybaroti-a-magyar-nemzet-tortenete-9A24/magyarorszag-a-vegyes-hazakbol-szarmazott-kiralyok-koraban-8F7/v-a-jagellok-kora-DC9/2-ii-lajos-15161626-E3B/>.

²²² József Szalay, "II. Ulászló" [Wladislaus II], in *A magyar nemzet története* [The history of the Hungarian nation], vol. 2, ed. Lajos Baróti (Budapest: Athéneum, 1895), accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/MagyarNemzetTortenete-a-magyar-nemzet-tortenete-9A23/szalaybaroti-a-magyar-nemzet-tortenete-9A24/magyarorszag-a-vegyes-hazakbol-szarmazott-kiralyok-koraban-8F7/v-a-jagellok-kora-DC9/1-ii-ulaszlo-14901516-DCA/>.

SIGILLVM : WLADISLAI : DEI :
-GRACIA : HUNGARIE : POLONIE :
DALMACIE : CROAC : REX : ZC :



Figure 33 One of Wladislaus I' seals and used on July 23, 1444. This is seal (4) in Novák's paper. Ferenc Döry,
"I Ulászló magyar király pecsétjei."

Matthias used many different forms of heraldry throughout his reign, and his heraldic regime is especially important when talking about the Augsburg edition of the *Chronica Hungarorum*. His golden double seal is very different from the seals of his predecessors and his successors (see Fig. 34). While Matthias occupies the same *maiestas* position as his predecessors, his body extends into the border containing the inscription and a patriarchal cross on a shield is positioned between his legs. The reverse of his seal has similarities to the seals of Emeric and Andrew II (see Fig 9 and 10), in which a single shield contains the Árpád stripes. The shield has been changed from the medieval heater shield design to a more contemporary shield design with a rounder bottom. The text on the obverse reads, “The Lord God is my help,” and the reverse reads, “of Matthew, by the Grace of God (,) King of Hungary etc.”²²³ The use of the Árpád stripes on the reverse of the seal, when listing his primary title is noteworthy because it indicates an association between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Árpád stripes. Matthias’ self-representation solely with the Árpád stripes can also be found in his early signet rings designed for use within Hungary.²²⁴ The Árpád stripes were also impaled with the heraldry of other kingdoms under Matthias’ rule when interacting with them.²²⁵

²²³ *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 72-73.

²²⁴ Zsuzsanna Bandi, “A Magyar országos levéltár Mátyás-kori pecsétkiállításának katalógusa” [Catalog of the Hungarian national archive exhibition of Matthias era seals.], *Levéltári Közlemények* 62 (1991): 73-74, accessed May 29, 2020. https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/LeveltariKozlemenyek_62/?pg=69&layout=s.

²²⁵ Bernát Kumorowitz, “Mátyás király pecsétjei” [The seals of King Matthias], *Turul* 1932 no. 1 (1932), accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1932-167D2/1932-14-167D3/matyas-kiraly-pecsetjei-167E8/>.

Matthias used his territorial heraldry frequently in his self-representation in order to buttress his legitimacy and express his territorial claims.²²⁶ This was likely born out of necessity, since Matthias did not derive from an ancient lineage and held territories which were contested by others, such as Lusatia and Silesia.²²⁷ Matthias' heraldry would also appear on the front page of many books created under his reign.²²⁸ It is also important to note that, during a time when rulers often omitted names used by "barbarous" medieval rulers in favor of more classical designations, Matthias identified himself as *rex Hungariae* or *rex Hungarorum*.²²⁹ Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum* also frequently uses *Hungaria* in reference to the territory of the Hungarian kingdom.²³⁰

The opening page of the Augsburg *Chronica Hungarorum* provides a comprehensive display of the heraldry displayed by Matthias (see Fig. 35). In addition to the panoply of shields in the outer circle which depicts the heraldry of countries outside of Hungary, the inner circle contains the personal heraldry of Matthias and his wife, Beatrix. In his heraldry, the Árpád stripes occurs in the second quarter with the other quarters consisting of the patriarchal cross, the Bohemian rampant lion, and the personal heraldry of his father, a crow with a ring in its beak. The Heidelberg edition has a royal portrait of Matthias with a similar collection of arms, but with a special emphasis placed on the Árpád stripes and the patriarchal cross.²³¹ In addition to his royal seal, Matthias would use seals with similar heraldry throughout his reign.²³²

²²⁶ Bogusław Czechowicz and Mateusz Kapustkam, "Hope and Pragmatism: The Rule and Visual Representation of Matthias Corvinus in Silesia and Lusatia," in *Matthias Corvinus, the King Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490. Exhibition catalogue – Budapest History Museum, 19 March 2008–30 June 2008*, ed. Péter Farbaky et al. (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008), 80–84, accessed May 29, 2020. <http://www.khist.uzh.ch/dam/jcr:fffff-ee7a-a645-ffff-ffffd7425ad7/Corvinus.pdf>.

²²⁷ Ibid. 77. Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum* also attempted to rectify Matthias' lack of royal heritage by offering "glorifying Hunnish roots to the ruler." Mroziewicz, 40.

²²⁸ Csaba Csapodi et al., ed., *Bibliotheca Corviniana* (Budapest: Corvina, 1981). It is also important to note here that there was never one typical version of Matthias' heraldry, and his arms were represented incredibly diversely throughout his reign.

²²⁹ Tibor Klaniczay 180–1. Mroziewicz, "Imprinting Identities," 74.

²³⁰ CHAS, 10. Mroziewicz, "Imprinting Identities," 74–76.

²³¹ CHHe, fol. 5r.

²³² Bandi, "Magyar országos levéltár," 73–75.

From King Ferdinand onwards throughout the reigning Habsburgs, the Árpád stripes impaled per pale with the patriarchal cross became the common moniker for the kingdom of Hungary.²³³ On Ferdinand's seal, the patriarchal cross is placed on the dexter and the Árpád stripes is placed on the sinister, although this is reversed on King Rudolf's seal and remains in this form throughout the rest of the dynasty's seals (see Fig. 36 and 37). This shift from the Árpád stripes alone to the impaled Árpád stripes and patriarchal cross can also be seen on the funerary heraldry between Jagellonian and Habsburg kings.²³⁴

In the seals of rulers after the Angevins, such as King Sigismund, Angevin heraldic conventions continued briefly, but the Árpád stripes on Sigismund's imperial seal alongside his other realms marked a shift in the way the Árpád stripes was used. Until the Habsburgs ascended the throne, it became a standalone symbol which represented the Kingdom of Hungary, but was often paired with the patriarchal cross. In particular, Matthias used these symbols prominently in his panoply of heraldry. In Habsburg seals, the patriarchal cross was impaled onto the Árpád stripes, and this heraldic representation of the Kingdom of Hungary would become the standard representation in the years to come. The next sub-chapter will analyze the heraldry in the *Chronica Hungarorum* in its various forms.

²³³ *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 76-77.

²³⁴ Géza Pálffy, "A prágai Szent Vitus-székesegyház királyi oratóriumának címersora közép-európai összefüggésben" [The series of arms on the royal oratorium of Prague's Saint Vitus cathedral in a central European context], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, vol. 65 no. 2 (2016): 216, 228, accessed May 29, 2020, <http://real.mtak.hu/49970/1/080.2016.65.2.1.pdf>. It is also interesting to note that, in a study of the heraldry of wine families, the Árpád stripes occurs impaled with other devices. These arms were largely granted to these families by Habsburg emperors, although one was granted by a Transylvanian prince. Pál Rainer, "... a dombockának a tetejéről egy természetesen árnyékolt és érett szőlőgerezdekkel termett szőlőtőke látszik kinőve": Szőlőábrázolás a Magyarországi családi címereken" ['From the top of the hill you can see a naturally shaded and ripe vine with overgrown grapes': Representation of grapes on family coats of arms in Hungary], *Életünk* vol. 56 no. 8 (2018): 68-82, accessed May 29, 2020, https://epa.oszk.hu/03100/03119/00038/pdf/EPA03119_eletunk_2018_08-09_068-082.pdf.



Figure 36: King Ferdinand I's seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 77



Figure 37: King Rudolf I's seal. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum*, 77

3.2 *Chronica Hungarorum*, Matthias, and the Árpád Stripes

Thuróczy's chronicle is a complex source. Based on the Brno edition of the text, modeled after other images, and designed for Matthias' consumption, the Augsburg edition contains the most prolific set of heraldic depictions. It utilized much of the heraldic schema used by Matthias, and further consolidates the Árpád stripes' reference to the territory of Hungary. The impaled patriarchal cross and the Árpád stripes was also used widely to refer to the kingdom of Hungary throughout the text.

The three editions of the *Chronica Hungarorum* which will be analyzed in this sub-chapter are the earliest editions of the chronicle. This includes the 1488 Brno edition, the 1488 Augsburg edition presented to Matthias, and a 1490 Bavarian German manuscript held in the University of Heidelberg.²³⁵ The Brno edition was printed first on March 20th and the Augsburg edition was printed with the merchant Theobald Feger's recommendation and Matthias' consent on June 3rd the same year.²³⁶ Unsurprisingly, the Augsburg edition was designed to fit within the assembly of Matthias' propaganda and amplify his royal image.²³⁷ Anna Boreczky argues that the Heidelberg manuscript was influenced by the Brno edition, but with knowledge of the Augsburg edition.²³⁸ These editions are largely similar, but with some exceptions.²³⁹

Many of the illustrations are different between the Brno, Augsburg, and Heidelberg editions. The woodcut illustrations in the Brno text often do not have the heraldic details on their royal portraits which contain the most frequent instances of the Árpád stripes when it is impaled with

²³⁵See Abbreviations for citation information.

²³⁶ Anna Boreczky, "Magyar királyok elfeledett képmás-sorozata a Thuróczy-krónika egy XV. századi kéziratok példányában" [Forgotten portrait cycle of Hungarian kings. Illustrations found in a rediscovered 15th century manuscript of the Thuróczy chronicle], *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár évkönyvei* 14-15 (2011): 373, 376.

²³⁷ Anna Boreczky, "Historiography and Propaganda in the Royal Court of King Matthias: Hungarian Book Culture at the End of the Middle Ages and Beyond," *Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 43 (2019): 23-35, accessed May 29, 2020. https://www.ipu.hr/content/radovi-ipu/RIPU-43-2019_023-035_Boreczky.pdf.

²³⁸ Anna Boreczky, "Magyar királyok elfeledett", 373.

²³⁹ Notably, the absence of Béla I's royal portrait in the Heidelberg manuscript.

the patriarchal cross. All 3 texts include an engraving of the Mongol invasion into Hungary, and the Brno and Heidelberg editions contain an image of the Árpád stripes. The text of the chronicle clearly borrows from Simon of Kéza's *Gesta Hungarorum* and the *Chronicon Pictum*, and it has also been speculated that the illustrators of Thuróczy's text were influenced by the illustrations in the *Chronicon Pictum*.²⁴⁰ We also know that the *Chronica Hungarorum* received prominent circulation in Germany due to the number of illustrations in other texts which use the illustrations of the *Chronica Hungarorum* as their models.²⁴¹ Most of the subsequent editions of the *Chronica Hungarorum* would be derived from the Heidelberg text.²⁴²

The most salient depiction of the Árpád stripes as a territorial device for the kingdom of Hungary occurs in the depiction of the Mongol invasion into Hungary (see Fig. 38-40). The Bavarian and Brno editions of the book contain the Árpád stripes, while the Augsburg edition does not. In the Bavarian edition, the Árpád stripes are positioned in the bottom right corner, and it is in the bottom left in the Brno edition, while the bottom right is likely occupied with the Babenberg arms referring to the Duchy of Austria. Both the Brno and the Bavarian illustrations are printed opposite at the first page of the chronicle, while in the Augsburg edition it is attached to the *Epistola* of Master Roger, an account of the Mongol invasion by a Hungarian cleric, after the conclusion of the chronicle. Mroziejewicz also argues that the turbaned depiction of the Mongols in the Augsburg edition was meant to draw allusions between the Mongols and the 'Turks' who were currently threatening Hungary.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Rózsa, "Thuróczy-krónika," 7-8. Mroziejewicz, "Imprinting Identities," 52-53.

²⁴¹ Rózsa, "Thuróczy-krónika," 12.

²⁴² Farkas Gábor Farkas, "Provenience," 11-24.

²⁴³ As Mroziejewicz notes, the term 'Turk' is an anachronistic term referring to the Ottoman Empire, which is often referred to as *Turcia* in Latin texts. She also mentions that the Augsburg image was used for the cover of an Augsburg pamphlet depicting the "Turkish treat." Mroziejewicz, "Imprinting Identities," 67-68.



Figure 38: The Mongol Invasion depicted in the Heidelberg Chronica Hungarorum with the Árpád stripes in the bottom right corner. Of potential interest are the color of the Mongols' flags, which largely resemble those of the Árpád stripes. CHHe, fol. 1v.



Figure 39: The Mongol Invasion depicted in the Brno Chronica Hungarorum with the Árpád stripes in the bottom left corner. CHBr, p. 8.



Figure 40: The Mongol Invasion depicted in the Augsburg Chronica Hungarorum presented to Matthias. The text above it reads “The Tatars entered into Hungary in the time of King Béla IV.” CHAS, 309; CHAP, p. 309.

The main illustration which is reprinted throughout all of the editions are woodcuts depicting the troops of the kingdom of Hungary, and the Árpád stripes can be seen on a banner which depicts it quartered with the patriarchal cross. This image is described at multiple points in the chronicle as “The sacred insignia of King St. Stephen.”²⁴⁴ These illustrations compose a large amount of the images in the text and occur in every printing. Given the diversity in the style of the Brno text, it is suggested that multiple illustrators worked on these images.²⁴⁵

These images begin with the combat between Attila’s army and the Romans, where Attila is depicted with the banner (see Fig. 41). On the following page, a royal portrait of Attila holding a yellow banner with a black eagle bears stark resemblance to the heraldry of Attila depicted in the *Chronicon Pictum* (see Fig. 22). This image is repeated (with slight variations in the colors of the opponent’s banner) in the depiction of Árpád’s conquest of Pannonia. The

²⁴⁴ János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum: I. Textus*, ed. Elisabeth Galántai and Julius Kristó (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1985), 83, 201.

²⁴⁵ Rózsa, “Thuróczy-krónika,” 15.

Chronica Hungarorum, like many other Hungarian chronicles such as the *Chronicon Pictum*, traces the Hungarian kingdom back to the conquest of Pannonia by Attila and considers Árpád's reclamation of Hungary in accordance to his hereditary claim on the land.²⁴⁶ Like the *Chronicon Pictum*, Hungarian participation in Attila's conquests is illustrated with Hungarian heraldry (see Fig. 22). Even after the throne is occupied by members of dynasties other than the Árpáds, the banner recurs in depictions of the army.

It is also possible that the quartered Árpád stripes and patriarchal cross are representative of the concept of the *natio Hungarica*, a proto-national understanding of Hungarian nationhood which traces its roots to the warrior nobility which participated in Attila's invasion.²⁴⁷



Figure 41: Attila/Árpád invading Pannonia in the Augsburg *Chronica Hungarorum* presented to Matthias. The enemy depicted in the left image are the Romans, and the enemy on the right is Svatapoluk's army. CHAP, p. 31, 59.

²⁴⁶ One of the opening chapters of the *Chronica Hungarorum*, titled "The birth of the Huns or the beginning of the Hungarians" (*De generationis Hunorum sive Hungarorum origine*), which traces the origin of the Hungarians through Hunor and Magor and the first part of the book details the history of the Huns. For more on the relation of the Huns to the Hungarians in Hungarian chronicles, see Mroziewicz, "Imprinting Identities," 47-59. For information on the longevity of the Hun-Hungarian connection, see László Veszprémy, *Történetírás és történírók az Árpád-kori Magyarországon (XI-XIII. század közepe)* [Historical writings and historical writers in Árpád era Hungary (from the middle of the 11th – 13th century)], tr. Charles Carroll Horton (Budapest: Line Design, 2019), 432-433.

²⁴⁷ Szűcs, "Theoretical Elements."

Like the illustrations of battles in the chronicle, the royal portraits largely use the Árpád stripes alongside the patriarchal cross to refer to the Kingdom of Hungary. The royal portraits in the *Chronica Hungarorum* prints deserve special attention. György Rózsa mentions that during the 16th century, the genre of royal portraits was booming, but the illustrations in the *Chronica Hungarorum* are a preliminary form of these illustrations, with many of them illustrated in a style similar to the *maiestas* style like the depictions of kings on royal seals, although it also drew on renaissance art such as playing cards.²⁴⁸ The goal of this method of portraiture was to illustrate the legitimacy of these dynasties while stressing their ancient origins and depicting their excellence.²⁴⁹ However, the procession of royal portraits is important; the Brno edition begins with the illustration of Attila and ends with Matthias, while this is not strictly the case in the Augsburg chronicle, leading Rózsa to conclude that the aim of the Augsburg chronicle is not to stress the legitimacy of the rulers of Hungary.²⁵⁰ This is interesting because of Feger's admission that the goal of the text was to flatter Matthias, and excluding the *Epistola* of Master Roger which are clearly an addendum to the text, the *Chronica Hungarorum* concludes with Matthias as the final royal portrait. This was largely for the purposes of bolstering Matthias' royal image by demonstrating that he was a "second Attila."²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Being *maiestas* depictions, similar to those on the seals discussed previously. Rózsa, 9-10. For more information on the developing trends of portraiture within Hungary, see Géza Galavics, "The Hungarian Royal Court and Late Renaissance Art," *Hungarian Studies* vol. 10 no. 2 (1995): 307-332, accessed on May 29, 2020. http://real-j.mtak.hu/5669/2/1995_NUMBER%202.pdf.

²⁴⁹ Rózsa, "Thuróczy-krónika," 9. "A XVI század végétől kezdve egyre több sokszorosított portrészorozat jelent meg a kisebb-nagyobb dinasztiák tagjairól, a német-római császárokról, a francia, angol, lengyel és cseh királyokról, a római pápákról és a török szultánokról. Természetes, hogy a példát az arisztokrata családok is követték (pl. a német Fuggerek vagy a magyar Esterházyak). Az uralkodó dinasztiáknál a sorozatok funkciója a legitimitás alátámasztása volt, családi viszonylatban viszont az ősi eredet és a családtagok kiválósága a társadalmi rangot juttatta kifejezésre."

²⁵⁰ Ibid. 15. Rózsa compares this to the structure of illustrations in the *Chronicon Pictum*, noting that its goals were to stress the legitimacy of the Angevin dynasty.

²⁵¹ Mroziewicz, "Imprinting Identities," 53, 58. This included a revision of Attila's narrative that he was "an obedient defender of the Pope's interest," rather than his image painted by Augustine as the scourge of God. Also see Szörenyi, "Attila used as an instrument"

The Brno edition is sparse on heraldic imagery. It only appears on the royal portrait of Stephen II, where 2 shields with the Árpád stripes appear flanking his throne.²⁵² In the Brno edition, the heraldry above the throne does not exist in later editions.²⁵³ Additionally, the Brno print utilizes many of the same models of earlier kings for later kings, with Rózsa suggesting that many of the models for the chronicle were derived from playing cards.²⁵⁴



Figure 42: St. Stephen in *Chronica Hungarorum*. CHAP, 74.

²⁵² CHBr, p. 130.

²⁵³ CHAP, 125. Rózsa 169-187. Boreczky, "Magyar királyok elfeledett," 377-8.

²⁵⁴ These illustrations were likely derived from models on playing cards or the works of other artists. Rózsa, "Thuróczy-krónika," 13, 188-201.

In the Augsburg edition, heraldry appears much more prolifically, and Feger proudly admits to adding these heraldic elements in his letter to Matthias.²⁵⁵ As mentioned earlier, the Árpád stripes appear on the first page amongst the other territories under Matthias' reign and it also appears on many more royal portraits than in the Brno edition. In addition to St. Stephen and Stephen II, it appears on the royal portraits of St. Emeric, Andrew I, Géza I, St. Ladislaus, Béla IV, Wenceslaus, Otto III/Béla V, Louis I, Sigismund, Ladislaus V, and Matthias.²⁵⁶ With the exception of Andrew I, Wenceslaus, and Otto III, every depiction of the Árpád stripes is paired with the patriarchal cross either by being quartered with it or by its proximity within the picture.

On St. Stephen's heraldry, the Árpád stripes is quartered with the patriarchal cross, similar to the depictions on the army's banners (see Fig. 42). The passage relating to the image of St. Stephen is titled "Of the birth of king St. Stephen, the first king of the Hungarians, and his reign."²⁵⁷ Although Attila is credited with establishing a Hun/Hungarian presence in the territory of Hungary, the *Chronica Hungarorum* attributes the foundation of the Hungarian kingdom to St. Stephen, and his heraldry reflects that. While it is possible that the Árpád stripes quartered with the patriarchal cross is a reference to these rulers' membership within the *natio Hungarica*, this is complicated by its absence on rulers (like Andrew I) who could clearly be considered a member. Although, in Andrew's case, it is possible that his representation with the lone Árpád stripes would suffice as a reference to his membership in the *natio*.

It is difficult to accurately assess why Andrew I, Wenceslaus, and Otto III only appear with a single Árpád stripes, and not a patriarchal cross, although it may be a result of the structure of

²⁵⁵ Ibid. 13.

²⁵⁶ St. Emeric: CHAS, p. 79; CHAP, p. 74. Andrew I: CHAS, 91; CHAP, 86. Géza I: CHAS 113; CHAP, 108. St. Ladislaus: CHAS 118; CHAP 118. Béla IV: CHAP 144. Wenceslaus: CHAS 149; CHAP, 152. Otto III/Béla V: CHAS 152; CHAP, 155. Louis I: CHAS, 169; CHAp 172. Sigismund: CHAS, 213; CHAP, 216. Ladislaus V: CHAS, 243; CHAP, 246. and Matthias: CHAS, 294; CHAP, 297.

²⁵⁷ CHAP, p. 74.

the images which were used to model these portraits. It is clear that Wenceslaus and Andrew I's royal portraits were derived from the same model, which perhaps explains the similarity in heraldic depiction.²⁵⁸ Otto III's portrait resembles Albert's portrait, which Rózsa suggests is derived from a playing card.²⁵⁹ The position of the shield with the Árpád stripes in Otto's image is similar to the shields in Sigismund's portrait, to the dexter of the enthroned ruler facing to the dexter. It is also interesting that Otto III's heraldry does not include the heraldry of the Wittelsbach family.

The *Chronica Hungarorum* uses the Árpád stripes as either a royal symbol or a territorial symbol. Royal symbolism often pairs the Árpád stripes with the patriarchal cross, although occasionally it is represented alone. In depictions of the army of the Hungarian kingdom, it potentially serves as a proto-national symbol, referring to the important position of the Hungarian nobility within the Hungarian kingdom. The royal portraits where the Árpád stripes are represented alone is possibly due to the models from which these portraits were engraved. In contrast, the Árpád stripes used in the depictions of the Mongols' invasion links their invasion to the territory of *Hungaria* and/or the Hungarian kingdom. Throughout this period, there is both textual and visual evidence that the Árpád stripes became used to refer to the Kingdom of Hungary or the territory of *Hungaria*.

3.3 Chapter 3 Conclusion

The seals analyzed in this chapter depict a brief continuation of the Angevin's usage of the Árpád stripes before the symbol becomes used on its own or is paired with the patriarchal cross. It occupied a prominent place in Matthias' heraldry, and his heraldry was spread widely

²⁵⁸ Rózsa, "Thuróczy-krónika," 11, 188-9.

²⁵⁹ Ibid. 195.

throughout Hungary and abroad. Later Habsburg seals would have the Árpád stripes impaled with the patriarchal cross as a reference to the Kingdom of Hungary.

This same trend of using the Árpád stripes as a standalone device or paired with the patriarchal cross occurs frequently in a widely published source from Matthias' time, the *Chronica Hungarorum*. This can be seen in the image of the Mongols invading Hungary, where the Árpád stripes appears as an indicator of Hungary. The royal portraits and battle scenes in the text widely utilizes a Árpád stripes quartered with the patriarchal cross as a reference to the Kingdom of Hungary.

Conclusion

The Árpád stripes have a long and volatile history. Perhaps originating from Aragonia, it appears on the seals of King Emeric and Andrew II in the 12th century. The seals of some important Hungarian officials and families bear a variant of the symbol, which indicates that it served as a symbol of power throughout the Árpád era. The Angevin dynasty adopted the symbol and used it widely, notably including it in their heraldry as a reference to their connection with the Árpád dynasty. However, the Angevin dynasty's use of the symbol was short-lived, as the 15th century saw changes in the meaning of Hungarian royal symbols. Werbőczy wrote that the four argent bars referred to the four rivers of Hungary, and the Árpád stripes appear alongside the patriarchal cross as the heraldry of the Hungarian kingdom on many royal seals and in the *Chronica Hungarorum*. It also may have served as a proto-national symbol, as the symbol is often used in illustrated chronicles to represent the foundational myth of the *natio Hungarica*, or the Hungarian nobility's participation in Attila's invasion.

This study is only a brief and limited investigation into the history of the Árpád stripes. However, it displaces popular beliefs about the fixity of the Árpád stripes and proves many of the changes in its denotation which have been suggested by others. There is still a much larger history of the symbol which is yet to be written.

The Árpád stripes remain a common symbol amongst the contemporary Hungarian far-right. Following *Jobbik*'s failure in the 2018 elections, prominent members left to form a more radical splinter party called *Mi Hazánk* [Our Fatherland]. The party formed a paramilitary group similar to the *Magyar Gárda* which also uses the Árpád stripes as a prominent symbol. *Mi Hazánk ifjai* [The Youth of our Fatherland], the youth group of the party, uses the Árpád stripes as well. The symbol remains popular amongst other far-right groups like the *Hatvannégy*

Vármegye Mozgalom [64 Castle-counties Movement], but its presence in Hungarian political life has certainly diminished since the 2006-2007 protests.

Bibliography

- “A történelmi zászlók galériája” [The gallery of historical flags], “Magyar nemzeti és történelmi jelképek” [Hungarian national and historical symbols], accessed May 29, 2020, <http://www.nemzetijelkepek.hu/tortenelmi-galeria-4.shtml#galeriakep>.
- “Bibliography, Provenance, and Description of *Eberhard Windeck, Das Buch von Kaiser Sigmund, the Life and Times of the Emperor Sigismund*, in German, Illuminated Manuscript on Paper.” Les Secrets de Jeanne, website, accessed May 28, 2020, <https://www.jeannedomremy.fr/TextesDivers/Windecke.pdf>.
- “Lot 26: Eberhard Windeck, *Das Buch von Kaiser Sigmund, the Life and Times of the Emperor Sigismund*, in German, Illuminated Manuscript on Paper.” Sotheby’s Western Manuscripts and Miniatures and the Korner Sale. July 7 2009, e-catalogue, accessed May 28, 2020, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2009/western-manuscripts-and-miniatures-and-the-korner-sale-109740/lot.26.html>.
- Aldo_Natale. Instagram. July 2019, accessed March 10, 2020, <https://www.picuki.com/media/2048290548332617469>.
- Anonymous, “Conquest of Majorca,” Catalan National Museum of Art. <https://www.museunacional.cat/en/colleccio/mural-paintings-conquest-majorca/mestre-de-la-conquesta-de-mallorca/071447-cjt>. (last accessed May 29, 2020)
- Árpádsávós [Árpád stripes]. www.arpadsavos.hu. The site is now discontinued, page archived on September 1, 2008, is available on Wayback Machine, accessed May 29, 2020. https://web.archive.org/web/20071021083800/http://www.arpadsavos.hu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=61.
- Bábinszki, Georgina. “Ein Herrscherprogramm im Stadtrichterpalast? Die Wandmalereien im Turmzimmer der Gozzoburg in Krems.” Master’s thesis. University of Vienna, 2017, accessed May 29, 2020, <http://othes.univie.ac.at/46142/1/48256.pdf>.
- Bagi, Dániel. “The Dynastic Conflicts of the Eleventh Century in the Illuminated Chronicle.” In *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, edited by János M. Bak and László Veszprémy. Budapest: CEU Press, 2018.
- Baják, László. “Milyen volt az első magyar címer?” [What was the first Hungarian coat of arms like?]. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum web site. November 2016, accessed May 29, 2020, <https://mnm.hu/hu/cikk/milyen-volt-az-első-magyar-cimer>.
- Bak, János M. and László Veszprémy, ed. and tr. *Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth Century Illuminated Codex*. Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2018.
- . “Hungary: Crown and Estates.” In *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 7, edited by Christopher Allmand, 707- 726. Cambridge, 2008.
- . “The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae*; Online Edition.” In *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae: The*

Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, edited and translated by János Bak, et al. Utah: USU Libraries, 2019, accessed May 28, 2020, https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4.

Bandi, Zsuzsanna. “A Magyar országos levéltár Mátyás-kori pecsétkiállításának katalógusa” [Catalog of the Hungarian national archive exhibition of Matthias era seals.]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 62 (1991): 57-150, accessed May 29, 2020, https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/LeveltariKozlemenyek_62/?pg=69&layout=s.

Bartonek, Emma. “Az Árpádok ércpecségei” [The metal seals of the Árpáds]. *Turul* 41 (1924): 20-26.

Berend, Nora, Przemysław Urbańczyk and Przemysław Wiszewski. *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900-c. 1300*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Berend, Nora. “Historical Writing in Central Europe (Bohemia, Hungary, Poland), c.950-1400.” In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing* vol. 2, edited by Sarah Foot, Chase Robinson, and Ian Hesketh, 312-327. Oxford, 2012.

Berkovits, Ilona. “A magyar feudális társadalom tükröződése a Képes Krónikában” [The reflection of Hungarian feudal society in the *Illuminated Chronicle*]. *Századok* 87 (1953): 72-109.

Bertényi, Iván. “A Képek Krónika mint címeres könyv és mint heraldikai forrás” [The *Illuminated Chronicle* as an armorial and heraldic Source]. In *A címertan reneszánsza: Tanulmányok*. Budapest: Argumentum, 2014.

———. “Az Árpád-házi királyok címere és Aragonia” [The royal heraldry of the Árpád house and Aragonia]. In *Királylányok messzi földről* [Princesses from foreign lands], edited by Ramon Sarobe and Csaba Tóth, 189-197. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009.

———. “A ‘Szálasi-címer’” [The ‘Szálasi insignia’]. *Rubicon* XXVI 281 (2015): 71-73, accessed May 29, 2020, http://www.rubicon.hu/ma_files/2015_04_71.pdf.

———. *Magyar címertan* [Hungarian heraldry]. Budapest: Osiris, 2003.

Bertényi, Iván and Szende, László. *Anjou-királyaink és Zsigmond kora* [The age of the Angevin kings and Sigismund]. Budapest: Officina, 2011.

Boreczky, Anna. “Historiography and Propaganda in the Royal Court of King Matthias: Hungarian Book Culture at the End of the Middle Ages and Beyond.” *Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 43 (2019): 23-35, accessed May 29, 2020, https://www.ipu.hr/content/radovi-ipu/RIPU-43-2019_023-035_Boreczky.pdf.

———. “Magyar királyok elfeledett képmás-sorozata a Thuróczy-krónika egy XV. századi kéziratos példányában” [Forgotten portrait cycle of Hungarian Kings. Illustrations found in a rediscovered 15th century manuscript of the Thuróczy chronicle]. *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár évkönyvei* 14-15 (2011): 373-392.

Csapodi, Csaba et al., ed., *Bibliotheca Corviniana*. Budapest: Corvina, 1981.

- Czechowicz, Bogusław and Mateusz Kapustkam. “Hope and Pragmatism: The Rule and Visual Representation of Matthias Corvinus in Silesia and Lusatia.” In *Matthias Corvinus, the King Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490. Exhibition catalogue – Budapest History Museum, 19 March 2008–30 June 2008*, edited by Péter Farbaky et al., 77-87. Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008, accessed May 29, 2020, <http://www.khist.uzh.ch/dam/jcr:ffffff-ee7a-a645-ffff-ffffd7425ad7/Corvinus.pdf>.
- Danbury, Elizabeth. “Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority.” In *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals*, edited by Noel Adams, John F. Cherry, and James Robinson. London: British Museum, 2008.
- Debreczeni, József. *A 2006-os ősz* [The Autumn of 2006]. Budapest: DE.HUKÖNYV, 2012.
- Dicchy3. Tripadvisor. 2017, accessed March 10, 2020, https://www.tripadvisor.it/Attraction_Review-g187785-d12370418-Reviews-Chiesa_di_Santa_Maria_Donnaregina_Nuova-Naples_Province_of_Naples_Campania.html#photos;aggregationId=101&albumid=101&filter=7&ff=282469412.
- Donászy, Ferenc. *Az Árpádok címerei* [The heraldry of the Árpáds]. Budapest: Sárkány-nyomda, 1937.
- . “Az oroszlán ábrázolása a magyar heráldikában” [The representation of the lion in Hungarian heraldry]. *Turul* 55 no. 1 (1938), accessed May 29, 2020, <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1938-177DE/1938-12-177DF/az-oroszlan-abrazolasa-a-magyar-heraldikaban-17804/>.
- Döry, Ferenc. “I Ulászló magyar király pecsétjei” [The seals of Wladislaus I of Hungary]. *Turul* 1918-1921 (1918–21): 32–3, accessed May 29, 2020, <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1918-1921-14CFC/1918-1921-14CFD/vegyes-14E11/i-ulaszlo-magyar-kiraly-pecsetjei-14E12/>.
- Elliot, Janis. “The Last Judgement’: The Cult of Sacral Kingship and Dynastic Hopes for the Afterlife.” In *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth- Century Naples*, edited by Janis Elliot, 175-194. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Engel, Pál. *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary: 895-1526*. Edited by Andrew Ayton, translated by Tamás Pálosfalvi,. London: I.B. Tauris, 2001.
- Érszegi, Géza, ed. *Sigilla Regum Reges Sigillorum: Royal Portraits on Seals from the Hungarian National Archives*. Budapest: Hungarian Pictures, 2002.
- Fáber v. Hungary. 40721/08. Judgment, Second Section. (ECHR. Strasbourg. 2012), accessed May 29, 2020, <http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre?i=001-112446>.
- Farkas, Farkas Gábor. “On the Provenience of the Copies of Thuróczy: *Editio princeps* of the *Chronica Hungarorum*.” *Studia Bibliographia Posoniensia* 2018 (2018): 11-24.
- Galavics, Géza. “The Hungarian Royal Court and Late Renaissance Art.” *Hungarian Studies* vol. 10 no. 2 (1995): 307-332, accessed May 29, 2020, http://real-j.mtak.hu/5669/2/1995_NUMBER%202.pdf.

- Geary, Patrick. *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton, 2001.
- Gerics, József. “Rendi intézmények III. András korában” [Legal institutions in the time of Andrew III]. In *A korai rendiség Európában és Magyarországon* [Early estates in Europe and Hungary], 283-309. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987.
- Gerő, András. *A Hungarian National History Book*. Edited by Gergely Bottyán, translated by Thomas J and Helen D. Kornfeld. Budapest: Institute of Habsburg History, 2015.
- . *Imagined History: Chapters from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Hungarian Symbolic Politics*. Edited by Peter Pastor and Ivan Sanders, translated by Mario D. Fenyő. New Jersey: Center for Hungarian Studies, 2006.
- Harvey, P.D.A. *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Phillip R. Schofield. Oxbow, 2015.
- Hegedüs, András. “A Magyar Királyság és uralkodóházainak címerei a Képes Krónika ábrázolásain” [The Hungarian kingdom and its rulers’ heraldry in the representations of the Illuminated Chronicle]. *Ars hungarica* 2013 1 (2013): 82-90, accessed May 31, 2020, <http://real-j.mtak.hu/4968/1/Ars%20Hungarica%202013.pdf>.
- Hiltman, Torsten. “The Emergence of the Word ‘Heraldry’ in the Seventeenth Century and the Roots of a Misconception.” *The Coat of Arms* vol. 11 no.2 (2015): 107-116.
- Iván, Nagy. “Elmélkedés a czímer- és származástan méltatásáról” [Reflections on the coats of arms and an appreciation of their genealogy].” *Turul* 1883-1 (1883), accessed May 29, 2020, <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1883-2/1883-1-3/3elmelkedes-a-czimer-es-szarmazastan-meltatasarol-80/>.
- Karsai, László. “A nyilas zászlók története” [The history of the fascist flags], in *hetek* XIV/40 (December 8, 2010), accessed May 29, 2020, http://www.hetek.hu/hit_es_ertekek/201010/a_nyilas_zaszlok_tortenete.
- Királyok és Keresztek Blog*, accessed May 29, 2020, <http://www.kiralyokeskeresztek.hu/arpad-sav-tudnivalok/>.
- Klaniczay, Gábor. “Efforts at the Canonization of Margaret of Hungary in the Angevin Period.” *Hungarian Historical Review* 2, no. 2 (2013): 313-339.
- . *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Translated by Éva Pálmai. Cambridge, 2002.
- . “The Myth of Scythian Origin and the Cult of Attila in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Multiple Antiquities - Multiple Modernities. Ancient Histories in Nineteenth Century European Cultures*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, Michael Werner, and Ottó Gecser, 185-212. Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2011.
- Klaniczay, Tibor. “The Concepts of *Hungaria* and *Pannonia* in the Age of the Renaissance.” *Hungarian Studies* vol. 10 no. 2 (1995): 173-190, accessed May 29, 2020, http://real-j.mtak.hu/5669/2/1995_NUMBER%202.pdf.

Köpeczi, Sebestyén József. “A Brassai fekete templom Mátyás-kori címerei” [The heraldry of the Matthias era Brasov Black Church]. *Erdélyi tudományos füzetek* vol. 8 (1927): 3-22, accessed May 29, 2020, https://eda.eme.ro/bitstream/handle/10598/8702/EME ETF_008_Sebestyen-A%20brassai%20Fekete-templom%20Mátyás-kori%20címerei.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y.

Körmendi, Tamás. “A magyar királyok kettőskeresztes címerének kialakulása” [The first appearance of the double-cross variant of the Hungarian kings’ coat of arms]. *Turul* 84 (2011): 73-83.

———. “Az Aba nemzetség címerváltozatai a középkorban” [The heraldic changes of the Aba family in the middle ages]. *Turul* 84 (2011): 109-129, 129-130.

Kovács, Éva. “I. Lajos király címerei Aachenben” [King Louis I’s heraldic symbols in Aachen]. In *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382* [Art in the age of King Louis I, 1342-1382], edited by Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth, and Lívia Varga, 107-108. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1982.

———. “Magyar országalma.” [Hungarian *globus cruciger*] In *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382* [Art in the age of King Louis I, 1342-1382], edited by Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth, and Livia Varga, 98-99. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1982.

Központi sztatistikai hivatal [Central statistics office], “4.7.9.1. Number of the Internet subscriptions by access services, 31 December (2003–2015) – Update: 10.08.2016,” accessed May 29, 2020, https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat_annual/i_oni001.html.

Kumorowitz, Bernát. *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban* [The history of Hungarian seal usage in the middle ages]. Budapest, 1944.

———. “Mátyás király pecsétjei” [The seals of King Matthias]. *Turul* 1932 1 (1932), accessed May 29, 2020, <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1932-167D2/1932-14-167D3/matyas-kiraly-pecsetjei-167E8/>.

Laszlovszky, József. *A magyar címer története* [The history of the Hungarian coat of arms]. Budapest: Pytheas, 1990.

Leino, Antti. “On the Semantic Basis of Heraldic Propaganda or What Do Arms Mean and How?” *Myth and Propaganda in Heraldry and Genealogy: Proceedings of the XXVII International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences, St. Andrews, 21–26 August 2006* vol. 1 (2008): 407-418, accessed May 29, 2020, <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:uta-201311291664>.

Marshall, David. *Mass Market Medievalisms*. London: McFarland & Company, 2007.

Matthews, David. *Medievalism: A Critical History*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015.

Mészáros, János. *Királyok és Keresztek: Voluntas Tua* [Kings and Crosses: Voluntas Tua]. Hungary: Enter Studio, 2017.

- Mielke, Christopher. "Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears: The Material Culture of Medieval Queens of Hungary: 1000-1395." Ph.D. diss. Central European University, 2017.
- Mroziewicz, Karolina Anna. "Natio made visible: The Hungarian Political Community in Illustrated Books (ca. 1350-1700)." *Colloquia Humanista 5: Nation. "Natsiya." Ethnie.* (2016): 19-36.
- . "Imprinting Identities: Illustrated Latin-Language Histories of St. Stephen's Kingdom (1488-1700)." PhD diss. University of Warsaw, 2014.
- Năstăsoiu, Dragoș G. "Political Aspects of the Mural Representations of *Sancti Reges Hungariae* in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 16 (2010): 93-119.
- . "*Sancti Reges Hungariae* in Mural Painting of Late-Medieval Hungary." MA thesis. Central European University, 2009.
- Novák, Ádám. "Additions to the itinerary and seals of King Wladislaus I of Hungary in the light of recent Hungarica research." In *The Jagiellonians in Europe: Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*, edited by Attila Barány and Balázs Antal Bacsa, 41-55. Debrecen: MTA University of Debrecen "Lendület", 2016, accessed May 29, 2020, <http://real.mtak.hu/90733/1/Jagello%20-%202016.pdf>.
- Nyáry, Albert. *A heraldika vezérfonala* [The guide to heraldry]. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1886, accessed May 29, 2020, <https://mek.oszk.hu/07300/07311/07311.pdf>.
- Orbán, Éva. *Amit az Árpádsávós zászlóról illik tudnunk* [What we need to know about the Árpád-striped flag]. Budapest: Technika alapítvány and Szent László király alapítvány, 2007.
- Paganini, Giovanni. "An Attribution to Simone Martini." In *Burlington Magazine* 90, no. 540 (1948): 74-80.
- Pálffy, Géza. "A prágai Szent Vitus-székesegyház királyi oratóriumának címersora közép-európai összefüggésben" [The series of arms on the royal oratorium of Prague's Saint Vitus cathedral in a central European context]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, vol. 65 no. 2 (2016): 213-228, accessed May 29, 2020, <http://real.mtak.hu/49970/1/080.2016.65.2.1.pdf>.
- Pór, Antal. "Erzsébet királyné aacheni zarándoklása 1357-ben" [The pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth to Aachen in 1357]. *Századok* 35 (1901): 1-14.
- Pór, Antal and Gyula Schönner. *A magyar nemzet története* [The History of the Hungarian Nation]. Vol. 3, *Az Anjouk kora: Az Anjou ház és örökösei (1301-1439)* [The Angevin age: The Angevin dynasty and its legacy (1301-1439)], edited by Sándor Szilágyi. Budapest: Athéneum, 1895.
- Pósta, Béla. "Egy pár szó a magyar czímer-kérdéshez" [A few words about the question of the Hungarian coat of arms]. *Turul* 1885-1 (1885), accessed May 29, 2020, <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1885-1805/1885-1-1806/egy-par-szo-a-magyar-czimer-kerdeshez-1888/>.

- Rácz, György. “Az Árpádok sávozott címere egyes főúri pecséteken a XII-XIV. században” [The barry arms of the Árpáds on some magnates’ seals of the 13th and 14th centuries]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 63 (1992): 123-135, accessed May 29, 2020, https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/LeveltariKozlemenyek_63/?pg=124&layout=s.
- . “The Heraldry of Angevin-age Hungary and its Reflections in the *Illuminated Chronicle*.” In *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, edited by János M. Bak and László Veszprémy, 111-126. Budapest: CEU Press, 2018.
- Radvánszky, Béla. “Néhány szó olvasóinkhoz” [A few words to our readers]. *Turul* 1883-1 (1883), accessed May 29, 2020, <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Turul-turul-1883-1950-1/1883-2/1883-1-3/nehany-szo-olvasoinkhoz-6D/>.
- Rady, Martyn. “Stephen Werbóczy and his Tripartitum.” In *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae: The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, edited and translated by János Bak, et al. Utah: USU Libraries, 2019, 1176-1193, accessed May 28, 2020, https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4.
- Rainer, Pál. “... a dombocskának a tetejéről egy természetesen árnyékolt és érett szőlőgerezdekkel termett szőlőtöke látszik kinőve’: Szőlőábrázolás a Magyarországi családi címereken” [‘From the top of the hill you can see a naturally shaded and ripe vine with overgrown grapes’: Representation of grapes on family coats of arms in Hungary]. *Életünk* 56 no. 8 (2018): 68-82, accessed May 29, 2020, https://epa.oszk.hu/03100/03119/00038/pdf/EPA03119_eletunk_2018_08-09_068-082.pdf.
- Rózsa, György. “A Thuróczy-krónika illusztrációinak forrásai és a középkori magyar királyok ikonográfiája” [The sources of the Thuróczy chronicle’s illustrations and the iconography of medieval Hungarian kings]. *Művészettörténeti Füzetek* 25: *Grafikatörténeti Tanulmányok* (1998): 7-24.
- Schönfellner-Lechner, Helga and Buchninger. “Der Wappensaal der domus gozzonis in Krems.” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpfl* 62 no. 4 (2008): 603-617.
- Slater, Stephen. “Impalement and Marriage.” In *The History and Meaning of Heraldry: An Illustrated Reference to Classic Symbols and their Relevance*. London: Anness, 2004.
- Sniezynska-Stolot, Eva. “Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture.” *Acta Historiae Artium* 20 (1974): 13-36.
- Spiegel, Gabrielle M. “Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative.” *History and Theory* vol. 22 no. 1 (1983): 43-53. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2505235>.
- Szalay, József. “II. Lajos” [Louis II]. In *A magyar nemzet története* [The history of the Hungarian nation]. Vol. 2. edited by Lajos Baróti. Budapest: Athénum, 1895, accessed May 29, 2020, <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/MagyarNemzetTortenete-a-magyar-nemzet-tortenete-9A23/szalaybaroti-a-magyar-nemzet-tortenete-9A24/magyarorszag-a-vegyes-hazakbol-szarmazott-kiralyok-koraban-8F7/v-a-jagellok-kora-DC9/2-ii-lajos-15161626-E3B/>.

- . “II. Ulászló” [Wladislaus II]. In *A magyar nemzet története* [The history of the Hungarian nation]. Vol. 2, edited by Lajos Baróti (Budapest: Athénum, 1895), accessed May 29, 2020. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/MagyarNemzetTortenete-a-magyar-nemzet-tortenete-9A23/szalaybaroti-a-magyar-nemzet-tortenete-9A24/magyarorszag-a-vegyes-hazakbol-szarmazott-kiralyok-koraban-8F7/v-a-jagellok-kora-DC9/1-ii-ulaszlo-14901516-DCA/>.
- Szörényi, László. “Attila Used as an Instrument for Diplomacy – Janus Pannonius as King Matthias’s Ambassador in Rome.” In *Created for Harmony: Studies and Essays on King Matthias*. Budapest: Lucidus, 2012, 81-99.
- Szovák, Kornél. “The Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-Century Hungary (Remarks on the Legend of St Ladislaus and the Illuminated Chronicle).” In *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, edited by János M. Bak and László Veszprémy. 159-180. Budapest: CEU Press, 2018.
- Szűcs, Jenő. “Theoretical Elements in Master Simon of Kéza's Gesta Hungarorum (1282-1285 a.d.)” edited and translated by Gábor Klaniczay. CEU Press, forthcoming.
- Takács, Imre. *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei* [Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty]. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2012.
- Tarján, Eszter. “Fictitious or Not? Central and Eastern European Coats of Arms in the Early English Rolls of Arms.” MA thesis. Central European University, 2018.
- The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de gestis hungarorum*. Edited by Dezső Dercsényi et al., translated by Alick West. New York: Talpinger, 1970.
- Thuróczy, János. *A magyarok krónikája* [The chronicle of the Hungarians]. Translated by János Horváth. Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1978.
- Thuróczy, János. *Chronica Hungarorum: I. Textus*. Edited by Elisabeth Galántai and Julius Kristó. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1985.
- Tóth, Csaba, József Géza Kiss, András Fekete, ed. *Az Árpád-kori magyar pénzek katalógusa I. (Szent) Istvántól Imréig* [Catalogue of Árpadian coinage I: From King Saint Stephen to King Imre]. Translated Alan Campbell. Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2018.
- Utz, Richard. *Medievalism: A Manifesto*. Kalamazoo and Bradford: Arc Humanities, 2017.
- Vaucher, André. “*Beata stirps: sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles.*” In *Famille et parent; dans l’Occident médiéval*, edited by Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff. Rome: École française de Rome, 1977.
- Veszprémy, László. *Lovagvilág Magyarországon: lovagok, keresztek, hadmernökök a középkori Magyarországon* [The world of knights in Hungary: knights, crosses, and military engineers in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, 2008).
- . “The Knightly Culture of the Hungarian Barons: Ideals and Practice.” In *Formation intellectuelle et culture du clergé dans les territoires angevins*, 297-314. Rome: École française de Rome, 2019,

- . *Történetírás és történírok az Árpád-kori Magyarországon (XI-XIII. század közepe)* [Historical writings and historical writers in Árpád era Hungary (from the middle of the 11th – 13th century)]. Translated by Charles Carroll Horton. Budapest: Line Design, 2019.
- Volborth, Carl Alexander von. *Heraldry of the World*. Translated by Bob Gosney and Inge Gosney. Copenhagen: Blanford Press, 1973.
- Warr, Cordelia. “The *Golden Legend* and the cycle of the ‘Life of Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia-Hungary.’” In *The Church of the Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography, and Patronage in 14th century Naples*, edited by Janis Elliot, 155-174. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Werbőczy, István. “*Opus tripartitum juris consuetudinarii inclyti regni hungariae.*” In *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae: The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, edited and translated by János Bak, et al. Utah: USU Libraries, 2019, 1194-1586, accessed May 28, 2020, https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4.
- Zsoldos, Attila. “II. András Aránybullája” [Andrew II’s Golden Bull]. *Történelmi szemle* LIII 1 (2011): 1–38.
- . “III. András nádorai” [The palatines of Andrew III]. *Történelmi szemle* LII 3 (2010): 303–327.
- . *The Árpáds and their Wives: Queenship in Medieval Hungary*. Translated by Tamás Pálosfalvi. Rome: Viella, 2019.