

Painted Chancels in Parish Churches – Aristocratic Patronage in Hungary during the Reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437)*

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Looking at any map of medieval Europe, the Kingdom of Hungary appears as a large country, roughly the size of France, located in the middle of Europe. Bordered by Poland to the North, the Holy Roman Empire (more specifically Moravia, Lower Austria and Styria) to the West, Venice and the Adriatic to the Southwest, Serbia and Walachia to the South, and Moldavia to the East, Hungary was at the peak of its power during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and its borders were often extended to include further territories occupied for a longer or shorter period. The kings of Hungary ruled over a vast area – comprising also Dalmatia, Croatia and other territories in the Balkans – with abundant resources, including the richest gold and silver mines in Europe. Their country was a regional superpower, worth competing for among Europe's great dynasties, such as the (Neapolitan) Anjou, Luxemburg, Jagiellonian or Habsburg families.¹

King Sigismund of Luxemburg ascended the throne of this kingdom as a young man in 1387. It took him almost two decades to fully stabilise his power. After his election as King of the Romans in 1410, Buda essentially became the capital of the Holy Roman Empire for decades, even if Sigismund was often away from Hungary. This is where foreign dignitaries and rulers, including the Byzantine emperor (in 1424) or the king of Denmark came to see the emperor. Artists in the court of Sigismund, such as the sculptors of the Buda castle statues, the painter Thomas of Coloswar or miniature painters and goldsmiths in his service were well versed in the advances of the art of Northern European royal courts, such as Paris, Dijon, Vienna or Prague. Even though only fragments of this court art survive due to immense destruction at later stages, the level of artistic achievement at the royal court can still be grasped today.²

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During the long rule of Sigismund, political power was concentrated in the hands of a handful of aristocratic families, loyal to the king and consequently holders of large estates. Given their political power, international connections and extended estates, it is surprising how little we know of the art patronage of the aristocracy. The problem has never been systematically explored.³ Nevertheless, it seems that the two main aspects of aristocratic patronage were the building of castles to represent their power, and the building of churches and chapels to ensure their salvation. Consequently, most artworks associated with aristocratic families are works of the monumental arts – buildings, stone carvings, wall paintings – and we know very little of other kinds of artworks. It can be said that the horizon of the aristocracy broadened considerably in this period, especially at the time of the Council of Constance (1414–1418), where a great entourage of the Hungarian nobility accompanied Sigismund.⁴ Artistic trends of the international Gothic thus surely must have had an impact on Hungarian aristocrats as well. To give one example: the series of armorial letters given by King Sigismund to his faithful followers were often painted by masters from leading manuscript workshops, especially during the time of the Council of Constance.⁵

Back at home, the aristocrats concentrated their patronage at the centre of their estates, located in various parts of the Kingdom. Castles and palaces were rebuilt and modernised in a great number of places.⁶ At the same time, the barons also felt the need to support the local churches next to their castles, some of which were entrusted to monastic and mendicant orders, but almost all of which also fulfilled parochial functions. While the castles expressed the worldly power of their owners and builders, the churches standing next to them were meant to ensure the salvation of their patrons, and to preserve their memory. Thus perhaps the most characteristic building unit of the period is the castle and the church standing next to it. The best examples of this arrangement are known from the realm of the aristocracy, but it was the royal court which provided the models for this arrangement. King Sigismund founded the royal priory of St. Sigismund next to the royal castle of Buda, the construction of which was carried out from 1410 to 1424.⁷ Similarly, he invited the Observant Franciscans, and settled them next to the royal palace of Visegrád. In 1425, the friars received the former royal chapel dedicated to St. George, but the king later erected a new church for them, dedicated to the Virgin.⁸

The churches under aristocratic patronage could take many forms both institutionally and architecturally. In terms of their function, these family churches take over the role of the earlier clan monasteries. Clan monasteries, private foundations of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, were meant to serve as burial places for an entire clan at one time, before the clans were broken up into different families. The monasteries were generally Benedictine, later often Premonstratensian, and one of their main functions was to preserve the founders' memory and to provide a place for family worship.⁹ The most important such private foundations were established at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and their churches were generally built with two western towers and with rich figural and ornamental decoration. These structures served as a tool for representing the ancient origins and privileges of noble clans. In addition, the visual representations of their founders often appear in their sculpted and painted decoration (for example in the frescoes of Ják).¹⁰ The monasteries were supported even in

the later Middle Ages jointly by the families who descended from the clan. However, the churches, often located far from the new centres of aristocratic families, did not fulfill the needs of the powerful barons. After the breakup of the clans, these extended family relations became nominal only, and the institution of private churches was also renewed into patronage rights during the ecclesiastical reforms. Thus the family churches of around 1400 were usually founded by only one family, although with the participation of several generations. A rich and powerful family often established several of these churches, while also retaining the right of patronage to most other churches located in their estates. The most important role, however, was afforded to those churches located at the centers of estates, and serving as burial churches for the families and also fulfilling the needs of the local parish. In these cases one of the conditions of donations and support was the saying of masses for the souls of the deceased. The churches in the country estates thus started functioning just like private chapels – while at the same time private chapels founded by aristocrats also appeared attached to the most central churches of the kingdom, at Esztergom, Székesfehérvár and at Buda.¹¹ The families expressed their rights to these churches with their coats of arms, and the churches in effect became the private chapels of the founding families, representing the unity of the family.¹² Although the function of most family churches was similar, in other respects they greatly differ from each other: there were newly founded monasteries and long-existing parish churches among them, and in terms of architecture, some are refurbished Romanesque structures, while others are built according to the latest fashion of the period. A family church greatly increased the prestige of a family, especially if the burial rights were also acquired.¹³ The value of such a church could also be expressed in monetary terms, as recorded in several detailed lists.¹⁴ It is no wonder then that most noble families attempted to appear as patrons of at least a modest church, and some had several such institutions at their disposal. From a practical point of view, it was also important that the churches could fulfill the role of the local parish church as well. This favoured the spread of new monastic orders which also fulfilled parochial functions, and thus at the centre of the estates we find more and more churches operated by the mendicant orders. Especially popular was the Hungarian Pauline order and the Observant Franciscans – both served as the centre of local religious life as well.¹⁵

In the present paper, I would like to focus on a very characteristic element of the decoration of these churches: the full-scale decoration of their chancels with frescoes.¹⁶ Due to recent discoveries, the available material in this field has greatly expanded over the last few decades. For this analysis, I have selected churches that were under the patronage of an important aristocratic family, and where the entire chancel was painted according to a carefully designed plan. Often, this decoration only appeared inside the sanctuary, and there is no trace of corresponding painted cycles in the naves of most of these churches today. The chronological boundaries of the works to be discussed are roughly from the beginning of Sigismund's rule (1387) to about 1420. Although some of the churches were operated by religious orders, they all served as parish churches as well and most also served as burial churches. The following churches are included in the analysis: from western Hungary, Bántornya, where the Bánfi family commissioned the workshop of Johannes Aquila to paint the chancel in 1383; and two churches of



Fig. 1.: Bántornya, parish church. Apostles on the north wall of the sanctuary. Workshop of Johannes Aquila, 1383. Photo: Zsombor Jékely

the powerful Lackfi family: the Pauline church near Csáktornya and the Franciscan church of Keszthely. The Augustinian church of Siklós, located next to the castle of the Garai family, also preserves a fresco cycle in the sanctuary. From Northern Hungary, the newly discovered frescoes of Torna were selected; while Almakerék is a monument from the Eastern part of the country, from Transylvania. A few brief sentences will suffice to characterise the arrangements of the painted programs of individual churches.

Perhaps the earliest in the group to be discussed is the church of Bántornya, in Southwest Hungary (today Turnišče, Slovenia) (fig. 1). It was the family church of the Bánfi of Alsólendva family, and at least one of the family members was buried in front of the altar in the chancel, as indicated by a fragmentary tomb slab carved of red marble.¹⁷ The church was painted in the 1380s for László Bánfi I, who was represented together with his family praying in front of the Virgin.¹⁸ The chancel and the triumphal arch are adorned to this day with the Bánfi coats of arms and beautiful frescoes. Bántornya was painted by the workshop of Johannes Aquila, painter from Radkersburg in Styria, whose works are known from two other Hungarian churches, Velemér and Mártonhely, as well as from the Augustinian hermits' church at Fürstenfeld. At Bántornya, his workshop was employed twice: the chancel was painted in 1383, and the nave in 1389.¹⁹ This chancel is the nave of the former church of Bántornya: leaving the Romanesque apse and its frescoes intact, the old nave was transformed into a large chancel, when a Gothic nave was added on the western side. The newly formed sanctuary was then vaulted, creating a two-bay structure of rectangular plan. The chancel's paintings cover those from around 1300. On the two bays of the vault, the four Evangelists and four

music-playing angels are depicted. These were probably meant to be seen together with the *Maiestas Domini* of c. 1300 in the conch of the original apse. The walls show scenes from the infancy of Christ and large-scale standing figures of the twelve apostles. The decoration was completed with a dedication picture of the Bánfi family, which unfortunately got damaged beyond repair in 1928. This was the only example in Hungary of the Paduan-type of kneeling donors in front of the Madonna, presented by their patron saints (St. Ladislav and St. Nicholas). Complementing the chancel, a great number of different hagiographic and eschatological themes cover the walls of the nave, to a large degree determined by the needs, desires and knowledge of the patron family.

Not far away, the frescoes of Csáktornya are a fairly recent discovery, and their great significance lies in the fact that with their help we can directly compare two commissions of the same aristocratic family, the Lackfi.²⁰ The Pauline church near Csáktornya (today Čakovec, Croatia), in the village of Szentilona (today Šenkovec, Croatia) was founded by István Lackfi and other members of the family in 1376. István Lackfi became the Palatine of Hungary in 1387, and was one of the main supporters of Sigismund until 1396, when he changed allegiance. This led to his downfall, and he was executed in 1397.²¹ The painted decoration had certainly been completed before this date. Today only the chancel stands, with frescoes on all of its walls, although the vault was unfortunately reconstructed in the Baroque period, destroying all the fres-



Fig. 2.: Szentilona near Csáktornya, former Pauline church. Assumption of the Virgin and Man of Sorrow on the north and northeast wall of the sanctuary. 1380s. Photo: Attila Mudrák

coes there. We are probably not far from the truth if we suppose that – perhaps among other things – representations of the *Maiestas Domini* and the four Evangelists were present here as well. On the walls there are large scenes of highly original iconography, topped with half-figure representations of the *Madonna lactans* and the figures of the Trinity (fig. 2). The larger scenes are the following, listed from the Northwest corner going round: Crucifixion, Ascension and Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity, a monumental image of the Man of Sorrows, saints in the windows, Presentation in the temple and other scenes. The cycle was executed by a workshop affiliated with Central European followers of Vitale da Bologna.²²

Contemporary with Csáktornya, and also commissioned by István Lackfi are the frescoes of the Franciscan church of Keszthely. It is likely that the friary was founded before he received the estate at around 1376, but later served as the executed Palatine's burial church. This is a much larger building than the one at Csáktornya, and one which was also located closer to the centre of the kingdom. As the king confiscated the family's estates, including Keszthely in 1397, it is certain that preparations for Lackfi's burial had been made well before his death. The year of his death was in fact added to his already completed tomb slab later, and the frescoes had been painted before his death as well.²³ At Keszthely only the chancel was painted with a large series of saints and narrative scenes, and Lackfi's coats of arms were also present, for example, on one of the keystones (fig. 3). His tomb was erected in the central axis of the chancel's western bay, thus constituting the focal point of the whole ensemble.²⁴ The large expanses of walls, especially on the windowless northern wall, provided ample surface for a rich mural decoration. Two cycles, one dedicated to the seven joys of the Virgin (top row), and one to the Passion of Christ (two bands on the North wall), fill these large expanses. A number of saints are depicted between the windows, while the apostles are represented in medallions under the stringcourse.²⁵ It is uncertain what was on the vault. A large Central-European workshop must have prepared the decoration.

As Lackfi fell from power, Miklós Garai became one of the key figures in the court of Sigismund, serving as palatine (highest baron at court) since 1403. He and his brother received the castle of Siklós in 1395, and became patrons of the Augustinian church standing adjacent to the castle. The church itself was built at around the middle of the fourteenth century, and also received some painted decoration at that time. Miklós Garai had the vault of the church rebuilt, marked by a new keystone carrying his heraldic emblem, and then some time later, the entire chancel was painted with a very high quality set of frescoes (fig. 4.).²⁶ The rich heraldic decoration includes the symbol of the Order of the Dragon, a knightly order founded by King Sigismund in 1408, giving clear proof that the paintings were executed after this date. The chancel consisting of two bays was fully painted, but unfortunately the large scenes on the walls are very fragmentary today. The original system of decoration, however, can be fully reconstructed. On the sides, key scenes from the life of the Virgin and of Christ can be seen: The Nativity (?), the Crucifixion, the Coronation and the Dormition of the Virgin. On the eastern walls, the apostles are depicted in two tiers, with an image of the Man of Sorrows as part of the series. On the triumphal arch, a scene of the *Traditio Legis* completes the decoration. On the vault, medallions contain a depiction of St. Anne (the patron saint of the church), then of the Virgin and child and the *Maiestas*



Fig. 3.: Keszthely, former Franciscan church. View into the sanctuary, with frescoes dating before 1397. Photo: Attila Mudrák



Fig. 4.: Siklós, former Augustinian church. View into the sanctuary, with frescoes dating from around 1410. Photo: Attila Mudrák



Fig. 5.: Almakerék, parish church. View into the sanctuary, with frescoes dating from before 1405, and altarpiece from the middle of the 15th century. Photo: Attila Mudrák



Fig. 6.: Torna, parish church. Fragment of the Virgin from a Nativity-scene on the eastern wall of the sanctuary, from around 1420.

Photo: Attila Mudrák

Domini. Symbols of the four evangelists, depictions of the church fathers and of prophets can also be seen here. Smaller images include the small medallions on the sides of the windows, depicting various saints. The quality of the frescoes is outstanding; they were likely executed by a workshop familiar with Paduan painting characterized by Altichiero, and likely stem from the North Italian-South Tyrolian followers of this master.²⁷ Siklós served as the centre of the Garai estates, and the church also served as a burial place. The father of Miklós Garai – also called Miklós – was likely buried here, at least his incomplete tombstone was set up here.²⁸ The elder Miklós was killed in 1386, and it is likely that he never received a proper burial – no wonder then that his sons turned the church into a memorial to their father.

The most complex decoration of the group can be found in the chancel of the Almakerék church in Transylvania (today Mălâncrav, Romania), painted before 1405.²⁹ Belonging to the Apafi family, the church in Almakerék is a three-aisled basilica, with a western tower and a chancel

terminating in three sides of an octagon. The nave is separated from the chancel by a triumphal arch; the two bays of the chancel are covered by rib vaults. The keystone of the eastern section of the vault is decorated with the heraldic device of the Apafi family, with its grape motifs, and an inscription in Gothic majuscules.³⁰ The walls and vaults of the chancel are fully covered with a unified cycle of fresco decoration, which supplements an earlier cycle on the north wall of the nave (fig. 5). An inscription from 1405, scratched into the surface of the fresco, dates their creation certainly to before that. Although partially repainted in the eighteenth century, the entire decoration survived virtually intact, including the late Gothic main altar, which was added to the ensemble around the middle of the 15th century.³¹ The frescoes were planned and executed in a single campaign. The programme is so rich that a simple listing of the themes cannot do it justice. On the vaults apart from the combined representation of the Church Fathers and the Evangelists, four scenes – the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, and Presentation in the temple – are also illustrated. The north wall is filled with scenes of the Passion in three rows, while on the south wall, in the spaces between the eastern windows saints and hagiographic scenes (St George killing the dragon, Stigmatization of St Francis) are depicted. The *Madonna della Misericordia* is represented on the

inner face of the triumphal arch.³² Painted by a Central European workshop familiar with International Gothic painting, the frescoes were likely commissioned by Nicholas Apafi, the most important member of the family during the first half of the 15th century.

Among the most exciting new discoveries are the frescoes of Torna in Northern Hungary (today Turňa nad Bodvou, Slovakia).³³ Here the parish church of the town is situated below the castle, which served as the administrative center of the county of Torna. The process of restoration is still going on inside the church, but the decoration on the side walls of the chancel has been fully uncovered. Unfortunately, a large percentage of the original painted decoration – which had once covered the entire chancel – has been destroyed over the centuries. The present building of the church had been erected by the Tornai family, who had used the church as a family burial site – as indicated by a surviving tombstone.³⁴ The last member of the Tornai family died in 1406, and it is likely that the frescoes were painted some time after that, commissioned by the new patron, Pál Özdögei Besenyő. He was a high-ranking figure at the court of Sigismund, and his generosity is also documented by the magnificent chalice, which entered the Hungarian National Museum from this church.³⁵

The frescoes consisted of a narrative cycle, depicting the Infancy and Passion of Christ. Only a few of the scenes can be identified today, including the Nativity (fig. 6), and from the Passion: the scenes of Christ on the Mount of Olives and the Arrest of Christ (fig. 7). The lower zone of the walls was decorated with a series of female saints (fig. 8), while the window splays contain varied depictions of prophets. The quality is very high overall, and the cycle was probably executed at around 1420 by a Central Eu-



Fig. 7.: Torna, parish church. Scene of the Arrest of Christ on the eastern wall of the sanctuary, around 1420. Photo: Attila Mudrák

ropean workshop familiar with the latest trends of International Gothic painting, of the same stylistic orientation as Thomas of Coloswar, the painter of the Garamszentbenedek altarpiece of 1427.³⁶

The list of similar monuments could be continued, but the churches described so far will suffice to make some conclusions. The general concept of the pictorial program in these churches is the same, but when it comes to details there is great variety. The vault is always dedicated to such themes as the *Maestas Domini* with the four Evangelists, and often with prophets or Church Fathers as well. On the walls, larger scenes, sometimes arranged in narrative cycles, are depicted. Passion scenes are almost invariably part of these narratives. Their presence is due to the main liturgical function of the chancels, the Mass. The reference to the sacrifice of Christ and the Host is even more obvious in the figure of the *Vir dolorum*, which is there near the tabernacle in several of these churches (Almakerék, Csáktornya, and Siklós).³⁷ Usually, the Virgin Mary is granted special attention as well, generally in the context of her heavenly Coronation, but sometimes in more elaborate cycles as at Keszthely. Another common element is the presence of a gallery of saints on the lower zone of the walls or in the splays of the windows. Of the saints, the apostles occupy a special place, while other saints are often selected with regard to the patron saint of the church or that of the donor; and generally the most popular saints are depicted.³⁸ Personal elements referring to the donor also include coats of arms, and in a few cases the representation of the donors appears as well (Bántornya, and perhaps at Csáktornya).

In sum, all these fresco cycles are planned and unified. Such examples cannot be found from the later part of century, or in most of the contemporary naves, where instead we find narrative cycles and increasingly: individually framed altar-like devotional scenes. Another similarity of these fresco cycles is that they all share a combination of Italian and Central European style, although some, like Siklós, are closer in conception to the art of the Italian Trecento, while others such as Almakerék, are more purely Bohemian.

In terms of their function, the churches were intended as the burial sites of members of the family, and were meant to preserve their memory. As discussed above, burial rights constituted a very important factor in the prestige of family churches, and the red marble tombstones of the patrons often served as a second focal point of church chancels. This liturgically most important part of the churches was thus also



Fig. 8.: Torna, parish church. Female martyr saint from the lower zone of the sanctuary wall, around 1420. Photo: Attila Mudrák

charged with special meaning, emphasizing the important role the patrons played in the life of the local community. When complete with tombs and frescoes, the effect of chancels of such churches resembled that of free-standing private chapels. In Hungary, among the predecessors of such church sanctuaries we can mention the frescoed decoration of the episcopal palace chapels of Esztergom and Zagreb, painted at around the middle of the fourteenth century.³⁹ It is a notable change, however, that aristocrats of the Sigismund-period chose not to adorn their castle chapels with richly painted decoration, (for example at Siklós, the chapel was only partially painted), but rather to focus their artistic enterprises on the independent churches standing near the castles. This perhaps is to be explained by a desire for the visibility of the cycles – with the open display of their coat of arms and the rich painted decoration of the sanctuaries, the aristocrats clearly marked their role as patrons of the local parish churches.⁴⁰

In conclusion, we can summarise our observations as follows: for aristocrats and other high ranking nobility in the service of King Sigismund, it was important to take over churches in the centres of their new estates symbolically. These churches were divergent both in their architectural features and it was not a crucial factor whether they belonged to a religious order or not – taking over was most easily achieved by the commissioning of a new cycle of frescoes in the chancels. The unified decoration of these spaces set them apart from the simpler naves (an effect which must have been heightened by rood screens common in churches operated by religious orders), providing a special space set aside for the patrons and their families. This appropriation was often made apparent by the inclusion of heraldic symbols and the representation of the patrons in these spaces. While we have little information concerning the use of the chancels by living patrons, it is clear from archaeological evidence that the chancels often served as their burial spaces. These chancels, together with their painted decoration and elaborate tombstones were clearly the most important parts of parish churches at around 1400. The decoration of the chancels made clear the role of the aristocratic patrons, expressing their power and wealth, while at the same time providing a chance for salvation and eternal glory for them.

Notes

- 1 The best recent overview of the history of medieval Hungary is: Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A history of medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001).
- 2 On the rule of Sigismund and court art during his reign, see most recently: *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387–1437* ed. Imre Takács, Exh. cat. Budapest-Luxemburg, 2006 (Mainz, 2006).
- 3 See my attempt for an overview: Zsombor Jékely, “Die Rolle der Kunst in der Repräsentation der ungarischen Aristokratie unter Sigismund von Luxemburg,” in *Sigismundus*, 2006, 298–310. See also: Zsombor Jékely, “Regions and interregional connections – A group of frescoes in the Kingdom of Hungary from around 1420,” *Ars* 40 (Bratislava, 2007) Nr. 2: 157–167.
- 4 On the council, see among others: Jörg K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund. Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368–1437* (München, 1996), 191–278.

- 5 On these armorial letters, see: Dénes Radocsay, "Gotische Wappenbilder auf Ungarischen Adelsbriefen," *Acta Historiae Artium* 5 (1958): 317–358.
- 6 István Feld, "Residenzen der Aristokratie der Sigismund-Zeit in Ungarn. Ein archäologischer Forschungsbericht," in *Sigismund von Luxemburg: Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa, 1387-1437: Beiträge zur Herrschaft Kaiser Sigismunds und der europäischen Geschichte um 1400: Vorträge der internationalen Tagung in Budapest vom 8–11. Juli 1987* eds. Josef Macek, Ernő Marosi and Ferdinand Seibt (Warendorf, 1994), 235–253.
- 7 See the studies in *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999): *A Szent Zsigmond templom és a Zsigmond kor budai szobrászata (The St. Sigismund's Church and the Sculpture of Buda in the Sigismund Era)*. The studies were presented at a conference in 1996; further information about the church is available in the small catalogue of the exhibition presenting the finds at the same time: *A budavári Szent Zsigmond templom és gótikus szobrai (The St. Sigismund's Church of Buda Castle and its Gothic Statues)* eds. Gergely Buzás and István Feld (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1996).
- 8 Gergely Buzás, József Laszlovszky, Szilárd Papp, György Székér and Mátyás Szőke, "The Franciscan friary of Visegrád – History, archaeological remains, the results of the 1990-1993 campaigns," in *Medieval Visegrád (Dissertationes Pannonicae II.4.)*, edited by József Laszlovszky (Budapest, 1995), 27–29, fig. 170–207.
- 9 On the institution in general, see Erik Fügedi, "'Sepelietur corpus eius in proprio monasterio' – A nemzetségi monostor," *Századok*, 125 (1991): 35–66. On the buildings themselves, see Ernő Marosi, "Benedictine building activity in the thirteenth century," in *Paradisum plantavit – Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon – Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary* ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma, 2001), 651–658, with further bibliography. On Ják, see Ernő Marosi, "Die benediktiner Abteikirche St. Georg zu Ják. Bauwerk und kunsthistorische Problematik," *Acta Historiae Artium* 37 (1997): 19–70. On non-Benedictine clan monasteries: *The Architecture of Historic Hungary* eds. József Sisa and Dora Wiebenson, (Cambridge, MA – London: MIT Press, 1998), 18–25; Dezső Dercsényi, *Romanesque Architecture in Hungary* (Budapest, 1975). See also Ernő Marosi, "Churches and their adornments – From the art history of medieval Hungary," in *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary – Hungariae Christianae Millenium* eds. István Zombori, Pál Cséfalvay and Maria Antonietta De Angelis (Budapest, 2001), 213.
- 10 Melinda Tóth, *Árpád-kori falfestészet (Wall-painting during the Arpadians) (Művészettörténeti Füzetek 9.)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 56–67; Zsombor Jékely, "Wall paintings at Ják and Garamszentbenedek," in *Paradisum plantavit*, 2001, 622, ill. on 153–156. The frescoes are located under the south tower of the abbey church. The patrons are clearly represented on the frescoes of the vault, while their presence on the side walls is debated. See also: Xavier Barral Altet, "Nouvelles propositions pour le tympan roman de Szentkirály et l'iconographie de la donatrice," in *Bonum ut pulchrum – Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday* eds. Livia Varga, Pál Lővei, Imre Takács, Anna Jávor and László Beke (Budapest, 2010), 165–182.
- 11 On the uses of such chapels, see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death – Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell UP, 1996), 115–122; Evelyn Welch, *Art and Society*

- in Italy 1350–1500 (Oxford History of Art)* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 184–204. Trecento wills and their relations to chapels have been analyzed in most detail for Central Italy, see Samuel K. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death – Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore–London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992). For private chapels in Florentine churches, see also: Jonathan K. Nelson, “Memorial Chapels in Churches: The Privatization and Transformation of Sacred Spaces” in *Renaissance Florence – A Social History* eds. Roger J. Crum, and John T. Paoletti (Cambridge – New York, 2006), 353–375.
- 12 The resulting appearance of secular elements in churches is analysed in: Andrew Martindale, “Patrons and Minders: The Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages,” *Studies in Church History* 28 (1992) (*The Church and the Arts*, ed. Diana Wood), 143–178. On the use and significance of coat of arms in churches, see: Michael Michael, “The privilege of ‘proximity’: towards a re-definition of the function of armorials,” *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997): 55–74.
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 - 15 Tamás Guzsik and Rudolf Fehérvári, *A pálos rend építészeti emlékei a középkori Magyarországon* (Pauline monuments from medieval Hungary) (Budapest: BME, 1980), 26. See also the general overview of Tamás Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete a középkori Magyarországon* (Pauline architecture in medieval Hungary) (Budapest, 2003).
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 - 19 Janez Höfler and Janez Balazic, *Johannes Aquila* (Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1992), 29–37, 117–121; *Gotik in Slowenien: Ljubljana, 1. Juni bis 1. Oktober 1995* ed. Janez Höfler exh. cat. (Ljubljana: Narodna Galerija, 1995), 232–237; Terézia

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 - 21 Pál Engel, “Hermán nem 2. tábla: Lackfi,” in *Középkori magyar genealógia* (Magyar középkori adattár) (*Medieval Hungarian Genealogy. Hungarian Medieval Database*), CD-ROM (Budapest: Arcanum, 2001); Pál Engel, “Zsigmond bárói – A Lackfiak” (*Barons of Sigismund – The Lackfi*), in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában* (*Art in the Era of King Sigismund*) eds. László Beke, Ernő Marosi and Tünde Wehli (Budapest, 1987) II. 427–430, 455.
 - 22 This aspect of the fresco decoration was analysed both by Balažic, 2004 and by Jékely, 2010.
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 - 34 Tomb inscription: *Hic iacet Turne Janus, obiit anno MCCCC. sexto, * ann(or)um LII.* The tombstone is mentioned by Viera Luxová, “Memento mori: formy náhrobnej skulptúry,” in *Gotika – Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* ed. Dušan Buran (Bratislava, 2003), 328.
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- 38 On the selection of saints, see Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Saints of the Knights – Knights of the Saints: Patterns of Patronage at the Court of Sigismund,” in *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Ein Kaiser in Europa. Tagungsband des internationalen historischen und kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Luxemburg, 8-10. Juni 2005* eds. Michel Pauly and François Reinert (Mainz, 2006), 319–330.
- 39 Mária Prokopp, “Pitture murali del XIV secolo nella cappella del castello di Esztergom. I. Problemi iconografici,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 13 (1967): 273–312; Mária Prokopp, “Pitture murali del XIV secolo nella cappella del castello di Esztergom. II. Problemi dello stile,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 18 (1972): 169–192. See also Prokopp, 1983, 82–84. Barbora Glocková, “Nástenná výzdoba arcibiskupskej kaplnky v Ostrihome skúmaná v nových vzťahoch k umeniu talianskeho trecenta (alebo riminská maľba v Zaalpi),” *Ars* 33 (Bratislava, 2000): 61–77. On Zagreb, see: Ana Deanović, *Biskupska kapela sv. Stjepana Prvomučenika u Zagrebu – Spomenik slikarstva XIV. stoljeca – Bishop’s chapel of St. Stephen Protomartyr in Zagreb – A Monument of the fourteenth century painting* (Zagreb, 1995).
- 40 For a broader analysis of this topic, see the introduction and case studies in: Jonathan K. Nelson and Richard J. Zeckhauser, *The Patron’s Payoff – Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art* (Princeton – Oxford: Princeton UP, 2008); as well as Nelson, 2006.