

## SUMMARY

When preparing my treatise „*Pečeti Jana Lucemburského*“, my goal was to write a preparer which will reflect the latest knowledge on this issue, and be the first study to take into account both western European and Czech papers, which was not accomplished in the past owing to language and other barriers.

The concrete results presented in my monograph of John of Luxembourg's seals reveal a more precise enumeration of the seals which he used during his lifetime. These were six great seals employed by him as he styled himself King of Bohemia or Count of Luxembourg, and seven counterseal matrices employed as he styled himself in the same manner. Furthermore, we add the seal of majesty of the Vicar of the Imperial Court. John of Luxembourg possessed a first great matrix no later than in 1310 as he styled himself Count of Luxembourg and Laroche, as well as Margrave of Arlon. At the same time he used counterseals which appear as the reverse of his great equestrian seal. According to the latest literature, the origin of this great seal is in France, Hainaut or Brabant. Although he acceded to the throne of the Kingdom of Bohemia in December 1310 and was crowned King of Bohemia on 7 February 1311, we still find the Count of Luxembourg's great equestrian seal furnished on documents from January and February 1311, concerning non-Bohemian legal matters for non-Bohemian recipients, and provided with a counterseal on the reverse.

The first new seal of John Luxembourg after his arrival in the Bohemian Lands was a portrait counterseal from December 1310. This counterseal existed as a temporary arrangement; this conclusion is supported by the corroborations of documents. John thus followed his predecessors on the throne of Bohemia: Rudolph I of Hapsburg and Henry of Carinthia, who also sealed with portrait counterseals; for although they had been elected Kings of Bohemia, they never achieved coronation. This habit was also common elsewhere in Europe. There is a variant form of the above-mentioned portrait counterseal of John of Luxembourg, which is known to be from the time after he had already begun using seals: the majestic equestrian, from the years 1314 and 1315.

After his coronation, John had a great majestic equestrian seal produced. This seal is a Bohemian piece of work, as was the aforementioned portrait counterseal from 1310. Again, with the design within the so-called *pietas*, he followed the appearance of the great seals of his predecessors on the Bohemian throne – in this case, the of the Přemyslids. Thus, he followed the seal tradition of the last Přemyslids. He employed the great majestic equestrian seal until the end of 1321 or on begin of the year 1322. A variant form from 1314 of this majestic equestrian seal given in some literature (especially Czech), with reference to a paper by O. Posse (Part I, Table 48, No. 6, and Table 49, No. 1), never existed during the time of John Luxembourg, but (as R. Weiller proved and as R. Laurent later confirmed) it is a casting, a free imitation of the basic seal from 1311 made by Henri Gomand in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1322, a radical change happened in the seals of John of Luxembourg, when this King of Bohemia and Count of Luxembourg abandoned the majestic equestrian seal and instead used one-sided equestrian seal until his death at Crécy. These were usually furnished with heraldic counterseals on the reverse, which is the French or western European iconographical type. In this act we see his return to the traditional design of great seals (that is, equestrian seals and counterseals) of the Counts of Luxembourg. This appears to have occurred on the grounds of King John's resignation to the Bohemian situation. Since that years, John lived mostly abroad. Therefore, this might have been a demonstrative act.

Of great seals we know three variant forms altogether. Here, our knowledge is somewhat modified and improved as to the chronological order of seals on one hand and the number of matrices in the other. As far as the order is concerned, the first seal was the equestrian one, the so-called type III, em-

played in 1323 and perhaps still in the beginning of 1324. Based on analysis, it can be said that this matrix was, in all likelihood, made in Paris, in the sameworkshop which executed orders of other French kings, princes, and high-ranking magnates. The orders include equestrian seals of Enguerand de Marigny and Gaucher de Chatillon. These conclusions are consistent not only with the analysis and comparison of the seals in question, but also by a thorough study of the itinerary of King John.

It also seems that the so-called type IV seal will be identified as a piece of work which was not made in the Bohemian Lands. This type of seal appears as early as in the first half of the year 1324. The last and the highest quality matrix (the so-called type seal) was executed in 1325. After that time, King John only used this seal. We are informed from a document dated 29 April 1325 that this happened for the reason that no falsity would occur in future. The last type of seal which is presented by O. Posse (Part I, Table 48, No. 5), and M. Gumowski-M. Haisig- S.Mikucki, is another casting, a free imitation of the type so-called V of seal made by Henri Gomand.

As far as counterseals are concerned, John of Luxembourg sealed with four different types after 1321. The type IV seal (since 1322) and the type VI (since 1324) are very similar, and were even put together into a single matrix. Similar counterseal designs, excepting the image of the eagle as a supporter, are known from counterseals of the Counts of Luxembourg. After 1321, John thus inclined to the seal designs of the Counts of Luxembourg, not only with his great equestrian seal, but also with his counterseals. A fifth type is very damaged – only a fragment of it is known from the single surviving imprint and, therefore, we cannot say more about it than that it was another heraldic variant. Type VII is the least seal type and is again only heraldic. This is the smallest in size of all of John of Luxembourg's counterseals after 1321, and John had it at his disposal no later than in 1325. King John then sealed with the types IV, VI and VII until his death.

John's seals thus underwent two great reversals. The first one was at the of the years 1310–1311, when he abandoned the seal patterns and designs typical for the Counts of Luxembourg (in connection with his accession to the throne in the Kingdom of Bohemia). By his ruling in the Bohemian Lands he was compelled, within *pietas*, to follow the seals of his predecessors on the throne of Kingdom of Bohemia. The second fundamental change can be traced after 1321, when John returned to using equestrian seal (apparently since 1323) typical of the Counts of Luxembourg (in great seals), as well as to counterseals (since 1322) typical of rulers in the County of Luxembourg. In my opinion, these facts relate to John's overall resignation to the internal situation in the Kingdom of Bohemia, and to his greater inclination to his native Luxembourg and the European politics.

My research also proved by that the seals of John of Luxembourg influenced, and became models for, the seals of some prominent men of other countries, in particular of Bolek II, Duke of Opole, and Peter I of Rosenberk (+1347), a high-ranking magnate, who moved in the close vicinity of King John. The type V equestrian seal of John of Luxembourg served as a model to both of them.

Forgeries of the seals of John of Luxembourg are also an interesting problem. More of them might be found in future. In my paper, attention is paid to an object which was identified in the past century as a seal matrix of King John. This, however, cannot be vindicated for a number of reasons. For instance, there is no imprint of it; the dressing of the stone (amethyst) does not correspond to the 14<sup>th</sup> century but to a time younger by a few centuries; and finally, no connection of this object with King John can be inferred from my existing information. The last group is comprised of six pieces of forged equestrian seals and five pieces of forged counterseals of John of Luxembourg. These were made at the order of Ulric II of Rosenberg († 1462), in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. By use of these seals he authenticated for himself not only the unauthorised usurpation of property, but also numerous privileges and advantages.

Thus, I conclude this brief summary by stating that a great deal of issues concerning the seals of the first Luxembourg ruler on the throne of Kingdom of Bohemia have been successfully elucidated; nevertheless, some problems still remain unsolved, such as the fact that although King John renounced his claim to the Polish royal title in 1335, which he simply did not put in the legends of his seals, but restored it in the intitulations of his documents. The only explanation for this is that the space for the legend of seals is relatively limited, and John stated the Bohemian royal title because he ruled in the Bohemian Lands and held an elector's vote by virtue of them, whereas he in fact never ruled in Poland.

Stating the title of Count of Luxembourg represents not only his homeland, but also become a part of the demonstrative change in the form of the seal of John of Luxembourg.

Translation Ivan Dyba

