ART AND HUMANISM IN HUNGARY IN THE AGE OF MATTHIAS CORVINUS

by

RÓZSA FEUER-TÓTH

Akadémiai Kiadó · Budapest

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Outside of Italy Renaissance art was first introduced in Hungary during the reign of King Matthias (1458–1490). As yet art historians have failed to give this fact the attention it deserves. The birth of the Renaissance in Matthias' age is due partly to the King's patronage and partly to Humanism in Hungary. Rózsa Feuer-Tóth's work focuses on the relationship between Hungarian Humanism and art; its comprehensive analysis is long overdue, even as regards Italy.

Petrarch was the father of Humanism, whose ideas on painting, sculpture and architecture are discussed in Chapter I. In the revival of Antique art Petrarch considered the patron's role decisive, therefrom his preoccupation with the theory of patronage. Chapter II deals with the life and works of the four Humanists in Matthias' Court who studied the various aspects of art.

In the treatment of the sources listed in the Appendices, the author directs attention to the critical analysis of Antique texts by the Humanists. In Chapter III, development of the Humanist concept of the royal residence is presented. The fact that Matthias' attention — who never visited Italy — turned towards architecture and that, by inviting Italian masters, was able to create real *all'antica* architecture in Hungary attests to the decisive influence of the Humanists (primarily of Bandini).

This original work (also based on research by Baxandall, Gombrich, Kristeller, Spencer and others) provides answers to problems about the relationship between Humanism and Renaissance art, raising new aspects of approach at the same time.

The book should be of great interest not only to art historians, but to literary historians as well.

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IN THE AGE OF MATTHIAS CORVINUS

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PREFACE

It has been 500 years since the death of Matthias Corvinus the most outstanding figure of the Hungarian Renaissance. It is for this anniversary that we publish this regrettably posthumous work of Rózsa Feuer-Tóth, the distinguished art historian who died only recently. With her we lost one of our best experts of Hungarian Renaissance architecture. In a series of separate studies as well as in a comprehensive history she has shed new light on the question of how this grand and ascendant style came into Hungarian soil, with special emphasis on the buildings commissioned by the great king himself these half a thousand years ago. In the present work she develops further the results of her former research, enriching not only our knowledge of art history but that of Humanism as well. This book reveals the ideal Renaissance unity of Humanism, art and monarch, adding many new facts, sources and observations to our knowledge of Matthias' age and its culture.

Fortunately, the manuscript she left behind was complete, yet it required considerable work to prepare it for publication, primarily because, in order to reach the international readership the book deserves, it had to be translated into English. Our thanks are due to all those who helped the preparations with their expertise and dedication. We are especially grateful to Rózsa Feuer-Tóth's English colleagues, Elisabeth Joyce and Mary Whiteley, for their generous collaboration. If the English-speaking reader is satisfied with the form and style of this instructive book, the merit is theirs.

Tibor Klaniczay

INTRODUCTION

Hungarian historians have long looked upon the times of King Matthias (1458–1490) as a kind of a Golden Age. The fact that the Renaissance first crossed the Alps to Hungary in the late 1470s, preceding its arrival even in other transalpine countries, bears out this image. It has been generally accepted for some time that the presence of Humanists in the country was a major contributory factor. All the same, there has not so far been an attempt to provide a comprehensive account of the precise manner in which Humanism affected the development of Renaissance art in Hungary.

My title promises much but the task of summing up in a definitive way the relationship between Humanism and the arts in the age of Matthias is beyond the scope of this work. My primary aim was to examine the views on the arts held by the Humanists who spent time at the court of King Matthias towards the end of the 15th century; and, secondly, to examine in what way they inspired Matthias' patronage of Renaissance art in the period between 1476 and 1490. The Humanist sources mainly contain descriptions of buildings and statues that have not survived and, therefore, they also provide evidence of priceless value.

The writings of four authors are here examined. They all spent a considerable period of time at the court. One can, therefore, conclude that the views expressed in their writings influenced Matthias and his immediate circle at the time when the Renaissance appeared in Hungary.

The writings chosen for examination are extracts, fragments selected from works of various kinds. The best known are by Antonio Bonfini, excerpts that have been drawn from the preface written for the Latin translation of the Filarete (Averulinus) MS. in 1488–1489 (App. IV.) as well as from his historical work, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* written in Hungary between 1488 and 1497 (App. V.a,b). Hungarian scholars have not previously examined the letter Francesco Bandini sent from Vác to Florence in 1480 (App. VIII.) or the epistle he wrote in Naples before his stay in Hungary, that is, before 1476 (App. IX.). I have also examined a letter (App. VI.a.) and epigrams (App. VI.b.) by Francesco Arrigoni (who has not previously been considered as a court Humanist of King Matthias)

which he wrote in Naples between 1487 and 1490 and addressed to Lodovico il Moro in Milan.

These short fragments with an apparently commonplace message do not immediately appear to be much of a basis for research, but the examination of the ideological, cultural and historical background of the sources led to the opposite conclusion. Because of the huge quantity of the material collected we had to renounce of dealing with several important subjects, regarding the limited scope of this work. We had to omit a renewed and more detailed study of such an important work as the panegyrical poem of Janus Pannonius, written to Andrea Mantegna,[1] which is a Humanist work dealing with the Renaissance theory of art. However, the works I listed above are really concerned with what might be described as the Humanist theory of the patronage of the arts. This theory, in my interpretation, is a summary of those rules which the Humanist ethic prescribed for patrons of the arts in pursuit of the Classical model.

Since I have concentrated on the selected sources as the inspiration for and witnesses to the arts in the age of Matthias I have not covered several other important subjects which were powerfully influenced by the Humanists. Thus I have not discussed art or book collection in Hungary, not only because I could not find any reference to them in the sources I have studied but also because this field is outside my competence. However, book illumination is also excluded, not only for these reasons, but also because the selected sources were useful primarily for a study of the Humanist approach to Renaissance architecture and sculpture.

The nature of the subject demands an interdisciplinary approach. The examination of the relationship between Humanism and the arts lies on the border where history of literature and history of art overlap. Since in the Renaissance Latin was the language of educated people a philological approach to the sources was necessary. In addition, a study of philosophy, or, to be more precise, of aesthetics and the history of moral philosophy, was also essential. As an art historian I must, therefore, accept responsibility for any lacunae due to insufficient expertise in these disciplines. An interdisciplinary subject is—to quote Panofsky—"the common playground of those who like to leave their native countries and to move in an environment where no one is entirely at home, but whence the visitor returns with instructive experiences".[2] I have been encouraged by the fact that art historians of great prestige have argued that "the Renaissance is the work of the humanists".[3] Regarding Italy important works have shown that neither at the beginnings, in the 14th century,[4] nor at the beginning of the 15th century[5] (at the wake of the early

[1] FEUER-TÓTH 1974/1.
[2] PANOFSKY 1971, p. 7.
[3] GOMBRICH (Revival) 1967, p. 71.
[4] PANOFSKY 1960, pp. 11 ff.
[5] GOMBRICH (Revival) 1967.

Renaissance), nor in the last decades of the Quattrocento, at the time of Neoplatonism,[6] could the influence of the Humanists on Renaissance artists, patrons of art, early critics and audiences be ignored. A similar view is held by scholars of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe. They too maintain that the prerequisite of the early establishment of the Renaissance in Hungary was mature Humanism.[7]

The significance of Humanist sources has also been considered by Hungarian art historians. The most prominent scholar of this field, Jolán Balogh, has endeavoured to collect all the Humanist sources of Hungarian Renaissance art. She has published those Humanist passages that deal with the description and appreciation of works of art owned by King Matthias. She has called attention to those passages which give evidence of a personal relationship between the King and the Humanists as well as to personal correspondence between them and she has published works dedicated to him.[8] In addition, she has pointed out the Humanist influence on the iconography of some Renaissance sculpture. For example, she has established a link between the fountain in the Palace of Visegrád (around 1484) which represents Hercules, and a dedication to Matthias by Marsilio Ficino (dated 1484) in which he compares the King to Hercules.[9] This subject and, in general, issues of Humanism and the arts have been thoroughly dealt with previously by Péter Meller.[10]

Of all the Humanist sources of the age of Matthias the greatest attention has been devoted to the works of Bonfini. It was mainly on the basis of his works that Jolán Balogh restored the Royal Palace at Buda to its appearance in the age of Matthias.[11] László Gerevich, who was in charge with the excavation at Buda Castle and who published an account of the findings, has also made extensive use of Bonfini's descriptions, though the excavation actually considerably increased the quantity of known Renaissance fragments.[12]

Tibor Kardos comments on the relationship between Humanism and the arts in the age of King Matthias in his works on the history of literature.[13] However, not even the historians of literature have established a comprehensive discussion of this topic. The only observations which make a useful contribution to issues involving the overlapping areas are in the works of Tibor Klaniczay discussing Italian Mannerism. The introduction to his work contains several points charac-

[6] CHASTEL 1954; CHASTEL 1959.

[7] BIAŁOSTOCKI 1976, p. 5; ENTZ 1976, p. 269.

[8] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I. mainly pp. 650–662, 682–683.

[9] Ibidem, p. 249.

[10] MELLER 1948, pp. 56–57; MELLER (Fountains) 1948, pp. 142–143; MELLER 1955. Several Hungarian scholars dealt with iconographical issues under Italian Humanist influence: e.g., VAYER 1962, TÁTRAI 1972, TÁTRAI 1979, ZENTAI 1973, EÖRSI 1975.

[11] BALOGH 1952.

[12] GEREVICH 1966.

[13] KARDOS 1940, pp. 38, 41, 58, 64.

teristic of the essential relationship between Humanism and Renaissance art which also apply to the earlier 15th century situation in Italy.[14]

No comprehensive work has been published so far on the relationship between Humanism and Renaissance art in Hungary and—as the reader will no doubt discover for himself—this study does not entirely fill this gap. The task is so huge that I have been able to examine only a few aspects.

The task is made all the greater since the relationship between Humanism and the arts has not been fully studied even regarding Italy. It was necessary for me to try to fill this gap in order to place the sources I have selected and to interpret them in the spirit of the age. All the authors of the documents I have examined are Italian Humanists whose way of thinking and opinion transmitted to Hungary the tradition of the 150 years of Italian Humanism. This successful transfusion was possible only because a Humanist tradition was already present; King Matthias himself was a student and convicted supporter of the movement which started with Pier Paolo Vergerio and which is represented by János Vitéz, Janus Pannonius and other Hungarian Humanists.[15]

Nevertheless, some examination of the Italian background proved necessary. In this study this is confined to the relationship between Italian Humanists and Renaissance art. It was necessary to study many original Renaissance Humanists as well as Classical sources that may have been used by writers in the Renaissance period. Of Hungarian publications in this field I made good use of the volumes of *Európai Antológia* (European Anthology) of Greek, Roman and Medieval arts.[16]

A great difficulty I encountered was the absence of an overall definition of the very term 'Humanism'.[17] The expression itself was first used only at the beginning of the 19th century.[18] There are many other issues that remain unresolved. Was the character of Humanism pagan or Christian? Did the term, or rather the movement, include the category of humaneness? Did it simply cover Renaissance philosophy as a whole?[19]

Naturally, I do not feel competent to adjudicate on issues like these. For definition of the essence and spirit of Humanism I have relied on works accepted by the consensus of scholarly opinion.[20] I have particularly drawn upon the seminal work of P. O. Kristeller,[21] A. Campana[22] and H. Baron.[23] The first two

[14] KLANICZAY (Mannerism) 1975, pp. 11 ff; KLANICZAY (Neoplatonism) 1975, pp. 371 ff.
[15] KARDOS 1940; HUSZTI 1955.
[16] SZILÁGYI 1962; CASTIGLIONE 1974; MAROSI 1969.
[17] For a summary of the debates on a definition of "Humanism" in the Hungarian literary history see: KLANICZAY 1964.
[18] KRISTELLER 1955, p. 9.
[19] PAPARELLI 1973, p. 14.
[20] PANOFSKY 1960, p. 4; GOMBRICH (Revival) 1967, p. 71; BAXANDALL 1971, p. 1, Note 1.
[21] KRISTELLER (Humanism) 1956, p. 573.
[22] CAMPANA 1946, pp. 60 ff.
[23] BARON 1966.

of them drew my attention to the fact that Humanism means not only the study of mankind but to a much greater extent the activities of those scholarly *umanisti* who were engaged in reviving Classical education *(humanitas)*. These men of letters, poets, historians, educators, writers, clerks, teachers, etc., were the successors of the medieval orators who relied not only on the disciplines of the medieval *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) but also drew upon other parts of *studia humanitatis:* poetry, history and moral philosophy. However, Baron also shows how Humanism was deliberately developed into the ideology of the bourgeoisie in early 15th century Florence. It is important to recognise that the medieval orators and early Humanists used the same Classical texts. However, their approach to Antiquity was very different. The Humanists studied these authors with the aim of drawing from them values which their medieval predecessors had ignored and they endeavoured to revive these not only within the frame of *studia humanitatis* but also in other areas neglected in the Middle Ages, including arts.

From the point of view of visual arts it is also important to note that the Humanists interpreted the time limits of Antiquity in a wider sense than modern periodization. They included amongst Classical works (not the least because they were written in impeccable Latin) the writings of the Church Fathers and the Bible. Anti-religious sentiments were mostly expressed in opposition to the doctrines of scholastic theology. This indicates that they were not pagan in the way Burckhardt presumes in his early works.[24] Earlier interpretations exaggerating the religious aspects of Humanism have also been criticised by more modern scholars.[25] This suggests that what is typical of Humanism could be characterised by a development of non-religious tendencies.[26] This position argues that the subject of Renaissance art is religious to a larger extent and of Classical or mythological character to a smaller extent even in the High Renaissance.

As I mentioned above European art historians have not so far covered in a comprehensive manner Humanist writing on the arts. However, this does not mean that they have neglected them altogether. On the contrary, quite a number of scholars are engaged in research into their activity and influence. The present work is not essentially a study of Humanism, but rather of the role of Humanists as the pioneers of modern art history and the development of an art historical method.[27] Research aimed at defining the contribution of Humanists to the development of Renaissance art theory has also proved productive. Most of this work has been done by examining the treatises of artists with a Humanist education.[28] The art

[24] BURCKHARDT 1860. For a critique of the "pagan" interpretation of the Renaissance see: GARIN 1954.

[25] BURDACH 1926; TOFFANIN 1933.

[26] KRISTELLER 1955, pp. 74–75.

[27] KRAUTHEIMER 1904; SCHLOSSER 1922; SCHLOSSER 1927; MAROSI 1976, pp. 20 ff, 129–130.

[28] BLUNT 1959.

theory of Humanists made a great impact on—to mention only the most important —Ghiberti,[29] Filarete,[30] and last but not least, on Leonardo.[31] It scarcely needs saying that the expression of the most typical, while at the same time most original, views on Humanism, is found in treatises by Alberti. However, his position is exceptional since he was both a true Humanist and an outstanding artist.[32]

The Humanists promoted the development of Renaissance art theory mostly by their exploration of Classical Latin writings on the arts as well as on rhetoric and art theory. They aimed to impart prestige to the artists (primarily painters) by using Classical literary parallels.[33]

The other large body of literature on art history, dating from the beginning of the 20th century, has examined the works on the arts by Italian Humanist as representatives of the beginnings of art criticism.[34] Scholars have recently argued that these writings are not worth much since the Humanists simply reiterated the conventional platitudes of Antiquity.[35] Baxandall, who has examined art criticism in the works of the Humanists from Petrarch and Boccaccio to Alberti as the successors of Medieval orators has arrived at a similar conclusion: that the Humanists of the first three generations provided a background for the genuine art criticism which appeared only in later periods. He has correctly pointed out that the Humanists dealt with painting and sculpture primarily in an attempt to revive Classical culture in its completeness. From a modern point of view this activity can only be considered as art criticism to a limited degree. Their real aim was to encourage their contemporaries to follow a policy of reviving arts.[36]

Topos expressing the classical values of painting, which also appeared in the earliest works of Petrarch such as *vultus viventes, signa spirantia, vox sola deest*, etc., were only intended to call the attention of contemporaries to the necessity of imitating nature. Essentially this was an attempt to persuade the artist, the patron and the public that the imitation of nature together with *ars et ingenium*[37] will lead to the desired rebirth of classical perfection in the arts.

[29] SCHLOSSER 1912; KRAUTHEIMER 1956.

[30] ONIANS 1971, pp. 101 ff.

[31] PANOFSKY 1971.

[32] GADOL 1969.

[33] BORINSKI 1914; LEE 1940; SPENCER 1957. I think the remarks on the misinterpretation of the subject of "ut picture poesis" in the Renaissance in BORZSÁK 1975 are rather interesting.

[34] VENTURI 1917; VENTURI 1922; VENTURI 1938; DRESDNER 1915; MORISANI 1953; MURRAY 1957.

[35] GOMBRICH (Criticism) 1967, p. 3.

[36] BAXANDALL 1971, pp. 51 ff, 69, 111 ff.

[37] Classical rhetoric called *ars* the skill obtainable through practice which could be taught and learned based on rules and models. *Ingenium*, however, was a natural talent people were born with which could not be acquired. (Quintilianus, Inst. Or. II. XIV. 5; X. II. 12. (For their use in the Antiquity, the Middle Ages and in the Humanist period see: KRISTELLER 1951, p. 499; BAXANDALL 1971, pp. 15 ff; FEUER-TÓTH 1974/1; MEZEY 1977, p. 359.)

Since they are full of commonplaces it is hard to find entertaining reading in the writings on the arts by the Humanists. But that was not their purpose either. They were intended to help establish the rules to be followed in the artistic judgements of their contemporaries. Humanists who took Antiquity as an example to be followed in a virtually unchanged form were not likely to accept variety and extreme originality. They wanted to teach and not to entertain. If they had given up this disciplined attitude they might have been guilty of misleading artists or patrons of the arts who knew less of the written remains of Antiquity, and instead of the Classical example would have made their own vain ideas the centre of attention. However, the aim of the Humanists was not only the propagation of adopted Classical doctrines of poetry and rhetoric. As moral philosophers they worked out the rules that matched the social conditions of their period in order to revive the Classical type of art patronage. An early example of the Humanist advocacy of Renaissance art patronage has been pointed out by Gombrich.[38] Fraser Jenkins, taking Cosimo de' Medici as his starting point has also examined the Classical antecedents of Renaissance art patronage.[39]

The best guides to the relationship between Neoplatonist Humanism and Renaissance art are the studies of Chastel[40] as well as Wittkower's work on the theory of architecture and Neoplatonism.[41]

I have only called attention to the most significant works dealing with the writings of the Humanists on the arts. These works, and above all examination of the sources themselves lead to the conclusion that modern research has not properly considered the intensive work done by the founder of the Humanist movement, Petrarch, in order to ensure that the revival of the Classical spirit in literature would also be extended to art. He systematically studied Classical works to identify the conditions and methods which guaranteed the one-time high level of architecture, painting and sculpture. His examinations not only cover issues which now come under the heading of aesthetics but also consider all the circumstances which characterised the social and intellectual status of Roman art. In addition he tried to discover the rules of Classical art collection and art patronage. He was basically a moral philosopher and he felt it his duty to support the patrons of Classical art which was about to be revived with a variety of examples and an iconographic programme worthy of the social position and the political aims of Christian, feudal patrons of art. He summed up the results of his work in the chapters on architecture, painting and sculpture in *De remediis utriusque fortunae*.

[38] GOMBRICH 1960.

[39] FRASER JENKINS 1970, recently: WEIL-GARRIS–D'AMICO 1980.

[40] CHASTEL 1954; CHASTEL 1959.

[41] WITTKOWER 1965. The sociology of art has also intensively used the Humanist sources of the arts and thus examined relations between the Renaissance arts and Humanism. WACKERNAGEL 1938, pp. 38 ff; ANTAL 1947, p. 4; WITTKOWER 1950; HAUSER 1968, Vol. I., pp. 246 ff; WITTKOWER (Künstler) 1965.

(App. I–III.) The latter extracts are attached in full as part of the Appendix since my research into the sources has lead me to the conviction that the fundamentals of Petrarch's ideas were taken over by his Humanist successors. Furthermore, his selections from Classical texts formed the basis of the views on art we find in the writings of King Matthias' Humanists.

Each of the authors chosen, but especially Bonfini and Francesco Arrigoni, strictly followed the Humanist line based on Petrarch. The moral philosophical vein is strongest in their writings. In the *Averulinus Preface* (App. IV.) and in the epigram in *Rerum* intended as an inscription for a building (App. V.b.) Bonfini, in the spirit of the Classical *locus* selected by the father of Humanism, conveys the idea that Matthias produced his Renaissance works thanks to the virtue of *magnificentia* the cardinal virtue of the Classical patronage of the arts. These works served a moral purpose, immortalising the great deeds and ingenuity of the King. During the time Bonfini was at the Hungarian court, in the 1480s, this also meant that the subject of *magnificentia* had to be an *all' antica* art piece, that is, of the Renaissance. Thus both the patron and the Humanist, who was the compiler of the programme of the works of art, had the moral obligation that as experts, carefully studying the sources of Antiquity, they revive the technical terms of Classical painting, sculpture and architecture. The results of research into the Classics had to be made available to the patron of the arts as well as to the artist.

It was in this spirit that Bonfini as orator and grammarian translated the treatise on architecture by Filarete[42] into Latin and described the palaces, villas and gardens of King Matthias. Bonfini's descriptions show how technical terms in architecture and sculpture which he has taken over from Classical authors could be interpreted according to the original context. The use of technical terms of an appropriately revived meaning also made it possible to develop a clearer picture of certain lost ancient buildings or gardens. However, the development of the method cannot be ascribed exclusively to Bonfini. I presume that it was known before 1486–87 both in Italy and Hungary.

The critical study of ancient sources was a condition of art patronage as virtue but it was not enough to produce Renaissance works, including Renaissance buildings. This was also true of painting and sculpture influenced by early Humanism. In spite of the fact that according to Humanist rules the patrons of art should have followed the example of Alexander the Great, not only in the creation of large-scale artefacts but also (and more importantly) in his habit of honouring a unity of talent and knowledge, as highly as he honoured the ability to imitate nature in his artists, the painters and sculptors did not create Renaissance but Gothic, or so-called 'proto-Renaissance' works which in the literary sense were characterised by Classical values, the topics of *signa spirantia* and *vox sola deest*.

[42] FILARETE (ed. 1972).

Early Humanism—as has been shown by outstanding scholars—for quite a long time promoted in painting primarily the flourishing of international Gothic.[43]

Though the influence of Early Humanism on the patronage of art in Hungary is not demonstrated in Humanist documents, it is apparent in surviving artefacts and those which have been lost but are known from documents. It occurred in the age of Louis the Great (e.g., the bronze equestrian statue of St. George in the Castle of Prague made by Martin and George of Kolozsvár (Klausenburg)) and in the age of Sigismund (Masolino, Ammanatini,[44] etc.). However, we gain an impression on its influence for the first time in Bonfini's description of works commissioned by János Vitéz, the archbishop of Esztergom, which seem to suggest that the method of textual criticism described earlier was already applied by János Vitéz when working out the plan of his buildings at Esztergom.[45] He must have carefully studied the architectural terms used in the letters of Pliny the Younger and his growing understanding of them made him develop his buildings on the pattern of buildings and gardens there described. However, his work was still in Gothic style. In this way Vitéz exercised the virtue of *magnificentia* in the Petrarchan sense. He followed the example of Antiquity but in its realisation he did not insist on *prisca architectura*. In the 1460's, King Matthias, an 'active' Humanist, a good judge with a sound knowledge of Latin, was a witness of all this. A young man, open to everything, apparently followed the example of Vitéz and directed Gothic building work at Visegrád in 1470s.

In this period, it seems, the King took a step forward in Classical art patronage in the sense that, learning from his great predecessors (Louis the Great and Sigismund who were also influenced to some extent by early Humanism) he knew that as a King and possible Holy Roman Emperor he had the obligation to commission greater but, more importantly, qualitatively different works of art on the model of those of the Roman Emperors. Through Janus Pannonius and other Hungarian Humanists who had studied in Italy, and the members of various missions, he was aware that significant attempts had been made in Italy in the building of princely residences[46] and that masters who could do the job were available.

Despite all this, until the Italian Humanists (who play the main role in this study) arrived in Hungary, Matthias' patronage could not develop further, lacking the necessary information. Bandini, Arrigoni (and perhaps other Humanists whose writings have not survived) during their long stay in Hungary, in the leisure hours of the King acquainted him with the theoretical, practical and moral conditions of *all'antica* art that would match his royal *magnificentia*. However, the King did not

[43] GOMBRICH (Apollonio) 1966, p. 20; BAXANDALL 1971, p. 91.
[44] VAYER 1962, p. 289; BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 47. Note 3.
[45] PROKOPP 1975.
[46] FEUER-TÓTH 1974/2., pp. 126–127, 135. Notes 105–106.

study as a novice but must have been an equal partner in the discussions with his Italian Humanists and architectural advisers as a man of education and even scholarship, at times vary of innovation, and often loyal to his earlier convictions.

A negative phenomenon serves as evidence of the fact that in relation to the character of his own royal *magnificentia* he insisted on his earlier convictions on significant issues. Matthias did not commission a single church building: chapel, church or monastery in the Renaissance style. He must have developed this attitude in his youth, under the influence of Vitéz, who following Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) must have reached the conclusion that a Gothic church was appropriate for a Christian *dominus*. It is widely known that in Pienza, the ideal town of the Humanist Pope, while he had his palace built in the most Renaissance style possible, he also insisted that the Cathedral standing beside it should follow the example of Gothic churches in Austria.[47] The decoration of the buildings had already been examined by Piccolomini and *all'antica* ornament was not excluded from the sphere of Christian *decorum* either by him or by King Matthias. It would require too long an explanation here to show that this decision by Matthias not only defined to a great extent the characteristic features of Hungarian Renaissance architecture but it partly explains, too, the long survival of the Gothic in Hungary.

However, this did not mean that the King rejected the views on art of Neoplatonic Humanism. On the contrary, it was by this route that he became a genuine Renaissance patron of art. I am inclined to argue that the artistic views of Neoplatonic Humanism were most effectively transmitted to Hungary by Francesco Bandini. His views on art which I have selected from his letter from Naples (App. IX.) must have been expressed at Matthias' court. He must therefore have played an important role in transmitting to Hungary not only Neoplatonic literature and philosophy but the opinions on the arts of his master and friend Marsilio Ficino. It appears that Bandini disseminated those of Ficino's Neoplatonic views on art which assessed in a concise manner the developments made by the artists of the Quattrocento and particularly the authors of treatises on art starting with the first half of the 15th century.[48] It was as a result of this that the tenets of

[47] Enea Silvio Piccolomini on the building of his own church in "Commentarii": "Tres (ut aiunt) naves aedem perficiunt, media latior est, altitudo omnium par: ita Pius jusserat, qui exemplum apud Germanos in Austria vidisset." Quoted by HEYDENREICH 1937, p. 110.

[48] Because of our concentration on the Humanists the professional treatises and an evaluation of the results achieved by the Renaissance artists were undeservedly left out from this study. The artists, although, at the beginning of the influence of the Humanists not only explored the literally assessable lessons of Antique sources but extended their research on the areas of mathematics, Medieval "Quadrivium" and medical sciences. Starting out from all this they established the "true" Renaissance arts, an area where the competence of the Humanists failed to or hardly reached. With the discovery and the rediscovery of the science of perspective, proportions and anatomy they outstripped Antiquity. (BOSKOVITS 1962–1963; GOMBRICH (Revival) 1967.) They learned of the forms of the Antiquity by studying the available Classical monuments (POGÁNY-BALÁS 1980).

Neoplatonism, reinforced the intellectual status of architects, sculptors and painters and acknowledged a prestige greater than theirs in the field of the *quadrivium*, views which King Matthias must also have respected, since, being a military leader, he was familiar with each branch of the *quadrivium*. Bandini's influence appears to be reflected in the fact that in the court of King Matthias complex issues of architectural proportions also emerged during the conversations and readings attended by the King, his Humanists, and his respected Italian architects.

The most important impact of Neoplatonic Humanism on Renaissance art was message that the common source of architecture, sculpture and painting, the *disegno* was identical with the Platonic idea adapted to the arts. As its result a work of art becomes the replica of divine creative activity.[49] This latter view could not have reached Hungary before the death of King Matthias, since its influence in Italy itself appeared in the works of Michelangelo and Raphael in the early 16th century.

I consider the most important result of my study that it reveals the fact that under the influence of the powerful personality of Matthias disciplined research into Classical sources and the moral vein of early Humanism were united with liberal Neoplatonic views of art. The result was that the views of the King and his Humanists were realised by his artists, who received a humanistic education, in palaces, villas and gardens. These were considerable contributions to Renaissance architecture, in some cases also forming a basis for 16th century development in Italy.

Since I have concentrated principally upon the sources and their authors I have included in this study (for example the discussion of the Justus van Gent painting portraying Bonfini, and that of Bandini's letter from Vác) which strictly speaking only appears peripheral to the relationship between Humanism and the arts. For the same reason I have not included either discussion of King Matthias' famous projected architectural work, the buildings intended for instructing in *artes liberales*, following the model of the House of Virtues and Sins by Filarete, or examination of Humanist sources certainly used in the course of its design.[50]

I hope that despite the fact that my work discusses only a few issues of the extensive relationship between Humanism and the arts in Matthias' age, the detailed examination of Humanist writings may contribute to a more precise picture of the character of the mostly destroyed or lost works of Matthias Corvinus and the Humanist sources of their designs.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Professor J. R. Spencer who provided me with the unpublished copy of the Francesco Arrigoni letter, which he discovered, and made it possible for me to publish it in full.

[49] MAROSI 1976, p. 25; BÁN 1970, p. 15.
[50] FEUER-TÓTH 1973.

Chapter I

THE ITALIAN BACKGROUND

1. PETRARCH'S *HUMANITAS* AND HIS NEW IDEAS ON HISTORY

I am convinced that the development of the general attitude of the Humanists concerning the arts is above all reflected in the views of Petrarch and Boccaccio. I shall, therefore, attempt, primarily discussing Petrarch, not only to understand how Humanism developed as an intellectual movement but also how and when the Humanists come to be interested in the arts.

There is evidence about Petrarch's interest in the arts when in early youth, he stayed in France. He went there at the age of 7 (in 1311) in the company of his father who had been exiled there from Arezzo. The family settled in Carpentras, near Avignon. He early on became familiar with life at the Papal Court of Avignon including the artists there. Simone Martini became a close friend. This interest and friendship are expressed in poems written at the end of the 1330s, in which he compares his friend to the great artists of Antiquity.[51]

However, his interest in the arts was shown not so much in his poems but rather in his Latin writings. Today these—in contrast with his poetry—only receive limited interest. However, they had a major impact on period of the 14th–15th centuries. His Humanist successors knew and respected his Latin works more than his vernacular poems.

These works also give evidence of the fact that Petrarch's interest was mainly in literary references to lost works of art of the period of the Roman Republic. His interest in this period was already aroused between 1312–16 by Convenevole da Prato, his teacher, who expressed in poems his sorrow over the decay of a Rome that had also been abandoned by Popes. In these poems Rome often appeared allegorically as a figure in deep mourning who, rending her bosom, nostalgically recalled the spirit of Brutus, Horatius Cocles, the Fabiuses and Scipios.[52] Petrarch and his teacher, as educated members of the Italian communes in exile made it

[51] BERGIN 1970, p. 38; ESSLING-MÜNTZ 1902, Chapter I; MAROSI 1969, pp. 249–250. On Petrarch's artistic interests in a concise way, with literature: BAXANDALL 1971, p. 52, Note 2.

[52] ESSLING-MÜNTZ 1902, Vol. I., pp. 1–2.

understood that the ideological bases of early bourgeois society was not to be found in the ruling scholastic and religious philosophy but in the moral philosophy of the Roman Republic, and its secular social views. This is why young Petrarch was enchanted by the works of Cicero, Livy and Valerius Maximus.[53] He was a particular admirer of Cicero's works in which he had found those healthier rules[54] of life which he missed in Medieval scholastic contexts. He found the Classical idea of *humanitas* in Cicero's *De oratore*.[55] For Petrarch this stood for an education with whose help the state of barbarity and savagery *(feritas)* could be overcome.[56] This idea was of *humanitas* as a kind of education suitable for the training of orators, implicitly the education of the *bonus civis*. This notion is of Greek origin; the Romans translated *paideia*[57] into Latin as *humanitas*. For the Greeks it meant a condition of being educated which creates a man of full value. This interpretation of *humanitas* was neglected in the Middle Ages[58] just as the idea of *paideia* the Greek educational system waned at the same time.[59] Petrarch and his Humanist successors wanted to change an age judged by them to be wild and barbarous through a revival of the idea of *humanitas* and Classical education. The most important studies of *humanitas* were Latin and later Greek grammar and rhetoric which in the course of the development of Renaissance Humanism had further disciplines added to them.

Studies promoting *humanitas* were only named *studia humanitatis* in the early 15th century, and the idea of their revival following the Classical example was attributed to Petrarch by Poggio Bracciolini. He wrote in 1405–6 that the Father of Humanism had restored the already dead *studia humanitatis* and opened up the road to study. *(...quem ad modum discere possumus viam aperuit.)*[60]

The other source of the term Humanist (in Italian *umanista*) also dates back to the 15th century. In Italy university teachers of *studia humanitatis* were originally called that early on only in the jargon of students and by the 16th century in the official language.[61]

An Italian source of the 15th century shows that *studia humanitatis* included a clear group of scientific disciplines. This is referred to by a library canon prepared for Cosimo de' Medici which after the enumeration of theological, mathematical and natural-philosophy books notes that grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry and

[53] ULLMAN 1955, p. 21.

[54] RÜEGG 1946, pp. 33–34.

[55] "Omnium ceterarum rerum oratio, mihi crede ludus est homini non hebeti, neque inexercitato nec communium litterarum et politioris *humanitatis* experti." Cicero, De or. II. 17. 72. See: ENC.BRIT, 1974, Vol. 8, p. 1180, "Humanitas".

[56] PAPARELLI 1973, p. 5.

[57] SZILÁGYI 1974, Vol. II., p. 725.

[58] DU CANGE 1844, Vol. III., p. 728.

[59] MEZEY 1979, p. 12.

[60] Le vite di Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio. Ed. Solerti. Milano, 1904, p. 307.

[61] CAMPANA 1946, pp. 60–73, see: KRISTELLER 1955, p. 9.

moral philosophy are part of the *studia humanitatis*.[62] It is quite difficult to determine when the *studia humanitatis* in the form of the extended *curriculum* of the Medieval trivium *(grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica)* was first taught at Italian universities. Certain elements, for example, *eloquentia* and *poetica*, were already taught in 1321 at Bologna University, for example, and it can also be shown that already at that time great emphasis was laid on teaching Latin authors.[63] Here we face a fact we frequently come across in studying the relationship of the Humanist movement to the arts. Important stages of the movement emerged in real life much earlier than the terms or doctrines expressing their essence. That is why it is possible that in a wider sense we can speak of the beginnings of the Humanist movement as early as the beginning of the 14th century despite the fact that words proving its existence in documents such as *studia humanitatis* or *umanista* only appear in the 15th century.

In Petrarch's life the great moment that led to the—far from intentional—foundation of the Humanist movement came in 1337. This is when, for the first time in his life, he went to Rome and seeing its ruins he sensed the striking differences between present degeneration and past glory.

"...overwhelmed as I am by the wonder of so many things and by the greatness of my astonishment... In truth Rome was greater, and greater are its ruins than I imagined. I no longer wonder that the whole world was conquered by this city but that was conquered so late"—he wrote to Cardinal Colonna.[64] *("...miraculo rerum tantarum et stuporis mole obrutus... Vere maior fuit Roma, maioresque sunt relique quam rebar. Iam non orbem ab hac urbe domitum, sed tam sero domitum miror.")*

All these impressions persuaded Petrarch that, thinking as a Humanist, he should distinguish between Roman Antiquity, period of glory and light, and the dark ages, the Middle Ages in decline.[65] It is difficult for us to feel the importance of this reform of periodization since it is unimaginable today that medieval man thinking of the Holy Roman Empire as the successor of the Roman Empire, should live in the conviction of unbroken historical continuity, sensing no break between his age and Antiquity.[66] Petrarch expressed his changed idea of history in 1338, in a Latin poem, *Africa*, written soon after his stay in Rome. In it, for the first time in the history of Humanism, he mentioned the idea of a Classical rebirth and Renaissance. He realised that though the darkness of the Middle Ages could not

[62] "... de studiis autem humanitatis quantum ad grammaticam, rhetoricam, historicam et poeticam spectat ac moralem.", published by KRISTELLER (Humanism) 1956, p. 573, Note 58.

[63] KRISTELLER 1965, pp. 24–25.

[64] Petrarch, Fam. II., 14.

[65] MOMMSEN 1942, p. 240; PANOFSKY 1960, p. 11.

[66] WEISS 1973, p. 3.

be dispelled overnight, slumbering oblivion could not last forever either and the grandchildren would presently return to the clear light of the past.[67]

Petrarch saw the instrument of return in the development of *humanitas* in the Classical sense of education as primarily the study of Latin and Greek literature, poetry, history and moral philosophy. Since he and his successors were literary men, orators and poets, they concentrated on the purification of Latin diction and grammar that had declined in the dark ages, the source-criticism of Classical texts and the search for ancient manuscripts. However, Petrarch, as we shall see later, was also aware that through the spread of the *studia humanitatis* and the growth of the Renaissance, not only literature but other areas of culture neglected in the Middle Ages would come to light. The wide-ranging intensive Classical source-criticism, aimed at overcoming the neglect of the Middle Ages, which was consistently carried out not only by Petrarch but also by his Humanist successors placed tools in the hands of their contemporaries which they could make use of in other fields of education and its influence, an increasing number of non-literary men became familiar with the *studia humanitatis* mainly in the form of knowledge of Latin and Greek. All this helped the artists and astronomers of the 15th century,[68] and with the spread of Neoplatonism the philosophers, theologians as well as the natural scientists, and so on, do scholarly work in their own fields. Their knowledge of the Classical literature was applied to their studies.[69]

There is every indication that the questions of renascence in the arts soon became the centre of interest of the Humanists.

[67] Petrarch, Africa, IX. 453 ff.

"At tibi fortassis, si—quid mens sperat et optat
Et post me victura diu, meliora supersunt
Secula: non omnes veniet Lethaeus in annos
Iste sopor! Poterunt discussis forte tenebris
Ad purum priscumque iubar remeare nepotes."

[68] A Renaissance boom in astronomy began because in 1460 Bessarion suggested to Peuerbach to study mathematics and astronomy beginning with a critical reading of pure Greek texts: HAMANN 1977, p. 29 and KLANICZAY 1974, pp. 8 ff.

[69] KRISTELLER 1955, pp. 19 ff.

2. PETRARCH AND BOCCACCIO ON THE REVIVAL OF THE ARTS FOLLOWING THE CLASSICAL MODEL

Panofsky has called attention to the fact that among the Humanists Boccaccio was the first to speak of 'renaissance' when discussing art, or, more precisely, the painter Giotto. In this way Boccaccio integrated Petrarch's ideas of history with the Florentine intellectual tradition, whose greatest authority, Dante, has shown that the poets and the painters—as in Antiquity—could be classified in one category in terms of their entitlement to artistic fame (although from a moral, Christian aspect *fama* was a doubtful notion).[70]

Boccaccio's position was very likely influenced by the fact that after several years' long correspondence he met Petrarch in Florence in 1350–51 where they spent several months together.[71] No account of their conversations has survived but there is no doubt that these two founding fathers of Humanism had to undergo the shock of recognition that, at a distance of several hundred kilometres, motivated by an altogether different background, they had arrived at similar views on art. This is suggested by the fact that in the *Decameron*—which he was still writing when he met Petrarch—Boccaccio included an anecdote on Giotto as the vehicle for his ideas of a revival of the arts. He argues that thanks to his divine *ingenium*, talent and ability to imitate nature, Giotto "wherefore, he having brought back to light thus art, which had for many an age lain buried under the errors of certain folk, who painted more to divert the eyes of the ignorant than to please the understanding of the judicious..."

(E per ciò, avendo egli quell'arte ritornata in luce, che molti secoli sotto gli error d'alcuni, che più a dilettar gli occhi degl'ignoranti che a compiacere allo'nteletto de' savi dipignendo, era stata sepulta,...)[72]

The influence of Petrarch's ideas on history in the above text are clearly reflected in the references to *lux* and having been buried in the dark *(sepulta)*.

[70] Dante, Purg. XI., 91–92. Quoted by PANOFSKY 1960, pp. 11–12. On the significance of the same excerpt in history of art: MAROSI 1976, pp. 21–22.

[71] BOKOR 1909, p. XLVI.

[72] Boccaccio, Decameron, 6th day; 5th short story. MAROSI 1969, p. 242.

However, the view that a decline of the arts in the Middle Ages is explained by Boccaccio by saying that the painters wanted to delight the eyes of the ignorant rather than those of the connoisseurs expresses an opinion rooted much deeper in the Tuscan intellectual tradition.

Around 1282 Ristoro d'Arezzo reported that seeing the painted ancient pottery found in the vicinity of Arezzo, his native town, the connoisseurs *(cognosceti)* were beside themselves with delight while the laymen did not notice anything extraordinary in them and in their stupidity they broke and threw away the potsherds.[73] All this shows that in the Florentine, Tuscan milieu an appreciation of the aesthetic value of local antiquities had already emerged in the 13th century, although such artistic views were in sharp contradiction with the ideas of art of their age influenced by religion. The notion that paintings and decorations in the churches were to serve the education of illiterates who at least by looking at the walls should read what they could not in the MSS was generally held in the 13th century.

Petrarch who was not brought up in an atmosphere of Tuscan patriotism but was a Roman nationalist; in art as well, was closer to the moralising *bonus civis* of Republican Rome than to the supporters of *delectatio*. For him the issue of reviving the arts following the Classical model emerged primarily as a sensitive subject with moral implications.

Unlike Boccaccio, who apart from a few brief, but very significant remarks[74] did not say much about art in his works, Petrarch engaged in thorough studies in order to familiarise himself with the Classical art he thought worthy of revival.

In 1351, that is, in the year he met Boccaccio, he bought Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* and as shown by his glosses in the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris[75] he carefully studied the 34th–36th books on the arts of the great Classical encyclopedia of the natural sciences. The result of his artistic studies was his Latin work *De remediis utriusque fortunae*[76] written between 1354–1360. This being a treatise on moral philosophy, it is clear that he here examined the arts primarily from such a viewpoint.

Scholars generally agree that this was the most important and most widely read work by Petrarch in prose. It was published in 1366,[77] and translated into Italian in 1409. Later printings and translations strongly contributed to the development of Humanist culture in Italy and elsewhere in the 15th–16th centuries.[78]

[73] SCHLOSSER 1941, p. 143.

[74] In addition to the Decameron passage quoted Boccaccio also discusses painting in his Dante-commentary. (Il Comento alla Divina Comedia. Ed.: D. Guerri. III. Bari, 1918, p. 82. Inferno XI. 101–105. Quoted by BAXANDALL 1971, p. 66.)

[75] Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Ms. lat. 6802. On annotations: NOLHAC 1965, Vol. II., p. 74.

[76] Petrarch, De remediis utriusque fortunae. Basileae, 1554, pp. 42–52.

[77] FISKE 1887, p. 2.

[78] MANN 1972, pp. 78–79.

The essence of the moral philosophical work is that only virtue (and above all *Temperantia*) has efficiency against the different aspects of good and bad fortune.[79] The work was translated into Hungarian by Pál László in Kassa in 1720 under the following title: *Nagy emlékezetű Petrarcha Ferenznek A' jó és gonosz szerencsének orvoslásáról írott két könyvecskéje.* (Two booklets on the Remedy of Good and Bad Fortune by Francis Petrarch of Great Fame.) The translation only went as far as the 30th dialogue, and so we cannot enjoy dialogues 34–42 on the arts in this delightful Hungarian translation. Art historians have long been aware that the dialogues on painting and sculpture (App. II–III.) were the most detailed writings on the arts in the 14th century.[80] Baxandall who studied these writings of Petrarch comprehensively said of these that the Father of Humanism "established them as the basis for humanist discussion of painting and sculpture".[81] To the best of my knowledge the 34th dialogue which describes "The *magnificentia* of buildings" (App. I.) has so far failed to attract the attention of the historians of architecture.

The whole of the work consists of dialogues. Conversation seems an exaggerated expression since one of the parties: Gaudium only briefly expresses his joy that—as the manifestation of good fortune—he takes his true delight in various kinds of works of art. His opponent, Ratio, expounds in detail which of the joys of Classical artistic creation, art theory and the patronage of the arts he considers to be acceptable, and also his moral objections to exaggerations.

The definition of Gaudium's character is helped by Ratio's arguments. He can be identified as an educated Roman citizen, but also as the sort of Tuscan proto-Renaissance connoisseur described by Ristoro d'Arezzo, who seeing the Antique vase-paintings found themselves in ecstasy even presuming that the makers of Classical paintings were like gods.[82]

Boccaccio's glorification of Giotto did not really differ from the enthusiasm of such predecessors. Therefore one can presume that the debate between Gaudium and Ratio must have been very lively conversations on art between Petrarch and Boccaccio. Ratio represents the opinions of Petrarch who looks at the art of Antiquity he wishes to revive from his own characteristic point of view based on Augustinian and Ciceronian morality. In the Ciceronian spirit Petrarch could not possibly accept that a connoisseur would not feel the joys produced by art with dignity and moderation but would find himself in a state of ecstasy when seeing a work of art. According to Cicero such unrestrained worship of the arts could easily degenerate. Overzealous art collectors and connoisseurs could easily turn into men like Verres who as *quaestor* in Sicily looted and extorted works of art, sculptures and paintings from owners who were at his mercy.[83] Verres' devotion to the arts

[79] HEITMANN 1958, p. 201.
[80] VENTURI 1922, pp. 238–244.
[81] BAXANDALL 1971, p. 58.
[82] SCHLOSSER 1941, p. 143.
[83] Cicero, In Verr. IV. XXX–XXXVII.

became a *furor*, or *morbus*, a frantic fury. Like Cicero, Petrarch was afraid that Gaudium's seemingly innocent delight could easily degenerate like that of Verres who started with delight but whose unlimited *delectatio* turned into abuse. On this issue Petrarch agreed with Cicero and his position was supported by great Classical authorities. One of the main sources of Renaissance aesthetics, Horace's *Ars poetica*, refers to moral restraint in relation to *delectatio:* the one who causes delight must also teach.[84]

When Petrarch approaches this same issue in terms of the doctrines of Saint Augustine then even the right of existence of *delectatio* in works of art becomes questionable. This is also expressed in the words of Ratio (Petrarch), in the dialogue on painting (App. II.), where reacting to Gaudium's modest remark that *Pictis tabulis delector unice* he states in a detailed and coherent manner that in paintings the different manifestations of skill, variety and the imitation of nature are truly worthy of attracting the attention of connoisseurs. Despite this—as against Boccaccio and the Tuscan connoisseurs—he considers it dangerous that all this should be appreciated only by the educated, that simple, uneducated people should just walk by after a brief look. He refers to Saint Augustine who would rather be despised by grammarians than not be understood by the common people *(vulgus)*.[85] Later, in the same section, again in the spirit of Saint Augustine he cautions Gaudium. He suggests than instead of letting his attention be distracted from contemplation[86] of these elevated things by fictive[87] objects painted with colours of no value, he should rather look towards God who has painted emotions on human faces, stars on the sky and flowers on the earth, and should despise the *artifex* whom he admires so much. (App. II.) One may suspect that these and similar arguments in these dialogues were presented on behalf of Saint Augustine but that Petrarch did not fully agree with them. His famous confession, *Secretum*, written in the form of a dialogue with Saint Augustine, also shows that on matters concerning the essence of the Renaissance he did not yield to otherwise unconditionally respected religious authority. In judging the justification of the fame of the poet (artist) and on other artistic questions he insisted on his own position though with an uneasy conscience.[88]

The fact that over and above aesthetic issues the revival of the arts posed several moral questions was fully dealt with by Petrarch. He was convinced that the new movement had to establish not only the right conditions for art but also for a patronage which the progress of *all'antica* arts could not do without. For this the appropriate Classical examples had to be explored. Petrarch-Ratio does this in the

[84] Horace, Ars poetica, 333–339, 341–343.

[85] BAXANDALL 1971, p. 59.

[86] Augustinus, Conf. VIII. 15.

[87] On Saint Augustine's Aesthetics, see: MAROSI 1976, p. 17.

[88] Petrarch, Secretum, III. (ed. Carrara, p. 136.) József Takács was kind enough to call my attention to the significance of "Secretum" for my work.

dialogues on art. Petrarch collected sporadic references in the *Natural History* by Pliny the Elder and reformulated them in brief, characteristic sentences which were then quoted by his Humanist successors.

Thus a major part of the most important basic propositions of Classical art theory, the imitation of nature and the depiction of reality, are included in Petrarch's dialogue on painting. The *exanguium vivi gestus* (the lively movements of lifeless figures), the *immobilium motus imaginum* (the illusion of movements of motionless figures), the *vultuum spirantium liniamenta* (the living features), etc. were all commonplaces which continued to be used since they expressed in a figurative way that the imitation of nature was to be implemented as part of the reform of art on the model of Antiquity. (App. II.) If a Humanist wanted to express his opinion on an artist or on a work of art he had to use one of the forms introduced by Petrarch even as late as the 15th century.[89]

It was he again who called attention to the fact that the intellectual status of the artist in Antiquity—at least according to Pliny[90]—was much closer to that implied by the notion of *artes liberales* than was true of his own age and its artists. Reviving the intellectual and social status of the artist following the model of Antiquity must have affected Petrarch deeply since his main sphere of interest, poetry, found as little room in the *artes liberales* of sholastic classification[91] as painting. The Father of Humanism was convinced that poet and painter enjoyed a high status in Roman Antiquity by no less an author than Horace according to whom: "Painters and poets, you say, have always had an equal right in hazarding anything" *(pictoribus atque poetis, quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas)*.[92]

The other important consequence of the study of Pliny was that in reviewing the history of the arts of Antiquity Petrarch came to the conclusion that the dignity of arts and the fame of the artist in the period "to be revived" was so great that in could not stem from a minor root: *Non fit de nihilo magnum, esse vel videri opportet, de quo serio magni tractant*—says Ratio in the dialogue on sculpture, and this fame was not only disseminated by the works themselves but also by writers thanks to the circulation of their writings. (App. III.) Here Petrarch not only had Pliny in mind but also Varro and other famous writers *(scriptor)* who are referred to so often in *Natural History*.[93] This sentence by Petrarch was a direct call to the writers of his age. If the ancient authors wrote about works of art then their Renaissance successors should also feel it their responsibility to spread the fame of the artists of their time.

[89] Bartolomeo Fazio, De viris illustribus. De sculptoribus. Published by BAXANDALL 1971, pp. 167–168.

[90] Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist., XXXV., 19–21; XXXV., 25.

[91] KRISTELLER 1951, pp. 507–508; KLANICZAY (Mannerism) 1975, pp. 20–21.

[92] Horace, Ars poetica, pp. 9–10.

[93] Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist., XXXIV., 57; XXXVI., 39.

Another important result of Petrarch's Classical research was the recognition that although painting and sculpture should be considered as different crafts they stem from the same source, drawing *(unus... fons artium graphidem dico)*. (App. III.) This preceded Vasari, who traced the relationship between painting, sculpture and architecture on the basis of design *(disegno)*, through nearly two hundred years.[94] The importance of Petrarch's statement is difficult to assess today. However, in the 14th century when painting and sculpture were considered as distinct both by scholastic classification and in the arrangement of guilds the view that they were connected to a greater extent than other crafts was of great importance. In this way Petrarch took the first step on a long journey that lasted for several centuries in the progress of the notion of an autonomous art.[95]

Petrarch considered a revival of the Classical type of art patronage and collection to be at least as important as that of the arts. Above all he wanted to call the attention of the princes and kings of his age to the fact that the greatest kings and emperors in ancient Rome spent huge sums of money in bringing paintings to Rome from overseas, keeping them in appropriate places, such as the temples of gods, the palaces of emperors, along roads and porticos.[96] (App. II.) Augustus, Vespasian and other emperors studied, ordered, collected, guarded and dedicated statues, as did other famous Romans of minor rank.[97] (App. III.)

On the subject of art patronage Petrarch-Ratio not only takes over various facts from Pliny the Elder but also his moral views concerning the arts. Use of valuable materials, threatened lavishness and luxury which according to Pliny was only established in the late Republican age.[98] Before then the statues of gods were made of wood or clay. In the dialogue on sculpture Ratio warns Gaudium that in works of art he should not consider the value of the material but the *ingenium*, the talent and skills *(artificium)* of the artist. He appears to rely on another remark by Pliny the Elder who in describing Roman clay reliefs, notes that they are "remarkable for their carving and artistic merit and intrinsic durability, more deserving of respect than gold, and certainly less baneful". *(mira caelatura et arte suique firmitate, sanctiora auro certe innocentiora.)*[99]

Petrarch-Ratio warns his contemporaries that the subject on the future work of art should not serve the delight of the eye but virtue. Just as was done at the time of the Roman Republic, statues should be raised to those who did great deeds, sacrificed their lives for the Republic or saved the country, men like Scipio Africanus. (App. III.)

[94] VASARI (ed. Milanesi) Vol. I., p. 168. Contrary to earlier Humanists Vasari takes a significant step forward by identifying *disegno* with Plato's *idea*. See: TOLNAY 1972, p. 6; MAROSI 1976, pp. 25–26.

[95] KRISTELLER 1951; MAROSI 1976, pp. 43 ff.

[96] Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist., XXXV., 52, 70, 83, 94, 108, 126.

[97] Ibidem, XXXIV., 57–58, XXXV., 91; XXXIII., 155, XXXIV., 38, XXXVI., 23, 27.

[98] Ibidem, XXXIV., 34.

[99] Ibidem, XXXV., 158.

The subject of a work of art is especially important to the Father of Humanism since he had to take the risk of confrontation with the religious public opinion of his own time when he encouraged any profane works of art after the Classical example. He tried to prevent possible attack by the religious by a strict adherence to Roman Republican ethics. This is why he insists that works of art with a profane subject should be symbols of virtue *(insignia virtutum)*. He only considered as totally acceptable sacred works of art. He had his reservations concerning those of a profane subject. *Delectari quoque sacris imaginibus, quae spectantes beneficii coelestis admoneant, pium saepe, excitandisque animis utile, prophanae autem et si interdum moveant, atque erigant ad virtutem, dum tepentes animi rerum nobilium memoria recalescunt, amandae tamen aut colendae aequo amplius non sunt, ne aut stultitae testes, aut avaritiae ministrae, aut fidei sint rebelles, ac religioni verae et praecepto illi famosissimo: Custodite vos a simulachris.* (App. III.)

Petrarch's views on the arts might have seemed too strict in Italy in the 15th–16th centuries. And yet the moral examples he gave were not without their effect. In defence of the patrons of arts the Humanists created a whole literature of apologetics which, undoubtedly, bore in mind the warnings of Petrarch. It had all the more reason to do since Petrarch's ideas like Pliny's, his major Classical source, relied on the passages on *megaloprepeia* (*magnificentia* in Latin) in the sole work of Antiquity which contained a comprehensive theory of art patronage, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.[100] I shall return to this issue later.

I have thought it necessary to discuss Petrarch's views on art in such detail since writings of his Humanist successors do not so clearly reflect that typical attitude which greatly influenced their opinions.

We can often find Petrarch's views on art patronage in writings by Italian Humanists in Hungary. This indicates that they were aware that the Renaissance, taking the first steps toward reviving the arts in religious surroundings, recommended bearing in mind the moral precepts of Classical art patronage. Writings by Bonfini and others contain many moral apologetics defending King Matthias' art patronage in the Classical spirit. Problems relating to artists or the arts—always allowing for a few exceptions—do not even emerge. Italian artists who came to Hungary at the invitation of King Matthias were familiar with Classical theories of art thanks to Italian writings. They were no longer members of the pioneering generation which wanted to bring the ancient arts to light. The problems of Brunelleschi, Michelozzo, Ghiberti did not occupy them any longer. The Renaissance had already left behind its infancy. The Italian artists in Hungary only depended on the Humanists in defining the iconography of works of art and in creating an architectural idiom that suited King Matthias.

There was all the more need to keep Humanists informed of the Classical and Italian position regarding art patronage. If Boccaccio could say in Italy that Giotto had brought to light arts that were already buried then in Hungary Bonfini could

[100] Aristotle, Et. Nich. IV. 1122 a–b.

rightly say that it was King Matthias who brought Classical architecture to light. *Priscam architecturam in lucem revocasti*—he wrote to the King in the preface to the Averulinus MS. (App. IV.) The adaption of the old formula referring to the artist, in order to fit the patron of the arts precisely expressed that Bonfini could in no way, in relation to the Hungarian reception of the Renaissance, speak of artists in Hungary as those who achieved the 'bringing to light'. The Hungarian Renaissance was born out of a Royal wish and it was inevitable that in its initial stage it would be a courtly art.

In the last third of the 15th century King Matthias was not in a position as yet to import the Renaissance from Italy using his own subjects. It would have been absurd to send his Gothic architects and stone carvers to Italy with the aim of studying there the theory and practice of the new art from Italians who jealously guarded the secrets of their craft. King Matthias chose the sole possible solution when he engaged artists from Italy who, using local materials and local labour, as well as adapting to the King's demands and Hungarian conditions, raised Renaissance buildings and decorated them.[101]

There was also a need for the presence of Italian Humanists who were in the best position to know how open to attack the expensive employment of foreign artists was by Classical art patronage ethics. Bonfini reports that the King and particularly the Queen were heavily attacked because of their senseless extravagance. (App. V.b.) In Hungary the scholastic religious atmosphere, an earlier ascetic Humanist tradition and political opponents criticised works hardly differing in luxury from those of the Roman Emperors *(haud parum a Romano luxu differentia)* (App. V.b.) that served only to enhance Matthias' personal glory. Even in size they differed from the János Vitéz-type of art patronage which expressed itself in book collection, the organization of university education in Hungary and support for Gothic building.

It was therefore up to the Humanists at the Hungarian Court to provide apologies preventing such attacks, in works which at first sight today might appear to be flattery. Bonfini was motivated by the same intention when he put on paper that the *magnificentia* of the King expressed in the buildings not only surpassed his great Roman predecessors but even "brought to light" the architecture of Antiquity. (App. IV.) If we translate *magnificentia* as magnificence then this sentence would appear to be mere flattery. The situation is quite different if we examine magnificentia as a moral category which is part of Classical virtue.

[101] FEUER-TÓTH 1977/2., pp. 12, 14 ff; FEUER-TÓTH 1981, pp. 12 ff.

3. THE ROLE OF HUMANISTS IN RENAISSANCE ART PATRONAGE

For Renaissance art patronage the most important Classical source is the study of *magnificentia* as virtue in Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics.*[102] Since without some knowledge of it complex "rules" of Renaissance art patronage are impossible to understand, it seems necessary to review briefly the essentials of Aristotelian virtue.

In the *Nichomachean Ethics*[103] Aristotle discusses *megaloprepeia* in association with the making of generous contributions to charity (in Latin: *liberalitas*). The two virtues are similar, the difference between them being that the sums involved are smaller in the case of *liberalitas*. To be more exact, a magnificent person who makes sacrifices is at the same time generous but a generous person need not be magnificent.

Concerning both virtues Aristotle lists the rules which regulate a gift by a rich and person of high status, irrespective of whether the gift is for public or private purposes. The virtue of magnificence refers to all major public donations (festivities, weddings, the navy, setting up a chorus, etc.). Works of art in the contemporary sense, such as votive or other gifts, or as constructions of temples and other buildings, are all within the scope of this virtue.

Broken up into its elements *megaloprepeia* does not mean magnificence but befitting great things. The Latin authors translated the second part of this word which is *prepon* as decorum:[104] "nothing is more difficult, than to see, what is fit: this is called *prepon* by the Greeks, but we call it *decorum.*"[105] *(nihil est difficilius quam quid deceat videre: πρέπον appellant hoc Graeci, nos dicamus sane decorum.)*

However, the essence of *megaloprepeia* can only be properly expressed in a more extensive way than in the above brief, literal translation. It refers to the moral

[102] FRASER JENKINS 1970, p. 166.

[103] Aristotle, Et. Nich., IV. 1122 a–b.

[104] POHLENZ 1965, p. 107, Note 2. My gratitude to Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay for calling my attention to this work.

[105] Cicero, Or., 70.

excellence (virtue) of a wealthy man of high status who knows how to give large sums of money for the creation of certain major works. Large donations matching the greatness of the work are carried out in a manner befitting, in the case of works of art, the patron of arts, if the sum is in keeping with his wealth, social position and his duties. But the work itself must in its aims and execution be adjusted to the circumstances of the patron of arts. Objects created in the spirit of *megaloprepeia* have to be works of art and not common objects of wealth, such as for instance gold; and the aim of the work of art must serve moral beauty.

The Aristotelian *megaloprepeia* was translated into Latin by the Romans as *magnificentia*. This inaccurate translation meant that *prepon* (that is *decorum*) was left out of the meaning. This was recognised by the 15th century Humanist Francesco Filelfo in 1434, since he was familiar with the original Greek text. He, therefore, suggested that instead of *magnificentia, magnidecentia* should be used.[106] Though this was certainly a good idea, it did not take root. *Megaloprepeia* even in the Renaissance period became widely known in the form *magnificentia* (*magnum facere:* to do something great, to create great works). It was only one more step to use *magnificus* as a title and form of address for wealthy men of high status. In everyday life in the 15th century *magnificus* did not always mean the practitioner of philosophic virtues.

Cicero, a moral philosopher in the Aristotelian spirit, expounded the virtue of *magnificentia* and associated errors in connection with architecture[107] as a kind of art which involves relatively large costs. Cicero, Seneca and Pliny the Elder, who was most closely concerned with the arts, worked out a position on *magnificentia* that was less liberal than Aristotle's. In keeping with Roman Republican ideas calling on the "economy of the ancestors" they limited the amount of money to be spent on art in principle and more emphatically condemned waste and luxury. I shall return to this subject later.

Vitruvius' interpretation of *magnificentia* did not fully correspond to that of Cicero since he mainly worked from Greek sources. In this field his views were much closer to those of Aristotle.[108]

The Christian Middle Ages and early Humanism were familiar with the *Nichomachean Ethics* only in an abridged Latin translation. The well known Latin Medieval manuscripts, *Liber Ethicorum* by Grosseteste[109] and Buridan's commentary[110] had many gaps and were, by Humanist standards, in pretty poor Latin.

[106] Francesco Filelfo: Convivia Mediolanensia. 1537, pp. 78 ff. See: FRASER JENKINS 1970, p. 166.

[107] Cicero, De off. I., 39.

[108] Vitruvius, De arch., VI., 8; VI., 5. 1.

[109] Aristoteles latinus, XXVI., 1–3. Ethica Nichomachea. Translatio Roberti Grossetesti Lincolniensis sive "Liber ethicorum". Recensio Pura edidit R. A. Gauthier. Bruxelles, 1972.

[110] Professor J. Schmidt was kind enough to call my attention to the above mentioned translation of Grosseteste and Buridan's work.

The most extensive Medieval Latin commentary on the *Nichomachean Ethics* is by Saint Thomas Aquinas.[111] His compendium on *magnificentia*, compared to the original Aristotelian version, cannot be said to be inaccurate but in his commentary he attaches virtue above all to the building of churches and in addition he limits its practice to the nobility and the upper levels of the feudal hierarchy. In such a way he replaced Greek social and religious conditions by those of Medieval, feudal Christianity.[112]

Religious writings of the Trecento and to some degree the Quattrocento reflect Aquinas' interpretation which justified great financial expenditure only in the case of the building of churches. Giovanni Dominici (†1420), going even further said that it was better to renovate and extend old churches than build new ones.[113]

At the same time, the orators of the Northern Italian Signorias in the first half of the 14th century profited from the fact that Saint Thomas Aquinas did not limit the practice of the virtue of *magnificentia* to the private buildings of feudal princes. The Dominican Galvano Fiamma, when telling the story of the Visconti family of Milan prior to 1342 says that Azzone Visconti decided to have a *palatium magnificum* built. This was justified by the fact that "the philosopher" (Aristotle) states in the fourth book of the *Ethics* that it is up to a *magnificus* man to erect beautiful houses that evoke admiration. Thus the prince's position appears to be invulnerable.[114] Fiamma's commentary in essence does not correspond to the intentions of the original Aristotelian text. It rather reflects the way of thinking of the ideologists of the Medieval feudal *tyrannis*.

Petrarch deals with the issue of the *magnificentia* of buildings in the 34th dialogue of *De remediis utriusque fortunae*. (App. I.) He prefaces a comment by the *libertinus* Gaudium by saying that *magnificentissimae mihi sunt aedes*. In response Ratio quotes from Cicero: "Let our home enhance our dignity, but not let us expects our house to do it, not the house gives respect to the master, but the master to the house." *(Ornanda dignitas domo, non ex domo tota quaerenda, nec domo dominus, sed domino domus honestanda.)*[115]

Both Cicero and Petrarch clearly spoke in the spirit of Aristotelian *magnificentia* as discussed above. Proof is also available that Petrarch looked not only to Cicero but also to Aristotle as a Classical source for art patronage theory. When writing *De remediis utriusque fortunae* the Father of Humanism more than once used a translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* which he could easily do since that work had been present in his library since before 1339.[116]

[111] S. Thomas Aquinatis, In decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum expositio. Ed. A. M. Pirotta. Taurini Italia, 1934.

[112] Ibidem, pp. 241–247.

[113] FRASER JENKINS 1970, pp. 163–165.

[114] Galvano Fiamma, Opusculum de rebus gestis ab Azone. Luchino et Iohanne Vicecomitibus (1318–1342). Rerum Italicarum scriptores. XII. 4., ed. C. Castiglioni p. 16. See: LARNER 1971, p. 100.

[115] CICERO, De off., I., 29.

[116] NOLHAC 1965, Vol. II., p. 151; HEITMANN 1958, p. 155, Note 302.

When in another sentence Gaudium expresses satisfaction over the fact that the buildings were rather heavily ornamented *(Ornatissimae aedes sunt)*, Ratio rebukes him by saying he should not boast of this since the ornaments of buildings do not praise the patron but the *architectus*. He even adds that if the *forma* of the building is sound then the *architectura* can be regarded as the noblest of arts *(nobilissima artium esset architectura)*. (App. I.)

It pays to pause awhile at this point. We have reached a great moment in considering the foundations of a Renaissance theory of architecture. This was the time when, after long centuries, Petrarch first used the terms *architectus* and *architectura* in a Classical sense. In the Middle Ages the notion of a Classical autonomous architect and architecture sank into oblivion or its meaning was changed. The character of the profession itself also underwent a transformation.[117] There is no doubt that in the implementation of this historically important act Petrarch's source was Vitruvius[118] about whom not so long ago history of art still taught that *De architectura*, written in the second half of the 1st century, B. C. (the sole Classical architectural treatise that survived) could only have become known to Renaissance architects in the 15th century. The generally accepted view was that this work was discovered by Poggio Braccolini in 1416 in the library of the Saint Gallen monastery. Quite recently, however, several scholars have shown that the early Humanists Petrarch and Giovanni Dondi, were familiar with Vitruvius. Furthermore: Vitruvius' *De architectura* was present in Boccaccio's library.[119] The early Humanists were however interested less in the architectural aspects than in what he had to say about art patronage which was very close to their own moral philosophy.

So, for example, Petrarch's observations quoted above that the ornaments of a building praise the *architectus* and that if the *forma* of the building is beautiful *architectura* can be regarded as the noblest of arts can be related to passages in Vitruvius. In the 6th book of his work Vitruvius writes at length about the extent and the nature of the responsibility of the patron *(dominus)*, the master builder *(officinator)* and the architect *(architectus)* for the architecture, and the different qualities the buildings show.[120]

However, the early Humanists could only make limited use of Vitruvius since they knew little architecture and less Greek. Vitruvius makes ample use of Greek architectural terms which probably put off Petrarch and all the other Humanists making a close study up to the beginning of the 15th century. L. B. Alberti was, of course, an exception who was not only an outstanding Humanist and Greek

[117] PEVSNER 1947, p. 555.

[118] VITRUVIUS (ed. 1955).

[119] Petrarch, according to marginal notes on his other works read Vitruvius: NOLHAC 1965, Vol. II., p. 105. This work was available in the libraries of Boccaccio and Giovanni Dondi. Summarising literature: WEISS 1973, p. 51.

[120] Vitruvius, De arch. VI. 8., 9–10.

scholar but also an architect. That is why we have to appreciate the fact that nearly a century before the publication of *De re aedificatoria* by Alberti the Humanist Petrarch used the term *architectus* for the first time in the Classical sense.

Apart from a few references to Vitruvius, the dialogue on the *magnificentia* of buildings was fully based on the chapter on architecture of *De officiis* by Cicero (I. 39). From here Gaudium derives the aspects of his 'good fortune' and Ratio makes use of this work in his counter-arguments reflecting Republican and Stoic views.

Petrarch's well known work must have been available to Leon Battista Alberti. The prestige of the Father of Humanism set an example for him to the possibility that Cicero's stoic views on architecture could be reconciled with Vitruvius' more Greek and liberal concepts and, what is more, could be further developed. Alberti's views on *magnificentia* developed further the position of the Classical sources also studied by Petrarch, that the moral obligation contained in *decorum* extended not only to the patron of arts, the *dominus*, but also to the architect, that is, to the artist. In *De re aedificatoria* (1452) this is how he interpreted the relationship between the architect and *decorum:* "Doubtless Architecture is a very noble Science, not fit for every Head. He ought to be a Man of a fine Genius, of a great Application, of the best Education, of thorough Experience, and especially of strong Sense and sound judgement, that presumes to declare himself an Architect. It is the Business of Architecture, and indeed its highest Praise, to judge rightly what is fit and decent..."[121]

(Magna est res architectura, neque est omnium tantam rem aggredi. Summo sit ingenio, acerrimo studio, optima doctrina maximoque usu praeditus necesse est, atque in primis gravi sinceroque iudicio et consilio, qui se architectum audeat profiteri. De re enim adificatoria laus omnium prima est indicare bene quid quid deceat.) Alberti who had enjoyed a Humanist education and was also an architect was able to judge what type of building and what decoration would fit the social position of the patron of the arts and his obligations.

Petrarch was concerned with *magnificentia* as a virtue not only related to architecture, but moral problems of art patronage also occurred in his discussion of paintings and sculpture. *Magnificentia* as a virtue meant that the subject of a work of art had to serve moral beauty, that is virtue, while at the same time the subject had to fit the social status and obligations of the patron.

It is in this spirit that he considers it necessary to call Gaudium's attention to the fact that it was not decent that he only sought to delight his eyes when looking at sculpture. He considers this improper because for the ancients of the Roman Republic sculptures were the symbols of virtue *(insignia virtutum)*. Statues were erected to those who carried out great deeds, who sacrificed their lives to the Republic or who were men of talent and education. He added that he experienced

[121] Alberti, De re aed. IX. 10. See: ONIANS 1971, p. 100.

something different in his time. Statues were erected to rich merchants at great cost using imported marble. He concludes, that "Almost all kinds of material receive talent, but his opinion is that talent must be the subject of admiration which together with the nobility of the material is perfect..." *(Artificum fere omnis recipit materia: sentio autem, ut tua delectatio plena sit ingenii, materiaque nobilitas iuncta perficiet...)* (App. III.)

Petrarch's sources—as in the majority of cases—were Cicero and Pliny the Elder. The heroic death of the Roman legates sent to Fidenates mentioned as an example in the text also refers to Cicero.[122] He took from Pliny the Elder the usual stoic view that the ancients portrayed humans only if for some important reasons they deserved to be immortalised *(effigies hominum non solebant exprimi nisi aliqua inlustri cause perpetuitatem merentium)*.[123]

It was, however, his own opinion that if a rich merchant has a statue made of himself using imported marble he violates the Medieval rules of *magnificentia*. Not being noble, he is not in a social position to exercise the virtue in question, nor could his deeds be considered as virtuous enough to meet the requirements of the moral purpose of a work of art.[124] In Petrarch's view the merchants of his age could not be compared with the *bonus civis* of the Roman Republic either in education or in civil or heroic virtue.

Petrarch's words show a new situation as regards *magnificentia* in a Renaissance sense by the fact that the well-to-do members of the middle class appeared on the scene as individual patrons of the arts. Petrarch did not really contribute to the solution of the problem. Very likely the Republican enthusiasm of his youth which also fed the idea of the great rebirth declined in his old age. This was so not only because of the failure of Cola di Rienzo but also because all his life he served tyrants. Both as orator and ambassador he devoted the better part of his oral and written eloquence to them. At the time of the development of his artistic views, when he wrote *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (1453–1462), he was in the service of the Viscontis of Milan who were firm enemies of the Florentine Republic. Petrarch was severely rebuked by Boccaccio for this.[125] Posterity was even more severe than Boccaccio judging him to have lacked integrity.[126] The present author does not feel herself competent to decide this problem which must be considered moral even from a modern point of view. However, the complexity of the question makes it possible that, in the study of Petrarch's writings on the arts, an approach to at least some of the problems be attempted.

The above mentioned writings on art suggest that on the issue of reviving the arts after the Classical model Petrarch must have considered that his duty was

[122] Cicero, Philipp. IX. II., 4. See: BAXANDALL 1971, p. 57.
[123] Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist., XXXIV., 16.
[124] Aristotle, Et. Nich., IV. 1122 b.
[125] BERGIN 1970, pp. 80–81.
[126] ESSLING-MÜNTZ 1902, Chapter I.

merely the exploration and propagation of those Classical sources which could prepare the way for the great turn of events. He could not even have considered it as an essential question whether the reborn arts should follow the example of the Roman Republic or of the period of the Roman Empire. The latter was supported by the fact that the very best of his literary predecessors, including Vergil, Horace, and Pliny the Elder had changed sides, joining the despots (the emperors) at the fall of the Roman Republic and continuing to produce outstanding works in their service.[127]

However, as regards art—as we have seen and will see again—he remained faithful to his earlier self inasmuch as he suggested to the very successors of the Roman emperors, the feudal patrons, a manner of art patronage which represented the spirit of Republican *magnificentia*. In this the Italian Humanists of King Matthias' Court also followed him at the end of the 15th century.

The reasons detailed above suggest that in the dialogue on sculpture in *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (App. III.) Petrarch-Ratio's words show that the one who exercises the virtue of art patronage, the *vir magnificus*, here primarily means a king, prince, or *signore*. This is confirmed by Conversino da Ravenna, Petrarch's student who wrote around 1401 that the tyrants following the example of the Roman emperors were most suitable to exercise *magnificentia* since they had been brought up from early childhood in this spirit. They had thus become accustomed to the desire for glory at an early age. For this reason and because their wealth was not self-made they suitably exercised *magnifica* and *liberalia facta*.[128]

The fact that the earliest Humanists did not work out a theory of bourgeois art patronage in the 14th century, caused much trouble to their 15th century successors and also had other consequences. First of all this helped Renaissance princely patronage of the arts flourish not only in Italy but—what is important for our present purpose—in Hungary as well. The Humanists were stimulated to develop further the theory of art patronage by an unexpected turn early in the 15th century. The Renaissance carefully prepared by Petrarch and his successors did not start at the courts of the Italian *signore* but in the Florentine Republic and furthermore, with the support of bourgeois art patronage. Humanist successors much less well endowed intellectually and with a weaker power of judgement had to write apologies for the *magnificentia* of Florentine citizens, frequently defending them against mockery and satire.

It is common knowledge that in Florence in the first half of the 15th century Cosimo de' Medici was the first Renaissance burgher to finance large buildings. As

[127] BARON 1955, Vol. I., pp. 45 ff.

[128] Ibidem pp. 114, 491, Note 39. On the Hungarian references of the Conversino da Ravenna: KARDOS 1955, p. 64.

a result he was seriously attacked in his own city and his domestic Humanist, Timoteo Maffei[129] wrote long dialogues in defence of his *dominus*.[130]

In the dialogue Maffei in person argued against an anonymous detractor. Above all he rejected the argument that the *magnificentia* for which Cosimo was famous, should be considered a sin. Rather it was a virtue from the Christian point of view *(vitium magis apud christianos quam virtutem)*.[131] Timoteo Maffei used both a Christian argument and the principles of a Petrarcan *magnificentia* on both sides. The detractor primarily charges Cosimo with modelling his *magnificentia* in the building of monasteries and churches on divine excellence. It was love of glory and not worship of God that had prompted him in his building. Maffei argues that Cosimo placed his coat-of-arms on his buildings only so that after his death people should pray for him and he also wanted to stimulate his contemporaries to surpass him. Nothing can be bad that inspires the realisation of great deeds as happened in the case of the paintings depicting the heroic deeds of Alexander the Great, or had these paintings portraying their ancestors no impact on Scipio and Quintus Fabius? Maffei responds to the charge that with his *magnificentia* Cosimo's only achievement is that as *magnum faciens* he will be remembered as someone who had worked with his own hands. (This observation is the result of the Latin mistranslation of *megaloprepeia* mentioned earlier!) Maffei defends this attack by saying that *magnificentia* is a moral virtue which also according to Cicero implies an intellectual and not a physical disposition.[132]

The text shows that the merchant or banker practising one of the *artes mechanicae* with his *magnificentia* violates not only Artistotelian–Ciceronian ethics but also the church's prohibition of usury. Instead of returning moneys earned by condemned methods to the poor, he wastes it to increase his own glory.

One might imagine that Cosimo took no notice of such accusations, but this was not true. Cosimo considered himself to be in God's debt because of dishonestly obtained wealth. He tried to make amends by charitable foundations and buildings etc., thus returning such wealth to the poor.[133] A tradition which survived to be recorded by Vasari[134] maintains that he turned down Brunelleschi's plans for the Palazzo Medici because he found them to be too bragging. Thus in the Aristotelian sense, Cosimo was truly *magnificus*, an expert practitioner of this virtue since,

[129] Timoteo Maffei is identical with the Arcbishop of Ragusa who, in his will in 1470 left jewelry to King Matthias: BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 366. For the identification see: SPENCER 1965, p. 319, Note 3.

[130] Lami, G., Deliciae eruditorium XII. Firenze, 1475, pp. 150 ff.; see: GOMBRICH 1960, pp. 286–287.

[131] ONIANS 1971, p. 98.

[132] GOMBRICH 1960, pp. 289 ff.

[133] Vespasiano da' Bisticci, Vite de Uomini Illustri. Ed. P. d'Ancona and E. Aeschlimann. Milano, 1951. Quoted by GOMBRICH 1960, p. 283.

[134] The most ancient source of the tradition: Il libro di Antonio Billi. Ed. C. Frey, Berlin, 1892.

obviously, he was able to judge what was proper to him, his obligations and social position.

The contradiction reflected in the dialogue by Timoteo Maffei presumably covers the difference which exists between the Ciceronian and Christian interpretation of *magnificentia*, and the Aristotelian explanation of virtue. Aristotle does not exclude from the practice of virtue those rich men, who work themselves, and in addition, does not insist that the aim of a work of art should be heroic or explicitly intellectual virtue, but only sets the condition that it should serve some kind of moral beauty.[135] What that meant at various times was a question of judgement.

It was Leon Battista Alberti who finally defined what moral aim bourgeois *magnificentia* had to serve in architecture. There was good reason why he based his comment on the same Ciceronian passage Petrarch also used when discussing the *magnificentia* of buildings.[136] However, he further developed the Ciceronian basis by listing *all'antica* architecture as one of a citizen's patriotic obligations: "When therefore we adorn our Habitations not more for Delicacy than to procure Honour to our Country and our Families, who can deny this to be a Work well becoming the wisest Men?"[137] *(. . . quando item patriae familiaeque condecorandae non minus quam lautitiae gratia nostra ornamus — quod esse boni viri officium quis neget?. . .)*

Since the background of Alberti's interpretation of *magnificentia* was given by the change in the Florentine Humanist movement in the early 15th century, it seems certain that in the sentence quoted above *bonus vir* refers to rich Florentine citizens.

The direct cause of the change in the Humanist movement around 1400 was a political crisis.[138] The crisis emerged since Florence found herself in mortal danger between 1390–1402 because the tyrant of Milan, Giangaleazzo Visconti, threatened with oppression this last sovereign city-state. At that time the Florentine Humanists stepped on the scene to provide a powerful nationalist ideology for their republic, the necessity for which they only came to realise at the time of danger. One of the leaders of the movement, the Chancellor of the Republic, Leonardo Bruni wrote in 1423: "What more can the Republic do than prove that the virtue of the ancients is still alive, and relying on its own strength and financial sources is able to liberate the whole of Italy from the threat of slavery"?[139] *(Nam quid potuit maius, quid preclarius hec civitas edere, aut in qua magis re maiorum suorum virtutem in se conservatam ostendere, quam universa Italia suo labore suisque facultatibus a servitutis periculo liberata?)* At the critical moment the Republic needed active citizens and such Classical examples that could help to spur them on.

[135] Aristotle, Et. Nich., IV. 1122 b.
[136] Cicero, De off., Vol. I., p. 39.
[137] Alberti, De re aed., Vol. IX., p. 1.
[138] BARON 1955, pp. VII ff.
[139] Ibidem, pp. 524–525, Notes 23–24.

This is how the educated Roman citizen who undertook the duties of patriotism became a generally accepted ideal. This trend was opposed to the concept of the *vita contemplativa* still propagated by Petrarch and replaced it by the figure of the citizen who actively advanced the cause of the city, who as *bonus vir* developed his *humanitas* and carried out his duties as citizen.[140] The new Humanist trend initiated by the great crisis, Tuscan bourgeois nationalism (more precisely patriotism) survived the direct political danger, too. The war with Milan ended when Giangaleazzo Visconti died of the plague in 1402. However, the ideology developed further and in the field of the arts real Renaissance art developed on this soil.[141] It was in this same spirit that Leon Battista Alberti developed his theory of painting and architecture.

On art Alberti, like Petrarch, was a convinced Ciceronian. However, he not only followed the founder but also surpassed him in this sphere, reading the relevant Classical sources, primarily Cicero, while keeping in mind the new bourgeois nationalist point of view. A full and repeated review of the sources is also justified by the fact that in the years that passed between Petrarch's death and Alberti's activity, due to the Humanists' diligent searches and the discovery of manuscripts[142] the number of Classical sources useful for art theory had grown, and on the other hand, the errors committed by Medieval scribes were corrected, and fuller editions were produced.

It is an irony of fate that by the time Alberti worked out the ideology of bourgeois art patronage (1452) the Florentine social background that gave rise to it had changed. In the last phase of Cosimo de' Medici's life, but especially at the time of Lorenzo il Magnifico, the earlier patrician family had grown into tyrants of practically unlimited power and felt little need to justify its own interests in terms of the interests of the *patria*.[143]

Finally, it was Alberti who worked out a scholarly theory of the princely type of art patronage. Like Petrarch he had good reason to do so since, being a practising architect his *dominus* was more often a tyrant or church dignitary and not a citizen. The Classical principle of *decorum*, it seems, not only prevailed in the arts but also in everyday life. It was proper that a Humanist should represent the interests of the man he happened to serve.

When characterising the type of art patronage of men of different social status he primarily followed Vitruvius. According to Vitruvius *decorum* regulated the order of columns in temple. He follows the same principle when defining the ways in which various buildings should be erected for persons of different rank.[144] Alberti takes over all this from Vitruvius but his views are effectively coloured by

[140] Ibidem, Vol. I., pp. 81–85.
[141] HARTT 1964.
[142] SABBADINI 1905.
[143] FRASER JENKINS 1970, p. 169.
[144] Vitruvius, De arch., I., 2, 5, VI., 2, 5.

Ciceronian morality and—to use Onians's terms — "the endemic Florentine disease of Tuscan nationalism".[145]

Alberti argues that luxury does not suit the burgher but a more generous *magnificentia* has to characterise the city, principally Rome. In the case of princes he considers as acceptable even architecture characteristic of Asian emperors which, looked at the point of view of a burgher, border on *insania*.[146] These views—apart from the *magnificentia* of burghers—do not differ all that much from the arguments of the Father of Humanism. There is no doubt that the latter were also known by Alberti and that he used them as authorities.

An impeccable practice of the virtue of *magnificentia* was a sensitive point for those high ranking church dignitaries in the middle of the 15th century who, because of their large scale building, could be charged with showing an exaggerated interest in their personal wordly glory. This is why neither Branda Castiglione, Nicholas V or Pius II could afford not to write or to have written apologies in defence of their *magnificentia*.[147]

One might think that after Alberti the kings already possessed limitless scope for art patronage. However, this was not true. In Hungary King Matthias needed the presence of Italian Humanists to follow the examples demonstrated by the Humanists in his buildings, and when selecting the subject and iconography of his works of art. After their completion he needed them to formulate apologies in defence of his *magnificentia*. The surviving monuments bear witness to this, as do in greater detail, our Humanist sources related to Renaissance art.

[145] ONIANS 1971, pp. 97, 99.
[146] Alberti, De re aed., VI., 3.
[147] ONIANS 1971, p. 99.

Chapter II

WRITING ON THE ART BY ITALIAN HUMANISTS AT KING MATTHIAS' COURT (BETWEEN 1474–76 AND 1490)

1. THE LIFE OF THE AUTHORS AND THE SOURCES

a) ANTONIO BONFINI

In this work only the writings on the arts of those Humanists who had spent a longer period of time at the court of King Matthias in Hungary will be examined. The life of Antonio Bonfini will be dealt with first, particularly since my research has led me to assume that in his lifetime he may well have spent some time at the court of the Duke of Urbino, a possibility that scholars have so far neglected.

Bonfini was born in Patrignone, near Ascoli, either in 1427 or in 1434. He spent most of his life there, on the Western coast of the Adriatic. He completed his studies in Ascoli, then, as an educated Humanist, he lectured at Patrignone and Padua. Presumably, he spent the period between 1456–1465 in Florence. We know little of his life between 1465 and 1478, however, it is certain that from 1478 onwards he taught in Recanati.[148]

There he had contacts with Giovanni d'Aragona (John of Aragon), the brother of Queen Beatrice at the beginning of the 1480's. John of Aragon, the son of the King of Naples appeared on several occasions in the 'patria' (homeland) of Bonfini between 1479 and 1484 on his way to and from Rome and Buda. The trips had other aims than fraternal visits. He was only able to procure the Archbishopric of Esztergom, to which he was appointed by King Matthias in 1479, after long delays. However, he was not able to enjoy the benefits of the wealthy archdiocese for long since the Pope confirmed his appointment only in 1483 and he died in 1485.[149]

John of Aragon and his entourage met Bonfini on one of these journeys, probably in Loreto, the famous place of pilgrimage, which was frequently visited by members of the Aragon family. At that time Bonfini was teaching in Recanati and was known as an orator of great skill, a point which is seldom mentioned in literature, but of which, as shall be seen later, his contemporaries and compatriots were thoroughly convinced. Due to this reputation he obtained information on

[148] AMADIO 1930, p. 71.

[149] BERZEVICZY 1908, pp. 218, 231, 253; KARDOS 1955, p. 11; DIZIONARIO 1961, pp. 697–698.

conditions at the Hungarian court from members of the Aragon family and on this basis he was able to write his *Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coningali* before 1484, while still living in Italy. This work is set in Buda: the characters in addition to King Matthias are members of the Aragon family and the Humanists of the court. It was also in Italy that he wrote before 1484 a small book on the origins of the Corvini *(Libellus de Corvinianae domus origine)* which he dedicated to King Matthias.[150]

Bonfini met King Matthias and Queen Beatrice when he entered their service in the autumn of 1486. At the beginning his duties consisted of reading aloud to the Queen, but later he became Humanist to the King and was mainly engaged in historical studies. Except for brief intervals, he lived and worked at the court of the Hungarian King until the death of Matthias (April 6, 1490). However, he never lost contact with Hungary. He returned to Buda from Recanati in 1491 on the invitation of Wladislas II and lived there, again with short breaks, until his death in 1503.[151]

To start with I should like to discuss the possibility of Bonfini having visited Urbino and Gubbio which is not mentioned by his biographers. This subject is worth discussing since his stay there could be related to a portrait of Bonfini, so far unpublished in Hungary.

Cecil H. Clough published a paper on the Gubbio study of Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino.[152] Federigo had this *studiolo* built in 1477–78, immediately after the completion of his famous study in the Urbino palace, employing the same Florentine intarsia masters for both. The Gubbio study was a copy of the one in Urbino, the only difference being in the decoration on the wall above the intarsia-cover at Urbino. This contained a series of portraits of "Famous People", while at Gubbio a set of paintings depicted the "Seven Free Arts". The paintings have not remained in their original setting in either of the palaces. They were scattered to many places and Clough believes that he discovered in the Hampton Court Palace collection one of the missing paintings symbolising *Rhetorica* which had formed part of the Gubbio series of the Liberal Arts. According to him it is quite likely that the most important person in the painting, the great rhetor, is none other than Antonio Bonfini, whose profile appears on the left. (Fig. 1.) He stands in front of a lectern talking to an illustrious, and attentive audience. The central place is taken by the Duke of Urbino himself and his son, Guidobaldo, who looks about 6–8 years in the painting. In the group of people behind them, Clough believes he can identify Ottaviano Ubaldini, a relative and confidant of the Prince, and beside him on either side Constanzo Sforza and Antonio da Montefeltro. In the background, he believes, one of the figures standing in the door is the

[150] BONFINI (ed. 1943). Praefatio.
[151] FÓGEL–IVÁNYI–JUHÁSZ 1936., Vol. I., p. VIII., KULCSÁR 1973, p. 202.
[152] CLOUGH 1967.

person for whose benefit Bonfini was delivering his oration. Justus van Gent painted the picture, presumably around 1477–78.[153]

According to Clough, Bonfini, shortly before the picture was painted, gave such a successful performance as an orator that he deserved to be perpetuated as one of the most outstanding representatives of this art on the walls of the Gubbio palace. This performance must have been inspired by the oration Bonfini gave on behalf of a certain Leonardo Angelo. In this speech Bonfini convinced the Duke of Urbino that he acted unjustly when in the name of King Ferdinand of Naples he had deprived Angelo of his fief. The speech, in manuscript form is still in the section of the Vatican Library that was taken from Urbino to Rome.[154] This manuscript was originally in the Duke's private library which suggests that he thought highly of this small work.

Hungarian scholars working on the iconography of Bonfini and, in general, of Humanists in Hungary,[155] should decide whether Clough's view is convincing. In the painting (Fig. 3.), the profile of the orator with its slightly sleepy eyes recalls authentic Bonfini portraits (Figs 2–4.),[156] but in the reproduction at my disposal Bonfini appears to sport a beard and look older than he could have been (about 53–54) at the time Justus van Gent painted the picture. I have not seen the original painting and one cannot know for sure whether the beard on the painting is not due to some kind of physical injury. The painting has been subjected to rough wear having been used as a table-surface in Italy before it was taken to England.

There are other reasons supporting Clough's hypothesis that the painting portrays Bonfini. A work Bonfini wrote later in Hungary suggests that in 1476 (the assumed date of the painting) he was staying at the court of the Duke of Urbino.

In the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* Bonfini describes an incident that took place in the autumn of 1476 when the Hungarian envoys on their way to Naples to fetch Beatrice, were guests of the Duke of Urbino. Here Bonfini includes a description of works of art which is not characteristic of other parts of the book.[157] The text reads as follows: (App. V.a.)

"When the Duke of Urbino gave a feast in honour of the head of the envoys, the Bishop of Várad, (János Filipecz)... the Bishop at the table presented a salt-cellar that amazed even this Prince of great wealth. Its base was a hill, and a golden tree grew out from its side, over the salt-cellar, set with pearls and precious stones in an apple shape, radiating brightness instead of shade. On the slopes of

[153] Ibidem, p. 272; Juste de Gande, Berruguete et la Cour d'Urbino. Musée des Beaux-Arts. Gent, 1957, pp. 60–61. (Exhibition catalogue).

[154] CLOUGH 1967, p. 283: Oratio is available in the Vatican Library: "Ad Illustrem Ducem Federicum, Latinae pacis auctorem, Oratio Antonii Bonfinii pro Leonardo Angelo, amico suo unico." Codici Vaticano-Urbinati No. 526. See: AMADIO 1930, p. 258, AMADIO 1942.

[155] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 722; VAYER 1976.

[156] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 722.

[157] BERZEVICZY 1908, p. 136. See: KULCSÁR 1973, p. 127.

the hill there were finely detailed tiny caves that looked as storehouses of precious stones. Then he presented a golden jug whose lip was formed by a panting dragon, its body made of mother of pearl, its head staring straight ahead, while it folded its tail into golden rings between its legs; the handle was pearl-studded; the cover of its lip rising at a height of one and a half feet as a pinnacled arch. The whole was made of gold. It was three feet high together with its high base. The others also competed in showing off their treasure."[158]

The text clearly implies that the expensive pieces of goldsmith's work were taken by Bishop Filipecz to Naples as presents and that he only showed them to the Duke of Urbino. This must have been the only occasion when Bonfini could have examined these treasures thoroughly enough to be able to write such a precise and detailed description. It must, therefore, be presumed that Bonfini was present at the same table in Urbino in the autumn of 1476. A sentence following the description of the goldsmith's works also refers to his personal presence in Urbino:

"I will not describe their superb apparel, handsome pages and esteemed knights. They surpassed all the usual spectacles of our time." (App. V.a.)

If my assumption is right, not only the identification of Bonfini in the Justus van Gent painting can be accepted but other conclusions must also follow.

First of all, Bonfini's acquaintance with the Hungarian Court did not start when he met John of Aragon in Loreto but links could have been established already after 1476 through Bishop Filipecz. In addition, it should also be borne in mind that at that very time Bonfini had a chance to observe (or help?) Montefeltro patronage of the arts, then at its height. Intensive building and decoration work was going on continuously both at the Urbino and the Gubbio Palaces in the 1470's. The effect of these on the construction of the Buda Palace have, on several occasions, been already noted.[159] It is proposed later in this book to discuss in greater detail the similarities between Federigo and Matthias as patrons of the arts. It is possible that Bonfini acted later in Hungary, as an orator in the defence of the *magnificentia* and *decorum* of Matthias as a result of the experience he had gained in this field at the side of Federigo in Italy.

Among the works Bonfini completed at the Hungarian Court, the *Averulinus Preface* (written in 1487–88; App. I.) and the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* (written c. 1488–96; App. II.) which describe the works commissioned by Matthias, contain well known passages relevant to the arts. These have been examined from the point of view of what Humanist views Bonfini must have expressed and what Classical sources he might have used. In view of the characteristic moral, philosophical and rhetorical interests of the Humanists, several features of the above mentioned sources, that have remained in the background so far, are worthy of attention. It seems that in the *Averulinus Preface* Bonfini primarily tried to give evidence of the

[158] BONFINI (ed. 1941), p. 67.

[159] FEUER-TÓTH 1974/2., pp. 110–114, 121, 125–127; FEUER-TÓTH 1975, pp. 27–33, 44, 49–52; FEUER-TÓTH 1981, pp. 16, 35, 215, 216.

Classical morality of King Matthias in his patronage of architecture in order to defend King Matthias' *magnificentia* against possible accusations. The quoted parts of *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* (App. V.B.), make it clear that Bonfini's anxiety was not without foundation since Matthias and Beatrice were criticised for their senseless extravagance. Bonfini, for example in the *Averulinus Preface*, tried to defend them using the moral arguments of Classical theory on the patronage of the arts by Humanists.

The study of Classical sources was especially helpful in the case of architectural and sculptural technical terms used by Bonfini. The study of the descriptions of works of art by Classical authors offered in many cases an adequate key to a more precise interpretation of Bonfini's often obscure texts.

b) FRANCESCO ARRIGONI

Other Humanists may have laboured as well in defence of the morality of the ruler's patronage of art in the entourage of King Matthias. I should like to call attention to an author who has not been considered by scholars to have been one of the Humanists of his court.

He is Franciscus de Arigonibus (Francesco Arrigoni) who spent almost eight years at the Hungarian Court. None of his works written in Hungary have survived, but a letter and 23 epigrams were found in the course of the art historical research. He wrote these after his return to Italy from Hungary, but since the subject of the epigrams is definitely the propagation of he morality of the ruler's patronage of the arts it can be assumed that he wrote poems, which have now disappeared, on a similar subject in Hungary, using his talent as a writer of epigrams on the arts in defence of King Matthias.

John R. Spencer,[160] the scholar who has worked on the sources of the Sforza monument created by Leonardo da Vinci in the 1480's was kind enough to call my attention to Francesco Arrigoni and also to the fact that he must have worked in Hungary. What can be found about this Humanist's life can be learnt from a letter studied by Spencer in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[161] (App. VI.a.; Figs 5–6.)

Francesco Arrigoni wrote this letter in Italian to Lodovico il Moro, the Duke of Milan, on the occasion of the Prince's commissioning an epigram from him about an equestrian statue of his father (Francesco Sforza) by Leonardo which was under construction or perhaps nearing completion. The letter is an autograph.[162]

[160] SPENCER 1972. I am grateful to Professor J. R. Spencer for providing me with a xerox-copy of the letter and epigrams of Francesco Arrigoni and for permitting their publication.

[161] Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Ital. 1592. Vols 167r–168v. I hereby thank to Géza Érszegi for rewriting the letter and epigrams of Arrigoni.

[162] Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi was kind enough to examine Arrigoni's writing and declare that she was not familiar with this calligraphy in the Humanist literature known in Hungary.

Arrigoni wrote it in Naples, on February 25 without stating the year. On the first page of the letter someone has added the date: "February 25, 1481." in French, most probably in the 19th century. However, as shall be seen further on, the date is wrong, since the letter must have been written several years later.

Francesco Arrigoni wrote the letter not only to accompany the epigrams but also because he intended to change jobs. He wanted to leave the service of the house of Aragon of Naples and enter that of the Duke of Milan. That is the reason why he fulfilled the order, enclosing 23 Latin epigrams for the inscription of the Sforza equestrian statue. He did this not only to prove his virtuosity but also in the hope of a greater reward.[163]

Arrigoni's letter can thus be regarded as a letter offering services which, in addition to elaborating in detail the skills of its author, is at the same time a brief curriculum vitae. Here is the section concerning his stay in Hungary:

"... I have always been a reader to great lords. Among others to Her Highness, the Queen of Hungary and to the King himself, then, as long as he lived, to Don Francesco d'Aragona, then to the sons of Don Arrico d'Aragona, and now to one of the sons of the Duke of Calabria." (App. VI.a. fol. 167 r)

The postscript of the letter also refers to the author's stay in Hungary. Here Arrigoni hints that for the many epigrams that he had enclosed he would like to receive as much money as Prince Borso (Borso d'Este) had rewarded the Humanist who altogether wrote four epigrams and was given four thousand(!) ducats. But —he goes on—"I do not expect so great *liberalitas* of Your Highness not because Your Highness could not give this much or even more than this, or because this would not be customary. But I have enough to live on—together with my wife —*as the poor knight, I was made by the King of Hungary*. Whatever Your Highness' decision may be I shall be satisfied with as musch as Your Highness find necessary and no more. It is not great wealth that makes one happy but the soul." (App. VI.a. fol. 167 v)

It is clear from the letter that Francisco Arrigoni had come to Hungary as a reader to Queen Beatrice. It is known from other documents that Beatrice's reader from 1484 was Hieronimo de Termo until his death in the summer of 1486[164] and that later it was Antonio Bonfini. Therefore it must be assumed that Francesco Arrigoni became Don Francesco's reader only in 1484 when he returned to Naples after spending eight years in Hungary. Beatrice had been accompanied to Hungary by her 15-year-old brother, Don Francesco and he was educated there for nearly eight years at the court of King Matthias in the arts of government and military leadership. He returned together with his brother John of Aragon, to Naples on July 25, 1484, where the princes were received with great honour and with feasts

[163] Several poems have been written on the Sforza-Equestrian statue: AGGHÁZY 1976, p. 15.
[164] KARDOS 1955, p. 13; BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., pp. 646, 651.

and fireworks.[165] It is probable, indeed almost certain, that Arrigoni returned to Naples together with Don Francesco and from then on he was his reader up to his death on October 26, 1486 *(per fin che vixe)*.[166]

Since Arrigoni mentions Don Francesco's death, he could not have written the letter earlier than February 25, 1487. The *ante quem* of the letter is February 25, 1490, since Arrigoni refers to King Matthias, to whom he also acted as reader, as a living person, as the King of Hungary. At this time he became the reader to Beatrice's nephews. (Arrigo d'Aragona was the illegitimate son of King Ferdinand of Naples, the Duke of Calabria was his legitimate son and succeeded his father after his death as King of Naples taking the name of Alphonse II.)

The Humanist reader to the King and the Queen was not an unimportant person at the Buda Court, so the fact that Arrigoni was elevated to a knighthood is not surprising. In the Cathedral at Székesfehérvár on December 11, 1476, immediately after the coronation of Queen Beatrice, King Matthias conferred knighthoods on the most distinguished members of the Neapolitan suite.[167] It could well be that Arrigoni became a knight on this occasion.

Italian scholars do not pay attention to those Humanists who spent a significant part of their lives outside their own country. This explains why it is difficult to find biographical data and facts about Arrigoni's activities in Italy. For example, it is not possible to be certain if he is identical with the Humanist Franciscus Arigoneus (Arrigonius, Arrigono) who was born in Brescia, and whose Latin language letters and poems from the period 1490–1498 have survived in the archives of Mantua and Venice.[168] In addition to the similarity of names, another argument supports the identity, for one of these documents mentions this Humanist under the name of "Franciscus Arrigonius eques Brixiensis". If this note referred to our knight, it means that he managed to get to Tyrol from Naples.

The problem of Arrigoni's identification is even more complex due to the fact that a Franciscus Brixiensis also lived at the court of King Matthias, who according to clear evidence in the sources was a medical practitioner and even lived in Buda in 1487 as *medicus regis*.[169]

Apart from the fact that our Arrigoni had left Buda well before 1487, it is most unlikely that he was a medical practitioner as well. If he had been one he would most certainly have mentioned this in his letter of recommendation to Lodovico il Moro. However, in this letter he only writes about his skills as reader, poet, historian, and chancellor.

[165] BERZEVICZY 1908, pp. 20, 177, 254; 1475: BERZEVICZY 1914, p. 27; 1477: DIPL.EML. 1877, Vol. II., p. 530, 1479: BERZEVICZY 1914, p. 43.

[166] DIPL.EML. 1877, Vol. III., pp. 229, 243; BERZEVICZY 1908, p. 350.

[167] BERZEVICZY 1908, p. 177.

[168] KRISTELLER ITER. Vol. I., pp. 264–268; Vol. II., pp. 257, 264. I am grateful to Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay for her assistance in the identification of Arrigoni.

[169] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., pp. 646, 653.

The identification of Arrigoni cannot as yet be established from the available evidence. The publication in full and discussion of the letter of recommendation is in its way of considerable interest (App. VI.a.) but I shall confine myself to an evaluation of the epigrams. They are without exception about how the patron of the statue fully met the moral requirements set by the Renaissance theory of art patronage.

c) THE AUTHOR OF THE *DALMATA DEED OF GIFT*

In the case of the third source neither the author nor how long time he spent at the Court of King Matthias is known. Writing itself is not a work of literature but a deed in which King Matthias endows his court sculptor Ioannes Duknovich de Tragurio (Giovanni Dalmata) with an estate (App. VII.). My attention was attracted by the certificate as its author discusses the reasons for the King's gift and the moral background in general to his art patronage in a very elaborate style, which is in the spirit of Petrarch and Pliny. The way the author justifies Dalmata's right to fame indicates that the author was a highly cultured Humanist, perhaps a Florentine or a Hungarian, who had been educated as a Neoplatonist.

d) FRANCESCO BANDINI DE BARONCELLI

Francesco Bandini de Baroncelli is last mentioned, though he was the man who enjoyed the greatest international reputation and who was the most respected among the Humanists that had spent a long period of time at King Matthias' Court. His work which will be examined here differs in character from the works by Bonfini, Arrigoni and the author of the *Dalmata Deed of Gift*. However, this does not mean that it is not important. Indeed, in my opinion Bandini was the Humanist who promoted the cause of Hungarian Renaissance to the greatest degree. It is possible that he was of invaluable help to King Matthias when he established Renaissance art in Hungary.

Up to now Hungarian scholars have looked on Bandini as an influential transmitter of Marsilio Ficino's Florentine Neoplatonism to Hungary.[170]

It was P. O. Kristeller who first revealed this new aspect of Bandini's work. He published two, so far unknown, literary works by Bandini: a letter written from Naples[171] (App. IX.) and the *Consolatory Dialogue* written in Hungary, a Neoplatonic work whose values and significance were pointed out by its discoverer.[172] In addition, Kristeller published several new, so far unknown letters written by

[170] HUSZTI 1925, p. 58.
[171] KRISTELLER (Bandini) 1956.
[172] KRISTELLER (Gondi) 1956, pp. 415 ff.

Bandini. He reconstructed the latter's biography on the basis of these and other documents.

Francesco Bandini de Baroncelli was born in Florence around 1440 into a famous and influential family that played a prominent role in the political life of the town. He presumably finished his theological studies in Florence where, as a young priest he had met Marsilio Ficino, the Father of Neoplatonism and became his enthusiastic follower, friend and finally his propagator in Hungary. He was appointed by Lorenzo de' Medici as organiser *(architriclinius)* of the Symposium renewed by Marsilio Ficino in 1468 and 1473 on Plato's birthday (November 7). It can be presumed that the Symposium of 1473 took place in Francesco Bandini's house.[173]

According to Kristeller, by 1473 Bandini had left Florence for good. He spent some time in Rome and then left for Naples. The first known document at least hints of his stay in Naples. In a letter written from Naples in 1471 Bandini asks Lorenzo de' Medici to recommend him and his brother, Bernardo, to the King of Naples and Count Maddaloni.[174] Between 1474–76 Bandini certainly served the King of Naples, Ferdinand of Aragon. Several of his letters written from Naples prove that at the beginning of his stay he maintained good relations with Lorenzo de' Medici, and, furthermore, supplied him with inside information from there. Direct contact by correspondence was broken between the two in 1478 following the Pazzi conspiracy. On Lorenzo's part the break was caused by the knowledge that the murderer of his brother, Giuliano de' Medici and the most active participant of the Pazzi plot was none other than Francesco's brother, Bernardo Bandini. When Francesco, who had by then been living for two years at the court of King Matthias in Hungary learned about what had happened, he sent letters of condolences in which he assured Lorenzo of his deep concern and his condemnation of the terrible deed.[175]

This first section of Bandini's newly reconstructed biography shows that the tragedy of Bandini's life was that while his family was violently opposed to the Medici family, he, owing to Ficino's Neoplatonism, had close links with them. His life was still influenced by his sense of commitment to his family. Because of this he lived as a kind of political refugee in Naples and this explains why he spent so much time in Hungary.

It is important to point this out since Hungarian scholars have assumed that Bandini was sent to Hungary by Lorenzo de' Medici himself, and, furthermore, that he was considered an ambassador of Florence in Hungary. This idea was largely based on the fact that Bandini had recommended several distinguished men

[173] Ficino, Opera. Basileae, 1576, Vol. II., p. 1320; HUSZTI 1925, p. 54.

[174] KRISTELLER (Gondi) 1956, p. 412. Count Maddaloni is identical with Diomede Caraffa, see: BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 660.

[175] KRISTELLER ibidem, BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 651.

of King Matthias' entourage in Hungary to Lorenzo de' Medici. Thus, he obviously maintained contacts with Lorenzo until the Pazzi conspiracy. A document refers to this: in 1477 the Signoria of Florence sent a letter to Matthias thanking him for the fact that Bandini enjoyed his support.[176]

Thus, it is understandable that before the Kristeller's publication the way Bandini came to Hungary was mistakenly accepted, though he was sent by the King of Naples as a member of Queen Beatrice's entourage.

This is already mentioned in a letter Bandini wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici from Ferrara in October, 1476. He writes that he was sent from Naples to Ferrara to take a couple of things for Beatrice who was to go there. (On her way to Hungary Beatrice visited her sister, the Duchess of Ferrara, Eleonora of Aragon.) It is also clear from the letter that at that time Bandini was in the service of the King of Naples who told him that if he went to Hungary he would receive an annual stipend of 6000 ducats. Despite this he thought—according to his own words—that "I wish God preserved me from having to go to Hungary"[177] *(etdio vogla possa ritrarmi dallandata dungheria)*. Although his wish was not fulfilled, his stay in Hungary could not have been too unpleasant since he remained there for more than thirteen years until the death of Matthias. He was the Italian Humanist who spent the longest time in the immediate circle of King Matthias.

However, he did not stay close to the royal couple all the time. For example, at the time of the 1480 plague in Hungary Matthias spent most of the year in the western part of the country and in Austria,[178] but Bandini fled from the Black Death to Vác. This is known from a letter, also discovered by Kristeller, written from Vác to Florence on August 13, 1480.[179] Since the letter has relevance for art history I shall briefly discuss its content (App. VIII.). It was written by Bandini to Jacopo Salviati, a friend of Simone Gondi. The latter then aged 23, was in 1480 on a business trip to Hungary.[180] After one year in Buda he was on the point of returning home when due to the Black Death, he, together with several of his companions, was forced to flee to the King's Visegrád "Villa". Notwithstanding, he still caught the disease. On being told, Bandini who was staying nearby at Vác rushed to his help. Despite attentive care Gondi's health deteriorated and he died at the Visegrád Palace at sunrise on July 29, 1480. Bandini buried his friend at the Visegrád *Ecclesia Maior*, where several of their Italian compatriots lay at rest.[181] He himself, "scared of death" fled to a nearby deserted place on the Danube and

[176] KRISTELLER (Gondi) 1956, p. 413; BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 654.

[177] KRISTELLER (Gondi) 1956, pp. 425–426.

[178] King Matthias' letter to Pope Sixtus IV. (Dec. 14, 1480): FRAKNÓI 1875, Vol. II., p. 76.

[179] Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. Lat. 7869. fols 70v–72.; KRISTELLER (Gondi) 1956, pp. 434–435.

[180] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., pp. 598, 610.

[181] The *ecclesia maior* at Visegrád has since been destroyed. Oral communication by Miklós Héjj.

after the epidemic had run its course he returned to Vác from where he wrote the letter in question. He also arranged for a tomb to be erected for Gondi.[182]

The letter is relevant from several aspects. On the one hand we learn that Bandini had taught rhetoric to Simone Gondi who had spent a long period of time in Hungary. The consolatory dialogue offers evidence to suggest that Gondi held explicitly Neoplatonist views on death. (It is difficult to determine how much was added to it by Bandini.) However, it has to be taken into account that the Florentine trading colony at Buda, whose great importance in the promotion of the establishment of Renaissance arts has long been noted by Hungarian scholars[183] could not exclusively be dealing with the settling of accounts of the Florentine artists. Certain Florentine businessmen who had spent a longer time here were sufficiently educated to be able to add their own thoughts not only on financial matters but also on issues of the arts that normally belonged to the sphere of the Humanists. Simone Gondi, the subject of the Vác letter could have been such a person. Furthermore, it should be noted that this young man was one of the sons of Giuliano Gondi who had commissioned Giuliano da Sangallo to build his famous Florentine palace around 1490.[184] Due to this fact it can be assumed that he knew well the Florentine craftsmen working in Buda, and what is more, he may have had a hand in commissioning work from them. The first to come to mind are the intarsia-makers who in Florence had obtained a year's contract (July 15, 1479) to work in Hungary just about the time when Simone Gondi must have gone to Buda.[185]

Concerning the architectural terminology of the period it is a characteristic feature of the letter that Bandini calls the Palace at Visegrád a *villa*, a term that would never occur to a Hungarian art historian. However, it should be remembered that the terminus technicus *villa* was used in a much wider sense in the 15th century, at least amongst Italian Humanists.

From the point of view of the humanistic background to Renaissance art it should be observed that Bandini wrote his letter from Vác at the time when Miklós Báthory was bishop there. Miklós Báthory is known to have been a prominent member of the Neoplatonic circle at Buda. He was so closely connected with Marsilio Ficino that he together with Bandini had been asked to go to Hungary;[186] this also indicates that he was a most affectionate friend of Bandini. Bandini in August 1480 was clearly a guest of Miklós Báthory at Vác. Their relationship must, of course, have developed in previous years.

[182] According to an oral communication by Miklós Héjj a tomb-fragment at Visegrád that could be indentified with the figures of the Gondi-tomb has not yet been discovered.

[183] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., pp. 596 ff.; FEUER-TÓTH 1981, p. 8.

[184] KRISTELLER (Gondi) 1956, p. 415.

[185] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 496; FEUER-TÓTH 1981, p. 14.

[186] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 654.

It is not known if Bandini staged Platonic Feasts in Hungary as well as in Florence. A similar Neoplatonic assembly is reported in Bonfini's *Symposion de virginitate*...[187] already mentioned above. However, among the members of the *symposium* (that probably have been held in 1479) Bonfini does not mention Bandini, although he was already in Hungary at that time.

The Humanist Neoplatonic friendship between Bandini and Miklós Báthory is worthy of art historians' attention since Bandini might have had a role in the fact that on the earliest dated *all'antica* style Hungarian Renaissance fragment, a stone-carving from Nógrád castle probably made by a Hungarian craftsman in 1483, the name and coat-of-arms of Miklós Báthory is found. A beautiful Renaissance balustrade[188] later placed in the Vác Cathedral can be dated to the same period. The Báthory coat-of-arms presumably indicated the completion of the building work, which, according to Miklós Istvánffy (1538–1615), was under the charge of the architect and sculptor, Jacobus Tragurinus.[189]

There is no doubt that after King Matthias, Miklós Báthory, who had had a Humanist education, was the second most important Hungarian Renaissance patron of the arts who commissioned buildings in the new style, and who was the most important amongst high church and secular dignitaries. It is understandable for Miklós Báthory was such a committed Humanist that, according to Galeotto Marzio, he was still reading Cicero while waiting for an audience with Matthias.[190] His friendship with Bandini should not be ignored from the point of view of the development of his patronage of the arts. Still, as shall be seen later on, Bandini may have played an even more important role at the side of the King. This was very important for the early period of Renaissance architecture in Hungary. Bandini could not only rely on his knowledge of Florentine, Roman and Neapolitan Renaissance architecture and on his personal contacts with the artists but he must also have become familiar with the Humanist formulation of the Renaissance rules on Royal art patronage alongside Pontano at the court of Naples.

It does not seem mere chance, as has long been known that it was Francesco Bandini who brought Filarete's (Antonio Averlino) *Trattato di Architettura* to King Matthias from Italy.[191] This was the first treatise on architecture of Italian language written in the Quattrocento whose main aim was to educate distinguished patrons of arts in a discreet and entertaining way on how to do their job. It seems impossible that Francesco Bandini did not know this work before he came to Hungary. Filarete wrote his treatise in 1462 and by the 1470's all major libraries in Italy had an illuminated MS copy. If it were dependent on Bandini, he would certainly have obtained a copy for the Corvina library soon after his arrival.

[187] BONFINI (ed. 1943). See: PAJORIN 1981; KULCSÁR 1983.
[188] FEUER-TÓTH 1981, figures 20 and 23.
[189] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 500.
[190] Ibidem, Vol. I., p. 635.
[191] FILARETE (ed. 1965, 1972.).

However, for some reason, this did not happen before 1487–88. Finally Bandini himself arranged the loan of the manuscript when, as King Matthias' ambassador he made a visit to Italy before June, 1488,[192] bringing back with him an example of the illuminated MS for copying. This is described by Bonfini in a preface he later wrote to this new copy. He pays tribute to Bandini, who in this case was more than a mere messenger: "Bandinus, this man worshipping Your divine spirit with his amazing skill and talent the other day brought Your Majesty the marvellous work on architecture written by Antonius Averulinus, a citizen of Florence..." (App. IV.)

In the passage quoted Bonfini speaks of the skill of Bandini, which is presumably hinting at his diplomatic skill, and perhaps at certain machinations by which Bandini could assure that this work finally reached Hungary. In the continuation of this passage Bonfini mentions, addressing his words to the King: "You thought that this did not happen by chance, since you took care that it should be translated from Italian to Latin as soon as possible, since you came to realise that this would provide a possibility to compete with Roman Antiquity and in this Your Majesty can find all the methods of symmetry and the structure of most varied buildings" (App. IV.). These comments by Bonfini probably reflect the words of recommendation Bandini had personally addressed to Matthias.

Bandini's star continually rose at the Hungarian court up to the King's death. From being a much-liked familiar, he became the King's ambassador and was commissioned to carry out delicate diplomatic missions. About his life after 1490 nothing is known, and Kristeller assumes that he stayed in Hungary until his death.

Hungarian scholars have not as yet studied the letter Francesco Bandini wrote in Naples presumably around 1474, which was published by P. O. Kristeller in 1942,[193] and republished in 1956.[194] Neither are parts of the letter concerning the arts known in Hungary. (App. IX.)

In the brief introduction to this undated letter, the author claims that he wished in his work to glorify the city of Naples. He was afraid that the form he had used in his letter, written to a Florentine friend, would not be sufficiently expressive since he basically wished to praise Ferdinand of Aragon (Beatrice's father) and hoped that he would find a way to do so in a worthier form.

The unnamed Florentine friend had previously asked Bandini in a letter to return to Florence and he had given emphasis to his request by enumerating the advantages of the city. In his answer Bandini assured him that there was no need for that, for he had spent his whole youth there, and had taken delight in its buildings and other monuments, feasts and spectacles, and had conversed with its

[192] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 494, Note 1; KULCSÁR 1973, pp. 198–199: KOLTAY-KASTNER 1974. I am grateful to Prof. Tibor Klaniczay for calling my attention to the above-mentioned and other works.

[193] KRISTELLER 1942.

[194] KRISTELLER (Bandini) 1956, pp. 395–410.

artists and scholars. Bandini added that the advantages of Florence do not outnumber its disadvantages which are represented by an absence of security, uncertain political conditions, hatred, dissension and corruption. He continues that he does not intend to return but would instead like to persuade his friend to follow him to Naples. To support this suggestion he describes the beneficial location and weather conditions of Naples, the harbour and the buildings of the city. He says that there are many noble people there, in addition, men learned in law, musicians, sculptors, architects and engineers, all of whom receive support from King Ferdinand. He mentions the abundance of food in the city, the many types of goods, the variety of spectacles and the beauty of the surroundings. After that he praises the political conditions in Naples where justice and stability are ensured by King Ferdinand; all these being due to his merits and virtues. He concluded his letter by expressing a wish to stay in Naples with his Father until his death and he encourages his friend to stay with them.

The reasons for Bandini's stay in Naples and its connection with his journey to Hungary are discussed. At this point I should like to refer to aspects of the letter that relate to the arts.

The first appears already at the beginning, where the author referring to the fact that having spent his whole youth in Florence engaged in the liberal arts, he (better than anyone else) can judge its advantages. Then he goes on as follows: "The noble things of the city and the magnificent buildings I liked very much, I frequently visited them to look at them and think deeply on their competent execution *(l'arte)* and their conditions... There was hardly any craftsman *(artigiano)* of subtle talent and excellent skill whose acquaintance I did not seek, whose work I did not look at day after day and with whom I did not talk about his work". (App. IX. 4r–4v.)

It might be thought that such statements were often made by Humanists in the Renaissance period. However, this is not so. Although the Humanists were intensely involved in the moral issues relating to theoretical and art patronage questions, little emphasis was placed on establishing contact with contemporary artists.

It was not customary, nor even considered proper, that Humanists should day after day go and visit the craftsmen, question them about the mysteries of their skill in the way Bandini had done, and then meditate on the practical and theoretical conditions that influenced their work.

Niccolò Niccoli (1364–1437) who lived in Florence in the early 15th century was a rare exception. According to a story told by Vespasiano da Bisticci he was especially fond of Filippo Brunelleschi, Luca della Robbia and Lorenzo Ghiberti, and maintained close contacts with them.[195] Similar features can be discovered in Bandini who lived two generations after Niccolò Niccoli both having maintained close relations with the artists. Similarly neither were conventional Humanists in the sense that they were not occupied regularly in literary work. Not a single

[195] GOMBRICH (Revival) 1967, p. 78.

literary work by Niccoli has survived. Bandini's literary heritage is also small, therefore Hungarian authorities on Neoplatonism call him a *dilettante*.[196] This dilettantism, however, could not mean a lack of training in Bandini's case. On the contrary, since he wrote only little, he had more time to read and study and to influence his surroundings by conversation. Writing about Niccoli, Gombrich calls such men *catalysts* who consciously play the role of pioneers. Such men "who effect a change through their mere presence, through conversation and argument, but who would be unknown to posterity if others had not left records of their encounters."[197]

Bandini's role as catalyst of Neoplatonism in Hungary has long been acknowledged and it is assumed that he played a similar pioneering role in the introduction of Renaissance art.

The second section relating to the arts in Bandini's letter from Naples is connected with the description of the buildings in the city. Mentioning the Castello Nuovo he notes that "it was renovated and made impregnable by Alphonse of Aragon who also provided it with a triumphal arch above the gate similar to those of the eminent Romans, inside with magnificant, richly decorated apartments suitable for the accomodation of great princes, where at present His Majesty the King is staying" (App. IX. 11v.). Bandini specially notes that Alphonse's famous triumphal arch was a Renaissance monument that could compete with Roman work. Alphonse's castle was rather Gothic and the few Renaissance buildings that had been built in the town could not approach the standard which Bandini, accustomed to the Renaissance in Florence, expected. Beatrice's father, Ferdinand of Aragon, was not a great patron of Renaissance architecture or of the arts in general. When Bandini lived in Naples before coming to Hungary he came to the conclusion that the architecture there did not meet the *all'antica* requirements of the royal *magnificentia*. This brought attention to the fact that, if in Hungary they wished to build *magnificus* buildings for King Matthias, the Kingdom of Naples, though of similar standing, could hardly provide an adequate example. This, as shall be seen later, caused a good deal of difficulty and extra work in the design and execution of Renaissance buildings in Hungary. These few lines by Bandini do not even hint at this problem: it must be remembered, however, that the famous patronage of the arts by Alphonse of Aragon was not primarily linked to architecture but to painting and sculpture. This king was intensely interested in the arts, and during the famous *ora di libro* one of his court Humanists would read out a text which they then discussed. More than once they touched on subjects connected with the arts, but never with architecture.[198]

[196] HUSZTI 1925, p. 50; KOLTAY-KASTNER 1974, p. 22.
[197] GOMBRICH (Revival) 1967, p. 72.
[198] BAXANDALL 1971, pp. 112–113.

Architecture, however, was a much discussed subject among the Humanists of Don Alfonso (Beatrice's brother, the Duke of Calabria) from the second half of the 1470s. Giovanni Pontano was the leading personality among them. His writings from the 1490s *(De magnificentia, De splendore)*[199] show that he taught the heir to the throne, Alphonse of Aragon, in the spirit of Aristotle's ethics that his duty was to promote architecture and the arts as they were evidence of his *magnificentia*. At the same time he warned him that in this virtue he must take care not to seek advantage like a *pater familiae* but to act like a king.[200]

Francesco Bandini during his stay in Naples between 1474–76 (or even earlier), became acquainted with the early views on royal art patronage of Pontano's Aristotelian circle. He probably did not suspect how useful this would later prove to be when designing buildings for King Matthias in Hungary after 1476. Bandini was one of that exceptional group of Neoplatonists in Florence who were able to familiarise themselves with Aristotelian views on art patronage. When he went to Naples, he did not forget his Tuscan origins. He not only judged the buildings of the town through the eyes of a Florentine Neoplatonist but also the situation of the artists living there in a Renaissance intellectual society.

Thus he wrote at the end of a letter sent from Naples to an unnamed Florentine friend: "If you want to know about *artes liberales*, they have reached perfection here (in Naples). This is true of theologians, philosophers, poets or eloquent and erudite scholars. The best are to be found here. The physicians and the lawyers are highly skilled and there are more of them here than in any other part of Italy. There is an abundance of musicians, sculptors, painters, architects, engineers and others who belong to similar liberal arts...". (App. IX. 14r.)

This related only generalities about the Neopolitan artists, however, it should be noted that Bandini included sculptors, painters and architects in the list of the *mestieri liberali*. This is all the more interesting since it explicitly expressed that all these were *artes liberales*. This was first stated by Marsilio Ficino, in a letter to the astronomer Paul Middelburg on September 13, 1492. "Our century"—he wrote —"our Golden Age, has once again brought virtually extinct liberal arts to light *(Hoc enim seculum tanquam aureum liberales disciplinas ferme iam extinctas reduxit in lucem)*, grammar, poetry, rhetorics, painting, sculpture, architecture..."[201]

It is not my opinion that Bandini in expressing this view preceded Marsilio Ficino. As has already been mentioned in the history of Humanism certain ideas emerged much earlier, in many cases unbelievably early, without being fully elaborated. However, it appears that in the Neoplatonic circles in Florence where

[199] TATEO 1965, pp. 99, 234, 245.

[200] Pontano, G., Opera omnia. Venetiis, 1518. 128 r, 140 r.

[201] Ficino, Epistole XI. Opera. Basileae, 1576, Vol. I., p. 944. Quoted by: GARIN 1941, p. 98. See: CHASTEL 1954, p. 61; FEUER-TÓTH 1974/1, p. 18.

Bandini frequently turned up, it had long been a subject of discussion that arts had undergone such a development in those times, that it did not seem just to exclude them from the liberal arts *(bonae artes)*.[202] As for the Medieval scholastic classification and within the frames of the social division of labour, the arts belonged to *artes mechanicae*. According to Bonfini King Matthias had similar views. He supported all *bonae artes* and "above all, architecture *(in primis architecturam)* which clearly belongs to the Royal magnificentia." (App. IV.)

The term *bonae artes* underwent a significant change from the time of Antiquity to the Renaissance Neoplatonists. In Cicero[203] it has the same meaning as the *artes liberales* and the early Humanists in the 15th century did not interpret it differently. Poggio Bracciolini excludes such *opificia* as *architectonica*[204] from the category *bonae artes* . Poggio's conservativism indicates that the emancipation of the painters, sculptors and architects—with the exception of Alberti—was difficult for the Humanists even in Florence to accept.

It cannot be proved that King Matthias' eventual conviction, that the arts, primarily architecture, were intellectual acitivities, was due to Bandini's influence. They spent a full thirteen years together and they may have had many conversations before King Matthias accepted Bandini's view that the talent *(ingenium)* of the artist deserves the respect of the *artes liberales*.[205]

To sum up Bandini's activities it could be said that he was the catalyst Humanist that King Matthias could most rely on when designing and realising his Renaissance works. Bandini's deeprooted interest in the arts and primarily in architecture justifies the assumption expressed in the letter from Naples. There seems to be no doubt that he was the only Humanist living in Buda familiar with the artistic life of Florence. Due to his Florentine connections he must have been an indispensable link between the Tuscan artists who came to Hungary and the King. He well understood their way of thought for in his youth he had argued with them day after day, had taken an interest in their work and was familiar with their theory and practice. Due to his great experience he was able to judge which characteristics in the architectural, sculptural and decoration repertoire of the Tuscan artists who came to Hungary could best be used in works made for the King. When he was later forced to leave his native town, he had the chance to add to his knowledge, of the Florentine burgher patronage of architecture, the ecclesiastical and royal *magnificentia* in Rome and Naples.[206] He was, therefore, speci-

[202] Alemanno Rinuccini's Preface to Philostratos: "De vita Apollonii" (1473). Published by GOMBRICH (Progress) 1966, pp. 139–140.

[203] Cicero, De or. 34. 158.

[204] Poggio Bracciolini, Oratio in laudem legum iuris civilis; In: GARIN 1941, p. 11.

[205] GOMBRICH (Progress) 1966. Alemanno Rinuccini is one of the first Neoplatonists who manifested on interest in the artistic progress their age, see foot note 202.

[206] During Bandini's stay in Naples the secretary to Don Alfonso, Beatrice's brother was G. Pontano; see: PERCOPO 1936, pp. 143–144.

ally suited to play the role of art consultant to the King. It can also be presumed that during the preparation of architectural designs, he showed the King those writings by Classical authors which would serve as models to be followed in the building of an *all'antica* residence worthy of a king. There is every reason to believe that the Humanist rules of patronage and architecture were carefully borne in mind in all the work commissioned by King Matthias. All the documents and every fragment of the destroyed Renaissance buildings suggest this.

2. HUMANIST APOLOGIES DEFENDING THE MORALITY OF THE ART PATRONAGE OF KING MATTHIAS

We could think that in Hungary King Matthias could not have been accused about the extent of his *magnificentia* as Cosimo de' Medici was in Florence. There could be little reason for such accusations since kings, according to Aristotle, owing to their high rank and huge fortune were able to spend as musch as they liked. However, due to Petrarch's idea of Humanism, the Roman Republican morality of Cicero and Pliny the Elder remained valid in many respects when judging the *magnificentia* of the Roman Emperors. In several places Pliny the Elder refers to the fact that lavish spending *(luxuria)*, matching the style of Asian kings,[207] was unacceptable on the part of Roman citizens. He condemned the *insania* of Nero, the Roman Emperor. He disapproved of how Nero had had a portrait painted 40 meters high, and claimed that he had been punished for this by the gods as the painting soon after completion was struck by a bolt of lightning and destroyed.[208]

In his dialogue on painting *De remediis utriusque fortunae* Petrarch calls it the insanity of the emperors *(principum insaniae)* how they had spent huge amounts of money on buying Greek paintings and transporting them by sea. (App. II.)

In Bonfini's writings related to the arts we often encounter references to *insana opera*, to insane sums of money *(insana sumptu)* for works of arts and to the huge amounts Matthias and Beatrice had spent on artists recruited from abroad. However, it is significant that these statements with their tone of condemnation appear mainly in *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* written after 1490, that is after the death of King Matthias. (App. V.) Around this time Bonfini was already aiming to please Wladislas II, for Beatrice, whom he possibly disliked, no longer had to be feared though she was still at that time in Hungary.

However, this does not mean that King Matthias in his lifetime was not attacked over his exaggerated *magnificentia*. Bonfini probably only had an oppor-

[207] Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist., XXXIV., 16; Livy, XXXIX., 6, 7.
[208] Pliny the Elder, ibidem, XXXV., 52.

tunity to write about these issues when, following the King's death, a manipulated storm of indignation was directed against him and the Hungarians "condemned the King's senseless spending *(insanos damnare sumptus)*. They accused the King of spending money day after day on vanities, and of wasting the taxes that had been levied for more useful purposes. He had not kept to the thrift and frugality of earlier kings." *(a priscorum regorum parsimonia et frugalitate desisceret)*. (App. V.)

The accusations made by the Hungarians against Matthias deserve attention because they emphasize the ascetic *magnificentia* of the old Hungarian kings in much the same terms as those used by L. B. Alberti describing the art patronage of the ancient Roman kings:

"They thought it most laudable to join the Magnificence of the most profuse Monarchs, to the ancient Parsimony and frugal Contrivance of their own Country: But still in such a Manner, that their Frugality should not prejudice Conveniency, nor Conveniency be too cautious and fearful of Expence; but that both should be embellished by every thing that was delicate of beautiful."[209] *(Cum haec ita essent, placuit regum potentissimorum amplitudinem cum vetere frugalitate coniungere; ita ut neque parsimonia utilitati detraheret, neque utilitas opibus parceret; in utrisque autem, quicquid ad lautitiem venustatemque uspiam excogitari possit, adiungeretur.)*

This conservative opinion was contrary to the ideas of the Humanists at Matthias' Court who considered that in art patronage the Classical example for their ruler was not the "ancient Roman kings" but the great figures of the late Roman Republic and the Roman emperors. The latter allowed themselves such luxury that would have been unimaginable in Rome prior to the conquest of the Asian provinces.[210]

This is expressly stated by Bonfini in the *Averulinus Preface:* "There are other things as well, that make Your Majesty at least as famous and which quite obviously prove that you are Corvinus[211] as well as a Roman Emperor. You are delighted by the sight of great buildings, primarily by those that compete with Antiquity. For when you read that Sulla, Pompey, Lucullus and Agrippa as well as Augustus, Corvinus Messala and many other Romans created gigantic works which proved their *magnificentia (multosque romanos insana opera fecisse lectitaris, quae illorum magnificentiam refferrent)*, you do not endure with a peaceful soul, oh, invincible Prince, that their buildings would surpass yours in their *magnificentia* but you once again revived the architecture of the ancients." (App. IV.)

This Bonfini passage appears mere flattery if we do not interpret *magnificentia* in the Aristotelian sense. In the latter case, however, it is clear that Matthias was a thoughtful patron of architecture who was able to determine in the creation of large works what would suit his status and obligations. He, as a virtuous man *(vir,*

[209] ALBERTI (ed. 1966), p. 455. (VI. 3.)
[210] Livy, XXXIX., 6, 7.
[211] KARDOS 1955, p. 12.

in Petrarch's term) could well judge what he should desire. In this sense the phrase that Matthias with his *magnificentia* surpassed the buildings and works of the above mentioned Romans does not mean that he created even greater magnificence than they did. It refers rather to the fact that Matthias surpassed his predecessors in virtue since in his works, he considered, that as king of a great country and with authority over huge personal and public funds he should not fall into the trap of *miniprepeia*,[212] that is pettiness, opposed to the virtue of *megaloprepeia (magnificentia)*.

He fully fulfilled his duty since, unlike his Roman predecessors, he not only continued an existing architectural tradition but, by abandoning the "barbaric" Gothic architecture, he established Renaissance architecture which genuinely followed Antiquity, and revived the architecture of the ancients. Thus Matthias' *magnificentia* gained added importance, thanks to the fact that by spending huge amounts of money and by hiring Italian craftsmen the King established a completely new, or to be more precise, according to the ideas of the time, a genuinely Antique architecture. This apology was meant for those who had condemned Matthias for abandoning the frugal ways of the earlier kings. Bonfini's seeming flattery could in essence be considered as a moral apology. This characteristic appears in his other writings relating to the arts, such as in an epigram he wrote for the inscription for the "Unfinished palace" of the Royal Palace of Buda. (App. V.b.)

Atria cum statuis ductis ex aere foresque
Corvini referunt principis ingenium,
Mathiam partos tot post ex hoste triumphos
Virtus, es, marmor, scripta perire vetant.

(Palaces with bronze statues and doors
proclaim the talent of Prince Corvinus,
Matthias and his triumphs over the enemy
Will not perish owing to virtue,
bronze, marble and writing.)

This epigram concisely covers many aspects of the Ciceronian–Petrarcan concept of *magnificentia*. It assures us that the buildings with their bronze statues and doors on which Matthias spent huge sums of money, were created to serve moral excellence and virtue. They prove Matthias' *ingenium*. Among these, the pride of place is taken by his warlike deeds and triumphs over his enemies. His works express these ideas and it was because of them that he deserved his fame to be immortalised in bronze, marble and the writings of the chroniclers.

[212] Aristotle, Et. Nich. IV. 1122b.

The Classical source for Bonfini's epigram was Pliny the Elder who proclaimed that in Roman times statues had been erected only for those deserving eternity *(perpetuitatem merentium)*.[213] Of the Humanists Petrarch—as mentioned above—elaborated in even greater detail than Pliny that in his opinion Antique examples had to be followed so that the results of art patronage could be considered as virtuous. His sources, beside Pliny the Elder, include Cicero and Saint Augustine. All these authorities argued that only those who did great things *(magna gessissent)* deserved to be immortalised by works of art. These included such men as those who sacrificed their lives for the Republic, like the messengers to the Fidenates,[214] or those who, like Scipio Africanus,[215] liberated Italy, or those who were educated and talented like Victorinus.[216] (App. III.)

The same emphasis on the morality of art patronage is present in the *Dalmata Deed of Gift* in which it is stated, on behalf of King Matthias, that Giovanni Dalmata deserves praise because, by completing his statues, he also leaves behind and extends to beyond his death the fame and praise of his martial deeds. (App. VII.)

The Humanists must have considered the apology for the morality of art patronage very important, since Francesco Arrigoni the third Humanist of Matthias and Beatrice, also devoted, after he left Hungary, the largest part of his twenty-three epigram-variations, intended for the inscription of the Sforza monument, to that subject. In ten of these epigrams he emphasizes that Lodovico il Moro, the patron of the statue, justifiably spent huge sums of money on this work since it served a moral purpose. It portrays a hero, like Francesco Sforza whose life had been one of martial and civic virtue. He, therefore, deserved that his courage and triumphs in war should be immortalised. (App. VI.b., epigrams No. 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23.; figs 7–8.)

The "morality" of the equestrian statue is also underlined by the fact that the patron of the statue himself was motivated by virtue and filial piety, that is by *pietas* to create the *opus* (App. VI.b., epigrams No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, 21, 22, 23). Of the many variations I shall quote only epigram No. 1. to illustrate the point.

Ego sum ille Franciscus Sforcia vocatus,
Qui militaris atque civilis rei
Scientia, tantas brevi paravi opes,
Et nomen immortale. Filii mei
Pietas equestrem erexit hanc statuam mihi.

[213] Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist., XXXIV., 16.
[214] Cicero, Philipp. IX. II. 14. See: BAXANDALL 1971, p. 57, Note 12.
[215] Livy, XXXVII. 56. See: BAXANDALL 1971, p. 57, Note 13.
[216] Augustinus, Conf. VIII. 2. See: BAXANDALL 1971, ibidem.

(I am the man who was called Francisco Sforza at home in the science of martial and civic affairs. In a brief time I acquired treasures and an immortal name. My son's piety erected this equestrian statue.)

It is quite remarkable that none of the twenty-three epigrams of Francesco Arrigoni mentions the name of the artist, who was none other than Leonardo da Vinci, but he does compare him, without actually naming him, to the greatest sculptors of Antiquity, to Scopas, Polyclitus, Phidias, Myron and Lysippus. (App. VI.b., epigram No. 9.) He only mentions the creative activity of the artist in an indirect way, assuring readers that the equestrian statue might well have been created by the gods.

This does not mean that Arrigoni was unaware that Leonardo was the sculptor of the Sforza monument. What is at issue is that the epigrams themselves were commissioned by Lodovico il Moro, a patron of the arts, for Humanist *decorum* required that the writer should consider the *dominus* and not the artist. On the other hand, the Roman sources informed the Humanists about the kind of wording considered suitable for inscriptions on statues in public squares. The passage following that which mentions the statues of the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* offers precise information to this end.

"The practice of erecting statues from a most civilised sense of rivalry was afterwards taken up by the whole of the world, and the custom proceeded to arise of having statues adorning the public places of all municipal towns and of perpetuating the memory of human beings and of inscribing lists of honours on the bases to be read for all time, so that such records should not be read on their tombs only *(excepta deinde res est a toto urbe terrarum humanissima ambitione, et in omnium municipiorum foris statuae ornamentum esse coepere propagarique memoria hominum et honores legendi aevo basibus inscribi, ne in sepulcris tantum legerentur)*.[217]

Arrigoni is sure to have known the *locus classicus* as is made clear by the second epigram explaining Lodovico il Moro's action: *Summis habitus hic est honor semper viris*. (App. VI.b., epigram No. 2.)

On the other hand, Arrigoni also failed to mention Leonardo by name because the artistic morality of the Classical age—whose essence is represented by studies on *magnificentia*, the proper patronage of the art—generally neglected artists. The subject is too large to go into greater detail here, but it is worth mentioning that in Renaissance Humanism, the Moral (and not Aesthetic) idea of the Antiquity, the artist himself was considered to be negligible because he could not be personally responsible for the purpose and the scale of financial sacrifice in the same way as the patron was in having the work of art created. In the spirit of *decorum* the patron, the *dominus*, had also to be responsible for the fact that a large work of art had to be matched by the qualities of the chosen artist, who in his turn had to be

[217] Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist., XXXIV., 17.

worthy of the status of the *magnificus* patron. Thus, an artist working for a king or emperor had to be *the best possible artist of the time*. If he was not then there was a risk that the person portrayed would not be immortalised in the way he deserved.

In a reference to Varro on Alexander the Great this view was also discussed by Pliny the Elder. According to him, Alexander the Great stated that he could be painted only by Apelles, his portrait could be carved only by Pyrgoteles, and Lysippus alone could be allowed to make a bronze statue of him.[218] Petrarch quotes this almost word by word but makes an important addition about how Alexander the Great had not in fact chosen any other artists regardless of how skilled or talented they were. *(qualibet ingenii, artisque fiducia)* (App. III.) The Petrarcan view remained valid even in the 15th century but a commentary was added which provided an additional gloss. Leonardo Giustiniani, one of Guarino Veronese's students wrote before 1446: "Alexander the Great wanted above all Apelles, one of the greatest painters of his age, to portray him. One wonders why? Because he was aware that his fame—on which he laboured diligently—is increased to no small degree by the art of Apelles."[219] *(Alexander ille Magnus ab Apelle aetatis suae lectissimo potissimum pingi voluit. Quid ita? quoniam ad ipsius gloriam, cujus studiosissimus erat, non parvani ex Apellis arte futuram accessionem intelligebat:...)*

It is, therefore, not surprising that of all the Humanist fragments written in connection with the arts in Hungary the *Dalmata Deed of Gift* alone goes into details about the artist. The introduction is close in spirit to the passages that have been quoted from Petrarch and from Leonardo Giustiniani.

"We, King Matthias ... wish it to be kept in mind that our loyal subject, Joannis Duknovich de Tragurio, bronze and marble sculptor, should be given recognition for his unique talent and outstanding skills *(singulare, illud ingenium praeclaramque artem)* as he deserves *(ut decet)*. With these, not only here, in our country, but with other Princes of this World, he earned outstanding praise and glory. We also consider how useful he will be modelling and polishing bronze statues and similar works, how with his craftsmanship and diligence he will increase the glory of our name and our entire kingdom (... *quantum nominis etiam, sua arte et industria in similibus operibus ad nostram et totius Regni nostri adjiciatur,...* (App. VII.)

The man who drafted the *Dalmata Deed of Gift* propagates the fame of the artist in the spirit of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Petrarch primarily placed emphasis on proving that the fame of the artist, which had completely remained in the background during the Middle Ages, was held high in Antiquity. In the chapter on

[218] Ibidem, VII., 127.

[219] Leonardo Giustiniani's letter to the Queen of Cyprus (before 1446) published by BAXANDALL 1971, p. 62.

sculpture in *De remediis utriusque fortunae* he points out that in olden times great men, emperors and kings supported artists and collected their works. "In great fame of the *artifex* added to this. It did not disseminate by common people or only the silent works of art but writers glorified them as well. This (fame) was so great that it could not stem from a small root. (Fame) does not grow out of nothing and it had to be great or at least it should have seemed if great minds discussed it in full seriousness." (App. III.)

Petrarch wrote this with the intention of stimulating fellow-writers to follow the example of Antiquity. The full recognition of the fame of the contemporary artist (Giotto) as the unity of *ars-ingenium*,[220] as the emphasis on quality, taken over from poetics and rhetoric is encountered first in Florentine Humanism. In their writings first Boccaccio,[221] then Villani, the historiographer, acted as pioneers. The latter included in his chronicle, despite the mockers, those outstanding Florentine painters who revived lifeless and almost dead arts.[222]

Followed Giustiniani, however, the man who drafted the *Dalmata Deed of Gift* considered primarily the *fama* of the artist to be important, because this would increase not only the fame of King Matthias but even more that of the country. His source was presumably Leon Battista Alberti who explicitly made it the obligation of *bonus vir* to decorate his house saying that "... we adorn our Habitations... to procure Honour to our Country and our Families, ..." *(patriae familiaeque condecorandae)*.[223] When writing down this sentence Alberti did no less than adapt the most important characteristics of the Aristotelian *magnificentia* to the social relations of his age. Aristotle had said that the *magnificus* man spends not on himself but on the interests of his community. He decorates his house in keeping with his wealth since the house itself can also be considered as the ornament of the community.[224]

Nevertheless, the man who drafted the *Dalmata Deed of Gift* went a step further than Alberti. While Alberti had set the obligation of decorating the *patria*, the city-state, to the *bonus vir*, he assessed the result of King Matthias' patronage of the arts in the context of a much larger community, of the whole country, the *Regnum*.[225]

From a Humanist point of view King Matthias' patronage of the arts was vulnerable because the design of buildings and statues, the organisation of the employment of artists occupied far too much of the ruler's valuable time; it

[220] See footnote 37.

[221] Boccaccio, Decameron VI. 5.

[222] Villani, Filippo: De origine civitatis Florentiae, et de eiusdem famosis civibus. Vatican Library, Ms. Barb. lat. 2610.f 71. Published by BAXANDALL 1971, pp. 145–148. Idem ibidem, p. 67. publishes the most important Villani literature.

[223] Alberti, De re. aed. IX. 1.

[224] Aristotle, Et. Nich. IV. 1123. a.

[225] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 631 and 631, Note 1.

diverted his attention from his obligations to peace and war. The Humanist King Matthias was fully aware of this. In a letter to Pomponius Laetus written in 1474, he himself wrote that he could afford the enjoyment of literature only in his leisure.[226] The same naturally applied also to the visual arts. Petrarch, in a passage on literature where he is appreciating the merits of Pliny the Elder, considered it important to stress that he limited the time spent on his intellectual activities in the *artes liberales* to his leisure, since being a high ranking statesman he did not want to be considered idle and lazy.[227] Bonfini literally follows Petrarch in his *Averulinus Preface*, for after mentioning that the King had revived ancient architecture, he considered it important to emphasize that the King had done so at a time when there was a brief peace with both emperors,[228] so that it should not appear that he had wasted his time in fruitless idleness. (App. IV.)

The fact that for Matthias architecture basically served as recreation, is also noted by Bonfini in his description of the Vienna castle in the *Averulinus Preface*. "In the Vienna castle You erected hanging gardens and a hanging porticus so that the ever tired body should not grow weak at unsuitable times. After battles other princes hunt and enjoy the theatre and music by way of recreation spending much valuable time in shallow entertainment." (App. IV.)

The idea that architecture offered a noble and useful, that is, moral use of leisure for the Prince, could have been taken by Bonfini from Filarete. The latter wrote in this spirit in his preface to *Trattato di architettura* addressed to Francesco Sforza. This *praefatio* is also in the Italian Filarete copy that was translated by Bonfini into Latin.

"Perchè ti diletti d'edificare, come in molte altre virtù se'eccelente, credo, quando non sarai occupato in maggior cose, ti piacerà vedere e intendere questi modi e misure e proporzioni d'edificare, le quale sono stato trovate da valentissimi omini. Sicchè tu come degno e magnanimo principe e ottimo maestro di guerre e amatore e conservatore di pace, quando non se' occupato da quella che per difendersi si fa con ragione, tu, per non istare in ozio coll'effetto, t'eserciti colla mente senza niuna istima di spesa. Questa è ben cosa degna a uno principe a simile esercizio attendere, sì per utilità, sì per gloria e per accomodare ancora il suo tesoro a molte persone e dare vita a molti, i quali perirebbeno."[229]

There was good reason why Bonfini and the other Humanists in Buda paid such close attention to the defence of the morality of King Matthias' *magnificentia* following that of the Roman emperors. The latter could be strongly questioned according to the ideas of the time as foreign princes denied Matthias' legitimacy

[226] TELEKI 1855, pp. 454–455.

[227] Petrarca, Rer. mem. I–II. See NOLHAC 1965, Vol. II., p. 69.

[228] The interpretation of "both emperors" can be debated; KOLTAY-KASTNER 1974, p. 21, Note 11. says it means Frederic III and his son. According to an oral information by Péter Kulcsár it refers to the Habsburg and Turkish Emperors.

[229] TIGLER 1963, p. 18.

to the Hungarian throne as he was *merely* an elected king. Furthermore, the Bohemian King, Podiebrad and many Hungarian magnates, who had reached the same conclusion, attacked his origins. Matthias himself repeatedly attempted to overcome his "problematical" origins by marriage into the Jagellone or Habsburg dynasties. Following his failures to do so the Humanists, primarily Bonfini, came to his help.

Even before his arrival in Hungary, around 1484–85, he wrote a small book on the origins of the Corvinus dynasty *(Libellus de Corvinianae domus origine)*, which has since been lost. He tries to back the legitimacy of Matthias' rule by deriving his origins from the Roman Corvinus family.[230] This is why he bases his apology of Matthias' *magnificentia* on the fact that, since his genealogy can be traced back to the Roman Corvinus family and through his virtue of being a patron of the arts, he surpassed not only his Roman ancestors but even the emperors of his own time.

[230] KARDOS 1955, pp. 12, 23.

3. THE ARCHITECTURAL AND SCULPTURAL TERMINOLOGY OF THE HUMANISTS AT THE HUNGARIAN COURT AND THEIR CLASSICAL SOURCES

The writings on art of the Humanists as well as the works of the successors of the Medieval orators and grammarians, who were working according to new standpoints, have so far been extensively studied by M. Baxandall. His attention primarily focused on writings that provided information on the development of Early Renaissance art criticism. My point of view is different, though I accept what Baxandall has to say on the Latin terminology and his conclusion that in their art terminology, the Humanists were their own lexicographers.[231]

This is explained by the fact that lacking Latin or Greek specialised dictionaries, the Humanists took over the terminology of the *locus classicus* from the writings of respected Classical authors where the terms could be interpreted on the basis of the context. The Humanists at the Hungarian court acted in a similar way. They followed in the footsteps of the Humanists who were able to review the aims of the movement in full, such as Petrarch or Lorenzo Valla. They primarily considered it important that the Humanist grammarian did everything possible in order to establish the import, the Latin (or Greek) technical term used by them, had in Antiquity. If in the course of time (during the Middle Ages) it had changed its meaning he had to do his utmost to restore the original Classic meaning of the term. For the Humanist, a Latin or Greek technical term used by a respected Classical source represented a long lost piece of Antiquity. If he succeeded in rediscovering its meaning he indirectly helped the artists and the patrons of the arts revive an already lost artistic genre, type of building, sculpture or motif.

The few available sources allow one to claim that the Humanists of the Hungarian court conscientiously adhered to this practice. The work they did in the collection and interpretation of artistic references and technical terms from Classical sources can best be traced in Bonfini's writings. "Good Latin" was the most important aim of the orator, as he himself noted in the *Averulinus Preface*, and he tried to ensure this while translating it. (App. IV.) He must have worked hard collecting all the architectural technical terms in the writings of Classical authors

[231] BAXANDALL 1971, p. 11.

which he needed for making translations. It does not seem likely that he could have done all of the work on his own since he had only three months available for his translation of Filarete.

So far Hungarian scholars have neglected a short but outstanding Hungarian work which drew attention to the fact that "it was primarily the Classical authors who influenced Bonfini's language, like other Italian Humanists of the age he applied a term always in keeping with its original meaning."[232] In the spirit of this principle J. Zlinszky and M. Zlinszky-Sternegg, who had collected with considerable resource, were successfully able to explain Bonfini's *postes insuper emblemate conspicui* meaning that the doors of the Buda palace of Matthias were decorated with outstanding intarsia work.

I have applied this tried and proven method to my own work by endeavouring to find the Classical sources of the technical terms used by Bonfini and the other Humanists in Buda, that is the sources which were also available to them. In addition, if I fortunately found the *locus classicus*, and if the opportunity was given, I controlled it by a comparison with Bonfini's "Averulinus translation"[233] and the Italian Filarete text.[234]

It is not possible to publish the results of my work in full since the quantity of the material collected would exceed the spatial limitations of this study. Therefore, I shall only refer to a few possible explanation of words which appear important from the art historical point of view.

a) ARCHITECTURAL TECHNICAL TERMS

Bonfini uses the term *absis* in his description of the Eastern wing of Buda Palace in his *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*. He notes that in front of the library *cubiculum est in absida curvatum*. (App. V.b.) Nowadays an apse is considered as a semicircular extension of the nave or chancel of a Romanesque, Gothic or Renaissance church and neither is the term used in a different way by historians of Roman architecture. Therefore, it seemed natural that the room beside the library was presumed to be semicircular with an apse.

However, the Humanist who found the term apse in a Classical text, in Pliny the Younger's description of the Villa Laurentinum, was in a quite different position. All he could learn from Pliny was that, onto one of the wings of the villa,

[232] ZLINSZKY-STERNEGG 1966, p. 110.

[233] Antonii Averulini florentini De Architectura libri XXV ex italico idiomate ab Antonio Bonfinio Asculano latine redditi, ad Matthiam Corvinum Hungariae Regem. Venezia. Biblioteca Marciana. Ms. 2796. A microfilm is available at the National Széchényi Library, Budapest, F. M. 1489. See below as Averulinus translation.

[234] FILARETE (ed. 1972).

Adnectitur angulo cubiculum in hapsida curvatum,...[235] The modern translator, familiar with the ground-plan of Pliny's villa from the 19th century excavations, rightly translates this as a semicircular room joined at the corner. However, neither Bonfini, nor any other Humanist engaged in collecting and interpreting the technical terms of Classical architecture, could have known the ground-plan of Pliny's villa. All he could know was that the *absis* or *apsis* as a Greek word means a joining, an arch. He could not have known whether the curve concerned was located inside the building horizontally (as on a ground-plan) or vertically (as a ceiling). It is not known why the Renaissance Humanists reached the conclusion that the term *absis* in its Classical source meant arched ceiling. Bonfini's text in several places exemplified that interpretation of the term apse. The most important is that in the translation of the treatise[236] Bonfini translates Filarete's Italian *voltura*[237] as *absis*. But in *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* a sentence is also found where *absis* means an arched ceiling. *Cum ultra processeris, varie mansiones in excelsam absidem convexe*—writes Bonfini (App. V.b.), that is correctly translated by László Geréb as "proceeding further on, we find high rooms with arched ceilings".[238]

All this clearly means that in the Eastern wing of Buda Palace, the room beside the library (or the second library) could certainly not have had a semicircular ground-plan, but must have had an arched ceiling. That these walls were straight was confirmed when the ruins of the foundation-wall of the Buda Palace were excavated.

Bonfini mentions *diaeta* in direct connection with the sentence quoted above, and it is generally referred to in Hungarian translations as an assembly room.[239] This interpretation is contradicted in Pliny the Younger's description of the Villa Laurentinum where the Humanist of Buda could have found an almost lexically exact definition of *diaeta*. It was a private suite[240] of several rooms which, in addition to the bedroom and living-room, contained a dining-room suitable for everyday use and for receiving friends. *(Est in hac diaeta dormitorium, cubiculum, ... ei cotidiana amicorumque cenatio... Est et aliud cubiculum...)*[241]

In the description of the Buda Palace, the *diaeta* mentioned by Bonfini was not an assembly room but one of the King's private suites which was possibly in the Southern, or South-Western wing of the building.

In *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* (App. V.b.) Bonfini mentions *heliocamini* in the same part of Buda Palace. This expression can also be found in Pliny's letter,[242]

[235] Pliny the Younger, Ep. II. 17. 8.
[236] Averulinus translation fol. 139r; 140v.
[237] FILARETE (ed. 1972), Vol. II., pp. 539, 540.
[238] KARDOS 1955, p. 300.
[239] Ibidem.
[240] Pliny the Younger, Ep. V. 6. 20, 21, 22.
[241] Idem Ep. V. 6. 21, 22.
[242] Idem Ep. II. 17, 20.

modern translations call it a "sunny place of Southerly exposure" or a "sunparlour". Bonfini's interpretation, however, is different. A comparison of the Averulinus-translation of Bonfini and the Italian Filarete[243] text clearly shows that Bonfini was of the opinion that the Greek *eliocaminon* was the equivalent of the Italian *loggia*.

Filarete text:	Averulinus translation:
e salita questa scala, si truova uno luogo quadro, il quale è in colonne, come dire una loggia... e per questa medesima loggia, il quale portico va alli luoghi e stanze...	139 v. *Conscensis iam scalis quadratum quendam locum offendes columnis circumstructum in eliocamini speciem... Ultra eliocaminon porticus est, qua varia mansiones adentur...*

The *eliocaminon* was located in the South-Western wing of the Buda Palace but it could probably not be identified with the loggias that surrounded the court of honour which in the *Averulinus Preface* (App. IV.) Bonfini calls *obambulatio*, in the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* (App. V.b.) *ambulacrum*. Bonfini also mentions *heliocaminos* in connection with King Matthias' buildings in Vienna: "After the occupation of Vienna (King Matthias) had hanging gardens, and loggias *(heliocaminos)* built in the castle as well as marble fountains into which he had water convected through pipes." (App. V.b.)

The majority of architectural technical terms used by Pliny the Younger can also be found in the writings of other authors. Terms describing various parts of the villas and the gardens frequently occur in the writings of Cicero[244] and Varro.[245] Others occur in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*.[246] Passages generally describing the floors in Book XXXVI mention the various techniques of decoration, for example *opus emblematicum* and *opus vermiculatum*.[247]

Bonfini must have known this source well for it was available to him, and he could even have used it at Matthias' Court since it was in the Corvina Library.[248]

[243] FILARETE (ed. 1972), Vol. II., p. 538.

[244] Cicero, Ad Quintum. III. 1–6.

[245] Varro, De rer. rust. III. 2. 10.

[246] Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist., XXXVI., 189.

[247] Ibidem, XXXVI., 185.

[248] Pliny's Natural History was available at the Corvina Library in two copies. Its shortened version: Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. lat. 437. BIBL. CORVINIANA 1981, p. 57, No. 84, table XXXIII. The other copy is complete: Biblioteca Vaticana. Cod. Vat. lat. 1951: BIBL. CORVINIANA 1981, p. 64, No. 124. A microfilm is available at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: 1737/B. In this copy I did not find annotations at the passages concerning architecture.

Bonfini made use of these expressions although he did not receive much help from Pliny the Elder in understanding their precise meaning. Therefore, once again, he turned to the original Greek or Latin metaphor—as has been proved by J. Zlinszky and M. Zlinszky-Sternegg[249]—in the case of *postes insuper emblemata conspicui.* The *opus emblematicum* really means intarsia decoration as proved by a comparison of the Averulinus codex (the translation of Bonfini) and the parallel Filarete passage.[250] The latter also makes it clear that Bonfini applied the term not only to wood but also to metal and enamel inlay. There is no doubt that *postes* was used by Bonfini to mean a door, or more *precisely,* the leaves of doors. In *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* when discussing the double entrance of the Unifinished Palace of Matthias with his epigram above it, he clearly calls the bronze door-leaf, that were decorated with the deeds of Hercules, *postes.* (App. V.b.) In doing this he also follows Pliny the Elder, who uses *postis,* the plural door-leaf, to mean door-frame as well.[251] In the *Averulinus Preface* Bonfini calls these *valvae.* (App. IV.)

A comparison of the original (Italian) Filarete text and the Latin translation makes it clear that when, describing the *Villa marmorea* that stood in the garden of Buda Palace, Bonfini mentioned the *columnea embrycatae* (App. V.b.) he had fluted columns in mind. In the Averulinus translation[252] he translates Filarete's *colonne di poco rilievo a canali*[253] as *columnae embricate* in Latin. Scholars have so far neglected the fact that Bonfini was thoroughly familiar with *De architectura* by Vitruvius. In the Latin and Greek architectural terminology, he used Vitruvius' technical terms in more than one place. The following is one of many examples.

In *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* Bonfini mentions that King Matthias planned to have triglyphs under the eaves of the façade on the building (the Unfinished Palace) whose main entrance was decorated by bronze reliefs depicting the deeds of Hercules. *(In fronte subgrundiis tectorum triglyphos subiicere decreverat.)* (App. V.b.) The use of the expression *trighlyph* itself does not prove that Bonfini was familiar with Vitruvius. However, the comparison of the Averulinus translation and the Italian Filarete text shows that Bonfini was even more familiar than Filarete at least with the book by Vitruvius which describes the characteristic components of the Doric entablature.

Bonfini does not literally translate the sentence in Filarete's treatise describing the front of the Banco Mediceo in Milan as "on it there is a wooden entablature in the Antique style with various clay heads,[254] but diverges from the Italian

[249] ZLINSZKY-STERNEGG 1966.
[250] FILARETE (ed. 1972), Vol. I. p. 250.
[251] Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist., XVIII., 142.
[252] Averulinus translation f. 171v.
[253] FILARETE (ed. 1972), Vol. I., p. 249.
[254] FILARETE (ed. 1972), Vol. II., p. 699.

original by using genuine Classical technical terms, and thus explains the real meaning of Filarete's *all'antica* entablature. In his version Bonfini writes that "the upper part of the house at the eaves is crowned by a finely elaborated protrusion made of wood, this is decorated by triglyphs and different metopes".[255]

Filarete text:	Averulinus translation:
Ha una cornice alla fine della sua altezza, fatta all'antica, di legname, sotto la quale sono varie teste di terra,...	*Domus in fastigio ad subgrundia elaboratissima quadam lignae prominentia coronatur, cui Triglyphi: metope variaque sunt ornamenta...*

Bonfini—in a completed translation—took over the use of the technical terms *prominentia, subgrundatio, trighlyph* and *metope* from the chapter describing the Doric entablature by Vitruvius.[256]

In describing the Doric entablature Bonfini shows a remarkable knowledge that is rare in a Humanist. One cannot rule out the possibility that the building of an entablature with triglyphs mentioned in the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* was actually planned for Buda Palace. This might have happened in the period between 1487–90 when Bonfini was a member of Matthias' Court and had a chance to study the models and designs for the planned building. If this was really the case, it would have had a great significance in the history of architecture; it would mean that a complete Doric order was planned in Hungary earlier than in Italy. According to current research, Bramante was the first to use the entablature of Doric order in Italy in 1502 on the *Tempietto* in Rome.[257]

De architectura by Vitruvius was almost certainly in the Corvina Library, for it is known that his work had already been published in print in 1486. Hungarian scholars have recorded a manuscript of Vitruvius[258] which can be assumed to have been taken to Constantinople together with other books from the Corvina Library and from there in the 19th century found its way to the Budapest University Library.

I handled this MS with the secret hope that perhaps it was the copy that might also have been used by the Humanists and architects in Buda. After a more thorough examination of the book, however, it turned out that the MS is a copy made in 1463 deriving from a group of Medieval Vitruvius manuscripts, that could not possibly be identical with the one Bonfini used. The spelling in Bonfini's text

[255] Averulinus translation f. 171v.
[256] Vitruvius, De arch. VI. 2. 3., VI. 2. 5.
[257] ROSENTHAL 1964, p. 61.
[258] MEZEY 1961, p. 47. 32; CSAPODI 1973, p. 393, No. 700.

is different from the spelling of the MS in the University Library. Bonfini wrote *metope;* this word in the MS of the University Library is in the form of *metopha* or *metophe*. (e. g. fol 45 v.) This seemingly minor difference means, according to experts, that the Medieval ancestor of the University Library's Vitruvius was the *Harleianus* MS[259] in the British Museum while that of the volume used by Bonfini was the *Amiatus* MS.[260] It is, therefore, likely that Bonfini worked from the first printed Vitruvius copy (published in Rome in 1486) as he follows the spelling of the latter. It was presumably also available in the Corvina Library.

In conclusion it would be true to say that Bonfini took over the Greek and Latin architectural technical terms primarily from the letters of Pliny the Younger and from Vitruvius, as well as from the works of Cicero and Varro and from the *Natural History* by Pliny the Elder, interpreting some of the terms in keeping with the original Greek metaphors.

b) THE HUMANIST TECHNICAL TERMS OF SCULPTURE AND OTHER CRAFTS

The Humanists at the Buda Court writing about Renaissance sculpture were familar with *Institutio oratoria* by Quintilian as a general and compulsory text book. In one of its chapters the author elaborates in detail of the Latin terminology relating to sculpture in order to illustrate better the versatile material of rhetoric by describing the material used in the other (minor) arts. He points out in this context that like rhetoric a metalworker *(caelator)* also uses versatile materials, such as gold, silver and bronze. The activity of carving *(sculptura)* is practised on wood, ivory, marble, glass and the precious stones... "if I ask what materials are used by the sculptor *(statuarius)* they say: bronze. If I ask what material is used by the vase-making master *(excusor)*, whom the Greek call *chalkeutiken*, they again answer: bronze, though there is a great difference between vases *(vasa)* and the bronze statues *(statua)*."[261]

The antecedents of Quintilian's terminology can be found in Cicero,[262] and in full detail in the much quoted *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder. This latter work is an ancient Encyclopedia of the Natural Sciences and its five Books (Books 33–37) discuss the visual arts at the description of the various materials as methods

[259] VITRUVIUS (ed. 1955), Vol. I., p. 215, Note 6.

[260] Ibidem, Introduction XVI.

[261] Quintilianus, Inst. Or. II. 7–12. The work was naturally available in the Corvina Library: National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Clmae 414: BIBL. CORVINIANA 1981, p. 46, No. 31.

[262] Cicero. In Verrem. IV. 41. This work was also available in the Corvina Library: Cicero, Marcus Tullius: Orationes VII in Verrem: The Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: Cod. Lat. 2.: BIBL. CORVINIANA 1981, p. 40, No. 6. Photo: CORVINA, V., 3rd table, CSAPODI 1973, No. 192.

of their processing. In the 34th book, in referring to copper he discusses the various ways of using bronze. In the 35th book, when describing the minerals which are suitable for making paints he writes about painting, in the 36th book, in relation to marble he discusses stone and marble statues and architecture in general. In the same book, the discussion on clay leads him to refer to the making of brick and pottery statues. In the 37th book, when dealing with precious stones he describes the making of gems and their history.

Sculpture in bronze—according to Pliny—is the art of modelling, casting and engraving of bronze *(statuaria, fingendi, fundendi, caelandique aeris scientia)*.[263] Pliny discusses *sculptura* most extensively when describing different types of marbles, and he also speaks about the history of sculpture in marble *(marmore scalpendo)*. Working in bronze is never called *sculptura* by Pliny, nor by other respected Roman authors, and he even classifies artists according to the various types of material they worked with. A characteristic feature is, for example, if a Greek sculptor worked both with bronze and marble, as is the case with Phidias, then he is noted in the book on metals as a *statuarius* and in the book of marble as a marble sculptor.[264] Pliny—and in general the best orators—are consistent also in using different verbs in connection with *statuaria* and *sculptura*. The bronze sculptor models *(fingere, effingere)* and engraves *(caelare)*, the marble sculptor and the gem-maker carves *(sculpere, scalpere)* and polishes *(polire, expolire)*. Thus Pliny writes: "For smoothing marble statues and also for engraving and filling down gems the Naxian stone was for long the favourite." *(Signis e marmore poliendis gemmisque etiam scalpendis atque limandis Naxium diu placuit ante alia.)*[265]

The verbs *fingere* and *effingere* mean another kind of sculpture in Pliny: *plasticen*[266] (in Greek: *plasticē)* that can best be translated as modelling. In the 35th book of his work Pliny says that the highly respected Varro "also praises Pasiteles, who said that modelling was the mother of chasing and of bronze statuary and sculpture, and who, although he was eminent in all these arts, never made anything before he had made a clay model". *(laudat et Pasitelen, qui plasticen matrem caelaturae et statuariae sculpturaeque dixit et, cum esset in omnibus iis summus, nihil umquam fecit ante quam finxit.)*[267]

Petrarch was the first Humanist who studied the Classic meaning of the technical terms in art and proved that the restoration of their original meaning was possible through a careful examination of Classical writings. It is due to this that the exact definition of *plasticen* can be learnt from him and noone else: "One of

[263] Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist. XXXI., 9.
[264] Ibidem, XXXIV., 54, XXXVI., 18–19.
[265] Ibidem, XXXVI., 54.
[266] Ibidem, XXXV., 156.
[267] Ibidem.

these crafts imitating nature by hand is called *plasticen*. It involves working with gypsum, wax or soft clay." (App. III.) For the short definition he used several passages by Pliny the Elder as a source since he considered it very important to revive the technical terms that had lost their meaning in the Middle Ages. He undertook a difficult job aiming to provide a picture of the sculpture of Antiquity which his contemporaries and successors could follow.

He realised that no term was available in the Classical authors that corresponded to sculpture. *Signum* applied to sculptures and reliefs but he must have found it disturbing that it had a much wider meaning than modern sculpture. In Cicero's fourth speech against Verres known as *De signis*, he not only discusses sculpture but also coins, reliefs, bronze vases, figurative and decorative goldsmith works, and even paintings.

The other term for sculpture used by the Classical authors was *simulacrum* that primarily meant a statue of a god. Petrarch was dissuaded from its use by the Vulgate Latin that had expropriated the term to mean an *idol*.[268]

Finally, Petrarch decided to choose *statua* in the title in his dialogue on sculpture in *De remediis utriusque fortunae*. This was facilitated by the fact that in the Bible it means a statue[269] made not only in bronze but regardless of its material. Petrarch was aware, however, that in Cicero and the other Classical authors, *statua* in most cases meant only bronze sculptures. This is also indicated in the dialogue, in connection with Lysippus the sculptor, for he uses the appropriate classic verb, *fingere*, and when mentioning the gem-engraver Pyrgoteles he writes *sculpere*. (App. III.) Petrarch's friend and close disciple Dondi, when discussing Roman buildings and bronze and carved sculptures, makes a clear distinction between *statua* and *sculptura: Edificia dico vetera et statuas sculpturasque . . .*[270]

The classic use of terms attracted the attention not only of the Humanists but also of artists with a Humanist education. Ghiberti, who was the first to sum up in Italian the chapters on sculpture by Pliny the Elder, always called "working in bronze" *statuaria*.[271]

The Humanists of the Hungarian Renaissance Court likewise considered it important to express and interpret the various Renaissance arts following the example of Classical authors. In the Hungarian sources can also be found a writing where the author have taken great care to express the various skills in correct Latin using the terminology of Quintilian and Cicero. I refer to the author of the so-called *Dalmata Deed of Gift* who—as has been already mentioned—formulated his first sentence in July 25, 1488:

[268] I John 5:21.

[269] Daniel 3:1–6.

[270] The text of Dondi's letter is published by ESSLING-MÜNTZ 1902, p. 45, Note 2–3. See: PANOFSKY 1960, p. 209, Note 1. He notices that Dondi interprets *statua* and *sculptura* in different ways.

[271] SCHLOSSER 1912, Vol. I., p. 3.; Vol. II., pp. 1, 4, 17, 18.

"We, King Matthias etc. wish it to be kept in mind that our loyal subject Joannis Duknovich de Tragurio *statuarius sive marmorum sculptor* should be given recognition as he deserves for his unique talent and outstanding skills..." (App. VII.) It is obvious that in this sentence—as the one quoted above by Dondi—*sive* must be translated as a disjunctive between *statuarius* and *marmorum sculptor*. This is quite common in Classical Latin.[272] The two nouns, therefore, cannot have the same meaning, but following the terminology of Quintilian and of Pliny the Elder they cover two different types of skills. It is obvious that King Matthias thought highly of Giovanni Dalmata's work in both bronze and marble. This is the reason why he presented him with the Castle of Majkovec. The consistent use of classic terms is borne out by his usage of the two verbs which in Pliny the Elder mean, on the one hand, bronze sculpting *(effingere)*, and, on the other, describe the activities of the marble-sculptor *(expolire)*. This explains why it is written in the *Deed* that the artist who had been brought to Hungary was useful to the King both in the casting of bronze and the polishing of marble. (App. VII.)

The word *statuarius* is worthy of attention in relation to Dalmata since art historians do not list him among sculptors in bronze. This is understandable since none of his bronzes survived the Turkish occupation, and very little is known about his life and work. After many years it has been possible to find out something about his works in marble by collating the information in the *Deed*, his two signed marble works and data discovered in Dalmatian archives. That he was active in Hungary has been shown by Jolán Balogh[273] basing his reasons on stylistic comparisons of his authentic works, which, without exception, are made of marble.

There has been no recent suggestion that he may have worked in bronze, though Kornél Fabriczy, an outstanding student of Renaissance sculpture active at the turn of the century, spoke of Dalmata[274] in connection with the bronzes in Buda, listed by Bonfini in his description of Buda Palace in the *Averulinus Preface* and in his *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*. He mentions the Herculean Bronze statues *(Herculeas statuas)* in the forecourt of the Palace *(propyleum)*. (App. IV.) In *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* Bonfini takes note of several bronzes at Buda.[275] According to him three pedestrian (that is not equestrian) bronze statues *(pedestres tres statue)* stood in the court of honour. They represented King Matthias, his father, János Hunyadi and his brother, László Hunyadi.

There, in the centre of the court, was a bronze fountain with a figure of Pallas Athene. At the Northern entrance of the palace there were two bronze nudes *(due ... ex ere statue nude)*. (App. V.b.) According to Fabriczy "when it comes to the

[272] Lewis, Ch. T.-Short, Ch., A Latin Dictionary founded on Andrews addition of Freund's Latin Dictionary. Oxford, 1969, p. 1714.

[273] BALOGH 1960. Literature on Dalmata: BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 493.

[274] FABRICZY 1915.

[275] Jolán Balogh collected the most complete material of the bronze statues: BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., pp. 138 ff.

statues at the Royal Palace at Buda, primarily Hercules and the two naked doormen, as well as the fountain figure of Pallas Athene in the palace courtyard, the choice is between the two masters from Trau, Giovanni and Jacopo."[276]

To understand this statement it is necessary to know that, according to one of the 17th century sources, a certain Jacobus Tragurinus Dalmata also made bronzes for King Matthias.[277] According to this source, this master was the creator of the bronze statues which Sultan Soliman looted from Buda in 1526 and took to Constantinople.

The same document also tells us that Jacobus Tragurinus Dalmata *ex aere fusili, artificiose coflaverat* the statues and that as *architectus et statuarius*, he restored Miklós Báthory's castle at Nógrád. Fabriczy considered it unlikely that two such outstanding sculptors came from the same small Dalmatian town of Trau and that both had played an outstanding role at the King of Hungary's Court. He presumes that the 17th century Istvánffy report had confused the Christian names and therefore Jacobus Tragurinus could be eliminated and Giovanni Dalmata was a sculptor who also worked in bronze.[278]

There is so much confusion about the bronzes of Ioannes Duknovich Tragurio that it is impossible to elucidate it within the confines of this work. At this stage I would like to point out that I consider Giovanni Dalmata to have worked not only in marble but *also* in bronze, an opinion based on the reliable sources of the Humanists of King Matthias who used a consistently Classic terminology. One can also cite Francesco Arrigoni who in almost all the epigrams on Leonardo's Sforza equestrian statue consistently calls a bronze statue *statua* or *statua equestris*. (App. VI.b.)

Bonfini uses the classic terminology when he speaks about the artists who were invited from Italy to Hungary by Matthias or Beatrice. In the *Averulinus Preface* (1487–88) he commemorates them as follows addressing his words to Matthias: "You search for the best bronze sculptors *(statuarios)*, clay modellers *(plasticos)* and painters *(pictores)* and order them to attend you, You gather gardeners *(topiarii)* able to trim trees in a uniform shape and carpenters *(atriensesfabri)*, and quarries *(lapicidinae)* and gold mines *(aurifodinae)* are also carefully searched for. Marble is carved everywhere *(scalpuntur ubique marmora)*, to supply the largest construction works." (App. IV.)

About 5–8 years later (between 1490–96) in *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* Bonfini, when talking about Queen Beatrice, writes about the same craftsmen as follows: "She established skills *(artes)* previously unknown here and invited from Italy craftsmen *(artifices)* for high wages. These included painters *(pictores)*, sculptors in bronze *(statuarii)*, clay modellers *(plastici)*, medallists *(celatores)*,

[276] FABRICZY 1915, p. 184.
[277] Ibidem, p. 156, Note 1.
[278] Ibidem, p. 185.

silversmiths *(argentarii fabri)*, stone carvers *(lapidicide operarii)*, and architects *(architecti)*." (App. V.b.)

When translating these quotations many aspects have had to be considered and I am not sure if the definition in every case is precise. Perhaps Bonfini himself was not always certain, especially when he wanted to write about a trade whose definition he could not unequivocally find in the Classical sources.

Thus, for example, in the case of *plasticus* it can be taken for granted that with this term Bonfini took over the Petrarcan interpretation of a worker in clay, a modeller relying on a passage in Pliny the Elder. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that when Bonfini translates the Italian text[279] in the Averulinus codex on the tools necessary for modelling, he uses the expression *plastica*. (Fol. 170 v.)

Caelator may mean an engraver of various kinds of metal work in Cicero, Quintilian and Pliny the Elder.[280] I am inclined to believe that Bonfini used this term to refer to the medallists who had created beautiful medals and coins for King Matthias. This is backed by the fact that Sabbadini, the outstanding philologist of Renaissance Latin considered the verb *caelare* to be the specific term used for medal-making.[281]

To my knowledge *lignarius* does not occur as a trade in Classical authors, therefore Bonfini had to use Medieval Latin. The translation of *atrienses fabri* would be doubtful if it had not been Bonfini himself in *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* who suggested that the atrium makers were carpenters and joiners who erected timber constructions. The timber construction, which King Matthias had erected on top of the walls built by Sigismund facing the Danube were called *atrium* by Bonfini. The building included dining room, bedroom, boudoir, study and office *(... atrium murorum minis impositum ex lignario opere confectum, ubi triclinium, cubiculum, preterea apodyterium et paulo retractius lucubratorium graphiarumque locum perfecit...)*. (App. V.b.)

The above text reveals that Bonfini did not know precisely what *atrium* meant to the Romans. Some texts, for example one of Cicero's letters,[282] suggested that it was a separate building including several rooms.

During the course of my research, especially at the start, I found it striking that the Humanists close to King Matthias made no use at all of L. B. Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* when establishing their terminology. This is all the more interesting for, when designing buildings, not only architects but also Humanists, had borne Alberti's principles in mind. It seems obvious that they must have used the two beautifully illustrated copies of *De re aedificatoria* that were available in the Corvina Library.[283]

[279] FILARETE (ed. 1972), Vol. II., p. 483.

[280] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 509.

[281] SABBADINI 1919, p. 210.

[282] Cicero, Ad. Quintum, III. 1.2.

[283] Of the two Alberti copies of the Corvina Library: the Olomouc copy (Olomouc, Státni Archiv, Domské a Kapitolní Knihovna. Cod. lat. C.O.330.) was completely written and illustrated in Florence

I believe the explanation for the phenomenon lies in the fact that Alberti's attitude toward the Classic artistic terminology greatly differed from that of the Humanists of King Matthias. Alberti's approach has been described by Onians when discussing the Humanist artist's relationship with Vitruvius: "Though recognizing Vitruvius' inestimable value, Alberti had criticized him for using a language that was Greek for the Latins and Latin for the Greeks and consequently could be understood by nobody. Alberti is determined to avoid this in his work by paying great attention to his Latinity. Not only are his constructions more Ciceronian than those of Vitruvius but he replaces Greek technical terms with others of Latin derivation."[284]

However, the Italian Humanists who had lived in Hungary for a long period of time, being Neoplatonists, endeavoured to achieve just the opposite of what Alberti had set as his aim. They were impressed by Vitruvius' elegant Greek and they tried to restore this wherever it was possible. Bonfini also smuggled Greek expressions into his text, even in places where he could possibly have found better Latin words. Alberti's aim was the linguistic revival or restoration of Latin Antiquity: the Neoplatonist Humanists, however, endeavoured to revive Greek and what they thought were Plato's ideas. This makes it understandable that they looked on Alberti's technical terms with suspicion rather than with confidence since they could never know when they encountered Latin expressions whether Alberti had taken them over from reliable authors or whether he had created them himself to replace Greek terms he wished to avoid.

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between 1485 and 1490.: BIBL. CORVINIANA 1981, p. 61, No. 106. The Modena copy (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. Lat. 419.) was probably written in Buda and according to Edith Hoffmann it was also illustrated there.: BIBL. CORVINIANA 1981, p. 56, No. 79. Though the latter was also made between 1485 and 1490, it is probable that for its copying another Alberti MS. was brought from Italy as Bandini brought with him a Filarete MS.

[284] ONIANS 1971, p. 96.

Chapter III

THE HUMANIST INFLUENCE ON KING MATTHIAS' PATRONAGE OF ARCHITECTURE

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUMANIST CONCEPT OF THE PRINCELY RESIDENCE IN ITALY AND HUNGARY

In the architecture of the Italian Renaissance a problem emerged in the middle of the 15th century when, both ecclesiastical and secular princes, following the example of the citizens of Florence began to build in *all'antica* style, which meant that the Humanists and the architects had to explore Antique ideals to match the higher social status and dignity of the patrons. In this endeavour the architects were in a disadvantageous position since the Roman imperial palaces available for the purpose of examination lay in massive ruins. They, therefore, had no opportunity to study examples whose façades and spatial arrangements could have helped them when building for those of high social rank.

The Humanists were not really in a better position since their Classical sources did not contain a single detailed description of a Greek or Roman Imperial or Royal palace. The most splendid Classical type of building that could be considered to suit the social position of a feudal prince or a church dignitary was a Roman villa. Stoic authors clearly indicated that Lucullan villas in this luxurious mode were of a scale that far exceeded the permissable limits of the *magnificentia* of a rich and respected Roman citizen. Their decoration and pomp was really more suitable for kings. Plutarch writes of the buildings of Lucullus: "As for his works on the seashore and in the vicinity of Neapolis, where he suspended hills over vast tunnels, girdled his residences with zones of sea and with streams for the breeding of fish, and built dwellings in the sea,—when Tubero the stoic saw them, he called him Xerxes in a toga."[285]

> *(τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις καὶ περὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἔργα, λόφους ἀνακρεμαννύτος αὐτοῦ μεγάλοις ὀρύγμασι καὶ τροχοὺς θαλάσσης καὶ διαδρομὰς ἰχθυοτρόφους τοῖς οἰκητηρίοις περιελίσσοντος καὶ διαίτας ἐναλίους κτίζοντος, ὁ Στωϊκὸς Τουβέρων θεασάμενος Ξέρξην αὐτὸν ἐκ τηβέννου προσηγόρευσεν.)*

[285] Plutarchos, Lucullus, XXXIX.

The survival of detailed descriptions by several respected Classical authors made the Roman villa available as an architectural model.[286] Not only the rooms and their arrangement were described, but also the surroundings, including the garden. The letters of Pliny the Younger for example contain many details describing the comfort and beauty of villas and their location among splendid views.

The exploration and interpretation of Classical sources on villas required the sort of philological scholarship of which only the Humanists were capable. As moral philosophers they alone could call attention to the advantages of the Roman villa, arguing that an over luxurious villa not proper for a Roman citizen could be a worthy model of residences and villas for feudal secular or church princes and kings. Several signs indicate that the idea that a Renaissance princely residence can only be the fruit of compromise, retaining certain features of a luxurious villa of the Antiquity and of a Medieval castle (or private palace), stems from Leon Battista Alberti, the Humanist architect, himself.

In *De re aedificatoria* when describing the arrangements of a private palace and a country house Alberti clearly relies on the letters of Pliny the Younger and in certain cases he also quotes from them.[287] It was also he who took the first practical steps toward the development of the Renaissance princely residence, when designing the Vatican palace of Pope Nicholas V. (1446–1455). Since the plans were only partly realised, the reminiscences of villas described by Pliny which inspired them can only be discerned today from the detailed 15th century description of the plans.[288]

The Lucullan pensile gardens built on huge tunnel-like foundations were first revived by Pope Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini) in Pienza, in a private palace built in 1462. A pensile garden was formed there on top of a high superstructure of a Medieval type. Loggias of the palace on the side of the garden offer a splendid view of the Val d'Orcia and the Monte Amiata. The Humanist Pope took part in the design and also left us a description of the building.[289] The builder was Bernardo Rossellino who must surely have had the support of Leon Battista Alberti.[290]

The Classic motif of the pensile garden of the Roman villa also appeared in Rome, at the private palace of Paul II. A pensile garden was built between 1466–69 on top of huge, high foundations connected to the South–East corner of a giant building surrounding the central court of the Palazzo Venezia. The garden was surrounded by a two-storey loggia. One could walk in its covered cloisters even

[286] Cicero, Ad Quintum, III. 1. 1–6.

[287] Varro, De rer. rust., III. 5. 9–17.

[288] HEYDENREICH 1967, p. 5.

[289] The Commentaries of Pius II. Translated by F. Alden Gragg, introduction and notes by L. C. Cabel. Smith College Studies in History. XII. Northampton. Mass., 1936–37, pp. 599–600. See HEYDENREICH 1967, p. 3.

[290] FEUER-TÓTH 1974/2, pp. 121–122.

when it rained, could enjoy from the shade when the sun was high the beautiful rural scenery since the surrounding area had not been built up yet.[291] Architects and sculptors from Florence were responsible for the work.

Heydenreich called attention to the fact that the influence of the plan of Palazzo Piccolomini in Pienza was very much in evidence in Urbino in the palace of Federigo da Montefeltro built between 1465–1482. In addition, he also points to similarities between the Duke's private suite, the *appartamento del duca* and the *diaeta* of the Villa Laurentinum of Pliny the Younger.[292] The private suite at Urbino—on several levels connected by staircases—consists of a rather small bedroom, a *guardaroba*, and last but not least a *studiolo* (looking onto the loggia), with notable intarsia timbering. That level offers access over a staircase, to the private bath and the exercise hall next to it. The Duke of Urbino, just like Pliny the Younger, the Roman statesman, created for himself in his Villa Laurentinum a private corner—a *buon retiro*—where, shielded from all disturbance and free from the vexations of his administrative duties, he was able to devote himself to the *otium* of studies *procul negotiis*. There is indeed such a close analogy between Federico's private apartment and Pliny's *diaeta*, that we are inclined to assume a direct connection. The varied character given to the several *cubicula*, their tiny size and isolation from the palace as a whole and finally the connection with the loggia and the view all these elements in Pliny's description appear, *mutatis mutandis*, in Federico's *appartamento*.[293]

I have called attention in several earlier papers to the close architectural and sculptural analogies that link the details of the Renaissance palaces at Buda and Urbino.[294] I, therefore, do not think it unrealistic to presume that at the planning at the Buda and Visegrád palaces, villas and gardens the Classical descriptions of villas were considered, as much as they were when Urbino was built. The Classical descriptions referred almost exclusively to the ground-plan arrangement and the lay-out of the gardens. It would be difficult indeed to find Classical parallels for vanished palaces and gardens in Hungary except that Bonfini's descriptions are available. In Bonfini's text the Plinian parallels are so frequent and often literal that they indicate more than that he borrowed the majority of his architectural terms from Pliny as I indicated in Chapter II. Much more is involved here. Well before Bonfini's arrival the Classical villa-parallels were presented to King Matthias by his Humanists as models. The patron and the architect adapted the Classical models not literally but to suit the locality and the possibilities, changing and adapting the original as an inspiring and stimulating source.

[291] MAGNUSON 1958, pp. 219 ff.

[292] Pliny the Younger, II. 17. 12, 20, 24; HEYDENREICH 1967, p. 5, Note 24. On the influence of Pliny's villa-description in the 16th century: MACDOUGALL 1972, pp. 40–41. I wish to express my gratitude to prof. Anna Zádor calling my attention to this and many other works.

[293] HEYDENREICH 1967, p. 5.

[294] See footnote 159.

2. PARALLELS WITH PLINY THE YOUNGER IN BONFINI'S DESCRIPTIONS OF PALACES, GARDENS AND VILLAS

When Bonfini arrived at the court of the King of Hungary in 1486 building work at the Visegrád palace and garden had already been completed and construction had reached an advanced stage at Buda as well. All this is mentioned—unfortunately briefly—by Bonfini in the *Averulinus Preface* written in 1487–88. (App. IV.) After a brief account, offering a sort of excuse, he notes: "I neglect royal gardens, garden-houses and the works decorating the garden... If I were to give an account of these, I may seem to flatter Your Highness and that I would rather derive from Antiquity than write the truth which is impossible to deny." (App. IV.)

One could interpret Bonfini's remark as the usual formal Humanist phrase if it were not true that certain details of his descriptions really correspond to Pliny the Younger's texts to a degree that they would appear to be plagiarism if one did not assume that, just as in Urbino, the rooms themselves were arranged in certain parts of the palace on the pattern of the Roman villas. This, in the case of the Buda palace, refers to the make-up of the library and the private suite, the *diaeta*.

In Pliny's Villa Laurentinum that part of the building joined the corner of a wing looking onto the sea with a beautiful view. "To this place joined a semicircular room, whose windows followed the orbit of the sun. Against its wall leant a bookcase, full of books not only for reading, but for studying, as well."[295]

According to Bonfini in the Buda Palace King Matthias built a library abundant in Latin and Greek books. In front of it there is a semicircular room facing South where the whole sky can be seen. (App. V.b.) As I argued earlier in Bonfini's terminology semicircular room *(cubiculum in absida curvatum)* meant vaulted room.

[295] Pliny the Younger, Ep. II. 17. 8.

Pliny, *Ep.* II. 17. 8.	Bonfini, *Rerum Ung. decades* (App. V.b.)
Adnectitur angulo *cubiculum in hapsida curvatum* quod ambitum solis fenestris omnibus sequitur. Parieti eius in *bibliothecae* speciem armarium insertum est, quod non legendos libros sed lectitandos capit.	... supra *bibliothecam* statuit mira utrisque lingue fecunditate completam. Ante hanc *cubiculum est in absida curvatum,* ubi celum universum suspicere licet, qua spectat ad Austrum.

Pliny's library faced South and the sun entered it all day long. This could not be done in the Buda Palace in a wing facing East (towards the Danube) and therefore the sky could not be viewed through the windows but on the *absis*, that is, on the painted vaulting. The expression *spectat ad Austrum* therefore does not mean that the room faced South but perhaps that the wall painting showed the southern sky. This hypothesis appears to be confirmed by the fact that Franciscus Omichius visiting this wing of the Buda Palace in 1572 saw the constallation King Matthias was born under[296] painted on the vaulting next to the library. According to Naldo Naldi, too, King Matthias had the library decorated with a wall painting of an astrological subject and here—just as in Pliny's private library—there were book-cases as well. They were the work of Florentine craftsmen.[297]

Beside the Plinian model, Vitruvius' rules concerning the building of a library were also followed at Buda. That faced East, since the "libraries should look to the East, for their purpose demands the morning light. Further, the books in libraries will not decay" *(bybliothecae ad orientem spectare decent; usus enim matutitnum postulat lumen, item in bybliothecis libri non putrescent).*[298]

According to Bonfini, King Matthias' *diaeta*, or private suite was on the sunny side of the Buda Palace, presumably, in the South–West wing. "The council-room is here and the private suite *(diaeta)*. Proceeding we find high, vaulted rooms, many winter and summer rooms, and in addition, loggias *(heliocamini)*, golden chambers *(zete)*, beside, deep penetrating hidden alcoves. The beds and chairs are made of silver." (App. V.b.)

The translation was influenced by Pliny's description of the *diaeta*, without him, neither the *zete*, nor the *alta abditaque secreta* could be understood. In Pliny's villa the *diaeta* was located at the end of the terrace.

[296] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 79.
[297] Ibidem, p. 63: in the poem of Naldo Naldi (1484–86.).
[298] Vitruvius, De arch. VI. 4.

"Here is a *heliocaminus*, ... The doors of the bedrooms look on to the *cryptoporticus*, windows look on to the sea. In the middle of the opposite wall there is a *zotheca*, ... and beside it a bedroom ... Neither the noise of the servants nor the murmur of the sea or the roar of the storms, or the flash of lightnings get this far, and we can see the sun only through open windows. The secret of this deep and solitude silence is, that the corridor which separates the wall of the bedroom from the garden, eliminates all the noise."[299]

Pliny, *Ep.* II.17, 20–22.	Bonfini, *Rerum Ung. decades* (App. V.b.)
In capite xysti ... *diaeta* est ... In hac *heliocaminus* ...cubiculum autem valvis cryptoporticum, fenestra prospicit qua mare. Contra parietem medium *zotheca* perquam eleganter recedit... *Lectum* et duas *cathedras* capit. Tam *alti abditique secreti* illa ratio, quod interiacens andron parietes cubiculi hortique distinguit atque ita omnem sonum media inanitate consumit.	Buleuterium hic et *dieta*. Cum ultra processeris varie mansiones in excelsam absidem convexe; hybernacula estivaculaque multa, item *heliocamini* et aurate *zete*, preter hec *alta abditaque secreta*, argentei *lecti* argenteeque *cathedre*.

I assume that *zete* in Bonfini's text is indentical with Pliny's *zotheca*.[300] Its definition is given by Pliny himself. "There is an elegant *zotheca* on the side of the sea, shut off with a glassdoor and a curtain and by pulling this together or apart one can separate or unite it with the room."[301] According to Bonfini's *Averulinus Preface* such *zetecula* were present in the Visegrád Palace where there were a good many recesses with glass (doors) and curtains that could be drawn.

[299] Pliny the Younger. Ep. II. 17. 20–22.
[300] Idem Ep. II. 17. 21.
[301] Ibidem.

Pliny, *Ep.* II. 17. 21.	Bonfini, *Averulinus Preface* (App. IV.)
contra parietem medium *zotheca* perquam elegan-ter recedit, quae *specularibus et velis obductis* reductisque modo adicitur cubiculo, modo aufertur.	Nonnullae *zeteculae specularibus et velis obductae* sunt, . . .

These examples show that these passages by Bonfini could not be understood without a knowledge of the Letters of Pliny the Younger. Perhaps they were also included in the original descriptions of the plans of the Buda and Visegrád palaces from which Bonfini only made extracts. However, Bonfini must have thought an emphasis on Pliny's phrases even more important than an intelligible description of various parts of the buildings. For a Humanist these proved that the designers of the Buda and Visegrád palaces delved into Antiquity when giving shape to an ambience worthy of Matthias Corvinus.

The *all'antica* private bathroom was just as indispensable in the Visegrád Palace as in Urbino. When describing the Visegrád bath Bonfini (App. IV.) again closely follows Pliny's prototype: "In addition there are bathrooms with cold and hot water, as well as a *hypocaustum* (a sweat-room with under the floor heating) and a basin with a massage room." Pliny's text: "Then follows a spacious bath-room with cold water, against two opposite walls stand two basins. There is a massage and a sweat-room close to it."[302]

Pliny, *Ep.* II.17.10–11.	Bonfini, *Averulinus Preface* (App. IV.)
Inde balinei *cella frigidaria* spatiosa et effusa, cuius in contrariis parietibus duo baptisteria velut eiecta sinuantur . . . Adiacet *unctorium, hypocauston* . . .	Ad haec *frigidariae* atque caldariae *cellae;* item *hypocaustum* at cum *unctuario baptisterium.*

[302] Ibidem II. 17. 10–11.

During excavations at Visegrád bathing premises were found on the Northern stretch of the fourth terrace with a round stove built under the floor and stone basins;[303] the *hypocaustum* and the *baptisterium* saw the light again. The remnants clearly show that the round stove had not much to do with the Roman under floor heating *(hypocaustum)*. Neither Renaissance architects nor the Humanists were familiar with visual prototypes for the originals. Vitruvius' treatise did not help them here either since no illustrated copy survived. The Humanists could give them philological but not archeological help in the interpretation of the Classical text.

Renaissance engineer-architects could not have been familiar with the structure of a Roman bath which we know thanks to modern archeology. The builders inevitably misunderstood the Humanists'—often mistaken—interpretation of the texts and they built an *all'antica balneum* following their own imagination and Medieval practical experience. In essence, they invented an "Antique" type of bath. One of the most beautiful illustrations of this is in the Codex Zichy on the 154th page of the illustrated treatise on architecture, written around 1489, in the Szabó Ervin Library in Budapest. (Fig. 9.) Since it used original drawings by Francesco di Giorgio,[304] whose work was present in Urbino, and whose influence was felt in Hungary, it is possible that the baths of King Matthias were built following a similar pattern.

Each of the Pliny the Younger texts discussed so far was considered during the building of the Urbino Palace. So a version, adapted to Renaissance architecture, of Pliny's *diaeta*, the *heliocaminus* and the private bath must have been known by Chimenti Camicia, King Matthias' architect. I have earlier established that he worked in, or at least visited, Urbino before he went to Hungary.[305] However, when designing an *all'antica* villa and garden he made even greater use of his Florentine origins since the first move toward the development of the Renaissance villa and garden was made in Tuscany. Michelozzo rebuilt the Villa Careggi, the Medieval house of the Medici, and built the Villa Medici in Fiesole between 1458–1461.[306] However, the influence of luxurious Classical villas can hardly be felt in these buildings. There were no concrete examples yet offered of Antique villas using Humanist methods.

The influence of Plinian and Lucullan villas cannot be found either in the first really large Florentine villa, the Villa Medici at Poggio a Cajano, which was built for Lorenzo de' Medici. Lorenzo asked Giuliano da Sangallo to design this building in the early 1480s but work started only after 1485 and by the death of Lorenzo (1492) only the terrace and the ground floor with portico were completed.[307]

[303] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 234; HÉJJ 1970, p. 29.

[304] HORVÁTH A. 1974, pp. 106 ff, figures 10–11. Francesco di Giorgio's influence continued in Hungary even after Matthias' death: HORLER 1980, pp. 110 ff.

[305] FEUER-TÓTH 1974/2, pp. 120–121, 127.

[306] FROMMEL 1961, pp. 86–88; HAMBERG 1959.

[307] CHASTEL 1959, p. 152.

In the same period, at the start of the building of the Villa Medici at Poggio a Cajano, that is, by 1485, the Visegrád summer palace and the garden were completed. Here work must have reached an advanced stage by 1483 since Bartolommeo de Maraschi, Bishop of Castello sent his letter from Visegrád "as from the earthly paradise" *(Ex Vissegrado, paradiso terrestri)* that same year.[308] We know that the formal gardens of the Buda palace with trimmed trees *(topiaria opera)* and garden houses were ready by 1487–88 because these are mentioned by Bonfini in the *Averulinus Preface*. (App. IV.) All we know about the Villa marmorea in the Buda garden is that it was finished before the death of King Matthias, that is, 1490. Bonfini only mentions it in the *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*. Among the *domus* in the garden of the Buda Palace there were also towers *(turres)* with dining rooms with glass windows and pergoles in which eating was so pleasant that it was hard to imagine. (App. V.b.) Since Pliny the Younger also notes a similar *turris* in his description of the Villa Laurentinum we may assume that the design of the Buda garden houses was also influenced by the Plinian model.

In the Villa Laurentinum was a tower *(turris)* erected near the *spheristerium*,[309] the room for ball playing, there were two rooms on the ground and the first floor. Inside there is a dining room, too with a view over the far-off sea, long seaside and the most beautiful villas.[310]

Pliny, *Ep.* II. 17.12.	Bonfini, *Rerum Ung. decades* (App. V.b.)
Hic *turris* erigitur, sub qua diaetae duae, totidem in ipsa praterea *cenatio* que latissimum mare, longissimum litus, villas amoenissimas prospicit.	*Turres* quoque cenaculis ac pergulis obducte, in quibus *cenationes* cum vitreis specularibus usque adeo iucunde, ut nihil putes amenius.

When building the garden of the Visegrád summer palace they must also have closely followed Pliny's example. According to Bonfini they must have considered the lay-out of the garden of the Villa Laurentinum even when selecting and planting the trees, bushes and flowers. At both places they planted gillyflowers around the terraces *(xysti)* and lined the walks *(gestationes)* with box trees.

[308] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., pp. 30, 224.
[309] Pliny the Younger, Ep. II. 17. 11. "spheristerium" was also at Visegrád. (App. IV.)
[310] Pliny the Younger, Ep. II. 17. 12–13.

Pliny, *Ep.* II. 17.17.	Bonfini, *Averulinus Preface* (App. IV.)
Ante cryptoporticum *xystus violis odoratus.* II. 17. 14. *Gestatio buxo* aut rore marino, ...	Neque horti desunt et xisti violis adorati amoenaque *gestationes buxetis* undique conviridantes.

At Visegrád, the race-course near the Danube, the hippodrome also showed the influence of Pliny. (App. IV.) Pliny the Younger gives a colourful description of the hippodrome in the Villa at Etruria which, in essence, was a large park. The wide winding courses were interspersed with trees, plants and flowers, at places separated by boxwood.

"Here a field, there a boxwood arranged in a thousand ways, some in the form of a letter, forming the name of the *dominus* or the *artifex." (Alibi pratulum, alibi ipsa buxus intervenit in formas mille discripta, litteris interdum, quae modo nomen domini dicunt, modo artificis:...)*[311]

That is, the Plinian hippodrome was ornamented by *topiaria opera*, trimmed bushes and trees. As I have already mentioned trimmed trees and bushes were also in the garden of the Buda Palace. Perhaps the plants were arranged in the form of letters, something that is not only mentioned by Pliny but Alberti himself also suggests such a type *opus topiarium.*[312] The arrangement of *all'antica* gardens, of course, depended not only on the text-interpretation of Humanists but also on whether the appropriate gardeners were available who were experienced in carrying out plans inspired by Antiquity. We cannot know which part of Italy the *topiarii* mentioned by Bonfini came from. If they came from Florence then it is likely that the Buda gardens sported plants trimmed as vases, animals and human beings. Such a type of *opus topiarium* is described by Giovanni Rucellai who had statues of living vegetation in his Villa Quaracchi.[313] If the artist gardeners were Florentines then it is probable that they established a figural variety of the genre which accorded with the description by Pliny the Younger who writes about *"bestiarum effigies invicem adversas buxus..."*[314]

One must also bear in mind that, in addition to Florentine *topiarii* the gardeners of the native town of Queen Beatrice may have worked on the *all'antica*

[311] Ibidem V. 6. 32–36.

[312] Alberti, De re aed. IX. 4.: "Gratum id quod apud maiores villici assuevere dominis applaudere inscriptis eorum nomimibus per aream buxo aut haerbis odoratis." Vitruvius, also at the decoration of the paths avenues of the gardens (ambulationes) commemorates the opus topiorum: De arch. VII. 5. 2.

[313] PEROSA 1960 p. 22. See: BALOGH, Vol. I., p. 226, Note 2.

[314] Pliny the Younger, Ep. V. 6. 16.

garden. In Naples several motifs of ancient gardening, for instance, geometrical gardens and the *labyrinthus* were present already in the Middle Ages. They had arrived from France thanks to the Angevins in the 14th century, and they had been introduced into France by returning Crusaders, being Islamic in origin.[315]

That is why it is surprising that gardens and villas inspired by Pliny the Younger appeared in Hungary earlier than in Naples. It is known that the brother of Queen Beatrice, Prince Alphonse of Calabria, the heir to the throne, only started to build two such villas and gardens following Pliny after the defeat of the rebellion of the *baroni*. Unfortunately like the Buda and Visegrád palaces and gardens, Alphonse's two summer residences also perished and so I can only argue on the basis of surviving sources.

The Prince of Calabria commissioned the Florentine Giuliano da Majano in 1487 to design the Poggio Reale villa. The model was shown in 1488, the villa itself, and the garden surrounding it, were completed by the early 1490s. We can form an idea of the villa and the garden which perished in the 18th century from sketches by Peruzzi and Serlio. Since Serlio knew the building only from descriptions, Peruzzi's sketch deserves closer attention. The main building of the villa consisted of four corner towers connected by colonnades. In these—just as in Pliny's *turris* —there were two rooms *(diaeta)* each on two levels. Balustraded loggia with a pergola joined to the villa (just as in Buda).[316]

Neapolitan sources tell of *La Duchescha,* the other villa belonging to the Prince of Calabria. It was built near Castello Capuano also around 1487 and offers evidence of a thorough consideration of the descriptions of Pliny's villas. There was a kind of Plinian *diaeta* in the garden, a house consisting of three rooms, joined by a bath *(balneum)*, loggietta *(heliocaminon?)* and walks *(gestationes)*. In the garden, in addition to myrtles, lemon trees and fountains one of the most characteristic motifs of the Plinian garden, the hippodrome, was also present.[317] The inscription of *La Duchescha* known from written records emphasises in its very language that at the building of the work Pliny's model must have been in mind: *Alphonsus Ferd. Regis Fil. Aragonius Dux Calabr. Genio domum hanc cum fonte et balneo dicavit, Hippodromum constituit; gestationes horti adiecit, Quas myrtis citrorumque nemoribus exornatas Saluti sospitae ac voluptati perpet. Consecr.*[318]

On the basis of this text one can argue that the *imitatio* of the isolated villa and garden of Pliny's type occurred earlier in Hungary than in Naples. The reason was possibly that in the Humanist circle around János Vitéz the idea of a Plinian villa as an architectural idea emerged before 1472. There is evidence of this in Bonfini. In his description of János Vitéz's buildings in Esztergom he consistently uses the characteristic architectural expressions of Pliny the Younger. This could also mean

[315] MATTHEWS 1969.; see: BATTISTI 1972, p. 16.
[316] FROMMEL 1961, pp. 90–91; BALOGH 1966, p. 100, Note 1. also publishes earlier literature.
[317] FROMMEL 1961, p. 90.
[318] The inscription is quoted by BALOGH 1966, p. 100, Note 1.

that János Vitéz, a Classical scholar of high repute, may have read Pliny's letters, and as a Humanist patron of architecture, himself thought of Villa Laurentinum as a model. Pliny the Younger was considered as a predecessor, both by the Humanists who valued him as a *scriptor* and by the princes who honoured him as a statesman. The Humanists—preceding the princes—starting with Petrarch[319] who followed the example of Pliny the Younger, aimed to possess a house with a garden, that is a villa, suitable for Humanist work and meditation.

Vitéz created a suitable place for retreat in the Esztergom castle. He built cold and hot baths and a double garden with a terrace and loggia *(ambulacrum)*, near the dining room which had a red marble portico. Between the two gardens, beside the rock he had a round tower built, with various dining rooms and living rooms with windows of different colours as well as a chapel. He almost always lived there. Facing the Danube it offered him a lovely view over beautiful gardens. *(...qui triclinium in arce amplissimum erexit, prominens vero ante triclinium e rubro marmore ambulacrum cum duplici podio et suberbissimum extruxit... Item caldarias frigidariasque cellas et hortum duplicem, quem xistis excoluit et superiore ambulacro coronavit. Inter utrunque turrim rotundam penes rupem erexit in varia triclinia cubiculaquae divisam, variis supra specularibus exornatam, quam neque edicula carere voluit; hanc ipse fere semper inhabitavit, quia Danubio prominens iucundum prospectum et hortorum amenitatem afferebat;...)*[320]

King Matthias witnessed the building works of János Vitéz and he could have learned the Humanist interpretation of the adaptation of the Plinian villa from his tutor, the Archbishop of Esztergom. He must have already had the idea of following the Classical example when he started to rebuild the Visegrád summer palace in the early 1470s since its location and surroundings were similar to Esztergom Castle. The red marble wall fountain with lions and coat-of-arms marked with the date 1473,[321] as well as the fact that large quantities of late Gothic fragments were recovered during the excavations make it probable that the restoration work must have begun before the King's marriage to Beatrice.

Apart from the difference in size a considerable difference between Vitéz's building in Esztergom and the Visegrád summer palace is that while the first was built entirely in a late Gothic style and served Humanist thinking, at Visegrád King Matthias switched over to Renaissance in the process of building.

The possibility is certainly there that, under the influence of János Vitéz, the idea of taking over Classical villa motifs may have become rooted in the Humanist intellectual world of King Matthias. Therefore, it can be imagined that this earlier idea corresponded to the view of those Humanists who travelled with Queen Beatrice in 1476 intending to stay in Hungary for a longer period. It is possible that Francesco Bandini or perhaps Francesco Arrigoni had already taken part in

[319] Petrarch had a "small villa" in Vaucluse, France, and in Arquá, Italy: BERGIN 1970, p. 98.
[320] BONFINI (ed. 1941), p. 47.
[321] BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 247; HÉJJ 1970, p. 27.

Naples, in the Humanist preparation of villa and garden designs suitable for kings, the realisation of which only took place after 1486.

Naples—the sole kingdom in Italy—was the place where the problem could become really urgent that a Renaissance princely residence built since the 1450s, which fitted only for a church dignitary or a lower ranking secular prince, should have been more splendid and worthy of kings. In the spirit of the Aristotelian *magnificentia* the Humanists of the court of Naples had to propagate and promote through the exploration of Classical examples the notion that their king in the interests of *recreatio* should develop a type of Renaissance architecture and garden-design of a luxury for which only Lucullan villas and gardens could serve as models. The realisation of Humanist inspired ideas in Naples was delayed by the fact that the king, Ferdinand of Aragon (1458–1494) did not himself show any interest in a Renaissance environment suitable for a king; he was certainly not a major Italian patron of the arts. From this point of view the brother of Queen Beatrice, the heir, Alphonse of Aragon (1448–1495), who, under the name Alphonse II was King of Naples between 1494–95 was most important. Don Alphonse kept an important Humanist court and became a noted Renaissance patron of the arts whose name can be closely connected with the rise of the Renaissance art in Naples.[322]

However, the realisation of his *magnificus* villa and garden designs—as I have already mentioned—took place only after 1486. This is why those Humanists who left the court of Naples in 1476, were able in Hungary to make use of their earlier work in Naples. In the person of King Matthias, they found a patron who, even before their arrival, must have considered the idea of building Plinian and Lucullan villas and gardens and who was ready to realise Humanist ideas by the employment of Renaissance artists engaged in Italy, men whom he was ready to pay well.

Several analogies serve to back these hypotheses. Without considering them it would be difficult to explain why the gardens and villas of King Matthias resembled Alphonse's buildings in Naples so much. The lost villas in Buda and Visegrád must have been a preliminary experimental phase of the Naples mode which was of unparalleled importance for the history of architecture and which, from the beginning of the 16th century, made an impact not only on Italian but also on French Renaissance architecture.[323]

One should stress, however, that in the genre of isolated villas and gardens the buildings of King Matthias could not rely on achieved Italian examples. This cannot be said about the use of Plinian villa-motifs within the palaces. Very good models could be found for these in the palace of the Duke of Urbino which both from the point of view of Humanist theory and architectural practice was a princely residence which met the requirements of not only princely but also of royal *magnificentia*.

[322] HERSEY 1969, pp. 11–12.
[323] SCHREIBER 1938.

When it came to choosing an Italian palace as a model King Matthias must have made a decision even before the arrival of Queen Beatrice. He had an opportunity to do so since, between 1474–76, during the preparations for the marriage with the Princess of Naples, Hungarian emissaries travelling through Italy on many occasions also visited the palace of Urbino and as guests of the prince they were present when the private suite, inspired by Pliny, that also included the famous *studiolo,* was built. They could have easily obtained sketches and descriptions of the building.[324] This is also borne out by the fact that King Matthias and Federigo da Montefeltro conducted a rather cordial and friendly correspondence up to 1482. Surviving letters written to King Matthias by the Duke of Urbino bear this out.[325]

The building programme inspired by Pliny could only take place at Buda after 1476. The Italian Renaissance artists who knew how to work on Humanist plans in the *all'antica* style came to Hungary between 1476–79. They excelled in the techniques of engineering which were indispensable to ensure the water-supplies of the bathrooms, gardens, fountains and pools of Classical villas. Such a Florentine Renaissance architect—who presumably was also familiar with the Urbino palace —was Chimenti Camicia, *architectus* of King Matthias.[326]

[324] See footnote 46.

[325] ALATRI 1949, pp. 32, 33, 34, 39. Galeotto also describes the cordial relations between Matthias and the Prince of Urbino: BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 680.

[326] See footnote 305.

3. MATTHIAS AND BANDINI

The design of *all'antica* buildings in the early Renaissance around 1470, required not only architects familiar with the Renaissance practice and practical theories of architecture, but also patrons with a Humanist education and Humanist consultants. This was the case in Italy as well as elsewhere. Following the evolution of the Italian princely residence one may observe that even patrons of such thorough Humanist education as Popes Nicholas V and Paul II or Federigo da Montefeltro were dependent on Humanist consultants, who, in most cases, were experts of no less standing than Leon Battista Alberti himself. Heydenreich assumes that the private suite of the Duke of Urbino was the fruit of such cooperation between a patron, a Humanist consultant and an architect. Each contributed to the whole his own characteristic experience. In the case of Urbino the Humanist who maintained a close friendship with the Duke must have been Alberti, and the architects were Luciano Laurana and Francesco di Giorgio Martini.[327]

It is obvious that without setting up such a trilateral cooperation no Renaissance building could have been started in Hungary either. In the case of King Matthias, the necessary, high standard of Humanist education was provided by his upbringing.[328] His only disadvantage compared to his Italian contemporaries was that he could not have visually experienced Renaissance architecture since he never visited Italy and could not, like the Duke of Urbino, familiarise himself with the papal palaces in Rome, with the Piccolomini residence in Pienza or with Florentine early Renaissance architecture. In this respect Beatrice could not help him either, not only because Renaissance architecture was not the primary study of the Princess of Naples who was only 19 years old when she arrived in Hungary but also because she herself had not seen many Renaissance buildings in Italy. At the time when she left her native town in 1476 there were very few Renaissance buildings

[327] HEYDENREICH 1967, pp. 5–6.
[328] KARDOS 1940, pp. 16–20.

there.[329] On her way to Hungary she only visited Ferrara and Venice, Italian towns where Renaissance architecture was about to begin. King Matthias could learn of the already realised examples of *prisca architectura* only from the travellers' tales of Hungarians, emissaries and Humanists, who had seen them in Italy.

He was, therefore, even more in need of the third member of the trilateral group, the Humanist, than were Italian patrons of architecture. This had to be a man who, in addition to familiarising him with examples of Classical architecture, also had some experience of the theoretical and practical aspects of the art. There was only such Italian Humanist at the Court of King Matthias at the end of the 1470s, at least according to the sources now available to us and that was Francesco Bandini. His letter from Naples (App. IX.) shows that he was a great admirer of Florentine Renaissance architecture who had personal contact with the artists. He also knew Rome where he was familiar with the new palaces of the popes and cardinals. In Naples he was a member of the Humanist circle which, presumably before 1476, dealt with the Humanist conception of the later villa and garden buildings of the Prince of Calabria. I, therefore, suspect that Bandini was the Humanist *mediator* of the trilateral group at the time of planning Renaissance buildings in Hungary.

Bandini's personality had a catalyst-like effect upon King Matthias' profile as a patron of the arts after 1476. *Architectura*, particularly the architecture of the ancients, became the focus of his attention. "You admire the beautiful buildings, specially those which compete with Antiquity" *(delectaris aedificiis et his praesertim quae vetustatem aemulantur)*—writes Bonfini to Matthias in the *Averulinus Preface*. And he adds "... all good arts enjoy your support but above all, architecture." *(Quas ob res cum omnes bonas artes colas, et in primis architecturam,...)* (App. IV.)

This observation is worthy of attention since a Renaissance patron of architecture whose character as a Humanist, military leader and benevolent prince was similar to that of King Matthias also gave special emphasis to architecture. This person is Federigo da Montefeltro who in a patent addressed to his architect, Luciano Laurana, in 1468, explains why architecture is a virtue based on the arts of arithmetic and geometry which are at the first grade of certainty and belong to the seven free and liberal arts. Therefore (architecture) demands great knowledge and great talent. *(... la virtù dell'Architettura fondata in l'arte dell'aritmetica e geometria, che sono, delle sette arti liberali, et delle principali, perchè sono in primo gradu certitudinis, et è arte di gran scienza et di grandi ingegno,...)*[330]

In this the Duke of Urbino preceded the average Humanist in showing interest in the arts of the age. At this time they, in keeping with the Petrarch–Boccaccio

[329] Until 1476 Beatrice was able to see only a few Renaissance buildings in Naples.: HERSEY 1969, pp. 10–13.

[330] GAYE 1839, Vol. I. Quoted by ROTONDI 1950, Vol. I., p. 109.

tradition still argued that the artist, primarily the painter, could reach the first grade of the *artes liberales* thanks to the disciplines of the *studia humanitatis*, mainly Classical rhetoric and the theory of poetry. Federigo da Montefeltro, however, in his patent expressed a more progressive position, that architecture was truly elevated to the rank of science because of its relation to mathematics, that is, the *quadrivium*. This refers to Leon Battista Alberti's direct influence, since Federigo da Montefeltro and Alberti were close friends, the Humanist-architect being a frequent visitor.[331] Federigo, therefore, received the latest information concerning the Renaissance theory of the arts directly from the author. The Duke of Urbino accepted Alberti's doctrine that architecture is a science since each part of the building can be integrated in an identical system of mathematics.[332] Alberti discussed for the first time the relationship between mathematical intervals in music and architectural proportions. Referring to Pythagoras he said "that the same Numbers, by means of which the Agreement of Sounds affects our Ears with Delight, are the very same which please our Eyes and our Mind. We shall therefore borrow all our Rules for the finishing our Proportions, from the Musicians, who are the greatest Masters of this Sort of Numbers, . . ." *(Hi quidem numeri, per quos fiat ut vocum illa concinnitas auribus gratissima reddatur, hidem ipsi numeri perficient, ut oculi animusque voluptate mirifica compleantur. Ex musiciis igitur, quibus hi tales numeri exploratissimi sunt, . . .)*[333]

I believe it unlikely that King Matthias received his view of a special recognition of architecture directly from the Duke of Urbino. His position was more likely to have been influenced by Neo-Platonist Humanists at his court. Among the Italian Humanists the Neo-Platonists reacted first to the teachings of Alberti. Indeed they heard of his high reputation indirectly, thanks to the philosophy, in the last third of the 15th century. Marsilio Ficino, the founder of Florentine Neo-Platonism revealed in parts of the works of Plato[334] and Plotinus the arguments that architecture can be linked to music as a par excellence mathematical art. Ficino in his summing up of Plato's *Republic* based his views on Plotinus' mystical doctrines,[335] too, arguing that the architect enjoys special recognition since his art is based on the eternal truths of geometry and therefore his craft belongs to the intelligible sphere of the world, the *sphaera intellegibilis*.[336]

Alberti's real discoverer among the Florentine Neo-Platonists was Cristoforo Landino who, in a commentary written in 1481, was the first in the 15th century to show awareness of the special merits of the Humanist architect. He says of Alberti: "What branch of mathematics did he not know? He was geometrician,

[331] HEYDENREICH 1967, p. 5, Note 25, 6.
[332] WITTKOWER 1965, pp. 67, 110.
[333] Alberti, De re aed., IX. 5.
[334] Plato, Philébos, 51 c, 56 b.
[335] CHASTEL 1954, pp. 181–182.
[336] Ibidem, p. 70; See also: RITOÓK 1975, p. 402.

arithmetician, astronomer, musician, and more admirable in perspective than any man for centuries. His brilliance in all these kinds of learning is shown in the nine books on architecture..."[337]

Of the Neo-Platonist Humanists at the court of King Matthias Francesco Bandini maintained a close friendship with Marsilio Ficino and he was also acquainted with Cristoforo Landino.[338] He must have been familiar with their views on architecture as well as on Alberti, and we have good reason to assume that he conveyed these to King Matthias; we also have concrete proof of that; *De re aedificatoria* by Alberti was available in two copies in the Corvina Library.[339]

Among the few writings by Bandini that have survived I have discovered what I think is a reference in the letter from Naples (App. IX.) which shows that Bandini was also interested in the theoretical issues of architecture. He mentions that seeing the Florentine buildings he contemplated their *ars* and all the conditions *(...contemplando acutissimamente l'arte et le conditioni tutte di quelli)*. One might interpret *conditioni* as practical conditions had one not known that in Florentine Neo-Platonist usage the conditions of architecture were interpreted as theoretical conditions. According to Marsilio Ficino architecture has the same conditions as music.[340] Besides the fact that Bandini might have read this already in Florence, King Matthias could have read it, too. For the quotation is from Ficino's *Theologia Platonica* which the author sent to Buda in 1482.[341]

Another interesting Humanist source, the last part of Bonfini's *Averulinus Preface* also contains a reference to the fact that the subtle theme of the system of proportions of Renaissance architecture could have been talked about at court during conversations between the King and his Humanists, primarily, Bandini. According to Bonfini King Matthias must have asked Bandini to bring to Hungary Filarete's *Trattato di architettura* since it would have made it possible for the King to understand "all the rules of rational proportions *(omnem symmetriae rationem)* and the construction of all types of buildings *(omniumque aedificiorum structuram accipiet)*. (App. IV.)

This indicates that King Matthias showed interest in proportions and structure in Renaissance architecture even before the arrival in Hungary of Filarete's work. Bonfini's use of words shows that the King must have studied this subject —through Humanist mediation—from the original Classical source, Vitruvius' *De architectura*. Vitruvius argues in his first book that mathematics is the real source of architecture, since the difficult questions of symmetry can only be solved with

[337] Comento di Christophoro Landino fiorentino sopra la comedia di Danthe Alighieri. Firenze, 1481. IV. In English translation quoted: BAXANDALL 1974, p. 116.

[338] HUSZTI 1925, p. 50.

[339] See footnote 283.

[340] Ficino, Theologia platonica. XIV. 3. Opera, Basileae, 1576. p. 238. See: CHASTEL 1954, p. 67.

[341] HUSZTI 1925, p. 55. See: BALOGH 1966, Vol. I., p. 651.

the help of geometrical rules and methods. *(. . .dificilesque symmetriarum quaestiones geometricis rationibus et methodis inveniuntur.)*[342]

The interpretation of Vitruvius' and in general Classical *symmetria* is a rather complex problem. According to Panofsky, despite the fact that *symmetria* and *proportio* have a basically different meaning in modern usage, they were synonyms in Antiquity. *Symmetria* meant a harmonic correlation of parts of a work and its whole, while *proportio* meant a technical method operating with the module-system with whose help the harmonic norms of *symmetria* could be realised in practice.[343]

The Neo-Platonist Humanists of the late 15th century could not as yet understand the problems of *symmetria* at that depth. Despite this, they could have found a passage by Vitruvius in his third book on temples proving the relationship between the notion of *symmetria* and *proportio:* "The planning of temples depends upon symmetry: and the method of this architect must diligently apprehend. It arises from proportion (which in Greek is called *analogia*)." *(Aedium compositio constat ex symmetria, cuius rationem diligentissime architecti tenere debent. Ea autem paritur a proportione, quae graece analogia dicitur.)*[344]

The Neo-Platonist Cristoforo Landino was not far from the truth when in his commentary on Dante's Comedy he called *symmetria* "the true proportion" *(la vera proportione, la quale i greci chiamano simetria).*[345] King Matthias' Neo-Platonist Humanist, Bandini, must have had similar ideas on *symmetria* and therefore it is understandable that they hoped that the obscurities of the Classical sources would be cleared up by the work of the Humanist-architect, Filarete.

Analogies with Pliny the Younger mentioned above and the fact that the Humanists at King Matthias' Court studied Vitruvius suggest that direct study of the Classical sources was more intensive in Hungary that at the princely courts of Italy. The reason behind this might have been that the Humanists also engaged in architectural issues could only discuss questions of *all'antica* architecture with King Matthias in Latin. It was common knowledge that in Transalpine Europe in the 15th century he was the first king who in his own special fields, politics, history, strategy, etc. had a scholar's knowledge of Latin. He, therefore, had a solid basis when he wanted to extend his knowledge to architecture. He probably knew less Italian. A proof of this is that in 1487–88 he had to have Filarete's Italian work translated into Latin so that he could understand *symmetriae rationem* or learn how a bridge could be built over the Danube following the example of Traian, or how to build new towns in Pannonia. (App. IV.)

The Humanists—in order to adequately inform King Matthias—were compelled to familiarise themselves with the Latin sources of Classical architecture at a higher standard which, in addition to familiarity with Latin terminology also

[342] Vitruvius, De arch., I.1.4.
[343] PANOFSKY 1955, p. 68, Note 19.
[344] Vitruvius, De arch., III.1.1.
[345] FREY 1892, p. 119.

gave them a more detailed knowledge of the Antique examples than that of their average Italian colleagues. This probably also had a bearing on the fact that, in the design of Renaissance buildings in trilateral cooperation that also took place in Hungary the Humanist influence predominated, particularly since, in consultations with Italian artists and architects, King Matthias had to rely on Humanist interpreters.

Among the available Humanist interpreters Francesco Bandini stood out. Already during his stay in Florence he had been in day by day contact with artists. Frequent conversations and debates with them helped him learn the technical terminology of the profession in his native language. (App. IX.)

However, it is obvious that his role was not mere interpretation. As an expert on Antiquity he had a say in the definition of the arrangement of buildings, their proper decoration and the iconographic programme of the works. It is likely that without Bandini's continuous help and expert advice King Matthias could not have become a patron of Renaissance architecture as described by Galeotto Marzio in 1485.

Galeotto tells us no less than that, as early as the period between 1476–1485, King Matthias acquired such expertise on architectural issues, that in debates on the decoration of buildings, their comfort and arrangements he often persuaded experienced architects. *(. . .supra omnes homines aedificiis pulchris oblectatur eoque in aedificando ingenio est, et cum peritissimis architectis decora et commoda aedium divisione non sine victoria certavit.)*[346]

We can justly suspect that Bandini was the mediator in starting Renaissance buildings in Hungary since even a courtly Humanist of a better than average education in architecture was not suitable for that task. So, for example, it is not likely that if Bonfini had arrived in Hungary not in 1486, but as early as 1476, he would have suitably played the role of *mediator* between the King and his architects. Bandini and Bonfini belonged to two traditionally different groups of Humanists interested in the arts.

Bandini was backed by a Florentine, Boccaccio-inspired Humanist tradition while, according to the evidence of his writings, Bonfini was rather a late follower of Petrarch and of a moral philosophical inclination. Both groups agreed that the most important goal was to bring to light the arts of the ancients but there was a difference between them in that the Florentines considered improved artistic performance to be the guarantor of the artistic revival while the followers of Petrarch were inclined to emphasize the importance of Classical art patronage and its morality.

We have seen above that Bonfini, above all, aimed at the defence of the morality of King Matthias as a patron. He wanted to prove that the King excelled

[346] Galeottus Martius, De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae ad ducem Iohannem eius filium liber. Ed. L. Juhász. Lipsiae, 1934, p. 4.

in the virtues of a statesman and military leader serving the public interest which legitimised the *magnificentia* which consumed huge amount of money and competed with Antiquity. In addition, working out the theory of the King's Roman origins he also proved that King Matthias justly surpassed in his *magnificentia* not only his Roman ancestors but also the Roman emperors. Beside the defence of art patronage Petrarch's influence is also present in the fact that when producing his writings and translations related to the arts he carefully studied and used those Classical sources which influenced the planning of Matthias' works. In this way he believed himself to have demonstrated that the King did not spend the country's money on futilities but on noble purposes which had also served virtue in Antiquity. He resembles a Petrarch-type Humanist also in that he considered the propagation of art following the *all'antica* example to be important only at a secondary level. In his writings we do not find a single remark referring to any artist or artistic quality; for him the description of the works as the fruit of art patronage was more important and the evaluation of the performance of the contemporary artist was a minor issue.

In this respect Francesco Arrigoni was like him. It will be remembered that in an epigramme written to the Sforza equestrian statue he did not even mention Leonardo. (App. VI.b.) As his reconstructed biography shows he came to Hungary as a member of Beatrice's entourage in 1476. However, he could not have been suitable for the role of the mediator-type Humanist. Being a moral philosopher he could at most help to ensure that Renaissance works planned in Hungary should be in accordance with the prescriptions of Aristotelian *magnificentia*. The inclination towards moral anxiety of a Petrarcan sort which is present in both Bonfini and Arrigoni is suitable for the production of apologies but is the least appropriate Humanist attitude for preparing King Matthias to start something completely new and adopt major decisions in the early phase of Renaissance architecture in Hungary. It is quite likely that neither Bonfini nor Arrigoni would have been a proper mediator between King Matthias and the Italian artist since they could not understand the language of the latter, and more significantly since, owing to their typical courtly Humanist attitude, they considered of prime importance the interests of the *dominus* and not those of the artists.

Beside the fact that Bandini made up his mind to be a court Humanist in Naples shortly before coming to Hungary he was a genuine Florentine Humanist who, following in the footsteps of Boccaccio, concentrated on the assessment of artistic performance without the *scrupulus* of Roman Republican or Augustinian morality. In this respect he followed an intellectual tradition that had developed in Tuscany as early as the 13th century, whose representatives when looking at a beautiful work of art fell into a state of ecstasy,[347] without being afraid of the possible consequences of this—from Petrarch's point of view—lack of discipline.

[347] See footnote 73.

The Florentine Humanists with artistic interests, from Boccaccio to Landino, did not concentrate on art patronage but much more on propaganda in the interests of contemporary artists. The assessment of artistic performance was especially characteristic of Neo-Platonist Humanists, who, of all the members of the movement, were the first to realise the progress which Brunelleschi, Alberti and all the others had achieved by adapting mathematics to the arts, thus re-discovering or in many respects further developing perspective and the Classical study of proportions. Relying on Plato's and Plotinus' authority only the Neo-Platonists were able to make people realise that in surpassing their Antique ideas the Renaissance artists as well as taking over the rule of Classical rhetorics and the theory of poetry, used applied mathematics to ensure that architecture, sculpture, and painting as exact sciences, should achieve the first grade of the *artes liberales*.

Bandini, as a Neo-Platonist, absorbed these views but he went even further. In a way absolutely incorrect for the average Humanist he established direct contacts with artists and so he obtained knowledge not only of theory but also of practice. As I mentioned before this was not customary in Humanist circles, I know of altogether two Humanists in Italy in the period prior to 1476 who maintained personal relations with artists and at the same time showed an interest in the theoretical and practical issues of architecture. I am thinking of Niccolò Niccoli and—if it is at all acceptable to mention him in this place—Leon Battista Alberti. After 1476 neither of them was alive. This means that King Matthias could not have found a more appropriate Humanist mediator than Bandini not only among the Humanists at his own court but even in Italy. Florentine enthusiasm for Renaissance architecture and for the performance of Renaissance artists was very necessary at the beginning of the period when a re-planting of the new architectural style took place in Hungary. An overscrupulous type of moralising court Humanist would have certainly maintained Matthias' Humanist *magnificentia* on Classical grounds but have still been inclined to favour Gothic ways. He would have made him reconsider the huge expenditure necessary to import pure *all'antica* Renaissance architecture which in the domestic context was looked at as *insania*.

I consider important the role Bandini played in the development of Matthias' profile as a patron of the arts after 1476 since—as we have seen above—the completion of a Renaissance architectural programme and art patronage had a rather complex set of rules obtainable partly from Classical sources, and partly from a knowledge of the Italian Renaissance theory and practice of architecture. All this a patron could not discover either in Hungary or in Italy without the mediation of an expert Humanist with an interest in architecture. King Matthias in himself, far from Italy, relying on invited Italian artists speaking only Italian and on the help of his wife, even with his Humanist education would not have been able to obtain information which, for example, Bandini could have brought from Italy without any difficulty. If we did not know about Bandini's special Humanist personality we would still have to presume that King Matthias had to rely on the help of a Humanist of a similar character to Bandini's since, judging by the results,

he possessed all the information which was indispensable to a Renaissance patron of the arts. Renaissance architecture could not be realised without a well informed patron. The totality of his decisions defined, after all, which and to what degree, the architectural and Humanist examples available should be realised in the course of building work.

Bonfini emphasizes that the King dealt with architecture only in time designed for *recreatio*, he took care that this passion should not hinder him in carrying out his duties as statesman and military leader. (App. IV.) His outstanding intellectual abilities were also evident in the fact, during the short time at his disposal, he thoroughly studied the issues of *prisca architectura* and that he obtained the necessary expert knowledge mainly during conversations and readings with his Humanists.

All this is not only proved by the descriptions of buildings and words of praise by Bonfini and the other Humanists but also by those fragments which have survived, albeit in small numbers, which show that Matthias, understanding the rules of *all'antica* architecture, rewarding talent, with the intention of immortalising virtue became the most important East European patron of Renaissance architecture as a *sciens* patron of the arts whose works were considered worthy of imitation not only in neighbouring countries but also in Southern Italy.

APPENDICES

I.

PETRARCA:

DE MAGNIFICENTIA AEDIUM

Lib. I. Dial. XXXIV.

GAU/DIUM/. Magnificentissimae mihi sunt aedes. R/ATIO/. Quid hic dicam nisi Tullianum illud. Ornanda est dignitas domo, non ex domo tota quaerenda, nec domo dominus, sed domino domus honestanda. G. Ornatissimae aedes sunt. R. Quid hinc tumes. Architecti laus est non tua. G. Aedibus amplissimis habito. R. Ubi fures latitent, tu vageris, servi luxurientur, vulgus haereat, liguriant parasiti, multiplicis taedii capax locus. G. Maximis aedibus habito. R. Una est urbium et domorum lex, non statim melius habitat qui latius, neque enim quam late habites, sed quam laete requiritur ad beatam vitam. Saepe vel in palatiis Regum labor dolorque habitant, vel in tuguriis inopum quies et gaudium: quod si amplitudo domus aut forma praestaret, nobilissima artium esset architectura. G. Regiis aedibus habito. R. Quasi vero curas morbosque locus arceat, sive ad praehendenda turrium fastigia mors egeat scalis. Non'ne in regia Tullius Hostilius habitabat, quando ictus est fulmine? in regia quoque Tarquinius Priscus quando percussus est ferro? in regia denique Superbus quando pulsus est regno? nullus locus periculis inaccessus, nullum limen morti clausum. G. Habitatio mihi propria atque perpetua est. R. Immo vero parvi temporis incolatus, instat dies commigrandi, civem fingens, advena es, conductoque habitas, veniet qui te nudum laribus his exturbet. G. Clara quidem, et angusta domus est. R. Hinc digresso fusca erit et angusta. Sed et nunc si vere domum tuam respicis, obscura et arta illa prorsus et caduca est, quaeque indies tantis adminiculis vix fulta subsistar, assidue fatiscens, casusque sui nuncia, et quae certe nec a ruina ultima longe sit, nec interim generosum incolam delectet ut domus, sed angat ut carcer, ubi mors aderit, unde optet absolvi, i nunc ergo, vel alienis aedibus, vel tuo carcere gloriare.

Petrarca, F., De remediis utriusque fortunae. In: Opera. Basileae, 1554, pp. 42–43.

II.

PETRARCA:

DE TABULIS PICTIS

Lib. I. Dial. XL.

GAU/DIUM/. Pictis tabulis delector. R/ATIO/. Inanis delectatio, nec minor vanitas quam magnorum hominum saepe fuit, nec tollerabilior quam antiqua. Siquidem omne malum exemplum tunc fit pessimum, quando illi vel auctorum pondus adiungitur vel annorum. Undecunque ortae consuetudinis robur ingens consenuerit, et ut bona in melius, sic mala in peius aetas provehit. Sed o utinam qui maiores vestros vanis in rebus facile vincitis, eosdem in seriis aequaretis virtutemque cum illis et gloriam miraremini, cum quibus pictas tabulis sine fine miramini. G. Vide utique pictas tabulas miror. R. O mirus humani furor animi, omnia mirantis, nisi se, quo inter cuncta non solum artis, sed naturae opera, nullum mirabilius. G. Pictae delectant tabulae. R. Quid de hoc sentiam, ex iam dictis intelligere potuisti, omnis quidem terrena delectatio si consilio regeretur, ad amorem coelestis erigeret, et originis admoneret. Nam quis unquam quaeso rivi appetens, fontem odit? at vos graves, humi acclives, affixique coelum suspicere non audetis, et obliti opificem illum solis ac lunae, tanta cum voluptate tenuissimas picturas aspicitis, atque unde transitus erat ad alta despicitis, illic metam figitis intellectus. G. Pictis tabulis delector unice. R. Pennicello et coloribus delectaris, in quibus et pretium et ars placet, ac varietas et curiosa disparsio. Sic exanguium vivi gestus atque immobilium motus imaginum, et postibus erumpentes effigies, ac vultuum spirantium liniamenta suspendunt, ut hinc erupturas paulominus praestoleris voces, et est hac in re periculum, quod iis magna maxime capiuntur ingenia, itaque ubi agrestis laeto et braevi stupore praetereat, illic ingeniosus suspirans ac venerandus inhaereat. Operosum sane, neque tamen huius est operis, ab initio artis originem atque incrementa retexere, et miracula operum et artificium industrias, et principum insanias, et enormia pretia, quibus haec trans maria mercati, Romae in templis deorum, aut Caesarum in thalamis, inque publicis plateis ac porticibus consecrarunt. neque id satis, nisi ipsi huic arti dextras atque animo maiori exercitio debitos, applicarent, quod iam ante nobilissimi Philosophorum Graeciae fecerant. Unde effectum ut pictura diu quidem apudvos, ut naturae coniunctior, ante omnes

mechanicas in pretio esset, apud Graios vero, si quid Plinio creditis, in primo gradu liberalium haberetur. Mitto haec quoniam et intentae brevitati et praesenti propositio quodammodo sunt adversa: videri enim possunt morbum ipsum cuius remedium pollicebar, alere, et rerum claritas stupentis amentiam excusare. Sed iam dixi, nihil errori detrahit errantium magnitudo, imo haec quidem ideo attigerim, ut liqueret mali huius quanta vis esset, ad quam tot tantisque sit ingeniis conspiratum, cui et vulgus errorum princeps, et consuetudinum genitrix, longa dies cumulusque ingens omnium malorum semper auctoritas, accesserint, ut voluptas stuporque animos ab altiore furtim contemplatione dimoveat distrahatque. Tu autem si haec ficta et adumbrata, fucis inanibus usque adeo delectant, attolle oculos ad illum, qui os humanum sensibus, animam intellectu, coelum astris, floribus terram pinxit, spernes quos mirabaris artifices.

Petrarca, op. cit., pp. 50–51.

III.

PETRARCA:

DE STATUIS

Lib. I. Dial. XLI.

GAU. At delector statuis. R. Artes variae, furor idem, ipsarumque fons unus artium, unus finis, diversa materia. G. Delectant statuae. R. Accedunt haec quidem ad naturam propius quam picturae, illae enim videntur tantum, hae autem et tanguntur, integrumque ac solidum, eoque perennius corpus habent, quam ob causam picturae veterum nulla usquam, cum ad huc innumerabiles supersint statuae. Unde haec aetas in multis erronea, picturae inventrix vult videri, sive quod inventioni proximum, elegantissima consumatrix limatrixque, cum in genere quolibet sculpturae, cumque in omnibus signis ac statuis longe imparem se negare temeraria impudensque non audeat. Cum praeterea pene ars una, vel si plures, unus ut diximus fons artium graphidem dico, atque ipse proculdubio sint coevae pariterque floruerint (siquidem una aetas et Apellem et Pyrgotelem et Lysippum habuit) quod hinc patet, quia hos simul ex omnibus, Alexandri magni tumor maximus delegit, quorum primus cum pingeret, secundus sculperet, tertius fingeret atque in statuam excuderet, edicto vetitis universis, qualibet ingenii artisque fiducia, faciem regis attingere. nec minor hic ideo furor quam reliqui, immo vero omnis morbus eo funestior, quo stabiliore materia subnixus. G. At me statuae delectant. R. Non te solum aut plebeis comitibus errantem putes, quanta olim dignitas statuarum quantumve apud antiquos clarissimosque hominum studium desideriumque rei huius fuerit, et Augusti, et Vespasiani, ac reliquorum, de quibus nunc dicere longum esset, et impertinens, Caesarum ac Regum virorumque secundi ordinis illustrium, solers inquisitio, et repertarum cultus, et custodia, et consecratio iuditio sunt. Accedit artificum fama ingens, non vulgo aut mutis duntaxat operibus, sed late sonantibus scriptorum literis celebrata, quae tam magna utique parva de radice nasci posse non videtur. Non fit de nihilo magnum, esse vel videri oportet, de quo serio magni tractant. Sed his omnibus supra responsum est, eo autem spectant, ut intelligas quanto nisu obstandum tam vetusto et tam valido sit errori. G. Variis delector statuis. R. Harum quippe artium, manu naturam imitantium una est, quam plasticen dixere. haec gypso et ceris operatur ac tenaci argilla, quae

cognatis licet artibus, cunctis amicitior sit, virtuti aut certe minus inimica modestiae in primis et frugalitati, quae magis fictiles quam aureas Deorum atque hominum formas probant, quid hic tamen delectabile, quid quo cereos aut terreos vultus ames non intelligo. G. Nobilibus statuis delector. R. Avaritiae consilium agnosco, pretium ut auguror non ars placet. Unam tu auream artificii mediocris, multis aeneis atque marmoreis, multoque maxime plasticis praeferendam duxeris, haud insulse quidem, ut se habet aestimatio rerum praesens, hoc est autem aurum amare non statuam: quae ut ex vili materia nobilis, sic puro rudis ex auro fieri potest. quanti vero tu statuam extimares, sive illam regis Assyrii ex auro sexaginta cubitorum quam non adorasse capitale fuit, quamque hodie multo ultro suam ut facerent addorarent, sive illam cubitorum quator quam ex ingenti topazio, mirum dictu, reginae Aegyptiae factam legis, puto non anxie quaereres cuius esset artificis, contentus de materia quaesivisse. G. Artificiosae oculos delectant statuae. R. Fuere aliquando statuae insignia virtutum, nunc sunt illecebrae oculorum, ponebantur his qui magna gessissent aut mortem pro Repub. obiissent, quales decretae sunt legatis a rege Fidenatium interfectis, quales liberatori Italiae Africano, quas illius magnitudo animi, ac spectate modestia non recepit, quas que post obitum recusare non potuit. Ponebantur ingeniosis ac doctis viris, qualem positam legimus Victorino, nunc ponuntur divitibus, magno pretio marmora peregrina mercant(i)bus. G. Artificosae placent statuae. R. Artificium fere omnis recipit materia, sentio autem, ut tua delectatio plena sit ingenii, materiaeque nobilitas iuncta perficiet: ne que hic tamen aurum, quamvis Phidiasque convenerit, vera delectatio nulla est, aut vera nobilitas, fex terrae licet rutila, incus, mallei, forcipes, carbones, ingenium laborque mechanici, quid hinc viro optabile vereque magnificum fieri possit cogita. G. Non delectari statuis non possum. R. Delectari hominum ingeniis, si modeste fiat tollerabile, his praesertim qui ingenio excellunt, nisi enim obstet livor, facile quisque, quod in se amat in alio veneratur. Delectari quoque sacris imaginibus, quae spectantes beneficii coelestis admoneant, pium saepe excitandisquae animis utile, prophanae autem et si interdum moveant, atque erigant ad virtutem, dum tepentes animi rerum nobilium memoria recalescunt, amandae tamen aut colendae aequo amplius non sunt, ne aut stultitiae testes, aut avaritiae ministrae, aut fidei sint rebelles, ac religioni verae et praecepto illi famosissimo: Custodite vos a simulachris. Profecto autem si hic quo que illum aspicis, qui solidam terram, fretum mobile, volubile coelum fecit, quique non fictos, sed veros vivosque homines et quadrupedes terrae, pisces mari, coelo volucres dedit, puto ut Protogenem atque Appellem, sic etiam Polycletum spernes et Phidiam.

Petrarca, op. cit. pp. 51–52.

IV.

BONFINI

AVERULINUS PREFACE—EXCERPT

...Accedunt et alia quae Maiestatem tuam non minus illustrant teque et Corvinum et Romanum Caesarem esse plane testantur; praeclaris enim delectaris aedificiis et his praesertim quae vetustatem aemulentur. Nam cum Syllam, Pompeium, Lucullum et Agrippam, item Augustum, Corvinum Messalam, multosque Romanos insana opera fecisse lectitaris, quae illorum magnificentiam refferrent, non sane aequo animo pateris, Princeps invictissime, te hac aedificiorum magnificentia superari, sed priscam architecturam in lucem revocasti; et hoc praesertim tempore, dum breves utriusque Imperatoris exiguntur induciae ne ingrato otio cessare videaris, quando nemo te unquam impune vidit otiosum, ad excolendas politicas artes animum convertisti. Et quamvis his artibus belli pacisque tempore, quam nunquam fortasse praelibasti, confectus curis animus tuus mirifice recrearetur, quia ab aedificando nunquam desistere visus est, nunc tamen vel maxime his operibus incumbit quae cum antiquitate decertent, ne qua in re illi cessisse videatur. Disquiris statuarios, plasticos pictoresque optimos undique accersi iubes; coeunt undique topiarii atriensesque fabri; lapicidinae studiosus quam aurifodinae quaeruntur; scalpuntur ubique marmora ut maximis satisfaciant operibus. Pannoniam olim barbarorum aream, ac gentium ludum undiquae incursantium, in qua praeter temporarios pagos vastationisque nihil fere cernere erat, tot praeclaris aedificiis exornasti, ut ea potius destinatione aeternitatis, quam temporaria mora erecta spectentur. Apud Vicegradum arcem cum rure aedificasti, praeter quam Danubius defluit, tanto sumptu et amoenitate praeditam, ut Lucullanam villam superare videatur. Distinctae sunt ibi regis et reginae mansiones; distincta sunt triclinia cubiculaque cum procestriis, diurna et nocturna; magnificae coenationes collaqueatis contignationibus irradientes. Ad haec auratae porticus et amoenissimae zetae (=diaetae), marmorei fontes magno sumptu absoluti, fenestrae superbissimae et cratefactae, iocunda sphaeristeria, munitissimaeque regalis gazae apothecae, elata item subdivalia marmoreis ornata fontibus. Neque horti desunt et xisti violis odorati amoenaeque gestationes buxetis undique conviridantes. Ad haec frigidariae atque caldariae cellae; item hypocaustum et cum unctuario baptisterium. Nonnullae zeteculae specularibus et velis obductae sunt, et necubi relligio

cesset, aedicula ornatissima. In prelisque locis marmorea et aurata podia prominent, unde late prospectari licet. In villae latus regalium amphibolarum gyneca secedent. Dietae multo auro corruscant. In hortis viridantes perpetuo scenae tanto laxamento spatientes, ut volenterii vicem praestare possent. Neque minus spectatorem distrahunt virides euripi, piscinae, gymnicus agon, et hyppodromi praeter Danubii ripam longe producti. Verum haec omnia non ad Visegradum, sed Cumarae, Budae et in multis fere locis longe maiore spectantur. Quid Budensi arce superbius inveniri possit haud facile dixerim, ubi subdivalia plura, fons in area elaboratissimus, aream porticus laxa complectitur, supra porticum obambulatio duodecim coeli signis illustris. Ibi bibliothecam statuisti, ubi non modo quaeque scientiarum volumina, sed stellas et sydera recensere licet. Auget huius gratiam Danubii aequorisque subiecti longus latusque prospectus. Dimitto regales hortos hortorumque domos et topiaria opera; dimitto Herculeas statuas in propyleo stantes; dimitto valvas aeneas tanta arte elaboratas, quae si prosequerer, viderer fortasse potius Maiestati vestrae blandiri et detrahere vetustati, quam vera scribere, quae denegari nequeunt. In arce Viennensi pensiles hortos erexisti pensilique porticu obduxisti, ne corpus die noctuque defatigatum intempestive confici videatur. Caeteri principes cessante Marte aut venatione aut spectaculis choraeisque sese recreant, tempusque quo nihil praeciosius hac sterili recreatione terunt! Tua Maiestas non ad feras sed homines venandos et aucupandam inmortalitatem tantum est intenta, o divinum indefatigabilemque animum, cui si par corpus obtigisset tot bellicis laboribus attritum nihil super esset quo amplius posset gloriari vetustas et pro dignitate commemorare posteritas. Sed refocillat adhuc refovetque corpus ingens animi magnitudo. Quod dixeris iam viso hoc libro, quem in Latinum mihi traducendum demandasti? Nonne statim, visa pontium ichnographia, de traiiciendo marmoreo ponte Danubio, Traiani exemplo, ac de aedificandis plerisque urbibus in Pannonia cogitasti? Quid erecta in sano sumptu sub tuo nomine templa commemorem? Sat pro me Basilicae Albanae Budensesque loquentur, pro quibus sacrorum regum manes pientissimae Serennitati Tuae gratias quottidie agere videntur et beneficentiae tuae se mirifice debere fatentur. Secundum Danubium vivaria tam ampla, et tam perpetuo aggere statuisti, ut inundantem exciperent. Quis non si loci ac temporis ratio habeatur, hoc Romanorum Principum in aedificando audaciam fateatur? Quas ob res cum omnes bonas artes colas, et in primis architecturam, qua nihil ad principalem magnificentiam magis pertinere videtur et Bandinus, mira ingenii dexteritate suavissimus, touque numini deditissimus, Antonii Averulani (sic) civis Florentini opus mirabile de architectura nuper ad Maiestatem Vestram attulerit; haud ab re fortasse factum esse putasti, quod e vernacula lingua in Latinam quam primum traducendam curasti, quandoquidem hinc magnam cum Romana antiquitate certandi copiam tibio oblatam esse duxisti et hoc enim Tua Serenitas omnem symmetriae rationem omniumque aedificiorum structuram accipiet. In qua quidem traductione, ne opus evilescat, si Latinis aliquantum vocabulis inhaesero, patitur quaeso aequo animo Vestra Serenitas me non minus doctorum quam imperitorum et Vestrae dignitatis ac mei nominis habere rationem:

ego autem in traducendo hoc utar temperamento, quo dilucidati simul et latinitati satis facere studebo. Quod etsi severa lividave potius censura me praestitisse negarit, officiosae tamen voluntati est aliquid indulgendum. Illud saepe memoria repetat Maiestas Vestra, quod publice quandoque dictitat, verecundiam proba debilitare ingenia, et audatiam confirmare perversa.

Averulinus Antonius, De architectura libri XXV. Ex Italico traducti et Mathiae regi dicati ab Antonio de Bonfinis. Praefatio. fol 3r–4v. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco. MS. 2796.; Ed.: Ábel, E.—Hegedüs, S., Analecta nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia. Budapest, 1903, pp. 55–58.

V. a–b.

BONFINI:

RERUM UNGARICARUM DECADES—EXCERPTS

a. Ducende Beatricis gratia rex proceres decem miserat, qui singulari pompa et apparatu per Italiam iter facerent. Ex his nemo fuit, qui in urbe quaque nobilissima multiplices abacorum gradus non explicuerit gemmatis poculis et aureis argenteisque vasis oneratos. Varadiensis antistes legationis princeps, qui apud regem pro magnificentia, fide, eloquentia, consilio et ingenii dexteritate inter primos semper habitus et ab Urbinate duce honorificentissimo exceptus hospitio, in mensa salinum exposuit, quod principem etiam ditissimum in admirationem adduxit. Id monte erat impositum, a latere arbor aurea creverat salino prominens, que pomorum loco gemmis optimisque lapillis onusta pro umbra conspicuo nitore micabat; in monte latebre affabre facte, que gemmarias apothecas referebant; item aureum prochyton, cui emissorie loco fistule draco prostabat anhelans; e conchyliis huic corpus erat prominebatque arduo capite; ad pedes in spiras aureas caudam revocabat; gemmata insuper ansa tegmentum oris in fastigiate testudinis morem sesquipedale consurgebat; cetera ex auro omnia; supra editissimam basim tripedalis moles excreverat. Alii quoque college certatim suas opes ostentarunt. Omitto superbissimos habitus, excultam inventutem et honestissimum equitatum, que omnia nostri temporis spectacula superarunt.

b. Postquam autem regina venerat, mensas et vivendi modum excoluit, fastidia domorum humilitate magnificas cenationes, exculta triclinia, aurata cubicula introduxit, regem a popularitate revocavit, ianitores foribus apposuit assiduos, intercepit faciles aditus, regiam maiestatem ad servandum longe ambitiosus decorum redegit. Statis regem temporibus in auditorium prodire ac ius dicere monuit. Scythicis Italicos mores inseruit et Latinis quoque epulis oblectavit. Varias, quibus olim carebat, artes eximiosque artifices ex Italia magno sumptu evocavit. Quare pictores, statuarii, plastici, celatores et lignarii argentariique fabri, item lapidicide operarii et architecti ex Italia conducti insanaque his impensa salaria; divinus hinc cultus adauctus, edicula regia accitis e tota Gallia Germaniaque cantoribus exculta, quin et olitores, cultores hortorum agricultureque magistri ex Italia educti; qui caseos etiam Latino, Siculo Gallicoque more conficerent, evocati. Adiecti quoque histriones et mimi, quibus regina nimium indulsit; item monaule, utricularii, cho-

raule ac citharedi. Invitati etiam muneribus poete, rhetores et grammatici, qui falsi opinione sua miseriores longe musas, quam adduxerint, in Italiam reduxerunt. Has omnes Mathias mirifice coluit aluitque; Pannoniam alteram Italiam reddere conabatur. Viros quaque arte prestantissimos undique disquisivit conduxitque. Astronomos, medicos, mathematicos iurisque consultos dilexit; ne magos quidem et nigromantes abominatus est; nullam artem contempsit unquam.

Contra Ungari politice culture ac deliciarum expertes hec omnia egre ferre, insanos damnare sumptus, regiam maiestatem quotidie incusare, quod pecunias ludibrio haberet, vectigalia ad meliores usus instituta in res futiles vanasque erogaret, a priscorum regum parsimonia et frugalitate descisceret, patrios et severos mores exueret, aboleret antiquos ritus et ad Latinas, immo Gotalanicas delicias effeminatosque mores plane transfugeret. Mussitare quoque nimis uxorium et externos non modo aurum, sed principis indulgentia universum quotidie regnum populari; multa quoque obloqui et in malam partem accipere. At divus ille princeps omnium bonarum artium parens et fautor ingeniorum Ungaricos vulgo mores damnare, rusticitatem Scythicam et incultam vitam publice taxare, inhumanos passim ritus abominari, urbanitatem sensim introducere, proceres cum nobilitate ad politicum cultum hortari, iubere domos pro facultate magnificas erigere, vivere longe civilius ac sese mitius cum peregrinitate gerere, quam ante preter omnium opinionem abominabantur. Ad hec igitur omnia exemplo suo imprimis omnes invitavit.

Budensem arcem, ubi preter magnifica Sigismundi edificia nihil spectatione dignum erat, excolere adorsus est, retractiorem aulam nimis exornavit, quippe qui a Danubii parte ediculam statuit hydraulicisque organis, item sacro fonte duplici marmoreo et argenteo decoravit; collegium adiecit honestissimum sacerdotum; supra bibliothecam statuit mira utriusque lingue fecunditate completam; cultus quoque librorum luxuriosissimus. Ante hanc cubiculum est in absida curvatum, ubi celum universum suspicere licet, qua spectat ad Austrum. Palatia erexit haud parum a Romano luxu differentia, ubi laxa triclinia, procita cubiculaque superbissima, item laquearia ubique varia et aurata multa insignium varietate distincta; postes insuper emblemate conspicui insignesque camini, in quorum fastigiis quadrige ac multa Romanorum stemmata sunt sculpta, infra hypothece thesaurique, ad solis exortum varie cenationes et cubicula, quo altioribus scalis et ambulacro sane subitur. Buleuterium hic et dieta. Cum ultra processeris, varie mansiones in excelsam absidem convexe; hybernacula estivaculaque multa, item heliocamini et aurate zete, preter hec alta abditaque secreta, argentei lecti argenteeque cathedre. Ad occasum vetustum opus nondum instauratum; in medio area veteri porticu circumventa, quam duplicia coronant ambulacra, quorum supremum novoque palatio prepositum, qua ad summa triclinia conscenditur, duodecim signiferi orbis sideribus insigne non sine admiratione suspicitur; tessellata vermiculataque ubique pavimenta teruntur, nonnulla encaustica sunt; caldarie passim frigidarieque celle; hypocausta in tricliniis mammatis tegulis obtecta, que non modo colorum pulchritudine, sed animalium confictorum varietate conspicua. In subdivalibus e con-

spectu pedestres tres statue ex alto non inermes adeuntibus obiiciuntur. Galeatus in medio Mathias constitutus hasta clypeoque innitens, cogitabundus; a dextra pater et subtristis a leva Ladislaus. In medio subdivalium fons aeneus marmoreo lacu circumventus, cui Pallas galeata subcinctaque imminet. Ad aule huius aditum in anteriore subdivali, quod multo laxius est, hinc et hinc due constitute ex ere statue nude, clypeo, securi enseque iuxta minantes, ad basim circumsculpta sunt trophea. In hac igitur quadrata area ante Sigismundi atria constituta vetus a latere palatium instaurare ceperat, quod si prestare potuisset, plurimum de superba vetustate referebat. Geminas huic scalas adiecerat porphyreo marmore aeneisque candelabris insignes. Ex eodem lapide geminas huic ianuas superstruxerat, quas aenei postes et affabre facti Herculeisque laboribus admirabiles et non minus a tergo, quam a fronte spectabiles exornabant, quibus illud Antonii Bonfinis epigramma mandavit incidi:

Atria cum statuis ductis ex aere foresque
Corvini referunt principis ingenium.
Mathiam partos tot post ex hoste triumphos
Virtus, es, marmor, scripta perire vetant.

Contignationes huic insano sumptu destinarat, quibus laquearia aurigantes per ethera planetas continerent erratilesque cursus miro suspectu referrent. In fronte subgrundiis tectorum triglyphos subiicere decreverat et, qua posset, arte conspicuum opus efficere. In fontem regie per octo fere stadia pixidatis tubis fistulisque plumbeis aquam subduxerat. Sigismundi ambulacrum, quod totam fere arcem ambibat, ne pari quidem sumptu prosequi cepit. Ille eternitatis destinatione hic temporaria in ambulacro mora edificavit. Laxos longosque ibi tractus instituit, specularia quoque multa, item atrium murorum minis impositum ex lignario opere confectum, ubi triclinium, cubiculum, preterea apodyterium et paulo retractius lucubratorium graphiarumque locum perfecit, sed inventum vesanam ruinam in Danubium minari videbatur.

Extra arcem in proxima convalle horti subiacent amenissimi marmoreaque villa. Huius propyleum columnis tessellatis embrycatisque circumdatum, que aenea candelabra sustinent. Triumphales sunt ville postes et triclinium cubiculumque cum laquearibus et fenestris usque adeo spectabile, ut lautissimam antiquitatem propius accederet. Qua spectat in hortos, porticus subest; in hortis labyrinthus ex arboribus consitis institutus. Insuper aviaria e peregrinis nostratibusque avibus, que ferrea retia coercebant. In aviariis quoque arbusta fructifereque arbores et nemus item xysti per ordinem digesti variisque arborum generibus circumvallati. Insuper cryptoporticus, prata, lithostrata, piscine. Turres quoque cenaculis ac pergulis obducte, in quibus cenationes cum vitreis specularibus usque adeo iucunde, ut nihil putes amenius. Argentatis villa tegulis contecta. Quin et in ulteriore Danubii regione in Pestano agro ad primum lapidem suburbanum habuit ne minore quidem amenitate delectabile, ubi a curis animum relaxare mos erat. Item

in Budensi agro alterum sibi erat suburbanum ad tertium lapidem, ubi sylvestrium ferarum amplissima sane vivaria spectabantur; magna quoque hic cicurum copia. Ad salinarum erat tertium non procul ab urbe Buda.

Sed quis ea pro dignitate referre poterit, que ad Regalem Albam in dive genitricis basilica moliebatur, ubi sacrorum sunt monumenta regum; totam enim non modo instaurare, sed multo prestantiorem efficere conabatur et prestitisset eximius ille princeps, ni mors immatura e medio sustulisset. Magnam imprimis aram longe pristina laxiorem fundare adortus, ut hic patrique Mausoleum constitueret. Huc etiam Elisabethe parentis pientissime corpus non multo ante vita defuncte transtulit, ut parentibus hic et fratri sibique sacellum dicaret, opus artificiose testudinis ac eminentissime e quadrato lapide inchoatum, quod in convexa absida iam consurgere ceperat totque circum fornicibus obstructum est, ut acerrimum quoque superet ingenium et, quando in palude situm est, altissima iacta habet fundamenta. Tam insanum igitur molitur edificium, ut hoc duntaxat uno cetera superiorum regum opera obscurare videatur. Ad Vicegradum priscorum quondam regum arcem in editissimo loco sitam subiacentem regiam sic amplificavit, sic hortos vivariis ferarum et piscinis excoluit, ut edificiorum superbia alia quoque superare videatur. Apparatus hic Attalicos et laxa triclinia, ambulacra tectorio opere candidissima et fenestras superbissimas cernere erit. Hic horti fontesque pensiles, qui porphyreo marmore aeneoque solio culti sunt.

Si ultra progrediaris, Tatam offendes, que meo sane iudicio ceteris arcibus anteferri in tanta brevitate potest; hic enim e perpetuo crassoque aggere convallium aqua sistitur, stagnat ac lacum iugerum septenorum fere milium passuum efficit. Pistrine ad emissorium aque frumentarie ex ordine novem, que arci coherent et nunquam bello auferri queunt. Arcis forma in astragali speciem duplici muro, propugnaculo et fossa munita; brevis inter porticum area, quam aurate cenationes magnificaque cubicula circumstant; laquete contignationes multo auro celaturaque. Emisse lacu aque sepe resistitur et piscinas haud invita facit innumeras; magna luporum et carponum copia. Duo utrinque pagi non ignobiles dueque basilice. Circumstant saltus quoquo versum patentissimi, qui ne mediocrem quidem ferarum copiam alunt. Non procul hinc a Danubii ripa Romane legionis vestigia pleraque supersunt, que adhuc pre loci amenitate et feracitate soli Latine gentis coloniam vocant. Paulo supra ad caput insule Cumara conspicitur spatii sane laxioris, cui subdivalia patentiora, capaciora triclinia et diversa ubique laquearia gravissima quidem impensa constructa. Bucentaurus quoque ad velificandum Danubium ex ligno constructus; in atriis simulacrum, ubi triclinium, prociton et cubiculum, ubi andronicon et gyneceum inter puppim et proram late compactum.

Preterea Vienna capta pensiles in arce hortos, heliocaminos marmoreosque subducta aqua fontes fecit. Frigidaria caldarieque celle in pensili solo confecte. Inferius quoque hortos excoluit; cavee avicularum et aviaria ferreis retibus obducta; factum in secessu nemus topiariaque loca, ambulatorie circum porticus vitium texture convexe; supra menia produxit ambulacra ad spatiandum nimis idonea. De faciendo Danubio ponte (etsi per vitam licuisset, fortasse prestitisset) Traiani

Cesaris invitatus exemplo, qui prope Sinderoviam marmoreo Istrum ponte traiecit, cuius nonnulle adhuc pyle supersunt, cogitabat. Addebat animum architectura, quam tribus sane mensibus Antonius Bonfinis in Latinam e materna lingua traduxerat. Cetera, que per arces regias et basilicas exedificare fecit, opere longioris esset rite enarrare.

Antonius de Bonfinis, Rerum Ungaricarum decades. Ed. I. Fógel et B. Iványi et L. Juhász. Tom. IV. Pars I. Budapest, 1941, pp. 67, 135–138.

VI.a.

FRANCESCO ARRIGONI'S LETTER TO LODOVICO IL MORO

fol. 167 r Illustrissimo Signore, essendo anchora io stato pregato, che me volessi sforzare secondo la tenuita delo ingenio mio celebrare la statua equestre: che have facto fare V. S. cum qualche epigramma: non solo presto, ma ancora volenteri lo ho facto. Prima perchè sapea che faria cosa multo grata a V. S., celebrando cum mei versi tale statua poi perchè e laudabile et gloriosa cosa scrivere de tanto et così prestante Duca: finalmente perchè ogniuno e tenuto honorare et laudare el suo Signiore vivo et morto, maximi si e overo, e stato tale: che sia digno nonsolo de essere da tutti honorato, ma etiam dio amato. Et si la mente mia non me gabba, spero che quista sia opera divina, che per mezzo de questi epigrammi io serro recolto da V. S. overo in sua propria casa, overo de suoi nobilissimi generi, overo de suo carissimo nepote, overo ad qualche officio: como ferria de Cancellaria, o de altra cosa non multo dissimile, che recerca doctrina et ingenio, o dentro de Milano o dovunque altrove piacisse a V. S. perchè volenteri fidelmente et cum omni cura studio et diligentia gli serviria. Si me vole per legere et insigniare in casa achiunque se voglia, non do la palma ad alcuno altro: perchè sempre ho lecto ad grandi signori. Tra li altri ala serenissima Regina de Hungaria, et ancora ad ipso Re, poi alo S. Don Francesco d'Aragona per fin che vixe, poi ali figli che furo delo S. S. don Arrico d'Aragona mo ad uno figlio delo S. S. Duca de Calabria. Si per legere publicamente in qualunche se voglia loco: posso dio gratia satisfare bene ali auditori. Si me vole per scrivere in rima: qui ancora porro satisfare a V. S. si per scrivere in omni genere de verso latino: non solo meditatamente, ma ancora extemporalmente, forsi gli piacero: come pote videre per questi pochi epigrammi deli quali omne generoso signore forte se delecta como quilli imperatorii Romani: unde Martiale fece la opera sua da tutti li latini mirabelmente laudata, perchè contene la vita li customi, li studii, li vitii, le virtu de tutti li mortali: non solo li egregii facti de quilli Imperatori Romani. Et certo e proprio cosa de nobilissimo Principe havere piu homini docti, li quali possino subito mettere omni cosa inverso: overo de ipso Principe, overo de qualunche altra persona se voglia, o facetia o cosa grave, o caso, o miraculo, o piancto, o riso, o cose adverse o prospere, o vicii o virtuti: finalmente quanto se dice et fa in questa breve et fragile vita: La memoria dela quale nulla altra

cosa in perpetuo conserva: excepto che li homini docti cum lo suo erudito et polito scrivere. Si me vole per scrivere in prosa: forsi non gli dispiacerimo si volera epistole: overo orationi overo historie: non che Milano non abundi...

fol. 167 v Principi quanto piu ne hanno piu ne vorriano / et maxime deli suoi: como io so uno de quelli per essere deli Arigoni: si me vole per Scribano overo Cancellari: qui tengo ancora li libri de Cuncto, et insieme fazo lofficio de Canzellario. Finalmente V. S. me pote operare securamente ad omne exercitio et cosa o per se, o per altri, o dentro, o fora de Milano: che V. S. piu ogni di me serra et leta et contenta: pure che se digni acceptarme una volta per suo humile et fidele servitore: como spero in dio fara. Et perchè io a tempo novo ho deliberato levarmi de qua: prego V. S. de gratia se digni farmi significare de sua voluntate: perchè forsi non piacendoli mia servitute: andaro da quilli che me acceptaranno volenteri. Ad V. S. me recommando et prego la voglia lo judicio de quisti Epigrammi mei da ipso Alexandrino et me Francisco homini doctissimi et da omni altro egregiamente erudito: de cui generatione si alcuna altra cita. Milano inprima ab initia Neapoli XXV. febraio.

Lo S. Duca Borso dono a quillo che fece soli quatro versi ala statua sua quatro milia ducati io per tanti Epigrammi mei et si diversi et non inferiori forsi: non aspecto tanta liberalitate da V. S. non perche ipsa non possi quista et multo maiore, et non sia solita: ma a me basta tanta facultate: che possi traducere la vita mia como povero cavaglieri, che me fece lo S. Re de Hungaria insieme cum mia mogliere, dovunque piacera a V. S. perchè a me basta: quanto ipsa necessita recerca et non piu. Perche non multa richezza fa lhomo beato: ma solo lanimo.

Franciscus de Arigonibus

domino domino
Sforcie Barensi Duci
(to)tius italie optimo
...singulari ac praecipuo

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ital. 1592. fol. 167r–v.

VI.b.

FRANCESCO ARRIGONI'S EPIGRAMS

fol. 168 r 1. Ego sum ille Franciscus Sforcia vocatus,
Qui militaris atque civilis rei
Scientia, tantas brevi paravi opes,
Et nomen immortale. Filii mei
Pietas equestrem erexit hanc statuam mihi.

2. Statuam vides Francisci Sforcie. Hanc mihi.
Ludovicus erexit pius natus meus.
Summis habitus hic est honor semper viris
Hanc aliqua vis, aut longa viciabit dies
Fortasse, gestarum sed a me gloria
Rerum, occidere nomen meum nunquam sinet.

3. Fortasse potuit reddere ars meos vultus
Pietate filii mei.
Sed fama loquitur magnitudinem rerum
Quas gessi ego omni gratia.
Nam que, rogo, gens tam remota, cui non sit
Nomen meum notissimum?

4. Francisco mihi Sforcie secundo
Nulli laudibus ocij togati,
Aut belli, Ludovicus hanc Equestrem
Erexit statuam: mea propago
Omni parte suum exprimens Parentem.

5. Haec auro statua collita plurimo
Franciscum simili corpore Sforciam
Conatur cupido reddere seculo.
Exquisita ac consilia illius
Quia tam multa domi gessit item foris.

6. Historia centeno efferre volumine
Vulgo fama loqui res memorabilis.
Ast unus Ludovicus soboles pia

Effingit genitorem tribus his suum
Vultu, consilio, rebus, uti palam est.

7. Haud certe mea virtus statuis eget,
Ut nec clara Ducis facta laconii,
Sed nati pietate
Hac sum expressus imagine.

8. Nullo potest auro bene quispiam
Effingi, opus namque est animis bonis
Haec sunt enim simulacra vera
Quae vere referunt hominum figuras.

9. Num Scopas fecit statuam hanc equestrem?
Num Polycletus? Phidiasne? num tu
Hanc Myro? Lysippene condidisti?
Num simul omnes?

10. Aut hanc ipse Pyracmon
Cum bronti et Steropi suo
Alta excudit in etna
Aut Volcanus imaginem.

11. Non haec humanae quequam effigies sapit artis,
Sed divinum animumque manumque.
Nubius haec igitur scissis defluxit olympo
Quidni? Nam omnimo hec nova res est.

fol. 168 v 12. Delapsum celo Scutum fatale putate
Et phrygio arma Duci
Et nos hanc statuam celo venisse putamus
Sforcia magne tibi.

13. Exprimit haec statua effigiem Ludovici paternam
Historia clava patris acta depingit
Tu representas animum corpusque Parentis
Et gloriam eius aemularis eternam.

14. Mars Iovis Pallasque soror celestibus astris
Hanc statuam manibus composuere suis.
Et magna excoluit Franciscus Sforcia laude
Martortis pugnas, palladiumque togam.

15. Non haec effigies verum spirare
Quid mirum arctoi Cardine missa poli est.
Nil aliud: quo sit Franciscus Sforcia verus:
Deest: nisi de stellis flama petita vagis.
*subandi hic erit [sic!]

16. En Mediolanum Franciscus Sforcia verus
Si vox huic dotus, si vigor esse suus.
Jam desiderio, jam longo solvere luctu
Nam licet ora Ducis ipsa videre tui.

17. Mille voluminibus fulvoque exculptus in aere
Vivo, nec est expers nominis ulla mei
Seu gens, seu Tellus, quam sol accedat, in uno
Sed melius vivo te Ludovice tamen.
18. Ut desiderium vulgi solarer, Equestrem
Hic Ludovice tue me statuere manus.
19. Haec est effigies eius, qui laudibus orbem
Implevit propriis, qua Tirhys ambit himnis.
20. Hanc erexisti statuam Ludovice Parenti,
officium ut faceres hac quippe parte tuum.
21. Aspice Terra Ducem, quem longo tempore luxti
Hec debes nato tam pia dona meo.
22. Venît ab Elysiis Franciscus Sforcia Campis
Hoc nati pietas, hoc valuere manus.
23. Hoc nati pietas, hoc me ars effinxit in aere.
Fama viget, caelo mens data, corpus eterno.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ital. 1592. fol. 168r–v.

VII.

DALMATA DEED OF GIFT

Nos Mathias etc. Memorie commendamus — Quod nos ad singulare illud ingenium preclaramque artem fidelii nostri Magistri Joannis Duknovich de Tragurio Statuarii sive marmorum Sculptoris, debitum ut decet respectum habentes, et quibus non modo hic apud nos, verum apud reliquis quoque orbis Principes insignem laudem meruit et gloriam, considerantes etiam quam utilis nobis in effingendis expoliandisque statuis futurus sit et quantum nominis etiam, sua arte et industria in similibus operibus ad nostram et totius Regni nostri gloriam adjiciatur, et quid item fame et laudis post rerum felici marte gestarum nobis ydem huiuscemodi suis operibus uel post cineret laturus sit et relinquat, horum igitur intuitu virtutem Castellum Maykovez vocatum in comitatu Crisiensis habitum, quod alias a manibus quorundam subditorum nostrorum propter notam quamdam infidelitatis quam per id temporis manifeste in currissent, demonstrabantur armis expugnari feceramus, et quod tandem tamquam optimo iure ad nos deuolutum, ob fidelia et multiplicia servicia fidelis nostri Egregii Blasii de Raska prouisoris curie Castri nostri Budensis etc. eidem perpetus possidendum contuleramus, quodque postea per quandam constitutionem per nos eum eodem Blasyo factam rursum ad manus nostras recepimus, simul eum villis possessionibus etc. — Memorato Magistro Johannis suis heredibus et posteritatibus universis de consensu et beneplacita voluntate Illustrissime Domine Beatricis Regine consortis nostre carissime de manibus nostris regiis dedimus, donauimus et contuliums etc.

Datum in Arce nostra Viennensi in festo beati Jacobi Apostoli anno Domini 1488. (July 25, 1488. Vienna)

Ed. Kukuljević Sakcinski, I., Leben Südslawischer Künstler. Agram, 1868. Heft I. p. 70.

VIII.

FRANCESCO BANDINI'S LETTER FROM VÁC

fol. 70 v Jacobo Salviato Francischus Bandinus P. S. D.

Paucis ante diebus quam diem videret extremum Simon ille noster tuas acceperat litteras, quibus summa fuerat affectus letitia. Et cum longius abesset a me in quadam villa regis que dicitur Vicegrado, quo suspitione pestis accesserat, eas ad me magna cum iocunditate miserat, ut simul et affectionem erga se tuam et eloquentiam cernere potuissem. Accingebatque se tibi pari epistola respondere. Profecerat enim aliquantulum in licteris, ad quas ingenium optimum ac experientia rerum et diligentia simul sibi magno adiumento fuere, ac letus admodum spem etiam quam primum ad vos redeundi concipiebat. Sed dira fata omnibus adversa magnanimis eum statim in morbum pestiferum impulerunt. Namque VIII. kal. Augusti gravi febre correptus signoque apparenti in inguine sinistro notatus, tanquam si fulmine percussus fuerit, uno momento prostratus est viresque eius omnes quasi penitus defuere. Quo audito per unum ex famulis meis qui ei ministra-
fol. 71 r bant, illico ad eum susceptis possibilibus / remediis provolans altero die perveni, inventoque eo non sine summa anxietate prostrato non sine summo dolore collacrimavi. Adhibitis deinde statim remediis tam fisicis quam cerusicis eum non solum dolore levarunt sed a febri mundum penitus reddiderunt, adeo quod spem magnam salutis ipse concepit. Ego autem cum vidissem cetera signa salutis optima, urinam vero turbulentissimam et de punto in puntum peiorem fieri, mortem propterea suspicatus, eum, ostendens illi quod(?) ut potius gratus appareret domino de salute, quam alio iminenti periculo, confiteri comunionemque sanctissimam suscipere feci. Quod cum fecisset invicto omnino animo summaque cum devotione, statim se moriturum vaticinatus est et diem et horam precise predixit. Quem cum variis sermonibus cohortari studerem, excelso animo me vicissim mirabilibus argumentis admonuit, quibus non acerbam sibi asserebat mortem sed iocundissimam. Que omnia collegi et tibi cum presentibus litteris micto. Nec erit grave tibi illa patri ac fratribus eius ostendere, ut susceptum dolorem aliquo modo levare valeant. Conditoque deinde testamento sicuti filius familias, se totum ad sanctissimos sermones,
fol. 71 v / et ad contemplationem future vite convertit. Sedatisque undique diversis medi-

camentis doloribus IIII Kalendarum Augusti in ortu solis loquendo ac de misericordia divina frugalitateque humane vite disserendo tanquam angelus expiravit. Nec pretermiserat usque in finem cibum nec potum nec alia que sibi ad corpus reficiendum porrigebantur. Nihil fetoris ac turpitudinis in corpore eius aut in vultu apparuit, nihil timoris in animo, nihil horrendum ab eo visum est. Sed excelso animo sine ulla voce aut querimonia usque ad extremum spiritum se continuit. Nec in tanto periculo fuit inmemor patris nec fratrum amicorumve, quos omnes me litteris consolari rogavit. Me vero antequam clauderet oculos per octavam hore partem longius a se dimisit invitum, asserens satis periculi in eius infirmitate suscepisse, quod in morte maximum esse propter contagionem affirmabat. Ego autem sepulcrum eius in maiori ecclesia honestissimo in loco preparaveram, cerimoniasque funebres possibili pompa exequi feci, que omnia diligenter et abundantibus omnium lacrimis perfecta fuere. Ego tum dubius vite, anxius morte tam cari
fol. 72 r fratris, persequtus etiam ab his qui me male fecisse/affirmabant quod illinc eum fol. infirmum non extrassissem cum principes illuc venire tentarent, relictis bonis omnibus que ad eius servitia portaveram, dimissis tribus famulis, qui mecum in eius cura fuerant, cum abundanti pecunia ut peregrinari possent et se gubernare et fugere mortem, navem conscendens ad alia loca me contuli, ubi solus uno cum famulo in domo deserta dolore ac lachrimis sociatus usque in hunc diem discurri. Nunc autem quasi securior factus summa curo cum diligentia ut antequam ulterius labatur tempus lapis sepulcri Simonis nostri prout faciendum instituit disponatur. Ceterum in dies quicquid pietas erga eius memoriam postulabit pro viribus conabor efficere. Te autem hortor iocundissime frater, te enim mihi moriens loco sui Simon ipse dimisit, quod haud te erubescere non dubito, ut te primum, deinde patrem, postremo fratres et amicos consolari quoad potes velis, existimesque simul cum ipsis me fore vobis semper fratrem amantissimum filiumque obedientissimum. Ita Deus omnibus salutem ubique concedat. Vale.

Datum Vacie, Idibus Augusti MCCCCLXXX. (August 13, 1480. Vác)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms.lat. 7869. fols. 70v–72r. Published by Kristeller, P. O., Francesco Bandini and his consolatory dialogue upon the death of Simone Gondi. In: Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters. Roma, 1956, pp. 434–435.

IX.

FRANCESCO BANDINI'S LETTER FROM NAPLES—EXCERPTS

f.1r Francisci Bandini de Baroncellis in laudem neapolitane civitatis et Ferdinandi Regis brevis epistola ad amicum.

f.3r. Molto sollecita- et caldamente mi stimoli, amico caro, per la tuo lettere, debba
3v ripatriarmi et tornare a Fiorenze, repetendomi la soavità/ della patria, il dolce amore de'paventi, la excellentia de la città e piaceri d'essa et le commodità infinite di quella, et quasi meco adoperi come se a me fussino incognite tutte sue simili conditioni, che pure debbi sapere che, mentre io in quella da giovinetto fui intento ad ogni liberale arte forse più che alchun altro buon tempo fa, presi di sue dolcezze
4r et commodità ampla/mente con relassato animo, non dimettendo alcuna maniera di solazzi che in essa o sue circumstantie prendere si potessino. Io dalla vista delle cose nobili della città et delli edificii magnifici pigliavo sommo piacere, e spessissimo li andavo vedendo et contemplando acutissimamente l'arte et le conditioni
4v tutte di quelli. Niuno luogho celebrato da moltitudine / di cittadini o donne tralasciavo ch'io non visitassi, per avere in quelli giocondità dello spectaculo di molte ornate presentie. Niuno artigiano di sottile ingegno et di acuto mestiero quasi v'era con chui io non havessi cerco d'avere conscenza, spessegiando di rivedere tutto giorno loro opere et ragionando sovente con quelli di mestieri loro.

.....

11r La città è in sul lito marino di cerchio di miglia tre in forma di luna di quarterone posta, la metà piana alla marina da basso, il resto in soave piaggia, in modo che più forte et più bella assai se ne rende; le mura della terra sono antiquissime et
11v integre che pure quelle reverentia grande le atribuiscono. Da uno canto di / essa sulla marina è il Castello Nuovo restaurato dal gloriosissimo Re Alfonso do edificio et munito più che alcuno altro mai vistosi, inexpugnabile, con uno arco triumphale su la porta simile a quelli egregii Romani, con habitationi dentro magnifiche et ornatissime ad habitare di gran principe accomodate dove la Maestà del Re sta per istanza.

.....

13v Gli artigiani sono infiniti et perfecti in ogni mestiero et meglio stanti che in terra ch'io sappi. Qui d'ogni sorte cose, al victo del huomo o al vestito necessaria o delitiosa, ci è in quantità. Se vuoi delle liberali arti exemplo, egli è qui in tutta
14r perfectione, però / che se o theologi o philosophi o poeti o huomini eloquentissimi et erudizi cerchi, qui ne è assaissimi et optimi; se medici o iuristi, qui ne è in gran copia et perfecti più che in niun'altra terra d'Italia. Se musici, sculptori, pictori, architecti, ingiegnieri et di simili mestieri liberali, qui ne è in tutto colmo, et del continuo la Maestà del Serenissimo Re con ogni sollecitudine et premio attende a
14v conducerne con continue / schuole di tutte simili arti perfette.

.....

16v, 17r Gli spassi di poi sono infiniti . . . quando alle terre piacevoli datorno chome è Nola, Sorrente, Massa et altri luoghi cultissimi et dotati di tutti i beni, fra' quali Pezzuolo et per la excellentia de' molti bagni ha et per la vista delle mirabili antiquità
17v Romane vi si vegghono dà grandissimo dilecto a ciaschuno; quivi Baia / et Miseno et la anticha Cumà, Lucrino e' templi delle Sibille, cose meravigliose, vedere si possono; . . .

Pierpont Morgan Library. New York. Weigle collection. No. 267. f. 3r.–f.23r. Published by Kristeller, P.O., An unpublished description of Naples by Francesco Bandini. In: Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters. Roma, 1956, pp. 406–409.

POSTSCRIPT

MRS RÓZSA FEUER-TÓTH AND THE STUDY OF THE EARLY HUNGARIAN RENAISSANCE

Mrs Rózsa Feuer-Tóth (1928–1985)[1] who had made a name for herself as a student of the art of the Early Renaissance, was carried away by an untimely and sudden death. The present work, written in 1981, was originally submitted as part of the requirements of a higher degree awarded by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It is, as it were, a summing up of research done by her over many years. What I propose to do here is to place her, and this work, in the context of the study of the Early Hungarian Renaissance as a whole.

The received wisdom of the late 19th and early 20th century was that the Renaissance in Hungary, following the legendary age of King Matthias, suffered a decline under the Jagellone dynasty, and was finally aborted after the defeat by the Turks at Mohács (1526) and the division into three parts of the country. The age that followed, right up to the early 17th century, was termed that of the Reformation. Any sort of continuity was denied.[2]

Even before historians of literature the late Jolán Balogh (1900–1988), the doyen amongst art historians of Hungarian Renaissance studies, already in 1933 refuted the notion that the Renaissance was a brief fashion at court and argued convincingly that it survived in the altered political conditions of the age up to the middle of the 17th century.[3]

As a positivist in the best sense of the term Jolán Balogh established the whereabouts of Hungarian Renaissance works, classified them, as well as the relevant archival material and the literature of the subject, and summed up the information available to her in a critical manner.

[1] See the obituary of R. Feuer-Tóth (written by E. Marosi and N. Aradi) and the list of her publications in: Ars Hungarica XIV. (1986), pp. 3–15.

[2] KLANICZAY, T.: A magyar reneszánszkutatás. (The Research of the Hungarian Renaissance). In: idem: Pallas magyar ivadékai. (Hungarian Descendants of Pallas). Budapest, 1985, pp. 246–260.

[3] BALOGH, J.: A renaissance építészet Magyarországon. (Renaissance Architecture in Hungary). Magyar Művészet IX. (1933), pp. 12–26, 328–350.

Her true forte was the exhaustive monograph of a given subject. She was particularly interested in the reign of King Matthias and in Transylvania. Owing to the war only the first volume, dealing with the early Renaissance (1460–1541), of a planned two volumes on that period in Transylvania was published.[4] A series of articles on 16th century stone-cutter's workshops in Kolozsvár[5] (Klausenburg-Cluj) are, as it were, a continuation. Her major work is on the art of the reign of King Matthias.[6] She collected an amazing quantity of material on which all further research must, by necessity, be based. She largely modelled herself on Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri's three volume *La corte di Lodovico il Moro* published in Milan between 1931 and 1937, however she discussed Humanism merely in terms of the characterisation of King Matthias, the patron, but, at the same time, she provides more sources. The planned third volume, a critical study, appeared in Austria nine years later, in 1975,[7] the Hungarian version being published, with considerable delays, in 1985.[8]

Jolán Balogh also wrote in detail on the most splendid surviving Renaissance monument in Hungary, the Bakócz Chapel in Esztergom, placing it in the context of Italian developments in an exemplary manner.[9] This was the first Renaissance central building outside Italy. Her approach to the architectural history of the Medieval castle of Várad (Grosswardein-Oradea) which, in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries was transformed into a huge, regular Renaissance fortress was equally thorough.[10] Of her many papers on questions of detail one should mention those dealing with sculpture in which she displayed her brilliance in stylistic criticism.[11] This interest was largely due to her position as head of the Old Sculpture section in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest.

The excavation of the Royal Palace in Visegrád, started in 1934[12] continued after the Second World War, and a start was made as well on the excavation of the Medieval Royal Palace in Buda. These were the two most important early Renaissance buildings in Hungary and surviving walls and various fragments provided

[4] BALOGH, J.: Az erdélyi renaissance. (Transylvanian Renaissance). I. 1460–1541. Kolozsvár, 1943.

[5] Complete edition: BALOGH, J.: Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század. (Stone-cutter workshops in Kolozsvár. The 16th century). Another paper by her concerning Transylvania: Influssi veneziani nell'arte della Transilvania. In: Studi dell'arte in onore di Antonio Morassi. Venezia, 1971, pp. 188–196.

[6] BALOGH 1966.

[7] BALOGH 1975.

[8] BALOGH, J.: Mátyás király és a művészet. (King Matthias and the Arts). Budapest, 1985.

[9] BALOGH, J.: Az esztergomi Bakócz kápolna. (The Bakócz Chapel of Esztergom). Budapest, 1955; La Cappella Bakócz di Esztergom. In: Acta Historiae Artium III. (1956). pp. 1–198.

[10] BALOGH, J.: Varadinum. Várad vára. (The Castle of Várad). I–II. Budapest, 1982.

[11] E. g. BALOGH, J.: I monumenti del Rinascimento della chiesa parrocchiale di Pest. In: Rivista d'Arte XX. (1938), pp. 64–77. and BALOGH 1960.

[12] On Visegrád: BALOGH, J.: Die Ausgrabungen in Visegrad. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Denkmalpflege IV. (1950), pp. 41–50.

much new information. László Gerevich, who was in charge with the Buda excavations, wrote a book on his work[13] but also many other papers on the Early Renaissance in Hungary.[14] He particularly stressed Bohemiam and Polish links, as Götz Fehr had done in his 1961 book on Benedikt Ried.[15] The Comité International de l'Histoire de l'Art 1965 Budapest Colloquium on Central European Gothic and Renaissance Art[16] had also drawn attention to the subject.

The interest of literary historians in Central and Eastern Europe as a subject revived early in the 1960s. Colloquia held in Wittenberg in 1959 and in Tours in 1962 bear this out.[17]

The International Art History Congress held in Budapest in 1969 concentrated on links between various provincial developments. Rózsa Feuer-Tóth's first published work on a Renaissance subject was given as a paper at that Congress.[18]

Meanwhile, in the 1960s, Hungarian Renaissance studies began to take up new lines of enquiry. More attention was paid to economic and social historical aspects, and, after the isolation of the 50s, a closer look was taken at work done in other countries. In 1970 a Centre for Renaissance Research, headed by Tibor Klaniczay, was formed at the Institute for Literary Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This took the coordination of social science interdisciplinary studies under its wing.

The revival also affected the work of art historians, and it became the duty of Rózsa Feuer-Tóth to steer the art history ship on new and uncharted seas in Hungarian Renaissance studies. In particular she attempted to create an outline based on the fragmentary early Renaissance Hungarian material, and she subjected the links between Humanism and the art of the Renaissance to a new and interdisciplinary approach.

Rózsa Feuer-Tóth was born in Zalaegerszeg in 1928. She studied Art History and Archeology at the University of Budapest. In 1951, she became a member of the staff of the Budapest Historical Museum. It was there that the still valid methodology of Hungarian Medieval studies took shape. The excavation of the Royal Palace took place also in the 50s and 60s. During her stay at the Museum,

[13] On Buda Palace: GEREVICH 1966.

[14] GEREVICH, L.: Johannes Fiorentinus und die pannonische Renaissance. In: Acta Historiae Artium VI. (1959), pp. 309–338, and idem: The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages. Budapest, 1971.

[15] FEHR, G.: Benedikt Ried. Ein deutscher Baumeister zwischen Gotik und Renaissance in Böhmen. München, 1961.

[16] The material of the colloquium were published in Acta Historiae Artium XIII. (1967). (Studies of E. Šamánková, Gerevich, L., S. Wilinski and Balogh, J.)

[17] The material of the congress in Wittenberg: IRMSCHER 1962. The subject of the congress in Tours was: "L'èveil de l'Europe orientale".

[18] CONGRÈS 1972. (Lectures by Balogh, J., Horler, M., Koroknay, É., J. Kropáček, Szmodis-Eszláry, É.) and FEUER-TÓTH, R.: Le rôle de la Dalmatie dans l'expansion de la Renaissance florentine en Hongrie. Ibidem Vol. I. pp. 623–630.

up to 1971, Mrs Feuer-Tóth was archeologist in charge of numerous excavations, the most important being that of the Dominican Nunnery on Margaret Island. At the time most of her work was concentrated on the Late Gothic and of the reign of King Matthias, drawing attention to contacts with Silesia and the Lausitz, not forgetting the coexistence of the Gothic and Renaissance styles.[19]

The many hours spent in the lapidarium of the Buda Castle excavation matured the recognition in her mind that the fragments should be reconstructed as complete building elements. At the 1968 Medieval Exhibition of the Budapest Historical Museum complete window and door frames and majolica floor-covering were first on display in the "Renaissance room".

In 1972, Rózsa Feuer-Tóth moved to the Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. There she worked on the Renaissance volume of the new eight-volume history of Hungarian art. Her interest in the excavations at Buda Castle continued. Her papers on the hanging garden of the palace and the Cisterna Regia below it[20] appeared in 1974. She was responsible for locating the latter in the cellar of the Baroque palace and she was able to show the place of the Buda hanging garden in the context of Italian quattrocento hanging gardens.

Another of her subjects was the iconology of the Renaissance cruciform stone windows at Buda. She argued that they were symbols of King Matthias' campaigns against the Turks, which were termed crusades.[21] The appearance of Buda Palace occupied her mind to the end of her life. She wrote about the image of Buda Palace in Schedel's *Weltchronik*[22] and her last article had the Renaissance façade of the Palace as its subject.[23]

The other major field of scholarship she was concerned with is the genesis of the Renaissance in Hungary. In this respect she was much impressed by the argument that the Humanists had a crucial role in the creation of Renaissance art as such.

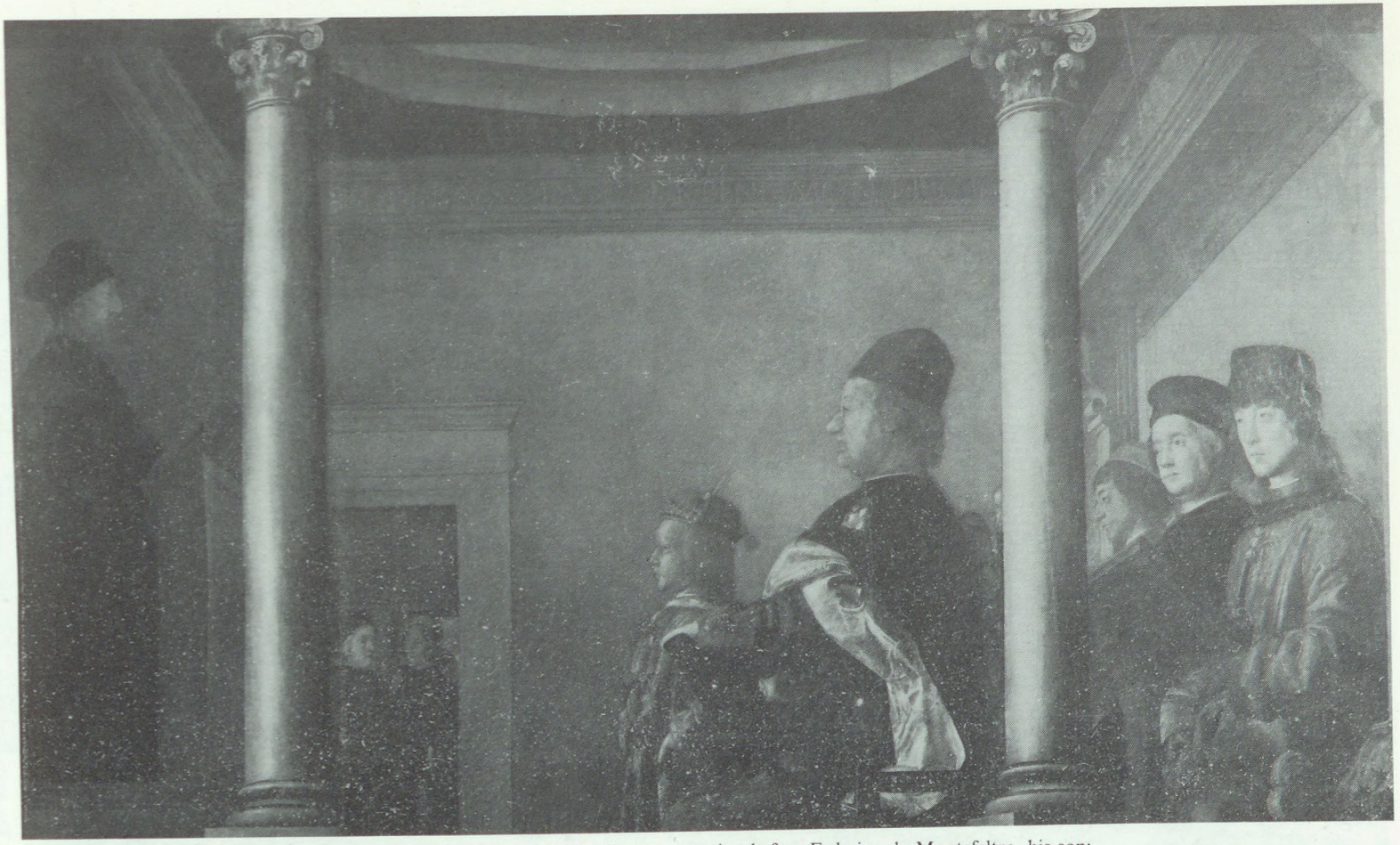
[19] FEUERNÉ TÓTH, R.: Kassai István Budán. (István Kassai in Buda). In: Budapest régiségei XVI. (1955), pp. 135–145. and idem: Gótikus kőfaragóműhely Mátyás korában. (Gothic stone-cutter workshop in the Age of Matthias). Ibidem XVIII. (1958), pp. 365–382.

[20] FEUER-TÓTH 1974/2; FEUER-TÓTH 1975.

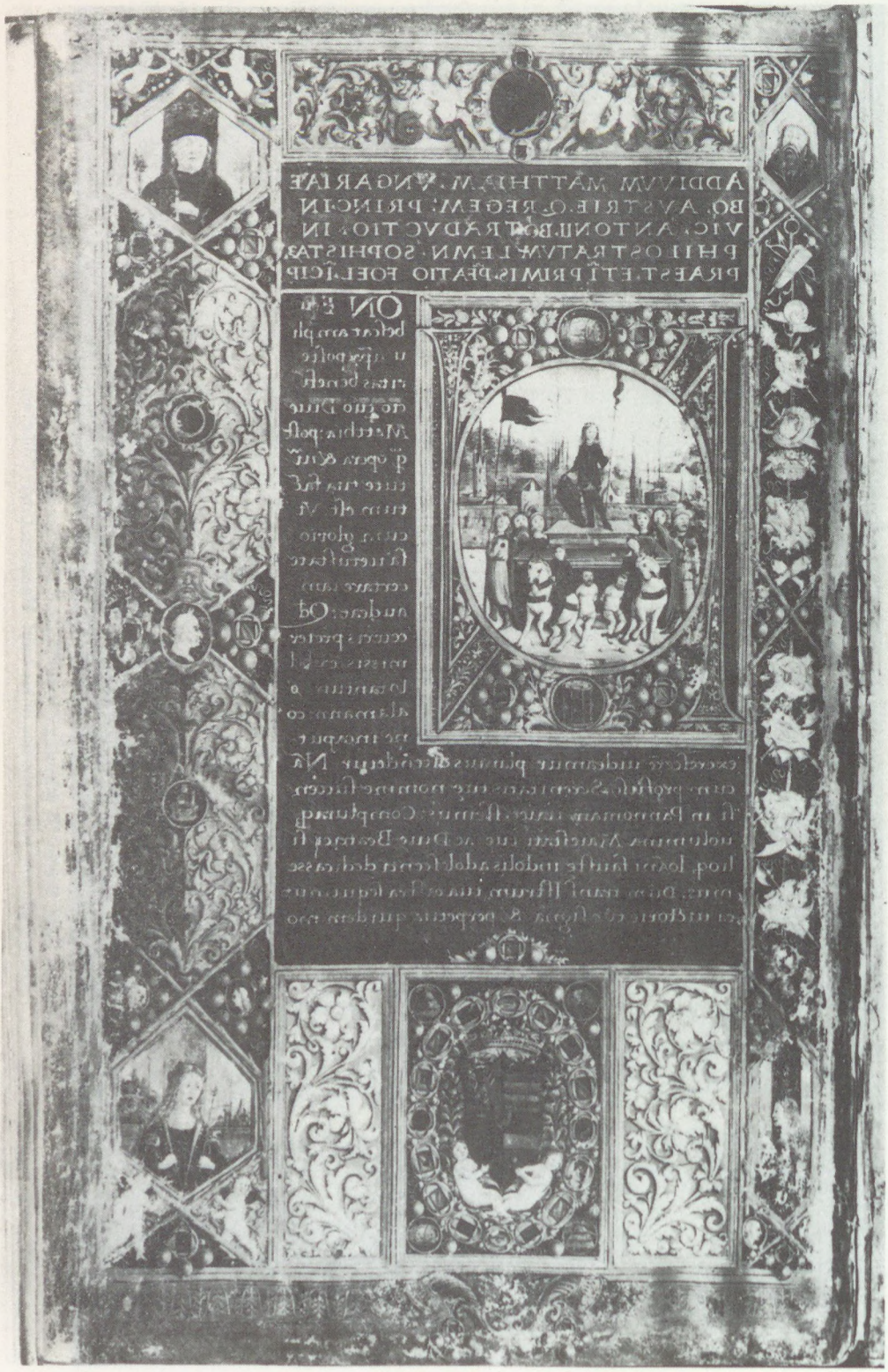
[21] FEUERNÉ TÓTH, R.: A magyarországi reneszánsz építészet szimbolizmusának kérdéséhez. (On the question of the symbolism of the Hungarian Renaissance architecture). In: Ars Hungarica III. (1975), pp. 348–350.

[22] FEUER-TÓTH, R.: Renaissance Baumotive auf der Budaer Palast-Darstellung des Schedel'schen Weltchronik. In: Acta Archaeologica XXXIV. (1982), pp. 235–246.

[23] FEUERNÉ TÓTH, R.: A budai királyi palota 1478–1500 között épült reneszánsz homlokzatai. (The Renaissance façades of the Royal Palace of Buda built between 1478 and 1500). (Edited and the new reconstructions and notices were made by P. FARBAKY). In: Ars Hungarica XIV. (1986), pp. 17–50. The most recent study on the Buda Palace: FARBAKY, P.: A budai középkori királyi palota díszudvara. (The Honour Courtyard of the Medieval Royal Palace of Buda). In: Ars Hungarica XVI. (1988), pp. 143–171.



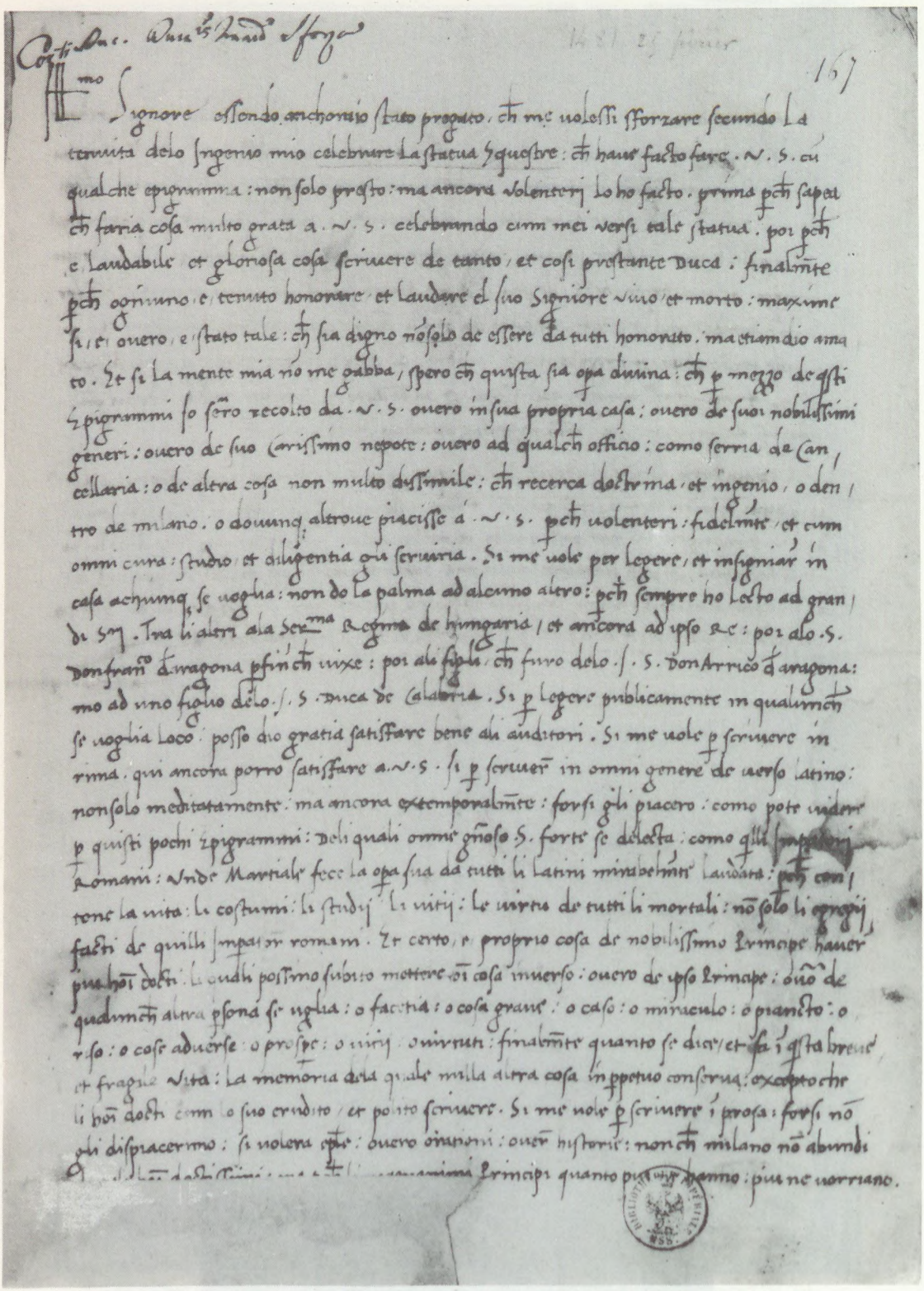
1. Justus van Gent: Bonfini (?) delivers an oration before Federigo da Montefeltro, his son: Guidobaldo and some members of his court. Hampton Court Collection.



2. The second title-page of the Philostratus Ms. Budapest, National Széchényi Library Cod. lat. 417. fol. 2r.

3. Bonfini's presumed portrait on the painting of Justus van Gent. (detail)

4. Bonfini's portrait on the second title-page of the Philostratus Ms.



5. The first page of Francesco Arrigoni's letter written to Lodovico il Moro from Naples. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ital. 1592. fol. 167 r.

1491.

et maxime delli suoi: como io so uno di quelli p esser delli Arigoni: si me uole p Scribano: ouero Canz: qui tengo ancora li libri de cimetto / et insieme fazo lofficio de cangro. finalm / te. V. S. me pote operar securamte ad omne exercitio / et cosa o psse: o p altri: o dentro: o fora de mto: cn. V. S. sia ogni di me serra et leta / et contenta: pure ch se digni acceptarme una uolta p suo hmile et fidele seruitore: como spero i dio fara. Et pch io a tpo nouo no deliberato leuarmi de qua: prego. V. S. de grā se digni farmi significar de sua uolunta: pch for / si nó piacendoli mia seruitute: andaro da quilli ch me acceptaranno volenteri. Ad. V. S. me recomando / et prego la uogha lo subicio de questi Epigrammi mei da ipso Alexan / drino et m. franco hominii doctissimi / et da oi altro coriegiamte erudito: de cui gna / tione si alcuna altra cita: mto imprima abumada. neap. xxo febr.

Lo. S. Duca Borso dono a quillo / ch fece soli quatro versi ala Statua sua quatro milia ducat: io p tanti Epigrammi mei / et si auersi / et non inferiori forsi: nō aspecto tanta liberalitate da. V. S. non pch ipsa non possi questa / et multo maiore / et nō sia soluta: ma ame basta tanta facultate: ch possi traducere la uita mia / como pouero cauagliero: ch me fece lo S. Re de hungaria: insieme cum mia moglier / dommq piacera a. V. S. pch ame basta: quanto ipsa necessita recerca / et non piu. pch nō multa richezza fa lhomo beato: ma solo lanimo.

Francisco de argonibus.

domino domino
S. forcie: duci Duci:
vrbis Italie optio:
ne S. nostri ac populo

Ego sum ille franciscus Sforcia vocatus:
Cui mutaris atq; civilis rei
Scientia tantas breui peruii opes
Et nomen immortale. Filij mei
Pietas equestrem erexit hanc statuam.

aliud

Statuam vides francisci Sforcie. hanc m
Ludouicus erexit pius natus meus.
Summus habitus hic est honor semp viris.
Hanc aliqua vis aut longa vetabit dies
Fortasse gestare sed a me gloria
Eorum occidere non meu unq; smet.

aliud

Fortasse potuit reparare ars meos vultus
Pietate filij mei.
Sed fama loquitur magnitudinem rex
Quas fessi ego omn gra.
Num que roco gens tam remota. cui nõ sit
Nomen meum notissimum?

aliud

Francisco mihi Sforcie secundo
Mulli Lunarius ocij togati
Aut dedit Ludouicus hanc equestrem
Et rexit statuam: mea propago
Omni parte suum exprimens parente.

aliud

Hec auro statua collata plurimo
Francisconi simili corpore Sforciam
Conatur cupido reddere seculo.
Exquisita ai consilia illius
Quas tam male dompestit non fortis.

Historia centeno effarre volumine.
Vulgo fama loqui res memorabilis.
Ast unus Ludouicus soboles pia
Effingit genitorem tribus his suum
Virtu: consilio: rebus. vti palam est.

aliud

Haud certe mea virtus statuas egit:
Vt nec clara Ducis fausta laconij:
Sed nati pietate
Hac sum expressus imagine.

aliud

Nullo potest auro bene ps biam
Effingi, opus nanq; est ai boms.
Hec sunt ei simulacra vnde
Que referunt horum figuras.

aliud

Num Scopas fecit statuam hanc Equestrem
Num Polycletus? Phidiasue? num tu
Hanc Myro? Lysippeue condidisti?
Num similes oms.

aliud

Aut hanc ipse Pyrrhum
Cum fronte et Scipio suo
Alti excudit in etna.
Aut Xerxis magnum.

aliud

Non hec homine qd effigies sapit artus
Sed animum animq; memorem.
Nubibus ne grauior sessis defluxit olympo.
Quidni? nam minime hec noua res est.

aliud

7. The first page of Francesco Arrigoni's epigrams. Ibidem fol. 168 r.

De lapsum Celo Scutum fatale putat
Vt puppis arma Duci.
Vt nos hanc statuam Celo venisse putam
Sforcia magne Tibi.

aliud

Exprimit hec Statua effigiem Ludouice prima:
Historia clara patris acta depingit.
Tu ne representas animu / corpusq Parentis
Vt gloriam eius emularis eterna.

aliud

Mars fr / Pallasq, Soror celestibus astris
Hanc statuam manibus composuere suis,
Quam magna excolunt Francisce Sforcia laude
Maiorris pugnas / palladiamq; togam.

aliud

Non hoc effigie [illegible] finxit arte
Quid mirae? arctos Caramne missa poli
Nil aliud quo sit Franciscus Sforcia verus:
Deest: nisi de stellis flamma petita vagis.

aliud

Cum Mediolanum Franciscus Sforcia Verus
Si vox hinc detur: si vigor esse suus.
Iam desiero: iam longe soluere iustu:
Nam licet ora duas ipsa videre Tui.

aliud

Mille volumimbus / fulvoq, excriptus i aere
Vno: nec est expers nominis ulla mei
Seu gens: seu Tellus: quia sol accedat: i vno
Sed melius vno te Ludouice tamen.

aliud

Vt desiderium volgi solarer: Equestrem
Hic Ludouice tue me statuere mani).

aliud

Hec est effigies eius: q Ludouicus orbem
Implevit propriis qua Tethys amnit humo

aliud

Hanc erexisti statuā Ludouice Parenti:
officium vt faceres hoc q̄s parte Tuu.

aliud

Aspice Terra Ducem: quem Iouo tpr luxit.
Hec debes nato tam pia dona meo.

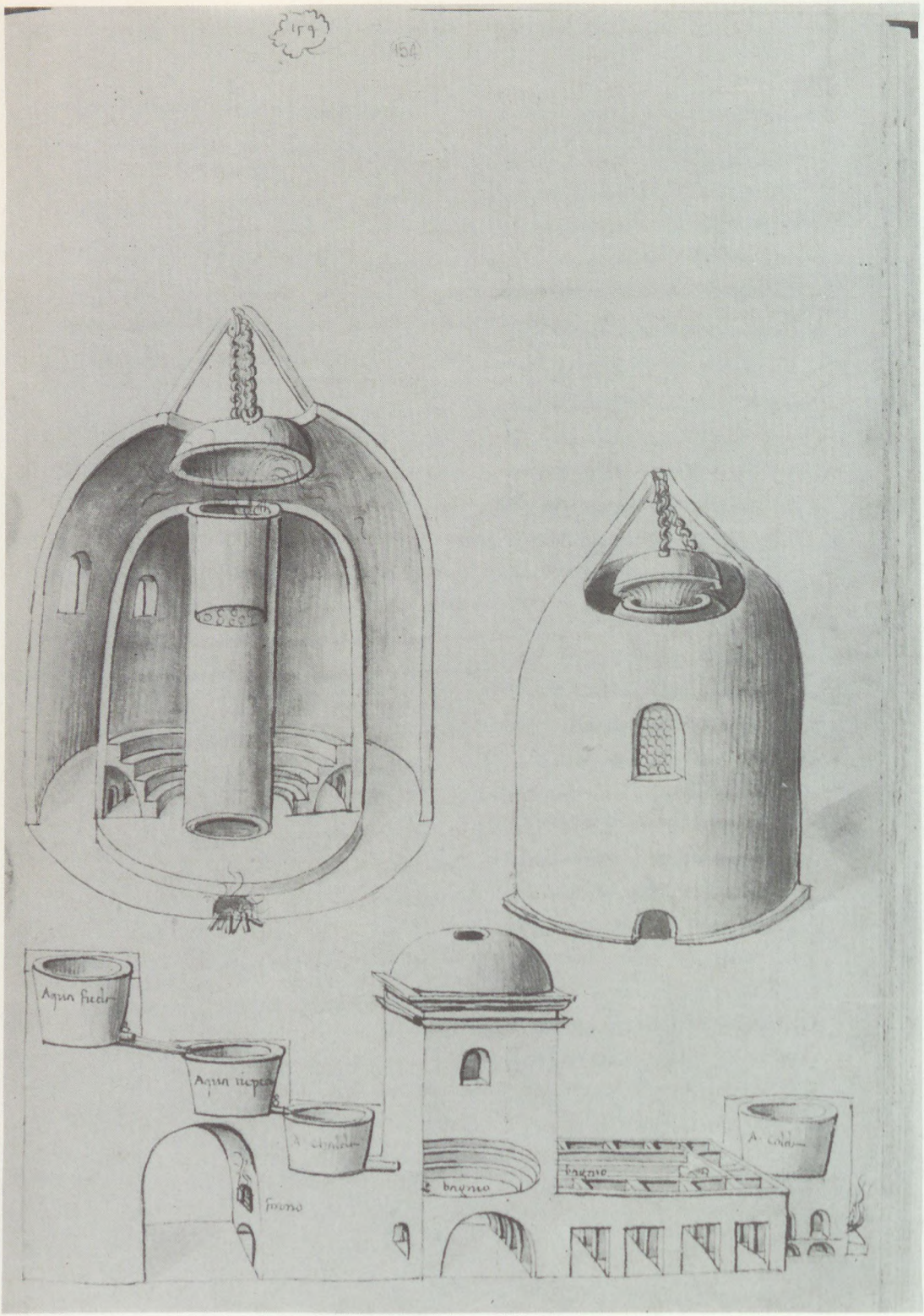
aliud

Venit ab Thysijs Franciscus Sforcia campis.
Hoc nati pietas: hoc valuere manus.

aliud

Hoc nati pietas: hoc me ars effinxit i ere.
Fama viget: celo mens data: corpus humo.

8. The second page of Francesco Arrigoni's epigrams. Ibidem fol. 168 v.



9. The illustration of a bath, in the late 15th-century architectural treatise of the Zichy Ms. Budapest, Szabó Ervin Library 09/2690. fol. 154.

Her first publication in that field was a discussion of a poem by Janus Pannonius in 1974.[24] The poem had been written on the occasion of a double portrait which Mantegna had painted of the poet and Galeotto Marzio, his Humanist friend. The poem touches on a number of questions related to the theory of art, and is also of interest because of Janus' influence on King Matthias in his role as patron of the arts.

Rózsa Feuer-Tóth was closely concerned with the examination of theories of architecture. In a 1973 article she examined designs for a planned Schola at Buda, a university which was to teach the arts, where Camicia, King Matthias' architect, very likely adapted Filarete's House of Virtues and Vices.[25] Another of her papers deals with Alberti's discrimination between the *ossa*, the structure, visible in the *ornamentum*, and the *complementum*.[26] She also discussed this distinction as it appears in Brunelleschi's work.

It was this recognition which allowed her to formulate her theory of why the first reception of Renaissance ideas outside Italy of all places occurred in Hungary.[27] This distinction made it possible for Italian craftsmen, called in by King Matthias, to construct the *ossa*, leaving the *complementum* to native stonemasons. The Hungarian guilds were nowhere near as powerful as e. g., the French. Thus Matthias was able to organise building activities relatively easily which were able to import the new style.

Rózsa Feuer-Tóth expressed these new recognitions in two major works, her *Renaissance Architecture in Hungary*[28] published in Hungarian in 1977 and in German and English in 1981, and in her Renaissance chapter[29] in the Hungarian history of art.

There was good reason why it was precisely Mrs Feuer-Tóth who was invited to write a critical notice of Jan Białostocki's 1976 *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe*.[30] The book opened new windows on the world but also prompted self-examination, since it had created a new synthesis. Białostocki treated Bohemia, Hungary and Poland as a single region. He was in a position to identify many previously unrecognised features, much that was common, but also much that was specific. He also drew attention to the fact that compared to what was available in Bohemia or Poland, not much had been made of Early Renaissance fragments to

[24] FEUER-TÓTH 1974/1.

[25] FEUER-TÓTH 1973.

[26] FEUER-TÓTH 1978.

[27] FEUER-TÓTH 1977/2.

[28] FEUER-TÓTH 1977/1; FEUER-TÓTH 1981 and idem: Renaissancebaukunst in Ungarn. Budapest, 1981.

[29] A művészet története Magyarországon. (The History of Art in Hungary). Ed.: ARADI, N. Budapest, 1983. The Renaissance chapters: pp. 148–198.

[30] BIAŁOSTOCKI 1976. A review of the book by Feuer-Tóth, R. in: Művészettörténeti Értesítő XXVII. (1978), pp. 209–214.

shore up the ruins, and very little that was new had been published in major languages on the late Renaissance.

Mrs Feuer-Tóth worked hard to make the Hungarian Renaissance known abroad. She addressed the Centre d'Études Superieures de la Renaissance at Tours, in France, on four separate occasions. In 1975 she spoke about Hungarian Renaissance façades, in 1978 about Buda Castle, in 1981 about the Codex Zichy[31] in the Szabó Ervin Library in Budapest, and in 1983 on Italian and Hungarian building technologies. She talked to the Warburg Institute in London in 1975 on Matthias Corvinus as patron of the arts and in 1978 on Magnificence and Decorum in the Corvinian Renaissance, with Humanist apologies and feudal detractors as a subtitle. In 1982, on the occasion of an exhibition "Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn" held at the Schallaburg in Lower Austria, she spoke on King Matthias Corvinus as a patron of building and his relationship to the Humanists at his court.

This splendid display once again revived interest in the Early Renaissance in Hungary. The catalogue[32] vied in magnificence with the objects exhibited. The exhibition was arranged by Gyöngyi Török with the advice of Jolán Balogh and Tibor Klaniczay. The catalogue offers a broad sweep, a general survey, of the time and place. Jolán Balogh contributed articles, some previously published,[33] on the iconography of King Matthias, on the patrons of art in Hungary at the time, and on the art of the Early Renaissance itself. Csaba Csapodi[34] wrote on the Corvina Library, which had been the subject of much research in the past.[35] The nature of the exhibition, however, implied that the Late Gothic art of the age fell outside its scope, and little was said about the fact that the Renaissance in Hungary had a long drawn out late stage, which, however, had a more provincial character.

Much has been done lately in a reappraisal of the Jagellone dynasty (1490–

[31] An account of the colloquium in 1978: PRINZ, W.: Kolloquium des Centre d'Études Superieures de la Renaissance der Universität Tours "Le chateaux disparus de la Renaissance". In: Kunstchronik XXXI. (1978), pp. 409–411. The publication of her lecture in 1981: FEUER-TÓTH, R.: Un traité italien du XV^e siècle dans le Codex Zichy de Budapest. In: Les traités d'architecture de la Renaissance. Actes du colloque tenu à Tours du I^er au 11 juillet 1981. Ed.: GUILLAUME, J. Paris, 1988, pp. 99–113.

[32] Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn. 1458–1541. Katalog des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums. Neue Folge Nr. 118. Below: Kat.

[33] BALOGH, J.: "Die Bildnisse des König Matthias". Kat., pp. 6–16; "Die ungarischen Mäzene der Renaissance". Kat., pp. 73–80; "Die Kunst der Renaissance in Ungarn". Kat., pp. 81–107. The versions of the second study: I mecenati ungheresi del primo rinascimento. In: Acta Historiae Artium XIII. (1967), pp. 205–212. and: Die ungarische Mäzene der Frührenaissance. Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der Universität Graz. V. (1970), pp. 23–31.

[34] "Die Bibliotheca Corvina und das Buchwesen". Kat., pp. 66–72. See also: BIBL. CORVINIANA 1981.

[35] Other researchers of this field: Berkovits, I., Csapodi-Gárdonyi, K., Hoffmann, E., Koroknay, É. See also SZ. KOROKNAY, É.: Corvinen-Einbände. In: Acta Historiae Artium XV. (1969). pp. 237–255.

1526)[36] and in the study of the Late Renaissance in Hungary.[37] I do not propose to go into details in this place since Mrs Feuer-Tóth was concerned only with the Early Renaissance, a time of extraordinary importance in Hungary, since it is one of the few periods when the country found itself in the vanguard of progress. I am certain that scholars both at home and abroad will find this, Rózsa Feuer-Tóth's major work, most useful. The present book contains the full text of a dissertation written in 1981 publicly examined in 1982—which has survived in typescript—with the exception of the acknowledgements at the end of the introduction. The subject is the relationship between art and Humanism which has been little studied so far in connection with the Hungarian Renaissance. Eugenio Garin, Paul Oskar Kristeller, Hans Baron and their followers found the roots of the Renaissance in Petrarch's works. Chapter I deals with Petrarch's views on painting, sculpture and architecture, and goes on to examine Petrarch's and Boccaccio's Renaissance and patronage theories. Chapter II deals with four Humanists at the court of King Matthias Corvinus, making considerable use of John R. Spencer's work on Arrigoni and Kristeller's work on Bandini.

Mrs Feuer-Tóth there points out the importance of patronage theory in the apologies of the Humanists at the Hungarian court. The textual criticism done by the Humanists is equally important. The way in which the technical terms of Antiquity were misunderstood in the Renaissance is highly interesting. Chapter III deals with the notions on architecture entertained at the court of King Matthias and with the way they were applied in constructions at Buda and Visegrád. Mrs Feuer-Tóth identifies a triad of patron—Humanist—architect: King Matthias–Bandini–Camicia, which is analogous to Heydenreich's Federigo da Montefeltro–Alberti–Laurana or Francesco di Giorgio Martini at Urbino.

Mrs Feuer-Tóth's spirited work asks and answers questions which will be of interest to her peers wherever they may live or work. She makes good use of the work of her predecessors, not only in her native Hungary, but also of men like

[36] HORLER, M.: Les édifices de la villa royale de Buda-Nyék. In: Acta Historiae Artium XXXIII. (1987–88), pp. 131–177; HORVÁTH, A.: Egy magyar humanista, Váradi Péter építkezései. (The buildings of a Hungarian Humanist, Péter Váradi). In: Művészettörténeti Értesítő XXXIV. (1987), pp. 54–85; KOPPÁNY, T.: A közép-Dunántúl reneszánsz építészete. (The Renaissance architecture of the Middle Transdanubia). In: Ars Hungarica XII. (1984), pp. 183–232; MIKÓ, Á.: Jagello-kori reneszánsz sírköveinkről. (On the tomb-stones of the age of the Jagellos). In: Ars Hungarica XIV. (1986), pp. 97–113; G. SÁNDOR, M.: Reneszánsz Baranyában. (Renaissance in Baranya County). Budapest, 1984; TÖRÖK, GY.–OSGYÁNI, V.: Reneszánsz kőfaragványokról. (On Renaissance stone-carvings). In: Művészettörténeti Értesítő XXX. (1981), pp. 95–113. On Early Renaissance see also: BOSKOVITS, M.: L'art du gothique et de la Renaissance (1300–1500). Bibliographie raisonée des ouvrages publiées en Hongrie. I–II. Budapest, 1965.

[37] The researches of Bobrovszky, I., Cenner-Wilhelmb, G., Détshy, M., Galavics, G., Héjj-Détári, A., Koppány, T., Kovács, A., B. Nagy, M., Rózsa, Gy., Szmodis-Eszláry, É.

Baxandall[38] and Gombrich and many other scholars, primarily those writing and publishing in English. She also shows herself fully aware of what historians, textual critics, and literary scholars have had to say about her period.

Let me conclude by expressing the hope that this publication will further the good cause of making knowledge of this period, when the arts flourished in Hungary, part of universal art history. Following the work of a number of intrepid pioneers[39] one can only hope that the field as a whole will prove enticing to Renaissance scholars everywhere.[40]

Péter Farbaky

[38] Petrarch and the 15th century Humanists are used as sources by BAXANDALL, M.: Giotto and the Orators. Oxford, 1971.

[39] On Visegrád: BIERMANN, H.: Lo sviluppo della Villa Toscana sotto l'influenza umanistica della corte di Lorenzo il Magnifico. In: Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura "Andrea Palladio". XI. (1969), pp. 36–46. On the Calvary of Matthias: VERSPOHL, F. J.: "Munus spirituale — signum vivifice crucis". Synkretysche Elemente des Matthias-Kreuzes in Esztergom. In: Acta Historiae Artium XXXIII. (1987–88), pp. 105–130. On Codex Zichy: KOLB, C.: The Francesco di Giorgio Material in the Zichy Codex. In: Journal of the Architectural Historians XLVII. (1988), pp. 132–159.

[40] I should like to take this opportunity to thank my friend, Attila Horányi for his unselfish help in checking the translation of this book.

LIST OF LITERATURE AND ABBREVIATIONS

ÁBEL	1890.	Ábel, J.: Olaszországi XV. századbeli íróknak Mátyás királyt dicsőítő művei. (15th century writings in Italy praising King Matthias), Budapest.
ÁBEL–HEGEDÜS	1903.	Ábel, E. and Hegedüs, S.: Analecta nova ad historiam renascentiam in Hungaria litterarum spectantia, Budapest.
ACKERMAN	1963.	Ackerman, J. S.: Sources of the Renaissance Villa. In: CONGRESS, Vol. II., pp. 6–18.
AGGHÁZY	1976.	G. Aggházy, M.: Leonardo utolsó alkotása és az északolasz–francia udvari műveltség 1500 körül. (Leonardo's last work and North-Italian–French court education around 1500), Budapest. Manuscript. Archives of Manuscripts of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
ALATRI	1949.	Alatri, P.: Federico da Montefeltro. Lettere di Stato e d'arte. 1470–1480, Roma.
ALBERTI	(ed. 1913)	Alberti, L. B.: Il "Trattato della pittura" e "I cinque ordini architettonici" con prefazione di G. Papini, Lanciano.
ALBERTI	(ed. 1966)	Alberti, L. B.: De re aedificatoria. Ed. G. Orlandi and P. Portoghesi, Milano.
AMADIO	1930.	Amadio, G.: La vita e l'opera di A. Bonfini, Montalto Marche.
AMADIO	1942.	Amadio, G.: Un discorso inedito di A. Bonfini, Montalto Marche.
ANTAL	1947.	Antal, Fr.: Florentine Painting and its Social Background, London.

AQUINAS (ed. 1934) S. Thomas Aquinatis: In decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum expositio. Ed: A. M. Pirotta, Taurini Italia.

ARISTOTELES LATINUS Ethica Nicomachea. Translatio Roberti Grossetesti Lincolniensis sive Liber Ethicorum. Recensio pura edidit R. A. Gauthier, Bruxelles, 1972. XXXVI, 1–3.

ARISTOTELES (ed. 1942) Aristoteles, Nikomachosi Ethika. (Nicomachean ethics). Translated and explained by Miklós Szabó, Budapest, Vol. I–II.

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