

Eugene Csocsán de Várallja:

## THE HUNGARIAN MONARCHY AND THE EUROPEAN RENAISSANCE.

(Summary)

### Chapter I. *The Statues of Buda Castle and the Fore Wind of the Renaissance.*

Between 16<sup>th</sup> February and 1<sup>st</sup> June in 1974 László Zolnay has found approximately 55 statue fragments in the precinct of the royal castle of Buda in the immediate neighbourhood of so called „Fresh Palace” built by King Emperor Sigismund. 22 metres from the place at which the mentioned fragments were found a fragment of Sigismund’s crest decorated by (golden) lime tree leaves<sup>1</sup> was discovered from the same limestone. The limestone of these statues was quarried at Budafok, (at that time called Promontor,) 9 km South of the Royal Castle of Buda and not far from the Danube on which the stones could be easily transported. The traces of burning and soot on these fragments and the fact that originally they were scattered at least 22 meters apart must show, that these statues were broken at the explosion of the Fresh Palace on the 19<sup>th</sup> May 1578, when thunder-clap ignited the gunpowder kept in the Fresh Palace by the Turks.<sup>2</sup>

One of the larger fragments with more or less intact face was termed „*knight, eyes painted, with capuccio* (that is with hooded hat)<sup>3</sup>” by László Zolnay. It has not been recognised however so far, that the features of this person are identical with portrait of Sigismund is attributed to Pisanello in the Catalogue of Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna.<sup>4</sup> The statue shows, that Sigismund „had a fortunate appearance...beautiful body, which augustly mirrored his majesty...nature could not enhance his good looks...”<sup>5</sup> exactly as he was characterised by Bonfini, whose quoted description might be based just on this statue. Sigismund’s already mentioned crest belonging to the same statuary confirms this statue’s identification, just as the location of the find at the place of the Fresh Palace built by Sigismund. This representation of Sigismund displays an extremely slight and fine smile, which is perhaps not more, than his soul’s presence in the likeness, which compared with the

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<sup>1</sup> Zolnay László, Marosi Ernő: A budavári szoborlelet, Budapest 1989, picture 78 after page 80.

This fragment is preserved in the Budapest Historical Museum, but it has no inventory number.

<sup>2</sup> Balogh Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966. Volume I., page 49.

<sup>3</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-51.

<sup>4</sup> inventory number 2630, parchment on wood, 64 cm x 49 cm circa 1433. See: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien: Führer durch die Sammlungen, Vienna 1988, page 236.

<sup>5</sup> Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by I. Fogel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Tomus III. Leipzig, 1936, page 73.

archaic smile of Sigismund's father in the cathedral of Prague, shows the difference caused by the arrival of the early quattrocento at Buda, just as the *happy smiling angel's face*.<sup>6</sup>

The historian Gyula Schönherr knew, that „on the famous altarpiece of Cologne on the right of the Virgin Sigismund impersonates the first of the three kings. He just, as his court, is represented in the court dress of their time on this painting.”<sup>7</sup> The fact, that King Sigismund impersonated the king whose peculiar fur cup is kept by one of his courtier on the Cologne altarpiece has been emphasised by the great Hungarian art historian, Lajos Vayer too.<sup>8</sup> This observation is significant, because the features of person keepings the bejewelled headgear of Sigismund correspond to head found at the royal castle of Buda and named „*shouting male's head*”<sup>9</sup> by László Zolnay. This person could be only Sigismund's right hand man, and brother-in-law: Nicholas de Gara de genere Dorozsma, the Palatine of Hungary because of his role on the Cologne altarpiece. The features of the person on Nicholas de Gara's right are mirrored by the head found at Buda and termed as „*archaic head II*”<sup>10</sup> by László Zolnay . The place occupied by him on the Cologne altarpiece next to Nicholas de Gara and the monarch just as his age reveals, that he is the father-in-law of both the King/Emperor as well as of the Palatine of Hungary, and therefore he is Hermann de Cilly, the Banus of Slavonia at the time.

In the years 1425-27 Masolino painted in Hungary,<sup>11</sup> and later he created a fresco for Branda Cardinal Castiglione in Castiglione Olona, showing a younger gentleman with characteristic moustache. The youngest king on the Cologne altarpiece has identical features with the same moustache, who is identified by John de Hunyad's representation on folio 132<sup>recto</sup> of the of Johannes de Thwroc's Chronicle printed in Bruno in 1488, which also identifies him with Zolnay's „*I.Heroic head* (of a man)”<sup>12</sup>. It has been recognised already earlier by János Eisler that the statue designated „*knightly figure in a coat of arm with dress-belt*”<sup>13</sup> by Zolnay in fact represents Albert von Habsburg, the son-in-law of Sigismund (and later King of Hungary). It should be added, that he seems to be dressed in the chivalric dress of the Order of the Dragon, Sigismund's chivalric order. It is surprising however that his features resemble very closely on a photograph King Charles IV's son, Otto made when he was around forty.

It has been recognised by László Zolnay, that the head of a „*Charming maid*”,<sup>14</sup> which might have never been hidden in the earth, but found apparently in the neighbourhood of the Chapel in the Royal Castle, also belongs to the same statuary. It was explained by Lajos Vayer that on his frescoes in the Sacrament Chapel of San Clemente in Rome, Masolino has repeatedly represented Emperor Sigismund.<sup>15</sup> On the same frescoes Masolino has also depicted the „Charming Maid” both en face<sup>16</sup> and en profile.<sup>17</sup> This could mean only that she was Sigismund's daughter Elisabeth of Luxemburg, while she was a girl, when the these frescoes were painted.

<sup>6</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-49; height 14 cm.

<sup>7</sup> Pór Antal és Schönherr Gyula: Az Anjou ház és örökösei, in: Szilágyi Sándor: A magyar nemzet története, Volume III, Budapest 1895, pages 585. and 663.

<sup>8</sup> Vayer Lajos: Masolino és Róma, Budapest 1962, pages 154, 156 and black and white picture 188; cf. : page 148.

<sup>9</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-45.

<sup>10</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-41.

<sup>11</sup> Luciano Berti (introduced by Paolo Volponi): L'opera completa di Masaccio, Milan 1968, page 83.

<sup>12</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-55.

<sup>13</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-22.

<sup>14</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 51.325.

<sup>15</sup> Vayer, op. cit., pages 119, 132, 138.

<sup>16</sup> Vayer, op. cit., coloured picture between page 176 and 177; black and white picture 24

<sup>17</sup> Vayer, op. cit., coloured picture between pages 208 and 209. black and white picture 21.

The young optimist looking person wearing felt hat<sup>18</sup> is identified as King Sigismund's young Treasurer-in-Chief by folio 103 in the Matthias Gradual.<sup>19</sup> Therefore he can be only Michael Ország de Gwth from the clan Gut-Keled.

Finally it ought to be pointed out, that the face and even the melancholy countenance of the *bishop*<sup>20</sup> among the statues of Buda castle resembles the face and melancholy countenance of a figure named "*Knight with capuccio*"<sup>21</sup> by Zolnay<sup>22</sup> in the same statuary. This seems to show, that the bishop was George de Pálócz, the Primate of Hungary, while the other statue shows the features of his brother, Mathew de Pálócz, the Chief Judge of the country (országbíró in Hungarian). Zolnay's „*II. Heroic head*”<sup>23</sup> corresponds to Philippo Scholari (or Pipo de Ozora)'s head-structure and goatee beard on his portraits by Andrea del Castagno<sup>24</sup> and by Cristofano dell'Altissimo in the Uffizi.<sup>25</sup> His identity seems to be strengthened by Ernő Marosi's observation, that this head was paired<sup>26</sup> by the representation of Nicholas de Gara mentioned above, Sigismund other right hand man. The appearance of Albert von Habsburg among the statues of Buda dates them after 1421, while the representation of Philippo Scholari among them places them before 1426.

## Chapter II. *Ianus Pannonius and the Fine Arts of the Renaissance*

### a) *The representations of Ianus Pannonius and Mantegna.*

On the title page of the *Plautus corvina* in Vienna<sup>27</sup> the portrait of Johannes Vitéz de Zredna is identified by his coat-of-arms. It was recognized by Vilmos Fraknói that fair haired and long necked youth offering this codex to Bishop Vitéz is in fact his nephew Ianus Pannonius. It is the merit of Jolán Balogh, that she always and consistently maintained this identification through her long carrier. The same identification is confirmed by the remark of Johannes Zsámboki (Sambucus), that Ianus had a long neck, and by Ianus Pannonius himself describing in his 20<sup>th</sup> elegy titled „Valedicit Musis”, that he was fair haired.

The features of Ianus Pannonius on the *Plautus corvina* help to identify him on Mantegna's paintings. According to Ianus 1<sup>st</sup> elegy titled „Laus Andrea Mantegnae, Pictoris

<sup>18</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-51.

<sup>19</sup> National Széchenyi Library, OSZK Clmae 414, folio 103<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-16.

<sup>21</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-51.

<sup>22</sup> Zolnay László, Szakál Ernő: A budavári szoborlelet, Budapest 1976, picture 43.

<sup>23</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-44

<sup>24</sup> Vayer, op.cit., black and white picture 117.

<sup>25</sup> Vayer, op.cit., black and white picture 123.

<sup>26</sup> Zolnay László, Marosi Ernő: A budavári szoborlelet, Budapest 1989, page 150, „45. Férfifej, megkötött kendővel”.

<sup>27</sup> Österreichische Nationalbibliothek ÖNB, Cod. Lat. 111.

Patavini A MCCCLVIII” Mantegna has painted a picture inspired by Apelles, on which Ianus, and his friend, Galeotto Marzio appear, like Alexander the Great and his friend and they might get into each other’s chest: alter in alterius possit esse in sinu. This text shows, that this representation must have been a diptych at least with two wings, because only this could provide an opportunity for them to get into each other’s chest. Otherwise they were either already painted in such a way that they were already there, and could not get there, or they could not get into such a position in any way.

For the time being the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the Academy in Venice each preserve a Mantegna painting of the same size. The painting in Venice shows *Saint George*,<sup>28</sup> the one in Vienna *Saint Sebastian*,<sup>29</sup> who both used to be soldiers as Alexander the Great in his friend, and both these paintings display that kind of perspective, which could be found on Apelles’ painting in the Artemis’ temple in Ephesus, on which the thunder appeared to strike out of the picture, just as Saint George’s lance and the dragon’s head in the painting in Venice, and the arrows from Saint Sebastian’s body on the mentioned painting in Vienna. Moreover the structure of head as well as features of Saint Sebastian correspond to Galeotto on his medallion for example in the Hungarian National Museum,<sup>30</sup> just as in the Missal of Johannes Vitéz the younger.<sup>31</sup> The various townscapes from Verona in the background of this painting also refer to Galeotto, as Ianus and Galeotto studied in the Verona school of Guarino. Meanwhile the structure Saint George’s head as well as his features of on the painting in Venice corresponds to Ianus Pannonius on the Plautus corvina in Vienna. It cannot by hazard, that Paul Kristeller saw the incarnation of the renaissance in the youth represented in Saint George on Mantegna’s masterwork. It must be added, that the frame and the garland painted by Mantegna above Saint George places it in time close to the San Zeno altarpiece in Verona painted in 1457-59, and according to Ianus Pannonius’ title the painting on which he himself appeared was made just in 1458! It has been explained by Tibor Kardos already many years ago, that Mantegna’s painting mentioned in Ianus’ elegy must have been painted in two copies according to the customs prevailing at that time. The painted frame and the garland on the painting of Saint George shows, that it was made for a different version, than the picture in Vienna, on which these details are missing.

It has been recorded by Giorgio Vasari that in the *Ovetari Chapel* of the Eremitani Church in Padua Mantegna has included the figure of a certain Hungarian bishop in the composition.<sup>32</sup> There seems to be an agreement among the researchers in general, that this bishop was in fact Ianus Pannonius. Fortunately that part of the frescoes of the Ovetari Chapel, which is in question and painted in 1451, survived the air raid of the II<sup>nd</sup> World War, as it was removed for restoration at the time. Jolán Balogh thought, that Ianus appeared as dark haired youth wearing trousers with white and red legs. These trousers however show, that this person is a member of the Gonzaga family, the ruling dynasty of Mantua, as this is clear from Mantegna’s frescoes in the Camera degli Sponsi there. In addition the dark hair of the figure in the Ovetari Chapel excludes, that he could be the fair-haired Ianus Pannonius. Meanwhile three persons appear in a window on the best conserved upper part of the composition, and the fair haired head among them might be identified with Ianus Pannonius, while the other is obviously Galeotto Marzio, his best friend from their school in Verona, while the profile of the third person is unmistakably shows the steep forehead of their schoolmaster, the famous humanist Guarino of Verona. Their mutual appearance in the same window

<sup>28</sup> Venice, Academia, inventory number 98, “Tavola” 66 x 32 cm.

<sup>29</sup> Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventory number 301; wood 68 cm x 30 cm.

<sup>30</sup> inventory number Münzsammlung 1/33-4.

<sup>31</sup> Vatican Library, Ottobon 501.

<sup>32</sup> “He also portrayed the knight Borromeo and a certain Hungarian bishop. The bishop was a mad eccentric who used to wander about the streets of Rome begging all day, and lie down to sleep like an animal at night. . Giorgio Vasari : The Lives of the Artist, translated by George Bull, Hammondsworth 1965, 1975, page 243.

reinforces their identification. Ianus has immortalised the memory, learning and achievements of Guarino in one of his best panegyrics, in which he also mentions Galeotto Marzio and states, that he was born where the river Drava flows into the Danube: Danubio mixturus nomen et undas (lines 486-488). This place was the town Drazad according to Ianus' relation, Primate Nicholas Oláh.<sup>33</sup> Drazad is clearly marked on the map of Lazarus in the corresponding „Baranya triangle”. Therefore Ianus was justly called Pannonius writing about the Pannonian almond-tree.

The manuscript *Codex Barberini 4423* in the Vatican Library has preserved a drawing of Mantegna's painting representing King Matthias Corvinus mounted and striking his sword during the Hungarian coronation ceremony on the 29<sup>th</sup> March 1464. This painting used to be on the main square of Rome called Campo dei Fiori, where Via del Pellegrino reached it. On this fresco Mantegna painted the two tablets in the blue sky, which seem to have been painted in gold like the one, also with Latin inscription on the walls of the Camera degli Sposi in Mantua. It has not been recognised so far, that the inscriptions, which used to be in Rome, are in fact written in the elegant distiches by Ianus Pannonius. He was sent as an envoy by King Matthias Corvinus to Pope Paul II<sup>nd</sup> in order to obtain the charter of the University of Pozsony (Universitas Istropolitana) in 1465. It is the most likely, that Mantegna was commissioned by his friend Ianus Pannonius to paint this fresco, which seems to have been painted in the first part of 1468, when Mantegna's whereabouts was unknown so far. Namely Mantegna must have been impressed by the various classical townscapes of Rome, which appear on the walls of the Camera degli Sposi painted immediately afterwards, and also because in addition to the golden table with Latin inscription, apparently King Matthias' white horse as well reappears in Mantua, where it was recorded expressly, that the white horse on the fresco was a Hungarian horse.<sup>34</sup>

### *b) Ianus Pannonius and the works of art made for King Matthias Corvinus.*

*The two reliefs on the tomb of John de Hunyad in Gyulafehérvár* have been dated to 1464-66 by Jolán Balogh during her entire distinguished career, even in the catalogue of the exhibition organized in Schallaburg in 1982,<sup>35</sup> as well as in her work published in 1485.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless Mrs. Ritoók née Ágnes Szalay should like to place the construction of this tomb into 1533 on the base of an inscription preserved in a sketchbook of Verantius or Antal Verancsics de Sebenigo.<sup>37</sup> It has not been realised by her, that the armour with reinforced breastplate in the form of more or less inverted „V” ending pointedly around the middle of the chest worn at least by two warriors at the right end of the battle scene among these reliefs was used in the period of the time of King Matthias Corvinus. This can be seen for example on the picture of his father John de Hunyad in the Chronicle of John de Thwroc published in 1488 in Bruno, or on the Bautzen monument of King Matthias. This type of reinforced breastplate

<sup>33</sup> Iani Pannonii Poëmata, pars prima; Iani Pannonii opusculorum pars altera. Traiecti ad Rhenum 1784, ed. Count Samuel Teleki, Volume II, pages 153-154, footnote 3.: Tóth, István: Janus Pannonius genealógiája in: Kardos, Tibor, V. Kovács Sándor: Janus Pannonius tanulmányok, Pécs 1975, page 67.

<sup>34</sup> Ronald Lightbrown: Mantegna, Oxford 1986, page 415, n° 20.

Luigi Coletti (and ettore Camasca) La Camera degli Sposi del Mantegna a Mantua, Milan 1959, page 56.

<sup>35</sup> Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg '82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8<sup>th</sup> May-1<sup>st</sup> November 1982, pages 166-167 n° 53.

<sup>36</sup> Balogh, Jolán: Mátyás király és a művészet, Budapest 1985, pages 213-216.

<sup>37</sup> Ritoókné Szalay Ágnes: Hunyadi János (+ 1456) gyulafehérvéri síremlékének domborművei in: Jávora Anna et alii: É Történelen-kép, Budapest 2000, pages 297-299 n° IV-16.

seems to have been used even on the Castelfranco altarpiece by Giorgione around 1505,<sup>38</sup> but it went out of use already when the same warrior saint was copied on a small painting now in the National Gallery in London.<sup>39</sup> *It was completely obsolete by 1533,*<sup>40</sup> as it is obvious

- 1) from the armours represented on Albrecht Dürer de Aytós paintings from 1502-1504<sup>41</sup>
- 2) and on his woodcuts from 1512-1518,<sup>42</sup>
- 3) from the funeral monument of Gaston de Foix by Bambaia made in the years 1515-1521,<sup>43</sup>
- 4) from the armours of King Henry VIII<sup>th</sup> from 1512<sup>44</sup> and 1515,<sup>45</sup>
- 5) from the armour believed to be that of Kunz Schott von Helligen Burggraf von Rothenberg, made in Nuremberg around 1500,<sup>46</sup>
- 6) from the armour of Elector Otto Heinrich, Count Palatine on the Rhine around 1520,<sup>47</sup>
- 7) or from Carpaccio's Knight in a Landscape from around 1520<sup>48</sup>
- 8) from the armour of Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony dated 1530,<sup>49</sup>
- 9) or from the armour formerly said to be of King Louis II<sup>nd</sup> from his childhood, but which is dated now exactly from 1533 as made for the Krakow court of King Sigismund by Jörg Seusenhofer in Innsbruck by the Hungarian National Museum.<sup>50</sup> King Sigismund however was first the brother-in-law, and later the father-in-law of King John de Szapolya, who must have known the current fashion in Krakow. Therefore these reliefs on the tomb of John de Hunyad with the completely out-of-date armours in the time of King John de Szapolya could not be dated from his period.

Moreover these reliefs in question *lack completely the depth of the third dimension* used in the relief of the in the time of the dynasty de Szapolya shown by the tomb of John Sigismund and the tomb of Queen Isabel, but which appeared already on the fragment of Nagyvázsöny from around 1500, as well as on the cavalry combat in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwroc in 1488, and on the „Marti fautori” medallion from 1485. As a matter of fact the primitive representation of the third dimension on the tomb of John de Hunyad resembles rather the entrance relief the of Pilgrimage Church in Mariazell made in the earlier part of the XV<sup>th</sup> Century still lacking any influence of the renaissance. Therefore it is completely unbelievable, that the side reliefs of John de Hunyad's tomb could have been made after King Matthias' death in 1490 and they must date before medallion „Marti Fautori” made around 1485.

The date of 1533 found by Verantius obviously could not have been on the panels with the reliefs on side of the tomb, as they date from a different period with out-of-date armour, moreover with completely out of date lack of third dimension, and for the simple reason that

<sup>38</sup> Stefano Yuffi: Giorgione, Milan 1991, page 34.

<sup>39</sup> 39 cm x 27 cm, showing a knight in shining armour, also known as San Liberale in the National Gallery in London. (Inventory number NG 269).

<sup>40</sup> Claud Blair: European Armour, London 1958, pages 218-223.

<sup>41</sup> Saint George from 1502-1504 and Saint Eustach from 1504 on the Paumgartner Altarpiece now in Munich. See Angela Ottino Della Chiesa introduced by Giorgio Zampa: L'opera completa di Dürer, Milan 1968, page 102 pictures XXIIA, XXIIB and XXVI.

<sup>42</sup> See „Friedrich der 3<sup>o</sup> der Andechtig” Dr Willy Kurt: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, New York 1963, Picture 280, the woodcut originates from years 1512-1518 see page 33-34.

„Austrian Saints” op. cit., picture 293; this woodcut originates 1517, see pages 34-35.

<sup>43</sup> John Pope-Hennessy: Italian Renaissance Sculpture, Oxford, 1986, page 327, picture 119 before page 243

<sup>44</sup> Armours of Henry VIII, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, Crown copyright 1977, London 1977, „ISBN 0 11670447 0” [Dd 289388 k200 11/ 77], pages 6-7.

<sup>45</sup> op. cit., pages 10-11

<sup>46</sup> Claud Blair: European Armour, London 1958, picture 39 after page 120.

<sup>47</sup> Vesey Norman: Arms and Armour, London 1964, 1967, page 59.

<sup>48</sup> Vesey Norman: Arms and Armour, London 1964, 1967, page 58.

<sup>49</sup> Claud Blair: European Armour, London 1958, picture 40 after page 120.

<sup>50</sup> Kovács Tibor (ed.): A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum történeti kiállításának vezetője, 2 XI-XVII. század, Budapest 1996, page 50, picture 42.

length of the reliefs on the sides do not match the length of the upper side with the later effigy.

These considerations are important, because the Epitaph of John de Hunyad written by Ianus Pannonius (poem n<sup>o</sup> 267) gives the key to understand the composition of these two relievers. Namely in this Epitaph Ianus expressly mentions triumphal procession, and the procession appearing in one of these reliefs corresponds precisely to *the triumphal procession held in Buda on the 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1444*<sup>51</sup> as described by Bonfini.<sup>52</sup> The same Epitaph by Ianus also celebrates *John de Hunyad's victory over Mehmed the Conqueror at Nándorfehérvár or Belgrade in 1456*. This corresponds to the other relief, as one of the riders carrying the standard did not mount his charger but sits on its side. This person can be only Saint John Capistrano a central figure of the defence of Nándorfehérvár, later known as Belgrade in 1456. Moreover the commandant-in-chief on right end of this relief (seen from our side) has a very long ostrich feather crest just like John de Hunyad in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwroc's Chronicle, and even the comet, which appeared during the siege in 1456 seems to have been marked on the composition.

The *woodcuts of four battle scenes* return several times in the just mentioned Augsburg edition of John de Thwroc's Chronicle. One of these woodcuts appears already at the history of the Huns, but the enemy fighting the Hungarian flag on this picture undisputedly carries the red flag of Moldova charged with golden bull's head. Moldova however was established only in 1359, therefore this woodcut in question cannot illustrate the story of the Huns, about which the text speaks at this point. Ianus Pannonius' poem however mentions, that the Moldavian flags gained in the battle of Moldvabánya (Baia in Moldavia) in 1467 were hanged in the Virgin's Church in Buda in his epigram titled „De signis, quae Moldavis erepta in templo Beatae Mariae Virginis Budae suspendebatur” (n<sup>o</sup> 370)

The fact that the woodcut in question represents this *battle of Moldvabánya* becomes clear from a description by a schoolmate of Ianus named Ludovicus Carbo. Carbo states, that in the royal palace in Buda a painting showed as the Count of the Széklers, John de Darócz got a bad wound on his face in the mentioned battle of Moldvabánya. Therefore he joined the fiercest battle, after which he was found dead. It cannot be by chance, that just in the middle of the woodcut in question showing the enemy's flag of Moldova appears a single fallen Hungarian warrior with bad cut on his left face. The second type of woodcuts in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwroc seem to be connected with the same incident, because in that fight of foot soldiers a warrior gets a wound exactly on his face, therefore it obviously shows *the wounding of John de Darócz* on the 15<sup>th</sup> December 1467.

It can be observed, that always the Hungarians appear on the left side of all the woodcuts in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwroc as in heraldry it is in fact the right side. On the third of these battle-scenes on this „Hungarian” side the main figure is wounded by a lance at his right armpits, but an other knight in armour defends him against attack by sword while an archer prepares to shoot his arrow. As the fair haired head of the main figure of the composition is identical with King Matthias Corvinus in the same edition, this woodcut as well represents the same battle of Moldvabánya, but at a different stage, when *King Matthias was wounded* by a lance at his arm, while he was defended against sword attacks by Nicholas

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<sup>51</sup> Fraknói Vilmos: A Hunyadiak és a Jagellók kora (1440-1526) in: Szilágyi Sándor (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume IV. Budapest 1896, page 36.

<sup>52</sup> Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by I. Fogel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Decadis III. Liber VI. 65-67., Tomus III. Leipzig 1936, page 137.

Bánffy de Alsólendva of the clan Buzad-Hahót,<sup>53</sup> and according to Bonfini he was wounded by an arrow on his back.<sup>54</sup>

These observations must imply that the woodcuts in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwroc's Chronicle were based on the historical paintings in the royal palace in Buda, and this is their significance, because reappearing at repeatedly at various points in the book, they can not illustrate the text, with which they have no connection.

On the fourth type of woodcuts in the Augsburg edition the bearded Hungarian king's head is strikingly similar to King (W)ladislas I<sup>st</sup> of Hungary, (who was Ladislas III<sup>rd</sup> of Poland) in the same publication. This corresponds to the scenery of the picture, on which a lake can be seen between the battlefield and the city in the background, just as in *the battle of Varna* on the 10<sup>th</sup> November 1444. The woodcuts seem to distinguish John de Hunyad with his maze marking his rank as Voivode of Transylvania and the fallen Turk is obviously Pasha Karadsha the commander of the Anatolian forces. There is an epigram about this battle well representing the thinking of King Matthias' court about that event of history, which is so striking, that it could have been written only by Ianus Pannonius.

The travellers visiting the royal castle of Buda during the Turkish occupation described that the throne room's vault was decorated by *the picture of the sky at the birth time of King Matthias the Just*, when apparently the Libra was at the zenith, while the *picture of the sky at Matthias election for the Bohemian throne* decorated the royal library. The travellers also recorded the distiches in Latin marking these horoscopes. They are so elegant, that they reveal the pen of Ianus, that time resident poet at the court. These astrological decorations at the same time are connected with the neoplatonism of King Matthias' court and reflected by Ianus Pannonius' thinking in his elegy „Ad animam suam.” The constellations of the sky and the picture of the planets on the mentioned wall paintings seem to be mirrored to some extent on the celestial sphere made for the King's astronomer, Martin Bylicza de Olkusz in Buda in 1480, and on the lower renaissance stand of King Matthias' Calvary. On mentioned celestial sphere Hercules, and on the Calvary the planet Jupiter do not appear in Olympic dresslessness, but in armour worn by John de Hunyad on his representation at Gyulaféhérvár and in John de Thwroc's Chronicle.

### *c) Ianus Pannonius and King Matthias Corvinus' representations.*

In contrast to the monogram of King Wladislas II<sup>nd</sup> „WR” (that is Wladislaus Rex), King Matthias' monogram is „MA” on most of his corvina manuscripts, for example on the Didymus corvina in the Pierpont-Morgan Library in New York (Morgan MS 496) painted by Gherardo and Monte Giovanni in 14587 in Florence. This abbreviation is actually explained by the 78<sup>th</sup> letter of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II<sup>nd</sup>) written to Primate Dennis Széchy de Felsőlendva of the clan Balogh-Semjén in 1445, in which he explains, that the Hungarian monarch is in fact Archirex.<sup>55</sup> It follows from this, that the *medallion in the*

<sup>53</sup> King Mathias Corvinus' document issued on the 17<sup>th</sup> May 1469, Hungarian Archives: Országos Levéltár, OL, DL 16853.

<sup>54</sup> Antonius Bonfini: Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by Johannes Sambucus (János Zsámboky), Frankfurt am Main, 1541, page 548;

Antonii Bonfinii Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades. Decas IV, Liber I, n° 225.

Edited in: “Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum” by I. Fogel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász.

Tomus IV. 1941, page 17.

<sup>55</sup> „merito quidam non tantum regem, sed archiregem Ungariam habere dixerint” Aeneae Sylvii Piccolomini Senensis, qui post adeptum pontificatum Pius nominis secundus appellatus est opera quae extant omnia, Basel 1571, page 557, letter LXXVIII.

**British Museum with the monogram MAR** shows the portrait of a young King Matthias Corvinus, while the on its reverse a Cupid appears riding a dragon and keeping the dragon's eyes shut by one of his hands and his tail by the other. This dragon seems to refer to the Hungarian chivalric Order of the Dragon and to Matthias' birth horoscope. In addition Beatrix de Aragonia's family wore a dragon on their crest. Therefore Cupid keeping the dragon's eyes closed can refer only the marriage of Matthias and Beatrix in 1476, when Matthias was 33.

The battle scene on the reverse of the so-called „**Marti fautori**” medallion has not been identified so far. In this whirling battle three flags appear. Among them on the lower left a crescent can be identified on most specimens. On the flag on the top of medallion in the centre the bars of the Hungarian Árpád dynasty on a rhomboid shield can be distinguished but only on the items preserved in Paris and Washington. The medallion in Washington shows, that heraldic device of the flag on the lower right is a sword held by an arm, which is the ancient heraldic device of the Széklers. These flags therefore identify the participants as Andrew Lackfi the Count of the Széklers fighting the Tartar Othlam Khan in 1345, when the appearance of King Saint Laszló (Ladislás) on mighty horse terrified the Tartars in the battle of 1345. Immediately following this battle the Hungarian kings introduced the figure of King Saint László on their coins for centuries, and the event has been sung by Ianus Pannonius in one of his most beautiful elegy saying farewell to Warad (Abiens valere iubet sanctos reges, Waradini. (n° 23)) The significance of this battle on the reverse of King Matthias medallion stems from the fact, that Matthias when young was knighted by his father, John de Hunyad with Andrew Lackfi's sword at Nándorfehérvár in 1454.<sup>56</sup>

The knighthood of St Ladislás is celebrated again on the reverse of smaller medallion of Matthias Corvinus apparently showing King Saint László at the battle of Kerlés of 1068. The „**Caesare victo**” is the only medallion showing King Matthias en face showing the striking will of the glorious military commander, about whom Ianus Pannonius wrote in his poem „Ad Matthiam regem”(no 372). In contrast on the **monument of Bautzen** from 1486 Matthias contemplates entranced the divine ideas from the cave in Plato's Politeia (Republic), just as Ianus Pannonius wrote in his panegyric of Guarino:

Oppida nam fueri Plato si felicia dixit,  
Purpura cum sapiat, vel cum sapientia regnet:  
Diuinum hic quiddam tunc duxit iure futurum,  
Si rector doctam moderetur doctior aulam (lines 415-418).

He returned to the same idea in his panegyric of Ludovico Gonzaga:

Legimus Acteum quondam cecinisse Platonem  
Hanc fore felicem prae cunctis urbibus urbem,  
Principe quam docto facilis fortune beasset  
Vel doctos adamente viros (lines 68-71).

I has to be pointed out, that King Matthias was represented thinking: cogitabundus on his statue in the royal court of Buda as well according to Bonfini.<sup>57</sup> Namely only by thinking

<sup>56</sup> Ignaz Aurelius Fessler: Geschichte dr Ungarn und ihrer Landsassen, Volume IV, Leipzig 1816, page 804; Count József Teleki: A Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon, Volume II, Pest 1852-54, page 345; Fügedi, Erik: Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek, Budapest 1981, page 419.

<sup>57</sup> Antonii Bonfinii Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades. Decas IV, Liber VII, n° 96. Edited in: “Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum” by I. Fogel, B. Iványi, L Juhász. Tomus IV. 1941, page 136.

can we contemplate the platonics ideas in Plato's Politeia, which was read by King Matthias Corvinus according to the testimony of his librarian, Naldo Naldius.<sup>58</sup>

### Chapter III. *The Matthias Gradual.*

The origin of this manuscript preserved in the National Széchenyi Library with the shelf mark Clmae 414, is perhaps the most disputed among the Corvinian manuscripts. According to Elemér Varjú<sup>59</sup> and Ilona Berkovits<sup>60</sup> it was prepared in the French royal court, it was attributed to Flemish artist by André de Hevesy<sup>61</sup> and Erzsébet Soltész,<sup>62</sup> while its place of origin was placed to Buda by Edith Hoffmann<sup>63</sup> and Kilián Szigeti O.F.M.<sup>64</sup>

It will be however useful to remember, that in the Limbourg brothers masterpiece, in the Très Riches Heures de duc de Berry made in 1415-16 very many miniatures show the commissioner duc de Berry himself, the members of his court, his castles and his estates. Similarly it was recognised already in the XIX<sup>th</sup> Century, that in the copy of Bellifortis by Conrad Kyaser made for King Emperor Sigismund in 1414-15 (preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences<sup>65</sup>) Sigismund himself impersonates the Sun, Queen-Empress Barbara impersonates the Venus;<sup>66</sup> and this seems to imply, that the other planets were impersonated by other members of their court.

#### *a) Queen Beatrix and her relations in the Gradual*

Therefore it can not be surprising, that on *folio 19* of the Matthias Gradual Mercy is impersonated by Queen Beatrix of Hungary, as it appears from her portrait by Francesco Laurana belonging to the Frick Collection exhibited at Princeton University.

The profile of King David on *folio 149* is identical with the profile King Matthias on the leather binding of the Erlangen Bible (Erlangen Universitätsbibliothek Ms 6).<sup>67</sup> The church appearing on *folio 50* is identical with the church of Saint Sigismund at the entrance of the Royal Castle in Buda as shown on the woodcut of Buda in Hartmann Schedel's Weltchronik.<sup>68</sup> Schedel's incunabulum was published in Nuremberg in 1493, but the picture shows the highest tower of the Virgin's Church in construction, which reveals that the drawing originated from the year 1470, when this so called Matthias tower was built. The miniature of folio 50 in question depicts a religious procession led by Bishop John Filipec de

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<sup>58</sup> "...cum legisses apud Platonem scriptum divinitus: felices illas Respublicas fore quarum Principem, aut ipsi philosopharentur, aut eos, qui Philosophi nomen consecuti essent, unice diligerent..." Naldo Naldius: De laudibus Augustae Bibliothecae libri quatuor ad Mathiam Corvinum Pannoniae regem serenissimum, edited by Ábel, Jenő: Irodalomtörténeti emlékek. II. Budapest 1890, page 262..

<sup>59</sup> Varjú, Elemér: Két Corvin-kézirat, Ma gyar könyvszemle, 1908, pages 5-20.

<sup>60</sup> Ilona Berkovits: Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus, Budapest 1963, pages 68 and 80.

<sup>61</sup> André de Hevesy: La bibliothèque du roi Matthias Corvinus, Paris 1923 pages 32-33, 78, n° 105.

<sup>62</sup> Soltész Zoltánné: A Mátyás Graduale, Budapest 1980, page 44.

<sup>63</sup> Hoffmann, Edit: Régi magyar bibliofilek, Budapest 1929, pages 68 and 99.

<sup>64</sup> Szigeti, Kilián: Adalékok a Mátyás Graduale eredetének kérdéséhez, Magyar könyvszemle 1968, pages 327-332.

Sziget, Kilián: A budai hajdani várkapolna zenei élete a XIV.-XVI. században, Magyar zene, 1968, pages 402-428.

<sup>65</sup> MTAK Latin Codex 2° 14

<sup>66</sup> cf.: Sándor Szilágyi (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume III., Budapest 1896, pages 580-581, 532-533, 645-646; Szentpéteri József et alii (ed.): Magyar kódex, Volume II., Budapest 1999, page 38

<sup>67</sup> See Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 111.

<sup>68</sup> Hartmann Schedel: Welchronik, Nürnberg 1493, folio 139; the drawing of Buda however seems to have originated in 1470, as the tower of the Virgin's Church in Buda is in construction on the picture)

Priusz, Chancellor of Hungary and with King Matthias, Queen Beatrix, Duke Joannes Corvinus, Antonio Bonfini among the participants, but the holy water is sprinkled by a 10 years old boy, who can not be anybody else, but Ippolito d'Este, the Primate of Hungary and the nephew of the Queen. The very fact that on this miniature the holy water is not spread by the Bishop leading the procession, but by a 10 years old boy, shows, that the miniatures in this Gradual picture the life of the Hungarian court at the time, because such a ceremonial eccentricity could occur only at the court of Matthias Corvinus.

**Folio 30** pictures just the christening of Ippolito d'Este with the members of his parent's family and presumably showing the absent godparents as well. On **folio 111** among the persons around the cross Queen Beatrix' brothers, the Duke of Capua can be recognised from his medallions,<sup>69</sup> the Duke of Calabria from his representation preserved in the British Museum,<sup>70</sup> as well as Diomedes Caraffa, his father's most faithful statesman from a miniature on his work titled „De institutione vivendi” dedicated to Queen Beatrix.<sup>71</sup> In later years, namely in 1494-1495 the Duke of Calabria became King Alfonso II<sup>nd</sup> of Naples, in the years 1495-1496 Duke of Capua became King Ferrante II<sup>nd</sup>, and in the years 1496-1501 the Duke of Taranto, also shown on folio 111, became King Frederico.

#### **b) King Matthias' court in the Gradual.**

On **folio 69** we can see the procession of Corpus Christi Day amongst the flowering lime trees in the royal court of Buda. This procession is led by Thomas Bakócz de Erdőd, Bishop of Győr and the Secretary of the King as shown by his face in the Codex Ransanus<sup>72</sup> and on his medallion for example in the Hungarian National Museum.<sup>73</sup>

The letter of the Apostolic Nuncio, Angelus Pecchinoli Bishop of Orte dated 25<sup>th</sup> June 1489 records,<sup>74</sup> that on the Corpus Christi Day on the 18<sup>th</sup> June 1489 the procession was led by the young Bishop of Győr, while the King sat on a high tribune in Buda, as he was not well. The miniature on this folio 69 shows the tapestries covering the royal tribune and therefore this miniature is the only contemporary picture of the royal tapestries in the court of Matthias Corvinus.

On **folio 41** the choir consisting of only 11 members and wearing civilian clothing must constitute the Queen's choir because of their number and garments.<sup>75</sup> Their chapel in the hillside reminds the royal chapel at the Palace of Visegrád, but their musical notes clearly show, that they are singing in four parts, testifying the polyphony prevailing at the court of Matthias Corvinus. The feature of the choir leader corresponds to the gold medallion of Pietro Bono de Bursellis in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.<sup>76</sup> He arrived recently just in 1488 to the court in Buda, therefore not much before the miniatures of the Matthias Gradual were painted.

**Folio 188** shows the firmament with the various celestial bodies, which obviously means, that the person appearing in the hat of the professors of the University of Pozsony (Universitas Istropolitana) is the royal astronomer of King Matthias Martin Bylicza de

<sup>69</sup> Francis George Hill: A Corpus of Italian Medals, London 1930, Plate 54, medallion 335-336.

<sup>70</sup> See Marion Johnson: The Borgias, London 1981, pages 100 and 226.

<sup>71</sup> Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, G.G.III. 170. 1654, folio 4<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> National Széchenyi Library OSZK Clmae. 249. See the reproduction in Domanovszky, Sándor: Magyar művelődéstörténet, Volume II., Budapest [1939], page 411.

<sup>73</sup> Hungarian National Museum, inventory number 17/880.

<sup>74</sup> Augustinus Theiner: Vetera Monumenta Hungariam sacram illustrantia, Roma 1859-60, Volume II., page 527.

<sup>75</sup> Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, Volume I., page 687.

<sup>76</sup> Francis George Hill: A Corpus of Italian Medals,

London 1930, No416 (Plate 79) In the Ashmolean Museum exhibition number 169.

Olkusz. It seems to be, that on *folio 184* Queen Beatrix is bowing to her passion for the theatre.<sup>77</sup>

On *folio 115* the contemporary main actors of the European foreign policy: Pope Innocent VIII<sup>th</sup>,<sup>78</sup> Emperor Frederic III<sup>rd</sup>,<sup>79</sup> Sultan Bajazid II<sup>nd</sup>,<sup>80</sup> and King Matthias Corvinus constitute a circle, while we can recognise their followers and even Prince Djem, the Turkish Pretender.<sup>81</sup> At the bottom of the picture three ecclesiastical persons appear. The monk in the centre in white habit belongs to the only Hungarian religious order of Saint Paul the First Hermit. King Matthias and his mother was a tertiary member of this religious order.<sup>82</sup> The fact that this monk appear on this miniature and even at a central place on the composition excludes the possibility that the manuscript could have been illuminated in France or in the Netherlands, because there were no monasteries of this order in those countries, but mainly in Hungary and in Poland.<sup>83</sup> The friar praying the rosary is a Franciscan according to Kilián Szigeti, while a Dominican nun reads a book. This seems to be very significant, because a very large part of the medieval Hungarian manuscripts written in Hungarian were written just in the Dominican nunnery on the island below Buda castle, where the Hungarian books found in the Queen's library by Pierre Choque, the herald of Queen Anne de Bretagne<sup>84</sup> must have been written by the Dominican nuns. King Matthias tried to advance the canonisation of their most famous member Blessed Margaret of the Árpád dynasty,<sup>85</sup> and the Dominican nun appearing on folio 26 of the Matthias Gradual is strikingly similar to (that time) Blessed Margaret's contemporary woodcut.<sup>86</sup>

c) *John de*

### *Hunyad in the Gradual.*

On *folio 90* we can identify the features of John de Hunyad from on the woodcut published in of John de Thwocz's Chronicle published the Bruno edition in 1488<sup>87</sup> and his face on the Cologne altarpiece. On this miniature two families sitting at two tables are eating honeycomb. The two mothers resemble each other and they are wearing identical hat-creations worn only by members of the royal family in the Matthias Gradual, for example Queen Beatrix herself on folio 3, and her sister, Eleonora Duches of Ferrara on folio 30. All these seem to imply that they are the two sister Szilágyi de Horogszeg, one of whom married John de Hunyad, the other John Geréb de Vingart, and the small blond child the only person looking out of the picture at us, is obviously the little Matthias de Hunyad in the care of his

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<sup>77</sup> Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by I. Főgel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Decadis IV. Liber VII. n° 86, Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Főgel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász. Tomus IV. 1941, page 135.

<sup>78</sup> See: Sergio Ortolani: Il Pollaiuolo, Milan 1948, page 176

<sup>79</sup> See Grand Larousse Encyclopedique, Volume V, Paris 1962, page 257.

<sup>80</sup> The identity of Bajazid II<sup>nd</sup> follows from his headgear and from the fact, that Prince Djem stands next to him.

<sup>81</sup> André de Hevesy: Portraits of the Borgias – Cesare. The Burlington Magazine, Volume LXI., n° 352-357., July-December 1932, page 70, B

<sup>82</sup> Balogh, op. cit., Volume I, pages 666, 167-168, 195 footnote 1.

<sup>83</sup> Dr [Aranyos-Gyéresi] Gyéressy Béla Ágoston: O.S.P.P.E. Documenta Artis Paulinorum, Volume III. Budapest 1978, pages 325-326; Kisbán, Emil: A magyar Pálosrend története, Volume I., 1938, pages 64-71, 328-331.

<sup>84</sup> Pierre Choque: Discours des ceremonies du mariage d'Anna de Foix, de la Maison de France, in the edition of Le Roux de Lincy: Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres, year 21, volume II, series 5, Paris 1861, page 438.

<sup>85</sup> Fraknói, Vilmos: Mátyás király levelei, Volume I., Budapest 1893, page 57.

<sup>86</sup> Esztergom Library of the Cathedral, see Domanovszky Sándor: Magyar művelődéstörténet, Volume II, Budapest [1939], picture at page 404.

<sup>87</sup> folio 132<sup>recto</sup>.

nurse Elisabeth. There are 20 very carefully painted beehives on the miniature, 10 in line with the little Matthias. They must indicate the origin of King Matthias' beehive emblems.

The miniature on *folio 10* is the most artistic miniature in the codex, and his painter could compete with the greatest European painters of the time. He represented successfully the focus of linear perspective, the colour perspective and body shortening while the atmosphere of the picture seems to have anticipated the impressionism five hundred years later. The Governor John de Hunyad is distinguished by plenty of black egret feathers on his golden headgear, just as on folio 90 mentioned above. The miniature on folio 10 represents the most important allies and diplomatic links of Governor John de Hunyad in Europe. A central figure of the composition is a very successful portrayal of the „grand duc du ponant.” Philip the Good's identity on the miniature is unmistakably obvious from his statue, which used to belong to the King of Würtemberg in 1907.<sup>88</sup> His identity is confirmed further by his black robes and black headgear, as black was the first official colour of Burgundian court dresses.<sup>89</sup> The profile of the head behind him identical with Scanderbeg's representation on Martinus Barlettus work published in Frankfurt am Main in 1578,<sup>90</sup> and his turban seems to confirm his identity. The Pope on the composition is Callixtus III,<sup>91</sup> who ordered the bells to be rung at noon for John de Hunyad's victory against Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in 1456, and who annulled the condemnation of Joan d'Arc at the request of Charles VII<sup>th</sup> (also on the miniature) to bring him into the alliance against the Turks.

There is a well at the lower part of the miniature from which water is drawn by Anthony Count de La-Roche-en-Ardenne,<sup>92</sup> Knight of the Golden Fleece, who occupied Ceuta, the only conquest of the crusades, which has been never lost. The water of wisdom taken from the well is drunk only by Skanberbeg and by the young Matthias de Hunyad on the miniature. This seems to imply, that King Matthias' well emblem indicates the water of wisdom, which leads to the efficacious defence of the Christendom. The person with curly chestnut hair on the left of the composition must be László (Ladislás) de Hunyad according to Bonfini<sup>93</sup> and according to Georgius Szerémi<sup>94</sup> as well.

*Folio 17* of the Matthias Gradual represents the destruction of the pharaoh's army into the Red Sea. Instead of the sea however the picture shows the river Drava running into the Danube and on right side instead of stone desert of the Sinai we find a city below a fortress just like Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) in 1456.<sup>95</sup> As a matter of fact on the picture the pharaoh's army is drawn into the S(z)ava instead of the sea. Therefore this miniature illustrating verses 20-21 from the 10<sup>th</sup> chapter in the Book of Wisdom, celebrates the Lord's triumphant hand in John de Hunyad's victory in 1456 at Nándorfehérvár. In this celebration participates the

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<sup>88</sup> Baron H. Kervyn de Lettenhove: *Le toison d'or*, Bruxelles 1907, page 2.

<sup>89</sup> Otto Cartellieri: *The Court of Burgundy*, London 1929, pages 142, 141, 140.

<sup>90</sup> Marinus Barlettus: *De vita et res gestis Scanderbegi, ...Francofurti ad Moenum*, 1578, volume II, folio 22

<sup>91</sup> Marion Johnson: *The Borgias*, London 1981, page 26;

George Francis Hill: *A Corpus of Italian Medals*, London 1930, medallion 737.

<sup>92</sup> Richard Vaughan: *Charles the Bold*, London 1973, pages 235-473.

<sup>93</sup> Antonii Bonfini *Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*, edited by I. Főgel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", *Decadis III. Liber VIII. n° 255-256.*, Tomus III. Leipzig 1936, page 197.

<sup>94</sup> Georgii Sirmiensis *Epistola de perditione (sic) regni Hungarorum*, *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Második Osztály(Divisio II.)*, Írók(Scriptores), Volume I, Pest 1857, page 7.

<sup>95</sup> On the miniature a small river joins a big one and at their meeting a fortress rises on the right side of the small river just as at Belgrade. There are at least ten distinguishing features on the miniature of folio 17 which correspond to Nándorfehérvár(=Belgrade). See the inverse of picture by Wolfgang Resch Formschneider from 1522

in: Szilágyi, Sándor, (ed.): *A magyar nemzet története*, Volume IV, Budapest 1896, picture between pages 430-431., and the woodcut of Siebmacher in: Rózsa, György: *Régi magyar csataképek*, Budapest 1959, I. picture.

kneeling King Matthias wearing the Holy Crown, as he was knighted by his father just at Nándorfehérvár in 1454,<sup>96</sup> and his identity is defined by his shield as the Grand Master of the Hungarian chivalric Order of the Dragon appearing on the left side of the composition.

*d) King-Emperor Sigismund in the Gradual.*

It was recognised already by Ilona Berkovits that the illumination on the foreside of *folio 7* in the codex was inspired by the royal resort of Visegrád. The group migrating into Canaan of Visegrád is led by King Sigismund identified by his profile on Pisanello's drawing in the Louvre with the number 2479, as well as by his profile on the Cologne altarpiece. A black ibex in the background of the picture indicates the coat-of arms given to the family of King Matthias' mother, the Szilágyi de Horogszeg and the entire clan of Garázda de Mechynche by King Sigismund on the 24<sup>th</sup> February 1409.

The head of King Sigismund on the foreside of *folio 58* in the manuscript can be recognised from the drawing of the procession in Bale (Basel) by the School of Rogier van der Weyden preserved in the British Museum<sup>97</sup> and on the representation of raising the County of Klev into Principdom in Ulrich von R(e)ichent(h)al's manuscript in St. Petersburg.<sup>98</sup> There is a green stove in the background of this miniature showing the shape to restore the stoves from the similar green stove tiles found in Sigismund's castle in Tata.<sup>99</sup>

The King in captivity on *folio 76* corresponds to Sigismund representation of Ulrich von R(e)ichent(h)al's Augsburg edition.<sup>100</sup> This is the reason that silhouette of the peak in the background shows peak Szársomlyó at Nagyharsány,<sup>101</sup> where Sigismund was kept in custody by Nicolas de Gara II<sup>nd</sup> of the clan Dorozsma in the castle of Siklós, and where they eventually became brothers-in-law marrying two sisters de Cilly.

*Folio 103<sup>recto</sup>* of the codex shows the court of King David, but in a form of a contemporary royal court it was pointed out by Erzsébet Soltész.<sup>102</sup> On this miniature however the small round windows correspond to the windows of the Fresh Palace in Buda on the woodcut of Erhard Schön from 1541-42, when the Fresh Palace was still intact.<sup>103</sup> The view of Dominicus Custos shows a staircase as well just at this side of the building,<sup>104</sup> where on the miniature on folio 103 in question stars appear in the windows. To these observations Bonfini's description has to be added: in medio [atria] veteri porticu circumventa, quam duplici coronant ambulacra, quorum supremum novoque palatio prepositum, qua ad summa triclinia conscenditur, duodecim signiferi orbis sideribus insigne non sine admiratione suspicitur;<sup>105</sup> that is to say, in the middle [Hall] surrounded by an old colonnade, above which

<sup>96</sup> Ignaz Aurelius Fessler: Geschichte der Ungarn und ihrer Landsassen, Volume IV, Leipzig 1816, page 804; Count József Teleki: A Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon, Volume II, Pest 1852-54, page 345;

Fügedi, Erik: Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek, Budapest 1981, page 419.

<sup>97</sup> Bertalan Kéry: Kaiser Sigismund, Ikonographie, Vienna 1972, picture 79 and 80

<sup>98</sup> "Société Impériale Archéologique Russe (M. Brosset et alii, ed.): Concilium Constantiense MCDXIV-MCDXVIII, Saintpetersbourg 1874.

<sup>99</sup> cf.: Pál Voigt, Imre Holl: Old Hungarian Stove Tiles, Budapest 1963, pictures 16-17, pages 11, 14 and 17.

<sup>100</sup> Kéry, op. cit., pictures 79 and 80.

<sup>101</sup> See Rohbock-Rohring 's steel engraving from 1860 in Gerő, László (ed.): Várépítészettünk, Budapest 1975, page 237, picture 169.

<sup>102</sup> Soltész, Zoltánné (Erzsébet): A Mátyás Gradule, Budapest 1980, page 102.

<sup>103</sup> See: Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, Volume II., picture 14. on page 19; or Domanovszky, Sándor: Magyar művelődéstörténet, Volume III, Budapest [1940], picture at page 228.

<sup>104</sup> See: Gerő, László: A helyreállított budai vár, Budapest 1980, page 24.

<sup>105</sup> Antonii Bonfini Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, edited by I. Főgel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Decadis IV. Liber VII. n<sup>o</sup> 95, Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Főgel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász. Tomus IV. 1941, page 136.

two other porticoes were built to the Fresh Palace, and at the uppermost, as it leads to the highest hall(s), the celestial globe's twelve constellations are strongly admired.

The words [atria] in brackets are our correction instead of the published „aria”. The spelling of these two words in the medieval handwriting is very easily confused. On the other hand Bonfini could translate the name of Fresh Palace only by palatium novum into classical Latin, while five sentences later he actually uses the expression Sigismundi atria.

Gáspár Heltai explained, that Bonfini's text survived only in various truncated copies already by his time, from which they tried to restore the original.<sup>106</sup> Heltai however gives the following sentence in Hungarian, which is missing from the versions in Latin in the corresponding place: (King Matthias) „built three broad and very beautiful cloisters around the palaces of King Sigismund.”<sup>107</sup> This actually corresponds to Bonfini's surviving text, but placed in a different context: veteri porticu circumventa, quam duplici coronant ambulacra,<sup>108</sup> which means that in fact there were porticoes on three levels around Sigismund's Fresh Palace, which was the only „palace” built by Sigismund. It has to be added, that the various views made of the royal castle of Buda in the XV-XVII<sup>th</sup> century reveal, that all the other buildings in Buda castle had only two levels, only the Fresh Palace of Sigismund had three stores, as it is clear for example from the drawings by N. L. de Hallart from 1686,<sup>109</sup> and from the woodcut published by Schedel in 1493, which clearly shows, that the colonnades around the Fresh Palace were not built with Gothic ogive arches, but with protorenaissance arcs.<sup>110</sup> Obviously it was the protorenaissance colonnade surrounding the Fresh Palace, which made Pedro Tafur to report in 1439, that Sigismund built a great hall, like the Sala della Raggione in Padua,<sup>111</sup> which was built just in this form. According to Bonfini and Heltai the second and the third porticoes above Sigismund's colonnade were completed by King Matthias. Actually the building of just such porticoes appear in the Averulinus manuscript translated by Bonfini into Latin for King Matthias in his court and decorated exactly on the spot in Buda castle in 1489,<sup>112</sup> which indicates that the building of such porticoes was the most important architectural activity at the time in the Royal Castle of Buda.

It seems to follow from the above said, and as indicated on the miniature of folio 103: the windows in the Western wall of upper throne hall in the Fresh Palace were filled with stained glass of the zodiac and the planets as the constellations of the zodiac appear in the Western rose-window of the Notre Dame in Paris.<sup>113</sup> The central window above the throne in Buda might have been occupied by the Sun, as Sigismund impersonated the Sun in Conrad

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<sup>106</sup> Heltai, Gáspár: *Chronica az Magyaroknac dolgairól, Kolozsvár 1575*, introduction after the title page.

<sup>107</sup> “Három széles és igen szép körengeket építette a Zsigmond császár palotái környül és megékesíté azokat széles és csodálatos gradicsokkal és menyzetekkel.”

See Balogh, Jolán: *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*, Budapest 1966, Volume I., page 40., second column, second (third) paragraph.

<sup>108</sup> Antonii Bonfini Asculani *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*, edited by I. Főgel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: “*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum*”, Decadis IV. Liber VII. n<sup>o</sup> 95, Edited in: “*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum*” by I. Főgel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász. Tomus IV. 1941, page 136.

<sup>109</sup> See: Balogh, Jolán: *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*, Budapest 1966 Volume II on pages 26-31, pictures 23-28; picture 33. on page 34 shows that the two stories buildings had colonnades only on the ground floor on their side turning to the main courtyard of Buda castle.

<sup>110</sup> See: Balogh, Jolán: *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*, Budapest 1966, Volume II., picture 13. on page 18.

<sup>111</sup> “una grant sala fecha a la manera de aquella de Padua” quoted by Kropf, Lajos: *Régi utazások Magyarországon, Századok 1907*, page 928.

<sup>112</sup> the date of 1489 is given on folio 95<sup>recto</sup>, *Biblioteca Marciana*, MS 2796, folio 5<sup>recto</sup>;

see Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, Shannon 1969, page 271.

<sup>113</sup> Concerning the plan of the Western rose window of the Notre Dame in Paris see: Painton Cowen: *Rose Windows*, San Francisco, 1979, page 134; the western rose window was originally planned in the XIII<sup>th</sup> Century according to Catherine Brisac: *A Thousand Years of Stained Glass*, London 1986, page 50.

Kyeser's Bellifortis,<sup>114</sup> and according to the charters of nobility issued by Sigismund the rights and privileges of nobility emanate from the light of the royal throne as the rays from the Sun.<sup>115</sup> Even the tent of King Louis II<sup>nd</sup> was distinguished by the picture of the Sun in 1526 according to a Turkish miniature.<sup>116</sup>

The figures on the miniature of folio 103 investigated in general are much less individualised as on the other miniatures in the manuscript. Nonetheless the very grey haired monarch sitting on the throne of the Fresh Palace could indicate only King-Emperor Sigismund, as the other Hungarian kings, who could sit in the Fresh Palace never got grey hair. Obviously the first banneret lord of the country, the Primate of Hungary (George de Pálócz) with mitre on his head reads him the gospel carrying the Lord symbolically as the cherubs in Ezekiel's vision,<sup>117</sup> and this gives the key to understand the picture. Namely the miniature illustrates the words of the Psalms: „The Lord is my illumination and my salvation”(Ψ26<sub>1</sub>)<sup>118</sup>. Meanwhile among the „smaller banneret lords” of the unwritten Hungarian constitution the Dapifer-in-Chief and the Cup-bearer-in-Chief serve the monarch sitting on his throne. In the last government of the old Sigismund the Janitor-in-chief was László (Ladislás) de Tamás and the Constable-in-Chief Lawrence de Hédervára both from the clan Héder. The Constable-in Chief's face seem to be more individualised resembling Saint Gereon in the Cologne altarpiece, as Lawrence de Hédervára became the Palatine of Hungary between 1437-1447.

The most individualised is probably the youngest person on the miniature of folio 103 sitting behind a table covered with gold and silver coins. He is obviously the Treasurer-in-Chief, a post occupied by the famous young gentleman, Michael Ország de Gwth of the clan Gut-Keled, who, when asked playing soldiers in his childhood by Sigismund „whom do you serve?” -replied: „The country.”<sup>119</sup> Incidentally his face is not only the most individualised on folio 103, but also the only one, who shed clear shadow on the picture. Moreover his face is identical with one of the youngest heads<sup>120</sup> among the statues found in the royal castle of Buda by László Zolnay in 1974. Zolnay named this statue „head of man in felt hat”<sup>121</sup> and he wears almost identical hat on folio 103 investigated. He seems to have been distinguished in such a manner on this miniature prepared in the court of King Matthias, because Michael Ország became the Palatine for 26 years from 1458 till his death in 1484, therefore starting almost from the beginning of his rule, and remaining during most of the reign of King Matthias Corvinus.

#### *e) The significance of folio 3, the title page of the Gradual*

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<sup>114</sup> Bellifortis by Conrad Kyeser made for King Emperor Sigismund in 1414-15 (preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTAK Latin Codex 2<sup>o</sup> 14); cf.: Sándor Szilágyi (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume III., Budapest 1896, pages 580-581, 532-533, 645-646.

<sup>115</sup> Sigismund 's charter issued on the 29<sup>th</sup> Martch 1418 (Hungarian National Archive, Ol D1 85682), and his charter issued on the 12<sup>th</sup> March 1431 (Hungarian National Archive, Ol D1 57168)  
See D. Radocsay: Gothische Wappenbilder auf ungarischen Adelsbriefen, Acta historiae artium, Volume V., 1958, pages 326 and 353, 333 and 354.

<sup>116</sup> Süleymanname, Topkapi Seraglio, inventory number 1517, folio 200<sup>recto</sup>, see Géza Fejér: Turkish Miniatures, Budapest 1978, coloured picture X, showing the war council of Louis II<sup>nd</sup>'s war council in 1526. the miniature itself was painted in 1557-58.

<sup>117</sup> Ezekiel 1, 4-12

<sup>118</sup> Psalm 26, 1.

<sup>119</sup> Ioanni Dubravii Olumvzensis episcopi Historia Boiémica, Bale(Basel) 1575, Liber XXV. page 238.;

Cf.: Fügedi Erik: „Uram királyom”, Budapest 1974, page 161.

<sup>120</sup> Budapest Historical Museum, inventory number 75-1-59.

Zolnay László, Marosi Ernő: A budavári szoborlelet, Budapest 1989, picture 94 before page 81; page 154, n<sup>o</sup> 61.

<sup>121</sup> Zolnay László, Szakál Ernő: A budavári gótikus szoborlelet, Budapest 1976, page 51, picture 27.

The foreside of *folio 3* could be considered the title page of the Matthias Gradual, and it is almost completely covered with decoration. In the upper part of the great miniature in a very striking place an irregular labyrinth of a very complicated castle appears. This labyrinth is so complicated that it is virtually impossible to think that the artist could have invented it by pure chance, when he emphasised the intricacy of this labyrinth by the trees regularly planted below it on the composition. The fact, that this castle labyrinth was not invented by the artist, but he tried to picture an existing fortress is shown by on other miniature on folio 86<sup>recto</sup> in the same Matthias Gradual. Namely there on folio 86<sup>recto</sup> an obviously much less accomplished, and therefore completely different artist portrayed the same labyrinthine castle in the background.

On the more refined representation of this castle on title page of folio 3<sup>recto</sup> it is obvious, that

- 1) on one side of this castle there is a large surface of water and on the opposite side a long defence corridor is running on the top of the ramparts, just as on the Western side of the royal castle of Buda;
- 2) This defence corridor on the top of the ramparts has a side wing joining it in rectangular angle on that wall, which closes the so-called “court of the New World” in Buda.
- 3) At the southern end of the long defence corridor a mace-tower appears, just as in Buda.
- 4) At the northern end of the long wall there is a quadrangular entrance tower exactly as in Buda;
- 5) and this entrance tower partly covers the Fresh Palace, again as at Buda castle, if seen from a north-west-northerly direction.
- 6) According to the investigated miniature on folio 3<sup>recto</sup> arcades run on each floor on the northern side of the Fresh palace, just as on the Eastern side shown by the woodcut published on folio 139 in Schedel’s Worldchronik in 1493.
- 7) A hexagonal staircase rises out of the rectangular block on the so called “Unfinished Tower (or Csonkatorony)” of Sigismund just as on Wilhelm Dillich’s copperplates
- 8) At the northeastern corner of the castle represented on folio 3 there is a thick tower-bastion just around the place, where Karakash pasha’s tower rises in Buda to this day. László Gerevich has pointed it out already in 1955, that Karakash pasha only rebuilt a medieval structure already existing before. Therefore it corresponds to this structure on the miniature of folio 3
- 9) The highest tower on the investigated miniature appears to be cylindrical with high and thin early Gothic windows, exactly as the upper floors of Duke Stephen the Angry’s donjon on Erhard Schön’s woodcut from 1541-42. This tower seems to appear just behind the Fresh Palace on the investigated miniature, but this corresponds to sensual delusion, which makes the high buildings and peaks to appear much nearer if their bottom is hidden by something before them.
- 10) The enumerated nine buildings on the miniature appear at approximately correct angles if seen from the tower of Saint Sigismund’s Church north of the Royal Castle in Buda.

Concerning the representation of this castle on the miniature György Rózsa’s observation has to be taken into consideration, that even in the XVII<sup>th</sup>-XVIII<sup>th</sup> century „few views were taken from a real existing viewpoint, as a view is conceived nowadays...In most cases the subjects were represented in such a form, as it could not be seen by a human eye. The elements of real perspective and that of a slanting bird’s eye view got mixed...”<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Rózsa György: Régi magyar csataképek, Budapest 1959, page 2.

Therefore no landscape paintings in the modern sense could be searched or found in the Matthias Gradual decorated around 1489. Nevertheless it can not be by pure chance that all the ten enumerated peculiarity of the castle on folio 3<sup>recto</sup> correspond to the royal castle of Buda at the time of Matthias Corvinus, when at the bottom of the page displays the shields of King Matthias Corvinus and his Queen Beatrix of Aragon, because the miniaturist could not invented just a so irregular and intricate labyrinth of buildings as the Royal Castle of Buda used to be, and taking into consideration the customs of the miniaturists working for the members of the European royal families since the Limbourg brothers. The view of the Royal Castle of Buda seen from the North from the city of Buda on folio 3 in question is important also, because it shows, that by 1489 the Fresh Palace was built like the Sala de la Raggione in Padua according to Pedro Tafur,<sup>123</sup> giving the impression of a quattrocento building surrounded by colonnades on three levels. It has to be pointed out, that the Royal Castle of Buda was built at narrow the Southern end of the old walled city of Buda. Therefore the picture of the royal residence was given by the Fresh Palace hiding most of the other building of the compound for the inhabitants of Buda. They called it Fresh Palace, which meant Modern Palace at the time, because it was a renaissance building. An echo of the Fresh Palace of Buda is the Villa Belvedere in Prague started for Queen Anne Jagello in 1538, who was raised in Buda, just as the arcades of town hall of Lőcse built in 1549-1615.

These conclusions are not altered by the fact, that on the left of the miniature in the foreground a large gothic tower appears on the Northeast corner of the castle, which is missing on the old views of Buda, and no trace of it was found in the excavations so far. This gothic tower however does not seem to originate in the poetic licence of the miniaturist, because it was recorded by István Szamosközy, that in Buda „there was a tower next to the Palace of Sigismund (=Fresh Palace), which was named „Tower of Shields(=Coat-of-Arms)”. An enormous quantity of gunpowder was stored in it (by the Turks). At midnight (on the 19<sup>th</sup> May 1578) it was struck by a thunder. The tower and the palaces next to it were all blown up.”

Below the castle the miniature shows the Resurrection of Christ. The features of the Roman soldier at the lower left corner below the sarcophagus correspond to King Matthias' portrait on the Bautzen memorial. His rank seems to be indicated by his „pelerine,” because King Sigismund wears such a pelerine on the drawing of the procession in Bale (Basel) by the School of Rogier van der Wayden preserved in the British Museum,<sup>124</sup> where neither Emperor Sigismund wore crown, just as King Matthias' crown is missing in the investigated composition. Matthias however is identified by his shield as the Grand Master of the Hungarian Royal Chivalric Order of the Dragon, just as on folio 17 of the Mastthias Gradual mentioned above, and on folio 166<sup>verso</sup> in the Philostratus corvina.<sup>125</sup> His identity is confirmed also by his place on the picture, which is the usual place of the Hungarian monarchs on the representations of the period, „on the heraldic right”, for example in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwrocław's Chronicle, as it was discussed already above. The King's identity seems to be indicated by also by the fact, that his lance sheds strongest shadow on the miniature, which means that the strongest light has fallen on him.

Christ's sarcophagus and its cover defines the X form structure of the miniature's composition. Continuing the line of the sarcophagus at the opposite end Christ meets Mary

<sup>123</sup> “una grant sala fecha a la manera de aquella de Padua” quoted by Kropf, Lajos: Régi utazások Magyarországon, Századok 1907, page 928.

<sup>124</sup> see Bertalan Kéry: Kaiser Sigismund, Vienna 1972, picture 79 and 80.

<sup>125</sup> OSZK Clmae 417 folio 166<sup>verso</sup>.

Magdalene after his resurrection with the feature of Queen Beatrix on folio 8 of Corvina Bible in Brussels.

In contrast to the King and the Queen both noticing the resurrection of the Lord, the Roman soldier in the lower right corner of the miniature sleeps. Curiously his helmet is decorated with egret feathers showing that in fact he is a Hungarian lord,<sup>126</sup> and his visible features return on the red marble tombstone of Stephen de Szapolya, Count of Szepes in Szepeshely,<sup>127</sup> and the governor of Austria at the time, when the Matthias Gradual was decorated. It seems to follow from the composition, that his consort, Hedvig Princess of Teschen, is the leader of the oint-bearing women at the opposite end of the open sarcophagus' cover. The other sleeping soldier seems to be impersonated by Imre (Amery) de Szapolya Palatine of Hungary in the years 1486-87.

As at the lower end of the sarcophagus we find King Matthias, the features of the person just at the opposite end of it correspond to King-Emperor Sigismund's portrait, which used to be attributed to Pisanello in Vienna, and his appearance on the Calvary by Thomas de Coloswar now in the Christian Museum in Esztergom.<sup>128</sup>

Christ keeps his flag just before the King-Emperor, because King Sigismund himself wrote in the charter of the Hungarian Chivalric Order of the Dragon issued on the 12<sup>th</sup> December 1408 „Jesus Christ has sanctified the flag of the life-giving cross by his suffering and he screwed the head of the twisting dragon back by the force of that cross...which was carried by him after his resurrection to knock down the locks of Hell...(and) Saint George the martyr knocked down the dragon to the ground taking his life.”<sup>129</sup> Therefore the miniature on folio 3<sup>recto</sup> investigated represents, that the knighthood of the Chivalric Order of the Dragon originated in the mystery of Resurrection, as these knights „fought under the banner of Saint George “ still carried by the risen Saviour on the miniature, while the chapel of their chapter was in the castle shown at the top of the miniature.

The composition of the miniature investigated is in close relation to the picture of the Battle of Kerlés on the title page of the Augsburg edition of John de Thwroc's Chronicle in the representation of space, in the reappearance of the main figure repeatedly on the picture, and in the re-echoing blue-red colour harmonies. Meanwhile the master of miniature on folio 3 has created very interesting and refined tension in the perspective by placing the pole of Christ's banner in the foreground on the place of the fourth tree of the background, and because Christ's right hand rises out of the picture as on Mantegna's paintings following this „perspective of Apelles” in that way, that we can place our fingers into Christ's wounds.

The wide border decoration on folio 3 of the Matthias Gradual is also in a very close relation of the border decoration of manuscript MR 354 in the Treasury of Zagreb cathedral, in which the miniature shows just the fight of Saint George with the dragon in the air. Among the smaller miniatures inserted into the wide border on folio 3, the one appearing on the right in the lower half shows a bedchamber with the resurrection of Dorcas. The windows with the sitting places on two sides in the wall in this sleeping room

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<sup>126</sup> Vat. Lat 8541, folio 84<sup>recto</sup>, picture „XVIII: quomodo fuit obitus ipsius”

Levárdy Ferenc (ed.): Anjou-Magyar Legendarium, Budapest 1973, XLIV Szent László király 136..

<sup>127</sup> Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg\*82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8<sup>th</sup> May-1<sup>st</sup> November 1982, colour picture 19 after page 126.

<sup>128</sup> Christian Museum of Esztergom, inventory number 54.3

<sup>129</sup> Baranyai Béla: Zsigmond király u. n. Sárkány-rendje Századok 1926, 575. oldal.

match surprisingly the similar windows found in the Queen's bedchamber by the excavation in Buda.

### *f) The origin of the dynasty*

#### *de Hunyad.*

Finally it has to be pointed out, that out of the 47 miniatures of the Matthias Gradual only three shows (or refers to) John de Hunyad,<sup>130</sup> the father of King Matthias, but there are at least six,<sup>131</sup> but possibly nine,<sup>132</sup> which represent King Sigismund, and in the Matthias Gradual Sigismund is represented always very sympathetically, very often impersonating king David. This focuses the attention at the sources according to which the family de Hunyad descended from King Sigismund. This was already remarked by John Liszt de Köpcsény, at the margin of that copy of Bonfini's Decades, which was preserved in the library of the Archbishopric of Esztergom, as it was pointed out already by Bálint Hóman.<sup>133</sup> John Liszt must have been well informed in this respect, as he was the brother-in-law of Primate Nicholas Oláh (1493-1568), whose grandmother Maria, was a sister of John de Hunyad.<sup>134</sup>

Secondly even better informed must have been Count de Cilly, who maintained, that John de Hunyad's father was King-Emperor Sigismund according to Bonfini.<sup>135</sup> Most likely this Count was Ulrich (circa 1406-1456), whose father was the brother-in-law of King Sigismund as well as the brother-in-law of Nicholas de Gara the Palatine of Hungary between 1402-1433. Therefore King Sigismund practically belonged to his family, and he must have been very well informed about these family matters, while John de Hunyad was his contemporary and a very well known personality.

Thirdly George Szerémi (Georgius Sirmiensi), who stayed in the service of Duke John Corvinus (1473-1504), the grandson of John de Hunyad for many years, knew well, that László (Ladislas) de Hunyad, (Matthias' brother) was the grandchild of Sigismund.<sup>136</sup>

Fourthly Gáspár Heltai (circa 1520-1575) writing in Kolosvar, where King Matthias was born, clearly stated: „I must write about the origin of John de Hunyad, not according to the writing of master Bonfinius, but according to the true history, which we heard from those, who served John de Hunyad and surrounded him in many battles.”<sup>137</sup> According to Heltai the widowed Hungarian king encamped his army at the brook Strigy above Déva. There he met a girl born in the noble family Morzsinai, who conceived from Sigismund, before he crossed into Walachy and lead his army to (Little) Nicopolis at the left bank of the Danube. After the fight there the King returned to the Stigy, when he gave a ring to this lass from clan Mozsinaí.<sup>138</sup> According the itinerary of King Sigismund compiled by Pál Engel this could happen only at the end of 1394, when King Sigismund led his army through the valley of the Maros, and reached Small Nicopolis in July 1395. Following the

<sup>130</sup> OSZK Clmae. 414, folio 10<sup>recto</sup>, folio 17<sup>verso</sup>, folio 90<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> OSZK Clmae. 414, folio 3<sup>recto</sup>, folio 7<sup>recto</sup>, folio 58<sup>recto</sup>, folio 76<sup>verso</sup>, folio 103<sup>recto</sup>, folio 107<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>132</sup> in addition to the previous six miniatures see folio 72<sup>recto</sup> folio 86<sup>recto</sup> and folio 193<sup>verso</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> Hóman Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, II. kötet, Budapest 1936, page 432

<sup>134</sup> Nagy Iván: Magyarország családai címerekkel, Volume V., Pest 1859, page 189; Volume VII, Pest 1860, page 144; Volume VIII, Pest 1861, page 214.

<sup>135</sup> Decades III, Liber IX, 293-294

<sup>136</sup> Georgii Sirmiensi Epistola de perdicione (sic) regni Hvngarorum, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Második Osztály (Divisio II.), Írók (Scriptores), Volume 1, Pest 1857, (Capitulum XVII), page 44.

<sup>137</sup> Heltai, Gaspar: Chronica az Magyaroknak dolgairól, Kolozsvár 1575, folio 80<sup>verso</sup>.

<sup>138</sup> Heltai, op. cit, folio 81<sup>recto</sup> - 81<sup>verso</sup>.

fight there Sigismund returned to Karánsebes reaching the area of the Strigy around September 1395.<sup>139</sup>

Fifthly King Matthias displayed the coat-of arms of the Luxembourgs<sup>140</sup> among his shields for example on his second Bohemian royal seal from 1486,<sup>141</sup> while he used only the coats of arms of those countries, which were actually ruled by him. Matthias however never exercised any power in the Duchy of Luxembourg. Therefore the shield of Luxembourg could only indicate his family line, as indeed in 1488 it appears in exactly the same position as the lion of Beszterce, therefore as a shield showing genealogical descent in the Augsburg edition of John de Thwrocław's Chronicle (folio 1<sup>verso</sup>).

Sixthly the crest of King Matthias consisting of the golden lime-tree leaves on black eagle feathers of the Luxembourgs appears above his usual shield in the Haly Aberdiam corvina now in Vienna.<sup>142</sup> It could not be objected, that it would have been difficult to repaint this crest, as the shield below was repainted for Matthias, because the crest of the family de Hunyad consisted of golden eagle feathers and nothing could have been easier, then to cover the black eagle feathers with gold, in which the gold lime-tree leaves would have disappeared.

Seventhly the shield of the family de Hunyad as Counts of Beszterce displays a red lion on white (silver) field, which shows the illegitimate descent from the Luxembourg dynasty heraldically in a very discreet manner. Moreover the crowned lion of Beszterce on the King Matthias' throne tapestry<sup>143</sup> is identical with the shield of the de Ligny line of the Luxembourgs.<sup>144</sup>

Eighthly the origin of John de Hunyad is shown by his comet like rise and the enormous estates given to him by Sigismund.<sup>145</sup>

Ninthly István Müller and Baron Gyula Forster de Pusztakér have recognised already in the XIX<sup>th</sup> Century, that the wall paintings in the castle of Vajdahunyad show the descent of John de Hunyad from Sigismund.<sup>146</sup>

Tenthly the opinion of István Möller and br Gyula Forster is justified completely by a saddle with bone carvings, which used to be kept in the imperial collections in Vienna.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> King Sigismund was in Szeged in October 1394 and moving alongside the river Maros crossed the Capathians into Neamti in Moldva in January 1395. He was in the area of Small Nikopolis in July and August 1395 and reached Karánsebes through Szörény and Orsova. (Engel Pál: Az utazó király - Zsigmond király itineráriuma, in: Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387-1437, pages 72-73, n<sup>o</sup> 31.) Sigismund was in Széphely in the neighbourhood of Karánsebes again in November 1397 (Engel, op. cit., page 74), and returned to Karánsebes thirdly in June 1411 (Engel op.cit., pages 76-77, n<sup>o</sup> 20).

<sup>140</sup> silver four bars azure lion rampant gules.

<sup>141</sup> OL (=Hungarian National Archive) DL 19109 issued 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1486. See: Bologh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Budapest 1966, Volume II, picture 437 on page 302.

<sup>142</sup> ÖNB., Cod. Lat. 2271 folio 1<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>143</sup> Hungarian National Museum inventory number 1960/190, see: Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg'82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8<sup>th</sup> May-1<sup>st</sup> November 1982, cover of the volume and coloured picture 74 after page 128. Cf.: page 457-458, n<sup>o</sup> 451.

<sup>144</sup>“d'arg au lion de gu. la queue en sautoir arm lamp. cour d'or Luxembourg)” P. Adam-Even: L'Armorial universel du Héraut Gelre, Archives Héraldiques Suisses, Annuaire 1961, page 73, coat-of arms n<sup>o</sup> 327.

<sup>145</sup> John de Hunyad “had 28 castles, 57 towns, more than thousand villages and his estates amounted approximately to 4,200,000 acres.....The estates of (John) de Hunyad far exceeded the fortune all the other magnates including even the families de Marót and de Gara.” Hóman Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, Budapest 1936, pages 433-434.

<sup>146</sup> Möller, István: A vajdahunyadi vár építési korszakai, in: Báró [pusztakéri] Forster Gyula: (ed.): Magyarország műemlékei, Volume III., Budapest 1913, pages 90-95; cf.: coloured table VIII.

On these bone carvings the story with the ring appearing in Vajdahunyad frescoes reappears at least three times. Firstly the gentleman gives a ring as a token of love to girl,<sup>148</sup> secondly the lady return to the court with her child and the ring,<sup>149</sup> and thirdly a bird finds the ring.<sup>150</sup> In addition among the figure carved into this saddle we find Saint Margaret leading the dragon and Saint George both mentioned in the charter of the Order of the Dragon in 1408,<sup>151</sup> this saddle is marked also with dragon of King-Emperor Sigismund's Dragon Order<sup>152</sup> as well as by the „S” monogram of Sigismund<sup>153</sup> just as by his one-headed eagle of Brandenburg.<sup>154</sup> Moreover in one of the most hidden place there is a letter „e” rising out of a heart,<sup>155</sup> corresponding to the sources, that the mother of John de Hunyad was named Elisabeth Morzsinay de Karánsebes.<sup>156</sup> According to Alexander Cortesius writing in 1487-1488 the lady involved with the raven of the Hunyad was Elisa.<sup>157</sup> The name of John de Hunyad's mother is Elisabeth according to a manuscript of the Hofbibliothek with the number MS 8677(olim Histor. Prof 341-3)<sup>158</sup> and according to Bishop Carolus Franciscus Palma.<sup>159</sup> Her family name Morzsinai was recorded by Gaspár Heltai in 1575<sup>160</sup> and Count Joseph Teleki de Szék pointed out, that the family Morzsinay

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<sup>147</sup> See Julius von Schlosser: *Elfenbeisättel des ausgehenden Mittelalters.*, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, Volume XV., Vienna 1894, pages 261-263, and 294

<sup>148</sup> Schlosser, op. cit. Tafel XXVII. on the rear of the saddle.

<sup>149</sup> Schlosser, op. cit., Tafel XXVIII, second person below the pommel

<sup>150</sup> Schlosser, op. cit., Tafel XXVIII, it might look like a pelican, but for the pelican there ought to be several young birds in the nest, while on this saddle there is only one, which looks like rather the ring of the family de Hunyad. As on the saddle there are two other representations of the ring of the family de Hunyad, this representation as well have to show the same ring third time.

<sup>151</sup> Baranyai Béla: *Zsigmond király u. n. Sárkány-rendje Századok* 1926, 575. oldal.

<sup>152</sup> Schlosser, op. cit. Tafel XXVII. around the pommel

<sup>153</sup> Schlosser, op. cit. Tafel XXVIII further below the pommel.

<sup>154</sup> Schlosser, op. cit. Tafel XXVII. at the pommel.

<sup>155</sup> Schlosser, op. cit. page 263 and fig. 2 on page 261.

<sup>156</sup> Nagy Iván: *Magyarország családjai czímerekkel*, Volume V, Pest 1859, page 188; and Volume III, Pest 1858, page 173.

<sup>157</sup> Alexander Cortesius: *De laudibus bellicis Regis Matthiae* edited by Joseph Fögel, Leipzig 1934, page 4 line 98. Original manuscript in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 85. 1. 1. Aug. 2<sup>o</sup>.

It is however not clear if this Elisa was the mother or the grandmother of King Matthias in Cortesius' text.

<sup>158</sup> gr. Teleki, József: *A Hunyadiak kora* Volume I., Pest 1852, page 34.

<sup>159</sup> The mother of John de Hunyad was "Elisabeth de Marzina Nob. Transilvana". Carolus Franciscus Palma, *episcopus Colophonensis: Notitia rerum Hungaricarum*, editio III., pars II., Pest 1785, family tree at page 317.

<sup>160</sup> The name Morzsinai has been recorded by Heltai, Gaspar: *Chronica az Magyaroknac dolgairól, Kolozsvár* 1575, folio 81<sup>recto</sup>.- 81<sup>verso</sup>.

According to the papal nuncio Angelo

Pecchinoli's report dated 30<sup>th</sup> January 1489 King Matthias Corvinus himself stated, that Prince Djem "ille mihi iure sanguinis est coniunctus, nam soror avie mee casu a turchis rapta nupsit avo istius turchi ex qua postea isti nati sunt..." (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Marc. Lat. X 175 (=3622) folio 133<sup>recto</sup>).

This means, that the sister of King Matthias' grandmother married Sultan Murad II<sup>nd</sup>.

However as the Morzsinay family lived in the area of Karánsebes, it is possible that a member of their family could have been captured by the Turks, when she moved near to the frontier.

Bonfini however claims, that the family of John de Hunyad's mother had Greek origin and imperial blood: *Mater vero a Grecis edita e veteri et imperatori sanguine promanasse credita est. Nonnulli in Theodosii hanc genus referre audent.*

(Antonii Bonfini *Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*, edited by I. Fögel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász in the series: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum", Decadis III. Liber IV. n<sup>o</sup> 257-258, Tomus III. Leipzig 1936, page 95.)

According to the manuscript in the Hofbibliothek with the number MS 8677(olim Histor. Prof 341-3) in Vienna John de Hunyad's mother was Elisabeth Palaeloga. (gr Teleki, József: *A Hunyadiak kora*, Volume I., Pest 1852, page 34.)

This Greek origin however might in fact mean only, that the Morzsinay family belonged to the Greek Church.

had estates in Karánsebes, where they were related with the distinguished families in the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>161</sup>

This saddle in Vienna is important also, because a monkey is carved into the story of the ring,<sup>162</sup> and on the wall paintings of Vajdahunyad there was also a monkey<sup>163</sup> so far unexplained. On the other hand this is the reason that a monkey appears on the Breviary corvina in the Vatican Library,<sup>164</sup> in the Priscianus corvina in Wolfenbüttel,<sup>165</sup> in the Porphyrio Pomponius corvina in Milan<sup>166</sup> and on the manuscript of Bonfini's Symposion written for Queen Beatrix.<sup>167</sup> This is the reason that we find monkeys on the bar before the throne in the Throne Hall of the Fresh Palace on folio 103 of the Matthias Gradual. Therefore the monkey was a similar emblem of the dynasty de Hunyad, as the ermine of the dynasty Aragon.

Bonfini knew about the descent of John de Hunyad from King Sigismund, but he rejected it saying, in that case the spendthrift Sigismund, not having other male issue, would have given not only estates but (the) kingdom as well to John de Hunyad.<sup>168</sup> This is simply not true, because touching the live-giving cross Sigismund swore on the foundation charter of the Chivalric Order of the Dragon according to which his legitimate daughter had precedence in the succession to the throne before anybody else.<sup>169</sup> Curiously Bonfini does not know a word about this Order of the Dragon.<sup>170</sup> Meanwhile we must not forget, that according to Bonfini himself he started to write his chapters dealing with the Hungarian history after A.D. 996 with the support of King Wladislav II.<sup>nd 171</sup> This means, that he completed most of his work, *Decades*, already as a historian of King Wladislav. John de Hunyad's descent from King Sigismund however was contrary to Wladislav's vital interests, as it threatened his claims to the Hungarian throne, because it showed Johannes Corvinus', his rival's the right to the throne, if already King Matthias obtained the same throne by virtue of the same kind of descent and customary law. Namely the system of customary law prevailed in Hungary in the time demonstrated even by the title of Wladislav II<sup>nd</sup>'s chief lawyer's Stephen Werbewcz de Kerepes's legal masterwork: *Opus Tripartitum Juris Consuetudinarii Incltyti Regni Hunariae* finished in 1514, published in Vienna in 1517.

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<sup>161</sup> gr. Teleki, József: *A Hunyadiak kora*, Volume I., Pest 1852, page 43.

<sup>162</sup> Schlosser, op. cit. Tafel XXVII. between pages 262-263 and first paragraph on page 262.

<sup>163</sup> *Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képben*, (Hungarian section), Volume III, Budapest 1888, page 107; Balogh, Jolán: *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*, Budapest 1966, volume II. page 314, picture 459, page 311 pictures 454, 455.

<sup>164</sup> Cod. Urb. Lat. 112 folio 7<sup>verso</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod 10 Aug. 4<sup>o</sup>. folio 4<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>166</sup> Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod No. 818, folio 2<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Clmae 421, folio 1<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>168</sup> *Decades III, Liber IX*, 298.

<sup>169</sup> Baranyai Béla: *Zsigmond király u. n. Sárkányrendje*, Századok 1926, pages 582-584, 688-689, 580.

<sup>170</sup> Bonfini: *Verum hungaricarum Decades*, Tomus IV., Pars II. ediderunt Margareta et Petrus Kulcsár, Budapest 1976, containing the detailed index of Bonfini's work. There is not a single reference to the Order of Drgan either on page 197 at the word "draco" nor on page 290 at the word "ordo".

<sup>171</sup> *Decades*, Foreword to Decas II.

#### Chapter IV. *Leonardo da Vinci and the Royal Court of Buda*

On folios 14<sup>verso</sup>-15<sup>recto</sup> of the Codex Urbino in the Vatican Library, therefore not far from the beginning of Leonardo's „Trattato delle pittura,” Leonardo himself describes,<sup>172</sup> that on a birthday of King Matthias the king was presented with a poem by a poet, and “with a portrait of his beloved lady” by „a” painter. On this occasion discussion started between the king, the poet and the painter according to Leonardo.

In this discussion King Matthias quotes from Plato's Timaios, that the „soul is composed of harmony”<sup>173</sup> while „harmony can not be generated otherwise than when the proportions of the form are seen and heard instantaneously.” Therefore according to Matthias painting stands above poetry, because the various parts of a painting appear at once „with the divine beauty of this face before .... me giving me such delight with their divine proportions.” In fact the entire way of arguing by King Matthias reflects Plato's Timaios, and it also corresponds to Plotinos' teaching in the Enneades according to which the beauty transpire mainly in sight: TÕ kalÕn œsti m\en TMn Ôyei ple<ston, œsti d/TMn økoa<j kat£ te lÕgwn sunqšseij.<sup>174</sup>

This story of Leonardo mirrors the court of Matthias Corvinus surprisingly well, as similar stories were recorded from the Corvinian court by Galeotto Marzio. Secondly Galeotto himself described a similar event, when members of the royal household brought their works to the monarch at New Year.<sup>175</sup> Thirdly the Ambassador of Milan at Buda, Maffeo Treviglio also reported to the Duke of Milan on the 13<sup>th</sup> April 1485, that „His Majesty” (King Matthias) „enjoys the beautiful paintings very much”<sup>176</sup> just as Leonardo wrote it. Finally and mainly it is the prevailing Platonic philosophy in King Matthias' reasoning, what is astonishingly authentic in Leonardo's description.

It was explained already by József Huszti, that the Platonic philosophy prevailed in the court of King Matthias.<sup>177</sup> Naldo Naldius recorded, that King Matthias studied Plato's Politeia (Republic). The ‘Enneðej codex in Greek written in Crete in 1465 from King Matthias' Library has been preserved in Munich.<sup>178</sup> Ianus Pannonius translated Plotinos' Enneades in Matthias court<sup>179</sup> and he certainly finished at least the translation of the first book quoted

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<sup>172</sup> Quotations in English in this chapter are from the translation the Trattato della pittura by Martin Kemp (ed.): Leonardo on Painting, New Haven and London 1989, pages 24-26.

<sup>173</sup> Plato: Timaios 47, in the translation of R. G. Bury, London 1961, page 108.

<sup>174</sup> Enneades I. 6(1), lásd Plotinos, A. H. Armstrong kiadásában, Volume I., London 1966, page 232.

<sup>175</sup> Galeottus Martius Narniensis: De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Matthiae ad ducem Johannem eius filium liber. in the edition of Ladislaus Juhász, Peipzig 1934, pages 22-23

<sup>176</sup> Nagy Iván, br Nyáry Albert: Magyar diplomáciai emlékek, Volume III., Budapest 1877, page 44.

<sup>177</sup> József Huszti: Tendenze Platonizzanti alla corte di Mattia Corvino. Giornale critico della Filosofia Italiana, XI., (1930) pages 1-37 and 135-236.

<sup>178</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Graec 449.

<sup>179</sup> József Huszti: Tendenze Platonizzanti alla corte de Mattia Corvino. Giornale critico della Filosofia Italiana, Volume XI., 1930, pages 35-36.

here, when he died in 1472. The Timaios in Latin translation by Marsilio Ficino, and thought to be printed around 1484-85,<sup>180</sup> was also recorded in Matthias' Corvinian Library, just as Marsilius Ficinus' Enneades translation.<sup>181</sup> It was explained in our chapter on Janus Pannonius, that King Matthias contemporary statue in Bautzen represents precisely the Politeia's ruler in contemplation of the Platonic ideas, and in this the portrait in Bautzen reflected the King's effigy in the royal court of Buda, where Matthias represented similarly „cogitabundus”.<sup>182</sup>

The fact that this description of Leonardo reflects King Matthias court so astonishingly well, and that according to his story the painter gave the beloved lady's portrait to the King, is hardly by chance, because the Virgin's fair hair and features in Leonardo's *Annunciation in the Uffizi*<sup>183</sup> matches Queen Beatrix's features on the Didymus corvina now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York,<sup>184</sup> and on the Breviarium corvina in the Vatican Library,<sup>185</sup> as well as her description by Bonfini, according to whom Beatrix had “spacious forehead, high eyebrows, embossed brows, ...proportionate nose, shapely nose.”<sup>186</sup> Meanwhile the features of Beatrix of Aragon could appear on the Annunciation in the Uffizi only, if it was the young Leonardo, who was sent from Verocchio's workshop working already for the royal court of Buda to Naples, to paint the prospective brides. Namely Matthias had to choose between the sisters, Eleonora and Beatrix of Aragon. The King chose the beautiful Beatrix, as he could not know, that only Eleonora could have secured the survival of his dynasty.

The contract signed on the 25<sup>th</sup> April 1485 for chapel of the Immaculate Conception in the Church of San Francesco in Milan prescribed, that the altarpiece has to show Our Lady with her son and two angels as well as two prophets.<sup>187</sup> By contrast *the Madonna of the Rocks in the Louvre* shows only one angel, and the two prophets are completely missing. Moreover and in sharp contrast with the prescriptions of the contract we find the child Saint John the Baptist on the composition. Therefore the Madonna of the Rocks in Paris<sup>188</sup> cannot be painted originally for the Immaculate Conception's altar in question.

On the other hand the Duke of Milan Ludovico il Moro has written the following to Maffeo da Treviglio, to his ambassador in Buda in his letter dated 13<sup>th</sup> April 1483: „as we were informed, that His Majesty” (King Matthias) „enjoys the beautiful paintings very much, especially if they have a certain religious inspiration, and finding a best painter, and seeing his

Ritoók Zsigmond: Janus Pannonius görög versfordításai in: Kardos Tibor, V. Kovács Tibor: Janus Pannonius tanulmányok, Budapest 1975, page 407.

<sup>180</sup> Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, pages 318-319, no 506.

<sup>181</sup> Csapodi, op. cit., page 324, no 519-520, and page 332, no 543.

<sup>182</sup> Antonii Bonfinii Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades. Decas IV, Liber VII, n° 96.

Edited in: “Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum” by I. Főgel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász.

Tomus IV. Budapest 1941, page 136.

<sup>183</sup> Uffizi inventory number 1618.

<sup>184</sup> Morgan MS 496, folio 2<sup>recto</sup>. See Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 195.

<sup>185</sup> Cod. Urb. Lat. 112 folio 6<sup>recto</sup>. Lásd Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 239..

<sup>186</sup> Antonii Bonfinii Asculani Rerum Hungaricarum Decades. Decas IV, Liber IV, n° 58.

Edited in: “Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum” by I. Főgel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász.

Tomus IV. Budapest 1941, page 69.

<sup>187</sup> la tavola centrale, centinata doveva contenere la Madonna col Bambino contornata da un gruppo di angeli e da due profeti (probabilmente Isaia e David)

Angela Ottinodella Chiesa (introduced by Mario Pomilio): L'opera completa di Leonardo pittore, Milan 1967,

1978, page 96, third column, n° 15.

<sup>188</sup> Louvre, inventory number 777.

works we do not know any of his rival, we have ordered to him to paint such a beautiful, excellent and devout picture of Our Lady as he can, not sparing the expenses. Presently he is working on this, and he is not making any other work until this is finished. After that we shall order to give this to His Majesty mentioned earlier.”<sup>189</sup>

It is obvious that the best painter, who could not be matched by anyone, could not be anybody else, but Leonardo staying at the court of Milan, who remained matchless ever since, and it is also obvious, that the representation of the Virgin in question could be only the Madonna of the Rocks in Paris, which was painted by Leonardo precisely in the years 1483-1486, when he did not paint anything else according to Ludovico il Moro, but such a beautiful, excellent and devout picture of Our Lady, as the Madonna of the Rocks in Paris, as not even Leonardo himself have painted such a beautiful, excellent and devout picture another time.

It is well known that Leonardo struggled with his masterpieces for years, and concentrating on them he left other works undone: he has not finished the Battle of Anghiari in three years between 1504-1506, he painted the Last Supper for two years in Milan in 1495-1497. This in itself shows, that the Madonna of the Rocks painted in the years 1483-85 he could have painted for the court of Buda as according to Ludovico il Moro he in those years did not paint anything else. This destination appears also from the head of the angel on the painting, which corresponds to the features of Queen Beatrix’s niece, Isabella d’Este on Titian’s portrait based on Francesco Francia’s painting, if we take into consideration that Isabella was only 9-11 years old in 1483-85, therefore much younger, than on Titian’s representation. According to the letter of Cesar Valentini the Ambassador of Ferrara dated on the 30<sup>th</sup> October 1486 Isabella stayed at the Hungarian court of her aunt.<sup>190</sup> Meanwhile the face of the young Saint John the Baptist is unmistakably identical with the profile Isabella’s brother Alfonso, the crown prince of Ferrara on his medallion made in 1477 in the British Museum.<sup>191</sup> The features of the Virgin however remind the face of Eleonora de Aragonia, Beatrix’s sister (and the mother of Isabella and Alfonso) for example on the miniature of folio 30<sup>recto</sup> in the Matthias Gradual.<sup>192</sup>

In this connection it is quite significant and confirms our conclusion, that Queen Beatrix sent a letter to the fathers of the children Hercules d’Este Duke of Ferrara from Pozsony on the 4<sup>th</sup> August 1486, saying, that the Ambassador of Ferrara will write about this more completely, but we write only because your sons, who were painted after life are very pleasing, and they pleased His Majesty my Lord, the King, who can not be satisfied by their view saying, that... His Highness Hippolito is much more beautiful, than the first born, His Highness Don Alfonso....”<sup>193</sup> It follows from this, that the Little Jesus on the Madonna of the Rocks was impersonated by the infant Hippolito d’Este. Meanwhile the same letter of Beatrix proves that as well, that the Duke of Milan sent the first version of the Madonna of the Rocks to the Hungarian court, because otherwise there was no reason to paint and dispatch the portraits of little children abroad, whose appearance changes rapidly from year to year as they grow. The fact recorded by Cesar Valentini, Ambassador of Ferrara, namely that King Matthias kissed the small Ippolito d’Este on the picture before his entire court, and made all the lords present at the court do the same, is explained by the composition of the Madonna of

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<sup>189</sup> Nagy Iván, br Nyáry Albert: Magyar diplomáciai emlékek, Volume III., Budapest 1877, page 44.

<sup>190</sup> Nagy Iván, br Nyáry Albert: Magyar diplomáciai emlékek, Volume III., Budapest 1877, page 201.

<sup>191</sup> George Francis Hill: A Corpus of Italian Medals, London 1930, Table 24, medallion numbered 118.

<sup>192</sup> National Széchenyi Library OSZK Clmae. 414, folio 30<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>193</sup> Nagy Iván, br Nyáry Albert: Magyar diplomáciai emlékek, Volume III., Budapest 1877, page 155.

the Rocks, in which the small Hippolyto d'Este personifies the Little Jesus, and that is the reason, why his picture was kissed by the court. In this way this message of Cesar Valenti too confirms, that the first version of Madonna of the Rocks was sent to the court of Hungary. This also explains, why were made two versions of the altarpiece of the Chapel of the Immaculate Conception in the Church of San Francesco in Milan, which was not explained satisfactorily before, because the first version had to be sent to the King of Hungary on the order of the Duke of Milan and an other altarpiece was needed in his place in the chapel of immaculate Conception of the Church of San Francesco Grande in Milan

In the British royal collection of Windsor *Leonardo's famous and enigmatic drawing is preserved with the number 12496*. Its enigma has not been deciphered sofar. This drawing however shows a globe displaying clearly the Adriatic sea and the Balkans, and from these it is clear, that the eagle in the focus of the picture stands justly at Litvania on this globe. It must be obvious from this, that this crowned white eagle is the eagle of the Jagellons. The ship on this drawing is steered exactly towards the just mentioned Jagellonian eagle by a wolf. It is well known however, that the ancient coat-of arms of the Hungarian nabobs de Szapolya was precisely the wolf and therefore the picture's composition shows, that Hungary's ship was steered to Jagellonian waters by the Palatine Stephen de Szapolya as a result of the Wladislav II<sup>nd</sup>'s election in 1490. This makes it obvious therefore, that even in 1490 Leonardo followed Hungary's destiny with attention, when Leonardo's old acquaintance Queen Beatrix, was seemingly married by Wladislav II<sup>nd</sup>. Wladislav however wanted only to obtain the castles controlled by the Queen through a simulated marriage ceremony, and he succeeded to annul it eventually, but through a lawsuit lasting ten years until 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1501.

The Madonna of the Rocks might have been brought into the French court, when Wladislav obtained new bride from King Louis XII<sup>th</sup> in 1502, as it could not have pleased Wladislav to pray before an altarpiece, which must have reminded him of his marriage swindle. The Madonna of the Rocks however can not be documented in the French royal collections before 1625, and it is possible, that Queen Mary of Hungary brought it with her, when she escaped from Buda in 1526, and it fallen into King Henry II<sup>nd</sup>'s hands, when the French spoilt Queen Mary's castles in the Low Countries in 1554.

Queen Beatrix of Hungary died on 12<sup>th</sup> September 1508 in Castel Capuano in Naples. It is surprising however, that on Leonardo's painting *Virgin and Child and Saint Anne in the Louvre*<sup>194</sup> Saint Anne's features are astonishingly similar and in fact correspond to the portrait statue of Beatrix de Aragon by Laurana now in Princeton. According to art historians this painting showing Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child was painted by Leonardo around 1510-1511, which implies that Isabella d'Este wanted to commemorate her beloved aunt in this form, because the profile of Virgin sitting on the lap of Saint Anne is identical with Isabella d'Este's profile on Giancristoforo Romano's medallion in the Victoria & Albert Museum.<sup>195</sup>

It ought to be pointed out, that Laurana's *Diva Beatrix Aragonia* in Princeton mirrors perfectly that certain divine serenity of the countenance and cheerfulness „divina quaedam serenitas vultus et hilaritas” by which Bonfini characterised Queen Beatrix in his Syposion,<sup>196</sup> and in this serenity and cheerfulness originates the Leonardesque smile, which was born on Beatrix's lips.

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<sup>194</sup> Inventory number 776.

<sup>195</sup> Inventory number 232-1910.

<sup>196</sup> Antonius de Boinfinis: Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coniugali, Bale 1572, page 3.

## Chapter V. *Ippolito d'Este, the Primate of Hungary and the Renaissance*

We know from Vasari's account, that Verocchio made a relief of Alexander the Great and of Darius for King Matthias Corvinus.<sup>197</sup> This relief of Darius is known from a drawing of Leonardonow in tn the British Museum.<sup>198</sup> The head of Verocchio's David in Florence<sup>199</sup> is unmistakably shows Ippolito d'Este's profile and his structure of head, demonstrated by the paintings of Mantegna and of Giovanni Bellini.

Mantegna painted the Parnassus for the studiolo of Isabella d'Este in 1497. On this Isabella appears as a singing Muse, and Ippolito d'Este the Primate of Hungary as Mercury wearing the Cardinals red hat decorated by the wings of Mercury just as he descended from his Pegasus.<sup>200</sup> On the Feast of Gods by Giovanni Bellini Ippolito d'Este was painted again as Mercury in 1514 in Ferrara in the picture ordered by Ippolito's elder brother Alfonso d'Este.<sup>201</sup>

Ippolito d'Este was celebrated by Baladassare Castiglione in his work *Il Cortegiano* as a person, who was born with all the excellences of the body as well as of the soul as a favour of nature and of the stars.<sup>202</sup> Ippolito d'Este represented quite a few times on the superb miniatures<sup>203</sup> of King Matthias Corvinus famous library, the Corvina. It was in the court of Ippolito d'Este, that Ariosto wrote his masterwork, the *Orlando furioso*, which celebrates the Grand Matthias Corvinus.<sup>204</sup> This epos written in the court of Ippolito d'Este became the inspiration of many splendid paintings of the European art for centuries.<sup>205</sup>

Ippolito d'Este was brought up and trained by King Matthias Corvinus to be a successful military commander, who defeated even the Venetian navy.<sup>206</sup> If he remained the Primate of Hungary, he would have led personally the crusade of 1514 against the Turks, and in that case it had not degenerated into peasants rebellion. After the death of King Wladislav

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<sup>197</sup> Giorgio Vasari: *The Lives of the Artists*, Penguin 1965, 1975, pages 233-234

<sup>198</sup> Balogh, Jolán: *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* Budapest 1966 Volume Ii picture 410, 414, Volume I, pages 513-516

Leonardo's drawing is 2857cm x 20.7 cm, cf. A. E. Popham: *Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci*, London 1946, 1952, pages 121, picture 129

<sup>199</sup> Bargello, Florence. See G. Passavant: *Verocchio* London 1969, pictures 20, 21.

<sup>200</sup> Paris, the Louvre, Niny Caravaglia, introduced by Andrew Martindale: *The Complete Paintings of Mantegna*, London 1971, page 117 and picture 91.

<sup>201</sup> Washington, The National Gallery no 597. See Terizio Pignatti, introduced by Renato Ghiotto: *L'opra completa di Giovanni Bellini* Milan 1969, Tav LXIV, page 109, no 207. John Walker. *The National Gallery* Washington, London 1964, page 145

<sup>202</sup> Baldesare Castiglione. *Il libro del Cortegiano* a cura di Bruno Maier, Torino 1964, pages 104-105

<sup>203</sup> Modena, Biblioteca Estense Cod. Lat. 432 (Thomas Aquinas corvina) folio 6<sup>recto</sup>

Bruxelles Bibliothèque Royale Ms 9008 (Missale Romanum), folio 8<sup>verso</sup>

Budapest National Széchenyi Library, OSZK Clmae 424, (Mathias Graduale), folio 50<sup>recto</sup>

Venice, Biblioteca nazionale di San Marco, MS 4034, (Martianus Capella corvina), folio 1<sup>verso</sup>

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Lat 653, (Augustinus corvina), folio 1<sup>recto</sup>

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod 43, Aug 2<sup>o</sup> (Fontius corvina), folio 1<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>204</sup> Ariosto: *Orlando furioso*, song XLVI. stanzas 86-88

(a cura di Emilio Bigi, Milan 1982, volume II., pages 1927-1928)

<sup>205</sup> for exaple :

Jacques Blanchard : *Angelica and Medoro* from around 1630, now in New York, Metripolitan Museum of Art;

Ingres : *Ruggero rescues Angelica* from 1819, National Gallery, London

cf.: A. Pigler: *Barockthemen* ....2. enlarged edition, Volume II, Budapest 1974, pages 463-464 registering 60 paintings of *Angelica and Medoro* from the XVII<sup>th</sup> and XVIII<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>206</sup> Conte Pompeo Litta : *Celebri famiglie Italiani*, Milan 1819-1899, Fasciculus XXVI, Tavola XII.

Luigi Simeoni in: *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Volume XIV, Rome 1932, page 397.

II in 1516 Ippolito d'Este as the Bishop of Eger again participated in the Hungarian diet<sup>207</sup> and on his last trip he visited Hungary's border castles and fortresses, especially Belgrade, to prepare them against the expected Turkish attacks<sup>208</sup>. Ippolito d'Este died in Ferrara in 1520<sup>209</sup> and in 1521 Belgrade was occupied by the Turks.

## Chapter VI. *Albrecht Dürer de Ajtós and the Hungarian Royal Court.*

### a) *Castle yards*

Dürer's watercolour titled „*Castle yard with clouds*” has been preserved in the Albertina.<sup>210</sup> Concerning this picture it has been explained by Walter Koschatzky, „The result of complicated attempts at reconstruction and of all the efforts to settle the question of buildings portrayed was that no very convincing proof emerged....”<sup>211</sup>

On the left side of this picture we find a defence corridor running on the top of the ramparts, covered by rose coloured tiled roof in sections intercepted by projections covered with blue coloured roof, exactly as the defence corridor built by King-Emperor Sigismund on the ramparts of Buda castle is coloured on the woodcut of Buda castle in Schedel's *Weltchronik* kept in Munich, which used to be Hartmann Schedl's own copy.<sup>212</sup>

On this „*Castle yard with clouds*” in front of us in the middle we find a corridor connecting the defence corridor on our left with the castle buildings on our right. Behind this connecting corridor a bulky building rises but only to moderate height. This bulky building stands in the continuation of the other castle buildings on our right, but also jumps ahead towards the defence corridor on our left. These peculiarities match completely the representation of King Sigismund's „*Unfinished Tower(=Csonkatorony)*” at his western defence corridor in Buda castle as shown on Wening's the copperplate based on Hallart very precise drawing made in 1684-86.<sup>213</sup> Around the top of this bulky building in question Dürer represented small side-towerlets just as Wilhelm Dillich's copperplates from 1600,<sup>214</sup> and as it is shown on the other view, which was reprinted in Zolnay's book.<sup>215</sup>

It follows from these observations, that the buildings on the right side of the watercolour in question constituted the Western wings of the royal palaces in Buda, concerning to which Bonfini wrote „on the western side aged buildings still not restored”: *ad occasum vetustum opus nondum restauratum*<sup>216</sup>, precisely as shown by Dürer's picture. The identification of the „*Castle yard with clouds*” with Buda castle is confirmed by the metal

<sup>207</sup> Caelii Calcagnini in funere Hippolyti Cardinalis Estensis oratio. Orationes funebres in morte Pontificum, imperatorum Regum, Principum... Hanoviae 10613, pages 264-265

<sup>208</sup> ibidem

<sup>209</sup> Conte Pompeo Litta : *Celebri famiglie Italiani*, Milan 1819-1899, Fasciculus XXVI, Tavola XII.

<sup>210</sup> Albertina, Inventory number 3058

<sup>211</sup> Walter Koschatzky: *Albrecht Dürer The Landscape Watercolours*, London 1973, N<sup>o</sup>. 6

<sup>212</sup> Munich, Cim 187, folio 138<sup>verso</sup>-139<sup>recto</sup>. cf.: Adrian Wilson: *The making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*, Amsterdam 1976 page 206.

<sup>213</sup> Balogh Jolán: *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*, volume II., Budapest 1966, picture 26.

<sup>214</sup> Balogh, op. cit., volume II., page 24, pictures 19 and 20.

<sup>215</sup> Zolnay László: *Az elátkozott Buda.*, Buda aranykora, Budapest 1982, page 349.

<sup>216</sup> Antonii Bonfinii Asculani *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*. Decas IV, Liber VII, n<sup>o</sup> 95.

Edited in: „*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum*” by I. Főgel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász. Tomus IV. Budapest 1941, page 136.

globes decorating the pinnacles on the roofs, which was still recorded in Buda castle by Evlia Chelebi in 1663,<sup>217</sup> although according to Hieronymo de Zara many of them were plundered by Suleyman the Magnificent in 1526.<sup>218</sup>

Panofsky dated Dürer's „Castleyard with clouds” to 1490.<sup>219</sup> This corresponds to the fact that in place of the aged buildings on the right of the picture in question Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup> built a renaissance building, as this could be the building, where a red marble lintel was found with the inscription „Vladislai hoc magnificum opus M.V.II” (sic) by Salomon Schweiger in 1577,<sup>220</sup> and by Reinhold Lubenau in 1587<sup>221</sup> as well as a room painted with the sky at the time of the Hungarian coronation of Wladislaw.<sup>222</sup> These renaissance buildings of Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup> appear on the western wing of Buda castle in Michael Wening's copperplate based on de Hallart drawing from 1686<sup>223</sup> in the place of the aged buildings painted by Dürer in 1490.

The Albertina in Vienna has an other watercolour by Dürer titled „*Castle yard without clouds*”.<sup>224</sup> On the left side of this „Castle yard without clouds” obviously the same type aged building covered by pink coloured tiles and with the same type of staircases covered by the same type pinnacled blue roof with metal globes on the pinnacles as seen on the right side of „Castle yard with clouds.” These staircases and the buildings are so similar, that they must belong to the same castle, but the windows of the buildings and openings on the roofs show that they are not really picturing the same courtyard. The most likely site of the „Castle yard without clouds” is the Eastern wing of Buda castle with the Western end of the Chapel of Saint John the Almsgiver on our right and the observatory tower in front of us in the middle.

These two pictures by Dürer were dated to 1490 by Panovsky,<sup>225</sup> and according to Koschatzky they show, that Dürer “ had not yet completely mastered perspective...”<sup>226</sup> All these observations must mean, that at the beginning of his wandering years Albrecht Dürer de Aytós visited Hungary. It was obvious that Dürer's father migrating from Hungary to Nürnberg has sent his son to home because in 1490 the most advanced renaissance court north of the Alpes was the court of Hungary. Moreover the family Dürer remained in mutual contacts with their relations staying still in Gyula, and they were also in close contact with the Hallers von Hallerstein, who maintained good relations with King Matthias, who knighted Ruprecht Haller and took into his protection Wilhelm Haller of Nürnberg. Meanwhile the young Albrecht Dürer painted a Madonna for the Haller family, just as a views of Kalchreuth, the family estate of the Hallers and twice the Hallers' meadow in Nürnberg.

During his wandering years Dürer „peragrata Germania”,<sup>227</sup> but when he started the Hungarian court still stayed at Vienna, that is to say just inside „Germany”. His journey before 1492 has remained unknown before now, but his watercolour of Prunn near Regensburg show, that he started towards Hungary, and probably implies, that he travelled by

<sup>217</sup> Evlia Cselebi magyarországi utazásai. Kiadta Karácson Imre. Volume I., (Török-magyar kori emlékek, II. osztály, Volume III.), Budapest 1904, page 241.

<sup>218</sup> Óváry L(ipót): A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történeti Bizottságának oklevélmásolatai. II. Budapest 1894, page 6, document 10.

<sup>219</sup> Koschatzky, op. cit. no 5.

<sup>220</sup> und aber über einer Thür: Vladislai hoc magnificum opus Anno MVII (sic) (Salamon Schweigger: Ein neue ReissBeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem, Nörnberg 1639, page 22.ö

<sup>221</sup> Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau, herausgegeben von W. Sahn, Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr. 1914, page 85.

<sup>222</sup> Schweigger, op. cit., pages 21-22.

<sup>223</sup> Balogh Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, volume II., Budapest 1966, picture 28.

<sup>224</sup> Albertina, Inventory number 3057.

<sup>225</sup> Koschatzky No. 5.

<sup>226</sup> Koschatzky No. 6.

<sup>227</sup> Angela Ottino Della Chiesa introduced by Giorgio Zampa: L'opera completa di Dürer, Milan 1968, page 83 fifth column .

ship towards Hungary, possibly on a ship also used by the Hallers. On 11<sup>th</sup> April 1490, when Albrecht Dürer started his journey, they could have known in Nürnberg, that King Matthias already died on the 6<sup>th</sup> April 1490.

### ***b) Duke Johannes Corvinus, Duke of Lipto and Oppeln***

Namely the fact, that from the face of ***Duke Johannes Corvinus*** deep sorrow emanates on his portrait now in Munich<sup>228</sup> although he is painted as a bridegroom wearing his bridal wreath, could show only that his picture was made after his father's death, because otherwise it can not be understood, why is he so sorrowful, when his father lavished on him with everything while he was alive, and no bridegroom used to be sad. This sorrow accompanied with the facts, that Albrecht Dürer de Aytos has painted the royal castle of Buda in 1490, when still controlled by Duke Johannes Corvinus, and that the main seat of the estates of Duke Johannes Corvinus was precisely Gyula, from where the Dürers de Aytós emigrated into Nürnberg, but where they close relations still lived in 1490 inevitably shows, that the portrait of the Prince in Munich was painted by Albrecht Dürer. This is revealed by the setting of the head within picture's space, typical of Dürer, as well as by the dark background like on his father's portrait also painted in 1490, and most of all Johannes Corvinus electrically charged huge „mane”, just like the hair of Albrecht Dürer himself on his self-portrait dated in 1498.<sup>229</sup> Italian painters have never painted such electrically charged tresses. Dürer's brush also betrayed by Johannes Corvinus' gentle eyes whose expression and sorrow shows, that only one of the largest painters could have painted them, as Dürer could express the represented persons characters just through the power of his eyes. Concerning this point it is enough to compare the glance of Johannes Corvinus with the look of Friedrich the Wise in Berlin-Dahlem<sup>230</sup> or with the Gentleman's countenance in the Prado in Madrid.<sup>231</sup>

The carefully represented goldsmith objects, the crown, the cross and the pendant with the raven also betrays, that the portrait was painted by Dürer trained as a goldsmith, just as the crowns of Charlemagne<sup>232</sup> and of Emperor Sigismund<sup>233</sup> painted later around 1512-13, and now in Nuremberg. These carefully represented goldsmith objects on Duke Johannes Corvinus' portrait were obviously brought by Dürer from their goldsmith workshop at home, and that is the reason that they got so much emphasised on the painting.

In this connection a digression has to be made concerning the so-called ***Matthias Calvary***, which was in the possession of just Duke Johannes Corvinus exactly in 1490. The lower renaissance part of this Calvary was thought to be the work of North Italian artist by Jolán Balogh, and the masterpiece of Antonio Palaiuolo by Dr. Zoltán Nagy. The lower renaissance vase-like stand however appears as typical decorations in the corvinian manuscripts volumes of Regiomontanus<sup>234</sup> and Philostratus<sup>235</sup> both decorated in the royal castle in Buda and there are even dolphins on the stand represented in the Regiomontanus

<sup>228</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inventory number 12441.

<sup>229</sup> Madrid Prado inventory number 2179

<sup>230</sup> Berlin-Dahlem, inventory number 557C.

<sup>231</sup> Madrid Prado inventory number 2180.

<sup>232</sup> Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inventory number 78. Lime wood, 188 cm x 87,6 cm.

<sup>233</sup> Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inventory number 79. Lime wood, 187.7 cm x 85.5 cm.

<sup>234</sup> Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 44, folio 1<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>235</sup> National Széchenyi Library OSZK Clmae. 417, folio 1<sup>verso</sup>.

manuscript. The form of the shields of coats-of-arms held by the sphinxes at the bottom of this stand is very similar to the similarly enamelled shields on the Augustinus corvina, now in the National Széchenyi Library.<sup>236</sup> Moreover the representation of the planets on this stand is just like the constellations on the celestial globe of Martin Bylica de Olkusz made in Buda in 1480. Especially the idea to dress Jupiter into Gothic armour<sup>237</sup> on the Matthias Calvary is a peculiarity, which returns for example in the armour-clad Heracles (Hercules)<sup>238</sup> among the constellations in Bylica's celestial globe. The dressing of antique personalities into late gothic armour seems to have been the peculiarity of the court in Buda, because the Italians would leave them in Olympic dresslessness.

It has to be pointed out however, that the three persons on the top of the so called Gothic part of the Calvary was made by a very great artist, who succeeded to display his enormous talent in these Calvary figures. It is a fact, that among them the figure of Saint John the evangelist mirrors Dürer's woodcut representing Saint Francis of Assisi,<sup>239</sup> while the head of the Saviour reflects the Entombment from the series of the Great Passion,<sup>240</sup> while Virgin's figure is almost identical with her portrayal on Dürer's woodcuts in the Missal of Eichstätt<sup>241</sup> and in his Presentation<sup>242</sup>. In this context it has to be remembered, that Albrecht Dürer de Aytos the Elder himself, the goldsmith, keeps in his hand just such a small statue as the figures of the Matthias Calvary, as the sign of his own craft on his self-portrait from 1486 in the Albertina.<sup>243</sup>

Duke Johannes Corvinus' portrait as a bridegroom in Munich incidentally reveals, that he is the young *member of the dynasty de Hunyad on the relief portrait preserved* in Milan having a date of 1471 carved on its back,<sup>244</sup> which remained from the previous use of the marble, and showing that it could not show the young Matthias Corvinus. As a matter of fact the nose in the profile of this relief also excludes the possibility, that it could have represented King Matthias when young, but the relief profile matches exactly that of Johannes Corvinus. His identity also explains, why has remained this relief of the young Duke of Oppeln and Liptó in Milan, because he engaged Bianca Maria Sforza, the sister of Ludovico il Moro on the 25<sup>th</sup> November 1487,<sup>245</sup> and his likeness must have been sent to Milan on that occasion.

### c) Terence

Dürer's 131 woodcuts illustrating Terence's comedies were known only from XIX<sup>th</sup> Century impressions until the new edition appeared in 1926 from the blocks preserved in Bale.<sup>246</sup> Some of the players on these woodcuts, for example Aeschinus in the Adelphoi<sup>247</sup> are dressed as Ippolito d'Este in the corvina Missal now in Brussels,<sup>248</sup> or Duke Saint Emery

<sup>236</sup> OSZK Cod. Lat. 121. See Balogh, Jolán: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Volume II., page 404, picture 570.

<sup>237</sup> Cséfalvay Pál: Az Esztergomi Bazilika, Kincstár és Vármúzeum, Budapest 1992, page 33.

<sup>238</sup> Zofia Ameisenowa: The Globe of Martin Bylica of Olkusz, Wrocklaw etc., 1959, Figure 10 after page 60.

<sup>239</sup> Dr Willy Kurth: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, New York 1963, picture 195 from 1502.

<sup>240</sup> Kurth, op. cit., picture 127 from the years 1497-1500.

<sup>241</sup> Kurth, op.cit., picture 302 from 1516.

<sup>242</sup> Kurth, op.cit., picture 186 from 1502.

<sup>243</sup> Marcel Brion: Dürer, London 1960, 1964, page 23.

<sup>244</sup> Jávör Anna et alii, (ed.): Történelem-Kép, Budapest 200, page 41, picture 7..

<sup>245</sup> Jolán Balogh: A művészet Mátyás király udvarában, Volume I., Budapest 1966, page 527.

<sup>246</sup> See: Erich Römer: Dürers Ledige Wanderjahre. Jahrbuch der Preusseischen Kunstsammlungen 1926.

<sup>247</sup> See Römer, op.cit., Tafel 28 after page 119.

<sup>248</sup> Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms 9008 folio 8<sup>verso</sup>.

in John de Thwrcz's Augsburg edition of 1488.<sup>249</sup> Others, like Pamphilus in the Maid of Andros, wear slashed sleeves,<sup>250</sup> like the figures on Giorgione's Bravo (Claudius Luscius attacks Celius Plotinus).<sup>251</sup> There are however some, who have Hungarian clothing. Suno in the Maid of Andros has braiding on his dress<sup>252</sup> like Nicholas de Gara de genere Dorozsma on folio 76 of the Matthias Gradual. Syrus' round cap with feather and his entire dress<sup>253</sup> in Heauton timoroumenos is identical with Cardinal Ippolito Medici's Hungarian attire on Titian's portrait in the Palazzo Pitti.<sup>254</sup> Phaedria wears egret feather in an aigrette,<sup>255</sup> just as the Hungarian lords wear egret feathers already in scenes showing Saint Ladislas' (László's) coronation<sup>256</sup> and death<sup>257</sup> in his story in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary painted around 1328-1333.<sup>258</sup>

Even more significant is, that according to Dürer's woodcuts Antipho in Phormio<sup>259</sup> was played by Ippolito d'Este, Primate of Hungary as shown by his miniature in the Thomas Aquinas corvina.<sup>260</sup> Queen Beatrix acted Bacchis in the comedy Hecyra (Mother-in-Law)<sup>261</sup> as she is identified repeatedly by Laurana's portrait of Beatrix of Aragon in the woodcuts, where Thais in the comedy Eunuchus<sup>262</sup> was similarly played by Queen Beatrix, as it is obvious from her mask kept in Chambery.

All these observations must mean that in the years 1490-1492 the young Albrecht Dürer de Aytós could obtain his inspiration for his Terence woodcuts only at the Esztergom court of Queen Beatrix and Ippolito d'Este, because it is unlikely, that anywhere else they would have played Terence's comedies in Hungary in those years. King Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup> is better known about the dissipating the manuscript from the Corvina library rather than being interested in classical literature. On the other hand Bonfini has recorded, that Queen Beatrix enjoyed herself exceedingly in actors and performers: *adiecti quoque histriones et mimi, quibus regina nimium indulisit.*<sup>263</sup> According to a letter written to Albert de Sankfalva by "Udis" King Matthias tolerated the spending on players, performers and musicians to such extents, that the money spent on them exceeded the Queen's dowry more than ten times: *tantum in histriones, mimos et cytharedoes ...nummorum profusionem toleravit, ut hos sumptus et allatam dotem id ex decuplo superavit.*<sup>264</sup> Queen Beatrix therefore was „exceedingly” interested in the theatre, and she could speak Latin already from her childhood. Dubravius praised the elegance of her Latin.<sup>265</sup> She in fact replied easily just in

<sup>249</sup> Johannes de Twrcz: *Chronica Hungarorum Ausburg 1488*, folio 35<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>250</sup> Römer, *op.cit.*, Tafel 4. after page 136.

<sup>251</sup> Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventory number 64.

<sup>252</sup> Römer, *op. cit* Tafel 5.

<sup>253</sup> Römer, *op. cit.*, Tafel 18.

<sup>254</sup> Florence, Palazzo Pitti, inventory number 201.

<sup>255</sup> Römer *op. cit.*, Tafel 10.

<sup>256</sup> Vat. lat. 8541, folio 80<sup>recto</sup> II<sup>nd</sup> scene.

<sup>257</sup> Vat. lat. 8541, folio 84<sup>recto</sup> XVIII<sup>th</sup> scene.

<sup>258</sup> Levárdi Ferenc: *Magyar-Anjou Legendarium*, Budapest 1973, pages 41-43.

<sup>259</sup> Römer, *op. cit.*, Tafel 32.

<sup>260</sup> Thomas Aquinas' Commentary in the first book of *Liber sententiarum* by Petrus Lombardus. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. Lat. 432, folio 6<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>261</sup> Römer, *op. cit.*, Tafel 39.

<sup>262</sup> Römer, *op. cit.*, Tafel 10.

<sup>263</sup> Antonii Bonfinii Asculani *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*. Decas IV, Liber VII, n<sup>o</sup> 86.

Edited in: "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum" by I. Fögel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász.

Tomus IV. Budapest 1941, page 135.

<sup>264</sup> Abel, E(u)genius, Hegedűs St(e)phanus): *Analecta nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*, Budapest 1903, page 457.

<sup>265</sup> Iohanni Dubravii....*Historia Boiematica*, 1602, page 256.

Latin, in Hungarian and in German.<sup>266</sup> As a matter of fact the Matthias Gradual shows, that Queen Beatrix acted in plays already in the court of King Matthias.<sup>267</sup>

Meanwhile there was a copy of Terence's comedies not only in the Corvinian Library in Buda, but also in the Library of Primate John Vitéz in Esztergom.<sup>268</sup> Therefore Queen Beatrix living in her nephew's the castle of Esztergom could enjoy herself not only by reading in John Vitéz's Library, but also playing Terence's comedies as well according to the testimony of Albrecht Dürer.

#### *d) Hungary's reappearances in the carrier of Dürer de*

*Aytos.*

It has to be pointed out, that in Dürer's woodcut series titled "Ritter von Turn," published in Bale in 1493 on the XXIV<sup>th</sup> picture, showing „*King Jehu causes his wife to be beheaded on account of her infidelity,*” the profile of the crowned queen is identical with Beatrix profile on her relief now exhibited in the Royal Castle in Buda.<sup>269</sup> The identity of these two profiles is so clear that this in itself seem to show, that Dürer met Queen Beatrix. The subject of the woodcut however might indicate, that the young Albrecht Dürer born on 21<sup>st</sup> May 1471 in fact sympathised with his contemporary Duke Johannes Corvinus born on 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1473. Besides the Duke was the landlord of Gyula and had a German mother like him and both spoke German. On the other hand Beatrix completely undermined the Duke's claim to the throne against the last wishes of her consort, King Matthias, and against the expectations of her relation, the Duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza il Moro.

The middle aged king on Dürer's *Adoration of the Magi* painted in 1504 in Venice and now in the Uffizi,<sup>270</sup> the King seems to wear the Hungarian Order of the Dragon with dragons doubled<sup>271</sup> as shown chain of the Dragon Order worn by Stephan Bathory de Ecsed of the clan Gut-Keled országbíró (Chief Justice) on his tombstone in Nyirbátor from 1493,<sup>272</sup> on the baronial coat-of arms of the family Drágffy de Béltek from 1507,<sup>273</sup> on the coat of arms of the family Kanizsay de genere Osl.<sup>274</sup> On the baronial coat-of-arms of the Török de Enying<sup>275</sup> the dragon's head also look heraldically to the left, which is clearly recognisable on Dürer's Adoration just as the backbone of the curved dragon. A year after the Adoration in 1505, Dürer painted a portrait of *George Thurzó de Bethlenfalva*, the husband of Ann Fugger from Augsburg as it appears from the investigations in the following chapter.

<sup>266</sup> Iacobus Philippus Forestus Bergomensis: De claris selectisque mulieribus, Ferrara 1497 folio 3<sup>recto</sup>; Berzeviczy Albert: Beatrix királyné, Budapest 1908, pages 69, 86.

<sup>267</sup> National Széchenyi Library, OSZK Clmae. 424, folio 184<sup>recto</sup> shows her impersonating the people's changeability (mutatio populi) apparently in a mystery play, while folio 119<sup>verso</sup> shows her playing Mercy (Misericordia).

<sup>268</sup> Csaba Csapodi: The Corvinian Library, Budapest 1973, page 365, n°625, note.

<sup>269</sup> Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest), Inventory number 6712.

<sup>270</sup> Florence, Uffizi, inventory number 1434.

<sup>271</sup> Peter Strieder: Dürer: Complete Paintings, London etc. 1980, page 61.

<sup>272</sup> See: Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg'82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8<sup>th</sup> May-1<sup>st</sup> November 1982, page 583, Kat.Nr.654c

<sup>273</sup> See Géza Csergheő de Nagy-Tacsikánd: Der Adel von Ungarn sammt den Nebenländern der St. Stephans-Krone (J. Siebmacher's Allgemeine und universelle Wappenbuch, Band 4, Abteilung 15, Nürnberg 1893 (1885-1993), pages 143-144, Tafel 113.

<sup>274</sup> Nyulásziné Straub Éva: Öt évszázad címerei, Budapest 1987, Tábla XLIV.

<sup>275</sup> op. cit., XXXIV. Tábla.

At the Congress of Vienna in 1515 Albert Dürer made excellent portraits of the old *King Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup> and his children: King Louis II<sup>nd</sup> and Duchess Anne* on a woodcut.<sup>276</sup> The armour of Saint Florian on Dürer's woodcut „*Austrian Saints*” from 1515-1518<sup>277</sup> is practically identical with Saint Ladislas' armour on a woodcut of the *Hungarian Saints*,<sup>278</sup> and the noses of the figures represented on these two woodcuts are also quite close.

In contrast to Hans Burgkmair's woodcut showing Hungarian lords from 1516-18 Albrecht Dürer de Aytos represented first the Hungarian folkloric dress in his drawing „*Hungarian trophy*”<sup>279</sup> in 1518. Dürer also made drawing for *decoration of a Hungarian saddle* in 1515-1517,<sup>280</sup> while the firm of his uncle László Dürer de Aytos had to make Hungarian saddles in Gyula.<sup>281</sup>

## Chapter VII. *The Unicorn-hunt tapestries and Queen Anne de Kendal.*

The Medieval Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of New York is kept in the Cloisters, and among its masterpieces the „Unicorn-Hunt” tapestries might belong to its most splendid treasures. This 3,68 meters high series presently consist of seven pieces and from its total length 23,2 meters have remained to our times.

The heraldic signs on the series have not been successfully identified, and as a consequence the meaning of the monograms on the tapestries and the original destination of the series have not been identified so far.

On the castle of the *VI.<sup>th</sup> tapestry* however we find a red flag, and its charge is strikingly similar to the crownless and „impressionistic” looking Jagellonian eagle on the gold dollar (thaler) of King Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup> of Hungary issued in 1506.<sup>282</sup> It is true; that this eagle is presently black on the tapestry, but black is the Jagellonean eagle on the representation of Wladislaw's brother's coronation in Erasmus Ciotek's Pontifical.<sup>283</sup> These originally silver eagles seem to have oxidised in the course of centuries as for example the silver unicorn on the shield of archbishop Nicholas Oláh has become black.<sup>284</sup> Namely Western heraldry does not allow the use of colours on colours: the application of black charge on a red field, though in Hungary the black raven of the dynasty de Hunyad appears on a blue field. This shows, that in the Hungarian heraldry the principle forbidding the use of colour on colour has not prevailed. Meanwhile we have to observe that on the same castle of *VI.<sup>th</sup> tapestry* in addition to the red flag with the black eagle two other pennants flutter, one indicating the red and white

<sup>276</sup> Dr Willy Kurth: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, New York 1963, picture 289.

<sup>277</sup> op. cit. picture 293.

<sup>278</sup> This was first published in the Burlington Magazine, XIV<sup>th</sup> volume, Oct. 1908-March 1909, page 303. The only known issue of this woodcut is now in the Hungarian National Museum, Történelmi Képcsarnok, inventory number 11207

<sup>279</sup> Vienna Albertina inventory number 3156, D 128.

<sup>280</sup> New York Pierpont Morgan Library See Charles W. Talbot (ed.): Dürer in America, Washington 1971, pages 80-81. (XXIV)

<sup>281</sup> „The second son, Laszló, became a bridle maker” Francis Russell: The World of Dürer 1471-1528, 1967, 1972, page 38.

„The second son László joined a harness-maker's establishment and stayed there for the rest of his life.” Marcel Brion: Dürer, London 1960, 1964, page 16.

Meanwhile the bridle-makers and the harness-makers belonged to the same craft as the saddlers.

<sup>282</sup> This gold dollar was struck in Körmöcbánya and its diameter is 44 mm. See Huszár, Lajos: The art of coinage in Hungary, Budapest 1963, picture 41.

<sup>283</sup> Edmund A. Bowles: Musikleben in 15. Jahrhundert (Musikgeschichte in Bildern. Band III., Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, published by Werner Bachmann), Leipzig 1977, page 23.

<sup>284</sup> Nyulásziné, Éva Straub: Öt évszázad címerei, Budapest 1987, page 74 (Table LVIII), and page 131.

bars of the Hungary,<sup>285</sup> the second pennant is red, the two showing the Hungarian and Bohemian kingdoms of Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup>.

The above reading of the heraldic designs showing that the castle on the tapestry belongs to Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup> of Hungary is made unquestionable by the profile of the central figure in the foreground of the rising perspective is identical with Wladislaw's profile in his own Prayer book in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.<sup>286</sup> Incidentally on the copperplates showing the royal resort of Visegrád by Zimmerman and by Dilich several similar arches next to each other appear on the bank of the Danube<sup>287</sup> like the series of arches at the entrance of the castle on the tapestry, which probably served as entrances to docks for the royal barges and men-of-war.

On the investigated VI<sup>th</sup> tapestry Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup> looks a very beautiful lady fixedly and with fascination, and their glances meet mutually. In fact out of the 24 heads woven masterfully into the fabric only this pair has been represented sharply in profile. It is obvious that this beautiful lady cannot be anybody else, but Anne de Foix-Kendal,<sup>288</sup> and this series of Unicorn-hunt tapestries were made for their marriage. This is shown by the fact that her monogram AE appears on most of the intact tapestries five times, as it is the abbreviation of her French name, Anne. In addition the E also refers to Evreux, used in Hungary as Anne's heraldic device for example on the coat-of-arms of Kassa issued on the 8<sup>th</sup> December 1502.<sup>289</sup> Moreover the letter E has been woven into the fabric reversed, which in this way could be considered even W indicating her bridegroom's initial. These two initials on each and every case in the tapestries are connected by a rope which symbolised marriage bond<sup>290</sup> and marital fidelity in the period, but in the case of Anne de Foix-Kendal must have referred to the Order of the Cordelier as well, the chivalric order of Anne de Bretagne,<sup>291</sup> whose lady-in-waiting used to be Anne de Foix-Kendal. Pierre Choque has also recorded, that sign of the Order of the Cordelier was displayed at the ceremonies of Anne's marriage at Székesfehérváron on the 29<sup>th</sup> September 1502,<sup>292</sup> and that at the marriage of Anne her monograms were fixed with golden ropes,<sup>293</sup> precisely as on all the tapestries in the series.

Anne de Foix-Kendal is identified also by the black crosses appearing in gold field displayed by flags on the III<sup>rd</sup> and VI<sup>th</sup> tapestries, as the black cross on gold field was the

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<sup>285</sup> The red and argent bars, (blazoned "Barry of eight, gules and argent, or sometimes Glue, four bars argent"), termed "Hungary-Ancient" in heraldry (John Woodward: A Treatise on Heraldry Volume II., Edinburgh 1892, pages (120) and (665)) in fact originally constituted the heraldic emblem of the Árpád dynasty. Strictly speaking the pennant on the VI<sup>th</sup> tapestry shows red and white perpendicular pallets because of the narrowness of the pennant, which would not allow the technique of tapestry to represent the horizontal bars discernibly.

<sup>286</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. liturg. d 6, folio 49<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>287</sup> See Dercsényi, Dezső (ed.): Magyarország műemléki topográfiája, Pest megye műemlékei, Volume II, page 403, picture 525; page 400 picture 523.

<sup>288</sup> Pierre Choque names the Earl of Kendal „conte de Candalle” in his French text. (Pierre Choque....:Discours des cérmonies du mariage d'Anne de Foix, ....Bibliothèque de l'École des chatres, year 21, volume II, page 431.)

In Hungarian Queen Anne de Foix has been always named Candalai Anna based on the French form of her name.

<sup>289</sup> Kassa, State Archive, AMK, Fasc. C-Insignia Nr.4.

See Dr Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg'82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8<sup>th</sup> May 1<sup>st</sup>-November 1982, picture 48 after page 126; cf.: page 527 n° 570.

<sup>290</sup> Margaret B. Freeman: The Unicorn Tapestries, New York 1976, page 167.

<sup>291</sup> Michael Allen Butler: Twice Queen of France, Folkestone 1972, page 15;

le Roux de Lincy: Vie de la reine Anne de Bretagne, Volume II, Paris 1860, page 11.

<sup>292</sup> Anne de Foix-Kendal was married and crowned at the same time on Thursday, 29<sup>th</sup> September 1502 see Wenzel, Gusztáv: II. Ulászló magyar király házassélete, Századok 1877, page 756 quoting Pierre Choque: "Le jeudi ensuyvant XXIX jour du dit mois (septembre) fut esposée et couronnée la dite dame."

and Marino Sanuto: "di 29 et Cardinal disse la messa (Regina) incorono e fo pranso"

<sup>293</sup> Choque, op. cit., pages 166-167,171.

original coat-of-arms of the family de Grailly,<sup>294</sup> from which the dynasty de Foix originated. Anne de Foix-Kendal identified also by the inscription „AVE REGINA C” on the IV<sup>th</sup> tapestry, because the throne of the Kingdom of Navarre was occupied between 1483 and 1517 by Queen Catherine de Foix, who was the head of the orphan Anne de Foix-Kendal’s family.

This gives the explanation that on the VI<sup>th</sup> tapestry King Wladislav II<sup>nd</sup> is met by the royal couple of Navarre, even if the French Queen is focused and emphasised by the gate in which she stands in the background. She is identified by her contemporary medallions,<sup>295</sup> and the tapestry shows her in conversation with her advisers indicating that from the background she pulls the strings. The French King Louis XII<sup>th</sup> similarly identified by his contemporary medallion<sup>296</sup> is shown by the tapestry in conversation with King of Spain, apparently persuading Catholic Ferdinand<sup>297</sup> to marry Germaine de Foix woven into the picture<sup>298</sup> next to Anne de Foix-Kendal, but as Wladislav has chosen Anne instead of her cousin she had to find an other partner.

The hunter who spears the unicorn on the VI<sup>th</sup> tapestry is in fact complete mirror image of King Wladislav in his bearing, and by executing his jobs, because he is his royal alter ego, being the Palatine of Hungary. His typical long nose on the tapestry also characterises him on his tombstone at Töketerebes.<sup>299</sup> At the same time the killing of the unicorn indicates that in the spring of 1504 Amery de Perény became the Palatine of Hungary by defeating the party following the family de Szapolya. Namely the unicorn was the charge on the coat-of-arms of the family de Szapolya as Counts of Szepes, and the followers of Count of Szepes indicated their allegiance to their leader by displaying unicorn on their shields.<sup>300</sup> In Medieval thinking there was an opposition between the unicorn and the dragon, while the party of the great barons gathered into the chivalric Order of the Dragon, which was also joined for example later by the Primate of Hungary George Szatmári as well.<sup>301</sup> This means that on the *VII<sup>th</sup> tapestry* the unicorn bound by the dog collar of the Order of the Dragon means the taming the unicorn’s party by the forces of the Chivalric Order of the Dragon.

In this respect it is characteristic, that on the *IV<sup>th</sup> tapestry* the hunter, who lets the unicorn to slash the king’s greyhound into two, indicating, that he can not be anybody else, but John de Szapolya, Count of Szepes, whose coat-of-arms displayed a unicorn, and as such he must have been on the side of the unicorn. John de Szapolya’s identity is shown also by his gold seal.<sup>302</sup> Furthermore his identity is confirmed by the fact, that his companion standing the other side of the unicorn occupied the same central place in the foreground, as King Wladislav II<sup>nd</sup> on the VI<sup>th</sup> tapestry. His profile is indeed identical with the profile of Duke

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<sup>294</sup> Henri Jouglé de Morenas: Grand Armorial de France, Volume IV., Paris 1939, page 204.

<sup>295</sup> Sir George Francis Hill: A Corpus of Italian Medals, London 1930, Table 120, medallions 711-714,; cf.: pages 181-182

<sup>296</sup> George Francis Hill, loco citato.

<sup>297</sup> See his portrait preserved in the Prado in Madrid and his statue in the Cathedral of Malaga, Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Evropeo-Americana, Volume XXIII., Bilbao etc. pages 834 and 555.

<sup>298</sup> The portrait of Germain de Foix by de Maura must have been based on contemporary representation, see Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Evropeo-Americana, Volume XXV., Bilbao etc. page 1432.

<sup>299</sup> See Szilágyi Sándor (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume IV, Budapest 1896, page 425, cf.: page 679.

<sup>300</sup> See the coat-of arms of the family de Tornallya from 1513 in: Géza Csergheő de Nagy-Tacsikánd: Der Adel von Ungarn sammt den Nebenländern der St. Stephans-Krone (J. Siebmacher’s Allgemeine und universelle Wappenbuch, Band 4, Abteilung 15, Nürnberg 1893 (1885-1993), pages 676, Tafel 467.

<sup>301</sup> Dr Johannes Gründler et alii: Schallaburg’82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, catalogue of exhibition 8<sup>th</sup> May-1<sup>st</sup> November 1982, page 674 n<sup>o</sup> 827; page 570 n<sup>o</sup> 639b; page 546 n<sup>o</sup> 600.

George Szatmári was homo novus, therefore he could not have inherited the Order of the Dragon.

<sup>302</sup> this seal was used on a diploma issued in 1538, but it showed an early beardless representation of John de Szapolya as on the IV<sup>th</sup> tapestry. See Domanovszky, Sándor (ed.): Magyar művelődéstörténet, Volume III, pages 8 and 663.

Sigismund, Wladislav's younger brother,<sup>303</sup> living in Buda at the time. Their companionship on the tapestry mutually confirms their identity, because Duke Sigismund and John de Szapolya were very close friends for a lifetime. Namely Sigismund married John de Szapolya's sister, Barbara, and later John de Szapolya married a daughter of Sigismund from his second marriage, Isabel. The tapestry characterises them according to the Hungarian proverb, that birds can be known by their feathers, and men by their friends. Later both became kings, and then King Sigismund made King John represented as King David, and himself as King Salomon in his funerary chapel on the Wavel in Krakow.<sup>304</sup> Meanwhile into this IV<sup>th</sup> tapestry was woven the „Ave Regina C” inscription in praise of Queen Catherine of Navarre, but no queen has been represented on its composition in contrast to the beardless John de Szapolya. This could explain the origin of John de Szapolya's nickname „Queen Catherine” recorded by George Szerémi.<sup>305</sup>

The miniature representing Pierre Choque in his manuscript demonstrates,<sup>306</sup> that the person in the upper left corner of the *III<sup>rd</sup> tapestry* is Pierre Choque himself, the Herald of Anne de Bretagne, who accompanied of Anne de Foix-Kendal on the journey into Hungary. The family book of the Fuggers of Augsburg<sup>307</sup> identify the leader of the hunters encircling the unicorn with their spears on the *III<sup>rd</sup> tapestry* as George Thurzó de Bethlenfalva, who with his father were the favourite main money lenders financing the deficits of King Wladislav's court. George Thurzo's face on this tapestry demonstrates, that he was painted with his blue eyes by Dürer on the portrait preserved now in the Villa Borghese in Rome.<sup>308</sup> The fact that Pierre Choque appears with Hungarian barons on the same representation also demonstrates that these tapestries were made in connection with the marriage of Anne de Foix-Kendal, because that was the only occasion, when Pierre Choque appeared in such company of Hungarian potentates returning soon to the French court. He however recorded the use of Anne's „AA” monograms connected with gold rope (cordelière d'or) as decoration during the travel to these celebrations.<sup>309</sup> The „AA” monograms appear on the dog collars of the *I<sup>st</sup> tapestry*, while on the unicorn-hunt tapestries originally there were at least 35 such monograms of the letters „A (and reversed)E” connected with golden rope modifying Anne's French name to indicate the marriage between Anne and Wladislav.

The young nabob with ostrich feather in his red hat in the *II<sup>nd</sup> tapestry's* centre is identified with Johannes Corvinus, Duke of Liptó and Oppeln, the Banus of Croatia<sup>310</sup> by his portrait in Munich.<sup>311</sup> On this tapestry he appears in much more cheerful, than on his portrait ten years earlier at the death of his father, and the tapestry succeeded to show his attractive and highly educated personality, who spoke Latin, Greek, German Hungarian, and probably

<sup>303</sup> See Szilágyi Sándor (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume V, Budapest 1896, page 46; cf.: page 661.

<sup>304</sup> Jan Białostocki: The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe, Oxford 1976, page 39 and picture 107, which shows King Sigismund as Salomon. Białostocki has not realised, that King John de Szapolya wore beard at the end of his life as shown on his woodcut by Erhard Schön around 1540. See Köpeczi, Béla, (chief ed.) Erdély története, Budapest 1987, Volume I., picture 152. after page 432. and Volume III, page 1908, number 152.

<sup>305</sup> Georgii Sirmiensis Epistola de perdicione (sic) regni Hvngarorum, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Második Osztály (Divisio II.), Írók (Scriptores), Volume I, Pest 1857, page 310.

<sup>306</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 1670, see: Dobosy Tibor: Anna magyar királyné francia kísérelője, Budapest 1940, picture at the beginning of chapter I.

<sup>307</sup> See Szilágyi Sándor (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume IV, Budapest 1896, coloured picture at page 474; cf.: page 664.

<sup>308</sup> Galleria Borghese, inventory number 287. See: Paola della Pergola: Galleria Borghese, I dipinti, Vol. II. (Cataloghi dei musei e gallerie d'Italia), picture 231.

<sup>309</sup> Pierre Choque....: Discours des cérémonies du mariage d'Anne de Foix, ....Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, year 21, volume II, pages 166-167, 171.

<sup>310</sup> Qual il suo titolo è questo, come si ave una lettera data a Irapina Johannes Corvinus Oppaviae Liphthomiaeque (recte: Liptoviaeque) dux ac regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae banus. Marino Sanuto: I diarii, 15<sup>th</sup> September 1500, Volume III. Venice 1880, column 785

<sup>311</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inventory number 12441.

Czech as well.<sup>312</sup> Educated in his father's library his high education distinguished him among his peers, and among them he was almost alone in recognising the Turkish menace facing Hungary soon, and he fought seriously and successfully with the Osman forces freeing Jajce in 1501.<sup>313</sup> The young boy with identical face standing diagonally in line with him on the composition is obviously his son Duke Christopher Corvinus demonstrated by their almost identical skull.<sup>314</sup>

It was Duke Iohannes Corvinus as the Banus of Dalmatia Croatia and Slavonia who greeted Queen Anne de Foix-Kendal in the name of the Hungarian administration, when she arrived to Hungarian soil at the port of Segnia on the 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1502 and organised a big reception for the new Queen in Segnia, where she stayed for a week leaving only on the 31<sup>st</sup> August.<sup>315</sup> This is the reason that the Duke of Oppeln and Liptó occupies the central position on the II<sup>nd</sup> tapestry in the series, which celebrates the marriage of Queen Anne

The person next to Duke Iohannes just behind him on the tapestry is obviously his best friend, Duke Lawrence de Újlak stands. He is identified by their closeness on the representation, and by the structure of his long-faced (brachykephal) head shown on his tombstone,<sup>316</sup> and by the inscription on the hunting horn of his vassal KNAZ ČIPI, because he was the Prince of Sirmium (or Szerém), where he resided in his fortress of Újlak. Next to the bugler there is an other hunter on the tapestry also with a hunting horn, who points towards the unicorn pushing his horn into the water. It was believed, that by putting the unicorn's horn into the water, it was purified of poisons.<sup>317</sup> Remarkably there were rumours that both the father and the son of Duke Iohannes Corvinus died of poison.<sup>318</sup>

The English relations of Queen Anne de Foix-Kendal, Edmund and Richard de la Pole are identified on the I<sup>st</sup> tapestry by the heraldic designs on the shield dog-collar worn by second greyhound turning his face backwards and inscribed by Anne's „AA” monogram recorded by Pierre Choque.<sup>319</sup> Namely the first quarter on this shield is „silver, a chief gules, a double tailed lion gold over all,” while the second and third quarter „azure three leopard's head gold” are identical of the de la Pole family's quarters as they appear on the stained glass window in the church of Iffley next to Oxford.<sup>320</sup> This stained glass was dated to the beginning of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>321</sup> Meanwhile the grandmother of Queen Anne de Foix-Kendal was Margaret de la Pole,<sup>322</sup> and therefore Queen Anne was the cousin of Edmund and

<sup>312</sup> Ábel, Jenő: Irodalomtörténeti emlékek, Volume II., Budapest 1890, pages 279-280.

Kenyeres Ágnes (ed.): Magyar életrajzi lexikon, Volume I., Budapest 1967 page 290.

<sup>313</sup> Hóman Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, Volume II., Budapest 1936, page 578.

Kenyeres, op. cit., Volume II., Budapest 1969, page 753.

<sup>314</sup> Dr. Balas Anna: Corvin János és Corvin Kristóf csontmaradványainak fényképeiről, Művészettörténeti értesítő, 1977 (year XXVI), number 3-4, page 286.

<sup>315</sup> Pierre Choque, op. cit., pages 423-424.

<sup>316</sup> See Szilágyi Sándor (ed.): A magyar nemzet története, Volume IV, Budapest 1896, page 476; cf.: page 681.

<sup>317</sup> Margaret B. Freeman: The Unicorn Tapestries, New York 1976, pages 19 and 27.

<sup>318</sup> Letter of Stephanus de Cremona dated 12<sup>th</sup> May 1490 see: Br Albert Nyáry: Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából, Volume IV., Budapest 1878, letter 139 on pages 198-199; cf.: letter 125 on pages 175-176.

Georgii Sirmiensi Epistola de perdicione (sic) regni Hvngarorum, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Második Osztály (Divisio II.), Írók (Scriptores), Volume I, Pest 1857, pages 27 and 39-44.

<sup>319</sup> Pierre Choque...: Discours des cérémonies du mariage d'Anne de Foix, ...Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, year 21, volume II, pages 166-167, 171.

<sup>320</sup> E. A. Greening Lamborn: The Glass of the Oxford Diocese 1250-1850, Oxford 1949, picture 52 and page 134.

Cf.: E. A. Greening Lamborn: „The arms of the Chauser Tomb et Ewelme.”

Oxonienisia, Volume V., page 83, number 2.

<sup>321</sup> See. Mary D. Lobel: A History of the County of Oxford. Volume V. Bullingdon Hundred (Victoria County History of England), London 1957.

<sup>322</sup> Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawl. D. 807, folio 12.

Richard de la Pole, who inherited the succession rights of the White Rose kings of England.<sup>323</sup> It was recorded by Marino Sanuto on the 6<sup>th</sup> October 1506, that Richard de la Pole, the „White Rose” stayed at the court of Buda.<sup>324</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> tapestry succeeded to show it excellently, that in contrast to Duke Johannes Corvinus, who feel comfortably at home in the hunt taking place apparently in Visegrád, where he was raised, the English relations of Anne de Foix-Kendal arrived wondering and cautiously at the strange court of a strange country.

Concerning the *origin of the Unicorn-hunt tapestries* it has to be stated, that this series spins a complete sequence of various events out of heraldic symbols. These representations in fact mirror the world of the Hungarian heraldry, which requires three-dimensional pictures, in which action takes place, as Szabolcs de Vajay explained it.<sup>325</sup> From this respect the „Unicorn-hunt tapestries” differ fundamentally from the contemporary Flemish and French tapestries, which lack agile plots, and in general all are exceedingly crowded, which in itself makes impossible agile actions in contrast with the „Unicorn-hunt tapestries.”

In fact the space, action and representation of „Unicorn-hunt tapestries” make us to remember the coats of arms issued at the Hungarian court well representing the heraldic practice already in the first part of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>326</sup> The nearest relations of the „Unicorn-hunt tapestries” are the wings of the altarpiece from Csíkszentlélek presently in the Hungarian National Gallery, on which the figures occupy the space in the same manner, and move in the same manner, as on the „Unicorn-hunt tapestries,” and they wear the same type of clothes.<sup>327</sup> The fortified church in the background of the „Saint Francis’ stigmatisation” on one of the left side pictures of the altarpiece from Csíkszentlélek appears just such a way up in the background, as the various palace buildings of Visegrád on the investigated tapestry series.<sup>328</sup> It is hardly by chance, that the altarpiece with wings from Csíkszentlélek was painted in 1510, and it displays the coat-of-arms of Wladislav II<sup>nd</sup> in addition to the shield of the family Czakó.<sup>329</sup>

It also has to be taken into consideration, that the court of Buda was in permanent shortage of money and in steady financial crisis because of Wladislav’s inability, and they could not pay for nine hens in the carnival time of 1503.<sup>330</sup> Therefore it is inconceivable, that so many and so splendid tapestries covering at least 120 m<sup>2</sup> (costing at least 9500 ducats)<sup>331</sup> could have been financed, if they had to be ordered and paid from the expensive ateliers in distant Flanders and France. Sanudo recorded on the 20<sup>th</sup> October 1502, that the kingdom was in lack of money and Wladislav had difficulty in finding 2000 ducats for the defence of the country. Eventually he could raise only 1000 by borrowing.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> Geoffrey Rudolf Elton: Richard de la Pole, in Encyclopædia Britannica, Volume 18, page 151.

<sup>324</sup> Marino Sanuto: I diarii, Volume VI, Venice 1881, column 438.

<sup>325</sup> Szabolcs de Vajay: L’héraldique hongroise. Archives héraldique Suisse. A<sup>o</sup> LXXIV, Annuaire 1960, page 4, point III.

<sup>326</sup> See the coat of arms of the family Radák de Magyarbénye issued on the 18<sup>th</sup> January 1514, Nyulásziné Straub Éva: Öt évszázad címerei, Budapest 1987, Table XXXVIII.,

the coat of arms of the family Bicskey de Bicske issued on the 20<sup>th</sup> July 1520, op. cit., Table XLVII.,

and the coat of-arms of the family Bakács de Szentgyörgyvölgy issued on the 11<sup>th</sup> June 1532, op. cit., Table LV.

<sup>327</sup> See Domanovszky, Sándor: Magyar művelődéstörténet, Volume II, Budapest [1939], coloured reproductions at page 389; cf.: page 668.

<sup>328</sup> loco citato;

cf.: Fenyő, I., Genthon I.: A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum szárnyasoltárai, Magyar művészet 1931, page 518.

<sup>329</sup> Dénes Radocsay: Gothic Panel Painting in Hungary, Budapest 1963, page 59.

<sup>330</sup> Hóman Bálint, Székfű Gyula: Magyar Történet, Volume II, Budapest 1936, page 576.

Wenczel Gusztáv: II. Ulászló magyar és cseh király házaselete. Századok 1877, pages 819-820 and 824.

<sup>331</sup> The weaving of Raffael’s tapestries costed 1500 ducats each (measuring 441cm x 478 cm  $\cong$  19 m<sup>2</sup>). See

Julien Coffinet: Metamorphoses de la tapisserie, Geneve 1977, page 112

<sup>332</sup> Hóman-Szekfű, op. cit Vol. II., pages 575-577;

It was recorded however by the French knight, Bertrandon de la Brocquiere already in 1432, that the *ouvrier de haute lice* from Arras, Clays Davion tapestry maker worked in the court of Buda.<sup>333</sup> In 1486 King Matthias Corvinus gave forty tapestries woven with pictures to Wladislav, that time still King of Bohemia,<sup>334</sup> and tapestries having the value of forty thousand florins of 1526 to Bartholomew Drágffy de Béltek.<sup>335</sup> Such munificence was hardly possible, unless the tapestry atelier in the court of Buda continued its operation up to and including the time of Wladislav II<sup>nd</sup>. This tradition of tapestry weaving in the Hungarian court continued in Transylvania, as it is obvious from the Transylvanian regulation of tapestry-making in 1627,<sup>336</sup> from the testimony of Evlia Chelebi in September 1661,<sup>337</sup> from the testimony of Count Ferdinand Marsigli from 1690,<sup>338</sup> from the tapestry used by Prince France Rákoczi II<sup>nd</sup>,<sup>339</sup> and from the Transylvanian carpet dated D. S. 1724.<sup>340</sup> This Transylvanian tapestry weaving however cannot be conceived by art historians whatever is obvious from the sources.

Finally it has to be pointed out, that on the reverse side of the tapestry the inscription of II<sup>nd</sup> tapestry in Cyrillic letters „KNAZ CИPM”<sup>341</sup> shows „IONAS A VIHOA” rendering in Latin letters, into which the artist might have hidden his signature. According to the Hungarian historical etymological dictionary VIHOLA was a Hungarian historical form of VIOLA, the name of the flower.

### Chapter VIII. *Giorgione and the royal court of Buda.*

In sharp contrast to the reign of King Matthias Corvinus, the foreign policy King Wladislav II<sup>nd</sup> of Hungary led by his Chancellor Thomas Bakócz de Erdőd maintained very friendly relations with Venice throughout his reign.<sup>342</sup> In September 1499 Wladislav wrote to the Serenissima stating that he will not marry anybody else, but only as he will be advised by Venice.<sup>343</sup> Marino Sanuto spoke with the painter, who travelled into France in order to paint the future bride of Wladislav on the 14<sup>th</sup> August 1500 in Venice, and he recorded, that the painter was Italian.<sup>344</sup>

In this connection we ought to survey shortly the system of diplomatic links developed in that period. Thomas Bakócz de Erdőd became Cardinal on the 28<sup>th</sup> September 1500 with

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“Il regno è in penuria di danari, il thesorier si duol, li danari nostro stagi tanto, e volve farsi servir de ducati 2000, con letere di cambio, per dar a Zuan Corvino; ne trovano 1000 solli”: Marino Sanuto: I diarii, Volume IV, Venice 1880, column 415, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1502;

Nagy Iván: Magyarország családai czímerekkel, Volume XI., Pest 1865, page 203.

<sup>333</sup> Hatvani, Mihály: Brüsszeli Magyar Okmánytár (= Monumenta Hungariae Historica), Volume IV., Pest 1859, page 311.

<sup>334</sup> Thomas Johannes Pessina de Czechorod, episcopus Samandriensis: Mars Moravicus, Prague 1677, page 985.

<sup>335</sup> Tudományos Gyűjtemény 1818, VIII, page 30.

<sup>336</sup> Kampis, Antal: Erdély iparművészetéről in: Asztalos, Sándor: A történeti Erdély, Budapest 2001, page 556.

<sup>337</sup> Kiss Gábor: Erdélyi várak, várkastélyok, Budapest 1990, page 167.

<sup>338</sup> Jankovics, József et alii: Régi erdélyi viseletek, Budapest 1990, page 88: natione Graeca advena.

<sup>339</sup> Buzási Enikő: (ed.): Európa fejedelmi udvaraiban: Mányoki Ádám, Budapest 2003, page 86-87, no 24.

<sup>340</sup> Kampis, Antal: Erdély iparművészetéről in: Asztalos, Sándor: A történeti Erdély, Budapest 2001, picture 27 at page 400 showing a tapestry in the possession of the Hungarian Iparművészeti Museum; page 556 and page 734 „27. tábla”.

<sup>341</sup> Margaret B. Freeman: The Unicorn Tapestries, New York 1976, page 194, picture 245.

<sup>342</sup> Hóman, Bálint, Szekfű Gyula: Magyar történet, Volume II., Budapest 1936, pages 582-583 and 596.

<sup>343</sup> „...maridar non vol la reina...ni altra dona, ma torà quarella consejerà la Signoria nostra...” Sanuto, Marino: I diarii, September 1499, Volume II., Venice 1879, column 1369.

<sup>344</sup> Sanuto, Marino: I diarii, Volume III., Venice 1880, column 630.

the help of Venice<sup>345</sup> at the same time, when from Queen Caterina Cornaro's court in Asolo his 18 years old cousin Marco Cornaro as well as Amanien d'Albret, the brother of the King of Navarre<sup>346</sup> were raised to the purple by Alexander VI.<sup>th 347</sup> Previously on the 1<sup>st</sup> May 1499 Charlotte d'Albret from the same dynasty of Navarre was married by Cesare Borgia in Blois,<sup>348</sup> and Cesare Borgia's portrait preserved in Forli was painted by Giorgione<sup>349</sup> from the court in Asolo.<sup>350</sup> In the middle of August 1500 the Hungarian King's envoys had to travel just into Blois,<sup>351</sup> because King Wladislav intended to marry a princess from the dynasty of Navarre. This was the reason, that Hungarian envoys travelling through Venice had to bring an exceptional painter with them in order to paint such portraits of Germaine de Foix and Anna de Foix-Kendal,<sup>352</sup> from which portraits King Wladislav could choose a bride in Buda by the 28<sup>th</sup> November 1500.<sup>353</sup> This system of diplomatic links gives the clue of the events investigated and confirmation of the following conclusions.

Namely on the II<sup>nd</sup> tapestry of the Unicorn-hunt tapestries we can see an especially elongated head behind Duke Johannes Corvinus and Duke Lawrence de Újlak. This head appears behind the two dukes and between them, just as Rafael appears in the background of the School of Athens in the Stanza della Segnatura<sup>354</sup> between Bramante and Zoroaster (Pietro Bembo) showing that this person on the Unicorn hunt tapestries as well must be an artist. This face because of his exceptionally elongated head-structure differs completely from the other 62 heads represented on all the seven pieces of the tapestry series. In addition to his elongated head-structure his slightly bent nose, slightly bent eyebrow, dark hair and dark-brown eyes as well as his fleshier and more sensual lower lip identifies him with Giorgione represented on his portraits in Braunschweig<sup>355</sup> and in Budapest.<sup>356</sup> Giorgione's appearance on the unicorn-hunt tapestries showing the participants of Anne de Foix-Kendal's marriage can not mean hardly anything else, but that he was among the participants of her marriage celebrations, and the only reason, that this very young painter from Castelfranco at the beginning of his very short career appeared among the participants of this royal marriage in Hungary in 1502, could not be anything else, but that he was the painter sent to paint the portraits of the possible brides.

The appearance of Giorgione on the II<sup>nd</sup> tapestry is inseparably connected with the fact, that the profile of Anne de Foix –Kendal on the VI<sup>th</sup> tapestry is identical with the profile of the *Portrait of a Lady* by Giorgione belonging to the Norton Simon Museum in California,<sup>357</sup> the purpose and significance of which has been misunderstood by dull and Philistine hypocrisy. Anne de Foix-Kendal's slightly curved forehead fine and only very

<sup>345</sup> Sanuto, Marino: I diarii, 19<sup>th</sup> July 1500, Volume III., Venice 1880, columns 567. and column 596 30<sup>th</sup> August 1500.

<sup>346</sup> "De Libret frater regis Navarre" Marino Sanuto: I diarii Volume III., Venice 1880, columns 857-858.

<sup>347</sup> Conradus Eubel: Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, Volume II., (1431-1503), Münster 1901, page 25.

See also Marino Sanuto: I diarii Volume III., Venice 1880, columns 857-858.

<sup>348</sup> Marion Johnson: The Borgias, London 1981, pages 139-140.

In 1484 Jean d'Albret married Catherine de Foix, Queen of Navarre.

See Grand Larousse encyclopédique en six volumes, Volume VII, Paris 1963, page 689.

<sup>349</sup> Marion Johnson: The Borgias, London 1981, pages 142 and 226.

<sup>350</sup> Sir Ellis Kirkham Waterhouse: Giorgione (W. A. Cargill memorial lecture in Fine Arts), Glasgow 1974.

<sup>351</sup> "è zonti li oratori stati in Hongaria, con uno orator di quel re per vider la fiola dil conte di Foys neya dil re.."

This information sent by the Venetian envoy from Blois on the 29<sup>th</sup> September 1500 was recorded by Sanuto ("Sanudo") already on the 9<sup>th</sup> October. Sanuto, Marino: I diarii, Volume III., Venice 1880, columns 888-890.

<sup>352</sup> the nieces of Queen Catherine of Navarre.

<sup>353</sup> Marino, Sanuto, I diarii, 28<sup>th</sup> November 1500, Volume III., Venice 1880, column 1111.

<sup>354</sup> Giorgio Vasari: Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori, Volume IV.,

Florence 1976, page 167.

<sup>355</sup> Braunschweig, Hercog Anton Ulrich Museum, inventory number 454.

<sup>356</sup> Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inventory number 86.

<sup>357</sup> 31.7 cm x 23.1 cm.

slightly snub nose, identically long maxilla, fleshier lower lip and slightly bent eyebrow on the VI<sup>th</sup> tapestry is identical with Giorgione's portrait in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena. It was pointed out by E. Verheyen already in 1968, that the uncovering of Laura's bosom was connected precisely with contracting a marriage,<sup>358</sup> and the picture in Pasadena is much more tactful in this respect, because it represents a future queen. It ought to be realised as well, that Anne de Foix-Kendal was raised in the court of Anne de Bretagne, whose monument in Saint Denis represents her completely naked.<sup>359</sup>

Meanwhile it has to be also noticed, that the profile King Wladislav II<sup>nd</sup> on the VI<sup>th</sup> tapestry is identical with Giorgione's portrait in Munich known as *Young Gentleman with Fur*,<sup>360</sup> which has an inscription on the back already from the end of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century: Giorgion De Castel Franco F(ecit)/Maestro De Titiano.<sup>361</sup> The subject of the portrait in Munich is identified by the VI<sup>th</sup> tapestry in the Cloisters in New York, as the head on both representation has the same fine aquiline nose, backwards strongly bending dark eyebrows and fleshy lower lip. Wladislav II<sup>nd</sup> is distinguished on both representations also by his long strait and dark hair, just as in his prayer book preserved in Oxford,<sup>362</sup> where his profile shows that he was painted on Giorgione's portrait in Munich. The picture identifies his royal rank by his fur coat, because Emperor Maximilian wears identical fur coat on Dürer's portrait now in Vienna,<sup>363</sup> just as the oldest king on Dürer's Adoration of the Magi in Florence.<sup>364</sup> Giorgione turned the King's head with good intuition to show his face at his advantage. In this way Giorgione's portrait shows, that Wladislav was a beautiful man as noticed by Cesar Valantini, the envoy of Ferrara at the meeting of Iglau on the 11<sup>th</sup> September 1488,<sup>365</sup> when his good looks elicited Queen Beatrix' sympathy already according to Dubravius.<sup>366</sup> Giorgione's composition turned the King towards a round window. This round window apparently with a star in the glass above him and the small arched door opening on his left represented on the painting in Munich is identical with the round windows with stars on the glass, and the similar small arched door openings in the throne room of the Fresh Palace shown in the Matthias Gradual.<sup>367</sup> This also show, that the person represented is the King of Hungary, as in that throne room was the most important and most representative seat of his power. Incidentally the star in the window is obviously an allusion to Wladislav's star: the Cor Leonis, which occupied the zenith, when Wladislav was born and at the times of his coronations both in Bohemia as well as in Hungary.<sup>368</sup> His recorded inscription in Latin written in the royal castle of Buda stated „Magnanimus princeps diademate gaudet utroque Vladislaus, tollit ad astra caput”<sup>369</sup> similarly indicated, that Wladislav raised his head to the stars just as in the painting in Munich.

<sup>358</sup> E. Verhayen: Der Sinngehalt von Giorgiones „Laura”, Pantheon, 1968, pages 220-224.

<sup>359</sup> Summer Mck. Crosby: L'abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis, Paris 1953, pictures 108-109;

Jean-Francis Noël et Pierre Jahan: Les Gisants, Paris, picture XIX.

<sup>360</sup> 70 cm x 54 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inventory number 524.

<sup>361</sup> Pietro Zampetti introduced by Cecil Gould: The Complete Paintings of Giorgione, London 1970, page 101, picture 80.

<sup>362</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. liturg. d 6, folio 49<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>363</sup> Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inventory number 845.

<sup>364</sup> Florence, Uffizi, inventory number 1434.

<sup>365</sup> Óváry Lipót: A modénai és mantuai kutatásokról, Századok 1889, page 395.

<sup>366</sup> “prospectante e fenetra Beatrice regina, amoremque tacitum ex conspectu novi hospitis forma conspicui hauriente” Johanni Dubravii...Historica Boiémica, Bale 1575, page 293.

<sup>367</sup> National Széchenyi Library, OSZK Clmae. 414, folio 103<sup>recto</sup>.

<sup>368</sup> Krakow, Jagellonian Library, MSS 3225.

<sup>369</sup> Salamon Schweiger: Ein neue Reissbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem, Nürnberg 1639, page 21-22

W. Sahn(ed.): Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau.(Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr. IV und V. 1. Teil, Königsberg i. Pr. 1914, page 85.

However nothing can demonstrate better Wladislav's identity on the Munich portrait than the description of the character of the person represented by Wolf-Dietzer Dube:

„The gentle romantic, indecisive character of this young man is reminiscent of Giorgione: intelligent and dreamy apparently timid and lethargic, yet also capable of energetic action....”<sup>370</sup> No one could characterise knowingly Wladislav's personality better, while it is obvious, that Wolf-Dietzer Dube did not know, whom the portrait represented in the reality. Nonetheless this is perfect intuition into Wladislav's personality, and this shows and confirms, that the portrait represents this Hungarian king.

Wladislav II<sup>nd</sup> also appears as the youngest king on Giorgione's *Adoration of the Magi* in the National Gallery in London,<sup>371</sup> where his appearance is almost identical with his representation on Bernhard Strigel's painting in Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest.<sup>372</sup> The person in armour in the background of this Adoration, but at the centre of the painting and at the top of the composition's triangle is the highest person on the entire picture. His profile is identical with the youngest scholar on Giorgione's „Three philosophers” in Vienna,<sup>373</sup> whose figure is a self-portrait of Giorgione according to Pietro Zampetti.<sup>374</sup>

The Madonna's model on the left side of this Adoration was most probably Queen Anna de Foix-Kendal, and it seems to follow from the structure of composition, that the finely clad young gentlemen on the opposite place on the right side of the picture was her cousin, Gaston de Foix, the younger brother of Germain de Foix. Namely his head-structure is identical with the head of Gaston de Foix on his effigy by Bambaia now in the Museo Civico in Milan.<sup>375</sup> The head-structure of the same effigy is also identical with the „Shepherd with Flute” in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court.<sup>376</sup>

This actually again confirms the tradition, that Giorgione painted members of the dynasty de Foix.<sup>377</sup> Modern entmythologisierung should like to believe, that there was no connection between the painter of Castelfranco and the hero, who won the battle of Ravenna on the 11<sup>th</sup> April 1512, when he died, but it only shows the superficiality of this fashion, and their negligence of the various historical details and diplomatic links.

A painting the National Gallery in London is now named as „*Homage to a poet*”,<sup>378</sup> was qualified by Pignatti as a painting belonging to the close circle of Giorgione.<sup>379</sup> This picture used to be known as „King Salomon” earlier, but it was renamed „Homage to a poet”

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<sup>370</sup> Wolf-Dietzer Dube: The Munich Gallery – alte Pinakothek, London 1970, page 165.

<sup>371</sup> 30 cm x 81 cm. London, National Gallery, inventory number NG 1160.

<sup>372</sup> Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inventory number 7502.

<sup>373</sup> Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventory number 111.

<sup>374</sup> Pietro Zampetti introduced by Cecil Gould: The Complete Paintings of Giorgione, London 1970, page 83, picture in the second column at the bottom the page.

<sup>375</sup> John Pope-Hennessy: Italian Renaissance Sculpture, Oxford 1986, and Plate 119.

<sup>376</sup> 61 cm x 51 cm. Hampton Court, inventory number 101.

Pietro Zampetti, introduced by Cecil Gould: The Complete Paintings of Giorgione, London 1970, page 90, picture 15.

The similarity is less striking in the case of a painting measuring 39 cm x 27 cm, showing a knight in shining armour, also known as San Liberale in the National Gallery in London (inventory number NG 269). It is thought to be identical with the painting believed to represent Gaston de Foix in the collection of Lord Bessborough until 1801, in 1809 it was bought from Wilde by the Smith collection, in the collection Rogers in 1820, in the National Gallery since 1855. See Luigi Coletti: Tutta la pittura di Giorgione, Milan 1955, page 56, and Tavola 47 after page 86.

<sup>377</sup> See for example Luigi Coletti: Tutta la pittura di Giorgione, Milan 1955, page 56, Tav. 47. mentions a painting of 39 cm x 27 cm.

Pietro Zampetti, introduced by Cecil Gould: The Complete Paintings of Giorgione, London 1970, page 101, n 81 mentions a painting of 18 cm x 14 cm.

<sup>378</sup> 59 cm x 48 cm. London National Gallery, inventory number NG 1173.

<sup>379</sup> “For the time being the attribution must remain a cautionary one, in the close circle of Giorgione and during his lifetime.” Terzio Pignatti: Giorgione (Complete edition) London 1971, page 125.

because of the laurel wreath on his head.<sup>380</sup> As a matter of fact precisely this laurel wreath identifies him as Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup>, because he wanted to imitate his contemporary, predecessor and rival for the throne of Bohemia, King Matthias Corvinus in this. Namely King Matthias was represented usually with laurel wreath, for example on the Bible of Erlangen<sup>381</sup> and on the medallion „Marti fautori”<sup>382</sup> following the antique emperors’ custom. Wladislaw was also identified by the black eagle feathers, which seemed to appear on his throne before the paintings restoration some years ago, as black eagle’s feathers constitute his crest on the balcony of Prague cathedral.<sup>383</sup> His head on the London painting in question corresponds to his representation on the charter given to the family Pethő de Gerse issued on the 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1507,<sup>384</sup> and in his Prayer book in Oxford.<sup>385</sup> The picture in London however shows, that according to Dubravius Wladislaw grew beard after his consort’s death, and his subjects tried to console him in various ways.<sup>386</sup> This is mirrored exactly by the composition in London, where his beard made his face to appear longer, and where a page brings him flowers, a minstrel plays lute, poetry books are placed at the steps of his throne next to the minstrel, and there is his young son as well to console him, just as a peacock, a cheetah and stag from his game park. Therefore the painting could be better called „*The consolation of Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup>*”. Namely it is most unlikely, that a poet would keep a cheetah and a game park as well, which used to be more usual in the royal courts. Already in 1413-1415 the Limbourg brothers marked the royal rank of the Three Kings by accompanying them in their journey with cheetahs.<sup>387</sup>

Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup> is also identified by the appearance of his son Louis II<sup>nd</sup> as well as by the large age difference between him and his small son on the picture, as Louis II<sup>nd</sup> was 41 years younger, than his father. The identity of small Louis II<sup>nd</sup> is shown by his closeness to his father next to his throne, as well as by his dark hair. It is true, that Louis II<sup>nd</sup> had extremely fair hair on the charter given to the family Pethő de Gerse issued on the 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1507, when he was one year four months and 20 days old, and on Bernhard Strigel’s painting in Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest both quoted above. Nonetheless Louis II<sup>nd</sup> has very dark hair on his grown up portraits, for example on the one brought by his consort into the Low Countries, and now in Brussels,<sup>388</sup> as well as on his picture in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest.<sup>389</sup> This demonstrates, that the colour of his hair changed, as he grew older, and this

<sup>380</sup> Pietro Zampetti, introduced by Cecil Gould: *The Complete Paintings of Giorgione*, London 1970, page 97, picture 44.

<sup>381</sup> leather binding of the Erlangen Bible (Erlangen Universitätsbibliothek Ms 6). See Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, Shannon 1969, page 111.

<sup>382</sup> Balogh, Jolán: *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*, Budapest 1966, volume II, page 292, picture 420.

<sup>383</sup> Joseph Elm: *Praha*, Prague 1977, picture 19.

<sup>384</sup> See: Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: *Schallaburg’82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn*, catalogue of exhibition 8<sup>th</sup> May-1<sup>st</sup> November 1982, coloured picture 47 after page 128; cf.: page 527 n<sup>o</sup> 571.

<sup>385</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. liturg. d 6, folio 15

<sup>386</sup> “Huius adeo reginae decessum cum diutius lugeret, moerorique; insignia vestes pullas deponere, aut barbsam incanam adradere non sustineret, circumstat cum magna consolantium frequentia ex Hungaris, Boiemis Moravis Budam aggregata ex quibus pro se quisque consolatorem agit, alius alio modo atque in hoc omnes conveniunt.”  
Johanni Dubravii... *Historica Boiémica*, Bale 1575, page 301.

<sup>387</sup> Jean Longnon (introduced by Millard Miess): *Les très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry*, London 1969, pictures 48 and 49. Jean Longnon already indicated, that the oldest king on these miniatures is Manuel II<sup>nd</sup> Palaiologos (loco citato), who travelled to Paris in 1400 shown by the Notre Dame and the Sainte Chapelle in the miniatures background. The third youngest king with golden fair hair is obviously Alexios IV<sup>th</sup> of Trebizond born in 1382 as the Comnenoi of Trebizond were fair haired already Manuel I<sup>st</sup> Comnenos (1238-1263) and Alexios III<sup>rd</sup> (1349-1390). See: Gregoire Gagarin: *Recueils d’ornement et architecture Byzantines...* St. Petersburg 1897, Table XXV, C. Texier, R. P. Pullan: *Byzantine Architecture*, London 1864, Plate LXVI and page 202.

<sup>388</sup> Domanovszky, Sándor (ed.) *Magyar művelődéstörténet*, Volume II, Budapest [1939], page 77; cf.: page 650.

<sup>389</sup> Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inventory number 77.6; see Dr. Johannes Gründler et alii: *Schallaburg’82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn*, catalogue of exhibition 8<sup>th</sup> May-1<sup>st</sup> November 1982,

dates „The consolation of Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup>” into the years around 1509, which correspond to the date given by Pignatti.<sup>390</sup> Louis II<sup>nd</sup>'s young personality and his dark hair also appear to be the same as on his portrait in the Ambrosiana in Milan investigated below. Curiously just as Wladislaw is consoled by poetry on the composition in London, he appointed two poets to be teachers of his small son, Louis II<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>391</sup>

This painting in London represents excellently Wladislaw's lethargy after his consort's death, and when the complete system of his diplomatic alliances started to collapse as fate develops in Greek tragedies, and the masterwork makes perceptible the psychological distance between the King and his forty-one years younger son. Therefore the picture betrays Giorgione's brush.

A painting titled „*Horoscope*” destroyed or disappeared from Gemäldegalerie in Dresden.<sup>392</sup> Pietro Zampetti has found that „the subject is somewhat obscure,”<sup>393</sup> but there is a conspicuously represented white eagle occupying a large part of the lower right corner of the painting. This white eagle was represented without crown and had a tail with plant-like decorations. Meanwhile the white eagle of the Hungarian Jagellons is usually crownless and his tail is transformed into plant-like decorations on the gold dollar of Wladislaw II<sup>nd</sup> struck at Körmöcbánya,<sup>394</sup> as well as on his Cassianus<sup>395</sup> and Beda manuscripts<sup>396</sup> and on his Aristoteles incunabulum,<sup>397</sup> perhaps in order to distinguish (or heraldically speaking to differentiate) their eagle from the Polish Jagellons. As the painting destroyed in Dresden in 1945 was painted in the first two decades of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, the 13-14 years old boy<sup>398</sup> playing a prominent part on the composition can not be anybody else, but only Louis II<sup>nd</sup>, because he was the only person of this age in the entire Jagellon family at the time.<sup>399</sup> This places the date of the picture into 1520. Therefore the infant on the picture is his cousin Sigismund August born on the 1<sup>st</sup> August 1520 securing the survival of the Jagellon dynasty in Poland. This is confirmed by the profile of the infant's mother, as it is identical with Bona Sforza's appearance on her medallions.<sup>400</sup> The statue of Venus occupies the highest point in the triangle of the composition corresponding to the horoscope of Louis II<sup>nd</sup>,<sup>401</sup> but the Venus must have occupied an important place at the birth of Sigismund August as well, as he placed

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page 505, n° 523.

<sup>390</sup> Terizio Pignatti: Giorgione (Complete edition) London 1971, pages 124-125, picture A22. (cf.: picture 141).

<sup>391</sup> One of them was the Venetian Hieronymus Balbi, the other Jacob Piso from the Transylvanian Medgyes.

Kenyeres Ágnes (ed.) Magyar életrajzi Lexikon, Volume II, Budapest 1969, page 15.

<sup>392</sup> It was 132 cm x 192 cm. Its inventory number was 186 in Dresden. A copy survived in Pillnitz.

<sup>393</sup> Zampetti, op. cit., page 101, picture 78.

<sup>394</sup> Huszár, Lajos: The Art of Coinage in Hungary, Budapest 1963, picture 41.

<sup>395</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cod. Lat. 2129, folio 1<sup>recto</sup>, see Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 205.

<sup>396</sup> Beda Venerabilis, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 175, folio 1<sup>recto</sup>,

Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 179.

<sup>397</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, H 1660 See Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi: Bibliotheca Corviniana, Shannon 1969, page 217.

<sup>398</sup> The age of the older boy on the Horoscope was estimated to be about 13-14 years by Dr David Baum the head of Paediatrics in Oxford in his letter dated 10<sup>th</sup> November 1983.

<sup>399</sup> See Jiri Louda, Michael Maclagan: Lines of Succession, London 1981 and Révai Nagy Lexikon, Volume X., Budapest 1914, page 741.

<sup>400</sup> Josef Grabski: Le immagini del re di Polonia Sigismundo I e della famiglia reale sulle serie di medaglie del 1532 di G. M. Mosca detto il Padovano nella collezione già Estense a Modena. in: Vittore Branca e Sante Gracioti (ed.): Italia, Venezia e Polonia tra medio evo e età moderna (Civiltà Veneziana, Studi 35), Florence 1980, Figura 31 and 26.

<sup>401</sup> Louis II<sup>nd</sup> was born on the 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1506 at 11<sup>h</sup> 30' according to Weczel Gusztáv: II. Ulászló király házasa élete, Századok 1877, page 836, and Marino Sanuto: I diarii at 14<sup>th</sup> July 1506, where the text of Sanuto recorded: “et culsi a di hora 13 di zuoba la fece uno fiol masculino con gran letitia”.

The position of the Venus could be calculated from Bryant Tuckerman: Planetary, Lunar and Solar positions A.D. 2 to A. D. 1649... Philadelphia 1964, page 771.

his monument in the Wavel in such a way, that his eyes turn towards the planet Venus.<sup>402</sup> The representation of an event of 1520 on this painting destroyed in Dresden obviously excludes the possibility, that it could have been painted by Giorgione, who died in 1510.

It was however pointed out by art historians, that the features of 13-14 years old Louis II<sup>nd</sup> on the Horoscope are identical with *two further portraits*,<sup>403</sup> one, on which he was about 10-11 years old,<sup>404</sup> has been preserved in the *Ambrosiana in Milan*,<sup>405</sup> the other on which he was about 13-14<sup>406</sup> was brought from Oxford to *New York*.<sup>407</sup> The attractive personality and the profile especially on the excellent portrait in Milan are identical with the representation of Louis II<sup>nd</sup> on Dürer's nearly contemporary woodcut from 1515.<sup>408</sup> This confirms our conclusions and excludes the possibility that these excellent portraits could have been painted by Giorgione. The introversion and the feeling of loneliness on the portrait in the Ambrosiana shows it surprisingly well, and with great artistry, that the small Louis II<sup>nd</sup> was left orphan by the death of Anne de Foix-Kendal. This shows that his portrait must have been painted by a very great Venetian artist of the period, as the Serenissima obviously took care that her godchild, Louis II<sup>nd</sup><sup>409</sup> should be portrayed by the best Venetian painter of the period. Because of the Giorgionesque character of the painting this very great Venetian artist could not be anybody else but the young Titian still under the influence of Giorgione.

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<sup>402</sup> Sigismund August raised the effigy of his father in their funerary chapel, and his recumbent statue occupies his father's original place. In this way his eyes turns towards the statue of Venus above the altar.

<sup>403</sup> Terizio Pignatti: Giorgione, the complete edition, London page 150; cf.: page 131.

<sup>404</sup> The age of the boy on the painting in the Ambrosiana was estimated to be about 10-11 years by Dr David Baum the head of Paediatrics in Oxford in his letter dated 10<sup>th</sup> November 1983.

<sup>405</sup> 23 cm x 30 cm. Milan, Ambrosiana, inventory number 89. Luigi Coletti: Tutta la pittura di Giorgione, Milan 1955, page 63, Tavola 98.

<sup>406</sup> The age of the boy on the painting brought from Oxford to New York was estimated to be about 13-14 years by Dr David Baum the head of Paediatrics in Oxford in his letter dated 10<sup>th</sup> November 1983.

<sup>407</sup> 24.1 cm x 20,6 cm New York, Gallery Knoeders, see Terizio Pignatti: Giorgione, Arnoldo Mondadori editore, [Milan] 1955, page 135.

<sup>408</sup> Dr Willy Kurth: The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, New York 1963, picture 289.

<sup>409</sup> Venice was the chief god-parent of Louis II<sup>nd</sup> according to Wenzel, Gusztáv: II. Ulászló magyar király házaselete, Századok 1877, page 837 quoting Marino Sanuto: I diarii, Volume VI. Venice 1881, column 388. (cf.: columns 291 and 309, which show that Queen Anne de Foix-Kendal had extremely good relations with Venice, where she was enthusiastically received when travelling into Hungary. She was lodged in the Palace of the Dukes of Ferrara (now Fondaco dei Turchi) and magnificently entertained in the city of lagunas for three weeks between 31<sup>st</sup> July and 21<sup>st</sup> August 1502. She embarked at 8.p.m. on the 21<sup>st</sup> August and reached the territory of the Holy Crown of Hungary at Segnia at the 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1502. Wener, op. cit., pages 740-749)