

CHAPTERS FROM THE HISTORY OF ITALIAN-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS

Editor: Ilona Kristóf



Eger, 2023

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Cover illustration: detail of the Battle Gallery, Spezzano Castle, property of
the municipality of Fiorano Modenese, Modena, Italy

The Vestigia Research Group contributed to the identification of the fresco
depicting Esztergom Castle in Spezzano



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Foreword

“Balsamum est istud?” (Is it balsam?), asked King Vladislaus II Jagiellon of Hungary and Bohemia in 1510 of Ercole Pio, who had been sent to Hungary by Cardinal Ippolito I d’Este upon receiving his master’s gifts. Pio then wrote a long letter reporting the royal audience to his master in Italy.¹ This single, arbitrarily selected moment highlights what Hungarian historical research can thank the Italian sources and their researchers: a wealth of additional knowledge about the events, characters and everyday life of the period, and in particular the recording of many ‘real-life’ moments that add colour to the grey facts that can be learned from Hungarian sources.

This is despite the fact that the Hungarian source material on the Middle Ages, and in particular on the period most frequently covered in the volume – the reigns of King Matthias I (1458–1490) and the two Jagiellon kings (1490–1526) – can hardly be described as poor, but it is one-sided and incomplete. The royal archives and the archives of the central offices were mostly destroyed after 1526, while the archives of ecclesiastical institutions, towns and noble families survived, especially in the areas spared by the Turkish wars. We have around three hundred thousand documents from the period up to 1526, traditionally considered the Middle Ages in Hungary, but these are mostly legal documents, or letters of command and court documents issued in the “centre”. Elemér Mályusz, a renowned historian of the 20th century, aptly put it that the large-scale destruction of documents also has a positive effect on historical research: by reviewing the documentary material, the researcher can learn about the history of an entire country, which in the Middle Ages was almost the size of Italy, while in countries with more fortunate sources, such as France, the same amount of work would only bring closer to the understanding of a smaller territory.² Even if this is true, we have to accept that the Hungarian source material, which is mediocre by European standards – but uniquely accessible online³ – is primarily suitable for research on government, institutions, associations and, of course, family and local history (traditionally an incontestable strength of Hungarian research), but is simply insufficient for many of the topics favoured

¹ For the letter quoted here, see the paper by György Domokos in this volume.

² Mályusz, “1526 előtti okleveleink forrásértéke,” 416.

³ The DL–DF database of Hungarian National Archives is available: <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/> (Accessed 31 July 2023)

by modern historical research. Translating this to the example above: we know from the domestic sources that at the time of the event described by Ercole Pio the monarch was staying in Nagyszombat (today: Trnava, Slovakia), we know that his journey was made necessary by the plague that had reached the capital, we know what orders he sent to his subjects at that time, but we would never know without the Italian source, how a royal audience took place, who was responsible for it, and we would search in vain for a dialogue with a Hungarian king in our sources, just as we would never know that the Hungarian monarch was able to try the joys of hunting with cheetahs thanks to the Italian cardinal.

The search for Hungarian related sources in foreign archives – the so called *Hungarica* – experienced a considerable upturn in the recent one and a half decade. Apart from diplomatic correspondence, most of the Hungarian references are to be found in cases where foreigners lived in the Kingdom of Hungary for a longer period of time and their records were preserved in their home country. Although such sources may occur in the German territories too – think of Margrave George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, who, thanks to his Jagiellon relatives, possessed immense estates in Hungary–, most of the materials come predominantly from the rich archives of Italy. Especially because of the intensive daily correspondence between the two geographically distant regions was ensured by the residence of King Matthias' wife, Beatrice of Aragon, in Hungary (1476–1500), and the archbishopric Esztergom (1486–1497) and bishopric of Eger (1497–1520) of her nephew Ippolito I d'Este, together with the presence of Italians serving them at court in Esztergom and Eger.

In the decades following the Battle of Mohács against the Ottomans in 1526, besides the envoys, the soldiers and military engineers serving in the constant wars deepened the relationship between Hungary and Italy. The Vestigia Research Group founded in 2010 has played a major role in the creation of this volume, also has made an immeasurable contribution over the past decade and a half to the discovery, publication and even processing of this *Hungarica* material, which is mainly preserved in Modena, Milan and Mantua.⁴

The present volume is an integral part of the research group's previous works and volumes of studies. The studies present a particular moment in Italian–Hungarian relations between the 13th and 16th centuries, and what makes the volume particularly valuable is that all the authors have undertaken to work on primary sources or groups of sources, mostly unpublished, often ignored by previous research. If we want enroll the eight papers in this volume into thematic groups, three topics would represent the three different channels of com-

⁴ For the Vestigia Research Group, see e.g. Nuzzo, “Olasz–magyar diplomáciai kapcsolatok (1301–1550): Új források a Vestigia projekt keretében” and also <http://www.vestigia.hu> (Accessed 31 July 2023).

munication between the two regions: 1) *Marriage contracts and diplomatic relations*: Patrizia Cremonini presents the marriage of King Andrew II of Hungary and Beatrice d'Este, and, correcting the previous centuries-old editions, provides the text of the marriage contract of 1234 in accordance with modern requirements. Patrik Pastrnak publishes four previously unknown letters from 1489, that describe the means and the criteria upon which the journey to Hungary of Bianca Maria Sforza, the would-be consort of John Corvinus, the heir of the Hungarian throne, would have been organized, even if eventually this journey never took place. Finally, Márton Szovák analysed the Hungarian aspects of Bernardino Zambotti's chronicle of Ferrara, in which the issue of marriage is also given considerable emphasis, through the stay of Queen Beatrice's bridal trail in Ferrara in 1476, but the source also contains valuable informations on the Hungarian ambassadors and the Hungarian church dignitary Ippolito I d'Este. 2) *The activities and correspondence of Queen Beatrice and the courtiers of Ippolito I d'Este in Hungary*: Anna Dorottya Kriston presents us the daily life of Augustino Benci, a physician serving in Esztergom through his correspondence, while György Domokos presents the correspondence of the "graphomaniac" Ercole Pio, the governor of the bishopric of Eger. Ilona Kristóf publishes a short but interesting account book of a journey of one of Cardinal Ippolito's courtiers from Eger to Ferrara. 3) *Military events during the Turkish wars*: Ádám Demjén Balázs examines a report from 1543 on the Turkish campaign of that year, while Chiara Maria Carpentieri presents a useful repertory of the Hungarian aspects of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's collection, including the adventurous fate of Pinelli's library.

This valuable volume now gives the non-Hungarian readers an insight into the work of the Vestigia Research Group, the importance of which is hard to overestimate. The greatest beneficiary of this project is, of course, the historical research on the medieval (and early modern) Kingdom of Hungary, but sometimes Hungarian sources and research can contribute to the better understanding the life and career of an Italian person. From a general historical point of view, the "cultural difference" between Italian and Hungarian customs, thinking and way of life at the time is extremely interesting, and can be seen not only in the planning of an embassy or wedding procession, but also in the letters of the Italians who came to Hungary, sometimes in the form of bitter complaints and homesickness.

Tibor Neumann
(Translated by Tamás Szűcs)

Chiara Maria Carpentieri

THE “HUNGARIAN AFFAIRS” IN THE PADUAN LIBRARY OF GIAN
VINCENZO PINELLI
(PARTICULARLY, THE HUNGARIAN EVENTS OF THE SIXTIES OF
THE 16TH CENTURY)

Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, the famous scholar and bibliophile, died in Padua on 3 August 1601;¹ during the long illness that had struck him, he counted on the continuous assistance of his friend Paolo Gualdo – vicar of the Padua bishop Marco Cornaro – and, at least before his death, of his nephew Cesare.² In the absence of direct heirs, the scholar’s collection – consisting not only of about 750 manuscripts and 9000 printed volumes, but also of scientific instruments, art objects, celestial and terrestrial globes, geographical and hydrographic maps, minerals, fossils, medals, and ancient coins – passed to his favorite nephew Cosmo, Duke of Acerenza and Marquis of Galatina, eldest son of Gian Vincenzo’s brother Galeazzo. The young Pinelli, who owned himself a library, was married to the noble Nicoletta Grillo and lived in Naples to follow the commercial activities of his family, originally from Genoa.

As soon as the news of the transfer of the collection from Padua to Venice and, from there, to the Kingdom of Naples spread, the Serenissima Republic

¹ Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601) was a strong collector of books in Padua during the second half of 16th century. His library was one of the most important centre of meeting for Italian and European scholars in the Venice Republic. The bibliography relating to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli and his library is really vast; since it is impossible to give an exhaustive account of it, for the purposes of this study it seems appropriate to mention at least: Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, Patricii Genuensis*; Rivolta, *Un grande bibliofilo del secolo XVI: Contributo a uno studio sulla biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*; Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo”; Nuovo, “Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall’agosto 1601 all’ottobre 1604”; Ferrari and Navoni, *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell’Ambrosiana*; Nuovo, “La struttura bibliografica della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)”; Nuovo, “Per una storia della biblioteca Pinelli”; Nuovo, “The creation and dispersal of the Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli”; Ferro, “Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all’Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo”; Nuovo, “Manuscript Writings on Politics and Current Affairs in the Collection of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)”; Callegari, “Pinelli Gian Vincenzo”; Raugei, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca*.

² For the biography of the theologian and jurisconsult (1553–1621), Archpriest of the Cathedral and Vicar of the Bishop of Padua, cf. at least: Calvi, *Biblioteca e Storia di quegli scrittori così della città come del territorio di Vicenza che pervennero fin’ad ora a notizia*; Cozzi, “Intorno al Cardinale Ottavio Paravicino, a Monsignor Paolo Gualdo e a Michelangelo da Caravaggio”; Gualdo Jr., 1650. *Giardino di chà Gualdo*, 8.: XXI–XXIV; Bellinati, “Galileo e il sodalizio con gli ecclesiastici padovani in Galileo e la cultura padovana,” 351–54; Ronconi, “Paolo Gualdo e Galileo.”

suspended the transport operations to ascertain that the vast fund of contemporary writings, copied and preserved in large quantities by Gian Vincenzo, did not contain private information about its internal management, which, if disclosed, could have provoked unpleasant consequences.

In fact, the Pinellian library contained not only literary, historical-geographic and scientific works, but also the correspondence between Gian Vincenzo and the most eminent European writers (such as, just to name a few, the Florentine humanist Jacopo Corbinelli;³ the French jurist and humanist Claude Dupuy;⁴ the famous composer Philippe de Monte, preceptor of a very young Gian Vincenzo and *Keppelmeister* at the Habsburg court;⁵ etc.), in which he discussed both on literary and philological issues and on personal events or related to contemporary historical events. In addition, Pinelli tirelessly copied, often with the help of his servants, lots of official and unofficial texts on the political, historical and social Italian and European current affairs of the sixteenth century (such as notes, diagrams, university lectures, family trees, maps, medical prescriptions, dispatches, reports by ambassadors, letters, writings relating to public and private affairs, etc.). However, Gino Benzoni has well underlined how this phenomenon was usual for many Venetian nobles:

The aristocracy – in its hanging out with philosophy, erudition, religion, poetry, in its indulgence in private diaristic memorisation – does not shy away [...] from the vice and vice or, in some cases, the need to write, nor does it deny itself the pleasure of writing. Collecting [...] the management of the state as pertaining to the entire aristocracy. [...] The collecting prince, then, the patrician class and, also, where he deliberates and his deliberation is diligently reported in writing, collecting author, collecting writer of parts, especially if gathered in the senate. [...] This is therefore the body that writes the most and also, given that ambassadors and rectors report to it, the one that receives the most writings. [...] The entire patriciate writes, either as chancellor or ambassador, to update or, as senator, to specify what further updates it needs. The result is that of an immense collective writing that incessantly

³ The correspondence between Corbinelli and Pinelli was the subject of two doctoral theses discussed at the Université de Lausanne, both directed by Alberto Roncaccia: Bianchi, “Il codice Ambrosiano B 9 inf. e le lettere di Jacopo Corbinelli a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: Interessi eruditi e storici tra Italia e Francia (1565–1578)”; Gazzotti, “Scambi culturali tra Italia e Francia nel XVI secolo: Le lettere di Jacopo Corbinelli a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1579–1587) nel codice ambrosiano T 167 sup.” Its commented edition will be soon published.

⁴ The correspondence is published in: Pinelli and Dupuy, *Une correspondance entre deux humanistes*; cf. moreover at least: Nuovo, “A proposito del carteggio Pinelli-Dupuy.”

⁵ For the relations between Pinelli and de Monte, cf. at least: Hindrichs, *Philipp de Monte (1521–1603): Komponist, Kapellmeister, Korrespondent*: 139–71; on pp. 201–23 it is also possible to read the transcripts of the letters sent to Gian Vincenzo from the Prague court during the years 1584–1585; Wistreich, “Philippe de Monte: new autobiographical documents.”

feeds on itself, that indefatigably grows on itself, careful not to disperse because everything is conserved, archived in special repositories.⁶

So, Mario Infelise, too:

Formally, dispatches read in the Senate had to remain secret. This, however, did not prevent a large patriciate, accustomed to dealing with politics even outside the palace, from leaking all kinds of information to the outside world that could arouse interest.⁷

Despite of this, Pinelli's relentless collection is exceptional; Paolo Gualdo himself, in his *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli* described the scholar attitude in this way:

In eam curam, dum vixit, ardentem incubuit, ut libros editos manuscriptosque linguarum doctrinarumque omnium in unum cogeret, cui operi destinarat scriptores librarios plerosque, quorum ipse unus operas fere omnes mercede conduxerat.⁸

The authentic reason of this behaviour was therefore obscure even to his own secretary, but he suspected that the collection could have served for the compilation of an historiographical work or of a commentary on Aristotle's works.⁹

But let's go back to the library; the Pinelli volumes were packed and arranged within 100 boxes. The *Podestà* of Padua, Francesco Bernardo, controlled them and, among the 14 boxes devoted to the manuscripts, he disputed 2, consisting of about 300 pieces. Many bureaucratic delays followed, because Bernardo nor released the boxes containing only printed books, nor send the seized material to the Council of Ten for a second sorting; only thanks to the intervention of Gianfrancesco Mussato, a close friend of Gian Vincenzo, Gualdo finally obtained to end the seizure of the library and at least a hundred documents were returned.¹⁰

⁶ Benzoni, "La cultura: contenuti e forme," 543. (The quote is translated from Italian.)

⁷ Infelise, *Prima dei giornali: Alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)*, 26. (The quote is translated from Italian.)

⁸ Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, Patricii Genuensis*, 24.

⁹ Gualdo, 48.

¹⁰ The documents definitively seized, containing internal management calculations, diplomatic instructions, writings on water management, etc., were instead inventoried, arranged within two volumes and deposited in the section called ASVe Secreta, Archivio proprio Pinelli, 2. The first volume, which on fol. 1r records the resolution of the Council of Ten, contains approximately 330 documents and a list of the writings returned by the secretary Zaccaria Rosso to Silvestro Pagnone, agent of Pinelli's heir, on 6 September 1601 (fols. 17r–18v). The second one, on the other hand, consists of about 40 documents and it is provided with an index.

By the first ten days of September, the collection was finally embarked on three different ships to avoid the risk of a shipwreck in order to reach the Apulian port of Fortore; there, Girolamo Velo, the Bishop of Larino in Molise, would have taken care of the transfer to Naples, where the collection would have been finally reunited with other 22 boxes of volumes, deposited by Pinelli himself since 1580 in Rome at Abbot Ravaschieri's residence.¹¹ However, as it's known, off the coast of Marche one of the ships, carrying 33 boxes, was attacked by Turkish pirates, who threw numerous books, scientific objects and works of art into the sea. The assaulted ship was then carried by the currents to Porto San Giorgio, where it was possible to recover the contents of at least 22 boxes, thanks to the recovery operations promoted by Cosmo and Cardinal Ottavio Bandini, Legate of the Marca Anconitana.¹²

In any case, the surviving part of the collection was transported to the Pinellian fief of Giugliano, eleven kilometers from the Neapolitan capital. Six months after the shipwreck it was still not possible to establish with certainty the losses suffered, because Cosmo, having not finished the analysis of each box's content – which he preferred to conduct by himself –, had not yet completed an index of the material rescued. In April 1602, the young Pinelli left for Genoa with his wife and two children, where he spent the summer; from here he went to Milan (around mid-September) and Padua, to promote the construction of Gian Vincenzo's funeral monument, designed by Galileo Galilei and then never completed, in the Basilica of St. Anthony. Cosmo suddenly contracted a mysterious disease and, despite the care of the most famous Paduan doctors, he died in Venice on 31 October 1602.¹³ The title and the family fortune were therefore inherited by little Francesco Galeazzo, under the protection of his mother; considering the widow's lack of interest in the fate of the Paduan library, it remained crammed into 84 boxes in the upper hall of the Giugliano residence for many years.¹⁴

In 1603 one of the most eminent cultural figures of that time – the Milanese cardinal Federico Borromeo, who had had friendly relations with Gian Vin-

¹¹ Rodella, "Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo," 93.

¹² Ferro, "Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all'Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo," 270. Excerpts from two letters sent by Cosmo to Gualdo are transcribed. Dated between September and December 1602, they concern the recovery of the lost material: some books were found on the beach of Fermo, together with some parchment leaves reused as shelter for the coastal houses' windows. Cosmo, however, hoped to recover also other boxes because a "chioggiotta" boat was seen picking up a cargo after the Ottoman assault.

¹³ Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, Patricii Genuensis*, 116–17.

¹⁴ This information can be deduced from the inventory – completed by October 1604 – of the volumes located in the Neapolitan Pinelli's fief, about which we will discuss shortly; cf. BNM, Ms. Ital. cl. X, 61 (6601), fol. 1r.

cenzo Pinelli – began to try to buy the collection, which was famous throughout Europe for its ampleness.¹⁵ The negotiations started only four years later – precisely in January 1607 –, when Grazio Maria Grazi,¹⁶ a close collaborator of Borromeo, went to Giugliano to personally contact them. The Borromeo’s agent read the volumes, already priced, and made a selection of them, but he then preferred to leave for Puglia and Calabria to acquire other manuscripts. The negotiations were then entrusted to other two Federico Borromeo’s assistants: the prior of San Martino in Naples, Severo Turboli, and the Neapolitan lawyer Fabio Leuco.¹⁷ Even the new agents had numerous difficulties: at first, the entire library – or, at least, the selection made by Grazi – should have been bought by some Neapolitan booksellers, who would have then resold it to Turboli at an agreed sum, but the deal fell through and this attempt failed. Then, the prior claimed he wanted to buy the entire collection (to put the surplus volumes for a second sale), but the heirs were not yet convinced. At the end, even Turboli resigned his mandate.

After seven months of negotiations carried out by Leuco alone, on 14 June 1608 a public sale auction was finally held in Naples.¹⁸ Abbot Giovanni Battista Besozzi,¹⁹ who arrived in Naples on 1 January 1609, ratified the acquisition on behalf of Borromeo and organized the transfer to Milan. At first, he transferred the collection from Giugliano to the monastery of San Severino in Naples (24

¹⁵ For the complex phases of the acquisition cf. specifically Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo,” in which the correspondence between the main participants involved in the sale can be integrally or partially read. For the relationship between Borromeo and Pinelli: Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, Patricii Genuensis*, 19, 39, 121–22; Motta, “Borromeo, Pinelli e Quarenghi: Letteratura e collezionismo librario tra Cinque e Seicento,” 129–34; Bonomelli and Rodella, *Cartai, tipografi e incisori delle opere di Federico Borromeo: alcune identità ritrovate*, 22–23.

¹⁶ For the Sienese scholar, who was one of the Ambrosiana founders and Borromeo’s secretary from 1619: Moreni, *Bibliografia storico-ragionata della Toscana*, I: 460; de Angelis, *Biografia degli scrittori sanesi composta ed ordinata dall’ab. Luigi De-Angelis*, I: 346; Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo,” 96, note no. 51.

¹⁷ For the correct identification of Leuco, who was in all probability a Neapolitan lawyer as well as the contact of Borromeo for the kingdom of Naples: Ceruti, *La Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano*, 21; Hobson, “A Sale by Candle in 1608,” 218; Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo,” 97, note no. 53.

¹⁸ Anthony Hobson illustrated this peculiar “sale by candle,” which was first used in Italy for just this occasion; later, Massimo Rodella highlighted the basic value of the auction (3025 *scudi*) and the role of Leuco in successfully completing the acquisition. Hobson, “A Sale by Candle in 1608,” 222–24; Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo,” 106–10.

¹⁹ About the Canon of the Milanese Cathedral (†1637), as well as Borromeo’s chamber master and administrator of the archiepiscopal table: Fustella, *Biografie dei sacerdoti che si fecero oblati dal 1601 al 1620*, 113–15; Marcora, “Il Collegio dei Dottori e la Congregazione dei Conservatori,” 203.

January); towards the middle of May, the most precious Greek manuscripts and printed books, packed into 22 boxes, was shipped via Genova to Milan. In the meantime, Antonio Olgiati²⁰ studied the collection's catalogue (about which more will be said shortly) prepared by one of San Severino's monks – a certain Costantino de' Notari – and selected other prints to send to Milan, which arrived only in October 1609. By November, therefore, the most precious nucleus of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's library was received in the Ambrosiana Library, just in time for its official opening (8 December 1609).

On the basis of their format, the manuscripts were placed on the Ambrosian shelves together with other Borromeian *codices*; at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Pinellian unbound sheets were then collected in factitious *codices* together with documents of different origin. Instead, the printed books suffered an unfortunate fate: deposited in the Sala Federiciana, which was bombed in the night between 15 and 16 August 1943 by the Anglo-Americans, they were largely destroyed together with other sixteenth and seventeenth century books.²¹ Only the *incunabula* and a large number of Pinelli's annotations – currently marked BAMi, S.R. and S.Q.C.–S.Q.Z. – were saved, because, considering their obvious value, they were placed together with the manuscripts.²²

Unfortunately, only one of the catalogues of the Pinelli library compiled during the founder's lifetime has survived and it contains only the registration of the 2309 printed books belonging to the initial nucleus of the collection (1564–1565); apograph but intensely annotated by Gian Vincenzo himself, it is now kept in Milan (BAMi, O 249/2 sup.).²³ For the reconstruction of the com-

²⁰ About the first prefect of the Ambrosiana Library, Antonio Olgiati (+1647): Oldelli, *Dizionario storico-ragionato degli uomini illustri del Canton Ticino*, 124–26; Castiglioni, "I prefetti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana," 399–400; Fustella, *Biografie dei sacerdoti che si fecero oblati dal 1601 al 1620*, 297–300.

²¹ About the bombing and its disastrous consequences: Galbiati, *L'Ambrosiana dopo la Seconda Guerra Mondiale*.

²² Among the most valuable postillated *codices*, Angela Nuovo includes at least the interleaved Tacitus (BAMi, S.R. 242), a Cicero with annotations written both on special additional sheets and on margins (BAMi, S.R. 246) and finally, the monumental Greek edition of Aristotle by Aldo Manuzio in 10 volumes fully interleaved (BAMi, INC. 374). Nuovo, "Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall'agosto 1601 all'ottobre 1604," 45; Rodella, "Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo," 124–25.

²³ Composed by 71 folios and bound in paper, the catalogue contains 2247 titles in alphabetical order and, in its final part, other 62 editions listed without any criteria. Although Pinelli had abandoned its compilation, this inventory is valuable for reconstructing the initial fundation of the Paduan collection, mostly characterized by texts of Italian, classical Latin and Greek literature. Also it demonstrates how Gian Vincenzo used to integrate this list with all the new acquisitions, to replace the editions in his possession with more recent publications and often to buy *incunabula* and ancient editions. Nuovo, "Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall'agosto 1601 all'ottobre 1604," 48–49. Unfortunately, no trace is left of the eight indexes of Pinelli's manuscripts

plete fund – although reduced because of the losses of September 1601²⁴ – it is therefore necessary to rely on its aforementioned *post mortem* inventories: BNM, Ms. Ital. cl. X, 61 (6601) and BAMi, B 311 suss.²⁵ The first index, commissioned by Cosmo Pinelli after the arrival of the books in Giugliano, had a long and complex drafting (almost two years), certainly slowed because of the heir's premature death. However, in October 1604 the catalogue was completed; the number of manuscripts surveyed was 738, while the number of printed editions was 6428.

The Pinellian collection was re-examined at the beginning of 1609 on the initiative of the new owner, Federico Borromeo, who wanted to know the exact severity of the losses of 1601; the assignment, as previously mentioned, was entrusted to one of the Benedictine monks of the monastery of San Severino in Naples, where the Borromeo emissaries had temporarily deposited the collection. According to the suggestions of Antonio Olgiati, Costantino de Notari da Nola, assisted by Fabio Leuco, inventoried 770 manuscripts and 5400 printed books. The catalogue (BAMi, B 311 suss.), made of 194 sheets, has the title: *Index librorum bibliothecae Pinellae secundum ordinem arcarum in qui-*

(divided into: Greek; Latin and vulgar; annotated printed books; writings of the doctors of the Paduan Studio; *catalogus catalogorum*; manuscripts awaiting collocation; Greek manuscripts already printed; management rules of the library) and of the catalogue of the printed editions. They were already lost in 1609, when a desolate Paolo Gualdo was forced to confess to Federico Borromeo that “*per quanto si fosse affaticato per averli, mai gli era stato possibile, essendogli stato scritto da Napoli, che non si trovavano*” BAMi, G 202 inf., fol. 6r. Nuovo, “Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall'agosto 1601 all'ottobre 1604,” 50–51; Rodella, “Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: La vendita a Federico Borromeo,” 94–95; Ferro, “Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all'Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo,” 273.

²⁴ Despite the efforts of Cosmo Pinelli and, then, of Borromeo, it has never been possible to establish definitely the number of volumes irremediably lost in September 1601; in fact, since the original and complete indexes of the collection were lost, it was not possible to compare them with the catalogues prepared by the two owners after the boarding. According to the information sent by Paolo Gualdo to Borromeo on 21 February 1609, the missing boxes were eleven (8 of which containing books, 2 paintings and 1 musical instruments and scientific objects); therefore, the loss must have amounted to the 8% of the Paduan collection. BAMi, G 202 inf., fol. 6r; Ferro, “Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all'Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo,” 272–74.

²⁵ Also BAMi, X 289 inf. (fols. 158r–187v) – prepared after Cosmo's death – and Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, codex no. 1769 of the Peiresc's collection – which contains Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc's annotations on some Pinellian volumes before their transfer to Giugliano – help to reconstruct the original Pinellian library. The French scholar and collector met Pinelli during his youthful stay in Padua and established excellent relations with Paolo Gualdo; he was in Padua also when Gian Vincenzo died. In that occasion, he obtained the permission to access the collection for studying in depth the manuscripts cataloguing method, copying at least 486 titles of the 8440 printed books kept in the library. Nuovo, “Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall'agosto 1601 all'ottobre 1604,” 49–51; Ferro, “Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all'Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo,” 272, note no. 40.

bus libri inclusi sunt. Iuxta forma tradita ab admodum reverendo domino Antonio Olgiato bibliothecario Bibliothecae Ambrosianae. Fols. 1r–142r contain the description of the 45 boxes of printed material, both in Italian and Latin; the list of manuscripts, which were crammed into boxes nos. 46–60, follows (fols. 142r–177r). Finally, among the fols. 177r–179r, there is the description of the 61st box (“61 et ultima cassa”), with the list of some Pinellian handwritten quires marked with capital letters from A to Z (and, subsequently, from AA to ZZ and, again, by AAA to ZZZ), accompanied by a brief description of each series’ subjects.²⁶ This first part of the inventory ends with the monk’s and Leuco’s signatures (“D. Constantinus a Nola monachus. Neapoli 18 febrarii. Fabius Leucus Neapoli die ultima”). The second section of the catalogue (fols. 181r–193r), also signed by the religious (fol. 193r: “Ita est. D. Constantinus Nolanus monachus. Neapoli ex monasteris s.ti Scu.ni [sic] 10 febrarii”), is instead deputy to the census of the *Opera graeca graece mmss et tipis impressa*, which were distributed in 11 boxes. All the texts are also provided with their monetary value expressed in ducats, tarì and grains of the Neapolitan kingdom.²⁷

According to fol. 177r, the Pinellian ZZ quire (“mazzo segnato ZZ”) have been specifically assigned to the “cose di Ungaria” (i.e. Hungarian affairs). Thanks to thorough investigations conducted in the Ambrosiana, it was possible to identify at least 13 of the documents belonged to this quire; characterized

²⁶ The documents of these quires mainly consist of short political writings, letters sent by a specific interlocutor and notes on various erudite topics, “*briciole di sapere [...] accumulate in maniera paziente e metodica sul filo dei giorni,*” characterized by very different dates and formats. Raugei, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca*, 59. Unlike the manuscripts of a certain extension, in the Pinellian library these texts did not enjoy autonomy and they were at first grouped by subject and literary genre (cf. the oldest catalogue of Pinelli’s manuscripts, BAMi, I 230 inf.); from the mid-1570s, when they became more and more numerous, they were then collected in unbound quires, called *mazzi*, according to the homogeneity of their subjects. Each subject was hence identified by a capital letter from A to Z and, subsequently, from AA to ZZ and, again, from AAA to ZZZ. Within each quire, the writings were separated by a sheet with Arabic numbering: each document, therefore, had a shelfmark which first distinguished the subject (capital letter) and, then, its position within the quire (Arabic numeral). The absence of bindings allowed the scholar to modify the order of the texts when new documents were added. In any case, once they arrived in the Ambrosiana, these quires were unfortunately only partially bound in order to respect their original composition: they were in fact bounded in a fragmented manner within different factitious *codices*. Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, Patricii Genuensis*, 27–29; Barbero, “Obiettivi e contenuti del progetto Indici e del catalogo Manus,” 16–19; Ferro, “Per la storia del fondo Pinelli all’Ambrosiana: Notizie dalle lettere di Paolo Gualdo,” 167–69; Nuovo, “Manuscript Writings on Politics and Current Affairs in the Collection of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601),” 203–4; Raugei, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca*, 61–62.

²⁷ Angela Nuovo hypothesizes that these monetary valuations, rather than for patrimonial purposes, had to facilitate the sale of those pieces that were not chosen by Borromeo for the Ambrosiana in the kingdom of Naples, in order to finance the transfer of the most precious nucleus to Milan. Nuovo, “Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall’agosto 1601 all’ottobre 1604,” 48.

by different formats, they are currently kept in BAMi, S 86 sup., only partially respecting their original order.²⁸ They are mostly copies of strategic-military discourses – one of which dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II and presumably dated to 1574 –, letters, and reports regarding the sixteenth century battles between the Habsburgs and the Turks on the Hungarian territory:

- ZZ-2 *Lettera di Ferdinando conte di Ardech et altri capitani del presidio di Giavarino sopra la resa di quella fortezza avvenuta nel 1594*, 29 September 1594, copy (codicological unit 18, fols. 198r–199r); the shelfmark ZZ-2 identifies also the *Relazion del regno d'Ungaria al tempo di re Matia*, before July 1463, kept in BAMi, R 94 sup. (codicological unit 22, fols. 297r–305v).²⁹
- ZZ-3 *Discorso intorno ai movimenti del Turco nella Croazia nel 1593* (codicological unit 20, fols. 233r–261v).
- ZZ-4 *Patriarcharum Aquileiensium catalogus usque ad Ioannem Grimum* (codicological unit 6, fols. 124r–127r).

²⁸ For an accurate description of BAMi, S 86 sup. and of its texts of Hungarian relevance: Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 142–44, no. 29. All these documents will be included in the database created by the Vestigia II project entitled *Hungarian historical and literary sources of the 14th–16th centuries in Italian archives and libraries* (NKFH no. K 128797). About BAMi, S 86 sup.: Revelli, *I codici ambrosiani di contenuto geografico*, no. 364; Rivolta, *Catalogo dei codici pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana*, no. 166; Ceruti, *Inventario Ceruti dei manoscritti della Biblioteca ambrosiana*, 59–60; Bascapé, *Le Relazioni fra l'Italia e la Transilvania nel secolo XVI*, 197; Carpentieri and Nuzzo, “Egy olasz szemtanú beszámolója Balassi Bálint haláláról”; Carpentieri and Nuzzo, “Una fonte italiana sulla morte di Bálint Balassi, insigne petrarchista ungherese.”

²⁹ Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 153, no. 35. In the transcriptions of titles of manuscript works and, later in the essay, of *incipit*, *explicit* and portions of text in Italian the following criteria have been adopted: 1. division of words in *scriptio continua* according to the current usage; 2. introduction of punctuation according to modern usage; 3. introduction of diacritics; 4. normalization of upper and lower case letters according to modern usage; 5. elimination of the etymological and para-etymological *h* and in the entries of the verb “to have”; 6. normalization of *u/v* allographs; 7. normalization of the allographs *i/j/y* (they have been instead kept in Hungarian or Slavic toponyms or in personal names with results in *-ye -y-*, because the ancient writers might have known their correct forms); 8. maintenance of the conjunction *et* before vowel and normalization in *e* before consonant; 9. normalization of the voiced palatal affricate; 10. latin scripts: considered the age of these texts, they are just graphic residues; when they have no phonological value, they have been therefore eliminated; 11. localities: they have been standardized using their modern toponyms. This choice has turned out extremely useful in consideration of the criteria adopted in the general online Ambrosiana Library catalogue (www.ambrosiana.comperio.it), in which toponyms sometimes appear in their ancient form and, sometimes, in their modern one, both Italian, German or Hungarian. In this regard, I'm grateful to György Domokos, Ilona Kristóf, and Tibor Neumann, who helped me in identifying the toponyms and names that were more difficult to understand.

- ZZ-5 *Breve discorso sui moti in Croazia* (codicological unit 7, fols. 128r–133r).
- ZZ-6 Ferhad Pascià, *Epistula ad principem Transilvaniae*, 29 July 1595, copy (codicological unit 8, fols. 134r–136v); Mehmet III, *Epistula ad Principem Transilvaniae*, 29 July 1595, copy (fols. 136v–137r); Kurt agà, *Epistula ad Principem Transilvaniae*, 29 July 1595, copy (fol. 137r).³⁰
- ZZ-7 *Discorso sulla guerra d'Ungheria del 1595* (codicological unit 9, fols. 138r–141v).³¹
- ZZ-8 P. Busto, *Lettera a suo fratello che narra la congiura contro Sigismondo Bathori e descrive la Transilvania*, Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Weissenburg/Keist, today Alba Iulia, Romania), 21 January 1595 (codicological unit 10, fols. 146r–150r).
- ZZ-9 *Coniuratio adversus serenissimum Transilvaniae principem Sigismundum Bathorium conflata anno 1594* (codicological unit 11, fols. 152r–157r).
- ZZ-10 D. Francesi, *Nuova maniera di guerreggiare in Ungheria contro il Turco, proposta all'imperatore Massimiliano II da Domenico Franzi napoletano*, about 1574, copy (codicological unit 12, fols. 158r–162r).³²
- ZZ-11 *Lettera scritta dal Petrino ingegnere sotto Strigonia a Astorre Leoncelli cameriero e cavalerizzo del prencipe di Baviera*, 1594, copy (codicological unit 13, fols. 164r–168v).³³
- ZZ-12 *Lettera di P. I. a papa Clemente VII sulle cose d'Ungheria*, 1594, copy (codicological unit 14, fols. 170r–171v).³⁴
- ZZ-13 G. Raguseo, *Discorso al principe di Transilvania per la buona direzione delle sue armi*, Gyulafehérvár, 10 January 1595 (codicological unit 15, fols. 172r–175v).
- ZZ-14 *Discorso circa la guerra d'Ongheria e sopra l'elezione di un capitano generale*, 1595 (codicological unit 16, fols. 176r–183v).³⁵

³⁰ Carpentieri, 156–57, no. 38.

³¹ Carpentieri, 163, no. 44.

³² Carpentieri, 224–28, no. 97.

³³ Carpentieri, 149–51, no. 33. This important letter, which is a source on the circumstances of the famous Hungarian soldier and poet Bálint Balassi's death during the Christian siege of Esztergom in 1594, is published with commentary in Carpentieri and Nuzzo, "Egy olasz szemtanú beszámolója Balassi Bálint haláláról"; Carpentieri and Nuzzo, "Una fonte italiana sulla morte di Bálint Balassi, insigne petrarchista ungherese."

³⁴ Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," 142–44, no. 34.

³⁵ Carpentieri, 162–63, no. 43.

Five of these documents – precisely those with shelfmark ZZ-3, ZZ-5, ZZ-8, ZZ-9 and ZZ-13 – are actually strictly related only to Transylvanian and Turkish events of the late sixteenth century and they contain no mention of the surviving kingdom of Hungary. In addition, the examination of the *Patriarcharum Aquileiensium catalogus* has made possible to ascertain that this text has no connections with the “things of Hungary”; in fact, it numbers the patriarchs of Aquileia’s names, with the calculation of their offices, starting from the evangelist Mark, *primus praedicator*, and up to the fifteenth century.

However, the Pinellian *hungarica* does not end with the documents formerly kept in the ZZ quire. First of all, at least 9 texts belonged to some other quires contain conspicuous references to the Hungarian history and to the cultural relations between Italy and Hungary in the 15th–16th centuries. The *Oratio habita Cracoviae anno 1595* (now kept in BAMi, D 208 inf., fols. 181r–187v), delivered by the Hungarian ambassador Demeter Naprágyi at the meeting of the Estates General on 2 March in the presence of the Emperor and King of Hungary Rudolf II of Habsburg,³⁶ for example, pertained to the H quire (it was in fact marked H-42), which, according to the catalogue BAMi, B 311 suss., kept all the “speeches and reports of Poland and other similar writings” (fol. 177v).³⁷

The GGG part 2 quire, which contained “letters and voyages of Pigafetta for the most part” (cf. BAMi, B 311 suss., fol. 178v), included 3 texts concerning the Long War’s military campaigns between the Habsburg and the Turks written by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand I’s³⁸ adviser and informant on political and military issues, Filippo Pigafetta: the *Scrittura di Filippo Pigafetta per la riputazione degli austriaci, al duca di Toscana Ferdinando de’ Medici del giugno 1594*, marked GGG-25;³⁹ the *Scrittura di Filippo Pigafetta per il dominio del Danubio*,

³⁶ Rudolf II Habsburg (1552–1612), Holy Roman Emperor (1576–1612), King of Hungary and Croatia (as Rudolf I, 1572–1608), King of Bohemia (1575–1608/1611) and Archduke of Austria (1576–1608).

³⁷ Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 115–16, no. 6.34–36.

³⁸ Ferdinando I de’ Medici (1549–1609), Grand Duke of Tuscany (1587–1609).

³⁹ Now kept in BAMi, R 125 sup., fols. 41r–45v; cf. Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 141–42, no. 28. This speech (copy) concerns the importance of an army’s reputation, which generates authority. For Pigafetta, the imperial troops had gained this reputation by killing 5000 Turks, so they must act before the infidels regain their courage, conquering the city of Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran) and the nearby fort of Párkány (today Štúrovo, Slovakia), which ensured the Turks free navigation to Buda (Ofen). The Christian forces must show themselves united and exploit their technical superiority, supporting the land expedition by a naval one. Excerpts of this writing are published in Pozzi, “La ‘lunga Guerra’ negli scritti di Filippo Pigafetta,” 1067–68; and Pozzi, *Filippo Pigafetta consigliere del principe*, I: 45–46.

Florence, 13 May 1594, with shelfmark GGG26;⁴⁰ and, finally, the *Ragionamenti del med. Pigafetta sopra diverse parti e successi del mondo, cavati dal giornale di Alfonso Raona*, Vicenza, 9 February 1596, marked GGG-30.⁴¹

Moreover, the *Quibus itineribus turci sint aggrediendi Felicis Petancii cancellarii Segniae ad Vladislaum Hungariae Boemiaeque regem libellus*, written by the Croatian scholar Felix Petancius for King Vladislaus II in 1502,⁴² was preserved in tenth position within the Pinellian X quire, which collected “various speeches of different subjects, and in particular of fortification” (cf. BAMi, B 311 suss., fol. 178v). The Q part 1 quire (devoted to “actions against the Turks”, BAMi, B 311 suss., fol. 178v) retained three other *hungarica*: F. della Valle, *De’ fatti e morte di Luigi Gritti del 153[5]*, with ancient shelfmark Q-7,⁴³ F.

⁴⁰ BAMi, R 125 sup., fols. 47r–52v; Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 130–41, no. 27. In this work the bend of the Danube was identified as strategically fundamental for the control of Hungary: according to the author, who among the Imperials and the Turks would have conquered this area – where the main Hungarian cities were located – would have had great tactical advantages. He also proposed to send a fleet of galleons suitable for river navigation to support the land army for the transport of supplies and heavy artillery. Excerpts of this writing are published by Pozzi, “La ‘lunga Guerra’ negli scritti di Filippo Pigafetta,” 1066–67; and Pozzi, *Filippo Pigafetta consigliere del principe*, I: 44–45.

⁴¹ BAMi, R 125 sup., fols. 75r–82v; Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 175–77, no. 54. Report (copy taken from the *Giornale di Alfonso Ragona*) of Pigafetta’s return to Vicenza from the Hungarian front and of his talks about the Imperial campaign against the Turks in 1595. According to Pigafetta, if the Transylvanian, Hungarian and German forces had managed to conquer Buda, Constantinople could have been besieged. He then dealt with the site of Comar island (Camarum, Komorn, Komárom, Komárno), Győr (Iaurinum, Giavarino, Raab) and the main events of the war (in particular, the Turkish siege of Győr, which is also sketched up at fol. 80r). Excerpts of this writing are published by Pozzi, *Filippo Pigafetta consigliere del principe*, II: 69.

⁴² Now kept in BAMi, Q 116 sup., fols. 209r–214v. In this treatise, Petancius (1445–1517) illustrated to the Hungarian King some routes used by the ancient Romans to reach Eastern Europe; since these ways were almost unknown by that time, according to the author they should be rediscovered to attack the infidels in their own territories. Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde,” 207–9, no. 84. But Agostino Pertusi proved that this work is simply plagiarism: based on the manuscript written in 1480 of Martino Segono Bishop of Dulcigno, in which, for example, the prologue and epilogue are identical, Petancius only has changed the name of the monarch. Pertusi, “I primi studi in Occidente sull’origine e la potenza dei turchi,” 485–6, 489–91; Dávid and Lakatos, “Felix Petancius és a török szultánokról készített első európai családja,” 54.

⁴³ Kept in BAMi, Q 116 sup., fols. 111r–130r. This life (without the dedicatory letter to Alvise Pisani) of Luigi (or Alvise) Gritti, son of the Doge of Venice, Andrea, was written by Francesco della Valle, his secretary between 1531 and 1532. In the text Gritti’s extraordinary political career was highlighted: he was elected governor by János Szapolyai in 1532, ascended to the Hungarian throne with the support of Suleiman the Magnificent after Louis II’s defeat. An account of some diplomatic trips made by Luigi – to Belgrade to meet Suleiman; to Brassó (Corona, Kronstadt, today Braşov, Romania), Tîrgovişte (Romania), in the Carpathians, etc. – and of his capture and murder by the Moldovan voivode Petru IV Rareş (1527–1538, 1541–1546) followed. Carpentieri, “Per un primo censimento delle fonti

Petantius, *De Turcorum statu libellus cum epistula ad Vladislaum Hungariae Boemiaeque regem* (about 1502), marked Q-22;⁴⁴ and, finally, the *Ragguaglio dello stato nel quale si ritrova quest'anno 1594 il governo dell'impero turchesco e della causa perché egli abbia rivolto l'animo all'Ungaria* (1594), with Pinellian shelfmark Q-40.⁴⁵ Lastly, the *Prima capita* "De architectura" by Filarete, translated by the famous humanist Antonio Bonfini (Buda, about 1487–1488, copy), was part of the Y part 2 quire, relating to "mathematical things" (cf. BAMi, B 311 subs., fol. 178v); it was marked Y-30 and it is now kept in BAMi, A 71 inf., fols. 37r–51r.⁴⁶ Also it is possible to find numerous other texts of Hungarian interest even among the Pinellian documents no longer provided with their original shelfmarks, which, however, retain *marginalia*, *annotations* and rubrics by Gian Vincenzo's hand.⁴⁷ Among these, first of all the 113 letters kept in BAMi, D 196 inf. should be considered. Sent to Pinelli by the Flemish philologist and Canon of Eger (Agria, Erlau) and Pressburg (Posonium, Pozsony, today Bratislava, Slovakia) Nicasius Ellebodius between 1571 and 1577, they contain significant insights into the Hungarian political, civil, and intellectual history of the second half of 16th century.⁴⁸ Densely annotated by the hand of Gian Vincenzo, these letters testify the intense activity of translation and

storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," 441–42, no. 282. The text is published by I. Nágy in della Valle, "Una breve narrazione della grandezza, virtù, valore, et della infelice morte dell'Illustrissimo Signor Conte Alouise Gritti." The edition is based on the manuscript BNM, Ms. Ital. cl. VI, 122 (6211).

⁴⁴ Now kept in BAMi, N 340 sup., fols. 25r–30v. Discussion on the Ottoman Empire (origin, language, history, chronology of the main Sultans, extension of the kingdom, etc; concluding chapter: organization of the Turkish army) by Felix Petancius, Croatian scholar who resided in Buda at the court of King Matthias I between 1487 and 1490 and later became a diplomat of King Vladislaus II. Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," 206–7, no. 83.

⁴⁵ Now kept in BAMi, D 484 inf., fols. 31r–42v. Text by unknown author on the Sultan Murad III and on his war campaigns of 1594. BAMi, S 115 sup., ff. 17r–28v keeps another copy of this text, without any Pinellian shelfmark. Carpentieri, 146–47, no. 30.

⁴⁶ Carpentieri, 199–201, no. 78.

⁴⁷ In addition to the manuscripts mentioned in this essay, the Ambrosiana Library preserves at least other thirty Pinellian factitious *codices*, which keep dozens and dozens of *hungarica*. Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde." All these documents have been notified on the above mentioned Vestigia II project (NKFIH no. K 128797).

⁴⁸ Z. Kovács, Nicasius Ellebodius Casletanus tra Padova e Posonio, in *Rapporti e scambi tra umanesimo italiano ed umanesimo europeo: l'Europa è uno stato d'animo*, edited by L. Rotondi Secchi Tarugi, Milano, Nuovi orizzonti, 2001, pp. 679–90. Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," Addenda, no. 12., in which the summaries of the 117 letters sent by Ellebodius to Pinelli, Mercuriale, Guilandino and to two anonymous addressees, as well as of two epistles sent to Nicaise, are given. In addition, the commented edition of this correspondence is being prepared in the research project entitled *The Correspondence of Nicasius Ellebodius. Critical Edition and Network Studies* (NKFIH no. FK 132710).

commentary of Latin authors (Cicero, Livio, Plautus, Pliny, Sallust, etc.) and Greeks (Aristotle, Aristophanes, Polybius, Herodotus, Hippocrates, etc.) carried out by Ellebodus during the years he spent as a doctor of István Radéczy, Provost of Pressburg, Bishop of Várad (Varadinum, today Oradea, Romania) (from 1568 to 1572) and then of Eger (1573–1586), and lieutenant of the king. Since his first stay in Padua (1561–1571), Ellebodus was accustomed to discuss philological problems with Pinelli and some other members of his Paduan entourage (such as the doctor Girolamo Mercuriale, the botanist Melchiorre Guilandino, the engineer Domenico Francesi, the mathematician Giuseppe Moletti, etc.) and, even from Hungary, he continued to ask for help from his friends to interpret all the dubious passages encountered during his translation activity. Often complaining about the poverty of Bishop Radéczy's library, he also used to exchange information with Pinelli on the most recent editorial news; the two also often commissioned each other to buy volumes accessible only beyond the Alps or in Italy. These books were then delivered, not without difficulty, by couriers or by taking advantage of their friends' travels, such as, for example, the librarian of the Imperial Library in Vienna, Ugone Blozio. Ellebodus, who sent continuous updates to Padua about his journeys in Austria and in Hungary following the bishop, also gave an account of Girolamo Mercuriale and Domenico Francesi's staying at the court of Vienna (Mercuriale, who had been asked by the Emperor in 1573 to stop serving, refused the proposal; Francesi, on the other hand, was refused in 1574 because of his lack of practical experience in military engineering). In addition, the canon's letters contained very interesting and sometimes curious information on disparate Hungarian customs: alongside observations on viticulture, on wheat cultivation, on the native flora and fauna and on the geological features of the area, there were also news on contingent issues, such as, for example, the terrible plague epidemic of 1576–1577, the annual Diets of Hungary, the progress of the war against the Turks, etc. These letters were also often accompanied by soil samples, minerals, plants, beaver glands and so on, which increased the already rich mineralogical and botanical Pinellian collection.

Also the collection of dispatches, reports and notices sent to the scholar from the most important Italian and European cities is very interesting for our purpose: it constitutes, in fact, an appropriate repository of information relating to that period.⁴⁹ In the second part of this essay, I would therefore specifi-

⁴⁹ These writings were collected and grouped systematically by Pinelli starting from 1566 and up to 1600 in volumes according to a chronological criterion; today they are kept in the Ambrosiana in 12 different units. Nuovo, "Manuscript Writings on Politics and Current Affairs in the Collection of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)," 198–201; where their inventory is offered: BAMi, G 276 inf. (dispatches relating to 1566); BAMi, D 489 inf. (1569); BAMi, D 491 inf. (1573); BAMi, G 54 inf. (1574); BAMi, D 188 inf. (1575–1576); BAMi, D

cally focus on the two factitious *codices* BAMi, G 276 inf. and BAMi, D 489 inf., which collect all the notices arrived in Padua during the sixties of the sixteenth century (and, precisely, in 1566 and 1569); among these, in fact, respectively 31 and 12 dispatches – sent from Augusta, Pressburg, Vienna and from the Caesarean war camp against the Turks – mainly concern the Hungarian events of February–December 1566 and January–October 1569. Before thoroughly analysing these volumes, it seems appropriate to clarify, at least summarily, the historical context to which the letters belong, in order to better understand their content.

Until the defeat at Mohács (1526), the Kingdom of Hungary – which included territories inhabited by different ethnic groups, such as Slavonia, and was in a personal union with Croatia – enjoyed territorial and political unity. After the death of King John I,⁵⁰ the Ottoman Empire took possession of the central and southern Hungarian territories by the middle of the century, the Habsburgs annexed the northern and western parts of the Kingdom of Hungary to their empire, and finally, with Ottoman support, the autonomous and ‘national’ Principality of Transylvania was established in the eastern part of the country in 1571.

When Szapolyai died in 1540, he left only one heir, John Sigismund,⁵¹ born a few months earlier. Although Suleiman I⁵² conquered Buda in 1541, John Sigismund was proclaimed King of Hungary under the tutelage of his mother, Queen Isabella Jagiellon⁵³ and Bishop Giorgio Martinuzzi of Várad.⁵⁴ Ferdinand I⁵⁵ opposed this decision, so the Sultan continued hostilities with the Austrian army by force, occupying the entire area between Pécs, Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran) and Szeged. The peace treaty of 19 June 1547 not only restored the Eastern Kingdom under John Sigismund, declaring it a Turkish protectorate, but also confirmed the Ottoman territorial conquests of those years and forced the emperor to pay annual tribute to the sultan.

493 inf. (1577); BAMi, G 266 inf. (1579–1580); BAMi, D 492 inf. (1584); BAMi, D 490 inf. (1584–1585); BAMi, G 274 inf. (1594); BAMi, G 274 inf. (1596–1598); BAMi, E 142 sup. (1600).

⁵⁰ John/János I. Szapolyai (1480/1487–1540), Count of Szepes (today Spiš, Slovakia), Voivode of Transylvania (1510–1526), King of Hungary (1526–1540).

⁵¹ John Sigismund Szapolyai (1540–1571), King of Hungary as John II (1540–1551 and 1556–1570), and the first Prince of Transylvania (1570–1571).

⁵² Suleiman I /Suleiman the Magnificent (1494–1566), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1520–1566).

⁵³ Isabella Jagiellon (1519–1559), Queen consort of Hungary, she married John Zápolya, Voivode of Transylvania and King of Hungary (1539–1540).

⁵⁴ Giorgio Martinuzzi/Fráter György/Juraj Utješenić (1482–1551), politician, Bishop of Várad (1534–1551), Archbishop of Esztergom (1551), Cardinal (1551).

⁵⁵ Ferdinand I Habsburg (1503–1564), Archduke of Austria (1521–1564), King of Hungary and Bohemia (1526–1564), Holy Roman Emperor (1558–1564).

From the following year, Martinuzzi Governor of Transylvania, while maintaining friendly relations with Suleiman, tried to facilitate the transfer of the estates of the House of Szapolyai to Ferdinand. The King of the Romans then sent a contingent of 3000 Spanish and 500 Tyrolean soldiers under Giovanni Battista Castaldo; the victories achieved by Martinuzzi's army at the outbreak of civil war forced the Queen to approve the transfer of the rights to the crown of Hungary and Transylvania to the Habsburgs (19 July 1551). Isabella and her son fled to Silesia, while Martinuzzi, who had just become cardinal, was soon killed for alleged collusion with the Turks. This event, however, provoked a reaction from Suleiman, who, despite the defence organised by Castaldo, recaptured several strongholds – Temesvár (today Timișoara, Romania), Lippa (today Lipova, Romania), Veszprém, Szolnok, etc. – until the heroic garrison of Eger, led by István Dobó,⁵⁶ stopped the Ottoman attack (1552). From then on, although no truce was concluded, the Turks did not conduct any other regular campaigns in Hungary for about fifteen years, although the skirmishes between the Christians and the Ottomans continued tirelessly.

In April 1566 Suleiman, already seriously ill, decided to move in person from Istanbul with his entire court for his last campaign: the goal was the conquest of Vienna. In aid of the new Emperor Maximilian II,⁵⁷ who had taken power in 1564, reinforcements arrived also from Italy, specifically from Cosimo I de' Medici⁵⁸ (with Francesco I, his eldest son, who was in fact regent since 1564), who promptly sent money and soldiers; from the Duke of Urbino Guidobaldo II Della Rovere;⁵⁹ and from the Duke of Ferrara Alfonso II d'Este,⁶⁰ who left for Hungary in person.⁶¹

⁵⁶ István Dobó (c. 1502–1572) famous commander of Eger. Hungarian landowner and famous captain who defended Eger, with a garrison of just 2000 soldiers, from the Turks' assault led by the Grand Vizier Ahmed and the Pasha of Buda Ali in 1552. In recognition of this achievement, he gained Déva (today Deva, Romania) and Szamosújvár (today Gherla, Romania) and in 1553 he became Voivode of Transylvania at the behest of King Ferdinand I. When Transylvania attempted to free itself from Habsburg domination, Dobó was put in prison (1566). However, he was soon released and Ferdinand appointed him captain of Léva (today Levice, Slovakia). When Suleiman I the Magnificent marched against Vienna in 1566, Dobó joined the Habsburg army, but he was accused of treason and connivance with the Turks; by order of Maximilian II he was then arrested. In the end, the accusation turned out to be unfounded and he was released in April 1572. He died in Szerednye (today Сєреднє, Ukraina) Castle in the summer of the same year. Cf. at least Borbély, "The Gate of the Upland: Eger in the 16th – 17th Centuries"; *Encyclopaedia Britannica on line* (www.britannica.com/biography/Istvan-Dobo).

⁵⁷ Maximilian II Habsburg (1527–1576), King of Bohemia (1562–1576), King of Hungary and Croatia (1563–1576), Holy Roman Emperor (1564–1576).

⁵⁸ Cosimo I de' Medici (1519–1574), the last Duke of Florence (1537–1569), the first Grand Duke of Tuscany (1569–1574).

⁵⁹ Guidobaldo II della Rovere (1514–1574), Duke of Urbino (1538–1574).

⁶⁰ Alfonso II d'Este (1533–1597), Duke of Ferrara (1559–1597).

⁶¹ On the participation of the Italian contingents and especially of the Ferrarese one, see at

On the Turkish front, the Prince of Transylvania attacked Hungary from the North, while the Sultan's army broke through in two different points: the Second Vizier Pertev Pascha had to retake Gyula with the reinforcements of the beylerbeyi of Temesvár Mustafa Pasha, of the Sanjak of Belgrade (Nándorfehértár, today Београд, Serbia) and of the other beys of the Transylvanian border, with the beys of Semendire and Sirem's support; the rest of the army, led by Suleiman himself, who had been transported on a litter for all the journey, besieged Szigetvár (Inselburg, Siget), a strategic stronghold on the road to Vienna. The siege was memorable and inspired numerous writings.⁶² Count Miklós Zrínyi, captain of the stronghold, resisted for more than a month with his 2400 soldiers, slowing down the Turkish advance; Emperor Maximilian II was camped near Győr, but, despite Zrínyi's repeated requests for help, he refused to intervene with his troops, deputies to defend Vienna. Also, Alfonso II

least: Provasi, "Alfonso II d'Este alla campagna in Ungheria (1566): Spese di guerra, spese di rappresentanza," and the bibliography indicated.

⁶² First of all, here I recall the chronicle written by Ferenac Črnko, secret waiter and secretary of Zrínyi and only survivor, together with three Hungarian nobles, of the carnage that ended the siege. Črnko wrote his memories in Croatian; they were soon translated by Samuel Budina into Latin and German and printed in 1568 in Vienna by Gaspar Stainhofer with the title: *Historia Sigheti totius Sclavoniae fortissimi propugnacoli, quod a Solymano Turcarum imperatore nuper captum Christianisque ereptum est, ex Croatico sermone in Latinum conversa per m. Samuelem Budinam Labacensem*. This Latin translation became the primary source of many other texts inspired by the story of count Zrínyi; among these, I mention at least the poem *Vazetje Sigeta Grada* by Brne Karnatutić (Venice, 1584, with a dedication to the hero's son, György Zrínyi). It is also worth remembering how the text left its mark also in the oral tradition in Ottoman region; as Sofia Zani reports, there are in fact at least four popular songs containing precise references to this event: *Ban Miklouš Zrinski u Segetu gradu, bugarštica, Mujo Ljubović pod Segetom*, of the Herzegovina's Muslims, *Boj na Segetu*, in decasyllables, and the brief *Smrt cara Sulejmana pod Segetom*. In 1568 the first two German editions of Črnko's report were also published; the first was commissioned by the printer Stainhofer, immediately after the appearance of the Budina's translation in Vienna. Reichert Sorsch, instead, translated the text directly from the Croatian, using a copy of Črnko's memories belonged to his father (as the author himself declared in the dedication), who had taken part in the battle of Szigetvár. In 1569 the first Italian translation was also published by the Spanish Alfonso de Ulloa: *Historia dell'impresa di Tripoli di Barbaria... Alla quale sono state aggiunte... le cose fatte in Ungheria l'anno MDLXVI da sultan Solimano, con la narrazione della morte di esso sotto Seghetto et la creazione di Selim, suo figliolo* (Venice, Marchiò Sessa, 1569). The translation was probably based on the Budina's Latin version. The "things done in Hungary in the year MDLXVI by sultan Suleiman" were so successful that they were reprinted in the second edition of the *Comentari... della guerra che il Sig. Don Fernando Alvarez di Toledo, duca d'Alva...*, published in Venice by Bolognino Zaltieri in 1570. In 1569 the appendix was finally published as a separate volume by Giovanni Crigher in Turin; in 1570 a second edition already followed, licensed in Venice for the types of Bolognino Zaltieri. See: Zani, "Povijest Segeta Grada (Historia di Zighet): L'eroe, l'autore, il testo, la traduzione italiana," 428–30; Carpentieri, "Rapporti Italia-Ungheria in cinque testi del XVI secolo," 74–118, with a commented edition of the text published by Zaltieri in 1570; Carpentieri, "Su alcune edizioni a stampa di argomento ungherese conservate presso la Biblioteca Trivulziana di Milano," 33–39. For Zrínyi and the siege: Varga and Evans, *Europe's Leonidas*; Fodor, *The Battle for Central Europe*.

d'Este, who had arrived in Vienna on 28 August and had paraded with his small army of 4200 men on 3 September, had already reached the imperial camp, but his forces remained unused (because of the loss of many soldiers due to illnesses and in consideration of the expenditure of great resources, the duke returned home on 18 December). On 7 September, Zrínyi and the 200 surviving Hungarian and Croatian soldiers then decided to attempt a last desperate sortie, during which they were killed. On 8 September, Szigetvár capitulated, exactly two days after the death of Suleiman himself.

Hostilities were suspended in October due to the onset of winter, but there was no longer any interest on either side of the Danube to continue the war. In the spring of 1567 the art of diplomacy replaced the war: the Ottoman army interrupted the campaign and preferred to return to Constantinople. In 1568 Selim II,⁶³ the new Sultan, and Maximilian II stipulated a formal truce with the peace of Adrianople (Hadrianopolis, Ἀδριανούπολις, today Edirne, Türkiye), in which all the recent Turkish conquests were recognized and the borders between the two powers were established. The truce was very advantageous for the Sublime Porte: Hungarian territories fallen under the Turkish rule became imperial provinces (vilayet) ruled by the Pasha of Buda; the previous counties were replaced with sanjak (sandjaks); and the Pasha and all the beys became responsible for military, administrative, and legal matters in these new territories. From an economical point of view, then, the peace provided with an annual “gift of honor” both the Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollu⁶⁴ (2000 ducats), major supporter of this agreement in Constantinople, and Selim II (30 000 ducats). However, at the same time, a relative tranquillity was guaranteed to the Habsburgs on a traditionally turbulent front. The peace formally lasted for twenty-five years, but in that period expeditions, local conflicts and capture of enemies continued unabated, with mutual losses and conquests of border strongholds. Nevertheless, the agreement was never considered violated.⁶⁵

⁶³ Selim II/ Selim the Blond (1524–1574), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1566–1574).

⁶⁴ Sokollu Mehmed Pasha /Mehmed–paša Sokolović (1506–1579), Ottoman statesman of Serbian origin most notable for being the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire.

⁶⁵ For the Turkish-Habsburg wars of that period, just summarized here, cf., among many others, at least: Asztalos and Pethő, *Storia della Ungheria*, 201–9; Sugar, Hanák, and Frank, *A History of Hungary*, 86–89; Housley, *The Later Crusades (1274–1580)*, 118–50; Hanák, *Storia dell'Ungheria*, 46–47; Szakály, “L'espansione turca in Europa centrale dagli inizi alla fine del XVI secolo,” 133–51; Fodor and Dávid, *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe*; Jačov, *L'Europa tra conquiste ottomane e leghe sante*, 32–38; Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1650: The Structure of Power*, 52–55; Clot and Reisz, *Suleiman the Magnificent*, in particular, the seventh chapter *The Twilight of the Empire*; Fodor, *The Battle for Central Europe*.

This is the historical context. As already said, BAMi, G 276 inf. and BAMi, D 489 inf. retain many information on the sixties of the sixteenth century in Hungary and, therefore, they connote themselves as precious first-hand source for the reconstruction of that period. First, the bibliographic description of these two codices will now be provided and, subsequently, a list of all their dispatches of Hungarian interest – each one accompanied by the transcription of its *incipit* and *explicit* and by a summary – will be offered.

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 276 inf.⁶⁶

The Pinellian codex G 276 inf. (fols. II, 246, I'; 322 x 224 mm), consisting of numerous leaves and quires written by different hands, has a binding in half leather and brown marbled paper. On the spine, black cartouche with gold-stamped shelfmark (276). In the center of the inner front board, handwritten shelfmark in brown ink. II + I' flyleaves; on the recto of the second, previous shelfmark (*C 195 p.te inf.*), deleted; beside modern note, in pencil: "NB: sotto a questo H6 antico non trovasi nell'indice;" in the center: *Avvisi d'Orazio a Gio. Vincenzo Pinello. 1566*, in brown ink, to which a different hand added: "Teodoro Malatesta (p. 15 verso)" and "Domenico Franzi (n. 28)," in brown ink too. On the upper right corner of the recto of each folio, ancient Arabic progressive foliation within the volume, in brown ink. The codex – which is quite well preserved, despite the presence of extensive damp spots – keeps about 200 dispatches sent to Giovanni Vincenzo Pinelli from various European cities (Rome, Madrid, court of France, Malta, Augusta, Pressburg, Venice, Naples, Constantinople, etc.) in 1566; among these, at least 31 documents contain references to the Diet of Hungary of 1566 and to the imperial campaign against the Turks in Hungary in February–December 1566.

The quires are devoid of catchwords and ruling and they often contain several dispatches in succession – sometimes written by the same hand –, each one provided with its date and locality of composition. Furthermore, frequently, on the upper margin of the first folio of many quires, a greeting formula addressed to Pinelli ("Molto mag.co mio signor oss.do") is written by a different hand, which, according to the indication on the II guard sheet recto, we must be supposed to that of a Venetian agent of Pinelli, called Orazio.⁶⁷ In such cases, at the bottom

⁶⁶ Related bibliography: Rivolta, *Catalogo dei codici pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana*, no. 255; Ceruti, *Inventario Ceruti dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, II, 189; Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," 415–17, no. 258, 259, Addenda no. 13; "Manus online, CNMD\38706."

⁶⁷ Unfortunately, at the moment, no information about Orazio has been found; he is not mentioned in any of the studies cited in note no. 1 and no identification is proposed even in the *Censimento dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane* of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico, which, however, identifies and records his hand (www.manus.iccu.sbn.it).

of the last dispatch kept in the quires, the same hand takes care with “basciare la mano” (i.e. kiss the hand) to the recipient and, sometimes, writes some additional information, specifying also the sending date from Venice, which never exceeds more than fifteen days the original dispatches’ dates, as proof of the well-functioning communication system set up by the Paduan scholar. Finally, on the verso of the last folio of these quires, Pinelli’s address is specified (“Al molto mag.co mio signor oss.do, signor ~~Giovanni Vincenzo Pinello~~.⁶⁸ Padoa, in Santa Soffia”)⁶⁹ and there are traces of the ancient sealing wax stamp.⁷⁰

List of dispatches relating to Hungarian events from 13 February to 5 December 1566.⁷¹

1. Codicological unit 12, fol. 18v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 13 February 1566.

Incipit: “Lunedì prossimo partirà di qua il serenissimo arciduca Carlo[...].”

Explicit: “[...] intendono che fa il Turco.”

Summary: Archduke Charles⁷² is leaving for Pressburg (“Posonio”) to attend the Hungarian Diet;⁷³ the Hungarian participants are already on site.

2. Codicological unit 23, fol. 43r: *Avviso politico inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*,⁷⁴ Pressburg, 6 March 1566.⁷⁵

Incipit: “Oggi li statti d’Ongaria hanno da dar la risposta al ser.mo arciduca Carlo[...].”

⁶⁸ Deleted.

⁶⁹ Pinelli moved from an unknown address to Santa Sofia in 1565, in a portion of the buildings of Bishop Leonardo Mocenigo restored by Palladio in 1558, which the scholar rented until 1575; Puppi, “‘Questa eccellente professione delle Mathematiche e dell’Architettura.’ Idea di cultura e ruoli sociali nel pensiero di Vincenzo Scamozzi,” 20; Rauegi, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca*, 66 and note no. 24.

⁷⁰ All these elements are present in the quires which kept the dispatches listed here with no. 2–3, 5, 7–8, 10–17, 21, 25–30.

⁷¹ For a better understanding, the dispatches are presented in a chronological order, which does not always coincide with the order by which they are organized within the factitious codex.

⁷² Archduke Charles II of Austria (1540–1590), son of Ferdinand I of Habsburg.

⁷³ For the establishment and functioning of the Hungarian Diet – composed by two chambers and by the *Tabula superior* of the magnates and the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries – which, following the Turkish conquest of Buda, met in Pozsony, Kann and David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands (1526–1918)*, 55–72.

⁷⁴ The title has been modified from the one in the online Ambrosiana catalogue, which contains the modern German toponym of Pozsony (*Avviso politico da Presburg inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*).

⁷⁵ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 18 March and it contains, at the bottom of the text, a brief note on the condition of the Jews of that city and the signature of Orazio (cf. fol. 44r).

Explicit: «... aveano traghettato alla terra di Pesto 40 pezzi d'artiglieria.»

Summary: On the final works of the Diet of Hungary and on the campaign against Suleiman I in Hungarian and Transylvanian territory: Hungarian Estates don't want to pay the three Hungarian florins requested per tenant plots by the Archduke Charles II to finance the war operations, but they have offered a florin and a half, with the possibility of reaching a maximum of two.⁷⁶ The elected king, John Sigismund Szapolya, is preparing himself for war. The Turks are arming Esztergom ("Strigonia") and Pest ("Pesto").

3. Codicological unit 25, fol. 47r: *Avviso politico inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*,⁷⁷ Pressburg, 14 March 1566.⁷⁸

Incipit: "Oggi il ser.mo arciduca Carlo ha replicato agli ongari, essortandoli a dargli almeno due fiorini per casa e presto[...]."

Explicit: "[...] Il signor Lazaro Svendi dimanda mille archibuscieri italiani e 400 cavalli."

Summary: Report of the agreements between Archduke Charles II and the Hungarian Estates, gathered in the Diet. Charles would like to quickly obtain a donation of at least two gold florins per casa (i.e. house), as it seems that the Turks are ready to attack. News is also reported on the campaign against the Turks in Hungarian-Transylvanian territory: important prisoners have been captured, which hopefully will reveal significant details. Pietro Usotutu⁷⁹ is preparing to

⁷⁶ The Habsburg taxation system in their own domains was based on an ordinary and an extraordinary income, which had to be approved by the Diets of the various regions. Ordinary taxes came from various sources, such as the royal estates, the *regiae civitates*, and the ecclesiastical possessions; moreover, from the royalties applied to the extraction activities in the mining towns, to minting, to the salt trade and to customs duties. They were used for the expenses of the court, diplomacy and, also, for the debts of the Crown. The extraordinary taxes, on the other hand, also called "war taxes" (*subsidium, dica, contributio*), were mainly used to finance the war operations against the Turk in Hungary. In this region, they had to be approved by the Diet of Hungary, their amount varied from year to year and they were collected by special officers (*thesaurarii*) elected by the same Diet. For the nobles, they were based on the declared value of properties and proceeds, while the inhabitants of the cities paid only on the basis of properties. In the 16th century, the earlier tax, levied on the basis of tenant plots (*portae*), was extended to individual households or families (in the documents under study, *per casa*, meaning "house," or *per fuoco*, meaning "fire"), thus significantly expanding the scope of those liable to pay the tax, since one tenant plot often had several families living in it. Kann and David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands (1526–1918)*, 34–36, 55–72.

⁷⁷ The title has been modified from the one in the *online* Ambrosiana catalogue, which contains the modern German toponym of Bratislava (*Avviso politico da Presburg inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*).

⁷⁸ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 26 March and it is signed by Orazio (cf. the *recto* of the quire's last folio: fol. 50r).

⁷⁹ Unidentified person, probably ambassador of Emperor Maximilian II in Constantinople.

leave for Constantinople with 20 Turks freed. Captain Lazarus von Schwendi⁸⁰ is preparing his own army.

4. Codicological unit 29, fol. 53r: *Avviso politico da Augusta inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Augusta, 18 March 1566.

Incipit: “Continuano sempre gli avvisi [...]”

Explicit: “[...] accordo tra il re di Svevia e quel di Dannimarca.”

Summary: Among other news: the Pasha of Buda⁸¹ is deploying his army on the banks of the Danube to attack Hungary; Emperor Maximilian II, instead, is hiring a large number of soldiers in his possessions near the river. George, son of the Margrave of Brandenburg,⁸² wants to leave the front with imperial license to return to his father, whose health has deteriorated.

5. Codicological unit 31, fol. 57v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 31 March 1566.⁸³

Incipit: “Oggi è gionto qua il serenissimo arciduca Carlo de ritorno dalla Dieta di Possonia[...]”

Explicit: “[...] ove li pare che il sito sia più forte e più monito e più sicuro.”

Summary: Archduke Charles II has returned to Vienna; during the Diet of Pressburg, it has been decided that the Hungarians should provide “un fiorino per fuoco et un uomo per casa”⁸⁴ in support of the resumption of the war against the Turks, who seem to prepare an attack; Lazarus von Schwendi has moved the Caesarean camp to a more sheltered place, three leagues away from the previous one.

⁸⁰ Lazarus von Schwendi (1522–1583), military commander of the Holy Roman Empire.

⁸¹ Arslan/Arszlán, the Pasha of Buda (1565–1566).

⁸² John George of Brandenburg (1525–1598), prince–elector of the Margraviate of Brandenburg (1571–1598).

⁸³ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 8 April and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 58r).

⁸⁴ The Hungarian military organization was based on the system of armed units called *banderium*, established since 1435. The royal *banderium* of a thousand knights was financed directly by the king; the prelates and the religious corporations, in turn, had to provide *banderia*, which were permanently stationed in the border fortresses for the anti-Turkish defence. Furthermore, the nobles had to recruit *banderia* of four hundred or two hundred knights, depending on their income, stationing them in their castles or near the border. In case of emergency, additional troops were added, enlisted through the general levy and formed by noble landowners who lacked their previous *banderia*, by the minor nobility – which had to provide a knight for every twenty *portae* owned – and by the contingents of the *liberae et regiae civitates*, whose numerical entity was calculated on the number of bourgeois houses in each city. Finally, one infantryman had to be supplied for every five peasants, even if this request was already abolished in 1514, when peasants were forbidden to carry arms. Due to the pressure from the Turks, the Emperor very often modified this organization, increasing the border *banderia* with his own troops and with mercenary soldiers under the guidance of royal officers. Kann and David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands (1526–1918)*, 62–63.

6. Codicological unit 33, fols. 61v–62r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 5 April 1566.

Incipit: “I nostri soldati d’Agria sul confin de corvacia volsero[...].”

Explicit: “[...] che sia rinovata la pratica del matrimonio di essa regina nel serenissimo arciduca Carlo.”

Summary: The garrison of the Hungarian fortress of Eger (“Agria”) is carrying out raids against the Turks. News is provided on the enemy army led by the Pasha of Buda, Arslan. The elected King John Sigismund Szapolyai wants to summon a Diet to obtain financial subsidies to support the war. Elizabeth I, the Queen of England,⁸⁵ has expressed her willingness to help the Emperor in the war against the Turks; it seems that the procedures for her marriage with Archduke Charles II can be resumed.

7. Codicological unit 55, fol. 108r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 30 May 1566.⁸⁶

Incipit: “Qua abbiamo nova che li soldati[...].”

Explicit: “[...] è stato constretto di affrontarsi con loro e serrarli il passo.”

Summary: Some skirmishes have occurred between the imperial soldiers and the Turks of Esztergom, during which at least 200 Turks were killed and captured; it was understood by the prisoners that the Pasha of Buda himself is coming to help the city with provisions and supplies. The Tartars have successfully attacked the King of Poland.⁸⁷

8. Codicological unit 54, fols. 106r–107r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 5 June 1566.⁸⁸

Incipit: “Il serenissimo arciduca Carlo è stato e è alquanto indisposto[...].”

Explicit: “[...] è imputato che abbia comesso.”

Summary: Among other news: Archduke Charles II is indisposed, but he is expected to arrive in Vienna in a few days; von Schwendi has besieged the castle of Huff⁸⁹ and hopes to take it soon. Count Zrinyi is raiding as far as Pécs (“Cinqueshire”), while the Turks have reached Esztergom.

⁸⁵ Elizabeth I Tudor (1533–1603), Queen of England (1558–1603).

⁸⁶ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 9 June and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 109v).

⁸⁷ Sigismund II Augustus Jagiellon (1520–1572), King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (1548–1572).

⁸⁸ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 17 June and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 107r).

⁸⁹ Unidentified settlement.

9. Codicological unit 50, fol. 97r and codicological unit 51, fol. 99r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 7 June 1566, two exemplars.

Incipit: “Tre dì sono che passò qui per le poste il figlio del conte Serin[...].”

Explicit: “[...] ha mandato innanzi più di 70 mila cavalli.”

Summary: Count Zrínyi's son⁹⁰ is reaching Emperor Maximilian II to bring news of the death of Suleiman I the Magnificent during the siege of Szigetvár (“Seghetto”).⁹¹ Archduke Charles II has been sick since four or five days, but his illness does not seem serious. A description of the Imperial forces and of the powerful Turkish army follows. John Sigismund Szapolyai is awaiting the mighty Turkish army in Buda, ready to join it.

10. Codicological unit 60, fols. 116v–117v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 13 June 1566.⁹²

Incipit: “Ancor che fosse stato scritto che non si dubitava che ’ Turchi andassero a Palata, luogo appresso Giavarina otto leghe[...].”

Explicit: “[...] sopra l’isola di Candia e altro non avendo a V. S. bacio la mano.”

Summary: The Pasha of Buda is besieging Várpalota (“Palotta”), which is located eight leagues from Győr (“Giavarina”). The arrival of Archduke Ferdinand II⁹³ and of the Bohemian reinforcements is expected on 24 June. Archduke Charles II is still indisposed. Regiments are moving to Pressburg. Marriage practices between the Queen of England and the Archduke Charles have stalled because Elizabeth does not want marry a man “who does not live according to her religion.” Reinforcements are expected from the Duke of Florence.⁹⁴

11. Codicological unit 62, fols. 120r–121r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 18 June 1566.⁹⁵

Incipit: “Il Bassà di Buda d’Alba Regale che andorno[...].”

Explicit: “[...] in Constantinopoli alli X o XI detto.”

Summary: After having besieged Várpalota, the Turks are directed to Székesfehérvár (“Alba Regale”); Archduke Ferdinand will not arrive before 3 July. A detailed list of the Imperial forces (in particular, of the Caesarean cavalry) follows.

⁹⁰ György Zrínyi (1549–1603), Croatian nobleman, general.

⁹¹ The Sultan actually died on 7 September, before the capitulation of the fortress.

⁹² The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 24 June and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 117v).

⁹³ Ferdinand II of Austria (1529–1595), Archduke of Further Austria (1529–1595) and Imperial count of Tirol (1564–1595). Son of Ferdinand I of Habsburg.

⁹⁴ Cosimo I de’ Medici (1519–1574), the last Duke of Florence (1537–1569), the first Grand Duke of Tuscany (1569–1574).

⁹⁵ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 1 July (cf. fol. 121v).

12. Codicological unit 65, fol. 126r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 27 June 1566.⁹⁶

Incipit: “Non fu vero che li Turchi tornassero sotto Palatta[...].”

Explicit: “[...] quelli di Fiorenza che sono in viaggio.”

Summary: Information on the Turkish army’s movements, which, after crossing the Danube, is heading towards Buda, where it intends to join the Tartar, Wallachian, and Moldavian reinforcements. The Imperial army must decide whether to arm or dismantle the site of Várpalota, while the borders near Eger, Szigetvár and Szatmár (“Satmar”) are well defended. It seems that the “Transylvanian” (i.e. John Sigismund Szapolyai) will soon meet the Turks. Meanwhile, Florence and Riva of Trento armies are on their way.

13. Codicological unit 69, fols. 134v–135r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 11 July 1566.⁹⁷

Incipit: “Il Turco passò il Danubio a Petro Varadino[...].”

Explicit: “[...] che detta armata alli dì era alla Vallona.”

Summary: Having crossed the Danube, the Turks have reached Pétervárad (“Petro Varadino”, today Петроварадин, Serbia) and Szeged (“Seghedino”): it seems they are ready to face Lazarus von Schwendi’s army and invade Transylvania. In addition, they have sent contingents to besiege Gyula (“Giula”); the Italian contingent of the Duke of Urbino⁹⁸ has finally arrived.

14. Codicological unit 72, fols. 138r–139r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 18 July 1566.

Incipit: “Alli 12 arrivò qua un gentilmodel Conte Nic. de Sdrin che è posto alla custodia di Seghetto[...].”

Explicit: “[...] verrà parte a Fiume e parte a Segna e altro non avendo a V. S. bascio la mano.”

Summary: A soldier from Szigetvár alerts the Viennese court that the Pasha of Bosnia⁹⁹ is marching towards Pécs. Fights between Christians and Turks near the Drava river are reported. Information is provided on Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles II movements and on the exploits carried out by some warlords’ personal armies, such as Giovanni Alfonso Pescara Castaldo¹⁰⁰ and Lazarus von Schwendi.

⁹⁶ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 7 July and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 127r).

⁹⁷ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 21 July and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 135r).

⁹⁸ Guidobaldo II della Rovere.

⁹⁹ Sokollu Ferhad Paşa / Ferhad-paša Sokolović (1530–1586).

¹⁰⁰ Nephew of the famous Giovanni Battista Castaldo (1493–1563), general of Charles V of

15. Codicological unit 73, fol. 140r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 25 July 1566.¹⁰¹

Incipit: “Ieri venne nova come li cristiani domenica passata che fu alli 21 presero per forza Tata[...].”

Explicit: “[...] tutta quanta cavalleria di Slesia.”

Summary: Among other news, the Imperials have reconquered the fortress of Tata, which had fell into Turkish hands. The best place to establish the Caesarean camp is being studied. General Lazarus von Schwendi has reached the Tisza (“Tissa”) river to rescue Gyula, besieged by the Turks.

16. Codicological unit 81, fol. 151r: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 1 August 1566.¹⁰²

Incipit: “Lunedì scorso per lettere del conte di Salma scritte a sua maestà cesarea s’intese che i Turchi si sono ritirati da Giulia[...].”

Explicit: “[...] lunedì sua maestà andarà al campo.”

Summary: Summary news on the Hungarian situation: the Turks have abandoned Gyula and have headed back to Pétervárad. The exhibition of the Imperial cavalry has taken place. Zrínyi’s son has brought trophies to Maximilian II, and three Turks captured in Tata have also been brought in his presence.

17. Codicological unit 84, fol. 157r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 15 August 1566.

Incipit: “Venerdì a li 22 l’arciduca Ferdinando entrò in questa città a parlar a sua maestà privatamente[...].”

Explicit: “[...] guasconi cavagli di ma[...].”

Summary: Archduke Ferdinand has gone to Vienna to meet Emperor Maximilian II. It seems that Sultan Suleiman I has killed the Pasha of Buda¹⁰³ and a beglerbeg because of the loss of Tata and Veszprém (“Vesprimio”). Reinforcements have been sent to Esztergom, where also three thousand soldiers of infantry sent by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo I de’ Medici have arrived. The Turks have lifted the siege of Gyula and they are probably heading towards Buda.

18. Codicological unit 82, fols. 152v–153v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 22 August 1566.

Habsburg.

¹⁰¹ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 4 August (cf. fol. 141r).

¹⁰² The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 8 August (cf. fol. 151r).

¹⁰³ Pasha Arslan was executed on 3 August 1566.

Incipit: “L’imperatore doveva partir di Achemburgh con tutto il campo[...].”

Explicit: “[...] sono gente molto temuta da’ Turchi e da’ Tartari e si crede che sua maestà gli assoldaria.”

Summary: The Emperor is expected in Giavarino to attempt the reconquest of Strigonia; Archduke Charles II is engaged in the reconquest of Seghetto; the Imperials have won a battle against the Turks at Gyula; Maximilian II has announced the general levy in Germany. The Duke of Ferrara Alfonso II is going to arrive in about five days.

19. Codicological unit 87, fol. 166r: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo*, 27 August 1566.

Incipit: “Finora sono stati dati sette assalti a Sighet[...].”

Explicit: “[...] sua maestà ha spedito novamente 4 mila cavalli sassoni e pag.li [!].”

Summary: Count Zrínyi is fighting the Turks in Szigetvár; skirmishes are in progress between Hungarians and Turks near Győr; General Lazarus von Schwendi has won a victory over the Turks. Numerous “disbanded” men of the Duke of Florence Cosimo I have returned to Italy.

20. Codicological unit 87, fol. 166r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 29 August 1566.

Incipit: “Il duca di Ferrara arrivò qui[...].”

Explicit: “[...] fu preso un boemo sbandato dal campo con 8 cavalli; si dice sia renegato e spia.”

Summary: The Duke of Ferrara Alfonso II d’Este has arrived in Vienna with his army. The Hungarian explorers have not reported any news. While reinforcements are reaching the Caesarean camp, the Turks have arrived in Székesfehérvár to obstruct the Habsburg advance against Esztergom.

21. Codicological unit 89, fol. 170r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 5 September 1566.

Incipit: “Sua maestà cesarea parti da Giavarino e va a Comar[...].”

Explicit: “[...] con fortuna così prospera come si può dire che ha avuto sin qui.”

Summary: Maximilian II has moved from Győr to Komárom (“Comar”, today Komárno, Slovakia), waiting for reinforcements to succour Esztergom and to attack the Turks. Szigetvár is valiantly defending itself from the Ottoman assaults. The Turks have lifted the siege of Gyula and have joined the armies stationed in Buda and Székesfehérvár to prevent the Imperial advance towards Esztergom. General von Schwendi has conquered Fülek (“Filet”, today Fil’akovo, Slovakia). The Duke of Ferrara Alfonso II has left Vienna to reach the Caesarean camp.

22. Codicological unit 93, fol. 178r–v: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo*, 11 September 1566.

Incipit: “Ieri al tardo quando manco ne dubitavamo vene aviso che ’ Turchi avevano preso Seghetto[...].”

Explicit: “[...] aspettando d’intendere che disegno sarà quello del Turco perché da quello sua maestà farà il suo.”

Summary: A Hungarian soldier has arrived at the Imperial camp from Szigetvár and – only survivor along with two other witnesses – has reported the news of the massacre of the Christian garrison. The Turks have conquered the fortress and Count Zrínyi, hit by an arquebus,¹⁰⁴ has been executed with these words: « Croatian dog, did you think you could hold or stand against my strongest and most victorious army? You did not give me this place willingly, now you have given it to me by force» (fol. 178r).

23. Codicological unit 93, fol. 178v: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo*, 17 September 1566.

Incipit: “Doppo la perdita di Seghetto, sua maestà si è ritirata con l’esercito sotto Giavarino[...].”

Explicit: “[...] dal campo dell’arciduca Carlo scrivono che ’l Turco vuol prender Bobagia e Canissa, non si sa che sarà”.

Summary: The Imperial armies, after the loss of Seghetto, have reached Giavarino and have formed a single camp. The next move by the Turks is expected; according to conflicting reports, they are about to move towards Székesfehérvár or Babócsa (“Bobagia”) and Nagykanizsa (“Canissa”).

24. Codicological unit 94, fol. 179r: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo*, 24 September 1566.

Incipit: “Doppo la perdita di Seghetto, Bobora e tre altri castelli di poco momento furono abbandonati da certi pochi soldati[...].”

Explicit: “[...] le galere hanno dato la caccia alle fuste sino a Strigonia.”

Summary: The Turks, after having fortified Szigetvár, have approached the Imperial camp, putting the Hungarian countryside on fire; some knights have been sent to counter Turkish contingents near Székesfehérvár.

25. Codicological unit 96, fol. 182r–v: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, 30 September 1566.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Arquebus is a form of long gun that appeared in Europe and the Ottoman Empire during the 15th century. (The quote is translated from Italian.)

¹⁰⁵ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 11 October and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 183r).

Incipit: “Martedì mattina mandò sua maestà sotto d’Albaregale da 20 mila uomini[...].”

Explicit: “[...] gagliardamente e la facci ad altro modo.”

Summary: A contingent of twenty thousand knights has been sent by Emperor Maximilian II to Székesfehérvár, but any victory has been reported yet. After the conquest of Szigetvár, it is believed that the Turks will return to Constantinople, leaving a garrison led by the beglerbeg of Greece in Hungary. Skirmishes are registered between the two armies near Pápa (“Pappa”) and disagreements have arisen between the contingent of the Duke of Ferrara Alfonso II and the German one due to the theft of a horse belonging to a captain from Ferrara, perpetrated by an Aleman soldier.

26. Codicological unit 96, fols. 182v–183r: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, 1 October 1566.¹⁰⁶

Incipit: “S’ha avviso che ’l Turco non è ancor partito da Seghetto[...].”

Explicit: “[...] li nostri hanno abbrugiato e rovinato Sattimar di là dalla Tissa e poi abbandonato.”

Summary: It seems that the Turks are still in Szigetvár; a fire has broken out in Győr.

27. Codicological unit 98, fol. 186r–v: *Avviso politico dal campo cesareo inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, 8 October 1566.¹⁰⁷

Incipit: “Sua maestà è deliberata di starsene in campagna[...].”

Explicit: “[...] e li spogliano e li danno anco delle ferite.”

Summary: Among other news: the Turkish army is still in Szigetvár, but it is expected to return to Constantinople, leaving the beglerbeg of Greece in Hungary. Archduke Ferdinand is planning to return to his Bohemian possessions. Maximilian II has decided to dismantle the camp and to go to Prague. John Sigismund Szapolyai has joined his army with the Turkish one near Várad (“Varadino”). The Esztergom conquest is going to be soon completed. Numerous soldiers have died of diseases and cold, which begins to get very bitter, especially during the night.

28. Codicological unit 98, fols. 186v–187r: *Avviso politico dal campo dell’arciduca Carlo inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, 8 October 1566.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Cf. the previous note.

¹⁰⁷ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 18 October and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 187r).

¹⁰⁸ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 11 October and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 183r).

Incipit: “Per le nostre spie s’è inteso che giovedì passato il Turco se ritirò da Seght-to[...].”

Explicit: “[...] si spera che con la partita del Turco si farà qualche signalata impresa.”

Summary: The Turks have left Szigetvár; an Imperial contingent has approached the fortress and has won a victory over the infidels; similarly, victorious raids are carried out against the Turks.

29. Codicological unit 108, fol. 203r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 24 October 1566.¹⁰⁹

Incipit: “S’intende per lettere di 22 dal campo che sua maestà cesarea era partita con li signori duchi di Ferrara e di Ghisa[...].”

Explicit: “[...] s’aveva gran numero de’ spagnoli e italiani.”

Summary: Among other news: Maximilian II has left for Vienna; General Lazarus von Schwendi has been seriously injured, bringing relief to the stronghold of Tokaj (“Tocai”), besieged by John Sigismund Szapolyai. Archduke Ferdinand is on his way to Prague to take part in the Diet.

30. Codicological unit 120, fol. 225r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 21 November 1566.¹¹⁰

Incipit: “Ancora non è venuta la risoluzione delli ellettori sopra la Dieta, ma s’aspetta ogni giorno[...].”

Explicit: “[...] la maggior parte di essi sono presi e ammazzati.”

Summary: Among other news: it is not yet known whether the Turks are going to stay in Hungary or return to Constantinople; they are conducting raids near Gyula and, having discovered an ambush near Giavarino, they have massacred about 2,000 “ferraioli” (i.e. armoured infantry soldiers).

31. Codicological unit 125, fol. 234r–v: *Avviso politico da Vienna inviato a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 5 December 1566.

Incipit: “In questa Dieta d’Austria, la maestà cesarea ha domandato[...].”

Explicit: “[...] si farà una Dieta la quale è stata intimata per il mese di febbraio.”

Summary: Among many other news: a Turkish attempt to conquer the island of Komárom has failed. Bridges are being built near Szigetvár.

¹⁰⁹ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 9 November and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 203v).

¹¹⁰ The dispatch was then actually sent to Padua from Venice on 31 November and it is signed by Orazio (cf. fol. 226r).

Milan, Ambrosiana Library, D 489 inf.¹¹¹

The Pinellian codex D 489 inf. (fols. I, 259, I'; 325 x 215 mm), consisting of numerous leaves and quires written by different hands, has a cardboard binding covered with beige paper; the spine, reinforced with ocher paper partially watercolored in red, has a cartouche with gold-stamped shelfmark (489) on its fifth compartment. On the upper edge of the inner front board, handwritten shelfmark in brown ink and modern date ("22.9.64") in blue pen. I + I' modern flyleaves. On fol. 1 verso, cartouche with handwritten shelfmark: *Avvisi a Gio. Vincenzo Pinelli del 1569, '68, '65 da Orazio da Venezia*, in brown ink. On the upper right corner of the recto of each folio, ancient Arabic progressive foliation within the volume, in brown ink. The codex is badly preserved: most of the documents are in fact characterized by extensive dark and purple spots and some leaves are almost partially unbounded. It keeps more than 200 dispatches sent to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli from various European cities (Rome, Pressburg, Venice, Vienna, Ferrara, Lyon, Turin, Paris, Constantinople, Milan, Genoa, Malta, etc.) between 1565 and 1569. Among these, at least 13 documents contain information on Hungarian historical and political events of that years.

Also, in this codex, the quires are devoid of catchwords and ruling and they often contain several dispatches transcribed in succession – sometimes by the same hand –, each one provided by its date and city of composition. Despite the indication on fol. 1 verso, which identifies their author in Orazio, on the upper margin of the first folio of the quires of our interest, the greeting formula to Pinelli is always absent, such as the eventual additional information and the sending date from Venice. Instead, on the verso of the last folio of these quires, there are always traces of the ancient sealing wax stamp and Pinelli's address, which, however, changes: in dispatch no. 1, in fact, it still is "Al molto mag. co mio signor oss.do, signor ~~Giovanni Vincenzo Pinello~~.¹¹² Padoa, alla Soffia", while, in those from 2 to 12, it is: "[...] Padoa, su la crosara del Santo."¹¹³

¹¹¹ Related bibliography: Revelli, *I codici ambrosiani di contenuto geografico*, 87; *Rivolta, Catalogo dei codici pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana*, no. 244; Ceruti, *Inventario Ceruti dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, I, 660; Carpentieri, "Per un primo censimento delle fonti storiche e letterarie ungheresi dei secc. XV–XVII in tre biblioteche lombarde," 417–27, no. 260–72; "Manus online, CNMD\35071."

¹¹² Deleted.

¹¹³ The residence "alla Crosara del Santo" (i.e. near the basilica of Sant'Antonio), equipped with numerous spaces to house the Pinellian library, was identified by Msgr. Claudio Bellinati in the current seat of the Presbyterium (via del Santo, no. 131); according to the available bibliography, the transfer, however, dates back only to June 1575. Cf. Stella, "Galileo, il circolo culturale di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la 'Patavina Libertas,'" 317–18; Raugéi, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca*, 46 and note no. 66.

List of dispatches relating to Hungarian events
from 13 January to 21 October 1569.¹¹⁴

1. Codicological unit 6, fols. 11r–12v: *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 13 January 1569.
 Incipit: “S. M.tà Ces.a ha risoluto di non andar per ora a Possonio[...].”
 Explicit: “[...] per mandarli in Fiandra.”
 Summary: Updates on the Habsburg campaign against the Turks in Hungary and on the trial for treason against the two Hungarians István Dobó and János Balassi.¹¹⁵ The text also mentions the bishop of Várad.¹¹⁶

2. Codicological unit 84, fol. 164v: *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 18 August 1569.
 Incipit: “La M.tà Ces.a e l’imperatrice ier mattina s’imbarcorno sopra il Danubio[...].”
 Explicit: “[...] aboccamento.”
 Summary: Among other news: information on the movements of Emperor Maximilian II and his wife Mary¹¹⁷ in Hungary. After their meeting with the king of Poland Sigismund II Augustus, they are ready to leave for Prague.

¹¹⁴ Also here the dispatches are presented in their chronological order.

¹¹⁵ János Balassa (1518–1577), chief bailiff (*comes*) of Zólyom (1553–1566) and chief captain of Zólyom county, and father of the poet, Bálint Balassi. On the controversial conspiracy with the Sublime Porta against the Habsburgs: Dávid, “János Balassi and His Turkish Connections”; and its bibliography. These are the salient points of the study: Balassi, captain of the fortress of Zólyom (today Zvolen, Slovakia), was accused of having had correspondence, sending secret information, with the Pasha of Buda and other beglerbegs of Hungary since the rise to the sultanate of Selim II, in 1566. He was incarcerated in Vienna, but escaped from captivity in 1570 and took refuge in Poland. He returned to the imperial graces in 1572, when Rudolf II ascended the Hungarian throne, and he was elected chamberlain of the court and settled in Vienna. According to Géza Dávid, in 1571–1572 he nevertheless sent at least two offers of collaboration to the Turks, but, in March–April 1575, he defeated two thousand six hundred Turks near Selmečbánya (today Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia). The Ottomans then abandoned Balassi as their informant and Sokollu Mustafa, in the summer, conquered his castles of Kékkő (today Modrý Kameň, Slovakia) and Divény (today Divin, Slovakia). When Maximilian II asked the Ottomans to return the castles, he received letters of denunciation from the Sultan, the Grand Vizier and the Pasha of Buda. In December 1575, however, Sokollu Mustafa sent a safe conduct offer to Balassi, as if nothing had happened, inviting him to place himself under Ottoman protection, as already been offered several times. In 1576 Balassi sent two Turkish prisoners to the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed, promising to join the Ottomans. In 1577 Balassi was again involved in a conspiracy, but shortly thereafter he died. According to Géza Dávid, therefore, Balassi tried, in effect, to establish contacts with the Ottomans in various moments of his life, but they were never fully realized, at least according to the current researches.

¹¹⁶ István Radéczy (+1586), Bishop of Várad (1567–1572), Bishop of Eger (1573–1686).

¹¹⁷ Maria of Austria (1528–1603), Archduchess of Austria, Empress Consort and Queen Consort of Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor, King of Bohemia and Hungary.

3. Codicological unit 85, fol. 166r–v: *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 31 August 1569.

Incipit: “Questi signori non hanno ancora dato risposta alle richieste di S. M.tà[...].”

Explicit: “[...] che Casimiro metta gente insieme non abbiamo certezza alcuna.”

Summary: Details on the Hungarian Diet: the nobles have not yet expressed an opinion on the Emperor’s monetary request to support military operations. However, it seems that they intend to obey and to close the Diet in two weeks, so as to move to Vratislavia (today Wrocław, Poland), although some important issues still remain to be resolved, such as the election of the archbishop of Esztergom.¹¹⁸ The Hungarians have agreed to pay two florins per fuoco (i.e. per fire) to finance the war against the Turks.

4. Codicological unit 86, fol. 169r–v: *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 29 August 1569.

Incipit: “Che a li 19 la M.tà Ces.a dopo l’aver fatto celebrar la messa solenne[...].”

Explicit: “[...] Il principe Rodolfo s’aspetta di Spagna, inanzi il principiar della Dieta imperiale.”

Summary: Among other news concerning the European political situation (Queen Elizabeth I Tudor of England is also mentioned), information is given on the developments of the war against Selim II and the Pasha of Buda¹¹⁹ in Hungary. Also, the Emperor’s monetary requests to the Hungarian nobles for the financing of the military operations are specified: they amount to 3 thalers per testa (i.e. per head) and one armed horse for every 10 serfs during the wartime. The arrival of Prince Rudolf¹²⁰ from Spain is expected before the beginning of the Imperial Diet.

5. Codicological unit 92, fol. 183r: *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 6 September 1569.

Incipit: “L’abboccamento con il serenissimo di Pollonia tuttavia si dica che seguirà[...].”

Explicit: “[...] del signor Emilio Malvezzi con li signori Fucari.”

Summary: The Diet of Hungary has decided to grant Maximilian II the economic requests presented; the end of the works is expected within a month and then the Emperor is going to return to Vienna.

¹¹⁸ The dignitate of archbishop of Esztergom will then be entrusted to Antal Verancsics (1570–1573).

¹¹⁹ Mustafa Pasha Sokolović/Sokollu Mustafa, Pasha of Buda (1566–1578).

¹²⁰ Rudolf II Habsburg.

6. Codicological unit 95, fols. 188v–189v, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 13 September 1569.

Incipit: “Quel uomo del re de Pollonia che fu mandato in compagnia de l’ambasciator del Turco[...].”

Explicit: “[...] s’aspettarà la risposta del re cattolico e secondo quella se delibererà.”

Summary: Among other news, information on the progress of the Hungarian Diet: the nobles are discussing about the economic finance and other public and private matters. The ambassadors of the king of Poland Sigismund II Augustus and Selim II are very dissatisfied about their meeting with Maximilian II; Sigismund wants to keep the peace with the Muscovite¹²¹ at all costs. The Emperor wants to postpone the meeting in person with the king of Poland due to multiple commitments.

7. Codicological unit 94, fol. 186r, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Vienna, 20 September¹²² 1569.

Incipit: “Ieri parti di qua il conte Varniense per la volta di Roma[...].”

Explicit: “[...] per convenire del luogo e del tempo.”

Summary: News on the progress of the Diet of Hungary and, in particular, on the upcoming election of the new archbishop of Esztergom. The Warmian Cardinal¹²³ is going to leave for Rome. The Diet is going to end in early October, as it seems that the Hungarian nobles have accepted the Imperial request to pay two florins per fuoco (i.e. per fire).

8. Codicological unit 97, fol. 192r–v, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 20 September 1569.

Incipit: “Si attende qui alli negozii della Dieta, la quale si pensa che durerà ancora molti giorni[...].”

Explicit: “[...] Uno fu preso e giustiziato e l’altro se ne è fuggito.”

Summary: Along with other news, information on the Diet of Hungary: probably it is going to last a long time, because the Hungarians want the Palatine¹²⁴ to be

¹²¹ Ivan IV, the Terrible (1530–1584), Grand Duke of Moscow and first Tsar of Russia (1547–1584).

¹²² Wrongly dated to 20 November 1569 in the general *online* catalogue of the Ambrosiana Library.

¹²³ Stanislao Osio/Stanisław Hozjusz (1504–1579), theologian and cardinal, prince-bishop of Warmia (1551–1579).

¹²⁴ In Hungarian, *nádor*; chief official, he held the highest position of the State, was elected by the Diet and had to defend its rights and privileges towards the Emperor. In 1530 Ferdinand I did not allow the role to be filled by anyone and, instead, established the figure of the *locumtenens regius*, who became the official head of State, the representative of the king

elected from among them, while Maximilian II is probably going to choose Count Hecchio di Salma¹²⁵ as General of the kingdom. The residences of Archduke Charles II of Austria and Bishop Tinniniensis¹²⁶ will probably be established in Vienna. The Warmian Cardinal was nearly killed in a fire in his quarters in Silesia. The king of Poland Sigismund II Augustus has moved to Lithuania.

9. Codicological unit 99, fols. 197r–198v, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 10 October 1569.

Incipit: “Ancora non vediamo il fine di questa Dieta, la qual speriamo però che sia tra 15 giorni[...].”

Explicit: “[...] l’armata.”

Summary: Among news concerning the French wars of religion,¹²⁷ information on the Diet of Hungary: it is expected to finish within 15 days, because the Emperor has to move to Bohemia.

10. Codicological unit 109, fol. 214r, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 11 October 1569.¹²⁸

Incipit: “Venne un corriero di Pollonia col quale l’ambasciator cesareo che è appresso quel re avisava[...].”

Explicit: “[...] Qui tuttavia cresce la carestia.”

Summary: News on the final works of the Diet of Hungary. The king of Poland Sigismund II Augustus is ready to reach Boroszló (Breslavia, Breslau; today Wrocław in Poland) to meet Maximilian II, but Proscotchi¹²⁹ has been sent to announce the Emperor’s delay because of the Diet. It seems that, in the end, the Hungarians are going to pay 2 thalers per fire for the whole year, but it is not yet certain. The election of the archbishop of Esztergom has not yet taken place.¹³⁰

and the president of the Council of the Lieutenancy. Only in 1543, because of the insistence of the Diet, Ferdinand approved the election of a *locumtenens palatinalis*, which, however, held exclusively legal functions and was subordinate to the Royal Lieutenant. The role in its original sense was re-established only in 1608. Kann and David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands (1526–1918)*, 60–61.

¹²⁵ Eck Graf zu Salm (?–1574), Colonel-Captain in Győr.

¹²⁶ When Andreas Dudith left the bishopric of Knin (1563), the see remained vacant until 1571.

¹²⁷ Henry I, Prince of Joinville, Duke of Guise, Count of Eu (1550–1588). Head of the family and the Catholic League during the War of Three Henries (1584–1588).

¹²⁸ This dispatch, as well as the subsequent one, is kept in a factitious quire, composed by 8 fols. of different size written by different hands; the address of Pinelli’s house, with traces of the sealing wax stamp, appears only on fol. 217v.

¹²⁹ The Emperor’s waiter.

¹³⁰ Antal Verancsics, who held this office from 1570 to 1573, was elected bishop of Esztergom only few days later.

11. Codicological unit 107, fol. 210r, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 18 October 1569.

Incipit: “Ieri S. M.tà nominò arcivescovo di Strigonia monsignor di Agria[...].”

Explicit: «“[...] l'imperatore partirà alla fine del mese.”

Summary: Along with some news regarding the spread of heresies in Europe, informations are given about the election of the Archbishop of Esztergom Antal Verancsics, which has satisfied the Hungarians, and about the trial for treason against István Dobó, János Balassi and Gáspár Homonnai.¹³¹

12. Codicological unit 113, fol. 220r, *Avviso politico a Gian Vincenzo Pinelli*, Pressburg, 21 October 1569.

Incipit: «“Oggi è partito di qua il serenissimo arciduca Carlo che vi è stato 6 giorni, [...]”

Explicit: «“[...] S'intende di più che Oranges se ne era passato in Inghilterra.”

Summary: Along with news concerning the French wars of religion,¹³² information on the Diet of Hungary, which is about to end. The Hungarians have granted the Emperor a thaler for fire for the years 1570–1572 and have welcomed the eldest son of Maximilian II as their king.¹³³ Count Eck von Salm has been elected Governor of Győr. The trial for treason against István Dobó and János Balassi is going to take place in Vienna: Maximilian has found their correspondence with John Sigismund Szapolyai and wants to punish them harshly.

(Translated by the author)

¹³¹ Belonging to the noble Drugeth family, of French origin, whose possessions were located in the North-East of Hungary; in 1569 he was accused, together with his brother István, Dobó and Balassi, of treason and conspiracy against the Habsburgs. When the return of Ungvár (today Ужгород, Ukraine) Castle, which was taken in 1551, was offered to the two brothers, Gáspár Homonnai, smelling a trap, fled to Poland – from where he returned only years later –, escaping the arrest. On 15 April 1572, on urgent request of the Hungarian Parliament, an amnesty was granted to all the defendants involved in the trial. On him and his family, cf., for example: Borbély, “A Homonnai Drugethek Felső-Magyarországon a 17. század első évtizedeiben,” 87.

¹³² John Casimir/Johann Casimir von Pfalz-Simmern (1543–1592), Count Palatine of Simmern, and firm Calvinist, who repeatedly helped the Huguenots and the rebel Netherlands – and William the Silent/William of Orange (1533–1584), the main leader of the Dutch revolt against the Spanish Habsburgs that set off the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648) and resulted in the formal independence of the United Provinces in 1648 – are mentioned.

¹³³ Rudolf II Habsburg.

Patrizia Cremonini

THE MARRIAGE OF KING ANDREW II AND BEATRICE D'ESTE
(SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR, 14 MAY 1234)

The State Archives of Modena¹ hold the original document certifying the marriage of King Andrew II of Hungary² and his third wife Beatrice,³ daughter of Margrave Aldobrandino I of Este,⁴ among “Membranacei” (Parchments), a collection of state and family matters in the “Archivio Segreto Estense” (the private archives of the Este family), also known as the “Serie Generale” (Diplomatic Series).⁵ The wedding took place in the Basilica of the Assumption in Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia, Stuhlweißenburg), the traditional coronation and burial site of Hungarian kings, on Sunday 14 May 1234. The document is probably the only surviving copy of the original ones issued on this occasion by Zanebonus de Lonado,⁶ a notary public authorised by Emperor Frederick II.⁷ Zanebonus claimed that multiple copies had been made with the same validity. The document actually contains two contracts: it begins with the delivery of the engagement gift and includes a description of the wedding.

The tradition of men giving engagement gifts dates back to antiquity and initially constituted betrothal, hence the name *donatio ante nuptias*, but it meant a promise of marriage as a direct consequence. In the 6th century, Emperor Justinian,⁸ in addition to stipulating that a woman’s dowry and the future husband’s engagement gift had to be of equal value, allowed the donation to take place after the wedding had been concluded, in which case it was called *donatio propter nuptias*. In Székesfehérvár, this happened on the day of the wedding, but immediately before the ceremony. The case is legally an instance of *inter vivos* donation, as stated in the above document. From the 3rd century onwards, the bridegroom’s engagement gift was part of the dowry, so that it

¹ Archivio di Stato di Modena.

² Andrew II of Hungary/Andrew of Jerusalem (1177–1235), King of Hungary and Croatia (1205–1235).

³ Beatrice d’Este (1215–before 8 May 1245), Queen consort of Hungary (1234–1235) as the third wife of King Andrew II of Hungary.

⁴ Aldobrandino I of Este (c. 1190–1215), Margrave of Este and Ferrara.

⁵ ASMo ASE CeS, Membranacei, cassetta II, n. 52.

⁶ The current name of the notary’s place of origin is: Lonato del Garda.

⁷ Frederick II (1194–1250) was King of Sicily (1198–1250), King of Germany 1212–1250), King of Italy and Holy Roman Emperor 1220–1250) and King of Jerusalem 1225–1250).

⁸ Justinian I (482–565), Eastern Roman Emperor (527–565).

was due to the woman in case the marriage was dissolved.⁹ Precisely this rule was sanctioned by the formula *in hoc sibi dotem constituit* concerning Andrew II's significant gift to Beatrice. In other words, i.e. the engagement gift became part of the dowry of the young bride.

The engagement gift included in the dowry indeed represented a high value as it amounted to 5000 silver marks and was to be delivered in annual instalments of 1000 marks over five years directly to the queen and her heirs (!), granting them complete freedom to use the amount.¹⁰ This suggests that the king, indeed an elderly man of about sixty years at the time, was thinking not only of the safety of his young bride (aged seventeen),¹¹ but also of their possible joint heirs. Also, this measure seemed to be highly necessary as King Andrew had to look after the interests of his young wife in the event of apparently inevitable hostilities between Beatrice and the future King Béla IV,¹² born of his first marriage to Gertrude of Merania,¹³ daughter of Berthold IV, Duke of Merania.¹⁴ At that time, Béla already shared his father's rule of the country and was recognised as heir to the throne by right of primogeniture, and was regarded as such because his father, under pressure from the barons who were hostile to him for his reforms, which seemed contrary to Hungarian tradition and customary law, had acknowledged the coronation of the eight-year-old Béla by the lords as soon as 1214.¹⁵ A year after the wedding, on 21 September 1235, Andrew II died. From that time onwards, the royal power was effectively exercised by his designated successor, Béla. Logically, this situation prompted the new

⁹ On the forms of marriage, see Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*; Duby, *Matrimonio medievale: Due modelli nella Francia del dodicesimo secolo*. Recommended to the author by Professor Andrea Padovani. The latter work focuses on the Kingdom of France. For Italy, refer to Torelli, *Lezioni di storia del diritto italiano, Diritto privato II: La famiglia*; Rasi, *La conclusione del matrimonio nella dottrina prima del Concilio di Trento*.

¹⁰ To appreciate the value of the sum, it is worth noting that in 1217, Andrew II agreed with the Venetian Republic to ship 550 silver marks to the Fifth Crusade.

¹¹ ASBo Genealogia estense figurata a medaglioni, c. 7. Next to the picture of Beatrice d'Este in profile is the text "This is Beatrice, illegitimate daughter of the above named Aldobrandino, born in 1217, married to King Andrew of Hungary, widowed in 1236 with her son Stephen" ("*Questa è Beatrice figliola naturale del sopradetto Aldrovandino, nacque nel 1217, fu maritata allo re Andrea di Ungharia, et del 1236 rimase vedova con Stephano suo figliolo*"). The manuscript is probably that of Alberto Lollio (1508–1589). The author acknowledges the help of archivist Rossella Rinaldi.

¹² Béla IV of Hungary (1206–1270), King of Hungary and Croatia (1235–1270).

¹³ Gertrude of Merania (c. 1185–1213), Queen consort of Hungary, wife of King Andrew II (1205–1213).

¹⁴ Berthold IV of Andechs (c. 1159–1204), Margrave of Istria and Carniola (as Berthold II), Duke of Merania (1180/82–1204).

¹⁵ Radulović, "L'Ungheria nella prima metà del Duecento: Rivolgimenti interni e pressioni esterne," 80.

queen, a stranger in the court anyway and expecting a baby, to seek refuge in German territory. She was probably forced to flee the Kingdom of Hungary in male attire, as it was rumoured that she was expecting a child not with Andrew but with the palatine. Given the transitional situation, the new king, Béla, was quick to impose an exemplary punishment on the palatine for the disgrace he had brought on the royal house.¹⁶

At the time of the wedding, Andrew was particularly generous to his young bride. In addition to the engagement gift and the incomes and rights of the successive queens of Hungary, he gave her a *gratia specialis*: he promised her 1000 silver marks from his royal treasury for each year of his remaining life. This generosity must have seemed superfluous to Béla, as he explicitly disapproved of his father's policy of donations by which András sought to secure the support of his power through new personal relationships. The king made huge donations to his barons from the royal estates and undertook costly military campaigns, which posed challenges for the treasury and imposed a heavy burden on the remaining assets of the crown.

After the financial provisions of the contract were laid down, the document stated that the religious wedding would take place immediately. In accordance with the provisions of Catholic canon law and the formulas approved by the Church, from the 12th century onwards there were major changes in the way marriages were celebrated as a marriage could only be contracted by the free will of both parties. Questions on this determination were addressed to the betrothed couple by Guidotto da Correggio, Bishop of Mantua,¹⁷ as part of the *interrogationes* part of the ceremony. The bishop came from a prestigious family which, during the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century, sought to establish an independent city-state in Parma. At the time of the wedding, Guidotto also held the office of magistrate (*podestà*) in the city, and a year later he was killed by the citizens of Mantua in response to his attempt to reduce the influence of the city commune.¹⁸ The document describes in detail that the marriage was entered into by the full consent of the parties (*per verba de praesenti consentire*). The prelate first asked Andrew and then Beatrice if they would marry each other, and the marriage was immediately validated by the expressed will of both parties (*quod sic volebat*). As transpires from the document, the section called *interrogationes et responsiones* was followed by the symbolic ceremony of putting the ring on the bride's finger, a symbol of the marriage blessed by the priest, based on the mutual will of the parties, and

¹⁶ Radulović, 133–34.

¹⁷ Borso da Coreggio (?–1235), Bishop of Mantua (1231–1234).

¹⁸ Gardoni, “Pro fide et libertate Ecclesiae immolatus: Guidotto da Correggio vescovo di Mantova (1231–1235),” 131–87.

which also represents the authority of the Church in the sacrament. In this way, Andrew married Beatrice with the ring (*desponsavit annulo maritali*).

The two unions took place in front of a large number of people in the church, of whom the twelve most important were recorded by name. The order of names in the text also reflects an order of precedence, with the line opened by the Hungarian ecclesiastical dignitaries, Archbishop Robert of Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran)¹⁹ and Bishop Bartholomew of Veszprém (Vesprimium, Wesprim)²⁰. Primarily loyal to the Pope, Archbishop Robert also played a role in the conversion of the Cumans in the 1220s. He also came into open conflict with Andrew II a few years before the wedding, because of the king's permissive attitude towards the provisions of the 1231 Golden Bull on the matter of offices held by infidels, Jews and Muslims. As a result, in 1232 the archbishop even excommunicated the palatine and the royal treasurer and placed the kingdom under interdict. The archbishop revoked the measure at the request of the king and by agreement with the papal legate, but reinstated it in 1235, a few months before the king's death. The two Hungarian archpriests were followed by ten Italian dignitaries as members of Beatrice's entourage, all from the territory of the Marquisate of Treviso. Named after its most important town, the state was founded in the 10th century by Emperor Otto I²¹ as the Marquisate of Verona, which underwent fundamental changes in the 1230s during the reign of Frederick II. Frederick expanded its territory, adding Trento, Mantua and Brescia to the cities of Verona, Vicenza, Padua and Treviso, and to minor centres (Ceneda, Feltre, Belluno, Bassano, Monselice) as far as the Oglio river, and officially recognised the new name in a 1234 document.²² In order of dignity, three counts were listed first, Maginardo of Aquileia, Martino di S. Martino of Mantua and Rambaldo's son *Schenelda* of Treviso, descendant of the first 10th century count of Treviso, also named Rambaldo.²³ They were followed by five *domini milites*, all from Mantua: Matteo da Correggio, Castellano dei Caffari, Guglielmo Vicedomini, Bonaventurino degli Archelardi and Arnaldo di Saviola. The list was closed by two noblemen: dominus Occatus of Padua and dominus

¹⁹ Robert (?–1239), Bishop of Veszprém (1209–1226), Archbishop of Esztergom (1226–1239).

²⁰ Bartholomew (?–?), Bishop of Veszprém (1226–1244).

²¹ Otto I/Otto the Great (912–973), King of East Francia (936–973) and Holy Roman Emperor (962–973).

²² Castagnetti, "Dalla Marca Veronese alla Marca Trevigiana, in Istituzioni, società e potere nella Marca Trevigiana e Veronese (secoli XIII–XIV): Sulle tracce di G. B. Verci," 16–22.

²³ For Schinella, the son of Rambaldo, Count of Treviso, we have a record from 1211, see Varanini, "Azzo VI d'Este (+ 1212) e le società cittadine dell'Italia nord-orientale: Convergenze e divergenze di progetti politici fra XII e XIII secolo," 140. For the counts of Rambaldo, including those in the 10th and 11th centuries, see Castagnetti, *Il Veneto nell'alto medioevo*, 127, 129, 140, 227.

Raimundus of Treviso. The composition of the entourage clearly reflects the most important allies of the House of Este in the political and marriage treaty with the Kingdom of Hungary. A heavy presence of the lords of Mantua (seven including the officiating bishop), two representatives of Treviso, including the Count himself, the equally important presence of Aquileia, and finally Padua, albeit in a less definite form. Incidentally, the Este family, headed by Marquis Azzo VII (d. 1264) from 1215, did not fare the best during this period. Azzo took over the title after the death of his brother, Aldobrandino I, whose death frustrated a potential reconciliation with the Marquisate of Ancona, and the new Margrave, involving other allies (Verona, Mantua, Padua), was drawn into open war with Salinguerra II of the Torelli family.²⁴ Eventually, he was forced to leave Ferrara between 1224 and 1239, returning only in 1240, while he also fought Ezzelino III da Romano,²⁵ supported by the Emperor Frederick himself.

The marriage had, of course, political aims. For the Estes, it was aimed at providing political stability for the House of Este, which sought a balance of power with the families of the Marquisates of Ferrara and Treviso (the Torellis and the da Romanos), wavering between the Pope and the Emperor. The marriage was also designed to provide valuable political-economic capital for the Este's allies, thanks to the linking of two major areas of transit and communication. On the one hand, the Marquisate of Treviso, situated between Venice and South Germany, Austria and Hungary, and on the other, the vast Kingdom of Hungary, which encompassed much of Central Europe from the Adriatic to the Carpathians, and which struggled at times with both internal difficulties and external threats, as it was a frontier zone to the Muslims, bastion of Byzantium and to the Slavic peoples, from which it had to resist attacks from the violent and pagan steppe peoples. For the Estes, however, the approach to the Hungarian throne remained a temporary event and a pipe dream that lasted no more than a year (1234–1235). Attempts at an approach between the Hungarian crown and the House of Este had been made thirty years before, when a decision was made in the Hungarian court in the presence of four Este delegates about the marriage of Margrave Azzo VI²⁶ and Alice,²⁷ daughter of Raynald of

²⁴ Salinguerra II Torelli (1164–1244), Italian nobleman and politician, podestà di Ferrara (1195).

²⁵ Ezzelino III da Romano, called the Terrible (1194–1259), Italian condottiere and politician, lord of the Marca Trevigiana.

²⁶ Azzo VI (1170–1212), Italian nobleman and condottiere, Margrave of Este (1190–1212).

²⁷ Alice of Châtillon (1181–1235), Marchioness consort of Marquis Azzo VI d'Este.

Châtillon,²⁸ sister of Queen Anne-Agnes of Hungary,²⁹ wife of King Béla III.³⁰ The marriage, which was probably supported by Pope Innocent III³¹ given the interests of the Principality of Antioch, which had been created to protect the crusaders, and the family that ruled it, was contracted on 21–22 February 1204 in the church of Sancta Maria de Clemena in Friuli, in the presence of the nobles of the Marquisate of Verona and Salinguerra Torelli II, who was at peace with Azzo VI for a rare and brief period.³² Azzo's marriage to the Princess of Antioch also gave him local political advantages which brought him closer to the title of Margrave of Treviso. He had acquired this title by the time of the marriage in 1204, and the bride's dowry gave him possessions and jurisdiction over the castle of Cologna Veneta and the surrounding territory of Baldaria, Zimella and Bagnolo.³³ The Hungarian royal couple, Béla and Anna-Agnes, had four offspring, King Emeric,³⁴ Margaret,³⁵ the future King Andrew II and Constance.³⁶ Likewise, Azzo sired Beatrice,³⁷ Costanza,³⁸ Aldobrandino I³⁹ and the future Azzo VII.⁴⁰ Aldobrandino I sired Beatrice, who became the third wife of Andrew II, and was thus a cousin of his deceased maternal father-in-law.

²⁸ Raynald of Châtillon (c. 1125–1187), Prince of Antioch (1153–1160/1161) and Lord of Oultrejordain (1175–1187).

²⁹ Anna of Antioch/Agnes de Châtillon (c. 1154–c. 1184), Queen of Hungary, first wife of King Béla III (1172–1184).

³⁰ Béla III (c. 1148–1196), King of Hungary and Croatia (1172–1196).

³¹ Lotario dei Conti di Segni (1161–1216), Pope Innocent III (1198–1216).

³² The original of the dowry document, issued on 16 January 1210, is preserved in the State Archives of Modena (ASMo ASE CeS, Membranacei, cassetta II, n. 63), cf. Muratori, *Delle antichità estensi*, 378–381.

³³ Varanini, "Azzo VI d'Este († 1212) e le società cittadine dell'Italia nord-orientale: Convergenze e divergenze di progetti politici fra XII e XIII secolo," 148–49.

³⁴ Emeric (1174–1204), King of Hungary and Croatia between 1196 and 1204.

³⁵ Margaret of Hungary (1175–1223), Byzantine Empress, wife of Isaac II Angelos (1186–1204), Queen of Thessalonica, wife of Bonifacio of Montferrat (1204–1207). She was regent of Thessalonica during the minority of her son Demetrius of Montferrat in 1207–1216. Wife of Nicholas I of Saint Omer (1217–1223).

³⁶ Constance of Hungary (1180–1240) the second Queen consort of Ottokar I of Bohemia (1199–1240).

³⁷ Beatrice I d'Este (1192–1226), nun, beatified by Pope Clement XIII.

³⁸ Constanza d'Este (c. 1205–?).

³⁹ Aldobrandino I d'Este (c. 1190–1215), the second Margrave of Ferrara of the Este House.

⁴⁰ Azzo VII d'Este (c. 1205–1264), lord of Ferrara and Este (1215–1222 and 1240–1264).

The textual tradition and different legal designations of the document

According to current research, the eminent humanist Pellegrino Prisciani⁴¹ was the first to copy the document. Prisciani lived in the Este court, where, as superintendent of the ducal archives, he was commissioned to compile a history of Ferrara and the Este dynasty. He included the marriage donation letter in the seventh volume of his lengthy *Historiae Ferrariae*, which was probably planned to be ten volumes long and ultimately remained unpublished.⁴² As the person in charge of the archives, he had easy access to the document and was able to copy and study it in detail. Given the importance of the marriage, Prisciani took great care to describe the event and to copy the document as accurately as possible, including a fine pen-and-ink drawing by an anonymous assistant of the young Beatrice with a crown on her head, walking among flowers. Above the drawing, he added an explanatory inscription, *Beatrice Estensis Regina Ungariae*. A look at Prisciani's copy shows that, while remaining faithful to the original text (e.g. retaining the original spelling of the personal names *Andrias* and *Zanebonus*), he also normalised or modernised some of the personal names. For example, he changed the name of Margrave *Aldevrandini* into *Aldrovan-dini* or *Aldrevandini* elsewhere, or *de Gaffaris* from the family name *de Caffaris* in Mantua. He took the latter approach to some place names, spelling them in the forms used in Prisciani's time, e.g. changing *Coregia* to *Corrigia* (now *Correggio*), *Saviolla* to *Saviola* (*Villa Saviola* in Mantova), and *Lonado* to *Lonato* (*Lonato del Garda*). Prisciani's classicising tendency is also evident in the Latin text (*inrevocabilis* > *irrevocabilis*, *milia* > *millia*, *peccuniam* > *pecuniam* etc.).

Also, there is a conspicuous missing portion. Prisciani did not copy the phrase *predicta domina regina* in line eight of the original document, presumably by mistake. This omission is of particular importance for the reconstruction of the textual tradition of the document, since it is also found in printed editions of the 18th and 19th centuries. The absence of this phrase is a tell-tale sign that later editions are based on the copy of Prisciani, although they do not usually cite it as a source.

The first printed edition of the document (*editio princeps*) was produced by Ludovico Antonio Muratori,⁴³ a renowned historian and librarian of the Este House. He published the document in 1717, without indicating any source or

⁴¹ Pellegrino Prisciani (c. 1435–1518), professor of astronomy at the University of Ferrara, court librarian and historiographer of the House of Este.

⁴² ASMo MS n. 131, cc. 45v–46r. Only five of the volumes of *Historiae Ferrariae* have survived in their entirety.

⁴³ Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), provost of abbey of Pomposa, Italian historian, writer, numismatist, diplomat, jurist and librarian.

place of preservation.⁴⁴ He titled the document *Donation in connection with marriage*.⁴⁵ Later, after expressing personal satisfaction at being the first to publish the document, he called it a *document of dowry* in another work,⁴⁶ and then mentioned marriage in another work.⁴⁷ Muratori kept the modifications introduced by Prisciani.

He even went further in the normalisation of the text, which simply calls the Hungarian king *Andreas*. The lack of text in Prisciani's autograph is also present here, revealing that Muratori was working from a copy of the 15th century humanist. Thanks to the spread of printed editions, Muratori's polished version of the text was adopted by later editions, as evidenced by the tell-tale omission (*predicta domina regina*).

The German Johann Christian Lünig⁴⁸ published the text of the document in 1725, still without mentioning the location of the original document or its source. He called the document a *donation contract: Instrumentum Donationis inter vivos, ab Andrea II Rege Hungariae, Uxori suae, Beatrici filiae quondam Domini Aldrovandini, Marchionis Estensis, facta, d.d. 14 maji, an. 1234*.

The Jesuit historian György Pray⁴⁹ published the document in the first volume of *Annales regum Hungariae* in 1763, which he called a contractual document or public contract which records the dowry (*nuptias Albae Regiae celebratas esse constat ex pactionum tabulis, quibus dos Beatrici publica fide ab Andrea constituta fuit, or cui dotem publicis tabulis constituit*).⁵⁰ Pray, unlike his predecessors, in footnote q, precisely indicated the source he used, the above work by Lünig. In the notes he also made some unexpected remarks, make a distinction between exemplars and autographs, in footnote r: *Exemplar. habet Gloria. Male autem legerit, qui ex autographo desumpsit*, then in s: *In exemplari est, Laudemiaque*, in t: *Exemplar male habet Rumbertus*. By the term exemplar, Pray presumably intended to refer only to the Lünig print, leaving open the question of who copied it from the original. It seems inconceivable that Pray had access to the original, although his diligence in manuscript research is well

⁴⁴ Muratori, *Delle antichità estensi*, 420–421.

⁴⁵ Donazione per cagion di Nozze.

⁴⁶ *Strumento dotale*. See Muratori, *Annali d'Italia dal principio dell'era volgare sino all'anno 1500 compilati da Lodovico Antonio Muratori bibliotecario del serenissimo duca di Modena*, 225.

⁴⁷ Muratori, *Chronicon Estense*, 14.

⁴⁸ Johann Christian Lünig (1662–1740), German jurist, historian and publicist.

⁴⁹ György Pray (1723–1801), Hungarian Jesuit abbot, canon, librarian of the University Library of Buda and historian.

⁵⁰ Pray, *Annales regum Hungariae ab anno christi CMXCVII ad annum MDLXIV deducti ac maximam partem ex scriptoribus coevis, diplomatibus, tabulis publicis, et id genus litterariis instrumentis congesti opera, et studio*, I. 242.

known. He discovered around 1770, among other things, the codex named after him, which is now kept in the Széchényi Library, and which also preserves the first long coherent record of the Hungarian language from the late 12th century.⁵¹ In the notes, he recorded the misspelled names of persons and places, and inserted their correct reading as *coniectura* in the main text.

The historian István Katona⁵² published the document in 1783,⁵³ which he named as a *contractual document recording Beatrice's dowry*,⁵⁴ and as its source he cited Pray's work, whose text he strictly followed.⁵⁵

György Fejér⁵⁶ published the document in 1829,⁵⁷ with an annotated appendix indicating multiple sources in chronological order: the editions of Pray, Katona and Lünig.⁵⁸ He calls the document a *contractual document by which Andrew II establishes the dowry of Beatrice d'Este*.

The text of the document was taken from the book⁵⁹ by József Illés⁶⁰ and incorporated into his book *Introduction to the History of Hungarian Law* in 1910.⁶¹

Finally, we should mention a reprint of the Muratori version of the text in Albert Nyáry's book⁶² *István Postumus and the Este Heritage*, which is the first among the sources published in the appendix.⁶³ Exiled from his native country subjected to the Habsburg Empire, Nyáry was commissioned by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to conduct research on Hungarian history, and ended up in Modena, where he studied the materials of the Este Archives, which had been opened to researchers by the newly-formed Kingdom of Italy just a year earlier in 1862.

⁵¹ Pray Codex: NSZL Manuscript Collection, MNY 1.

⁵² István Katona (1732–1811) Jesuit abbot-canon, historian, librarian.

⁵³ Katona, *Historica critica regum Hungariae stirpis Arpadianae ex fide domesticorum et externorum scriptorum*, V.:690–92.

⁵⁴ *Pactionum tabulae quibus dos Beatrici constituitur*.

⁵⁵ In footnote b, the reference is. Ann. R. H. P. I. p. 242., which can be easily resolved as Pray, *Annales regum Hungariae ab anno christi CMXCVII ad annum MDLXIV deducti ac maximam partem ex scriptoribus coaevis, diplomatibus, tabulis publicis, et id genus litterariis instrumentis congesti opera, et studio*.

⁵⁶ György Fejér (1766–1851) Hungarian historian, provost-canon, and director of the University Library of Pest.

⁵⁷ Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, III/2. 376–378.

⁵⁸ Apud Pray ann. R. H. P. I. p.242. Katona Tom. V. p. 690. Exscriptum est ex Ios. Chris. Lünigii Codice Tom. I. p.1582.

⁵⁹ Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, III/2. 376–378.

⁶⁰ József Illés (1871–1944) legal historian, university professor and ordinary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

⁶¹ Illés, *Bevezetés a magyar jog történetébe: A források története*, 265–267.

⁶² Albert Nyáry (1828–1886) historian, archivist, heraldist, corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

⁶³ Nyáry, *Postumus István es az estei örökség*, 65–67.

The textual variations that appear in these manuscripts and editions are given in the footnotes of the transcription.

Text of the engagement present document
Transcription principles and distinguishing marks

/ end of line

[] addition of illegible letters or words due to ink fading

< > other additions

The punctuation follows modern (Italian) rules, and the use of capital letters has been normalised by the publisher.

To separate the parts of the document (deed of donation, wedding, signature of witnesses), the publisher inserted spaces not in the original.

The editors corrected proper names actually written in lower case in the original to upper case initials in accordance with the national practice (Estensis, Mantuanus, Strigoniensis, etc.), and converted the designation of sources in the manuscript, cited in the critical footnotes, into a siglum.

The footnotes include the autograph copy of Prisciani, and the editions of Muratori, Lünig, Pray, Katona and Fejér, in chronological order.

For historical notes, see the introduction above.

Original

ASMo ASE Casa e Stato, Membranacei, cassetta II, n. 52. Parchment document, 28 x 21.5 cm. In good condition, except for a small tear at the beginning of line 20, above the word *verba*, and some sporadic ink fading, which does not prevent readability. – On the recto, at the top of the document, a modern archival inscription in pencil: “1234 – 14 – Mag.o – Rog.o Lonadi Zanibono”, with the serial number 52 circled in the right-hand corner. At the bottom of the document a small oval stamp reads “Archivio di Stato *Modena*”. – The verso bears inscriptions by at least six different hands from different periods. Three are legible under UV light: 1/ “Reina B(eatri)xia de ...” – Probably this is the earliest inscription. 2/ “A n.o 83” – An earlier inscription. 3./ “... dne Beatrici Rege Ungarie” – Dates from the 15th century, partly obscured by a later inscription, only the last words are legible. 1./ “Despons.º Beatricis filia(e) Aldobrand. March. ux.i And.ae Regis Hung.ae cum donat.ne Marcharum quinque millium arg.ti. An. 1234”, followed by “45” – 17th century note and mark in black ink, below which is entry No. 3. 2./ “(n.187 Inv.o 1545)” – Probably 19th century inscription in red ink under No. 4, referring to the 1545 document list, still kept in the State Archives of Modena: ASMo ASE Cancelleria, Archivio segreto ducale, 3 – *Inventario deli instrumenti*,

investiture et altre cose de la Tore, 1545. On the recto of page 10, the following inscription: “N.o 187. inst.o conc.e Andrea re de Ongaria promette et dona a m.a Biatrice sua mogliera fig.la che fu del M. Aldrovandino cinquemillia march. d’oro. L’anno 1234 – n. 187.” 3./ “Donazione di 5000 marche d’argento fatta da Andrei re d’Ungheria a sua moglie Beatrice del Marchese Aldebrandino of Este” – The latest pencil note – Notary: Zanebono de Lonado.

Manuscript copy

Pr: Pellegrino Prisciani (Ferrara, ca. 1435–19 January 1518): *Historiae Ferrari-ae*. Lib. VII, cc. 45v–46r (ASMo MS n. 131).

Publications and sigla

F: *György Fejér*: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Buda, 1829. III/2. 376–378.

I: *József Illés*: *Bevezetés a Magyar jogtörténetbe. A források története*. [Introduction to the History of Hungarian Law. A History of Sources.] Budapest. 1910, 265–267.

K: *István Katona*: *Historica critica regum Hungariae stirpis Arpadianae ex fide domesticorum et externorum scriptorum*. Pest, 1783. V. 690–692.

L: *Johann Christian Lünig*: *Codex Italiae diplomaticus*. Frankfurt – Leipzig, 1725–1732, t. I, coll. 1581–1582, doc. XLIV.

M: *Ludovico Antonio Muratori*: *Delle antichità estensi ed italiane*. Vol. I. Modena, 1717, Parte Prima, Cap. XLI. 420–421.

P: *György Pray*: *Annales regum Hungariae*. I–V. Vindobonae, 1763–1770. I. 242.

Omn: versions available in both copy and print

Impr: versions only available in printed editions

14 May 1234, Székesfehérvár, Basilica of the Assumption

On the occasion of their marriage, King Andrew II of Hungary donates 5000 silver marks to his fiancée Beatrice, daughter of the late Marquis Aldobrandino I of Este, which he will give directly to Beatrice for five years. In addition, for each additional year of her life, he will donate to her 1000 silver marks from his personal purse as a *gratia specialis*. Simultaneously, the Bishop of Mantua, Guidotto, solemnly celebrates the rites of matrimony, after both parties have expressed their free will to be united in marriage in the interrogations and Andrew II has symbolically put a ring on his wife’s finger.

(*Signum tabellionis*) In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Dominus⁶⁴ Andrias,⁶⁵ Dei gratia Ungarie,⁶⁶ Dalmacie,⁶⁷ / Glorie,⁶⁸ Galacie,⁶⁹ Ramie,⁷⁰ Servie,⁷¹ Laudemieque⁷² rex, nomine mere ac pure et inrevocabilis⁷³ / donationis, que⁷⁴ esse dicitur inter vivos, donavit quinque milia⁷⁵ marchas⁷⁶ argenti domine⁷⁷ Beatrici regine,⁷⁸ / [u]xori sue,⁷⁹ filie⁸⁰ quondam felicitatis⁸¹ domini Aldevrandini⁸² marchionis Estensis, promittendo se daturum et solitum⁸³ predictae⁸⁴ domine⁸⁵ Beatrici uxori sue⁸⁶ et suis heredibus⁸⁷ predictas⁸⁸ quinque milia⁸⁹ marchas argenti hinc ad quinque / annos completos ita, quod in quolibet anno istorum quinque⁹⁰ annorum solvere debeat et sibi solvere teneatur et suis heredibus⁹¹ mille / marchas argenti, obligando se et suum

⁶⁴ Pr: Domenus.

⁶⁵ Impr: Andreas.

⁶⁶ PKF: Ungariae.

⁶⁷ FPK: Dalmatiae.

⁶⁸ L: Glorie. P: Croatiae, in footnote r: "Exemplar habet Gloriam. Male autem legerit, qui ex autographo desumpsit. Videtur notaryndum Croatiae." KF: Croatiae.

⁶⁹ PrPKF: Galatiae. ML: Galatie.

⁷⁰ P: Ramiae. KF: Ramae.

⁷¹ Pr: Sernie. PKF: Serviae.

⁷² Pr: Laudemiaeque. L: Laudemieque. P: Lodomeriaequae, footnote s: "In exemplari est Laudemiaeque sed ejusdem credo errore factum." KF: Lodomeriaequae.

⁷³ Omn: irrevocabilis.

⁷⁴ PKF: quae.

⁷⁵ Omn: millia.

⁷⁶ F: marcas.

⁷⁷ PrPKF: dominae.

⁷⁸ PrPKF: reginae.

⁷⁹ PrPKF: suae.

⁸⁰ PKF: filiae.

⁸¹ PKF: memoriae.

⁸² Pr: Aldrevandini. Impr: Aldrovandini.

⁸³ Pr: soluturum. ML: solutorum. PKF: solutorum.

⁸⁴ PKF: praedictae.

⁸⁵ PKF: dominae.

⁸⁶ PKF: suae.

⁸⁷ PF: haeredibus.

⁸⁸ PKF: praedictas.

⁸⁹ Omn: millia.

⁹⁰ The notary wrote an e instead of an i, then corrected it.

⁹¹ P: haeredibus.

regnum totum, donec predictam⁹² pecunie⁹³ quantitatem sibi et suis / heredibus⁹⁴ solverit et attenderit⁹⁵ ita, quod⁹⁶ ipsam pecuniam⁹⁷ totam sive argentum⁹⁸ predicta domina regina⁹⁹ apud / se habeat et habere debeat et de ea quicquid¹⁰⁰ sibi placuerit ad suam voluntatem et¹⁰¹ voluerit facere, faciat. Et in hoc sibi / dotem constituit. Concedendo etiam,¹⁰² idem dominus rex Andrias,¹⁰³ eidem domine¹⁰⁴ regine,¹⁰⁵ omnes redditus,¹⁰⁶ proventus, / utilitates, rationes et iura,¹⁰⁷ que¹⁰⁸ et quas ullo¹⁰⁹ tempore hinc retro habuerunt seu habere consueverunt regine¹¹⁰ Ungarie.¹¹¹ Et / insuper faciens ei gratiam specialem, promisit dare ei et solvere omni anno in vita sua ultra dotem et omnia predicta¹¹² de / sua Camera speciali mille marchas argenti vel tantum, quod inde de suis redditibus¹¹³ possit tantum argentum¹¹⁴ / ab ea omni anno percipi et haberi.

⁹² PKF: praedictam.

⁹³ PrML: pecunie. PKF: pecuniae.

⁹⁴ PF: haeredibus.

⁹⁵ Pr: attendent (?). KF: attenderit (f. appenderit).

⁹⁶ Pr: quidem.

⁹⁷ Omn: pecuniam.

⁹⁸ At this point the copies and editions examined include a word missing in the original. Pr: productum. ML: predictum. PKF: praedictum.

⁹⁹ The absence of the phrase *predicta domina regina* will be a useful guide when compiling a series of editions. The words are missing from the Prisciani transcription and then from all the printed editions.

¹⁰⁰ PF: quidquid.

¹⁰¹ KF: ut.

¹⁰² Omn: etiam.

¹⁰³ Impr: Andreas

¹⁰⁴ Impr: the word domine is missing.

¹⁰⁵ PKF: reginae.

¹⁰⁶ KF: reditus.

¹⁰⁷ MLP: jura.

¹⁰⁸ PKF: quae.

¹⁰⁹ P: illo.

¹¹⁰ PKF: reginae.

¹¹¹ PK: Ungariae. F: Hungariae.

¹¹² PKF: praedicta.

¹¹³ KF: reditibus.

¹¹⁴ At this point, the word argentum in the original is followed by a deleted punctuation mark, which neither Prisciani nor later editors indicated.

Et ibi,¹¹⁵ in continenti¹¹⁶ interrogatus¹¹⁷ idem dominus Andrias,¹¹⁸ Dei gratia Rex Ungarie¹¹⁹ a domino/Guidocto, Dei gratia episcopo Mantuano, si volebat Beatricem, filiam felicis¹²⁰ memorie¹²¹ quondam Aldevrandini,¹²² / marchionis Estensis in¹²³ suam uxorem legitimam et in ipsam ut in¹²⁴ suam¹²⁵ uxorem legitimam¹²⁶ per¹²⁷ verba de / presenti¹²⁸ consentire. Respondit, quod sic volebat et sibi placebat, et dicebat et faciebat in omnibus, ut dictum est / superius.¹²⁹ Et eodem modo¹³⁰ interrogata¹³¹ predicta¹³² domina Beatrice ab eodem domino episcopo Mantuano, si volebat dominum / Andreas,¹³³ Dei gratia regem Ungarie¹³⁴ in suom¹³⁵ virum legitimum¹³⁶ et in ipsum tamquam¹³⁷ in virum legitimum¹³⁸ / per verba de presenti¹³⁹ consentire. Respondit, quod sic volebat et sibi¹⁴⁰ placebat, et dicebat et faciebat in omnibus, ut / dictum est superius.

¹¹⁵ Impr: the word ibi is missing.

¹¹⁶ ML: incontinenti.

¹¹⁷ Pr: interrogatus.

¹¹⁸ Impr: Andreas.

¹¹⁹ PrPK: Ungariae. F: Hungariae.

¹²⁰ Pr: foelicis.

¹²¹ PKF: memoriae.

¹²² Omn: Aldrovandini.

¹²³ L: the word in is missing.

¹²⁴ PF: the word in is missing.

¹²⁵ Pr: suum.

¹²⁶ Impr: legitimam.

¹²⁷ Pr: pro.

¹²⁸ PKF: praesenti.

¹²⁹ K: the sentence beginning after superius and ending in superius is missing ("Et eodem modo ... et dictum est superius"). It continues: His itaque interrogationibus...

¹³⁰ The notary wrote an 'o' instead of a 'd' and corrected it.

¹³¹ Impr: interrogata.

¹³² PF: praedicta.

¹³³ Pr: Andrias. MLPF: Andream.

¹³⁴ P: Ungariae. F: Hungariae.

¹³⁵ PrMLPF: suum.

¹³⁶ Pr: legittimum. P: the words "et in ipsum tamquam in virum legitimum" are missing.

¹³⁷ Pr: tanque. F: tanquam.

¹³⁸ Pr: legittimum.

¹³⁹ PF: praesenti.

¹⁴⁰ PrMLPF: sic.

Hiis¹⁴¹ itaque interrogationibus¹⁴² et responsionibus sic factis idem dominus Andrias¹⁴³ rex eandem¹⁴⁴ / dominam Beatricem desponsavit annulo maritali, consentiendo in eam, ut dictum est, in omnibus et per¹⁴⁵ omnia. / Et de omnibus predictis¹⁴⁶ plura instrumenta uno tenore inde fieri rogata sunt.

Interfuere testes: dominus Robertus,¹⁴⁷ Dei gratia¹⁴⁸ / Strigoniensis¹⁴⁹ archiepiscopus,¹⁵⁰ dominus Bertholomeus,¹⁵¹ Dei gratia¹⁵² episcopus Vesperinus,¹⁵³ comes Maghinardus¹⁵⁴ de Acquilucia,¹⁵⁵ / comes Martinus de Sancto¹⁵⁶ Martino, comes Schenella¹⁵⁷ de Tarvisio, dominus Matheus¹⁵⁸ de Coregia,¹⁵⁹ Dominus / Castellanus de Caffaris,¹⁶⁰ dominus Wylielmus¹⁶¹ Vicedominus,¹⁶² dominus Bonaventurinus de Archelardis,¹⁶³ dominus Arnaldus / de Saviolla,¹⁶⁴ milites Mantuani; dominus Occatus de Padua, dominus Raymundus¹⁶⁵ de Tarvisio / et alii testes quam plures.¹⁶⁶ /

¹⁴¹ Omn: His.

¹⁴² Pr: interrogationibus.

¹⁴³ Impr: Andreas.

¹⁴⁴ K: eandem.

¹⁴⁵ Pr: pro.

¹⁴⁶ Pr: dictis. PKF: praedictis.

¹⁴⁷ PrML: Rumbertus. P: Robertus, in footnote t: "Exemplar male habet Rumbertus." KF: Robertus.

¹⁴⁸ K: D. gr.

¹⁴⁹ L: Strigoniensis.

¹⁵⁰ P: archi-episcopus.

¹⁵¹ PrPKF: Bartholomaeus. ML: Bartholomeus.

¹⁵² K: D. gr.

¹⁵³ P: Vesprimensis, in footnote u: "Male itidem isthic scribitur Vesperinus." K and F: Vesprimiensis.

¹⁵⁴ PKF: Maginhardus.

¹⁵⁵ Omn: Aquilucia.

¹⁵⁶ KF: S.

¹⁵⁷ Pr: Schenelda. PK: Schenele. F: Schenela.

¹⁵⁸ P: Mathaeus. K: Matthaesus. F: Mathaeus.

¹⁵⁹ Omn: Corrigia.

¹⁶⁰ PrM: Gaffaris.

¹⁶¹ Pr: Julielmus (?). Impr: Wilielmus.

¹⁶² PKF: vice-dominus.

¹⁶³ Pr: Artehlaridis.

¹⁶⁴ Omn: Saviola. Deleted afterwards with punctuation, with overlining: dns, not indicated by any of the editors.

¹⁶⁵ PrML: Raymondinus. PKF: Raymondus.

¹⁶⁶ PrML: quamplures. PKF: quam plures.

Actum est hoc apud Albam Civitatem in ecclesia Beate¹⁶⁷ Virginis¹⁶⁸ Marie,¹⁶⁹ millesimo ducentesimo trigesimo q[uarto] / Indictione VII, die dominico, quattodecimo¹⁷⁰ intrante Maio.¹⁷¹ /

Ego Zanebonus¹⁷² de Lonado¹⁷³ a domino Frederico¹⁷⁴ rege notarius interfui et rogatus scripsi.¹⁷⁵

(Translated by Péter Horváth)

¹⁶⁷ P: Beatae.

¹⁶⁸ KF: B.V.

¹⁶⁹ PKF: Mariae.

¹⁷⁰ Pr: quattodecimo.

¹⁷¹ MLP: Majo. P ends the text at Majo, then in footnote x: "Subjunguntur in fine haec verba: Ego Zanobonus de Lonalo a Domino Frederico rege Notario interfui, & rogatus scripsi. Quis hic rex hujus nominis fuerit, ignoro: nisi opiner Fridericum Imperatorem fuisse, qui Siciliae itidem rex erat." K also pauses at Maion, after which he closes the quotation mark, thus concluding the Pray transcription.

¹⁷² ML: Zanobonus. F: Zambonus.

¹⁷³ PrMLF: Lonato.

¹⁷⁴ F: Friderico.

¹⁷⁵ At the end of the line, two signs similar to the number three.

Balázs Ádám Demjén

“TO MY GRACIOUS AND HONOURABLE LORD, YOUR EXCELLENCY”
AN ITALIAN ACCOUNT OF THE 1543 TURKISH CAMPAIGN
IN HUNGARY

In the State Archives of Modena, in the fonds containing the Hungarian embassies, we find a letter by a certain Giovan Anselmo Bonini, written in Komárom (Camarum, Komorn) on 12 September 1543, which reports on the military activities of the Ottoman Empire in that year, conducted within a kingdom that was already under the absolute control of King Ferdinand I Habsburg¹ after the death of John I Szapolyai,² rival co-holder of the title “King of Hungary”. The aim of the campaign, following the capture of the castle of Buda in 1541, was primarily to expand the border zone around the castle (and at the same time to occupy the medieval *medium regni*), together with further expansion along the river Drava.³

In his formal introduction the letter’s author refers to the fact that the unidentified addressee – clearly someone of superior rank – must already have heard of the events in question, and he apologises in advance for the potential inaccuracies in his records of these. Then he begins his description of the events with the capture of Soklós⁴ and “the castle of Valpó over the Drava”⁵ by the Turks, then records that the Ottoman forces approached Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran) via Buda and began to surround the fortress.⁶ According to his description, the archiepiscopal seat had to withstand three sieges within eighteen days – after this, a sixty-year-old Neapolitan defender, referred only

¹ Ferdinand I Habsburg (1503–1564), Archduke of Austria (1521–1564), King of Hungary and Bohemia (1526–1564), Holy Roman Emperor (1558–1564).

² John/János I. Szapolyai (1480/1487–1540), King of Hungary (1526–1540).

³ ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4 /34, ff.1r–3r.

⁴ The castle, which was both in the period discussed, and is also today part of county Baranya – nowadays named Siklós –, was captured around 23 June 1543 by the Ottoman forces. See: Szántó, *Küzdelem a török terjeszkedés ellen Magyarországon*, 20–22.

⁵ The siege of Valpó (today Valpovo, Croatia), part of county Baranya in the first half of the 16th century was by all accounts conducted in two parts: the Christian defenders of the castle were able to repel the first attack on 24 May 1543, but they proved to be powerless against the main army led by Sultan Suleiman I (1520–1566) in the period between 23 June and 7 July. See: *Török történetírók*, II, 296–297. (Sinan Çavuş).

⁶ The sultan could march into the centre of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary between 17 and 25 June 1543, and the Ottomans could begin the siege of Esztergom after this date. See: József Bánlaky: “A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme.” <https://mek.oszk.hu/09400/09477/html/0013/978.html>. Last accessed 30 March 2023.

to as a “craftsman,”⁷ left the castle and showed the Turks the weakest parts of the fortress, pointing out where they should position their artillery. As a result of this betrayal, the besieged were forced to surrender on 8 August 1543; moreover, in contrast to the preliminary agreement – as noted by Bonini – after the capture of the castle, the Ottomans interpreted free withdrawal only in regard to the soldiers’ person, but not to their goods. As a result, those who left Esztergom were divested even of their clothes. What is more, by taking all children, regardless of their gender, into captivity, even the *devshirme*⁸ was collected. According to the account, the casualties of the Turks were approximately five thousand men (among whom three hundred were killed in the castle), while the Christians had one hundred and fifty casualties during the siege, and two hundred defected to the Turks. Those leaving the castle were led by the Spanish captain Lascano⁹ and his second-in-command, Salamanca,¹⁰ who were, Bonini falsely claims, stopped in Pressburg (Posonium, Pozsony, today Bratislava, Slovakia), on their way to Vienna, and beheaded, together with their companions. As a consequence of the betrayal and the cowardice the Germans developed a particularly negative view of Italians – regardless of the Spanish origin of their captain –, whom they referred to, even in the mildest case, as traitors. Afterwards the Turks set off in the direction of Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia, Stuhlweißenburg), via a certain settlement called “Tatt”, which they captured without a single gunshot, even though the castle was full of defenders.¹¹ Here, however, according to Bonini, the treason did not remain unpunished: the colonel, Count “Philip the Black”, condemned the guilty to beheading.¹² After he

⁷ Giovanni Massa, the Italian standard-bearer of the castle. For his betrayal on 8 August 1543 his superiors first threatened him with beheading, but eventually they also cooperated with the Ottoman forces during the surrender of the castle. See: Bagi, “Esztergom 1543. évi ostroma,” 18–21.

⁸ Violent collection of Christian children to assure the resupply in the Ottoman–Turkish army; the so-called “child tax” or “blood tax” in Europe.

⁹ “Lascano” – originally called Martín Musica – was the leader of the Spanish mercenaries in Esztergom, and also the captain of the castle. After the surrender of the castle, he was allowed free retreat from the Ottomans in the direction of Komárom. In spite of what the text implies (although he was indeed summoned before a court-martial), he was later acquitted of the charge of treason. See: journal “Esztergom és Vidéke,” 24 February 1994, 8/5.

¹⁰ Francisco de Salamanca, vice-captain of Esztergom replaced the captain when Lascano was injured. After the surrender of the castle, he was also brought to Komárom by the Turks, and from there he went on to Vienna. The court-martial led by Nicholas, Count of Salm (?–1550, imperial captain) charged him also with treason, and he was released after one year of imprisonment, in 1544. See Laczlavik, “Egy politikus főpap a 16. század első felében: Várday Pál esztergomi érsek, királyi helytartó pályafutása,” 73.

¹¹ In all likelihood, the author misspelt the name of Tata, which was also conquered by the Ottomans in the summer of 1543.

¹² “Philip the Black” – originally Filippo Tornelli – was the captain of the Italian mercenaries of Ferdinand I. Between May and June 1543 he spent two months under Vienna with his sol-

arrived in the vicinity of Székesfehérvár with his troops, together with a “tall knight,” he strengthened the area of the moat with piles of wood, and the artillery faced the expected storm of arrows from the janissaries, which duly arrived on 28 August 1543, a Tuesday. The morning attack was followed by another one the day after; on Sunday 2 September however – when the defenders could reinforce the damaged battlements – such a thick mist descended on Székesfehérvár that the defenders of the city could not even see each other, therefore they were forced to withdraw, at this time confined to the defence of the town’s gate against the renewed Ottoman attack, with the help of the citizens. The defence, however, was unsuccessful: the majority of Hungarian, German and Italian soldiers were killed, and among the latter, Bonini – with reference to Tornelli – mentions only 250 survivors out of 1100. Among the victims we can find Giovanni Domenico Tornelli, the cousin of Filippo; a certain “Carlo Secco Bressano”¹³ and an Ottoman captain – interestingly, as the author also emphasizes his controversial information, all of them were from Milan... Apart from the death of other, unnamed but high-ranking military leaders, Bonini writes about one hundred and fifty more casualties, and says that the few survivors were forced to spend the night in the moat, in some cases hiding among piles of corpses. The Italian captain who managed to escape did likewise, and subsequently tried to make the town’s citizenry understand that his orders were to defend Székesfehérvár to the last – they, however, chose surrender, in the absence of munitions. On the following day, Monday, they sent three men from among themselves to negotiate with the Turks on the conditions of surrender, and since by this time the surviving soldiers defending the town were already in a minority against the citizens, they could no longer protest against the decision. The Ottomans promised free retreat both to the citizens and the soldiers, and the opportunity to take their movables with them. In the execution of the withdrawal, which was carried out in a manner so honourable that Bonini considers it unparalleled, a central role was played by a Turkish captain whom his people subsequently condemned to death by beheading, while according to the accounts, two of his companions were preparing to return from Székesfehérvár to Constantinople at the end of 1543. The recently captured fortifications were,

diers, waiting for the provisions that would have provided their sustenance during the sieges. He did not accept the commission as the captain of Székesfehérvár (as opposed to György Varkocs), and remained the leader of the Italian mercenaries. On 27 July 1543 we find him under Esztergom with his troops, but in the end, they did not take part in the fighting. He could, however, extend the resistance of Székesfehérvár until 5 September 1543, when the approximately 500 soldiers (300 Italian and 200 German) participating in the defence were forced to surrender their arms and leave under Turkish escort. See: József Bánlaky: “A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme.”

¹³ The death of Carlo Sicca and other Italian soldiers on 21 August 1543 is recorded in the Hungarian sources as well. See: Istvánffy, *A magyarok történetéből*, 155–166.

however, so strongly reinforced that the author considered their recapture most difficult. Bonini also expressed his worries that unless the emperor sent a relief army, the following fortification to be under siege would be Komárom, at a distance of thirty miles from Esztergom and forty to fifty miles from Székesfehérvár, and where only one German and one Italian unit were garrisoned. From among these – approximately ten thousand cavalry – one or two thousands were sent across the Danube every day, even during the siege of Esztergom, and – though they were few in number – the Turks could not force them to retreat. These units were thus successful in disrupting Turkish military activities, and stalled the Ottoman advance.

Giovanni Anselmo Bonini – before offering himself and his addressee to the mercy of God – concludes his text with the hopeful thought that after the dissolution of the armies, the emperor might attempt to recapture the lost territories in a battle with his sixty thousand soldiers, since an army of such size would certainly terrify the Turks who remained in Hungary in much smaller numbers.

(Translated by Kinga Földvály)

György Domokos

THE PLAGUE AND THE CHEETAH
REPORTS FROM HUNGARY BY ERCOLE PIO, IPPOLITO I D'ESTE'S
AGENT, 1508–1510*

The goal of the Vestigia I (2010–2015, OTKA no. 81430) research project was to find and process, to the extent possible, documents preserved in four public collections and relevant to Hungary in the period 1300–1550, two in Modena and two in Milan. The choice of the two libraries and the two archives, made in 2010, was dictated by practical concerns but also by the fact that the Sforza-court and the Este-court were stable and important contacts in Italy for the Hungarian royal court. Vestigia II (2018–2022, NKFIH no. K 128797) aimed, on one hand, to extend the research on these collections into the 1550–1600 period, and on the other, to expand it to include the archives of Mantua.

Naturally, most of the documents preserved in the State Archives of Modena are connected to the Queen of Hungary, Beatrice of Aragon,¹ and her nephew, Ippolito I d'Este.² One coherent set of the documents currently being processed consists of Ippolito's account books, which provide a detailed picture of the financial situation, as well as of everyday life in Hungary at the turn of the 16th century. It goes without saying that the letters written by the two prominent personalities themselves give a great deal of important information, but the reports and letters by those agents, envoys and emissaries who had been sent from Ferrara to Hungary are at least as important – and have hitherto perhaps been the subject of less research. These were largely Ippolito's delegates, tasked with representing the political and material interests of their lord – who had long been absent from Hungary – in Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran), Buda (Ofen), Eger (Agría, Erlau) and elsewhere.

The title of the present paper was inspired by the fact that the Italian agents in question often report events and circumstances that by their very nature

* The paper was published originally in Italian: Domokos, “La peste e il pardo: Testimonianze di Ercole Pio, agente di Ippolito d'Este in Ungheria negli anni 1508–1510.” Then in Hungarian: Domokos, “A pestis és a gepárd: Ercole Pio, Estei Hippolit egy ügynökének beszámolója Magyarországról (1508–1510).” Since then all the letters of Ercole Pio have been published with an introductory essay on his life and correspondence: Domokos, *A jámbor Herkules: Estei Hippolit bíboros egri kormányzója, Ercole Pio beszámolója Magyarországról 1508–1510*. The citations are taken from this later edition.

¹ Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508), Queen of Hungary, wife of King Matthias (1476–1490), wife of King Vladislaus II (1490–1500).

² Ippolito I d'Este (1479–1520) Archbishop of Esztergom (1486–1497), Bishop of Eger (1497–1520), Cardinal (1493–1520).

would not normally find their way into official documents. Here we would like to present some incidents from the letters of a relatively well-known agent, Ercole Pio, bishopric of Eger's governor – concerning, among other things, the plague and a cheetah –, and thereby illustrate the typical features of this kind of sources, which could potentially be invaluable for the study of Hungarian history.

Ercole Pio was one of the dozens of agents, envoys and emissaries who came to Hungary in the service of Ippolito I d'Este. He spent two years in Hungary, from the winter of 1508 to the autumn of 1510. The State Archives of Modena preserves 25 letters written by him during this period.³ His activities can be traced in at least 14 other documents preserved in Hungarian and Slovak archives (as the Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary indicates):⁴ these are mostly tithe contracts, invoices and loan receipts, which will be analysed in detail in another study.

Ercole Pio's provenance from the noble Pio di Savoia family is evidenced first and foremost by his seal, which he used on nearly all the documents he wrote, whether preserved in Modena or in the territory of the former kingdom of Hungary. On the seal the governor's initials (*H. P.*) are added the coat of arms of the Pio di Savoia family. He generally signs his letters *Servulus Her.Pius*, *Her. P.*, *Hercules Pius* or, in Italian, *Hercule Pio*. He occasionally jokes with his name in the context of the letter, e.g. by adding "unhappy and faithful servant, who regrets being a merciless Hercules to himself, while merciful to others,"⁵ or by writing *Impius* instead of *Pius*, because he is "the first among the unhappy, your faithful servant, Hercules not merciful to himself."⁶

³ The letters written by him personally are found in the fond called *Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria ducale, Carteggio ambasciatori, Ungheria* of the State Archives of Modena (ASMo), unit "busta 4," bundle 6; the draft of the accompanying instructions (also cited in this paper) is found in bundle 7.

⁴ These digitalized documents can be found under the numbers HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 229370, 216983, 208937, 210538, 264566, 67503, 217018, 229383, 22035, 46943, 229385, 217021 in the database, dated between 21 June 1509 and 1 August 1510, the original ones currently are preserved in the Komárom-Esztergom County Archive (originally in the Esztergom Cathedral Chapter Notarial Archive), the Heves County Archive (originally in the Private Archive of the Eger Cathedral Chapter), in the Levoča State Archive (originally in the Szepes [Spiš] Archive, Slovakia), the National Archive of Hungary (originally in the Szirmay family's archive and other archives) and in the Poprad State Archive (originally in Bártfa [Bardejov] and Eperjes [Prešov], Slovakia).

⁵ *"Io infelicissimo e fidelissimo servitore di Vostra Signoria, quale si pente esser nato Hercule crudele a sé medesimo, pio cum gli altri"* Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 4 February 1510 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,12, f 8r. (Vestigia database no. 1768, 1769).

⁶ *"fra gli scontenti il primo suo di servi fidelissimo Hercule Impio a sé medesimo"* Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 11 February 1510 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,14, f 2v. (Vestigia database no. 1771).

The coat of arms of the Pio di Savoia family, also recognisable on the seal Ercole used in Hungary, is of the following description: in the first quarter of a quartered shield is a cross argent on a field azure with bezants. The second and third quarters each feature two stripes argent and two stripes gules, while the fourth quarter a lion rampant vert on a golden field. This quartered shield is crested with an eagle. Ercole Pio's identification is further corroborated by the fact that in the address of the instructions from Ippolito, dated 1510 and discovered in the same fond, his name is given as *Her. Pio de Sabaudia*, and in documents from Hungary he calls himself *Hercules Pius de Sabaudia Carpi*.

Within the family, and in the period in general, the name Ercole is by no means unique: Ippolito's father was Duke Ercole d'Este, and there is another, more famous, Ercole Pio in the governor's own family (scil. the third lord of Sassuolo, 1540–1576). The protagonist of the present paper, however, is without doubt the second son of the founder of the "Sassuolo branch" of the family, Prince Marco II (1430–1494). His mother was Eleonora del Carretto.⁷ What we know of his life comes from Girolamo Tiraboschi's notes in the *Biblioteca Modenese*,⁸ and what Anna Maria Ori has found in the relevant documents in the City Archives of Carpi. These show that his tutor (and the tutor of his brothers) was Giovanni della Porta, and that he was destined for an ecclesiastical career, which was secured for him by his father in 1460, when he was about four years old, in the form of the benefice of the Sant'Antonio Abate church. In 1508 he resigned this benefice to a certain Paolo Brusati, perhaps because Ippolito offered him a more lucrative position. In the same year he also resigned the benefice of the San Michele church in Vienne, which he had enjoyed since 1502. One of Ercole's numerous siblings was Emilia Pio,⁹ who is mentioned in Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*¹⁰ as well as towards the end of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.¹¹ Ariosto's schoolmate in childhood, Alberto Pio¹² was Ercole's cousin from the other branch of the family. Ariosto's name also features in some of Ercole's letters, in which he recommends to Ippolito's secretary potential candidates to replace him in Eger.¹³ It is well known

⁷ I am indebted to Anna Maria Ori, excellent local historian of Carpi, for this piece of information. The most important source is: Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*.

⁸ Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese, o notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori natii degli stati del serenissimo signor duca di Modena*, IV:203–4.

⁹ Emilia Pio di Savoia (?–1520), wife of Antonio da Montefeltro.

¹⁰ Castiglione refers to her in the form Emilia Pia, as Antonio Montefeltro's wife (widow): Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*.

¹¹ Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso e opere minori scelte*, II. 1279.

¹² Alberto III Pio (1475–1531), Prince of Carpi.

¹³ Ercole Pio's letter to Tommaso Fusco, secretary of Ippolito I d'Este, Buda, 24 August 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,7, f 1r. (Vestigia database no. 1763).

that Ariosto's loss of rapport with cardinal Ippolito was the consequence of his unwillingness to accompany him to Hungary.¹⁴

Besides biographic details, Ercole also left behind two sonnets. These are included in the Collettanee assembled and printed in 1504, in memory of the celebrated improvisational musician-poet of the period, Serafino Ciminelli¹⁵ after his death.¹⁶

He arrived in Hungary after a long journey in the winter of 1508. He made his way via Austria. The city named as Hala in one of his letters can only be identified as Hall in Tyrol, famous at the time for its mint (and not as Halle in Saxony, as suggested by the later mistaken addition of the word "Sassonia" on the letter). It seems that he had travelled to Hall overland: he arrived here at the end of 1508, reporting back as soon as he arrived, "still with his spurs on his heels."¹⁷ From Hall he sailed down the river Inn to Passau, then continued down the Danube. He arrived in Vienna on 2 December, together with his companions and his strange cargo. In Hungary he was stationed in Eger, Ippolito's nominal episcopal seat and the main source of his income. The job offered to Ercole was to take over the governorship of the Eger bishopric from the ailing and tired Taddeo Lardi,¹⁸ a task which, as his letters reveal, he set about with great energy. Based on these data we may estimate Ercole's age as 51 or 52 when, after resigning from his ecclesiastical benefices, all trace of him in Italy is lost.

In all his letters, Ercole uses endless lists of excessively flattering formulas, and the letters written in his own hand are sometimes fourteen or even sixteen pages long. He calls Ippolito his "sole lord and patron,"¹⁹ and mentions in several of his letters that he only took the job for one year. He soon came to realise, however, that a job which had looked so easy from a distance was complicated by many difficulties, chief among which were the Hungarians themselves, who disliked foreigners. To quote from a 1509 letter of his:

¹⁴ Ariosto, *Satire*, 127–39; Ferroni, „Ludovico Ariosto,” 363.

¹⁵ Serafino Ciminelli/Serafino Aquilano (1466–1500), Italian poet and musician.

¹⁶ Bologna, „*Collettanee*” in *morte di Serafino Aquilano*.

¹⁷ „*cum gli speroni in piedi*”; Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito d'Este, 21 November 1508 ASMo, ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,1, f 1r. (Vestigia database no. 1753).

¹⁸ Taddeo Lardi, Governor of Bishopric of Eger (1501–1508, 1510–1512).

¹⁹ „*Illustrissimo mio unico Signore e patrono*” e.g. in Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 21 November 1508 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,1, f 1r. (Vestigia database no. 1753).

As Your Grace knows well, we need to be very dexterous in handling them because they believe that we Italians take away all the gold of the country, and then of course they are not keen on our nation – naturally I am here talking about those of the lower ranks, not His Majesty the King or the barons, who are all excellent and who are full of goodness and virtue.²⁰

In addition, as soon as he arrived in Hungary he realised that the entire country was being ravaged by plague. We do not know where he got his information, but he reports in detail that the king's court had moved temporarily to Nagyszombat (Tyrnavia, Tyrnau, today Trnava, Slovakia), and he was also aware that cardinal Tamás Bakóc²¹ had fled to Eger, his former seat, because of the epidemic. On arriving in Eger, Ercole Pio reported back on 12 January 1509:

Because of the great plague that has broken out in Buda, I decided that this would present a grave danger to the animals that Your Grace has sent, so I prolonged my journey by seven days lest I should be compelled to return here or to Buda, because that would increase my expenses twentyfold.²²

In the same letter Ercole proceeds to describe their reception at the king's court in Nagyszombat in his colourful style. What made the occasion special was that he brought, among others, a live cheetah as a gift from Ippolito to King Vladislaus II²³ – it was with this animal that he had not wished to travel to Eger and then back. Besides the cheetah they were also taking hunting dogs and hawks as well as handlers (called Rizzo and Mirandola) to accompany the animals.

From Vienna he sailed as far as Pressburg (Posonium, Pozsony, today Bratislava, Slovakia) in constant fear, as he claims, that the Danube might freeze any time. He adds details to the eventful journey with the imagination of a well-rounded novelist: the Italians rowing through icy winds past plague-rid-

²⁰ *“come scia Vostra Signoria meglio di me, bisogna gubernarsi fra costoro cum grandissima destreza, e pargli a loro che noi italiani debiano sorbire tutto lo oro del regno, ultra che naturalmente non sono molto amici al nostro nome delli tristi parlo, non della Maestà del Signor Re, né de Signori baroni, quali sono tutti excellentissimi e pieni di ogni bontate e virtute.”* Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 27 March 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,5, f 2v. (Vestigia database no. 1758).

²¹ Tamás Bakóc (1442–1521), elected Bishop of Eger (1493–1497), Bishop of Eger (1497–1498), Archbishop of Esztergom (1498–1521), Cardinal (1500–1521), Chancellor (1491–1521).

²² *“per la peste grande che era in Buda; unde me deliberai per ogni periculo che havesse potuto intervenire de quelli animali mandati per Vostra Signoria Illustrissima transferire sino lie e alongare il camino delle sette giornate com'io feci, che havere poi a tornare o lie o a Buda che saria stato vinti volte più spesa che non fu.”* Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 12 January 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,3, f 1r. (Vestigia database no. 1755–1756).

²³ Vladislaus II Jagiellon/ Vladislav II Jagellonský (1456–1516), King of Bohemia (1471–1516), King of Hungary (1490–1516).

den riverside villages with 500, 1000, even 1500 dead, with Ercole himself rowing too to set an example and lift his companions' spirits. He depicts vicar of Bakóc in Esztergom, Tommaso Amadei,²⁴ in a particularly unfavourable light, after he had denied accommodation to his compatriots in the middle of the night and shut the door on them.

The following excerpts from this letter are given here in order to illustrate the style of the narration, and to introduce this peculiar piece of literature from the poet Ercole Pio. The first extract describes the occasion when Ercole Pio meets the Hungarian king, Vladislaus II in the temporary royal court at Nagyszombat. It is very rare in Hungarian sources to find such vivid descriptions of similar scenes, down to the very gestures and words of the king.

His Majesty remained standing all the time while I was speaking, at which all those present – and there were many – were very much surprised, and said that, according to the many Italians present, they did not remember any occasion when His Majesty had been so kind to a foreigner, or had spoken to one in such friendly words as he had to me.²⁵

The audience had been secured for Ercole Pio by an Italian chamberlain of the king (or perhaps a certain János Deák mentioned in the letter). Is the king's friendly demeanour a realistic element, or is Ercole Pio trying to present himself to Ippolito in as favourable a light as was possible by describing such a ceremonial reception?

The following excerpt describes how the gifts were presented to the king:

Then I told him that Your Grace had sent some presents to him, and I praised these and described them in as colourful terms as seemed best to me; and that when he so ordered I would show them, and he responded most graciously that he was ready. There was a cheetah on the back of a horse, which His Majesty looked at from the window of a ground-floor hall; and he was very much surprised and asked me what it was good for. I told him, and also how swift it was, and he was too pleased with this for words.²⁶

²⁴ Tommaso Amadei, Vicar of Archbishop of Esztergom (1495–1510).

²⁵ *“sua Maestà sempre stete in piedi mentre ch'io parlai gli cum grande admiratione de tutti gli astanti quali erano una gran moltitudine, afirmando ciascuno, per quanto me diceano molti italiani che ancho vi erano, che non se ricordava haver mai visto Sua Maestà tanto acarezar forastiero ne sì domesticamente parlare come facto havea meco.”* Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 12 January 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,3, ff 1r–1v. (Vestigia database no. 1755–1756).

²⁶ *“Dissegli poi Vostra Signoria Illustrissima havergli mandato alcuno presente, honestando e arricchendo il presente come meglio me parse, quando gli piacesse ch'io gli presentassi; risposemi gratissimamente che era a posta mia. Ivi erano disposti il pardo a cavallo quale vide*

A little later in the same letter, Ercole Pio tells of the impact that the appearance of the exotic animal had on the Hungarians present:

My Dear Lord, if Your Grace had seen how those Hungarians stared at the cheetah, you would have been surprised; it seemed as if the whole country had come together to see this marvel while we had to wait for our admission.²⁷

The vogue of hunting with cheetahs had probably been imported to Italy from Byzantium, perhaps via the dignitaries coming to the synod of Ferrara–Florence in the middle of the 15th century. This is suggested by, among other things, the fresco painted by Benozzo Gozzoli on the wall of the Chapel of the Three Magi of the Medici-Riccardi palace in Florence (cca. 1459), in which one of the magi is represented with a cheetah on his saddle. It is possible that the menageries of Ferrara and Pavia had cheetahs at this time, and since King Matthias I (1458–1490) had also been presented with a lion by the Republic of Florence,²⁸ it is a plausible assumption that this highly exquisite form of the presentation of aristocratic gifts is repeated here in 1508, in Nagyszombat. In a later letter Ercole reports that the king marvelled only at the speed of the cheetah at that time, but the animal features in yet another letter two years later, which reports that indeed it had been used for hunting, and even became a royal present:

And to bring you news of the cheetah, Your Grace may wish to know that His Majesty the king was happy to hunt with it on several occasions, and seems to have been helped by the Heavens too, since each time he had a respectable catch, especially once in Bohemia, where it killed a two- or three-year-old stag in front of his horse's legs. And now he is sending the cheetah as a magnificent present to the king of Poland,²⁹ along with Rizzo, who has been close to death, the poor man.³⁰

Sua Maestà per una finestra da una camera terrena ove stava et molto lo miròe dimandandomi a che era bono. Dissegli a che et di quanta velocitate era che gli fu tanto caro quanto dire sia possibile.” Ercole Pio’s letter to Ippolito I d’Este, 12 January 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,3, f 1v. (Vestigia database no. 1755–1756).

²⁷ “*Signor mio caro, se Vostra Signoria Illustrissima havesse potuto vedere quanta admiratione porgea quello pardo a quelli ungari, sariasse spantata de maraveglia, credo che tutta quella terra venne in uno subito li a questo miracolo.*” Ercole Pio’s letter to Ippolito I d’Este, 12 January 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,3, f 1v. (Vestigia database no. 1755–1756).

²⁸ This is evidenced by a letter from the Republic of Florence to King Matthias I dated 23 December 1469 as well as by Mathias’ response dated 17 February 1470, cf. Fraknói, *Mátyás király levelei, külügyi osztály*, 1:241–242., 243., respectively).

²⁹ Sigismund I the Old (Jagiellon)/Zygmunt I Stary/Žygimantas II Senasis (1467–1548), King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (1506–1548), brother of King Vladislaus II.

³⁰ “*Et per darli novella del pardo: intenderà Vostra Signoria come la Maestà del Re ne ha preso molte volte piacere a caccia, e è parso che habia havuto uno influxo celeste, in tale effecto, però che sempre ha facto honorevole preda, ma specialmente in Bohemia di uno cervo di dui on*

When Ercole arrived in 1508, however, the king was even happier with the other presents sent by Ippolito: the hunting dogs and the hawks.

The dogs were taken to him in the hall, as were the hawks, and he wanted to know everything about the former as well as the latter. I told him what purpose they served, praising them all. He seemed to take greater delight in the dogs than in the hawks. After I gave him all these, I told him that Your Grace had sent masters along with the animals who knew how to feed them and handle them, if His Majesty thought that it was to his liking and if he so wished I could leave them there or take them with me according to his orders. With deep gratitude to Your Grace he answered that he was happy to accept them, as well as the animals. [...] After this I also gave him my own small presents, first some balm in an antique-looking porcelain container, which I find really pretty, and seeing this His Majesty took it out of my hand at once, and seemed very pleased with it, and said these very words: “Balsamum est istud?,” taking a little into his hand.³¹

The chamberlain who had secured the meeting later reported that the king had talked about the gifts even at dinner, and had applied the balm to his ulcerous legs. Presents of smaller value were also given to the king:

Then I gave him about twenty-five beautiful glass vessels, one by one, with which he was very pleased, and then the other things: salamis, large and beautiful cheeses, marzolino, fresh citrons, lemons and oranges, then eight saplings as well as different products: vinegar, fine rose water, and I tried to make him taste these, but he resisted and kept saying “non oportet, non oportet.”³²

tri anni, amazateli quasi inanti a piedi del cavallo.” Ercole Pio’s letter to Ippolito I d’Este, 25 April 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,16, f 2v. (Vestigia database no. 1773).

³¹ “*Gli cani forno conducti in camera e cossi gli falconi e del uno e l’altro vuolse informatione. Dissegli a che erano boni, laudandogli summamente l’uno e l’altro, delli cani mostròe più piacere che de falconi. Cossi presentatogli il tutto dissi che ancho Vostra Signoria ultra gli animali gli havea mandati gli maestri da nutrirgli e adoperargli ad ogni bisogno acciò Sua Maestà ne potesse a voglia sua havere piacere, quando gli piacesse, ch’io ero per lassargli et ricondurgli secondo la mi commandaria. Me rispose rigratiando assai Vostra Signoria che l’uno e l’altro acceptava voluntieri. Poi gli feci anch’io quelli poveri presentuzi in nome mio, dandogli prima il balsamo in uno vassetto alla anticha de porzolana, a juditio mio assai bello, il che inteso che era, subito Sua Maestà lo tolse in mano mostrandone tanto contento quanto sia possibile, dicendo proprio queste parole: balsamum est istud e tenendo in mano un pezo.*” Ercole Pio’s letter to Ippolito I d’Este, 12 January 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,3, f 1v. (Vestigia database no. 1755–1756).

³² “*poi gli presentai circa 25 pezi di vetri bellissimi che gli forno ultra modo grati, cossi ad uno ad uno gli dèi gli altri, e salami e forme de formagio molto grande e bello e marzolini e cedri e limoni et aranzi freschi e 8 albergli grandi di confecti varii de vinaceto et uno pieno di iuleb rosato domasino perfectissimo et di questi vuolsegli io fare la credenza, non vuolse mai dicendo non oportet, non oportet.*” Ercole Pio’s letter to Ippolito I d’Este, 12 January 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,3, f 1v. (Vestigia database no. 1755–1756).

Finally, we come to the moment of parting, and the governor again quotes the king verbatim.

I turned to His Majesty and said I would happily stay as long as he ordered, not only three or four days but even three or four years, but it was true that my desire was to be allowed to leave, and I would return whenever he so ordered, but I was now afraid that the Danube would freeze – of course I was ready to obey till death. He then replied to me: ‘*Tam cito vultis a nobis discedere?*’ I said I would never leave if he ordered me to stay. Then he extended his hand to me and said: ‘*Eatis feliciter!*’ I kissed his hand and, having paid humble homage, took my leave. When I was already at the door, I turned back to bow to him, and – upon my faith – he also nodded with his head, acknowledging me with so great kindness that it is hard to imagine.³³

After this cordial audience, the Italian company (apart from the animal handlers) were to leave for Eger. In Pressburg they embarked again and sailed as far as Esztergom in the hope of accommodation arranged by the Italian vicar Tommaso Amadei. The journey is again presented vividly:

[...] after we had embarked once more we started as soon as we could, fearing that we would meet what we eventually did: the frozen Danube. Because, My Lord, the entire river was frozen over when we were about ten miles before Esztergom [...] meanwhile God knows how great a danger was threatening us on account of the plague; people were dying like dogs in the villages. Eventually, since we could not sail on, partly because of the ice, partly because of the cold wind, the snow and the hoarfrost [...] I was compelled to disembark in a town where more than five hundred had already succumbed to the plague.³⁴

³³ „*Io mi volsi a Sua Maestà dicendogli che non solo ero per quanto mi commandava quella, 3 o 4 giorni ma 3 o 4 mesi e anni, che era vero ch'io desiderava havere per alhora bona licentia quando gli piacesse per venirmene qua, perciò ch'io temeva molto che'l Danubio non si congelasse, non di meno ch'io ero per hubidirla sino al morire. Risposemi proprio Essa: tam cito vultis a nobis discedere? Io dissi che non mai era per partire se pur se dignava commandarmi ch'io restassi. Alhor di novo mi porse la mano, dicendomi: eatis feliciter, io di novo la bacciai et cum humile riverentia presi comiato. Quando poi fui al uscio mi rivoltai di novo a fargli inchino, per mia fe che mi fece una inchinata de capo cum una accoglientia tanto grata quanto sia possibile pensare.*” Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 12 January 1509 ASMò ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,3, f 1v. (Vestigia database no. 1755–1756).

³⁴ “[...] *resalita la barcha se inviassimo al camino nostro cum ogni sollicitudine possibile per tema di non incontrare quello che incontrassimo che fu il Danubio gelato, perciò Signor mio, che in una nocte tutto si congelòe apresso Strigonio cum quanto pericolo de peste Dio lo scia, che in ogni loco morivano come cani, al fino non potendo ire più ultra, parte per il giazzo grossissimo et parte per il vento crudelissimo et neve et pruina [...] mi fu forza smontare in una villa lie ove erano morti più di 500 persone di peste.*” Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 12 January 1509 ASMò ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,3, f 2r. (Vestigia database no. 1755–1756).

It is already night when they board coaches in this unnamed, plague-ridden town ten miles from Esztergom (the phrase *carro da cozzo* refers to coaches made in the nearby town of Kocs). Ercole does not miss a single opportunity to let his master know of all the risks he runs, and the heroic endeavours he undertakes to serve him.

I arrived in Esztergom, having written in advance with kind words to that treacherous lord Tommaso the vicar, informing him that I was coming, and kindly asking him to find a room for me for money, whatever the cost. We arrived at night, about half one or two o'clock,³⁵ amid so much snow and sleet that we had nearly died [...] while it snowed, he kept us waiting for an hour, then he came out of the house with a single candle in his hand and excused himself disingenuously, saying he could give us no accommodation [...] Eventually this scoundrel went back into his house and shut the door on us. I left the place with sinking heart: we were in the middle of the plague in Esztergom, where 1500 people had died in that one city alone, and we did not know what to do.³⁶

The rest of the journey is as eventful as the preceding parts: bandits are waiting for the poor travellers everywhere, and they are forced to bivouac on an island in the Danube. The fact that at that time Esztergom cannot have had more than two or three thousand inhabitants is a testament to Ercole's powers of imagination.

Nevertheless, it is well known that the only reason for sending the agents to Hungary was to collect as much money as possible for the cardinal in Ferrara, who had a habit of indulging in worldly pleasures, and spent much on clothes and display. Meanwhile, in Eger, the castle supposedly under the cardinal's care suffered shortages of nearly everything, so that even Ercole Pio writes that as the new governor, his main task was to save money on all fronts: he sent away soldiers, reduced the food rations – and especially the daily amount of wine. He is proud to report that before his arrival a cask lasted two days, or two and a half at most, while now it lasts four. There are regular shipments of money, horses, and sometimes even hunting dogs to Ferrara.

³⁵ It is unclear whether he means the time of the night in the modern sense or two hours after sunset.

³⁶ “[...]vennemi a Strigonio, havendo prima scritto amorevolissimamente a quel traitore de Messer Tho. vicario com'io ero lie, e la cagione perché, supplicandolo mi volesse fare trovare una stanza per denari e non guardasse a spesa. Ivi giunto credendo quel tristo havesse facto il debito suo vi giungessimo a una hora e mezo o due di nocte cum tanto giazo e pruina che eramo come morti [...] sempre nevicando ci fece dimorare una hora al fine venne fuori dalla casa cum un pochetto di candela di sevo in mano, scusandosi vilanamente di non ci volere alloggiare [...] Al fino quel cane reintròe in casa e serròci l'uscio incontro. Io mi ritrovava de assai tristo core, essendo al termine ch'io ero nella peste sino agli occhi che in Strigonio solo sonovi morte più di 1500 persone, non sapeamo che consiglio pigliare.” Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 12 January 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,3, f 2r. (Vestigia database no. 1755–1756).

At the same time, the situation in Hungary is becoming difficult. Defence expenses are mounting, and so are the king's. With the treasury facing insolvency, royal emissaries appear at the doors of the rich barons, demanding a "loan". In the spring of 1509, while the king is about to leave for Prague for the coronation of his son Louis II³⁷ as king of Bohemia, his envoy János Székely knocks on Ercole Pio's door in Eger, to ask for a loan of 3000 florins towards the king's expenses. Ercole gives a detailed account, several pages long, to his master Ippolito, who is always dissatisfied with the amount of money coming from Hungary. The cunning governor eventually gives the king 500 florins, after a lengthy explanation of why he cannot give more.³⁸ He is well aware that these payments are loans in name only. Indeed, when in 1521, after Ippolito's death, canon Giuliano Caprili³⁹ tried to recover from the king, and from the Hungarian barons and bishops, all the money that Ippolito had lent them over the years, he is largely unsuccessful.⁴⁰ Ercole therefore adduces arguments which the king's envoy cannot counter: expenses related to the defence of the castle, the large number of soldiers to cater for (both somewhat disingenuous arguments), and, lastly, that Ippolito was himself about to turn to the king, for financial help towards work on the castle cathedral. In fact, however, studies on the history of the cathedral reveal that after the great era of construction in the 15th century there were no changes made to the building in Ippolito's time.⁴¹

[...] I swore to him it would have never occurred to me that in this country the king would ask me for money, but knowing him well I was aware that His Majesty was very religious, Catholic, generous and munificent, and I had planned to ask him for some help towards this sanctuary, which we must build as an embellishment for the entire kingdom [...] I reminded him that if the construction of the sanctuary was suspended, or if there was a need for armed men, I would not be at fault if I was unable to carry out the royal decree.⁴²

³⁷ Louis II Jagiellon (1506–1526), King of Hungary and Bohemia (1516–1526).

³⁸ Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 27 March 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,5, passim. (Vestigia database no. 1758–1759).

³⁹ Giuliano Caprili Agent of the Este House, Canon of Cathedral Chapter of Eger (1519–1525).

⁴⁰ Giuliano Caprili's letters to the Ferrara court: ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/28, (Vestigia database no. 1910–1927), as well as the instructions sent to him: ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/27, 29, 30. (Vestigia database no. 1909, 1929–1932., 1933).

⁴¹ Buzás, "Az egri székesegyház XIII–XIV. századi gótikus épülete."

⁴² "giuravo che non solo havea mai creduto che in questo stato dovessero essere richiesti denari dal Signor Re prefato ma ch'io havea terminato cognoscendo Sua Maestà Religiosissima né meno catholica che ampla e grandiosissima supplicargli per qualche subsidio a questo sanctorio havendo a cedere a dovere di tutto questo suo regno, nondimeno che come dicto gli havea non gli volea fare limitatione alcuna, ma che bene gli racordavo che è il sanctorio se intermetterebbe, e se ancho accadesse bisogno delle genti armate che non sarei da essere imputato s'io non potessi exeguire el precepto regio." Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 27 March 1509 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,5, ff 2r–2v. (Vestigia database no. 1758–1759).

That said, Ercole Pio's stint of nearly two years in Hungary was not altogether successful. The one-year mission, subsequently prolonged for another year, was concluded when, in the spring of 1510, he was practically ordered to return to Ferrara, and to take the account books with him. The general tenor of the "dispaccio" (letter of instruction) which he received is rather menacing: Ippolito is dissatisfied with his agent because of the insufficient money he has received, the frequent delays and the recurring excuses. The situation was now different in Hungary, the Turkish threat has made it difficult to collect income and send it to Italy. The tone of the letter is illustrated by the following excerpts:

[W]e are more than a little surprised by what you write, to wit, that it is difficult to change money [...] we conclude by saying that we are dissatisfied with your dither [...] we are not just a little displeased and confused by what you wrote in your letter, to wit, that you would be arriving with little money in your hands.⁴³

Perhaps the last letter which Ercole wrote from Hungary was sent from Nyitra (Nitria, Neutra, today Nitra, Slovakia). The situation is reminiscent of the time two years earlier: the royal court is compelled to sojourn far from Buda because of the threat of plague. The letter is full of complaint: the difficulty in changing money that Ippolito found hard to accept meant that no one was willing to change the money he had collected to gold. It is perhaps because of fears of a looming war that even Tamás Bakóc is unwilling to part from his gold.⁴⁴ All this hindered his return home, angering his lord considerably.

After 1510 we hear no more of Ercole Pio. We do not even know for certain whether he complied and returned to his irate lord, the extravagant cardinal Ippolito, in Ferrara – though his escape would have caused an outcry and left traces. A family chronicle claims that Ercole died in Germany in 1510, on his way home from Hungary.⁴⁵ At any rate, his 25 letters from Hungary, and the instructions he received, allow us to reconstruct some aspects of the life of a 16th century Italian poet.

⁴³ *"pigliamo anchora non poca admiratione che habiati diferito insino a questi tempi ad rifare quelle monete [...] concludemo di questo resater non molto satisfacti [...] Haveressimo anchora preso dispiacere et turbatione che ni scrivete per dicta vostra cioè che in mane vi resta poca summa de denari."* Ippolito I d'Este's letter to Ercole Pio, undated, actually 1510 ASMò ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/7,1, passim. (Vestigia database no. 1783).

⁴⁴ Ercole Pio's letter to Ippolito I d'Este, 11 September 1510 ASMò ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4/6,22, ff 1r–2r. (Vestigia database no. 1779).

⁴⁵ BAMi, Archivio Falcò Pio di Savoia, busta 258 (formerly N. 4), fasc. 2; *Sommario della Cronica Pia*.

Ercole Pio's particular vantage point provides us with interesting glimpses into the everyday life of the governor of Eger, as well as of the notables of contemporary Hungary with whom he was in contact. A thorough reading of the sources found in Modena and Milan can still shed light on many points of interest for Hungarian historiography.

(Translated by András Cser)

Dorottya Anna Kriston

WINE TRADE, MEDICINE AND INSOLVENCY
THE LETTERS OF AGOSTINO BENCI,
THE PHYSICIAN OF IPPOLITO I D'ESTE (1488–1498)

This paper discusses the letters by Agostino Benci, the court physician of Ippolito I d'Este,¹ Archbishop of Esztergom, sent from Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran), Vienna, Pavia and Ferrara, and preserved in the State Archives of Modena.² I transcribed and translated the letters, the Italian sources are placed in the appendix, and parts of the letters are given in translation in the main text. In the following these letters are presented first in terms of form, then in terms of content. The material affords us glimpses into the everyday life of a physician in the service of a prelate with princely origin, which also adds interesting information to our knowledge of the social history of the last years of King Matthias's³ and the first years of King Vladislaus II's⁴ reign.

The corpus

Altogether ten letters have been preserved by Benci, of which one is practically illegible,⁵ so the present study analyses nine letters. Their language is the Italian vernacular but, in line with the norms of the period, the date is always given in Latin, and occasionally a Latin phrase or even a sentence is inserted.⁶

The letters are written on paper, each is a single page long, and the text area is always regular except for the odd marginal correction. There is no reasonable doubt about the authenticity of the sources, the handwriting of the nine letters is completely uniform except for one of the post scripta of the last letter, dated 6 September 1498, written to Tommaso Fusco, secretary of Ippolito. The hand

¹ Ippolito I d'Este (1479–1520) Archbishop of Esztergom (1486–1497), Bishop of Eger (1497–1520), Cardinal (1493–1520).

² The chronologically earliest eight letters are found under ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 2. These were digitised by the Vestigia I research project (OTKA no. 81430); they, along with many other letters, are freely accessible via the internet: www.vestigia.hu. The remaining two letters are found under ASMo ASE C. Misc. Mat. Medici e medicina b. 19; since these have no Hungarian relevance they have not been digitised.

³ Matthias I Corvinus (1443 – 1490), King of Hungary (1458–1490).

⁴ Vladislaus II Jagiellon/ Vladislav II Jagellonský (1456–1516), King of Bohemia (1471–1516), King of Hungary (1490–1516).

⁵ ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 2/15/8. (Vestigia database no. 2538.) No. 8 in the table below.

⁶ E.g. Sources: Letter 7: *Quid aliquis... ignoro item*.

shows humanistic features but is less regular, so it cannot be regarded as humanistic cursive; it shows the appearance of an individual handwriting.

In terms of formal features, the letters are wholly in harmony with the norms of the period. They all include *intitulatio*, *narratio* and *recommendatio* in Italian, *datatio* and *infrascriptio* in Latin, and Italian *post scripta* are often found.⁷

The following table summarises the most important information regarding Benci's letters.

no.	Date	Sent from	Sender	Addressee
1.	8 May 1488	Wien	Agostino Benci	Eleanor of Aragon
2.	18 March 1491	Esztergom	Agostino Benci	Eleanor of Aragon
3.	June 1491	Esztergom	Agostino Benci	Eleanor of Aragon
4.	4 May 1492	Esztergom	Agostino Benci	Eleanor of Aragon
5.	8 February 1496	Esztergom	Agostino Benci	Tommaso Fusco
6.	4 March 1496	Esztergom	Agostino Benci	Ippolito I d'Este
7.	16 March 1496	Esztergom	Agostino Benci	Tommaso Fusco
8.	sine data	Esztergom	Agostino Benci	presumably Ippolito ⁸
9.	25 April 1498	Pavia	Agostino Benci	Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara
10.	6 September 1498	Ferrara	Agostino Benci	Tommaso Fusco

Thus, if we disregard the letter the date of which is illegible, we have one source from the late 1480s and nine from the years 1491–1498.

As can be seen, Benci sent all his letters but three from Esztergom. Letter 1 is dated from Vienna, letter 9 from Pavia and the last letter is from Ferrara. The person to whom the greatest number of letters was addressed is Duchess Eleanor of Aragon,⁹ Ippolito's mother. Benci turned to her in 1488, in two letters of 1491 and again in 1492. He addressed three letters¹⁰ to Tommaso Fusco, Ippolito's secretary.¹¹ The letter dated 4 March 1496 was addressed to Archbishop Ippolito, the other one dated April 1498 to Duke Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara.¹²

⁷ Sources: Letters 1, 5, 9, 10. For the formal features of letters see Lazzarini, „Materiali per una didattica delle scritture pubbliche di cancelleria nell'Italia del Quattrocento,” 17.

⁸ It is illegible, but the reverse bears the inscription “Illustrissime.”

⁹ Eleanor of Aragon/Naples (1450–1493), Duchess of Ferrara, wife of Ercole I d'Este (1473–1493).

¹⁰ Sources: Letters 5, 7, 10.

¹¹ Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 400.

¹² Ercole I d'Este (1431 – 1505), Duke of Ferrara (1471–1505).

The letters contain references to further, thus-far undiscovered letters. The following table summarises these references.

Date	Sent from	Sender	Addressee	Note
End of 1487, more probably before May 1488	sine loco	Ludovico Bruzzi	Agostino Benci	Ref. in letter 1
10 November 1490	Probably Ferrara	Eleanor of Aragon	Agostino Benci	Ref. in letter 1
Between May 1488 and November 1490 if there was a lost letter	Probably Esztergom	Agostino Benci	Eleanor of Aragon	Ref. in letter 2: „which came in reply to my letters”
Between May 1488 and November 1490	Probably Ferrara	Eleanor of Aragon	Beltrame Costabili	Ref. in letter 3 (Vestigia database no 1701? – Benci not mentioned by name)
Between March 1489 and 6 February 1490	Probably Esztergom	Agostino Benci	Eleanor of Aragon	Ref. in letter 2 „when King Matthias arrived”
Between spring and June 1491	Probably Ferrara	Eleanor of Aragon	Beltrame Costabili	Ref. in letter 3. Paulizia’s arrival
Between late 1495 and January 1496	sine loco	Pietro Maria Montelini	Agostino Benci	Ref. in letter 5
1496 if Fusco complied with Benci’s request	sine loco	Forged by Tommaso Fusco in the name of Ippolito I d’Este	Beatrice of Aragon	Ref. in letter 5
Between second half of 1495 and February 1496	sine loco	Ippolito I d’Este	Agostino Benci	Ref. in letter 6 („which letter was written by Your Most Reverend Self to me”)
Between second half of 1495 and February 1496	Wiener Neustadt	Pietro Maria Montelini	Agostino Benci	Ref. in letter 7

Agostino Benci's family

From a Hungarian perspective, Andrea Benzi (mid-1300s–1437), the archbishop of Spalato (today Split, Croatia) is an interesting figure,¹³ who was associated with the Hungarian king Sigismund of Luxembourg¹⁴ himself, even living in his court for some time, and was appointed Archbishop of Kalocsa in 1414.¹⁵

Without doubt the most prominent member of the family is Agostino's grandfather, Ugo Benzi. Born in Siena, he was a humanistic philosopher and professor of medicine,¹⁶ and his philosophical works include *De logicae artis ratione* (probably 1399), a commentary on Aristotle's *Parva naturalia* and the *Quaestiones*, a work on the philosophy of medicine. His works on practical medicine include the *Consilia*, the *Trattato circa la conservazione de la sanitate*, and the *Consiglio* written for Niccolò d'Este. Of his sons three, viz. Socino (the author of *Vita Ugonis*, a work dedicated to his father's life), Andrea and Francesco also became physicians.

In his monograph on Ugo Benci, Dean P. Lockwood mentions Agostino, the protagonist of the present study, as the son of Ugo's third son Francesco Benzi, but no sources for this information are cited.¹⁷ We do not know when this Francesco was born, but he must have been younger than either Socino or Andrea. There is evidence that he studied medicine at the University of Florence in June 1447, and while we find him teaching at the University of Ferrara for a salary of 25 lire in 1450, he lags considerably behind his brothers who by this time belonged to the professional élite (Andera had a salary of 120 liores, Socino 125 liores).¹⁸ He died on 28 January 1487, the year in the middle of which his son Agostino moved to Hungary.

I assume that the fact that his family was trusted and esteemed by the House of Este played a role in Agostino Benci being sent to Hungary, as did the fact that because of Andrea, former Archbishop of Kalocsa. We might assume, in-

¹³ "Benzi, Ugo," 710–12.

¹⁴ Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368 – 1437), King of Hungary and Croatia (jure uxoris) (1387–1437), King of Germany (1410–1437), King of Bohemia (1419 – 1437), and Holy Roman Emperor (1433 – 1437), as well as prince-electors of Brandenburg (1378–1388 and 1411–1415).

¹⁵ See Katona, *A kalocsai érseki egyház története*, 223–27. The author lists the following name variants: Benzi(s) de Gualdo, Brunsei, Brentiis, Bentiis. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája (1301–1457)*. Claims that *András Benzi de Gualdo* was archbishop of Kalocsa between 1413 and 24 April 1419.

¹⁶ Cf. "Benzi, Ugo.", Lockwood, *Ugo Benzi: Medieval Philosopher and Physician (1376–1439)*.

¹⁷ Lockwood, *Ugo Benzi. Medieval Philosopher and Physician (1376–1439)*, 170.

¹⁸ I consulted the sources concerning his person: ASMo ASE C. Misc. Mat Medici e medicina b. 19. (Benzi Francesco). The documents from the period 1477–1483 all concern Francesco being „borrowed” from the Estes and, the borrowers being very satisfied with his services, they praise him or even want to keep him.

deed, that Benci was interested in Hungary because of the traditions of his family.

Agostino Benci's life

It is not known when Agostino Benci was born. What we do know is that when he arrived in Hungary he must have been middle-aged, perhaps older, because in a letter dated 25 May 1487, Queen Beatrice¹⁹ asks Eleanor to send with Ippolito a physician who is “highly trained, reliable and well-meaning” and not too young.²⁰

The letter dated 4 March 1496 tells us that he arrived to Hungary in 1487,²¹ and the last two tell us that he returned to Italy as part of Ippolito's entourage, where he remained in the cardinal's service.²² The date and place of his death are unknown. The last source to mention him is a letter by Ippolito I d'Este to Ercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, dated 27 May 1499.

The letters provide very few glimpses of his life. In the first letter, Benci tells of being sent to Slavonia by Beatrice to cure one of the queen's retainers. From the same letter we learn that his brother-in-law was called Ludovico Bruzzi, and he was compelled to avail himself of his money. As he writes:

I was entitled to a certain sum from the court, and since my brother-in-law Ludovico Bruzzi made purchases for me against this sum, I transferred this benefice to him. He now informs me that he has not received a penny from the court. I therefore ask, nay implore Your Excellency to intercede on my behalf by letters to Niccolò Ariosto that he may deign to give the said sum to my brother-in-law lest I should continue to be pestered by my brother-in-law's letters.²³

The second letter tells us that Benci did not feel at home in Hungary. His antipathy towards Hungarians is palpable, and he fears his professional knowledge will actually diminish.

¹⁹ Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508), Queen of Hungary, wife of King Matthias (1476–1490), wife of King Vladislaus II (1490–1500).

²⁰ “*Quantunque con lo signore don Hippolito venga uno medico cognoscimo [...] uno che sia ben docto, fidato et da bene et non sia multo iovene [...]. Anchora la pregamo lo voglia mandare prestissimo et, se fosse possibile, volando nanzi la venuta de epso signore Don Hippolito [...].*” ASM_o ASE C. Est. CPE Ungh. b. 1623/2. Cited in Guerra, *Il carteggio tra Beatrice d'Aragona e gli Estensi* (1476–1508), 119–20.

²¹ Sources: Letter 6.

²² Sources: Letters 9, 10.

²³ Sources: Letter 1.

My soul is dismayed, I have few patients, and all of them Hungarians, who like to be treated differently, and this place makes it impossible for me to immerse myself in the sciences, therefore I will necessarily end up totally ignorant, and if this happened it would certainly not be good for my Lord.²⁴

In the third letter, Benci asks Eleanor for two, or three months' leave, so he may return and see to certain unfinished business of his own and of his brothers. We learn from the same letter that he was the caretaker of his brothers. We do not learn, however, what exactly the unfinished business mentioned in the letter was.

In his letter to Tommaso Fusco, dated 8 February 1496, he mentions a meeting with Pietro Maria Montelini planned for the summer.²⁵

The same letter shows us that when attempting to further his own personal interests, Benci seemed to be desperate. As he writes:

I also have from Her Royal Highness [Queen Beatrice] a payment of 124 florins for Piero Antonio Calderini which he himself gave me to take care of. Without wishing to cause any further inconvenience to Her Royal Highness, I would like to ask Your Excellency [Tommaso Fusco] to write a letter with appropriate and kind words – as I believe you can – in the name of his most reverend self [Ippolito d'Este] to the said Pietro Antonio, asking him to name me as beneficiary, and to pay me out of his love. [Do this] without saying anything else to his most reverend self, and if it does not appear to Your Excellency that you could do this without his most reverend self-learning of it, I ask you to do as I said and intercede for me by letter; I trust Your Excellency very much, and please be so good as to send the letter to me with the very first messenger, and address it to me.²⁶

Whether the request was complied with or not is unknown, but since Benci does not mention it in the later letter, while he is at the same time compelled to write to Ippolito concerning his payment, we may assume that it was not.

The letters dated February 1496 and 16 March 1496 inform us that Benci supplemented his modest physician's income by selling wine, an issue which we will return to later.²⁷ The letter dated 25 April 1498 tells us that prior to that

²⁴ Sources: Letter 2.

²⁵ More precisely Benci informs Fusco that he received Montelini's letter in which he writes about his horse which has not yet arrived and said to be in Győr. Since Benci has no horse of his own he cannot send his own servant to look at it, but if the horse should eventually arrive in Esztergom he would treat it as if it was his own. See Sources: Letter 5.

²⁶ Sources: Letter 5.

²⁷ Sources: Letters 5 and 7.

time he had not stayed with Ippolito continuously, but had been sent for only whenever the archbishop fell ill.²⁸

In the letter from Ferrara, dated 6 September 1498, Benci asks Tommaso Fusco to intercede on his behalf in certain matters, and makes numerous references to other courtiers such as Pandolfo di Silvestri.²⁹ A point of interest concerning this document is that there is attached to it a piece of paper with an unfinished note in a different hand, addressed in all probability to the duke (*“Illustrissimo signore mio”*) as a kind of post scriptum. It discusses a certain flood and the construction of dikes. I have not yet been able to ascertain how the two documents relate to each other, but I find it unlikely that they belonged together originally, and I also doubt that the letter fragment, which looks much more like a draft, was ever dispatched.

In the literature I have come across Agostino Benci’s name four times altogether. One of these is in a paper by Venturi Barbolini³⁰ which lists Benci as part of Ippolito’s court entourage, the second is Lockwood’s monograph on Ugo Benzi mentioned above, which informs us that Agostino was Francesco Benzi’s son. The third work to mention him by name is Emil Schultheisz’ paper³¹ on Italian physicians working in Hungary. He uses the variant *Benzo Ágoston* and gives data concerning his salary without attribution. Finally, Alfonso Morselli mentions Benci twice in his 1957 work as a physician accompanying Ippolito in the capacity of *“medico per famiglia”*.³² (By contrast, the title of the other physician, Antonio Maria Benintendi-Sbelzarino, was “medico de monsignore”, and his salary was 300 florins.) Morselli affirms that Agostino’s salary was 200 florins per year. The same sum, a large one by the standards of the time, is mentioned in two papers by András Kubinyi as the salary of Ippolito’s physician, though he does not give his name.³³

Several documents may be found in the Vestigia database, apart from account books, in which Benci is mentioned by name. The earliest is a letter of instruction by Ercole I d’Este to Beltrame Costabili, dated 17 June 1487, which includes the list of new appointees to the archbishop’s court, together with

²⁸ Sources: Letter 9.

²⁹ Benci claims to have had breakfast with Pandolfino and a certain Matteo on 6 September 1498, see Sources: Letter 10.

³⁰ Venturi Barbolini, “Testimonianze dei rapporti tra l’Ungheria e lo Stato Estense dalle fonti manoscritte conservate presso la Biblioteca Estense Universitaria e l’Archivio di Stato di Modena,” 56.

³¹ Schultheisz and Tardy, “Olasz orvosok Magyarországon a XVI. század végéig.”

³² Morselli, *Ippolito I d’Este e il suo primo viaggio in Ungheria* (1487), 21., 47.

³³ Kubinyi, “Az egészségügyi foglalkozásúak társadalmi és gazdasági helyzete Budán a 15–16. század fordulóján,” 63., Kubinyi, “A magyar orvos- és gyógyszerésztársadalom a Mohácsot megelőző évtizedekben,” 69.

their salaries.³⁴ Benci's name is found here in the form *Augustino Benzo*, and he is mentioned as the physician of the archbishop's entourage. His salary is 200 florins, indicating that the data cited by the researchers mentioned above are correct. Another document of interest is a report by Maffeo da Treviglio, probably to Giovanni Galeazzo Maria Sforza,³⁵ dated 7 May 1490, and preserved in the National Archives of Milan.³⁶ This document uses the name variant *Benzo*, and claims that the physician is related to a certain deceased Francesco. This is surely a reference to Benci's renowned father, mentioned earlier. Yet another source is a letter written to Eleanor by Costabili, at Beatrice's behest, and dated 18 March 1491, which also mentions the physician as *Augustino Bencio*.³⁷ In this letter Costabili reports that Benci has already informed Beatrice of his desire to return home, and asks Eleanor for further instructions.

Beltrame Costabili also mentions Benci to Eleanor of Aragon, in a letter dated 22 March 1492.³⁸ This document also uses the name variant *Augustino Bencio*. Beltrame reports to the duchess that the physician has asked for an expeditious payment, to which Beltrame replied that he did not feel entitled to comply, but is asking the duchess because he believes that Benci deserves it.

Donato Aretino, Ippolito's vicar, reports to Ippolito in a letter from Esztergom, dated 20 November 1494, that *maestro Augustino Benzo* left three days earlier.³⁹

Yet another letter preserved in Modena may be of interest to us.⁴⁰ In this letter, dated 10 February 1496, Beatrice writes to Ippolito concerning the death of a certain Rhodoan who had lived in "Pispeki".⁴¹ The queen asks the archbishop to hand over all property left behind by the deceased to Benci. The name variant in this case is *maestro Augustino Bentio*. Beatrice emphasises the physician's dedication and loyalty. The letter makes it clear that the property in question includes personal effects, as well as real estate in Pispeki. In his letter to Ippolito from Esztergom, dated the 31 May 1498, Aretino mentions *maestro Augustino*, whose payment is to be effected by the vicar as per the archbishop's

³⁴ ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b.2/19,1. (Vestigia database no. 2170).

³⁵ Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1469–1494), Duke of Milan (1476–1494). In reality, his uncle governed the Duchy of Milan from 1481. Ludovico Maria Sforza/Ludovico il Moro (1452–1508), Duke of Milan (1494–1500).

³⁶ ASMi PE Ungheria 642/5,3. (Vestigia database no. 242).

³⁷ ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b.2/20/10. (Vestigia database no. 2953).

³⁸ ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b.2/21/1/10. (Vestigia database no. 3018).

³⁹ ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b.3/11,8. (Vestigia database no. 1334). I am grateful to György Domokos who pointed out to me the references to Agostino Benci in documents concerning Donato Aretino. Domokos and Schrödl-Libárdi, "Donato Aretino magyarországi levelei a Modenai Állami Levéltárban."

⁴⁰ ASMo ASE C. Est. CPE Ungh. b.1623/2. 6,2. (Vestigia database no. 2124). Published in Guerra, *Il carteggio tra Beatrice d'Aragona e gli Estensi (1476–1508)*, 201.

⁴¹ unidentified village

instructions sent from Venice.⁴²

The last source concerning Benci that is known to me is the letter (mentioned earlier) by Ippolito d'Este, sent from Milan to his father, Ercole I d'Este, and dated 27 May 1499, in which he recommends Benci – soon to arrive – to his father's goodwill. In his own words: "be so good as to receive him as a beneficiary out of love for me, and show goodwill to him in all his business as if it were my own business."⁴³ We see Benci's name furthermore in a published collection of sources in the form *Augustino Benzo*. This is the collection of documents published by Vilmos Fraknói, which includes the catalogue of Ippolito's books compiled on 6 October 1490, and witnessed by, among others, Benci.⁴⁴

As has been seen, there is uncertainty not only about the details of Benci's life, but also about the very form of his name. He signs the first letter as *Augusti Bencius*, the second probably as *Augustinus Bencius*,⁴⁵ the third as *Augos Bencius*, the fourth as *Augusti Bemcius*, the fifth as *Augusti Bencius*, the sixth as *Augusti Bencius*, the seventh again as *Augusti Bemcius*, the ninth as *Augustinus Bemcius*, and the tenth as *Augusti Bencius*. I use the form Benci because given his own – Latinised – signatures, this is most likely to be historically and linguistically correct.

The letters mention several persons associated with the archbishop's court. Not surprisingly, there are many references to his patron Ippolito I d'Este, Archbishop of Esztergom and the queen's nephew. There is only one letter – apart from the one addressed to him – in which his name is not found at all, dated 16 March 1496. There are short references to King Matthias in the first ("the most reverend archbishop is well, and often consorts with the royal couple, whom he likes very much") and the second letter ("I am talking about my payment, which was the reason I asked Your Excellency to dismiss me upon the arrival of His Majesty King Matthias"). Beatrice is mentioned in the first, the second, the fifth and the sixth letters, of which the last highlights the antagonism between the physician and the queen. In his own words: "In these recent days I have asked Her Majesty the queen for my payment as per the letter written to me by your most reverend self upon the matter of my salary, but not only did she not wish to comply, her demeanour was nearly menacing."⁴⁶

In his first letter Benci mentions his brother-in-law Ludovico Bruzzi and Niccolò Ariosto, the father of the humanistic poet Ludovico Ariosto.⁴⁷ The

⁴² ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b.3/20,2. (Vestigia database no. 1430).

⁴³ Sources: Letter 11.

⁴⁴ Fraknói, "Két hét olaszországi könyv- és levéltárakban 1878. májusban," 145.

⁴⁵ The paper is slightly damaged where the signature is.

⁴⁶ Sources: Letter 6.

⁴⁷ Cfr. Bertoni Argentini, "ARIOSTO, Niccolò."

archbishop's vicar Beltrame Costabili is referred to in the second and the third letters with ill-concealed hostility. In the second and the third letters, that is, in March and June 1491, mentioned a certain Paulizia or Paulicio the messenger. In the *post scriptum* to the letter dated 25 June 1491 we read about Francesco da Bagnacavallo, Ippolito's treasurer and chamberlain.⁴⁸ In the fourth letter (1492) Benci writes about a certain apothecary who wishes to go home, but we never learn his name. In both of his letters to Ippolito's secretary Tommaso Fusco (8 February and 16 March 1496) he mentions Pietro Maria Montelini, who – as attested also by the Vestigia database – corresponded regularly with Fusco.⁴⁹ In his letter dated February 1496 he writes about Piero Antonio Calderini, servant to the Provost of Pécs. In the same letter he mentions a certain Don Zoane, who is perhaps Giovanni da Bagnacavallo, *cappellano* (i.e. chaplain).⁵⁰ In his letter to Ippolito he complains of the Bishop of Eger, who by this time was *de facto* Tamás Bakóc.⁵¹ “The Bishop of Eger says that all the tithes of the episcopate have been promised to him, and this is the way he wants it to be. I do not know who to complain to, whether to your most reverend self or Your Grace's officials, because I feel that I have been deceived by one or both.”⁵² In the seventh letter, the cellar master of the Provost of Esztergom-Szentistván, András Gosztonyi, makes his appearance.

Concerning the most prominent politicians of the period, very little in the way of new information comes from Benci. From his 1488 letter we learn about Beatrice's three-day fever: she had seven chills during her illness, but by good fortune she recovered. Benci believes that the malaise occurred as a remnant of some disease she had contracted earlier. Benci also confirms the royal couple's friendship towards Ippolito. The only references to Beatrice in the remaining letters concern her refusal to pay his salary. The second letter informs us that Costabili was instructed by Eleanor to try to make Beatrice raise Benci's salary. The following few lines are typical of the language and style of the letters, and may be conveyed even in translation:

[...] from which I was informed that Your Majesty instructed the governor not only to pay me my due, but to persuade Her Majesty to increase my salary to the extent possible at present, for which I am most grateful to Your Excellency, because I see that you not only remember one of the smallest of your servants, but even desire his convenience and wellbeing. But what is the use of writing to someone who cannot

⁴⁸ Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 399.

⁴⁹ Sources: Letters 5 and 7.

⁵⁰ Cf. Vestigia database no. 386.

⁵¹ For the list of the bishops of Eger see Kristóf et al., *A Millenium in Eger*.

⁵² Sources: Letter 6.

do anything or so pretends? His Lordship, as far as I can see and judge, can do very little or nothing, and even if he could he would not, because when he could he did not want to, but kept feeding me to satisfaction with words and vain hope.⁵³

The letter to Ippolito makes it clear that Beatrice, like Tamás Bakóc, doubted Benci's entitlement to the tithes in question. It goes without saying that Benci writes quite extensively about Ippolito d'Este. The first letter informs us that he enjoys the goodwill of the royal couple and is in good health. In 1492 Benci writes about his patron as follows:⁵⁴

I shall write about Your Excellency's most noble and most reverend son, My Lord, who is, thank God, healthy and has grown so much that at present he seems to me to be my real master and lord, though earlier he did not so seem. At easter time this year His Most Reverend Lordship dressed himself in his cardinal's robe, in which he looked like a real man.

In the same letter he asks Duchess Eleanor to make efforts in Italy to the effect that Ippolito should receive the cardinal's hat as soon as possible. In the ninth letter he reports to Duke Ercole that Ippolito contracted fever at the easter of 1498. He was sent for, and he promptly transferred the scantily clad archbishop to a nearby village where he successfully dampened the fever and the discharge, and the chills ceased as well: "and his most reverend self being clad in very few clothes this was the reason of his fever, which was to cause his third chill today, but it has now ceased."⁵⁵

Apart from the first letter, no mention is made of King Matthias except for the second letter, in which Benci writes that upon one of the king's arrivals he asked to be dismissed. Based on King Matthias' itinerary, it is likely that this arrival took place within the period between March 1489 and 6 February 1490, this being the only period of some length (apart from a shorter stay in Győr [Iaurinum, Giavarino, Raab]) when the king and Benci were both present in Hungary.⁵⁶ King Vladislaus II⁵⁷ is not mentioned by name in any of the letters; the only relevant reference is in the seventh letter, from which we learn that Benci probably sent eight pints of Fusco's wine to him among others.

⁵³ Sources: Letter 2.

⁵⁴ Sources: Letter 4.

⁵⁵ Sources: Letter 9.

⁵⁶ Horváth, *Itineraria Regis Matthiae Corvini et Reginae Beatricis de Aragonia (1458–[1476]–1490)*, 129.

⁵⁷ Vladislaus II Jagiellon/ Vladislav II Jagellonský (1456–1516), King of Bohemia (1471–1516), King of Hungary (1490–1516).

Benci's letters provide glimpses into the everyday life of the archbishop's court and the prevailing power dynamics, as well as Benci's own social life. As mentioned earlier, his mistrust of Beltrame Costabili is palpable, as is his conflict of interest with Tamás Bakóc, the Bishop of Eger. It can be surmised that he was on good terms with Tommaso Fusco.

Further points of historical interest include his report on the extremely cold winter of 1495–1496 in the letter dated February 1496,⁵⁸ and the obscure post scriptum to his letter of September 1498 concerning a flood, the date and location of which are unknown.⁵⁹

The contents of the letters

In terms of content, the letters show three major recurring topics. One is medicine, which is surprisingly underrepresented – apart from the ninth letter, which is entirely dedicated to it. The other is the selling of wine, which was mentioned above, as a way of supplementing the physician's income; the third focal point is without doubt Benci's financial situation, and the irregularity of his payments.

Medicine

Altogether there are three brief references to the state of medicine in contemporary Hungary. The first letter informs us, as was said above, that Benci could be sent as far as Slavonia to treat one of Beatrice's familiars, and that he was also responsible for Beatrice's health, even though officially he was the physician only of the Esztergom court. The second letter reveals that Benci was very dissatisfied with the situation in Hungary. He complained of his few Hungarian patients who preferred different methods of treatment, and he thought that the environment in Hungary was not conducive to advancing his professional knowledge. He found the situation so dire that he feared for the loss of his professional skills. Together with his letter of 1492, he sent the Duchess a list of medical instruments he needed, compiled with the apothecary. The list, however, is no longer extant. In the remainder of the letter he informed Eleanor that the apothecary was about to leave and asked her to send a competent man to replace him. In 1498 he informed Duke Ercole of Ippolito's illness and recovery (again mentioned above), but gave no details of the methods of treatment or actual medication.

⁵⁸ Sources: Letter 5.

⁵⁹ Sources: Letter 10.

Wine trade

As noted earlier, Benci not only worked as a physician, but was also involved in selling wine in Hungary. We presume that Benci might have received part of his salary in kind (wine) and arranged to sell it. This is also how the matter of tithes is linked to his person, as he obviously received a share of the tithes. In February 1496 he wrote to Tommaso Fusco that he had not yet sold his wine, but was intent on selling it wholesale to the queen's court for cash. The seventh letter, dated 16 March 1496, gives more details: it reveals that he sold 100 pints of Fusco's wine for 1 florin 90 denars. He expected 14 florins and 59 denars from selling 96 gallons of wine at this price, with eight pints to the gallon. A few lines later he gives 16 denars as the price of eight pints, which would give a slightly higher sum of 15 florins and 36 denars. The amount of wine at measurement was checked against eight pints of water, which he had had measured by the cellar master of the Provost of Szentistván, but one of the caskets contained surprisingly little wine: Benci estimated that at least 110 gallons were missing. In the physician's own words:

I have sold Your Grace's [i.e. Fusco's] wine in the following way: I sold 100 pints for one florin and ninety denars. There were 96 gallons, with eight pints to the gallon, and as my servant said there were three that were not clear at all, and he was always present at the selling. Before we started the filling, I measured eight pints of water with a wooden cup for the cellar master of the Provost of Szentistván and marked it, and it was sold against that measure. I am only surprised that one of the caskets contained so little wine that I estimate that 110 gallons of white wine have been lost – I do not know how. I will convert the loss to gold and if you want I will take it even at peril to me, which I will do at my own cost at a price of 16 denars to 8 pints.⁶⁰

Insolvency

The most central topic of the letters is without doubt money, or more precisely the lack of it. In the first letter Benci writes to the Duchess about a certain sum owed to him but not yet received – the situation compelling him to use his brother-in-law Ludovico Bruzzi's money – but even he is unable to procure any more money, therefore he asks Eleanor to intercede on his behalf.

From the second letter we learn that although Eleanor had instructed Costabili in writing to pay Benci and to effect for him a pay rise from Beatrice, the physician does not find this solution satisfactory because apparently, he does not trust the governor. In this letter, Benci is very insistent that either he be

⁶⁰ Sources: Letter 7.

paid or relieved of his duties, and complains to the Duchess that not being paid constitutes breach of contract. He claims to have received no more than 255 florins since the first day of his service (his annual salary was supposed to be 200 florins), but some of it he had spent and some of it had been stolen from him, so he is now totally insolvent and was even compelled to sell his personal effects at the end of the summer; he therefore informs Duchess Eleanor that if she does not pay him he will be compelled to flee Hungary, and that if she considers this a reprehensible act she may punish him in Ferrara. In the third letter he insists on receiving the large part of a tithe that had been promised to him, and again expresses his mistrust of Costabili. In the fifth letter, as discussed above, he tries to enlist Tommaso Fusco's help in obtaining his payment in secret, and in the post scriptum of this letter he makes a reference to a certain 2 florins and 1 denar that are owed to him, but the details here are obscure. In his letter to Ippolito, dated 4 March 1496, he is very vocal in his irritation, as he feels cheated. Benci believes that the queen is not entitled to these tithes and asks the archbishop to have the Bishop of Eger sign a promissory note for him or settle the matter in some other way because "if your most reverend self grants my request you will act in a way worthy of a ruler and of every good man and lord". In the last letter there is no reference to Benci not having received his payment.

The first question that comes to my mind concerns Benci's veracity. No doubt there may have been problems with the regularity of payment to the employees of the archbishop's court, but was the situation really as dire as the letters suggest? Was Benci indeed a learned man who made sacrifices and suffered insolvency, or indeed severe deprivation, or was he a courtier focused on his own advancement and on accumulating wealth at all costs? I surmise that the truth is somewhere in between. In 1492 Costabili himself makes a reference to Benci not receiving his payment; at the same time, his request to Fusco to forge a letter in Ippolito's name shows that it was not below the physician to employ devious means in order to achieve his goals. I further suspect that his claim that he had to sell all his property in the summer of 1495 to survive is a gross exaggeration, and letters from the court show that he was held in high esteem. Hajnalka Kuffart has found that Ippolito's account books justify Benci's complaints, since employees often went unpaid at the archbishop's court.⁶¹ The physician's yearly salary was set at 200 florins, but in the year 1487, for instance, he received only 36, which is a disproportionately low sum even if it was not for a full year.

⁶¹ Kuffart, "Bevezetés Estei Hippolit számadáskönyveihez," Kuffart, "I libri contabili di Ippolito I d'Este, cardinale di Esztergom: Materiali per l'edizione critica."

The other question that emerges from the issue of payments concerns the day-to-day working of the archbishop's court at the time; in particular, who was personally responsible for paying Benci. There are several possible answers. Naturally it could have been the Archbishop of Esztergom, Ippolito himself. On the other hand, Ercole's written instructions and the letters to Eleanor suggest that the Este court of Ferrara was at least partly responsible for covering the expenses of Ippolito and his court. But the Hungarian royal couple may also have played some role, since the sources indicate that Beatrice took a personal interest in Benci's problem.

Erik Fügedi claims that in spite of its vast revenues, the archbishopric never fully paid its employees, who thus became its *de facto* creditors.⁶² Debts were often settled by the rearrangement of benefices, and in Benci's case this was probably the background to the conflict with Bakóc concerning the tithes; furthermore, the complaint about Beatrice ("Her Royal Highness is not entitled to the said tithes"⁶³) seems well founded since, as Fügedi also asserts, the queen had the habit of appropriating the archbishopric's income for her personal use quite freely.

Benci's social position and the history of medicine in the period

One aspect of Benci's letters that I find astonishing is that even though they were written in a politically turbulent and eventful period, they contain practically no reference whatsoever to current events. I think there may be two reasons for this: one is that Benci made a point of consciously distancing himself from politics and not making statements that could be used against him later, since whoever the next ruler would be and whatever fate awaited Beatrice, John Corvinus,⁶⁴ Vladislaus II, or Ippolito, the archbishopric of Esztergom would continue to exist and doctors would still be needed in the Kingdom of Hungary, so from the point of view of his own career, it made sense to concentrate on his own personal affairs. The other possible explanation is that the physicians of the period simply did not have the social standing that would have warranted dabbling in matters of politics.

In his book *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Âge* Jacques Le Goff discusses in detail the social standing of intellectuals.⁶⁵ He claims that in the Middle Ages, the form of a person's income determined their status. If they received a salary, they were 'labourers', while if they had a benefice, they belonged to the high-

62 Fügedi, "Az esztergomi érsekség gazdálkodása a XV. század végén," 172–84.

63 Sources: Letter 6.

64 John Corvinus/Korvin János (1473–1504) illegitimate son of King Matthias.

65 Le Goff, *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Âge*, 135–36.

er ranks. On this basis, Benci was half way between the two, since although his salary was 200 florins per year, he claimed to be entitled to certain tithes, which means he had some benefice at his disposal.⁶⁶ But this situation changed during the Renaissance period; Le Goff says that in the late 14th and early 15th centuries there emerged a “caste of intellectuals”, and that from this time on university graduates adopted completely the lifestyle of the nobility.⁶⁷ In this sense Benci must have belonged to this ‘caste’.

Sándor Székely in his book on the history of medicine points out that Hungarian kings often entrusted diplomatic affairs to their usually foreign-born physicians.⁶⁸ But even though Benci was associated with the court in a variety of ways he was neither the king’s nor the queen’s physician.

In her book on the medical and astrological aspects of Galeotto Marzio’s works, Enikő Békés dedicates a short chapter to the social standing of physicians in the 15th century.⁶⁹ She claims that lawyers and physicians competed throughout the Middle Ages, both professions aspiring to primacy within the fields of intellectual life. This claim is partly corroborated, partly supplemented by Grmek, who adds that the primacy of medicine was guaranteed in the Middle Ages by its close association with several other intellectual pursuits, among them logic, astrology, alchemy and philosophy, its links to natural philosophy being especially strong.⁷⁰ (This link can be observed very clearly in Ugo Benzi’s life and works.) In this period, the prestige of medicine was in the ascendant, and Benci certainly belonged to an esteemed and acknowledged generation of physicians.

The ambiguous status of physicians is mentioned by Kubinyi too, when he discusses how physicians in medieval Buda bore the title *egregius*, indicating the rank of middle nobility while at the same time serving on the city council, enjoying the privileges of a burgher, and often dabbling in commerce as a source of a sizable income on the side, as Agostino Benci, employed by a high-ranking aristocrat, also did.⁷¹ In his other study, cited earlier, Kubinyi asserts that within the archbishop’s court, Benci’s salary was the third highest, next only to the governor’s and the underage archbishop’s tutor.⁷² This is contradicted by Al-

⁶⁶ His original, contractually fixed wage was 200 florins (ASMo ASE CeS busta 386. 85. 2037. IV/2. all. b.). He certainly received this amount in 1490 and 1493. Cfr. Kuffart, “Bevezetés Estei Hippolit számadáskönyveihez.” 122–123.

⁶⁷ Le Goff, *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Âge*, 135–36.

⁶⁸ Székely, *Az orvostudomány története*, 71–93.

⁶⁹ Békés, *Asztrológia, orvoslás és fiziognómia Galeotto Marzio műveiben*, 44–47.

⁷⁰ Grmek, *Storia del pensiero medico occidentale I: Antichità e Medioevo*, 309–15.

⁷¹ Kubinyi, “Az egészségügyi foglalkozásuk társadalmi és gazdasági helyzete Budán a 15–16. század fordulóján,” 67–68.

⁷² Kubinyi, “A magyar orvos- és gyógyszerésztársadalom a Mohácsot megelőző évtizedekben,” 79.

fonso Morelli, who claims that Antonio Sbelzarino [see above] was entitled to three hundred florins per year as opposed to Benci's two hundred.⁷³ (For comparison, an infantry soldier of the period earned two florins a month, a mounted soldier three.)⁷⁴ Thus the literature as well as the sources suggest that Benci was partly of a high rank, partly in a dependent position, but without doubt he had reason to aspire to the lifestyle of a nobleman.

In sum, Benci's letters are sources that provide interesting glimpses into the life of an Italian physician working in Hungary in the service of a prelate, as well as of the day-to-day operations of the Archbishop of Esztergom's court. We find references to the tension between Hungarians and "foreigners" in the late Matthias-era, and we are also admitted to the physician's view of Ippolito.

Sources

1. Agostino Benci to Eleanor of Aragon

8 May 1488

Signature: ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 2. f. 1.

Vestigia database no. 2519

Agostino Benci informs the Duchess of Ferrara about Queen Beatrice's health, about Ippolito, and about his economic problems.

Illustrissima et Excellentissima Duchessa, essendo lo Reverendissimo Monsignor, Vostro fiolo, ali zorni passati in via per andare a Vienna, venne uno messo di Serenissima Rezina, el quale mi menò in Schiavonia per medicare uno servitore de Quella. Dapoi tornato ala octava di Pasqua, trovai Sua Maestà esser tornata quasi ale pristine sue forze. Da poi ala fine del mese passato a Sua Maestà sopravvenne una terziana semplice, et hanne hauto septe parosismi, de li quali lo septimo è stato tanto leziero che extimo non ne harrà più, et credo che dicta febbre sii più presto stata per qualche reliquia rimasta del mal passato che per altra caxone.

Lo Reverendissimo Monsignore sta bene per Dio grazia, et spesso sta cum le Serenissime Maestà da le quale molto e molto Sua Signoria è acarezata.

Io dovevo haveve alcuni dinari dal comune, e perché mio cugnato, Ludovico Bruzzi, ne haveva spexo alcuni per mi, ge havevo comsignato quilli. Al presente sum avisato da lui come non ne può retrare uno soldo. Per tanto prego e suplico

⁷³ Morselli, *Ippolito I d'Este e il suo primo viaggio in Ungheria (1487)*, 47.

⁷⁴ Kubinyi, "A magyar orvos- és gyógyszerész-társadalom a Mohácsot megelőző évtizedekben," 71.

vostra domina Signoria che Quella faci comissione di bono inchiostro a Nicolò Ariosto, che voglia dare dicti dinari al mio cugnato, aciò che da lui non sii molistato cum lettere. Altro non accade se non che me raccomando ali piedi di vostra Signoria la quale Dio felicit in le sue voglie. Vienne, ottava madii 1488.

Eiusdem [ducalis Dominationis] post scripta la Maestà di madama è guarita.

Servitor minimus, Augustus Bencius

2. Agostino Benci to Eleanor of Aragon

18 March 1491 Esztergom

Signature: ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 2. f. 2.

Vestigia database no. 2526

Agostino Benci asks that Eleanor of Aragon pay his wage arrears and reports on Ippolito.

Illustrissima et Excellentissima Madama, sono za più zorni che io recevi una di Vostra Excellentia di dieci novembre ad alcune mie responsiva per la quale ho inteso Vostra Excellentia haver scritto a Monsignore Governatore che non solo mi havesse a satisfare del mio, ma che anchora fusse cum la Maestà di Madama per aumentarmi la provisione secondo la possibilità del presente tempo di che ne rendo infinite grazie ad Vostra Excellentia perché vedo Quella non solo ricordarsi di uno suo minimo servitore, ma desiderare ogni suo commodo et utile. Ma che ad scrivere ad uno lo quale non possa o simuli non potere. Sua Signoria, per quello che judico et vedo pò pochissimo o niente e se potesse forse non faria perché quando potè non volse ma di continuo mi tenne pasuto di parole et vana speranza. Dico de lo satisfarmi che fu casone che anche essendo venuto la Maestà del re Mathia domandavo licencia di Vostra Excellentia. Vostra Excellentia sa che per una mia domandavo o aumento ovvero licencia. Per un'altra sola licencia cussì fo per la presente perché di aumento non mi curo, né lo voglio, e quello che sozonze Vostra Excellentia che doveria star li volontiera per sapere li modi et complexione del Reverendissimo Patrone mio dico che se extimassi Vostra Excellentia non poter avere uno medico più docto e soficiente di me et poterlo mandare, non solo serviria cum la incomodità et insatisfacione che io ho facto et fo, ma com molto mazore non ne sparagnando alcuna. Ma perché so Quella poterne avere et facilmente mandare et uno bono medico presto comprende la natura et complexione di uno. però Vostra Excellentia per questo rispetto me doveria retenire, anzi, peraltro rivocarmi, e ciò si è che havendo io poco contento di animo, pochissimi infermi da medicare

se non ungarli quali ala contraria se medicano, incomodità di luocho per studiare che serà forza al ultimo in tutto divengi ignorante a che venendo non seria lo utile del Patrone Mio. Però suplico ali piedi di Vostra Excellentia che Quella per sua insita humanità voia darmi bona e grata licencia, la quale in vero non doveria domandare, ma reputando di haverla pigliarmela, perché quando uno signore non solo non paga lo servitore, ma non li dà lo vivere, tale per deserezione doveria intendere essere licenciato, cussi acadendo a mi, lo simile doveria fare, ma non ho voluto, anzi ho ellecto di fare come bono servitore et per questa tertia ovvero quarta mia suplicare Vostra Excellentia che per la ritornata di Pauliza, ovvero di altri voglia scrivendomi licenciarmi, o almeno operare per tale modo che di bona parte del mio salario io sii satisfacto, dello quale dal primo zorno che cominzai a servire per infino al presente ho ricevuto ducati docento cinquanta cinque, deli quali tra spexi et rubati uno solo non me ne rimasto. Se Vostra Excellentia adoncha non fa questo, havendo za facto lo debito mio. mi serà forza per non fare un'altra vernata simile a questa in Ungaria. verso la fine de la state vendere quello poco mi ritrovo. et per quello miore modo che io potrò. Fuzirme et venire a Ferrara acciò che se io harrò errato Vostra Excellentia possa punirmi, la quale Dio conservi in felice stato.

Lo Illustre et Reverendissimo Patrone Mio è sano per Dio grazie grasso et fresco, ma credo che molto meglio staria se appresso di Vostra Excellentia fusse. Nove non scrivo a Quella perché credo che Lei intenderà assai per lo Governatore.

Ali piedi de la quale infinite volte me raccomando.

Eiusdem ducalis Dominationis

Servitor minimus

Augustin Bencius

3. Agostino Benci to Eleonor of Aragon

25 June 1491 Esztergom

Signature: ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 2. f. 3.

Vestigia database no. 2527

Agostino Benci seeks payment of his wages and two or three months' leave to deal with family concerns.

Illustrissima et Excellentissima Ducissa Domina mi singularissima. Per la venuta di Pauliza lo signor Governatore m'ha mostrato una parte di una lettera di Vostra Excellentia sopra lo facto mio, a che risposi assai cosse, tra le quale

due ne dirò ad Vostra Excellentia. L'una che volevo assignacione di bona parte di quello che io ho havere sopra le decime afictate come mi promise; dubito non mi fazzi come per lo passato ha facto che se lo farrà el mi bixognerà fare quello per Pauliza scripsi ad Vostra Excellentia. L'altra parte fu che havendo voglia Vostra Excellentia che io secua lo Patron Mio, bexogna che Quella me dii licencia per mesi dui o tri che a la Quadragesima avenire possi venire a casa essendome necessarissimo per mettere in asseto le cosse mie et di mei fratelli de li quali io sono tutore, le quale cosse, come pò credere Vostra Excellentia, lassai in fasso grandissimo. Non vogliando adoncha Vostra Excellentia fare questo, è del bisogno che Vostra Excellentia mandi uno medico e lassi mi, perché per uno tempo me bixogna essere in casa. Aricomandomi ad Vostra Excellentia per infinite volte la quale Dio conservi Strigoni XXV iunii 1491.

Eiusdem ducalis servitor minime Augustus Bencius physicus

Descrivere a mi et ala Reverendissima per il fatto di Francesco Da Bagno

4. Agostino Benci to Eleanor of Aragon

5 May 1492 Esztergom

Signature: ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 2. f. 4.

Vestigia database no. 2528

Agostino Benci reports on Ippolito and requests more medical gear (he sends a list of the necessary equipment).

Illustrissima et Excellentissima Ducissa Domina mi singularissima. Non havendo nove alcune da scrivere ad Vostra Excellentia scriverò ad Quella de lo Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo figliuolo Suo Patron Mio, lo quale per Dio grazia è sano, et tanto facto grande che a lo presentemente veramente mi pare havere patrone et signore, dove prima lo simile non mi pareva. Sua Reverendissima Signoria s'è vestita questa Pascha lo habito cardinalescho, nel qual in verità uno homo pareva. Resta che Vostra Excellentia solliciti di là de ponerli lo capello acioché habiamo lo cardinale compito et che presagio di qua sii bene incominzato.

Essendo ne la bottega cum lo speciale facessemo una lista de le cosse che mancavano in speciarìa et sono necessarie, la quale mando qui inclusa ad Vostra Excellentia, le quale cosse potrà mandare Vostra Excellentia mandando altre robe. E benché lo speciale habia com mi fatto dicta lista mostra impero de volere apatriare per tanto vede Vostra Excellentia se li pare di mandarne un altro. Altro per questa non scrivo, se non che me ricomando ali piedi di Vostra Excellentia la quale suplico che ale altre mie lettere dii bona et iocunda

risposta; la quale Dio felicitò nel stato suo per sua infinita misericordia. Datum Strigonii quarta madii 1492.

Eiusdem illustrissime ducalis Dominacionis servitor
Augustus Bemcius physicus

5. Agostino Benci to Tommaso Fusco

8 February 1496 Esztergom

Signature: ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 2. f. 5.

Vestigia database no. 2529

The physician is writing about the day-to-day concerns of the archbishop's staff and pleading with Fusco for help in order to be paid.

Eximie doctor et maior honoris, dapoi la partita vostra per sino alo presente zorno non ho saputo di voi; né me ne meraviglio per non essere ritornato messo niuno de là, pur spero tutto vui esser sani, e che ala ricevuta de questa, seriti zonti aporto bono per Dio grazia, che in vero credo che lo tempo habiati hauto alo proposito vostro, salvo se non fusse stato tanto fredo quanto è stato qui lo quale da lo dì de la purificazione fino a mo' è stato tanto e tale che non si poteva a partire, dove comprendo Dio havervi facta bella grazia di qua havervi levato essemdovi innanti la partita manchate le legne che se la bursa non vi havesti aitato, haresti imparato se non l'avesti saputo di fare lo sono de la cichogna, ma forse lo havisti facto per la strada che Dio non voglia. Qua anchora cresse denaro dicto fredo ogni dì neva; et io mi ripezzo al meglio che posso. Acìo che a primo numero di state se potiamo vedere, diriti a Pietro Maria Montolino che ebbi la lettera sua e vitti quanto mi advisava dello suo cavallo, ma che non è anchora zonto; se farà menato, farrò quanto mio fosse. Io non ho se non uno famiglio, e non ho cavallo, però non posso mandare a vedere che ne sii; me è dicto che è in Javerino. Lo vostro vino non è anchora venduto, credo lo venderò in grosso ala corte de la Regina, (però) cum li dinari in mano.

Post hoc io ho una assignacione de la Reale Maestà a Piero Antonio Calderini di ducati 124, perché haria caro, lui me li desse inanci la partita. Senza dare altro disturbo a Sua Maestà vi voria pregare che se possete cum honore vostro, come credo possiati, scrivesti a dicto Pietro Antonio una lettera de bona maniera e calda per parte de lo Reverendissimo pregandolo che mi volesse avere per raccomandato e per suo amore volermi spazare senza dirne altro alo Reverendissimo. E se pur non vi par farlo senza saputa di sua Reverendissima Signoria, vi prego ge lo dicati e servitimi de bono inchiostro come ho speranza

in vui, et voiati per lo primo messo a scrivere et drizatila a me. Altro non ho a dirvi, se no che a vui mi raccomando e per voi posso cossa alcuna di qua advisatimi che mi sforzarò servirvi di bon core Strigonii VIIIa februarii 1496

Tuus Augusti Bencius

Diti a don Zoane che ala partita sua non li volsi dare molestia, ma che li ricordo mi ha dare ducati 21 i che li vinci su ale scancie di messer Tadeo mezo in stufa de lo governatore, mezo de una brete. Se vi pare di fare la lettera a Piero Antonio senza dirlo a Reverendissimo, fatilo perché non voio che se Idio alto ma più presto alo camtelino nevi signoria mi racomandariti.

6. Agostino Benci to Ippolito I d'Este

4 March 1496 Esztergom

Signature: ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 2. f. 7.

Vestigia database no. 2537

Benci demands money from the archbishop in a forceful manner.

Illustrissime et Reverendissime Domine mi observandissime. Volendo io in questi proximi zorni passati una assignacione da la Serenissima Regina sopra a quella lettera factami da Vostra Reverendissima Signoria per comto de parte di mio salario; me è stato non solo posto in dubio di non me la volere fare, ma quasi manifestò segno sinistro. E questo dico no perché el vesco(vo) di Agria dice esserli stato promesso tute le decime de lo archiepiscopato et volerle di che se cossì fusse. Non so di chi mi possa lamentare o di Vostra Reverendissima Signoria ovvero de oficali di Quella, perché mi do ad intendere dal uno di dui o dal uno e l'altro essere stato deluso. Da Vostra Reverendissima Signoria non credo extimando Quella non volere che quello pocho che essa me deve lo quale e tuto quello ho avanzato in anni nove in servirla in Ungaria che io lo perda, ovvero al presente non lo habia che se cossì è et anche come di sopra ho dicto; cioè che la Maestà Reale non habia havere dicte decime. Prego et supplico Vostra Reverendissima Signoria che mi voglia fare una assignacione al dicto veschoo di Agria ovvero dove meglio a Quella si parerà acioché essemdo qui possi lo mio havere e di quello prevalerme ne le occurencie mie; che se cossì farrà Vostra Reverendissima Signoria, farrà cossa degna di principe et conveniente ad ogni vero et bon patrone, ali pedi del quale di continuo mi raccomando e Dio lui conservi lomgamente Strignoi 4e marcy 1496

Eiusdem illustrissime et reverendissime domine

Servitor minime Augusti Bencius

7. *Agostino Benci to Tommaso Fusco*

16 March 1496 Esztergom

Signature: ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 2. f. 6.

Vestigia database no. 2536

The physician is writing Tommaso Fusco about his wine trading business.

Messer Tommaso, io ho venduto lo vino vostro in nel modo che ve dirò. Io ne ho dato pinte cento per ducati uno fiorini 90. Sono stati cubuli 96; nel 8 pinte lo cubulo; e secondo me riferise lo famiglio mio, ge ne usi cubuli almeno 3 molto torbidi, e lui è stato sempre in presenza adarlo. Prima che cominzasse lo vaxo, feci mesurare ad uno camtaro di legno alo celario del preposito de Sacro Stefano 8 pinte di aqua e signarlo e cum quella misura se [si è?] venduto. Solo mi maraviglio di uno vaso. Tale esse usito sì pocho vino che almeno extimaxo usir che vino chiaro 110 cubuli non so dove si venga la magagne. Li farò di oro e se voriti, ve li porterò a piccolo che farò li mei le spexe che lì sono et ocorse sono queste se io per octo pintx de vino che amdo ad re inprese .Se io ho dato alo clavigeio de lo lectore benché dubiti che non habia robato quid aliud scribam nescio risi ut valeas et domino nostro reverendissimo me plurimam commendationum facias rogo e ceterum amico signor Salvios dices cancellario ant nostro chies equon siuis aduch non venisse cuius sit culpa ignoro six vale et me ama Strigony 16 marcy 1496

Pur ozi ho receputo una lettera di Pietro Maria Montolino data in nove città e per risposta li basti quanto altie volete ho scritto

Tuus Augusti Bencius

9. *Agostino Benci to Ercole I d'Este*

25–26 April 1498 Pavia

Signature: ASMo ASE C. Misc. Mat. Medici e medicina b. 19.

Agostino Benci informs the Duke of Ferrara of Ippolito's travel and health.

Illustrissime et excellentissime Princeps domine observandissime, se persino al presemte non ho scripto ad Vostra Eccellenzia de lo Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo monsignor mio è stato per esser Sua Reverendissima Signoria stata sana persino alo sabato sancto, nel qual zorno, essendo la prestata ad una abatia apresso Milano a miglia 7 per devotione, mi mandò a chiamare, et ritrovai la dicta cun qualche lasitudine et alteracione, ma non febre, de che in

Gusago, luoco apresso al predicto doe miglia, la cominzai ad evacuare a cui sucresse alterazione. Se partì poi Sua Reverendissima Signoria la octava de lo sabato santo, e venne a Pavia cun cuntinua piova et vento, et essendo Sua Reverendissima Signoria cun pochi panni fu caxone che li venne la febre de cui ozzi se aspectava lo terzo parosismo ma zà è pasato hora doe del tempo che lo soleva invadere de che sono certo che non li soprazunzea altro, solo li è rimasto uno poco di fluxo lo quale reputo più a bene che a male. Questo mi ha parso de scrivere ad Vostra Eccellenzia per fare parte de lo debito mio. Dapoi recuperata la totale sanità, ne advisuo di novo Vostra Eccellenzia. Ali pedi de la Quale de continuo mi raccomando. Papie, 25 aprilis, 1498

Eiusdem V. Illustrissime et Excellentissime Domine

Post scripta: Hieri sira non soprazonse altra febre et anche lo fluxo non ha molestata Sua Reverendissima Signoria. questa notte dove spero de proximo la sua integra sanità. 26^a aprilis

Servitor minimus,

Augustinus Bemtius

10. Agostino Benci to Tommaso Fusco

6 September 1498 Ferrara

Signature: ASMo ASE C. Misc. Mat. Medici e medicina b. 19.

Agostino Benci requests Tommaso Fusco's aid in communicating with Ippolito and other staff members.

Messer Thomaxo mio caro, vui sapiti come desiderava de havere certe lettere da lo Reverendissimo nostro le quale per fino al presente ho aspetate et non le havendo haute, dubito o che Sua Signoria non le habia voluto cometere ovvero no li siano state racordate, però vi prego per questa et suplico, mi voiati servire de bono inchiostro et racordarle al dicto a cui ancora io similmente le scrivo, ma sapendo vui la cossa, non la replicarò a Sua Signoria. Iterum vi prego che per mezo de messer Ieronymo Vazabil o de chi vi parerà vedati fare una lettera ducale de passo, possa comdure le robe mie cum sit che quasi niente habia li et anche intendo portare qualche forma de formezo et Malvaxia de le quale anche vui ne hariti parte. Le lettere sono de lo Reverendissimo, lettera de passo, lettere al duca, a messer Zoanni Lucha ricomandandoli la cossa mia et amche messer Tito Stroze a don Alfonso de lo Regazo. Aspeto da vui risposta cun el tuto et di cò ve ne prego et sii presto et a voi mi raccomando Ferrarie, sexta septy 1498. Questa matina manzo cun messer Pandolfino et messer Mateo et credo torro el pasto lupino. vostro Augusti Bencius

Unfinished note, unsigned, complied to the letter, with stamp (although the sample is no longer legible):

Illustrissimo Signor mio, questa note è sopraiuncta tanta aqua da mare e da monte che grossissima asai più qua de soto del consueto. Me dole el core che trovi questi argeni in tal desordene che dubito forte de mal asai. Se li zudizi, pur avese fato il suo debito, delivrare la coronela nova che fo bon ricordo il mio a farli perché adeso si vide il bisogno. Non dubitaria che dubito sfordandomi l'aqua, non la potse tenere che farà dano asai ala Signoria Vostra che serà il debito Suo portare la pina aché merita. Signore, non starò de dire queste parole per mia fidelissima servitù a Vi a mal che volga et di far ogni l'ora. Il mio debito è sorzarmi con la vita, tenere li argeni...

(Translated by András Cser)

Ilona Kristóf

TRAVELLING TO ITALY IN THE SUMMER OF 1501
LESSONS LEARNED FROM A BOOK OF ACCOUNTS*

In the State Archives of Modena,¹ the collection of documents related to the court of Ippolito I d'Este² is held in the fonds called Amministrazione dei Principi.³ Among the books of accounts grouped according to the ecclesiastical positions of Ippolito we can find eight account books from Eger.⁴ Out of these eight volumes, seven were published by Péter E. Kovács in 1992.⁵ The published books of accounts, however, do not include the quire marked as AdP 711 in the archival catalogues,⁶ even though it is classified among the Eger account books. The source stands out from the rest of the Eger account books, both in terms of its contents and its external appearance. It is a short Latin note, six pages in length, created by folding and binding two approximately A4-sized sheets of paper. Although it is an account, it gives details of the expenses of a journey from Eger to Italy dated to the summer of 1501, as transpires from the first line of the summary of expenses: "Recessi de Agria 25 Iunii 1501". It can be assumed that it was left out of the textual edition because it is only indirectly related to the economic matters of the bishopric of Eger, and thus does not entirely fit into the series of account books.⁷ The most plausible explanation is that it may have been placed among the account books of the bishopric simply as a result of its dating, as no other extant short records of expenses of this kind related to Eger have survived on their own. However, in spite of the fact that the text does not mention either the author, the traveller or their companions by name,

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¹ Archivio di Stato di Modena.

² Ippolito I d'Este (1479–1520), Archbishop of Esztergom (1486–1497), Bishop of Eger (1497–1520), Cardinal (1493–1520).

³ Archivio di Stato di Modena, Archivio Camerale, Amministrazione dei Principi (AdP). Discussion of the fond: Kuffart, "Modenában őrzött esztergomi számadáskönyvek és az esztergomi érsekség udvartartása," 9–10.

⁴ 710–717. (Vestigia database no. 2232., 828., 2233., 2288., 2289., 2290., 2291., 2292).

⁵ E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*.

⁶ ASMo ASE AC AdP 711., Old archival call number: Reg. 34; Microfilm: HU-MNL-OL-X-1996, MF 8619; Vestigia database no. 828.

⁷ E. Kovács, "Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon," 101. n. 4.

based on the dating and the personal style of the first line I have tried to associate the source with a person, and place it in its appropriate context.

The journey recorded in the account book began on 25 June 1501 in Eger (Agria), and ended on 20 July 1501 in Ferrara. Messengers, couriers, diplomats, agents travelled regularly between Ferrara and Buda (Ofen) or Eger without leaving behind such detailed accounts of their journeys' expenses. Having examined the accounting system of Ferrara and its elements used in Hungary,⁸ the individual officials' daily administrative accounts appeared at the lowest level of the documentation. These accounts were then meant to be collected in books of accounts and general ledgers both in Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran) and later in Eger. Based on this system of accounting, it is unsurprising that the individual case accounts have rarely survived, as they were recorded at a higher level, after which their preservation became no longer necessary. In the case of the source examined here, the travel expenses were finalised only after the group's arrival in Ferrara, therefore it should have been registered not in the Eger, but rather in the Ferrara books of accounts of Ippolito I d'Este.⁹ Supposedly, it was when the archival materials of the d'Estes were put in order during the 19th century that this book of accounts was placed among the account books related to the management of the bishopric of Eger, as a result of Agria appearing in its first line.

The identity of the author

Even at first reading it is noticeable that the text uses the first person, singular verb form of the Latin verb: *recessi*, in the meaning 'I have left'. The first person, singular verb form shows that the text is a personal narration although compiled later after the arrival to Ferrara. This indicates that it may have been one of Ippolito's Italian courtiers who returned to Ferrara in the summer of 1501 and recorded the accounts of their journey. This is reinforced by a linguistic evidence: the text was written in Latin, but there are several instances of the use of words that are similar to Latin but are rather Italian, e.g. *feratura* in the sense of 'horse harness'. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that in their description of the journey, the author moves with confidence between Eger and Esztergom, and equally in the Italian parts, but is considerably more

⁸ Kuffart, "Modenában őrzött esztergomi számadáskönyvek és az esztergomi érsekség udvartartása," 12–16; Kristóf, "Bortizedbélők a késő középkori egri számadáskönyvekben," 223–24.

⁹ My research into this issue in the Modena archives have not met with success so far, as there is no reference to this journey in the Ferrara book of accounts referring to this year. It is possible that this is precisely the reason why this account book has survived, as they did not discard this quire since the data had not been processed.

uncertain when documenting the middle section of the journey. In order to identify the author, the chronologically relevant records of the pertinent Eger books of accounts¹⁰ were used, together with information from the Ferrara correspondence.

Having overcome the administrative obstacles, the archbishop's seat in Esztergom and the bishop's seat in Eger were exchanged between Ippolito I d'Este and Tamás Bakóc¹¹ without difficulty.¹² However, the establishment of Ippolito's court in Eger was moving ahead at a significantly slower pace, because *vicarius* and *gubernator* Ludovico Floreno, despite having formally entered into his office already in 1498, began his actual work only from the following year.¹³ Though Bakóc tried hard to create the impression that the courtiers of Ippolito were unable to govern the bishopric of Eger profitably,¹⁴ Floreno reported of a plentiful harvest as early as the summer of 1499. Regardless, in the summer of 1499 those in Ferrara were still giving much thought to the question of how the situation could be optimised, that is, how the smallest possible investment could be used to generate the largest possible income. Floreno reported in July that he was conducting negotiations in Esztergom concerning renting out the bishopric once again,¹⁵ since in 1498 Bakóc rented the tithes of the Eger bishopric for two years, but in 1499, he did not renew the lease.¹⁶ Furthermore, the governor gave a report on the events of the diet, giving a detailed account of the rumour that had already spread widely concerning Ippolito's intention to hand the bishopric over to his younger brother Giulio,¹⁷ who would have been will-

¹⁰ ASMo ASE AC AdP 712. (Vestigia database no. 2233); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 62–79; ASMo ASE AC AdP 713. (Vestigia database no. 2288); E. Kovács, 80–123; ASMo ASE AC AdP 714. (Vestigia database no. 2289); E. Kovács, 124–52.

¹¹ Tamás Bakóc (1442–1521), elected Bishop of Eger (1493–1497), Bishop of Eger (1497–1498), Archbishop of Esztergom (1498–1521), Cardinal (1500–1521), Chancellor (1491–1521).

¹² Kristóf, “‘Nostro protectore e benefactore singulare’: Bakóc Tamás és Estei Hippolit kapcsolata (1496–1520),” 67–71; Kristóf, „I rapporti tra Tamás Bakóc ed Ippolito d’Este”; Kuffart, „Bakóc Tamás és Estei Hippolit cseréje.”

¹³ C. Tóth, *Magyarország késő középkori főpapi archontológiája: Érsekek, püspökök, illetve segédpüspökeik, vikáriusaik és jövedelemkezelőik az 1440-es évektől 1526-ig*, 29; Bónis, „Olasz vikáriusok Magyarországon a reneszánsz korában és a Beneéthy-formuláskönyv,” 92–93; Ludovico Floreno doct. decr.; governor, vicarius, 9 February 1498 National Archives of Hungary, Photographic Collection of pre-1526 Documents (HU-MNL-OL-U-DF) 229141–11 June 1501 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 229184.

¹⁴ Fraknoi, *Erdődi Bakócz Tamás élete*, 82–83.

¹⁵ 7 July 1499 Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books (MTAK MS.) 4997.10., ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/21, 5. (Vestigia database no. 510., 1451).

¹⁶ Kristóf, “‘Nostro protectore e benefactore singulare’: Bakóc Tamás és Estei Hippolit kapcsolata (1496–1520),” 71–72.

¹⁷ Giulio d’Este (1478–1561), illegitimate son of Duke Ercole I d’Este (1431–1505).

ing to live in Hungary.¹⁸ According to the assumptions of Floreno, the person behind the rumours may have been Queen Beatrice,¹⁹ whose positions would have improved considerably if any of her relatives had stayed permanently in his diocese. As an alternative to renting out the tithes, the name of Taddeo Lardi was once again brought up, as he had earlier been recommended by Bakóc, who mentioned that Lardi would be glad to return to the service of Ippolito.²⁰ Since Floreno could not find a satisfactory solution for the situation, Giulio Cesare Cantelmi set off on 26 November 1499²¹ with instructions to rent out the incomes of the bishopric, collect the money, and reduce the number of persons in their care, in order to reduce local expenses. In addition, he was also to reassure Queen Beatrice.²² In April 1500, a resolution had still not been achieved concerning renting out the incomes of the bishopric, in spite of Cantelmi's negotiations with Bakóc.²³ Eventually, after lengthy wrangling, in Ferrara the decision was made to choose Taddeo Lardi after all, who was already in Eger in September 1500.²⁴ Nevertheless, he officially took the position of *gubernator* in Eger only from 7 May 1501.²⁵ Lardi first came to Hungary in 1487, and appeared among the Italian familiars in Esztergom as a seneschal, majordomo of the Buda house of the archbishop (1487–1497), treasurer (1487–97), and chamberlain (1489–1492). For many years he also performed the role of seneschal and chamberlain (1487–1489, 1492–1497) as well.²⁶ Between 1493 and 1502 he was archdeacon in Gömör, and at the same time in Pankota as well, but this latter position he exchanged for the archdeaconship in Ung in 1498. From 1501, he was *gubernator* in Eger, a member of the chapter, and from 1501 until his death he was *custos* in Eger.²⁷ In 1508 he passed over the tasks of governor to

¹⁸ 7 July 1499 MTAK MS. 4997.10., ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/21,5. (Vestigia database no. 510., 1451).

¹⁹ Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508), from 1476 wife of King Matthias I (1458–1490), between 1490 and 1500 wife of King Vladislaus II (1490–1516).

²⁰ 31 January 1499 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 289034; Byatt, "Ippolito I d'Este."

²¹ Cantelmi bishop of Nice stayed in Hungary between 1499 and 1503, on the instructions of Duke Ercole I d'Este. In 1501 Ippolito granted him the living of Pieve di San Faustino to Cantelmi. Cantelmi died in July 1503. Borghi, „Il Maestro di Celano Pelumi: nuovi studi sulla committenza per ricostruire un'identità,” 28.

²² 26 November 1499 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b.3/22,1. (Vestigia database no. 1456).

²³ 7 April 1500 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/23,4. (Vestigia database no. 1460).

²⁴ 17 September 1500 ASMo ASE AC AdP 760. (Vestigia database no. 790); 1500. ASMo ASE AC AdP 761. (Vestigia database no. 791); Bónis, „Olasz vikáriusok Magyarországon a reneszánsz korában és a Beneéthy-formuláskönyv,” 93.

²⁵ ASMo ASE AC AdP 713. (Vestigia database no. 2288); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 101.

²⁶ Kuffart, „Modenában őrzött esztergomi számadáskönyvek és az esztergomi érsekség udvartartása,” 39, 43, 67, 82, 95, 160, 170, 185–86.

²⁷ C. Tóth, „Az egri káptalan archontológiája (1387–1526),” 52., 61; C. Tóth, *Magyarország késő*

Ercole Pio on the instructions of Ippolito.²⁸ Then, after Pio had been recalled, he once again fulfilled the position of governor in 1510–1511. The elderly and sickly Lardi died in 1512. His Renaissance tombstone can be seen to this day in Kassa (Cassovia, Kaschau, today Košice, Slovakia).²⁹

The sources testify not only to the Bishop's intentions and the ideas shaping them, but concerning the minor details of the execution of these ideas too. In this way, it is possible to reconstruct the change of governor in Eger with considerable accuracy. On his last working days in Eger, on 15 June 1501, governor Floreno was still levying the tithe in the Nádasd tithe district in the county of Abaúj.³⁰ A few days later, on 19 June 1501, Pietro Lardi, the new Eger castellan, reported to his master that the envoy had arrived on 14 June and that the takeover of the castle had been completed.³¹ The takeover of administrative duties must have taken place over the next few days, as the new governor, Taddeo Lardi recorded in the book of accounts dated 23 June 1501 that he had received 1500 florins from Floreno for the pay of the bishop's banderium.³² On the same day, according to Lardi's records, he handed over the amount of fl. 16 d. 67 to Floreno on the order of their master, requesting that Floreno take it to Ferrara, to chamberlain Pandolfo Silvestri as the price of certain books that had already been ordered and paid for by Pietro Maria Montelini.³³ (Montelini had already

középkori főpapi archontológiája: Érsekek, püspökök, illetve segédpüspökeik, vikáriusaik és jövedelemkezelőik az 1440-es évektől 1526-ig, 30; E. Kovács, "Léhűtők Egerben: Mindennapi élet Estei Hippolit egri püspök udvarában," 157; Teke, "Egy firenzei kereskedő a Jagellókorban: Raggione Bontempi 1488–1528," 136; Balogh, "La capella Bakócz," 137; Taddeo Lardi doct. decr.; custos of Eger, governor. 29 June 1501 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 216503 – 6 December 1508 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 216965; 21 October 1510 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 278354 – 8 December 1511 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 272284.

²⁸ On the career of Ercole Pio, his activities in Eger see the relevant study in this volume, and: Domokos, "A pestis és a gepárd: Ercole Pio, Estei Hippolit egy ügynökének beszámolója Magyarországról (1508–1510)"; Domokos and Erős, "Ercole Pio e le indulgenze di Eger"; Domokos and Erős, "Ercole Pio és az egri székesegyház építésének ügye"; Domokos, *A jámbor Herkules: Estei Hippolit bíboros egri kormányzója, Ercole Pio beszámolója Magyarországról 1508–1510*.

²⁹ E. Kovács, "Léhűtők Egerben: Mindennapi élet Estei Hippolit egri püspök udvarában," 157–58; Berkovits, "La pietra sepolcrale di un umanista ferrarese a Cassovia."

³⁰ ASMo ASE AC AdP 712. (Vestigia database no. 2233); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 74.

³¹ 19 June 1501 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/25,1. (Vestigia database no. 1497).

³² ASMo ASE AC AdP 714. (Vestigia database no. 2289); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 125.

³³ Montelini had served Ippolito in Hungary since 1494. He was listed as chancellor in the 1494 Esztergom account book. MTAK Ms. 4998.7/ASMo ASE AC AdP 702. (Vestigia database no. 2175). In the following years he continued to write regularly from Hungary. Montelini was in charge of the affairs of Tommaso Fusco, Bishop of Comacchio, secretary to Ippolito I d'Este, relating to his canonry of Esztergom, such as the conversion of the revenues of his benefice and their transfer to Italy. 3 November 1501 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb.

been in Buda since November 1501 as the agent of Duke Ercole, and the ordered books probably travelled to Eger in his baggage.³⁴) Furthermore, Lardi paid the amount of fl. 2 d. 30 as severance pay to a groom called Inber, who had previously served in Ferrara.³⁵ Lardi did not delay, and took up his post on the following day. On 24 June 1501 he levied the wine tithe in Borsod, in the Kazavölgye tithe district.³⁶ It can be deduced from this series of events that it was Ludovico Floreno, former *vicarius* and *gubernator* of Eger who departed in the direction of Italy on the 25 June 1501. The author's person and his experience in accounting offers explanation for the detailed recording of the expenses of this journey, and possibly for the survival of the book of accounts as well.

The itinerary

Having departed on 25 June 1501, they reached Pest within two days. It appears evident from the entries that the author was a regular traveller on the Eger-Pest route, stopping for meals on the bishopric's lands wherever possible, and he made arrangement for accommodation in Pest well in advance. After the entry on 26 June, Floreno next dated their arrival on Sunday 28 June. The question arises as to what happened on 27 June, as they had spent the previous night in Isaszeg, therefore the distance would not in itself justify the delay of one day in their arrival. It appears that Floreno made an error in dating the entries. The 28 June in 1501 in fact fell on a Monday, therefore we can be almost entirely certain that they arrived in Pest on Sunday 27 June. As he probably noticed the error on one of the subsequent days, he made an elegant correction. He did

Ungh. b. 3/31/1. (Vestigia database no. 1613), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294684; 15 February 1502 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,3. (Vestigia database no. 1623), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294693. In 1502, the idea of rewarding him with a Hungarian benefice was raised in earnest. Although Montelini wanted a pleasant canonry, the governor, Taddeo Lardi with the support of Bakóc, recommended him to the parish of St. James of Eger, which had been vacant due to the death of the previous parish priest. 20 March 1502 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,4. (Vestigia database no. 1624), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294694; 18 May 1502 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,5. (Vestigia database no. 1625), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294694; 20 May 1502 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,6. (Vestigia database no. 1626), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294696; ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,7. (Vestigia database no. 1627), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294697; ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,8. (Vestigia database no. 1628), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294698; 5 June 1502 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,9. (Vestigia database no. 1629), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294699. He is certainly recorded as the parish priest of St. James until 18 September 1509: ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4. 4/5,4. (Vestigia database no. 1752), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294813. He was also included in Ippolito's estate inventory. 1520: MTAK Ms. 4996.13. (Vestigia database no. 381).

³⁴ 3 November 1501 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,1. (Vestigia database no. 1613)

³⁵ ASMo ASE AC AdP 713. (Vestigia database no. 2288); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 108.

³⁶ ASMo ASE AC AdP 712. (Vestigia database no. 2232); E. Kovács, 69.

not cross out the incorrect dates, but he entered the day following the entry on 30 June as the last day in June, and as a result, the entries were harmonised with the actual passage of time by 1 July. On the day following their arrival in Pest, dated 29 June in the book of accounts – in reality 28 June – they crossed the Danube and spent the night in Szántó.³⁷ On the following day they stopped in Esztergom, where they stayed until 1 July. As a former governor of Eger, in all probability Floreno still had official duties in Esztergom; what is more, the representatives of Duke Ercole staying in Buda and Esztergom probably used the occasion to send reports to Ferrara with him. Stefano Raguseo³⁸ mentions in his letter dated 18 July 1501 in Buda that he wishes to report on the developments that have taken place since the departure of Floreno.³⁹ The most interesting news for the Ferrara court must have concerned the crusade against the Turks announced in the spring of 1501, because in the spring diet not only the alliance with the Pope and Venice was announced, but the commanders of the attacking troops, too. The king declared a mobilisation in July.⁴⁰ Raguseo reports in his letter on the preparations for the later armed diet, about which Floreno could not yet carry any certain news.

The part of the route between Esztergom and Szombathely is the most difficult to reconstruct. They left Esztergom on 1 July, after the *prandium*, and arrived in Nyergesújfalu by the evening, where they held a fast in honour of the following day's feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It appears that on 2 July they moved further away from the line of the Danube, but the reason for this, together with the distance covered on the day, has not been satisfactorily clarified. They arrived in Komárom on 3 July, and reached Szombathely via Győr on the evening of 4 July. The uncertainty of the author is noticeable, as he is travelling in an unknown territory, and the transcription of the foreign-sounding Hungarian geographical names appears rather arbitrary. Therefore, the identification of the daily stations, beyond the more significant settlements, is difficult.⁴¹ It is not only the identification of the place names on

³⁷ A former village in the area of today's Pilisvörösvár.

³⁸ Raguseo was formerly the barber to King Matthias, between 1494 and 1496 he was the vice-provisor of Esztergom, in 1496–1497, he was the provisor. Domokos and Schrödl-Libárdi, "Donato Aretino magyarországi levelei a Modenai Állami Levéltárban," 94–95., 106–7; Kuffart, "Modenában őrzött esztergomi számadáskönyvek és az esztergomi érsekség udvartartása," 165, 172, 181. In 1500–1503, he was the provisor of Eger. E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 91.

³⁹ ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/19,5. (Vestigia database no. 1440).

⁴⁰ In more detail: C. Tóth, "Az 1501. évi tolnai országgyűlés: Adatok a királyi adminisztráció működéséhez."

⁴¹ To identify geographical names and reconstruct the route, I used the first military survey of Hungary (1782–1785): <https://mapire.eu/hu/map/firstsurvey-hungary/?layers=147&bbox=2109270.2409009957%2C6019117.903762623%2C2134781.0990911736>

this part of the route that presents problems, but the distances travelled each day are also unusual. Examining the whole of the journey from Eger to Ferrara, depending on the terrain, they travelled 50–60 km on average, completing approximately 40 km on the hardest mountain terrain. Although the section between Esztergom and Szombathely cannot be regarded as particularly difficult, we can still observe considerable differences when compared to their usual speed. On 2–3 July, they needed more than one day to cover the distance between Nyergesújfalu and Komárom – approximately 38 km – even if they made a detour for unknown reasons. By contrast, they covered the distance of 41 km between Komárom and Győr in a single afternoon, and completed the approximately 100 km between Győr and Szombathely on the following day. It is reasonable to suppose that the author may have recorded the entries referring to this – to him unknown – section of the journey in retrospect, and the reason for the unclear place names and unusual distance data could be his possibly uncertain memory and lack of knowledge of the region, and probably also replaced the place names that were foreign to him.

From Szombathely they travelled via Monyorókerék and Szentgotthárd, reaching Radkersburg on the evening of 6 July, where they may have spent the following day resting and making some preparations for the mountainous terrain. They set off for the ascent into the Alps on the morning of 8 July. Travelling along the river Drava, through Marburg (today Maribor, Slovenia), they reached Villach on 11 July, via Klagenfurt. After the exhausting ascents and particularly the last 40 km or more between Klagenfurt and Villach, they spent the following day resting in Villach. It is worth noting that the way the German place names are recorded gives the impression that the author was not a regular traveller on this route. However, the identification of the uncertain readings has been made considerably easier by the fact that the landscape allowed a single passable road through the mountains, therefore it was relatively easy to find the stops along the route.⁴²

From Villach, they set off towards Italy on 13 July. They descended from the mountains along the route via Tarvisio–Malborghetto–Riasutto–Venezia–San Daniele del Friuli–Sacile. Travelling via Treviso–Padova–Rovigo, they crossed the Po at Pontelagoscuro and reached Ferrara in the afternoon of 20 July. The most demanding points along the Italian section of the journey undoubtedly proved to be the river crossings (Tagliamento, Adige, Po). It is conspicuous that

%2C6026761.60659114 (last access: 10 October 2020) and the CD-ROM database edited by Pál Engel: Magyarország a középkor végén (Hungary at the End of the Middle Ages).

⁴² For the identification of Austrian geographical names, I used the map of the first military survey of Inner Austria (1784–1785) <https://mapire.eu/hu/map/firstsurvey-inner-austria/?layers=138&bbox=1478941.2309983212%2C5859941.159808494%2C1485318.9455458655%2C5861852.085515624> (last access: 10 October 2020)

the author's pen becomes considerably more confident and animated on Italian ground, as he was moving across a familiar landscape. It was noticeable even on a first, superficial examination of the book of accounts that the stations of the Italian part of the journey were recorded much more accurately and clearly than the rest, which presupposed the hypothesis that the author of the book of accounts must be among the Italian courtiers of Ippolito.

As a result of the detailed records of Floreno, the data in the book of accounts can be compared to similar sources from the age. Owing to the lively diplomatic and commercial connections between the Italian states and Hungary, the routes across the passes of the Alps were regularly traversed by couriers, embassies, merchants, and private individuals with their escorts, and pilgrims. A comparative analysis of Floreno's accounts can be begun by examining the most familiar journey, that of Bishop Ippolito. In the late winter and early spring of 1520, Ippolito I d'Este returned from Eger to Ferrara. The accounts of this last journey of his were discussed by Péter E. Kovács.⁴³ Unsurprisingly, between Eger and Esztergom Floreno and his bishop travelled along the same route, at a similar speed. Members of the Eger court travelled along this route countless times between 1497 and 1520. They dealt with the distances and managed time with experience. The reason for the slight differences was that in 1520, Ippolito and his escort were forced by the snow to make several minor detours.⁴⁴ It is noticeable that both travellers departed from Esztergom after lunch, evidently having completed their official and ceremonial duties, and both arrived in (Nyerges)Újfalu by evening.⁴⁵ The timing of the departure and the distance covered raises the possibility that the travel infrastructure had already been established to some extent on the Buda–Vienna route by the beginning of the 16th century. We may think of inns capable of offering board and accommodation even for larger groups. (Although Floreno and his company were fasting in preparation for the feast of the Visitatio [Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary], their horses were amply provided for.) The routes followed by the bishop and his courtier separated after Újfalu.

The most popular route from Hungary towards Italy followed the line of the Danube from Buda as far as Bruck an der Leitha. There the traveller would turn to the south, via Wiener Neustadt across the Semmering Pass, through Friesach and Feldkirchen to Villach, reaching Italy at Tarvisio. This route had been in use since as early as the 12th century, and it was called the *Venediger Strasse* or "Venetian Road". As a result of the increasing traffic, and its popu-

⁴³ E. Kovács, "Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon."

⁴⁴ E. Kovács, 105.

⁴⁵ E. Kovács, 106.

larity among Hungarians, sources also called it the *Ungarweg* or “Hungarian Way” in the late Middle Ages.⁴⁶ Ippolito and his escort approached Italy on this route. One of the causes and equally one of the consequences of the popularity of the route was its highly developed travel infrastructure. It was not only the bishop of Eger who could reasonably expect to find space for his large retinue in the inns; even impecunious pilgrims could find what they were looking for. Nevertheless, in spite of a road that was considered comfortable in the age, the bishop’s retinue began to split up already in Austria, around the Semmering Pass. The animals and the baggage carts lagged behind because of the hard road conditions. Finally, at Villach, they separated completely. Ippolito continued his journey with a smaller escort, and they left money for Nicolò Monti, who was leading the party lagging behind.⁴⁷ Villach was the intersection of the roads crossing Austria in the direction of Italy. This is where the routes of Florenzo in 1501 and Ippolito in 1520 met once again, and from here they continued their journey to Ferrara by the same route.

In spite of the difficulties of the journey over land, exhausting for man and beast alike, not many travellers chose the sea route when heading to Italy.⁴⁸ Although the inconveniences caused by the passes could be avoided at sea, and with favourable winds it was considerably faster to reach Venice from Dalmatia, in adverse weather conditions this form of travel could be regarded as neither safe nor comfortable. For travellers journeying towards the inner regions of the country, when weighing advantages and risks, a sea journey was the solution only when a large and slow escort, together with a significant amount of baggage, had to be arranged for. In June 1486, Cesare Valentini, the envoy from Ferrara, was commissioned by Duke Ercole to go to Hungary to prepare for Ippolito’s seizure of the Esztergom archiepiscopal seat. In addition to Valentini’s reports, Giovanni Maria Parenti, who describes the journey in detail in his account, provides a kind of diary of the embassy’s journey from Venice to Hungary. After a forced wait due to adverse weather conditions, they left Venice on 15 June 1486, deciding to follow the coast due to contrary winds, which gave Parenti the opportunity to record in detail what he saw. On 18 June, they passed the southernmost tip of the Istrian peninsula and the next day they disembarked at Zengg. From here they set off on 21 June, now on land. After three days’ travel, they arrived in Zagreb on the 24 June, where they awaited the instructions of Queen Beatrice and after receiving the instructions did they set off via Fehérvár to Esztergom and then to Pressburg (Posonium, Pozsony, to-

⁴⁶ Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 116.

⁴⁷ E. Kovács, “Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon,” 118–19.

⁴⁸ Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 116.

day Bratislava, Slovakia). Parenti's purpose was clear, the meticulous itinerary provided the data to prepare and plan the child Ippolito's future journey.⁴⁹ After long and careful preparations⁵⁰ the young archbishop of Esztergom left Ferrara on 18 June 1487. They travelled barely 10 km on land, before boarding a ship at Francolino, sailing along the Po, and arriving in Chioggia, where they first put into port on the Adriatic coast. They set out to cross the sea on 20 June. The stretch between the Lido di Venezia and Piran was the hardest for traveller and sailor alike. They covered 100 miles, or approximately 150 km, in around six hours, without putting in at port. They docked at Rovinj on 23 June, and Pula on 24, arriving in Zengg (Senia, today Senj, Croatia), already Hungarian territory, on 26 June.⁵¹ After a short rest, they continued the journey on land, and arrived in Zagreb after three days' riding, where they had a long delay, waiting for the escort provided by the king. They at last left for Sopron (Ödenburg) via Kapronca Koprernitz, today Koprivnica, Croatia), following the royal couple only on 24 July, and finally arriving in Sopron on 7 August 1487.⁵² For the same reason, because of their escort and baggage, Anna of Foix-Candale, bride of King Vladislaus II, travelled the distance between Venice and Zengg by ship in the summer of 1502.⁵³

Eleven years before the first Hungarian journey of Ippolito, his aunt, Beatrice of Aragon left Naples for her new home in the early autumn of 1476. The princess and her retinue left Naples on 18 September 1476, boarding ships in Manfredonia on 2 October. Beatrice's sister, duchess Eleonora, expected the arrival of the Neapolitan fleet on 5 October in Ferrara, and had the coast watched day and night with great concern. Although Beatrice and her retinue were sailing along the coast, the adverse weather conditions caused them considerable hardships before they could dock at the estuary of the Po in the middle of the month, on 14 October. After a week's festivities and enjoying the hospitality of Ferrara, they set off once again on 21 October. First, they travelled to Chioggia, where the fleet was moored. Possibly because of the inclement weather they decided that Beatrice and a small escort would continue the journey on land,

⁴⁹ Kuffart, "Il diario di Giovanni Maria Parenti sul viaggio verso il Regno d'Ungheria (1486)," 294–96.

⁵⁰ Fraknoi, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szent-Székkal. 1418–1526*, 2:234–37; Galla, "Mátyás király és a Szentszék," 28–29; E. Kovács, "A Szentszék, a török és Magyarország a Hunyadiak alatt"; Kristóf, "Gabriele Rangone (Veronai Gábor) pályája (1410/20–1486)," 77–78.

⁵¹ Morselli, *Ippolito I d'Este e il suo primo viaggio in Ungheria (1487)*, 26–27; Kuffart and Neumann, "Olyan szép kísérete lesz, mint kevés úrnak Itáliában: Az esztergomi érseki udvartartás szervezése 1486/87 folyamán," 10–11.

⁵² Morselli, *Ippolito I d'Este e il suo primo viaggio in Ungheria (1487)*, 32–33.

⁵³ Györkös, "II. Ulászló házassága és a francia diplomácia," 110.

while part of the courtiers and the larger part of the baggage arrived in Hungary via the sea route. The future queen was in Treviso on 29 October, already in Villach in the beginning of November, and travelling along the Drava, probably via Klagenfurt, they crossed the Hungarian border at Pettau (today Ptuj, Slovenia).⁵⁴ One of the obvious reasons for choosing the route – apart from the inclement weather – was the fear of Turkish raids, and since Beatrice was travelling directly to Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia, Stuhlweißenburg), it was a logical choice to follow the Drava across Styria, Slavonia and Transdanubia to reach the coronation city, rather than take the more northerly *Ungarweg*. Tommaso Daineri, a diplomat from Ferrara, followed a similar route when he came to Buda in the winter of 1501. He reported to Duke Ercole I d'Este on 25 February 1501, on the circumstances of his arrival in Hungary. He left Ferrara and followed the usual route via Venzona, reaching Villach, where he learned that he had a choice between two routes in the direction of Hungary. Although before his departure, Archbishop Ippolito, as an experienced traveller, recommended that he take the more northerly route, in the direction of Vienna, he decided to listen to the advice of locals and chose the “second route” because of the more comfortable accommodation. As a result, he left Villach and travelled along the Drava via *Merhanberg* (Marenberg/Radlje ob Dravi) and *Marchburg* (Maribor), crossing the border at *Ratisburg* (Radkersburg). From there, he arrived in Buda via Vasvár, Veszprém and Székesfehérvár.⁵⁵ Moreover, the same route was used by the papal legate Cardinal Pietro Isvalies when he arrived in Hungary around the same time, in January 1501.⁵⁶ Beatrice must evidently have followed the same route in 1476 when she was on her way to Fehérvár.

Comparing Floreno's reconstructed journey with the known variations, it is notable that he combined the two most commonly used routes on land. West of Esztergom, he left behind the main road to Vienna that travels along the Danube, so that reaching Komárom and Győr once again, he could say a final goodbye to the Danube, turning to the southwest towards Szombathely, and continuing his journey towards the Alps from there. We may suppose that Floreno was persuaded to travel on the “second road” by Daineri, based on his positive experiences gained a few months earlier, or possibly even followed the advice of Isvalies. However, the Transdanubian stops of Floreno do not fit into this plan. Finishing his duties in Esztergom, he could have turned directly

⁵⁴ Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 161–64.

⁵⁵ Daineri's letter dated 25 February 1501 Foucard, “Lettere di Tommaso Dainero ad Ercole duca di Ferrara,” 7–8. In his later letters, Daineri sends his reports to his master with detailed descriptions of Hungary, and gives an account of the Corpus Christi day procession and celebrations in the year 1501.

⁵⁶ Nemes, “Pietro Isvalies bíboros veszprémi püspök,” 12–13.

towards Veszprém, taking the road along the north shore of Lake Balaton. Instead, he made a considerable detour. The stops on the Transdanubian section that can be identified with certainty are connected only by the person of the bishop of Győr, Ferenc Szatmári (1495–1508), younger brother of Bakóc,⁵⁷ and Floreno never failed to record precisely every single instance of hospitality received on bishops' estates. Could it be that the reason for such a large detour was nothing more than a few free meals? Hardly. I suppose that he must have received some kind of instructions from Bakóc while he was still in Esztergom, which he could fulfil by making a detour before they arrived in Győr. From then on, he returned to his original plan and journeyed in the direction of the Drava. From the whole journey, it is only some of the Transdanubian settlements that could be hardly identified, and the uncertain transcriptions of names strengthen the hypothesis that the author was moving as a complete stranger in a region that was unknown to him. Even though it can be felt on the Austrian section as well that the German place names are foreign to him, since they were joining the route that he had chosen, and from which he may have received earlier information, their movement is easy to follow, and the place names are identifiable. Naturally, on this part of the journey the geographical conditions did not allow them to choose alternative routes. After Villach, when arriving in Italy, the entries of the book of accounts become truly confident and animated. It was noticeable already at the first, superficial reading that the author felt most in his element during this part of the journey. This impression has also strengthened the hypothesis that the author of the book of accounts must one of the Italian courtiers of Ippolito.

Travel time

The itinerary of the 1501 journey, the travel time and the speed that can be calculated from these becomes interesting when compared with various other Italian journeys. Ippolito's journey in 1520 lasted from 7 February until 25 March, or 48 days in total. Not counting the time, they spent in Buda and Esztergom, the bishop and his retinue reached Italy in 32 days. Of these, the Hungarian part of the journey, from Eger to Bruck, counting the actual travel time, was completed in 14 days. The Austrian and Italian parts of the journey described above were covered in nine days each.⁵⁸ (This calculation considers the speed of the fastest members of the company, comprising Ippolito and his direct escort, without considering those who were lagging behind.) In conse-

⁵⁷ C. Tóth, "Erdődi Bakóc Tamás érsek rokonsága: Rekonstrukciós kísérlet," 11–12.

⁵⁸ E. Kovács, "Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon," 107–8.

quence, according to the calculations of E. Kovács, the bishop and his retinue were able to maintain a speed of 20–25 km a day even on the mountain roads, while on level ground, they could even cover an average of 35–40 km a day.⁵⁹ Floreno and his companions left Eger on 25 June 1501, and arrived in Ferrara in the afternoon of 20 July. Their journey took 26 days in total. Of these, deducting the days of 29–30 June spent in Esztergom, the days of rest on 7 July in Radkersburg and 12 July in Villach, they spent 22 days on the road. They covered the Eger–Radkersburg distance in ten, the Austrian part in seven, and the Italian part in five days. Based on the data, they covered 50–60 km a day on average, and it was only on the harder mountain terrain that their daily performance was reduced to around 40 kilometers per day (on the parts between Radkersburg–Maribor, Maribor–Marenberg, Villach–Tarvisio, and Riasutto–Venzone). This speed is not extraordinary in the context of Hungary and Italy. In his universal chronicle (*I Diarii*), Marin Sanudo recorded the time of departure and arrival of couriers as well. Based on this it is easy to see that correspondence posted in Buda in the direction of Venice needed 2–3 weeks to arrive.⁶⁰ When translated into numbers, this means that the distance of approximately 750 km could be covered under this amount of time in daily instalments of 45–50 km. Based on the correspondence of István Várdai, canon of Várad,⁶¹ later archbishop of Kalocsa, chief and secret chancellor (*summus et secretarius cancellarius*),⁶² written from Ferrara between 1447–1449, Dávid Molnár examined the same question. He ultimately accepts the 46 km daily average for 750 km, and thus supposes that Várdai's letters covered the Buda–Ferrara distance with ease in 2–3 weeks.⁶³ However, Dávid Molnár is wrong in the sense that the Buda–Ferrara distance is closer to 950 km. Therefore using 46 km as an average speed, the couriers would barely cover the distance in three weeks. The 50–60 km daily average speed maintained by Floreno and his escort is much more realistic. This calculation is confirmed by Dorottya Kriston as well, who refers to a letter of Francesco Fontana⁶⁴ in her investigation into the spreading of the news

⁵⁹ E. Kovács, 108.

⁶⁰ E. Kovács, 109.

⁶¹ Kristóf, “‘Vester Stephanus de Warda scholaris iuris canonici.’ Várdai István egyetemi éveit Itáliában..”

⁶² After his coronation in 1464, King Matthias Corvinus united the former chief and secret chanceries into one office, under the leadership of two chief and secret chancellors of equal rank.

⁶³ Molnár, “Egy ezüstcsempész kanonok?: Várdai István itáliai peregrinációs költségei (1448–1449),” 91–92.

⁶⁴ Francesco Fontana, physician of Ferrara, a diplomat of King Matthias, nephew to Gabriele Rangoni bishop of Eger (1476–86). Kristóf, „Gabriele Rangone (Veronai Gábor) pályája (1410/20–1486),” 66.

of King Matthias's death. According to Fontana, the 620 km distance between Vienna and Milan was comfortably covered by a rider in ten days, and based on her research, Dorottya Kriston also judged the 60 km as a daily speed to be a comfortable average.⁶⁵ A similar conclusion is reached by Tamás Fedeles in connection with the speed of medieval pilgrims. A traveller on foot could cover 25–40 km a day on average, a merchant travelling by cart an average of 30–45 km a day, and a rider in haste could cover 50–60 km a day on average.⁶⁶ In sum, Floreno and his companions covered the Eger–Ferrara distance of nearly 1100 km with the speed of an average courier. This speed presupposes that they set off in a small group, with nearly identical equipment, and little baggage. As the book of accounts contains no individual data, we can only make assumptions concerning the identities of the travellers based on their expenses.

The expenses

The everyday expenses can be divided into two groups, and are recurring elements in the book of accounts. The recorded expenses were structured by the needs of the people and the provisions required for the horses. In the case of the travellers, lunches and dinners were recorded, and in some cases probably the costs of accommodation and the expenses related to the horses were recorded together, whereupon they entered the amount paid with the simple formula 'all counted together' (*omnibus computatis solvi/exposui*). The price of accommodation as an independent entry is given by Floreno only in Radkersburg; on the days of rest, in Villach, Venzon and Treviso, he makes references to their lodgings for the night, and on these occasions, he records higher amounts compared to the average expenses. Based on their costs, we may suppose that these particular lodgings represent a higher level of service.

Besides these costs, looking after the horses appeared among the expenses on a daily basis. They purchased hay and oats for them every day, and on average they spent some money every other day on maintenance or mending the harnesses. They purchased medicine for the horses in Esztergom, and wheat in Győr, on one occasion each. It seems certain that every traveller made the whole journey on horseback. There is no reference to carriages or carts in the book of accounts, and they were travelling light. All of these data are in line with the conclusions drawn from the speed of the travelling party. In fact, we

⁶⁵ Kriston, "Újabb források Mátyás király halálhírének történetében," 85.

⁶⁶ Fedeles, *Isten nevében utazunk: Zarándokok, búcsújárás, kegyhelyek a középkorban*, 222–23. Further data: courier riding post 130–135 km/day; Spanish and French extraordinary couriers 150–200 km/day; river boat downstream 100–150 km/day; sea sailboat up to 120–200 km/day; and a fast galley 200 km/day.

can claim that based on the accounts they had an uneventful journey, as no unexpected payment can be found in the book of accounts. It is noticeable that, in total, they spent approximately the same amount on provisions for horses as for people. Apart from the daily expenses, we can find river crossings and hiring mountain guides on the side of expenses (on 28 June, the fee for crossing the Danube; on 8 July they hired two servants, for 1 florins each between Radkersburg and Maribor, and on 9 July between Maribor and Marenberg; on 13 July at Tarvisio the fee for the mountain guide; on 16 July the price for the crossing of the Tagliamento, on 17 July crossing the Piave and on 18 July the Po). I have left the largest expense to the last: the payment for the armed escort. On the Eger–Győr section, ten armed men escorted the travellers, for a payment of 12 fl. 50 d. On the Szentgotthárd–Radkersburg section they had eight riders accompanying them whose payments, including their accommodation, added up to 5 fl. 50 denars. On the later parts of the journey there is no sign of their having hired armed men. The question arises: why did they need an armed escort? The entries in the bishopric’s books of accounts recorded such expenses exclusively on the occasions when they wanted to transport larger amounts of money to Ferrara.⁶⁷ It is in fact not an unlikely hypothesis that Floreno as outgoing governor was carrying a larger sum to his master. It is interesting to note that whenever he writes about dismissing the armed men, Floreno always uses the first person singular: ‘they were escorting me’, ‘they were coming with me’—undoubtedly, he was the most important person, and must have been carrying the valuables. In other entries, however, he often uses the first person, plural: ‘we had breakfast’, ‘we had dinner’, ‘we had a rest’, etc. The hypothesis of sending money is supported by the fact that in the books of accounts for the year 1501,⁶⁸ there are no larger sums sent to Ippolito, which were meticulously recorded in all other years, and the court in Ferrara awaited the money arriving from Eger with unconcealed greed. In this unusual situation, as I have shown above, Floreno handed the position in Eger over to Lardi, but it was not necessary to record the clear profits of the Eger bishopric’s incomes, as Floreno could take personal responsibility for getting the money to its destination, and it is possible that they also used this amount to cover the costs of the journey as well. This would explain the independent survival of the book of accounts, since the expenses created during the journey could not be properly recorded either in Eger or in Ferrara. This could also explain the seem-

⁶⁷ In 1507 Bakóc insisted that 17 of his armed men protected the money sent to Ippolito between Esztergom and Vienna. Lardi carefully recorded that the Archbishop’s generosity cost 18 florins, since the fee of the escort was paid by the Eger court. ASMo ASE AC AdP 716. (Vestigia database no. 2291); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 263.

⁶⁸ ASMo ASE AC AdP 712., 713., 714. (Vestigia database no. 2233., 2288., 2289).

ingly simple style of travelling, the speed, and possibly even why they did not choose the busier Ungarweg. It appears from the book of accounts that Floreno paid for the expenses of his companions as well, as opposed to the 1520 journey of Ippolito, when members of the retinue received a salary, and based on the amount meted out in this way, they provided for themselves along the way.⁶⁹ We may suspect that one of Floreno's companions was the groom called Inber from Ferrara who received his severance payment from the new governor Lardi in the days before the departure.⁷⁰ Regarding the size of the company, we may have one more piece of information to guide us. On 16 July Floreno recorded, in connection with the costs of crossing the Tagliamento, that they had paid the ferryman for five horses. Judging from this, it is probably not too farfetched to conclude that the company travelling from Eger to Ferrara in the summer of 1501 must have numbered at least two, and at most five persons.

The total of the book of accounts was 99 florins. Floreno calculated in florins (fl.) all along the journey, distinguishing only the locally used currencies of change from each other. Any amount below one florin here recorded in Hungary in denars (d.), in Austria in kreuzers (c.), and in Italy in bagattinos (β).⁷¹ From adding up the expenses it appears that he used a 1:1 rate for exchanging and settling the entries recorded in the diverse currencies.⁷²

Out of the 99 fl. expenses 18 fl. (18%) was the fee for the armed escort, which is undoubtedly the largest item among the journey's expenses. The remaining 81 fl. covered the expenses of the travellers and the horses. If we consider the highest possible number of travellers, i.e. five, and the distance of 1100 km as calculated above, with 81 fl, it means that 68 km cost 1 gold florin. This sum was not extraordinarily high when compared to the expenses of contemporary travellers, and it allowed them to travel in average comfort, although this is not indicated by the laconic entries in the book of accounts. In 1447, the Hungarian journey of Gergely, a servant of István Várdai, cost a similar amount, with approximately 60 km costing 1 fl.⁷³ In connection with the trial over the tithes

⁶⁹ E. Kovács, "Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon," 124.

⁷⁰ ASMo ASE AC AdP 713. (Vestigia database no. 2288); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 108.

⁷¹ Commonly known as "small denars." The currency was used in the cities of Northern Italy, Padova, Treviso, Ferrara, Modena and Venice from the end of the 13th century.

⁷² As a result of the decree of the year 1467 King Matthias succeeded in stabilising the exchange rate between the florin and the denar. 1 gold florin = 100 silver denars. This exchange rate was successfully maintained over nearly 50 years, and not even King Vladislaus II was forced to make changes. The Hungarian gold florin was for a long time considered to be of equal value with the Venetian ducat. Gyöngyössi, "Magyar pénztörténet (1000–1526)," 252., 264., 267.

⁷³ Molnár, "Egy ezüstcsempész kanonok? Várdai István itáliai peregrinációs költségei (1448–1449)," 92.

of Sasad, the journey of Simon of Treviso and his companions from Vienna to Rome in 1453 likewise cost 1 fl per person for every 60 km.⁷⁴ By contrast, the budget of the majority of pilgrims in the 15th and 16th centuries was considerably smaller. In the wills of the burghers of Pressburg, from the amounts dedicated to pilgrimages 1 fl could cover as many as 100–150 km.⁷⁵ If we continue to use a five-member group and a 26-day journey for our calculations, it means that the daily allowance, including provisions for the horses, came up to 62 denars per person. Since Floreno often recorded all expenses related to men and horses as one item, we can only guess the daily “subsistence allowance” of the travellers. As I have presented above, approximately equal proportions of daily expenses were spent on the travellers and horses respectively, therefore we may approximate the amount spent daily on each traveller as roughly 31 denars. This daily amount could be regarded as particularly high even when compared to the expenses of Ippolito’s 1520 journey, because members of the bishop’s retinue, when we deduct their salary and other cost-reducing factors from the daily expenses, received an average of 14 denars per person.⁷⁶ We have reason to suppose that the approximately 30 denars/day allowance in 1501 granted the former governor of the bishopric of Eger and his companions a level of comfort comparable to that of the elite of the bishop’s retinue in the year 1520. Furthermore, we can also claim that this daily budget helps to complete the picture that we have assembled from small data, and the data deduced by comparing diverse sources support each other. I believe that it could be successfully proved that it was indeed Ludovico Floreno who returned to Ferrara with a small retinue in the summer of 1501, and in spite of the scant data found in the book of accounts, we have been able to reconstruct even the conditions of their journey.

Ludovico Floreno fulfilled his mission, arrived in Ferrara, and successfully gave an account of the expenses accrued during his journey. His later career, however, is lost in the mists of time, and we can only hope that systematic archival research in the near future will unearth further biographical data concerning his person.

⁷⁴ C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan a 15. században. II. A sasadi tizedper 1452–1465 közötti „krónikája”*, 30.

⁷⁵ Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 91–99.

⁷⁶ E. Kovács, “Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon,” 126–27.

The source

When transcribing the Latin text, I have expanded the abbreviations, taking into consideration the linguistic features of each, with the exception of the currencies (fl. = florenum, d. = denarius, c. = kreuzer, β = bagattino). Geographical names and names of months were uniformly capitalised. The apparatus contains crossed-out words and notes helping the interpretation.

On the final page of the booklet we can find calculations, notes probably hastily scribbled as reminders, together with a bookkeeping fragment⁷⁷ whose contents are not connected to the accounts. It would appear that some kind of leftover paper was used for recording the expenses during the journey.

Reference code: ASMo ASE AC AdP 711., old archival reference code: Reg. 34.; Microfilm: HU-MNL-OL-X 1996, MF 8619; Vestigia database no. 828.

<1 r.> [Ag]ria	Recessi de Agria 25	
1501	Iunii 1501	
	Fecimus prandium in Tothfalu ⁷⁸ et exposui	fl. 0 ⁷⁹ d. 28
	Fecimus cenam in Gionges ⁸⁰ et nil solvimus	
	Eodem die premisi unum famulum ad capiendum hospitium in Pesth ⁸¹ et dedi medium fl. pro emendo feno et pro expensis suis	fl. 0 d. 75
	d. 25	
	26 Iunii	
	Fecimus prandium in Hathwan ⁸² et exposui	fl. 0 d. 90
	Fecimus cenam in Hyssa zech ⁸³	fl. 0 d. 93
	28 Iunii die dominicae ⁸⁴	
	Fecimus prandium in Pesth et exposui	fl. 0 d. 49
	Exposui in avena ibi in Pesth	fl. II

⁷⁷ In the accounting fragment the names of the settlements Mirra (Tarnaméra), Pyspeky (Gyöngyöspüspöki), Solmos (Gyöngyössolymos) appear, which can be found in the same order, with the same amounts paid in the Eger book of accounts for the year 1500. ASMo ASE AC AdP 710., (Vestigia database no. 2232). E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egrí számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 8.

⁷⁸ Tótfalu, today Tófalva

⁷⁹ crossed out: d

⁸⁰ Gyöngyös

⁸¹ Pest

⁸² Hatvan

⁸³ Isaszeg

⁸⁴ As 28 June 1501 was feria II, he most probably made a mistake/an error in the dates and they arrived in Pest on 27, a Sunday.

In cena ⁸⁵ in Pesth exposui	fl. 0 d. 51
29 Iunii	
In Pesth pro prandio exposui	fl. 0 d. 62
pro feraturis equorum	fl. 0 d. 12
pro stabulo in Pesth	fl. 0 d. 38
pro vino	fl. 0 d. 26
pro transitu Danubii ⁸⁶	fl. 0 d. 22
pro acceto et sale	fl. 0 d. 7
In Sancto ⁸⁷ pro cena	fl. I d. 10
Die 30 Iunii	
In Strigonio ⁸⁸ pro prandio	fl. I d. 7
Item spixi ⁸⁹ in avena	fl. II d. 21
pro cena	fl. 0 d. 62
Die ultimo Iunii ⁹⁰	
In Strigonio pro prandio	fl. 0 d. 96
pro cena	fl. 0 d. 93
pro feno exposui in Strigonio	fl. I
pro feraturis equorum	fl. 0 d. 24
pro medicina equorum	fl. 0 d. 16
<hr/>	
	<i>fl. 16 d. 92</i>
<1 v.> Die primo Iulii	
In Strigonio pro prandio	fl. I d. 21
pro avena	d. 56
In cena fuimus in Wfalu, ⁹¹ et non fecimus cenam, quia erat vigilia Visitationis	
pro feno	fl. 0 d. 58
pro vino	fl. 0 d. 31
pro feratura equorum	fl. 0 d. 35
I Wgnii ⁹² 2 ^o Iulii	
<hr/>	
⁸⁵ crossed out: cenas	
⁸⁶ Duna	
⁸⁷ Szántó a former village in the area of today's Pilisvörösvár	
⁸⁸ Esztergom	
⁸⁹ Probably an incorrectly conjugated form of the Italian verb 'spendere'.	
⁹⁰ As June is a 30-day month, the earlier scribal error was corrected in a way that the last day of the month was entered into the account twice, thus reestablishing the balance between the time passed and the calendar.	
⁹¹ Nyergesújfalu	
⁹² probably Bőny	

fecimus prandium	fl. ⁹³ 0 d. 82
pro feno et avena	fl. 0 d. 42
In Was ⁹⁴ fecimus cenam pro cena	fl. 0 d. 72
pro feno et avena	fl. 0 d. 62
3 Iulii in Conimarino ⁹⁵	
D. Episcopus ⁹⁶ dedit nobis prandium	
pro feno	d. 4
pro feraturis equorum	d. 16
Isto die, ⁹⁷ dum essem in Iaurino, ⁹⁸ remisi ad Agriam decem equites, qui mecum venerunt, quibus dedi pro expensis	fl. 12 d. 50
Cenam fecimus in Zagnii ⁹⁹ et exposui	fl. 0 d. 25
pro feno et siligone	fl. 0 d. 22
4 Iulii in Chiabad ¹⁰⁰	
in prandio exposui	fl. 0 d. 30
pro feno	fl. 0 d. 12
Cenam habuimus in uno castro domini Iauriensis gratis in Zombath ¹⁰¹	
5 Iulii in Monorok ¹⁰²	
Exposui ad prandium	fl. 0 d. 32
pro feraturis	fl. 0 d. 6
pro feno	fl. 0 d. 9
Cenam fecimus Zenthkortha ¹⁰³ et ibi exposui	fl. 0 d. 30
6 Iulii fecimus	
prandium in Lindwawar ¹⁰⁴ et ibi exposui pro prandio et feno	fl. 0 d. 47

⁹³ crossed out: I

⁹⁴ probably Ács

⁹⁵ Komárom

⁹⁶ Ferenc Szatmári, Bishop of Győr (1495–1508)

⁹⁷ In all probability, they left the Danube around Komárom and reached Győr on the Ács–Bőny route, i.e. the stops of the journey on 2 and 3 July are reversed in the accounts. I am grateful to Tibor Neumann for his help in identifying places of uncertain names.

⁹⁸ Győr

⁹⁹ Szany

¹⁰⁰ Vámoscsalád

¹⁰¹ Szombathely

¹⁰² Monyorókerék

¹⁰³ Szentgotthárd

¹⁰⁴ Felsőlendva

	Cenam fecimus in Rokspurk ¹⁰⁵ et diem sequentem ibi quievimus, videlicet VII Iulii	
	Solvi octo equestribus, qui me associarunt a Zenthkortha usque ad Rokspurk, pro expensis in redeundo	fl. IIII
	Item solvi eis hospitium	fl. I d. 50
	pro feraturis equorum	fl. 0 d. 90
<hr/>		
		<i>fl. 26 d. 81</i>
<2 r.>	Item solvi hospiti pro equis et personis	fl. 4 d. 4
	VIII Iulii fecimus	
	prandium in una villa et exposui pro comestione et avena	tres fl. d. 25
	Cenam fecimus in Malprwk ¹⁰⁶ e solvi	fl. II
	Item dedi duobus famulis, qui associarunt a Rokspwrk usque ad Malpwrk	f. II
	9 Iulii fecimus	
	prandium in una villa, quod vocatur Sancta Margareta ¹⁰⁷	
	Et pro prandio pro avena et pro feno solvi	fl. 0 d. 66
	Cenam fecimus in Malinbergh ¹⁰⁸ et omnibus computatis solvi	fl. I c. 44
	Item solvi duos fl. duobus, qui nos associarunt a Malpurgh usque ad Malinberg	fl. II
	10 Iulii fecimus	
	prandium in Hof Lovemind ¹⁰⁹ et exposui pro comestione avena et feno	fl. 0 c. 48
	Cenam fecimus in Felkimor ¹¹⁰ et ibi omnibus computatis solvi	fl. III
	XI Iulii in Lanfork ¹¹¹	
	fecimus prandium et omnibus computatis solvi	fl. I et c. 16
	Cenam fecimus in Vilacho ¹¹² et ibi stetimus etiam die sequenti, ubi in totum exposui	fl. 6
	Item pro feraturis equorum	d. 74

¹⁰⁵ Radkersburg/Regede

¹⁰⁶ Maribor

¹⁰⁷ a former suburb of Maribor

¹⁰⁸ Marenberg/Radlje ob Dravi

¹⁰⁹ Lavamünd

¹¹⁰ Völkermarkt: based on Sanudo: Sanudo, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto (1496–1533) dall'autografo Marciano Ital. Cl. VII Cod. CDXIX–CDLXXVII*, 58–59. *Felchimorch è de sopra da Villaco 40 miglia nostrani*. (Völkermarkt–Villach is 60 km in air distance, which may be the equal of the forty times 1,5–1,8 km distance on “public road.”) I am grateful to Márton Szovák for the data.

¹¹¹ Klagenfurt. Sanudo mentions it as Clanforth. Sanudo, 117–18.

¹¹² Villach

	XIII Iulii	
	Prandium fecimus in abbatia ¹¹³ et ibi exposui	fl. I
	Cenam fecimus in Trivisia ¹¹⁴ et ibi exposui	fl. I c. 60
	Item unum fl. obi ¹¹⁵ in Trivisia dedi officiali pro transitu equorum videlicet	fl. I
		<i>fl. 24 c. 27</i>
<2 v.>	XIIII Iulii fecimus	
	prandium in Malborgeth ¹¹⁶ et ibi exposui	fl. 0 c. 52
	Cenam fecimus in Riazuch ¹¹⁷ et ibi exposui	fl. III
	15 Iulii	
	prandium fecimus in Venzon ¹¹⁸ et ibi stetimus per totum diem et noctem exposui	fl. 4
	Item pro feraturis equorum	fl. 0 β 18 ¹¹⁹
	16 Iulii	
	prandium fecimus in Sancto Daniele, ¹²⁰ ubi omnibus computatis exposui	fl. I β 20
	Cenam fecimus in Sacille ¹²¹ et ibi exposui ad equos et ad personas	fl. II d 40
	Item ibi dedi officiali de passu pro quinque equis nudis ¹²²	fl. 0 β50
	Item in passu illorum de rangonibus pro dictis equis	fl. 0 β50
	17 Iulii	
	prandium fecimus in Coniara ¹²³ et ibi omnibus com putatis exposui	fl. I et β50
	Item pro transitu equis ad navem	fl. 0 β22
	Cenam fecimus in Trivisio ¹²⁴ et ibi dormivimus et ibi pernoctivimus et exposui omnibus computatis	fl. III

¹¹³ Benedictine abbey in Arnoldstein

¹¹⁴ Tarvisio

¹¹⁵ The context may show that this is a corrupted form of the adverb 'ibi'.

¹¹⁶ Malborghetto

¹¹⁷ Resiutta

¹¹⁸ Venzone

¹¹⁹ β = bagattino: commonly known as "small denars." The currency was used in the cities of Northern Italy, Padova, Treviso, Ferrara, Modena and Venice from the end of the 13th century.

¹²⁰ San Daniele del Friuli

¹²¹ Sacile

¹²² The following line crossed out: dictis.

¹²³ Conegliano

¹²⁴ Treviso

Item uni famulo quem misi Ferrariam ¹	fl. I
18 Iulii	
prandium fecimus in Novale ² et ibi exposui	fl. I β20
Cenam in Padua ³ et ibi exposui fl.	fl. III
In transitu equorum ad Anguillaria ⁴ exposui	fl. 0 β90
Item in transitu ad Pontarchium ⁵ exposui	fl. 0 β72
19 Iulii	
In Rodigio ⁶ exposui in cena ⁷	fl. III
XX Iulii	
In Ponte lacuscuri ⁸ pro prandio	fl. II et d. 20
<i>Summa fl. 99</i>	

(Translated by Kinga Földvály)

¹ Ferrara

² Noale

³ Padova

⁴ Anguillara Veneta

⁵ Pontecchio Polesine

⁶ Rovigo

⁷ Instead of the correct form 'cenam'.

⁸ Pontelagoscuro

Patrik Pastrnak

PREPARING A BRIDAL TRAIN
UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS CONCERNING BIANCA MARIA
SFORZA'S UNREALIZED JOURNEY TO HUNGARY

The year 1476 marked the wedding of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary¹ with a Neapolitan princess Beatrice of Aragon,² accompanied by splendid and sumptuous festivities. However, not before long the new queen appeared to be sterile, so in order to ascertain his dynastic line Matthias opted for taking an unprecedented step, at least in the Central Europe, to make his illegitimate son John Corvinus³ an heir to the throne. As soon as in 1481 the born-out-of-the-wedlock child of Barbara Edelpöck, the commoner from Stein an der Donau, was rumoured to be appointed a successor of Matthias who started a series of deliberate acts to prepare John for this role, e.g., by bequeathing numerous lands and titles to him, incorporating him in the public ceremonies, or boosting his status by sponsoring humanistic writings featuring the young Corvinus.⁴

One of these strategies was finding a suitable wife for the heir-apparent from well-established European dynasties, that would further support his position and claim to the throne. Therefore, the marital union with Bianca Maria Sforza of Milan⁵ started to be negotiated since 1484, probably put in motion by Francesco Fontana,⁶ an Italian diplomat in the service of the Hungarian king, who approached with the plan of the powerful Milanese official and future archbishop Guidantonio Arcimboldi.⁷ The hatched plan was welcomed by both sides. Matthias had considered a possibility of marital alliance with Milan already in the 1460s when seeking a wife for himself but the enterprise was

¹ Matthias I Corvinus (1443–1490), King of Hungary (1458–1490).

² Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508), Queen of Hungary, wife of King Matthias (1476–1490), wife of King Vladislaus II (1490–1500).

³ John Corvinus/Korvin János (1473–1504) illegitimate son of King Matthias.

⁴ Schönherr, *Hunyadi Corvin János (1473–1504)*, 45; Farbaky, “The Heir: The Role of John Corvinus in the Political Representation of Matthias Corvinus, and as Patron of the Arts,” 414–18; Farbaky, “The Sterile Queen and the Illegitimate Son: Beatrice of Aragon and John Corvinus’s Rivalry at Matthias Corvinus’s Court,” 420–23.

⁵ Bianca Maria Sforza (1472–1510), former spouse of John Corvinus (1487–1492), Queen of Germany and Empress of the Holy Roman Empire, wife of Maximilian I Habsburg (1494–1510).

⁶ Francesco Fontana (1475?–1504?), Ferrarese physician, diplomat of King Matthias, nephew of Cardinal Gabriele Rangoni.

⁷ Schönherr, *Hunyadi Corvin János (1473–1504)*, 38. Guido Antonio Arcimboldi (1428–1497), Archbishop of Milan (1488–1497).

thwarted by Venice that feared the union of two of her foes.⁸ Ludovico il Moro,⁹ a de-facto ruler of Milan, also recognized the utility of political alliance with the mighty king of Hungary and after all Milanese misgivings about Beatrice potentially bearing a legitimate offspring or Matthias marrying again were dispelled, Ludovico sent a diplomatic embassy to Hungary confirming the matrimony between John and Bianca Maria.¹⁰

The subsequent Austrian campaign and siege of Vienna delayed the quick development of the wedding. It was only in 1487 when the solemn delegation, led by Jan Filipec, bishop of Várad (Varadinum, Großwardein, today Oradea, Romania),¹¹ and consisting of three hundred nobles and the same amount of cavalrymen arrived in Milan with the task of finishing the marital contract and performing the wedding by proxy. Bianca's dowry was to amount to 150 thousand florins, of which fifty thousand florins were in trousseau items.¹² Even though Schönherr describes Bianca as the richest bride in Europe, the dowry for her wedding with John was only a fraction of the dowry negotiated for her later union with Maximilian I of Habsburg¹³ (400 thousand florins) but this astronomical amount was de facto a price for the imperial investiture of Milan for Ludovico Sforza.¹⁴ But also in comparison with other contemporary brides the arranged dowry seems to fall into an average category: Bona of Savoy,¹⁵ Bianca's mother, brought a dowry equalling 100 thousand ducats¹⁶ along with additional 40 thousand in the trousseau belongings;¹⁷ Ippolita Maria Sforza,¹⁸ Bianca's aunt, was equipped with a dowry of 200 thousand florins;¹⁹ Isabella

⁸ Kovács, "Mattia Corvino e la corte di Milano," 76.

⁹ Ludovico Maria Sforza/Ludovico il Moro (1452–1508), Duke of Milan (1494–1500).

¹⁰ Schönherr, *Hunyadi Corvin János (1473–1504)*, 42.

¹¹ John/János/Jan Filipec (1431–1509), Bishop of Várad (1476–1490), Chancellor (1485–1490).

¹² Schönherr, *Hunyadi Corvin János (1473–1504)*, 47–49.

¹³ Maximilian I Habsburg (1459–1519), King of the Romans/German King (1486–1519), Archduke of Austria (1493–1519), Holy Roman Emperor (1508–1519).

¹⁴ Black, *Absolutism in Renaissance Milan: Plenitude of Power under the Visconti and the Sforza 1329–1535*, 84–85.

¹⁵ Bona of Savoy (1449–1503), Duchess of Milan as the second spouse of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.

¹⁶ Approximately 140 thousand florins. Cf. Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, 7.

¹⁷ Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza*, 48.

¹⁸ Ippolita Maria Sforza (1445–1488), wife of the Duke of Calabria, who later reigned as King Alfonso II of Naples.

¹⁹ Bryce, "Fa finire uno bello studio et dice volere studiare: Ippolita Sforza and Her Books," 56.

of Aragon,²⁰ Bianca's sister-in-law 100 thousand;²¹ Matthias's wife Beatrice of Aragon was even assigned a dowry totalling 200 thousand ducats which would make roughly 300 thousand florins.²²

On 25 November 1487, the proxy nuptial rite, officiated by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza,²³ Bianca's aunt, took place in the ducal palace. Prior to the ceremony Gian Francesco Marliani delivered a non-verse epithalamium speech extolling the virtues and families of the groom and bride.²⁴ This oration does not eschew praising of inappropriate figures from Hungarian history, such as Attila, that was, as Anthony D'Elia argues, meant to shock the Italian audience that was deemed these characters evil.²⁵ Given the subsequent glorification of King Matthias's military exploits in the fights against Turks, the unabashed exaltation of the ancient barbarian might have served to present the metaphorical incorporation of the Hungarian former ferocity and still-existing fighting skills into the Christian world that was under the Ottoman threat.²⁶ However, Marliani was asked to speed up the recital since Ludovico Sforza was feeling unwell so it is doubtful to what extent his speech made an impact on the audience but the epithalamium in the form of a richly ornamented manuscript as a wedding gift found the way to the Corvinian library so it eventually fulfilled its panegyric purpose.²⁷

According to the contemporary practise, the delegation arriving to perform the proxy wedding also accompanied the bride to her new country right away. The urgency for the bride to depart as soon as possible was motivated by the fear that the still not-consummated matrimony could have been dissolved.²⁸ This was not the case for Bianca as her transfer was postponed, first until the following year due to unknown reasons, probably mostly because of Matthias's Austrian campaign, and ultimately it did not take place at all as a result of the

²⁰ Isabella of Aragon/Isabella of Naples (1470–1524), Duchess of Milan and *suo jure* Duchess of Bari.

²¹ Vaglianti, "ISABELLA d'Aragona, Duchessa di Milano."

²² Marti, "Oklevelek Aragóniai Beatrix hagyatékából: Magyar vonatkozású források a spanyol katonai lovagrendek iratanyagában," 503; Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 127.

²³ Ascanio Maria Sforza (1455–1505), Cardinal (1484–1505).

²⁴ Edited in Ábel, *Olaszországi XV. századbeli írónak Mátyás királyt dicsőítő művei*, 359–81.

²⁵ D'Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 67–69.

²⁶ Pastrnak, "Flores Italiae: Talianské princezny v strednej Európe v neskorom stredoveku," 82–85.

²⁷ Carusi, *Dispacci e lettere di Giacomo Gherardi nunzio pontificio a Firenze e Milano (11 Settembre 1487 – 10 Ottobre 1490)*, 47–48; Schönherr, Hunyadi Corvin János (1473–1504), 52.

²⁸ Spieß, "Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann: Brautfahrt und Ehe in europäischen Fürstenhäusern des Spätmittelalters," 26.

king's sudden death in 1490.²⁹

Nevertheless, the Milanese expended considerable effort to prepare for the passage of their young princess as numerous documents in the state archives of Milan show. The meticulous planning process is recorded in several letters between the state secretary Bartolomeo Calco and Ludovico Sforza, three of which were already edited in the nineteenth century.³⁰ Other papers related to the planning, such as letters, a draft of a letter and of a list of Bianca's travel companions, have remained unpublished. This study aims to provide a scholarly edition of these accounts, alongside the analysis of the main issues featured in them, the composition of the noble entourage that was to accompany Bianca Maria to Hungary and the logistical problems connected with the travel.

The bridal trains in the medieval and early modern era were massive groups of individuals, almost always amounting to hundreds. For instance, Beatrice of Aragon was escorted by 879 people on horses, from that 529 of Hungarians and 350 of Neapolitans;³¹ Bona of Savoy, Bianca Maria's mother, travelled from France with a company exceeding three hundred.³² However, it was not unusual that the total tally of companions surpassed one thousand, to mention just two contemporary examples: Eleanor of Portugal,³³ the wife of Emperor Frederick III,³⁴ was accompanied by three thousand people; Joanna of Castile³⁵ arrived in Flanders in 1496 with a navy numbering over fifteen thousand persons.³⁶ However, these inflated numbers can be explained by an existence of a strong garrison that was to ensure the personal safety of the princess and the most prominent members of the entourage. Still, even in these enormous bridal trains it is possible to discern a hard core, consisting of the princess's

²⁹ Although Schönherr states that the date of departure was stipulated in the marital contract (and this is reverberated later on) but it is not clear what was the source of this claim as the contract specifies nothing of this sort. Schönherr, *Hunyadi Corvin János (1473–1504)*, 76; Kovács, "Mattia Corvino e la corte di Milano," 78; E. Kovács, "Corvin János házassága és a magyar diplomácia," 966. The marital contract in Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, 356–59.

³⁰ Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, 4:14, 27–9, 30–1; Calvi, *Bianca Maria Sforza-Visconti, regina dei romani, imperatrice germanica, e gli ambasciatori di Lodovico il Moro alla corte cesarea secondo nuovi documenti*, 12–15.

³¹ Berzeviczy, *Aragóniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok*, 27–29.

³² Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza*, 51.

³³ Eleanor of Portugal (1434–1467), Empress of the Holy Roman Empire, consort of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III.

³⁴ Frederick III Habsburg (1415–1493), Holy Roman Emperor (1452–1493).

³⁵ Joanna of Castile (1479–1555), Queen of Castile (1504–1555) and Queen of Aragon (1516–1555).

³⁶ Lanckmann, *Leonor de Portugal, imperatriz da Alemanha: Diário de viagem do embaixador Nicolau Lanckman de Valckenstein*, 54; Fleming, *Juana I. Legitimacy and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Castile*, 17.

household members and aristocrats, whose numbers also added up to hundreds. Why it was necessary to escort the bride with such a major group of people?

In order to answer this question, one has to realize that premodern monarchies lacked a permanent bureaucratic apparatus, and as a result, the rulers relied heavily on personalized communication in diplomatic encounters. Therefore, when encountering other power figures, they were forced to constantly negotiate their social position by various means that directly translated into the social hierarchy.³⁷ One of these means was the high status, number, or physical appearance of the representatives that were to meet the foreign power holders. As a princely wedding was one of a few chances to interact with the other dynasty the magnificence of the bride's retinue was crucial in the construction of the high status of the princess and by extension her entire house. That is why the bridal journey was perceived as a political showcase and both wedding parties strove to staff either the bride's retinue or the fetching company with the most prominent figures.

The Milanese documents reveal how these considerations were very much in progress as one can see a multiple-stage selection of candidates for the bridal company. As the first from the series of letters exchanged between the state secretary Bartolomeo Calco and Ludovico Sforza shows, the process began with drawing up a list of names of aristocrats.³⁸ Calco informs the duke of Milan (but in reality, most likely Ludovico who was the real power wielder) about receiving the roll—unfortunately, it is not clear who authored it, but most probably it was Ludovico himself as the tenor of the following letters suggests. Then, the secretary goes on saying that he will notify, either by correspondence or personally, the chosen noblemen about their mission and the departure date (in April) so they can prepare themselves for the journey.

A wedding of another princess, Beatrice d'Este³⁹ with Ludovico in 1491 gives an idea of how these notifications could look like.⁴⁰ In a letter to several

³⁷ Windler, "From Social Status to Sovereignty: Practices of Foreign Relations from the Renaissance to the Sattelzeit," 254–66.

³⁸ Bartolomeo Calco to the duke of Milan, Milan, 28 February 1489. ASMi Carteggio Visconteo–Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 17; edited in Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, 4:14.

³⁹ Beatrice d'Este (1475–1497), Duchess of Bari and Milan by marriage to Ludovico Sforza.

⁴⁰ "Venendo de proxima a Milano la illustrissima duchessa de Ferrara con la illustrissima madona Beatrice sua figliola et consorte de lo illustrissimo signore Ludovico nostro amantissimo barba et patre, le quale ce pare conveniente de honorare [...] volemo tra le altre cose far fare una giostra p.ca a Demenini, dove correrano multi signori et valenthomini, et havendo noi fact electione de la persona tua intra li altri nostri che habbia a giostrare, tene avisamo et imponemo ad metterti bene in ordine secundo la conditione tua, che non manchi ritrovandoti a Milano ali vii del mese de zenaro proximo." The duke of Milan to various recipients,

aristocrats, Gian Galeazzo, the Duke of Milan,⁴¹ firstly briefly states a fact that his uncle is getting married, who is a person “conveniente de honorare”. Subsequently the duke invites the addressee to join a joust he is intending to organize and reminds the invited individual to prepare accordingly for the set date. The answer of one nobleman that was invited (although not exactly to the joust but to the wedding in general) is also extant:

Since serving You is my duty I respond that I will be there at the prescribed time to do what will be in my powers and I will miss no way possible to honour such a triumph.⁴²

At the first sight, a positive reply to the duke’s invitation can be seen as a matter of duty, but the wording, identifying the nuptials as a triumph, might indicate that the invited person perceived the nuptials as a prestigious event tapping into one’s sense of honour.

The same might have been true for participation in the bridal train. How did the first draft of Bianca’s entourage look like? Despite Calco’s succinct phrasing the epistle makes mentions of several names (Conte Alexandro, Vescovo Malicacense, Bracello), which enables us to identify this first draft with the undated roll of people from Bianca Maria’s folder.⁴³ If that being the case, the bridal train was originally supposed to be composed entirely of male personages, three counts, the same number of bishops, messers, and protonotaries. From what we can grasp about the personal background of some of the individuals listed, they were strong Sforza loyalists with good political and diplomatic experience: Federico di Sanseverino, a bishop of Maillezais, was a close collaborator of Ludovico;⁴⁴ Fabrizio Marliani, a bishop of Piacenza, besides being a scholar and bibliophile was also a member of the ducal secret council and performed various diplomatic errands to Ferrara, Florence, or Monferrato, and

Vigevano, 4 December 1490. ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1470, carta 5.

⁴¹ Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1469–1494), Duke of Milan (1476–1494). In reality, his uncle governed the Duchy of Milan from 1481. Ludovico Maria Sforza/Ludovico il Moro (1452–1508), Duke of Milan (1494–1500).

⁴² “*Illustrissime princeps et excellentissime domine, domine colendissime. Havendo veduto quanto me scrive vestra Excellentia in invitarme ad honorare le nuptie de la illustrissima duchessa di Bari [...] Li respondo, che essendo mio debito per la servitute ch’io tento con Lei, me trovaro al tempo ordinato a fare quanto sera in me in quelle parte, ne macharo de tutti li modi che me serano possibili per fare honore a tanto triumpho. In questo meglio me recomando nela gratia [...]*” Nicolò da Correggio to the duke of Milan, Ferrara, 5 December 1490. ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1470, carta 6.

⁴³ ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 66, the number 4 in the edition.

⁴⁴ Alonge, “SANSEVERINO, Federico.”

even accompanied Anna Sforza⁴⁵ on her wedding transfer to Ferrara in 1491;⁴⁶ Scipione Barbavara, too, was also an influential member of the *consiglio segreto*, Ludovico's close associate and a skilled diplomat.⁴⁷

Overall, this choice of people somewhat takes into the account their social standing but puts a large emphasis on their diplomatic prowess and dynastic loyalty rather than other qualities. Furthermore, aside from two exceptions (*senescalco*—seneschal and *apparechiatore*—preparer of meals) the list does not outline any offices necessary for proper functioning of the princess's household nor does it create an internal hierarchy within the bridal train. Such an internal structure was a constant feature of other bridal households⁴⁸ or entourages of other princely figures en route. For instance, Ferrarese dukes were even during low-profile trips accompanied by *cancelliere* (chancellor), *camerlengo* (chamberlain), *cavalieri* (knights), *paggi* (pages), *scudieri* (squires), *credenziere* (tableware keeper), *apparechiatore*, *famigli* (servants), *cuoco* (cook), *fanti di stalla* (stable servants), *marescalco* (marshal), *mulatieri* (muleteers), *staffieri* (footmen), *sescalco*, *spenditore* (stewards) and *aiutanti* (helpers).⁴⁹ Probably aware of these flaws, the duke of Milan (or Ludovico) instructed Calco to further discuss the selection of travel companions, first with the ducal counsellors Pietro da Gallarate and Pietro Landriano.⁵⁰ According to Calco's report from this discussion, the princess's future household was chosen by her mother, Duchess Bona, so the two officials concentrated only on the entourage consisting of aristocrats that were not to stay with Bianca in Hungary. This laconic information might point to the fact that the inner core of the bridal train, the princess's household, was not so much politically loaded and that is why it was not debated with such concern.

Having examined Ludovico's draft of the noble entourage, the counsellors found it "commendable", which sounds more like a polite way to dismiss it rather than accept it without any misgivings since they immediately go on enumerating the parts that the draft is missing. Firstly, there is no mention of the total number of horses and people that will travel and these details would allow for better logistics of departure. The second and more important point the coun-

⁴⁵ Anna Maria Sforza (1476–1497), first wife of Alfonso I d'Este, future Duke of Ferrara.

⁴⁶ Vaglianti, "MARLIANI, Fabrizio."

⁴⁷ Raponi, "BARBAVARA, Scipione."

⁴⁸ Pastrnak, *Dynasty in Motion: Wedding Journeys in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 53–63.

⁴⁹ Kuffart and Neumann, "Olyan szép kísérete lesz, mint kevés úrnak Itáliában: Az esztergomi érseki udvartartás szervezése 1486/87 folyamán," 9.

⁵⁰ A letter of Bartolomeo Calco to the duke of Milan, Milan, 28 March 1489. ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 21, edited in Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, 4:27–9.

sellors raise is that the list completely lacks female personages. In their view, it would be not “decent and honourable to let her [=Bianca] travel only with the women that would stay with her”. As a remedy, they suggest to add at least four matrons, wives of illustrious men and women of excellent reputation. This piece of advice fits into the contemporary notion that a woman of princely rank should be followed by a group of females. When Bianca’s niece, Bona Sforza,⁵¹ was about to begin her bridal journey to Krakow, the Polish envoys tried to limit the number of noblewomen due to a considerable financial burden. They too were rebuffed because “nothing is more indecorous than the wife of such a great king traveling without an appropriate retinue.”⁵²

It might not be coincidence that the counsellors advise for adding four matrons. The ladies’ court of Bianca’s mother Bona of Savoy consisted of four female companions (*compagne*), twelve ladies (*donzele*), and several chambermaids. These members of the *Frauenzimmer*, to use a term coined in German lands, carried out various functions according to their social rank and age. There were chambermaids responsible for attending to the princess, such as helping her with dressing or waiting on her; then, unmarried noble maidens whose task was mostly representative — they followed the princess at social gatherings, either as passive (audiences, liturgy) or active participants (dances). And lastly, there was a small group of older ladies that were staffed with an oversight of other damsels.⁵³

As we possess very little information about the household members of Bianca’s entourage it is hard to determine how her *Frauenzimmer* should have looked like but Calco’s letter from 28 March gives an idea that there were at least two groups of females — those that should have stayed with her in Hungary and those that were only to accompany her and return back to Milan. This fact, however, does not help in clarifying the matter as there was no contemporary rule setting out which of the three *Frauenzimmer* groups stayed with the princess after her transfer and wedding. A hint might be found in the marital status of the candidates for the post proposed by the counsellors as well as in the usage of the word *matrone*, which clearly means married, older noblewomen, and therefore, the most senior part of the ladies’ court. Interestingly though, the counsellors did not support their suggestions about adding the matrons by the necessity of oversight, which was usually the main task of

⁵¹ Bona Sforza of Aragon (1494–1557), Queen consort of Poland, Grand Duchess consort of Lithuania (1518–1157) and Duchess of Bari (1524–1557).

⁵² Gorski, *Acta Tomiciana: Epistolarum, Legationum, Responsorum Actionum et Rerum Gestarum Serenissimi Principis Sigismundi Primi, Regis Poloniae at Magni Ducis Lithuniae*, 241.

⁵³ Keller, “Ladies-in-Waiting at the Imperial Court of Vienna from 1550 to 1700: Structures, Responsibilities and Career Patterns,” 81.

these office-holders, but on account of the representation and building of social status for the princess.

This representative aspect is further accentuated in the next revision of the travelling list, documented in Calco's letter to Ludovico on 2 April.⁵⁴ Unlike the previous discussion, this time Calco examined the list with Milanese archbishop Guido Antonio Arcimboldi.⁵⁵ He, too, regarded the list to be drawn up with a great deal of consideration but he had many suggestions on how to improve it. Firstly, he advises to form a more specific hierarchy within the bridal court, especially by adding a leading figure for Bianca and her household, which is a position corresponding to the office of high steward (Hofmeister) in the German lands. Then, having visited Hungary, Arcimboldi claims to have familiarity with the ways of the king of Hungary — after all, it was him and Francesco Fontana who orchestrated the entire wedding plan — and thus, he knows that “His Royal Majesty would aim to send such a splendid legation [to fetch the princess] as no other potentate has ever done, either in terms of the number of persons, overall pomp, or ornaments”. The archbishop expresses, as Calco refers, a desire that Milan would match this level of magnificence, and with this intention in mind, he suggested to cross out from the list some persons, especially prelates, for not having the appropriate appearance nor a faculty to obtain one, and to add other distinguished individuals who did not lack this sort of visual appearance nor the richness and noble rank.

The archbishop's motives for these suggestions are clear: “... in that country [=Hungary] it is paid great attention to these aspects and they are source of not little appraisal”. In his view, the personal qualities of the travel companions, such as resourcefulness and lineage, demonstrated by the outward form, are tokens of social estimation that serve to elevate the standing of the entire duchy and to match the political importance of the other wedding party. One of the qualities — the number of the bridal train — is even expressed in very concrete terms: the entourage, according to the archbishop, should include at least six hundred people. It is unclear what this figure stemmed from; it might have been based on precedents or on undisclosed data the archbishop possessed.⁵⁶ Alternatively, this number might have been an articulation of the unwritten practices at the Milanese court since the real-time bridal train with which Bi-

⁵⁴ Bartolomeo Calco to Ludovico Sforza, Milan, 28 March 1489. ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 22, edited in Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, 12–15.

⁵⁵ Guido Antonio Arcimboldi (1428–1497), Archbishop of Milan (1488–1497).

⁵⁶ In 1476, Matthias sent to Naples a fetching delegation amounting to 529 horses, Filipec led embassy to perform the wedding by proxy in 1487 was of similar number. Berzeviczy, *Aragóniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok*, 27–29; Schönherr, *Hunyadi Corvin János (1473–1504)*, 47.

anca Maria was escorted for her nuptials with Maximilian of Habsburg in 1493 roughly comprised of the same amount of participants.⁵⁷ Interestingly, it is also the number of wedding entourages of two Ferrarese brides, Eleanor of Aragon and Lucrezia Borgia.⁵⁸

What is important, Arcimboldi's ideas did not come solely out of his personal diplomatic experience but they were a part of the systematic effort of the Milanese officials to aim for this kind of symmetry in terms of representativeness and magnificence between the wedding parties. Following this goal, they left no stone unturned in discovering the likely actions of the king of Hungary and long before having the discussions about the bridal entourage, they dispatched a special delegation, consisting of Gian Francesco Olive and Guidantonio Arcimboldi (not the archbishop yet), to Hungary, in order to learn what persons and number of horses King Matthias is planning to include into the fetching embassy.⁵⁹ Most importantly, they were supposed to find out who would be in charge of this delegation and what the social rank of the participants would be. Since a part of Olive and Arcimboldi's mission was also to enquire about the festivities planned at the Hungarian court, one of them is a likely author of a register of the gifts Matthias made during his 1476 wedding with Beatrice of Aragon, which might have served as a blueprint for the Milanese how to prepare for the king's generosity during his son's nuptials.⁶⁰

The bridal entourage was clearly arranged with regard to the other wedding party, but not only in terms of representativeness and building of social status but also in regard to the current political landscape. Arcimboldi strictly advises not to include anybody with ties to the kingdom of Naples as such a person would be ill-received at the Hungarian court. Most likely, this might have been motivated by Queen Beatrice's perpetual efforts to hinder the marital alliance

⁵⁷ Hochrinner, "Bianca Maria Sforza: Versuch Einer Biographie," 33.

⁵⁸ Eleanor of Aragon or Naples (1450–1493), wife of Duke Ercole I and Beatrice's elder sister; Lucrezia Borgia (1480–1519), second wife of Alfonso I and daughter of Pope Alexander VI. Kuffart and Neumann, "Olyan szép kísérete lesz, mint kevés úrnak Itáliában: Az esztergomi érseki udvartartás szervezése 1486/87 folyamán," 10.

⁵⁹ The instruction from February 27, 1488, is edited in Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, 3:382–5. The envoys were even given a cipher key in order to write an encrypted record but this was not necessary as the wedding transfer was deferred until the following year. E. Kovács, "Corvin János házassága és a magyar diplomácia," 966.

⁶⁰ This record is composed of two parts, the first is an inventory of the gifts given to Beatrice by Matthias, and the second is the inventory of the presents given to Beatrice's travel companions returning back to Naples. The names of the Neapolitans enable us to identify this record with the 1476 wedding as neither Matthias or Beatrice names are stated. Given the enigmatic inscription "Gifts of the king to the queen of Hungary" the document was incorrectly allocated to Bianca Maria's folder (busta 1467) in ASMi. See more in my paper with a full edition of the inventories Pastrnak, "Mechanics of Royal Generosity: The Gifts from the Wedding of King Matthias Corvinus and Beatrice of Aragon (1476)."

between the Milanese princess and the Hungarian bastard as such union would not only question her role as a queen but also would mean a shift in Hungarian foreign policy from her native kingdom of Naples to Milan.⁶¹ Similar suggestions about not including politically inconvenient individuals in the bride's escort are documented elsewhere too. The government of Tyrol, arranging a retinue for Joanna of Habsburg,⁶² soon-to-be wife of Francesco de' Medici, strongly protested against appointing a Mantuan for the position of the princess's chamberlain, as this "could cause a displeasure to the duke of Florence."⁶³

While the Milanese archbishop and his propositions can be seen as an expanding element — he advocates for a massive retinue, adding distinguished personas, even creating a separate household for Count Alessandro — the counsellors Landriano and Gallarate with whom Calco continued to talk over the arrangement seem to be a slightly limiting factor. In the next letter,⁶⁴ they are said to again urge Ludovico to determine the precise numbers of horses and people since this would greatly facilitate the organization and the overall logistics. Unlike Arcimboldi, they advocate curbing the personal households of the nobles, most likely due to the financial costs and more problematic logistics. Quite astutely, they let the decision be at Ludovico's discretion as this was probably not a popular action to take. At the end, however, the duke let the counsellors make the judgment,⁶⁵ but their concerns show the complexity of the entourage's logistics. Furthermore, Calco's last letter to Ludovico from 18 May⁶⁶ demonstrates the extent to which the planning was not automated but rather depended on the personal preferences of the people in charge—in informing the entourage members that the journey has just been postponed the secretary does not act based on the usual practice but on his personal opinion that this would be a sound course of action that just "occurred to him".

An additional part of the planning was a reception for the Hungarians coming to fetch the princely bride. Usually, it was quite challenging to find proper lodging for hundreds of people coming to one place at once and that is why

⁶¹ E. Kovács, "Magyarország és Nápoly politikai kapcsolatai a Mátyás-korban," 244.

⁶² Joanna of Austria (1547–1578), Archduchess of Austria, Grand Princess of Tuscany (1565–1578).

⁶³ Pastrnak, *Dynasty in Motion: Wedding Journeys in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 78–79.

⁶⁴ Bartolomeo Calco to Ludovico Sforza, Milan, 28 April 1489. ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 20. The number 1 in the edition.

⁶⁵ A letter draft by Ludovico Sforza to Bartolomeo Calco, Vigevano, 30 April, 1489, ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 21. The number 2 in the edition.

⁶⁶ Bartolomeo Calco to Ludovico Sforza, Milan, 18 May 1489. ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 22. The number 3 in the edition.

bridal trains had to be split into smaller groups when passing minor towns that could not supply adequate quarters. A big city such as Milan did not have to worry about the sufficiency of accommodation options but as the Milanese documents show, a different sort of problem could have emerged. Gallarate and Landriano exhort Ludovico to consider the possibility of lodging the Hungarians not in the burghers' houses but in the ducal palace since "this nation [=Hungarian] is very different, not only in the language but also in the life-style".⁶⁷ Housing the members of the bridal train in various dwellings across the city was standard practise. Some cities, such as Genoa in 1548, issued a decree ordering the citizens to prepare their flats for the visitors under threat of heave fine.⁶⁸

Why did the counsellors deem cultural differences an obstacle to lodging the foreign guests with locals? Different languages and customs might have caused tensions and even conflicts. For instance, Fleming and Spanish entourage of Charles V and Philip II caused an upheaval and even armed conflicts when travelling through Spain and Genoa respectively.⁶⁹ Yet the advice of the Milanese counsellors does not seem motivated by the angst of such cultural clashes. Gallarate and Landriano's reasoning is indeed based on the cultural differences between Hungarians and Italians but they apparently fear mutual dissatisfaction rather than conflict: "they [=the burghers] would not know how to make their [=Hungarian] stews and to take care of them according to their custom, which would lead to the displeasure of both sides".⁷⁰ We might question the sincerity of the burghers' claims (they could have been motivated to refuse the foreigners out of expenses and personal comfort) but at least the dietary differences between Italians and Hungarians at that time were reflected and discussed. In his collection of facetie, dedicated to John Corvinus, the Italian humanist Galeotto Marzio brought attention to the fact that Hungarians serve stews for every meal and in contrast to Italians, they use spices, such as saffron, cloves, cinnamon, pepper, and ginger in great amounts.⁷¹ It is open

⁶⁷ Bartolomeo Calco to Ludovico Sforza, Milan, 28 April 1489. ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 20. The number 1 in the edition.

⁶⁸ The decrees of the Genovese magistrates for the stay of Maximilian II on his wedding journey to Spain, dated 14 and 16 July 1548, edited in Malfatti, *El Archiduque Maximiliano, Gobernador de España: Su Viaje a Valladolid En 1548 y Su Boda Con La Infanta María: Crónicas y Documentos*, 169–70.

⁶⁹ Pastrnak, *Dynasty in Motion: Wedding Journeys in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 44. For more about accommodation and hospitality during bridal transfers see Pastrnak, 41–45.

⁷⁰ Bartolomeo Calco to Ludovico Sforza, Milan, 28 April 1489. ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 20. The number 1 in the edition.

⁷¹ "Moris est apud Hungaros [...] omnia in iure apponere; variant enim iura pro rerum varietate. [...] semper et proprio iure aut merguntur aut condiuntur. [...] Croco enim gariophilis,

to debate to what extent the Milanese were aware of Marzio's text, authored around the same time,⁷² but the notion that Central European regions had different culinary standards might have circulated via other channels. In that case, the burghers' misgivings could have been well substantiated. But if nothing else, such a notion was an effective and astute strategy from their side to politely decline the ducal demands to host the foreigners, which could have been an arguably expensive enterprise.

At any rate, the counsellors rightly point out that if the duke forced the citizens to accommodate the transalpine guests, it would "lead to little satisfaction for both parties" and that is why it is better for the honour of "our lord [the duke] and the lord king [Matthias] to lodge the said company [of Hungarians] at the court".⁷³ In other words, such an arrangement would have only resulted in annoyance and mutual disappointment, which would not be a great start to the dynastic and political alliance. Furthermore, Milanese hospitality and the public image of the polity could have been subjected to scrutiny. The ill-prepared reception could have massively offended the other wedding party, which Archbishop Arcimboldi warns against as well. Besides his suggestion to exclude controversial noblemen (who might have ties to Naples, as we have seen above) from the bridal train, he also draws attention to sartorial differences. In his view, everybody from Bianca Maria's entourage should wear long dresses because "this is their [=Hungarian] custom and they greatly disapprove of these short clothes".⁷⁴ Besides the careful staffing of the bridal entourage, awareness of the cultural differences is thus another way how to please the other wedding party, to build the social status of the duchy and to achieve symmetry between the two political players entering into the marital alliance.

In assessing these preparatory processes, we can find an interesting comparative example from around the same time (1486/87), involving the Hungarian and Italian actors too, but this time not the Milanese but the Ferrarese. Arrangements of the entourage of the newly appointed archbishop of Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran), Ippolito d'Este, Queen Beatrice's nephew, show many similar traits to Bianca Maria's case. Like the Milanese, the Ferrarese also aimed to staff Ippolito's train with the most illustrious personages possible. Similarly,

cinnamon et pipere gingibereque et speciebus in maxima copia utuntur." Marzio, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae: ad duces Iohannem eius filium liber*, 17.

⁷² Around 1484–1486. Marzio, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae: ad duces Iohannem eius filium liber*, III.

⁷³ Bartolomeo Calco to Ludovico Sforza, Milan, 28 April 1489. ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 20. The number 1 in the edition.

⁷⁴ "[...] che el fusse bene admonire ognuno ad portare veste longhe, peroche cosi e il costume loro et dannano grandamente questi habiti corti." Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, 4:31.

the Hungarian royal couple wanted to match the high social rank of Ippolito's Italian companions and provide him with an equally — or more — prestigious Hungarian entourage.⁷⁵ Ippolito's entourage was discussed even more in detail: two Ferrarese special delegations (we know only about one Milanese) were sent to Central Europe and several drafts were compiled with Beatrice having a major say in the matters.⁷⁶ In both cases, entourages of the prominent individuals (princess, archbishop—the queen's nephew) served as a canvas for projecting the dynasties' and realms' aspirations for social standing and power balance.

Edition

1. Bartolomeo Calco to Ludovico Sforza

Milan, 28 April 1489

ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 20.

A letter by Bartolomeo Calco to Ludovico Sforza, relating his discussions with the ducal counsellors. They advise give precise numbers of horses and limiting the personal households of the nobles. Concerning the Hungarian embassy, they advise lodging it at the court rather than in the citizens' houses.

Illustrissimo signore mio observantissimo. Ho facto intendere á questi consiglieri deputati allo apparecchio de la illustrissima madona Bianca, le ordinatione quale me mandoe l'Excelentia vestra questi proximi giorni acio se possa provvedere á quelle cose sono da exequire dependente. Ma perche in epse principalmente se contene che per loro se habia ad taxare le persone et caualli douerano condure seco li homini et donne deputate ad accompagnare la predita madona in Ungaria, hano dicto parerli necessario che per l'Excelentia vestra sia prima declarato el numero quale debia essere tutta la compagnia, acio sapiano como governarsi in fare la dicta limitatione, quando epsa voglia pur che la sia facta per loro: ben la pregano chella se digna limitare al mancho la comitiva del illustrissimo conte Alexandro et reverendo vescovo Maleacense: et perche la signoria vostra possi piu facilmente fare quella deliberatione gli piacera sopra questo: li mando qui incluse le liste cosi de quelli haverano remanere in Ungaria como ritornare indretto.

Circa lo alloggiare la comitiva mandara in qua lo serenissimo signore re in casa de li citadini: li prediti consiglieri hano repetito quello che altre volte fecero scrivere alla Excelentia vostra el parere suo essere, che non senza grande

⁷⁵ Kuffart and Neumann, "Olyan szép kísérete lesz, mint kevés úrnak Itáliában: Az esztergomi érseki udvartartás szervezése 1486/87 folyamán," 15, 26.

⁷⁶ Kuffart and Neumann, 4–8, 15, 30, 41.

difficulta se ritrovera veruno qual voglia tore simili carichi, per essere quella natione molto diversa da la nostra non solamente del parlare, ma nel modo de vivere, et quando pur li acceptassino per obedire à quello gli fusso commandato, non saperiano farli quelli soi potagii et tractarli secundo el costume loro, in modo che da l'uno et l'altro canto ne sequiria pocha contenteza, siche per questo et alcuni altri respecti existimano essere melio et maiore honore de lo illustrissimo signore nostro et anchora del signore re alloggiare la predita compagnia in corte. Non di manco se remettono in tutto al sapientissimo iudicio de l'Excelentia vostra, alla quale me ricomando. Mediolani die 28. Aprilis 1489.

Illustrissime Dominationis Vostrae servitor Bartholomeus Chalcus

[a tergo: Illustrissimo rincipi et excellentissimo domino mihi observantissimo domino duci Barii etc.

Viglevani. Cito.]

2. Ludovico Sforza to Bartolomeo Calco

Vigevano, 30 April 1489

ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 21.

A draft letter by Ludovico Sforza to Bartolomeo Calco in response to Calco's previous letter (above). Ludovico agrees with the counsellors' views and entrusts them and his seneschals with these matters.

Messer Bartholomeo. Havemo inteso per una vostra de 28 del presente como haueti facto vedere alli consiglieri deputati le liste della compagnia de Hungaria: et che havendo noi dargli la cura de statuire ad ognuno el numero delle persone hauerano condurre seco: loro habiano risposto che per noi fosse prima declarato el numero quale habia ad essere in tutta dicta compagnia: á questo ve dicemo che noi non se ne volemo imparare *niente* ma che dasemo a loro la cura a ~~loro~~ de questo faciano allo li sperare conveniente.

Circa lo alloggiare li Hungari che venirano: epsi consiglieri siano de parere, che sera ad magiore satisfatione depsi Hungari et piu honore nostro che se allogiano in corte che per le case delli cittadini: per respecto de le lingue diverse da le nostre, et per li diversi costumi de fare li potagii al modo ~~loro~~: de questo siamo contenti et daremo la cura alli nostri seschali de fare aparichiare.⁷⁷

Che essendo ~~li~~ gia piu giorni li uno messo del vescovo de Coyra, quale procu-

⁷⁷ The paragraph in italics is preserved as a separate letter from 3 April (sic!) in the State Archives of Modena (unspecified location) and is edited in Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, 4:32.

ra el pagamento suo del l'anno passato, scriveremo á ~~Marchesino~~ Philippo Ther che al messe de marzo li dia 500 ducati.

~~Havendo anchora inteso per le vostre como sonno li quelli Varesini et li agenti per li conti de Lando dimandati da noi: fareti che vengano qui da noi per essere cosi la mente nostra.~~

Della comitiva che se de dare al conte Alexandro et al Vescovo: puro dassemo la cura alli prediti consiglieri deputati che li diano quello che li pare et sii conveniente.

3. Bartolomeo Calco to Ludovico Sforza

Milan, 18 May 1489

ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 22.

A letter by Bartolomeo Calco to Ludovico Sforza. Calco and the ducal counsellor Gallarate ask permission to notify the selected noblemen about the postponement of Bianca Maria's departure for Hungary.

Illustrissimo Signore mio observantissimo. Li giorni passati quando se comincio attendere alli apparati de la illustrissima madona Biancha, la signoria vostra me mandoe la lista de alcuni gentilhomini et prelati haveva electo perche la accompagnassero in Ungaria, alli quali fu scripto in nome del nostro illustrissimo signore, che se mettesino in punto, et perche hora é differita questa andata, me era venuto in mente chel fusse bene dargline qualche aviso, acio non stiino su la spesa de cavalli et familii, como é da pensare che haverano facto. Il medesimo me ha ricordato messer Petro da Gallarate del che me parso avisarne la signoria vostra perche parendoli me faccia intendere la volunta sua, secundo la quale sempre me governaro: et ad lei de continuo me ricomando. Mediolani 18. maii 1489.

Illustrissime Dominationis Vostrae Servitor Batholomeus Chalcus

[a tergo: Illustrissimo principi et excellentissimo domino mihi observantissimo domino duci Barii etc.

Viglevani. Cito.]

4. A proposed list of Bianca Maria Sforza's bridal entourage.

sine data

ASMi Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Sovrane, busta 1467, carta 66.

Compagnia che ha andare in Ungaria con la illustrissima madona Bianca

Primo

El magnifico conte Alexandro

El reverendissimo vescovo da san Severino

El reverendo vescovo de Piasenza

El reverendo vescovo de Novara

El prothonotario da Scipione

El prothonotario di Negri

Messer Scipione Barbavorra

Messer Raphael Zarniello

Messer Ambrosio del Mayno

Conte Guido Zarello

Uno de li figlioli del Conte Manfredo

Iacomo da Soregno per seschalco

Barcello et -

Refendente - per aparechiatore

(Translated by the author)

THE HUNGARIAN NEWS OF BERNARDINO ZAMBOTTI'S DIARY

Research into historical links between Italy and Hungary, and the examination of Italian documentary sources, have both gained new momentum within the framework of the Vestigia Research Group. The goals of this research, as stated by the project leaders, is the description and digitisation of documents relating to the late medieval Hungary, preserved in public collections in northern Italy. The project includes the State Archives and the University Library of Modena, since in these collections that the sources related to the House of Este and the Duchy of Ferrara can be found today, and during the reign of King Matthias I Corvinus¹ the diplomatic relations intensified with this state because of the sisterhood between the spouses of the king of Hungary and the duke of Ferrara. In addition to the archival sources I examined Bernardino Zambotti's *Diario ferrarese*, with the intention of becoming more acquainted with the historical environment and with the Ferrarese reception of Hungarian contact and news. The diary describes the everyday life of Ferrara at the time of King Matthias from an ordinary citizen's viewpoint. The *Diario*, however, does not simply show us the everyday history of the Italian town, but is also a valuable source concerning the Hungarians who appeared at the centre of the House of Este, and about the diplomats who travelled to or passed through the region in the direction of the Kingdom of Hungary. Among the latter group we find Nicolò Maria d'Este, Bishop of Adria, and Armano de' Nobili, a lawyer from Ferrara. Zambotti noted a new piece of information in connection with their embassy, which inspired me to undertake further archival research into the journey of the two Italians. Before discussing their mission, however, I will collect the references to the most often mentioned characters in the *Diario* with Hungarian connections, Beatrice of Aragon² and her relatives, most importantly among them Ippolito I d'Este.³ Finally, after a detailed discussion of the work of the diplomats I will also reflect on personal experiences connected with the University of Ferrara, and on events from Hungarian history which were regarded as significant even in Ferrara.

¹ Matthias I Corvinus (1443–1490), King of Hungary (1458–1490).

² Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508), Queen of Hungary, wife of King Matthias (1476–1490), wife of King Vladislaus II (1490–1500).

³ Ippolito I d'Este (1479–1520) Archbishop of Esztergom (1486–1497), Bishop of Eger (1497–1520), Cardinal (1493–1520).

First of all, however, it is important to say a few words about the genre, and naturally the author of the diary under consideration. The *Diario ferrarese* fits into the group of Italian city chronicles, which developed from the account books of the merchants who comprised the citizenry of Italian city states. These merchants later added to their notes events from their own lives, and Italian scholarly literature refers to such works as *ricordanze* (memoires). The final step in the process by which the account books became chronicles – and therefore real historical sources – is the appearance of family chronicles, which record the life of a family in a more sophisticated form, but still in the vernacular,⁴ which was considered aesthetically inferior during this period. With the strengthening of civic class-consciousness, the perspectives of family chronicles also started to broaden, and the works of authors intending to write the history of their home towns became the city chronicles. In the 14th century, this trend resulted in a considerable increase in the number of historical works.⁵

City chronicles can be divided into two groups, the first of which contains the actual historical works, such as the Florentine Giovanni Villani's *Nuova cronica*. Villani's work mirrors the historical views of the age, beginning the narration of events in Biblical times, with the construction of the tower of Babel. Nevertheless, it focuses on the present, as it reaches Charles I of Anjou's arrival in Italy after only 256 chapters, then spends 1125 chapters on the discussion of the last eighty years' events. The second category is comprised of those writings which use a less advanced methodology, but can still be considered primary sources, with their authors recording the events in the style of a diary. Among these we find the *Novità seguite in Firenze nel 1434*, by an unknown author, or Neri Capponi's work entitled *Commentarii dell'acquisto di Pisa*. During the 15th century, a considerable number of such city chronicles were written in Ferrara as well. The most significant of these are undoubtedly the works of the notary Ugo Caleffini. Two of his works can be classified as belonging to the first group, considered by literary historian Paolo Viti as real historical works:⁶ the *Cronica della Casa da Este* and the *Cronaca di Ferrara dalle origini al 1471*. In his work on the House of Este, praising the dynasty is naturally prioritised over historical authenticity; the *Cronaca di Ferrara*, on the

⁴ Paolo Viti writes about the language of Tuscan diaries as follows: "On the whole, the memoir literature comprises writings which do not set very high linguistic or stylistic standards, narrate recent events in a personal voice, using simple language and structures, but in a very impressive manner." Italian literary history, like Viti in this writing, focuses mostly on Florentine works, as a result of the great predecessors, but their findings are valid in relation to the other city states as well. Viti, "L'Umanesimo toscano nel primo Quattrocento," 273.

⁵ Tartaro, "La prosa narrativa antica," 647.

⁶ Viti, "L'Umanesimo toscano nel primo Quattrocento," 268.

other hand, is an anthology beginning in the year 38, with the first mass held by Saint Peter, until the date signalled in the title. His third work was simply called *Croniche*, in which the chronicler made attempt to record “tutto quello se farà in Ferrara et altroe” during the reign of Duke Ercole I d’Este,⁷ and which is of particular interest not only because of its detailed account concerning life in the city, and particularly the environment of the officials and courtiers in Ferrara, but also because of its thorough registers. These list the labourers, officials, the price of grain, and the income of “zentilhomini di Ferrara”, the systematic recording of which testifies to the author’s interests in institutional changes.⁸ The social events of the town were recorded by Girolamo Maria Ferrarini, who, as a young man belonging to the upper layer of society, had an excellent view of weddings, funerals and various spectacles. Apart from these, he also recorded his own romantic adventures for posterity. Another interesting phenomenon is the chronicle of Giuliano Antighini, an author hailing from the environs of Ferrara, who tried to emphasise his own city identity “in an urban society which grew increasingly unapproachable for people from the countryside.”⁹

Zambotti’s work, the *Diario ferrarese* begins its discussion of events in 1476, when its author was spending his first year at the faculty of law at the University of Ferrara. Around the middle of the 1490s, a change in the style of the chronicle becomes perceptible: from this time, the author begins to consider further regions of Italy, beyond Ferrara. For instance, he records the decline in the prestige of Franciscans, as well as the execution of Savonarola.¹⁰ The diary ends at the close of 1504, when Zambotti’s patron and primary source of information, Ercole I d’Este Duke of Ferrara, was on his deathbed. What further strengthens the work’s authenticity is the fact that its author relied not only on his own experiences and oral sources, but also written documents, occasionally even copying them into the text. Thus, we can read the 1482 letters of the people of Ferrara written to the Pope, and the breves which arrived in response; the letters of the Sultan Bayezid from 1483; and extracts from the peace treaty signed between Milan and France in 1495. Apart from these documents, the speeches of several envoys were also recorded in the diary, and even a sonnet urging action against the Turks. The author wrote his work in the Ferrarese dialect, sometimes including popular proverbs in the text. Zambotti gave his chronicle the title *Sylva chronicarum*, while the title commonly used and known today, *Diario ferrarese dall’anno 1476 sino al 1504*, originates from the text’s editor Giuseppe Pardi, who prepared the publication of the vernac-

⁷ Ercole I d’Este (1431–1505) Duke of Ferrara (1471–1505).

⁸ Folin, “Le cronache a Ferrara e negli Stati estensi (secoli XV–XVI),” 465.

⁹ Folin, “Le cronache a Ferrara e negli Stati estensi (secoli XV–XVI),” 468.

¹⁰ Cf. Folin, “Le cronache a Ferrara e negli Stati estensi (secoli XV–XVI),” 466.

ular text at the beginning of the 20th century. Before that time, in the absence of a published edition, the work attracted no considerable scholarly interest. The edition is based on the single autograph manuscript, held in the Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea in Ferrara.¹¹ The original length of the work is 372 paper folios.¹² It must be noted that this edition contains several errors concerning Hungarian geographical names: in his note on page 221, Pardi identifies the Latin name of Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia, Stuhlweißenburg) as Pressburg (Posonium, Pozsony, today Bratislava, Slovakia), on page 278, the Latin name of Eger (Agria, Erlau) as a corrupted form of Zagabria (Zagreb, Croatia). In order to give greater prestige to his chronicle, Zambotti began to translate the text into Latin, but the Latin version only includes the period between 1482 and 1490, and omits the year 1486.¹³

Bernardino Zambotti came from the middle class of Ferrara. He received a fundamental humanist education, and acquired the Latin language at a high level from his first master, Codro Urceo Antonio da Rubiera. Later on, he was to write university ceremonial orations, and even a laudatory poem for his uncle's funeral, in Latin. In order to secure a living, he applied to the legal faculty of the University of Ferrara, where he graduated successfully in 1485. During his legal studies, he enjoyed the patronage of Professor Giovanni Maria Riminaldi, whom he also had the opportunity to accompany when the towns of Parma and Ferrara were engaged in a lawsuit over the use of water from the River Enza. During the trial, Riminaldi introduced his student to Duke Ercole I, and from this time, Zambotti was also able to gain information directly from the duke. Since he was a brilliant lawyer, he was later invited back to the university on several occasions to hold special courses. After the death of his father, Bernardino had to support his family, which forced him to accept jobs below his abilities, lasting only for short periods of a half year, or a year at most. In effect, he remained in the second rank of the town's officials, and since he was not a nobleman, he had no opportunity to attain the highest positions. Therefore, he moved first to Reggio (1490),¹⁴ then to Mantua (1495).¹⁵ Reggio was a part of the State of Ferrara, and so he continued to gain information about events in his town, and he even received news in Mantua, through the wife of the local

¹¹ Shelf mark: C1 I, n. 470.

¹² Andreolli, *Repertorio della cronachistica emiliano-romagnola (secc. IX–XV)*, 204.

¹³ An autograph copy of the Latin text and two 18th-century copies are also held in the Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea. For more detailed information on the manuscripts and editions see Andreolli, *Repertorio della cronachistica emiliano-romagnola (secc. IX–XV)*, 204–5.

¹⁴ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 216.

¹⁵ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 254.

duke who was a descendant of the House of Este. Nonetheless, changes in the thoroughness and accuracy of the chronicle, which are noticeable around 1494, can be attributed to his relocations. No reliable data are available concerning his birth and death. According to Pardi, he acquired his doctoral degree in 1485, before his twenty-fifth birthday, which suggests that he was born around 1460.¹⁶ Gabriele Zanella, however, who analysed several chronicles from Ferrara, dates the author's birth to around 1470.¹⁷

Let us now turn to the Hungarian aspects of Zambotti's chronicle, most of which were successfully embedded within the historical context. Some of them, however – precisely as a result of the city chronicle's lower-level perspective when compared to official historiography – will probably be impossible to identify, since they refer to less significant people, or contain only very distant references to Hungary.

Zambotti's records give us many insights into Queen Beatrice of Aragon's journey from her city of birth, Naples to Hungary. Outside the temporal scope of the *Diario ferrarese*, two embassies had already travelled to Naples in order to make the preparations for the wedding. In 1474 the envoys György Handó¹⁸ and Miklós Bánfi¹⁹ dealt with the engagement,²⁰ then in 1475, an embassy led by Albert Vetési²¹ sealed the marriage contract and specified the amount of the dowry.²² From this time on, Beatrice referred to herself as queen of Hungary. In 1476 the third embassy went to fetch Beatrice, who was already formally married, and during their journey they passed through the city of Ferrara both on the way there (seemingly between 8 and 13 August,²³ though according to Ugo Caleffini, mentioned above in connection with the chronicles of Ferrara, the members of the envoy arrived around 4 or 5 August²⁴), and on the way

¹⁶ Cf. Pardi's introduction to the source Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, V–IX.

¹⁷ Andreolli, *Repertorio della cronachistica emiliano-romagnola (secc. IX–XV)*, 204–5.

¹⁸ György Handó was a diplomat of King Matthias, Provost of Pécs (Quinque Ecclesiae, Cinquechiese) (1465–1478) and Royal Treasurer, later – until his death – Archbishop of Kalocsa (1478–1480). See: Fraknói, "Mátyás király magyar diplomatái: Handó György".

¹⁹ Miklós Bánfi (†1500) was a laic diplomat of King Matthias, *pincernarum regalium magister* (1465–1467) and *Count* (ispán) of Pozsony (1468–1478). See: Fraknói, "Mátyás király magyar diplomatái: Bánfi Miklós, Bajoni István, Nyujtódi Miklós, Bácskai Miklós

²⁰ Fraknói, "Mátyás király magyar diplomatái: Handó György," 110.

²¹ Albert Vetési (*c. 1410) was the lead diplomat of King Matthias, Protonotary Apostolic and Bishop of Veszprém (1459–1486). See: Fraknói, "Mátyás király magyar diplomatái: Vetési Albert."

²² Fraknói, "Mátyás király magyar diplomatái: Vetési Albert," 403.

²³ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 15.

²⁴ Caleffini, *Croniche (1471–1494)*, 176–77.

back. The primary reason for this was that Duchess Eleanor of Ferrara²⁵ was sister to the queen of Hungary. According to Zambotti, the embassy arrived in Ferrara with six hundred horses, with Rudolf of Rüdeshheim,²⁶ Bishop of Breslau (Breslavia, Breslau; today Wrocław, Poland), in the lead. Beside him, as a second-in-command, there was John Filipec of Moravian descent²⁷ Bishop of Várad (Varadinum, Großwardein, today Oradea, Romania), who would later return to Ferrara as a diplomat.²⁸ The Hungarians arriving in the town were welcomed by Sigismondo and Rinaldo d'Este,²⁹ brothers of the Duke, and the Duke greeted the embassy from the window of his palace, as his illness prevented him from paying his respects more directly. The most important envoys were lodged in the Palazzo Schifanoia, which was intended for "special guests, particularly in the hot summers of Ferrara,"³⁰ according to the editor Pardi. On 9 August, the day after their arrival, the embassy visited the sick Duke in his palace. On 13 August they set off for Naples via Consandalo, to avoid the plague raging in the regions of Marche and Romagna, which also forced Beatrice to bypass Rome and travel to Hungary by sea.³¹

The sea journey created unforeseen difficulties for Beatrice and her entourage; already on the second day of her journey,³² 3 October, they encountered a severe thunderstorm.³³ After that they spent two weeks being tossed by the waves at sea, "until finally they could land near Chioggia on the night of 13 to 14 October."³⁴ According to the *Diario ferrarese*, however, the majority of the entourage had already reached Ferrara around 3 October, and Duke Ercole I paid a quarter ducat for each person and horse.³⁵

Although Albert Berzeviczy remarked in his biography of Queen Beatrice that the Duke of Ferrara had serious difficulties providing accommodation for the large Hungarian and Neapolitan embassy,³⁶ we also learn from Zambotti's

²⁵ Eleanor of Aragon/Naples (1450–1493), Duchess of Ferrara, wife of Ercole I d'Este (1473–1493).

²⁶ Rudolf of Rüdeshheim (1402–1482), Bishop of Breslau (1468–1482).

²⁷ John/János/Jan Filipec (1431–1509), Bishop of Várad (1476–1490), Chancellor (1485–1490). He is also known as Pruisz (today Prostějov or Prosznicz, Czech Republic).

²⁸ Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 130.

²⁹ Sigismondo d'Este (1433–1507), Rinaldo d'Este (c. 1435–1535), brothers of Duke Ercole I d'Este.

³⁰ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 15.

³¹ Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 152.

³² Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 155.

³³ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 21.

³⁴ Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 155–56.

³⁵ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 21.

³⁶ Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 134.

diary that an even greater problem was the provision of food for this multitude – over 500 people. On 12 October, when Beatrice, delayed by a recent storm, was still on her way, but the majority of her entourage had already arrived in Ferrara, the Duke had to give orders to everyone who had lands in the town's environs to start baking bread, and to sell grain, as grain prices on the market had soared.³⁷ According to the diarist, wheat was sold at a standard rate of 20 soldi, barley and millet for ten. As evidenced by Caleffini, this price was not reduced even after the arrival of the queen: wheat still cost 19 soldi on 18 October, therefore the Duke – probably in order to lift the general mood – was forced to sell his own wheat for 12 soldi.³⁸

Beatrice herself stayed in Ferrara between 16 and 21 October,³⁹ and the spectacle of her entrance can be paralleled to the ceremonial processions of the *adventus* of the Holy Roman emperors, studied by Georg Schenk.⁴⁰ According to Zambotti's description, the duke and the duchess received Queen Beatrice at the *ponte di Lagoscuro (occursus)*, which crossed over the main branch of the river Po to the North of Ferrara.⁴¹ This was followed by the *ingressus* through the city's northern gate, named after Saint Blaise. At the head of the procession was the queen of Hungary, followed by Duke Ercole I, then the Duchess and her brother, Federico d'Aragona⁴² in the third place, followed by the attendant lords on horseback, ladies in carriages, and finally the musicians. The decorated garments of the queen fascinated even Zambotti: she was wearing a golden crown in her blond hair, her white horse walking under a golden canopy carried by doctors of medical and legal sciences. Caleffini adds further details, observing that her dress was made of golden brocade and, to signal her royal position, she carried a sword. He also notes that it was Pope Sixtus IV himself who sent the crown to Naples, via the local bishop.⁴³ During the *processio*, Beatrice went as far as the Palazzo Schifanoia, located in the south-east of the city. From there, the procession returned to the ducal palace in the city centre, where the queen was greeted by two hundred noble girls on the main square. This procession

³⁷ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 22.

³⁸ Caleffini, *Croniche (1471–1494)*, 97.

³⁹ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 23–24.

⁴⁰ Schenk, *Der Einzug des Herrschers: "Idealschema" und Fallstudie zum Adventuszeremoniell für römisch–deutsche Herrscher im spätmittelalterlichen italienischen Städten zwischen Zeremoniell, Diplomatie und Politik*.

⁴¹ Pardi's note Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 5. In the vicinity of the crossing we can find today the settlement of Pontelagoscuro.

⁴² Frederick of Aragon/Naples (1451–1504) later King of Naples (1496–1504).

⁴³ Caleffini, *Croniche (1471–1494)*, 196.

lasted the entire morning, and Beatrice reached her lodgings around three o'clock,⁴⁴ where she was looked after by her sister.⁴⁵

On 17 October, no noteworthy event took place, except for a magnificent feast, of which Zambotti recorded that the Hungarians “danced according to their own custom.”⁴⁶ According to Caleffini, the feast lasted until sunset, fifty-six dishes of sweets were served, and even the Duke himself danced with Beatrice.⁴⁷ On the following day, Ercole and Beatrice attended holy mass, and in the evening, they took a carriage to visit the *Corpus Domini* nunnery. To signal the spectacle of the visit, Zambotti emphasised the fact that the carriage was gilded, while Caleffini mentioned the five hundred attendants on horseback. The *Diario ferrarese* contains no information concerning 19 October, and the *Croniche* mentions only the general programme: holy mass and sightseeing.⁴⁸ On the evening of 20 October, a farewell dinner was held in the honour of the Queen, which finished only before sunset, similarly to the one on 17 October. In this diary record even Zambotti mentions the dance of the Duke and his sister-in-law, and from the *Croniche* we also learn that music at the feast was provided by a German musician, a certain Konrad, who was considered to be the best player of the recorder. On the final day of her stay in Ferrara, 21 October, Beatrice set off at approximately 10 o'clock. She was accompanied to her first stop, Corbula, by her sister, to whom at this time “she could not have known that [...] she is saying her final God-be-with-you”⁴⁹ to her. The data concerning the accommodation at Corbula can be found in Caleffini; Zambotti records only the time of departure, together with the fact that they left Pontelagoscuro by ship.

Guests who were present at the wedding and coronation ceremonies of King Matthias I and Beatrice of Aragon, held at the end of 1476, were still trickling home in February of the following year. The Duke of Andria,⁵⁰ whose name was recorded directly after Beatrice on the list of members of the embassy trav-

⁴⁴ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 23. In the old Italian timekeeping system the day started with twilight, or the evening Ave Maria, which was sung approximately half an hour after sunset. Cf. Bracci, “Ora.” According to the calculator on the website of the American National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (<https://www.esrl.noaa.gov/gmd/grad/solcalc/sunrise.html>) the time given by Zambotti (ore 23) is equal to 15.00 today. All further times are equally adjusted to modern timekeeping, and have been calculated by this method.

⁴⁵ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 23.

⁴⁶ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 23.

⁴⁷ Caleffini, *Croniche (1471–1494)*, 199.

⁴⁸ Caleffini, *Croniche (1471–1494)*, 199.

⁴⁹ Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 161.

⁵⁰ Francesco II del Balzo (1410–1482) Duke of Andria.

elling to Hungary,⁵¹ reached Ferrara on 13 February.⁵² Ercole welcomed the Duke when he passed through the city, and received him at his own court.

Although Beatrice never again met her sister Eleonora, who passed away in 1493, she met her brother Giovanni several times. In the background of their meetings, apart from the family connection, were the embassies of Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona,⁵³ and his appointment as Archbishop of Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran). Matthias trusts the vacant seat of the Archbishop of Esztergom to Giovanni d'Aragona, after the former archbishop Johann Beckenschläger⁵⁴ left the country in fear of the king. However, Giovanni could not enjoy his benefice, as the king wished to compensate Johann Beckenschläger with the bishopric of Győr (Iaurinum, Giavarino, Raab), but he did not agree to it, and moreover brought a suit in Rome for the seat of the Archbishop of Esztergom.⁵⁵ According to Bonfini, Giovanni assumed this office on 1 February 1480, but had already arrived in Hungary in 1479 as a papal legate, in order to encourage the Hungarian, Polish and Bohemian faithful to fight against the Turks. He issued his first charter on 5 February.⁵⁶ In the course of his journey to Hungary, he reached Ferrara on 14 September 1479.⁵⁷ He was travelling with an entourage which befitted his state, with his baggage and companions carried by two hundred horses and twenty-five mules. He entered the city accompanied from Consandolo by his sister, the Duchess, and from the San Giorgio Bridge by all the priests and monks in Ferrara. Naturally, he immediately visited his sister and his nephew Alfonso,⁵⁸ and received accommodation in the palace of the Duchess, the Castello Vecchio. His entourage stayed in the Schifanoia.

Therefore, Giovanni d'Aragona had to leave the seat of his archbishopric still in the year of his appointment, in order to procure a confirmation of his position in Rome. As a result, Zambotti found him once again in Ferrara on 31 July.⁵⁹ Duke Ercole went as far as Corbola on the previous day to receive him, and they at last arrived in the city around nine in the evening. His accommodation was once again in the Castello Vecchio, and his entourage stayed in the Palazzo Pendaglia, reserved for important visitors. The author mentions only

⁵¹ ASMo ASE C. Est. SeC b. 196 fasc. II/1. f. 2r. (Vestigia database no. 628).

⁵² Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 30.

⁵³ Giovanni d'Aragona (1456–1485), Archbishop of Esztergom (1479–1485), Cardinal (1480–1485).

⁵⁴ Johann Beckenschläger/Beckensloer János (c. 1427–1489), Archbishop of Esztergom and Chancellor (1474–1476).

⁵⁵ Beke, "Aragóniai János," 221.

⁵⁶ C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan a 15. században*, 1:107.

⁵⁷ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 69.

⁵⁸ Alfonso I d'Este (1476–1534), Duke of Ferrara (1505–1534).

⁵⁹ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 79.

a visit to Queen Beatrice as a reason for his journey, since he was probably not informed of the appointment of Giovanni d'Aragona to be Archbishop of Esztergom. After the Pope entrusted Giovanni on 20 August 1483 with the "eternal administration in spiritual as well as material matters" of the archbishopric of Esztergom – he would only be officially appointed by Pope Innocent VIII⁶⁰ one and a half years later⁶¹ – he travelled to Hungary once again, and on his way, rested on the last day of September in Ferrara. This time he stayed at the Palazzo Schifanoia, together with his entourage.⁶² He hurried to Rome for the 1484 papal elections, then in 1485 he arrived in Esztergom as the rightful archbishop, only to return shortly thereafter to the eternal city, where he died on 17 October.⁶³ These latter journeys are not mentioned in Zambotti's diary.

At the end of the year 1500 the widowed Queen Beatrice left for Naples, to find peace with her family.⁶⁴ She arrived in Ferrara on 30 January 1501, and spent eight days there. Zambotti could no longer provide such a detailed account of events as on her previous journey, because he was already living in Mantua. Nonetheless, in connection with the return of Beatrice, Zambotti tells the story of her unsuccessful marriage⁶⁵ to Vladislaus II Jagiellon.⁶⁶ We can also learn from a diary of uncertain authorship that during her stay in Ferrara, they attempted to entertain her with dance festivities, and even a comedy by Plautus, to cheer up the widow exhausted from her political battles.⁶⁷ She left for her city of birth in the company of her nephew Ippolito.

Returning to the period of King Matthias's reign, we may also examine the references to Ippolito I d'Este. We first encounter his name on 20 July 1486, when he received the appointment of protonotary in Ferrara. Apart from the title, he was also presented with white robes and a protonotary's hat. In the mass of his investiture the ceremonial *Messa grande* was sung.

He set off for his journey to the seat of his archbishopric on 18 June 1487,⁶⁸ after Innocent VIII issued the bull appointing him as administrator on 21 May, which enabled him to enjoy the incomes of the archbishopric, rated by

⁶⁰ Giovanni Battista Cibo (1432–1492), Pope Innocent VIII (1484–1492).

⁶¹ Beke, "Aragóniai János," 221.

⁶² Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 146.

⁶³ Beke, "Aragóniai János," 221.

⁶⁴ Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 604.

⁶⁵ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 202–3.

⁶⁶ Vladislaus II Jagiellon/ Vladislav II Jagellonský (1456–1516), King of Bohemia (1471–1516), King of Hungary (1490–1516).

⁶⁷ Pardi, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1490 sino al 1502*, 263–65. For more details about the performance, and the sources of Hungarian musical life found in Modena, see Domokos, "Fonti modenese sulla vita musicale nel Rinascimento in Ungheria," 57.

⁶⁸ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 186.

Zambotti at forty thousand ducats. At his departure, the extremely young pontiff – only eight years old – was accompanied as far as Francolino by his mother, his uncles (Sigismondo and Rinaldo d'Este), together with several relatives and courtiers. As evidenced by the *Diario ferrarese*, the entourage included the Bishop of Modena⁶⁹ and the protonotary Beltrame Costabili.⁷⁰ The latter had the task of governing the archbishopric, since according to the papal bull, Ippolito could not be ordained a bishop until the age of twenty-five.

Zambotti also noted the creation of Ippolito as a cardinal on 20 September 1493, which caused great joy to the Duke of Milan⁷¹ as well.⁷²

On 11 August 1494, we read once again of Ippolito's return,⁷³ having on this occasion left his archiepiscopal seat for eight months. Rinaldo and Alberto d'Este⁷⁴ greeted their relative on his arrival, who first went to the church, and afterwards to the duke. When his horse was led away, he hurried to his father on foot, who welcomed him with great joy and "not without sweet tears." He received accommodation in the Palazzo Schifanoia. Duke Ercole I attempted to request an extension of his short stay at home from the Hungarian king through the Duke of Milan.⁷⁵ Ludovico il Moro, Duke of Milan asked for the intervention of Maximilian I, King of the Romans,⁷⁶ who immediately sent an envoy to the Hungarian court.⁷⁷

On 13 February of the following year, Ippolito set off on his journey back to Hungary,⁷⁸ in order to take part in the Diet.⁷⁹ Although on 6 February Ercole I d'Este was asking for the assistance of the Duke of Milan in postponing the journey,⁸⁰ Duke Ludovico forwarded the case to his brother, Cardinal Asca-

⁶⁹ Gian Andrea Bocciazzini Bishop of Modena (1479–1495).

⁷⁰ Beltrame Costabili Protonotary and Governor of Esztergom (1487–1494), Bishop of Adria (1507–1519).

⁷¹ Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1469–1494), Duke of Milan (1476–1494). In reality, his uncle governed the Duchy of Milan from 1481. Ludovico Maria Sforza/Ludovico il Moro (1452–1508), Duke of Milan (1494–1500).

⁷² Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 229.

⁷³ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 234.

⁷⁴ Alberto d'Este (1415–1502), half-brother of Duke Ercole I d'Este.

⁷⁵ MTAK MS 4936/V, 37 (Vestigia database no. 753), original: ASMi PE Alemagna.

⁷⁶ Maximilian I Habsburg (1459–1519), King of the Romans/German King (1486–1519), Archduke of Austria (1493–1519), Holy Roman Emperor (1508–1519).

⁷⁷ MTAK MS 4936/V, 41 (Vestigia database no. 757), original: ASMi PE Alemagna.

⁷⁸ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 250.

⁷⁹ C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan a 15. században*, 1:107.

⁸⁰ MTAK MS 4936/VI, 5 (Vestigia database no. 880), original: ASMi PE Ferrara.

nio Sforza,⁸¹ only four days after Ippolito's departure.⁸² Eventually, on 14 April, a report reached Ferrara that Ippolito had arrived safely in Esztergom.⁸³

From 1496, we once again have envoys' accounts to confirm that the young archbishop of Esztergom returned home for a visit, then left Ferrara for Hungary, but soon turned back.⁸⁴ This visit left no trace in the *Diario ferrarese*.

The next date on which Ippolito is mentioned by Zambotti is October 1497. At that time, he was appointed by Ludovico il Moro to replace Guidantonio Arcimboldi Archbishop of Milan,⁸⁵ who had recently passed away, and the envoys reached Ferrara with the appointment on the last day of the month.⁸⁶ Shortly after the appointment, on 27 November, Ippolito left for Rome to express his gratitude for the honour he had received. Duke Ludovico himself sent forty attendants to accompany Ippolito, who thus had altogether 250 horses and mules to carry his entourage.⁸⁷

From 1495 there were chaotic dealings between Ippolito and Tamás Bakóc⁸⁸ in the business of exchanging the archbishopric of Esztergom and the bishopric of Eger, which finally concluded with the exchange of these clerical titles in 1497,⁸⁹ which Zambotti also records in his diary, although only on 19 February 1498, when the archbishop returned from Rome.⁹⁰

In addition to personal connections, the Kingdom of Hungary and Ferrara were also linked by diplomatic ties. The *Diario ferrarese* provides evidence for several envoys passing through Ferrara: the Hungarian envoy Antal Sánkfalvi,⁹¹ who was travelling to Naples to conduct negotiations with the Turks about the

⁸¹ Ascanio Maria Sforza (1455–1505), Cardinal (1484–1505).

⁸² MTAK MS 4936/VI, 6 (Vestigia database no. 881), original: ASMi PE Roma.

⁸³ MTAK MS 4936/VI, 8 (Vestigia database no. 891), original: ASMi PE Ferrara.

⁸⁴ MTAK MS 4936/VII, 45 (Vestigia database no. 1231), original: ASMi PE Ferrara, b. 337, and MTAK MS 4936/VII, 46 (Vestigia database no. 1232), original: ASMi PE Ferrara.

⁸⁵ Guido Antonio Arcimboldi (1428–1497), Archbishop of Milan (1488–1497).

⁸⁶ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 275.

⁸⁷ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 276.

⁸⁸ Tamás Bakóc (1442–1521), elected Bishop of Eger (1493–1497), Bishop of Eger (1497–1498), Archbishop of Esztergom (1498–1521), Cardinal (1500–1521), Chancellor (1491–1521).

⁸⁹ MTAK MS 4936/VIII, 29 (Vestigia database no. 1134), original: ASMi PE Roma, and MTAK MS 4936/VIII, 30 (Vestigia database no. 1135), original: ASMi PE Roma. Furthermore Királyné Belcsák, "Tommaso Amadei esztergomi érseki helynök levelei a Modenai Állami Levéltárban (1495–1505)," 142.

⁹⁰ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 278. For more information on Donato Aretino, who was involved in the exchange: Domokos and Schrödl-Libárdi, "Donato Aretino magyarországi levelei a Modenai Állami Levéltárban."

⁹¹ For more information about Sánkfalvi see Fraknói, "Mátyás király magyar diplomatái: Szántai Mihály, Kalmancsai Domokos, Sankfalvi Antal," 870–75., and Kubinyi, "A kincstári személyzet a XV. század második felében," 25–46.

peace, reached the city on 24 March 1484.⁹² Then, 25 March 1487, another diplomat of the Hungarian king arrived in the city:⁹³ John Filipec Bishop of Várad, who had already been to Ferrara in 1476, as a member of the embassy sent for Beatrice. Concerning him, Zambotti remarked that he arrived with an entourage of two hundred riders, in garments decorated in the Hungarian style (“*vestita la famiglia de rosso a la ungaréscha*”).⁹⁴ For his reception, trumpeters were sent to the San Giorgio Gate, whence he was taken to the Palazzo Schifanoia. Antonio Bonfini⁹⁵ is equally gushing about the pomp of the bishop’s procession, going into great detail, and in addition to mentioning three hundred men on horseback, his description of the purple garment is identical to Zambotti’s.⁹⁶ Filipec went first to the King of France, to procure there the liberation of the pretender Cem Sultan,⁹⁷ brother of Sultan Bayezid; from there, he went to Gian Galeazzo Sforza Duke of Milan, to engage the Duke’s daughter Bianca⁹⁸ for Prince John Corvinus,⁹⁹ son of Matthias. His journey to Paris, which was intended to represent the first link in a daring political turn for Matthias, was without success; but in Milan, he was all the more successful.¹⁰⁰

Beside the previously listed diplomats who could be identified, there were several other people with Hungarian ties who appeared in Ferrara: one of them was a Hungarian swordsman (“*spadaccione*”), who was mentioned in Zambotti’s diary on 3 April 1482.¹⁰¹ This person was on guard duty, together with Bernardino Mazone in the vicinity of Melara, when they encountered several shouting Venetians, with whom they got involved in a minor fracas. In the spring of 1489, a three-part mystery play (so-called *sacra rappresentazione*) was held in the days around Easter. The first “act” was presented on Maundy Thursday, 16 April, between six and ten in the evening, performing the Last Supper and Christ’s judgement, and the following day the performance continued with the Crucifixion.¹⁰² The third part, showing the resurrection, was

⁹² Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall’anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 152.

⁹³ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall’anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 181.

⁹⁴ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall’anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 181.

⁹⁵ Antonio Bonfini (1427/1434–1502), Italian humanist, historian of King Matthias and King Valdislaus II.

⁹⁶ Bonfini, *A magyar történelem tizedei*, 877.

⁹⁷ Cem Sultan (1459–1495), half-brother of Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512).

⁹⁸ Bianca Maria Sforza (1472–1510), former spouse of John Corvinus (1487–1492), Queen of Germany and Empress of the Holy Roman Empire, wife of Maximilian I Habsburg (1494–1510).

⁹⁹ John Corvinus/Korvin János (1473–1504) illegitimate son of King Matthias.

¹⁰⁰ Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig*, 311.

¹⁰¹ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall’anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 105.

¹⁰² Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall’anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 205.

performed on 24 April, in the presence of the Duke of Milan's envoy and other members of the town's nobility, beside the envoy of the Hungarian king.¹⁰³ The next occasion when we meet a Hungarian envoy is a wedding on 22 February 1490, when Francesco II Gonzaga,¹⁰⁴ Marquess of Mantua, and Isabella,¹⁰⁵ daughter of the Duke of Ferrara, were married.¹⁰⁶ Ippolito I d'Este had already sent his congratulations on the marriage in a letter dated 6 January.¹⁰⁷ This marriage was in fact what enabled Zambotti to receive information on the events of his home town during his service in Mantua.

As we can see, although Zambotti records the presence of Hungarian envoys, he provides little information of any value about them, nor even attempts to note their foreign-sounding names, and focuses rather on the description of their garments, entourage, accommodation, and possibly their destination. In the case of diplomats of Italian origin, however, he offers more accurate information, or at least records their names. First among them is Francesco Fontana of Brescia,¹⁰⁸ the nephew of Gabriele Rangoni.¹⁰⁹ The reason he is mentioned is that he attended the wedding of a certain Giovanni del Saraceno and his bride, Maddalena on 23 May 1476. Francesco arrived at the Hungarian royal court as a physician, but as a result of his erudition, he also fulfilled diplomatic missions for King Matthias I.¹¹⁰ He even became "the favourite Italian diplomat of Matthias".¹¹¹ Zambotti also refers to him as *ambasatore*, without mentioning his commission, though Fontana went to Italy on a complex and important mission: to visit Milan and Venice, to urge the appointment of Rangoni to the rank of cardinal in Rome, and, in Naples, to join the embassy accompanying Queen Beatrice to Hungary.¹¹² On 16 November 1479, Cardinal Gabriele Rangoni¹¹³ rested in Ferrara on his way to Rome.¹¹⁴ His accommodation was in the Palazzo Pendaglia, where the elite class of foreign students lived, and where even the

¹⁰³ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 206.

¹⁰⁴ Francesco II Gonzaga (1466–1519) Marquess of Mantua.

¹⁰⁵ Isabella d'Este (1474–1539) Marchioness of Mantua.

¹⁰⁶ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 213.

¹⁰⁷ ASMn AG E. V. 3. b. 533, no. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 9.

¹⁰⁹ Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából*, 4:339.

¹¹⁰ Magyary-Kossa, *Magyar orvosi emlékek*, I, 65.

¹¹¹ Csánki, "I. Mátyás udvara," 620.

¹¹² Cfr. Covini, "Fontana, Francesco."

¹¹³ On the Hungarian activities of Gabriele Rangoni, see Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*, 227 sgg, Kristóf, "Gabriele Rangone (Veronai Gábor) pályája (1410/20–1486)."

¹¹⁴ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 70.

Emperor Frederick III¹¹⁵ himself had stayed on earlier occasions.¹¹⁶ Zambotti suggests that his entourage comprised one hundred horses. One sad piece of news in the diary is a record of the death of a knight, Christoforo di Bianchi, on 12 October 1485,¹¹⁷ who accompanied Beatrice to Hungary in 1476 on the commission of the Duke of Ferrara, and was his representative at the royal wedding.¹¹⁸ He was buried in the San Domenico church with great respect. On 29 October 1487, ambassador Borso da Correggio¹¹⁹ returned from Hungary, where he had accompanied Ippolito I d'Este.¹²⁰ He had been knighted by King Matthias I, who had lavished abundant presents (gold fabric, silk, silver) on him, and had been equally gracious towards the other members of the embassy. On 10 March 1488, Ercole I d'Este accompanied the Milanese ambassadors delegated to Hungary as far as Pontelagoscuro.¹²¹

Possibly the most surprising reference to Hungarian history made in Zambotti's record occurs in the entry for 12 March 1491.¹²² On this day, Nicolò Maria d'Este, Bishop of Adria and the Duke's nephew, returned to Ferrara together with Armanno de' Nobili; they had left for Hungary as envoys on 26 October the previous year.¹²³ The difficulties they encountered during their embassy, as testified in their reports, were examined by Anna Jáhel Sárközi in her thesis.¹²⁴ According to their official, Latin letter of commission,¹²⁵ they were to visit King Vladislaus II and Queen Beatrice. They went to the king to convey the congratulations of the Duke of Ferrara on the event of his coronation, to feel him out on the consummation of his marriage to the widowed queen, Beatrice, and to support Ippolito I d'Este. They visited the widowed queen to pay their condolences, and to express their gratitude for the way she supported Ippolito with maternal love. In addition, however, Ercole I d'Este tasked them with gathering more confidential information; this commission was stated in an Italian let-

¹¹⁵ Frederick III Habsburg (1415–1493), Holy Roman Emperor (1452–1493).

¹¹⁶ Following Pardi's note, Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 41.

¹¹⁷ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 169.

¹¹⁸ Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 161.

¹¹⁹ Borso da Correggio (?–1504), diplomat of Ludovico il Moro (1487), later courtier of Ercole I d'Este.

¹²⁰ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 189–90.

¹²¹ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 194.

¹²² Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 221.

¹²³ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 218.

¹²⁴ Sárközi, "Documenti di una ambasceria difficile: Lettere di Nicolò Maria d'Este ed Armando de' Nobili." The transcriptions of all Modenese documents quoted below are available in the thesis.

¹²⁵ ASMò ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/4, 1. (Vestigia database no. 1306).

ter,¹²⁶ which also instructed them to ask for financial assistance from governor Beltrame Costabili, who was supporting Ippolito,¹²⁷ in order to cover not only their material expenses, but also the issuing of the bull confirming Ippolito's position.

Two final extant reports give an account of the success of their mission, with more or less similar content. The first was written by the chancellor of the bishop,¹²⁸ while the other was authenticated by the signatures of both the bishop and Armanno de' Nobili.¹²⁹ According to the chancellor's account, the two envoys were stuck in Zagreb, and he was the only one sent on to Esztergom on 2 December. On the 18th day of the same month, on his arrival in Esztergom, he met the Queen and passed on to her the condolences of the people of Ferrara; at the same time, he asked that the Queen and King allow for Bishop Nicolò and Armanno to fulfil their mission. After his visit to the Queen, through the mediation of Beltrame Costabili, he paid his respects to Ippolito. The King joined Beatrice on 22 December in Esztergom, where he spent three days, partly in Párkány (today Štúrovo, Slovakia). Concerning the validity of the marriage, the author of the note mentions several times that after dinner, King Vladislaus and Queen Beatrice spent some time in their room *remotis arbitris*. After the King's departure for Buda (Ofen), the Bishop's chancellor remained in Esztergom, and eventually started to make some arrangements for his ambassadorial letter of protection. When he received it, he started his journey back to Italy, but on his way, he was captured by László Egervári, ban of Slavonia and Croatia, who originally – in accordance with the order of Maximilian I, King of the Romans – wanted to assassinate him (*havea commisso [che] fossimo assassinati*), but finally, on seeing the letter of protection, spared him, meaning that he was able to reach Zagreb. From there, they wished to send two other envoys to the King (Giovanni Brutti – or Brutturis¹³⁰ – and Alessandro Bennasciutto), but they did not start their journey in the end, following the advice, or rather instructions, of the ban and the *capitano de Zagabria* because of the warfare raging in the country. As a result, the envoys went to Bernardin Frankopan,¹³¹ who, after receiving them, discussed the situation in Hungary with Nicolò Maria d'Este, and showed him several letters, in relation to which the ambassadors made enquiries about Székesfehérvár falling into the hands of King Vladislaus,

¹²⁶ ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/2, 2. (Vestigia database no. 1292).

¹²⁷ Guerra, "Ippolito I d'Este, arcivescovo di Esztergom," 19.

¹²⁸ ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/5, 1. (Vestigia database no. 1307).

¹²⁹ ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/6, 1. (Vestigia database no. 1308).

¹³⁰ Cf. Giovanni Brutti's credentialis letter, ASMo C. Est. Prin. Minute b. 1644/1, 1, 23a. (Vestigia database no. 2401).

¹³¹ Bernardin Frankopan (1453–1529), Croatian nobleman and diplomat.

and the military activities of Jakab Székely in Sclavonia. Finally, the envoy mentions that neither through King Vladislaus and Queen Beatrice, nor through the envoys sent to László Egervári, were they able to procure a letter of protection from the King of the Romans.

The official report of the envoys does not add anything of significance to this; in effect, they transcribe the text of their emissary after a brief introduction.

Beyond what is contained in the report, it must have been in oral communication that the information was uttered which Zambotti considered so important that he noted it in his diary. According to the entry, on his capture of Székesfehérvár, Maximilian I had the tomb of King Matthias I opened, and spoke the following words: *"Inclite Rex, existimabam te, dum in humanis ageres, immortalem; nunc autem cognosco te mortalem."*¹³² Then he had the remains reburied, without disturbing the body or the grave goods.

Concerning the siege of Székesfehérvár, various sources are available: personal records from Maximilian I and a knight called Michael von Ehenheim, the contemporary historical works of Antonio Bonfini and Ludovicus Tubero,¹³³ and finally the texts of later historiographers: the history of Miklós Istvánffy,¹³⁴ and the biography of Maximilian I by Joseph Grünbeck. The brutality of the city's capture is represented, to a variable degree, by those authors biased towards the Hungarian side (Bonfini and Istvánffy): "on the wide road leading to the marketplace, they started a vicious fight with the citizens, [...] they slew everyone from the guard"¹³⁵ and "everywhere crying, terror and the shouts of screaming womenfolk and children were heard, together with the terrible and grim voices of the cruelly murdering and fierce warriors"¹³⁶ After such a beginning, it is no wonder that Bonfini represents the appearance of the Germans at the tomb as follows:

There were some who broke into the church of the heavenly mother and the chapel of the holy kings, among them three, as they say, were murdering over the tomb of the divine Matthias, and wanted to cut up his already withered corpse. [...] but when they heard the order of the Caesar, who announced that he would pass grave judgement on anyone who [...] laid their hands upon sacred places [...], they abandoned their intention.¹³⁷

¹³² Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 221.

¹³³ Ludovicus Tubero/ Ludovik Crijević Tuberon (1459–1527), Ragusan historian.

¹³⁴ Miklós Istvánffy (1538–1615), humanist historian.

¹³⁵ Bonfini, *A magyar történelem tizedei*, 945.

¹³⁶ Istvánffy, *Istvánffy Miklós magyarok dolgariól írt históriája Tállyai Pál XVII. századi fordításában*, I, 45.

¹³⁷ Bonfini, *A magyar történelem tizedei*, 946.

The sobriety of Maximilian I's decision, that he did not allow churches to be laid waste, is confirmed even by the writings of Tubero and Ehenheim.

The narrative of the emperor's side paints a considerably more pacific picture than Bonfini's, although both Maximilian and Ehenheim admit to the murder of approximately ten young Hungarians. Tubero, however, who left to posterity what is probably the most objective account, notes of them that they could have avoided coming to this tragic end.¹³⁸ Ehenheim talks of two further Hungarian warriors who fell beside King Matthias's tomb, and this motif may be what Grünbeck adopted, when in his representation of the horrors of the siege, he talks about the blood-stained floor of the church.¹³⁹

Ehenheim, Tubero and Bonfini all mention the personal appearance of Maximilian at the tomb of King Matthias I, therefore we can accept this as true, and the description of Zambotti, who adopted from Bonfini the motif of the tomb vandalised by soldiers, also appears authentic. As regards the Latin sentence of Maximilian, it shows a remarkable similarity to the epitaph of King Matthias I:

Addressing	Reference to the extraordinary fame of King Matthias I	Statement of unavoidable destiny/fate
Inclite <i>Rex</i>	existimabam te, dum in humanis ageres; <i>immortalem</i> ,	nunc autem cognosco te <i>mortalem</i> . ¹⁴⁰
Marmore hoc <i>Matthias Corvinus</i> situs est	quem facta <i>Deum</i> ostendum	fata fuisse <i>hominem</i> . ¹⁴¹

The likelihood of the scene described in Zambotti, although it might appear theatrical at first, is supported by the self-image of Maximilian I, himself inclined to theatricality, as the "last knight". When seen the contents of the epitaph, he could indeed have uttered the words recorded in the *Diario ferrarese*. All in all, based on the account of the envoys, Zambotti left us a final scene in the earthly career of King Matthias I worthy of the legendary life of the king.

The final diary entry connected to the foreign dignitaries who visited Hungary was written on 20 August 1502. On that day Margaret, Marchioness of Saluzzo¹⁴² returned to Ferrara, after she had accompanied Anna of Foix-Can-

¹³⁸ Tubero, *Kortörténeti feljegyzések: Magyarország*, 152.

¹³⁹ Grünbeck, "Historia Friderici IV. et Maximiliani I.," 87.

¹⁴⁰ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 221.

¹⁴¹ Tubero, *Commentariorum de temporibus suis libri XI*, II, 161.

¹⁴² Margaret of Foix-Candale (1473–1536), Marchioness of Saluzzo (1492–1504), regent of the Marquisate of Saluzzo during the minority of her son Michele Antonio (1504–1526.)

dale,¹⁴³ the betrothed of King Vladislaus II to Venice.¹⁴⁴ The whole Este family was present for her reception, and the noble lady, who was a member of the Foix family like Anna, was accommodated, together with her entourage, in the nine rooms above the ducal chapel.¹⁴⁵

As mentioned in the introduction, the nature of this type of diary means that it contains references not only to diplomats and nobles, but to everyday people as well, and from a Hungarian perspective, students are of particular interest. There are several estimates available concerning the number of students studying in Ferrara in the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century: in an article, Enrica Guerra mentions 47 Hungarian and Polish students between the years 1402 and 1555.¹⁴⁶ Endre Veress, by contrast, lists close to a hundred students, both named and anonymous, in his book, though their underlying source is most probably the same: the relevant work of Giuseppe Pardi.¹⁴⁷ The Hungarian students were fully involved in the life of Ferrara, where they could take sides in the conflicts, and also have their share of the glory. As subjects of the Kingdom of Hungary they had considerable advantages, received support, and in contrast to the other foreigners, they had such tempting prerogatives that the brother of King Vladislaus II's physician, who hailed from Piacenza, asked for admittance into the Hungarian *natio*.¹⁴⁸

One of the members of the rival branch of the House of Este, Nicolò d'Este, provoked rioting in Ferrara on 1 September 1476, and Hungarian students also got mixed up in the disturbances. Three of them were injured, one so seriously that he died of his wounds.¹⁴⁹ The deceased, whose identity is not known, was buried by Duchess Eleanor with great dignity, in order to maintain peaceful relations, and out of friendship towards the nation that welcomed her sister. A similar situation arose at the rectoral elections in 1488, but fortunately there were no casualties at that time – at least among the Hungarian students. Eleanor once again covered the expenses of healing an injured student, a Master John, and even had a house furnished specially for the Hungarian students.¹⁵⁰ This event, however, is not mentioned by Zambotti, whose diary includes no

¹⁴³ Anna of Foix-Candale (1484– 26 July 1506) was Queen of Hungary and Bohemia as the third wife of King Vladislaus II.

¹⁴⁴ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 341.

¹⁴⁵ Merlotti, "Foix de Candale, Marguerite de."

¹⁴⁶ Guerra, "The Hungarian Community in Ferrara at the Estes court," 567–574.

¹⁴⁷ Pardi, *Titoli dottorali conferiti dallo studio di Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI*.

¹⁴⁸ Veress, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai (1221–1864)*, 378.

¹⁴⁹ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 16.

¹⁵⁰ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 376.

entries between 4 and 11 September; all the relevant information is found in a letter written by Duchess Eleanor to her sister.¹⁵¹

A much brighter event in the life of Hungarians in Ferrara was the one which we also find reference to in Zambotti, in his entry on 18 January 1480. On this day, the Duke of Ferrara personally inaugurated as rector of the Faculty of Arts (“*rettore degli artisti*”) Albert Magyar,¹⁵² who worked as vice rector between 1481 and 1482.¹⁵³ The inauguration speech was given by the medical doctor, messer Antonio of Piacenza, then the newly made rector was invited to a ceremonial feast by Antonio Magnanino, who was in charge of the court jesters responsible for the Duke’s entertainment.¹⁵⁴

Apart from the references associated with specific persons, we can find echoes of several significant historical events relating to Hungary in the work of Bernardino Zambotti, naturally with a little delay. On 17 August 1487, King Matthias I was laying siege to Wiener Neustadt,¹⁵⁵ and the news reached Ferrara eight days later, on 25.¹⁵⁶ In connection with the event, the author remarks that King Matthias I was accompanied by both Queen Beatrice and Archbishop Ippolito, and he makes use of this opportunity to expound on the family relations between King Matthias I and Ippolito, and to mention Ippolito’s youth. Among the entries from May 1490, but with no indication of the day, we also find a record of the death of King Matthias I, which took place on 6 April.¹⁵⁷ There is no explanation for the delay, since Caleffini describes the arrival of an envoy with the news on 16 April, “which caused great pain primarily to the Duke and Duchess of Ferrara, and to all the people of Ferrara, but which greatly delighted the Venetians.”¹⁵⁸ On 17 August 1490 a messenger clad in the habit of a monk brought a letter to Ferrara,¹⁵⁹ stating that John Corvinus had reached Buda, and there was a state of war in the country. According to the letter, the queen and Ippolito were guarded by three thousand soldiers. Moreover, twenty-six merchants had already been killed in the disturbances, and the emperor wished to marry Beatrice.¹⁶⁰ On 3 June 1501, Zambotti wrote that news of the

¹⁵¹ Berzeviczy, *Aragóniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok*, 122–24.

¹⁵² Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall’anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 72.

¹⁵³ Pardi, *Lo studio di Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI*, 72.

¹⁵⁴ On Antonio Magnanino, see Pardi’s note: Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall’anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 7.

¹⁵⁵ Benda, *Magyarország történeti kronológiája I: A kezdetektől 1526-ig*, 313.

¹⁵⁶ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall’anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 189–190.

¹⁵⁷ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall’anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 216.

¹⁵⁸ Caleffini, *Croniche (1471–1494)*, 387.

¹⁵⁹ Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall’anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 217.

¹⁶⁰ King Matthias died without legal heir, so more pretenders vied for the Hungarian throne, and marrying the widowed queen was a convenient way to achieve it. In the end, Vladislaus

anti-Turkish league was confirmed, and was signed, according to the *Diario*, on 30 May by Pope Alexander VI,¹⁶¹ Venetian Republic, the King of Portugal and the Hungarian King, Vladislaus II, with the agreement of the French and Spanish kings.¹⁶²

All in all, the diary is a valuable source both for researchers of cultural relations, and for compilers of the itineraries of diplomats, and it may – as we perceive when reading about the ‘royal encounter’ between Maximilian I of Habsburg and King Matthias I – provide additional information even on the fates of the main protagonists of our national history. Beyond that, the accounts of the *Diario ferrarese* also confirm that the Kingdom of Hungary enjoyed great respect and fame, as news about its monarch and diplomats reached even the citizens of lower ranks, such as the author of the diary, Zambotti.

(Translated by Kinga Földvály)

II took this step, although he soon divorced the elderly Queen Beatrix, see Zambotti, 202–3.

¹⁶¹ Rodrigo Borgia (1430–1503), Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503).

¹⁶² Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, 307.

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DF Diplomatikai fényképgyűjtemény [Collection of Photocopies]
Q szekció – Mohács előtti gyűjtemény [Q section: Pre-Mohács Collection]
DL Diplomatikai Levéltár [Collection of Charters]
- MTAK Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár és Információs Központ [Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences]
MS Kézirattár és Régi Könyvek Gyűjteménye [Department of Manuscripts & Rare Books]
- NSZL Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [National Széchényi Library]
- ASBo Archivio si Stato di Bologna [State Archives of Bologna]
- ASMi Archivio di Stato di Milano [State Archives of Milan] / Stati preunitari / Antichi regimi
Archivio Ducale Visconteo-Sforzesco
Archivio visconteo
Carteggio sforzesco
PE Carteggio e atti extra dominium (Potenze estere)
- ASMn Archivio di Stato di Mantova [State Archives of Mantua] / Stati preunitari / Antichi regimi
AG Archivio Gonzaga
E. V. 3. Carteggi degli Ambasciatori – Vari
- ASMo Archivio di Stato di Modena [State Archives of Modena] / Stati preunitari / Antichi regimi
MS Manoscritti della biblioteca
ASE Archivio Segreto Estense
CeS Casa e Stato
SeC Stato e Città
C. Est. Cancelleria, Sezione estero
Amb. Carteggio ambasciatori vari
Fuori Italia
Ungh.

- CPE Carteggi con Principi Esteri
Fuori Italia
Ungh.
- AC Archivio Camerale, Camera marchionale poi ducale estense
AdP Amministrazione dei Principi
- ASVe Archivio di Stato di Venezia [State Archives of Venezia] / Stati preunitari
/ Antichi regimi
Secreta, Archivio proprio Pinelli
- BAMi Biblioteca Ambrosiana [Ambrosiana Library, Milan]
Archivio Falcò Pio di Savoia
- BNM, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia [National Library Marciana]
Ms Manoscritti
- Manus online, www.manus.iccu.sbn.it
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The present volume is an integral part of the Vestigia Research Group's previous works and volumes of studies. The studies present a particular moment in Italian–Hungarian relations between the 13th and 16th centuries, and what makes the volume particularly valuable is that all the authors have undertaken to work on primary sources or groups of sources, mostly unpublished, often ignored by previous research.

This valuable volume now gives the non-Hungarian readers an insight into the work of the Vestigia Research Group, the importance of which is hard to overestimate. The greatest beneficiary of this project is, of course, the historical research on the medieval (and early modern) Kingdom of Hungary.

From a general historical point of view, the “cultural difference” between Italian and Hungarian customs, thinking and way of life at the time is extremely interesting, and can be seen not only in the planning of an embassy or wedding procession, but also in the letters of the Italians who came to Hungary, sometimes in the form of bitter complaints and homesickness.

Tibor Neumann