

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]
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