



Matthias Corvinus, the King

Tradition and Renewal
in the Hungarian Royal Court
1458–1490

DIONYSII HALICARNASEI ORIGINVM SIVE
ANTIQTATVM ROMANARV LIBER PRIMVS



VM RATIONE VELLEM
rationes: que redoi solent i pro
pmsi historiari: scribere de me
presari cogor: nec extollendis
tamen laudibus meis supra me
uacaturus: qual molestas audiis
tibus scio: nec in alicj scriptoris
calumnias ipse coniecturus: ut Am
xulaus in proemio historiarum
fecit: utq Theopompus sed con
silia mea demonstrans: quibo su
usul: quum hunc tractatum in
stitui: simulq rationem reddes

de facultatibus: per quas eorū que scribenda essent: peritiam
suscepi. Persuasus enim sum esse et: qui uelint industrie sue po
steris monumenta relinquere: que non simul cum corpore con
sumat tempus: ac precipue scriptoribus historiarum: in quibus
omnes collocandam ueritatem suscipimus: prudentie initium
& sapientie: Primum quidem materias eligere pulchras & excel
lentes: plurimamq uilitatem us: qui lecturi sunt: afferentes: de
inde parare congruas conferende materie facultates: multa cu
diligentia atq industria. Nam qui de rebus ignobilibus: aut pra
uis: nullo ue dignis stu: lio: historias absoluere: siue in lucem
prodire expectentes: & quali nomine potui: siue uim suam in di
cendo: copiamq ostentare: nec ex illa cognitione probantur a
posteris: nec eloqui causa laudantur: quippe qui opinionem re
linquant legentibus eorum historias: quod talem uiam sint e
mulati: qualia ediderunt scripta. Ferme enim omnes exultant:
uaginem esse animi uocant: uisq orationem: qui uero materiam
quidem eligunt optatam eam autem inuaciter negligenterq co
ponunt: ex quali uisq audita: nulli quidem ab electione ea lau



The First Humanists at Matthias Corvinus' Court, the Early Inspirers of Flaunting Wealth and Power

The death of Matthias Corvinus put a halt to intensive work on large-scale plans in the areas of politics, scholarship and the arts. What little is known about the final stage of the work indicates a very high level of culture at the Buda court and permits us to imagine what might ultimately have come of Matthias' plans. The codices which were retained in Florence for copying after the King's death, and Gáspár Heltai's descriptions in his later chronicle of the plans for the grandiose Buda *Schola* and the "ideal town district,"¹ give a strong impression of a cultural edifice which—even in its unfinished state—conveys Matthias' exceptional monarchical ambitions and his patronage of scholarship and the arts.

His ambition fed on the legacy of his father, John Hunyadi, whose famous victories over the Ottomans had been celebrated by all of Europe. When Matthias was three years old, his father was elected governor of Hungary, promising a bright future for his children. John Hunyadi, as is well known, provided his children with the finest training, entrusting their education to the Pole Gregorz z Sanoka, who remained in Hungary after the defeat at Varna and the death of King Wladislas I in 1444, and who found refuge with János Vitéz, Bishop of Várad (Oradea). His education presumably started with learning Latin, and then because they were still young children, it was thought better for them to learn initially in Hungarian from a tutor. The choice thus fell on János Vitéz.² He conducted Hunyadi's correspondence until 1451, as documented in his correspondence book.³ Although Hunyadi's office of governor only came to an end in 1453, when Ladislas V actually commenced his rule, Vitéz presumably abandoned the correspondence when his followers Albert Hangácsi, István Várdai and Nicolaus Barius (Miklós Bánfalvi) returned to Hungary in 1450–1451 after gaining their doctorates in law in Italy. They had a more up-to-date education than he, and immediately stepped on to the international stage.⁴ Vitéz finished with his more or less regular teaching of the Hunyadi boys around 1450. About then, like earlier, after the tragedy of Varna, he prepared to go abroad to learn Greek and Latin literature, that is, a

Humanist qualification,⁵ but the offices he had undertaken beside young King Ladislas V and the unstable political situation again impeded him in this for a second time.

Vitéz' learning was scholastic, acquired in Hungary and the University of Vienna. He naturally raised Matthias in this spirit. He taught the basics of literary scholarship, first of all the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectics), and with great success: the Italians were later to marvel at Matthias' refined speech and learning. These were praised by Bartolomeo Maraschi, the papal envoy to Matthias, in a letter he sent to the Pope.⁶ Galeotto Marzio, who left to posterity the most credible account of the King, was not quite so impressed by his knowledge of Latin as the envoy of the Holy See. He also praised Matthias' Latin and his oratory, but mentioned a case when Matthias breached the rules of grammar in a speech.⁷ Solecisms of classical Latin, i.e. grammatical and semantic errors, and barbarism, i.e. incorporating words from the national language and words not used in ancient Latin, are found quite frequently in Vitéz' Latin, too.⁸ After acquiring the basics, the King advanced his classical education by reading the greats of ancient Roman literature and Humanist authors. He was encouraged in this above all by Vitéz, whose own reading had generated in him a thirst for Humanist culture.

Matthias fully accepted and supported Vitéz' cultural ambitions and plans for a long period after acceding to the throne. His teacher had become acquainted with the display of royal power in the courts of Sigismund and Albert I Habsburg, and also had direct experience of the court of Frederick III. Vitéz' nephew, the highly cultured poet Janus Pannonius, must have been a particularly attractive personality to Matthias. Vitéz himself may have learned from him. Janus completed his Italian studies in 1458 and returned to Hungary to serve the King—and of course his own uncle. He was a living storehouse of Humanist scholarship. His youth, handsomeness and extraordinary wit made him an excellent companion, from whom the King could learn the most modern ideas without effort, almost as an entertainment. Matthias greatly esteemed Janus. He took him into his confidence, learned from him and heaped him with favours.

1. Title page of the Dionysius Halicarnassensis Corvina, 1485–1490, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (Cat. 4.10)



2. Medal of Marsilio Ficino, end of 15th century, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (Cat. 12.1)

Leafing through books over a drink after a banquet was a favourite mode of learning. Such a conversation in Esztergom is reported by Galeotto Marzio.⁹ The Buda *symposia*, which became particularly famous after the arrival to Hungary of Francesco Bandini in 1476, followed, or rather revived, an earlier tradition. One of the best-known participants in the Hungarian *symposia* of the time was Janus Pannonius, who in 1469 received from the Florentine Humanists, together with Marsilio Ficino's commentaries to the Platonic *Symposium*, and injunction to "educate" the Hungarians by propagating the works of Plato. The main recipients of his propaganda were Matthias and Vitéz and his followers. Janus aroused the King's interest in the teachings of ancient philosophy, with the result that after Bandini arrived in Hungary, the translations and neoplatonic philosophy of Ficino were warmly received by Matthias and those around him.

The King's enthusiasm for books and propagating them stemmed from his early influences, Vitéz and the Hungarian humanists. Vitéz, who according to Georg Peurbach was regarded as "the only devotee, scholar and reformer of learning among the northern peoples," created a library of his own of unmatched value to "enrich Pannonia and Dacia" before 1461 (the year of Peurbach's death), stocking it with books "obtained at great expense from diverse countries."¹⁰ Vespasiano da Bisticci also reports that Vitéz had books brought from all over Italy and beyond for his magnificent library, in which he collected writing on all kinds of subjects, and spared no expense on these fine codices with emended text. If he found them nowhere else, he would write to

Florence in search of them. "He ennobled his own country," wrote Bisticci, "by providing it with books." There were few Latin books which could not be found in his library.¹¹ It must have been above all the example of Vitéz that was in Matthias' mind when he sent Taddeo Ugoletto on a journey to obtain books in 1487–1488. Ugoletto was in Florence in 1488,¹² where he ordered a great many books. Vitéz and Janus Pannonius were previously among Vespasiano da Bisticci's best customers, and this is the main reason for the Florentine Humanist including their biographies in his book *Vitae* (together with György Handó, Provost of Pécs).¹³ Vitéz and Janus almost certainly had a considerable influence on Matthias' choice of reading and provided help and guidance on collecting books. From several surviving codices from the Bibliotheca Corviniana, it may be inferred that he had an extensive collection of Humanist books in 1472, before the deaths of Vitéz and Janus. A military tract dedicated to him by Roberto Valturio indicates that he started collecting for his library already around 1465.¹⁴ (Cat. 8.1)

János Vitéz and his Hungarian Humanist protégés were well practised in supporting and making gifts to foreign literati. In April 1453, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, secretary to Frederick III, who later acceded to the Papal throne as Pius II (1458–1464), wrote a letter to Nicolaus Barius. This reveals that he had received from Vitéz a fine horse and furs worthy of a king.¹⁵ Vitéz and Barius had, in the court of Frederick III, early the previous year, paid their respects to the young King Ladislas V, Piccolomini's protégé, before he set out to take the Hungarian throne. Thus it may be supposed that Vitéz sent the gifts to the Italian Humanists in gratitude for their role in persuading the Emperor to permit the departure of the legal King of Hungary. Just as his uncle had to Piccolomini, Janus, when in Italy as envoy in 1465, presented a fine horse to Battista Guarino, who could hardly express his gratitude to the poet.¹⁶ Making gifts was also customary when asking for protection. On 5 January 1465—that is, during Janus' mission to Rome—Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini sent three letters to Hungary.¹⁷ In the letter to Janus, he thanks him for the gifts and begs pardon for not fulfilling Janus' requests.¹⁸ In the letter to István Várdai, Archbishop of Kalocsa, he also asks to be excused for failing to fulfil Várdai's orders because of the death of Pope Pius II in the meantime.¹⁹ The requests, first of all Várdai's appointment as cardinal, had been initiated by King Matthias in autumn 1463 through an envoy sent to the Pope, Bishop Mark of Knin.²⁰ Várdai backed up his request with the lavish gift of a magnificent goblet for Ammannati who wrote to express his gratitude, saying that this gift would be the centrepiece of his table. From the context, it may be inferred that Várdai gave to the Roman cardinal an exceptionally valuable gilded drinking vessel decorated in relief.²¹

Those who gave gifts of books and dedications also received lavish rewards. It is not known exactly how Vitéz recompensed the numerous books dedicated to him, but he certainly gave generous gifts to their authors. It is well known, however, that Matthias royally rewarded the works of literature and poetry dedicated or presented to him. There is an oft-quoted eye-witness account of New Year gifts by Galeotto Marzio, who found that the covers of codices in the royal library containing his own works had been filled with silver and gold.²² Foreign envoys also received considerable gifts on their arrival and departure,²³ and took home even more splendid gifts for their masters.

Through János Vitéz' large-scale cultural activities, and with the involvement of Hungarian Humanists schooled in Italy and their Italian friends, the systematic development of Humanist culture in Hungary accelerated after the coronation of King Matthias in 1464. The King gave Vitéz and the Humanists surrounding them his full support, and by their work and by making use of their foreign contacts, they contributed to an increase in the King's international standing.

Hungary's diplomatic ties were a major factor in setting up foreign cultural links. In the early years of Matthias' reign these were closest with humanists working in the Roman Curia.²⁴ The Hungarian envoys who shaped its diplomacy were all humanists close to Vitéz, educated in Italy. Vitéz' own diplomatic activity up till the recovery of the crown mainly comprised negotiations with Frederick III, and at the same time it was the humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, who was most influential among the Hungarians.²⁵ As a friend of the Pope, Vitéz achieved nearly everything he wanted in the Holy See. Negotiations on the

founding of a Hungarian university in Pozsony (Bratislava), the Academia Istropolitana, probably started during Pius II's life. During his mission to the Holy See, one of Janus Pannonius' primary assignments was to obtain permission for the university. Credit for the foundation was due to Vitéz, but it was in Matthias' name that the petitions were written, providing a full guarantee that the university would actually be founded. In connection with the founding of the Pozsony University, Vitéz requested the opinion of a professor at his *alma mater*, the University of Vienna, Leonhard Huntzpichler, who incorporated into his advice specific Central European and Hungarian considerations. The professor approved of a university accessible to both the Slavs and the Greeks, being founded in Hungary. A Graecophile attitude was natural for the humanists, and was boosted by the shared Turkish threat. Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay has hypothesised that Vitéz and the Greek-born Cardinal Bessarion, with whom he may have met in Vienna, contrived some common plan in this area. This may be inferred from his close links with Georgius Trapezuntius in 1467 and from the invitation to Hungary of John Argyropoulos in 1471.²⁶ In 1450, on writing *De liberorum educatione*, Enea Silvio Piccolomini regretted that Ladislas V had not studied Greek. He considered it important for the future to know Greek because, as he noted, there were many Greeks in Hungary.²⁷ This may have been taken into account in connection with the Hungarian university. Matthias' designated heir, John Corvinus, is well known to have been educated in Greek language and literature.²⁸ When the Pozsony University was founded—and for some time afterwards—it was hoped that the Ottomans would be forced out of Constantinople and Jerusalem. In this perspective, a cultural centre in Hungary



3. Medal of Galeotto Marzio, second half of 15th century, Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Cat. 12.2)



4. Janus Pannonius' Book of Gospels in Greek, 10th–11th century, Budapest, ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár (Cat. 12.7)

could have acted as a bridge between the reunited eastern and western branches of Christendom, the dream of Bessarion, which came to pass in Florence. That the union came about was mostly due to Cardinal Bessarion, who until the end of his life (1472) struggled for its actual implementation and survival.

During his mission to Italy in 1465, Janus visited Ferrara and Florence, where he purchased books and renewed acquaintances and friendships from 1458. From that time onwards, Hungarian–Florentine relations steadily strengthened until 1472 and remained the most influential alongside the links with Bessarion and the Roman Humanists. In 1469, there was a veritable Hungarian colony living in Florence, headed by Péter Garázda, a relation of Janus and Vitéz. The Hungarian youth had a close friendship with Bartolomeo Fonzio, and was liked by several other Florentine literati, including Vespasiano da Bisticci, Ugolino Verino and Pietro Cennini. They were all later to have a role in the culture of Matthias' court. He was also in close relationship with Lorenzo de' Medici and Marsilio Ficino,²⁹ and the latter had him take the comment of Plato's *Symposium*, mentioned above, to Janus in 1469.³⁰ Janus sent some of his poems, including the elegy *Ad animam suam*,³¹ which included neoplatonic elements, to the Florentine interpreter of Plato.³²

Ficino and Lorenzo de' Medici primarily owed their enthusiasm for Plato to a friend of Bessarion, John Argyropoulos, who primarily interpreted the works of

Aristotle at the University of Florence. Argyropoulos was friendly with Cardinal Bessarion and had taught in Florence since late 1457, where he received considerable material and moral recognition.³³ He had studied in Italy, which gave him the best knowledge of Western scholasticism among any of the Greeks living in Italy, and he combined this in his philosophical thinking with Aristotle and Plato and other Greek philosophers and church fathers.³⁴ He is known to have accepted an invitation to Hungary in 1472, but his journey was cancelled because of the plot against Matthias and the death of his Hungarian sympathisers. His pupil, Bartolomeo Fonzio,³⁵ was similarly invited to Hungary, but owing to the same conspiracy against Matthias he was also unwilling to come.

Under the intellectual control of Vitéz and Janus, the Hungarians who studied in Florence also made a contribution to strengthening the links of political interest between Hungary and Florence. The city of Florence and Lorenzo de' Medici are known to have sent a pair of lions to Matthias at the end of 1469, at the recommendation of the Hungarian envoy István Bajoni. Péter Garázda, whom they wanted to escort the lions, declined the duty and proposed to the *Signoria* that they entrust the task to János Telegdi (Leontius, Oroszlanos).³⁶ Matthias received the animals in Vienna,³⁷ symbolically conveying to the inhabitants of the imperial city and to Emperor Frederick III that Florence was paying homage to him as the ruler of secular rulers, so that he was

superior to the Emperor. The letter expressing the King's gratitude for the lions was presumably composed by Janus Pannonius, who wrote four epigrams in honour of the gift.³⁸ In one, he takes the aspect and character of the King and appearance and nature of the lion to identify Matthias with the king of the animals.³⁹ Making use of the renaissance revival of the ancient study of physiognomy, Matthias was frequently portrayed with leonine features.⁴⁰ It was Lorenzo de' Medici and the Florentine Humanists, as well as Matthias' Neapolitan wife, Beatrice of Aragon, and her relatives, who above all supported Matthias in the display of power which he pursued on an increasingly grandiose scale towards the end of his life. Making the gift of this pair of lions and sending them to Vienna constituted the first expression of this.

The sending of the lions, and the symbolism it carried, is an early demonstration of the expectations that Florence and the Hungarian humanists placed on Matthias' aspirations to power. Janus Pannonius was already invoking the prospect of the imperial title. "You are King and Emperor," he wrote to Matthias in 1467, dedicating to him the work of Plutarch, translated with the title *De dictis regum et imperatorum*. He added as an explanation: "King by title, emperor by virtue of unrelenting warfare."⁴¹ Indeed, he wrote, Matthias could be Trajan: like the Roman emperor who had reformed the Empire, Matthias was reviving Christendom, which had started towards decline, and if he conceded certain conditions, such as listening to good counsel, satisfying everyone's demands of him and requesting God's favour, he would make great progress.⁴²

The King's epithet *Corvinus* also came into being as the result of the pre-conspiracy Hungarian-Florentine cooperation and—*nomen est omen*—embodied his aspirations to power in the Holy Roman Empire. The name *Corvinus* first appears in a letter of 1472 sent by Bartolomeo Fonzio,⁴³ who most likely got his information from his friend Garázda. The King did not use it himself, but it became the surname of his illegitimate son John, born in 1473. From a name well known from ancient history, it could be inferred that the Italians were tracing Matthias to the Romans, declaring him one of their own.⁴⁴

Roman origins offered a legitimate foundation for Matthias to ascend to the (Holy Roman) imperial throne. Ludovico Carbone, a former schoolmate of Janus from Ferrara, had already openly expressed the Italians' expectations in this regard around 1475.⁴⁵ These had largely arisen from the King's victory over the Turks in 1475, the recapture of Szabács (Šabac) Castle and the announcement of his engagement to Beatrice of Aragon in 1475, a prospective Hungarian-Italian, or Hungarian-"Roman" conjunction. Matthias' name was celebrated in Rome. Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini wrote to Gabriele Rangoni, Bishop of Eger, on 7 March 1476: "King Matthias is being exalted to the

heavens. Praise in Rome for the invincible monarch could not be higher than it is now."⁴⁶ Matthias' popularity in Rome suggests that the fresco in a house of Campo dei Fiori⁴⁷ dates from this time.

The conspiracy against Matthias in 1472 does not seem to have resulted in so severe a hiatus in fifteenth-century Hungarian culture as might be thought. After getting over the trauma caused by the fall of Vitéz and Janus Pannonius, his former Florentine friends again found Garázda and Miklós Báthory.⁴⁸ The latter was recognised in Florence by Ficino, possibly in 1470, having arrived with a letter of authority from Matthias.⁴⁹ After a three- or four-year break, the Hungarian relations of Ficino and the Florentine humanists revived through the old friendships when Francesco Bandini arrived in Hungary. Apart from those already



5. Tombstone of János Vitéz, Archbishop of Esztergom (d. 1474), Esztergom, Basilica. Crypt

mentioned, and Péter Váradi,⁵⁰ Ficino and the Florentine neoplatonists did not make new friendships or relationships with other Hungarians.⁵¹ Váradi had been a protégé of the conspirator Vitéz, and he preserved the memory of Janus Pannonius, collecting his verses under the orders of Matthias.⁵² Around 1483, Callimachus Experiens was shown poems by Janus Pannonius and Péter Garázda in Buda.⁵³ Soon after, in 1484, Váradi fell out of favour and was cast into prison. Ficino's critic Ioannes Pannonius—who is frequently referred to erroneously under the name of Janus Pannonius in foreign literature, even very recently—was also familiar with his correspondence partner's work from the early youth of the Florentine humanist.⁵⁴ From the 1480s, with the sole exception of Váradi, no further Hungarian joined the representatives of Florentine–Hungarian Humanist relations.

Matthias' patronage of the arts and scholarship was crucially influenced by Vitéz and by the Hungarian Humanists who had studied in Italy, even if the King would hear nothing of them after the conspiracy. The key conditions and institutions of Humanist culture were in place in Hungary by 1472; most of the later cultural links were already established; and major elements of the King's personal image and the display of his regal power had taken shape. The great cultural regeneration in the second half of the 1480s produced little that was new in terms of institutions, phenomena or even personalities. It seems that in 1479 Matthias wanted to offer a teaching job to none other than John Argyropoulos, whom

Vitéz had earlier invited to Hungary, but the Greek scholar appears to have turned down the offer on this occasion.⁵⁵ Matthias then approached Ficino, with Miklós Bátori putting in a request in support, but Ficino was not persuaded either.⁵⁶ Fonzio, who Vitéz and Garázda had invited around 1471, ultimately came to Hungary in 1489. He was instrumental in building up the Corvina library.

Following Vitéz' example, Matthias sent Taddeo Ugoletto abroad to seek books for the library. In place of the University of Pozsony, which had closed on the death of Vitéz and the flight of the professors, the King, according to Ludovico Carbone, intended to found a new university around 1474.⁵⁷ Sources on the Buda *Schola*⁵⁸ also imply that the King did not give up on the founding an institution of higher education. The printing of secular books also restarted, if not in Hungary, then at least with a work by a Hungarian author, Thuróczi.⁵⁹ It is also interesting that the revival of printing in Hungary in 1487 started with a history of the Hungarians, just as the first Hungarian press, initiated by Vitéz, produced *Chronica Hungarorum* as its first publication.⁶⁰ After the death of Vitéz and his associates, the Renaissance and Humanism in Hungary acquired little new content, although there were new emphases and of course new people. There was, however, a major qualitative difference: in the second half of the 1480s, after the siege of Vienna and Matthias' military successes in Austria, the existing institutions and Humanist initiatives were revived on an exceptionally grandiose and monumental scale.

NOTES

- ¹ FEUERNÉ TÓTH 1973, 373–385.
- ² CALLIMACHUS 1963, 32–34.
- ³ VITÉZ 1987.
- ⁴ Pajor in 2001, 651–653.
- ⁵ Cf. Vitéz 1987, 61; *Matricula et Acta Hungarorum* 425–426.
- ⁶ Quoted by Balogh 1975a, 20.
- ⁷ Martius 1934, 5; Marzio 1977, 18.
- ⁸ Boronkai 1987, 13.
- ⁹ Martius 1934, 30–33; Marzio 1977, 91–98.
- ¹⁰ “tu ... qui apud omnes arcticas nationes unicus ex maximis earum [scilicet bonarum artium] amator, cultor atque renovator habearis, ... Hinc factum est, ut te patrem creatoremque cognoscant, pretiosissima bibliotheca ... Daciam Pannoniasque locupletaturum, ... Codices enim ... sumptibus magnis e diversis regionibus ad te adductos esse palam est ...” Prohemium in tabulas Varadienses ad reverendissimum Johannem episcopum Varadiensem. *Analecta* 1880, 176.
- ¹¹ “E delle prime cose che principiò, si fu che fece ordinare una bellissima libreria, et volle che fussino libri in ogni facultà, et fecene cercare in Italia et fuori d’Italia, et molti che non si trovavano gli fece iscrivere in Firenze, non guardando a spesa ignuna pure che fussino et begli et emendati. Nobilità quella patria di farvi venire tutti i libri vi si trovarono, così composti come traducti, et erano pochi libri nella lingua latina ch’egli non avessi.” Bisticci 1970, 321.
- ¹² See Bartolomeo Fonzio’s letter to Matthias of 30 January 1488. Fontius 1931, 36.
- ¹³ Bisticci 1970, 319–342.
- ¹⁴ Marosi 1993, 17.
- ¹⁵ Piccolomini 1918, 144. No. 73.
- ¹⁶ *Analecta* 1880, 146–147.
- ¹⁷ Ammannati Piccolomini 1997, I. 602–607.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 602–603.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 600.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 598–599, footnote 2.
- ²¹ “Erit id poculum abaci nostri ornamentum, mensae voluptas ... Caelationes et inaurationes et artificia huiusmodi eo aestimantiora apud nos sunt, quo et rariora.” *Ibid.*, 601.
- ²² Martius 1934, 23; Marzio 1977, 73.
- ²³ For more detail, see Balogh 1966, I. 766–767.
- ²⁴ Klaniczay 1976, 190.
- ²⁵ For more detail, see Pajor in 2007, 815–827.
- ²⁶ Klaniczay 1990, 577–580, 584; Ritóókné Szalay 1996, 162–164; Ritóókné Szalay 2002, 13; Ekler 2007, 265–267.
- ²⁷ Piccolomineus 1571, 981.
- ²⁸ Cf. Naldius 1880, 279–280, lines 352–360.
- ²⁹ Daneloni 2001, 451–455. On Péter Garázda see also: V. Kovács 1957, 48–62; Mikó 1983, 49–75.
- ³⁰ Huszti 1925, 27–32; Huszti 1930, 26–29.
- ³¹ Kocziszy 1980, 192–209; Jankovits 2006, 379–387.
- ³² Huszti 1925, 31; Huszti 1930, 36.
- ³³ Huszti 1931, 176–177; Klaniczay 1976, 177; Field 1988, 107–126.
- ³⁴ Monfasani 1993, 163, 169.
- ³⁵ V. Kovács 1957, 54.
- ³⁶ Huszti 1931, 272; Gentile 1994, 92; Ritóókné Szalay 2002, 135–136.
- ³⁷ Huszti 1931, 272.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ Cf. Ianus Pannonius, 1784, pars 1, 586, epigr. 295.
- ⁴⁰ Békés 2004, 77–94.
- ⁴¹ Marosi 1993, 18. Cf. “Et rex es et imperator ... Rex dignitate, imperator assidua rerum bellicarum tractatione.” *Analecta* 1880, 31–32.
- ⁴² Cf. *Analecta* 1880, 32.
- ⁴³ Fontius 1931, 12.
- ⁴⁴ Kulcsár 1990, 17–35.
- ⁴⁵ “Utinam dies illa cito adveniet, qua Romanorum regem, imperatoremque Mathiam videamus. ...] quemadmodum super Mathiam apostolatus sortem cecidisse novimus, ita de altero Matthia nobis sperare conceditur fore aliquando, ut ei sors imperatoria contingat ...” Carbo 1987, 194. On the name Corvinus see also Ritóókné Szalay 2002, 103–108.
- ⁴⁶ “Rex Mathias in caelo apud nos est, gloria invicti principis maior esse Romae non potest.” Ammannati Piccolomini 1997, II. 2025.
- ⁴⁷ Banfi 2005, 268–270. (with more extensive bibliography).
- ⁴⁸ On Miklós Báthory see *ÚMIL* 2000, 173; *Báthory Miklós* 2007.
- ⁴⁹ Gentile 1994, 97.
- ⁵⁰ On Péter Váradi, see *ÚMIL* 2000, 2370; Véber 2006, 397–419; Véber 2007, 168–179.
- ⁵¹ Rees 1999, 72.
- ⁵² *Régi Magyar irodalmi szöveggyűjtemény I.* 1998, 422–425.
- ⁵³ Cf. Huszti 1927, 315.
- ⁵⁴ Pajor in 1999, 59–68.
- ⁵⁵ Gentile 1994, 97.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ “Mathias ... de novo in Pannonia studio erigendo cogitat, et nisi cavetis, praeclara quaedam ingenio vobis eripiet.” Carbo 1987, 193–194.
- ⁵⁸ In addition to Gáspár Heltai’s report see the entry in István Székely’s *Chronica*, quoted by Balogh 1966, I. 691.
- ⁵⁹ Málusz 1967.
- ⁶⁰ Borša 1989, 338–353; Borša 1996, 112–115.