

*Une Renaissance en Normandie: Le cardinal Georges d'Amboise, bibliophile et mécène,*  
exhibition catalogue, Musée d'Art, Histoire et Archéologie, Évreux.

Edited by Florence CALAME-LEVERT, Maxence HERMANT, and Gennaro TOSCANO. Paris, 2017. 287 pages, Ill.

Questions on the reception of Italian Renaissance, the ways of its transmission, and its relation to local artistic traditions emerge in connection with late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art in most European countries. Therefore, research on the art patronage of cardinal Georges d'Amboise, a key figure of early Renaissance in France, can be of international scholarly interest. The exhibition organized in 2017 in the Musée d'Art, Histoire et Archéologie in Évreux under the title *A Renaissance in Normandy – Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, Bibliophile and Patron of the Arts* and its accompanying catalogue undoubtedly deserve the attention of researchers of Renaissance art.

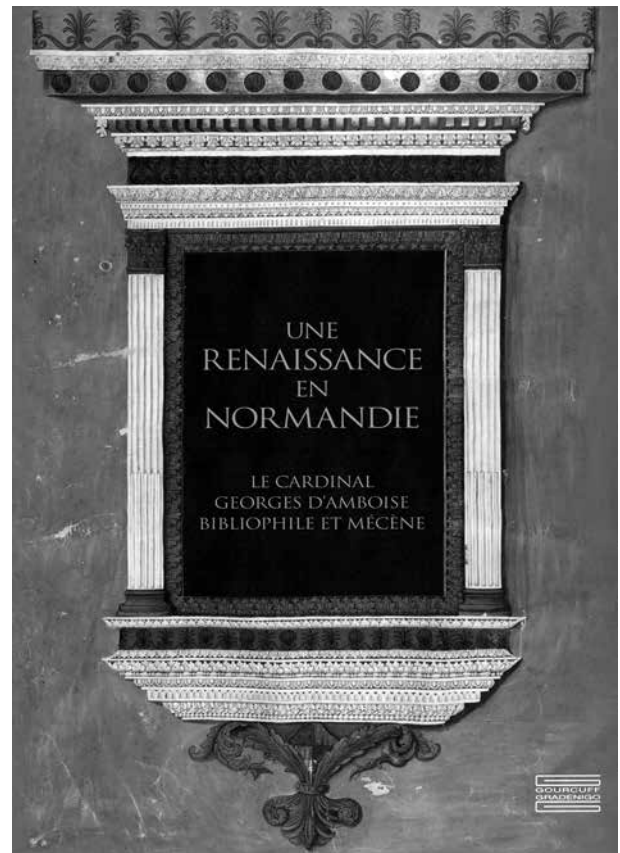
Being the capital of the Eure department, where the cardinal's famous chateau, Gaillon is situated, Évreux was an understandable choice of site, even if the municipal museum and library had very few relevant objects to contribute to the show. Most of the artworks on display were loaned from the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (henceforth BnF), co-organizer of the exhibition. Thanks to the cooperation between the two institutions, a new audience, living further from the capital and the country's largest cultural centres got access to a rich selection of objects, mainly manuscripts that are rarely on view. Unfortunately, I had no chance to visit the exhibition, therefore, my review focuses on the catalogue.

Georges d'Amboise (1460–1510), archbishop of Rouen since 1493 and cardinal since 1498, played a prominent role on the political stage as the prime minister of Louis XII, and was deeply involved in the Italian affairs of the French king. After the occupation of Milan by the French army in 1499, he was in charge of reorganizing the duchy, then in 1500, as lieutenant general, he suppressed the Milanese revolt and appointed his nephew, Charles II d'Amboise, governor of Milan. The cardinal also participated in the conquest of Naples in 1501. He returned to Italy again in 1503 as a potential candidate for the papal tiara, but he failed in his aspirations for the papacy at both conclaves held in the same year.<sup>1</sup>

The Italian sojourn had a great impact on the cardinal's art patronage. Among his several building projects, the reconstruction of the chateau of Gaillon, the summer residence of the archbishops of Rouen, stands out. Here Italian Renaissance forms and motifs, transmitted by masters and artworks coming from the

peninsula, merge with the traditions of French castles and the latest developments of Flamboyant architecture. His commissions of paintings also reflect a predilection for Italian art. Beside commissioning an altarpiece from Andrea Mantegna and having a painting by Perugino according to the 1508 inventory of Gaillon, he invited the Milanese Andrea Solario to decorate the chapel of the chateau. The third pillar of Georges d'Amboise's art patronage was his library, that included 138 manuscripts purchased from Frederick IV of Aragon (1452–1504), King of Naples. This rich collection of Italian illuminated manuscripts was completed with some volumes he had copied and illuminated in Rouen and Paris.

Focusing on all main aspects of the cardinal's patronage, the exhibition and the catalogue represent an attempt to synthesise the results of recent scholarship.<sup>2</sup> Research on the topic, however, started much earlier, more than one and a half century ago. The first



Cover illustration: Francesco Rosselli: Ptolemy, *Cosmographia*, Florence, 1475–1480; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 4802, fol. 1v

scholarly work dedicated to Gaillon was published by Achille Deville in 1850.<sup>3</sup> Deville not only edited the archival sources (accounts and inventories) related to the construction works and the collections in Gaillon, but, in the form of a more than 150-page-long introduction, he also wrote the first monograph on the chateau. While Deville's invaluable publication of documents still serves as the basis for all research on Gaillon, his interpretation of the sources as proof for the primacy of French masters over the Italians is evidently outdated today. The nationalistic overtones of Deville's introduction rooted in the much polarised attitude of nineteenth-century French art historians towards art in sixteenth-century France. One group of scholars considered French Renaissance as a derivation of Italian art and thus inferior to it, while the other party argued for the autonomy of sixteenth-century French art by emphasising its connections with Gothic style, regarded as *par excellence* French.<sup>4</sup> The extensive publication of archival sources in the second half of the nineteenth century strongly supported this latter, nationalist approach to French Renaissance, since it provided long lists of names of unknown French masters, outnumbering by far the Italians working in France. As Flaminia Bardati remarked, in the absence of proper critical commentaries, these source editions facilitated creating important masters from French artisans and downplaying the role of Italians.<sup>5</sup> Deville's introduction fitted well into this strand of French art historical writing. He emphasised several times the French masters' quantitative superiority,<sup>6</sup> and also their greater talent, when comparing the Florentine sculptor Antonio Giusti (Antoine Juste) and Michel Colombe.<sup>7</sup> He also attributed the lion share of the work to his compatriots, and only secondary and decorative tasks to foreigners.<sup>8</sup> Often taking a polemic tone, Deville opposed those who considered the architecture of Gaillon as Italian in style, basing their opinion alone on the sculpted fragments that Alexandre Lenoir exhibited in the Musée des Monuments Français after the building had been seriously damaged during the French Revolution.<sup>9</sup>

From around the beginning of the twentieth century, a new generation of French art historians tried to overstep these biased approaches and examine the phenomena of French Renaissance with as much objectivity as possible.<sup>10</sup> A new monograph on Gaillon that considerably revised Deville's conclusions, however, was published only in 1952 by Élisabeth Chirol. The author established a new chronology of the construction, and was the first to connect the

construction phases with key events in the cardinal's career that opened up the path for interpreting Gaillon as a scene of political representation, a significant aspect of recent research on the cardinal's art patronage.<sup>11</sup> In order to reconstruct the building history and reconsider the importance of the masters introduced by Deville, Chirol took into account the written and material evidence with equal weight. To complete Deville's collection of written sources, she composed a catalogue of all the surviving stone carvings of the chateau of Gaillon. Thus, in comparison with Deville, Chirol managed to provide a more balanced view on the role of French and Italian masters. However, she divided the labour between them along similar lines, confining the Italian influence to the sculptural work and decoration, while attributing the architectural design to French masters from the Loire Valley and from Rouen.<sup>12</sup>

A more detailed and sensitive analysis of the connection between Renaissance and Flamboyant forms came only towards the end of the twentieth century. Jean Guillaume's observations, put forward in his lecture held in Tours at the international conference "*L'invention de la Renaissance*" in 1994, proved to be especially fruitful for subsequent research. Recurrently referring to Gaillon, he demonstrated that the structure of the facade in Flamboyant architecture facilitated the adoption of such Italian Renaissance elements as pilasters and cornices. As for *all'antica* ornaments, he examined how French masters trained in Flamboyant sometimes misunderstood Renaissance forms or – depending on their talent – came to new solutions.<sup>13</sup> Guillaume's approach that considered Flamboyant as a framework receptive to Renaissance motifs and looked for mutual influences between them became the dominant way of interpreting early French Renaissance in recent scholarship. Flaminia Bardati's new monograph about Gaillon, as well as her numerous articles on French Renaissance were written in the same spirit. She emphasised the modernity of both French Flamboyant and Italian Renaissance style and argued that the compatibility of the two styles resulted in a synthesis.<sup>14</sup> Based on travellers' accounts, she also showed that this stylistic dichotomy was not only perceived but even appreciated by contemporaries.<sup>15</sup> In the chapters of the exhibition catalogue dedicated to the architectural projects of the cardinal and their sculptural decoration Thibaut Noyelle and Sophie Caron summarised these recent developments in research. The representative function of *all'antica* decoration, related to French military victories in Italy

and the cardinal's involvement in them, received special emphasis in both articles.

From among the three main aspects of the cardinal's art patronage, his collection of paintings is probably the most difficult to grasp. On the one hand, a part of his commissions are known from documents – the inventories of Gaillon or his correspondence – but hardly any of them can be identified with surviving artworks. On the other hand, based on heraldic evidence or provenance, there is good reason to suppose that Andrea Solario, the Milanese painter invited by Georges d'Amboise to Gaillon in 1507, painted several of his extant works for the cardinal, nevertheless, none of them corresponds with the items in the inventories. Solario's sojourn in France was already studied in detail in the 1980s: in the frame of an exhibition organized by Sylvie Béguin and in a monograph by David Alan Brown.<sup>16</sup> Beyond summarizing the results of previous research, the short chapter by Vincent Delieuvain in the present exhibition catalogue slightly revised the cardinal's motivations for choosing Solario. In contrast to previous scholarship that considered the Milanese painter a substitute for Leonardo da Vinci or at least regarded the Leonardesque elements of his style as the main reason behind his invitation, Delieuvain emphasised the "monumental and descriptive" nature of his art that the cardinal realized to be convenient for the decoration of his chapel, which included large-scale portraits of his family.

The most extensive part of both the exhibition and the catalogue, and the one bringing considerable new results, explored the various aspects of the cardinal's book collection. As opposed to the sculpted fragments and the paintings by Solario, such a rich selection of his illuminated manuscripts has never been displayed to the public before. Moreover, an intensive campaign of digitalization accompanied the exhibition, as a result of which now all the manuscripts once in the possession of Georges d'Amboise and preserved in the BnF are fully available online.<sup>17</sup>

Researchers of the cardinal's library are in a privileged situation. Beside three inventories, some accounts related to his commissions of manuscripts have also survived, and all has been available in print for one and a half century thanks to Deville's fundamental source edition.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, a hundred or so volumes, that is 40% percent of the books listed in the inventories, can be identified today. The present catalogue not only published a new, critical edition of the written sources related to the manuscripts, but for the first time it provided a concordance of the three

inventories and the surviving manuscripts, including all other data on provenance.

Since most of the manuscripts (64 volumes) ended up in the collection of the BnF, no surprise that the first draft of the history of the cardinal's library was written by Léopold Delisle, curator of the Department of Manuscripts, as a subchapter of his book about the formation of the BnF's manuscript collection.<sup>19</sup> Beyond identifying the manuscripts once belonging to Georges d'Amboise, he discussed the different ways of acquisition, and also touched upon the question of dispersion. As for their illumination, he recognized that the Italian manuscripts in the possession of the cardinal had a significant influence on the French illuminators working for him.

Research on the library at Gaillon revived only towards the end of the twentieth century, thanks to the publications by Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Gennaro Toscano. In her studies, Laffitte analysed in detail the accounts and inventories related to the library, raising some new questions such as the arrangement of the volumes in the room or the profile of the manuscript collection in comparison with other contemporary French libraries.<sup>20</sup> She also discussed in depth the dispersion of the library, and identified the manuscript collection of Philippe Hurault de Cheverny (1528–1599), Chancellor of France as the intermediary stage in the way of several manuscripts from Gaillon to the French Royal Library. Toscano, an expert on Neapolitan manuscript illumination, mainly focused on the cardinal's manuscripts coming from the Aragonese library.<sup>21</sup> The surviving eighty or so volumes of Neapolitan origins in Georges d'Amboise's library served as a rich and representative sample for Toscano. In several studies, he presented the history of manuscript production and collecting in the Aragonese court in the fifteenth century. In addition, he also made some important observations on how French illuminators working for the cardinal used his Italian manuscripts as models. Both authors contributed to the present catalogue. Laffitte wrote only a short introductory essay dedicated to the spatial arrangement of the cardinal's library, while Toscano published another extensive study on the scribes and illuminators of the Aragonese manuscripts.

A fresh view on the library of Georges d'Amboise was given by the essays of Maxence Hermant, chief curator of the exhibition. Together with Mathieu Deldicque and Florence Calame-Levert, they explored the book collections of three contemporary French prelates, two of Georges d'Amboise's brothers, Louis

I, Bishop of Albi (1433–1503), and Jean I, Bishop of Langres (1434–1498), and a good acquaintance of the cardinal, Raoul du Fou, Bishop of Évreux (?–1511). Their libraries have never been studied in detail before. In the context of these other collections, in which all manuscripts were produced in France and were primarily of liturgical content (with the exception of Louis's, who had several patristic codices), the uniqueness and ambitiousness of the cardinal's library, containing around one and a half hundred Italian manuscripts, are even more apparent.

Although the cardinal's French, illuminated, historical manuscripts – a key component of aristocratic libraries in France – are far outnumbered by his Latin humanistic codices produced in Italy, Hermant argued that Georges d'Amboise aimed to create a library responding to the standards of both French and Italian aristocratic libraries. The disproportions of the final stock of his library are due to various external circumstances. Being a younger son, he did not inherit the family library, and from around 1501–1502, when his interest for manuscripts aroused, he had less than a decade to make up this lack by commissions. He was certainly more fortunate with the Italian manuscripts, since he could purchase them in bulk from the indebted Frederick IV of Aragon. He did not need to make more efforts to improve the Italian part of his library, his other acquisitions either predate this one, or he received them as gifts. Perhaps the cardinal did not have a similar opportunity to buy second-hand luxurious French manuscripts, a practice that became more and more common from the early sixteenth century, when manuscript production started to decline.<sup>22</sup>

Hermant also re-examined the subgroup of the Aragonese manuscripts that came to Georges d'Amboise through the hands of Guillaume II Briçonnet, Bishop of Lodève (1470–1534). Based on previous research by Marie-Pierre Laffitte, he extended their number and studied them in the context of other manuscripts commissioned by the Briçonnet family that reveal their interest in humanistic books.<sup>23</sup> Thanks to a document from 1503 recording Frederick of Aragon's debt to a member of the Briçonnet family, Hermant also found a possible occasion for the acquisition of the Neapolitan codices.

The Briçonnet manuscripts give a vivid example for different practices of replacing the coat of arms of the previous owner, an interesting subject briefly addressed by Hermant. Guillaume Briçonnet chose an unusually drastic and creative method to indicate his ownership in the second-hand books. He either

had new marginal decoration added to the manuscript already illuminated in Italy, or, in several cases he removed the title page, had it copied with a script imitating the original and decorated it with a new border and his own coat of arms. Such an effort seems excessive, when considering that the manuscripts spent only a short time in Briçonnet's possession: he acquired them not earlier than October 1502, when Frederick of Aragon arrived in France, but probably only in 1503, and they appeared in the first inventory of Georges d'Amboise, dressed up in late 1503 or early 1504. In contrast with Guillaume Briçonnet, the cardinal simply erased the previous owner's coats of arms, and had his own painted in their place. Interestingly, Georges d'Amboise was keen to remove only the Briçonnet coats of arms, but he left untouched all the Aragonese ones. Hermant and Toscano provided a tempting explanation for this, pointing out that a part of the Aragonese coat of arms is almost identical with the cardinal's. A luxurious breviary now preserved in the Vatican Library represents a third case.<sup>24</sup> It was commissioned by Matthias Corvinus (1443–1490), King of Hungary from Attavante degli Attavanti, but left in Florence after his death in 1490. Somehow Georges d'Amboise acquired the volume since his coat of arms appears on several pages. However, only a part of the previous owner's heraldic devices had been covered so that in the lavishly illuminated double-page spreads the two coats of arms appear together: that of King Matthias on the right page and the cardinal's on the left. This solution must have been purposeful and suggests that the royal rank of the previous owner added to the value of the manuscript.

The *Vatican Breviary*, this rarely exhibited manuscript was definitely one of the highlights of the show in Évreux, and the catalogue contributed to the research of the manuscript with interesting new results. For the first time, the breviary was identified with the first item in the inventories of Georges d'Amboise, describing "*Ung bel et magnifique breviaire en parchemin usaige de Rome, couvert de drap d'or qui fermoit a fermeaulx d'or en quatre endroiz dont en y a troys perduz.*"<sup>25</sup> Toscano, author of the entry gave no justification for this identification that is, however, far from being evident: for more than a century, this item of the inventory had been identified with a now lost breviary that the cardinal commissioned in Rouen according to his accounts.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, I have two remarks to support this unexplained identification. First, the third inventory, dressed up in 1550, gives the title of the book as "*Ordo breviarum secundum consuetudinem*

*Romane Curie*”, which, though fitting for every breviary following the use of Rome, has exactly the same phrasing as the incipit of the *Vatican Breviary*. (The use of the breviary mentioned in the accounts is not specified, but a use of Rouen would be more appropriate for the archbishop.) Second, the only analogy for the binding is another book from Italy, Saint Augustine’s commentaries on the Psalms (“*Augustinus, super psalmos, couvert de drap d’or, et quatre fermaus d’argent*”).<sup>27</sup>

Thus, the date of the cardinal’s first inventory (late 1503–early 1504) serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the acquisition of the manuscript, the circumstances of which have not been unfolded yet. Based on new research on French and Florentine diplomatic relations, Emanuele Cutinelli-Rendina, one of the editors of the correspondence between the Signoria and Francesco Soderini and Luca degli Albizzi, the Florentine ambassadors in France, offered an interesting hypothesis. On 28 November 1501 Soderini wrote to the Signoria that the favour of Georges d’Amboise could not be gained by money but rather by a book he was longing for.<sup>28</sup> The Signoria answered on 14 December that they could not send the book, which was then in Rome, since the owner did not want to sell it, but they would do their best to purchase it.<sup>29</sup> Although the book was not specified, there is a strong possibility according to Cutinelli-Rendina that it is identical with the *Vatican Breviary*. Toscano suggested that if the Signoria’s efforts to purchase the book remained futile, the cardinal could have acquired it during his sojourn in Rome in 1503.

The letter by Soderini is an important evidence for the cardinal’s early interest in books and the possible use of (in all likelihood luxurious) manuscripts as diplomatic gifts, especially for prelates. The splendidly illuminated breviary would have been without doubt appropriate for such purpose, thus it is reasonable to search for the circumstances of its acquisition in the intensive diplomatic negotiations between Florence and Georges d’Amboise in the first years of the sixteenth century. However, so far we do not have enough information to identify the *Vatican Breviary* with the book mentioned in the correspondence. The authors also ignored or neglected some important and well-known data on the provenance of the manuscript. In February 1498, Vladislaus II Jagiellon (1456–1516), successor of Matthias as King of Hungary, wrote to the Signoria to ask for information about the manuscripts commissioned by his predecessor but left in Florence in order to finally acquire them.<sup>30</sup> In their answer of 31 May 1498, the Signoria

informed the king that all the manuscripts are in the hands of the Medici, with the exception of a magnificent breviary estimated to 500 florins that is now in the possession of the Capponi family. This volume is unanimously identified with the *Vatican Breviary*. These documents should also be kept in mind when considering if the correspondence between Francesco Soderini and the Signoria refers to the same volume. How could the manuscript be in Rome in 1501 if in 1498 it belonged to a Florentine family? Was it the Capponi who were unwilling to sell the book in 1501 or did it change hands in the meantime?

The *Vatican Breviary* is not the only manuscript commissioned by King Matthias that got into the possession of the French cardinal. Together with the Aragonese manuscripts he also acquired the *Sermons* by Saint Ambrose, Maximus of Turin, and Saint Basil of Caesarea that once belonged to the Hungarian king’s library, the so-called Bibliotheca Corviniana. In his entry about the manuscript, Toscano gave a brief summary of the library’s history, but with several inaccuracies due to the use of rather outdated secondary literature.<sup>31</sup> The theory that Matthias started to create his famous library already in the 1460s has been recently questioned; new scholarship dated the project to the 1480s.<sup>32</sup> The role of Vespasiano da Bisticci in the production of corvinas (manuscripts from the Bibliotheca Corviniana) can also be refuted considering that the Florentine book merchant (*cartolaio*) retired in 1480.<sup>33</sup> Listing Francesco d’Antonio del Chierico among the most important illuminators working for King Matthias also reflects an earlier stage of research, because lately all the corvinas previously attributed to Chierico have been integrated into the oeuvre of Francesco Rosselli and other Florentine illuminators.<sup>34</sup>

The two corvinas on display are not the only reason for which this catalogue deserves the attention of scholars dealing with Hungarian Renaissance. I believe that research on book illumination in Buda in the late fifteenth century, especially on the reception of *all’antica* motifs could benefit from a comparison between manuscripts decorated in Buda and in Rouen.<sup>35</sup> The decoration of the manuscripts produced for King Matthias in Buda merges Northern Italian, Florentine, and sometimes even Netherlandish elements, which makes the scale and composition of the so-called Buda workshop a tricky and much debated question.<sup>36</sup> When considering the workshop structure behind the production of the “hybrid” decorations by the Buda workshop, the example of the illuminator Jean Serpin may give food for thought: he was respon-

sible for both the Italian style and the traditional French border decorations in the manuscripts commissioned by Georges d'Amboise in Rouen. It means that to some extant illuminators were capable to switch between different styles. The same might be true for illuminators working in Buda, which, of course, does not exclude the possibility that several hands worked on the same manuscript and does not exempt scholars from the careful analysis of differences in style and quality. While the demand for *all'antica* marginal decorations probably came from the commissioner – from Georges d'Amboise and King Matthias – who could provide the local illuminators with the models, i.e. the manuscripts produced in Italy, the stylistic heterogeneity of the Buda workshop's production might also have delighted the patrons.

As far as Renaissance architecture in Hungary is concerned, a comparative approach has already been applied by Rózsa Feuer-Tóth, who confronted the Renaissance refurbishment of the Buda castle with early French Renaissance building projects.<sup>37</sup> She argued that in contrast to France, where work organization and building methods remained the same as in the Gothic period, in Hungary, the adaption of the Italian practise of dividing the labour between the Italian “ornamentators”, who carved the window and door

frames, and the local masons facilitated the appearance of *all'antica* elements in pure form as self-supported structures. Now, with the help of the rich source material and the intensive research on Gaillon discussed above, Feuer-Tóth's illuminating but perhaps too sharp and general contrast could be tested and refined if needed. Unfortunately, a comparison between the coexistence of Gothic and Renaissance forms in Buda and Gaillon remains very much limited because the findings in Buda are too scarce and fragmentary to allow any well-founded reconstruction of the palace.<sup>38</sup>

In summary, this beautifully illustrated and elegant catalogue provides a thorough and comprehensive view on the current state of research on Georges d'Amboise's art patronage, with an emphasis on its representational function in the context of the cardinal's political achievements and aspirations. It also contributes to the results of the last few decades of research with some new data, observations, and hypotheses, especially regarding the cardinal's library. As a synthesizing work, it may offer guidelines to explore other, lesser known patrons of the early Renaissance period in France and may serve as a useful point of reference for any comparative study on the reception of Renaissance in other countries.

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## NOTES

I am greatly indebted to Dániel Pócs for proofreading my essay and to Alexandra Kocsis for amending the language of my text.

<sup>1</sup> In the catalogue, Mathieu Deldicque's introductory chapter gives a concise overview of the cardinal's career: DELDICQUE, Mathieu: *Entre Normandie et Italie: Georges d'Amboise, cardinal et commanditaire*, in *Une Renaissance en Normandie – Le cardinal Georges d'Amboise, bibliophile et mécène*, exhibition catalogue, Musée d'Art, Histoire et Archéologie, Évreux, eds. CALAME-LEVERT, Florence – HERMANT, Maxence – TOSCANO, Gennaro. Paris, 2017. 15–21. For a re-evaluation of the cardinal's foreign policy, see VISIÈRE, Laurent: *Georges d'Amboise, le rêve de l'équilibre*, in *Georges I<sup>er</sup> d'Amboise (1460–1510). Une figure plurielle de la Renaissance*, eds. DUMONT, Jonathan – FAGNART, Laure. Rennes, 2013. 49–64.

<sup>2</sup> In 2010 a conference held in the University of Liège was dedicated to the cardinal on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of his death, which gave an account of the results of recent research. The lectures were published in DUMONT–FAGNART 2013, *op.cit.*

<sup>3</sup> DEVILLE, Achille: *Comptes de dépenses de la construction du château de Gaillon*, Paris, 1850.

<sup>4</sup> BARDATI, Flaminia: *Anticiviltà del Rinascimento. Riflessioni su metodi e posizioni della storiografia francese di fine Ottocento*, in *L'idée du style dans l'historiographie artistique*,

eds. FROMMEL, Sabine – BRUCCULERI, Antonio. Rome, 2012. 302; Vitry, Paul: *Les études sur la Renaissance en France de 1834 à 1934, Congrès archéologique de France 97*. 1935. 259–260.

<sup>5</sup> BARDATI 2012, *op.cit.*, 304.

<sup>6</sup> DEVILLE 1850, *op.cit.*, xiii, xcii, cxix, cxxvii.

<sup>7</sup> DEVILLE 1850, *op.cit.*, cxxv.

<sup>8</sup> DEVILLE 1850, *op.cit.*, xiii–xiv.

<sup>9</sup> CHIROL, Elisabeth: *Un premier foyer de la Renaissance en France*, Rouen, 1952. 233.

<sup>10</sup> VITRY 1935, *op.cit.*, 269.

<sup>11</sup> CHIROL 1952, *op.cit.*, 38–39.

<sup>12</sup> CHIROL 1952, *op.cit.*, 39–41.

<sup>13</sup> GUILLAUME, Jean: *Le temps des expériences. La réception des forms “à l'antique” dans les premières années de la Renaissance française*, in *L'invention de la Renaissance. La réception des forms “à l'antique” au début de la Renaissance*, ed. GUILLAUME, Jean. Paris, 2003. 154. I am indebted to Péter Farbaky for lending me this volume.

<sup>14</sup> BARDATI, Flaminia: *Flamboyant e première Renaissance. Due modernità a confronto*, in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, eds. ISRAËLS, Machtelt – WALDMAN, Louis A. Florence, 2013. 514–519 [hereafter BARDATI 2013a]; BARDATI, Flaminia: *Georges d'Amboise et l'architecture*, in DUMONT–FAGNART 2013, *op.cit.*, 132; BARDATI, Flaminia: *Il bel palatio in forma di castello: Gaillon tra flamboyant e Rinascimento*,

Rome, 2009; for her conclusions regarding this question, see especially page 171.

<sup>15</sup> BARDATI 2013a, *op.cit.*, 518–519; BARDATI 2009, *op.cit.*, 172.

<sup>16</sup> BÉGUIN, Sylvie: *Andrea Solario en France*, exhibition catalogue, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Paris, 1985; BROWN, David Alan: *Andrea Solario*, Milan, 1987. 151–216.

<sup>17</sup> Gallica, URL: <https://gallica.bnf.fr> [last retrieved: 30.08.2018].

<sup>18</sup> DEVILLE 1850, *op.cit.*, 437–444, 497–499, 521–528, 548–559.

<sup>19</sup> DELISLE, Léopold Victor: *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, vol. 1, Paris, 1868. 233–260.

<sup>20</sup> LAFFITTE, Marie-Pierre: La Librairie de Georges d'Amboise à Gaillon, in *Léonard de Vinci entre France et Italie, miroir profond et sombre*, eds. FABRIZIO-COSTA, Silvia – LE GOFF, Jean-Pierre. Caen, 1999. 262–273; LAFFITTE, Marie-Pierre: Georges d'Amboise et les livres, in DUMONT–FAGNART 2013, *op.cit.*, 189–197.

<sup>21</sup> TOSCANO, Gennaro: Rinascimento in Normandia: i manoscritti della biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona acquistati da Georges d'Amboise, *Chroniques italiennes* 29. 1992. 77–87; TOSCANO, Gennaro: La librairie du Château de Gaillon. Les manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne acquis par le cardinal Georges d'Amboise, in FABRIZIO-COSTA–LE GOFF 1999, *op.cit.*, 275–300; TOSCANO, Gennaro: Le cardinal Georges d'Amboise (1460–1510) collectionneur et bibliophile, in *Les cardinaux de la Renaissance et la modernité artistique*, eds. LEMERLE, Frédérique – PAUWELS, Yves – TOSCANO, Gennaro. Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2009. 51–88.

<sup>22</sup> WIJSMAN, Hanno: *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands*, Turnhout, 2010. 338.

<sup>23</sup> They owned a *Cyropaedia* by Xenophon (BnF, lat. 5689B), a *De anima* by Cassiodorus (BnF, lat. 2192), and a collection of the letters by Pico della Mirandola (BnF, lat. 7858).

<sup>24</sup> *Breviarum romanum*, Florence, 1487–1492, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 112.

<sup>25</sup> Description from the 1508 inventory, see *Catalogue Évreux 2017, op.cit.*, 265, no. 1. In the 1503–1504 inventory it is described as: “*Primo ung breviaire en parchemin a l'usage de Rome, couvert drap d'or fermant a quatre endroiz de fermauz d'or*” (*Catalogue Évreux 2017, op.cit.*, 264, no. 1), while the 1550 inventory lists it as “*Ung livre en parchemin, couvert de drap d'or frizé double de satin cramoisy intitulé Ordo breviarum secundum consuetudinem Romane Curie*” (*Catalogue Évreux 2017, op.cit.*, 267, no. 1).

<sup>26</sup> DELISLE 1868, *op.cit.*, 249; LAFFITTE 1999, *op.cit.*, 266.

<sup>27</sup> *Catalogue Évreux 2017, op.cit.*, 266, no. 73. Today it is preserved in the British Library, London, Add. 14779–14780.

<sup>28</sup> ALBIZZI, Luca d'Antonio degli – SODERINI, Francesco: *Legazione alla corte di Francia, 31 agosto 1501–10 luglio 1502*, eds. CUTINELLI-RENDINA, Emanuele – FACHARD, Denis. Turin, 2015. 132.

<sup>29</sup> ALBIZZI–SODERINI 2015, *op.cit.*, 184.

<sup>30</sup> For the most recent publication of this correspondence with English translation, see WALDMAN, Louis A.: Commissioning Art in Florence for Matthias Corvinus: The Painter and Agent Alexander Formoser and His Sons, Jacopo and Raffaello del Tedesco, in *Italy and Hungary: Humanism and Art in the Early Renaissance*, eds. FARBAKY, Péter – WALDMAN, Louis A. Milan, 2011. 498–501.

<sup>31</sup> He refers to CSAPODI, Csaba – CSAPODI-GÁRDONYI, Klára: *Bibliotheca Corviniana. La bibliothèque du roi Mathias Corvin de Hongrie*, Budapest, 1982.

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. MIKÓ, Árpád: La nascita della biblioteca di Mattia Corvino e il suo ruolo nella rappresentazione del sovrano, in *Nel segno del corvo: libri e miniature della biblioteca di Mattia Corvino (1443–1490)*, exhibition catalogue, Biblioteca Estense, Modena, ed. MILANO, Ernesto. Modena, 2002. 25–29.

<sup>33</sup> MIKÓ 2002, *op.cit.*, 27; PÓCS, Dániel: Handó György könyvtára [The Library of György Handó], *Ars Hungarica* 42. 2016. 328, note 48.

<sup>34</sup> PÓCS, Dániel: Urbino, Florence, Buda: Models and Parallels in the Development of the Royal Library, in *Matthias Corvinus, the King, Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court, 1458–1490*, exhibition catalogue, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Budapest, eds. FARBAKY, Péter et al. Budapest, 2008. 148–152.

<sup>35</sup> On the influence of Italian illuminators and manuscripts in France, see HERMANT, Maxence – TOSCANO, Gennaro: Les manuscrits de la Renaissance italienne: modèles et sources d'inspiration pour les enlumineurs français, in *La France et l'Europe autour de 1500: croisements et échanges artistiques*, eds. BRESCH-BAUTIER, Geneviève – CRÉPIN-LEBLOND, Thierry – TABURET-DELAHAYE, Elisabeth. Paris, 2015. 107–128.

<sup>36</sup> The key example of this stylistic heterogeneity is a missal: *Missale romanum*, Buda, 1488–1489, Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Apostolica, Urb. lat. 110. For recent publications on the “Buda workshop”, see e.g. WEHLI, Tünde: Influssi lombardi nella miniatura della corte di Mattia Corvino, *Arte Lombarda* 139. 2003. 81–86; MARUBBI, Mario: Miniatura tra Lombardia e Ungheria: Riflessioni su Bartolomeo Gossi, Francesco da Castello e Giovanni Antonio Cattaneo, *Arte Lombarda* 139. 2003. 86–99, esp. 93–99; ALEXANDER, Jonathan J. G.: Francesco da Castello in Lombardy and Hungary, in FARBAKY–WALDMAN 2011, *op.cit.*, 267–291; MIKÓ, Árpád: Amanuensi, miniatori e legatori alla corte reale di Buda. Note sui problemi della Biblioteca corviniana, in *Mattia Corvino e Firenze: Arte e Umanesimo alla corte del re di Ungheria*, exhibition catalogue, Museo di San Marco, Florence, eds. FARBAKY, Péter et al. Florence, 2013. 308–313.

<sup>37</sup> FEUER-TÓTH, Rózsa: A magyar reneszánsz építészet európai helyzete [The Position of the Hungarian Renaissance Architecture in Europe], *Ars Hungarica* 5. 1977. 7–29.

<sup>38</sup> VÉGH, András: Renaissance Red Marble Carvings in Royal Palace of Buda, in: *Catalogue Budapest 2008, op.cit.*, 317–319.

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