

STYLE AND INSCRIPTION

INSCRIPTIONS IN CLASSICAL AND EARLY HUMANIST CAPITAL LETTERS CUT IN STONE IN HUNGARY IN THE AGE OF KING MATTHIAS AND THE JAGIELLOS¹

Abstract: The practice of using classical capital lettering was introduced north of the Alps from Italy in the second half of the 15th century, and appeared very early in the Kingdom of Hungary. The article contains six case studies on the problems of architectural carvings, stone tabernacles, tombstones and the classical inscriptions on them. *I. Tabernacles.* All'antica tabernacles were produced in large numbers in late mediaeval Hungary and survive in churches from monumental to very small. The tabernacle frames, which followed the antique architecture of the façade, were accompanied by inscriptions: quotations about the Eucharist or, less frequently, inscriptions referring to the maker. *II. Inscriptions outside the royal court.* Outside the Buda residence of King Matthias, inscriptions engraved with humanist capitals also appeared, earlier than in the royal court, according to our present knowledge. The earliest dated inscriptions in Hungary survive in Veszprém and are attributed to Bishop Albert Vetési, the best known being a text written on ribbons running on a Gothic console (1467). The all'antica heraldic stones known from several places in the country are often dated, the earliest being found in the Nógrád castle of Miklós Báthory, the humanist bishop, with the date 1483. *III. The royal court.* Monumental all'antica inscriptions adorned the royal palace in Buda: building inscriptions, statue bases. Their texts are mostly known only from sources, as few original stone carvings have survived. These inscriptions were sometimes in bronze letters, but there were also engraved ones. The monumental inscriptions were associated with King Matthias, while the inscriptions known from the time of Vladislaus II are smaller in size and do not have bronze lettering. *IV. Epitaphs.* Antique letters also appeared as circular inscriptions on late medieval tombstones. The epitaph written in distichs was often engraved in a *tabula ansata*. Rarely, the wording was also antiquated, as exemplified by the abbreviations DOM, DOMS, DM. *V. Inscriptions around Hungary in the Jagiellonian period.* The commissioners of early inscriptions were familiar with the all'antica inscriptions of the Buda court. In Vienna, the first known all'antica inscriptions can be attributed to a citizen of Buda, Peter Juncker, and in Moravia to the lords of Tovačov and Moravská Třebová (Ctibor Tovačovský z Cimburka; Ladislav z Boskovic). *VI. Architectural inscriptions of the Jagiellonian period in Hungary.* Inside the sepulchral chapel of Tamás Bakócz in Esztergom there is a bronze donation inscription (1507), in keeping with the perfect Renaissance centralised space. After 1500, all'antica building inscriptions became common in Hungary. We know of many of them, mainly in the Transdanubian region, written in pure classical capitals. In the northern part of the country, the early humanist capitals are more common; the Biblical quotations and proverbs on the staircase of the town hall of Bártfa were written in such letters. In Transylvania, classical capitals are again common: the inscriptions of the Lázói Chapel, built next to the cathedral in Gyulafehérvár, or the Várday Chapel were also carved in such letters.

Keywords: Medieval and Renaissance epigraphy, humanistic capital letter, tabernacles, sepulchral monuments, inscriptions, epigrams, humanism, 15th–16th centuries

The practice of all'antica inscriptions, that is, the use of literally Roman letter type for epigraphs, travelled

from Italy to north of the Alps in the second half of the fifteenth century. It arrived relatively early in Hungary, together with several other elements of the Italian Renaissance. Below I present six case studies about diverse stylistic, content-related, interpretive problems of antiquizing inscriptions cut into stone in classical or early humanist capital letters.

* Árpád Mikó, HUN-REN Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Art History, Budapest, Hungary; e-mail: miko.arpad@abtk.hu, miko.arpad@gmail.com
Received: 5 July 2023 • Accepted: 17 November 2023

I. TABERNACLES

There are two tabernacles of Renaissance style quite far from each other in the main parish church of the Inner City of Pest. They are in secondary locations; earlier they were in the sanctuary recessed into the wall facing each other. It is questionable whether they were made for that location, but undoubtedly they constitute a pair. The one on the right was donated by the municipality in 1507, the other by the parish priest of the church, András Nagyrévi (Fig. 1). Their structure adapts to the classic Italian fifteenth-century wall tabernacles: on a broad parapet-like base the recess for the



Fig. 1. Tabernacle of András Nagyrévi, Bishop of Thermopylae, around 1500. Budapest, Inner City Parish Church of Pest

monstrance opens between two pilasters. The pilasters hold a richly adorned cornice which is topped by a semicircular pediment. Both feature inscriptions, two on each: one refers to the Eucharist, the other to the donor. This is also a linkage between the tabernacles. The carved classical capitals are of fine proportions.²

On Nagyrévi's tabernacle, above the niche – on the perspectively broken cornice – the following inscription can be read: “ECCE PANIS ANGELORVM, FACTVS CIBVS VIATORVM” (Fig. 2). The rhyme demands, as it were, the continuation: “Vere panis filiorum, non dimittite canibus.” The inscription – overlooked by scholarship so far – is a citation, from St Thomas Aquinas's sequence for Corpus Christi day, *Lauda Sion*.³ No special erudition was needed for selecting it. The hymn was written for the introduction of the feast of the Eucharist; it was sung in the liturgy of the Corpus Christi mass and it is still part of the Missal. The phrasing originates in the Psalms (Ps 77:25), and “panis angelorum” was a commonly used designation for the Holy Sacrament.⁴

The similarly subdivided inscription of the municipality's tabernacle reads: “EGO SVM PANIS VIVVS, QVI DE CELO DESCENDI” (Fig. 3). The quotation is from St John's Gospel (6:51). It is a widely known citation, though – apparently – it had no salient place in the liturgy of the mass. Its place on a tabernacle was as self-evident as St Thomas's hymn. Regarding their contents, these inscriptions are conventional, while the type of the letters adjusts to classical antique models.

The other two inscriptions name the donators, or more precisely, comment on the large coats of arms on the bases. That of the parish priest András Nagyrévi elicits antique reminiscences: “ARMA REVERENDI DOMINI ANDREE EPISCOPI THERMOPYLENSIS”. Nagyrévi was namely the titular bishop of Thermopylae as the vicar of the archbishop of Esztergom; concerning the texts, this was the only allusion to antiquity (presumably noticed by others as well). The inscription of the city also adopts this scheme: “ARMA INCLITE CIVITATIS REGALIS PESTHENSIS MDVII” (Fig. 4). The designation royal city resounds with pride in the inscription: Pest came to be added to the several free royal cities as the eighth in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.⁵ This duality of contents was highly typical of the Jagiellonian age: perpetuating the deed of the donator, and even the author, while making public mention of the traditional – here eternal – content in a novel form.

Let us ignore the question now why it was necessary to erect two all'antica tabernacles in a church;



EGO SVAMPANIS VIVVS QVI DE CELO DESCENDI

Acta Hist. Art., Tom. 64, 2023



Fig. 4. Detail of the Tabernacle of the City of Pest, 1507. Budapest, Inner City Parish Church of Pest

this unusual solution in Hungary is not without analogies in Italy. Nor should we inquire about their original locations – regrettably, the latest displacement was not documented. What was discovered in the church was the place of the Gothic tabernacle and some of its fragments at a northern column of the chancel.⁶ This type – an almost free-standing tabernacle set against a pillar – was the most frequent representative tabernacle type in Hungary in the age; the *all'antica* type was far rarer. Not only was their style different, but the large, late Gothic Sacrament Houses almost never carried inscriptions,⁷ while the Renaissance ones fairly often did.

The epigraphs of the Renaissance tabernacles in humanistic capital letters were just as integral parts of the work, of the antiquizing façade architecture, as was its ornamentation adopting classical examples – actually, they were also ornaments. Thus, an inscription carved in classical capital letters is a stylistic element, independently of its content. Nonetheless, the contents should not be ignored, similarly to the fact that an inscription can never be separated from the vehicle that carries it. It was not compulsory to be used; but when it was used, its message was sometimes banal, but in some cases it could be of decisive importance as to the work or the donator. Owing to its ambiguous position, it is an unavoidable junction of several disciplines: art history, philology and epigraphy.

Let us remain with the tabernacles. The two Renaissance specimens in Pest feature two inscriptions of different contents, one referring to the Eucharist, the other to the donator.

The rest of the tabernacles follow suite, featuring these two types. The two usually appear separated, but one is not more frequent than the other.⁸ The first extant example is the tabernacle found some fifteen years ago in the sanctuary of the St Emmeram cathedral in Nyitra (Nitra, Neutra, today in Slovakia). It is an almost perfect pendant of the Pest items (Fig. 5). The red marble centrepiece with the angels flanking the recess, the *all'antica* mouldings of the white limestone frame of the niche with the pilasters verify that they were carved in the same workshop. The base and top are missing but the moulding beneath the niche displays an inscription of classical capital letters. The text is illegible, only the date – 1497 in Roman numbers – can be deciphered at the end. This is the so-far found earliest Renaissance dated tabernacle from the one-time area of the Hungarian Kingdom. Its presumable donator was the bishop Antal Sánkfalvi, whose relationship with humanists is well known, and whose erudition and court contacts can explain the commissioning of such a work.⁹

Other Renaissance pieces of lesser importance also carry inscriptions in antique type letters. The Pomáz fragment shows a Biblical citation (1519) (Fig. 6),¹⁰



Fig. 5. Tabernacle of Antal Sánkfalvi (?), bishop of Nyitra, 1497. Nitra Cathedral

so does the one from Szilágysomlyó (Șimleu Silvaniei, today in Romania) (around 1532);¹¹ the fragment from Siklós (only known for its inscription, 1535) has the same inscription as that of the Pest municipality,¹² while the latest piece in the series, the tabernacle of Ágo-

takövesd (Coveș, today in Romania) carries the Magnificat antiphon of the feast of Corpus Christi (1537) (Fig. 7).¹³ The polygonal (presumably free-standing) strongly fragmentary all'antica tabernacle of the St Sigismund church in Buda castle may also have carried a Biblical or liturgical quotation.¹⁴ Only the inscription referring to the donator can be read on the tabernacles of Menyő (Mineu, today in Romania) (1515),¹⁵ Nagyvarsány (1523)¹⁶ and Nyársardó (Ražňany, today in Slovakia) (1510–1520),¹⁷ the latter written in early humanist capital letters (fig. 8). By contrast, no epigraph is carried by the monumental red marble tabernacle in Pécs cathedral commissioned by the powerful, rich and cultured bishop György Szatmári.¹⁸ There is no inscription on the tabernacle of Nyírbátor (1510–1520) (which is also presumed to be an Italian work)¹⁹ and on the tiny one in Csővár.²⁰ All feature the respective donator's coat of arms at the bottom. There is neither inscription, nor arms on the specimen from Héthárs (Lipany, today in Slovakia) (around 1513), which – though presumably carved by Vincenzo da Ragusa who signed the portal of the church – conveys the Italian Renaissance forms filtered through the Gothic.²¹ The small tabernacle in the Calvinist church of Nagygéc is also on the borderline between two styles.²² The one in Kishartyán lacks inscriptions or a coat of arms, and only the all'antica mouldings distinguish it from similarly simple Gothic houses of the sacrament.²³

The easily comparable tabernacles sometimes sensitively signal certain art historical phenomena. For example, those of Menyő and Nyársardó geographi-



Fig. 6. Fragment of a Tabernacle, 1519. Pomáz, Parish Church



Fig. 7. Tabernacle from Ágotakövesd (Coveş), 1537. Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár), Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei (The National History Museum of Transylvania)

cally far removed from each other and also differing in outward appearance have a point in common. Both donators were associated with Esztergom. István Dësházy was the governor of the castle, bishop Dömötör Nyási was a vicar of the archbishop. Yet they differ in style: the Menyő piece – the one in purest all'antica style – was made in the Esztergom workshop of Ioannes Fiorentinus and was transported to the small village in the Szilágyság region; by contrast, the Nyársardó tabernacle (Fig. 8) was carved somewhere near, in county Sáros (Šariš, today in Slovakia) or Sze-

pes (Spiš, today in Slovakia) as a typical example of the northern Renaissance prevalent in the area.

In terms of epigraphy, the two most intriguing Renaissance tabernacles in medieval Hungary are the one in Egyházasgerge and the one in Tereske. They are close to each other (both villages are in county Nógrád), yet their inscriptions are almost the polar opposites of each other.

In Egyházasgerge (Fig. 9) the six-line distich on the bracket serving for a tablet under the tabernacle informs us that the church was constructed by László Liptai in honour of the Virgin Mary in 1503;²⁴ in the text there is no word about the Eucharist (although the lunette is adorned with a Man of Sorrows relief), it might as well have been applied to any place inside the church²⁵. The inscription on this tabernacle explains the place, precisely the place of proprietorship, i.e. it sings the praises of László Liptai.

The laconic inscription in Tereske is far more intriguing (Fig. 10); it is embedded in an intricate context and interprets the work itself. It merely consists of



Fig. 8. Tabernacle of the Vicar of Esztergom, Demetrius de Nyas, 1513–1520. Nyársardó (Ražňany), Parish Church



Fig. 9. Tabernacle, 1507. Egyházasgerge, Parish Church

two words: “TENPLVM (sic) DOMINI”.²⁶ At first sight, it seems to reinforce the architectural explanation: the all’antica tabernacle resembles a temple façade. However, there is much more to it than that: the word “templum” in the Vulgate most frequently alludes to the Temple of Jerusalem.²⁷ It occurs mainly in the Old Testament, but the New Testament also uses it in this way (in Greek ναὸς τοῦ κυρίου, or ἱερόν here, too).²⁸ Thus, the Eucharist dwells – in a Biblical sense – in the Holy of Holies. What is more, since Jesus referred the Temple to himself as the carrier of divine presence²⁹ at several loci in the Gospels, the inscription alludes to the content and not to the tabernacle, just as the representation on the pediment – the host rising out of the

chalice – does. In mediaeval texts “Templum Domini” means both the body of Christ and the Virgin Mary in a metaphorical sense.³⁰

The ornamentation of the tabernacle carved of poor quality, porous stone is ambitious, too. The fields of the pilaster are adorned with candelabra with tongues of fire, from the richly intricate cornice festoons of fruit are hanging. Some scholars tentatively identify the donator with a protégé of János Vitéz, István Bajoni, who studied in Ferrara and Bologna. He acted as a secretary to King Matthias, who also sent him on missions to Florence, Naples and Rome. His political career ended with Vitéz falling out of grace.³¹ About some fifteen years later, in 1485 he had the church restored as the commendator of the Benedictine monastery in Tereske.³² If the tabernacle was made around that time, it is not easy to answer the question why was the tabernacle made of such a poor material.³³



Fig. 10. Tabernacle, 1485–1500. Tereske, Parish Church

II. INSCRIPTIONS OUTSIDE THE ROYAL COURT, PRIOR TO 1490

An inscribed stone called Vetési stone has long been known in Veszprém (Fig. 11). Removed from the castle wall and kept in the open to most recent times, it is a carved red marble piece set on a pillar like a memorial. It has been known in Hungarian (art) history as the first Renaissance relic in Hungary.³⁴ However, its mouldings run counter to all'antica works, as they are every inch Gothic, except for the inscription of beautifully shaped Renaissance capitals with the ominous date 1467 at the end.³⁵ In epigraphic terms it is an important piece, being the first dated epigraph in Renaissance capitals in entire Central Europe.³⁶

Earlier it was identified as a “capital”, but it is an element of an upward widening bracket, the smoothed upper plane of which is bounded by three sides of an hexagon. Its bottom plane carved for jointing has the concave edges adorned with three-quarter bead moulding. Perhaps it was part of a Gothic tabernacle. The middle part features the coat of arms of bishop Albert Vetési, with the inscription running around it on an undulating banderole: “IN DEO FACI | EMVS | VIRTU | TEM. | ALBERTVS. | EP(iscopu)s | W(esprimiensis) | ME FIERI | IVSSIT | 1467”. As the ribbon is meandering, some of the graphemes are therefore upside down. The first two lines really appear as a motto with the word “virtus” lending it a distinctly humanistic overtone. It is, naturally, a Psalm citation; it occurs in two psalms as well (59 and 107)³⁷, in both cases referring to victory over the foe – with the help of the Lord. (King Matthias's motto was also a Psalm citation,³⁸ and a few decades later Tamás Bakócz would also use one.³⁹)

When – in the second half of the 1950s – the St George chapel was explored at the northern side of Veszprém cathedral, the archaeologists found similar fragments with dual stylistic connections.⁴⁰ From one

group a tympanum enclosed in a sizeable wimperg could be pieced together, which belonged to the western entrance of the chapel. From the other pieces a fragment of the chapel altar could be assembled (Fig. 12).⁴¹ They also feature Albert Vetési's coat of arms as the main motif similarly to the bracket, and they also show inscribed ribbons around the arms. The – unfortunately highly fragmentary – inscriptions also refer to the bishop; on the tympanum, which has fragments of particularly many winding ribbons, a word (sentence?) ending syllable “...TEM” might as well derive from the mentioned Psalm citation (Fig. 13).⁴² Vetési had the small chapel adorned extremely richly – he repainted the building decorated with frescoes by King Louis Anjou earlier, donated a new altar carved from marble – and he had his coat of arms inserted all over. The representative red marble ensemble proclaimed the glory of the donator – rather ostentatiously.

Was Bishop Vetési's opus a Renaissance or a Gothic ensemble? This question has been repeatedly raised, and answered alternately by scholarship. The answer to the unwittingly provocatively formulated either-or question depends, with some exaggeration, on the scholar's “world view”; what is certain is that the inscription cannot be separated from its form of appearance. Only, this case is the reverse of the Renaissance tabernacles: the banderole was basically a conservative stylistic element, which they wanted to modernize with the perfectly incised humanist capitals. Gothic and all'antica elements are commingled or juxtaposed.



Fig. 11. Fragment of a consol of a tabernacle with coat of arms of bishop Albert Vetési, 1467. Veszprém, Laczkó Dezső Museum



Fig. 12. Fragment with a detail of the coat of arms of Albert Vetési from the Saint George Chapel. Veszprém, Laczkó Dezső Museum

The graphemes are carved with extraordinary precision, their quality perfectly harmonizes with the craftsmanship of the whole carved stone. One might jump to the conclusion that only Italian stone carvers were capable of solving such an assignment, albeit the mouldings, the leaves of the creeper in the wimperg or the accurately carved fringe of the infulae are in Gothic style. The master used a model (not a stencil). These flawlessly cut letters of excellent proportions pose a serious challenge to researchers. Their problem, however, is not with the intellectual background but with the mode of crafting.

What comes to mind immediately – thanks to the researches of Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay – is the group of humanists collecting Roman epigraphs in Hungary, for example, Francesco Giustiniani or Felice Feliciano.⁴³ The former visited Hungary back in 1464 and drew exquisite classical capitals on paper.⁴⁴ The latter arrived here later, in the winter of 1479, in the company of John of Aragon; he was also engrossed in the theory of how all'antica capitals should be designed. The title-pages, headlines in capital letters of Italian manuscripts and even prints have also to be considered. What inspired Vetési's choice must certainly have been humanism, the humanist culture of lettering.

With studies at Padova university and several visits in Italy as Matthias's envoy (1459, 1463, 1474, 1475), he must have been strongly attracted to the humanist capitals. These graphemes – and his coat of arms – begin his deed of gift initiating a new altar in the St George chapel, dated 1476 in Veszprém.⁴⁵ The only work of art known today as having belonged to him is a chasuble embroidered in Venice; Vetési must have known and liked the products of Italian art. He was especially committed to humanism: he sent



Fig. 13. Fragments of a tympanon of the Saint George Chapel, Veszprém

his nephew László Vetési to study in Ferrara; had he not died an untimely death, the nephew might have become a court humanist, similarly to Janus Pannonius earlier.⁴⁶ Vetési later appointed Ladislaus Bozkovicz (the nephew of the bishop of Olmütz Prothasius), who had also studied in Ferrara (1481), grand provost of Veszprém. He returned to Hungary from Ferrara and only left when his family fell out of grace (1484), and became the first patron of Renaissance art in Moravia.⁴⁷

Early (not classical) humanist capitals carved in banderoles first appeared relatively early in Esztergom (exact date is unknown), on the sepulchral monument of the father of Hungarian humanism János Vitéz (Fig. 14).⁴⁸ They were also “modern”, but only north of the Alps, in German-speaking areas.⁴⁹ Their later career in Hungary may easily be misleading: they mostly appear on northern Renaissance relics in the Jagiellonian age.

On the border of the (highly fragmentary) tomb showing the effigy of the archbishop in full canonicals the inscribed banderole, at times with slight creases, runs round on a somewhat inclined plane. Its text – quite rarely – can be read from the outside. It dates from far later than the Vetési stone, but the curious thing is that the other tombstone of Vitéz equally in Gothic style – both survived among the ruins of the mediaeval St Adalbert cathedral – also has a banderole all around with an inscription carved in Gothic minuscule (Fig. 15).⁵⁰ It is not known who ordered these tombstones. The simpler (thin slab only showing the archiepiscopal cross and Vitéz's coat of arms) might have been made earlier, but set aside in storage when the representative sarcophagus had been completed (presumably on the model of archbishop Dénes Szécsi's [†1465] monument). The commission to carve it may have been associated with János Vitéz's – and Janus Pannonius's – rehabilitation, the exact date of which is unknown. Bonfini – true, nearly two decades later – recorded the alleged sorrow of the king, and the order to collect Janus's epigrams (by Péter Váradi) might also have been issued by the same token.⁵¹

In content, the two epigraphs are not significantly different – both reflect on János Vitéz's great erudition – but the continuous inscription in more modern lettering hides a four-lined elegiac couplet and fits – also in terms of the metric formulae – the humanist spirit of Vitéz (and his circle). To be more precise: even in the prose text one can sense something extra, a deviation from stereotypes, an almost humanist flavour. I mean the wording “... ingenio preclar(u)s, religione pius”;⁵² this becomes amplified in the poem, as the author of the distich – apparently – took the prose



Fig. 14. Cover of the Tomb of János Vitéz,
Archbishop of Esztergom, before 1484.
Esztergom, crypt of the Cathedral

epitaph as the basis, varying, extending it. In the couplets the ecclesiastic dignities, titles of the archbishop – which were almost compulsory in sepulchral monuments – are not listed accurately (they might have been displayed on the lateral panels unknown to us). Instead, it abounds in phrases like “*immortale decus*”⁵³, “*religionis honor*”,⁵⁴ “*patriae pater*” or “*optimus ille*”⁵⁵ included in hexameters as archaic formulae. The sentences marking the day of the death are word for word identical.

Particularly thought-provoking is the phrase “*patriae pater*”: the distinguishing title was conferred



Fig. 15. Epitaph of János Vitéz,
archbishop of Esztergom, after 1472.
Esztergom, crypt of the Cathedral

– after Cicero – upon Julius Caesar and on Roman emperors from Augustus to Constantine the Great by the Senate, and the ruler had this title included in construction inscriptions, medals. In Florence, it was bestowed on Cosimo de' Medici after his death (1464), and – with the classical abbreviation “P.P.” – it is also shown on the all'antica sepulchral monument in the San Lorenzo, the work of Andrea del Verrocchio, which Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici erected in honour of Cosimo's two sons, including their father, in 1472.⁵⁶

It is worth considering whether the earlier position in special literature, notably that there is not a single classical capital grapheme that can be associated with the name of Vitéz who had constructed so extensively in Esztergom – even though in Gothic style –, should not be revised. Actually, this being a fact does not need reconsidering, but its consequences do. True, both tombs are Gothic in style, but the representative sarcophagus with the distich inscription was written in early humanist capital letters. The donator was in all probability a protégé of the archbishop belonging to his humanist circle. Vitéz himself must have been familiar with the classical all'antica letters from easily moved art works, also in architectural contexts. I have in mind the Italian manuscripts of his library (to which Jolán Balogh had referred earlier) the double title-pages of which are adorned with all'antica aediculae with inscribed tablets in them – listing the contents of the book.⁵⁷

The next known all'antica epigraph in the town is from the time of John of Aragon (Giovanni d'Aragona), from 1482, on a stone slab originally featuring two coats of arms: those of Beatrice and Matthias (Fig. 16).⁵⁸ The text is short, the graphemes are not purely classical in form – A is topped with a horizontal line, D is open on top, the diagonal of N is interrupted in the middle –, they are so close to the early humanist capitals that they pass for the type, and their bodies are as bulging as those on the Vitéz monument.

The first exactly dated genuinely humanist capital letters appeared all over the country on Renaissance heraldic stones (besides the Vetési stone). The arms of the builders are always surrounded by a wreath of leaves and fruit, with a smooth field beneath for the inscription – often only the date. These relatively small stone carvings survived outside the royal residences.

The earliest – and at the same time the first dated purely all'antica stone carving in Hungary – is the Báthory coat of arms found in the castle of Nógrád pro-



Fig. 16. Fragment of stone slab with coat of arms of Queen Beatrice of Aragon, Esztergom, 1482. Esztergom, crypt of the Cathedral

claiming the glory of the bishop of Vác Miklós Báthory, the builder of the castle (1483) (Fig. 17).⁵⁹ Another heraldic stone survived in the episcopal town (with the year 1485)⁶⁰, and some in residences of other family members: in Ecsed (only with the year: 1484)⁶¹ and Nyírbátor (1488)⁶² where – *varietas delectat* – the classical capitals are aligned on a banderole: “M(agnifici) ST(e)PH(a)NI DE BATOR VAIVODAE” (Fig. 18).

It rounds out the picture that early humanist capitals can also be found on all'antica heraldic stones. In Gyurgyevác (Đurđevac, today in Croatia) along the river Drava the carved coat of arms of the bishop of Pécs Zsigmond Ernuszt (Fig. 19) was found (1488)⁶³ (the castle was owned by him). However, its red marble material was not from Esztergom but from



Fig. 17. Coat of arms of Nikolaus Báthory, Bishop of Vác, from Nógrád Castle, 1483. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Hungarian National Museum)



Fig. 18. Coat of arms of István Báthory, Nyírbátor, Calvinist Church



Fig. 19. Coat of arms of Zsigmond Ernuszt, bishop of Pécs, from Đurdevac, 1488. Zagreb, Povijestni muzej Hrvatske (Croatian History Museum)



Fig. 20. Coat of arms of Zsigmond Ernuszt, bishop of Pécs, from Pécs, 1498. Pécs, Janus Pannonius Museum

another place, and the forms of the “Italian wreath” do not suggest an Italian hand (at least not one from Florence). In the episcopal town Pécs another – massively reworked – tablet with the arms of Zsigmond

Ernusz is known from one of the castle gates (Fig. 20). The horsehead shield held by two winged figures features an inscription that is the very first in antiqua type in the city (1498).⁶⁴

III. THE ROYAL COURT

It is time to enter upon the theme of royal residences, but it is not accidental that the discussion did not start with them. As has been seen, the royal constructions, that is to say, the monarchic model, was not taken automatically for the epitome, and exact dating does not even allow posterity to commit a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* mistake.

The inscriptions of the royal palace of Buda cut in classical capitals were not all architectural inscriptions; they did not only adorn buildings, but also fountains or statue pedestals. They were in profusion, as can be ascertained despite the extraordinary extent of destruction. Some of them were preserved among the notes of travellers. The basic problem with their identification was for a long time that among the inscriptions found during excavations or anywhere else there is not a single one recorded by travellers, while not a single letter of the inscribed stones perpetuated by the travellers has been found.⁶⁵ The fragment with the longest text, which can be identified, was only unearthed in recent years (published in 2000). It is the piece which is presumed to have belonged to the base of the famous Hercules statue. However, the provenance of the monumental inscribed fragments which special literature ties to the royal palace of Buda (and are exhibited among the remains of the building in the Budapest History Museum) is in most cases problematic.

The best known and largest item is a huge inscription in two lines from the age of Matthias: “MATH|[ias Hungaror]VM PRINCEPS | HOS M[andavit erig]ERE POSTES” (Fig. 21).⁶⁶ Its largest constituent was found in 1817 walled in at the entrance of the Pest building of the university (library); the other fitting piece with the next section of the text got into the National Museum from an unknown provenance.⁶⁷ A new (third) fragment was found as late as in 1959, also in Pest, in the

vicinity of the University Library, used as the cover of a modern sewage canal.⁶⁸ Since the text of this piece was unknown in the early nineteenth century, it is hard to prove the assumption that the enormous stone slab was taken by the university transferred from the royal palace of Buda to Pest in the eighteenth century. Of course, it cannot be disproved, either. What is more, this huge all’antica stone carving would undoubtedly be a unique relic.

The other well-known item is a marble pedestal on all sides of which there are graphemes, two on a side: “MA | TH | IA | SR(ex)” (Fig. 22). Its provenance also raises doubts: it is an old find (it got into the National Museum as part of Miklós Jankovich’s collection in 1838)⁶⁹ and it was also in Pest at the time of its first mention.

The third is a corner fragment, at last from an authentic excavation in the vicinity of the palace. It features the remains of an inscription: “[...]ORVM | DOM[...]”, maybe once belonging to the substructure of the one-time Hercules statue, as it can be complemented with the help of the inscription perpetuated by Magnus Gruber, as follows: [Divinus Hercules Monstr] ORVM DOM[itor] (Fig. 23).⁷⁰

The common feature of the above inscriptions was the technique: originally, the burnished red marble base received bronze letters in grooves; the bronze letters have disappeared by now but the empty grooves prevail.

“Matthias Covinus, the invincible king” – Magnus Gruber used these words to describe the ruler around 1531, some forty years after his death. This phrase might of course be taken from any history book discussing Matthias’s role, but art historiography usually cites it from Franz Omichius’s diary,⁷¹ who visited Ottoman-dominated Buda in the retinue of the



Fig. 21. Stone slab with inscription, probably from the Royal Palace in Buda, 1480–1490. Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum (Budapest History Museum)



Fig. 22. Red marble pedestal with inscription, probably from the Royal Palace in Buda, 1480–1490. Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum (Budapest History Museum)

emperor's envoy Dávid Ungnád, and as a keen-eyed observer he put down several inscriptions on the walls of the palace courts and rooms. They include this one: "MATHIAS CORVINUS REX INVICTISSIMVS", in "large gilded characters". These words – "mit grossen vergülten Buchstaben" – presumably find their explanation in the recovered inscription fragments: they must have been bronze letters, gilded.⁷² In addition to this inscription, the following could be read above the door of a room: "Magnanimum principem Victoria sequitur" and a date, which was, unfortunately, interpreted differently by the two travellers who put it down, Franz Omichius and Stephan Gerlach. The former read it as 1479, the latter as 1484, presumably for the Roman numerals.⁷³ Regrettably, they kept silent about the type of the letters.

For a long time, the column capital adorned with an inscribed banderole and acanthus leaves found close to the old Town Hall of Buda in the late eighteenth century was thought to have belonged to the royal library, the "Bibliotheca Corvina". Its inscription cut subtly in fine letters – MATHIAS | PRINC[EPS | I] NVICTVS | INGEN[IO | V]OLVPTATI | OPVS HOC | CONDIDIT | GENEROSVM – was discussed in scholarly literature for some time as the inscription featuring on the façade (!) of the library, which alone is a good indicator of the significance of Buda inscriptions influencing scholarly thought to this day (Fig. 24).⁷⁴ In one of the library rooms there were indeed inscriptions, but they could have been painted as well.⁷⁵ Anyway, Vladislaus II had the pendants of Matthias's



Fig. 23. Fragment of a red marble pedestal with inscription from the Royal Palace in Buda, 1480–1490. Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum (Budapest History Museum)

inscriptions created here, with similar contents and (perhaps) in similar forms.

Compared to the many inscriptions referring to Matthias, there was a single place in the palace where the name of Vladislaus II was put down by travellers copying an inscription above a door in 1502 (or 1507 in another source).⁷⁶ No mention is made of gilded letters, and if the few characters that can be linked to this record indeed preserved the fragment of Vladislaus II's name, it was not inlaid with bronze.⁷⁷ It seems that Matthias's successor did not resort to this means of representation, or to the means of large statues, or to ordering a new series of emblems – necessarily custom-made.

The only entity Vladislaus strove to promote as his achievement, *too*, was the famous library;⁷⁸ there is a strong accent on *too*, because his legitimization was



Fig. 24. Capital with inscription from Buda, 1480–1490. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Hungarian National Museum)

only valid for quite some time as a pendant to that of Matthias. Moving along a forced course, he could not help continuing his predecessor's work. It is typical how he had the plain and conventional letters "W – R" (Wladislaus Rex) written over the enigmatic all'antica "M – A" characters in the Corvina manuscripts. Vladislaus's stone "inscriptions" in Buda (or Nyék and Vác) most frequently consist of a single letter, being literally a monogram: "W" (Fig. 25).

It is a commonplace in art historiography that lots of Renaissance details in the Vladislaus room of Prague

castle are all'antica quotations, allusions from Buda. The gothicizing shaping, the many northern modifications are only some of the tell-tale peculiarities. At least as eloquent is the monumental inscription on the external façade. The inscription carved in enormous letters adorns the frieze of one of the windows, which is in line with the classical examples, but the letters are Gothic minuscules and the contents is no more than a dating formula: "Wladislaus rex ungarie Bohemie 1493" (Fig. 26).⁷⁹ This Prague inscription can be interpreted as Vladislaus's simplified adaptation of the all'antica models in Buda.⁸⁰

Here, in the interpretation, we may go a step further, too. Pál Lővei has pointed out that the Italian monumental all'antica inscriptions of the period were not, or were very rarely, made with metal letters.⁸¹ The golden inscriptions applied to a purple ground in Matthias's Buda must have also been inspired by the representative inscriptions linked by the classical authors in their works to the Augustan golden age – think first of all of Tacit, while, evidently, the speculations of the Italian humanists in Buda should also be considered.



Fig. 25. Baluster pillar with the initials of King Vladislav II of Hungary from the Royal Palace in Buda, 1490–1500. Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum (Budapest History Museum)



Fig. 26. Window of the courtyard façade of the Great Hall of the Vladislav Wing in Prague Castle, 1493

In this case perhaps not so much Bonfini, as Francesco Bandini, or more emphatically Bartolomeo della Fonte, who was also a collector of antique inscriptions and made serious efforts to revive the use of classical capitals.⁸² Bonfini once again provided the reading, and not the idea.

At any rate, one can hardly find a better allusion to the golden age of Matthias than the inscriptions. Let me refer this time to the preface of the *Thuróczy* chronicle printed in gold, the first of its kind in the world: maybe the printing technique had also been elaborated for this occasion. The parchment copies enriched with dedications printed in gold ink were probably made specifically for the Buda court.⁸³ And one must not forget about the manuscript illuminations: the inscriptions in the tables of contents of the title-pages or in the titles of the works, or again, the gold-lettered inscriptions of the *Corvina* bindings and the lavish gilding – almost without parallels in the age.

Matthias's ambitions to ascend to the Holy Roman imperial throne did not prove politically realistic.⁸⁴ Yet the antique "augustus" title – as reference – often appears on art works ordered for the ruler (and in the humanist panegyrics): remember first of all the enigmatic letter combination MA which often implied the possibility of decoding as "Mathias Augustus", or the abbreviation on the title-page of the Philostratus manuscript suggesting the name "Corvina Bibliotheca" (Fig. 27).⁸⁵ The inscriptions on the ornamental pages of manuscripts could allude to diverse things, also well suited to carrying political messages. Even better suited for that were the inscriptions on buildings. The king's humanists re-kneaded the new fashionable inscription type charging it with a political content in Buda.

The most important idiosyncratic aspect was the use of the gilded bronze. The antiquizing monumental inscription as a means of power representation had come ready-made from Italy. Let me cite a single strong example: the white marble triumphal arch at the entrance of Castel Nuovo in Naples (1452–1471) on which – apart from reliefs – classical inscriptions also announced the glory and invincibility of Alphonse V (by the way, the grandfather of Queen Beatrice) who had acquired the kingdom (Fig. 28). These inscriptions are similar to the ones in Buda in terms of contents and also partly in terms of word usage (*princeps, invictus*).⁸⁶ I suspect that in Buda the inscriptions were not mere Renaissance "graffiti" on the walls of a Gothic palace; they must have fitted into all *antica* structures. I do not mean to say that a copy of the entrance of Castel Nuovo was built in Buda, but merely empha-



Fig. 27. Boccardino il Vecchio: title-page of the Philostratus manuscript, 1487–1490. Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library), Cod. Lat. 417. fol. 1v

size that the Buda epigraph fragments and architectural remains of a monumental scale – the inscriptions and stone carvings – cannot be scrutinized separately.

Castel Nuovo was adorned with bronze double gates as well featuring battle scenes in relief (c. 1474–1477),⁸⁷ and we know from Bonfini that there were double bronze gates in Buda as well. The court historiographer's epigram about this set of double gates – showing the exploits of Hercules – succinctly interpreted Matthias's artistic ambitions. And indeed, valiance, bronze, marble and writing did not allow the renown of Matthias perish. Of course, the word "scripta" here – especially in the company of "virtus" – has double meaning, alluding not only to the inscriptions but also the entire literary output of the human-



Fig. 28. Triumphal arch entrance to Castel Nuovo, Naples, 1452–1471

ists – the two united precisely in Bonfini's epigram. The most loyal guardians of Matthias's *kleos* have been Bonfini's writings, and the poem itself only survived on the pages of *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, and not on the bronze portal. The tone of the poet's pride over his poem – "Exegi monumentum aere perennius..." – can also be perceived.

Visegrád was Matthias's other famous residence, a sort of *villa suburbana*, after the Buda palace. There were inscriptions here, too, but – apparently – they were less, or differently, representative than in Buda. The fragmentary text of the canopy over the so-called Lion Fountain, a late Gothic wall fountain, survived. Written in early humanist capitals on a richly meandering ribbon, its fragmentary date is more recently complemented to 1483.⁸⁸ At around the same time, the classical capital letter also appeared in Visegrád, but on all'antica stone carving. A sitting putto attached to a corner acroterion was holding an open book in front, with a coat of arms on the heraldic right page and the inscription "REX | MAT | HIAV | NGH | ARIA" on the opposite page (Fig. 29).⁸⁹ The scale, and the figure, must have been meant for a far more limited audience than the large inscriptions in Buda. No more



Fig. 29. Putto holding an open book from the Royal Palace in Visegrád, before 1490

inscriptions in Renaissance capitals are known today from this venue (only fragments with minuscules survive from the bay window⁹⁰), and we get no help from sixteenth-century travellers, either.

Monumental inscriptions of political contents arrived in Visegrád later: on the epigraph of the keepers of the crown in the citadel. The Holy Crown was kept here, and the outsize tablet proclaimed the legitimation of the two keepers of the crown appointed after the coronation of Vladislaus II (Fig. 30).⁹¹ The original architectonic context is not yet quite clear (on top and bottom narrow courses of classical profile ran, and a similar one divided it), on top a date in Roman numerals was cut, below it, against the background of a coffered ceiling, there were coats of arms, at the bottom was the inscription. The text is known from the engraving included in Mátyás Bél's work and from Alajos Mednyánszky's record. The panel was made of marl; the remains of the block of the lower part inserted in the wall are at their original place today, too, while pieces of the split-off section of the front plane (with fragments of the text) were recovered a few years ago.⁹²

Let us end the series with an inscription from the queen's castle in Diósgyőr, from 1525.⁹³ The text divided into two parts (originally also on two separate but fitting stones) contains the name and titles of Queen Mary on a tortuously meandering banderole in early humanist capitals (Fig. 31). It is perfectly adjusted to the style of the northern Renaissance: "MARIA | DEI | GRACIA |



Fig. 32. Stone tablet in the church of Makranc (Mokrance)

is undoubtedly christianized: the abbreviation DOMS was not typical of genuine ancient epigraphs.¹⁰¹ It cannot be excluded that people in the late Middle Ages thought it was of ancient origin, it is however, more probable that the D(eo) (or Domino) O(ptimo) M(aximo) formula was inspired by I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo).¹⁰²

Original inscribed antique stone carvings – from Pannonia and Dacia – were not rare in Hungary in Matthias's and the Jagiellonian ages. The humanists collected the inscriptions (roughly from the last quarter of the fifteenth century), and many collected the stones, too; their written records reveal that around Buda they found many Roman tombstones with inscriptions starting with DM (Dis Manibus).¹⁰³ In Italy Renaissance inscriptions beginning with all'antica abbreviations were known from the fifteenth century, mostly from sepulchral stones. I cite a single example from Francesco Sasseti's (†1490) tombstone in Florence's Santa Trinità – Deo Omnip(otenti). It is also a massively programmatic all'antica piece iconographically as well, so much so, that this is the only Chris-

tian motif on the tomb.¹⁰⁴ This Italian epigraphic convention – which was not widespread in Italy at the beginning¹⁰⁵ – was the model of the Gisella – Adelhaid tablet. Several tombs are known in Hungary from the 1510s whose epigraphs in classical capitals begin with this or a similar formula.

Conspicuous examples of antiquization on late medieval – early modern funerary monuments are the epitaphs beginning with DOM, DOMS, or DM abbreviation. One needn't go deep into the text to discover the intention, for the formula strikes the eye immediately. Today few of this type are known in Hungary, a mere four, but three of them can be read on tombstones that were most up-to-date, also adopting ancient models iconographically as well; of the fourth only the inscription survives.



Fig. 33. Johannes Fiorentinus: Epitaph of Gergely Forgách (1515). Photo from Bártfai Szabó 1910

On the tomb of Gergely Forgács (formerly in Felsőelefánt [Horné Lefantovce, today in Slovakia], restored fragments of it in the Museum of Marcali) the coat of arms is surrounded by a wreath, with a tabula ansata under it (Fig. 33). The coat of arms, the wreath and the tablet are hung on ribbons hovering illusorily in the middle of the tombstone. The work from 1515 was signed by Ioannes Fiorentinus, who was engaged in Esztergom.¹⁰⁶ The tomb in Kassa (Košice, Kaschau, today in Slovakia) of canon Taddeo Lardi (†1512), the vicar of the bishop of Eger Ippolito d'Este, is a



Fig. 34. Epitaph of Taddeo Lardi (†1512), Vicar of Eger, Kassa (Košice), Urbanová veža (Urban Tower)

few years earlier. It features the abbreviation DM – decoded as Dis Manibus; the coat of arms also hangs on ribbons (unlike the inscribed tablet) (Fig. 34).¹⁰⁷ The lost tombstone of János Ellerbach of Monyorókérék (†1499) must have been carved after 1513, for the inscription says that its donator archbishop of Esztergom Tamás Bakócz ordered it as the patriarch of Constantinople.¹⁰⁸ (This is the stone of which only the inscription survives.) The fourth, Ursula Sauermann's tombstone from Buda is unfortunately undated but the coat of arms on it was also encircled by an "Italian wreath".¹⁰⁹ The partial decoding of the abbreviation verifies the spirit of *interpretatio christiana*: DEO . OPT(imo) . MAX(imo) . S(acrum). The deceased represented fairly different social groups: a Hungarian nobleman, an Italian canon in Eger and the Silesian wife of a German burgher in Buda.

To do justice, it has to be admitted that the DOM formula – as Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay pointed out to me – was not a rarity in this region, north–northeast of the Alps. The first occurrence is on the Vienna epitaph of the famous humanist Conrad Celtis (†1508) which includes not only tabulae ansatae with classical letters, but also the illustrious formula (Fig. 35). Nevertheless, the entire tomb is the product of German Renaissance



Fig. 35. Epitaph of Conrad Celtis (†1508). Wien, Stephansdom

– rooted in the late Gothic – which is confirmed, apart from the styling of the antiquizing requisites, by the positioning of the all-antica formula: it is not on a tabula ansata or the frieze, but (quite atectonically) on the cyma of the crowning cornice.¹¹⁰ The DOM formula also appeared on the sepulchral monuments of the Fuggers in Augsburg, the works by Hans Daucher,¹¹¹ in St Anne's chapel (1510–1515), the texts of which were published next to original Roman inscriptions by the famous inscription collector of the age, Petrus Apianus.¹¹² The tombs in Hungary discussed above display a different style, which derived directly from Italy in the Jagiellonian age, and had no connection with the northern Renaissance.

The tombstone, to reiterate a frequent statement, is a conservative genre. The types that evolved in the

Middle Ages – as regards iconography, the ones with effigies and the ones with coats of arms and inscriptions, in terms of structure the tomb with chest and the gravestone – survived long, only displaying the imprints of changing fashion. The question is whether the inscription letter types belong to the indicators of fashion change, too.

The earliest extant sepulchral inscription cut in classical capitals is on the lid of Palatine Imre Szapolyai's (†1487) tomb in Szepeshely (Spišská Kapitula, today in Slovakia) Cathedral (Fig. 36).¹¹³ It is a border inscription; a similar inscription – deliberately quoting relics from before the year 1500 – frames the tomb of castellan Simon Verebéli (†1493) in Eger (Fig. 37),¹¹⁴ and that of István Tarczay (†1493) in the St Martin



Fig. 36. Sarcophag lid of Palatine Imre Szapolyai's (†1487) tomb in Szepeshely (Spišská Kapitula) Cathedral



Fig. 37. Epitaph of Simon Verebéli (†1493), castellan of Eger, Vármúzeum (Castle Museum)

church in Héthárs (Lipany, today in Slovakia).¹¹⁵ The verse was cut in the side panel of István Báthory's tomb in Nyírbátor (†1493) also in these characters.¹¹⁶ Two parallel border inscriptions in classical capitals adorn a Buda gravestone in the middle of which there used to be an inserted tablet bronze (Fig. 38).¹¹⁷

The rest of the all'antica funerary inscriptions were carved into all'antica tablets, usually *tabulae ansatae*. Such adorned – only listing finds from before 1500 again – the figural tomb of bishop of Veszprém Albert Vetési, commissioned by archdeacon of Segesd János Újhelyi in the St George chapel little after the bishop's death in 1486.¹¹⁸ The rest are also associated with Italians living in Hungary or with erudite clerics. They mainly survived in Esztergom: one of a woman (in Queen Beatrice's surroundings) (†1495) (Fig. 39),¹¹⁹ that of canon Mihály Kesztlőczy (prior to 1499)¹²⁰ and that of provost of Szentistván András Gosztönyi (†1499).¹²¹ The inscription of archdeacon of Kemlék Balázs Marocsai (†1495) is from the cathedral of Zagreb (Croatia).¹²² The provenances of the items of castellan of Esztergom Bernardino Monelli (†1496) (Fig. 40)¹²³ and provost of Titel Bálint Bakócz (†1496/1497) are unknown (Fig. 41),¹²⁴ while the tomb of Zsigmond Véméri (†1500) elected bishop of Zagreb was found in the mediaeval Franciscan church in Buda.¹²⁵

It is worth taking stock of these tombs one by one, because on contemporaneous tombstones in neighbouring countries inscriptions in classical capitals are rather rare. None are known from Moravia, for example.¹²⁶ By contrast, there are more numerous relics of the kind from more to the north. On the side panels of the tomb of bishop of Włocławek Piotr z Bnina two tiny dean figures hold an unframed tablet with an inscription in classical capitals (Veit Stoss, 1493); the funerary monument was commissioned by Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus Experiens), a Krakow humanist and royal secretary, for his friend.¹²⁷



Fig. 38. Fragments of epitaph of unknown, 1494. Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum (Budapest History Museum)



Fig. 39. Fragment of epitaph of unknown, 1495. Esztergom, Vármúzeum (Castle Museum)

Probably, the letters were also chosen by him. The border inscription on the tombstone of cardinal archbishop of Gniezno Zbigniew Oleśnicki (†1493) was carved in early humanist capitals at about the same time.¹²⁸ On the bronze epitaph of Filippo Buonaccorsi (†1496) in the Dominical church in Krakow the inscription is also cut in Renaissance capitals,¹²⁹ similarly to the bronze gravestone of bishop of Boroszló Johann Roth (Peter Vischer, 1496).¹³⁰ Nonetheless, the classical graphemes always appear on Gothic sepulchres without exception: the epitaph of Callimachus Experiens is simply the Gothic adaptation of a humanist theme. On the side of the Gothic sarcophagus of King John Albert (†1502) the inscription is in classical capitals; the arcosolium housing the monument is among the earliest purely all'antica works in Krakow.¹³¹

Beyond the Alps classical capitals appeared on Gothic funerary monuments at several places at the end of the fifteenth century. Accordingly, this character type was used for tomb inscriptions in mediaeval Hungary, too, more and more frequently from the end of the 1480s. The inscriptions are thus synchronous with the area north of us, but here the rest of the stylistic features of the tombs – first of all of



Fig. 40. Epitaph of Bernardo Monelli, 1496. Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum (Budapest History Museum)

tombstones with coats of arms and inscriptions more closely tied to ornamentation –adopted the all’antica style sooner.

It is also intriguing to take a look at the features of the Hungarian epigraphs in terms of *literary* form. They are mostly in laconic prose, but some can be read out in classical elegiac couplets. The earliest is probably the tombstone of the cited sarcophagus of János Vitéz, which is no accident at all. It is highly likely that the monument erected later to the memory of Janus Pannonius also carried the engraved funerary poem he had written himself – but there is no knowing of the letter types till any tiny fragment of it is recovered in Pécs.¹³² Those of some other church dignitaries survive from the 1490s, such as those of Bálint Bakócz (Fig. 41),¹³³ Mihály Keszthölcz¹³⁴ and Zsigmond Vémeri.¹³⁵ Distichs of valiant champions also appear parallel with the above mentioned ones: those of Simon Verebélyi (Fig. 37),¹³⁶ István Báthory,¹³⁷ István Szapolyai.¹³⁸

As regards the epigraphic appearance of the poems, with particular attention to line divisions, the picture is surprisingly homogeneous. János Vitéz’s funerary poem runs unarticulated along the border of the slab, and this is not to be attributed to its relatively early date: the couplets run uninterrupted around the tombstone of the Pálóci brothers (1519) in St Elisabeth church in Sárospatak,¹³⁹ or on that of Barbara Glocknitzer (†1513) in Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, today in Slovakia)¹⁴⁰ decades later, in the middle of the Jagiellonian age. The figural type on which the inscription is found on a tabula ansata under the deceased feet appears to be consistent, but there are only few relics. On the tomb of bishop of Zagreb Lukács Szegedi (†1510) the text is broken at the end of each line,¹⁴¹ just like on Bálint Bakócz’s (Fig. 41).



Fig. 41. Fragment of tomb of Bálint Bakócz, provost of Titel. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Hungarian National Museum)

The type of relics with coats of arms and inscriptions are similar: the verse lines run unarticulated without marking the line endings on the tombs of provost of Szentistván Péter Garázda (Fig. 42),¹⁴² Zsigmond Thurzó (†1512) in Várad (Oradea, Großwardein, today in Romania),¹⁴³ or Zsigmond Vémeri (1500) in Buda. On the tombs of Antal and Péter Semjén (prior to 1526) (Fig. 43)¹⁴⁴ or the provost of



Fig. 42. Epitaph of Péter Garázda, provost of Szentistván, before 1500. Esztergom, crypt of the Cathedral

Ság Ferenc Fegyverneki (†1535)¹⁴⁵ every verse line begins a new line. In short, both kinds can be found, there was no binding prescription. Apparently, the only rule was to lead the border inscription all around, and the graphemes should possibly fill the inscribed tablet evenly.

The next question is whether the contents of the poems are also adapted to antiquity, or not. Unrhymed measured epitaphs were written in Hungary earlier, too, first in the Árpadian age.¹⁴⁶ As regards epitaphs in prose, no change over time can be discerned, or, more precisely, there is no criterion by which a prose epitaph could be qualified antiquizing, except for the DOM formula.

Different is the case of the hexameter, after all, its models – metric formulae – are antique. Classical mythology and history obviously crop up: castellan of Eger Simon Verebélyi is the warrior of Mars; the epitaph of voivode István Báthory has reference to Cato and Numa; abbot Antal Semjén and his brother Péter, the parish priest of Újudvar are sons of Leda, they loved each other like Castor and Pollux in all their lives, according to the verse. Best known is the contemporary afterlife of Janus Pannonius's epitaph: the tomb inscriptions of Péter Garázda and János Megyericsi are witty paraphrases of his epitaph, labelling the two related poets as the second and third disciples after Janus of the Muses brought from the Helicon to the Danube. Megyericsi's particularly fine epitaph is outstanding on several counts: the unusually long poem was inspired by the neo-Platonic tenet about the rising soul, the beginning was perhaps influenced by the abbreviations of Roman inscriptions. Megyericsi was a great humanist who collected inscriptions,¹⁴⁷ decorated his house and garden in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Weißenburg, today in Romania) with Roman carvings, and even had the pool of fish at his water mill converted from an inscribed sarcophagus of antiquity.¹⁴⁸

However, even the epitaphs abounding in classical reminiscences are imbued with the spirit of *interpretatio christiana*: all Christian souls were heading for the heaven. On Zsigmond Thurzó's tomb the trumpets of the Apocalypse are sounded, and abbot Antal Semjén performs the holy sacrifice mourning for his brother. The examples are many. Obviously, these tombstones – despite all their pictorial and textual antiquization, their “pagan” elements – are naturally Christian, more precisely Catholic relics.

With the passing of time the Renaissance capitals spread wide in the early modern age, and soon



Fig. 43. Epitaph of Antal Semjén, Abbot of Kapornak, and his brother Peter, around 1520. Nagykapornak, parish church

they were the only letters used in inscriptions in the Latin language. Those in German did not use this lettering style – they were written in general, like all over the German language areas – in Black-letter or Gothic script. The stylistic role of classical capitals got obscured, and everywhere the Blackletter (a relative of Gothic minuscule) acquired a glaze of archaism: for instance, on the Pozsony tombstone of Christoph Armbruster (†1562) from Nagyszeben¹⁴⁹ the border inscription in Black-letter together with the quatrefoil including the coat of arms delusively suggests archaism.

V. INSCRIPTIONS AROUND HUNGARY IN THE JAGIELLONIAN AGE

The mentioned tomb of Ursula Sauermann raises the question what role the German burghers of Buda might have played in the history of the Renaissance in Hungary in the Jagiellonian era. As seen above, Ursula Sauermann's tombstone was a typical work in all'antica style, moreover, in its purely Italian version. Her father, Konrad Sauermann was from Breslau in Silesia (today Wrocław in Poland), her husband, the donator of the tomb Thomas Venediger was a citizen of Buda, as the inscription declares. Many of his documents and those of his relative Georg (Horg) Venediger are preserved to this day in the archives of George of Brandenburg for the years 1523–1526. In 1529 he was one of the dignitaries of the most illustrious Buda guild, the Corpus Christi guild.¹⁵⁰

The fragmentary inscription of the German chief justice of Buda Wolfgang Freiburger survives from the Church of Our Lady: "...n]OBILIS . WOLFGA(n)GI . FREIBERGER [...B]VDENSIS . ANNO . M . D . XX" (Fig. 44). This inscription carved into a frieze or part of an inscribed frieze must have belonged to a self-supported all'antica structure; the donator was a well-known personage among the German patricians of Buda.¹⁵¹

To them belonged Peter Juncker, too, who lived in the most distinguished neighbourhood of Buda, in Posztómető street.¹⁵² He had his house in Vienna (Peterlhof, more or less in lieu of today's No. 7, Lugeck) redecorated in Renaissance style in 1479. He probably took all'antica aperture frames to Vienna from Buda, out of which three gate fragments survive with a long inscription in Renaissance capitals together with his coat of arms in the lunette surrounded by the Order of the Dragon (Fig. 45).¹⁵³ The material is apparently marl. This is the earliest – known – all'antica architectural carving with a date in Vienna.¹⁵⁴

The shield holder reminiscent of the badge of the Order of the Dragon must have been granted by the monarch to be put around the Juncker arms.¹⁵⁵ The

inscriptions in classical capitals on the door frames of ancient classical profiling were very important motifs both visually and in content. In the smaller frieze "sapere aude" were recognized as a citation from Horace earlier.¹⁵⁶ The clarification of another one is to be added here. One of the three quotations on the long frieze – "nihil ortum cuius cause legitima non precesit" – is from Plato's *Timaeus*,¹⁵⁷ in the Latin translation by Calcidius, and not Cicero.¹⁵⁸ It is likely the very first Plato citation carved into stone with relevance to Hungary. The sources of the other three sentences are still unidentified, perhaps they are also paraphrases of antique texts. It must be added for justice's sake, that Peter Juncker probably had his tombstone transported to Buda from Austria.¹⁵⁹

The burghers of Buda were also interested in material remains of antiquity: for instance, we know – from Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay – that from among the ancient stone carvings once in Matthias's palace and scattered during Vladislaus II's reign some landed in their ownership: the sarcophagus verifying the Pannonian line of Gens Valeria could be seen in the Buda merchant Hans Puchler's house little after 1500.¹⁶⁰

The mobile German trading burghers with tight contacts in the Netherlands and Austria and finding a home in Buda, or Pozsony, Vienna or Nuremberg, self-evidently embraced the style of Italian Renaissance from the last decade of the fifteenth century: it was practically within arm's reach.

So far, research into the Renaissance in Hungary has concentrated on the Italian connections. However, this is a more intricate and complex issue; we did not only adopt impulses, but also transmitted some. The humanists in Hungary were in contact not only with Italy, but also with Vienna, Krakow, the northern areas. The whole web of relations was embodied by the *Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana*.¹⁶¹ Even though at the end of the fifteenth century, or even more at the



Fig. 44. Buda judge Johann Freiburger's inscription from the Buda Parish Church of Our Lady, 1520. Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum (Budapest History Museum)



Fig. 45. Inscribed fragments of Peter Juncke's house (Peterlhof), 1497. Vienna, Lugeck 7.

onset of the sixteenth the Italian Renaissance style was not such a great novelty beyond the Alps as twenty or thirty years earlier, Buda still remained an important centre of the new style which differed so much from the accustomed style.

Proof of this is, for example, that Vienna is not the only place in Central Europe where all'antica inscriptions with links to Buda appeared. In Moravia we can find relics from a few years earlier, as a result of the activity of persons who had been in direct contact with King Matthias.

The earliest is the inscription on the gate of the Tovačov castle tower from 1492. The tower was ordered by Ctibor Tovačovský z Cimburka, whom Matthias appointed one of the governors of the newly conquered province (1473).¹⁶² He had also visited

Buda, that was how red marble Renaissance stone carving could appear in the castle of Tovačov. The other early inscription is in the castle of Moravská Třebová, also dated 1492.¹⁶³ The commission for the construction was given by Černohorský z Boskovic, who had studied in Italy and was on friendly terms with Gelotto Marzio. His family remained loyal to King Matthias until 1485; he acted as archprovost of Veszprém for quite some time. The castle of Moravská Třebová is in early Renaissance style, its gate carved with shallow mouldings carries an inscription the letters of which are not all purely classical: sometimes M is an H with three legs, E is a reversed 3 inside a word, G has perfectly archaic form. From Moravská Třebová two all'antica tondos are known with portraits of Ladislav z Boskovic and Magdalena z Dubé a Lipé from 1495,

the name forms of the native language written in pure antiqua letters.¹⁶⁴

Similarly to the Moravian adherents of Matthias, the sons of János Thurzó (†1508), János and Szaniszló, bishops of Olomouc (Olmütz) and Wrocław (Breslau) respectively, must have been transmitters of the Renaissance in the early sixteenth century. The epigraph of a monumental construction by bishop of Olomouc Szaniszló Thurzó survives in Kroměříž

(Kremsier, Bohemia) from the early sixteenth century,¹⁶⁵ with two coats of arms (Thurzó and Vladislaus). There is a carved coat of arms of János Thurzó from Nysa (Neiße, Nisa, today in Poland) dated 1513,¹⁶⁶ one from Javorník ve Slezsku (Jauernik, today in Bohemia) from 1505,¹⁶⁷ and another one from 1509.¹⁶⁸ At the beginning of the sixteenth century, of course, the classical capital was no rarity in these areas any more.

VI. INSCRIPTIONS ON BUILDINGS IN HUNGARY IN THE JAGIELLONIAN AGE

Matthias's Buda had its pendant and continuation in Esztergom, thanks to Tamás Bakócz's imitation of Matthias. The inscription of the dedication of the archbishop's sepulchral chapel was produced with the same conspicuous technique in 1507 as the Buda inscriptions: with bronze characters embedded in the carved red marble ground (Fig. 46). The first person to be mentioned in the inscription is himself as cardinal of Esztergom,¹⁶⁹ who is erecting a chapel in honour of the Holy Virgin. This text running along the inner crowning cornice was found worthy of

copying as early as in 1531: this tool of representation worked well.¹⁷⁰ (The foundation stone was at a far less visible place, it only had engraved letters.¹⁷¹) Bakócz applied bronze letters not only in the chapel, but also at other places. He had his motto – Dominus adjutor et protector meus – written into a large (today fragmentary) tablet (1514) with the same technique (Fig. 47),¹⁷² and another smaller tablet fragment with similarly executed words also survives.¹⁷³ A simpler, only carved version of the motto is also preserved, maybe from the Castle Hill, too.¹⁷⁴ He had the same



Fig. 46. Capitals with a part of the inscription frieze. Esztergom, Bakócz Chapel, 1507

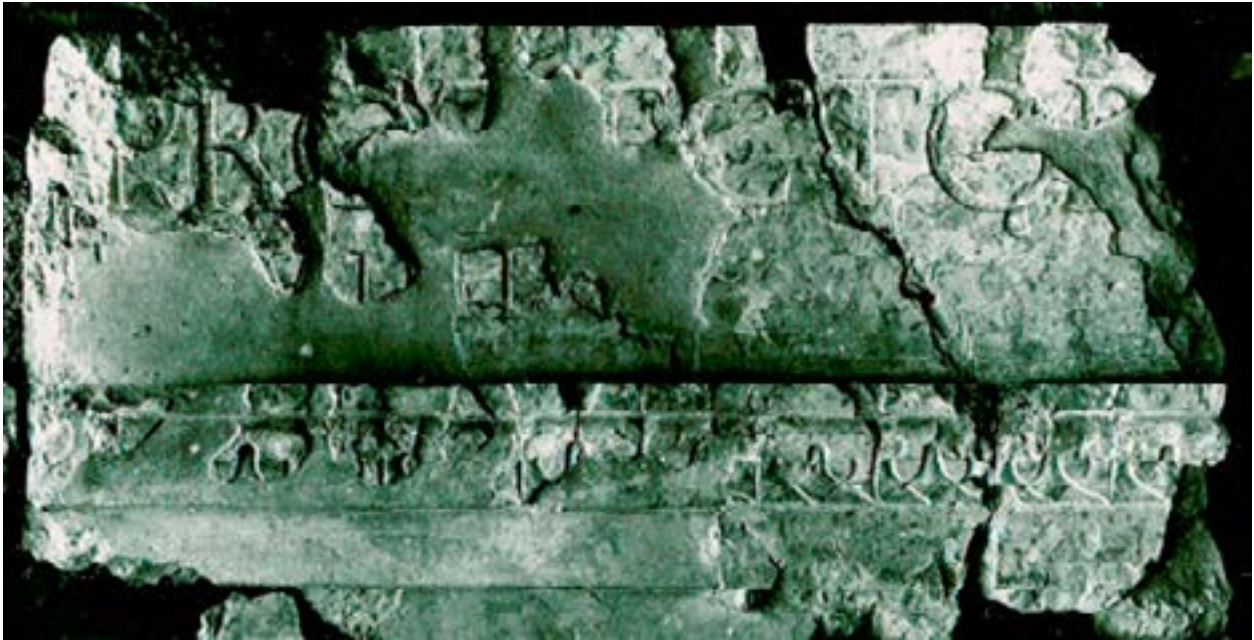


Fig. 47. Fragments of the inscription frieze with devise of Tamás Bakócz, 1514.
(Archiv photo). Esztergom, Vármúzeum (Castle Museum)

cut into his heraldic stone originally in his villa in Szentgyörgymező.¹⁷⁵ This strongly monothematic self-identification had most probably started early: this text was copied from above the gate of the old archiepiscopal palace in the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁶ He had that building reconstructed between 1497 and 1500, while Beatrice was staying in the new royal–archiepiscopal palace rebuilt in all’antica style. I think it is no exaggeration to declare that Tamás Bakócz proved to be the best Hungarian pupil of King Matthias in terms of artistic representation. That may explain how the Calvary and the Ransanus codex, as well as the throne tapestry with the royal arms went into his hands.¹⁷⁷

No inscription fragments in the town can as yet be associated with his successors – which might as well be the matter of mere chance. What cannot be accidental is the encounter with Bakócz’s motto so often. As if Matthias’s political credo were reverberating in the archiepiscopal court in Esztergom, transformed, of course.

This series of consistently applied inscriptions is unparalleled in Hungary in the Jagiellonian age. There are ensembles of inscriptions – I will enlarge on them below – but there isn’t another similarly prodigal, representative series. What became frequent after 1500 was the inscription above doors or windows mentioning the name of the builder, or – linked to the tradition of heraldic stones – the placing of memorial tablets about the construction. In and around Buda both types are exemplified: in Péter Beriszló’s house in the castle district the owner’s name can be read on a window frame,¹⁷⁸ the

Paulines perpetuated the reconstruction of their monastery in Budaszentlőrinc in classical capitals cut into a tablet.¹⁷⁹ This – badly fragmented – inscription was a verse, probably in elegiac couplets; in the knowledge of the innumerable elegiac couplets that can be read in the history of the order this is all but self-evident.¹⁸⁰ A (regrettably badly fragmentary) new find exemplifies that above aperture frames wise thoughts deemed indispensable for life could also be read.¹⁸¹

Below we take a quick look at inscriptions in Renaissance capitals by geographical regions, picking one or two more intriguing pieces for more detail.

Lots of architectural details in Renaissance style are known especially from Transdanubia; they also have many inscriptions.

First to be mentioned is Székesfehérvár, because there is a recent find from there, and the person who ordered it is known; he was a notability. Domonkos Kálmáncsehi has so far been known for his Renaissance ornamental manuscripts. The new – unfortunately solitary – find is an inscribed tablet of marl from around Buda, which the provost commissioned in honour of King Saint Stephen and Prince Saint Emeric (Fig. 48). We do not know its original context, but there was a chapel marking the place of birth of St Emeric in the town.¹⁸²

In the co-called Corvin house in Pápa,¹⁸³ in this architectural pasticcio built in the 17th century, a badly fragmentary inscription carved in the archivolt of the lord chief treasurer Balázs Ráskai was recovered.



Fig. 48. Fragment of an inscribed stone slab from Székesfehérvár. Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum (Church Art Museum)



Fig. 50. Fragment of an inscribed stone slab from St Paul's Monastery in Tüskevár, before 1514. Veszprém, Laczkó Dezső Museum

It is not known how it got to that place (Fig. 49).¹⁸⁴ Among the ruins of the Pauline monastery in Tüskevár (Nagyjenő) a fragment of an inscribed red marble tablet was found with sharply cut letters (prior to 1514) (Fig. 50).¹⁸⁵ In Simontornya, in the castle of doorman Mózes Buzlay a heraldic stone,¹⁸⁶ and texts adorning door¹⁸⁷ and window frames¹⁸⁸ were uncovered, the former with classical letters, the latter in early humanist capitals (Fig. 51).

The Renaissance stone carvings of Pécs and its vicinity do not only comprise a stylistically coherent group, but the abundance of their inscriptions – and the spirit of their contents – strengthen the suspicion that the latter are also stylistic elements. Bishop Zsigmond Ernuszt's heraldic stone with an inscription dated 1498¹⁸⁹ has been mentioned (Fig. 20). A re-carved aperture frame fragment with the fine breviary citation: “[I]gnem sui amoris ACCEN(dat) DEVS IN

CORDIBVS NOSTRIS”¹⁹⁰ is probably from the house at No.2, Káptalan street (Fig. 52).

The Perényi family initiated constructions in the castle of Siklós; several Renaissance carvings and two inscriptions are known: a fragmentary and an intact fireplace frieze, both carrying the same Psalm quotation.¹⁹¹ The white marble commemorative tablet of Imre Perényi's construction was found in the Franciscan (in the Middle ages Augustinian) church. Above the inscription two angels with spread wings held the coat of arms.¹⁹² North of Pécs, in tiny Márévár Castle hidden in the woods semicircular door frames of the Pécs type with fragmentary inscriptions were found



Fig. 49. Fragmentary inscription in the co-called Corvin house in Pápa



Fig. 51. Fragment of a window frame. Simontornya Castle



Fig. 52. Fragment of an inscribed stone slab from Pécs, first third of the 16th century. Pécs, Janus Pannonius Museum

(the so-far known Pécs specimens lack inscriptions) (Fig. 53). If the completion of the text is correct, it is one of the few cases when the text is not a citation but refers to the excellence of Pál Bakith, who had acquired and strengthened the castle.¹⁹³

A special and little known example is Dombó castle in Tolna county.¹⁹⁴ It was considerably rebuilt on commission from Farkas Dombai and his son János in the 1520s. We are reduced to conjectures about its looks because by now it has practically perished, and no archaeological exploration has been initiated. However, a detailed description survives from 1692, the writers also putting down the inscriptions above the castle gate and six doors.¹⁹⁵ According to our current knowledge, it must have been one of the Jagiellonian-age castles in Hungary richest in inscriptions. Above the gate the construction was perpetuated: “Ars haec aedificata est AO 1520. W. D.”, i.e. Farkas Dombai (W standing for Farkas/Wolf). Above an interior door next to the coat of arms the letters “I D” designated his son János (Iohannes) Dombai. At the same place this can be read: “Fuge malorum consentium”. It was certainly a motto, but its source is not yet known; it can hardly be from secular literature, the rest of the inscriptions making it unlikely.¹⁹⁶

Behind the inscriptions of the other five doors Biblical or liturgical texts can be recognized. Above the first one (recorded) “Sit nomen Domini benedictum” may come from Psalm 112 or from Daniel’s, or more probably from Job’s book;¹⁹⁷ above the second – which the recorder termed the chapel door – the citation “Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur” could

be from the book of Isaiah, but it would also fit into Matthew’s or Mark’s Gospels.¹⁹⁸ The third inscription, “Pax intransitibus, salus in ea habitantibus” appears to be a contamination of blessing formulae.¹⁹⁹ The fourth – tagged by the recorder also as a chapel door – is a church consecration antiphon: “Quicumque hoc templum petiturus ingreditus cuncta se impetrasse laetetur”.²⁰⁰ The fifth was the door with the coat of arms, the sixth carried another Psalm quotation, from the third: “Domine Deus salvum me fac”.²⁰¹

The “magnificently carved” doors of the Dombai castle – however formidable the lords of the castle might have been as warriors – were adorned with sacred texts. The Renaissance form conveyed the most traditional contents. But – as seen earlier – the Dombai family was not exceptional in this regard. When in the Jagiellonian age an inscription is not the registration of facts, of construction, then they are Biblical or liturgical citations. That was characteristic of the needs and the erudition of the owners; very rarely – almost never – could we discover a trace of the knowledge of the classical authors.

In the eastern half of Hungary there seem to be fewer inscriptions. The oldest survived in Kassa: the heraldic stone or tablet of György Szatmári from 1492.²⁰² In the nineteenth century it was in the extension of the Saint Michael chapel. It is a unique piece; the coat of arms is surrounded with a luxurious wreath like in – far later – sepulchral monuments, its text is in elegiac couplets referring to the royal grant of the arms. It is an import in Kassa, as it has no counterpart here, or anywhere else.



Fig. 53. Fragment of a door or window frame from Márévár Castle, after 1526. Pécs, Janus Pannonius Museum

Consequently, the all'antica inscriptions in Eastern Hungary comprise a whole without this item: the sentences on aperture frames are from the Bible or name the creators of the construction. On the lintel of the western entrance of the church in Baktalórántháza the construction is registered (1519) (Fig. 54),²⁰³ at the same place of the Szendrő church (probably) a Biblical citation can be read.²⁰⁴ On the frieze of a door with cyma moulding in the castle of Kisvárdai the name László Kisvárdai and the year 1501 must be construction information (Fig. 55).²⁰⁵ The letters are not purely humanist capitals, but resemble early humanist characters, so this epigraph might belong to another cultural sphere as well. A bit more to the east, in Mezőtelegd (Tileagd, today in Romania) a small tablet survives in the church (above the tabernacle, maybe as part of it), informing us of the construction and consecration (1507); the proportions of the letters are not purely classical, either.²⁰⁶ This provincialization indicates that by then these letters had become incorporated in the artistic vernacular.

Nyírbátor had a special situation. The former St George church (today Calvinist church) as the burial place of the powerful Báthory family was designed for



Fig. 54. West portal of the Parish Church at Baktalórántháza, 1519



Fig. 55. Door frame in the castle at Kisvárdai, 1501. Kisvárdai, Castle

representation; the long inscription over the all'antica southern double door²⁰⁷ testifies to it, as do the high quality tabernacle²⁰⁸ and the priest's stalls (without inscriptions). The donator András Báthory was not sparing with words: the inscription of the Báthory Madonna (Fig. 56) in the spirit of the portal inscription,²⁰⁹ or the tabula ansata of the stalls in Nyírbátor (Fig. 57) clearly reveal that he had recognized the representational potential in the new tools.²¹⁰

The castle of Ecsed was a centre of the Báthory family; the earlier mentioned heraldic stone probably originated here. In the eighteenth century the inscription over the gate was recorded, with the date 1492; there is no word of the letter type, but the inscription stands out among its kind with its length and moralizing.²¹¹

In upper Hungary north of Kassa there are even fewer inscriptions in classical antiqua letters. The early humanist capital together with the forms of the northern Renaissance are far more frequent. On the south portal of the parish church in Kisszeben (Sabinov, today in Slovakia),²¹² on the door of a chapel (commissioned by Tamás Bakócz) in Rozsnyó Cathedral (Rožňava, today in Slovakia),²¹³ on the town hall and a townhouse in



Fig. 56. Madonna of Andreas Báthory, 1526. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum – Magyar Nemzeti Galéria (Museum of Fine Arts – Hungarian National Gallery)

Bártfa (Bardejov, today in Slovakia),²¹⁴ on the tabernacle of the church²¹⁵ in Nyársardó (Ražňany, today in Slovakia) there are such inscriptions. In Héthárs (Lipany, today in Slovakia) only the letters are classical.

The interpretation of the inscriptions over two all'antica profiled double mullioned windows has an intriguing story: on one a psalm verse is read,²¹⁶ on the other there is a „corrupted” Cicero quotation, more precisely, a sentence by Scipio Africanus – as it survived in a Cicero work.²¹⁷ Special literature hailed it for a long time as one of the first manifestations of the humanist spirit. However, it was revealed about the window frame inscription that it cites the adage as it survived in one of St Ambrose's letters.²¹⁸ Long as you may seek, you will not find a more appropriate example of the dual origins of humanism: of its Christian and ancient pagan roots.

In the foreground to Transylvania, in Menyő (Mineu, today in Romania) in the Szilágyság region, István Désházy, the governor of archbishop Tamás Bakócz in Esztergom, had a Renaissance portal (Fig. 58), baptismal font (Fig. 59), tabernacle carved in red marble brought from Esztergom. The long inscrip-

tion on the monumental portal of the small Gothic church boasts of the coat of arms granted for his heroism at Jajca (in Bosnia) by Vladislaus II and of his loyal service to Bakócz, commemorates his father who died in 1514, and names himself – should anyone fail to notice it – as the donator of the gate.²¹⁹ The inscription of the baptismal font a year later also profusely lists Désházy's titles, and the signature of Johannes Fiorentinus²²⁰ also appears here – probably he did not want to lag behind. It is probably not mistaken to presume that this flaunting but doubtlessly high quality ensemble could only be created in the Esztergom milieu of Tamás Bakócz.

In the church of Szilágycseh (Cehu Silvaniei, today in Romania), the priest's segmental-arched sedile carries a lot of inscription naming János Drágffy as the donator among probably Biblical quotations in very poor rendering (with lots misspelling), of which only one – on the hood moulding – can be read and decoded at present: “feneratur Domino qui miseretur pauperis et vicissitudinem suam reddet ei” (Prov 19,17).²²¹



Fig. 57. Tabula ansata of the stalls from Nyírbátor. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Hungarian National Museum)



Fig. 58. Detail of the west portal by Iohannes Fiorentinus, Calvinist Church in Menyő (Mineu), 1515



Fig. 59. Iohannes Fiorentinus: Baptismal font from Menyő (Mineu), 1515. Bucharest, Muzeului Național de Istorie a României (National History Museum of Romania)

In Transylvania the known inscriptions, mostly in churches, refer to the builders. In Keszű (Chesău, today in Romania) (1521),²²² Nagykapus (Copșa Mare, Gross-Kopisch, today in Romania) (1519),²²³ Szamosfalva (Someșeni, Mikelsdorf, today in Romania) (1530?),²²⁴ Kövesd (Coveș, Kabisch, today in Romania) (1535)²²⁵ or Magyargyerőmonostor (Comuna Mănăstireni, today in Romania)²²⁶ door frames inform us about them in the churches, and in Héderfája (Idrifaia, Ederholz, today in Romania) a transom commemorates the construction of vice voivode János Barlabássy (1508) with an inscription abounding in abbreviations (enclaves and ligatures).²²⁷ Some memorial tablets of constructions were also carved, and continued from around the middle of the century. On the episcopal palace in Gyulafehérvár Ferenc Várdai (1514–1524),²²⁸ in Balázsfalva (Blaj, Blasendorf, today in Romania) György Bagdi (1535)²²⁹ registered their efforts. However, in Transylvania it is simply impossible to draw a fast line between the Jagiellonian age and the next era. (Among all’antica inscriptions some in Hungarian also began gradually to appear.)

That applies particularly to Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Klausenburg, today in Romania). The inscriptions of parish priest and episcopal vicar Adorján Wolphard on his house in the main square (1534–1541) were the not first but perhaps the most spectacular ones in town.²³⁰ Out of the today known four texts, three had religious contents and one proclaimed the same wayfarer’s wisdom as was carved over the door of Peter Juncker’s house in Vienna in 1497: “patere et abstine”. This was carved on the frame of a façade window,²³¹ over the other two Psalm paraphrases were engraved,²³² and in the door frame a pasticcio distich was cut.²³³ The contents of the inscriptions tally with the ones discussed earlier; although they are more numerous, they do not coalesce into a system. Programmatic, coherent inscriptions are few in Jagiellonian Hungary: a mere two, in Gyulafehérvár and Bátfá. We close this section with them, with the town hall in Bátfá and János Lázói’s chapel, the counterpoints to Tamás Bakócz’s monumental, but strongly monothematic inscriptions in Esztergom, which launched this section.

The antiquizing set of epigraphs on the Bátfá (Bardejov, Bartfeld, today in Slovakia) town hall is like a monumental reading book based on a unified conception. The town hall, the construction of which began in 1505, displays stylistic markers of the northern Renaissance and late Gothic quite naturally, but extremely early in the region, and its monumental inscription are

not in classical but in early humanist capitals, concomitantly to this “stylistic mix” (Fig. 60).²³⁴

The representative staircase tower (bay window) carries the majority of inscriptions, which are eas-

ily identified Biblical quotations or wise sayings. All admonish the aldermen of the town to govern virtuously, naming wisdom and righteousness explicitly and alluding to moderation between the lines. Their



Fig. 60. Entrance loggia to the town hall at Bártfa (Bardejov), 1504. Archiv photo

spirit perfectly fits the expectations to be met by the town-fathers as laid down in the law-book of the town. Luckily, we can have an idea of the world in which they were spelt out. The accounts books of these years, on their covers, feature similar admonitions, sometimes throughout in capital letters. They also contain Biblical citations or even a Plautus quotation. Plautus might represent the humanist spirit for in the Middle Ages – unlike Terence – he was not a known or read author.²³⁵ The idea of applying inscriptions was modern, compared to their conventional contents. The inscriptions under the cornice blending elements of the northern Renaissance and the Gothic might have made the impression of *all'antica*, similarly to the mullioned, expressly “Italian” – actually “Welsh” – windows.

We must begin discussing the Lázói chapel from somewhat farther: from the Várdai chapel next to it (Fig. 61). The well-known specil intellectual atmosphere at the Gyulafehérvár chapter explains its antiquizing inscription. The chapel dedicated to Saint Anne extends two bays between the northern transept of the cathedral and the narthex, trying to echo the Romanesque building accurately in details as well. The building history of the chapel is not – and probably

cannot be – adequately clarified.²³⁶ Inside and outside the embarrassingly many, all-pervasive mediaeval forms and structures are decisive, and (apart from a few minor details) only the coat of arms of the donator hanging from ribbons is a purely Renaissance element. In this mediaevalesque, strongly – and I think deliberately – archaizing context the *all'antica* inscription of dedication has a saliently important role. The text in classical capitals runs along the external façade on the crowning cornice: “DEO OPT(im)O [M]AX(imo) ET DIV(a)E ANN(a)E FRAN(ciscus) WAR(dai) E[piscopus T]RANS[ilvaniensis] EREXIT”.²³⁷ Both the builder, bishop Ferenc Várdai (†1524), and one of the executors of the will, the episcopal vicar also connected to the completion of the building, Adrianus Wolphard, who had the most famous Renaissance dwelling-house built in Kolozsvár, were well known for their humanist erudition.²³⁸ About the schooling of archdeacon of Torda Imre Végedi, who practically supervised the construction to the completion, nothing is known.²³⁹

The building hides half of the eastern wall of the earlier built vestibule, which is the famous chapel of János Lázói, archdeacon of Telegd, built in 1512, the earliest Renaissance building in Transylvania (Fig. 62).²⁴⁰ Unfortunately, the Várdai chapel also conceals the beginning of the inscription on the main cornice. Since the later erected building is highly imitative, it is most probable that its inscription was likewise imitative, and might therefore suggest the missing beginning of the dedication of the Lázói chapel. The fragmentary inscription can presumably be completed as follows: “[D(eo) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Divo Micha] ELI PAT | RONO IOANNES LAZOYNVS PRO SVA ET BENE MERENTIVM SALVTE AED | EM HANC VESTIBVLAREM A FVNDAMENTO AERE SVO ERIGENDO DICANDOQUE CVRAVIT. 1512”.²⁴¹

The building was apparently carefully conceived in every detail; its sculptural ornaments only partly survive, but the remains suffice to presume that the Christian – pagan syncretism reflected by the inscriptions obtained at that level as well. On the building inscriptions are galore. Over the portal the coat of arms of bishop of Transylvania László Geréb, on the lintel of the western gate that of Udalricus Budai, above it in the lunette, that of Antal Sánkfalvy are accompanied by epigrams in Renaissance capitals, and poems explain the statues of the Princes of the Apostles Saints Paul and Peter, promoting the latter to the rank of gatekeeper of the Olymp, in line with humanist customs. Phoibos Apollo's name also appears in the circu-



Fig. 61. Chapel of Ferenc Várdai, bishop of Gyulafehérvár. Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), Roman Catholic Cathedral



Fig. 62. Northern façade of the chapel of János Lázói, 1512. Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), Roman Catholic Cathedral

lar of the western round window.²⁴² Most emphatic is the inscription on the frieze of the crowning cornice, similarly to the Várday chapel inscription – as well as to the ancient Roman buildings, and the early Renaissance edifices.

Strangely enough, the building history not only of the Várday chapel but also that of the Lázói chapel is subject to dispute: the latter also has Romanesque parts (two slit windows on the façade), and in several spots the all'antica details appear to be applications. The monumental inscription has a dual role: on the one hand, it states, platitudinously, that János Lázói had the chapel built anew, from the foundations, and

on the other side, it spectacularly proves its antiquization – i.e. modernity. The Várday building displays it even more conspicuously, as here almost only the inscription antiquizes the heavy Romanesque forms.

All this is to be attributed to the letter type, which is apparently a stylistic element; every decent all'antica building was entitled to have an epigraph in humanist capitals. Already Leon Battista Alberti – who had a great role in resuscitating the cult of the classical capitals – discussed the ancient classical temple dedications, together with the epitaphs.²⁴³ To use his terminology, the inscription belongs to the ornaments of the building.

ABBREVIATIONS

BTM	Budapesti Történeti Múzeum / Budapest History Museum, Budapest
EVM	Vármúzeum / Castle Museum, Esztergom
MÉM MDK, MF	Magyar Építészeti Múzeum és Műemlékvédelmi Dokumentációs Központ, Műemléki Fotótár / Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, Budapest
MNL OL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára / State Archives of the National Archives of Hungary, Budapest
MNM	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum / Hungarian National Museum, Budapest
OSzK	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár / National Széchényi Library, Budapest

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BALOGH 1943 – Jolán BALOGH: *Az erdélyi renaissance* [Transylvanian Renaissance], I, 1460–1541, Kolozsvár, 1943.
- BALOGH 1955 – Jolán BALOGH: *Az esztergomi Bakócz kápolna* [The Bakócz chapel in Esztergom], Budapest, 1955.
- BALOGH 1966 – Jolán BALOGH: *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* [Art in the court of King Matthias], I–II, Budapest, 1966.
- BALOGH 1975 – Jolán BALOGH: *Die Anfänge der Renaissance in Ungarn. Matthias Corvinus und die Kunst*, (Forschungen und Berichte des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der Universität Graz, 4.), Graz, 1975.
- BÁRTFAI SZABÓ 1910 – László BÁRTFAI SZABÓ: *A Hunt-Paznán nemzetségbeli Forgách család története* [History of the Forgách family from the Hunt-Paznán kindred]. Esztergom, 1910.
- BIAŁOSTOCKI 1976 – Jan BIAŁOSTOCKI: *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe. Hungary, Bohemia, Poland*, Oxford, 1976.
- BÓNIS 1971 – György BÓNIS: *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* [Intellectuals well versed in law in Hungary before Mohács], Budapest, 1971.
- CIULISOVÁ 2002 – Ingrid CIULISOVÁ: *Humanizmus a reneszánszban*. Mestrá, umenie a idey Erazma Rotterdamského [Humanism and Renaissance. Cities, art and ideas of Erasmus of Rotterdam], in *Problémy dejín výtvarného umenia Slovenska* [Problems of the history of Slovak visual arts], Bratislava, 2002, 120–144.
- ENTZ 1958 – Géza ENTZ: *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [Gyulafehérvár cathedral], Budapest, 1958.
- ENTZ–SZALONTAI 1978³ – Géza ENTZ – Barnabás SZALONTAI: *Nyírbátor*, Budapest, 1978³.
- FARBÁKY 2002 – Péter FARBAKY: *Szatmári György, a mecénás* [György Szatmári, the patron of arts], (Művészettörténeti füzetek, 27), Budapest, 2002.
- FARKAS–MIKÓ 2013 – Farkas Gábor FARKAS – Árpád MIKÓ: *Régi kövek, régi könyvek. A Budai Krónika Jankovich-példánya és az Egyetemi Könyvtár régi könyvtárából* [Old Stones, Old Books. The Jankovich Copy of Chronicon Budense (Buda, Andreas Hess, 1473) and the Old Stone Collection of the Budapest University Library], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 62. 2013, 1–16.
- FELD–JAKUS–LÁSZLÓ 1979 – István FELD – Lajos JAKUS – Csaba LÁSZLÓ: *Csővár, Studia Comitatus 7: I–II*, Szentendre, 1979, I, 7–62.
- FEUERNÉ 1977 – Rózsa FEUERNÉ TÓTH: *Reneszánsz építészet Magyarországon* [Renaissance architecture in Hungary], Budapest, 1977.
- FORSTER 1900 – Gyula FORSTER: *Árpád-házi síremlékek* [Sepulchral monuments from the Árpadian age], in *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete* [The memory of Béla III, king of Hungary], ed. Gyula FORSTER, Budapest, 1900, 328–342.

- Gotika 2003 – *Gotika* (Dejiny Slovenského výtvarného umenia [History of Slovak visual arts]), eds Dušan BURAN et al., Bratislava, 2003.
- G. SÁNDOR 1984 – Mária G. SÁNDOR: *Reneszansz Baranyában* [The Renaissance in Baranya], Budapest, 1984.
- GUTHEIL 1977 – Jenő GUTHEIL: *Az Árpád-kori Veszprém* [Veszprém in the Árpadian age], Veszprém, 1977.
- H. GYÜRKY 1963 – Katalin H. GYÜRKY: Die St. Georg-Kapelle in der Burg von Veszprém, *Acta Archaeologica*, 15. 1963, 341–408.
- Habsburg Mária 2005 – *Habsburg Mária, Mohács özvegye. A királyné és udvara 1521–1531* [Mary of Austria, the widow of Mihács. The queen and her court 1521–1531], eds Orsolya RÉTHELYI – Beatrix F. ROMHÁNYI – Enikő SPEKNER – András VÉGH, (A Budapesti Történeti Múzeum kiadványa), Budapest, 2005.
- HLOBIL–PETRŰ 1992 – Ivo HLOBIL – Eduard PETRŰ: *Humanismus a raná renesance na Moravě* [Humanism and Early Renaissance in Moravia], Praha, 1992.
- HLOBIL–PETRŰ 1999 – Ivo HLOBIL – Eduard PETRŰ: *Humanism and the Early Renaissance in Moravia*, Olomouc, 1999.
- HORVAT 1975 – Anđela HORVAT: *Između gotike i baroka. Umjetnost kontinentalnog dijela Hrvatske od oko 1500. do oko 1700* [Between Gothic and Baroque. Art of the continental part of Croatia from around 1500 to around 1700], (Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, Knjiga XXII.), Zagreb, 1975.
- Jankovich 2002 – Jankovich Miklós (1772–1846) *gyűjteményei* [Collections of Miklós Jankovich (1772–1846)], ed. Árpád MIKÓ, (A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiadványai, 2002/1.), Budapest, 2002.
- KELÉNYI 1939 – Ottó KELÉNYI B.: Egy magyar humanista glosszái Erasmus Adagia-jához [Glosses of a Hungarian humanist to Adagia by Erasmus], (Tanulmányok. Kiadja a Fővárosi Könyvtár, Budapest, 13.), Budapest 1939.
- KOPPÁNY 1984 – Tibor KOPPÁNY: A közép-Dunántúl reneszánsz építészete [Renaissance architecture in central Transdanubia], *Ars Hungarica* 12. 1984, 183–232.
- KOPPÁNY 1994 – Tibor KOPPÁNY: A Tolna megyei Dombó vára [The castle of Dombó in Tolna county], in *Gerő László nyolcvanötödik születésnapjára. Tanulmányok* [Studies in honour of László Gerő's 85th birthday], ed. Nóra PAMER, Budapest, 1994, 159–168.
- KOVÁCS 1996 – András KOVÁCS: *A gyulafehérvári Szent Mihály székesegyház* [The St Michael cathedral of Gyulafehérvár], (Erdélyi műemlékek, 26.), Kolozsvár, 1996.
- KOVÁCS 2003 – András KOVÁCS: *Késő reneszánsz építészet Erdélyben* [Late Renaissance architecture in Transylvania], Budapest–Kolozsvár, 2003.
- KOZAKIEWICZOWA 1984 – Helena KOZAKIEWICZOWA: *Rzeźba XVI wieku w Polsce* [16th-century sculpture in Poland], Warszawa, 1984.
- KUBINYI 1999 – András KUBINYI: *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [High priests, ecclesiastic institutions and religiosity in mediaeval Hungary], (METEM Könyvek, 22.), Budapest 1999
- LÓVEI 1987 – Pál LÓVEI: A sárkányrend fennmaradt emlékei [Surviving relics of the Order of the Dragon], in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában* [Art in the age of King Sigismund], I–II, eds László BEKE – Ernő MAROSI – Tünde WEHLI, Budapest 1987, I. Tanulmányok, 148–179.
- LÓVEI 1991 – Pál LÓVEI: Mittelalterliche Grabdenkmäler in Buda, in *Budapest im Mittelalter*, Hrsg. Gerd BIEGEL, Braunschweig, 1991, 351–365.
- LÓVEI 2021 – Pál LÓVEI: *Porfir, kő, márvány. Kőanyagok, kőfaragók, kőberakások a középkori Magyarországon* [Porphyry, stone, marble. Stone materials, stone carvers, stone inlays in Medieval Hungary], I–II, Budapest 2021.
- MATHES 1827 – Joh. Nep. MATHES: *Veteris arcis Strigoniensis descriptio...* Strigoni, 1827.
- Matthias Corvinus 2008 – *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490*, exhibition catalogue / Budapest History Museum, eds Péter FARBAKY – Enikő SPEKNER – Katalin SZENDE – András VÉGH, Budapest, 2008.
- Mátyás király öröksége 2008 – *Mátyás király öröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16–17. század)* [The legacy of King Matthias (16th–17th century)], exhibition catalogue / Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, eds Árpád MIKÓ – Mária VERŐ, Budapest, 2008, I–II.
- MIKÓ 1983 – Árpád MIKÓ: Két világ határán. Janus Pannoni, Garázda Péter és Megyericsei János síremléke [On the border of two worlds. The tombs of Janus Pannoni, Péter Garázda and János Megyericsei], *Ars Hungarica*, 11. 1983, 49–75.
- MIKÓ 1986 – Árpád MIKÓ: Jagelló-kori reneszánsz sírköveinkről [About Hungarian Renaissance tombs from the Jagiellonian age], *Ars Hungarica*, 14. 1986, 97–113, figs 54–75.
- MIKÓ 1988 – Árpád MIKÓ: Ippolito d'Este esztergomi érseki udvara és a reneszánsz kőfaragás Magyarországon [The court of Ippolito d'Este, archbishop of Esztergom, and renaissance stone carving in Hungary], *Ars Hungarica*, 16. 1988, 133–142.
- MIKÓ 2002 – Árpád MIKÓ: Magnus Gruber: Tractus Danubii. Egy forrás nyomában [Tracing a source], in *Détshy Mihály nyolcvanadik születésnapjára. Tanulmányok* [Studies for the 80th birthday of Mihály Détshy], (Művészettörténet – Műemlékvédelem, XI.), eds István BARDOLY – Andrea HARI, Budapest, 2002, 229–254.
- MIKÓ 2002a – Árpád MIKÓ: 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 re d'Ungheria (1443–1490)*, (Il giardino delle Esperidi, 16.), Modena, 2002, 23–31.
- MIKÓ 2004 – Árpád MIKÓ: A bártfai városháza. Adalékok a Jagelló-kori reneszánsz történetéhez Felső-Magyarországon [The town hall of Bártfa. Addenda to the history of Jagiellonian-age Renaissance in Upper Hungary], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 53. 2004, 19–52.
- MIKÓ 2009 – Árpád MIKÓ: *A reneszánsz Magyarországon* [The Renaissance Art in Hungary], (Stílusok – korszakok), Budapest, 2009.
- NAGY 1972 – Árpád NAGY: Négy renaissance kori síremlék a középkori egri Szent János székesegyházból [Four Renaissance-age tombs from Eger's mediaeval St John Cathedral], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve*, 8–9. 1972, 105–129.
- Nógrád 1954 – István GENTHON et al.: *Nógrád megye műemlékei* [Historic monuments of Nógrád county], (Magyarország műemlékei topográfiája, 3.), Budapest, 1954.
- Pannonia Regia 1994 – *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000–1541* [Art in Transdanubia 1000–1541], eds Árpád

- pád MIKÓ – Imre TAKÁCS, (A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiadványai), Budapest, 1994.
- PANOFKY 1993 – Ervin PANOFKY: *Grabplastik. Vier Vorlesungen über ihren Bedeutungsvandel von Alt-Ägypten bis Bernini*, Hrsg. Horst W. JANSON, mit einer Vorbemerkung von Martin WARNKE, Köln, 1993.
- PATTANTYÚS 2000 – Manga PATTANTYÚS: Adalékok a gyulafehérvári székesegyház úgynevezett Várday-kápolnájának építéstörténetéhez [Addenda to the building history of the so-called Várday chapel of Gyulafehérvár cathedral], in *Tanulmányok Tóth Sándor 60. születésnapjára* [Studies for the 60th birthday of Sándor Tóth], eds Tibor ROSTÁS – Anna SIMON, Budapest, 2000², 175–184.
- Renesancia 2009 – Ivan RUSINA ed.: *Renesancia. Umenie medzi neskorou gotikou a barokom* [Renaissance. Art between Late Gothic and Baroque], (Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia, [3.]), Bratislava, 2009.
- RITOÓKNÉ 1996 – Ágnes RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY: Humanista veszprémi főpapok [Humanist high priests in Veszprém], in *Tudomány és művészet Veszprémben, a 13–15. században* [Science and art in Veszprém in the 13–15th century], ed. Zsuzsa V. FODOR, (Veszprémi Múzeumi Konferenciák, 6.), Veszprém, 1996, 90–97.
- RITOÓKNÉ 2002 – Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay: „Nympha super ripam Danubii”. Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből [Studies on culture in Hungary in the 15–16. century], (Humanizmus és reformáció, 28.), Budapest, 2002.
- RITOÓKNÉ 2002a – Ágnes RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY: A római föliratok gyűjtői Pannoniában [Collectors of Roman inscriptions in Pannonia], in RITOÓKNÉ 2002, 75–82.
- SAXL 1940–1941 – Fritz SAXL: The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics. *The Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Instituts*, IV. 1940–1941, 19–46.
- Schallaburg 1982 – Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541, Schriftleitung: Tibor KLANICZAY – Gyöngyi TÖRÖK – Gottfried Stangler, (Katalog des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums, Neue Folge, 118.), Wien, 1982.
- SKUBISZEWSKI 1957 – Piotr SKUBISZEWSKI: *Rzeźba nagrobna Wita Stwosza* [Tomb sculpture of Veit Stoss], Warszawa, 1957.
- Szabolcs-Szatmár 1986 – *Szabolcs-Szatmár megye műemlékei* [Historic monuments of Szabolcs-Szatmár county], I, ed. Géza ENTZ, (Magyarország műemléki topográfiája, 10.), Budapest, 1986.
- Szabolcs-Szatmár 1987 – *Szabolcs-Szatmár megye műemlékei* [Historic monuments of Szabolcs-Szatmár county], II, ed. Géza ENTZ, (Magyarország műemléki topográfiája, 11.), Budapest, 1987.
- TÓTH 1964 – Sándor TÓTH: Veszprémi középkori sírkötdredek (A Bakonyi Múzeum kőtárának ismertetése, II.) [Mediaeval tomb fragments from Veszprém (Description of the lapidary of the Bakonyi Museum II.)], *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei*, 2. 1964, 167–187.
- VÁRADY 1999 – Zoltán VÁRADY: Tolna megye középkori kőfeliratainak epigráfiai elemzése [Epigraphic analysis of the mediaeval stone inscriptions in Tolna county], *A Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve*, 21, Szekszárd 1999, 175–195.
- VÁRADY 2002 – Zoltán VÁRADY: A Dunántúl középkori kőfeliratainak végzett epigráfiai vizsgálatok összessége [Summary of the epigraphic examination of the mediaeval stone inscriptions in Transdanubia], *Pécsi Tudományegyetem Illyés Gyula Főiskolai Kar Tudományos Közleményei*, 5, Szekszárd, 2002, 52–71.
- VÁRADY 2023 – Zoltán VÁRADY: Feliratos kőemlékek időmértékes verssorokkal [Inscribed stone monuments with metrical verse], *Ephemeris Hungarologica* 3. 2023, 103–127.
- VARGA-LÓVEI 1990–1992 – Livia VARGA – Pál LÓVEI: Funerary Art in Medieval Hungary, *Acta Historiae Artium*, 35. 1990–1992, 115–167.
- VÉGH 2006–2008 – András VÉGH: *Buda város középkori helyrajza, I–II.* [Medieval topography of the city of Buda], (Monumenta Historica Budapestiensia, XV–XVI.), Budapest, 2006–2008.
- ZAJIC 2004 – Andreas ZAJIC: „Zu ewiger gedächtnis aufgericht”. *Grabdenkmäler als Quelle für Memoria und Repräsentation von Adel und Bürgertum im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. Das Beispiel Niederösterreichs*, (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 45.), Wien–München, 2004.

NOTES

¹ I should like to express my gratitude to my dear friends and colleagues, who have read the manuscript, and made corrections and additions to it, first of all, to Edit Madas, Pál Lóvei, Gábor Sarbak and András Végh. I should like to acknowledge the tactful fault-finding and generous help over hitches by two great mentors of mine, unfortunately no longer alive, to Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay and Ernő Marosi. – The Publication was made possible by *The Renaissance Art in Hungary* project (K 120495) sponsored by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office.

² Lajos NÉMETHY: Renaissance emlékek a budapest-belvárosi plébánia templomban [Renaissance relics in the Budapest Inner City Parish Church], *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, 10. 1890, 246–257; Jolanda BALOGH: I monumenti del Rinascimento della chiesa parrocchiale di Pest, *Rivista d'Arte*, 20. 1938, 60–77; Gyöngyi TÖRÖK – Vilmos OSGYÁNYI: Reneszansz kő-

faragványokról [About renaissance stone carvings] I. A pesti Belvárosi plébániatemplom egykori főoltára [Quondam high altar of the Pest Inner City Parish Church] II. Reneszansz faragványok a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria és a Budapesti Történeti Múzeum gyűjteményéből [Renaissance carvings from the collections of the Hungarian National Gallery and the Budapest History Museum], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 30. 1980, 95–101; Manga PATTANTYÚS: Nagyrévy András és a pesti belvárosi plébániatemplom reneszánsz tabernákulumai [András Nagyrévy and the renaissance tabernacles of the Pest Inner City Parish Church], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 47. 1998, 219–228; Sándor TÓTH: Észrevételek a pesti reneszánsz szentségházak tárgyában [Comments on the theme of the renaissance tabernacles of Pest], in *Détshy Mihály nyolcvanadik születésnapjára. Tanulmányok* [Studies for the the 80th birthday of Mihály Détshyl], eds István

BARDOLY – Andrea HARIS, Budapest, 2002. 181–227; Árpád MIKÓ: Veszprém, Esztergom, Pest. Tóth Sándor és a magyarországi kora reneszánsz kőfaragványok kutatása. [Veszprém, Esztergom, Pest. Sándor Tóth and the Research of Early Renaissance Stone Carvings in Hungary], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 67. 2018, 272–273.

³ The Latin text and its Hungarian translation: Sándor SÍK: *Himnuszok könyve* [Book of hymns], Budapest, 1943. 366–367.

⁴ Polycarpus RADÓ: *Enchiridion liturgicum*, I–II., Romae–Friburgi Brisg.–Barcinone, 1966², I, 514.

⁵ András KUBINYI: Budapest története a későbbi középkorban [A history of Budapest in the late Middle Ages], in *Budapest története a későbbi középkorban és a török hódoltság idején* [A history of Budapest in the late Middle Ages and during the Ottoman occupation], eds László GEREVICH – Domokos KOSÁRY, (Budapest története, 2.), Budapest, 1973. 164.

⁶ *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [The art of Hungary around 1300–1470], ed. Ernő MAROSI, (A magyarországi művészet története, [2.]), Budapest, 1987. 527.

⁷ The rare exception truly strengthens the rule. On the late Gothic tabernacle of the parish church of Rozsnyó (Rožňava, today in Slovakia) the inscription is a *signatura*. Particularly revealing is the alternation of the letter types: the name is cut in early humanist capitals, the dating formula in Gothic minuscules. The epigraph reads: “Ho^o opvs fa^tv(m) | est p(er) p^tru(m) de colo(ni?)a | anno domini 1509.” Alžbeta GÜNTHEROVÁ-MAYEROVÁ: Signované pastofórium rožňavskej katedrály [Signed pastophorium of Rožňava Cathedral], *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 4. 1955, 28.

⁸ Two tabernacles (one from Sajókaza [Schallaburg 1982, No. 800.] and one from Balatonszemes [Schallaburg 1982, No. 805.]) defy interpretation in these terms, as they are fragmentary. Maybe one of them (the latter) was never part of a pastophorium: Tibor KOPPÁNY: *A Balaton környékének műemlékei* [Historic monuments around the Balaton], Budapest, 1993, 211–212.

⁹ Jozef MEDVECKÝ: Renesančné pastofórium v Nitre [Renaissance pastophorium in Nitra], *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 57. 2008, 1, 72–73; Jozef MEDVECKÝ: Ranorenesančné tabernákulum z roku 1497 v Nitre [Renaissance tabernacle from 1497 in Nitra], *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 57. 2008:3, 28–30; MIKÓ 2009, 98–99; Zuzana LUDIKOVÁ – Árpád MIKÓ: A reneszánsz művészet ismert és ismeretlen emlékei Nyitrán [Known and Unknown Relics of Renaissance Art in Nitra], in *Reneszánsz és barokk Magyarországon. Művészettörténeti tanulmányok Galavics Géza tiszteletére* [Renaissance and Baroque Art in Hungary. Studies in Art History in Honour of Géza Galavics], eds Borbála GULYÁS – Árpád MIKÓ – Bálint UGRY, Budapest, 2021, 47–49.

¹⁰ The inscription: “QVI MANDVCAT EX HOC PANE | VIVET IN AETERNVM. 1519.” (Cf. Jn 6,52) – *Pest megye műemlékei* [Historic monuments of Pest county], I, ed. Dezső DERCSÉNYI, (Magyarország műemléki topográfiája, 5.), Budapest, 1958, figs 668, 677–678; Schallaburg 1982, No. 801.

¹¹ Its inscription: “CANDORES LVCIS ETERNE SPECULM SINE MACLA | HVMILIVM CIBVS SANCTIFICAS CORDA ET CORPRA”. BALOGH 1943, 288, fig. 147. (First half of the epigraph correctly: Candor es lucis aeternae, speculum sine macula. Cf. Prov 7,26.)

¹² Its texts was: “Ego – svm – panis · vivvs · 1535”. Josephus KOLLER: *Prolegomena in historiam episcopatus Quinqueecclesiarum*, Posonii, 1804, 24. Sándor Tóth directed my attention to the source: Árpád MIKÓ: Pannonia rediviva, in

Pannonia regia 1994, 46. See also: Pál LÓVEI: A siklósi plébániatemplom szentélye és középkori falképei [The sanctuary and mediaeval wall paintings in the parish church of Siklós], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle*, 1995:1–2, 186.

¹³ Its epigraphs: “MDXXXVII | O SACRVM CONVIVIVM, IN QVO CHRISTVS SVMMITVR. | SALVE CORPVS DOMINI” – BALOGH 1943, 265, figs 158–160; Schallaburg 1982, No. 808.

¹⁴ Fragment of its inscription: “[- -]RBV[- -]”. BALOGH 1966, I, 119, II, figs 139–140; *A budavári Szent Zsigmond templom és gótikus szobrai. Kiállítási katalógus* [St Sigismund's church of Buda castle and its Gothic statues. Exhibition catalogue], eds Gergely BUZÁS – István FELD, Budapest, 1996, 18. A red marble basin fragment was also found here with an epigraph detail in classical capitals. Gergely BUZÁS: A budai Szent Zsigmond templom kőfaragványai [Stone carvings of the St Sigismund's church in Buda], *Budapest Régiségei*, 33. 1999, 56, fig. 18.

¹⁵ Inscription: “S · D · D · M · GV^{TOR} · STRIG · FECIT · FIERI · A · D · I · D · XV” · (Stephanus Deeshazy de Menew Gubernator Strigoniensis fecit fieri Anno Domini 1515) BALOGH 1943, 269, fig. 104.

¹⁶ Epigraph above the bracket: “IOANNES [.....] FIERI FECIT. M D XXIII.” – Schallaburg 1982, No. 807; Szabolcs-Szatmár 1987, 125, figs 165–166. The inscription is unpublished.

¹⁷ Inscription on the frieze of the main cornice: “DEMETRIVS DE NYAS, DECRETORVM DOCTOR, EPISCOPVS SANCTVARIENSIS, VICARIVS ECCLESIAE STRIGONIENSIS, ARCHIDIACONVS NITRIENSIS ETC. CANONICVS STRIGONIENSIS.” Ladislav ŠÁSKY: *Kunstdenkmäler in Slowakei*, Bratislava, 1988, fig. 279; CIULISOVÁ 2002, 129–130; MIKÓ 2004, 30, fig. 18; *Renesancia* 2009, 653–654 (Juraj ŽÁRY); MIKÓ 2009, 102–103, fig. 60.

¹⁸ BALOGH 1955, 40, figs 154–157, 159–160; FARBAKY 2002, 40–44, figs 19–20, 25–34, 38.

¹⁹ ENTZ-SZALONTAI 1978³, 29, fig. 34; Schallaburg 1982, No. 806; Szabolcs-Szatmár 1987, 146.

²⁰ FELD-JAKUS-LÁSZLÓ 1979, 32–34, figs 32–33; Schallaburg 1982, No. 802.

²¹ Kornél DIVALD: *A héthársi Szent Márton-templom* [The St Martin church of Héthárs], Budapest, 1913, 13, fig. 12; Diana VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA: Likovna kultura visoke renesanse za vrijeme Klovičeva boravka u Ugarsko-Hrvatskom Kraljevstvu [Art culture of the High Renaissance during Klovič's stay in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 12–13. 1988–1989, 210; MIKÓ 2004, 30–31, fig. 19; *Renesancia* 2009, 654–655 (Juraj ŽÁRY).

²² Szabolcs-Szatmár 1986, 371, figs 273, 275.

²³ Nógrád 1954, 249, figs 227–228.

²⁴ Nógrád 1954, 195, figs 148–149; FEUERNÉ 1977, figs 51–52.

²⁵ Researchers have also deliberated that the tablet might have been added between the centrepiece of the tabernacle and the bracket at a later date. Only wall research could decide this question; the old, slightly stylized watercolour not showing the tablet (Cornelio BUDINIS: *Gli artisti italiani in Ungheria*, Roma, 1936, tav. XCIII.) might be a flight of fancy. It was perhaps painted by Viktor Myskovszky, but it is not included in his album of drawings about renaissance remains: cf. Terézia KERNY – János ZAKARIÁS: Myskovszky Viktor „Magyarország reneszánsz stílus műemlékei” című rajzalbumáról [About the graphic album of Viktor Myskovszky]

zky titled 'The Renaissance-style monuments of Hungary'], *Ars Hungarica*, 18. 1990, 263–275.

²⁶ Béla DORNYAY: A nógrádmegyei Kisgerge renaissance pasztofórium [The Renaissance pastoforium of Kisgerge in Nógrád county], *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, 42. 1928, 237–241; *Nógrád* 1954, 424, fig. 458.

²⁷ 1 Sm 1,7; 4 Reg 11,4 11,13 12,4 12,9 etc., 2 Par 7,2; 1 Esr 1,5 etc. – Of course, not always: 1 Regn 5,2 (Dagon), 2 Regn 5,18 (Remmon), 2 Regn 10,21 (Baal) etc.

²⁸ Mt 4,5 21,12, 23,17 24,1 27,40 etc., Mc 11,11 15,38 etc. Apart from these, there is one more occurrence of the word "templum" in the New Testament, in the Acts of the Apostles (Act 19,27): "Dianae templum", viz. a pagan temple, rendered in Greek as "τὸ τῆς ... Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν".

²⁹ Cf. Mt 12,6 and Jn 2,21.

³⁰ E.g. "Beata Dei Genetrix Maria, virgo perpetua, templum Domini" (Marian antiphon). In the Initienregister of Klosterneuburg (www.oew.ac.at/ksbem/k.htm) a comment on a locus in Jeremiah: "Templum Domini, templum Domini. (Jer 7,4) Nota quod triplex est templum, scilicet Corpus Christi, uterus virginis et ecclesia." The texts and the connection were [ointed out to me by Edit Madas.

³¹ Pongrácz SÖRÖS: *Az elenyészett bencés apátságok* [The perished Benedictine abbeys], (A pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-rend története, 12/B.), Budapest, 1912, 189–190; BÓNIS 1971, 226.

³² BALOGH 1966, 699/48; Frigyes PÁLOS: *A tereskei templom* [The Church in Tereske], Vác, 2010, 54–57.

³³ Rózsa Feuerné Tóth dated it to around 1515 on the basis of style critical criteria. FEUERNÉ 1977, 219, fig. 68.

³⁴ Gyula KOROMPAY: *Veszprém*, Budapest, 1957, 149–150.

³⁵ KOPPÁNY 1984, 184–185, 222, fig. 1; Sándor TÓTH: A veszprémi székesegyház középkori kőfaragványai [Medieval stone carvings of Veszprém cathedral], II, *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei*, 19–20. 1993–1994, 36.

³⁶ Cf. VÁRADY 2002, 60, 63.

³⁷ Ps 107,14, ill. Ps 59,14. – Cf. Jenő GUTHEIL: *Mátyás korának veszprémi emlékei* [Relics of Veszprém from the age of King Matthias], (Veszprémvármegyei füzetek, 4.), Veszprém, 1940, 11.

³⁸ BALOGH 1966, 304/2.

³⁹ See below, notes 172–174.

⁴⁰ H. GYÜRKY 1963, 341–408; István ÉRI – Márta KELEMEN – Béla NÉMETH – István TORMA: *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A veszprémi járás* [Archaeological topography of Veszprém county. Veszprém district], (Magyarország régészeti topográfiája, 2/1.), Budapest, 1969, 227–230, fig. 50 (Ernő Szakál's graphic reconstruction); Csaba ROZNER: Vetési Albert életútja 1458–1486 között [The life course of Albert Vetési between 1458 and 1486], in *Vetési Albert (1410 k.–1486) – Vetési László (15. század második fele)* [Albert Vetési (c. 1410–1486) – László Vetési (2nd half of fifteenth century)], *Vár ucca tizenhét*, 6. 1998:1, 61–66; Balázs DERCSÉNYI – Katalin H. GYÜRKY: *Veszprém. Székesegyház és Szent György-kápolna* [Cathedral and St George's chapel], (Tájak korok múzeumok kiskönyvtára, 639.), [Budapest,] 2000, 2–7, with figures (including Ernő Szakál's drawing of the gate reconstruction); Árpád MIKÓ: A reneszánsz művészet emlékei Veszprém [The Relics of Renaissance Art in Veszprém], in *Veszprém reneszánsza* [Renaissance of Veszprém], eds László KILLÁN – Pál RAINER, Veszprém, 2008, 85–86.

⁴¹ Sándor TÓTH: Kerettöredék felirat és díszes szalag részleteivel [Frame fragment with details of inscription and an ornate ribbon], in *Pannonia Regia* 1994, No. VII–40.

⁴² H. GYÜRKY 1963, 382–383. I took the liberty of presuming this because "...TEM" terminates a longer textual section carved in letters filling the entire width of the ribbon (and a separating dot is added after M), after which, on a new wave of the banderole, there are text fragments in tiny letters followed by digits (14[...]).

⁴³ RITOÓKNÉ 2002a, 75–82.

⁴⁴ RITOÓKNÉ 2002a, fig. on p. 77.

⁴⁵ Schallaburg 1982, 403–404 (No. 385) (Éva NYULÁSZINÉ STRAUB).

⁴⁶ RITOÓKNÉ 1996, 90–93; Ágnes RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY: Vetési László vershagyatéka [The poetic legacy of László Vetési], in RITOÓKNÉ 2002, 109–120.

⁴⁷ RITOÓKNÉ 1996, 93–94; Ágnes RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY: Egy ideális fejedelem és ideális városa a morva reneszánsz kezdetén [An ideal prince and his ideal town at the beginning of Moravian Renaissance], in RITOÓKNÉ 2002, 147–154.

⁴⁸ To be read from outside, the inscription starts at the bottom, to the (heraldic) left of the arms:

Immortale || decvs s[ | –  | – ] s et omnis |

Gloria doc[trinae] religionis [honor ||

Iohanne]s iacet hic patri(a)e pater || optimus ille

Cui caput ornat | Strig[oniensis] apex.

Obyt sexto Idus || Augusti Anno [...]

MATHES 1827, 64, Tab. VII., lit. B; István HORVÁTH – Márta H. KELEMEN – István TORMA: *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája. Esztergom és a dorogi járás* [Archaeological topography of Hungary]. (Magyarország régészeti topográfiája, 5.) Budapest, 1979. 106; *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [Art in Hungary around 1300 – 1470], I–II, ed. Ernő MAROSI, (A magyarországi művészet története, [2.]), Budapest, 1987, I, 138; VARGA-LÓVEI 1990–1992, 155, fig. 61; LÓVEI 2021, I, 202, II, figs 303–304; VÁRADY 2023, 116–117. The fragmentary legend was also restored on the massively complemented tomb in the nineteenth century and reads today as (rather poorly rhythmised): "Immortale decus [sui generis] et omnis" (neither the two syllables of *sui*, nor the first two syllables of *generis* are long).

⁴⁹ VÁRADY 2002, 63.

⁵⁰ The inscription to be read from inside starts on top, to the (heraldic) right: "Revere(n)dissim(us) d(omi)n(u)s | Joh(ann)es de Zredna, dioecesis Zag(ra)bien(sis), archiep(iscopu)s St(ri)go[niensis], primas, et apostolice] sedis le[gatus natus, excellens] doct | rina, ingenio preclar(u)s, religi | one pius, obiit sexto yd(us) aug(us)ti [anno 14]72 cuius anima misereatur Deus." MATHES 1827, 65, Tab. VII., lit. C; VARGA-LÓVEI 1990–1992, 144; Zoltán VÁRADY: *Gótikus minuszkuła feliratok a Dunántúlon* [Inscriptions in Gothic minuscules in Transdanubia], (IPF Kiskönyvtár, 4.), Szekszárd, 1999, 44–45. – The Vitéz tomb was found in 1763, as a written record also reveals (BALOGH 1955. fig. 18), although it is not clear whether it refers to both.

⁵¹ 1484 offers itself as terminus ante quem, when the archbishop of Kalocsa Péter Váradí fell out of grace and got imprisoned. Earlier the king had commissioned Váradí to collect the epigrams of Janus Pannonius, which he had completed, but his own volume got lost during his captivity. Unfortunately, it is not known when Péter Váradí had received the commission. János VÉBER: *Két korszak határán. Váradí Péter humanista főpap, kalocsai érsek pályaképe* [On the border

of two eras. Career of Péter Váradi, humanist archpriest and archbishop of Kalocsa], (Sziluekt. Korszerű történelmi életrajzok), Pécs–Budapest, 2016.

⁵² “Doctrina excellens” is a Ciceronian phrase (Pro Q. Ligario IV [10]), but the suspicion may arise whether the inscription echoes the Ciceronian culture of the artisans who complemented the inscription in plaster. It is of course to be considered that in the same Cicero sentence “ingenium” is also included: “...cum ingenio tum etiam doctrina excellens...” Marsilio Ficino uses these words to characterize Cristoforo Landino in his Symposium commentary (speech 4).

⁵³ Cf. SILIUS ITALICUS: Punica XIV,341; at the same place in line 169 is “optimus ille”. See also PETRARCA, Africa, IX,112.

⁵⁴ Cf. MACROBIUS, Saturnalia, VII,8.

⁵⁵ It is a frequent hexameter formula, e.g. HORACE, Sermones I, 3,68; OVID, Remedia amoris 293; CLAUDIAN, De sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti, XXVIII, 55.

⁵⁶ Joachim POESCHKE: *Donatello and His World. Sculpture of the Italian Renaissance*, New York, 1993, 465–466, fig. 85.

⁵⁷ In the LIVY manuscripts of Munich: BALOGH 1975, figs 76–77. The Library of Vitéz: *Csillag a holló árnyékában. Vitéz János és a humanizmus kezdetei Magyarországon* [A Star in the Raven's shadow. János Vitéz and the Beginnings of Humanism in Hungary], ed. Ferenc FÖLDESI, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, 2008; Edina ZSUPÁN: *Vitéz János Pliniust olvas. A laurentumi villaleírások és a magyar humanizmus kapcsolatához*. [Johannes Vitéz Reading Pliny. To the Relationship Between the Descriptions of Villas at Laurentum and Hungarian Humanism], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 70. 2021, 93–108.

⁵⁸ Only its upper part is extant with the date and fragment of the Aragonian arms with the crown in the crypt of Esztergom Cathedral. MIKÓ 1988, 133; Zoltán VÁRADY: *Humanista capitalis feliratok* [Inscriptions in humanist capitals], *IPF-Tanszéki Közlemények*, 3. (A Pécsi Tudományegyetem Illyés Gyula Főiskolai Kara Társadalomtudományi Tanszékének Tanulmánygyűjteménye, 3.), Szekszárd, 2000, 168.

⁵⁹ Its inscription: “NICOLAI BATOR | PRAESVLIS EST | VACIAE 1483” The heraldic stone is in the MNM. *Nógrád* 1954, 308–309, fig. 300.

⁶⁰ It only shows the year, the digit 5 rendered with the Roman numeral „148V”. The heraldic stone survived in Vác cathedral designed by Isidore Ganneval, in the crypt, in secondary location. It was removed from the wall in 1982 and exhibited in Schallaburg, at the great exhibition of Hungarian renaissance, and at its edition in Budapest (1983), too. Today it is kept in the Museum of Vác Diocese.

⁶¹ It only carries a date: “1484”. Nyírbátor, Báthory István Museum. – *Schallaburg* 1982, No. 653.

⁶² In the lunette of the south gate of the Calvinist church, in secondary location. Earlier it was in the gable of the southern narthex. ENTZ–SZALONTAI 1978³, 27–28, 39, fig. 31. The date in on the bottom of the frame in tiny digits.

⁶³ Its epigraph: “ARMA · SIGISMVNDI · EP(iscop)I · QVI(n)QVE | ECCLESIIENSIS · ANNO · D(omi)NI · 1·4·8·8” – HORVAT 1975, 40, fig. 22; *Schallaburg* 1982, No. 642; Diana VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA: *Umjetnost renesanse*, in *Sveti trag. Devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadpiskupije. 1094–1994*, eds Tudomir LUKŠIĆ et. al., Zagreb, 1994, 175, fig. 178; Milan PELC: *Renesansa* (Povijest umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj), Zagreb, 2007, 281.

⁶⁴ In the Renaissance lapidary of the Janus Pannonius Museum. (Originally walled in one of the gate towers of

Pécs castle.) Its inscription: “SIGISMV(n)DVS ERNES | TVS EP(isco)PVS QVINQVEECL | ESIENSIS ME FIERI FECIT”. Ottó SZÓNYI: *A pécsi püspöki múzeum kőtára* [Lapidary of the episcopal museum of Pécs], Pécs, 1906, 247–249 (No. 772); G. SÁNDOR 1984, 14, 71, fig. 3.

⁶⁵ To be accurate, we have a fragmentary solitary letter N that might have belonged to anything (BALOGH 1975, fig. 42), but at present it is latent and can only be studied in a photo.

⁶⁶ BALOGH 1966, I, 115, II, figs 132a–b; FEUERNÉ 1977, 216, fig. 33.

⁶⁷ Ferenc SALAMON: *Budapest története* [A history of Budapest], III, Budapest, 1885, 324–328; FARKAS–MIKÓ 2013.

⁶⁸ Under No. 5, Reáltanoda street; kind communication by András Végh. Zakariás G. SÁNDOR: *Mátyás feliratos kő Pestről* [Stone relic with Matthias inscription from Pest], *Budapest Régiségei* 20. Budapest, 1963, 449–450.

⁶⁹ BALOGH 1966, I, 119, II, fig. 143; Jankovich 2002, 117 (No. 66); LÓVEI 2021, I, 303, II, fig. 388.

⁷⁰ Károly Magyar's discovery. *Történelem – kép. Adalékok művészet és történelem kapcsolatához Magyarországon* [History – Picture. Addenda to the relationship between art and history in Hungary], eds Árpád MIKÓ – Katalin SINKÓ, exhibition catalogue, Budapest, 2000, 237 (No. III–6); LÓVEI 2021, I, 303, II, fig. 389.

⁷¹ Cited in BALOGH 1966, I, 58. „Als wir durch das ander Thor hineingezogen, wird an einem Stück so gegen dem Wasser ligt, dieser Text mit grossen vergülten Buchstaben ob der Thür gelesen: Mathias Corvinus rex invictissimus” (BALOGH 1966, I, 59 – Omichius).

⁷² Gilding would have vanished in 80–90 years otherwise.

⁷³ „Es stehet auf der rechten Handt am Eingang eines Saals ob der Thür deiser Text: Magnanimum Principem victoria sequitur Anno 1479” (BALOGH 1966, I, 66 – Omichius).

⁷⁴ BALOGH 1966, I, 110, II, fig. 73; MIKÓ 2002a, 24. This carving was also transferred from the University Library to the MNM: FARKAS–MIKÓ 2013, 4–5.

⁷⁵ The room was decorated with paintings, the inscriptions are always mentioned with them. BALOGH 1966, I, 62–65, 80.

⁷⁶ The three versions: “Wladislai regis hoc munificum Opus 1502.” (BALOGH 1966, I, 56, 57 – Omichius); „Wladislavi regis hoc est magnificum opus.” (No date! BALOGH 1966, I, 57 – Gerlach); “Wladislai hoc magnificum opus Anno M. V.II.” (BALOGH 1966, I, 57 – Schweiger). András VÉGH: *Egy reneszánsz felirat töredékei és a budai királyi palota csillagképei* [Fragments of a Renaissance Inscription and the Horoscope Paintings in the Royal Palace of Buda], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 59. 2010, 211–232.

⁷⁷ Among the inscribed fragments of Buda there is a red marble frieze fragment carrying the letter group “[...] LAV[...]

⁷⁸ MIKÓ 2002a, 38.

⁷⁹ Jiřina HOŘEJŠÍ – Jarmila KRČALOVÁ – Jaromír NEUMANN – Emanuel POCHE – Jarmila VACKOVÁ: *Die Kunst der Renais-*

sance und des Manierismus in Böhmen, Prag, 1979, 17. Cf.: Václav MENCL: Architektúra, in Jaromír HOMOLKA et al.: *Pozdně gotické umění v Čechách (1471–1526)* [Late Gothic art in Bohemia (1471–1526)], Praha, 1984², 95.

⁸⁰ Cf. Martin WARNKE: *Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit 1400–1750*, (Geschichte der deutschen Kunst, 2.), München, 1999, 28–31; Hellmut LORENZ: Spätgotik und Renaissance in Mitteleuropa – ein „Stil zwischen den Stilen“? in *Die Länder der Böhmisches Krone und ihre Nachbarn zur Zeit der Jagellonenkönige*, Hg. Evelin WETTER, (Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia, 2.), Ostfildern, 2004, 31–34; Franz BISCHOFF: Benedikt Ried: Forschungsstand und Forschungsproblematik, in *Ibid.*, 91–92.

⁸¹ Pál LÓVEI: „Virtus, es, marmor, scripta.” Vörös márvány és bronzbetű, in *Maradandóság és változás. Művészettörténeti konferencia* [Lastingness and change. Conference in art history], Ráckeve, 2000, eds Szilvia BODNÁR – Anna JAVOR – Pál LÓVEI – Gábor PATAKI – György SÜMEGI – András SZILÁGYI, Budapest, 2004, 66–68.

⁸² SAXL 1940–1941, 20–27; BALOGH 1966, I, 115.

⁸³ Gedeon BORSA: Az első, aranyfestéssel készült nyomtatvány és annak magyar vonatkozásai [The first item printed with gold paint, and its Hungarian relevances], in Gedeon BORSA: *Könyvtörténeti írások* [Writings in historical bibliography], II, Budapest, 1997, 184–192.

⁸⁴ Vilmos FRANKÓI: Mátyás törekvései a császári trónra [The efforts of Matthias to ascend the imperial throne], (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből, XXIII/9), Budapest, 1914; István TRINGLI: *Az újkor hajnala. Magyarország története 1440–1541* [Dawn of the modern age. History of Hungary 1440–1541], Budapest, 2003, 64–66; András KUBINYI: *Matthias rex*, Budapest, 2008, 95–99.

⁸⁵ Árpád MIKÓ: Mathias Corvinus – Mathias Augustus. L'arte all'antica nel servizio del potere, in *Cultura e potere nel Rinascimento. Atti del IX Convegno internazionale (Chianciano-Pienza 21–24 luglio 1997)*, a cura di Luisa SECCHI-TARUGI, Firenze, 1999, 211–212.

⁸⁶ Charles SEYMOUR JR: *Sculpture in Italy 1400–1500*, (The Pelican History of Art), Harmondsworth, 1966, 134–138; Hanno-Walter KRUFT: *Domenico Gagini und seine Werkstatt*, München, 1972, 20–24; Joachim POESCHKE: *Donatello and His World. Sculpture of the Italian Renaissance*, New York, 1993, 220–222, 432–434. – Hexameter above the triumphal procession: „Alfonsus regum princeps hanc condidit arcem”; under: „Alfonsus rex Hispanus Siculus Italicus | pius clemens invictus”.

⁸⁷ Alison COLE: *Art of the Italian Renaissance Courts. Virtue and Magnificence*, London, 1995, 60–65, fig. 47.

⁸⁸ Gergely BUZÁS: *Visegrád, királyi palota. 1. A kápolna és az északeleti palota* [Visegrád, royal palace. The chapel and the northeastern palace], (Lapidarium Hungaricum, 2. Pest megye, 1.), Budapest, 1990, 58/204; *A visegrádi királyi palota kápolnája és északeleti épülete* [The chapel and northeastern building of the royal palace in Visegrád], ed. Gergely BUZÁS, (Visegrád régészeti monográfiái, 1.), Visegrád, 1994, 120.

⁸⁹ Gergely BUZÁS: Könyvet tartó puttó domborműve [Relief of a putto holding a book], in *Pannonia Regia* 1994, No. VII–4.

⁹⁰ Gergely BUZÁS – Pál LÓVEI: *A visegrádi királyi palota északnyugati épülete és az utcai homlokzat zárterkélye* [The northwestern building of the royal palace in Visegrád and the bay window on the street front], (Visegrád régészeti monográfiái, 4.), Visegrád, 2001, fig. 51.

⁹¹ Cf. Kálmán BENDA – Erik FÜGEDI: *A magyar korona regénye* [The story of the Hungarian crown], Budapest, 1979, 96–99.

⁹² In Béls engraving: “MCCCCLXXXIII – VRBANO PON AGRIENSI EX[.....] NAGYLVCH ORIVNDO ET ST[.....] | DE TRANSILVANO POST REGIS [.....] | MEXI.” According to Mednyánszky: “VRBANO PONTifici AGRIENSI EX Posoniensi vico NAGYLVCH ORIVNDO ET Stephano vajwoDE TRANSILVANO POST REGIS delectis cvstodibvs.” *Pest megye műemlékei* [Historic monuments of Pest county], 2. (Magyarország műemléki topográfiája, 5.), ed. Dezső DERCSÉNYI, Budapest, 1958, 450, 459, fig. 526 (Dezső DERCSÉNYI – Miklós HÉJJ); BALOGH 1966, I, 211; Lajos BOZÓKI: *Visegrád, alsó- és felsővár* [Visegrád, lower and upper castle], (Lapidarium Hungaricum, 8. Pest megye, II.), Budapest, 2012, 177–178 (No. 439.272–279.), 193–194 (No. 439/10.), figs 127, 195–199.

⁹³ Ilona CZEGLÉDI: *A diósgyőri vár* [The castle of Diósgyőr], Budapest, 1988, 97, pl. LXV; András VÉGH: Feliratos fríz a diósgyőri várból [An inscribed frieze from the castle of Diósgyőr], in *Habsburg Mária* 2005, 213–214 (No. V–30).

⁹⁴ Enikő SPEKNER: A diósgyőri vár alaprajza és madártávlati képe [Plan and bird's-eye-view of Diósgyőr castle], in *Habsburg Mária* 2005, 213 (No. V–29).

⁹⁵ Antonius de Bonfinis: *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*. T. II. Edd. Iosephus FÖGEL – Béla IVÁNYI – Ladislaus JUHÁSZ, Lipsiae, 1936, 2, IV:282. See also T. IV. P. II. Appendix, fontes, index. Edd. Margarita KULCSÁR – Petrus KULCSÁR, Budapest, 1976, 130.

⁹⁶ The Hungarian translation is in precise hexameter: „Itt László, a király feleségei csontjai vannak” [here are the bones of the wives of Laszlo, the king], Antonio BONFINI: *A magyar történelem tizedei* [Decades of Hungarian history], trans. Péter KULCSÁR, Budapest, 1995, 326.

⁹⁷ Péter KULCSÁR: Egy budai humanista feliratgyűjtemény [A Buda humanist's collection of epigraphs], *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, 95. 1968, 260; Péter KULCSÁR: *Bonfini magyar történetének forrásai és keletkezése* [Sources and genesis of Bonfini's Hungarian history], (Humanizmus és reformáció, 1.), Budapest, 1973, 73.

⁹⁸ Josephus LUKSICS: *Series episcoporum Vesprimiensium e documentis correcta*, Budapestinum, 1907, 12–13; C. Tóth NORBERT: *Magyarország késő középkori főpapi archontológiája, Érsekek, püspökök, illetve segédpüspökeik, vikáriusai és jövedelemkezelőik az 1440-es évektől 1526-ig* [Archontology of late medieval archpriests of Hungary], (A Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár Kiadványai. Források, feldolgozások, 27.), Győr, 2017, 118. Péter Isvalies only stayed in Hungary in the year of his appointment, in 1503, for a few months; since the – unfortunately fragmentary – text of the tablet names only him as the donor, it might probably date from the early period of his prelacy, but surely from before his death in 1511.

⁹⁹ “D(eo). OP(timo). MAX(imo). S(acrum). | HVIVS · SACRI · TEMPLI · CONDIT · | RIC I · GESLAE STEFANI · ET OLAY | THI · LADISLAI · SANCTOR(um) · PANNO | NIAE · REGVM · DIVIS CONIVGIBVS | AMPLISS(imus) · PATER · D(omi)N(u)S · PETRVS · T(i)T(ulus) · | [S]ANTI · CYRIACI · S(acrae) · R(omanae) · E(cclesiae) · P(res)B(iter) R. CAR | [dinalis archiepiscopus R]EGYNVS · EP(iscopu) S · VESPRIMIE[nsis...] | [...]AE MEMORIAE VENER[...].” (based on the figure in FORSTER 1900).

The stone tablet is walled up in the modern-age church of Makranc (*Sűpis pamiatok na Slovensku*, 2. Bratislava, 1968, 333; Zuzana LUDIKOVÁ: Sochárstvo [Sculpture], in *Renesan-*

cia 2009, 277). It is not known when it got there; at the time of its first occurrence in 1761 it was already in Makranc (GUTHEIL 1977, 87). The presumption by some scholars that the stone might have been quarried around Jászó but failed to reach Veszprém, so it got stuck in Makranc cannot be proven. The stone being in Makranc is not enough argument – what needs to be explained is why it is there. It is more plausible to presume that it got there later, because someone wanted to rescue it northward from Veszprém. It is not the only renaissance stone carving displaced from its original location. Analyses of the material of the stone might help solve the problem. Several scholars have studied the history of the tablet (grave of Queen Gisella) earlier. FORSTER 1900, 329–330, fig. 202; TÓTH 1964, 167, 181/1; GUTHEIL 1977, 60, 86–100; Péter NAGYBÁKAY: Beriszló Péter veszprémi püspök címeres sírköve [Tombstone with coat of arms of bishop of Veszprém, Péter Beriszló], *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei*, 13. 1978, 115, 124; András UZSOKI: Szent László hitvese, Adelheid királyné, Rudolf német ellenkirály leánya [St Ladislaus's wife, Queen Adelaide, daughter of the German anti-king Rudolf], in *Szent László és Somogyvár. Tanulmányok a 900 éves somogyvári bencés apátság emlékezetére* [St Ladislaus and Somogyvár. Studies in memory of the 900-year-old Benedictine abbey of Somogyvár], ed. Kálmán MAGYAR, Kaposvár, 1992, 145–152; András KUBINYI: Diplomáciai érintkezések a Jagelló-kori magyar állam és a pápaság között (1490–1526) [Diplomatic contacts between the Hungarian state in the Jagiellonian age and the papacy (1490–1526)], in KUBINYI 1999, 111–112.

¹⁰⁰ Árpád MIKÓ: A reneszánsz művészet emlékei Veszprém-ben [The Relics of Renaissance Art in Veszprém], in *Veszprém reneszánsza* [Renaissance of Veszprém], eds László KILIÁN – Pál RAINER, Veszprém, 2008, 79–86.

¹⁰¹ *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, I. Einleitende und Hilfs-Disziplinen, Hrsg. Iwan MÜLLER. München, 1892², 687–689; Guntram KOCH – Hellmut SICHTERMANN: *Römische Sarkophage*, München, 1982, 25–27; Benedictus FEHÉR: *Lexicon epigraphicum Pannonicum*, Budapestini, 1997, 58–60. – Cf. Adriano CAPPELLI: *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, Milano, 1929⁶ (ristampa: 1990), 450.

¹⁰² ZAJIC 2004, 258. (Géza Pálffy pointed the volume out to me).

¹⁰³ Ágnes RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY: A római föliatok gyűjtői Pannoniában [Collectors of Roman inscriptions in Pannonia], in *Pannonia Regia* 1994, 318–325, figs 1–4, No. VI–4. The same is included in the author's collected writings, with different illustrations: RITOÓKNÉ 2002, 75–86.

¹⁰⁴ SAXL 1940–1941, 27–29. Cf.: Aby WARBURG: Francesco Sassetis letztwillige Verfügung (1907), in Aby WARBURG: *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike. Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance*, neu herausgegeben von Horst BREDEKAMP und Michael DIERS, (Gesammelte Schriften, I.1.), Berlin, 1998, 127–158.

¹⁰⁵ Few of the kind are known in and around Rome till the end of the fifteenth century. One is Marco Poccio's (†1439) in the Aracoeli (*Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom und Latium vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert. 1. Bd. Die Grabplatten und Tafeln*, Hrsg. Jörg GARMS – Roswitha JUFFINGER – Bryn WARD-PERKINS, Rom–Wien, 1981, 156, cf. also 201). It became frequent later; relatively early examples are Giovanni Antonio Lomellino's (†1503) in Rome's San Agostino (Johannes RÖLL: *Giovanni Dalmata* [Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana, 10], Worms, 1994, 146–156, 154–155,

fig. 157) or Andrea Bregno's (†1506) in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (PANOFKY 1993, 77, fig. 185).

¹⁰⁶ BARTFAI SZABÓ 1910. 199; Miklós HORLER: Ioannes Fiorentinus Forgách-síremléke [Ioannes Fiorentinus's Forgách tomb], *Építés-Építészettudomány*, 15. 1983, 254–255; MIKÓ 1986, 101, fig. 73; János FARAGÓ: Marcali, Városi Múzeum. A Joannes Fiorentinus szignójával ellátott Forgách-sírkő restaurálása [Restoration of the Forgách tomb bearing Joannes Fiorentinus's signature], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle*, 2002:2, 74–76; LÓVEI 2021, I, 240–241, II, figs 62–63.

¹⁰⁷ Béla WICK: *Kassa régi síremlékei* [Old sepulchral monuments of Kassa], Kassa, 1933, 70–72; MIKÓ 1986, 101, fig. 71.

¹⁰⁸ OSzK, Manuscripts, Fol. Lat. 1701, 22r: “D O M | Domino Ioanni Magnifico Bertholdi Ellerbach Fundatoris | huius Caenobii Filio Domino hic in Monyorókerek | Thomas Bakocz de Erdőd Card(inalis) Strig(oniensis) Archiepiscopus, | Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus Fratri adoptivo ob | pietatem posuit. Obiit 1499.” – A slightly different version is published by: Iván NAGY: *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal* [Families of Hungary with coats of arms and genealogical tables], 4. Pest, 1858. 23; LÓVEI 2021, I, 241.

¹⁰⁹ Probably made between 1510 and 1520. In the mediaeval lapidary of the MNM. LÓVEI 1991, 363. – I owe my thanks to Piroska Biczó for information on the tomb.

¹¹⁰ Cf. ZAJIC 2004, 185, 258; on the Celtis-epitaph see also: BIAŁOSTOCKI 1976, 46–47.

¹¹¹ PANOFKY 1993, 75–76, fig. 280.

¹¹² Petrus Apianus – Barptolomaeus Amantius: *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustates...* Ingolstadii, 1534, pp. CCCCXXXIX–CCCCXXXX.

¹¹³ VARGA–LÓVEI 1990–1992, 149, fig. 54; Viera LUXOVÁ: Náhrobná platňá Imricha Zapol'ského, in *Gotika* 2003, 667–668 (No. 2.2.10.), figs 275 and 280; Livia VARGA: Imre Szapolyai's tomb (d. 1487) (6.4 cat. nr.), in *Matthias Corvinus* 2008, 276–277; LÓVEI 2021, I, 207, 219, 293, II, fig. 307.

¹¹⁴ Eger, Vármúzeum / Castle Museum. NAGY 1972, 105–107, 112–117.

¹¹⁵ Kornél DIVALD: *A héthársi Szent Márton-templom* [The St Martin church of Héthárs], Budapest, 1913, 11–12, fig. 9; VARGA–LÓVEI 1990–1992, 150; Viera LUXOVÁ: Memento mori: formy náhrobnej skulptúry, in *Gotika* 2003, 332, fig. 282.

¹¹⁶ Nyírbátor, Calvinist church. ENTZ–SZALONTAI 1978³, 33–34, 39, fig. 2; *Szabolcs-Szatmár* 1987, 147.

¹¹⁷ In the BTM. Henrik HORVÁTH: *A Fővárosi Múzeum kőemléktárának leíró lajstroma* [Descriptive inventory of the lapidarium of the Municipal Museum], Budapest, 1932, 29 (No. 242), 30. (No. 253); Dénes RADOCSAY: Les principaux monuments funéraires médiévaux conservés à Budapest, in *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay...* Braga, 1971, 467, 479. (No. 69), 483 (No. 82) – Another fragment was found by Katalin H. Gyürky during the archaeological excavation of the Dominican monastery. The related fragments were processed by Pál Lóvei in the Manuscript Database, which collects the tombstones of medieval Hungary. I thank Pál Lóvei for putting the processing of the fragments of the tombstone at my disposal.

¹¹⁸ Katalin H. GYÜRKY: Die St. Georg Kapelle in der Burg von Veszprém, *Acta Archaeologica*, 15. 1963, 346–347, 383–384; TÓTH 1964, 173–174. “ALBERTVS [...] | SPES VICA PRO[...]TAE | REGI MATHIE ACC[...]TISS [...] | JOAES D WIIHEI AR[...]III SE[...] | NVCVIS BN MERITO PIE[...]”.

¹¹⁹ Esztergom, Balassa Bálint Museum. István HORVÁTH – Márta H. KELEMEN – István TORMA: *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája, I. Esztergom és a dorogi járás*, Budapest, 1979, 149, fig. 76.

¹²⁰ In the EVM (one of the fragments on display in the Hungarian National Gallery). Árpád MIKÓ: Ippolito d'Este esztergomi érseki udvara és a reneszánsz kőfaragás Magyarországon [Ippolito d'Este's archiepiscopal court in Esztergom and renaissance stone carving in Hungary], *Ars Hungarica*, 16. 1988, 136–137, 141–142, figs 19–20; VÁRADY 2023, 110–111.

¹²¹ Esztergom, Cathedral, crypt. MIKÓ 1986, 99; LÓVEI 2021, I, 48, II, fig. 66.

¹²² HORVAT 1975, 41, fig. 24.

¹²³ In the BTM. LÓVEI 1991, 352; *Matthias Corvinus* 2008, 264–265. (5.12).

¹²⁴ In the MNM. Ágnes RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY: Bakócz Bálint titeli és budai prépost sírköve a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban [Tomb of Bálint Bakócz, provost of Titel and Buda, in the Hungarian National Museum], in RITOÓKNÉ 2002, 155–160; VÁRADY 2023, 111–112.

¹²⁵ In the BTM. Its photo: Múzeumok új kincsei [New treasures in museums], *Műsák Múzeumi Magazin* 1973:3, 47; Pál LÓVEI: Ana Deanović–Željka Čorak: Zagrebačka katedrale. Globus / Kršćanska Sadašnjost, Zagreb 1988. [review], *Acta Historiae Artium*, 36. 1993, 256, fig. 10; Julianna ALTMANN: Az óbuda és a budavári ferences templom és kolostor kutatásai [Researches on the Franciscan churches and monasteries in Óbuda and Buda], in *Koldulórendi építészet a középkori Magyarországon*, ed. Andrea HARIS, Budapest, 1994, 147, fig. 146. See also: Ferenc SOÓS: *Magyarország kincstartói. 1340–1540* [Treasures of Hungary. 1340–1540], Budapest, 1999, 52; András KUBINYI: Hivatalnok-karrier a XV. század végén: Vémeri Zsigmond királyi kincstartó, zágrábi püspök [An administrative career in the late fifteenth century: royal treasurer, bishop of Zagreb Zsigmond Vémeri], in KUBINYI 1999, 161–170.

¹²⁶ Cf. HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1992, 190–211; HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1999, 207–221.

¹²⁷ SKUBISZEWSKI 1957, fig. 99; KOZAKIEWICZOWA 1984, 7, 47–48, fig. 2.

¹²⁸ SKUBISZEWSKI 1957, fig. 115; KOZAKIEWICZOWA 1984, 48.

¹²⁹ SKUBISZEWSKI 1957, fig. 157; BIAŁOSTOCKI 1976, 46–48, figs 133, 137.

¹³⁰ Simon MELLER: *Peter Vischer der Ältere und seine Werkstatt*, Leipzig, 1925, 80, fig. 38.

¹³¹ KOZAKIEWICZOWA 1984, 13–19, fig. 1; Andrzej FISCHINGER: Grabdenkmäler der Könige aus der Dynastie der Jagiellonen im Dom auf dem Wawel in Krakau, in *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen 1386–1572*, Hgg. Gotfried STANGLER – Franciszek STOLOT, Wien, 1986, 139–141; *Wawel 1000–2000. Jubilee Exhibition*, I–III, eds Magdalena PIWOCKA – Dariusz NOWACKI, Kraków, 2000, I, 17, fig. 28.

¹³² MIKÓ 1983, 56–60; Miklós BODA: Pécs–Medvevár–Pécs: Janus Pannonius a pécsi utóélet tükrében [Janus Pannonius as his afterlife in Pécs shows him], in Miklós BODA: *Stúdium és literatúra. Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*, Pécs, 2002, 135–142.

¹³³ The epitaph with Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay's complements:

“[Valent]inus erat templi praepositus huius
[Cuius in] hoc tumulo membra sepulta iacent
[Insignis] pietate fuit probitate fideque

[Clarus e]rat sancta religione patrum
[Auxerat] ecclesias humilis devotus et isto
[Largior i]n terris praesule nemo fuit
[Qui bis trice]nos et quinque peregerat annos
[Postrem]o ast animam reddidit ille Deo.

[Valentinus de Erd]eud quarta noctis vigilia die XIII mensis [...] obiit Franciscus praepositus Bu[de]nsis ob frat[ris pie]tatem edidit LXXXX[...]

Pannonia Regia 1994, 354 (VII–25) (Ágnes RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY).

¹³⁴ The epitaph with the extant fragments indicated:

„[Strigoniensis i]nest [lector post f]ata M[ichael]
[Qui tumu]lum [vivid fecit et a]edicu[lam.]
[Scriptor re]gis era[t, falsique pericula saeculi]
[Divertit] vita t[utior ista fuit.]
[Anno Salutis M.C.C.C.C.]

MIKÓ 1988, 136; VÁRADY 2023, 110–111.

¹³⁵ The letter-perfect publication of the epitaph of treasurer and elected bishop of Zagreb Zsigmond Vémeri (†1500), see: Julia ALTMANN – Pál LÓVEI: Leletgyűttesek a budavári ferences templomból [Groups of finds from the Franciscan church of Buda castle], *Budapest Régiségei*, 18. 2004, 17. (and fig. 30); VÁRADY 2023, 114–116. The text was cut with incredibly many mistakes, with subsequent insertions, rectifications, lapses. The epitaph corrected:

“Mole Sigismundus iaceo sub marmoris huius
Wemeriae luctus cordoliumq(ue) domus
Thezaurum tenui regis dum vita manebat
Zagrabiae electus pr(a)esul in aede fui
Ante sed occubui qu(a)e tradita Sacra fuisse
Mitra decus capiti pontificale meo.”

¹³⁶ The epitaph, with the line-ending marks:

„Conditus hac ego su(m) Simo(n) | Verebilius urna;
Miles era(m) Martis mu[nera multa] | t[u]li.
[Opi]s eo[rum] e[genus] | du[m] mihi defuit ordo.

Invidit tantis mors inimica bonis. | [below in a new line:]
A(nno) D(omini) M CCCC LXXXX III”

NAGY 1972, 105–107, 112–117.

¹³⁷ The epitaph with the extant fragments indicated:

[Qui curios vita vicit, probitate Catones
Aequavitque Numam, religione Dei:
Nam coluit verum prisca pietate tonantem,
Et nunquam domuit foeda libido virum.
Hic capit Alpinos, Moldvanos, protegit idem
Sanguine Sylvanos, et regit ipse suo.
Egregio Stephanus sae]vos qui [pectore Turcos
Prostravit toties] hac reqvies[ci]t humo.
At vos o Bathorum gens] hvnc lv[gete parentem
Nam Bathorum cecidit fir]ma [columna domus.]

¹³⁸ ENTZ–SZALONTAI 1978, 39; photo of the fragment: MIKÓ 1983, fig. 28.

In Szepeshely / Spišská Kapitula Cathedral. VARGA–LÓVEI 1990–1992, 149–150, fig. 55; Viera LUXOVÁ: Náhrobná platňá Štefana Zapol'ského, in *Gotika* 2003, 668 (No. 2.2.11), fig. 281.

¹³⁹ Vera GERVERS-MOLNÁR: *Sárospataki síremlékek* [Sepulchral monuments in Sárospatak], (Művészettörténeti Füzetek, 14.), Budapest, 1983, 23–24, 66–67, fig. 55. The epitaph with the line-ends marked:

“Hic situs Antonius* Michael | que Palocia Proles
Quos prius unus amor nunc habet urna duos |
Iste domi clarus regali cla | rus in aula
Alter supero est clarus uterque polo.”

(*Antonies is carved in the stone.)

¹⁴⁰ Gábor ENDRÓDI – Árpád MIKÓ: Náhrobok Barbory Glocknitzerovej, in *Gotika* 2003, 669 (No. 2.2.14). The epitaph with the line endings indicated:

“[Barb]ara qu(a)e iacet hic ino[pum | lar]gissima mater
Clara fuit vita religione fide
Cui fuit in | p[|lacitis] D(omi)no servire superno |
Hoc iaceo duro pulvis et u(m)bra loco.
Anno 1513[...]

¹⁴¹ Zagreb, Hrvatski povijesni muzej. Mirko VALENTIĆ: *Kameni spomenici Hrvatske XIII–XIX. stoljeća*, (Povijesni muzej Hrvatske Zagreb, Katalog muzejskih zbirki, II.), Zagreb, 1969, 31–36 (No. 15); HORVAT 1975, 41–44, fig. 25; Diana VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA: Umjetnost renesanse, in *Sveti trag. Devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadpiskupije. 1094–1994*, ur. Tudomir LUKŠIĆ et al., Zagreb, 1994, 177, 186 (No. 4).

The epitaph:

“[Hic sitv]s · est · Lv[c]as · Praesvl · Venerabil[is...]
Zagra[b]iae · t[el]mpli · lvxq[ue] · decv[sq]ue) · [...]
Qvi · pietate · parens · nvlli · virtute · sec[vndvs]
Accepit · m[er]itis · astra · parat[a] svis.]
Obiit Anno · M · D · X · X · K(alendis) Oc[tobris]”

The epitaph is originally registered differently by: Balthasar Adam KERCELIICH DE CORBIAVA: *Historiarum cathedralis ecclesiae Zagrabienensis partis primae tomus I. Zagrabiae*, [1770] 207. More pieces of the tomb were found during the earthquakes in Zagreb. *Ars et virtus. Croatia – Hungary: 800 Years of Shared Cultural Heritage*, exhibition catalogue / Galerija Klovićevi dvori – Hungarian National Museum, eds Marina BAGARIĆ – Dragan DAMJANOVIĆ – Iva SUDEC ANDREIS – Petra VUGRINEC, Zagreb–Budapest, 2020, 348.; LÓVEI 2021, I, 86, 245, 254, II, figs 60–61. Cf. Viktória KOVÁCS: „Miként életemben kedvelt, úgy holtomban is méltóztasson támogatni”. Szegedi Lukács zágrábi püspök végrendelete 1510-ből [“As You have favoured me in my life, so be worthy to support me in my death”. Testament of Luke of Szeged, Bishop of Zagreb, dated 1510], *Levéltári Közlemények*, 92. 2021, 7–37.

¹⁴² More precisely, each verse line is divided between two inscription lines; the end of the lines are indicated:

“Germa[nus] Iani pat[er] riv[us] m[er]it[us] | prim[us] ad | Hist[or]ia[m] |
Dvxi[t] lau[rigeras] | ex H[elico]ne Deas |
Svm s[er]vit[us] | hoc tvmvlo | Petrvs [ex] stirpe Garasde |
Altera [Pie]ridvm gloria | ivre fvi.”

MIKÓ 1983, 52–53, figs 25–27; VÁRADY 2023, 112–113.

¹⁴³ Only the epitaph (after Pál Lóvei):

“Huius Thurzo loci princeps authorque sacelli
Dormio dum toto personhet orba tuba
Parce meum quisquis legis hec epitaphia somnum
Rumpere nam numerus tum quoque noster eris.”

Pál LÓVEI: Sirkövek, sírkőtöredékek [Tombs, tomb fragments], in *Váradai kőtöredékek. Szobortöredékek, építészeti faragványok, síremlékek az egykori Biharvármegyei és Nagyvárad múzeum gyűjteményéből* [Stone fragments from Váradi. Statue fragments, architectural carvings, tombs from the collection of the former Museum of Bihar County and Nagyvárad], ed. Terézia KERNY, Budapest, 1989, 171, 186–187 (No. 196), fig. 123; VÁRADY 2023, 117–119.

¹⁴⁴ The epitaph, the ligatures and enclaves written out unmarked:

“Siste gradum fraternos nosce viator amores
Hic fraterna simul corpora iuncta cubant.
Saecula Ledaos taceant iam prisca Laconas

Nunquam sic geminu Castora frater amat.

Ad fratris Petri tumulum se Antonius abbas
Consumpsit lacrymis mystica sacra ferens.”

See Lajos NAGYFALUSY: *A kapornaki apátság története* [History of the Kapornak Abbey], I–II. Kalocsa, 1941–1942, 89/60, 103; VÁRADY 2023, 119–120.

¹⁴⁵ The epitaph (after Arisztid Oszwald):

„Fegwernek genuit sed Saagh me ad sidera misit.
Praefueram hic multis, nescio qualis ero.

Calcor nunc pedibus fratrum, quos ante praeibam
Et merito, quoniam vilior ipse fui.

Congessi fratres et moenia plurima feci,
Successor! serves haec mea fata, precor.”

Arisztid OSZVÁLD: Fegyverneky Ferenc, sági prépost, rendi visitator. 1506–1535 [Ferenc Fegyverneki, provost of Ság, visitor of the order], in *Emlékkönyv Szent Norbert halálának nyolcszázadik jubileumára* [Memorial volume for the 800th anniversary of St Norbert's death], Gödöllő, 1934, 51; VARGA-LÓVEI 1990–1992, 153. – The tombstone is in the church today.

¹⁴⁶ Imre TAKÁCS: Esztergomi síremléktöredékek a 13. századból [Tomb fragments of Esztergom from the thirteenth century], *Ars Hungarica*, 16. 1988, 121–132.

¹⁴⁷ Most recently: Bálint LAKATOS: Egy XVI. századi humanista, Megyericsei János feliratgyűjtései [A sixteenth-century Humanist, János Megyericsei's collection of epigraphs], in *FENEZIA. Tanulmányok Bollók János emlékére* [Studies in memory of János Bollók], eds László HORVÁTH et al., Budapest, 2004, 737–748; LÓVEI 2021, I, 291.

¹⁴⁸ András KOVÁCS: Humanista epigráfusok adalékai Gyulaféhevár közép- és koraiújkor helyrajzához [Addenda of humanist epigraphists to the middle- and early-modern age topography of Gyulaféhevár], in *Szamosközy István: Analecta lapidum... 1593, Inscriptiones Romanae... 1598*, eds Mihály BALÁZS – István MONOK, (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 33.), Szeged, 1992, 29, 32.

¹⁴⁹ Árpád MIKÓ – Géza PÁLFFY: A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékei (16–17. század) [Late renaissance and early baroque tombs of the St Martin church, Pozsony (16th–17th century)], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 51. 2002, 123–124, fig. 7; cf. Zoltán VÁRADY: A középkori epigráfia kutatás Magyarországon [Research in mediaeval epigraphy in Hungary], in *Illyés Gyula Pedagógiai Főiskola Tudományos Közleményei* III. Szekszárd, 1998, 153.

¹⁵⁰ András KUBINYI: Budai és pesti polgárok családi összeköttetései a Jagelló-korban [Family relations of patricians of Buda and Pest in the Jagiellonian age], *Levéltári Közlemények*, 37. 1966, 286.

¹⁵¹ András KUBINYI: Budapest története a későbbi középkorban Buda elestéig (1541-ig) [The history of Budapest in the later Middle Ages until the fall of Buda (1541)], in *Budapest története* [A history of Budapest], II, eds László GEREVICH – Domokos KOSÁRY, Budapest, 1973, 208, fig. 40. – The stone, as András Vég kindly told me, was found in the Church of Our Lady: Lajos NÉMETHY: *A Nagyboldogasszony nevezett budapestvári főtemplom történelme* [A history of the main church of the castle of Budapest dedicated to Our Lady], Esztergom, 1876, 77. Cf. VÉGH 2006–2008, I, 207, 210.

¹⁵² VÉGH 2006–2008, I, 207, 210.

¹⁵³ András KUBINYI: A budai német patriciátus társadalmi helyzete családi összeköttetései tükrében [The social

position of the German patricians of Buda as reflected by their family connections], *Levéltári Közlemények*, 42. 1971, 259/384; LÓVEI 1987, 160; Gerd PICHLER: Neue Erkenntnisse zum Auftreten der Renaissancebaukunst in Wien. Drei Portalfragmente von 1497, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 52. 1998, 424–431; Gyöngyi TÖRÖK: Die Ursprünge der Jagiellonischen Renaissance in Ungarn während der Regierungszeit des Königs Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), in *Die Jagiellonen. Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, Hgg. Dietmar POPP – Robert SUCKALE, Nürnberg, 2002, 218–219, fig. 3; Sonja DÜNNEBEIL: Soziale Dynamik in spätmittelalterliche Gruppen, in *Menschenbilder – Menschenbildner. Individuum und Gruppe im Blick des Historikers*, Hrsg. Stephan SELZER – Ulf-Christian EWERT, Berlin, 2002, 153–154; Cornelia PLIEGER: Plastik der Renaissance, in *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, Bd. 3. Spätmittelalter und Renaissance*, Hrsg. Arthur ROSENAUER, München–Berlin–London–New York, 2003, 367; Pál LÓVEI: Die Grabplatte des Oberschatzmeisters Nikolaus Kanizsai und Angaben zur Mittelalterlichen Grabmalkunst am Westrand des Königreichs Ungarn, in *Die Kanizsai und ihre Zeit. Tagungsband der 38. Schlaininger Gespräche 17. bis 20. September 2018*, Hg. Gert POLSTER. (Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland, Band 163) Eisenstadt, 2019, 118–121; LÓVEI 2021, I, 82, 228, II, fig. 150.

¹⁵⁴ The inscription of the lunette: “A · D · M · CCCC (*coat of arms*) LXXXX · VII”. That of the frieze presumably belonging to it: “CONFISI · IN · EOS · QVIBVS · BENEFECIMVS · CREBRO · FALLIMVR · | FORTVNAE · AFFLIVENCIA · BENEFACITORVM · EVANESCIT · MEMORIA · | NIHIL · ORTVM · CIVVS · CAVSA · LEGITIMA · NON · PRECESERIT”. THE OTHER EPIGRAPH WITH ARMS: “PATERE ET ABSTINE (ARMS) SAPERE AVDE | · 1 · 4 (*arms*) 9 · 7”.

¹⁵⁵ Árpád MIKÓ: II. Lajos király címereslevelei. Egy speciális heraldikai reprezentációs forma művészettörténeti kérdései a késői Jagelló-korban Magyarországon [Letters patent by King Louis II. The art historical questions of a special form of heraldic representation in the late Jagiellonian age in Hungary], in *Habsburg Mária* 2005. 79–80; Árpád MIKÓ: Címereslevelek a Jagelló-kori Magyarországon. Függelemben a II. Ulászló II. Lajos magyar királyok által adományozott címereslevelek jegyzékével (1490–1526) [Letters Patent in Hungry in the Jagiellonian Age. List of Letters Patent Granted by Vladislav II. and Louis II, Kings of Hungary], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 70. 2021, 257–303.

¹⁵⁶ Ep. I.2.40.

¹⁵⁷ Tim. 28a.

¹⁵⁸ Calcidius's translation: „Omne autem quod gignitur ex causa aliqua necessario gignitur; nihil enim fit, cuius ortum non legitima causa et ratio praecedat.” (Plato Latinus, ed. Raymondus KLIBANSKY, Vol. IV. *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*, ed. J. H. WASZINK, Londonii et Leidae, 1962, 20,20–22. – I italicized the identical text parts, Á. M.) Cicero's version: „Omne autem, quod gignitur, ex aliqua causa gigni necesse est; nullius enim rei causa remota reperiri origo potest.” Cic. Tim. 2. (Ed. Müller 215,1–3).

¹⁵⁹ LÓVEI 1987, 160.

¹⁶⁰ RITOÓKNÉ 2002, 85.

¹⁶¹ Tibor KLANICZAY: *A magyarországi akadémiai mozgalom előtörténete* [The prehistory of the academic movement in Hungary], (Humanizmus és reformáció, 20.), Budapest, 1993, 50–77.

¹⁶² “PER DOMINVM STIBORIVM QCIMBVRK MARCHIONATVS MORAVIAE | CAPITANEVM THVNC TEMPORIS TVRRIS FACTA EST | QVE VOCATVR FORMOSA M CCCC LXXXX 2”. HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1992, 108, figs 10–12, and at the end figs 2–3; HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1999, 149, figs 2–3; RITOÓKNÉ 2002, 147–148. I must note (inspired by Ágnes R. Szalay's interpretation) that I would date the Tovačov castle gate with the inscription slightly later, especially on account of its style. All the text says is that the tower was built by Ctibor 1492 when he was still captain of Moravia. The earlier dating of the red marble carvings is, I think, correct.

¹⁶³ “LADISLAVS DE BOZKOWICZ ET NIGROMONTE DOMINVS | CASTRI HVIVS ME FECIT SVB ANNO DOMINI 1492”. HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1992, 116, fig. 4; HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1999, 154, fig 4; RITOÓKNÉ 2002, 148–149; Jiří ROHÁČEK: Humanistická nápisová písma v Čechách a na Moravě v evropském kontextu [Humanistic inscriptions in Bohemia and Moravia in European context], *Historická Olomouc*, 17. Olomouc, 2009, 221–236; Jan ŠTĚTINA: Několik poznámek k architektuře Ladislava z Boskovic [A few notes on the architecture of Ladislav of Boskovic], *ibid.*, 251–267; Vladislava ŘÍHOVÁ: Umělecká výbava Moravské Třebové v době Ladislava z Boskovic – nové objevy [The artistic construction of Moravská Třebová during the time of Ladislav of Boskovic – new discoveries], *ibid.*, 269–282.

¹⁶⁴ “LADISLAW Z BOZKOWICZ | 1495” and “MAGDALENA Z DUBEE A Z LIPPEHO | 1495”. HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1992, 118, fig. 14, and 117, fig. 15; *Matthias Corvinus* 2008, 277–279 (6.5.a–b.) (Jan CHLÍBEC).

¹⁶⁵ “STANISLAUS TVRSO EP(iscopu)s DEI GRATIA OLO(mucensis) ME FIERI IVS(sit)”. HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1992, 139–140, fig. 30; HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1999, 172, figs 18–19.

¹⁶⁶ “IO V EP VRA DIVE ANNE | EREXIT M D X III.”. Ta-deusz CHRZANOWSKI – Marian KORNECKI: *Sztuka Śląska Opolskiego*, Kraków, 1974, 179–180; HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1992, 140, fig. 30.

¹⁶⁷ “IOANNES TVRZO EP(iscopu)s VRAT(islaviensis) POLON(iae) | ARCEM HANC BELLOR(um) AC TEMPORVM(m) | INVRIAS SOLO EQVATAM SVO AERE | INSTAVRAVIT MVTATO NOMINE | MONTEM DIVI IOANNIS FELICIVS | [.....] VOLVIT M D V”. HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1992, fig. 20; HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1999, fig 20.

¹⁶⁸ “IOHAN: V EPS VRA H | AC ARCEM DIVO IOHA B | APT SACRAVIT ET EREXIT” – top right the date: “1509”. HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1992, fig. 21; HLOBIL–PETRŮ 1999, fig 21.

¹⁶⁹ San Martino ai Monti was Bakócz's titular church in Rome; the phrase “Cardinalis Strigoniensis” features on his seal (BALOGH 1955, fig. 3), his heraldic stone in Zagreb (HORVAT 1975, 40–41, fig. 23) and on the tomb of János Elterbach of Mogyorókerék, too (see note 108).

¹⁷⁰ “THOMAS · BAKOCZ · DE · ERDEVD · CARDINALIS · | STRIGONIEN(sis) · ALM(a)E · DEI · GENITRICI · MARI(a)E · | VIRGINI · EXTRVXIT · ANNO · M · CCCCC · VII ·”. BALOGH 1955, 69. The epigraph was first described by Magnus Gruber in 1531, in his writing about the Danube. This is new information not yet included in Jolán Balogh's monograph aimed at competition (MIKÓ 2002, 234, 240. [fol. 49v]).

¹⁷¹ “THOMAS · BAKOCZ · DE · ERDEVD · CARDINAL(is) · | STRIGONIEN(sis) · | DICA | VIT · ANNO · M · D · VI ·”. BALOGH 1955, 71, fig. 69.

¹⁷² Árpád MIKÓ: Esztergom, in *Panonia Regia* 1994, 356. The epigraph: “[- - -] PROTECTOR[- - -] X I I I I[- - -]

]. Since the word “protector” is in the upper line, the whole motto had to be there, and since there is blank space under the second half of the word, the last line could only hold the date, all centralized. – In the EVM. Until most recently the pieced-together inscription fragment was in the Renaissance Lapidarium on the Leopold terrace; a photo of its more intact state was published in: Enrico HORVÁTH: *Il Rinascimento in Ungheria*, (Biblioteca dell'Accademia d'Ungheria di Roma, 20–24.), Roma, 1939, fig. 37.

¹⁷³ ÁRPÁD MIKÓ: Felirattörök mélyen kivájt antikva betűkkel [Inscription fragments with classical letters cut deep in the stone], in *Pannonia Regia* 1994, 358 (VII–31).

¹⁷⁴ Fragments of its inscription: “DOMINVS [adjutor et] PROT[ector meus] | AN[no ...] M[...].” The fragments were in the above mentioned storeroom of EVM, on the Leopold terrace. Probably this epigraph is mentioned in: BALOGH 1955, 55/154.

¹⁷⁵ BALOGH 1955, 8, fig. 169.

¹⁷⁶ BALOGH 1955, 8.

¹⁷⁷ BALOGH 1966, I, 390; Éva KOVÁCS: A párizsi ötvösség 1400 körül és a források [Goldsmithing in Paris around 1400 and the sources], in Éva KOVÁCS: *Species, modus, ordo. Válogatott tanulmányok* [Selected studies], Budapest, 1998, 244; ÁRPÁD MIKÓ: Pietro Ransano: A magyarok történetének rövid foglalata [A short summary of the history of the Hungarians], in *Jankovich* 2002, 224–226 (No. 208).

¹⁷⁸ Fragment of its epigraph: “PETRVS BERYZL[...].” András KUBINYI: Beriszló Péter és budai szereplése [Péter Beriszló and his activity in Buda], in KUBINYI 1999, 171–183, with fig.

¹⁷⁹ “[...CO]NSTRVXIT MENIBVS AVLAM | [...]G]ENERALIS CVRA PRIORIS [...]VNT FVNDAMINA PAV[...] | [...]D ZAGRABIE[NSIS...].” Szilárd PAPP: Kőfaragvány a Buda feletti Szent Lőrinc-kolostorból [Stone carving from the St Lawrence monastery above Buda], in *Tanulmányok Tóth Sándor 60. születésnapjára* [Studies for the 60th birthday of Sándor Tóth], eds Tibor ROSTÁS – Anna SIMON, Budapest, 2000, 172.

¹⁸⁰ Gregorius GYÖNGYÖSI: *Vitae fratrum eremitarum ordinis sancti Pauli primi eremitaie*, ed. Franciscus L. HERVAY, Budapest 1988, passim.

¹⁸¹ “[-- --]TOTE MVNDI | [-- --]TI CORDE”. András VÉGH's find from the plot next to the Ferhővár Gate. At present in the permanent exhibition of the BTM. András VÉGH: *Reneszánsz kőfaragványok és terrakottaelemek a Jagelló-kori Budán. Egy várbeli lakóház és leletei* [Jagiello era stone and terracotta statues and architectural carvings in Buda. A dwelling house and its findings in Buda Castle], in *Mátyás király öröksége* 2008, I, 54–58.

¹⁸² Fragments of its inscription: „REVEREN(dissimi) PATR[is ... Dominici prepositi] | H[ic] DIVI STEPHANI[C... A... scissima proles] | DVX EMERICVS[...vr esse satvs]. *Mátyás király öröksége* 2008, I, 201 (No. VII–10.) (ÁRPÁD MIKÓ).

¹⁸³ Andrea HARIS: A pápai Corvin-ház építéstörténetének kérdőjelei [Question-marks about the building history *Andrea* of the Corvin House in Pápa], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle*, 1992:2, 49–60, figs 16–19. See Ráskai's construction inscription in Csővár: FELD–JAKUS–LÁSZLÓ 1979, 15, fig. 6.

¹⁸⁴ “[...]AN SALVTIS M[...] | [...]TH | AVE[...] | [...]OC | SA[...]” KOPPÁNY 1984, 203–204, fig. 14.

¹⁸⁵ “[...]H]OC · OPVS · FECIT · F[ieri...] | [...]i]OHANNES · DE CO(?)[...] | [...]com]ES · THEMESYEN(sis)[...] | [...]P(er) PETVA(m) · M[emoriám...] | [...]av]ORVM · S[vorum...]”. Kornél BAKAY – Nándor KALICZ – Károly SÁGI: *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A devcezeri járás* [Archaeological typography of Veszprém county. District of Devecser], (Magyarország régészeti topográfiája, 3.), Budapest, 1970, 242, 247, Pl. 24, fig. 3; KOPPÁNY 1984, 201.

¹⁸⁶ The epigraph of the fragmentary heraldic stone in Zoltán Várady's explanation is: “AR[ma magnifici vir] | MO[isis ianitoru]M REGA | LI[um magistri] ANNO | DO[mini mcccc]9VIII”. VÁRADY 1999, 179–180, 3, fig. 7.1. – If Várady's reading were correct, it would rewrite the history of constructions in Simontornya. (In his next paper he returned to the traditional 1509 reading.) What is more, the date 1508 was carved in early humanist capitals. It is probable that the finely cut stones were applied ready-made to the buildings in Simontornya, just like elsewhere in the country in general.

¹⁸⁷ The inscription in minuscules: “ihs · ma[ri]a · s[it] · nobis · pro[tec]trix · 1 · 5 · 0 · 8”. VÁRADY 1999, 179, figs 2.2, 6.3.

¹⁸⁸ The two fragments: “...ATER...” and “...RTIVVS PR...”. VÁRADY 1999, 180, figs 4.1, 4.2, 7.2, 7.3.

¹⁸⁹ G. SÁNDOR 1984, 14, 71, fig. 3.

¹⁹⁰ The text is identical with the benediction following the last lection of the 2nd nocturnus in the festive matutinus of Pius V's Breviarium Romanum. The fragment was probably found in the house at No. 2, Káptalan street. (G. SÁNDOR 1984, 30, 74 [No. 47]; FARBAKY 2002, 154 [No. 50] – the latter resolved or complemented the inscription differently: “Deus ardorem amoris accendit eius in cordibus nostris”. The abbreviation sign is above *n* of *accen*, the tightly added *D* belongs to the next word – *Deus* –, which cannot be interpreted as *-d eius* because there is no trace of the letter *i* in it.)

¹⁹¹ Both are from the Psalms (Ps 56, 4–5): Inscription of the piece in the lapidarium: “MISIT · DEVS · MISERICORDIA(m) ... | MEDIO · CATVLOR(um) · LEONVM...” (G. SÁNDOR 1984, figs 113–114) – Of the fireplace: “MISIT DEVS MISERICORDIAM SVAM SVPER ME ET ERIPVIT ME DE MEDIO CATVL(orvm) LEONVM DORMIVI CONTVRBATVS”.

¹⁹² “EMERICVS · DE · PERE[.....] | ABAWIVARIENSIS · REG[.....]”. G. SÁNDOR 1984, 57, fig. 107) – At present the tablet is in the castle chapel but it was not found there, but in the Franciscan church. László GERŐ: *A síklősi vár* [The castle of Siklő], Budapest, 1958, 30–32, fig. 29.

¹⁹³ “V[.....]A[rmis]S | OPTI(n)VIMVS · HANC [.....]”. G. SÁNDOR 1984, 37–38, 76, figs 60–61. András Kubinyi and Miklós Jankovich proposed the following elucidation: *Virtute et armis optinivimus hanc arcem*.

¹⁹⁴ KOPPÁNY 1994.

¹⁹⁵ Cited by KOPPÁNY 1994, 165/4–5:

“Inscriptiones supra portas arcis Domboiensis. Arx haec aedificata est AO. 1520. W. D. cum suo insigni.” (...)

“Supra unam portam: Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

Supra alteram ubi fuit capella: Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.

Supra tertiam: Pax intransitibus, salus in ea habitantibus.

Supra quartam: ubi similiter fuit capella: Quicumque hoc templum petiturus ingreditur cuncta se impetrasse laetetur.

Supra quintam: Insigne Familiae Dombo, et nomen ID, una cum inscriptione: Fuge malorum consentium.

Supra sextam: Domine Deus salvum me fac.”

(The document is kept: Budapest, MNL OL, Esterházy-archív, bundle 248, Fasc. E, No. 124, pp. 1–3; the Hungarian document: bundle 248, Fasc. E. No. 130, pp. 22–25.)

¹⁹⁶ Its content – and to a little extent the choice of words – are reminiscent of a section in the Book of Proverbs (4,14–15): “ne delecteris semitis impiorum nec tibi placeat malorum via, fuge ab ea ne transeas per illam declina et desere eam”.

¹⁹⁷ Ps 112,2; Daniel 2,20; Job 1,21.

¹⁹⁸ Is 56,7; Mt 21,13; Mc 11,17.

¹⁹⁹ “Pax huic domui et omnibus habitantibus in ea” (blessing of the house), or “Pax intransitibus, salus habitantibus” (blessing by the priest visiting a sick person).

²⁰⁰ Antiphon for the consecration of a church: “Presta Domine, ut quisquis hoc templum beneficia petiturus ingreditur, cuncta se impetrasse laetetur.” R.-J. HESBERT: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, vol. III, 4365.

²⁰¹ Ps 3,7.

²⁰² FARBAKY 2002, 35–36, figs 15–16.

²⁰³ “MATHEVS DE BAKTHA FACIVNDVM CVRAVIT 1519”. *Szabolcs-Szatmár* 1986, 279, fig. 142.

²⁰⁴ “DOMAT OMNIA [...]” this reminds one of Daniel 2,40, the end of the inscription is whitewashed.

²⁰⁵ “LADISLAWS · DE · KIS · WARADA | ANNO 1501”. *Szabolcs-Szatmár* 1987, fig. 7.

²⁰⁶ “HOC TE(m)PLV(m) EST C(on)STRVCTV(m) ET CO(n)SEC(ra)TV(m) | AD HONORE(m) S(ancti) REGIS ST(e)PH(an)I AN(n)O D(omin)i 1507”. BALOGH 1943, 270–271.

²⁰⁷ “AD HONOREM MAGNI DEI EIVSQV(e) MATRIS MARIE VIRGINIS INTEMERATE AC | DIVI GEORGY MARTIRIS MAGNIFICVS DOMINVS ANDREAS ANDREE DE BATOR | FILIVS SVIS IMPENSIS HOC TEMPLVM A FVN-DAMENTIS EXTRVXIT OB PIETATEM.” ENTZ–SZALONTAI 1978³, 32, 39, figs 31–32; *Szabolcs-Szatmár* 1987, 145.

²⁰⁸ ENTZ–SZALONTAI 1978³, 29, fig. 34; *Schallaburg* 1982, 657–658 (No. 806) (Jolán BALOGH); *Szabolcs-Szatmár* 1987, 146.

²⁰⁹ Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum – Magyar Nemzeti Galéria / Museum of Fine Arts – Hungarian National Gallery. „ORA · PRO · NOBIS · SANCTA · dEI · gENITRIX · VIRgo · MARIA · PAX · IN · gRedIENTI | B(us) · EgREgIV(m) · HOC · OPVS · FeCIT · FIeRI · ANDREAS · FILI(us) · ANdRee · dE · BATHOR | · 1 · 5 · 26 ·”. Árpád MIKÓ: La Madonna di András Báthory, *Acta Historiae Artium*, 47. 2006, 93–102.

²¹⁰ In the MNM. „HOC · OPVS · FECERV(n)T | FIERi · M(agnifi)CI D(omi)Ni · GEORGIVS | DE BATHOR · AGAZONV(m) | ReGALIV(m) · MAGISTeR · Et · ST(ep)h(an)vS | DE EADEM · BATHOR · COMES | ThIMiSiENSIS · ET · PARCIV(m) | INFERiORV(m) · CAPITAnEVs | GENERAliS · NECNoN · ANDrEAs | DE BaThOR · COMES · COMiTATV(m) | SWM · SATMARIENSIS · ET · | DE ZABOC · COMES · LICET | FViT · IVnIOR · InTeR CEteRoS | OPeRa · TaMeN · EiVS EGREGIV(m) | HOC · OPVS · PERFECTvM · Est | Anno · D · M · CCCCXI”. Árpád MIKÓ: A nyírbátori stallum (1511). [The choir-stalls of Nyírbátor], *Művészettörténeti Értésítő*, 64. 2015, 269–294.

²¹¹ *Urbaria et Conscriptiones*, 1. Budapest, 1967, 141. (1730, porta castris) “Magnanimus Andreas de Bathor Pater patriae suae, construxit hoc castrum gentilibus suis atque haeredibus, pro quietudine et tuitione eorum, cavens atque intelligens quandoque pacem inter misceri bella, et discordias, qui rogat suos haeredes nominis Bathorei, non velint esse immemores, primum: ut inter sese non sint discordes, concordia enim res parvae crescunt, discordia vero maximae dilabantur; deinde ne inventa perdant; nam non minor est virtus, quam quaerere, parta tueri. postremo tollere et

abstinere, nam divertere a malo et facere bonum est felicitas hominis. Anno 1492.”

²¹² “Beati sunt habitantes in domo tua Domine”. Cf.: Ps 83,5.

²¹³ Judit GÄNGEL: *Rozsnyó műemlékei* [Historic monuments in Rozsnyó], (A budapesti Királyi Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Művészettörténeti és Kereszténységészeti Intézetének dolgozatai, 77.), Budapest, 1942, 16, 25–26; Ivan CHALUPECKÝ: Od banickéj osady k baníckemu mestu, in *Dejiny Rožňavy* 1. Rožňava, 1978, 79.

²¹⁴ The inscription of the doorframe adorned with intersecting bead mouldings: “SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTVM IN PERPETVVM.” It is also a Biblical citation. Cf.: Dn 2,20 “...et locutus sit nomen Domini benedictum a saeculo et usque in saeculum”. See also PsG 112,2 “sit nomen Domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum”, and PsH 112,2 “...sit nomen Domini benedictum amodo et usque in aeternum”, furthermore Jb 1,21 “Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sit nomen Domini benedictum”. The inscription of the other, plainer window: “SOLI DEO LAVS DECVS ET GLORIA PER INFINITA SAECVLA”. It is also from a Biblical locus, from a letter of St Paul: 1 Tm 1,17. “... soli Deo honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum amen”. Cf. MIKÓ 2004, 19–20.

²¹⁵ MIKÓ 2004, 30, fig. 18.

²¹⁶ “DA NOBIS AVXILIVM DE TRIBVLACIONE”. Cf.: Ps 59,13: “Da nobis auxilium de tribulatione”. CIULISOVÁ 2002, 126.

²¹⁷ “NVNQVAM MINVS SOLVS QVAM CV SOLVSNEC IVS OCOSVS QVA CV OCIOVS” – this is how CIULISOVÁ 2002, 126 cites it; in the inscription there are obviously many abbreviations. Cf.: De officiis, 3,1,1: “Nunquam se minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus, nec minus solus sum, quam cum solus esset.” See also the next note!

²¹⁸ Lib. VI, No. XXXIII [Maur. 49] 1,6–7: “Nunquam enim minus solus sum, quam cum solus esse videor, nec minus otiosus, quam cum otiosus.” *Sancti Ambrosii opera*, Pars X, Epistulae et Acta, Tom. I, Epistularum libri I–VI. Recensuit Otto FALLER S. I. (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinarum, LXXXII.), Vindobonae, 1968, 229. – on all this in more detail: MIKÓ 2004.

²¹⁹ Inscription on the lintel of the western gate: “STEPHANVS · DEESHAY · DE · MENYEW · INIMICO · HOC · INSIGNI · P(er) · WLADISLAV(m) · REGE(m) · OB · RE(m) · FORTIT(er) · IN · THVRCAS · GESTA(m) · DVM | ARCIS · IIAICZE · PREFECTVRA · FVNGERETVR · ORNATVS · DEINDE · R(everendissi)MI · DO(mini) · THOME · BAKOCZ · CARD(inalis) · STRIGO(niensis) · PATRI(archae) · CONST | ANTI(nopolitani) · ET · LEGATI · APOSTO(li)CI · ROMAM · SCISMATE · PVLVLANTE · TRIENNIO · ACCITI · NEGOCIORUM · OMNIVM · AR[cis] | STRIGO(niensis) · GVBERNATOR · PORTAM · HANC · POSVIT · ANNO · DO(mini) · M · CCCCCO DECIMO QVARTO” – Epigraph on the lunette in a semi-circle: “MICHAEL DESHAZII DE MENIIEW OBIIT · ANNO · DOMINI · M D XIII” – Horizontally, on the bottom of the lunette: “FECIT FIERI | STEPHANVS | DESHAZII”. BALOGH 1943, 268–270.

²²⁰ Inscription on the baptismal font: “IOANNES FIORENTINVS ME FECIT | HOC · OPVS · STEPHANVS · DESHAZI · DE · MENYEW · ALIAS · IAYCZEN(sis) · NV(n)C · ARCHIE(pisco)PATVS · ST(ri)GONIEN(sis) · GVBERNATO(r) · ET · P(rae)PO(s)TVS · WARADIEN(sis) · FECIT · FIERI · ANNO · DO(mini) · MCCCCXV.” BALOGH 1943, 268–270.

²²¹ Jolán Balogh could only publish this epigraph with several mistakes, and only managed to explain the abbreviation referring to the donor: “fenerat vir(?) domino qui miseretvr pavperis et vicissitvdinem svaredet ei. I[oannes] D[ragfi] MD ZZ (=1522) F[ecit] F[ieri]”. BALOGH 1943, 286, fig. 117. About the building more recently: Tamás EMÓDI: *Szilágycseh. Református templom* [Calvinist church], (Erdélyi műemlékek, 21.), Kolozsvár, 1996, 6–7.

²²² “HANC POSTEM FECERVNT FABRICARI ANTHONVS AERES(?) THOMAS NOVAI 1 5 XXI”, BALOGH 1943, 256, figs 113–116.

²²³ “[...] LAZARVS DD: 1519 PREERAT”, BALOGH 1943, 272.

²²⁴ BALOGH 1943, 282–283, fig. 144.

²²⁵ “[...] NVS VIRTU (coat of arms) TIS FELIX MEM | [...] A ANNO (arms) DOMINI 1535” BALOGH 1943. 264, figs 155–157.

²²⁶ “GEORGIVS WOSSARI VITRICVS ECCLESIE”, BALOGH 1943, 266.

²²⁷ With the unmarked resolution of the abbreviations: “A TEMPORE SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS DOMINI WLADISLAI DEI GRACIA REGIS HVNGARIAE, BOHEMIAE[...] REG[...] | FONDAVIT DOMVS ISTAM EGREGIVS LEONARDVS BARLABASY VICEVAIVODA TRANSILVANENSIS ET SICVLORVM VICECOMES ANNO 1^o 5^o 8^o.” Under the heraldic shield: “ARMA | ELI (?)”, BALOGH 1943, 254–255, fig. 106.

²²⁸ Only surviving in a later copy: “Franciscus de Kis Wárda. D. et. A. S. G. Episc. Transsilv. incepit et perfecit ad Dei Gloriam.” BALOGH 1943, 252. See also: KOVÁCS 2003, 75.

²²⁹ The tablet of construction carved (?) in 1912 reads: “HANC DOMVM FECIT E | DIFICARE GEORGIVS BAGDI | FIDE TERMINAVIT EAM POST | CHRISTI NATIVITATEM AN | NO M D XXXV TEMP | ORE MAGNE FAMIS CVM | AGRICOLA SVVM FACIE | BAT CVBVLVM TRIT | ICI FLORENIS QVATVOR | VEL CITRA HOC OPVS FECIT | STEPHANVS LAPI DE TAS(n)AD”. BALOGH 1943, 217. Most recently András Kovács has written about György Bagdi's construction in Balázsfalva. He also published the cited construction inscription and the photo of windowframe fragment with the fragment of an inscription (shortened with enclaves) “[.....]GEORGIVS BAG[...]”. (KOVÁCS 2003, 111–112, fig. 176.)

²³⁰ BALOGH 1943, 260–261; Jolán BALOGH: *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone carving workshops in Kolozsvár, sixteenth century], Budapest, 1985, 153–158, 174–175; KOVÁCS 2003, 30–38. An attempt to decode one of the inscriptions: Viorica Guy MARICA: *Reneszánsz szentenciák és maximák Kolozsváron* [Renaissance maxims in Kolozsvár], *Korunk*, IX. 1998:5, 28. However, in the Psalm locus she referred to (17,3) the word “virtus” is missing; I strongly doubt that Luther's tone could be discerned in the inscription; Wolphard, by the way, was the last Catholic parish priest of the town.

²³¹ “PATERE ET ABSTINE | MDXXXIII”. Its bibliography and image in BALOGH 1943, 260., fig. 149.

²³² One of them: “DOMINVS ERIGIT ELISOS | MDXXXIII” PS 145,8. The other: „DOMINVS REFGVIVM MEVM ET VIRTVS MDXXXVI.” Cf. Ps 45,2: “Deus noster refugium et virtus”.

²³³ “SOLA SALVS SERVIRE DEO SVNT CAETERA FRAVDES | OMNIA PRAETEREVNT PRAETER AMARE DEVM | MDXLI.” The first half of the first line was the motto of sev-

eral English noble families. The whole text was included in the sanctuary of the nunnery church in Sopronbánfalva in 1892, as the second line of another verse: “In mundo spes nulla bonis est nulla salutis | Sola salus servire Deo sunt caetera fraudes.” Endre CSATKAI et al.: *Sopron és környéke műemlékei* [Historic monuments in and around Sopron], (Magyarország műemléki topográfiája, 2.), Budapest, 1956², 443.

²³⁴ Text of the main cornice of the staircase tower “DILIGITE LVMEN SAPIENTIAE | OMNES QVI PREESTIS POPVLIS VT IN AETERNVM REGNETIS | ET PRODERIT VOBIS”; on the south side, above the entrance: “HABITACVLA IVSTORVM BENEDICENTVR”. On the other side of the balcony: “DOMVS IVSTORVM PERMANEBIT”. Quotation on the middle, eastern façade: “FELIX CIVITAS QVAE TEMPORE PACIS COGITAT BELLA”. Above the entrance door: “PRIVSQVAM INCIPIAS CONSVLTO.” Inside above one of the doors on the first floor: “IVSTVM EST AVXILIARI PAVPERI”. I discussed the inscriptions in detail in a study published in the periodical earlier (with sources listed there): MIKÓ 2004, 19–52.

²³⁵ Michael VON ALBRECHT: *A római irodalom története* [A history of the Roman literature], I–II, trans. Ibolya TAR, Budapest, 2003–2004, I, 151–152; Franz BRUNHÖLZL: Plautus im Mittelalter, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VII, München, 2003², 16–17.

²³⁶ BALOGH 1943, 241–242; ENTZ 1958, 118; PATTANTYÚS 2000, 175–184.

²³⁷ BALOGH 1943, 241–242; ENTZ 1958, 165.

²³⁸ KELÉNYI 1939, 25–72; BALOGH 1943, 64–65, 69–70; Károly VEKOV: Egy erdélyi reneszánsz püspök és a gyulafehérvári székesegyház kincstára [A Transylvanian renaissance bishop and the treasury of Gyulafehérvár cathedral], in *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond nyolcvanadik születésnapjára* [Festschrift for Zsigmond Jakó's 80th birthday], eds András KOVÁCS – Gábor SIPOS – Sándor TONK, Kolozsvár, 1996, 525–548; Gedeon BORSA: Bornemisza Pál megemlékezése Várdai Ferencről és a többi, Mohács előtti bolognai, magyar vonatkozású nyomtatvány [Pál Bornemisza's recollection of Ferenc Várdai, and the rest of the pre-Mohács writings of Hungarian relevance printed in Bologna], in Gedeon BORSA: *Könyvtörténeti írások II. A külföldi nyomdászat 15–16. század* [Writings in historical bibliography. Typography abroad, 15–16th century], Budapest, 1997, 336–345; KOVÁCS 2003, 11, 12, 31–35.

²³⁹ Perhaps he was identical with the Imre Végedi, who was a court notary in 1504. BÓNIS 1971, 404. In Gyulafehérvár the first piece of information about Végedi is from 1514: PATTANTYÚS 2000, 177/12. See also: KELÉNYI 1939, 45, as well as Károly VEKOV: *Locul de adeverire din Alba Iulia. Secolele XIII–XVI* [The place of authentication in Alba Iulia. 13th–16th century], (Bibliotheca rerum Transilvaniae, XXIX.), Cluj-Napoca, 2003, 300; Károly VEKOV: Végedi Imre főesperes 1541. évi végrendelete [Last will of archdeacon Imre Vegedi dated 1541], in *Emlékkönyv Kiss András születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* [Festschrift for the 80th birthday of András Kiss], eds Sándor PÁL-ANTAL et al., Kolozsvár, 2003., 604–622.

²⁴⁰ BALOGH 1943, 86–90, 189–191, 233–241; ENTZ 1958, 26–29, 117–118; KOVÁCS 1996, 16–18; Balázs HALMOS: Adalékok a gyulafehérvári Lázói-kápolna reneszánsz díszítéséhez [Addenda to the renaissance decoration of the Lázói chapel in Gyulafehérvár], *Építés-Építészettudomány*, 32. 2004, 265–280.

²⁴¹ BALOGH 1943, 234 only extended the word fragment [Mich]aeli with due caution, compared to Vince Bunyitay's more daring presumption. There was, however, far more space than the letters MICH took up. See József Várady's drawings: BALOGH 1943, figs 78–80. Recently András Kovács also voted for a longer complement: KOVÁCS 1996, 17.

²⁴² The inscription over the portal: "MATTHIAM CLARO TETIGIT QVI SANGVINE REGEM ISTA | LADISLAI SIGNA FVERE GEREB". On the coat of arms of bishop Geréb, below: "LAD(islaus) GER(eb) | EP(iscopus) TR(ansilvanensis)". Circular of the coat of arms: "PATR(iae) B(onae) M(emoriae) ACCEPTA REFERVNTVR". Next to the Statue of Saint Paul: "MVLTA DOCES HOMINVM QVI CREDERE MILIA CHRISTO | DA MIHI DA RECTAM PAVLE TENERE FIDEM". Next to the Statue of Saint Peter: "LIMINA QVI ASTRIFERI RESERAS TE CLAVDIS OLYMPI | PANDE MIHI AETHEREAS PETRE BEATE FORES". Above the gate of the west façade, on the cornice: "HAEC ROSA QVAM CERNIS SCVLPTAM CVM MONTE BVDENSI | GAVDET VDALRICO NOMINE DIGNA SVO". In the curve of the lunette: "PRAESVLIS ANTONII NITRIAE HAEC INSIGNIA FRATRIS". The inscription on the round

window of the west façade: „PROXIMA SOLSTITIO LVSTRANS ANIMALIA PHEBVS FVLGVRAT HVC RADIOS PENDVLVS IGNICOMOS". BALOGH 1943, 233–235; Balázs HALMOS: A gyulafehérvári székesegyház Lázói-kápolnája [The Lázói Chapel of Gyulafehérvár Cathedral], in *Reneszánsz látványtár. Virtuális utazás a múltba* [A Virtual Journey into the Past], eds Gergely BUZÁS – Krisztina OROSZ – Zsolt VASÁROS, Budapest, 2009, 376–378.

The literature of poems: *Régi magyar irodalmi szöveggyűjtemény I. Humanizmus* [Early Hungarian literary texts I. Humanism], eds Pál ÁCS – József JANKOVICS – Péter KÖSZEGHY, Budapest, 1998, 407–409 (Pál ÁCS); István TÓTH: *A gyulafehérvári humanista költészet antológiája. „Költők virágoskertje.”* [Anthology of humanist poetry of Gyulafehérvár], Budapest, 2001, 15–18; KOVÁCS 2003, 9. – On the inscription of the tomb of János Lázói in Rome, see: Géza ÉRSZEGI: *Romana urna tegier...*, in „Magyaroknak eleiről.” *Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* [Festschrift in honour of Ferenc Makk on his 60th birthday], eds Ferenc PITI – György SZABADOS, Szeged, 2000, 137–147.

²⁴³ Leon Battista ALBERTI: *De re aedificatoria libri decem*, Firenze, 1485, t ii^v (Liber VIII) (ed. facsimile).

Open Access. This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited, a link to the CC license is provided, and changes – if any – are indicated. The use and distribution of any images contained in this article is not permitted by this licence. (SID_1)