

Anna Boreczky

Res Libraria Hungariae Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – National Széchényi Library, Budapest

Historiography and Propaganda in the Royal Court of King Matthias: Hungarian Book Culture at the End of the Middle Ages and Beyond

Original scientific paper – *Izvorni znanstveni rad*

Received – *Primljen* 7. 8. 2019.

UDK 929Korvin, M.
002(439):94"14"

DOI 10.31664/ripu.2019.43.02

Abstract

On the basis of the Chronica Hungarorum of Johannes de Thurocz, the Epitome rerum Hungaricarum of Pietro Ransano, and the Rerum Ungaricarum decades of Antonio Bonfini that were compiled within ten years, between 1488 and 1498, my paper forms a multi-dimensional image of the late 15th-century political and cultural situation in the royal court of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary (1458–1490). The three chronicles have come down to us in a number of books: manuscripts, incunabula and early prints alike, and many of them contain lengthy cycles of images. My paper investigates the agency of these books with a special emphasis on their illustrations. Through a study of the traditions

they followed and the messages their illustrations conveyed, the primary question my paper seeks to answer is whether the cultural and political polarity of the royal court inherent in the texts of the chronicles is also present in the format, style and iconography of the illustrated books that contain them. The comparison of the early copies of the three chronicles shows that the cultural and political diversity of the royal court had an impact on the books that were made and/or used within its walls. Taking into consideration their circulation and reception as well, my paper discusses the role they played in royal propaganda, and the impact they had on the European image of Hungary and the Hungarians.¹

Keywords: *Royal court of Matthias, King of Hungary; Medieval book culture in Hungary; Illustrated chronicles; Johannes de Thurocz: Chronica Hungarorum; Pietro Ransano: Epitome rerum Hungaricarum; Antonio Bonfini: Rerum Ungaricarum decades*

It is a popular assumption attributed to various politicians and historians of the 20th century, and stated for example by George Orwell in 1944, that “history is written by the winners”.² In general this might hold true, for it is very well known that winners and men of power tried and will perhaps always try to eliminate or fade the memory of their enemies and those that are subject to their will. But even if this saying is based on the historical experience that the dominant narrative about the events of the past is created by dominant people, it is an obvious oversimplification. Various nations, ethnic and social groups, and smaller and larger communities write their own different histories and interpret the events of the past and the present in different ways when they create their history. To bring these parallel narratives to light and to form a complex image of the parallel realities of the past (and present) is among the most important duties of the historian. My paper, focusing on the role late medieval and early modern illustrated chronicles played in the process of

Hungarian self-identification and royal propaganda, and discussing the impact of these chronicles on the image of Hungary as seen by “others”, has been written with this end in mind.

On the basis of the *Chronica Hungarorum* of Johannes de Thurocz (Thuróczy János), the *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum* of Pietro Ransano, and the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* of Antonio Bonfini, all compiled within ten years, between 1488 and 1498, I will try to highlight the diversity of the late 15th-century political and cultural situation in Hungary.³ Since the compilation of the three chronicles began during the reign of King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), and since all of them were written by members of his royal court, the different ways they interpret the past and depict the present provide an exceptionally rich insight into the polarity of ideas and aspirations that existed side by side within the royal court, and into the conflicting interests and political maneuvers of

their time. Perhaps it is even more interesting that through them one might glimpse the way historiography can shape (national) identity on the one hand, and, on the other, historiography's use in the service of royal propaganda. In order to highlight the conditions that determined the position and the perspective of the three authors and the social groups they represented I will first recall some historical facts that are not subject to interpretation.

Power and conflicting interests in the royal court

King Matthias Corvinus did not descend from royalty. He was the son of Johannes Hunyadi, a successful army general, who became the regent and governor of Hungary during the childhood of the heir to the throne, Ladislaus V. Hunyadi was a famous man, celebrated all over Europe as the defender of Christianity after his 1453 victory over the Ottomans at Belgrade. His *condottiere*-like personality aroused the interest of Italian humanists, who, most of all Pietro Ransano, the author of one of our three chronicles, fabricated a story of his legendary origin. He claimed that the Hunyadis descended from the Roman *Corvinus* family and that Hunyadi's ancestors were settled in the Lower Danube region by Emperor Constantine the Great.⁴ Although he was powerful in the country, he was not the head of a prestigious dynasty, and he was seen by many as a parvenu. Matthias was elected King of Hungary in 1458 against the will of the oligarchs by the lesser nobility, after the death of Ladislaus V, also known as Ladislaus Posthumous, the son of Albrecht of Austria. Ladislaus grew up in the court of his uncle, Emperor Frederick III, who hold the holy crown of Hungary, the only instrument a Hungarian king could be legally crowned with. Matthias was officially crowned King of Hungary only six years after his election, in 1464, when he managed to reclaim the crown from Emperor Frederick III after a long series of negotiations and under the condition that it would be returned to the Habsburgs – together with power over the country – should Matthias die without a legitimate male heir. This had a great impact on Matthias' character, politics and aspirations. He proved to be a strong, skilful and talented ruler, who centralised the power, and even aspired to the imperial crown. At the same time, he had to verify his legitimacy, and to work hard on the foundation of a dynasty.

In 1476, after stabilising his power, Matthias married an Italian princess, Beatrix of Aragon; however, they had no children. Thus, from around 1485 the aging king tried to ensure the right of his illegitimate son, Johannes, born to an Austrian girl, to the throne. Recognizing the potential of art patronage in the representation of power and propaganda, Matthias, one of the first renaissance patrons of artists and humanist scholars north of the Alps, relied on the agency of both words and images when promoting his son. Although the legend of the *Corvinus* family was not his own initiative, he took advantage of the possibilities inherent in it, claiming that Johannes, named *Corvinus*, was the descendent of an ancient noble family originating in Rome. In addition to



1. *Philostratus-corvina*, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 417, fol. 2r
Philostratus-corvina, Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Cod. Lat. 417, fol. 2r

texts, images played an important role in the propaganda as well. For example, in one of the most splendidly illustrated codices of Mathias' famous *Bibliotheca Corvina* (a status symbol in itself), in a book that contains the works of the Late Antique author, Philostratus, translated by Antonio Bonfini, Johannes Corvinus is depicted as the triumphant conqueror of Vienna, and as the fiancé of a Milanese princess, Bianca Maria Sforza (Fig. 1).⁵ Matthias' ideas concerning Johannes' succession to the throne led to serious conflicts within the royal court and far beyond. Queen Beatrix, with the mighty family of the Aragons behind her, aspired to power herself as well. To express his disapproval, the king and/or his advisors made very good use of visual rhetorics in this case again. In a magnificent illustration, which depicts the preaching of St. Paul in another Corvina manuscript, the so-called Vatican Breviary, Matthias and Johannes are seated on a platform in the centre of the audience, while Beatrix kneels down beside them, and her crown, removed from her head, rests on a chair behind her.⁶ When Matthias unexpectedly died in 1490,



2. Ransano's speech before Matthias and Beatrix, Ransanus-corvina, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 249, fol. 17r
Ransanov govor pred Matijom i Beatrix, Ransanus-corvina, Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Cod. Lat. 249, fol. 17r

neither Johannes Corvinus nor Queen Beatrix succeeded in their ambitions. It was not the Habsburgs who gained power either. Instead, Ladislaus of the House of Jagiellon (+1516) was elected and crowned King of Hungary.⁷

The birth of the three chronicles, their early copies and editions

The compilation of the three Hungarian chronicles that form the actual material of my investigations began during the turbulent final years of Matthias' reign. In chronological order, the first is the *Chronica Hungarorum* of Johannes de Thurocz, a middle-class lawyer in the royal court. Born to a family of the lesser nobility, Johannes de Thurocz pursued the typical career of a jurist. Between 1467–1470, and from 1477 (at the latest) to 1486, he was a notary in the office of the chief judge (*judex curiae regiae*) under Ladislaus de Palocz (Pálóczi László) and Stephen Báthory (Bátori István). From

1486 until his death, which occurred before the summer of 1489, he was a judge (*protonotarius*) under Thomas de Drag (Drágyi Tamás), the personal legal representative of the king (*personalis praesentiae regiae in judiciis locumtenens*).⁸ He began working on the chronicle around 1481 and completed it shortly after the occupation of Wiener Neustadt by Matthias on the 17th of August 1487.⁹ The oldest extant copies of his work are incunabula. The *editio princeps* was published on the 20th of March 1488 in Brno. The second edition was printed only a few months later and financed by Theobald Feger, a book seller from the royal town of Buda. It appeared in Augsburg on the 3rd of June 1488 at the publishing house of the innovative printer Erhard Ratdolt.¹⁰

Although Johannes de Thurocz worked in the royal court, the addressee of the *Chronica Hungarorum* was not the king. Instead, it was dedicated to the aforementioned Thomas de Drag and to Stephen de Hassagy (Hásságyi István), Thurocz's superiors. Thomas de Drag must have been faithful to Matthias and his politics, for he was praised by Bonfini as an intelligent man having a quick and penetrating mind, the personal advisor of the king and his representative before Pope Sixtus IV.¹¹ Nevertheless, it seems that his interest, and that of his circle, remained unaffected by humanism. Their study of the past did not serve royal propaganda; precise knowledge of the past was essential to them in order to pursue their work in diplomacy. What excited their curiosity was not the history of a dynasty, but the history of the nation, the origin of the Hungarians, their "Scythian homeland" and the glorious deeds of Attila the Hun, whose people appeared in medieval Hungarian historiography as either ancestors or relatives of the Hungarians.¹²

The Brno edition of the *Chronica Hungarorum* represents the original form of the work, while the Augsburg edition is completed with a dedication to the king written by Theobald Feger and a representative illustration of the king's coats of arms. Feger obviously tried to satisfy the royal taste, but the text of the *Chronica Hungarorum* failed to adequately represent royal ideology. The humanist rendering of the history of the country and the deeds of its rulers, especially those of King Matthias, appeared, in turn, in the short *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum* of Pietro Ransano, bishop of Lucera, and in the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, the *magnum opus* of an Italian scholar, Antonio Bonfini. Although the three chronicles were based on similar sources (Ransano and Bonfini directly used Johannes de Thurocz's work itself), they were written by authors of different social backgrounds and knowledge, in response to the expectations of different patrons and addressed to different circles of prospective readers; the three chronicles therefore interpreted the events of the past in different ways. While Johannes de Thurocz wrote for the local nobility, Ransano and Bonfini represented different interests within internal politics. In the feud over royal succession Ransano, an ambassador of the House of Aragon, stood on the side of the queen, whereas Bonfini served the king by promoting his image as a ruler of noble Roman ancestry.

Ransano arrived in the royal court in 1488, and it seems that he completed his work already after the death of the



3. *Conquest of the Carpathian Basin*, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Brno, 1488, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 668

Osvajanje Karpatskog bazena, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Brno, 1488., Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Inc. 668

king. The oldest copies of the *Epitome* have come down to us in two codices. In one of them the *Epitome* constitutes part of Ransano's world chronicle, the *Annales omnium temporum*.¹³ This codex, which contains no illustrations,¹⁴ was very likely made after Ransano returned to Italy upon the death of Matthias.¹⁵ The circumstances under which the other copy, the so called Ransanus Corvina, was made are rather dubious.¹⁶ We know that in 1513 it was acquired in Rome by Archbishop Thomas Bakocz (Bakócz Tamás), but the place and date of origin of the codex have not been established with certainty. It might have been made during Ransano's stay in Hungary; in this case, it could have been finished shortly after the death of Matthias (6th of April 1490), but the possibility that it was completed in Italy after Ransano's return likewise cannot be excluded.¹⁷ Nevertheless, on folio 17v the codex contains an image that illustrates Ransano's speech before Matthias and Beatrix, and this image tells a lot more about the circumstances under which the codex was made than is usually believed (Fig. 2). It is an open resolution in support of the queen: Beatrix sits next to Matthias on the throne as an equal sovereign with the royal insignia in her hand. While the propagandistic message of this image must have been clear in the Hungarian court before and shortly after the death of Matthias, and while it lost none of its actuality before the coronation of Ladislaus the Jagiellonian, for an Italian public it was not necessarily relevant. This speaks for the creation of the volume in Buda.¹⁸ It seems that with the decline of the queen's power the *Epitome* lost his appeal for a long while. Its *editio princeps* was published as late as 1558 in Vienna, and a second edition, which was printed in Trnava (Nagyszombat), within the territories of the Hungarian kingdom, followed only in 1589.¹⁹

The fate of Bonfini's work was even more adventurous. Arriving in the court in 1486, Bonfini tried to win the favour of both the king and the queen, but he then sided with the king, and took a significant part in the creation and promotion of Matthias' image as a magnificent, and moreover a legendary ruler. After the death of Matthias, Bonfini remained in Buda

in the service of King Ladislaus the Jagiellonian, and continued working on the history of the Hungarians and especially on the perpetuation of the deeds of Matthias and Ladislaus.²⁰ Because of his severe illness, his work remained unfinished in 1498; however, a costly handwritten parchment copy of it was made in the royal scriptorium of King Ladislaus. This copy might have been made up of four volumes, from which only a few fragmentary folios have survived.²¹ From the early 16th century onwards, when Ladislaus the Jagiellonian and Emperor Maximilian put an end to the negotiations concerning the right to the Hungarian crown, Bonfini's work, promoting the victorious image of King Matthias, became obsolete and inconvenient. As a result, it was very difficult to access, as we learn from the introductions to the later printed editions. Of its 45 books, only 30 had been found and published in 1543, while the complete version appeared in print for the first time in 1568. Both the 1543 and the 1568 editions were printed in Basel, in a town that was far enough from both Hungary and the Habsburg Empire.²² At the same time there was a vivid interest in various circles of the German speaking readership for the history and historiography of the Hungarians. The *Chronica Hungarorum* of Johannes de Thurocz was the most popular of the three chronicles in Europe. It was translated into German three times before 1534. These three versions have come down to us in two manuscripts and a printed edition published in 1534 in Nuremberg.²³ Made after the Brno edition, one of the handwritten copies is of special interest, for it enriched the library-complex of Heidelberg, one of the most important libraries in early modern Europe.²⁴ Bonfini's work was also translated into German very quickly after its first edition: the German version of the first 30 books appeared in 1545 in Basel.

As can be seen from this short survey, the three Hungarian chronicles have come down to us in a number of books: manuscripts, incunabula and early prints alike, and, as we will see, many of them contain lengthy cycles of images. In what follows I will investigate the agency of these books with a special emphasis on their illustrations. Through the study of the traditions they followed and the messages their illustrations conveyed, the primary question I will seek to answer is whether the cultural and political polarity of the royal court inherent in the text of the chronicles is also present in the format, style and iconography of the illustrated books that contain them. In other words, the question is whether we can establish connections between different groups of the royal court (such as the direct entourage of the king, the representatives of the House of Aragon, or the circle of Johannes de Thurocz) and various book cultures.

Image programmes in the early copies and editions of the three chronicles

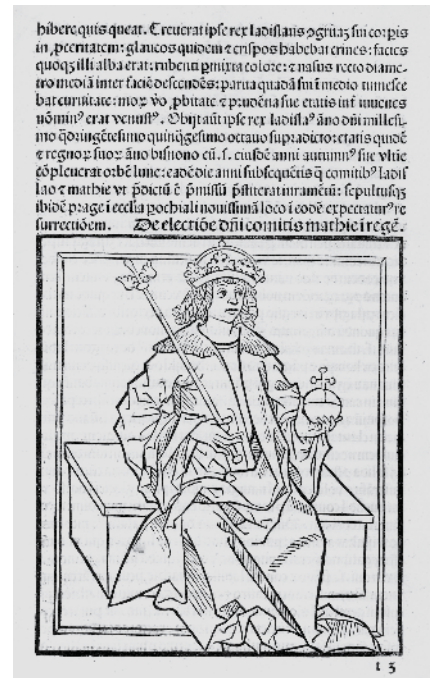
We can form some idea about the book culture that was cultivated in the circle of Johannes de Thurocz by those who gave impulse to his work and became its primary public, if we follow the generally accepted assumption of Hungarian scholarship regarding the ownership of a 15th-century copy



4. Attila, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Brno, 1488, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 668
 Atila, *Johannes de Thurocz, Chronica Hungarorum, Brno, 1488., Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Inc. 668*



5. St. Stephen, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Brno, 1488, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 668
 Sv. Stjepan, *Johannes de Thurocz, Chronica Hungarorum, Brno, 1488., Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Inc. 668*



6. King Matthias, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Brno, 1488, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 668
 Kralj Matija, *Johannes de Thurocz, Chronica Hungarorum, Brno, 1488., Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Inc. 668*

dex containing the world chronicle of Johannes de Utino.²⁵ According to the (perhaps later) note “Liber Thome de dragh” pasted on its last page (fol. 43v), the codex belonged to Thomas de Drag, Johannes de Thurocz’s superior and the addressee of his chronicle. In addition to the Utino Chronicle, which consists of two parts: a historiated Bible that structures the events of the Biblical past in genealogical form, and an account of the lives of popes and emperors, the codex is completed with an appendix, the short history of the kings of Hungary from 1000 to 1459, from St. Stephen to Matthias.²⁶ Obviously made after 1459, most likely in the 1460s or 1470s, the codex, including its carefully painted but average-quality illustrations, is a typical example of a Central European late Gothic book that has nothing in common with the book culture of the Renaissance. It is a demanding work, at least when it comes to its material: instead of the paper that was normally used for the dissemination of similar texts at the time, it is written on costly parchment, indicating that it was made for a well-to-do patron, someone of high social rank. With the exception of six pictures – the depiction of the Creation of Eve, the Fall, the Expulsion from Paradise, the Work of the first couple, the Nativity of Christ and his Crucifixion – the main focus of the image program is not storytelling, but the visual representation of the flow of time by means of somewhat schematic portraits that follow one another in genealogical order in the Biblical part, and in chronological order in the history of popes and emperors, as well as in the Hungarian appendix.²⁷

It is very likely that Johannes de Thurocz knew and used the Utino Chronicle, perhaps the very same copy that is believed to be the quondam possession of Thomas de Drag. The image program in the *editio princeps* of the *Chronica Hungarorum*, the series of woodcuts in the Brno edition, follows the example of the Hungarian appendix of the Utino Chronicle in that it consists of the portraits of the rulers of Hungary. The only narrative image of the illustration cycle, depicting the so-called Conquest of the Carpathian Basin, the occupation of the land by the Hungarians, is found at the very beginning of the book (Fig. 3). In line with Johannes de Thurocz’s interest in the origins of the Hungarians, the portrait cycle begins with Attila (Fig. 4), proceeds with the images of the “seven chieftains”, the semi-legendary leaders of the Hungarian tribes, and continues with the kings of Hungary from St. Stephen to Matthias (Fig. 5, 6). There is no emphasis on the figure of Matthias; the only thing that betrays that the image program was devised during his reign is that it includes a portrait of his father, Johannes Hunyadi, as well. While being traditional in its content, the Brno edition of the *Chronica Hungarorum*, which is said to be the last medieval chronicle of Hungary, is a modern book. Johannes de Thurocz and his patrons realized the potential inherent in book printing, and published the chronicle in an attractive and popular form, making it accessible to a wide and varied public.

As can be expected from an edition dedicated to the King, the Augsburg version works with a more complex image program. The portraits of the rulers are more detailed, and convey various layers of messages. St. Stephen is represented



7. St. Stephen and St. Emerich, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 1145b

Sv. Stjepan i sv. Emerik, *Johannes de Thurocz, Chronica Hungarorum, Augsburg, 1488., Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Inc. 1145b*

8. St. Ladislaus, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 1145b

Sv. Ladislav, *Johannes de Thurocz, Chronica Hungarorum, Augsburg, 1488., Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Inc. 1145b*

together with his son Emerich (who died before inheriting the crown), while St. Ladislaus is depicted as a riding knight, the patron saint of the Hungarians (Fig. 7, 8). Thus, the image program succeeds in representing and characterizing the three dynastic saints of Hungary. The portraits alternate with narrative images, most of all depictions of battles. In this way the image program offers a compound image of the kings: their likenesses are combined with the depictions of their deeds. Dedicated to the deeds of St. Ladislaus and taken out of the chronological order of the illustration cycle, the most elaborate narrative image serves as an invitation to the book: it is the second image of the first opening depicting the legendary fight between St. Ladislaus and a Cuman war-

9. St. Ladislaus' fight with the Cuman, Corvina-copy of Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 1143

Borba sv. Ladislava s Kumancem, *Johannes de Thurocz, Chronica Hungarorum, Augsburg, 1488., Zbirka Corvina, Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Inc. 1143.*



10. Circle of coats of arms, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 1145b

Krug s grbovima, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488., Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Inc. 1145b

11. Circle of coats of arms, Corvina-copy of Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 1143

Krug s grbovima, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488., Zbirka Corvina, Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Inc. 1143

rior (Fig. 9). Heraldic signs constitute an important part of the image program too. The first image of the first opening consists of a circle of coats of arms, a symbolic allusion to the lands Matthias had (or claimed to have) a right to. Merchants, of course, always knew the tastes and expectations of their



12. King Matthias, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, German translation, late 15th century, Heidelberg, Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 156, fol. 164r

Kralj Matija, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, njemački prijevod, kasno 15 st., Heidelberg, Sveučilišna knjižnica, Cod. Pal. Germ. 156, fol. 164r



10. Circle of coats of arms, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 1145b

Krug s grbovima, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488., Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Inc. 1145b

11. Circle of coats of arms, Corvina-copy of Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 1143

Krug s grbovima, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488., Zbirka Corvina, Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, Inc. 1143

rior (Fig. 9). Heraldic signs constitute an important part of the image program too. The first image of the first opening consists of a circle of coats of arms, a symbolic allusion to the lands Matthias had (or claimed to have) a right to. Merchants, of course, always knew the tastes and expectations of their



13. Attila, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, German translation, late 15th century, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 156, fol. 5r

Atila, Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, njemački prijevod, kasno 15 st., Heidelberg, Sveučilišna knjižnica, Cod. Pal. Germ. 156, fol. 5r

clients very well. Therefore, made for a German speaking/Austrian readership, most of the copies of the Augsburg edition of the *Chronica Hungarorum* appeared without the coat of arms of Austria (Fig. 10). This was, in turn, painted into those two representative parchment copies of the Augsburg edition that must have been made directly for the king. In these the dedication was printed in gold, and the images were coloured in by hand (Fig. 11).²⁸ It should not go unnoticed that the complex method of visual storytelling applied in the Augsburg edition – a combination of portraiture with narrative depictions and heraldic signs – had a prestigious tradition in the book culture of the royal courts of Hungary. The so-called Illuminated Chronicle, the famous 14th-century manuscript made for the Hungarian branch of the Angevin family, works with such an elaborate image program as well.²⁹

In contrast to the modern and popular books that contain the *Chronica Hungarorum*, those copies of the chronicles of Ransano and Bonfini that were made during or shortly after the reign of Matthias are exclusive works made for a distinguished public. Perhaps we will never know whether the four parchment volumes of Bonfini's *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* that were made in the royal scriptorium of King Ladislaus the Jagiellonian were illustrated or not, but the Corvina copy of Ransano's *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum* is a neatly decorated Renaissance book. In addition to a (somewhat later) image depicting the dedication of the book to Thomas Bakocz and the illustration of Ransano's speech before Matthias and Beatrix mentioned above, the codex is embellished with an ornamented title page and some initials and marginal decorations made out of floral motifs.

A comparison of the early copies of the three chronicles shows that the cultural and political diversity of the royal court did indeed have an impact on the books that were made and/or used within its walls. This also implies that our concept about the art of the court has to be refined. Renaissance tendencies were certainly dominant, especially in the 1480s, but the artistic landscape of the court must have been much more colourful than is usually assumed. There is not one style that can be considered representative of the art of the court in its entire complexity. Nevertheless, it seems that the differences in the type, the distribution and the public of the three chronicles have faded with time. As has already been mentioned, the *Chronica Hungarorum* of Johannes de Thurocz appeared in manuscript copies made after the incunabula, while Bonfini's *magnum opus* became widely known through its printed copies.

From the viewpoint of their image programs, the Heidelberg copy of the *Chronica Hungarorum*, its Nuremberg edition from 1534, and the Basel edition of the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* from 1545 are worth considering.³⁰ Interestingly, all of them are German translations, which indicates that the images were meant to answer the expectations of a vernacular readership rather than that of the highest intellectual elite. Since the three books in question were primarily made by non-Hungarians, their illustrations may reflect the image of the country and its people as it was seen by others.

Illustrated Hungarian chronicles for a German readership

The image program in the Heidelberg copy of the *Chronica Hungarorum* closely follows that of the Brno edition; however, some of the portraits were painted after the woodcuts of the Augsburg edition.³¹ That the images were selected and compiled from two books is a sign of careful editorial work. Those who were in charge of making the Heidelberg copy were also aware of the significance of heraldic elements. The portrait of Matthias is surrounded by a number of coats of arms (Fig. 12). They are very similar to those contained in the opening image of the Augsburg edition, but there are some telling differences. While the "Heidelberg copyist" (perhaps someone in Bavaria) had no problem with the association of



14. Encounter of Attila and Pope Leo the Great. Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, German translation: *Der hungern Chronica*, Nuremberg, 1534, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, App. H. 1691
Susret Atile i pape Leona Velikog, *Johannes de Thurocz*, *Chronica Hungarorum*, njemački prijevod: *Der hungern Chronica*, Nuremberg, 1534, Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, App. H. 1691



15. Raffaello Sanzio, *Encounter of Attila and Pope Leo the Great*, Rome, Vatican Museum, Raphael Rooms, Room of Heliodorus (Stanze di Raffaello, Stanza di Eliodoro)

Rafaël Sanzio, Susret Atile i pape Leona Velikog, Rim, Vatikanski muzeji, Rafaelove sobe, Heliodorova soba

Matthias with Bohemia, Dalmatia and Moravia, allusions to the lands of Lower Lausitz, Silesia and – of course – Austria were intentionally left out. The coat of arms of Queen Beatrix that appears next to that of Matthias in the Augsburg edition had no relevance in the Heidelberg copy either.

Another conspicuous element of the image program is that it reserved whole pages for Attila, "the first king of the Hungarians" and Matthias (Figs. 12, 13). Their comparison is meaningful and significant. Attila was a prominent, but Janus-faced figure in medieval historiography. In French and Italian texts he was the equivalent of a barbarian force, the leader of a devilish folk, who plundered across Christian



16. Queen Maria offers the royal insignia to King Sigismund, Bonfini, *Des aller mechtigsten Königreichs inn Ungern warhafftige Chronick und Anzeigung*, Basel, 1545, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, App. H. 1734

Kraljica Marija pruža kraljevske insignije kralju Sigismundu, *Bonfini, Des aller mechtigsten Königreichs inn Ungern warhafftige Chronick und Anzeigung*, Basel, 1545., Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, App. H. 1734

Europe, and martyred a large number of saints. Nevertheless, in another tradition, which can be traced back to Ostrogothic sources, Attila appears as a restrained and mighty ruler.³² The text of the *Chronica Hungarorum* presents a combination of the various traditions: it features Attila as a dreadful, but magnanimous and generous leader, who was given power by God's grace. According to a widely known legend, after his encounter with Pope Leo the Great Rome was spared. Attila could be seen as a divine agent, and, on the basis of this association, Matthias, who held up the Ottoman conquest for a while, was directly praised by Johannes de Thurocz as the second Attila. The Heidelberg copy added visual emphasis to this interpretation.³³

Attila plays an important role in the image program of the 1534 Nuremberg edition of the *Chronica Hungarorum* as well. No less than three pictures are devoted to his deeds; however, his portrayal is rather one-sided and stereotypical. The first image depicts his battle against the Romans and Hispanians, the second one represents the martyrdom of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, while in the third his encounter with Pope Leo the Great is seen (Fig. 14). Indeed, the successful defence of the capital of Christianity against the barbarian hordes must have sent a clear message at a time when the Ottoman threat was a daily reality.³⁴

Finally, we must consider the first known illustrated copy of Bonfini's *Rerum ungaricarum decades*, its 1545 Basel edition. It seems very likely that there was no previous tradition the illustrators of this book could follow. They were free to devise a completely new cycle of images, and they did a good job.



17. Pope Nicolaus V pronouncing remission of sins to soldiers, Bonfini, *Des aller mechtigsten Königreichs inn Ungern warhafftige Chronick und Anzeigung*, Basel, 1545, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, App. H. 1734

Papa Nikola V. objavljuje vojnicima otpust grijeha, *Bonfini: Des aller mechtigsten Königreichs inn Ungern warhafftige Chronick und Anzeigung*, Basel, 1545., Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi, App. H. 1734

All 30 chapters of the work start with an illustration, and, instead of conventional images of rulers, coronations or battles, many of them depict the specific episodes described in the text. For instance, the coronation of King Sigismund is illustrated with an image that, faithfully following the text, depicts Queen Maria, Sigismund's wife, as she offers the royal insignia she inherited from her father to her husband (Fig. 16). The chapter that speaks about the fall of Constantinople and the successful battles of Johannes Hunyadi against the Ottomans is illustrated with an image of Pope Nicholas V pronouncing the remission of sins for soldiers who are willing to fight for Christianity (Fig. 17). Finally, the illustration of the chapter on the election of Matthias depicts a fabulous episode. Bonfini recounts that in a conversation about magic Matthias once recalled an episode from his own life. While he was in captivity in Prague, a messenger sent to him by his mother arrived from Buda within the unbelievably short time of six hours, and therefore it was said that he used demonic powers (Fig. 18). Whether the goat the messenger rides in the picture stands for the devil is a question. Nevertheless, he flies, and this is a clear allusion to the event that became legendary even in Matthias' lifetime.

I am not going to judge who the winner of these parallel histories was. Neither the hopes of Queen Beatrix nor those of Johannes Corvinus could be realised. Matthias' dynastic



dreams did not come true either. However, the magnificent and victorious image of him created and promoted by his courtiers – above all by Antonio Bonfini – prevailed. From the middle of the 16th century, partly as the result of a growing nostalgia for the lost but once mighty and sovereign Hungarian kingdom, it started to live and continues to live an independent life. This is what I think we might call the real power of media.

18. Messenger taking a letter to king Matthias from Buda to Prague, Bonfini, *Des aller mechtigsten Königreichs inn Ungern warhafftige Chronick und Anzeigung*, Basel, 1545, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, App. H. 1734

Glasnik nosi pismo kralju Matiji od Budima do Praga, Bonfini, *Des aller mechtigsten Königreichs inn Ungern warhafftige Chronick und Anzeigung*, Basel, 1545., *Budimpešta, Nacionalna knjižnica Széchényi*, App. H. 1734

Notes

* This paper is an extended and elaborated version of work presented at the conference *The Power of Media. Patronage, Representation and Propaganda in Early Modern Period (1450–1800) between the Mediterranean and Central Europe* (Split, June 13–15, 2018).

1 This paper has been written with the support of the Res Libraria Hungariae Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the National Széchényi Library.

2 GEORGE ORWELL, As I Please, in: *Tribune*, 4th February 1944.

3 For the text edition of the three chronicles see: JOHANNES DE THUROCZ, *Chronica Hungarorum*, I. Textus, (eds.) Elisabeth Galántai, Julius Kristó, Budapest, 1985, Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum. Series nova. VII., II. Commentarii, 1–2, Composuit Elemér Mályusz. Aduvante Julio Kristó. Budapest, 1988, Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum. Series nova. VIII–IX; PETRUS RANSANUS, *Epithoma rerum Hungararum*, Curam gerebat Petrus Kulcsár, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1977; ANTONIUS DE BONFINIS, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, (eds.) József Fögel, Béla Iványi, László Juhász, Margit Kulcsár, Péter Kulcsár, 5 vols. Leipzig, Teubner, 1936–1976; For the English translation of the *Chronica Hungarorum* see: *Chronicle of the Hungarians János Thuróczy*, (trans.) Frank Mantello, foreword and commentary: Pál Engel, Bloomington, Indiana University, 1991.

4 On the creation and history of the *Corvinus* legend see: PÉTER KULCSÁR, A *Corvinus*-legenda [The *Corvinus* Legend], in: *Mátyás a király 1458–1490* [Matthias the King, 1458–1490], (ed.) Gábor Barta, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1990, 17–40.

5 The Philostratus *Corvina* is kept in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest, as Cod. Lat. 417. Its decoration is attributed to Boccardino il Vecchio. For its digital copy and description see:

<<https://corvina.hu/en/corvina/virtual-corvinas/codlat417-en/>> (3 July 2019). There was indeed a mutual agreement concerning the marriage between Bianca Maria Sforza and Johannes Corvinus, but in the end it was not realised.

6 The codex is kept in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana as Urb. Lat. 112. On the interpretation of its opening miniature depicting the preaching of St. Paul see: MARIANNA D. BIRNBAUM, Text and Subtext of the Hungarian Renaissance: Matthias Corvinus and the Lesser Nobility, in: *Elementa*, 1 (1993), 177–193. For the digital copy of the manuscript see: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.112> (20 July 2019).

7 For a concise history of Hungary in English see: BRYAN CARTLEDGE, *The Will to Survive. A History of Hungary*, London, Timewell Press Limited, 2006.

8 On Thomas de Drag and his career see: GYÖRGY BÓNIS, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* [The Jurist-Intellectuals in Hungary before Mohács], Budapest, Akadémiai, 1971, 256–257.

9 For a concise presentation of the life and work of Johannes de Thurocz see: Gyula Kristó's afterword [Utószó], in: THURÓCZY JÁNOS, *A magyarok krónikája. Rogerius mester: Siralmas ének* [Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*. Rogerius: Carmen miserabile], (trans.) Ibolya Bellus, Gyula Kristó, János Horváth, (notes) Ibolya Bellus, Gyula Kristó, Attila Zsoldos, (afterword) Gyula Kristó, Budapest, Osiris, 2001, 453–462.

10 The facsimile of the Augsburg edition was published in: THURÓCZY JÁNOS, *A magyarok krónikája* (Az OSZK Inc. 1143-as jelzetű ősnymtatványának hasonmásával) [Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum* (With the Facsimile of the Incunabulum of the National Széchényi Library Inc. 1143.)],

(trans.) János Horváth, (afterword) Pál Engel, Zoltánné Soltész, Budapest, Helikon, 1986.

11
ANTONIUS DE BONFINIS (note 3), IV, 7.

12
For an insightful study on the culture of the 15th-century Hungarian nobility and the interest of its literate layer discussing the reasons why it was not responsive to humanism see Pál Engel's afterword in: THURÓCZY JÁNOS (note 10, 1986), 407–420. For Attila's portrayal in Hungarian medieval historiography see: MARTYN RADY, Attila and the Hun Tradition in Medieval Hungarian Texts, in: JÁNOS M. BAK, LÁSZLÓ VESZPRÉMY (eds.), *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, Budapest, Central European University Press, National Széchényi Library, 2018, 127–138.

13
Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 3 Qq C 60.

14
I owe special thanks to the “Provvidenza la Mattina” of Palermo, for providing information on the codex.

15
According to PÉTER KULCSÁR, Ransanus Epitoméjának kéziratai [The Manuscript copies of Ransanus's Epitome], in: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 85 (1969), 108–120 (112–113), Ransanus returned to Italy only after the coronation of Ladislaus the Jagiellonian on the 18th of September 1490.

16
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 249. For the digital copy of the manuscript see <<https://corvina.hu/en/corvina/virtual-corvinas/codlat249-en/>> (20 July 2019).

17
For the problems concerning the creation of the work and its Budapest copy see: PÉTER KULCSÁR (note 15), 108–120.

18
EDINA ZSUPÁN, A Corvina könyvtár „első címerfestője”: stílushűség és imitáció. A Philostratus- és a Ransanus-corvina provenienciájához [The “First Heraldic Painter” of the Corvina Library: Adherence to Style and Imitation. On the Provenance of the Philostratus and Ransanus Corvina], in: *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 66 (2017), 273–302. Hypothetically attributing the image to the so-called First Heraldic Painter of Matthias, the author argues for the creation of the codex in Buda as well. Nevertheless, I consider her argument methodically problematic. Claiming that the work of a less characteristic and less significant artist becomes almost unidentifiable when he imitates the style of others seems to be a self-contradiction to me.

19
On the written and printed copies of the *Epitome* see: PÉTER KULCSÁR, *Inventarium de operibus litterariis ad res hungaricas pertinentiis ab initiis usque ad annum 1700. A magyar történeti irodalom leőhelyjegyzéke a kezdetektől 1700-ig*, Budapest, Balassi–OSZK, 2003, 427–428.

20
It is very telling that, compared to the *Chronica Hungarorum* of Johannes de Thurocz, the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* devotes much more attention to Matthias' reign. While the *Chronica*, which consists of more than 240 chapters, discusses Matthias' deeds in only five chapters, of the 45 books of the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* no less than 10 are devoted to Matthias.

21
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 434, Cod. Lat. 542. On these fragments see: KATALIN FÜLEP, Bonfini Rerum Ungaricarum decades című művének harmadik töredéke [The Third Fragment of Bonfini's Rerum Ungaricarum decades], in: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 100 (1984), 340–348, and PÉTER KULCSÁR, Bonfini-kéziratok [Bonfini-manuscripts], in: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 111 (1995), 213–237. According to him the codices were made between 1494–1496. In turn István Tringli suggests 1496–1499 as their date of origin – ISTVÁN TRINGLI, Antonio Bonfini történeti munkája díszkódexének töredékei [The Fragments of the Representative Copy of Antonio Bonfini's Historical Work], in: *Hunyadi Mátyás, a király. Hagyomány és megújulás a királyi udvarban, 1458–1490, Kiállítási katalógus*. [Matthias Hunyadi the King. Tradition and Renaissance in the Royal Court, 1458–1490. Exhibition Catalogue], (eds.) Péter Farbaky et al., Budapest, BTM, 2008, 510–511. Of the four volumes, two were kept in the Metropolitan Library of the Esztergom Archdiocese in 1674. Cf. PÉTER KULCSÁR (note 21, 1995), 213–237 (224, note 37).

22
On the written and printed copies of the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* see: PÉTER KULCSÁR (note 19, 2003), 80–82.

23
ULRIKE BODEMANN, Johannes von Thurocz, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, Bd. 11/3, Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 2002, 797–801.

24
Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal Germ. 156. On this copy see: ANNA BORECZKY, Eine vergessene Porträtreihe ungarischer Könige aus dem 15. Jahrhundert und die Handschriften der Ungarnchronik des Johannes von Thurocz, in: *Acta Historiae Artium*, 51 (2010), 72–84. For the digital copy of the manuscript see: <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg156?ui_lang=ger> (20 July 2019). The third German translation of the *Chronica Hungarorum* is kept in the Houghton Library (Harvard University) as fMS Ger 43.

25
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. Lat. 479. For the digital copy of the manuscript see: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.lat.479> (20 July 2019). On the Utino Chronicle see: ANDRÁS VIZKELETY, Johannes de Utino világkrónikájának szöveg-hagyományozása [The Transmission of the Text of Johannes de Utino's World Chronicle], in: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 101 (1985), 195–209; LÁSZLÓ VESZPRÉMY, Egy későközépkori világkrónika a Mátyás-kori historiográfiában. Johannes de Utino latin nyelvű krónikájának hazai recepciója [A Late Medieval World Chronicle in the Historiography of the Age of Matthias. The Hungarian Reception of Johannes de Utino's Latin Chronicle], in: *Századok*, 144 (2010), 465–484. On the German translation of the Utino Chronicle see: TÜNDE RADEK, Középkori történetírás és képi ábrázolás. Johannes de Utino „Világkrónikájának” német nyelvű kéziratai (15. század) [Medieval Historiography and Visual Representation. The German Copies of Johannes de Utino's “World Chronicle” (15th century)], in: *Liber decorum. Wehli Tünde köszöntése* [Liber decorum. Studies in Honour of Tünde Wehli], (eds.) Anna Boreczky, Terézia Kerny, Béla Zsolt Szakács, in: *Ars Hungarica*, 39 (2013), 174–187; TÜNDE RADEK, Johannes de Utino „Világkrónikájának” kéziratai (14–15. század) és a német nyelvű kéziratok provenienciája [The Manuscript Copies of Johannes de Utino's “World Chronicle” (14th–15th Century) and the Provenance of the German Codices], in: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 129 (2013), 1–22; TÜNDE RADEK, Genealogische Darstellungen reloading. Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der „Weltchronik” von

Johannes de Utino (14.–15. Jahrhundert), in: *Quelle und Deutung III.: Beiträge der Tagung Quelle und Deutung III am 25. November 2015.*, (ed.) Sára Balázs, Budapest, ELTE Eötvös József Collegium, 2016, 15–54.

26

The compilation of this Hungarian appendix is sometimes attributed to Thomas de Drag himself. For the Hungarian translation of this compilation see: PÉTER KULCSÁR, Johannes de Utino: Rövid elbeszélés Magyarország királyairól (1459/1463) [Johannes de Utino: Short Story of the Kings of Hungary (1459/1463)], in: *Krónikáink magyarul*, III/1, selected and translated by Péter Kulcsár, Budapest, Balassi, 2006, 85–92.

27

On the medieval tradition of the visual representation of the past see: ANDREA WORM: Visualizing the Order of History. Hugh of Saint Victor's *Chronicon* and Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium Historiae*, in: *Romanesque and the Past. Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, (eds.) John McNeill, Richard Plant, Leeds, Maney Publishing, 2013, 243–263.

28

Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Inc. 1143, and 1143b. For the most detailed analysis of the illustrations of both the Brno and the Augsburg edition of the *Chronica Hungarorum* see: GYÖRGY RÓZSA, A Thuróczy-krónika illusztrációinak forrásai és a középkori magyar királyok ikonográfiája [Sources of the Illustrations of the Thuróczy Chronicle and the Iconography of the Medieval Kings of Hungary], in: IDEM, *Grafikatörténeti tanulmányok* [Studies on the History of Graphics], Budapest, Akadémiai, 1998, 7–23; See also: TÜNDE WEHLI, Magyar uralkodók ábrázolásai Thuróczy János krónikájában [The Representation of Hungarian Kings in the Chronicle of Johannes de Thurocz], in: *A középkori magyar királyok arcképei* [Portraits of Medieval Hungarian Kings], A Szent István Király Múzeum Közleményei, (ed.) Gyula Fülöp,

Székesfehérvár, 1996, 9–12; TÜNDE WEHLI, Magyarország történelme a középkori krónikaillusztrációk tükrében [The History of Hungary as Seen in the Illustrations of Medieval Chronicles], in: *Történelem–Kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon* [History-Image. Excerpts from the Relationship between the Past and the Arts in Hungary], (eds.) Árpád Mikó, Katalin Sinkó, Budapest, MNG, 2000, 300–307.

29

Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 404.

30

The VD 16 number of the Nuremberg edition of the *Chronica Hungarorum* edited by Hans Haug and entitled *Der hungern Chronica* is T 1213, that of Bonfini's *Des aller mechtigsten Künigreichs inn Ungern warhafftige Chronick und Anzeigung* is B 6597. Cf. <<https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/kompetenzzentren-und-landesweitendienste/kompetenzzentren/vd-16/>> (24 July 2019).

31

ANNA BORECZKY (note 24), 72–84.

32

On the various traditions of the Attila legend see: MARTYN RADY (note 12), 127–138.

33

On the association of Matthias with Attila see: ÁRPÁD MIKÓ, Divinus Hercules és Attila secundus. Mátyás király műpártolásának humanista aspektusai [Divine Hercules and Attila Secundus. The Humanist Aspects of King Matthias' Art Patronage], in: *Ars Hungarica*, 19 (1991), 149–156.

34

That it was a popular and wishful pictorial topic is attested for example by Raphael's famous painting of the scene made in the Vatican itself (Fig. 15).

Sažetak

Anna Boreczky

Historiografija i propaganda na dvoru kralja Matije Korvina. Mađarska kultura knjige krajem srednjega vijeka i dalje

Na temelju djela *Chronica Hungarorum* Johanna de Thurocza, *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum* Pietra Ransana i *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* Antonia Bonfinija, nastalih između 1488. i 1498. godine, članak donosi višedimenzionalni prikaz političkih i kulturnih prilika u kasnom 15. stoljeću na dvoru ugarskog kralja Matije Korvina (1458.–1490.). Kroz njih se može sagledati način na koji historiografija s jedne strane može oblikovati (nacionalni) identitet, a s druge, biti u službi kraljevske propagande.

Najstariji sačuvani primjerci teksta *Chronica Hungarorum* su inkunabule. Prvo izdanje (*editio princeps*) objavljeno je 20. ožujka 1488. godine u Brnu, a drugo 3. lipnja 1488. u Augsburgu. Najstariji primjerci djela *Epitome rerum Hunga-*

ricarum došli su do nas u formi dvaju kodeksa. U jednome od njih *Epitome* su dio Ransanove kronike svijeta – *Annales omnium temporum* (Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 3 Qq C 60), a drugi je primjerak tzv. *Ransanus-corvina* (Budimpešta, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 249).

Zbog Bonfinijeve teške bolesti njegovo djelo 1498. godine još nije bilo dovršeno, no ipak je tada u kraljevskom skriptoriju kralja Ladislava Jagelovića (1490.–1516.) izrađena skupocjena rukopisna kopija (prijepis) na pergameni. Kopija se vjerojatno sastojala od četiri sveska, od kojih je preostalo samo nekoliko djelomično sačuvanih listova (Budimpešta, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 434, Cod. Lat. 542). Od ranog 16. stoljeća nadalje nije bilo lako doći do

Bonfinijeva djela koje je promoviralo pobjednički lik kralja Matije. Od ukupno 45 knjiga samo ih je 30 bilo pronađeno i objavljeno 1543. godine, dok je integralni tekst prvi put otisnut 1568, pri čemu su oba izdanja bila tiskana u Baselu.

Prvo izdanje (*editio princeps*) Ransanove *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum* publicirano je 1558. godine u Beču. Istovremeno je u raznim krugovima čitateljstva s njemačkog govornog područja vladao živ interes za povijest Mađara, pa je *Chronica Hungarorum* Johanna de Thurocza prije 1534. godine čak tri puta prevedena na njemački jezik. Te tri verzije dospjele su do nas u dva rukopisa (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 156; Harvard University, Houghton Library, fMS Ger 43) i kao jedno tiskano izdanje, objavljeno 1534. u Nürnbergu. Ubrzo nakon prvoga izdanja, i Bonfinijevo je djelo prevedeno na njemački: njemačka verzija prvih 30 knjiga pojavila se u Baselu 1545. godine.

Kao što je razvidno iz mojih istraživanja, tri su kronike stigle do nas u nizu knjiga – rukopisa, inkunabula i ranih tiskanih publikacija – od kojih mnoge sadrže opsežne cikluse slika.

Stoga članak donosi analizu utjecaja tih knjiga s osobitim naglaskom na njihovim ilustracijama. S obzirom na tradicije koje su slijedile i poruke koje su ilustracije prenosile, primarno pitanje na koje moj rad traži odgovor jest očituje li se društveni i politički polaritet kraljevskog dvora, razvidan iz tekstova kronika, u formatu, stilu i ikonografiji ilustriranih knjiga? Usporedba ranih primjeraka triju kronika pokazuje da je kulturna i politička raznolikost kraljevskog dvora imala utjecaja na knjige koje su izrađene i/ili korištene unutar njegovih zidova. Uzimajući u obzir njihovu diseminaciju i recepciju, moj rad otkriva ulogu koju su igrale u kraljevskoj propagandi i uzima u obzir utjecaj koji su imale na europski karakter Mađarske i Mađara.

Ključne riječi: Kraljevski dvor Matije Korvina, Ugarski kralj; srednjovjekovna književna kultura u Mađarskoj, ilustrirane kronike, Johannes de Thurocz: *Chronica Hungarorum*, Pietro Ransano: *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum*, Antonio Bonfini: *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*

Izvori ilustracija i autori fotografija / Sources of illustrations and photo Credits

Višnja Bralić

The Cult of Saint Euphemia, the Patron Saint of Rovinj, and the Venetian Politics of Co-creating Local Identities in Istrian Communities in the 15th Century / *Kult sv. Eufemije, zaštitnice Rovinja i venecijanska politika sukreiranja lokalnih identiteta u istarskim zajednicama 15. stoljeća*

1: © Museo Correr, Venezia (Giuseppe Rosaccio, *Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli, per mare e per Terra, & insieme quello di Terra Santa*, Venetia: Giacomo Franco, 1598, fol. 7v)
2–10: Ljubo Gamulin

Anna Boreczky

Historiography and Propaganda in the Royal Court of King Matthias: Hungarian Book Culture at the End of the Middle Ages and Beyond / *Historiografija i propaganda na dvoru kralja Matije Korvina. Mađarska kultura knjige krajem srednjega vijeka i dalje*

1–11, 14, 16–18: © National Széchényi Library, Budapest (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár)
12, 13: © Heidelberg University Library (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg)
15: From Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository

Ivan Gerát

Saint George Between Media and Functions / *Sv. Juraj između medija i funkcija*

1: Image courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington DC
2: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/>, Public Domain
3: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/>, Public Domain
4, 5: Ivan Gerát
6: Archive of the Institute of Art History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences

Ivan Ferenčak

The Illustrations in the Glagolitic Books Printed by Bishop Šimun Kožičić Benja in Rijeka (1530–1531) / *Ilustracije u glagoljskim knjigama biskupa Šimuna Kožičića Benje tiskanim u Rijeci (1530.–1531.)*

1: Tamara Runjak, *Rijetkosti u Knjižnici Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti: katalog inkunabula i knjiga 16. stoljeća*, Zagreb, 2011.
2, 7–10: Zagreb, Knjižnica Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, R-600, snimio Ivan Ferenčak 2019.
3: Ivan Ferenčak, 2019.
4: Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, Venezia, BM – Rari Ven. 579 (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione).
5: Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze, Firenze, MAGL.2.1.109 (su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. Divieto di riproduzione)

6: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, département Musique, RES-1527.

11: Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb, RIIA-8°-8.
12: Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb, RIIA-16°-5.

Milan Pelc

Panegyric Emblem Books, Jesuits and the Habsburg Emperors: Some Examples Related to 17th-Century Croatia / *Panegirički amblemi i habsburški carevi – primjeri iz 17. stoljeća povezani s hrvatskom kulturnom sredinom*

1: © Hrvatski povijesni muzej, Zagreb / Croatian History Museum
2: © University Library, Budapest / Egyetemi Könyvtár, Kézirattár
3–20: © Austrian National Library, Vienna / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Polona Vidmar

Cæsari in mis omni hora fidelis servivi: The Portraits of Sigismund Herberstein and Walter Leslie in Diplomatic Robes / *Cæsari in mis omni hora fidelis servivi: Portreti Žigmunda Herbersteina i Waltera Leslieja u diplomatskim odorama*

1–2, 4, 6: Knjižnica Ivana Potrča Ptuj / Ivan Potrč Library Ptuj
3: *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700*, vol. XIII A, 1984
5, 10, 13: Google Books
7–9, 11–12: Polona Vidmar

Nóra G. Etényi

Broadsheets with Engravings in a Manuscript Chronicle from Ulm: Visual Representations of the Hungarian Kingdom on German Political Leaflets during the War of Reconquest (1683–1699) / *Grafički plakati u rukopisnoj kronici iz Ulma: Vizualna reprezentacija Ugarskog Kraljevstva na njemačkim političkim letcima tijekom Velikog turskog rata (1683.–1699.)*

1, 4: © Austrian National Library Portrait Collection, Vienna / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Porträtsammlung
2, 3, 6: © Hungarian National Museum, Budapest / Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum
5, 7: © National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Apponyi Sammlung / Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Apponyi Metszet

Werner Telesko

Graphic prints of the Josephine period (1765/1790) and the propaganda of 'Religious Tolerance' / *Grafički listovi Jozefinskog razdoblja (1765./1790.) i propaganda "Vjerske tolerancije"*

1: © Austrian National Library, Vienna
2: © Austrian National Library, Vienna
3: © Vienna Museum

- 4: © Vienna Museum
5: © Vienna Museum
6: © Vienna Museum

Martina Frank

Representing the Republic in Seventeenth-Century Venice / *Predstavljanje Republike u Veneciji 17. stoljeća*

- 1, 3, 4, 5, 12: © Austrian National Library, Vienna / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
2, 15: Martina Frank
6: © University Library of Padua / Biblioteca universitaria di Padova
7: © McNay Art Museum
8: Cat Bauer (<https://venetiancat.blogspot.com/2016/11/thanksgiving-in-venice-celebrates-black.html>)
9, 10: <https://www.lamoneta.it/topic/157941-medaglia-nicol%C3%B2-contarini/>
11: © José Luiz Bernardes Ribeiro / CC BY-SA 4.0
13: Internet culturale
14: © Marciana National Library / Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia
16: © Museo Civico del Castello di San Giusto, Trieste

Bálint Ugyr – Maja Žvorc

The Čakovec Stone Bust Collection: New Identifications, Possible Dating and the Identity of its Commissioner / *Zbirka kamenih bisti u Čakovcu: Nove identifikacije, moguće datacije i naručitelj*

- 1, 4, 6, 8, 10: Jovan Kliska
2: © Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), Vienna
13, 15: © Museum of Međimurje (Muzej Međimurja), Čakovec
3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 16: *Corpus Juris Hungarici*, Tyrnaviae, 1751.
12: © National Széchényi Library (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár), Budapest
17, 18: © National Archives of Hungary (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár), Budapest
19: Bálint Ugyr

Damir Tulić

Glory Crowned in Marble: Self-promotion of Individuals and Families in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Monuments in Istria and Dalmatia / *Slava okrunjena mramorom: Samopromocija osoba i obitelji na spomenicima 17. i 18. stoljeća u Istri i Dalmaciji*

- 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17: Damir Tulić
14: Samo Štefanac

Jasminka Najcer Sabljak

Portraits of Habsburg Rulers in the Aristocratic Collections of Eastern Croatia / *Portreti vladara obitelji Habsburg u plemićkim zbirkama istočne Hrvatske*

- 1, 2: © Galerija Matice srpske, Novi Sad
3: Francisca Clary-Aldringen
4: Davor Šarić

Danko Zelić

Projekt Fausta Vrančića za opsadu Ostendea iz 1603. godine / *Faust Vrančić's Design for the Siege of Ostend from the Year 1603*

- 1: Matthias Dögen, *Architectura militaris moderna* (...), Amstelodami, 1647., 354–355.

2–4: © Rijksarchief in België / Archives de l'État en Belgique, Algemeen Rijksarchief / Archives générales du Royaume, Fond Duitse Staatssecretarie / Secrétairerie d'État Allemande, 413, p. 309

5: Pompeo Giustiniano, *Delle guerre di Fiandra libri 6. Di Pompeo Giustiniano del Consiglio di guerra di S. M. C. (...) Posti in luce da Giuseppe Gamurini (...) con le figure delle cose più notabili*, In Anversa, 1609., 84–85

Radoslav Tomić

Generalni providur Leonardo Foscolo i umjetnost u Dalmaciji / *Provveditore generale Leonardo Foscolo and Art in Dalmatia*

- 1–30: Fotografije iz arhive autora
4: Presnimak iz: Alfons Pavich pl. Pfauenthal, *Prinosi povijesti Poljica*, Sarajevo, 1903., 79.

Petar Puhmajer

Dvorac Cernik – kontinuitet i mijene predturskog nasljeđa u barokno doba / *The Cernik Castle – Continuity and Change in the Pre-Ottoman Heritage during the Baroque Era*

- 1, 2, 9: Paolo Mofardin, Fototeka IPU
3 a, b; 6 a, b, c, d: arhitektonski snimak Sanja Štok i Barbara Kulmer, grafička obrada Marin Čalušić
4, 7, 10, 11: Petar Puhmajer
5: © Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe

Bojan Goja

Kuća Cattinelli 1772. godine: prilog poznavanju stambene arhitekture u Zadru u 18. stoljeću / *The Cattinelli House in 1772: A Contribution to Our Knowledge of Housing Architecture in 18th-Century Zadar*

- 1, 2: Bojan Goja
3, 4: Branko Maroević, dipl. ing. arh., izrada nacrtu

Iva Pasini Tržec

Slike starih majstora iz zbirke Ervina i Branke Weiss u Strossmayerovoj galeriji u Zagrebu / *Paintings of Old Masters from the Collection of Ervin and Branka Weiss in the Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb*

- 1, 3, 6: Arhiv Strossmayerove galerije HAZU, dokumentacija Weiss
2: MAK – Museum of Applied Arts (Museum für angewandte Kunst), Vienna
4: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History (Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie), Den Haag
5: Palais Liechtenstein, Vienna
6: © Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora HAZU
7: BDA – Bundesdenkmalamt Archiv (Federal Monuments Authority Austria Archive), Vienna

Irena Kraševac

Prva tri djela u fundusu Moderne galerije Društva umjetnosti / *The First Three Artworks in the Holdings of the Modern Gallery of the Art Society in Zagreb*

- 1, 4: Goran Vranić, Moderna galerija, Zagreb
2: Paolo Mofardin, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb
3: digitalna presnimka iz kataloga izložbe: *Ivan Meštrović. Skulpturen*, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, 1987. (Nenad Gattin?)
5: Arhiv Galerije grada Praga / Archive of Prague City Gallery