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WHITE MARBLE SCULPTURES FROM
THE BUDA CASTLE:
RECONSIDERING SOME FACTS ABOUT
AN ANTIQUE STATUE AND
A FOUNTAIN BY VERROCCHIO

DÁNIEL PÓCS

To the memory of my father

We rarely find white marble fragments among the remains of Hungarian Renaissance sculpture. The typical raw material used in Buda Castle under King Matthias was a locally available greyish-white marl and a compact red limestone¹ resembling

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¹ For the use of red limestone in medieval and Renaissance Hungary, see P. LÖVEI, "A tömött vörös mészkő—'vörös márvány'—a középkori magyarországi művészetben" [Massive red limestone—"red marble"—in the art of medieval Hungary], *Ars Hungarica*, XX, 1992, pp. 3–28; A. VÉGH, "Renaissance Red Marble Carvings in the Royal Palace of Buda," in P. FARBAKY-E. SPEKNER-K. SZENDE-A. VÉGH (ed.), *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490* (exh. cat., Budapest History Museum), Budapest, 2008, pp. 317–319. As to the marl, see Á. MIKÓ, "Rész és egész. A magyarországi reneszánsz kőfaragó műhelyek és kutatásuk" [The part and the whole. Hungarian Renaissance stone carving workshops and their research], in I. BARDOLY-Cs.

Facing page: Fig. 11.

the red marble from the vicinity of Esztergom that had been used since the twelfth century. Consequently, it is especially noteworthy when fragments in white marble from countries outside central Europe are found in Hungary. We can safely assume that these marble structures or sculptures were not carved in the royal court in Buda, but at their place of origin. For example, the fragments from the tabernacle in the chapel of the summer palace at Visegrád most probably came from Florence, and the fragments discovered on the castle hill of Buda also belong to this group. It is this latter group of fragments that I will discuss here.²

LÁSZLÓ (ed.), *Koppány Tibor hetvenedik születésnapjára.—Tanulmányok* [Studies for the seventieth birthday of Tibor Koppány], Budapest, 1998, pp. 207–225. The most recent reference to both the marl and the limestone is: P. LŐVEI-F. PINTÉR-B. BAJNÓCZI-M. TÓTH, “Vörös és fehér díszítőkövek, kristályos és metamorf mészkövek, márványok. Műemléki kutatások természettudományos diagnosztikai háttérrel 1.” [Red and white decorative stones, crystal and metamorphic limestones, marbles. Researches in art history with natural science background, 1], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, LVI, 2007, pp. 75–82.

² Without trying to give a complete list, I mention below the most important white marble carved works of the Renaissance that may be connected to the king's court. Visegrád, Summer Palace—fragments of the tabernacle, white Carrara marble: see *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541* (exh. cat., Niederösterreichisches Landesmuseums, Schloß Schallaburg, Neue Folge Nr. 118), ed. T. KLANICZAY-GY. TÖRÖK-G. STANGLER, Vienna, 1982, pp. 390–391, cat. 358; *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000–1541* [Pannonia Regia: Art in Transdanubia] (exh. cat., Hungarian National Gallery [Magyar Nemzeti Galéria], Budapest), ed. Á. MIKÓ-I. TAKÁCS-S. TÓTH, Budapest, 1994, pp. 336–338, cat. VII-7; *Matthias Corvinus, the King*, op. cit. (see note 1), pp. 412–414, cat. 10.2.—putto head, white, Carrara (?) marble: *Matthias Corvinus*, op. cit. (this note), p. 391 cat. 359; *Matthias Corvinus, the King*, op. cit. (see note 1), p. 464, cat. 11.10.—small architectural fragments: *Pannonia Regia*, op. cit., p. 338, cat. VII-8. Buda, royal palace—fragment of a cornice (15 x 16 x 11.5 cm), white Carrara (?) marble: J. BALOGH, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* [Arts in the court of King Matthias], Budapest, 1966, I, No. III/55, pp. 117–118; *Matthias Corvinus*, op. cit., p. 287, cat. 186.—fragment of a St Mary statue: BALOGH, 1966, op. cit., p. 149; *Matthias Corvinus*, op. cit., p. 294, cat. 206. For two fragments of an altarpiece from Diósgyőr (the so-called Diósgyőr Madonna of Giovanni Dalmata, Hungarian National Gallery), see *Matthias Corvinus, the King*, op. cit. (see note 1), cat. 11.1. The supposed Matthias relief-portrait (Milan, Castello Sforzesco) has also been made of marble. See *Matthias Corvinus*, op. cit., pp. 202–203, cat. 83; *Il '400 a Roma. La rinascita delle arti da Donatello a Perugino*, ed. M. G. BERNARDINI-M. BUSSAGLI, Milan, 2008, II, pp. 171–172, cat. 19; just like the undoubtedly Matthias portrait made of white Carrara (?) marble (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kammer), see *Matthias Corvinus, the King* op. cit., cat. 4.1, and for the portrait reliefs of Matthias and Beatrice (Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, in custody at the Hungarian National Gallery), see *Matthias Corvinus*, op. cit., pp. 203–204, cat. 84–85. See also L. VARGA, “The Reconsideration of the Portrait Reliefs of King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), and Queen Beatrix of Aragon (1476–1580),” *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, 90/91, 1999, pp. 53–72. For Eger, fragments of a white marble relief with a greyish-blue shade (ca. 1500), see K. HAVASI, “Reneszánsz márványdombormű töredékei az egri várból” [Fragments of a Renaissance marble relief from the Eger Castle], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, LV, 2006, pp. 95–117.

This group contains three smaller fragments that were part of two significant sculptures in the royal palace of Buda. One of them consists of two marble pieces from the basin of what must have been a free-standing fountain (Figs. 1–2). The other is from a free-standing statue: it is a portion of the right leg of a man that originally must have been standing in *contrapposto* (Figs. 11–12). All three fragments have been more or less known for a long time, and in recent decades both sculptures have been linked to various written sources. With the help of a theoretical reconstruction, I will attempt to uncover the context of these fragments, and—on the basis of some new information as to their material and by rereading and reinterpreting the already known sources—to suggest the provenance of those. With the help of this approach, new pieces may be inserted into the fragmented picture of the Buda Castle's Renaissance decoration.

I. FLORENCE, 1485–1488

The fountain fragment decorated with Corvinus ravens (Fig. 1) was discovered in the 1830s by the Neoclassicist sculptor István Ferenczy³ while laying the foundation of his own house in the old town of the Buda Castle hill in Országház Street, No. 14 (Fig. 3). Ferenczy, who spent years in Rome, recognized immediately the importance of this piece and preserved it. Due to his care, the fragment was kept first in the Hungarian National Museum (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum), and then later in the Hungarian National Gallery (Magyar Nemzeti Galéria).⁴

³ Ferenczy purchased the land in 1834 and then started to rebuild the one-floor house on it. See M. HORLER ET AL., *Budapest műemlékei, I (Magyarország műemléke topográfijája, IV)* [Historic monuments of Budapest, I (Topography of Hungary's historic monuments, IV)], ed. F. POGÁNY, Budapest, 1955, p. 402.

⁴ Hungarian National Gallery, inv. 2272, 42 x 58 x 15 cm. The weekly newspaper *Vasárnap* *Újság* (IX, 1862, p. 29) gave the first account on the fragment. Figural motifs of the fragment were used by Ferenczy in his design for the equestrian statue of King Matthias: a frieze decorated with ravens and lion heads would have encircled the statue's pedestal. See S. MELLER, *Ferenczy István élete és művei* [The life and works of István Ferenczy], Budapest, 1906, p. 338, and figs. 69 and X. As Simon Meller mentions, Ferenczy had in fact made a part of the pedestal's frieze that had earlier been kept in the gardens of the National Museum, but later it was lost. When moving from Buda in 1846, Ferenczy brought along the fragment to Rimaszombat (today Rimavská Sobota, Slovakia), where in 1883 it was exhibited at the Art and Archaeology Exhibition of County Gömör. See s. n. [E. CZAKÓ], "Márványtöredék Mátyás király palotájából" [A marble fragment from the palace of King



Fig. 1. Fragment of a fountain basin, Florentine sculptor (workshop of ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO?), ca. 1485. Carrara marble, 42 x 58 x 15 cm. Hungarian National Gallery (Magyar Nemzeti Galéria), Budapest, inv. no. 2272.

The fragment held in the Hungarian National Gallery was made of white Carrara marble, it is slightly arched, and on its outside frieze two ravens face each other holding rings adorned with gems in their beaks, possibly diamonds. Between them there is a circular motif that

Matthias], *Művészet*, I, 1902, p. 78, and K. DIVALD, *Budapest művészete* [Art of Budapest], Budapest, 1903, pp. 112–113. From here the marble piece—as part of the sculptor’s bequest—was taken to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1903, and in 1973 to the Hungarian National Gallery. See *Az Orsz. Magyar Szépművészeti Múzeum állagai. III. rész. 3. Füzet* [Stocks of the Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts, Part III, 3], Budapest, 1915, p. 87; s. n. [S. MELLER], *A középkor és újabbkori szobrászati gyűjtemény* [The medieval and modern sculpture collection], Budapest, 1921, Nr. 19. See further: BALOGH, *op. cit.* (see note 2), I, No. III/ 83, p. 121. Most recently see *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531*, ed. O. RÉTHELYI-B. F. ROMHÁNYI-E. SPEKNER-A. VÉGH, (exh. cat., Budapest History Museum), Budapest, 2005, cat. II-10 [Á. MIKÓ].



Fig. 2. Fragment of a fountain basin, Florentine sculptor (workshop of ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO?), *ca.* 1485. Carrara marble, 31.5 x 24 x 11 cm. Budapest History Museum (Budapesti Történeti Múzeum), Budapest, Középkori Osztály, TB 1014.

is wider at the bottom and that appears to be a ring or a crescent moon. On the right-hand side of the fragment is the head of a lion, clearly identifiable as such because of its mane, although its muzzle has totally eroded. The first admirer of the fragment, Imre Henszlmann, who had seen it in Ferenczy's workshop, recognized the "high quality sculptural work in relief."⁵ Below the frieze are vertical cablings that

⁵ Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal [National Office of Cultural Heritage], Tudományos Irattár [Scientific Archives] (henceforth KÖH, TI), Henszlmann-bequest, Ms. 1047, "Budavárnak régi királyi palotái" [Old royal palaces of Buda Castle]. It was István Bardoly who was kind enough to call my attention to this manuscript.

narrow toward the bottom, one of which falls exactly in the axis of the large ring or crescent moon. The spaces between the semicircular endings of the cablings are filled with floral ornamentation. The fragment is large enough to have belonged to a circular, slightly deepening fountain basin, approximately 250 cm in diameter. If we assume that the motifs on the frieze were repeated at regular intervals, and if the sequence of the motifs was not broken by consoles, then the sculpture must have originally consisted of a total of twelve pairs of ravens and the same number of lion heads with sixty cablings running down to the base of the fountain.

The other fragment, which must have belonged to the same fountain,⁶ is still practically unknown and was believed to have been lost for decades (Fig. 2). This fragment was discovered in 1936 by Sándor Garády during his excavations in the cellar of a medieval residential building in the Tabán district, which adjoins the foots of the castle hill on the west and south (Fig. 3). This fragment is smaller than the previous one and its inner surface is polished smooth, but on the outside there are cablings of exactly the same size as those of the previous one. The stable isotope analysis that was done recently confirmed that the

⁶ Budapest History Museum, inv. TB 1014, 31.5 x 24 x 11 cm. The finding is referred to (with a drawing) in Garády's handwritten excavation reports (BTM, Középkori Osztály [Budapest History Museum, Medieval Dept.]), and Garády published it in 1945 in his report on the Tabán excavations. Garády, however, did not realize the relation between this fragment and the other one, kept at that time in the Museum of Fine Arts. See S. GARÁDY, "Budapest területén végzett középkori ásatások összefoglaló ismertetése 1931–1941. II. rész: Világi célt szolgáló építmények. 1. A Tabáni kiásott középkori épület-és falmaradványok" [Summary report on the medieval excavations in Budapest 1931–1941, Part II, Secular buildings 1, Medieval wall and building remains in Tabán], *Budapest Régiségei*, XIV, 1945, p. 401 and fig. 8/2. Garády's finding, however, is not referred to in later publications. The reason for this might be that the handwritten inventory of the Budapest History Museum indicates Buda-Nyék as the place of origin of the fragment: accordingly, nobody looked for it among the Tabán materials. András Végh helped me in localization of the finding; I wish to express my thanks to him for it. The fragment was referred to later by Gyöngyi Török, who related it to the bigger marble piece. See Gy. TÖRÖK-V. OSGYÁNYI, "Reneszánsz kőfaragványokról. I. A pesti belvárosi plébániatemplom egykori főoltára. II. Reneszánsz faragványok a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria és a Budapesti Történeti Múzeum Gyűjteményéből" [About Renaissance stone carvings. I. The former high altar from the high parish church of inner-city Pest. II. Stone carvings in the collections of the Hungarian National Gallery and the Budapest Historical Museum], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, XXX, 1981, p. 110. Török, however, did not know about Garády's publication and defined the provenance of the fragment incorrectly.

fragment was almost certainly made of Carrara marble (Fig. 4).⁷ The circumstances of this discovery prove that the fountain stood in the Renaissance palace: the debris layer in which the fragment was found lies below another one datable to the Turkish period. Moreover, next to the fountain fragment, late medieval architectural fragments and a floor tile decorated with King Matthias' fountain emblem—a type of tile known from other sites as well—were found.

The fact that the two fragments were found in two different places but rather near to the royal palace reveals important information about the fountain's destruction. The original site of the fountain cannot be identified exactly, but the Tabán finding may perhaps indicate that the fountain stood in the royal gardens, on the western slope of the castle hill. We cannot rule out that additional fragments of the fountain basin exist: the stones of the destroyed medieval royal palace were dispersed in the old town after the recapture of Buda from the Ottomans in 1686, and only a small part of those remained. A stone carving found on the site in the eighteenth century, opposite to what would later be Ferenczy's house, may have also been part of this fountain. Later this fragment was installed in the wall on the second floor of the house built there, formerly Országház Street, No. 16 (Fig. 3).⁸ This piece might

⁷ Stationary isotope analysis of the fragment was carried out in 2006. According to the report by Mária Tóth (20 June 2006): "We may with almost 100 per cent certainty exclude that the raw material of the fragment comes from local sources or from neighbouring countries. As to the place of origin of the fragment, Carrara may be the most probable."

⁸ Before the erection of the Finance Ministry building in 1903, houses Nos. 1 to 17 on the odd-numbered side of Országház Street were demolished. Earliest reference of the fragment is dated to 1760. See J. E. F. MILLER, *Epitome vicissitudinum et rerum memorabilium de libera regia ac metropolitana urbe Budensi*, Budae, 1760, p. 88. "145. Scholae Triviales, et rudera in altum adhuc prostantia; Dicitur hic fuisse Archivum Regni, ubi ante paucos abhinc annos marmoreum lavacrum effossum est, cum circumscriptione, *Lavacrum Mathiae Regis Corvini*." According to the map attached in Miller's book, house No. 145 is situated in the plots later numbered as 11 to 17. Therefore, the marble carving was found on the plot of the ruined, supposed former Royal Archives next to the school (*scholae triviales*), which was built by the city of Buda on the ruins of a former residence in 1728. András Véggh suggests that on the same plot where the ruins of a former building were mentioned by Miller, a residence had stood before the Turkish invasion. This building had been the property of Tamás Bakócz and his brothers since 1482. See A. VÉGH, *Buda város középkori helyrajza* [Topography of the medieval city of Buda] (Monumenta Historia Budapestiensia), 2006, I, pp. 237–238. The provenance of the carving, which had already been lost, was defined later by Lajos Arányi, who in 1877 surveyed correctly the medieval houses of the civil (commoner) city. See KÖH, TI, bequest of Lajos Arányi, Ms. 1644/4, Nr. 54: "50 years ago on the second floor of this building [i.e., No. 13, Országház Street] there was a decoratively carved stone in the wall, with the inscription: '*lavacrum Mathiae regis*.'" József Hampel later published the handwritten notes of Arányi. See J. H. [J. HAMPEL], "Budavári

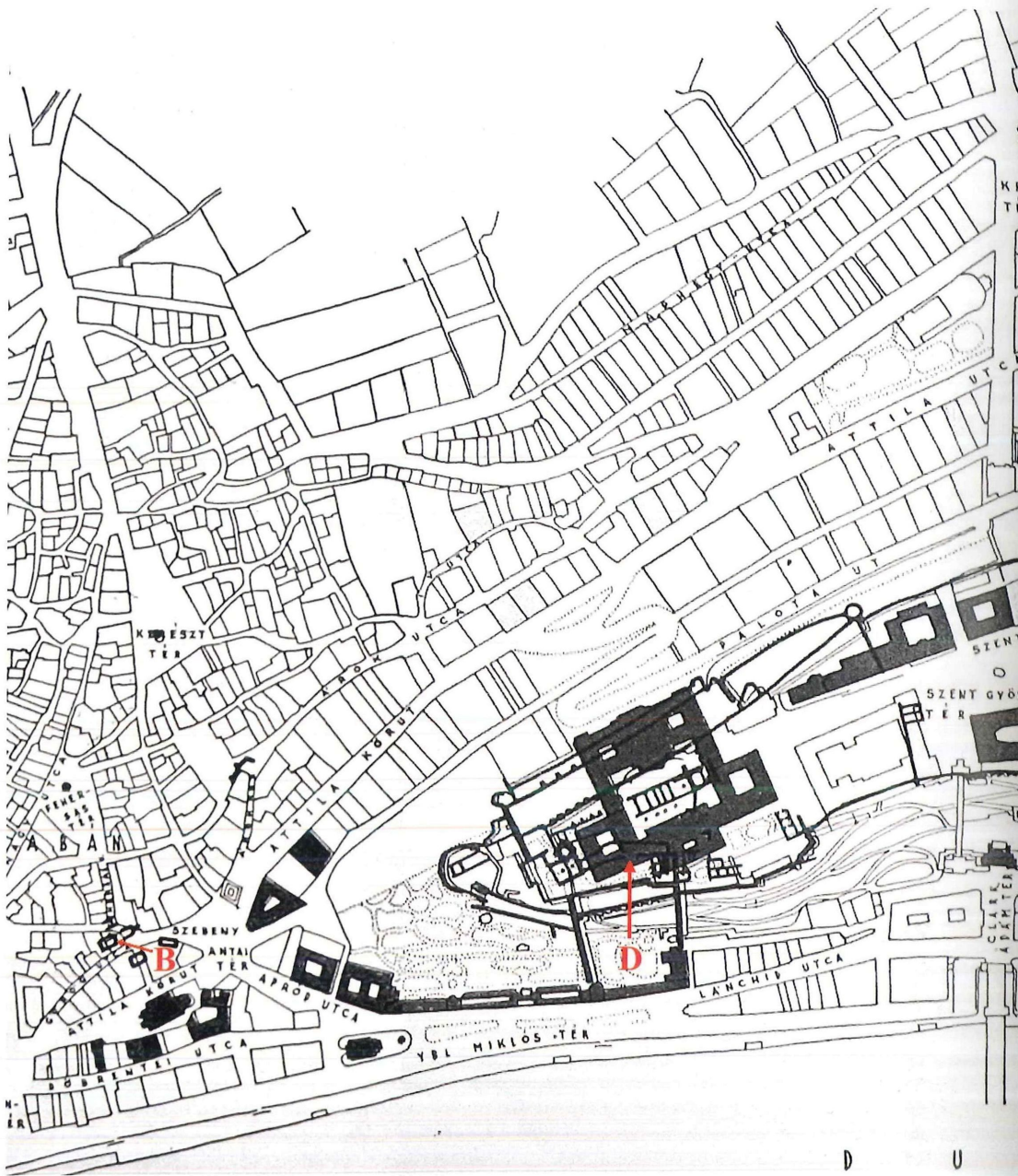


Fig. 3. Ground plan of Buda Castle and adjoining areas: a) Original location of Ferenczy's fountain basin fragment. Hungarian National Gallery (Magyar Nemzeti Galéria), Budapest); b) Original location of Garády's fountain fragment. Budapest History Museum (Budapesti Történelmi Múzeum); c) Original location of the lost fountain fragment ("Lavacrum Mathiae Regis Corvini"); d) Original location of the Pan statue fragment.

have been a large fragment of a fountain basin, on which—according to the earliest known written source—the following text (*circumscripcio*) was carved, perhaps at the time when it was placed into the wall: “Lavacrum Matthiae Regis Corvini.” Probably no inscription appeared on the basin, and thus certain figural motifs, such as heraldic elements, might have suggested an association with King Matthias.⁹

According to the existing fragments, the fountain must have been commissioned by Matthias and, based on its material, it must have been made in Italy, most probably in Florence. The elegant fountain was unusually large: its 2.5-meter-wide basin was even larger than that of the Hercules fountain of Visegrád. This exceptionally large size explains why these two fragments can be reconstructed only as a fountain basin: a semicircular lavabo, for example, attached to the wall could not have had such dimensions. However, a fountain of this size made of Carrara marble is rare even in the Italian sculpture of this period.

Matthias devoted special attention to fountains when building in Buda and Visegrád. Several are mentioned in the descriptions of the Buda palace, such as the marble fountain decorated with the statue of Pallas Athena on top, which stood in the middle of the state court (great or internal court). Another is the double fountain made of marble and bronze mentioned by Naldo Naldi in his panegyrics, written around 1488, praising the royal library.¹⁰ There are, however, much more reliable sources referring to a fountain commissioned by the king

régiségek,” *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, XXIV, 1891, p. 365, Nr. 117. The house was demolished in 1901, and a few years later Kornél Divald could not find the stone carving either. See DIVALD, *op. cit.* (see note 4), p. 114. For the description of the demolished building and its photo, see HORLER ET AL., *op. cit.* (see note 3), pp. 584–585. See also BALOGH, *op. cit.* (see note 2), p. 122.

⁹ Miller’s description does not reveal whether the inscription was originally on the fragment or it was carved in it later. The text of the circumscription, however, hints to a later date as King Matthias did not use the title “Corvinus” in official documents or in inscriptions. Furthermore, it would have been illogical to mention the name of a small part (*lavacrum*) of a larger piece in an official title. Use of the expression *lavacrum* may indicate rather that the fragment was thought to be a part of a large basin, due to its arched, concave design, but still small enough that it could be placed into the wall. Based on all of the above, we may duly assume that in this case references were made to a fragment of a large-size fountain basin made of marble.

¹⁰ Sources relating to the fountains in the courtyards of the royal palace in Buda are published by BALOGH, *op. cit.* (see note 2), pp. 145–147. See also Z. Á. PATAKI, “*nympha ad amoenum fontem dormiens*” (*CIL VII5, 3*e*) *Ekphrasis oder Herrscherallegorese?: Studien zu einem Nymphenbrunnen sowie zur Antikenrezeption und zur politischen Ikonographie am Hof des ungarischen Königs Matthias Corvinus*, Vols. 1–2, Stuttgart, 2005, pp. 223–226, 401–404. As to Naldi’s panegyrics, see O. KARSAY, “A

and likely made by Andrea del Verrocchio. The question is: can we link these fragments to any of these fountains?

According to a document dated 27 August 1488, first mentioned by Gaetano Milanesi, then published in full by Carlo Carneseccchi in 1903, a certain Bertochus Georgii Pellegrini, a marble quarry supplier of Carrara, commissioned a Florentine sculptor from the district of San Pier Maggiore called Dominicus olim Gregorii Dominici (that is, Domenico di Gregorio di Domenico) to collect a certain amount of money from a certain Alexander—that is, Alexander Formoser (or Farmoser), the Hungarian king's agent in Florence. It states in the document that this payment was due for the marble from which Verrocchio was supposed to carve a fountain for the Hungarian king.¹¹ This would not have been the first work that Verrocchio made for him.

fenséges könyvtár dicsérete" [Laudation of the grandiose library], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, CVII, 1991, pp. 316–324.

¹¹ Archivio di Stato di Firenze (henceforth ASF), Notarile ante-cosimiano, 21288 (formerly Z 72) (Ser Bartolommeo del fu Guglielmo Zeffi, 1487–1494), fol. 6r. The following is transcribed after D. A. Covi, *Andrea del Verrocchio: Life and Work*, Florence, 2005, p. 351: "Procuratio. Item postea dictis anno [1488] indictione [VI] et die XX septimo augusti. Actum in populo Sancti Felicis in piazza et in domo habitationis mei notarii infrascripti, presentibus ser Paulo filio Dominici Pieri de Tuccis notario florentino et Antonio Francisci Antonii de Zeffis, ambobus civibus florentinis testibus etc. Bertochus Georgii Pellegrini de Carraria partium Lunisiana, omni modo etc., per se et suo heredes etc., fecit et constituit suum procuratorem etc. Dominicum olim Gregorii Dominici, sculptorem populi Sancti Petri Maioris de Florentia, licet tunc absentem etc. generaliter etc. ad agendum etc. et specialiter et nominatim ad petendum et exigendum nomine dicti constituentis ab Alexandro, mandatario Serenissimi Regis Ungariae, omnem summam et pecuniarum quantitatem, quam dictus constituens ab eodem Alexandro recipere deberet vigore marmoris albi ab eodem Bertocco habiti et recepti pro construendo et fabricando quodam fonte in civitate Florentie per Andream del Verrocchio sculptorem florentinum, pro usu et servitio prefati serenissimi regis Ungariae, ut ipsemet Alexander dicitur asseruisse, et pro omni et quacumque causa et vigore, quibus dictus constituens recipere deberet aliquam pecunie quantitatem quoquo modo a dicto Alexandro mandatario predicto, et ad finiendum de recipiendis per eum etc. et generaliter ad faciendum in predictis et pro executione predictorum omnia requisita et oportuna etc. Promictens etc., obligans., renuntians etc., rogans etc." See also G. VASARI, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, III, ed. G. MILANESI, Florence, 1878, p. 361, note 3; C. CARNESECCCHI, "La fonte del Verrocchio per Mattia Corvino," *Miscellanea d'Arte (Rivista d'Arte)*, I, 1903, p. 143; BALOGH, *op. cit.* (see note 2), pp. 513–514, with further literature. *Dominicus olim Gregorii Dominici* is probably identical with a certain Domenico di Gregorio who is mentioned in a document dated to the 12th of March 1494, of the Opera del Duomo (Florence, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, II-2–8 (=Delib. [1491–1498], c. 21), in relation to the scaffolding of the San Zanobi chapel of the Florentine cathedral. See G. POGGI, *Il Duomo di Firenze. Documenti sulla decorazione della chiesa e del campanile tratti dall'Archivio dell'Opera*, Berlin, 1909, I (repr. ed. M. HAINES, Florence, 1988), p. 195, doc. 975. The scaffolding had to be built because Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni were to execute a mosaic decoration. See more details at G. S. MARTINI, *La bottega di un cartolaio fiorentino della seconda metà del Quattrocento. Nuovi contributi biografici intorno a Gherardo e Monte di Giovanni*, Florence, 1956, pp. 17, 34–35. On

Vasari, in the second edition of his *Vite*, describes two bronze reliefs that the sculptor cast as a gift from Lorenzo de' Medici to King Matthias; these portrayed Alexander the Great and Darius, in accordance with the traditional *capitani affrontati* iconography.¹²

A persistent misinterpretation of this document from August 1488 has misled many, mainly Anglo-Saxon scholars, who even today hold the opinion that the commissioning of the marble fountain coincided with the date of the document. By their reasoning, the sculptor, who died in Venice in the summer of 1488—around 30 June¹³—could not by any means have completed the work, if he managed to begin it at all.¹⁴ Based on this view, there have been attempts to identify some works that, in fact, can hardly belong to Verrocchio's oeuvre—such as the beautiful terracruda putto pushing off from a half-globe with an airy movement in the National Gallery of Art in Washington,¹⁵ or the

Alexander Formoser's activities in Florence, see the study of L. A. WALDMAN, in this volume, "Commissioning Art in Florence for Matthias Corvinus."

¹² VASARI, *op. cit.* (see note 11), p. 361. See most recently A. BUTTERFIELD, *The Sculptures of Andrea del Verrocchio*, New Haven–London, 1997, pp. 156–157, and cat. 25 on pp. 230–232; COVI, *op. cit.* (see note 11), pp. 138–143, and F. CAGLIOTI's study in the present volume, "Andrea del Verrocchio e i profili di condottieri antichi per Mattia Corvino." It has to be noticed that recent studies often hint erroneously that Vasari mentioned the fountain, as well, in his *Vite*; see e.g. PATAKI, *op. cit.* (see note 10), pp. 223–224. This misunderstanding is caused most probably by Milanesi's reviewing the document from 1488 in a footnote of his edition of Verrocchio's *vita*.

¹³ We are informed about the exact date of Verrocchio's death from sources published by Dario A. Covi in 1966. A legal document (Francesco di Giovanni's claim against Lorenzo di Credi) includes the following: ". . . Andrea di Michele del Verrocchio morì e passò della presente vita e seculo nella città di Vinegia insino del mese di giugno dell'anno MCCCCCLXXXVIII . . ." See D. A. COVI, "Four New Documents concerning Andrea del Verrocchio," *The Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, p. 102, doc. III. See also COVI, *op. cit.* (2005, see note 11), doc. 21 on p. 155 and p. 10. As Verrocchio's last will was made on 25 June 1488 (see later, note 23), the date of his death can be exactly put between 25 and 30 June.

¹⁴ According to my knowledge, it was Maud Crutwell who first tried to interpret the document. Crutwell was of the opinion that the sculptor surely did not start working because "Verrocchio ordered the marble with the intention of beginning it on his return from Venice." See M. CRUTWELL, *Verrocchio*, London–New York, 1911, p. 36. It is important, however, that Crutwell—contrary to most of her successors—took notice of the fact that according to the text, Verrocchio made the fountain in Florence. According to Harris Wiles, "As the marble for the fountain was brought from Carrara, in 1488, when Verrocchio was busy with the equestrian statue of Colleoni, and as he died in that year, it was [i.e., the fountain] probably never executed." See B. H. WILES, *The Fountains of Florentine Sculptors and Their Followers from Donatello to Bernini*, Cambridge, MA, 1933, p. 139.

¹⁵ The terracruda putto that can be dated with great probability to the first quarter of the sixteenth century (Washington, National Gallery of Art, Mellon Collection, A. 17, height: 658 cm) was linked to Verrocchio's fountain first by Charles Seymour Jr. In his interpretation, this "might possibly be connected with the fountain figure which Verrocchio was commissioned, just before his death, to

small-size reclining marble putto in the San Francisco M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, and the terracotta variations of the latter (formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin)—as “surviving parts” of our fountain or models made for it.¹⁶ Others, like Meller, tried to resolve the dating discrepancy by changing the fountain’s attribution: in his opinion, Francesco di Simone Ferrucci might have completed the work that had begun in Verrocchio’s workshop.¹⁷

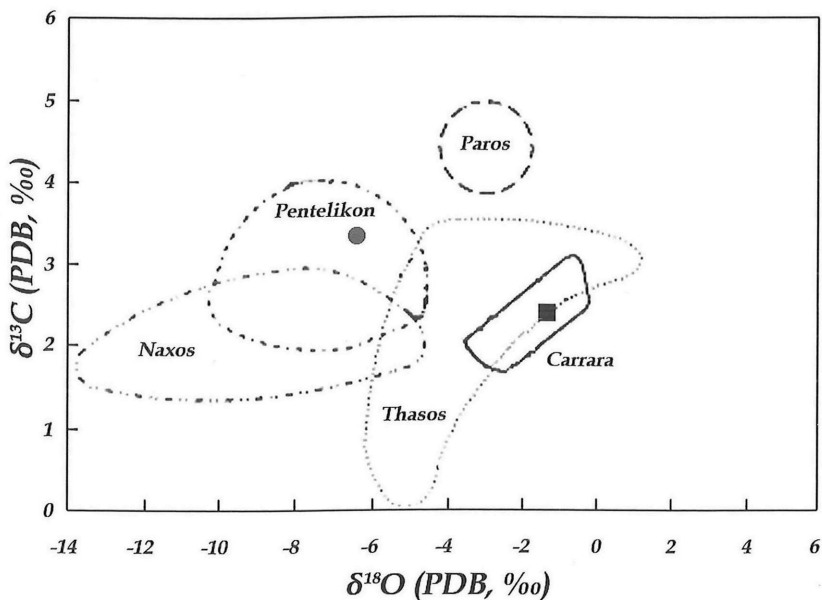
However, a key sentence in the 1488 document referring not just to the patron and the sculptor of the fountain, but to its exact place of execution and destination as well, bears closer examination. All the

do for Matthias Corvinus of Hungary.” See *Masterpieces of Sculpture from the National Gallery of Art*, ed. C. SEYMOUR JR., New York, 1949, pp. 178–179, cat. 34. Seymour, who incorrectly identified the statue’s material as terracotta, attributes it to Verrocchio, but this attribution was later rejected. The author repeats his argument later that this piece might have been the model for a bronze statue designed for the upper part of the Matthias fountain. See C. SEYMOUR JR., *Sculpture in Italy 1400–1500*, Harmondsworth, 1966, p. 178. Passavant, who, like other later scholars, reject Seymour’s idea about the Verrocchio attribution, is perhaps the only one to mention that the sculptor might have received the assignment for the fountain from King Matthias in the middle of the decade. In his opinion, during Verrocchio’s stay in Venice, his Florence workshop could have worked on the fountain. See G. PASSAVANT, *Verrocchio. Sculture, pitture e disegni*, Venice, 1969, pp. 45–46 and p. 208, cat. A 3. Jolán Balogh attributed the Washington putto to Sansovino’s workshop, thus putting its origin to a later date. See J. BALOGH, “Studi sulla collezione di sculture del Museo di Belle arti di Budapest,” *Acta Historiae Artium*, XII, 1966, p. 290, and note 26. Alessandro Parronchi, who also proposes an early Cinquecento dating, suggests at the same time a rather “brave” attribution by mentioning the name of Raffaello. See A. PARRONCHI, “Il ‘putto’ di Washington,” in S. BULE-A. P. DARR-F. SUPERBI GIOFREDI (ed.), *Verrocchio and Late Quattrocento Italian Sculpture*, Florence, 1992, pp. 153–156. Butterfield, who also correctly defines the material of the statue as terracruda, mentions that in his opinion the statue “is probably an early sixteenth-century copy after a lost bronze either by Verrocchio or from his circle.” See BUTTERFIELD, *op. cit.* (see note 12), p. 135, and cat. 30 (rejected attributions) on p. 240, with further literature. See also COVI, *op. cit.* (2005, see note 11), pp. 167–171.

¹⁶ W. HEIL, “A Marble Putto by Verrocchio,” *Pantheon*, XXVII, 1969, pp. 280–281. Heil concluded that the unfinished marble putto of San Francisco was made for the fountain also abandoned in 1488, which later became perhaps the property of Lorenzo di Credi, heir to Verrocchio’s *bottega*. It is to be remarked, however, that this statue can by no means be incorporated in the typology of the late Quattrocento fountains. Heil furthermore misunderstands Vasari, when he affirms that the author of the *Vite* “relates that Verrocchio had done, or was commissioned to do, for the Hungarian king certain work, without however giving sufficient details for identification,” HEIL, *op. cit.*, p. 280. Most probably Heil here is referring to Vasari’s statement in relation to the bronze reliefs showing Alexander the Great and Darius that were sent to King Matthias: “Le quali ambedue furono mandate dal Magnifico Lorenzo de’ Medici al re Mattia Corvino, con molte altre cose, come si dirà al luogo suo.” See VASARI, *op. cit.* (see note 11), p. 361. The “molte altre cose” mentioned by Vasari refers, however, not to Verrocchio’s other works made for King Matthias, but to those that were made for the Hungarian king and commissioned by Lorenzo de’ Medici from other artists.

¹⁷ P. MELLER, “Gótikus és renaissance kutak Magyarországon” [Gothic and Renaissance fountains in Hungary], *Magyar Művészet*, XV, 1948, p. 142. Passavant has a rather similar argumentation; see PASSAVANT, *op. cit.* (see note 15), p. 208.

Stable isotopic and chemical analysis of white marble fragments



● Sample from the Pan statue fragment, BHM, Inv. No. 1951/2140

■ Sample from the fountain fragment, BHM, Inv. No. 1721

	measured	measured	Corrected (-0.07)	Corrected (+0.14)	Corrected
	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (PDB)	$\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (PDB)	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (PDB)	$\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (PDB)	$\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (SMOW)
Sample 1 (Pan)	3.41	-6.39	3.34	-6.25	24.47
Sample 2 (Fountain)	2.48	-1.54	2.41	-1.40	29.47

Chemical substance

Sample/mass%	SiO ₂	Al ₂ O ₃	Fe ₂ O ₃	MgO	CaO	K ₂ O	TiO ₂	MnO	P ₂ O ₅
Sample 1 (Pan)	0.89	0.28	0.08	0.46	53.2	0.05	-	0.008	-
Sample 2 (Fountain)	1.27	0.42	0.14	2.49	50.4	0.13	-	0.037	-

Sample/ppm	Sc	V	Co	Ni	Zn	Rb	Sr	Y	Zr	Nb
Sample 1 (Pan)	29	11	1	-	9	-	96	-	28	3
Sample 2 (Fountain)	27	11	2	-	39	12	71	-	6	11

Fig. 4. Comparative diagram according to the stable isotope analysis of white marble fragments from the Buda Castle and the main Greek and Carrara marbles, by MÁRIA TÓTH.

more so because among researchers a myth had started to spread: based on Walter Heil's and later Charles Seymour's interpretation it had been suggested that King Matthias did not order the fountain for himself, but intended to donate it to the City of Florence, and the fountain may have been meant to be erected in the Piazza della Signoria.¹⁸ In my interpretation, however, while the document of 1488 makes it clear that King Matthias' agent, Formoser, ordered the white marble blocks from Bertochus so that Verrocchio could use the material to make a fountain in Florence, the last words of the key sentence indicate quite clearly the destination of the fountain: ". . . marmoris albi ab eodem Bertocco habiti et recepti pro construendo et fabricando quodam fonte in civitate Florentie per Andream del Verrochio sculptorem florentinum, *pro usu et servitio prefati serenissimi regis Ungariae*" (emphasis added).

The expression *pro construendo et fabricando quodam fonte* used in the 1488 document does not in any way imply that the fountain was to be created at a date later than that at which the text was written; it merely indicates the purpose for which the marble was meant. Just as importantly, the text clearly states that Verrocchio was to make the fountain in Florence. However, the sculptor left the city for good most probably in the spring of 1486, but most definitely after 30 August of the previous year in order to cast the bronze equestrian statue of Bartolomeo Colleoni in Venice.¹⁹ In August 1488, when the contract was drawn up, the sculptor had actually been dead for a month. It is hard to imagine that the persons mentioned in the document were not

¹⁸ HEIL, *op. cit.* (see note 16), p. 280. Seymour "localizes" the fountain to the Piazza della Signoria. According to Seymour's hypothesis, the Washington putto was originally on top of the fountain, which in this shape strongly resembles the one represented in the center of the famous "Ideal City" *veduta* of the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore), which might have led him to the above strange conclusion. See C. SEYMOUR JR, *The Sculpture of Verrocchio*, London, 1971, pp. 25–26, 126–127, and pp. 167–168, cat. 16.

¹⁹ The documents published by Dario A. Covi present essential new information on Verrocchio's stay in Venice. According to these, he was present in Florence as witness in a legal debate on 30 August, 1485, and most probably he was still not in Venice at the end of November, either. See COVI, *op. cit.* (2005, see note 11), App. II, p. 276, doc. 13 and doc. 51. According to the legal record (Tommaso del Verrocchio's suit against Lorenzo di Credi) dated 5 November 1490: "Item che decto Andrea [i.e. del Verrocchio] stete in Venegia mesi 26 . . ." See COVI, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 13), p. 103. On this basis, Verrocchio, who died around 30 June 1488, arrived in Venice only in the spring of 1486, probably at the end of April. See COVI, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 13), p. 98, as well as COVI, *op. cit.* (2005, see note 11), pp. 10, 155; J. W. POPE-HENNESSY, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture: An Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, London, 2002 (4th ed.), II, p. 387.

familiar with the basic facts that Verrocchio had left Florence by 1485–1486 and that he'd recently died, especially as Domenico di Gregorio most probably had represented the Carrara marble quarrier's interests in this legal debate because practically at the same time he himself was also called to the court in a lengthy and complicated case involving unfulfilled payments due to the death of Verrocchio.²⁰ The sculptor's death was probably the reason that Bertochus requested Formoser to settle the arrears of payment.

It might have been the case that the commissioner's agent—following the practice of the age—paid an advance to the sculptor to buy the raw material; the sculptor might not have forwarded the same to the supplier, however. If the fountain was not completed and the marble remained in Verrocchio's workshop, Formoser would have had the right to demand the money back from the heir of Verrocchio's workshop—Lorenzo di Credi—or from Verrocchio's brother, Tommaso. Just such a demand is recorded as having taken place between Formoser and Benedetto da Maiano.²¹ Based on the above, we may conclude that

²⁰ About the legal case, or rather, cases, see COVI, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 13), pp. 97–98, doc. III, esp. p. 98, note 5, where the complete list of relevant documents is given. See also COVI, *op. cit.* (2005, see note 11), App. II, docs. 21–27. Covi unfortunately did not publish all the related documents neither in his 1966 study nor in his monograph; he only described their contents and gave their shelfmarks. The earliest documents are dated to October and November 1488. News about the death of Verrocchio already reached Florence by 16 July, since his brother Tommaso disposed of the sculptor's testament on that day. See COVI, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 13), p. 101.

²¹ The Hungarian king ordered a marble tabernacle from Benedetto da Maiano, but work was abandoned due to the sudden death of the king in 1490. The documents reporting on the legal debate between Formoser and the sculptor were published by Louis A. Waldman (Florence, ASF, Not. Antecos., 15650, fol. 131v and 133r–134v). See L. A. WALDMAN, "Documenti inediti su Filippino Lippi e le sue opere," in F. FALETTI-J. K. NELSON (ed.), *Filippino Lippi e Pietro Perugino. La Deposizione della Santissima Annunziata e il suo restauro*, Leghorn, 2004, pp. 172–174, docs. 5–6. See also D. CARL, *Benedetto da Maiano: A Florentine Sculptor at the Threshold of the High Renaissance*, Turnhout, 2006, Appendix C, docs. 12–13, pp. 524–525. Documents, dated to 15 and 29 November 1493, inform us that in a debate with the participation of Filippino Lippi and Francesco Monciatto legnaiuolo (as arbitrators), a compromise was reached: out of the earlier paid 80 florins (50 for the material and 30 for a part of the work) Benedetto had to return half of the amount. The rest and the partly carved stone blocks could be kept by the sculptor as compensation for the work already completed (trip to Carrara, preparation of drawings and *modelli*, etc.). The half-completed tabernacle remained in Benedetto's workshop. The carved work was identified by Doris Carl in the inventory of the properties of Benedetto da Maiano (*Libro dell'Attoria*), which was made originally in May 1497 (most probably in the days immediately following the sculptor's death on 24 May) but is known only from the partial transcription made upon the death of his son (Antonio Maria) in 1555 (ASF, Compagnia poi Magistrato del Bigallo, 1219, fasc. 4, *Processo da Majano*). See CARL, *op. cit.*, p. 380, and Appendix A, p. 457, doc. 23, no. 120: "Uno tabernacolo bozzato di braccia 1 ½." The docu-

the text refers not to a very recent commission that did not materialize or that was abandoned due to the death of the sculptor, but to an earlier commission.²² We can safely assume that Verrocchio did complete the work; otherwise it would not have made sense to have Formoser pay for the marble. This conclusion is supported also by the expressive silence (*argumentum e silentio*) about this topic in Verrocchio's last will, drawn up on 25 June 1488. In that document, written just a few days before his death, the artist made detailed arrangements stipulating that upon his death Lorenzo di Credi would complete the equestrian statue of Colleoni, and his brother, Tommaso, would have to intervene at the Mercanzia in Florence in order to see that funds still owed for the bronze statues of Christ and St Thomas in the niche of Orsanmichele be paid.²³ Had the fountain commissioned by King Matthias not been completed by that time, Verrocchio would most likely have made similar arrangements. On the other hand, if the fountain was completed before Verrocchio left Florence, there is no good reason to believe that it was not brought to Hungary, as indicated in the 1488 contract between Formoser and Bertochus.²⁴

ment, which was published also by E. GABRIELLI, *Cosimo Rosselli. Catalogo ragionato*, Turin, 2007, pp. 291–294, doc. 29.2, tells us (no. 173) that Leonardo del Tasso, the new tenant of Benedetto's workshop and the nephew of the deceased sculptor, purchased six 3 ½ braccia high marble columns with base and capital from a certain "Alessandro tedesco," that is, from Formoser on 2 September 1497. It was Cosimo Rosselli, the brother-in-law of the deceased sculptor and the caretaker (in the name of his minor children) of his properties, who started to compile the *Libro dell'Attoria* (CARL, *op. cit.*, pp. 377–382).

²² I found only one reference in the literature on Verrocchio that, upon the relatively correct interpretation of the sources, supposed that demanding the payment for the marbles may refer to an earlier commission. This reference does not exclude the completion of the fountain, either. See P. ADORNO, *Il Verrocchio. Nuove proposte nella civiltà artistica del tempo di Lorenzo il magnifico*, Florence, 1991, pp. 175–176. But Adorno localizes the fountain to the summer palace of Visegrád without any grounds. Passavant also supposed, without further argumentation, that the fountain may have been commissioned in the middle of the decade; see PASSAVANT, *op. cit.* (see note 15), p. 208.

²³ Verrocchio's last will (Venice, 25 June 1488, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, cod. 2713) was published by G. GAYE, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV. XV. XVI*, Florence, 1839, I, pp. 367–370, doc. CLXXXI. Another original version was published by COVI, *op. cit.* (2005, see note 11), App. II/iv, Nr. 20, pp. 279–280, with further comments.

²⁴ The document cited earlier does not of course indicate the intended location of the fountain. It was meant, however, most probably to decorate the Buda palace. We may exclude the Visegrád summer palace on the grounds that two large-size fountains are known there, but both of them (the Hercules fountain and the fountain of the Muses) were made of red marble and both of them were most probably made by Giovanni Dalmata. We may easily reject Fabriczy's proposition that attributes to Verrocchio the (recently excavated) fountain of the Muses known from Miklós Oláh's description in his work titled *Hungaria* (around 1536). See C. von FABRICZY, "Due opere di Andrea

In the Hungarian scholarly literature, Verrocchio's marble fountain is traditionally linked—though without good reason—to Angelo Poliziano's two, largely identical, epigrams written in distichs *in fontem Ungari Regis*.²⁵ Both of them summarize the essential features of the fountain: it was carved by a Florentine master (“tusca manus”) of Tuscan (*scil.* Carrara) marble (“tuscum marmor”), and it was commissioned by King Matthias (“Mathiae ut regi . . . rex Ungarus auctor”).²⁶ In Balogh's view the epigrams were mere laudatory poems with the same role as the lines praising the king's fountain in Naldo Naldi's above-mentioned panegyrics.

This possibility—that Naldi mentions the fountain described in Poliziano's epigrams—arose frequently among scholars. Naldi, who had very good relations with Poliziano, might have obtained his information from Bartolomeo Fonzio, who visited Buda, or perhaps from Taddeo Ugoletto, the librarian in Buda, when the latter came to Florence. This identification appears as early as 1817 in a footnote of Thomas F. Dibdin's *The Bibliographical Decameron*, a practically forgotten work dealing partly with Renaissance art in Hungary.²⁷ Recently Klára

Ferrucci esistenti in Ungheria,” *L'arte*, XII, 1909, pp. 302–303. BALOGH (*op. cit.* [1966, see note 2], p. 226) publishes the relevant texts of Miklós Oláh. As to the recently recovered findings, see *Matthias Corvinus, the King*, *op. cit.* (see note 1), cat. 9.15 [G. BUZÁS].

²⁵ ANGELO AMBROGINI POLIZIANO, *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite*, ed. I. DEL LUNGO, Florence, 1867, p. 161, Carmen XCVII (*In fontem Ungari regis*): “Usque fluentina vectum est hoc marmor ab urbe, / Mathiae ut regi largior unda fluat” and Carmen XCVIII (*In eundem*): “Tusca manus, Tuscum marmor, rex Ungarus auctor: / Aureus hoc Ister surgere fonte velit.” See also BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), p. 513, and ADORNO, *op. cit.* (see note 22), p. 176.

²⁶ The use of the qualificative adjective *fluentina* (=Florentine) derives from a *locus* in Leonardo Bruni's *Historiae Florentini populi*. See ANGELO AMBROGINI POLIZIANO, *op. cit.* (see note 25), note on p. 162. Poliziano uses the noun *Fluentia* also (Epigram XVII, 5). See P. VITI, “Su alcune poesie encomiastiche del Poliziano per Lorenzo il Magnifico,” in P. VITI (ed.), *Il Poliziano latino. Atti del seminario di Lecce—28 aprile 1994*, Galatina, 1996, pp. 44–45. We can find in other places, too, the expression *tusca manus* in relation to marble statues made in Florence: in his poem Alessandro Sertino panegyricizes Vincenzo de Rossi's copy of the Laocoön group: “At modo non tantum scripsit quod carmine vates / quodque adeo excudit marmore tusca manus.” See S. SETTIS, *Laocoonte. Fama e stile*, Rome, 2006, p. 226.

²⁷ T. F. DIBDIN, *The Bibliographical Decameron or, Ten Days Pleasant Discourse upon Illuminated Manuscripts and Subjects Connected With Early Engraving, Typography, and Bibliography*, London, 1817, II, pp. 457–458. In the *Decameron* of the bibliophile man of letters, Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776–1847), on the VIIIth Day the characters Almansa, Lorenzo, Belinda, Philemon, Lysander, and Lisardo are talking about the bindings of books and codices. Lisardo here speaks about King Matthias, the “dragon-like Bibliomaniac,” and his Corvina Library, giving a detailed account of the history of the latter. Dibdin attached very detailed and thorough notes to his literary work. Concerning the marble fountain described in Naldi's poem and Poliziano's epigrams, Dibdin obtained his

Pajorin repeated Jolán Balogh's assumption, saying that Naldi's poem may refer to the Verrocchio fountain praised in the epigrams of Poliziano.²⁸ In fact, the resemblances between Naldi's and Poliziano's texts can easily be recognized: for example, both of them thought it important to mention that the fountain's marble had come from Tuscany.²⁹ This information, though not negligible, is still insufficient for identification. The lines of Naldi, however, clearly suggest that the erection of decorative fountains was a well-known fact about, or least a due expectation in relation to, the art patronage of King Matthias.

The fact that Poliziano's epigrams refer to the Verrocchio fountain as suggested by Balogh could be proven without doubt only recently. Francesco Caglioti published in 1994 the autograph notebook (*zibaldone*) of Lorenzo Guidetti, datable to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and certainly before 1494 (now in the Biblioteca Corsiniana). One page of the manuscript lists, with the authenticity of an eyewitness, the inscriptions (*didascalie*) on the already lost or much altered pedestals of antique and modern sculptures in the Medici palace.³⁰

information mostly from F. X. SCHIER, *Dissertatio de regiae budensis bibliothecae Mathiae Corvini, ortu, lapsu, interitu, et reliquiis*, Wien, 1799, pp. 14–15, and notes h and i on pp. 17–18.

²⁸ K. PAJORIN, "L'opera di Naldo Naldi sulla biblioteca di Mattia Corvino e la biblioteca umanistica ideale," in L. SECCHI TARUGI (ed.), *L'Europa del libro nell'età dell'umanesimo*, Florence, 2004, p. 327.

²⁹ "Ex illis alter pario de marmore constat / Vectus ab Hetruscis oris . . ." See BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), p. 147, and also PATAKI, *op. cit.* (see note 10), pp. 226, 403–404. The fountain was made undoubtedly not from Parian, that is, from Greek, but from Carrara marble that had come from the shores of Tuscany. The poetic attributive *pario* refers obviously to the fact that the color of the marble was white.

³⁰ Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Ms. 36.E.19 (=fondo Niccolò Rossi, 230), fol. 190v (olim 238v). Kristeller was the first to refer to the existence of the epigrams written on the pedestals of the Donatello statues and the Verrocchio fountain. See P. O. KRISTELLER, (ed.), *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, London, 1967, II, pp. 115–116. This reference was "found" and the page was published only by F. Caglioti; see F. CAGLIOTI, "Donatello, i Medici e Gentile de' Becchi: un po' d'ordine intorno alla 'Giuditta' (e al 'David') di Via Larga, I" *Prospettiva*, Nos. 75–76, 1994, pp. 15–16, and note 47. See also F. CAGLIOTI, *Donatello e i Medici. Storia del David e della Giuditta*, Florence, 2000, I, pp. 1–21, esp. p. 11; and II, fig. 23. The handwriting of the manuscript was attributed to Lorenzo Guidetti by the late Albinia de la Mare; see A. DE LA MARE, "New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence," in A. GARZELLI (ed.), *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440–1525. Un primo censimento*. Scandicci, 1985, I, p. 511. I myself, in my earlier papers dealing with the same subject matter, have erroneously stated that Péter Meller and Caglioti reviewed the Corsiniana manuscript in 2000 independently from each other. See D. PÓCS, "Recent Researches on Donatello and Early Medicean Art Patronage. Francesco Caglioti: Donatello e i Medici. Storia del David e della Giuditta. Leo S. Olschki Editore, Firenze, 2000," *Acta Historiae Artium*, XLVI, 2005, p. 274. See also *Matthias*

Poliziano's first epigram on Matthias' fountain (XCVII: "Usque fluentina . . .") appears among the *didascaliae* of Donatello's two bronze statues—*David* and *Judith and Holofernes*—commissioned by Cosimo and Piero de' Medici in the courtyard and gardens, respectively, of the family palace in the via Larga. The epigram is introduced by a *rubricella*, an explanatory text that is of utmost importance to us: "Epigram circumscribed on the marble fountain carved in Florence by the distinguished sculptor Verrocchio, for King Matthias, 1485."³¹ The *rubricella*, for all its brevity, is very precise and highly informative in its condensed form and—like the document from 1488—confirms that the fountain was made in Florence.

Giudetti, as proven by Caglioti, copied all the inscriptions on the page of the Corsiniana manuscript directly from the pedestals of Donatello's statues. The *rubricella* of the Poliziano epigram proves this by its indication that the text is circumscribed (*circumscriptum*) on the fountain. In regards to the expression "circumscribed," we may suppose that the two-line distich was placed either on the base of the fountain or it ran around the shaft above the basin.³² This latter solution, though somewhat unusual for a fountain, is far from rare. Several inscriptions appearing on the same page of the Corsiniana manuscript might have been placed similarly, though in the *rubricellae* of these we do not find the expression *circumscriptum*. The epigram starting with "Victor est . . ." was most probably circumscribed on the upper part

Corvinus, the King, *op. cit.* (see note 2), cat. 9.14.a–b [D. Pócs]. In his lecture given at the Research Institute for Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences ("Problematic of the Verrocchio Fountain,") on 17 October 2000, Meller, who is now deceased, referred to Caglioti's 1994 publication in the *Prospettiva*. Árpád Mikó, in a catalogue entry describing the fragment, makes a reference to Meller's unpublished lecture. See *Mary of Hungary*, *op. cit.* (see note 4), cat. II–10, and most recently Á. Mikó, "Meller Péter (Budapest, 1923–Solvang, USA, 2008)," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, LVIII, 2009, p. 151. It is important to note that in other manuscripts containing the *didascaliae* of the Donatello statues, the inscription on the Verrocchio fountain does not appear. A list of the *didascaliae* is in CAGLIOTI (2000), *op. cit.*, II, pp. 398–399.

³¹ "Epigram(m)a circu(m)scriptu(m) fonti marmoreo a Verocchio / scultore egregio florentie excul[p]-to ad mathiam / ungarie regem 1485. / Usque fluentina vectum est hoc marmor ab urbe / Mathie ut regi latior unda fluat."

³² In the case of our first theory we have to take into consideration that the design of the pedestals of the so-called *cylix*-type fountains made in Florence during the second half of the Quattrocento was usually not round-shaped, but in the form of a concave triangle. On these, *didascaliae* could in fact appear, but their arrangement—usually on *tabula ansata*—cannot by all means be characterized as *circumscriptum*. On the *cylix*-type fountains in Florentine Quattrocento sculpture and their painted representations, see BUTTERFIELD, *op. cit.* (see note 12), p. 127.

of the column of the new pedestal (made by Desiderio da Settignano around 1458–1459) of Donatello's *David*.³³ In case of the Judith and Holofernes statue the positioning is even more probable. Most of the original pedestal of this statue, replaced in front of the Signoria during the last days of 1495, shortly after the Medici were expelled, remains intact. On the frieze of the white, round-shaped marble cornice above the monumental granite baluster, a text with anti-Medicean interpretations is indeed "circumscribed," and it is most likely that the original inscription, known from Guidetti's manuscript, was placed in the same position, between the bronze statue and the supporting baluster.³⁴

I don't suggest, however, that the date appearing in the Corsiniana manuscript (1485) was shown anywhere on the fountain as well. It is not impossible that it indicates the date when Guidetti copied the inscription, but it is even more likely that it indicates the date of the fountain's completion. This latter possibility is supported by the way in which Guidetti registered the inscriptions of Donatello's Judith and Holofernes statue immediately below the Poliziano epigram: the year 1464 appears at the end of the introductory *rubricella*.³⁵ This certainly may refer to the statue's date of completion, or more precisely, to the date of its erection in the north side of the Medici palace garden, though it did not appear on the original inscription of the statue's base.

Not only the contents of the *rubricella* preceding Poliziano's epigram, but some philological peculiarities of the epigram's text itself confirm that Guidetti used firsthand information. The word *latior* in the second line stands for *largior*, which is the version appearing in all the other known manuscripts, in the *editio princeps*, and in later printed editions as well.

³³ We may draw this conclusion from the expression in the *rubricella*: "posita super columna marmorea," which is similar to the remark in Guidetti's other autograph manuscript, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (henceforth BML), Ms. Acquisti e Doni 82, fol. 32r (olim fol. 202r): "super columna." See CAGLIOTI, *op. cit.* (2000, see note 30), I, pp. 6, 11; II, figs. 21, 23.

³⁴ Caglioti assumes that this part of the pedestal also remained more or less in its original shape. CAGLIOTI, *op. cit.* (2000, see note 30), I, p. 100, note 80. Among others, a marginal remark in Bartolomeo Fonzio's *zibaldone* (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 907, fol. 142v) refers to the position of the original inscriptions: "In columna sub Iudith in area medicea." See CAGLIOTI, *op. cit.* (2000, see note 30), I, p. 3, notes 7–10, and pp. 13–14. As to the codex, see further S. CAROTTI-S. ZAMPONI, *Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Fonzio umanista fiorentino*, Milan, 1974, No. 13, pp. 60–68.

³⁵ "Epigramma sub imagine aenea Judith mulieris hebreae Olophernem iugulantis super marmorea basi in orto Petri Cosmi de Medicis, 1464." See CAGLIOTI, *op. cit.* (see note 30), I, p. 11; and II, fig. 23.

Not much before his death in 1494, Poliziano planned to collect his Latin and Greek epigrams in a printed edition, but could not accomplish this work. Because of this, not all of his poems could appear in the *editio princeps* published by Aldo Manuzio (in Latin, Aldus Manutius) in Venice in 1498.³⁶ The two epigrams on King Matthias' Buda fountain are included in this edition, and it appears in the incunabulum published the following year.³⁷ Furthermore, we may count other sources, too. Poliziano's epigrams were disseminated in his lifetime mostly among his friends, and many of them are found in manuscripts written before the death of the humanist or before the publication of the Aldine edition. In case of the poems on the Buda fountain it should be noted that in a few not very well-known manuscripts the two epigrams appear separately. This means that, contrary to the epigram oeuvre canonized in the Aldine edition, the two poems lived "separate lives," as though they were interchangeable. Poliziano, however—in accordance with the humanists' practice—sometimes prepared variants on the same subject matter so that the patron or his adviser could choose the most appropriate one. We may come to this conclusion in the present case as well, since inscribing both of the epigrams on the fountain would have been unnecessary. But the author disseminated both variants among his friends. The same happened in the case of Benedetto da Maiano's Giotto epitaph made for the Florence cathedral: the *editio princeps* includes only the inscription seen in the cathedral today, but Poliziano wrote at least five other variants that are known only from a manuscript.³⁸

³⁶ A. PEROSA, "Contributi e proposte per la pubblicazione delle opere latine del Poliziano," in ID., *Studi di filologia umanistica. I. Angelo Poliziano*, ed. P. VITI, Rome, 2000, pp. 7–11; A. PEROSA, "Studi sulla tradizione delle poesie latine del Poliziano," in ID., *op. cit.*, pp. 17–18, and note 3 (originally published in *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli*, Florence, 1955, pp. 539–562).

³⁷ *Omnia opera Angeli Politiani, et alia quaedam lectu digna, quorum nomina in sequenti indice uidere licet*, Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi Romani, mense Julio MIIID, p. hh 7r; *Angeli Politiani Opera, Florentiae* . . . opera et impensa Leonardi de Arigis de Gesoriaco, Die decimo augusti MID [recte: Brescia, Bernardino Misinta], p. K. 2r.

³⁸ Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (henceforth BNCF), Autogr. Pal. II, 57. The manuscript containing the six epigrams was found by Del Lungo, see ANGELO AMBROGINI POLIZIANO, *op. cit.* (see note 25), *Epigrammata Latina LXXXVI–XCI*, pp. 156–159. As to the codex, see *Mostra del Poliziano nella Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Manoscritti, libri rari, autografi e documenti*, ed. A. PEROSA, Florence, 1955, p. 98, cat. 104. As to the Giotto epitaph, see CARL, *op. cit.* (see note 21), I, pp. 146–150.

We can find the distichs written on the Buda fountain in at least three pre-Aldine manuscripts from the fifteenth century, but philological research has revealed only one that contains both of them, and which can most probably be traced back to an identical source with the *Aldina*.³⁹ Both of the other two manuscripts include only one of the poems. This may reinforce our inference that in this case we can speak not about a cycle of epigrams, but about variants written on the same subject matter, as it was confirmed also by the above interpretation of Guidetti's manuscript.

Jacopo Modesti da Prato's autograph manuscript in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, dating from the end of the fifteenth century (Plut. 90, sup. 37), is well known to Poliziano scholars. Angelo Maria Bandini reviewed it thoroughly and published a part of its text in his catalogue of the Laurentian Library, while later Isidoro del Lungo referred to it in his Poliziano edition of 1867. Recently, Alessandro Perosa examined the manuscript with great care. But the information regarding the distich written on the Buda fountain escaped the attention of all these scholars.⁴⁰ Modesti, who was a close friend of Poliziano's, copied several works of the latter into his codex. Many of these were not published in the *editio princeps* of Poliziano's works. On fol. 105r of the Modesti manuscript is a list containing the short titles and incipits of Poliziano's fifty epigrams. Modesti tells that the poems themselves were to be found in one of his other codices, written by himself as well. While this codex is unfortunately lost, a short remark on the thirteenth item in the list is of great importance. It lists the incipit *Thusca manus* but gives a title dissimilar to the one otherwise

³⁹ BNCF, Florence, Ms. Conv. Soppr., S. Marco J, II, 21, fol. 159v. The scribe, and possessor at the same time of the small-size paper codex, was—according to the note in fol. 1v—Fra Leonardo Silvestri, the Dominican friar of the San Marco Monastery: "Conventus Sancti Marci de Florentia ad usum F(rat)ris Leonardi Sylvestri de Florentia qui ipsum compilavit ac manu propria exaravit." As to the colophon and dating (end 15th cent.) of the codex, see I. MAÏER, *Les manuscrits d'Ange Politien. Catalogue descriptif*, Geneva, 1965, pp. 138–139. See also *Mostra del Poliziano*, *op. cit.* (see note 38), p. 98, cat. 107. A much later manuscript from the sixteenth century in the Vatican Library includes incorrect versions of the texts: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Ottob. Lat. 2860, fol. 28v. See MAÏER, *op. cit.*, pp. 280–281.

⁴⁰ BML, Florence, Plut. 90. sup. 37, fol. 105r. See A. M. BANDINUS, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, Florentiae, 1776, III, coll. 541–542. See also *Mostra del Poliziano*, *op. cit.* (see note 38), p. 107, cat. 127; A. PEROSA, "Studi sulla tradizione delle poesie latine del Poliziano," in PEROSA, "Studi di filologia . . .," *op. cit.* (see note 36), pp. 27–28. See also Pico, *Poliziano e l'Umanesimo di fine Quattrocento*, ed. P. VITI, Florence, 1994, pp. 105–106, cat. 33.

known from the *Aldina* and later editions: *In Fontem marmoreum*.⁴¹ Without mentioning the Hungarian king, this *inscriptio*, like the one in Guidetti's manuscript prefacing the other epigram, indicates the material of the fountain.

It seems, however, that in the Medici circle it was not only Poliziano whose interest was aroused by the marble fountain. The humanist chancellor of Florence, Bartolomeo Scala (1430–1497), also wrote an epigram. Scala played a role in the diplomatic relations between Florence and the Buda court in the first half of the decade.⁴² The only source for this text that is known to me was published long ago, but it has seemingly avoided the attention of scholars writing on the Verrocchio fountain.⁴³ Scala's epigram, followed by Poliziano's poem starting

⁴¹ BANDINUS, *op. cit.* (see note 40), col. 541: "Inscriptiones, et initia plurimorum Politiani Carminum, quibus hoc monitum praemittitur: Multa alia Carmina Ang.[eli] Pol.[itiani] invenies nostra manu scripta in alio nostro libello sign.[ato] A a ch.[arta] 32. usque ad ch.[artam] 53, quorum principia sunt inscripta:

Inscriptiones	Initia
(...)	(...)
In Fontem marmoreum	Thusca manus
(...)	(...)"

⁴² Alison Brown published Scala's letter dated 22 June 1482, to Domenico Giugni, who was staying at that time in Buda. See BARTOLOMEO SCALA, *Humanistic and Political Writings*, ed. A. BROWN, Tempe (AZ), 1997, pp. 128–130, doc. 153. In his letter, Scala asks for Domenico's personal intervention to the Hungarian king to promote the peace between Emperor Frederick III and King Matthias. Brown also emphasized that Scala in his letter refers to the brother of Domenico, Francesco Giugni, who not much earlier had the copies of the first two books of Marsilio Ficino's letters made for Matthias. Ficino gives an account of the above in his letter dated 9 May 1482 to Francesco Bandini, who was staying in Buda at that time ("Dedicavi Mathiae invicto Pannoniae regi geminos nostrorum libros epistolarum, qui nunc Francisci Iunii opera excscribuntur"; see E. ÁBEL-ST. HEGEDŰS (ed.), *Analecta nova ad Historiam Renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*, Budapest, 1903, p. 275, and Sebastiano Salvini, the scribe of the codex dedicated to Matthias, also mentions it in the colophon of the Corvina (Herzog August Bibliothek [henceforth referred to as HAB], Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 12 Aug. 4^o, fol. 148r). As to Domenico Giugni, who was staying in Hungary from 1475 (at the earliest) until at least 1485, see BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), I, pp. 406, 460, 598, 608, 677, 695. Domenico Giugni, who was not merely a merchant, but also the "Consillere del Re d'Ungheria," is a participant in Aurelio Brandolini Lippi's dialogue *De comparatione rei publicae et regni*. This work was originally meant for Matthias, but after the death of the king the author dedicated it to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1490. See D. PÓCS, "Holy Spirit in the Library: The Frontispiece of the Didymus Corvina and Neoplatonic Theology at the Court of King Matthias Corvinus," *Acta Historiae Artium*, XLI, 1999/2000, pp. 146–149, with further literature.

⁴³ Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, Florence, Cod. B. V. 2., fol. 125r (olim 48r, 82r). Five poems are found on this page: 1) the epitaph of Lorenzo Valla by Leonardo Dati; 2) the first line of an epigram "De quodam vitellio" by Antonio Cornazzano (c. 1430–c. 1485); 3–4) epigrams of Scala and Poliziano on Matthias' fountain; and 5) the first line of the epitaph of "Roberti Ariminensi," that is, of Roberto Malatesta, who died after the victorious battle against the Neapolitan troops at

with “Usque fluentina . . . ,” appears in the last folio (fol. 125r) of a small paper codex written by various hands and consisting of several fasciculi of the Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore in Florence (Fig. 5):

Bartholomei Scalae disticu(m)
In fontem Ungarj Regis.

Et spectare uolu(n)t oculi: et dormire iubentur.
Aut sit pulchra minus: aut sonet unde minus.

Angeli politianj In eunde(m)
Fontem Vnghari Regis

Vsq(ue) fluentiná uectu(m) est hoc marmor ab urbe
Mathiae ut regi largior unda fluat

The curious aspect of Scala's distich is that it does not refer either to the material of the fountain or to the individual who commissioned it. We could not even identify which fountain of King Matthias it refers to exactly, if it were not followed by Poliziano's already known epigram and if the title of the latter did not clearly state: . . . *in eundem fontem*. As this page of the codex was written certainly after 1477 but with great probability before the end of the fifteenth century, we

Campomorto in 1482 and was given a solemn funeral in Saint Peter's in Rome. See P. J. JONES, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State*, London, 1974, p. 250. It seems that the text of Cornazano's epitaph was inserted at a later date between the poems of Dati and Scala. The same is true for the Malatesta epitaph, but it was written by the same hand as nos. 1, 3, and 4. As to the manuscript, see P. O. KRISTELLER, *op. cit.* (see note 30), Leyden, 1990, V, p. 618. Based on Kristeller's remarks, Alison Brown published the text of Scala's epigram before the *Iter's* publication but Brown's review remained practically unnoticed. See A. BROWN, *Bartolommeo Scala, 1430–1497: Chancellor of Florence: The Humanist as Bureaucrat*, Princeton, 1979, p. 273, note 57, and also in its Italian edition: A. BROWN, *Bartolomeo Scala, 1430–1497, cancelliere di Firenze: l'umanista dello Stato*, Florence, 1990, p. 187, note 57. More recently, see BARTOLOMEO SCALA, *op. cit.* (see note 42), p. 451, and note a. Brown—without referring to Poliziano's epigram—identified Scala's poem with the Verrocchio fountain only in this latest edition. Further, the Scala epigram is referred to only by Zita Pataki. See PATAKI, *op. cit.* (see note 10), note 683 on pp. 223–224, and p. 442, but the text here is published with errors, and the author when referring to another fountain in Buda does not acknowledge the fact that in the manuscript Scala's and Poliziano's epigram appear—and belong—together. As to the codex, see further A. PEROSA, “L'epigrammaton libellus' di Domizio Calderini,” in *Medioevo e Rinascimento veneto, con altri studi in onore di Dino Lazzarini*, Padua, 1979, I, pp. 506–507, note 18. (The codex here is referred to as Ms. B. V. 21. instead of B. V. 2.)

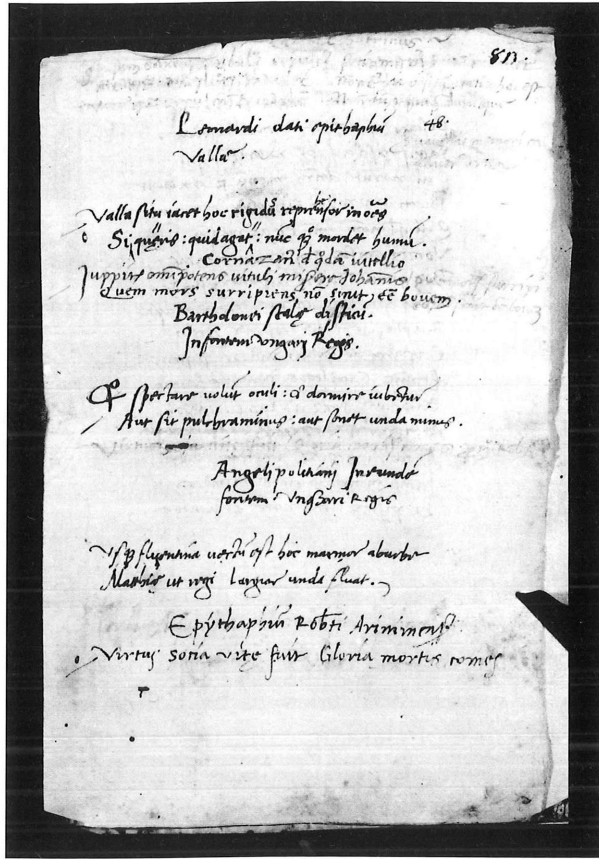


Fig. 5. Epigraphic collection, late fifteenth cent. Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, Florence, Ms. B. V. 2, fol. 125r.

cannot determine exactly when Scala's epigram was composed.⁴⁴ It is very likely, however, that the text dates to no later than 1485, and that

⁴⁴ The first part of the small-size paper codex contains abstracts from the works of ancient authors (Silius Italicus, Statius, etc.). From among the two dates appearing in the book, the first one refers only to this part, that is, to the first four fasciculi (fol. 71r): *festinanter excrpsimus Idibus Aprilis 1464*. After this colophon until the end of the fasciculus there are five more—empty—pages. The second date is at the end of the next fasciculus (fol. 77r): *Die 16 Januarij 1476*. This latter date, as given according to the Florentine calendar, should be understood as 1477. The next unit of the codex—written in different color ink and with a more disorderly handwriting—includes the works of contemporary poets, among them Janus Pannonius. On the upper part of fol. 125r the traces of earlier, mostly erased handwriting are found.

the author had composed his poem at the same time as Poliziano, as though in competition with him.

It is not coincidental that it was Poliziano's epigram that was chosen for Verrocchio's fountain. In the 1480s, Lorenzo's protégé was the favorite author of inscriptions in Florence.⁴⁵ Taking into account the Guidetti *zibaldone*, we may say even more about the circumstances of the commission. Noteworthy, but at the same time a bit disturbing, is the fact that Guidetti publishes the inscription among the texts related to the Medici sculptures, though it is very unlikely that the fountain was ever in the Palazzo Medici. Instead, the inclusion of the Matthias fountain among the sculptures of the Medici palace may convey Guidetti's sense that this monument had been somehow related to the Medici. Verrocchio, in his capacity as the sculptor of Lorenzo de' Medici, in effect inherited the privileged role that Donatello played under Cosimo and Piero de' Medici. Poliziano's case is similar: as illustrated—among others—by two of his well-known epigrams (the distichs dedicated to Lorenzo's fountains in the gardens of the Villa at Poggio a Caiano) he took over the place of Gentile de' Becchi as the author of *didascalie* in the Medici court.⁴⁶ Considering the above, it might not be an exaggeration if we suspect Lorenzo of playing an "intermediary" role in the king's commission.

In view of Guidetti's *zibaldone*, therefore, we may conclude that Verrocchio completed his fountain for Matthias in Florence by 1485, or the early months of 1486. This conclusion is also supported by the above-detailed interpretation of the legal document that was made three years later. Verrocchio's work that was completed around 1485 in Florence had by all means arrived in Hungary, and Poliziano's epigram starting with "Usque fluentina" was inscribed on its shaft or pedestal.

There is, however, a not easily resolvable contradiction in relation to the date of 1485. We know well that Poliziano played an active role in improving Matthias' library in Buda between 1488 and 1490, and

⁴⁵ *Il Giardino di San Marco. Maestri e compagni del giovane Michelangelo*, ed. P. BAROCCHI, Ciniello Balsamo–Milan, 1992, p. 100, note 151. Here Barocchi links the Poliziano epigram to the Verrocchio fountain, which—in her view—was sent to Hungary in 1488 from the sculptor's workshop.

⁴⁶ ANGELO AMBROGINI POLIZIANO, *op. cit.* (see note 25), *Epigrammata latina*, XCIX–C, p. 162. In this case, however, we should not assume there was a *didascalia* on an existing fountain. About the villa of Lorenzo that was planned to be built in Poggio a Caiano, and Poliziano's poem alluding to it and titled *Ambra*, see F. W. KENT, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence*, Baltimore (MD)–London, 2004, pp. 115–119.



Fig. 6. Synesius-Ficino codex from the Corvina Library, illuminated by ATTAVANTE DEGLI ATTAVANTI, ca. 1484–1485. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Ms. Guelf. 2 Aug 4^o, fol. 1v; detail: bas-de-pages.

that he was in regular contact with Taddeo Ugoletto, the king's librarian in Buda.⁴⁷ The beginnings of his contacts with the Buda court may date even earlier, but this cannot be defined exactly. The earliest known source is a lengthy letter offering his services to the king, in which he says: "Your majesty is at present engaged in founding a library, at once magnificent, and richly furnished with books: I can, as occasion may require, employ my pen in translations from the Greek language into the Latin:—or in original compositions, which may not prove unworthy the attention of men of letters. You are erecting a palace of unequalled grandeur: and adorning your capital with statues of brass and marble. The most eminent artists are continually engaged, in supplying you with exquisite paintings, and other works of art. These, the Muse of Politian can celebrate, if it be your royal pleasure, in numbers not unworthy of such subjects."⁴⁸ This letter, however, was definitely

⁴⁷ See BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), I, p. 554–555; V. BRANCA, *Poliziano e l'umanesimo della parola*, Turin, 1983, pp. 124–133.

⁴⁸ Ep. IX,1, see *Analecta nova, op. cit.* (see note 44), p. 425: "Bibliothecam video iam pridem comparas omnium : sicut expectamus : non ornatissimum (sic!) solum sed etiam copiosissimam. Possumus igitur multa (si res postulet) e graeco vertere in latinum tibi, multaque rursus quasi nova cadere. Quae nec ab eruditissimis forsitan respuantur. Regiam construis longe magnificentissimam, forumque tuum simulachris omne genus vel aeneis vel marmoreis exornas. Nec autem cessant ubique terrarum nobilissimi pictores tabulas tibi pulcherrimas vivis animare coloribus. Et ista ergo possumus te iubente non erubescendis illustrare carminibus." The English translation is from W. P. GRESWELL,

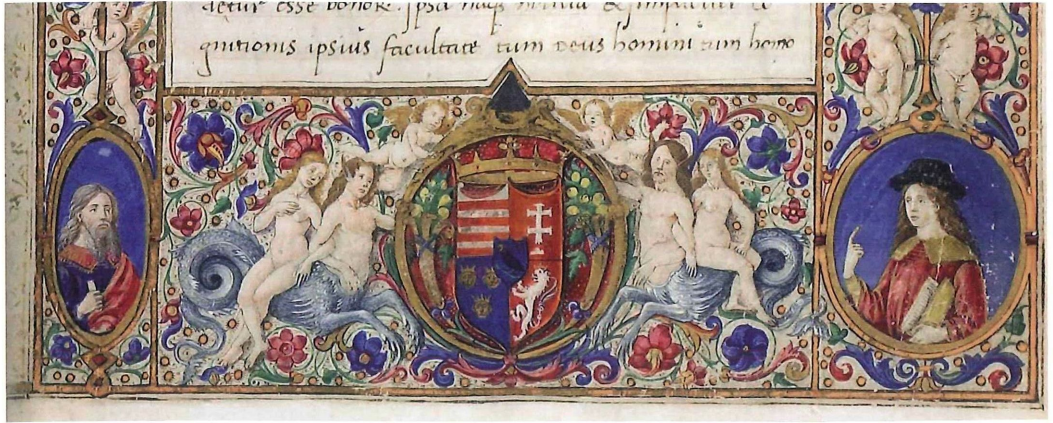


Fig. 7. Synesius-Ficino codex from the Corvina Library, illuminated by ATTAVANTE DEGLI ATTAVANTI, ca. 1484–1485. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Ms. Guelf. 2 Aug 4^o, fol. 2r; detail: bas-de-pages.

composed after 1485, possibly in the second half of 1486: its text reveals that the letter—as a dedication—was meant to be attached before the *Nutricia*, the last, fourth piece of his *Sylvae* cycle, what Poliziano completed only in the autumn of 1486.⁴⁹

Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, Joannes Picus of Mirandula, Actius Sincerus Sannazarius, Petrus Bem-bus, Hieronymus Fracastorius, Marcus Antonius Flaminius, and the Amalthei, London, 1805, 2nd ed., pp. 115–116. In the introduction of his letter Poliziano mentions that he was incited to write it by a conversation he had with Filippo Valori, the mentor of Ficino, who had been in touch with the Buda court since the beginning of the decade and, between 1484 and 1490, had sent at least four codices including the works of Ficino to the Hungarian king. One of these was a very richly decorated codex, including *Epistolarum libri VIII* (HAB, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 73 Aug. 2^o, made around 1488). As to the four codices, see D. PÓCS, “Urbino, Florence, Buda: Models and Parallels in the Development of the Royal Library,” in *Matthias Corvinus, the King*, *op. cit.* (see note 1), note 31 on p. 161. See also BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), p. 555. For the dedication to Matthias, see *Analecta nova*, *op. cit.* (see note 44), pp. 476–477.

⁴⁹ Schier was the first to recognize that Poliziano’s letter refers to the *Nutricia*. See F. X. SCHIER, *op. cit.* (see note 27), note c on p. 22. See also AMBROGIO AMBROGINI POLIZIANO, *op. cit.* (see note 25), note on p. 162. As to the dating of the *Nutricia*, see I. MAÏER, *Ange Politien. La formation d’un poète humaniste (1469–1480)*, Geneva, 1966, p. 427 (8 October 1486, Fiesole). On this basis, Maïer dates Poliziano’s letter to the 1486/1487 academic year, while Branca proposes a slightly later date, 1488. See BRANCA, *op. cit.* (see note 47), p. 126. According to Martelli, however, the letter must have been written not much after Poliziano had finished his poem in October 1486. See M. MARTELLI, “Il ‘libro delle epistole’ di Angelo Poliziano,” in *Id.*, *Angelo Poliziano, storia e metastoria*, Lecce, 1995, pp. 247–250 (ed. orig. in *Interpres*, I, 1978, pp. 184–255). See also ANGELO POLIZIANO, *Sylvae*, ed. F. BAUSI, Florence, 1996, note 8 on p. XVI, note 13 on p. XVII, pp. XXXIII–XXXIV, and note 4,

King Matthias, as it is known, made good use of almost all of the services offered by the humanist. Is it possible, though, that Poliziano offered to write laudatory poems on statues and paintings only after he had already written one? Perhaps, if when Verrocchio started to make the fountain he had not yet been in direct contact with the king. Perhaps Poliziano's success in being chosen, most probably by Lorenzo de' Medici, as the author of the fountain's *didascalìa* helped encourage him to search for patronage in the Hungarian court. In the mid-1480s, however, Florentine poets and humanists turned with remarkable devotion to Matthias. (Poliziano's friend Ugolino Verino also dedicated his book of poems to the king at this time.) An exchange of letters in the early autumn of 1485 between Poliziano and Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus Esperiens), the Tuscan humanist living in Cracow, sheds further light on the beginnings of his relations with the royal court. It is not the content, but the rhetorics of these letters that seem to be important: they reveal a mutual appreciation in the field of poetics. Thanks to the words of Buonaccorsi, Poliziano gains in prestige as a poet: "In fact, with you celebrating me I become marketable. Not, however, that I am on the market. For I have no intention ever to change masters." When writing so, Poliziano must have known about the other's connections with the Hungarian court: Buonaccorsi stayed in Buda in 1483–1484 as the envoy of the Polish king, and there he wrote a few poems to Matthias and Queen Beatrice of Aragon.⁵⁰

At this point it is necessary to return to the fountain fragment decorated with the Corvinus ravens and the lion's head. These motifs may seem commonplace but in reality they were carefully chosen attributes. A purely heraldic interpretation is possible: the crescent moon, often appearing in the Hunyadi coat of arms (Fig. 6), is added here to the

p. 163, note for line 4. According to Bausi, Poliziano never sent his poem, originally entitled "Nutrix" to Matthias. It would also mean that his letter, which is to be considered a dedication, had never been sent to Buda either. The *Nutricia* was published after the death of the Hungarian king in 1491, with a new dedication to Cardinal Antoniotto Gentilini (1441–1507).

⁵⁰ "Fiam autem te laudatore vendibilis, potius venalis. Neque enim sum unquam dominum mutaturus." See ANGELO POLIZIANO, *Letters*, ed. and trans. S. BUTLER, Cambridge, MA–London, 2006, I, pp. 136–137 (III, 1). For Buonaccorsi's poems to Matthias and Beatrice, see CALLIMACHI EXPERIENTIS (PHILIPPI BONACCORSI), *Carmina*, ed. F. SICA, Naples, 1981, Carmina XXXVI, CLII–CLV, CLXIII, pp. 150–152, 304–308, 316. See L. SZÖRÉNYI, "Callimaco Esperiente e la corte di re Mattia," in G. C. GARFAGNINI (ed.), *Callimaco Esperiente poeta e politico del '400. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, Florence, 1987, pp. 105–118.

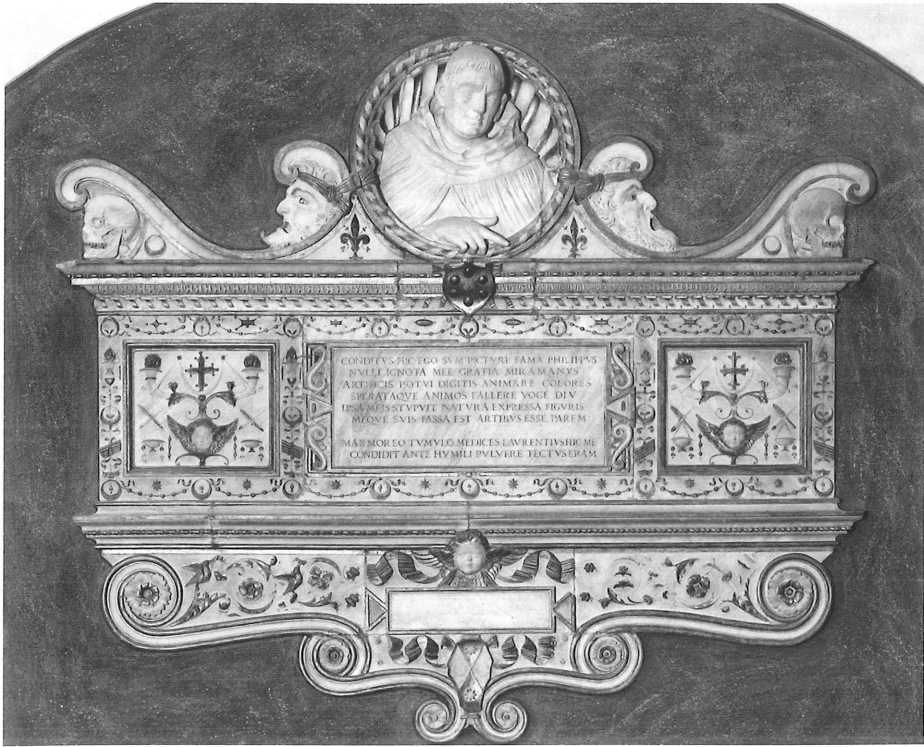


Fig. 8. Cenotaph of Filippo Lippi, design made by Filippino Lippi, execution attributed to AMBROGIO BAROCCI, ca. 1490–1491. Cathedral, Spoleto. Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz.

Corvinus raven holding a ring in its bill and the lion's head, referring perhaps to Matthias' title as King of Bohemia.⁵¹ From a political perspective, however, a more sophisticated meaning can be assumed. The

⁵¹ The motif is interpreted as a heraldic crescent moon by Árpád Mikó. See *Pannonia Regia*, *op. cit.* (see note 2), p. 340, cat. VII–10. As part of the Hunyadi coat of arms it appears on Matthias' golden florin, on several of his seals (e.g., the Great Royal Seal used after 1464), on stone carvings, and on some of the Corvina codices of Florentine origin. See for example, *Matthias Corvinus, the King*, *op. cit.* (see note 1), cat. 4.20 [GY. RÁ CZ], 7.5 [CS. TÓ TH]. It has to be noted that it was exactly the raven and the lion that formed part of the extended Hunyadi coat of arms granted to Matthias' father, John Hunyadi by King Vladislav V in 1453. In this case, the lion stands for the countdom of Beszterce. See *Matthias Corvinus, the King*, *op. cit.* (see note 1), cat. 1.10 [M. SÖ LCH]. In the armorial the heraldic lion is described as a personal attribute of the magnanimous John Hunyadi.

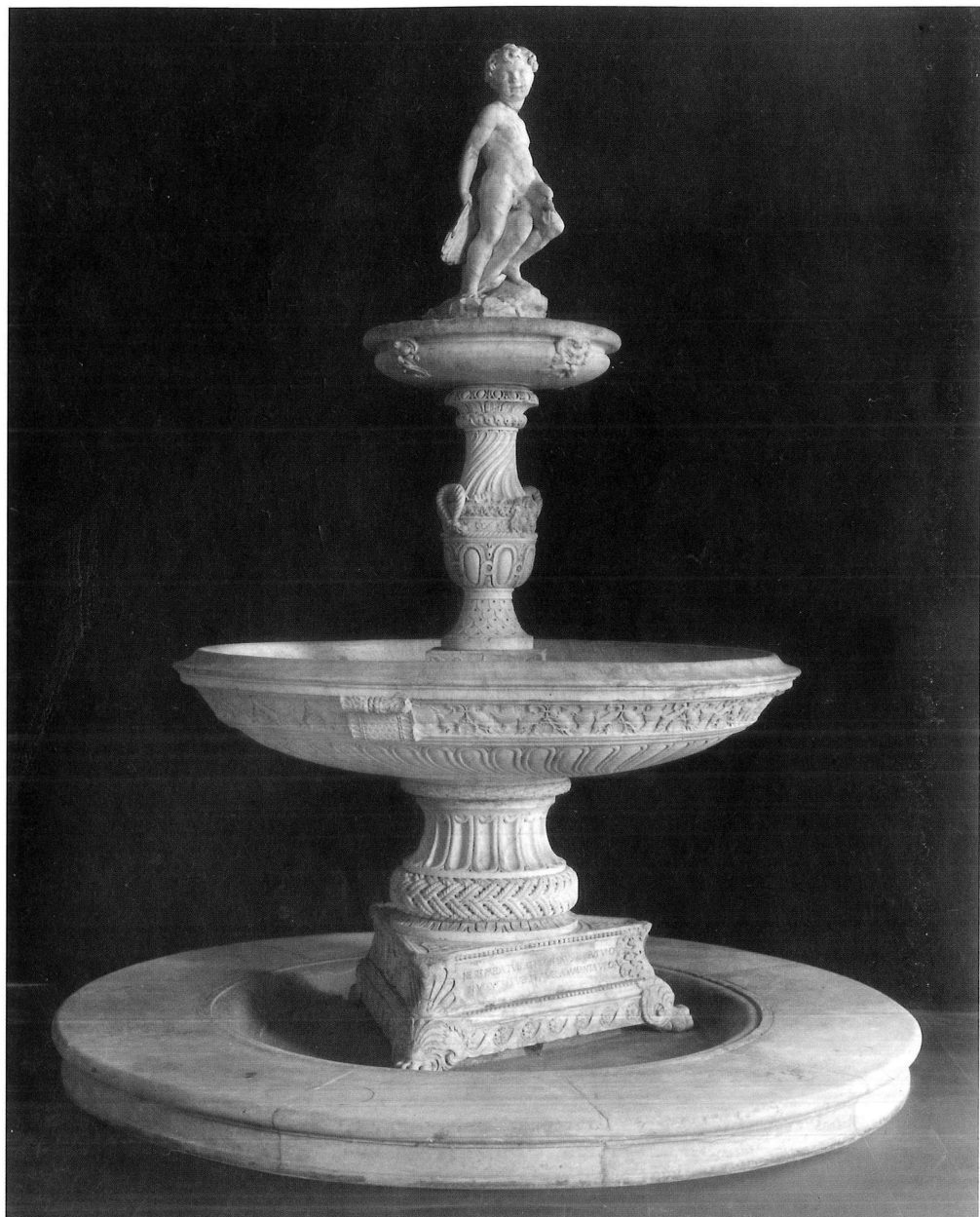


Fig. 9. ANTONIO ROSSELLINO and BENEDETTO DA MAIANO, fountain from the Medici palace, *ca.* 1459–1461, with sixteenth-century additions. Carrara marble. Galleria Palatina, Florence.

lion physiognomy played a basic role in Matthias' portrait iconography, thus creating and popularizing the new image of the ruler as *novus Alexander*.⁵² The animal, interpreted as the attribute of the *princeps magnanimus*, is also known as a diplomatic gift: the Signoria of Florence donated two lions to King Matthias two weeks after the death of Piero de' Medici in December 1469, obviously with the purpose of strengthening the shaky powers of his son Lorenzo. It is stated in the letter that was attached to the gift that the lions symbolized Florence. According to the reply written in the Royal Chancellery and compiled most probably by János Vitéz, one of the lions must have stood for Matthias, because both—the lion and the king—possessed the virtues of Justice and Magnanimity.⁵³ The ring decorated with the diamond became Matthias' personal emblem, imitating Lorenzo's *impresa*, and appeared in Corvina codices prepared in Florence in the last years of his reign (Fig. 7).⁵⁴ Thus it is possible that the round motif shown centrally between the two inverted ravens should be interpreted not as a crescent moon but as a ring, even if it is not decorated with a diamond.⁵⁵

⁵² E. BÉKÉS, "Physiognomy in the Descriptions and Portraits of King Matthias Corvinus," *Acta Historiae Artium*, XLVI, 2005, pp. 69–77.

⁵³ See PÓCS, *op. cit.* (see note 42), pp. 149–153, and note 516. The letters were published in V. FRAKNÓI (ed.), *Mátyás király levelei. Külügyi osztály* [Letters of King Matthias. Foreign relations], Budapest, 1893, I, pp. 241–243. The lions were brought from Florence to Vienna, where Matthias was negotiating with the emperor at the beginning of the following year, by Johannes de Telegd, who earned the sobriquet "Leontius" for this diplomatic mission. See Á. RITÓÓK-SZALAY, "Az öreg Leó" [The Old Leo], in EADEM, "Nympha super ripam Danubii," *Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből* [Essays on 15–16th-century culture in Hungary], Budapest, 2002, pp. 135–136. For the lions in Florence and their symbolic importance, see A. W. B. RANDOLPH, "Il Marzocco: Lionizing the Florentine State," in L. R. JONES-L. C. MATTHEW (ed.), *Coming About . . . A Festschrift for John Shearman*, Cambridge (MA), 2001, pp. 11–18. The Signoria of Florence, also, had earlier sent lions to the Hungarian king: on 24 December 1359, Louis I of Anjou (the Great) received two lion cubs (*duos leonum catulos*). See G. WENZEL (ed.), *Magyar diplomacziái emlékek az Anjoukorból*, Budapest, 1875, II, p. 405. Ernő Marosi was kind enough to call my attention to this data.

⁵⁴ For the Matthias emblems, see L. ZENTAI, "A Mátyás-emblémák értelmezéséhez" [Remarks on the interpretation of the Matthias emblems], *Építés-Építészettudomány*, V, 1974, pp. 365–371, P. DI PIETRO LOMBARDI, "Mattia Corvino e i suoi emblemi," in *Nel segno del corvo. Libri e miniature della biblioteca di Mattia Corvino re d'Ungheria (1443–1490)* (exh. cat., Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena), ed. P. DI PIETRO LOMBARDI-M. RICCI, Modena, 2002, pp. 117–128. The ring decorated with a diamond is the first among Matthias' emblems to appear on the miniatures of the Corvina codices around 1484–1485. See Pócs, *op. cit.* (2008, see note 48), note 44 on p. 162.

⁵⁵ *Mary of Hungary, op. cit.* (see note 4), cat. II–10 [Á. MIKÓ].



Fig. 10. Fountain probably from the garden of Guglielmo de' Pazzi's palace in Florence, attributed to ANTONIO ROSSELLINO and BENEDETTO DA MAIANO. Carrara marble. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Blumenthal Collection, New York.

A political interpretation of the motif is supported by one of Buonaccorsi's poems written around 1483–1484, titled “De adamante, corvo et anulo Mathie regis.” There the author interprets the Corvinus raven as Apollo's attribute, while the ring—with its endless line, reverting into itself—represents the eternity of Matthias' reign.⁵⁶ The iconography of the surviving fountain fragment fits into the context of the symbolic language that carried political messages in the dialogue between Florence and Buda. Both motifs, the ring decorated with a diamond and the crescent moon, appear on a sculpture made on Lorenzo de' Medici's commission around 1491, the tomb of Filippo Lippi (Fig. 8), designed by the painter's son for Spoleto Cathedral. There the rings on the upper register stand for Lorenzo, as a personal emblem, while the crescent moons repeat the heraldic element of the fictive coat of arms situated at the base of the marble tomb.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ “Invictus bello quod sis adamantina virtus / Dat tibi, quod sapias Delphica prestat avis, / Anulus eternum regni portendit honorem; / Namque in se deriens undique fine caret.” See CALLIMACHI EXPERIENTIS, *op. cit.* (see note 50), p. 308, Carmen CLV. The raven's interpretation as Apollo's attribute in the case of a fountain is mostly appropriate. The fountain in this case refers to the Castalian spring, which is illustrated in the frontispiece of one of the most richly decorated Florentine Corvina, the Didymus codex (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Morgan Ms. M 496, fol. 1r); see PÓCS, *op. cit.* (see note 42), pp. 111–113. The Corvinus raven is interpreted the same way in one of Ugolino Verino's epigrams (I, 34, 1–2) dedicated to Matthias at the same time. See UGOLINO VERINO, *Epigrammi*, ed. F. BAUSI, Messina, 1998, p. 238: “Victori corvo cessit Iovis impiger ales; / grator est Phoebus quam fuit ante suo.” The Florentine poet was in regular contact with Poliziano and Buonaccorsi as well.

⁵⁷ On the Lippi monument's attribution, dating, commission, and its connection with Benedetto da Maiano's Giotto and Squarcialupi epitaphs in the Florence cathedral, see most recently D. CARL, “Il ritratto commemorativo di Giotto di Benedetto da Maiano nel Duomo di Firenze,” in M. HAINES (ed.), *Santa Maria del Fiore: The Cathedral and Its Sculpture. Acts of the International Symposium for the VII Centenary of the Cathedral of Florence*, Fiesole, 2001, pp. 129–134; P. ZAMBRANO-J. K. NELSON, *Filippino Lippi*, Milan, 2004, pp. 58–63; KENT, *op. cit.* (see note 46), p. 40; CARL, *op. cit.* (2006, see note 21), p. 150; S. BLAKE-MCHAM, “Tomba come testamento: il monumento funerario di Andrea Bregno,” in C. CRESCENTINI-C. STRINATI (ed.), *Andrea Bregno. Il senso della forma nella cultura artistica del Rinascimento*, Florence, 2008, pp. 420–421. Most recently Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay in her excellent study suggested that Poliziano's verse carved on the tomb has to be dated to the period when Filippo Lippi died, that is, around 1469. Her argument is based on the fact that Poliziano here paraphrased and cited even word-by-word Janus Pannonius' *Laus*, written around 1458 on the double portrait painted by Mantegna and representing himself and his friend Galeotto Marzio. See Á. RITOÓK-SZALAY, “Andrea Mantegna és Janus Pannonius,” *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, LVIII, 2009, pp. 3–4. According to the author, it could have only been the young Poliziano who had to look for a poem by Janus when composing his own work. It has to be noted, however, that Poliziano cited quite frequently the Hungarian humanist's works even in his later period, as in the case of the poem on the death of Albiera degli Albizzi or the *Nutricia*. See F. BAUSI, “Poliziano e la poesia umanistica contemporanea,” in V. FERA-M. MARTELLI, *Agnolo Poliziano. Poeta, scrittore, filologo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Montepulciano 3–6 novembre 1994*, Florence, 1998, pp. 176–183. Considering

The adaptation of a Florentine (Medicean) *all'antica* theme was by no means unique in Matthias' art patronage. North of the palace at Buda, in the middle of its great northern forecourt (where László Hunyadi, the brother of Matthias, was beheaded in 1457), the king set up a bronze statue of Hercules on a red marble pedestal. This may have been perhaps the first time since Roman antiquity that a mythological statue was created to be displayed in public. The inscription on the pedestal ("Divinus Hercules monstrorum domitor") may be interpreted as the allegory of triumph over tyranny, just like the *didascalía* on the pedestal of Donatello's *David* in the center of the courtyard of the Medici palace.⁵⁸

Péter Meller emphasized that the closest parallels to the Buda fragment may be found in the monumental marble chalice-shaped fountain decorated with the Medici coat of arms now in the Galleria Palatina in the

the fact that the tomb was ordered and paid for by Lorenzo de' Medici, and that Poliziano, just as in the case of the Giotto epitaph, has been chosen by the patron himself, there is ample ground for believing that the poem could be dated to the period when the tomb was erected, around 1491.

⁵⁸ The text, what we know—thanks to Árpád Mikó—from the transcription in Magnus Gruber's *Tractus Danubii* written in 1531, may be traced back not just to one source; we find in Boccaccio, for example (*Genealogiae Deorum Gentilium Libri*, IX, iii): "Et Hercules ipse monstrorum domitor amoris Yolis succubuit." As to the text of Magnus Gruber, see Á. MIKÓ, "Tractus Danubii (1531): egy forrás nyomában" [Tracing a source], in I. BARDOLY-A. HARRIS (ed.), *Détshy Mihály nyolcvanadik születésnapjára—Tanulmányok* [Studies for the eightieth birthday of Mihály Détshy], Budapest, 2002, pp. 229–254. As to the wording of the pedestal, it is worthwhile to quote a poem of Gentile de' Becchi, written to Cosimo de' Medici. See CAGLIOTI, *op. cit.* (2000, see note 30), II, p. 437: "Larga manus nostro tenuit quoque tempore clavam / Herculeam, domuit monstraque larga manus." A fragment of the Hercules statue's pedestal with the letters ". . . VM / DOM . . ." was found during the recent excavations of the Buda Castle. This was identified also by Árpád Mikó as the pedestal of the Hercules statue. See *Történelem-kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon* [History–Picture. Connection between past and art in Hungary] (exh. cat., Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest), ed. Á. MIKÓ-K. SINKÓ, Budapest, 2000, p. 237, cat. III–6. Mikó had ample ground to suggest a link between the erection of the statue to the recapture of Otranto from the Ottomans. See Á. MIKÓ, "Divinus Hercules and Attila Secundus: King Matthias as Patron of Art," *New Hungarian Quarterly*, XXXI, 1990, pp. 94–95. This assumption is supported by Marsilio Ficino's letter titled "Exhortatio ad bellum contra barbaros," written in October 1480 to King Matthias and serving as a dedication to two books of his letters, in which the philosopher compared Matthias to Hercules (HAB, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 12 Aug. 4°, fol. 3r). See *Analecta nova, op. cit.* (see note 44), p. 273: "Vicisti Hercules monstra eiusmodi mirabiliter sola virtute saepius atque domuisti." It is important to note that out of Hercules' works the victory over the Hydra of Laerna may be described with the expression *monstra domire*, as Alison Wright concluded from a locus of Cristoforo Landino's *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, and from a possible reference to the Pollaiuolo pictures made for the Medici palace. See A. WRIGHT, "The Myth of Hercules," in G. C. GARFAGNINI (ed.), *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo*, Florence, 1994, p. 328, note 16. Hercules defeating the Hydra of Laerna appears at Bonfini as Matthias defeating the external enemy, Austria. See ANTONIUS DE BONFINIS, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, ed. I. FÓGEL-B. IVÁNYI-L. JUHÁSZ, Budapest, 1941, IV, p. 76 (IV, 4, 140–142).

Palazzo Pitti (Fig. 9).⁵⁹ Caglioti has shown that Piero de' Medici commissioned the Pitti fountain and that it was carved—with the participation of Benedetto da Maiano—in the workshop of Antonio Rossellino around 1459–1464. And as in the case of the pedestals of Donatello's bronze statues, the distich inscription on the base of the Pitti fountain might have also been composed by Gentile de' Becchi. Determination of the fountain's provenance is even more important: it was originally erected in the gardens of the Medici palace in the via Larga, in front of Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes*.⁶⁰

In Guidetti's *zibaldone*, the Verrocchio fountain might seem out of place on a page describing the monuments of the Medici palace—but Guidetti, contrary to the other pieces, in this case does not reveal where he has seen it. From the same page, however, the Pitti fountain is missing. It seems as if Guidetti replaced the Pitti fountain with the former one. This might have happened, as the two fountains—both decorated with distichs—resemble each other very nearly. On the other hand, the Buda fragment satisfies our expectations in many aspects if we presume that the Medici fountain served as model for Verrocchio's fountain of King Matthias: except with the Pitti fountain I do not know another example in Florentine Quattrocento sculpture where a fluted basin belonging most probably to a chalice-type fountain is decorated by a frieze with figural motifs.

The form of the lower surface of the Buda basin, however—the vertical cablings that narrow toward the bottom and the floral ornaments filling the space between their semicircular endings—show a close relation to another fountain of the same type. It is decorated with the coat of arms of the Pazzi family on its pedestal. It was made probably by order of Guglielmo de' Pazzi, who married Bianca, the daughter

⁵⁹ Meller, however, at that time thought that the fountain in the Palazzo Pitti might have been made by Francesco di Simone Ferrucci. See MELLER, *loc. cit.* (1948, see note 17). In his view both fountains might have been made after Verrocchio's drawings. In his unpublished lecture held in 2000 in Budapest, Meller has brought up further arguments to prove that the fragment could have belonged to the fountain mentioned in the 1488 document.

⁶⁰ CAGLIOTI, *op. cit.* (2000, see note 30), I, pp. 359–381. The upper part of the fountain, however, with the second, much smaller basin and the marble statue on top of it is a sixteenth-century addition attributed to Francesco Tribolo, which replaced the original statue, made most probably in bronze. In its original state, the fountain had only one basin, and the statue stood directly on top of the vase emerging from it.

of Piero de' Medici, that is, the sister of Lorenzo, in 1459⁶¹ (Fig. 10). Even in its fragmentary state, we may safely conclude that this piece is the Pitti fountain's closest relative. If the fountain was indeed commissioned by the brother-in-law of Piero "il Gottoso," then the family relations might have been the reason why the Medici patterns were followed so deliberately.

On the other hand, it would be difficult to compare the Buda fragment with Verrocchio's other works, since no marble fountain is known from his oeuvre. However, he surely used marble as well in the middle of the 1480s, after accomplishing the bronze figures of Christ and St Thomas ordered by the Mercanzia and immediately before creation of the Colleoni monument: before his departure to Venice, he most probably was working on the Forteguerri tomb meant for the Duomo in Pistoia.⁶² Earlier, most probably around 1480, he, upon commission by Lorenzo il Magnifico, took part in the execution of the fountain in the Villa Medici in Careggi. This work, which was crowned by the famous bronze putto holding a dolphin in his hands, was partly made of marble (this piece was once kept in the Palazzo Vecchio). Verrocchio made three bronze heads and four marble lion's mouths (*4 bocche di liono di marmo*)—perhaps lion's head-shaped gargoyles?—presumably for this same fountain, besides the bronze putto.⁶³

⁶¹ New York, Metropolitan Museum, Blumenthal Collection. As to the fountain, see WILES, *op. cit.* (see note 14), pp. 11–12. The author's attributing the fountain to Donatello is, however, not acceptable. As to the attribution two suggestions have recently been made: Gentilini—who also emphasizes the direct relation to the Pitti fountain—considers Giuliano and/or Benedetto da Maiano's workshop. See G. GENTILINI, "Fonti e tabernacoli . . . , pile, pilastri e sepolture: arredi marmorei della bottega dei da Maiano," in D. LAMBERINI-M. LOTTI-R. LUNARDI (ed.), *Giuliano e la bottega dei da Maiano*, Florence, 1994, p. 186 and fig. 129; while recently Caglioti has identified this fountain as the common work of Antonio Rossellino and Benedetto da Maiano and affirmed that Guglielmo de' Pazzi, who married Bianca, a sister of Lorenzo de' Medici, in 1459, commissioned it. In his opinion, the fountain meant for the Pazzi's gardens was made around 1466–1468, not much after the Pitti fountain, and establishing the family relations might have been the reason why the Medici patterns were followed so deliberately. See F. CAGLIOTI, "Dal giardino mediceo di Via Larga: la fontana marmorea in cima allo Scalone del Moro," in G. CAPECCHI-A. FARA-D. HEIKAMP (ed.), *Palazzo Pitti. La reggia rivelata*, Florence, 2003, pp. 172–175. Doris Carl does not refer to any of the fountains in her recently edited monograph, but she documents in detail that Benedetto da Maiano had worked on several occasions, though not regularly, in Antonio Rossellino's workshop between 1466 and 1472. See CARL, *op. cit.* (2006, see note 21), I, pp. 48–56.

⁶² POPE-HENNESSY, *op. cit.* (see note 19), pp. 386–387, with further literature.

⁶³ Vasari gives no account of the fountain; he mentions the putto only. No other contemporary description of the fountain is known, either. It was brought from the gardens of the Villa Medici in Careggi—without the fountain itself—to the center of the inner court of the Palazzo Vecchio around

It is important to note that the Buda fragments—and mostly the raven fragment—have come down to us in such a damaged condition that we may draw conclusions to the typological antecedents, but no critical analysis of the style or proposition to its attribution can be made. We may nevertheless confirm that the figural and decorative elements of the raven frieze are not only not alien to, but can be closely related to, Florentine sculpture in the last third of the fifteenth century. It is shown by the dimensions of the Buda fountain basin that Matthias was a truly royal patron: it significantly exceeded the Pitti fountain's 190 centimeters as well.⁶⁴ The size, the material, and the shape of the Buda fragments prove that they formed parts of an important and unique piece of art. We shall perhaps never be in a position to prove undoubtedly that these fragments are the remains of a fountain made by Verrocchio, but the above-detailed arguments presumably indicate that our—and Meller's—supposition is not completely unfounded.

II. MILAN, 1489–CA. 1493

Let us now turn our attention to the other fragment. We shall see that in this case very similar questions arise. The approximately 26 cm-high fragment of a leg was found by László Gerevich during his Buda palace excavations in 1948 (Figs. 11–12). This remaining piece is the part of a man's right leg: the lower two-thirds of the thigh and the knee bent. In the middle of the thigh a goat hoof can be seen. This fragment was found in a debris layer dating to the first half of the sixteenth century (that is, before the Turkish age) in the so-called King's Cellars in the eastern inner courtyard: near the eastern wing of the medieval palace, to the south of the chapel, and a meter from the base of a buttress of a

1555–1557, where Donatello's *David* was formerly standing. See CAGLIOTI, *op. cit.* (2000, see note 30), I, p. 116, p. 342. After the expulsion of the Medici, Verrocchio's brother, Tommaso, on 27 January 1496, submitted a list to the Florentine authorities of the works made by Verrocchio on Lorenzo's commission but not paid for. For item 3 of this list: "Per el bambino dj bronzo chon 3 teste dj bronzo e 4 bocche dj liono dj marmo per a Charegj," see C. von FABRICZY, "Andrea del Verrocchio ai servizi de' Medici," *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, I, 1895, pp. 167–169; BUTTERFIELD, *op. cit.* (see note 12), p. 127, with further literature, and CAGLIOTI, *op. cit.* (2000, see note 30), I, p. 366, note 41.

⁶⁴ The Medici fountain's dimensions are given in CAGLIOTI, *op. cit.* (2000, see note 30), I, p. 362, esp. note 15.



Fig. 11. Fragment of a statue, right leg and elbow with a goat hoof, front view, 2nd cent. A.D. White Pentelic (?) marble. Budapest History Museum (Budapesti Történeti Múzeum), inv. no. 51.2140.

square-shaped balcony⁶⁵ (Fig. 3). Location of the finding proves unambiguously that the sculpture belonged to the decoration of the Renaissance palace. Gerevich himself was of this opinion, too, although he did not pay as much attention to the fragment as would have been

⁶⁵ Budapesti Történeti Múzeum (Budapest History Museum), inv. 51.2140, 29 x 13.5 x 11 cm. The fragment was found in segment No. 503.3x939.03 in the depth of 625 cm. As to the location and layer structure, see L. GEREVICH, *A budai vár feltárása* [Excavations of the Buda Castle], Budapest, 1966, pp. 199–206; and I. HOLL, *Fundkomplexe des 15–17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Burgpalast von Buda*, Budapest, 2007, fig. 1.



Fig. 12. Fragment of a statue, right leg and elbow with a goat hoof, left view, 2nd cent. A.D. White Pentelic (?) marble. Budapest History Museum (Budapesti Történeti Múzeum), inv. no. 51.2140.

warranted by its significance. It may well be said that scholarly research neglected this statue fragment: it was first exhibited in 2008 in the Budapest History Museum (Budapesti Történeti Múzeum), and the references made during the past sixty years do not exceed six sentences by two authors.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ L. GEREVICH, "A budai várpalota története 1541-ig" [History of the Buda Castle before 1541], in *Budapest műemlékei, op. cit.* (see note 3) p. 286; L. GEREVICH, "Johannes Fiorentinus und die Pannonische Renaissance," *Acta Historiae Artium*, VI, 1959, p. 334; L. GEREVICH, "Excavation in Buda Castle," *New Hungarian Quarterly*, 1961, p. 72 (note that in this last study he erroneously dates

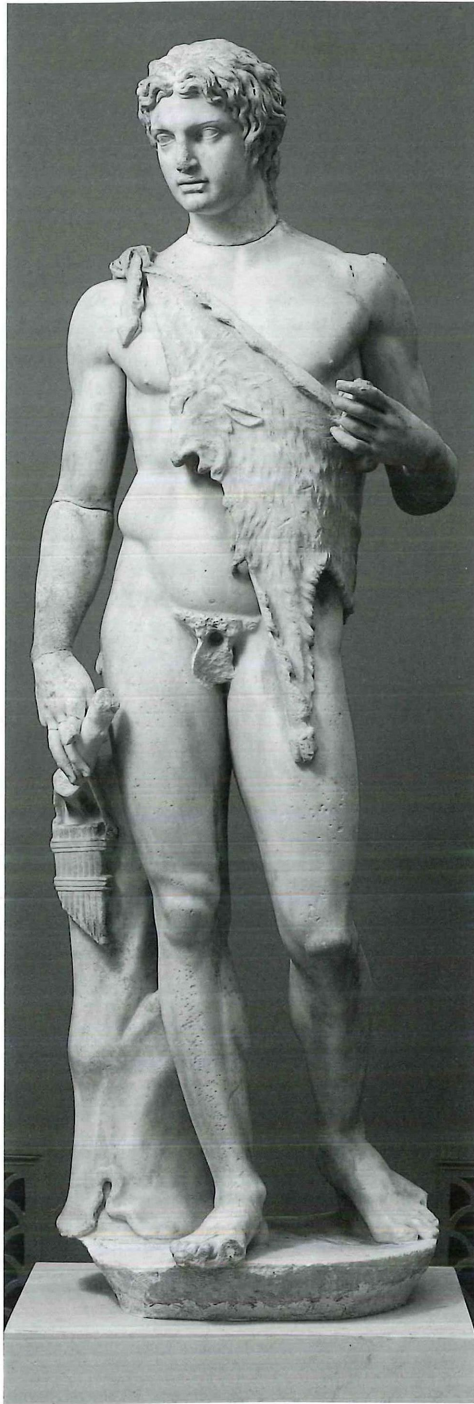


Fig. 13. *Pan*, from Prospero Santacroce's collection, 120–130 A.D. 201 cm. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, inv. 1800 no. 158.

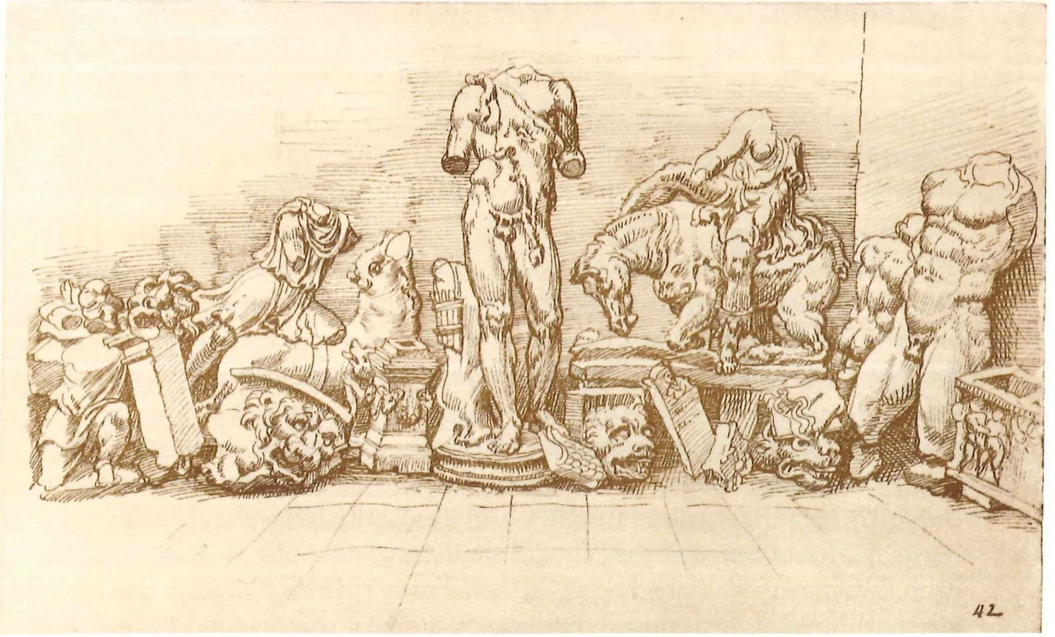


Fig. 14. MAARTEN VAN HEEMSKERCK, Valerio Santacroce's collection of antiquities in Rome, 1532–1536. Staatliche Museen—Preussische Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 79.D.2, fol. 29v.

Already at first sight, from the molding of the leg we may draw the conclusion that it had been the part of an antique, or of an *all'antica* statue. Before attempting to date the relic purely on basis of style criticism, it is worthwhile to see the results of the recently made stable isotope analysis, which proved that the composition of the material shows very close similarities with material of the marble coming from classical Greek quarries⁶⁷ (Fig. 4). In this case we may with very

this layer to the age of King Sigismund of Luxembourg); L. GEREVICH, "Bemerkungen über die Pan-
nonische Renaissance," in J. IRMSCHER (ed.), *Renaissance und Humanismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa*,
Berlin, 1962, II, p. 16; L. GEREVICH, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages*, Budapest, 1971, p.
113 (here he refers to the fragment but gives no details on it). See most recently *Matthias Corvinus*,
the King, *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 518–519, cat. 14.4 [D. Pócs].

⁶⁷ The stable isotope analysis was carried out together with the fountain fragment of the Budapest
History Museum by Mária Tóth (see note 7). As to the analyses of other white marble sculptures,
see also: A. DEMÉNY-I. FÓRIZS-M. TÓTH, "Analyse géochimique des isotopes stables de marbres
antiques," *Bulletin du Musées Hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, 86, 1997, pp. 34–40. For further data on

high probability state that this fragment was made of Pentelic marble from Attica. Greek marble, however, was not—and could not have been—used in Italian Quattrocento sculpture. We may also exclude the unlikely possibility that an antique statue was re-carved for a “new” *all’antica* piece, as traces of posterior re-working cannot be found on the fragment. Pentelic marble was very frequently used as material for the antique Roman sculpture, mostly in the first and the second centuries A.D., narrative reliefs in the Arch of Titus being a good example of this.⁶⁸ During the early imperial period not only statues but marble blocks were also imported from Greek quarries. The very fine work of the Budapest fragment—the delicate carving of the knee-band and the thigh muscles—indicate that it was part of an antique statue, which may have been found in Rome. Currently this is the only surviving fragment of an antique statue that is known to us from the period of the Early Renaissance in Hungary and especially from the royal palace.

Gerevich presumed that the fragment was part of a Bacchus statue, probably due to the goat hoof on it.⁶⁹ From this tiny detail, however, we shall be able to draw further conclusions to the original shape and iconography of the statue. The nearest analogy to it—and perhaps the only remaining example of this statue type—is the torso of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, dating to the first third of the second century, around 120–130 A.D.⁷⁰ (Fig. 13). The statue, slightly larger than life size (approx. two meters high, including the original pedestal), shows Pan in human form; that is, in the guise of Bacchus. It is clear that the original source of its composition was the Doryphoros of Polyclitus, but its particular iconographic transformation cannot be traced back to a lost, Hellenistic design: we may surely acknowledge

stable isotopic analysis of samples from Pentelic marble, see D. ATTANASIO-M. BRILLI-N. OGLE, *The Isotopic Signature of Classical Marbles* (Studia Archaeologica, 145), Rome, 2006, pp. 91–103.

⁶⁸ See *Marmi antichi*, ed. G. BORGHINI, Rome, 1997, p. 251, cat. 98.

⁶⁹ Though Gerevich refers to the iconography of the statue, he does not give details. See GEREVICH, *loc. cit.* (1959, see note 66); GEREVICH, *loc. cit.* (1961, see note 66); and, where he refers to it in a subtitle of a picture, GEREVICH, *op. cit.* (1971, see note 66), fig. 43.

⁷⁰ Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. 1800, No. 158; see F. POULSEN, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen, 1951, p. 124, cat. 158; P. ZANKER, *Klassizistische Statuen*, Mainz, 1974, p. 11, cat. 10, fig. 6,6; *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik*, Mainz, 1990, pp. 627–628, cat. 157; M. MOLTESEN, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Catalogue. Imperial Rome II. Statues*, Copenhagen, 2002, pp. 200–202, cat. 57.

here a new statue type developing in the Roman sculpture of the first–second century.⁷¹

The missing parts of the Copenhagen statue, the head slightly bowing to the right and the two forearms, were replaced in the sixteenth century.⁷² The left leg of the figure, standing in *contrapposto*, is strongly bent, thus his foot barely reaches the ground. His panpipe (*Syrinx*) is hung on a tree trunk standing at his right leg, and a goatskin—*Nebris*, which could be an attribute of Bacchus as well—slinging over his right shoulder covers the upper part of the body and falls down to the left thigh. The goat hoof is connected to the body above the middle of the thigh. The Budapest fragment corresponds in all aspects with this type: besides the goat hoof, the similarity is underlined by the bent knee, too, which refers to a figure in *contrapposto*.

The Copenhagen statue was already known in the Renaissance. The exact date and location of the finding is unknown, but in the last decades of the fifteenth century the statue was kept in Prospero Santacroce's collection of antiquities in Rome, where it is first mentioned in the so-called "Antiquarie prospettiche romane," published around 1496–1498.⁷³ Later his nephew, Valerio, inherited his collection. One

⁷¹ As to the iconography of the statue, see J. BOARDMAN, "Pan," in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (henceforth *LIMC*), Zürich–Düsseldorf, 1997, VIII/1, p. 926, cat. 49. The modern classical archaeology defines this statue as Pan, while art historians frequently use Bacchus for the same. I adopted the Pan denomination according to the definition in *LIMC*.

⁷² The restoration may have been made at the time, when the statue was moved to the Villa Giulia, as part of the collection of antiquities of Pope Julius III, around 1550–1555. See MOLTESSEN, *op. cit.* (see note 70), p. 200. Vicarelli suggests a later date, but before 1594, when the statue was illustrated on a copper engraving in Giovanni Battista Cavalieri's book (*Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594, II, fig. 62) in its present shape and described as *Pastoris signum marmoreum . . .* See F. VICARELLI, "La collezione di antichità della famiglia Santacroce," in A. CAVALLARO (ed.), *Collezionismo di antichità a Roma fra '400 e '500*, Rome, 2007, pp. 72–73, fig. 8.

⁷³ First reference to the statue can be found in the *Antiquarie prospettiche romane* written by the so-called *Prospettivo Melanese depicatore*. The undated book was published in the second half of the 1490s, most probably around 1496–1498: "Et ecci in casa d'un di Santa croce / un nudo et tiene un zappo scorticato, / che d'essere assai bono ha molte voce." See A. ANGIUSSOLA-F. P. VILLANI, "Antiquarie prospettiche Romane composte per prospettivo Melanese depicatore. Edizione critica e proposte di studio," in W. CUPPERI (ed.), *Senso delle rovine e riuso dell'antico. Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*. Serie IV, Quaderni 14, 2002, p. 81, terzina 35. As to the identification of the *Prospettivo Melanese* with Bramantino, see C. ROBERTSON, "Bramantino: 'Prospettivo Melanese Depicatore,'" in J. SHELL-L. CASTELFRANCHI (ed.), *Giovanni Antonio Amadeo. Scultura e architettura del suo tempo*, Milan, 1993, pp. 377–384. On the *fortuna critica* of the attribution, see Giovanni Agosti's study in PROSPETTIVO MELANESE DEPICTORE, *Antiquarie prospettiche romane*, ed. G. AGOSTI-D. ISELLA, Milan, 2004, pp. 13, 67–68. Agosti rejects the authorship of Bramantino and suggests instead Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis. See further L. FUSCO-G. CORTI, *Lorenzo de' Medici:*

of Maarten van Heemskerck's drawings from the series made in Rome between 1532 and 1536 illustrates the most important pieces of Valerio's collection of antiquities. The Pan is shown here at a distinguished place: in the center of the page⁷⁴ (Fig. 14). It is an interesting coincidence that two pieces of this rare statue type appear at the same time and most probably both in Rome. Judging from the size of the thigh, the Buda piece was much smaller: approximately 130 cm tall; that is, three quarters of the life-size statue. The other obvious difference is that the Buda fragment is a piece of the right leg, which means that this statue was a converse version of the Santacroce Pan. It was not unusual, however, in the sculpture of the early Roman imperial period that such variations of a given model were made.

At one time, the Pan statue might have been one of the gems of the Buda Castle. But if this is possible, wouldn't written documents refer to it? Among the descriptions of the Buda palace, we do not find any that could be—even indirectly—related to the statue. Contemporary textual sources do not mention any piece of antique statues in spite of the king's well-known enthusiasm about antiquities. The Renaissance *all'antica* decoration of the Buda Castle, as well as the illuminations imitating gems or antique coins in the Corvina codices prepared mostly in Florence, all clearly show predominant representation in the Buda court in the 1480s.⁷⁵ Our sources well represent the cult of antiquities: we know, for example, that Matthias, with the intervention of Beatrice, tried to (unsuccessfully) obtain the gem collection of Cardinal

Collector and Antiquarian, New York, 2006, p. 234, note 89. First illustration of the statue can be dated to the first years of the following century (ca. 1501–1503). Amico Aspertini's drawing can be found in the so-called *Codex Wolfegg* (Fürstliche Sammlungen, Wolfegg, Collection of Count Max Willibald von Waldburg, fol. 47v, on the left margin), where the caption below the picture says: "in casa de santa croce." See VICARELLI, *op. cit.* (see note 72), pp. 71–72, fig. 6. See also K. WREN CHRISTIAN, "From Ancestral Cults to Art: The Santacroce Collection of Antiquities," in W. CUPPERI (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 261. For the Santacroce collection, see S. MAGISTER, "Censimento delle collezioni d'antichità a Roma: 1471–1503," *Xenia Antiqua* 8, 1999, pp. 185–186. As to the sixteenth-century illustrations of the statue, see also Ph. P. BOBER-R. RUBINSTEIN, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*, London, 1986, pp. 107–108, cat 71. Identification of the statue here is: 'Bacchus' (Satyr in Human Guise).

⁷⁴ Staatliche Museen—Preussische Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 79.D.2, fol. 29v; see Ch. HÜLSEN-H. EGGER (ed.), *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck im königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1913–1916, I, p. 30; BOBER-RUBINSTEIN, *op. cit.* (see note 73), p. 178; VICARELLI, *op. cit.* (see note 72), p. 71.

⁷⁵ Á. MIKÓ, "Mathias Corvinus—Mathias Augustus. L'arte all'antica nel servizio del potere," in L. SECCHI TARUGI (ed.), *Cultura e potere nel Rinascimento*, Florence, 1999, pp. 209–220.

Francesco Gonzaga (d. 1483), that later he purchased such pieces from the Venetian merchant Domenico di Piero, and in 1489 the king ordered antique tombstones from Transylvania.⁷⁶ Available descriptions of the bronze and marble statues in the Buda palace are rather incomplete and often contradictory.⁷⁷ Our sources relating to the Pan statue are no less ambiguous.

Gerevich has already pointed out that the Buda fragment is related to the Bacchus statue that Lodovico il Moro intended to send as a present to Matthias.⁷⁸ Because he did not detail his arguments, however, I will now attempt an explanation.

Lodovico il Moro's diplomatic correspondence tells us about the intention of sending the statue to Buda: four letters, written between the summer of 1489 and the spring of the following year, detail the circumstances and events. The intention is first mentioned in the duke's correspondence on 21 August 1489, when he instructs his secretary, Aloisi (Alvise) Terzago, from Pavia, to take care of a certain "imagine di Bacho," which he intended as a gift to Matthias.⁷⁹ Obviously, Lodovico wanted to pave the way to finalize the marriage performed preliminarily in absentia of the bridegroom in Milan in 1487 between his niece,

⁷⁶ For the history of Francesco Gonzaga's gem collection, see C. M. BROWN, with L. FUSCO-G. CORTI, "Lorenzo de' Medici and the Dispersal of the Antiquarian Collections of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga," *Arte Lombarda*, 90–91, 1989, pp. 98–99; on Domenico di Piero, see P. PAOLETTI, *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento a Venezia*, Venice, 1893, pp. 134–135, doc. 204; later references: FUSCO-CORTI, *op. cit.* (2006, see note 73), doc. 126. For the antique tombstones transported on the Danube, see Á. RITOÓK-SZALAY, "La leggenda corviniana e i monumenti archeologici," in S. GRACIOTTI-A. DI FRANCESCO (ed.), *L'eredità classica in Italia e Ungheria fra tardo Medioevo e primo Rinascimento*, Rome, 2001, pp. 283–291. See also Gy. TÖRÖK, "Matthias Corvinus und die Antike," in T. KLANICZAY-K. S. NÉMETH-P. G. SCHMIDT (ed.), *Antike Rezeption und Nationale Identität in der Renaissance insbesondere in Deutschland und in Ungarn*, Budapest, 1993, pp. 119–127. For the antique statue of a Nymph that supposedly stood in Buda on the banks of the Danube, see Á. RITOÓK-SZALAY, "Nympha super ripam Danubii," in *Id. op. cit.* (see note 53), pp. 87–102, and PATAKI, *op. cit.* (see note 10), esp. I, pp. 27–83; II, pp. 348–357. There is a source of its inscription "Huius Nympha loci . . ." which has remained unnoticed so far. It is to be found in the above-mentioned manuscript originally belonging to Iacopo Modesti da Prato, on fol. 115v. See BANDINUS, *op. cit.* (see note 40), coll. 543–544.

⁷⁷ Á. MIKÓ, "Imago historiae," in *Történelem—kép, op. cit.* (see note 58), pp. 42–46.

⁷⁸ Gerevich refers to the statue as if it had been sent to Hungary. See GEREVICH, *loc. cit.* (1955, see note 66): "He receives for example a Bacchus statue as a present from Lodovico il Moro in 1490. The fragment of this statue was most probably found during the excavations." See also GEREVICH, *loc. cit.* (1959, see note 66).

⁷⁹ Archivio di Stato di Milano (henceforth ASMi), Milan, Fondo Sforzesco, Pot. Esteri, Ungheria, Ba 650. For details, see BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), pp. 291, 565.

Bianca Maria Sforza, and Matthias' illegitimate son, John Corvinus, the designated successor to the Hungarian throne. Matthias in the meantime, however, had started negotiations on a dynastic marriage with the king of the Romans, Maximilian of Habsburg, who was the son of the Holy Roman Emperor, instead of with Lodovico. It is therefore no wonder that after two years Bianca was still stranded in Milan. After lengthy diplomatic negotiations, Lodovico was informed in May 1489 that Matthias had postponed Bianca's trip to Hungary from September of that year to the forthcoming spring. Lodovico therefore sent Maffeo da Treviglio, his envoy to Buda, to speed up matters.⁸⁰

Postponement of Bianca's trip might have urged Lodovico to make preparations for the delivery of the Bacchus statue. In the beginning of 1490, certain unexpected difficulties might have arisen: on 8 February, Lodovico writes to his envoy in Buda that due to delivery difficulties the statue could not be sent, and it would be best if Bianca Maria Sforza could take it with her to Hungary.⁸¹ Thus the statue now is bound to the plan of the dynastic alliance: it is obvious that presenting it would have, in fact, been a diplomatic gesture, and Lodovico did not want to let the precious gift out of his hands unless he saw Bianca's future secured in the Hungarian court.⁸² The Hungarian king, who stayed mostly in Vienna in these years, notwithstanding Lodovico's understandable impatience, no longer insisted on the marriage: in the first months of 1490 the date of Bianca's departure, with the statue, was again delayed. Lodovico did not rest. On 11 March 1490, Maffeo da Treviglio reported from Vienna that he apologized to the king on behalf of Lodovico because the latter, due to the winter, could not send the marble Bacchus, "lo Bacho marmoreo," and precious hens from India. Treviglio informs his master in this same letter that, based on

⁸⁰ Gy. SCHÖNHERR, *Hunyadi Corvin János 1473–1504*, Budapest, 1894, p. 92. King Matthias' letter to Giangaleazzo Sforza dated 7 July 1489 tells about the reception of Treviglio in Buda. See I. NAGY-A. NYÁRY, *Magyar Diplomáciai Emlékek Mátyás király korából 1458–1490* [Hungarian diplomatic records from the age of King Matthias 1458–1490] (henceforth *MDE*), Budapest, 1878, IV, p. 54, doc. 37.

⁸¹ ASMi, Milan, Fondo Sforzesco, Pot. Esteri, Ungheria, Ba 642. The letter itself has not yet been published. Jolán Balogh made only its contents known. See BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), p. 291.

⁸² Antique statues played a well-known role in the diplomatic relations among Italian princes: King Ferrante of Aragon, the father of Beatrice, for example, sent—through the intervention of Giuliano da Sangallo—a portrait bust representing Emperor Hadrian to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1488. See FUSCO-CORTI, *op. cit.* (2006, see note 73), p. 20.

information from Matthias' circle, John Corvinus may marry Princess Anne of Habsburg, instead of Bianca ("et che la Maesta sua pensasse ala permutatione de Madona Bianca in Madonna Anna").⁸³

The last contemporary reference on the statue comes from a letter dated 16 April 1490, when Lodovico il Moro advises his envoy that the sculpture will be sent immediately, but he has to wait until the craftsman invited from Rome restores the Bacchus competently and urgently, because it had unfortunately broken in half.⁸⁴ Not negligibly Lodovico

⁸³ ASMi, Milan, Fondo Sforzesco, Pot. Esteri, Ungheria, Ba 642. See *MDE, op. cit.* (see note 80), IV, pp. 149–150, doc. 110. A major part of the letter that was in cryptogram was decoded in the modern edition. The reference on the statue, at the end of the letter was, however, not coded originally. The text, according to the original document: "Ho excusato la Excellentia v(ost)ra apreso questo s(igno)re Re, de non haverli fin qua potuto mandare le Galine de India, ne lo Bacho marmoreo per la importunita de lo inverno. La m(aes)ta sua e rimasta satisfacta del passato, ma prega la excellentia v(ost)ra che non differisca piu ad mandarli, ne aspecti altra opportunita che de vno messo proprio, el quale messo vole essere de qualita che sapia governare le dicte Galine, perche vora che resti qua qualchi di fin che habia insignato de governarle ad veruno de li suoi: et lei scrive a lo capitaneo suo de Segna che capitando li questo messo con le dicte cose lo raccoglie et lo indirizi in qua, providendoli de tutto q(ue)llo bisognera perche venga comodam(en)te et porta luna et l'altra cosa salua: volendoli adunche la excellentia v(ost)ra gratificare, fara con la celerita el dono suo molto piu grato, el quale dono essendo molto desyderato da questo S(igno)re Re seria stato poco honorevole quando la excellentia v(ost)ra non lhauesse mandato fin qua per homo p(ro)prio. Io non dubita mai che la intentione de la excellentia vostra non fosse che io douesse e(sser)e conumerato fra li cancelleri et posto ne l'assignatione. Ma temeua ch(e) quelli ad chi ad chi (sic!) appartene la cura de la scriptur(e), per e(sser)e absente me hauessero posto in obliuione como era interuenuto: et pero ringratio infinitam(en)te la bonta de la excellentia v(ost)ra che in omne cosa me si rende gratiosissima."

⁸⁴ ASMi, Milan, Autografi, Cart. 92, fasc. 5 (cesellatori: Caradosso): In the letterhead: "Vigh(evani) XVI Ap(rilis) 1490 Mapheo Trivilensi" "Nuy haveressimo gia Inviato ad q(ue)llo Ser(enissi)mo. S(igno)re. Re. El Bacho de marmoro insieme cum le Galine de India: quan(do) eps(b) bacho fusse stato Integro. Ma essen(d)o rotta in duy pezi (commo tu say) ne pare che dovendolo man(d)are alla p(refa)ta M(aes)ta el sia piu conveniente et honore n(ost)ro mandarlo reintegrato et aconzo. Et pero havemo diferito de mandarlo et expectamo uno Mag(istr)o da Roma el(q)u(ale) Intendemo che lo resarcira molto bene, Et venuto chel sia no(n) mancheremo de farlo sollecitare perche lo reconza pr(es)to et bene, Et reassetato chel sia lo mandaremo senza Intermissione de t(em)po alla p(refa)ta M(aes)ta. Insieme cum le Galine predictae: ne mancheremo de fare che Caradosso vengha ancora luy essendo desyderato da la M(aes)ta. Sua: Dal quale per el quale mandaremo alla d(ic)ta M(aes)ta. epsi Baccho: et galline: como demonstra ella desiderare: Alle Alle v(ost)re l(ette)re tue de xj del passato [i.e. mese: Maffeo's letter on the 11th of March 1490, see note 83] quale tochano la spialita de la Ill(ustrissi)ma Madona Bianca: hauendote, per le altre n(ost)re [i.e. lettere] precedente scripto a suffutientia: remettendone . a . quelle: per no(n) replicare el medesimo: no(n) faremo altra risposta." Though it is frequently referred to, the document itself—to the best to my knowledge—has not yet been published *in extenso*. Details of it are given in J. BALOGH, *Contributi alla storia delle relazioni d'arte e di cultura fra Milano e l'Ungheria*, Budapest, 1928, p. 19; BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), I, pp. 291, 565; and C. M. BROWN-S. HICKSON, "Caradosso Foppa (ca. 1452–1526/27)," *Arte Lombarda*, N. S., 119, No. 1, 1997, p. 17. Eugène Müntz made the first reference to the document. See E. MÜNTZ, "L'orfèverie romaine de la renaissance," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1883, p. 424. Later

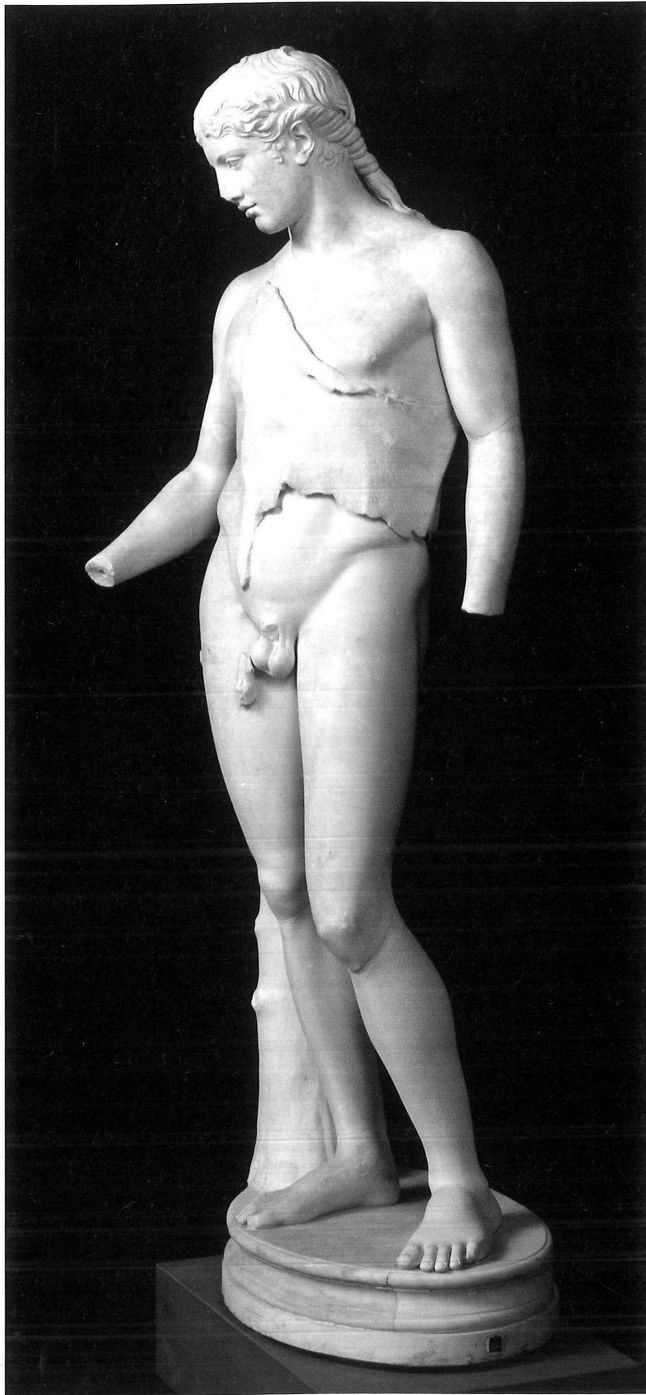


Fig. 15. *Bacchus*, from Hadrian's villa in Tivoli, 2nd cent. A.D. Marble. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo, Rome, inv. no. 622.

adds that he will give instructions for Caradosso, the well-known goldsmith and outstanding expert of the antiquities, to also travel to Matthias, as requested by “His Highness.”⁸⁵ This letter is important in various aspects.

Based on the referred text we have no doubt that the gift intended for Matthias was an antique statue indeed: only an antique piece was worthy of presenting even if restored, and only an antique sculpture was worth calling for a craftsman from Rome to restore it. Moreover, only in the case of an antique statue would Lodovico consider that the absence of a highly skilled master in Milan could serve as an acceptable excuse for the delay in the eyes of Matthias.⁸⁶ We may also duly suppose that the statue was collected in Rome, because a few years

Malaguzzi Valeri—misinterpreting the text—supposed that Lodovico intended to send the statue to the French king. See F. MALAGUZZI VALERI, “Artisti lombardi a Roma nel Rinascimento (Nuovi documenti su Cristoforo Solari, Bramante e Caradosso),” *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXV, 1902, p. 58. It was repeated by Agosti. See G. AGOSTI, “Sul gusto per l’antico a Milano, tra regime sforzesco e dominazione francese,” *Prospettiva*, 49, 1987, p. 38.

⁸⁵ Caradosso’s name in relation to Matthias first appears in the letter of Lodovico il Moro to Bartolomeo Calco and Aloisio (Alvise) Terzago dated 21 August 1489 (see note 79), from which we learn that the craftsman stayed in Hungary at that time: “quale è venuto per ornare li argenti dela tavola delo Serenissimo re De ungharia.” See BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), p. 565. This data is supported by another, recently published document saying that Caradosso travelled from Florence to Hungary in the summer of 1489: “È istato qui Caradosso intag[i]atore, che se ne va in Ungheria. Dio sa quanto desiderava di vedere le cose di Lorenzo! Porta certe corniuole [i.e., gems] et perle, quali gl’erano state tolte alla porta” (Stefano da Castrocaro’s letter dated Florence, 29 July 1489 to Niccolò Michelozzi). See FUSCO-CORTI, *op. cit.* (2006, see note 73), p. 312, doc. 127. See also: BROWN-HICKSON, *op. cit.* (see note 84), pp. 11, 16–17. Caradosso accordingly would have come to King Matthias’ court for the second time in 1490, but this trip was most certainly cancelled. See also: BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), p. 565. See also P. MELLER, “Bronzetti del Caradosso,” in J. SHELL-L. CASTELFRANCHI *op. cit.* (see note 73), p. 534. We may not exclude the possibility that Caradosso came in contact with the Buda court through Cardinal John of Aragon, the younger brother of Queen Beatrice. In his *De cardinalatu*, published in 1510, Paolo Cortesi refers to an inkwell made during the Milanese goldsmith’s stay in Rome (between 1475–1479 or—more probably—between 1480–1485) for John of Aragon, and that had once been in the cardinal’s palace in Rome. See BROWN-HICKSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 25. The highly educated bibliophile John of Aragon—who had been the governor of the archdiocese of Esztergom since 1479 and who, in 1485, the last year of his life, became the archbishop of Esztergom—several times visited Hungary already in the first half of the 1480s. See T. HAFFNER, *Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Giovanni d’Aragona (1456–1485). Illuminerte Handschriften und Inkunabeln für einen humanistischen Bibliophilen zwischen Neapel und Rom*, Wiesbaden, 1997, p. 30.

⁸⁶ Balogh was the first who thought, based on Lodovico’s letter, that it was an antique statue (see BALOGH, *loc. cit.* [1928, see note 84]), but she supposed that the restorer was Gian Cristoforo Romano. The reference in the letter, however, is not concrete enough to identify the sculptor, when only “uno magistro da Roma” is mentioned. Schaffran suggested that the sculptor might have been Leonardo. See E. SCHAFFRAN, “Mattia Corvino re dell’Ungheria ed i suoi rapporti col rinascimento

later, in 1495, Caradosso advises his master from the Urbs that he could obtain an antique marble Leda statue from the collection of Cardinal Giovanni Borgia for him.⁸⁷

At the date of the last letter (16 April 1490), Matthias had already been dead for ten days. Jolán Balogh, who did not include the Buda fragment in her monograph, briefly—in a footnote—and definitely refused Gerevich's hypothesis about the identification of the statue,⁸⁸ saying that Lodovico at that date was not aware of Matthias' death, but after receiving the news of his death the issue of delivering the statue was dropped; accordingly the statue could not have arrived in the Hungarian court.

The published sources seemingly do not support this argument. The duke—according to the nineteenth-century edition of Matthias' diplomatic correspondence, on 15 April 1490 (that is, only one day before he informs Maffeo of the urgent matters in connection with the marble statue)—writes a long letter of condolences to the widowed Beatrice, expressing the pain he feels over Matthias' death and, at the same time, calls her attention to do everything she can to ensure John Corvinus' succession on the throne.⁸⁹ This request was left unanswered: Beatrice, in order to fulfill her own political ambitions, had done everything to *prevent* Corvinus from succeeding the late king on the throne. The hypothesis, however tempting it may be, that Lodovico, being aware of Matthias' death, made arrangements about the delivery of the statue on 16 April cannot be maintained in the light of a thorough re-examination of our original source and other documents. The letter of condolences, in the nineteenth-century edition of our source dated "XV"

italiano," *Rivista d'Arte*, 2nd ser., V, 1933, pp. 196–198. Schaffran's argument later remained—duly—unregarded.

⁸⁷ It is an interesting parallel to our story that Caradosso mentions that the statue is broken and incomplete but he is going to restore it. See FUSCO-CORTI, *op. cit.* (2006, see note 73), pp. 326–327, doc. 174: "Item el Reverendissimo Monsignore de Monreale [Giovanni Borgia] me à donato una Leda di marmo, bona. Anchora li manca qualche membro, non restarò di torla." See also BROWN-HICKSON, *op. cit.* (see note 84), pp. 18–19. See also AGOSTI, *op. cit.* (see note 84), pp. 38–39 and M. C. MONACO, "' . . . una Leda di marmo, bona, anchora li manca qualche membro . . .' Considerazioni sulle Lede antiche dei tempi di Leonardo," in G. DALLI REGOLI-R. NANNI-A. NATALI (ed.), *Leonardo e il mito di Leda. Modelli, memorie e metamorfosi di un'invenzione*, Cinisello Balsamo (Milan)—Vinci, 2001, p. 72.

⁸⁸ BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), I, p. 291, note 3.

⁸⁹ ASMi, Milan, Fondo Sforzesco, Pot. Esteri, Ungheria, Ba 642; see *MDE, op. cit.* (see note 80), IV, pp. 172–174, doc. 123.

April, was made in fact five days later on “XX” April, as it is shown a little bit misleadingly in the letterhead.⁹⁰ Lodovico wrote the truth to Beatrice saying that the news about the death of the Hungarian king reached him not through his envoy in Vienna (that is, Maffeo da Treviglio), but, among others, through Venetian sources. His secretary in Milan, Bartolomeo Calco, advised the duke on the sad event on 18 April.⁹¹ The letter written on 16 April, accordingly, does not follow by a day, but in fact precedes the arrival of the news on Matthias’ death in Milan by two days.

Furthermore, it is doubtful whether the death of Matthias hindered the delivery of the statue, as proposed by Jolán Balogh: as a matter of fact, Lodovico did not give up the Sforzas’ dynastic ambitions in relation with Hungary. He spared no efforts to strengthen the side of Matthias’ son in the fight for succession between John Corvinus, Maximilian Habsburg, the emperor Frederick III, Vladislav Jagiello and his brother Albert, and Beatrice of Aragon so that Bianca could get married to a real heir to the crown. When this particular endeavor of his finally failed in the late spring of 1490, he tried to arrange the marriage between Bianca and Vladislav II Jagiello (1490–1516) as soon as he noticed that Jagiello would become the winner (he was later crowned on 15 July).⁹² Vladislav II, who was already engaged in absentia to Barbara of Brandenburg in 1476, had become the “target” both of Beatrice

⁹⁰ Lodovico’s letter to John Corvinus is dated the same day, that is, 20 April. See *MDE*, *op. cit.* (see note 80), IV, pp. 176–177, doc. 126. The first part of the Italian-language letter to Beatrice is practically identical word-by-word to the first part of the letter (in Latin) to John Corvinus.

⁹¹ ASMi, Milan, Fondo Sforzesco, Pot. Esteri, Ungheria, Ba 642, letter from Bartolomeo Calco in Milan to Lodovico il Moro on 18 April 1490: “Ill(ustrissi)mo S(ignore) mio. In questa hora circa xxij e meza e arrivato philippo cavall(ar)o cum l(ette)re de herasmo [i.e. Erasmo Brasca], ne le quale facendose menzione de la noti(zi)a, la quale era comparsa (?) de la morte del S(erenissimo) Re di hungaria, che dio nol voglia, mi e parso senza intermissione di tempo epso medesimo cavall(ar)o cum dicte l(ette)re inviarlo da la s(ignori)a v(ost)ra allaquale mi recomando: ho facto intendere ad epso philippo che tenga questa cosa secreta, ne cum alchuno ne faccia moto, perche potria essere che dio el voglia che questa noti(zi)a seria vana, como anchora altre volte e accaduto essere divulgato senza fundam(en)to.” Another unpublished exchange of letters between Lodovico and Bartolomeo Calco and dated the following day confirms that the letter of condolences could only have been made out on the 20th of April. Treviglio had written letters from Vienna to Lodovico on 6 April and the days following, but these might have reached Milan later. See *MDE*, *op. cit.* (see note 80), IV, pp. 161–172, docs. 115–117 and 119–122.

⁹² Maffeo da Treviglio openly writes in his letter of 25 May 1490 to Lodovico that Vladislav, who will certainly occupy the throne, should be chosen for Bianca’s husband. See *MDE*, *op. cit.* (see note 80), IV, pp. 204–206, doc. 143.

and of Lodovico, that is, Bianca Maria Sforza. A secret marriage was performed between the new king and the widowed queen on 4 October 1490, but Tamás Bakócz, the bishop of Győr, had made a deliberate mistake in the liturgy so that the marriage could later be annulled. Bakócz, who had become royal chancellor after Vladislav's coronation, apparently assisted the case of Bianca and acted against Beatrice.⁹³

During this time Lodovico lavishly presented precious art pieces as diplomatic gifts. In his letter dated 15 November, over a month after the secret marriage between the new king and Beatrice, Lodovico offered to deliver precious silver vases made by a certain Zoan Antonio Preda to Bishop Bakócz instead of Johannes Filipecz, the bishop of Várad and envoy to Milan—if the former helped to intervene between himself and Vladislav II.⁹⁴ We know that Lodovico sent a portrait of Bianca to the king of Hungary in 1492—just as he most probably sent another one to John Corvinus earlier.⁹⁵ From the day of Matthias' death the delivery of the statue and the marriage of Bianca Maria Sforza did not lose importance; on the contrary, these goals became increasingly urgent. When his schemes with John Corvinus (in 1490) and with Vladislav II (in 1493) fell through, in 1494 he arranged the marriage between his niece and Maximilian Habsburg, who was crowned Holy Roman Emperor the preceding year. His aspirations, however, were more focused on the Hungarian king than the future emperor between the spring of 1490 and 1493. Thus, evaluating the circumstances after Matthias' death, we cannot rule out that Lodovico sent the Bacchus statue originally intended for Matthias either to John Corvinus, or to Beatrice, or later—most probably—to Vladislav II, the new king in the Buda palace. Nevertheless, it has to be pointed out

⁹³ V. FRAKNÓI, *Erdődi Bakócz Tamás élete* [The life of Tamás Bakócz of Erdőd], Budapest, 1889, pp. 38–53, esp. note 51.

⁹⁴ *MDE*, *op. cit.* (see note 80), IV, pp. 275–276, doc. 182. See also BALOGH, *loc. cit.* (1928, see note 84); BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), p. 526; P. E. KOVÁCS, “Mattia Corvino e la corte di Milano,” *Arte Lombarda* 139, No. 3, 2003, p. 79, note 80. According to Venturelli the name “Zoan Antonio Preda” is not necessarily to be identified with Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis, but it could rather stand for the goldsmith Ambrogio de Petra or Pietra. See P. VENTURELLI, “Milano/Ungheria. Orefici e oreficerie tra Francesco da Castello, Caradosso e Bianca Maria Sforza,” *Arte Lombarda*, 139, 2003/3, p. 112, note 17.

⁹⁵ BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1928, see note 84), pp. 39–40. See also BALOGH, *op. cit.* (1966, see note 2), I, p. 526.

that after the spring of 1490 we do not see mention of the statue in the reports of the Milanese envoys.

At this point it should be acknowledged that a preconception was lying behind the negative attitude of Jolán Balogh, namely that after the death of Matthias the need for the *all'antica* representation lessened in importance in Buda. Today we have a slightly different opinion: Vladislav II had followed in many aspects Matthias' architectural patterns not only in Prague, the seat of the king of Bohemia, but also in Hungary, first in Buda and then in the Renaissance villa of Buda-Nyék.

A further counterargument could be made: that the referred sources speak consistently about a Bacchus statue, while we identified the Buda fragment as Pan. No less disturbing is the fact that reports from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries identify the statue in the Santacroce collection as Pan as well.⁹⁶ The question is, could the Buda statue at the end of the fifteenth century be regarded as Bacchus? But the exact iconographic definition of the statue is doubtful even for today's research: it's possible to discern young Bacchus in Pan's attributes, or the young Pan in the guise of Bacchus. If, for example, the Syrinx hanging on the trunk is missing from the composition, as is the case with the statue of the young man covered with goat's skin from Hadrian's villa in Tivoli, then we immediately identify it with the god of wine⁹⁷ (Fig. 15). It is not impossible that the Syrinx was missing from the Buda statue as well. Accordingly, I cannot rule out that this statue with its double identity was regarded as a Bacchus in the Quattrocento.

Not a single argument remains to deny undoubtedly that the Buda fragment comes from the statue that Lodovico intended to deliver to Buda. Based on this, two, perhaps contradictory, questions remain. First: how high is the probability that the only remaining antique statue fragment we were lucky enough to find in the Buda Castle is identical with the only antique statue documented in written sources? Second: how high is the probability that Matthias already had had an

⁹⁶ BOBER-RUBINSTEIN, *loc. cit.* (see note 73).

⁹⁷ Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome, inv. 622, 2nd cent. A.D.; ZANKER, *op. cit.* (see note 70), p. 103, cat. 5; C. GASPARRI, "Bacchus," in *LIMC*, *op. cit.* (see note 71), Zürich-Munich, 1986, III/1, p. 543, cat. 5. This statue differs from the Doryphoros-type: the goatskin is hanging on the supporting leg and the counterpoise is not so emphatic, thus the bend in the other leg is much milder than on the Budapest fragment.

antique Bacchus statue when Lodovico il Moro—upon the frequently expressed request of the king—intended to deliver another one to him?

For my part, I prefer to leave these questions unanswered for now, since, after explaining away all the counterarguments, we do not have even one single positive argument in hand. As this is the case, we must accept at this stage that a more thorough examination of the marble fragments referred to in this paper, and a rereading of the written sources relating to them, will perhaps strengthen our suspicions and assumptions—but an absolute certainty cannot be reached on these bases.

