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**FROM THE LONG TURKISH WAR (1593-1606)
TO THE LIBERATION OF VIENNA (1683)**

Edited by
Alessandro Boccolini and Ovidiu Cristea



EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: LA RIVISTA

Il Comitato redazionale e scientifico è lieto di presentare al pubblico la rivista scientifica *Eastern European History Review*.

Con un carattere internazionale e interdisciplinare, una cadenza annuale e una fruibilità *open access* la rivista focalizza i propri interessi sulle dinamiche occorse nell'Europa Orientale durante tutta l'età moderna (XIV-XIX). *Eastern European History Review* è espressione del Centro Studi dell'Università della Tuscia CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna) nato nel 1997 per intuizione del Prof. Gaetano Platania, Direttore Emerito della Rivista.

L'iniziativa editoriale che presentiamo nasce dall'evidente mancanza in Italia di una rivista scientifica relativa alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale in Età Moderna, nonostante la penisola abbia giocato un ruolo fondamentale per la Storia e la Cultura di una parte integrante del continente, a torto considerata come lontana e periferica.

Consapevoli di questo, il Comitato ha posto quale obiettivo primario della *Eastern European History Review* quello di offrire uno spazio di riflessione e di discussione su temi che appartengono alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale, e insieme alle relazioni - politiche e culturali - che questa vasta area del Vecchio Continente ha avuto con l'occidente d'Europa, e l'Italia in particolare, incoraggiando il dialogo tra studiosi e esperti di settore, e tra differenti approcci della ricerca scientifica.

Il Comitato Redazionale e Scientifico

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: THE JOURNAL

The Editorial and Scientific Board are proud delighted to present the *Eastern European History Review* under the aegis of Sette Città Editore.

The *Eastern European History Review* is an international and interdisciplinary annually online and open access peer-reviewed journal about studies on Central and Eastern Europe in the Modern Age (XIV-XIX). The Journal is also the expression of the Study Center CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna – Center Study on the Age of Sobieski and Modern Poland) of the University of Tuscia, born in 1997, from an idea of Prof. Gaetano Platania, today Director Emeritus of this journal.

It publishes articles with significant approaches and original interpretations in all research fields concerning Central and Eastern Europe, with specific attention to the History sciences.

The editorial initiative we present comes from the obvious lack of a journal, in Italy, concerning the history of Central and Eastern Europe during the Modern Age, this despite its fundamental role in the history and culture of that part of the continent, wrongly considered distant and peripheral.

Quite the contrary is true, in fact. Main objective of the journal is to create a space for reflection and discussion on topics pertaining to Central and Eastern Europe, but also relations with Continental Europe, encouraging dialogue between scholars and experts in the field, and between different approaches of scientific research.

The Editorial and Scientific Board

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KATALIN PRAJDA'S RESEARCH ON MIGRATORY EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES AND THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

ABSTRACT: Over the past two decades, migration studies have considered not only arrivals and departures within or from a nation, but also the circularity of demographic exchanges between two or more countries. Over time, and sometimes even almost simultaneously, two regions can develop relationships that involve reciprocal migratory flows. Katalin Prajda, a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Vienna, has studied the exchanges between Italy and Hungary during the two centuries between the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern era.

KEYWORDS: Italy; Florence; Hungary; Renaissance; Filippo Scolari; Mercantile networks; Migrations.

Over the past two decades, migration studies have considered not only arrivals and departures within or from a nation, but also the circularity of demographic exchanges between two or more countries. Over time, and sometimes even almost simultaneously, two regions can develop relationships that involve reciprocal migratory flows. Katalin Prajda, a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Vienna, has studied the exchanges between Italy and Hungary during a particular moment: the two centuries between the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern era, which according to some twentieth-century scholars, form a distinct period: see Jacques Heers, *Storia della transizione al mondo moderno (1300-1520)* (Milano: Jaca Book, 1992).

Prajda is not the only scholar to study this topic, but she has been working on it with considerable consistency for fifteen years. After her first articles in Hungarian on Florentines in Hungary between the 14th and 15th centuries, she has circulated her research in English: "The Florentine Scolari Family at the Court of Sigismund of Luxemburg in Buda", *Journal of Early Modern History*, 14 (2010): 513-33; "Unions of Interest. Florentine Marriage Ties and Business Networks in the Kingdom of Hungary during the Reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg", in Jacqueline Murray, ed., *Marriage in Premodern Europe. Italy and Beyond* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 147-66; "Florentine merchant companies established in Buda at the beginning of the 15th century", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, 124/2 (2013): 63-71; "The biographies of Pippo Scolari, called Lo Spano", in Irina Vainovski-Mihai, ed., *New Europe College Yearbook 2011-2012* (Bucharest: New Europe College, 2014), 363-84; "Justice in the Florentine Trading Community of Late Medieval Buda", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, 127/2 (2015): 291-302; "Florentines' Trade in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Trade Routes, Networks, and Commodities", *Hungarian Historical Review*, 6/1 (2017): 40-62.

These early works flowed into *Network and Migration in Early Renaissance Florence. Friends of Friends in the Kingdom of Hungary (1378-1433)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), which offers them a solid framework. In this volume, the author dissects the mercantile networks that served early Renaissance migrations: a theme she will return to, but with a reversed perspective, in “L’insediamento dei sudditi della corona ungherese nella Firenze del Quattrocento”, in Andrea Fara, ed., *Italia ed Europa centro-orientale tra Medioevo ed Età moderna. Economia, Società, Cultura* (Roma: Deutsches Historisches Institut in Rom, 2022), 55-64. *Network and Migration in Early Renaissance Florence* focuses on the creation of Florentine networks in Europe (to which the first chapter is dedicated), in the Empire, and in Hungary.

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At the centre of the networks in Central and Eastern Europe at the end of the fourteenth century are the Scolari brothers, whose activities are followed on several levels. The author also points out (p. 15) that “the present monograph addresses the questions of network and migration on four levels: politics, economy, society, and the arts». At each level, the key elements of these developments are identified, with a particular focus on the social dimension. Since the networks studied are primarily familial, marriages, which allowed for the necessary alliances, were crucial to their strategies. Thanks to these alliances and to the multitude of services (commercial and financial, productive and administrative, sometimes even military) that they offered, Florentines were able to ascend socially in the kingdoms where they settled. Sometimes structured as veritable *nationes* with their own consuls, they not only established themselves in the host countries but also achieved impressive social advancements there, as it is evident from the ennobling of Florentine merchants in the Kingdom of Aragon.

The entry into Hungary was relatively late and took place by land from Vienna and by sea from Venice: under the Angevins, the Hungarian Kingdom extended to the coast of Dalmatia. In the mid-fourteenth century, ties between Florence and Hungary were attested, but it was not until the early fifteenth century that they solidified. This strengthening is undoubtedly linked to Filippo Scolari (Tizzano 1369 - Lipova 1426), not coincidentally portrayed by Andrea del Castagno in his cycle of the *Uomini famosi* (1450), today at the Uffizi. In the 1380s, Filippo arrived in the retinue of a merchant and soon entered the service of Sigismund of Luxembourg (Nuremberg 1368 - Znojmo 1437), king consort of Hungary and Croatia from 1387 and much later (1433) emperor. For the latter, he took care of local administration, but above all he fought the enemies of the Kingdom, primarily the Turks and the Venetians, conquering Bosnia and Serbia, Aquileia and Udine: see Gizella Nemeth Papo & Adriano Papo, *Pippo Spano: un eroe antiturco antesignano del Rinascimento* (Venezia: Edizioni della Laguna, 2006). Scolari attracted many Florentines to Hungary and spread the first Renaissance dictates there, inviting artists and craftsmen (Franco Cardini, “Filippo Scolari, dignitario di Sigismondo, re d’Ungheria, 1369-1426”, *Il Veltrò*, XXXVI/5-6 (1992): 57-67, and “Pippo Spano nell’Ungheria umanistica”, in Sante Graciotti & Cesare Vasoli, eds., *Italia e Ungheria all’epoca dell’Umanesimo corviniano* (Firenze: Olschki, 1994), 37-50). An immigrant society thus developed around him and his family, society which can be analyzed along the aforementioned lines: political, economic, social, and artistic. Particularly in terms of marriage, his men, especially his younger brother Matteo, made careful choices tied to their own

future plans. While Filippo married a Hungarian noblewoman because he wanted to remain in Hungary, Matteo, who wanted to return to Florence, married a Florentine woman from a merchant family.

The Scolari family's ascendancy did not consolidate, and Filippo's death triggered a decisive crisis. The heirs quarreled violently, forcing the Hungarian authorities to sideline them, a fate soon shared by most Florentines in Hungary during the 1430s. The story examined by Prajda therefore illuminates only fifty years of Tuscan history in Hungary. However, it magnificently illustrates Scolari's rise and uses it to explain the composition and action of the various networks to which he belonged. In the years following the publication of this first book, the author broadened her perspective, partly reversing it because it pays attention also to Hungarian migrant flows into Florence. *Italy and Hungary in the Early Renaissance. Cultural Exchanges and Social Networks* (Roma: Viella, 2023), published for the Hungarian Academy in Rome, is conceptually quite complex. This is immediately apparent in the introduction, which builds on the three elements identified by the general title: cultural exchanges; social networks; and the early Renaissance. Each is linked to a practical example, drawn from the extensive documentation excavated from various archives, which was also used in the previous volume.

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In this second book, the exchange between Florence and Hungary, whether cultural and/or demographic, is followed in both directions and in all its complexity. In fact, the Kingdom of Hungary was at that time, according to the author, a "melting pot of various linguistic, ethnic, and religious traditions; and therefore, a meeting point of various cultures" (p. 10), while Florence in turn presented a rich political and economic reality, in which many exogenous cultural and demographic elements converged.

The complexity of relations between these two complex realities is explored in both books, but this one especially emphasizes how difficult it is for us to define the cultural boundaries of both. If we consider Hungary, we don't fully understand what distinguishes the intertwined cultures and churches there. The author questions whether these boundaries arise from ethnic or linguistic backgrounds. Furthermore, she highlights the constant exchanges between different cultures and social groups. All this, then, takes place during what in Italy is generally considered the Early Renaissance, but the author pushes us to question even this chronology and asks when the Italian, and especially the Hungarian, Renaissance truly began. This also raises another question: whether the Hungarian Renaissance truly owes to the Italian one.

Certainly, Prajda concludes, her research covers the 14th and 15th centuries and therefore only touches on the initial phase of the Renaissance, at least if we accept a long periodization, that is, one that sees the Renaissance as spanning 1350–1550. However, in this early Renaissance phase, did Italian inputs really stimulate Hungarian developments? In short, how can we frame the cultural changes linked to exchanges and migrations between Italy and Hungary and what kind of specific chronological and thematic frameworks can we adopt?

To better understand these frameworks, each chapter of *Italy and Hungary in the Early Renaissance* is dedicated to a single theme/frame, but each of these topics is extremely complex. The first chapter addresses the diplomatic networks that were woven between the Italian peninsula and Hungary. On the one hand,

Florence sought support in the Kingdom of Hungary, Croatia, and Slavonia and sent its own emissaries there. On the other, we have the sometimes contradictory relations between the Angevins of Naples and Hungary; furthermore, the situation did not improve when this family declined and the House of Aragon established itself in Naples. Alfonso I of Naples unified the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples and simultaneously renounced the kingdom of Hungary. However, his heir, Ferdinand I, became father-in-law to Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, in 1475, and thus returned to meddle in Hungarian affairs. Not to mention that the players in the Hungarian were not only Florence and Naples. Indeed, we must not forget that the Papacy wanted to maintain control of Central and Eastern Europe, as the Hussite movement developed and the Ottoman presence strengthened. Nor can we underestimate Venice: the Hungarian kingdom bordered the dominions of the Serenissima, given that its vassals included Ragusa and Dalmatia, both coveted by the lagoon city.

From all these entanglements, constant tension and a succession of diplomatic presences arose, reinforced by the constant activity of the consuls. These were charged with defending their own migrant group and were also primarily involved in trade relations, but were always ready to address other matters. Moreover, many ambassadors, especially those from Venice and Florence, took their first steps in the mercantile world and occasionally engaged in trade (see Prajda following article on this subject: “Commercio e diplomazia tra Firenze, Padova e il Regno d’Ungheria dalla conquista di Zara (1357) alla conquista di Napoli (1381)”, in Giovanna Baldissin Molli, Franco Benucci, Maria Teresa Dolso, & Ágnes Máté, eds., *Luigi il Grande Rex Hungariae. Guerre, arti e mobilità tra Padova, Buda e l’Europa al tempo dei Carraresi* (Roma: Viella, 2022), 79-94. Thus, they pursued multiple goals and desired a stable presence for their group (both “national” and social) in the Hungarian kingdom. Diplomats, especially Florentines, negotiated loans for the Hungarian authorities and in exchange received positions within the Hungarian administration. Similarly, papal emissaries favored the establishment of an Italian clergy in Hungary, and their efforts were supported by Florentine, Neapolitan, and Venetian ambassadors, who did not disdain the presence of priests of their own origin.

Much is tied to business, and consequently we see a constant exchange and confrontation between mercantile networks. The conflict between Venice and Hungary over Dalmatia (bought piecemeal by the former between 1409 and 1420, while Ragusa, in reaction, placed itself under Ottoman protection) prevented the Venetians from continuing to maintain a presence in the Kingdom. Thus, it was the Florentines (and the merchants from Arezzo and Siena) who built solid outposts there, usually for trade, but sometimes also for production. The Tuscans established local production of Italian goods. They also gained control of the mines and metalworking, as well as salt extraction, particularly after the Florentines decided to financially and militarily support Sigismund of Luxembourg. In this contingency, too, the Crown acknowledged them by assigning positions, particularly in fiscal administration (civil and ecclesiastical) and military matters, as well as in minting coins. While the relationship between trade and mint will remain a classic of the modern age, the case of merchants becoming military leaders, as it happened then, is rarer. In short, the aforementioned Filippo Scolari is almost an exception: see the entry by Gizella Nemeth Papo & Adriano Papo in *Dizionario Biografico degli*

Italiani, vol. 91 (Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2018), [[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/filippo-scolari_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/filippo-scolari_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)], and the article by the same "Le 'virtù militari' di Pippo Spano (Filippo Scolari), condottiero fiorentino al servizio dell'imperatore Sigismondo nei Balcani, in Friuli e nella Cechia", *Crisia*, LIV (2024): 81-94.

In some of the cases just described, think back to Scolari, migrations also stimulated the arrival of artisans. However, and here the author explores a new angle, artisans, skilled and unskilled workers, and soldiers actually fueled Hungarian migrations to the peninsula. They were joined by religious people and pilgrims, mainly headed for Rome, as well as students seeking to study at Italy's most renowned universities. In the opposite flow, in addition to the aforementioned merchants and artisans, we see artists and humanists, or civil and military architects moving towards Central and Eastern Europe. However, it was always the merchants who triggered these cultural and demographic exchanges, as Prajda later reiterates in "Il caso del Regno d'Ungheria", *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 25 (2022): 1-30.

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The Hungarian scholar does not operate in a historiographical vacuum. The themes mentioned so far have been studied for a long time and already in the last century we had a first, very important synthesis with Hermann Kellenbenz's essay on "Gli operatori economici italiani nell'Europa centrale ed orientale": see *Aspetti della vita economica medievale. Atti del Convegno di Studi nel X anniversario della morte di Federigo Melis* (Firenze, n.ed., 1985), 333-57). Furthermore, the context of the Florentines in Buda during the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg is explored in depth by Krisztina Arany in "Success and Failure – Two Florentine Merchant Families in Buda During the Reign of King Sigismund (1387-1437)", *Annual of Medieval Studies at Central European University*, 12 (2006): 101-23, and "Florentine Families in Hungary in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century", *Hungarian Historical Review*, 6/1 (2017): 5-39. See also the book by the same author *Florentine Families in Hungary in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century. A Prosopographic Study of Their Economic and Social Strategies* (Kiel: Solivagus, 2020).

We also have the very rich production of Andrea Fara, which ranges from the Angevin action ("Le riforme politiche ed economiche di Caroberto d'Angiò nel Regno d'Ungheria e in Transilvania: il ruolo del capitale mercantile e tecnologico italiano e tedesco (1300-1342)", in Cristian Luca & Gianluca Masi, eds., *L'Europa Centro-Orientale e la Penisola italiana: quattro secoli di rapporti e influssi intercorsi tra Stati e civiltà (1300-1700)* (Brăila-Venezia: Museo di Brăila, 2007), 41-70) to the Venetian interests ("Il conflitto e la crescita. Le relazioni politiche ed economiche tra Venezia, il regno d'Ungheria e i suoi territori di Transilvania nel periodo angioino (XIV secolo)", *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria*, 29 (2007): 5-38), from the Italian merchants in Hungary ("Attività di carattere imprenditoriale dei mercanti italiani nel regno d'Ungheria tra tardo Medioevo e prima Età moderna (XIV-XVI secolo)", in Franco Amatori & Andrea Colli, eds., *Imprenditorialità e sviluppo economico: il caso italiano (secoli XIII-XX)* (Milano: EGEA, 2009), 1071-1089, and "Italian Merchants in the Kingdom of Hungary in late Middle Ages and early Modern Period (XIIIth-XVIth centuries)", in Julian Mihai Damian, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Mihailo St. Popovic & Alexandru Simon, eds., *Italy and Europe's Eastern Border (1204-1669)* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2012), 119-33) to all the Italian operators in the Kingdom ("Le besoin d'expertise. Capacité professionnelle et choix des opérateurs

économiques italiens sur les terres hongroises aux XIII^e et XV^e siècles”, in Claude Denjean & Laurent Feller, eds., *Expertise et valeur des choses au Moyen Âge. I. Le besoin d'expertise* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2013), 205-19) and to the Hungarian trade towards Italy (“Il commercio di bestiame ungherese verso la Penisola italiana tra tardo Medioevo e prima Età moderna (XIV-XVI secolo)”, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge*, 127/2 (2015), 263-78).

Prajda thus works in a small but significant historiographical context, within which his trademark is an emphasis on the migration of human beings, goods, and ideas in a temporal niche that closes the Middle Ages and opens the modern age. The third chapter of the previously discussed *Italy and Hungary in the Early Renaissance* focuses on migratory networks (which therefore follow diplomatic and business networks). In this chapter, human beings move and, at the same time, move goods. In the fourth and final chapter, culture comes into play, and the networks are artistic and cultural, so it is ideas that are moved. After all, culture often reflects the mobility of those who move from the Italian Peninsula to Central and Eastern Europe. In this regard, Prajda skillfully uses the *Novella del Grasso legnaiuolo*: see the edition by Salvatore Silvano Nigro and Salvatore Grassia (Milan: Rizzoli, 2015). It recounts the prank played in 1409 by Filippo Brunelleschi on a Florentine cabinetmaker, Manetto Ammanatini, known as Il Grasso. The latter, realizing he had been outwitted, decided to leave the city and seek out an old companion:

El quale giovane da alcuno anno innanzi s'era partito, e itosene in Ungheria, e là aveva fatto molto bene e' fatti suoi pel mezzo di Filippo Scolari che si diceva lo Spano, nostro cittadino, che era allora Capitano Generale dello esercito di Gismondo, che fu figliuolo questo Gismondo di Carlo Re di Buemmia, e fu Re d' Ungheria, uno savio, et avveduto re, che fu poi eletto Imperadore al tempo di Gregorio duodecimo, e fu coronato Cesare da Papa Eugenio IV. E questo Spano dava ricapito a tutti e' Fiorentini, che vi capitavano, che avessero virtù nessuna, o intellettuale, o manuale, come quello, che era un Signor molto dabbene, et amava la nazione oltre a modo, com'ella doveva amare lui, e fece a molti del bene. In questo tempo era venuto questo tale in Firenze per sapere se poteva condurre di là niuno maestro dell'arte sua, per molti lavori, che egli aveva tolti a fare, e più e più volte n'aveva ragionato col Grasso, pregandolo, che v'andassi, mostrandogli, che in poco tempo e' si farebbono ricchi.

A migration to escape derision therefore, but also to enrich oneself and in fact: “El Grasso, e 'l compagno giunti in Ungheria si dettono da fare, et ebbonvi buona ventura, imperocché in pochi anni vi diventarono ricchi”, thanks to their abilities and to the benevolence of the said Spano, still true anchor of the Florentine emigration. The *Novella* is written by Antonio Manetti (1423-1497), see the entry of Giuliano Tanturli in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 68 (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2007), [[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-manetti_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-manetti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)], already the author of a *Vita di Brunelleschi*. According to 15th century Florentines, migrations are thus a key element in the development of Renaissance Florence. In the eyes of their contemporaries and their fellow citizens, Brunelleschi and Filippo Scolari almost seem to go hand in hand.

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