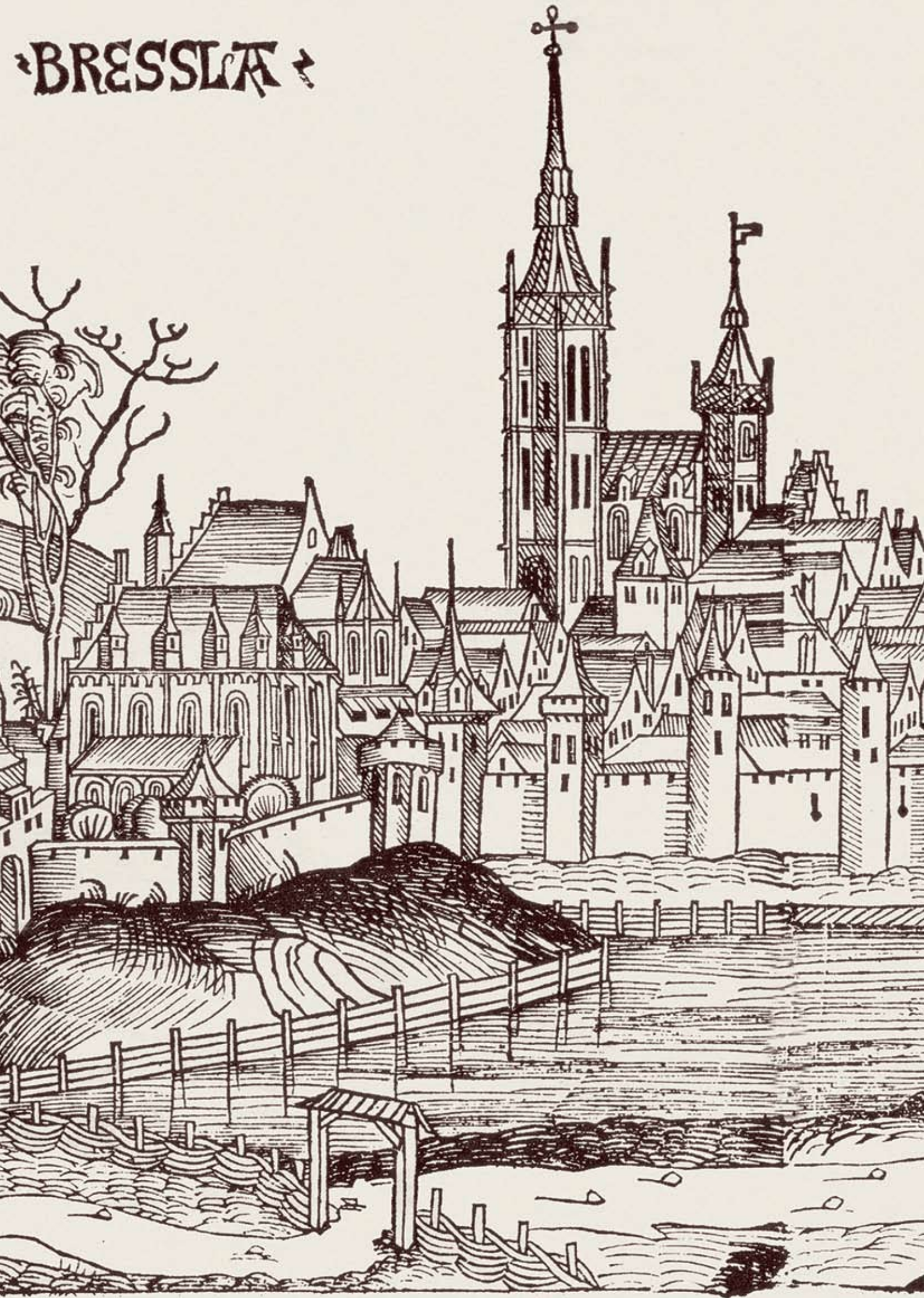


BRESSLA



Hope and Pragmatism The Rule and Visual Representation of Matthias Corvinus in Silesia and Lusatia

In 1491, soon after the death of Matthias Corvinus, Heinz Dompnig, one of the main supporters of Corvinian rule in Silesia, was executed in Wrocław (Breslau), the capital of the province, on charges of treason and embezzlement (Fig. 1).¹ In the historiography of Silesia, a region in the second half of the fourteenth century gained by the Luxembourgs for the Crown of Bohemia, this instance was regarded for many years some kind of a symbol. It has been often interpreted as the fall of the man that personified the hard rule of Matthias, the unwelcome king, who was regarded in Silesia as a usurper.² Less attention has been paid to another fact: after the death of Matthias, his close collaborator, the Bishop of Várad (Oradea) and administrator of the Olomouc diocese, Jan Filipec, found refuge in Wrocław, in the very Franciscan friary, the foundation of which was previously inspired by John of Capestrano on behalf of the Catholic defence against Hussite heresy.³ Was then the climax in Silesia so definitely anti-Corvinian? Surprisingly, most Polish and Czech historians seem to agree on this point. For the Czechs, attached to their national monarch George of Poděbrady, the Catholic “Anti-king” Matthias was for a long time a *persona non grata* of national history.⁴ As an enemy of the Jagiellos, Matthias Corvinus has not found much sympathy in Polish historiography, either.⁵ Czech studies excluding Silesia and Lusatia (Lausitz) from the history of the Crown of Bohemia could avoid or even hush up the issue of the Corvinian rule.⁶ Instead, Polish historians often overlooked one fundamental fact: that Matthias ruled in Silesia and Lusatia not as the King of Hungary, but as the King of Bohemia.⁷ The works about the “return” of Silesia to the Crown of Bohemia in 1490⁸ or even about the war between Wrocław and the Crown of Bohemia⁹ did not take into account that the Bohemian monarchy had been divided in the course of the fifteenth century into a bigger Catholic part with Mathias as its ruler (South Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia) and a Hussite-majority part under the reign of George of Poděbrady and later Wladislas Jagiello (the core land of Bohemia with Prague). The fact that

Wrocław (seat to the influential Bishop Rudolf of Rüdesheim, the papal legate appointed to oversee the case of Bohemian succession) played a crucial role in the Catholic part of the country, has been often overlooked and even ignored in the research.¹⁰ Opinions of German researchers were more moderate. They underlined the positive role of Matthias in the process of constructing the new legislative-political basis of Silesia with its three-chamber parliament and the office of the general prefect (*Landeshauptmann*).¹¹

Recent research leads to the reinterpretation of the ideas mentioned above, and reveals another example of the co-operation between the Silesian capital (the town council and the bishop) and King Matthias. When he was paid homage as King of Bohemia at the Wrocław market square in 1469 by the city, the Silesian dukes, as well as the Alliance of the Upper Lusatian Six Cities and Lower Lusatia, he was explicitly treated as „*protector et defensor noster*.”¹² The coalition between the ruler and the Silesian capital was forged on the military field, namely at the time of the 1474–1475 campaign, when the Polish-Bohemian army of Wladislas Jagiello and his father Casimir appeared at the toll-gates of Wrocław to claim the sovereign rights for these territories.¹³ Similarly, their consent would affect local administration, an instance confirmed by the autonomy reforms of the city;¹⁴ reforms which extended to the whole of Silesia.¹⁵ As we can see, Matthias did not smother the Silesian capital. On the contrary, he aimed for legislative-political changes which today would be called “modernisation of government.”¹⁶ In the Silesian parliament, he strengthened the position of the clergy, showing reverence to the second pillar of his rule in the region—the bishop and the Cathedral chapter.¹⁷ Within the confines of such changes, Matthias did not always satisfy the inhabitants of Wrocław, but nevertheless his activities were rather profitable for the city.¹⁸ In many respects Matthias favoured the Silesian capital, with, for example, his centralisation of minting,¹⁹ and in particular by means of his relations with the local dukes. He appointed István Szapolyai as general prefect of Silesia,²⁰ the governance of Lower Silesia and Upper Lusatia went to Georg von Stein,²¹ and Upper Silesia to Johann Bielik von Kornicz who resided in the castle of Cosel (Kędzierzyn-Koźle).²² All of them were of

1. View of Wrocław (Breslau) in Hartmann Schedel's World Chronicle, 1493, Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum

lower social standing than the dukes.²³ Furthermore, the public-law status of the dukes had been called into question by the free provincial estates (*Freie Standesherrschaften*) introduced by Matthias Corvinus and accorded to his adherents (for example, the Haugwitz). In the eventually formed Silesian parliament they became members of the first ducal chamber.²⁴ When Matthias finally defeated the ducal opposition of the Piasts, Přemyslids and Poděbrads in the winter of 1488–89, he completed the process of shaping the territories he had intended to give to his son John Corvinus.²⁵ The sudden death of the King in 1490 thwarted these plans: the career of John and the prefects—von Stein and von Kornicz, was over.²⁶ In the first years of the Jagiellonian rule in Silesia and Lusatia they had to relinquish their offices and territories acquired during the time of Matthias.

In spite of many opinions, in the Catholic provinces of the Bohemian Crown Matthias was held in higher esteem than Wladislas who was called “the Prague king” by Matthias’ supporters.²⁷ In relation to the Jagiello king, Matthias was more privileged, especially on account of the provisions of the Olomouc treaty of 1479, which sanctioned the double-rule in the lands of the Bohemian Crown. This agreement provided that should Matthias die childless, his part of Bohemia would, after the payment of 400,000 florins, be governed by Wladislas. In the event of Wladislas’ death and Matthias’ election as King of central Bohemia, Matthias Corvinus would take unconditional rule in Prague, too.²⁸ Not even when Emperor Frederick III feoffed the Crown of Bohemia to Wladislas Jagiello was Matthias’ position weakened.²⁹

The sources of the anti-heretic, and *de facto* anti-Prague, politics of Wrocław seem to have originated in the Luxembourg era: it was in this very city where Wenceslas’ younger brother Sigismund held the Assembly of the Empire in 1420 and announced the crusade against Bohemian heresy.³⁰ Like for Sigismund before, this time the city proved useful for Matthias in withstanding George of Poděbrady and later Wladislas Jagiello. Wrocław was the biggest city of the Bohemian Crown after Prague, and the only non-vacant bishopric in the entire kingdom after the death of the Olomouc Bishop Prothasius (Tas) Černohorský z Boskovic in 1482.³¹ This must have been one of the reasons why, directly after the homage in 1469, Matthias and the local dukes attended in person the *Corpus Christi* procession, headed by Bishop Rudolf von Rüdesheim, from the cathedral to the town hall. The event can be seen as a religious-political manifestation of the “alliance of the throne and the altar.”³² The prayers for the King (that is, Matthias), included in the synodal statutes of the Wrocław Bishopric, were said for a ruler who would fulfil the basic hope of his new subjects and lead them to salvation. George of Poděbrady, referred to as “*intrusus rex, homo perfidus,*

infidelissimus hereticus, venenosus draco or *occupator regni Bohemie*” in Wrocław,³³ was considered unfit to put these plans into practice.³⁴ So, when Peter Eschenloer expressed discontent over Corvinian rule in his chronicle of Wrocław (1440–1479) by citing increased expenses or the relatively ill-fated reforms of the municipal electoral law,³⁵ it was only a shadow of the negative emotions previously directed at George and later at the Poles devastating the Silesian land under Wladislas’ command in 1474, not unlike the Hussites half a century earlier.³⁶

The ideals conceived during the reign of Matthias Corvinus did not disappear in Wrocław after 1490. Although Wladislas dismissed the Corvinian officials from their post, the city did not distance itself from the politics it had followed between 1469 and 1490. Until 1511 the local authorities postponed the homage to the new Bohemian (and Hungarian) monarch, after trying for twenty years to put the provisions of the Olomouc treaty into practice. The reception of Wladislas Jagiello in 1511 inside the Wrocław Town Hall under the representative vault richly decorated with a sculptured coat-of-arms of Matthias Corvinus can be regarded as a symbolic manifestation of this non-conformist stance.³⁷ Thus, the beheading of Dompnig would have been a kind of public spectacle, an attempt to create a “new opening” in city’s relations with Wladislas Jagiello, and to settle accounts within the Wrocław governing elite. However, there would be no radical change. On the contrary, the city elite stuck to the letter of the Olomouc treaty of 1479, in spite of the fact that it was gradually losing force.

Political change in Lusatia was a somewhat different matter. The region’s political identity, which had largely emerged in the Luxembourg era, was defined most of all by the position of the Six Cities’ Alliance (*Hexapolis* or *terra hexapolitana*) of Upper Lusatia. The latter was founded in 1346, during the time of Charles IV, with Zittau, Kamenz, Löbau, Lubań (Lauban) as well as Görlitz and Bautzen as the most significant cities. (In fact, the present term “Oberlausitz” appeared first in the chancellery of Matthias Corvinus in 1474.) Although the Upper Lusatian Alliance had already surrendered to George of Poděbrady in 1459 and for a second time in 1462, the subsequent politics of the region can be also regarded, as in the case of Wrocław and Silesia, as the outcome of its resistance against the Hussite king, excommunicated 1466.³⁸ After swearing homage to Matthias in 1469, Wladislas visited the province personally in 1477—on the advice of Emperor Frederick III—to claim his rights for the region, but failed to do so. The Lusatian episode of the conflict between Matthias and Wladislas would be directly responsible for the Olomouc treaty two years later.³⁹ However, in Upper Lusatia (which paid homage to Matthias in Wrocław for the second time in 1479), and in particular



2. The Wrocław (Breslau) Town Hall

Bautzen (under the government of its mayor Balthasar Pietsch) feared that the whole region would eventually fall to the Crown of Hungary after the death of king Matthias.⁴⁰ As a representative and executor of this alleged “hidden plan” one saw Georg von Stein, called in the local city sources “gottloser Mann, voller böser List und Betrugs.”⁴¹ These intense arguments were probably additionally intensified by the lingering question of the Saxon dukes which influenced the local politics of Lusatia. In this context, we should remember that at the end of the 1460s Albert Wettin was a realistic alternative to the Matthias’ candidacy for the throne of a Catholic Bohemia.

There was therefore a permanent conflict of interests, dating back to the 1460s and best expressed in the pro-papal resistance of Wrocław against George of Poděbrady as a king. Later, when Wladislas Jagiello presented his claims for Silesian succession, this conflict determined the ways how Matthias Corvinus as a ruler was visually represented in the urban

areas of the region.⁴² However, about it is hard to discern a homogeneous phenomenon of art patronage indisputably associated with Matthias or his officials. It seems that in the period when the system of ruling in Silesia and Lusatia was modernized, imagery—as a means of public media used to convey political claims, aspirations and sympathies—played a particularly important role for the respective factions.

The Wrocław Town Hall was built in the thirteenth century and extended in the fourteenth to make space for the modern headquarters of the Town Council. The building was thoroughly converted at the time of Matthias Corvinus. In about 1480, local craftsmen, headed by the guild’s superior Hans Berthold, were discharged and employed instead was a modern “mobile” workshop under the leadership of masters from Saxony and Lusatia, namely Paul Preusse from Rochlitz and Briccius Gauske from Görlitz (Fig. 2).⁴³ In the first decade, the team—that would remain on the job until around 1504—transformed the

city's most important secular building into a manifesto of both the city's political status within the confines of the Bohemian Crown and its pro-Corvinian sympathies. Géza Entz's assumption, that crypto-portraits of Matthias appear in images of John the Evangelist (an early heraldic symbol of Wrocław and the patron of the Town Hall chapel) decorating the Town Hall, is no longer tenable.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the concept of the building's decoration was out to demonstrate recognition of the Hungarian ruler as monarch of the Bohemian Crown, proclaimed king in Olomouc in 1468 and confirmed in his throne by the treaty of 1479. It is no accident that, together with heraldic symbols of Bohemia and Silesia, Matthias Corvinus' armorial bearing appears several times in such representative places as, for example, the door leading from the Great Hall to the Chamber of the Council's Senior, the highest dignitary of the city. (Fig. 3).⁴⁵



3. Door connecting the Great Hall of the Wrocław (Breslau) Town Hall with the chamber of the Council's Senior

This subtle heraldic courtesy is not the only feature that testifies to the pro-Corvinian political sympathies of the leaders of the Silesian capital. The most intriguing moment of the ruler's representation in the urban environment of Wrocław seems to have been achieved in the majestic oriel on the south façade of the Town Hall, built probably around 1486 (Fig. 4). It is flanked by two full figures of knights or heralds under a baldachin whose coffered ceiling is decorated with 39 figural and floral rosettes (the former disappeared in 1944–1945; Fig. 5)⁴⁶. Quite what this part of the building was used for remains unclear; it has been thought to be a lodge or gallery of honour (*Zuschauerempore*) for the visiting ruler.⁴⁷ It was certainly a hierarchically distinguished place in the largest and stateliest room of the Town Hall.

It is worth comparing this arrangement with the miniature depicting the enthronement of the King in the Cracow Pontifical of Erasmus Vitellius (Ciołek), created between 1510–1515, which shows the King seated on the throne in the interior of Wawel Cathedral. The King's official power is symbolised by two armoured knights appearing on the fictional frame of the image, holding the Lithuanian and Polish flag.⁴⁸ With the oriel of the Wrocław Town Hall, the city—involved in the conflict of Bohemian succession in the 1480s—expressed its loyalty by flanking the “regal” interior of the oriel with knights holding heraldic shields with the Bohemian lion and the bust of St John the Evangelist. Additionally, this message was underlined by heraldic means by providing the frontal balustrade with the same emblems, supported by heraldic hoofed dogs in horizontally inverted order. Consequently, this composition was not so much about highlighting the legitimacy of the sovereign's rule, but rather a visual representation of the city's aspirations, political objectives and loyalty. This arrangement shows the political *status quo* at the time of a conflict that was still well alive half a century after the death of Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg (d. 1437). The coffered ceiling of the oriel, of a Renaissance construction, is usually dated to 1527 or around 1530. Recently, its origins have been connected with the time of Ferdinand I Habsburg, King of Bohemia and Hungary (1526–1564).⁴⁹ Such a late dating has been justified by comparisons with the Wawel castle ceilings (1529 and later) in Cracow, even though such constructions had appeared much earlier in Hungarian art, such as the monumental coffered ceiling in the Town Hall of Bártfa (Bardejov), dating from 1508.⁵⁰ However, the easily identifiable motif of the raven with the ring, visible in one of the former late-Gothic rosettes of the Wrocław Town Hall baldachin ceiling (Fig. 6),⁵¹ allows us to associate this entire architectural and sculptural assemblage with Matthias Corvinus and to date it to before 1490.⁵² Moreover, a similar combination of different styles can be seen in another fragment of the same oriel. The two Renaissance

balusters of the frontal balustrade were introduced into the clearly Gothic ornamental idiom. To that end, they were turned upside down in the middle to make them fit in with the structure of the tracery which features patterns known from church interiors, liturgical equipment and precious reliquaries.⁵³ Until recently, such inconsistencies with Gothic forms have led to misinterpretation of this phenomenon as the Gothic masters' archaic "miscomprehension".⁵⁴ Instead, this eccentric marriage of styles—comparable to the blend of composite pilasters and the system of twisted Gothic columns in the hall of the State Parliament Room (*Sněmovna*) at Prague castle (by Benedikt Ried, around 1500)—had functional reasons. The organic blend of two styles in the Wrocław Town Hall is a case in point of the deliberate integration of different formal elements intended to be a means of representation. The baluster is in this

instance a heraldic column, a political sign, a visible bearer of heraldic dignity.⁵⁵ This eclectic mixture of styles should, therefore, not be regarded as signs of provinciality or evidence of "miscomprehension" of the new art, either. The assumption about the provincial local artists who, due to their remoteness from the Buda court, fell out of touch with the "pure" stylistic criteria of Corvinian Renaissance, requires revision in this instance.⁵⁶

The King's presence in Lusatia was portrayed in a different way. The majestic relief of Matthias was placed on the outside wall of the tower-chapel of St George at the Ortenburg Castle in Bautzen in 1486, in the course of its rebuilding by Georg von Stein⁵⁷ (Fig. 7). Unlike the Wrocław monument, it can be regarded as an intensive show of power amid the unfavourable political circumstances mentioned above. In the light of Lusatian fears of being



4. Oriel of the Great Hall of the Wrocław (Breslau) Town Hall

separated from the Crown of Bohemia, the erection of the Ortenburg was regarded as preparing the residence for John Corvinus as successor of the Hungarian king.⁵⁸ The Matthias monument—which was probably created by Stein, the King’s *Landvogt*—had, in terms of purpose, forerunners such as the monumental “heraldic wall” (*Wappenwand*) in the castle chapel of St George in Wiener Neustadt, dating from 1453 and commissioned by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, and as such would become in this context the means of intense political argumentation. The Bautzen memorial was fashioned after a 1464 royal seal depicting

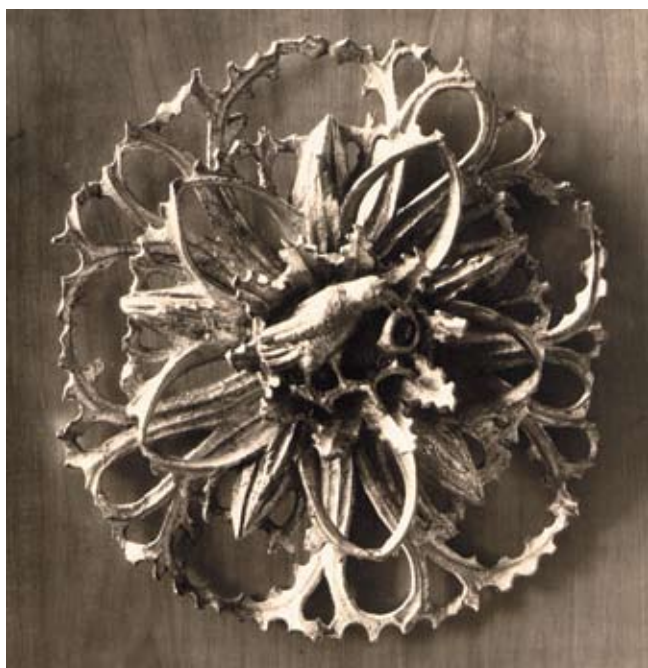
Matthias Corvinus as King of Hungary on his throne, together with the coats of arms of his Hungarian provinces.⁵⁹ This image would have been perceived as a visual signifier of the King’s authority in the region, and a public “seal” ultimately legitimizing the Olomouc treaty, as Szilárd Papp interestingly suggested in a recent article.⁶⁰ In this instance, it was less the personal presence of the King than his “territorial presence” that was expressed by means of an effigy and heraldry, intended to function as the King’s “signature” for his prefect’s prerogatives. Consequently, the portrait of the enthroned King on the castle tower was an



5. Ceiling of the oriel of the Great Hall of the Wrocław (Breslau) Town Hall, pre-1945 state

expression of identification of the local administrative authority with the sovereign's power, and a symbolic marking of the territory under his rule.⁶¹

However, the borrowing of the seal motif provided only the structural and iconographical basis for creating the new public image of the ruler. With the Bautzen monument the instance of performing was of essence. The exposure of the King's body, emerging from behind the opening curtain of the baldachin in the form of almost a modern *aedicula* somewhat eluding the Gothic division system, provides this formula with an explicit mode of auratisation and



6. Raven with a ring in its beak on the oriel ceiling of the Great Hall of the Wrocław (Breslau) Town Hall, per-1945 state

sacralisation. The readily identifiable shape of a winged altar as a common medium of actualising the presence, controlled by the rhythm of closing and opening, was adapted here to visualize the majesty of the ruler. The central part is accompanied by the panels with coats of arms of the lands governed by Matthias Corvinus, which reveal the expansion of his territorial rule in nearly the same way as the panels of the altar wings which portray scenes in the life of the saint in the middle of the altarpiece. The motif of the crown put on the ruler's head should be analysed analogically, with respect to the glorificational-propagandistic mode: not as a scene of coronation, but as a reference to the political meaning of the Crown of St Stephen and to the antique *topos* of the crowned ruler.⁶²

The eternal problem of the alleged realistic features of the Corvinus' portrait on the Bautzen monument can be analysed in a similar context. According to Manlius (1568), the finalized statue of the King had to be sent to Buda three times to certify its visual authenticity.⁶³ This is obviously a legend that should be treated with reservation; however, it cannot be excluded that the adaptation of a Renaissance model of a ruler's glorification, accomplished by means of antique *topoi*, served political purposes.

However, one might ask why this particular visual representation was chosen. A decisive historical circumstance, which seems to have affected the King's representation in the public sphere in Lusatia, was the fact that Matthias Corvinus never appeared personally in this land.⁶⁴ In this respect it differs from Wrocław where he spent several months visiting the city or defending it at the time of the siege in 1474–75.⁶⁵ Consequently, in Lusatia it was more about the official representation of the King who was absent *in corpore* and was represented only by the Georg von Stein, the unwelcome prefect ruling with a strong hand.

The absent King, whose presence was much desired, was portrayed differently, depending on the political position of the founding subject. Let us take a closer look at the second most important Corvinian monument in Lusatia, a relief with Matthias' coat of arms on the outside wall of the Görlitz Town Hall, erected most probably by the Town Council in 1488 (sec p.224).⁶⁶ Not only the heraldry of Matthias (deprived here, by the way, of the family raven), but also the bearer—i.e. the shield resting on the back of a standing lion and held by a woman and a knight—turns out to be particularly important. It becomes a substitute medium for the King's body.⁶⁷ This feature of the Görlitz relief is especially striking in comparison with the Bautzen monument, showing the King leaning his feet on a lion and in this way personally manifesting his dignity and power of office. It is worth examining the background of the Görlitz relief, too, which has not yet been the focus of art historical interest. Behind the protruding shield one can see a brocade curtain embellished with the motif of heraldic Hungarian stripes with a crown. This textile element must surely have served more than just decorative purposes. It is well known that Matthias commissioned, among other things, a golden brocade throne hanging from Antonio Pollaiuolo in Florence.⁶⁸ Analogous heraldic curtains were mentioned in Eschenloer's chronicle; therefore they must have been an essential component of Matthias' regal representation. But connotations of a general kind are more important than concrete prototypes. Curtains (*vela*) or tapestries adorned with coats of arms commonly functioned in the Middle Ages as a public-judicial device of acknowledgement of the ruler's authority, as well as his jurisdictional competences during general assemblies.⁶⁹ The political attitude of Görlitz



7. Monument to Matthias Corvinus on the gate tower of the Ortenburg in Bautzen, 1486

is highly relevant in this case. In the first place, the town maintained a better relationship with von Stein than Bautzen, and even provided him refuge when the citizens of Bautzen seized the Ortenburg after Matthias' death in 1490. Furthermore, Görlitz also subjected itself directly to the King's protection in case of local feuds.⁷⁰ Consequently, the intention to preserve and fix, by means of heraldic representation, the same *gloriosa pompe* that characterised Matthias' ceremonial entrances to the visited cities, among

others, Wrocław, was accompanied here by a need to rhetorically underpin the jurisdictional power of the bodily absent King.⁷¹

It is intriguing how Matthias-Era Renaissance imagery was blended with the unambiguously late-Gothic imagery, extended by the Lusatian masters.⁷² These masters—who possibly trained in south-German workshops and were inspired by the oeuvre of Nikolaus Gerhaert van Leyden—employed a late Gothic style as a means of expression. This

was interpreted by Papp as an attempt to visualise the “imperial ambitions” of Matthias by using the same decorative model of sculpture as his rival Emperor Frederick III in Vienna, who had employed Gerhaert himself.⁷³ But, apart from the possible concrete political message, the sculptural style apparent in the works of the Lusatian masters was considerably different from that of previous local works and came as an astonishing novelty.⁷⁴ This way, it indirectly portrayed Matthias’ elegance and magnificence mentioned in the contemporary sources—in, among others, Eschenloer’s chronicle. The intentional, simultaneous introduction of certain stylistic motifs, incoherent formal allusions and differing archaic modes assumed special significance in

political representation.⁷⁵ Consequently, the selected Renaissance elements—evocative of court art, such as the baluster and *aedicula*—were thoughtfully introduced as “code words” in the impressive structure of the Gothic decoration with its floral and architectural *horror vacui*.

Let us finally remark that the politically-motivated use of forms and meanings was ubiquitous. A curious symbol of remembrance of Matthias Corvinus in the later art of Wrocław is the tomb of the canon Stanislaus Sauer (d. 1535) in the collegiate church of the Holy Cross (Fig. 8). This monument was fashioned after the best models of Humanist sepulchral art in the late Renaissance. Next to the relief bust of the deceased, there are Italianate portrait-medallions of



8. Tomb of Canon Stanislaus Sauer (d. 1535) in the collegiate Church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław (Breslau)

Emperor Augustus, Alexander the Great, and in the final the largest one depicts Matthias Corvinus. This was, then, a pantheon of model rulers with Matthias having a leading role.⁷⁶ One of the maiuscular inscriptions on the panel beside the portrait of the canon reads, “Until now Fate has protected us from the insane gale of horrible impiety” (*Huc nos fatum subduxit ab insano horrendae impietatis turbine*), which can be surely linked in this context with Matthias’ contribution to the defence of Silesia against Bohemian heresy. At the same time, it was the last declaration of devotion to the Hungarian king in the art of the northern periphery of the Crown of St Wenceslas, reminding the viewers of the fact that he not

only granted this periphery with a status of political centre at the cost of Prague, but also conferred on Silesia the dignity of *fester Turm des Christianismus*, to quote Eschenloer.⁷⁷ It cannot be an accident that Jan Filipec, mentioned at the beginning of this study, could continue his career in the Silesian capital after 1490. He was able, unlike the propagandistically beheaded Heinz Dompnig, or Georg von Stein who was banished into exile to Brandenburgian Berlin,⁷⁸ to stay active at the end of the fifteenth century in the Wrocław Franciscan friary, previously a centre for anti-Hussite propaganda, and become involved in planning an anti-Ottoman crusade.

NOTES

- ¹ MARKGRAF 1886.
- ² ZLAT 1976, 124–125; KACZMAREK 2003, 216; ČERNÝ 2004, 192.
- ³ GRIEGER 1982; SOLICKI 1995; MĚŠT’ANEK 2003; KALOUS 2006a.
- ⁴ BALBINUS 1687, 213–214; DENKSTEIN 1965, 90; ČERNÝ 2004.
- ⁵ BUCZKOWSKA 1993, 259 as well as works cited in Note 2.
- ⁶ MACEK 2001 rightly assessed Matthias’ position against Wladislas (p. 289), but the “Bohemian lands” mentioned in this book are identical with the present territory of the Czech Republic, without Silesia and Lusatia.
- ⁷ GLEWSKA-DUBIS 2000, 32–33; ORZECZOWSKI 2005, 85.
- ⁸ IWARSKI 1947, 142; POPIOLEK 1972, 65–66; KULAK 1999, 84; MANDZIUK 2005, 186.
- ⁹ JANKOWSKI 2005, 17.
- ¹⁰ Despite the clear messages of the written sources. Cf. SRS XII (1883), 109–110; SRS IX (1874), 292–294, no. 418. A different viewpoint is presented in: CZECHOWICZ 2004 and CZECHOWICZ 2007a.
- ¹¹ ŠHIECHE 1988, 226–229; IRGANG 2006, 5.
- ¹² As the text of the homage reads. FINK 1897, 44; SRL NF 1 (1839), 92–93; ČERNÝ 2004.
- ¹³ FINK 1897, 46–48; cf. GOLIŃSKI 1995.
- ¹⁴ GOLIŃSKI 2001, 180, 197–202; ČERNÝ 2004, 192.
- ¹⁵ JUREK 1998.
- ¹⁶ Conrads dates the beginnings of Silesian Early Modern Era to 1469—CONRADS 2002, 177–198.
- ¹⁷ ORZECZOWSKI 1979, 238–239.
- ¹⁸ An attempt to revise this problem: GOLIŃSKI 2001, 202.
- ¹⁹ NĚCHANICKÝ 1996, 12–15; PASZKIEWICZ 2000, 55–258.
- ²⁰ ORZECZOWSKI 2004, 123.
- ²¹ KNESCHKE 1913.
- ²² ROBE 2000; ORZECZOWSKI 2004, 123.
- ²³ ORZECZOWSKI 2004; BOBKOVÁ 2006.
- ²⁴ HÁK 1993.
- ²⁵ KNESCHKE 1913, 93; GRIEGER 1983, 174–178.
- ²⁶ The third, unaccomplished visit of Matthias to Silesia, planned for 1490, had aimed at having his son accepted by the local authorities; FINK 1897, 49.
- ²⁷ AČ 5, 355; MACEK 2001, 286; cf. SRS IX (1874), 9–11.
- ²⁸ ŠEIFERT 1938, 5; MACEK 2001, 287–289.
- ²⁹ AČ 5, 92–93; MACEK 2001, 289.
- ³⁰ SRS XII (1883), 44; KAVKA 1998, 38–39.; GOLIŃSKI 2001, 176–179.
- ³¹ MACEK 1986; KOVÁŘOVA 1995, 26.
- ³² FINK 1897, 43–44. Cf. DOLA 1988, 173; ČERNÝ 2004, 191.
- ³³ MANIKOWSKA 1990, 263.
- ³⁴ SRS IX (1874), 13–14, no. 17. Cf. KOEBNER 1916; LASLOWSKI 1921.
- ³⁵ ČERNÝ 2004, *passim*. Cf. SRS III (1847), 7–8; FINK 1897, 48–49; WENDT 1898.
- ³⁶ MANIKOWSKA 1990, 265.
- ³⁷ FINK 1897, 49–51; BARTETZKY 2000, 52.
- ³⁸ BOBKOVÁ 2006.
- ³⁹ EIBL 2006, 29.
- ⁴⁰ SRL III (1852), 368, 381; KNESCHKE 1913, 76–77; EIBL 2006, 29.
- ⁴¹ SRL II (1841), 406. Cf. KNESCHKE 1913, 112–113; PAPP 2006a, 104.
- ⁴² RAZÁK 1994, 194–195.
- ⁴³ STEIN 1935, 161–162, STEIN 1937, 92–94; BIMLER 1941, 12; ZLAT 1976, 48–51. The employment of both masters in Wrocław, however, is not well founded in the literature; see KAPUSTKA 1998, 11–13, and PAPP 2005, 122–123 with the relevant bibliography.
- ⁴⁴ ENTZ 1961, 213–214. This thesis was rejected by ZLAT 1976, 133, footnote 26.
- ⁴⁵ For a different approach, see ZLAT 1976, 124–125, who writes about “less representative” places for the Corvinian armorial bearings in the building; this attitude was repeated by BARTETZKY 2000, 51. Cf. CZECHOWICZ 2004.
- ⁴⁶ About dating of the oriel to around 1490 see the latest discussion: KACZMAREK 2000 and KAPUSTKA 2002.
- ⁴⁷ BIMLER 1941, 30; ZLAT 1976, 66–67; OSZCZANOWSKI 1999, 53.
- ⁴⁸ MODOŃSKA 1979, 134–159; *Polen* 1986, 248–250; MODOŃSKA 1993, 156.
- ⁴⁹ OSZCZANOWSKI 1999, 50–53.

- ⁵⁰ About the Wawel coffered ceiling with the famous sculpted heads in a European and local context, see PASZKIEWICZ 1973; KUCZMAN 1995. For the ceiling in Bártfa, see BIAŁOSTOCKI 1976, 61.
- ⁵¹ OZCZANOWSKI 1999, 52, was mistaken here about the "Habsburgian" lark; cf. CZECHOWICZ 2007b, 158.
- ⁵² There is no reason to believe the raven in the rosette was a Corvinian reference dating from the Jagiello or Habsburg period; certainly, there is no iconographical indication of it in the whole oriel. ZLAT 1976, 67, suggested the exchange of an original Gothic beam ceiling with the Renaissance coffered ceiling with rosettes in 1528, cf. ZLAT 1965, 194–196.
- ⁵³ KAPUSTKA 2002, 166–168.
- ⁵⁴ KACZMAREK 2000.
- ⁵⁵ See KAPUSTKA 2002, 161–162, 168–171. Cf. in this respect *Zwergpfiler* in Hungary.
- ⁵⁶ About such "provincialism" see: DA COSTA KAUFFMANN 1995, 47–49. An introductory re-evaluation recently by LORENZ 2004.
- ⁵⁷ KAPUSTKA 1998, 12; KAPUSTKA 1999, 19–22; PAPP 2006a (here the previous literature). About the building of the Ortenburg, see in detail WENZEL 2006.
- ⁵⁸ HIBL 2006, 29–30.
- ⁵⁹ The present shields on the monument are reconstructions.
- ⁶⁰ PAPP 2006a, 104. About the "transfer" of the seal earlier in: *Matthias Corvinus* 1982, 206, 213–214.
- ⁶¹ For Bohemian precedents see BARTLOVÁ 2005, 246–247, 255; BARTLOVÁ 2007; MUDRA 2007, 53–55.
- ⁶² Cf. HARRAUER 1994, 121–123; cf. BALOGH 1975a, 6.
- ⁶³ SRL I (1719), 394. Cf. the critical comments in PAPP 2006a, 103.
- ⁶⁴ HIBL 2006, 229–230.
- ⁶⁵ SRS III (1847), 9; FINK 1897, 40–49. Cf. ČERNÝ 2004.
- ⁶⁶ KAPUSTKA 1998, 12 (with the previous literature).
- ⁶⁷ For the concept of heraldic shield as a substitute medium of the body (*Zweitmedium des Körpers*) see SEITTER 1982; BELTING 2001, 115–142; BELTING 2003.
- ⁶⁸ *Matthias Corvinus* 1982, 257–458.
- ⁶⁹ BRASSAT 1992, 66–69.
- ⁷⁰ SRL II (1841), 406; KNESCHKE 1913, 88–89, 112–113, 120.
- ⁷¹ See e. g. SRS VII (1872), 204; FINK 1897, 40.
- ⁷² See MAROSI 1990a, for the problem of Gothic-Renaissance stylistic syncretism as one of the principles of Corvinian Renaissance.
- ⁷³ See PAPP 2006a, 108–109.
- ⁷⁴ For the Corvinian monument in Bautzen see LORENZ 2004, 33.
- ⁷⁵ Cf. e.g. for the French court art of Charles V (1364–1380): CARQUÉ 2004, 476–477 ("Darin wird vorerst freilich nur ein geschärftes Bewusstsein für die Wirkungsfunktionen der Bilder, nicht aber für ihre künstlerische Formerscheinung greifbar"), 549.
- ⁷⁶ FRANKÓI 1891b, 14–17; KĘBŁOWSKI 1960; KĘBŁOWSKI 1967, 51–55; BIAŁOSTOCKI 1976, 48; MAROSI 1993, 36 (footnote 65).
- ⁷⁷ JUREK 1998, 42.
- ⁷⁸ KNESCHKE 1913, 120–121.