

Humanists in Olomouc in the Late Fifteenth and First Half of the Sixteenth Century and Their Influence on Progressive Early Renaissance Architectural Sculpture in Moravia*

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This article focuses on the relationship between the Olomouc humanists and the progressive early Renaissance architectural sculpture on the buildings they commissioned in Moravia in the first half of the sixteenth century. Using the example of a few selected patrons of architecture from among the Olomouc humanists, it will be shown that in many cases their architectural sculpture was the most progressive in Moravia. The predilection of these patrons for the then modern humanism was thus logically reflected in the early Renaissance architectural sculpture. The article will also mention the intensive contact of the Olomouc humanists with the humanists especially in Vienna and Wrocław, because the humanists there were also among the pioneers of early Renaissance architectural decoration.

Keywords: humanism; Olomouc; architecture; architectural sculpture; Moravia; early Renaissance; Vienna; Wrocław.

Introduction

The development of Renaissance architecture and art in Central Europe began much later than in Italy, where the style developed in Tuscany from the 1420s and spread to other Italian regions from the 1460s. In Central Europe, the Renaissance style of art developed first in Hungary thanks to the patronage of King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490)¹ and then spread to other Central European countries.

The research topic of early Renaissance architectural sculpture in Moravia represents a remarkable chapter in the art history of this country, since Moravia was part of the Hungarian kingdom between 1479 and 1490. The earliest monuments of Renaissance art in Moravia represent the echoes of the so-called *Corvinian Renaissance*² of the late fifteenth century, which can be traced also in the area of present-day Lower Austria,³

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1 From the numerous literature on the artistic patronage of Matthias Corvinus in Hungary it is necessary to mention at least BALOGH, *Die Anfänge der Renaissance*; FEUER-TÓTH, *Art and Humanism*; FARBAKY, *Matthias Corvinus*.

2 To the definition of *Corvinian Renaissance* see MAROSI, *Die Corvinische Renaissance*, 173–187.

3 The stone sculptures and inscriptions from 1497 from the Viennese house of Peter Junkherr von Edlasberg, who traded in copper, are an important monument in this context. More on this see PICHLER, *Neue Erkenntnisse*, 424–431.

Slovakia and other countries which belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary during the reign of Matthias Corvinus.

The establishment of humanist societies in Central Europe⁴ at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was very important for the future development of the Renaissance style in architecture and art in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Renaissance style was only very slowly gaining popularity among Central European art patrons in the first half of the sixteenth century and did not become fully established until around the middle of the sixteenth century. For this reason, the term “progressive architectural sculpture” is used in this article, because generally Renaissance art in Central Europe was during its early phase (between 1490–1550) preferred especially by the social elite such as Maximilian I, Ferdinand I of Habsburg and members of his court or leading humanists.

Therefore, Renaissance buildings and works of art commissioned between 1490 and 1550 in Central Europe and definitively also in Moravia are very interesting monuments from a cultural and historical point of view. Almost always, these are buildings where the patron had specific motives for preferring the Renaissance style at a time when the Late Gothic style was still predominant in Central European art. In the context of Moravia it is very striking that in many cases the local pioneers of the Renaissance style in architectural sculpture had a humanist education or were in close friendly contact with humanists.

The aim of the paper is to analyse the relationship between patrons of architecture, who belonged to the Olomouc humanists around 1500 and the progressiveness of their early Renaissance architectural sculpture in Moravia in the first half of sixteenth century. Therefore, emphasis will be also put on the short biographies of individual patrons, especially on their education, relations to humanism, and their cultural ties within Moravia and neighbouring countries, for it is generally known that humanists from various Central European centres were in close contact with each other.

This study deliberately uses the traditional terms *Gothic art* and *Renaissance art*. Although some researchers attempt to relativize these terms,⁵ I consider it most appropriate to continue using them in the analysis of architectural sculpture of the late fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century. I do so for the following reasons: firstly, the stylistic elements that define the Gothic and Renaissance styles are so different that they cannot be confused. This great stylistic difference between Gothic and Renaissance art is due to the circumstances surrounding the origins of these styles: Renaissance has its roots in art of Antique, while Gothic art began to develop in England and especially in France around the middle of the twelfth century.

Last but not least, the very important reason for using the terms *Gothic art* and *Renaissance art* lies in the fact that even the patrons of art in the first half of the sixteenth century were well aware of the essential difference between these styles.⁶ This is also evidenced by preserved reports on selected artistic commissions in Central

4 On humanism in Central Europe around 1500 see EBERHARD – STRNAD, *Humanismus und Renaissance*.

5 RAMEŠOVÁ, *Portály z okruhu*, 10.

6 The fundamental difference between the artistic styles for which the terms *deutsch* and *welsch* were used is confirmed by Peter Flötner's famous woodcut from 1540, which depicts the landsknecht and sculptor Veit. The woodcut features the following verses: *Vil schöner Pild hab ich geschnitten. Künstlich auff welsch und deutschen sitten*. English translation of the verses (BAXANDALL, *The limewood sculptors*, 135): “Many fine figures have I carved. With skill in Welsch and Deutsch manners.” For elaborate analysis of this woodcut see ESER, *Künstlich auf welsch*, 322–324, 348–351.

Europe from the first half of the sixteenth century. At that time, for example, the term *fenestris ytalica-bus*⁷ was used for Renaissance windows, the adjective *deutsch*⁸ was used in German-speaking countries for the local, i.e. Gothic style, and adjective *welsch*⁹ was used for the Italian Renaissance style, although it sometimes had a broader meaning.¹⁰

Humanism in Olomouc Around 1500

An important personality for the development of humanism in Olomouc and Moravia in the second half of fifteenth century was Tas of Boskovice,¹¹ who was Bishop of Olomouc from 1457 to 1482. He studied at universities in Vienna, Ferrara and probably also in Pavia¹² in northern Italy and thus his knowledge of Italian humanism was on very high level. It was significant for the contacts between Olomouc and Hungary that his classmate was the prominent Hungarian poet and humanist Janus Pannonius.

The period of the late fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century in Olomouc was the heyday of local humanism.¹³ In 1497, two events occurred that were of fundamental importance for the development of humanism in Olomouc. At that time began the 43-year-long episcopate of Olomouc Bishop Stanislav Thurzo, who intensively supported the humanists. In the same year, Emperor Maximilian I (1493–1519) summoned Konrad Celtis (*1459 Wipfeld near Schweinfurt – † 1508 Vienna), the most famous humanist in Central Europe at that time, to Vienna. Thanks to his fame and travels, he had an influence on several humanist centres in Central Europe. Of key importance were the humanist societies founded by Celtis in Ingolstadt, Cracow and Vienna.¹⁴

The most important foreign centre of humanism for Olomouc at the beginning of the sixteenth century was undoubtedly Vienna.¹⁵ As Alfred A. Strnad¹⁶ has pointed out, between 1500 and 1520 a large number of Moravian students studied at University of Vienna. Several later prominent Olomouc humanists or humanist politicians were

7 A contract from 1507 has been preserved between the town of Bardejov and Master Alexius, who promised to design *fenestris ytalica-bus* for the Bardejov town hall – this term clearly refers to windows designed in the Italian Renaissance style, more on this see KRESÁK, *Úvahy o renesancii*, 23.

8 Michael Baxandall considers for example the works of sculptor H.L., who was active in the town of Breisach, to be works of art in the *deutsch* style, see BAXANDALL, *The limewood sculptors*, 141–142.

9 According to Thomas Eser, the oldest surviving record describing German sculpture with the adjective *welsch* dates back to 1515. This entry relates to wooden sculptures of putti (*Walhischen kindlein in der neuen ratsstuben*) intended for the town hall in Augsburg. The sculptures were created by Augsburg sculptor Jörg Muskat. The use of term *welsch* is certainly logical in this case, as putti were one of the symbols of Italian Renaissance sculpture. See ESER, *Künstlich auf welsch*, 333.

10 According to Michael Baxandall, other meanings of the term *welsch* were *Latin*, *Romanesque*, *French*, or generally *foreign* (in German *das Fremdländische* = originating from foreign country). See BAXANDALL, *Humanistischer Patriotismus*, 98–106.

11 KOUŘIL, *Diplomat a humanista*, 155–162.

12 BALETKA – ELBEL – KALOUS, *Církev a biskupství*, 233.

13 For a summary of humanism in Olomouc around 1500 and in the first half of the sixteenth century, see WÖRSTER, *Der Olmützer Humanistenkreis*, 39–60; MACHILEK, *Der Olmützer Humanistenkreis*, 111–135; PETRŮ, *Literature*, 36–54.

14 For more on the humanist societies founded by Celtis, see MACHILEK, *Konrad Celtis*, 137–155; VOŽENÍLKOVÁ, *Učené společnosti*, 199–202.

15 For more on humanism in Vienna around 1500 see STRNAD, *Die Rezeption von Humanismus*, 70–135.

16 *Ibidem*, 126.

graduates of this university, for example Gregor Nitsch,¹⁷ Johannes Heffter¹⁸ or Stephan Taurinus¹⁹ (* c.1480 Svitavy – † 1519 Sibiu, Transylvania, today's Romania). Taurinus's life story demonstrates the close connection between Vienna and Olomouc. He first studied in Olomouc and then at the University of Vienna, which list him as a student in 1501–1502, and in 1507, already as a graduate of this university, he held there a solemn speech in honour of the patron of Hungary, St Ladislaus.²⁰ Of fundamental importance for our knowledge of the humanists in Olomouc at the beginning of the sixteenth century is valuable textual source of Taurinus's famous writing *Stauromachia*, published in Vienna in 1519. Although the work is primarily devoted to the Hungarian history, the index under the letter "O" contains a list of the earliest Olomouc humanists.²¹

The popularity of the humanistic centre and university of Vienna in Moravia at that time was due not only to its territorial proximity, but also to the close connection between Olomouc and Vienna especially through the personalities of Konrad Celtis and Johannes Cuspinian.

Konrad Celtis travelled to the Czech lands especially to work on his project *Germania illustrata*, which was focused on the humanist history of Germania. Celtis visited Olomouc twice. While the exact year of his first visit is unknown, he came to Olomouc for the second time in 1504.²² Already in 1502, under the influence of Konrad Celtis, the humanist society *Sodalitas Maierhofiana*²³ was founded in Olomouc. It was sometimes called *Sodalitas Marcomannica*,²⁴ as an obvious reference to the humanist texts of Celtis. His unfinished project *Germania illustrata* was very closely related to *Sodalitas Maierhofiana*, because Celtis' plan was that the members of the Olomouc humanistic society work together on the project. Important members of *Sodalitas Maierhofiana* at the time of its foundation were Kryštof Apitius, Martin Horčíčka (Sinapinus), Jiří Žabka from Limberk and the lawyer Gregor Nitsch.²⁵

Another important personality who connected the humanist centres of Olomouc and Vienna was the humanist and literary figure Johannes Cuspinian (* 1473 Schweinfurt – † 1529 Vienna),²⁶ who also became famous as a physician. Cuspinian was in close contact especially with the Olomouc humanist Augustinus Moravus, whom he visited in Buda in 1510. At that time Cuspinian expressed his admiration for Augustinus's collection

17 HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 176.

18 KUX, *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Stadt*, 200.

19 On the personality of Stephan Taurinus in detail: BABINGER, *Der mährische Humanist*, 62–93; HEJNIC – MARTÍNEK, *Rukověť humanistického 5. S-Ž*, 335–337.

20 Ibidem, 335.

21 Ibidem, 336.

22 MARTÍNEK, *Pobyt Konráda Celta*, 23–29; STORCHOVÁ, *Latinský humanismus*, 306; ROBERT, "Austria illustrata", 113.

23 PETRŮ, *Societas Maierhofiana*, 183–189.

24 The Marcomanni were a German tribe that lived on the territory of the Czech lands in the first century BC and in the first four centuries AD.

25 KOLÁŘOVÁ, *Humanistická literatura*, 259.

26 From the most important literature on Johannes Cuspinian see ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN, *Der Wiener Humanist*; GASTGEBER – KLECKER, *Johannes Cuspinianus*.

of books and antiquities.²⁷ Cuspinian's contact with Augustinus Moravus must have been intense, for Cuspinian sent him a total of eight letters.²⁸

In addition to Sodalitas Maierhofiana, the Olomouc chapter²⁹ was another important institution whose members belonged to the leading Central European humanists. The intellectual significance of the Olomouc chapter increased considerably in the second half of the fifteenth century, when more of its members acquired a university education.³⁰ Important humanists in the Olomouc chapter were Andreas Ctibor, Augustinus Moravus, Stephan Taurinus, Martin Horčíčka (Sinapius). The prominent member of the Olomouc chapter was Konrad Altheimer³¹ (*1431 Weißenburg, Franconia, Germany – † 1509 Olomouc), who was administrator of the Olomouc bishopric from 1490 to 1497; from 1493 to 1504 he was dean of the Olomouc chapter. Unfortunately, his writings from 1504–1509, *De origine, moribus et vestitu Hannatarum*, which certainly contributed to a more comprehensive picture of the literary activities of the Olomouc humanists, have not survived.

The chapter library³² testifies to the humanistic interests of the Olomouc canons. The unique significance of this library at the time is also reflected in the fact that it was the oldest in Moravia to have its own building.³³ The Olomouc chapter library was also unique in the Jagiellonian period for its large number of incunables. As Markéta Poskočilová³⁴ has recently pointed out, the main source of books was the bequests of its members – in this respect they were particularly important Andreas Stiborius, Augustinus Moravus, and others.

To this day, there is a striking difference between the modest literary production of the Olomouc humanists in the first half of the sixteenth century and their intensive written contacts with leading European humanists. Eduard Petrů, who has so far dealt most intensively with this issue, even characterized the Olomouc humanists as "writers without literature".³⁵ It should be stressed, however, that among the important literary expressions of the humanists in Central Europe around 1500 was also written correspondence, which the Olomouc humanists cultivated with great enthusiasm. Augustinus Moravus, the most important humanist of Olomouc at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, published a separate treatise on this genre in Venice in 1495, *De modo epistolandi*.³⁶ This text was certainly well known among the Olomouc humanists and contributed to the importance of the letter as

27 ČEHOVSKÝ, *Raně renesanční*, 60.

28 ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN, *Johann Cuspinians Briefwechsel*, 225.

29 Regarding the Olomouc chapter, see ROUBIC, *Několik poznámek*, 65–87; BALETKA – ELBEL, *Biskupská kurie*, 240–242.

30 BALETKA – ELBEL, *Biskupská kurie*, 242. In this context, the humanistically oriented chapter at St Martin's Cathedral in Bratislava represents an interesting contemporary parallel, more on this see HLAVAČKOVÁ, *Kapitula pri dóme*.

31 On the personality of Konrad Altheimer in detail: WÖRSTER, *Humanismus in Olmütz*, 73–98.

32 POSKOČILOVÁ, *Dějiny olomoucké*, 15–20.

33 HLOBIL, *Nejstarší budova*, 7–10; BALETKA – ELBEL, *Biskupská kurie*, 242.

34 POSKOČILOVÁ, *Kanovníci jako tvůrci*, 22.

35 PETRŮ, *Societas Maierhofiana*, 183.

36 PETRŮ, *Societas Maierhofiana*, 186; KOLÁŘOVÁ, *Humanistická literatura*, 259; EKLER, *Augustinus Moravus*, 101–111.

a distinctive literary humanist genre. Moreover, as Ekler³⁷ pointed out, Augustinus's *De modo epistolandi* could also have served as a kind of instruction manual on how to write a good humanistic letter. Eduard Petřů³⁸ emphasized that in the sixteenth century, which was a time of information explosion, the letter was a very appropriate form for European and thus Czech scientists and humanist scholars to communicate their new knowledge to each other.

Although the literary work of the Olomouc humanists was modest in number, many important Central European writers dedicated their works to them, which undoubtedly testifies to the importance of the humanist centre of Olomouc. Evidence that episcopal Olomouc was an important Central European centre of humanism in the first half of the sixteenth century comes also from several surviving humanist descriptions of the town. In 1528, Georgius Sibutus's³⁹ *Illustratio in Olomuncz* was published by the well-known Viennese printer and publisher Johannes Singriener. It is one of the most important books of the *Stadtlob* genre, significant among other aspects because the author mentions Gaius Julius Caesar as the founder of the town of Olomouc. The second remarkable work is the *Breve Encomion Olomucii, Metropolis in Moraviae Marchionatu* of Šimon Ennius of Klatovy,⁴⁰ published in 1550 in Prostějov by Jan Günther.

The limited literary activity of the Olomouc humanists did not affect their remarkable predilection for the Renaissance style in architecture, fine arts and craftsmanship. It was the artistic commissions of the Olomouc humanists that fundamentally supported the development of progressive Renaissance architectural sculpture, architecture and Renaissance art in general in Moravia in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Jan Filipec

One of the most important personalities for the development of humanism in Olomouc and Moravia was Jan Filipec (* 1431 Prostějov – † 1509 Uherské Hradiště),⁴¹ who achieved great success in his secular and ecclesiastical career. Filipec had excellent diplomatic skills, and that is why Matthias Corvinus agitated him into his service. As early as the 1470s, he worked for the Hungarian king. He lived for a long time in Hungary, where he also served as bishop in the town Oradea. Filipec was therefore certainly very familiar with the art of the Corvinian Renaissance. Moreover, he became in Buda acquainted with the works of prominent humanists – Janus Pannonius, Antonio Bonfini, Galeotto Marzio, etc.⁴² Filipec's brilliant diplomatic career in Hungary was very important for cultural contacts between Moravia and Hungary at the end of the fifteenth century.

In 1472–1490 he was chancellor of the Moravian governor Ctibor Tovačovský of Cimburk and in 1483–1492 administrator of the Olomouc bishopric. In 1492 Filipec

37 EKLER, *Augustinus Moravus*, 101.

38 PETŘŮ, *Augustin Olomoucký*, 565.

39 On the personality of Georgius Sibutus in detail: HEJNIC – MARTÍNEK, *Rukověť humanistického* 5. S–Ž, 87–88; MACHILEK, *Georgius Sibutus*, 207–241.

40 On the personality of Šimon Ennius of Klatovy in detail: MARTÍNEK, *Příspěvky k životopisu*, 253–272; HEJNIC – MARTÍNEK, *Rukověť humanistického* 2. Č–J, 102–108.

41 On the personality of Jan Filipec in detail: MĚŠTÁNEK, *Biskup Jan Filipec*; HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 141–146; KALOUS, *Jan Filipec*, 3–32; BAJGER, *Discovering Relationships*, 45–60.

42 BAJGER, *Discovering Relationships*, 51.

resigned from all his offices and spent the last part of his life in Franciscan monasteries in Wrocław, Olomouc and Uherské Hradiště, where he died in 1509.

It is surprising that no specific building or work of art executed in the Renaissance style has yet been linked to Jan Filipec. As Bajger⁴³ recently pointed out, all of Filipec's architectural commissions known so far are in the late Gothic style and no Renaissance elements have been found on them. Jan Filipec was an important client of architecture. Among his most significant architectural projects in Moravia were the reconstructions of the castles in Vyškov and Mírov.⁴⁴ Main residence of Jan Filipec in Olomouc was the house at 13 Wurmova Street.⁴⁵ This building was later rebuilt in the Baroque period, but important late Gothic figural architectural sculptures depicting Giovanni Capistrano and an angel have been preserved from Filipec's time.

Very surprisingly his figurative tombstone⁴⁶ from 1509, located in the sacristy of the Franciscan Church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in Uherské Hradiště, is of mediocre artistic quality. Filipec's figure was carved by a local stone sculptor trained in the Gothic style. Only the type of the scripture used on the perimeter of the tombstone – early humanist capital – refers to the culture of humanist Italy in the Quattrocento period.⁴⁷

Augustinus Moravus

In terms of literary activity, Augustinus Moravus (other variants of his name are Augustinus Olomucensis or Augustin Käsenbrot; * 1467 Olomouc – † 1513 Olomouc)⁴⁸ was the most important humanist in Olomouc around 1500. He was born into a wealthy bilingual family, his father Gild was German and Markéta was Czech. His uncle Andreas Stiborius and the bishop of Wrocław in 1482–1506, Johannes IV Roth,⁴⁹ had a decisive influence on Augustinus's future distinguished career as a diplomat and clergyman. He had an excellent education, he completed his master's studies at the University of Cracow, followed by studies in ecclesiastical law in Padua, where he received his doctorate in 1494.⁵⁰

The atmosphere of humanistic Italy at the end of the quattrocento influenced Augustinus, and in 1494 his work *Dialogus in defensionem poetices* was published in Venice. According to Ivo Hlobil this writing of Augustinus must have been as innovative in literature in Moravia as the stone decoration of the tower of the castle in Tovačov (district Přerov) was in Moravian art and especially in architectural sculpture around 1490.⁵¹ Augustinus Moravus was a key figure in the history of humanism in Olomouc also because of his close contacts with two other important European centres of humanism: Buda and Vienna. From 1496–1511 he was secretary and vice-chancellor

43 BAJGER, *Discovering Relationships*, 55.

44 MĚŠTÁNEK, *Biskup Jan Filipec*, 132.

45 SAMEK, *Jan Kapistrán*, 120–126.

46 On the tombstone of Jan Filipec in detail: HLOBIL, *Nástěnný náhrobník*, 371.

47 ROHÁČEK, *Epigrafika v památkové*, 32.

48 On the personality of Augustinus Moravus in detail: WOTKE, *Augustinus Olomoucensis*, 47–71; BAUCH, *Zu Augustinus Olomoucensis*, 119–136; HEJNIC – MARTÍNEK, *Rukověť humanistického 1. A–C*, 111–116; PETRŮ, *Literature*, 49–54; HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 157–162; EKLER – KISS, *Augustinus Moravus*.

49 EKLER, *Augustinus Moravus*, 102–103.

50 HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 157.

51 HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 157.

to King Vladislaus II Jagiellon in Buda, where the humanist society *Sodalitas litteraria Ungarorum* had been active since 1491. Augustin returned to Olomouc in 1511 and in the same year his writing *Catalogus episcoporum Olomucensium*, one of the most important historical works of his time, was published in Vienna.

Thanks to his long stay in Buda, Augustinus became intimately acquainted with the art of the Hungarian early Renaissance, which flourished during the reign of the King Matthias Corvinus. Especially in the later part of his reign, between 1479 and 1490, more Italian architects, sculptors and painters were active in Hungary. In Hungary, Augustinus had also access to the famous Corvinus Library (Biblioteca Corvina) and it was from there that he obtained Italian lavishly illuminated manuscript of Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (Zemský archiv Opava, pracoviště Olomouc), executed between 1485 and 1490.

Augustinus's most important artistic commission was undoubtedly the so-called Golden Bowl (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe).⁵² This bowl is decorated with unique ancient coins, however, its bottom, bearing a depiction of Bacchus, is probably of northern Italian, more precisely Paduan origin. According to Konečný, Augustinus acquired the plaque (bottom) of the bowl during his stay in Padua.⁵³ It was not until later, in 1508, that the bowl was assembled in Central Europe. Marius Winzeler and Theresa Witting⁵⁴ recently examined the Golden Bowl and concluded that Augustinus commissioned the bowl probably from a goldsmith in Buda, where he had been staying for longer time, as mentioned above. It seems that Golden bowl was not associated with just one of the humanist societies with which Augustinus Moravus was in contact: Buda, Vienna, or Olomouc. Rather, it is likely that it was used as needed at poetic gatherings of humanists in various humanist centres.⁵⁵

To this day, the question remains unanswered whether Augustinus's predilection for humanism and his extended stays in northern Italy and Hungary were also reflected in the architecture of his Olomouc house,⁵⁶ which was situated in Ostružnická Street – on the site of today's houses nos. 21 and 23.

Unfortunately, the house has not survived and the only known contemporary description of it is a part of panegyric *Panegyricus in laudem Augustini Moravi* by the humanist Valentin Eck (* 1494 Lindau – † after 1545 Bardejov),⁵⁷ published in Cracow in 1513:

*Ah, quam pulchra domus vivaci picta colore,
Qualem vix pinxit multum laudatus Apelles,
Ingenio cuius Paphiae formosa puellae
Corpora mortalem dicunt sumpsisse colorem!
Inclyta Lysippi taceat nunc signa vetustas,
Protogenisque simul tabulas, ac marmora gnavi
Praxitelis! Frustra iactat Zeuxidis uvas*

52 KONEČNÝ, *Miska Augustina*, 69–72; KONEČNÝ, *Augustine Käsenbrot*, 185–197; WINZELER – WITTING, *Olmützer Gold*, 5–13.

53 KONEČNÝ, *Miska Augustina*, 69.

54 WINZELER – WITTING, *Olmützer Gold*, 9.

55 KONEČNÝ, *Miska Augustina*, 71.

56 HOLINKOVÁ, *Dům doktora*, 119–120.

57 On the personality of Valentin Eck in detail: CSEPREGLI, *Thurzovci a počiatky*, 79.

*Graecia, Parrhasii velum, statuasque Myronis,
Namque Augustini domus ardua fulta columnis
Marmoreis tales praesentat imagine formas...*⁵⁸

Eck's text contains typical humanist references to ancient artists and implies that Augustinus's house had a Renaissance character. Ivo Hlobil⁵⁹ admitted the possibility that Augustinus's Olomouc house may have included a Renaissance arcaded court, but also stressed that Eck's text is more a literary elaboration of traditional humanist themes. On the other hand, given the time of the publication of Eck's panegyric, the year 1513, it is certainly conceivable that the architecture of Augustinus's Olomouc mansion had at least partially Renaissance character, or at least the decoration. Augustinus, as mentioned above, was very familiar with Renaissance art thanks to his stay in Hungary.

An interesting contemporary parallel to Augustinus's house is the Viennese residence (Vienna 1, Singerstraße 10/Liliengasse 1) of his close friend, the humanist Johannes Cuspinian. Three panels have survived from the Cuspinian House. All of the panels bear inscriptions⁶⁰ executed in the ancient capital – in the Renaissance scripture, that refers to ancient epigraphic monuments. The inscription panel informing about the construction of the Cuspinian House contains the year 1510 and two other panels are logically dated to the same time. Furthermore, the stone patron's coat of arms⁶¹ survives from the house, framed by a Renaissance motif of laurel wreath and bands. The iconographic and epigraphic decoration of the panels from the Cuspinian House refer unambiguously to ancient culture and should thus be seen as manifestations of progressive Renaissance art in Vienna in the early sixteenth century.

Based on this comparison, it is certainly realistic to assume that Augustinus's house in Olomouc also had Renaissance epigraphic or relief decoration, i.e. architectural sculpture, in 1513, when Valentin Eck published his *Panegyricus in laudem Augustini Moravi*.

Stanislav Thurzo

Stanislav Thurzo (* 1471/1472 Cracow – † 1540 Olomouc)⁶² was bishop of Olomouc for 43 years, between 1493 and 1540. His episcopate thus covers almost the entire period of the early Renaissance in Moravia. Stanislav Thurzo as Bishop of Olomouc was not only the main representative of the Moravian Catholic Church, but due to the *sede vacante* of the Prague Archbishopric he was the highest representative of the Church in the Bohemian crown lands. In view of this situation, he crowned in Prague the young Louis II Jagiellon as King of Bohemia in 1509⁶³ and Ferdinand I of Habsburg he crowned in the same city as King of Bohemia in 1527.

58 Transcription of the Latin text from: EKLER – KISS, *Augustinus Moravus*, 176.

59 HLOBIL, *Výtvarné umění*, 121.

60 A detailed epigraphic analysis of the inscriptions on all the three panels was carried out by Andreas Zajic, see ZAJIC, *Epigraphisch-antiquarischer*, 393–395.

61 KASSAL-MIKULA, *Steinerne Zeugen*, 32–37.

62 On the personality of Stanislav Thurzo in detail: WOTKE, *Der Olmützer Bischof*, 337–388; HEJNIC – MARTÍNEK, *Rukověť humanistického 5. S-Ž*, 370–372; HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 165–175; BALETKA, *Dvůr olomouckého*, 3–236; ROTHKEGEL, *Der lateinische Briefwechsel*; ROTHKEGEL, *Vztahy olomouckého*, 91–108.

63 ROTHKEGEL, *Vztahy olomouckého*, 103.

Stanislav Thurzo was a personality who, thanks to his family background and his family's business contacts, was connected with several important Central European art centres and art patrons. He came from the prominent Upper Hungarian family of Thurzo of Betlanovce (district Spišská Nová Ves) in the Spiš region. The family of Thurzo became very wealthy at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries thanks to the precious metals trade. In this context were very important the business contacts of the Thurzo and Fugger families, which led to the founding of the trading company *Ungarischer Kupferhandel*,⁶⁴ which operated between 1495 and 1525 and was one of the most important in Central Europe.

Stanislav Thurzo spent his youth in Cracow, which was the seat of the humanist society *Sodalitas Vistulana*, founded as early as 1489. His father was Jan Thurzo, a wealthy Cracow burgher who promoted art and humanism in the town. Martin Rothkegel⁶⁵ suggests that Stanislav Thurzo learned German, Polish and Latin fluently as a boy and later, after 1497, learned Czech. His older brother Jan⁶⁶ (* 1466 Cracow – † 1520 Nysa) was 1506–1520 a bishop in the Silesian metropolis of Wrocław, while his younger brother Alexius⁶⁷ (* 1490 Cracow – † 1543 Levoča) was Count of Spiš and royal governor during the reign of Ferdinand I of Habsburg. Sigismund Thurzo⁶⁸ († 1512), Stanislaus' cousin, was bishop of Nitra, Transylvania and Oradea.

The young Stanislav grew up in a family with a humanistic orientation. His studies at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow certainly contributed to his future support of humanism. Although the bishop himself was not active in literature, he had the respect of leading humanists who dedicated their works to him. Tracing the humanistic works dedicated to Stanislav reveals much about his cultural contacts and also his long-standing support for the humanists. Among the humanists there were often very prominent personalities: for example in 1519 a literary work by Valentin Eck on the origins of the Thurzo family was published in Cracow, in 1525 famous humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam (* 1466 Rotterdam – † 1536 Basel) dedicated to Stanislav his edition of Pliny's famous work *Naturalia historia*,⁶⁹ and in 1526, bishop of Olomouc received an offer from the eminent Italian historian Paolo Giovio (* 1483 Como – † 1552 Florence) to write a history of Moravia that would glorify the country.⁷⁰

In all the first four decades of the sixteenth century, the number of works dedicated to Stanislav by humanists was high. It is striking that these texts were often published in Vienna or by humanists based in this town. This fact also confirms that it was with Viennese humanists that Stanislav Thurzo maintained the most intensive cultural contacts. Already in 1508 Johannes Cuspinian dedicated to Stanislav the work *Situs orbis Dionisii Ruffo Avieno interprete*.⁷¹ An important personality is the Viennese humanist Johann Fabri (* 1478 Leutkirch, Württemberg – † 1541 Baden near Vienna), whose

64 SKLADANÝ, *Thurzovsko-fuggerovský*, 8–37.

65 ROTHKEGEL, *Vzťahy olomouckého*, 94.

66 On Jan Thurzo in detail: SZEWCZYK, *Mecenat artstyczny*.

67 On Alexius Thurzo in detail: ERDÉLYI, *Som len človek*, 39–54.

68 On the personality of Sigismund Thurzo in detail: CSEPREGI, *Thurzovci a počiatky*, 77.

69 HEJNIC – MARTÍNEK, *Rukovět humanistického* 5. S–Ž, 370.

70 WÖRSTER, *Humanismus in Olmütz*, 35.

71 HEJNIC – MARTÍNEK, *Rukovět humanistického* 5. S–Ž, 371.

Planctus ruinae ecclesiae was published in Olomouc as early as 1499 and who in 1528 gave the bishop of Olomouc a Latin translation of his sermons from Znojmo.⁷²

Stanislav's fame among the humanists is also illustrated by the report that Georgius Sibus completed a poem glorifying him in 1528, which unfortunately probably did not survive.⁷³ Leading Czech humanists also dedicated their works to Stanislav, such as Jan Dubravius and Jan Šlechta of Všebrdy.⁷⁴

Last but not least, mention should be made of Silesian humanist Caspar Ursinus Velius (* ca. 1493 Świdnica, Silesia – † 1539 Vienna), who dedicated some of his works to Stanislav Thurzo. Velius⁷⁵ was of great importance for the bishop's humanistic relations, as he brought him into contact with Erasmus of Rotterdam. In 1524 Velius wrote a celebratory poem *De oppido Cremsyrio Moraviae, ductu Reverendissimi domini Episcopis Olomutzensis instaurato* on the town of Kroměříž, which was Stanislav's important seat.

Stanislav Thurzo's surviving Latin correspondence is a very valuable source of his ecclesiastical, political and cultural contacts. Although the Thurzo family had its roots in Upper Hungary, Stanislav's letters confirm that his main focus in written correspondence was on Wrocław⁷⁶ and especially on Vienna. This was mainly due to the fact that his brother Jan was bishop of Wrocław until 1520 and that Vienna was then the main cultural centre for Olomouc and Moravia in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁷⁷

Throughout his episcopate, Stanislaus Thurzo was strongly Catholic. Architecture and the visual arts were very important means of representation for him. Stanislav's architectural commissions were among the most progressive in Moravia in his time – whether they were new buildings or reconstructions of older residences. From his earliest to his latest architectural commissions, it is clear that the bishop preferred the most modern trends that existed at that time in Central Europe in architecture and its stone or epigraphic decoration. Given his long episcopate, it is logical that the cultural and historical context in which the works he commissioned were created and the stylistic character of these works changed.

Probably the oldest monumental architectural sculpture commissioned by Stanislav Thurzo is the west portal of the Church of St Moritz in Olomouc (Figure 1),⁷⁸ dating to the first decade of the sixteenth century. Although there are no extant written sources that would prove that Stanislav Thurzo commissioned the portal, his participation is very probable. In the tympanum of the portal there is a shield with the relief figure of St Wenceslas. The occurrence of this surprising iconography can only be explained by the fact that the portal was commissioned by the Bishop of Olomouc, who strongly supported the cult of St Wenceslas from the beginning of his episcopate.⁷⁹ The portal

72 Ibidem; WÖRSTER, *Humanismus in Olmütz*, 36.

73 WÖRSTER, *Humanismus in Olmütz*, 35.

74 KOLÁŘOVÁ, *Latin Poems Dedicated*, 139.

75 On Caspar Ursinus Velius in detail: HEJNÍČEK – MARTÍNEK, *Rukověť humanistického 5. S–Ž*, 423–426.

76 On the contact of humanists in Olomouc and Wrocław see in detail: WÖRSTER, *Breslau und Olmütz*, 215–227; LAMBRECHT, *Die Funktionen*, 49–68.

77 ROTHKEGEL, *Vzťahy olomouckého*, 95.

78 BLÁHOVÁ, *Kostel sv. Mořice*, 205–206. According to Bláhová, the Olomouc portal is very similar in its structure to the contemporary portal of the old town hall and the portal of the northern vestibule of the Church of St James in Brno created by the builder Anton Pilgram.

79 The bishop's support of the cult of St Wenceslas is evidenced by his monumental sandstone statue for the Olomouc Cathedral of St Wenceslas from around 1500 and numerous depictions of the saint in liturgical books for the diocese of Olomouc. He appears, for example, in the *Psalterium Olomucense*, printed by Konrád Stahel

is the most progressive monument of its kind in Olomouc and follows mainly Lower Austrian models: the north portal of Bürgerspitalkirche in Krems an der Donau from 1470 and the south portal of the Piarist church in Krems an der Donau from 1477.⁸⁰ Very interesting elements of the portal are the pyramidal structured massive pedestals, which are connected to the outer mullion in the portal jamb.



Figure 1: West portal, around 1500–1510. Church of St Moritz, Olomouc, Czech Republic. Source: Author's photo.

Since the time of bishop of Olomouc Bruno of Schauenburg (* around 1205 castle Schauenburg, Lower Saxony – † 1281 Kroměříž), the founder of the town Kroměříž, the local castle was the important residence of the bishops of Olomouc. Stanislav Thurzo hosted here the Hungarian and Czech King Vladislaus II Jagiellon in 1510 and King Sigismund the Old of Poland in 1518.⁸¹ The castle in Kroměříž was Stanislav

in Brno in 1499, or in the *Missale Olomucense* published by Johann Winterburger in Vienna in 1505. More on this see HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 165–175, especially 167–168.

80 TIETZE, *Die Denkmale*, 273.

81 BALETKA – ELBEL – KALOUS, *Církev a biskupství*, 235.

Thurzo's main residence, because according to surviving written sources he spent there much more time than in Olomouc.⁸² This difference explains why Stanislav devoted much more intensive attention to the reconstruction and decoration of the castle in Kroměříž than to the construction of the bishop's palace in Olomouc.

On the occasion of Vladislaus II Jagiellon's visit to Kroměříž in 1510, a monumental Gothic-Renaissance portal framing the passage through the high tower of the castle was carved. Above the portal there is inscription in capital letters: STANISLAVS + TURSO + EP(ISCOPVS) + DEI + GR(ATI)A + OLO(MVCENSIS) + ME + FIERI IVS(SIT) [...].⁸³

The two richly decorated stone coats of arms of Stanislav Thurzo and Vladislaus II Jagiellon (Figure 2), located on the upper right part above the mentioned inscription, certainly date from the same period. The coat of arms of both Stanislav and Vladislaus is held by two Renaissance putti. The outer framing is made up of a typical late Gothic vegetable decoration with an astwerk motif, which, unfortunately, has not been preserved in Vladislaus' coat of arms. The unique iconographic decoration of both coats of arms and their artistic character perfectly reflects Stanislav's cultural ties at that time. This deliberate combination of Gothic and Renaissance elements⁸⁴ finds a contemporary parallel in the architecture of the Fuggers, with whom the family of Thurzo was in contact. This is evidenced by their funeral chapel (Fugger chapel) at St Anne's Church in Augsburg,⁸⁵ built 1509–1518, characterised by its late Gothic curved ribbed vaulting and Renaissance arcades decorated with marble inlays, which was very popular in Venetian Renaissance architecture at the time.

Both Kroměříž coats of arms containing elements of Gothic and Renaissance style are very similar to two memorial works of Stanislav's brother Jan Thurzo, bishop of Wrocław, at castle in Javorník ve Slezsku (district Jeseník): his dedication and commemorative slab from 1505⁸⁶ and his dedication and erection slab from 1509 (Figure 3). Next parallel is erection slab of Jan Thurzo from 1513, originally decorating the chapel of St Anne at the Church of St James in Nysa, today placed on the wall of the house of mendicants in the same town.⁸⁷

The motif of putti on both Kroměříž coats of arms refers according to Jaromír Homolka to Stanislav Thurzo's cultural ties to Upper Hungary, where the Thurzo family originated. Homolka⁸⁸ considered the putti on the tombstone of Tomáš Tarczay from 1493 in the St Martin's church in Lipany (district Sabinov) and the same motif on the tombstone of Štefan Zápolský from 1499 in St Martin's cathedral in Spišské Podhradie – Spišská Kapitula (district Levoča) as inspirational sources for the putti on the Kroměříž coats of arms panels.

82 BALETKA, *Dvůr olomouckého*, 47–48.

83 Author of the transcription of the text is: HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 171.

84 Hellmut Lorenz presents an innovative view of artistic monuments from the first half of the sixteenth century in Central Europe, which contain elements of both Gothic and Renaissance styles. The author deliberately uses the term *mixed style* (*Mischstil* in German language) for this combination of Gothic and Renaissance art and suggests that it may have been a specific, independent style that was particularly popular in the first half of the sixteenth century in Central Europe, see LORENZ, *Spätgotik und Renaissance*, 31–47.

85 BUSHART, *Die Fuggerkapelle*.

86 HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 172.

87 SZEWCZYK, *Mecenat artystyczny*, 143; ČEHOVSKÝ, *Raně renesanční*, 141.

88 HOMOLKA, *Sochařství*, 238.



Figure 2: Coat of arms of Stanislav Thurzo and Vladislav Jagiello on façade of high tower, around 1510. Chateau in Kroměříž, Czech Republic. Source: Author's photo.



Figure 3: Dedication and erection slab of Jan Thurzo, 1509. Chateau in Javorník ve Slezsku, Czech Republic. Source: Author's photo.

Ivo Hlobil⁸⁹ pointed to a next possible source of inspiration for both coats of arms: a woodcut depicting St Stephen in *Missale Pataviense* created by Lucas Cranach the Elder and printed by Johannes Winterburger in Vienna in 1502.⁹⁰ The framing of the saint is in the form of an astwerk, whose branches in the upper right and upper left corners depict a seated putto with a musical instrument.

In connection with Celtis's close contacts with the Olomouc humanists, it is necessary to take into account an artwork which has not been pointed out by previous research and which shows a very close resemblance to the coats of arms of Stanislav Thurzo and Vladislaus II Jagiello on the façade of high tower at the castle in Kroměříž. In 1502, Albrecht Dürer⁹¹ created the famous woodcut: the dedication scene for Celtis's *Quattuor libri amorum*. The scene shows Celtis presenting his writing to Emperor Maximilian I.⁹² The figures of the Emperor and Celtis are framed by the motif of the astwerk; on the upper branches of which, in the upper left and upper right, is the figure of a putti.

On the left of both coats of arms, on the front façade of big tower of the castle in Kroměříž there is a four-line inscription executed in the ancient capital:

SALVA MANET [ET INCOLUMNIS RES PUBLICA] NOBIS
DVM WLADISLAVS [REGIA S] CEPTRA TENET
WLADISLAE DIU NOBIS REX OPTIME VIVE:
VT LICEAT LONGO TEMPORE PACE FRVI.⁹³

In connection with Stanislav Thurzo and his deep interest in humanism, Jan Martínek's⁹⁴ observation that the author of the Latin text, praising the reign of Vladislaus II Jagiellon was the famous humanist Bohuslav Hasištejnský z Lobkovic (* 1461 castle Hasištejn by Kadaň – † 1510 castle Hasištejn by Kadaň), is very significant.

Also in the second decade of sixteenth century we can observe how stylistically progressive Stanislav's artistic commissions were in the field of decoration of architecture. An important example is the painted decoration of the Gothic choir of St Moritz Church in Kroměříž from around 1516,⁹⁵ which represents the earliest early Renaissance wall paintings in the town. At the bishop's request, the Gothic shafts of the choir dating from the first half of the fourteenth century were harmoniously complemented with early Renaissance painted decoration, which is dominated by the motif of the candelabra. The stylistic combination of Gothic and Renaissance elements

89 HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 172.

90 Photo reproduction of the woodcut in: FINGERNAGEL, *Hl. Stephanus*, 120.

91 Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann mentioned an interesting parallel between Central European humanists and Dürer in his excellent synthesis of early modern art in Central Europe: "As with Dürer, many of German humanists like Celtis adhered to a cosmopolitan multinational movement. Because of a feeling of inferiority (and Italian criticism), they reacted defensively. In Germany, as elsewhere outside of Italy, humanists also tried to relate humanism and antiquity to local past, thus to work out the German nature of the classical tradition, such as it may have been discovered or invented. This effort may be similar to development in visual arts, where the local tradition (often "Gothic") evolves in relation to an import of classicizing character." See KAUFMANN, *Court, Cloister*, 115.

92 MÜHLBERGER, *Celtis überreicht*, 187.

93 Author of the transcription of the text is: HLOBIL, *Průčelí zámku*, 62.

94 Jan Martínek very likely communicated this to Ivo Hlobil verbally, see HLOBIL, *Průčelí zámku*, 63.

95 ŠTĚTINA, *Středověká Kroměříž*, 104.

into a new, harmonious artistic whole is therefore the same as in the aforementioned coats of arms of Stanislav Thurzo and Vladislaus II Jagiellon from around 1510.

Although this piece of knowledge has not been sufficiently emphasized in previous research, Stanislav Thurzo began the construction of the bishop's palace in Olomouc already in the second decade of the sixteenth century. The bishop's palace in Olomouc is nowadays a mostly Baroque building designed by Giovanni Pietro Tencalla in the second half of the seventeenth century. However, its first patron was Stanislav Thurzo. Although historians⁹⁶ assume that he started the construction of the bishop's palace in Olomouc only towards the end of his episcopate, its interior contains a remarkable early Renaissance portal dating back to 1514 (Figure 4). In the upper part of the portal there is a preserved inscription in the ancient capital *DOMINVS PROTECTOR VITAE MEAE. M DXIIII*. This Renaissance portal does not contain rich relief decoration, but its unique significance lies in the fact that it is the oldest known monument of its kind in Olomouc. Stanislav Thurzo was a pioneer of the Renaissance style of architectural sculpture in Olomouc, as was his older brother Jan in Wrocław. Jan Thurzo commissioned in 1517 a monumental aedicule portal for the sacristy of the Cathedral of St John the Baptist⁹⁷ in this town, which is the oldest Renaissance portal not only in Wrocław but in the whole region of Silesia. The portal from 1514, situated in the interior of the bishop's palace in Olomouc, should be seen as suggested by Zdenka Bláhová⁹⁸ as an artistic commission by Stanislav Thurzo.



Figure 4: Early Renaissance portal, 1514. Bishop's palace in Olomouc, Czech Republic. Source: Author's photo.

96 HLOBIL, *Renesanční biskupský*, 210; BALETKA – ELBEL – KALOUS, *Církev a biskupství*, 236.

97 For the portal of the sacristy of the cathedral in Wrocław see KĘBŁOWSKI, *Renesansowa rzeźba*, 27–31; BEK – KACZMAREK PATRALSKA, *Źródła i recepcje*, 48; SZEWCZYK, *Mecenat artystyczny*, 142–143. For a comparison of the patronage of Jan and Stanislav Thurzo see ČEHOVSKÝ, *K architektonické skulptuře*, 131–144.

98 BLÁHOVÁ, *Portál z roku*, 20.

It is interesting that several researchers assume that already at the time of Vladislaus II Jagiellon's stay in Kroměříž in 1510, the castle⁹⁹ could have been rebuilt in the Renaissance style in the form of four-winged building with towers in the corners, as Jarmila Vacková¹⁰⁰ believes. Although the castle is depicted in this form on Willenberg's veduta of Kroměříž from 1593, it is impossible to confirm such an early dating of the building. In our opinion, it is more likely that Stanislav Thurzo completed the building in the form of a four-winged castle in the 1530s, which would correspond to the style of early Renaissance pilaster from this period, secondarily located in the castle courtyard (more on this see below). Thus, the layout of Stanislav's castle would also form a contemporary parallel to the residence of the Lower Silesian governor Charles of Minsterberg in Żąbkowice Śląskie in Silesia from 1524–1532,¹⁰¹ built according to the design of Benedikt Ried.

Probably the youngest architectural sculpture commissioned by bishop Stanislav Thurzo for the castle in Kroměříž, is a stone Renaissance pilaster from around 1530 placed secondarily on the courtyard of the castle (Figure 5). This artwork, which is outstanding at the time and the region in style and iconography, confirms, that Stanislav Thurzo had still in this time predilection in new trends in architectural decoration: The masterly relief decoration of this pilaster assumes the authorship of an Italian stonemason. In this respect, it is a unique monument within the whole of Stanislav's artistic patronage, since no names of Italian artists working for the bishop are preserved in written sources.¹⁰² The author of the relief decoration of the pilaster can also be the sculptor, who carved out the magnificent portal of the Olomouc Town Hall from the same period (more on this portal see below), where the motif of hangers with trophies also appears. This motif was very rare in architectural sculpture in Central Europe at that time. Most likely, this triumphal symbolism on the aforementioned architectural sculptures in Olomouc and in Kroměříž was related to the then current Turkish danger, because in 1529 the Turks besieged Vienna. Due to the Stanislav Thurzo's activities, this interpretation is logical, as the bishop had been trying to avert the Turkish threat through diplomatic channels since 1526.¹⁰³

Probably the youngest architectural stone decoration commissioned by Stanislav Thurzo is his coat of arms in relief (Figure 6) on the facade of the castle in Vyškov.¹⁰⁴ It dates back to around 1540 and thus was created in the last years of the bishop's life. The coat of arms represents the richest relief heraldic monument of its time in Moravia: unique is the framing of the coat of arms by semi-columns with shafts tapering upwards and especially the motif of the rollwerk on the coat of arms – it is probably the oldest use of the rollwerk in architectural sculpture in Moravia.

99 Recently to the castle in Kroměříž see JANIŠ – ŠTĚTINA, *Kroměříž*, 126–136.

100 VACKOVÁ, *Nové poznatky*, 153.

101 More on the castle in Żąbkowice Śląskie see KALINA, *Benedikt Ried*, 160–162.

102 Tomáš Baletka lists among the architects working for Stanislav Thurzo in 1508–1509 Mikuláš (perhaps identical with Mikuláš Baštin), in 1521 the bricklayer Staněk. In 1535, the Olomouc architect Paul Hecht led the construction work at the castle in Kroměříž for bishop Stanislav Thurzo, see BALETKA, *Osobnost olomouckého*, 62.

103 ROTHKEGEL, *Vztahy olomouckého*, 96.

104 For analysis of the construction history of the castle in Vyškov, see ŠTĚTINA, *Stavební vývoj*, 25–30; 40–65.



Figure 5: Renaissance pilaster placed secondarily on the courtyard, around 1530. Chateau in Kroměříž, Czech Republic. Source: Author's photo.



Figure 6: Coat of arms of Stanislav Thurzo, around 1540. Chateau in Vyškov, Czech Republic. Source: Author's photo.

Klement Slavonínský

Humanism was still very popular in Olomouc in the 1520s and 1530s. Lucie Storchová¹⁰⁵ pointed out that the activities of the Olomouc humanist society *Sodalitas Marcommunica* could continue until the death of Stanislav Thurzo. Around 1530, prominent humanists even became members of the town council in Olomouc: namely Johannes Heffter and Gabriel Gloczer.

The aforementioned unique situation in Olomouc town council more of whose members were humanists had the logical consequence of commissioning an Italian Renaissance portal for the Olomouc Town Hall around 1530 (Figure 7).¹⁰⁶ According to Ivo Hlobil,¹⁰⁷ the main patron of the portal was Klement Slavonínský († 1542),¹⁰⁸ who was the first burgomaster in Olomouc in 1528–1529, 1531–1532 and 1535–1536¹⁰⁹ and who also had a predilection for humanism, for his son Valentin Clementianus studied at universities in Cracow and in Italy and was one of humanists in Olomouc.¹¹⁰

105 STORCHOVÁ, *Latinský humanismus*, 305.

106 On the Olomouc town hall portal in detail: HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 196–200; ČEHOVSKÝ, *Lombardische Vorbilder*, 636–642.

107 HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 199.

108 On the personality of Klement Slavonínský see NEŠPOR, *Dějiny Olomouce*, 116; KRÁLÍK, *Dvě zprávy*, 295–299; HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 199. Other variant of his name is Clemens Schlabeiner.

109 KUX, *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Stadt*, 200.

110 KRÁLÍK, *Dvě zprávy*, 296–298.

The predilection in the art of the Italian Renaissance by the members of the Olomouc town council was a logical outcome of their interest, since humanism, as is generally known, was developed in Italy as early as in the fourteenth century and then very intensively in the fifteenth century. And just as humanism sought to revive ancient literature and philosophy, the Renaissance in architecture and art built on the artistic cultural heritage of antiquity.¹¹¹

Unfortunately, the name of the top Italian stonemason who carved the portal of town hall in Olomouc is unknown. The principle of decoration *horror vacui* (literally: fear of the void), where almost the entire surface of the portal is covered with relief decoration, refers to the fact that the stonemason was trained in northern Italy, where this way of decorating of portals was popular in the second half of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth century. And it is really in northern Italy where the closest inspirational Italian models for the portal of town hall in Olomouc are preserved: the portal of the Palazzo Landi in Piacenza from 1482–1483, the northern portal of the cathedral of Como, called *Porta della Rana*, from 1507, or the frame of the painting of the Annunciation by Zenon Veronese from 1516–1518, situated in the interior of the cathedral of Annunciation to the Virgin Mary in Saló (province of Brescia), are particularly important.¹¹²



Figure 7: Portal, around 1530. Town Hall in Olomouc, Czech Republic. Source: Author's photo.

¹¹¹ More on this in general see EBERHARD, *Grundzüge von Humanismus*, 1–28.

¹¹² ČEHOVSKÝ, *Lombardische Vorbilder*, 639–642.

The Olomouc Town Hall Portal is a completely unique monument in the context of early Renaissance art: it is the only architectural sculpture of its kind in the Bohemian crown lands proven to have been created by a Lombard travelling stonemason as an unique monument for members of the Olomouc Town Council.¹¹³ The portal should be ranked among the exclusive works of Lombard stonemasons in Central Europe,¹¹⁴ the closest monument in style is the portal of St Salvator's Chapel in Vienna from 1515–1519 (Figure 8).¹¹⁵ Both the Olomouc and Vienna portals have the shape of an aedicule preceded by free columns; the relief decoration of both monuments follows the principle of *horror vacui*. In connection with Vienna, the influence of Johannes Heffter, who studied at the University of Vienna¹¹⁶ and certainly knew the aforementioned Viennese portal intimately, should also be highlighted. The fact that the closest territorial model for the Olomouc town hall portal is located in nearby Vienna only confirms Lucie Storchová's¹¹⁷ opinion that Olomouc humanists had the most intensive contacts with their colleagues in Vienna.

In addition to Johannes Heffter, the builder Jan Čert¹¹⁸ (* ca. 1480 Brno – † 1552 Vienna) may have played an important role in mediating the Viennese model for the Olomouc town hall portal. He was one of the most sought-after architects of his time in Central Europe and had probably been living in Vienna since 1509. Jan Čert corresponded with Albrecht Dürer and Nuremberg humanist Willibald Pirckheimer,¹¹⁹ in 1528 he was appointed court architect. The securely documented presence of Jan Čert in Olomouc in 1540, but as Zdenka Bláhová¹²⁰ points out, the builder was most likely already here in 1536, only proves that the members of the Olomouc Town Council were well aware of his exceptional qualities as an architect. His extended stay in Olomouc in the 1530s and 1540s certainly had a major influence on the development of Renaissance architecture and architectural sculpture in this town and given his frequent travels throughout Central Europe, it cannot be ruled out that he visited Olomouc even earlier.

The likelihood that Klement Slavonínský was the main initiator and therefore also the patron of the unique town hall portal in Olomouc is increased by the fact that another "humanistic" monument that has no parallel in Moravia and Bohemia during the period of early Renaissance is closely linked to him – the memorial column of

113 There is only one early Renaissance town hall portal preserved in Moravia that is older than the Olomouc one: the portal of the town hall in Znojmo from around 1526, but it contains only a modest relief decoration, moreover created in a rather rough style, which confirms the authorship of a local stonemason. For an analysis of the portal in Znojmo see ČEHOVSKÝ, *Steinskulpturen im Thayatal*, 301–302.

114 More on the activity of stonemasons from Lombard town Como and its surroundings in Europe see GULDAN, *Die Tätigkeit der Maestri*, 27–46.

115 RATH, *Das Portal der Salvatorkapelle*, 267; VANCSA, *Portal der Salvatorkirche*, 270; ČEHOVSKÝ, *Lombardische Vorbilder*, 628–636.

116 KRÁLÍK, *Dvě zprávy*, 300; HLOBIL, *Visual Art*, 199.

117 STORCHOVÁ, *Latinský humanismus*, 305.

118 On the personality of Jan Čert in detail: LEISCHING, *Johann Tscherte*; LEGGATT-HOFER, *Schloss Orth*, 152–155; SLAVÍK – VLČEK, *Čert (Tscherte)*, 155–156. German variant of his name is Johann Tscherte.

119 In this context, the discovery of Pirckheimer's letter to Jan Čert, which is stored in the Scientific Library in Olomouc (Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci), is interesting. More on this see GLONEK, *Neznámý dopis*, 65–74.

120 BLÁHOVÁ, *Příspěvek písemných*, 165–166.

Klement Slavonínský,¹²¹ dated to 1542, because that's the year the burgomaster was buried.¹²² The column (Figure 9) was unfortunately destroyed by lightning in 1839, but its appearance is very well documented in historical images. The column was originally situated by Gate of the castle (Hradská brána) in Olomouc, later was transported to Pasteur street (Pasteurova ulice) in the same town. The basic structure of the column was the same as that of contemporary wayside shrines: the column consisted of a base, a shaft and a chapel. It was undoubtedly a prestigious memorial work, as the base and shaft were completely covered with ornamentation and the three walls of the square chapel were decorated with reliefs of the Crucifixion, the Resurrection and the Last Judgement. The bilingual Latin-German inscription with a dating was placed on the last wall of the chapel: *Christus / Qui me nunc sequitur pa / tientem carne fatum est. / At quoq conspicuum cernat / in arce patris / Christus / Bedechtnus Vor Clemente / Schlabeledmers / 1542.*¹²³



Figure 8: Portal, 1515–1519. St Salvator's Chapel, Vienna, Austria. Source: Author's photo.

121 On the column see NEŠPOR, *Dějiny Olomouce*, 116; BURIAN, *Ikonografie Olomouce*, 382, 384–385; BLÁHOVÁ, *Nejstarší boží*, 393, 395.

122 KŠÍR, *Staré olomoucké*, 4.

123 Author of the transcription of the text is: BLÁHOVÁ, *Nejstarší boží*, 395.



Figure 9: Memorial column of Klement Slavonínský, 1542, destroyed 1839. Photo reproduction from: KUX, Johann. *Geschichte der königlichen Hauptstadt Olmütz bis zum Umsturz 1918*. Reichenberg; Olmütz: Anstalt für Sudetendeutsche Heimatforschung, 1937, Tafel V.

Jiří Žabka of Limberk

In the 1530s and 1540s, Jiří Žabka of Limberk († 1552)¹²⁴ was one of the most important patrons of architecture in Moravia. In 1508 he studied at the University of Vienna, as evidenced by his entry in the university registry. His teacher in Vienna was also Konrad Celtis, whose lectures certainly influenced Žabka's great fondness for humanism. Between 1518 and 1521, Žabka worked in Olomouc as the town scribe. His name is in written sources mentioned in the Latin version *Georgius Ranatius*.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ On the personality of Jiří Žabka of Limberk in detail: KUX, *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Stadt*, 243; KRÁLÍK, *Dvě zprávy*, 301–303; NĚMEC, *Dolní Kounice*, 80–86.

¹²⁵ SPÁČIL, *Písaři a kanceláře*, 406.

From the 1520s, however, a political career became a priority for Žabka: in 1522 he was secretary to King Louis II Jagiellon. During the reign of Ferdinand I of Habsburg, he served at court as vice-chancellor and councillor. Of all the Moravian patrons of architecture in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Žabka of Limberk was closest to the court of Ferdinand I of Habsburg, which was reflected in the character of his main residence – the castle in Dolní Kounice (district Brno-venkov).¹²⁶ Before Žabka of Limberk became the owner of the Kounice manor and thus also of the castle, its owners quickly changed: from 1527 it was possessed by Ferdinand I of Habsburg, then by Maria of Habsburg and then by the bishop of Trent, Bernard Cles.¹²⁷ The Kounice manor was of great importance because all these three owners were important representatives of the Habsburg Austrian-line politics at that time. Žabka of Limberk received the Kounice manor as a pledge in 1532 and owned it from 1537 until 1552. The construction history of the castle in Dolní Kounice is long. Near the castle there is a monastery of Premonstratensian nuns, who first built a medieval castle of Castell type here already before 1330.¹²⁸

Jiří Žabka of Limberk subsequently had the castle rebuilt after 1537. Except for the castle in Kroměříž there is practically no parallel for the layout of the castle in Dolní Kounice in the second quarter of the sixteenth century in Moravia. On the other hand, the Castell type of a four-winged castle with a rectangular courtyard and towers in the corners was popular by foreign patrons who belonged to the economic and political elite of Central Europe at that time.

The most important layout model for the castle in Dolní Kounice is related to Žabka's activity at the court of Ferdinand I of Habsburg, who had the destroyed north tower of the thirteenth century-castle in Vienna (Hofburg) rebuilt to restore its original Castell type of the thirteenth century with four high corner towers. Important ground plan parallel for the castle in Dolní Kounice is the Renaissance castle in Orth an der Donau (district Gänserndorf, Lower Austria). The Renaissance reconstruction of the castle in Orth an der Donau was probably started by Count Nicholas of Salm (* 1459 – † 1530) as early as 1523, subsequently Count Nicholas of Salm the younger (* 1503 – † 1550) in the 1530s and 1540s had a larger part of the Renaissance castle built. Nicholas of Salm the younger as well as Jiří Žabka of Limberk was in close contact with Ferdinand I of Habsburg. According to Renate Leggatt-Hofer,¹²⁹ the close parallel between the layout of the castle in Orth an der Donau and the Hofburg in Vienna around 1550 should be interpreted on the basis of the close relationship between the two patrons – Nicholas of Salm the Younger and Ferdinand I of Habsburg, and the loyalty of the Salms to the Austrian line of Habsburg against the Spanish line concerning the succession to the imperial title. In this context it is to be mentioned, that already in 1975 Milada Radová-Štiková¹³⁰ considered castle Červený Kameň (district Pezinok, Slovakia), whose patrons between the years 1535–1581 were the Fuggers, to be a close parallel for the castle in Dolní Kounice.

126 For the construction history of the castle in Dolní Kounice see KAŠIČKA – ELIÁŠ, *Klášterní hrad*, 216–234; RADOVÁ-ŠTIKOVÁ, *Dolní Kounice*, 73–93; PLAČEK, *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie*, 192–194.

127 NĚMEC, *Dolní Kounice*, 80.

128 PLAČEK, *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie*, 192.

129 LEGGATT-HOFER, *Kulturtransfer zwischen*, 123; LEGGATT-HOFER, *Schloss Orth*, 151–152.

130 RADOVÁ-ŠTIKOVÁ, *Dolní Kounice*, 87.

Based on the above comparisons of the floor plans of Vienna Castle around 1540 and selected Central European contemporary castles, it is clear that the Castell type was chosen by Jiří Žabka of Limberk, the Salms and Fuggers to express the loyalty to the Austrian line of Habsburgs in the political fight for succession to the empire against the Spanish line of Habsburgs at the end of the 1540s.

The castle in Dolní Kounice had a unique significance for Jiří Žabka, as evidenced by the richly preserved architectural sculpture, which is concentrated in staircase in the northern corner of the courtyard and in the passage leading from the former forecourt to the castle courtyard.

Two portals from the time of Jiří Žabka of Limberk are preserved in the passage. The older late Gothic rectangular portal is situated on its northern wall: its jamb is decorated with mullions crossing at the upper corners. The younger rectangular portal (Figure 10) decorates the south wall of the passage. Its outer jamb is decorated with repeating motifs of Renaissance balusters. There is no parallel for this motif in contemporary portals in Moravia and it is most likely an innovative design by the architect of the castle.



Figure 10: The portal, around 1540. Chateau in Dolní Kounice, Czech Republic.
Source: Author's photo.

In terms of architecture and architectural decoration, the most interesting part of the castle in Dolní Kounice is the staircase situated in the northern corner of the courtyard (Figure 11). The staircase represents the most richly decorated monument of its kind in the Bohemian crown lands in the period of early Renaissance and was undoubtedly of representative importance to the patron. That's why a relief motif of a frog, the patron's family emblem (frog means in Czech "žabka"), appears repeatedly on the stairs. The staircase is entered from the courtyard through with aedicule framed portal decorated in relief (Figure 12), in the extension of which the patron's coat of arms appears. According to Bruno Němec,¹³¹ in Žabka's coat of arms there is a count's crown and a second helm with a typical Turkish cap, which is evidence of Žabka's help to Ferdinand I of Habsburg.

Unfortunately, from the written sources is the name of the builder of the unique early Renaissance staircase of castle in Dolní Kounice not known. In 1975 Milada Radová-Štiková¹³² attributed the staircase to the Italian builder Leonardo Garo da Bisone († 1574), who was the architect of the castle in Moravský Krumlov. But this attribution to Leonardo Garo da Bisone is too general; in fact without specific argumentation.

Recently, Günther Buchinger, Doris Schön and Markus Jeitler¹³³ by analysis of the staircase of the aforementioned castle in Orth an der Donau found out, that its staircase executed shortly after 1548, is regarding its construction a close parallel to the staircase of the castle in Dolní Kounice, which was built and decorated approximately in the 1540s. Renate Leggatt-Hofer¹³⁴ considers the staircase in Orth an der Donau to be very close parallel to the former staircase in tower of the ballgame-house of Vienna Hofburg from 1540–1542. The architect of the Viennese staircase was already mentioned foremost Central European architect Jan Čert. All the staircases mentioned above – in Vienna, Dolní Kounice and in Orth an der Donau¹³⁵ are engineering masterpieces of construction of the free carrying with a hollow spindle of up to 90 cm. The staircases of the castles in Dolní Kounice and Orth an der Donau were probably also designed by Jan Čert for the reason mentioned above. And most probably this builder was also the author of the plan of the early Renaissance reconstruction of the whole castle in Dolní Kounice. This also explains why the layout of the castle in Dolní Kounice is so similar to the castle (Hofburg) in Vienna and to the castle in Orth an der Donau.

131 NĚMEC, *Dolní Kounice*, 82.

132 RADOVÁ-ŠTIKOVÁ, *Dolní Kounice*, 83.

133 BUCHINGER – SCHÖN – JEITLER, *Die Baugeschichte des Schlosses*, 106–107.

134 LEGGAT-HOFER, *Kulturtransfer zwischen*, 129.

135 The patron of the castle in Orth an der Donau, Nicholas of Salm the younger knew Jan Čert personally. More on this see BUCHINGER – SCHÖN – JEITLER, *Die Baugeschichte des Schlosses*, 106.



Figure 11: Reliefs on the staircase, around 1540. Chateau in Dolní Kounice, Czech Republic.
Source: Author's photo.



Figure 12: Portal on the courtyard, around 1540. Chateau in Dolní Kounice, Czech Republic. Source: Author's photo.

Jan Dubravius

Jan Dubravius (*1486 Plzeň – † Kroměříž 1553)¹³⁶ was bishop of Olomouc at the end of the early Renaissance, between 1541 and 1553. He had been around Stanislav Thurzo since the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1509 Dubravius was the administrator of the bishop's office and later Stanislav's secretary.¹³⁷ Jan Dubravius also contributed greatly to the expansion of the famous Stanislav's library, which he enriched with

¹³⁶ On the personality of Jan Dubravius in detail: HEJNIC – MARTÍNEK, *Rukověť humanistického 2. Č.-J.*, 74–84; SKUTIL, *Jan Dubravius*; PETRŮ, *Literature*, 55–96. Other variant of his name is Jan Skála of Doubravka and Hradiště.

¹³⁷ SKUTIL, *Jan Dubravius*, 9.

historical writings.¹³⁸ The rich literary work of Jan Dubravius represents the culmination of Latin humanism in Moravia. Dubravius's literary works had an intense resonance and one must also admire their thematic diversity. Dubravius began his literary work with an interpretation of Roman poet Martianus Capella's work *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, published in Vienna in 1516. Four years later, the famous *Theriboulia* was printed in Nuremberg. His writing *De piscinis*, first published in Wrocław in 1547, was of a completely different character. The work was written "on commission" for Anton Fugger, who had recently bought a castle near Banská Bystrica. Dubravius' humanistically oriented text, which the author did not initially plan to publish, contained instructions for good farmsteading. The work soon became very popular, and was printed again (probably) in Zurich in 1559 and in Nuremberg in 1596.¹³⁹ The bishop's last monumental work was the *Historiae regni Bohemiae. De rebus memoria dignis...libri XXXIII*, published in Prostějov in 1552 by the printer Jan Günther. Dubravius' chronicle is still one of the most important works of its kind, alongside Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica* (1458) and Václav Hájek of Libočany's *Kronika česká* (1541).

Unlike his predecessor Stanislav Thurzo, for Jan Dubravius literary work was a much higher priority than his patronage of architecture and the visual arts. This difference in the bishop's preferences was also very evident in the book *Humanism and the Early Renaissance in Moravia*, where a long chapter was devoted to Dubravius in the *Literature*¹⁴⁰ section, while his patronage of architecture and art was not given a separate chapter in the section *Visual Art*.¹⁴¹

Nevertheless, it is very likely, almost certain, that at least bishop's palace in Olomouc was decorated on Dubravius's commission. We know that during Dubravius's time there was intensive work on continuation of construction of the palace and on its decoration. This fact is mentioned by Šimon Ennius of Klatovy in his work *Breve Encomion Olomucii, Metropolis in Moraviae Marchionatu* in 1550:

*Hoc in colle suas praesul fundaverat aedes
Stanislaus Thurzo, vir pietatis amans.
Quas quia non potuit fragilis per tempora vitae
Perficere, infectum manserat istud opus.
Hoc modo Dubravius magnis cum sumtibus ornat
Praesul Joannes, molis et urget opus.*¹⁴²

Unfortunately, it is probable that no architectural sculptures from the bishop's palace in Olomouc dating back to the time of Jan Dubravius have been preserved.

Conclusion

In this study we have attempted to demonstrate that the Olomouc humanists, who were grouped around the humanistic society *Sodalitas Maierhofiana* and the Olomouc chapter at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had a major influence on the progressive development of Renaissance architectural sculpture and, in selected

138 HEJNIC – MARTÍNEK, *Rukověť humanistického 5. S–Ž*, 371.

139 PETRŮ, *Literature*, 83–84.

140 Ibidem, 55–96.

141 HLOBIL, *Visual Art*.

142 Quotation of the text from: BARTOCHA, *Simone Ennio*, 204.

cases, also on architecture in Moravia in the following decades. Certainly their interest in humanism was fully in line with their interest in Renaissance art. Their contact with humanists in other important Central European centres, especially in Vienna and Wrocław, was also very important for their excellent knowledge of the then progressive stone decoration of buildings. Also in the Lower Austrian and Silesian metropolis it was the local humanists who pioneered Renaissance art in the general sense. The architectural sculptures commissioned by Olomouc humanists in the first half of the sixteenth century in Moravia are thus proof that specific artistic commissions can be fully understood and correctly interpreted only in the context of cultural and artistic aim of their patrons.

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