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An imperial sigh with oriental notes? Ortenburg Castle in Bautzen (Upper Lusatia) during the reign of Kings Matthias Corvinus, Vladislaus II and Louis Jagiellon (around 1483–1526)

Abstract

The castle in Bautzen was built on the site of an older residence under the supervision of the royal mayor of Upper Lusatia, Georg von Stein, in the years 1483–1490. Its best-preserved element from those years is the gate tower, housing the chapel of St. George on the first floor. The façade of the tower turns towards the city with the collegiate church with a spectacular monument to King Matthias from 1486, shown not only as the ruler of Bohemia and Hungary, but also as an aspirant to the imperial throne. Emphasizing the majesty of the ruler was directed primarily towards the Bautzen chapter, which included clergy associated with the Meissen bishopric, whose center – Meissen – was closely associated with the Wettins. Their territorial ambitions in the Bohemian Crown were consistently limited by Matthias. The creation of such a unique monument to the ruler in public space, which in Central Europe has only precedents in the monuments of Emperor Frederick III in Wiener Neustadt and George in Prague, could also be related to the desire to demonstrate Matthias's rights as the Bohemian king to the then virtually lost fief of the Bohemian Crown – Luxembourg. The last representative of this dynasty, Elizabeth of Zgorzelec, daughter of Jan Zgorzelecki, handed them over to the dukes of Burgundy, but after the death of the daughter of the last of them, Maria, in 1482, these rights were taken over by the Habsburgs, who were then in sharp conflict with Matthias.

Ortenburg Castle glorified Matthias not only as a potential emperor, but also as a new David or Solomon. The castle tower was probably topped with a turret known from the "Tower of David" in Jerusalem. The architectural detail in the chapel also seems to be a discreet reference to oriental architecture. In the years 1520–1527, the top of the tower was changed and an attic with six pinnacle turrets was added. This number most likely referred to the union of six cities to which Bautzen belonged. The royal mayor of Upper Lusatia was then Prince Karol Minsterberski of Ziębice, who was expanding his castle in Ząbkowice Śląskie at that time. Its facades were also topped with an attic. In this castle, like in many others from that time, references to Jerusalem and Solomonic architecture were also found. The Ortenburg Castle in Bautzen should also be added to this list, despite the "redrafting".

Key words: Bautzen, Mathias Corvinus, Charles of Minsterberg, late Gothic, early Renaissance, castles, representation of power, biblicisms

Purpose of the study. State and methods of research

The last quarter of a century has resulted in a significant revival in research on the late Gothic Ortenburg Castle in Bautzen or just its important element, which is the monument to King Matthias Corvinus on its façade. The research brought many new observations and attempts at comprehensive interpretation of this building, which is closely related to the mobilization of research on the history and culture of Upper Lusatia at the end of

the Middle Ages and in the early modern era. There was an interpretative polyphony in which researchers [1]–[11] did not always pay due attention to the works of other authors (I am also writing this *pro domo sua*). This makes it worth trying to organize the results of these studies and present new interpretation proposals for this building and its interior. The building that – despite its still unsatisfactory state of preservation and use – is becoming more and more visible as a phenomenon of the artistic culture of the late Middle Ages, and especially as a unique monument of power, with its significance perhaps going beyond the borders of Central Europe, just as the position and ambitions of Matthias Corvinus were extraordinary, at the end of his life as the king of Hungary, Bohemia and *de facto* prince of (Lower) Austria.

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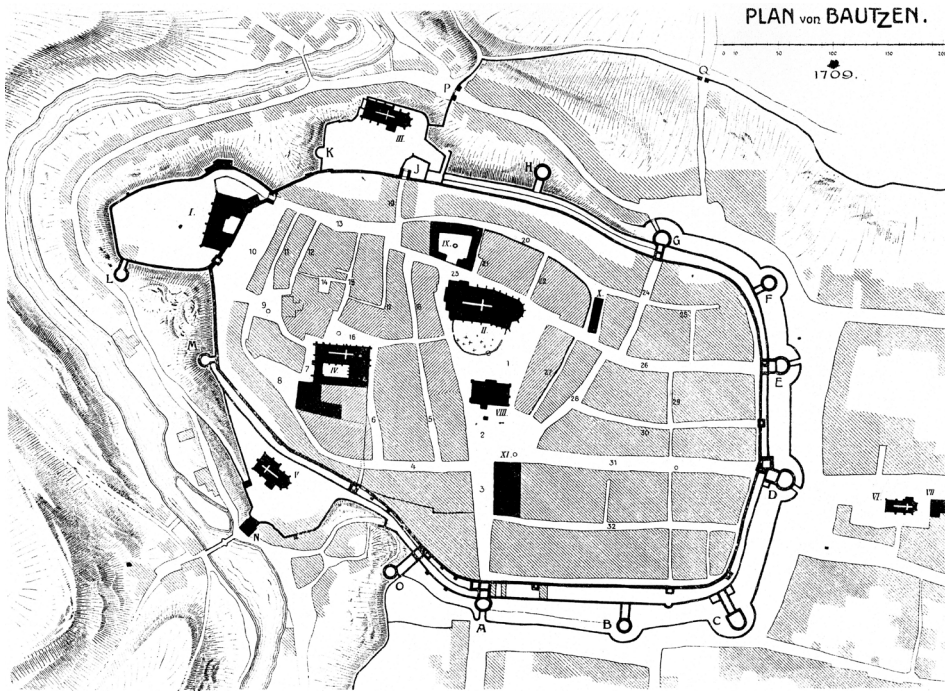


Fig. 1. Schematic plan of the foundation Bautzen within the city walls with a reconstruction of late medieval fortifications (according to: [30])

II. 1. Schematyczny plan lokacyjnego Budiszyna w granicach murów miejskich z rekonstrukcją późnośredniowiecznych obwarowań (według: [30])

Reinterpretation of the ideological content of Ortenburg Castle

Bautzen (*castrum Budissin* in 1158) is a very old center that gained importance again at the end of the Middle Ages. At that time, it was one of the Six Cities – a union formed in 1346 and being an important political entity in the structure of the late medieval Bohemian monarchy. Bautzen had already been politically inclined towards Prague as a political center (a Czech fief since 1158), and in 1348 it became – together with the lands (*terrae*) or *marchiae* (*marchiae*) of Bautzen and Zgorzelec – part of the then established Crown of the Kingdom of Bohemia. Its creator, the Holy Roman Emperor and the Czech and Burgundian king Charles IV, at the end of his life created a new political structure – the Duchy of Zgorzelec, which was the endowment of his youngest son, Jan Zgorzelecki. It did not disappear with his premature death in 1396. Over the next decades of the 15th and 16th centuries, it appeared in the titles of Czech kings. During the first half of the 15th century, the previously Czech Zittau was integrated with the area of this principality (while retaining its affiliation to the Archdiocese of Prague), and in 1469, for the first time in the office of Matthias Corvinus as the Bohemian king, the term “Upper Lusatia” appeared (over time, the former Lusatia began to be called Lower Lusatia). Bautzen became the administrative center of this newly defined area on the upper Lusatian Neisse and Spree, even though Zgorzelec was an economically more important center. Both centers cooperated and competed at the same time. Nevertheless, the royal provincial mayors of Upper Lusatia resided in the castle in Bautzen. It was there that they exercised judicial power. The estate assemblies of the Margraviate of Upper Lusatia also met there. The importance of the city on the Spree was also de-

termined by the existence of the only collegiate chapter in both parts of Lusatia at the local parish church of St. Paul. The city was subject to the diocese of Meissen, which also held patronage over the castle chapel [2], [12].

Already in 1467, Matthias Corvinus was created (by Wrocław) as the main oppositionist to King George of Bohemia, as an alternative to the monarch who was cursed and dethroned by the Pope. In the spring of 1469, an election took place in Olomouc, where representatives of almost all the estates of the Bohemian Crown realm proclaimed Matthias, the ruler of Hungary, as the King of Bohemia. From then on, for the next twenty-one years, the country had two rulers. After George’s death in 1471, Vladislav Jagiellon was elected as his successor in Prague, which meant further rivalry until, in 1479, Matthias and Vladislav recognized each other, dividing their territorial powers. Matthias, as the Bohemian king, ruled in Silesia, Moravia and both Lusatian margraves. Monuments to his reign were built almost everywhere: quite modest ones in Moravia, the most impressive one in Silesia (the town hall in Wrocław) and very spectacular ones in Upper Lusatia, i.e., in Zgorzelec (the coat of arms on the town hall) and in Bautzen. Here, under the supervision of national mayor, Georg von Stein, who was also periodically the Starost (Mayor) of Lower Silesia, the Ortenburg Castle was thoroughly rebuilt, or rather built almost anew. This occurred in the years 1483–1490.

The castle area occupies a promontory in the western part of the foundation city (Fig. 1), sloping steeply on three sides towards the Spree meander, and has an area of 10,000 square meters. It rises nearly 40 m above the riverbed. This gives it a dominant position in the view of the city from the south, west and north. The buildings from Matthias’ times are concentrated in the eastern part of the complex, on the city side. The castle faces the city with

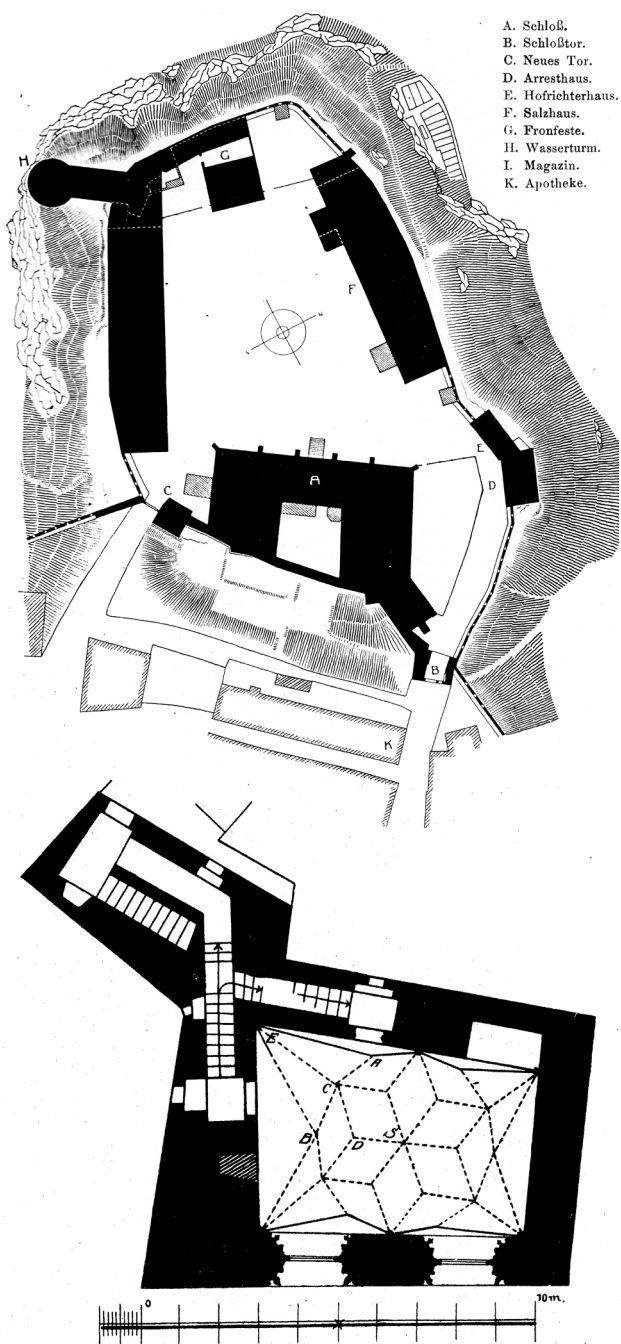


Fig. 2. Schematic plan of the development of Ortenburg Castle in Bautzen as of 1908 and a horizontal section of the gate tower at the height of the chapel of St. George, with a drawing of the ribs of its currently unpreserved vault (according to: [30])

II. 2. Schematyczny plan zabudowy zamku Ortenburg w Budziszynie według stanu z 1908 roku oraz przekrój poziomy wieży bramnej na wysokości kaplicy św. Jerzego, z rysunkiem żeber jej niezachowanego obecnie sklepienia (według: [30])

a magnificent tower on a trapezoidal plan, with an addition containing stairs. It houses a gate with a passage leading to the courtyard, and on the first floor there is a chapel of St. George (Fig. 2). Its interior was covered with a stellar vault (now collapsed), and an important element is the balcony gallery for the ruler or his representative (Fig. 3). It has an elaborate tracery balustrade (Fig. 4). The re-

maining architectural detail is also formally refined – two portals with signs of virtuosity and even a certain formal extravagance: the portal is framed by a “tear-shaped” arch and framed with curtain-shaped tracery (Fig. 5). The walls were also articulated in the form of slender columns suspended on consoles. They have spirally twisted shafts and, together with the vault, created the illusion of a canopy stretched over this slender interior. Lighting was provided by two high, pointed windows in the eastern (façade). There was probably an altar between them (according to the principle of orientation).

The tower is not an element that dominates the castle body with its height or massiveness. What stands out or attracts attention is its finial, which in its current form is later than the tower itself and dates from 1520–1527. It has the form of an attic with four turrets, like pinnacles at the corners. The attic from the south and north has the form of a semicircle, and from the east (façade side) and west – a wall with small rectangular windows, above which protrude battlements topped with triangular gables. The façade of the tower (Fig. 6) emphasizes its division into three floors (the remaining façades are virtually devoid of any articulation). On the ground floor there is a pointed arched gate arcade and next to it there is a smaller rectangular portal for pedestrians – both elements are framed with stone. Above it, on the axis of the gate portal, there is a sculptural image of King Matthias enthroned in a niche (Fig. 7). Its finial fits between the two slender pointed windows of the chapel, but is not adapted to them. The windows respect a different axis of symmetry – the one created by both openings, in the lower zone accentuated by a common frame. So we have some dissonance here. The third floor is “signaled” only by two small rectangular windows above the mentioned chapel windows. It follows from the above that the architectural concept of the façade of the tower segment of Ortenburg Castle was corrected by the not entirely symmetrical location of the monument in relation to it. It was adapted to the gate portal and – what is worth emphasizing – to the axis of the street (Schloßstraße) leading from the market square to the castle.

The sculptural image of the monarch is enclosed in an aedicule with two slender columns and resting on a cornice with an inscription under the frieze *ANNO + MCCCCLXXXVI + SALV.* (I will return to the issue of its importance later). The columns are supported by a richly decorated pediment with the inscription *MATHIAS REX* on the entablature. The pediment field is filled with squared shields referring to the Hungarian rule of Matthias and the Holy Roman Empire. They are topped with a closed crown. This is also the crown held by angels over the head of the king sitting in a niche, holding a scepter and an apple. The throne is placed on a lion. This work is enriched by coats of arms in rectangular fields under the pediment halves, arranged on the sides of the columns and placed on a common cornice (the current ones are a reconstruction). There are shields with coats of arms (left from top): Croatian, Dalmatian, Austrian and Silesian and (right from top): Styrian, Moravian and (Lower) Lusatian.

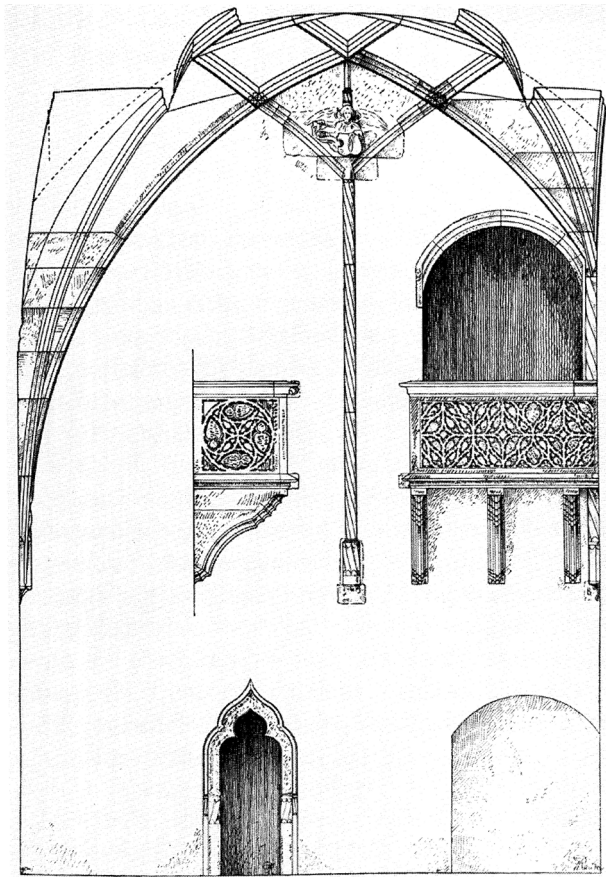


Fig. 3. Vertical cross-section of the chapel of St. George in the gate tower of Ortenburg Castle with a view of the western wall and vaults (according to: [30])

Il. 3. Przekrój pionowy poprzeczny kaplicy św. Jerzego w wieży bramnej zamku Ortenburg z widokiem ściany zachodniej oraz sklepień (według: [30])

Most often, the façade of St. George's (!) castle chapel in Wiener Neustadt, where the sitting Emperor Frederick III is presented in the context of a huge and largely fictitious genealogical argument, was indicated as a model or rather a challenge for the monument in Bautzen. The Austrian monument of the emperor with whom Matthias was in a dispute over the rights to the throne of Saint Stephen I, became a particularly current challenge after Corvinus drove the Habsburgs out of Lower Austria in 1486 and declared himself its prince as well as openly made claims to the imperial crown. The imperial theme is very clearly articulated both in the Bautzen monument (closed crown, i.e., the imperial one) as well as in its interiors, where the traces of coffered polychrome were discovered. There is no reason to date it back to the beginning of the 16th century – the correction which was made in recent years in dating the coffered ceiling of the central bay window of the great hall of the town hall in Wrocław back to the times of Corvinus fully validates the simultaneous appearance of such a motif in the Upper Lusatian city, especially since the activity of the same sculptor and painter Brikcius Gauske is involved here [6], [19].

In Bautzen the ideological inspiration by the imperial monument in the Austrian city may encounter one counterargument, i.e., the favorite seat of Frederick III was conquered by Corvinus only in 1487 [13]. However, this does not rule out being inspired by it earlier. The emperor's monument was certainly seen by the Hungarian king's envoys in 1463, when they concluded an agreement with Habsburg in Wiener Neustadt. Nevertheless, it is worth keeping in mind another possible source of inspiration or perhaps a challenge to the Upper Lusatian achievement. It could have been the statue which was placed on the façade of the Church of Our Lady before Týn in Prague in 1462. It showed King George seated with a sword and a chalice in his hands. In fact, it was created four years after Matthias left Prague, but the work had a wide impact both in Wrocław and Rome. Undoubtedly, Corvinus also knew about it [14].

The Wrocław source – the chronicle of the city writer of the Silesian metropolis, Peter Eschenloer – provides a formulation which, in my opinion, also quite accurately reflects the ideological meaning of the Bautzen tower: *turris fortitudinis christianae religionis ac munita sedebis*, i.e., “the tower of the power of the Christian religion and a fortified seat” [15]. In Eschenloer's work it is an allegory about Wrocław which did not want to accept the Hussite king George of Bohemia. However, it carries a more general message – it recognizes the tower as a symbol of sacralized power. In Upper Lusatia, Matthias – the Catholic alternative to the “heretic” George, and then Vladislaus II of Hungary who was long unrecognized by Rome – never appeared, so the monument was supposed to be a permanent representation of the physically absent monarch. It was a reference to the principle which was formulated in the first half of the 13th century by the Roman Emperor Frederick II, stating that the image of the ruler is identical with him and has the same causative as well as apotropaic power¹.

At the time when the monument of Matthias was created, King George had been dead for several years and Corvinus with his successor from Prague, Vladislaus, were already in good relations after concluding the Treaty of Olomouc in 1479 (and in 1486 they even tightened in an act of dissatisfaction of both of them towards the Habsburg policy). The question of who was the main addressee of the monument on the façade of Ortenburg Castle has already been answered or at least suggested several times. One of them talked about the states of the Margraviate of Upper Lusatia, which had the longest delay in the Bohemian Crown in recognizing the Olomouc Agreement sanctioning two Bohemian kings and the subordination of Upper Lusatia to Matthias [18]. Another suggestion spoke of the Bautzen chapter as an institution associating the influential clergy of the Meissen diocese

¹ He believed that merely invoking the ruler's name protected everyone from the enemy. The aggressor, attacking in the face of the emperor's call, was acting against his majesty. Emperor Frederick II often repeated that he could not be present everywhere at the same time to protect his lieges, but his symbolic presence is no less important and effective.

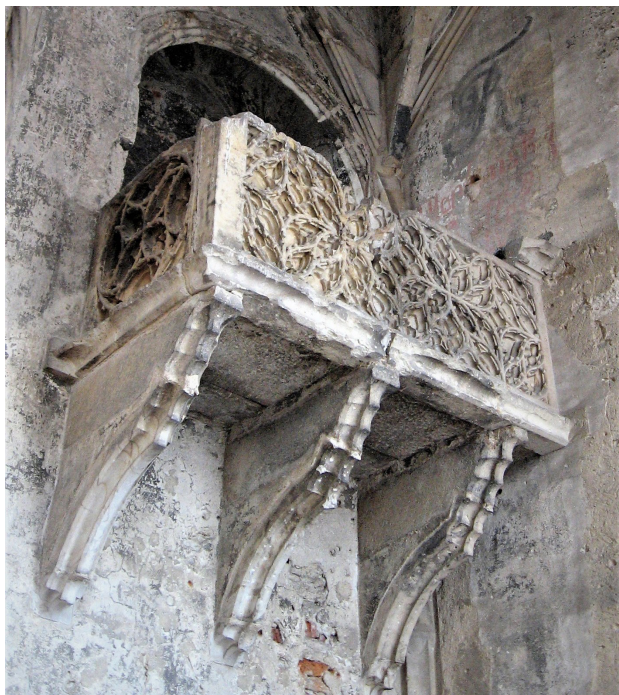


Fig. 4. Balcony of the royal gallery in the chapel of Ortenburg Castle
(photo by Ivana Herglová)

Il. 4. Balkon empory królewskiej w kaplicy zamku Ortenburg
(fot. Ivana Herglová)



Fig. 5. Portal in the western wall of the chapel of Ortenburg Castle
(photo by Ivana Herglová)

Il. 5. Portal w ścianie zachodniej kaplicy zamku Ortenburg
(fot. Ivana Herglová)

[16], [17], close to the Saxon (Meissen) princes who tried to expand not only to the area of both Lusatia, but also to Silesia (the purchase of the Duchy of Żagań in 1472 and an attempt at purchasing the Duchy of Oleśnica), as well as to the Bohemia itself (an attempt at purchasing the town of Loket with its district in 1471). These attempts were quite consistently torpedoed by Matthias as the Bohemian King – the guardian of the integrity of the Crown of the Kingdom of Bohemia, who was underestimated in the Bohemian historiography [9].

Looking at the spatial layout of Ortenburg Castle and the location of the king's monument, it is difficult not to notice that the message it conveys is directed towards the city – towards the market square. Its dominant feature was and still is the great parish-collegiate church being built at the same time. This dominant and the castle constitute two key points of the urban topography and the new royal tower of the castle is counterbalanced by the old church tower from the 13th century (a hall body integrated with the presbytery was added to it in the 2nd half of the 15th century). Without underestimating the political potential that the Bautzen canons could have represented, it is necessary to ask whether that part of the message of the monument, or rather of the entire castle, which showed Matthias as an aspirant to the imperial crown, was also addressed to them. This is important in the light of the fact that in 1477 Matthias concluded an agreement with the Saxon princes, i.e., the brothers Albrecht and Ernest, under which they were, among other things, to support his claims as the king of Bohemia in order to obtain an electoral vote in the Reich. At that time, apart from the “Prague” Bohemian King Vladislaus II of Hungary, the last Duke of Burgundy, Charles I the Bold, was also seeking this vote, but he died in the Battle of Nancy in 1477. However, the Burgundian trail is worth considering for another reason.

A year before the construction of Ortenburg Castle began, Mary, the only daughter of the last Duke of Burgundy and also the wife of the son and successor of Emperor Frederick III, Maximilian I, died. In 1486, electors of the Reich, without inviting either of the two Bohemian kings, elected the latter as Roman King in Frankfurt am Main, which meant that after the death of his father, Maximilian would become the emperor. Since Luxembourg times, the rulers of Bohemia, and such was Matthias from 1469, used the title of Dukes of Luxembourg. This was the former ancestral domain of John, Charles IV, Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia and Sigismund, which during the reign of the latter two became the inheritance of Elisabeth (died in 1451), daughter of their youngest brother John, the aforementioned Duke of Zgorzelec. She ceded her rights to Luxembourg to the rulers of Burgundy, so *de facto* this territory ceased to be part of the Crown of the Kingdom of Bohemia in the mid-15th century. *De facto*, but not *de iure*. The rights to Luxembourg continued to be manifested in the titles of the Bohemian rulers George, Matthias, and Vladislaus. The death of Charles I the Bold in 1477 and then of Mary in 1482 meant that this former fief of the kings and the Crown of Bohemia became the hereditary estate of the



Fig. 6. Gate tower of Ortenburg Castle from the east (from Schloßstraße, photo by B. Czechowicz)

Il. 6. Wieża bramna zamku Ortenburg od wschodu (od Schloßstraße, fot. B. Czechowicz)

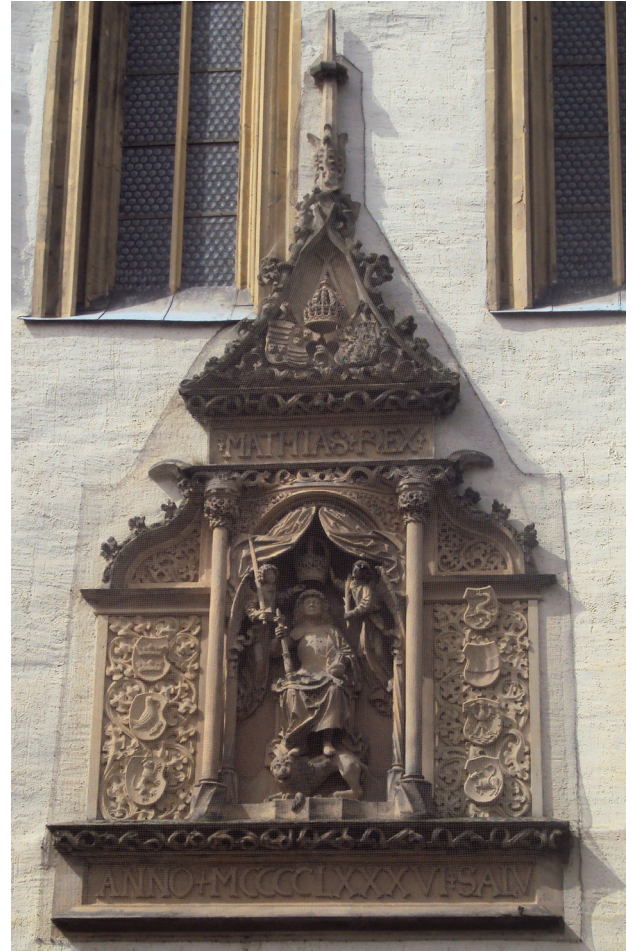


Fig. 7. Monument to the king of Hungary and Bohemia, Mathias Corvinus, on the facade of the gate tower of Ortenburg Castle (photo by B. Czechowicz)

Il. 7. Pomnik króla Węgier i Czech Macieja Korwina na fasadzie wieży bramnej zamku Ortenburg (fot. B. Czechowicz)

Habsburgs – at that time Matthias’s main enemies. So, in my opinion, this could have been another or maybe the main reason for demonstrating Matthias’s imperial ambitions by means of the monument in Bautzen and to such an extent, i.e., very explicitly. After all, we do not encounter similar manifestations of the ruler’s representation in the case of the town hall in Wrocław, where there are more references to Matthias than anywhere else, however, they lack the ostentation known from the Lusatian castle. Apparently, in the city by the Oder, this message was not that necessary.

The impact of the Bautzen monument could have been even greater because Matthias presents himself here not only as a Hungarian and Bohemian ruler and an aspirant to the imperial crown, but also as a monarch legitimizing his position by referring to the authority of the biblical kings David and Solomon. This interpretation is indicated by two columns – particularly exposed and doubling slightly smaller columns supporting the canopy over the king inside the niche. These are therefore the biblical Jachim and Boaz standing in front of the Templum Salomonis inside which a ruler seems to be sitting and above whom the folded drapery brings to mind an unambiguous

association with *sanctum sanctorum*². This is how – one could say – the new Solomon and the “future” emperor is shown here. It is worth noticing that an inscription with a date ending with the word *SALV* may be intentionally ambiguous. It can be read, for example, as a greeting (*SALVTIS*) or an assurance of safety (*SALVUS*). The last variant is particularly close to the basic function of a castle building, i.e., defence.

The cuboidal tower itself, in the context of the glorification of power and the ruler, could convey associations with the Tower of David in Jerusalem. Its characteristic element were coats of arms, which unfortunately are missing at Ortenburg Castle. However, it is worth paying attention to the south-west corner of the tower in its upper zone. Here we have a slanted corner cut and just above it there are three-step stone berms as if a plinth for some unpreserved element (Fig. 8). The thought comes to mind that there

² Jiří Kuthan [7], who was close to understand these contents, wrote: “Odkrytý závěs otevírá pohled na jeden a půl metru vysokou postavu trůnícího krále, jehož nohy spočívají na figurě lva. Analogie tohoto motivu s ikonografickým typem Madon na lvu je nápadná. Je tak patrné vyjádření sakrální ráz vladařovy pozemské moci.”



Fig. 8. The upper part of the gate tower of Ortenburg Castle from the south (photo by author)

Il. 8. Górna część wieży bramnej zamku Ortenburg od południa (fot. autor)

could have been a turret here like the one known from the Tower of David in Jerusalem [18] (Fig. 9). It is worth quoting here the opinion about the end of Matthias' life, which was formulated in Prague more than three decades after his death and was full of references to Old Testament rulers, i.e., “Ale bůch všemohúcí jenž všechny věci od počátku předzvěděl, to jeho [Matthias] předsevetí lstivé zruští ráčil: že jakož onoho krále Nabuchodonozora a Oloferna, hejtmána jeho, zkazil a jeho úmysl zlý a lstivý proti Židům předsevzatý v nic obrátil a jeho vojsko rozpýtlil, že též tohoto krále Matiaše s hejtmany jeho zkazil [...]” [19].

These words were written in 1524, when the remodelling of the tower of Ortenburg Castle had been in progress for four years or had already been completed. It then gained the attic crowning. The city's veduta from 1620 shows five turrets crowning the tower – at present there are only four of them, but Kai Wenzel [4] and then Marius Winzeler [10] expressed the belief that there were originally six of them. This number corresponds to six cities (Bautzen, Görlitz, Kamenz, Löbau, Lubań and Zittau), which formed a political and economic union since 1346. It was the strongest entity in the state structure of Upper Lusatia. The reference to it was a clear change in the ideological message of the castle. This type of demonstration of the power of the Union of Six Cities would have been unthinkable in the times of King Matthias because Bautzen was in a fierce dispute with the monarch. The townspeople did not want a castle built there, which resulted in the dismissal of the mayor [8]. From 1519, the royal provincial mayor of Upper Lusatia was Karol Minsterberski, Prince of Ziębice and Oleśnica. In the long-term dispute between the royal towns and the nobility, which shook the Bohemi-

an Crown in the first decades of the 16th century and took its most severe form – almost a civil war – in the years 1500–1517 in the Kingdom of Bohemia, Prince Charles I was on the side of the towns [24]. The finial of the tower of the royal castle in Bautzen appears as an architectural monument to their advancement in the status hierarchy.

The Silesian prince left one more trace in the castle. The painted coat of arms of Charles I was previously seen inside the residence [2]. This would not have been the first demonstration by a top official of the Margraviate – a dozen years earlier, a carved coat of arms held by angels of one of his predecessors in office, i.e., the Prince of Poland, Duke of Glogow and Opava Sigismund I the Old, was placed in the passage hallway. The interference from the reign of Charles I, however, was more serious and was made almost at the same time as the prince undertook a major extension of his residence in Ząbkowice Śląskie (Fig. 10). Its walls were also crowned with an attic crest in the part which has survived to this day. I would not like to multiply speculations about the fact that the author of the Bautzen attic could have been royal architect Benedikt Ried employed by the prince in Ząbkowice. However, such an eventuality should be within the scope of studies of future researchers.

However, it is necessary to note the semantic coincidence of the Silesian building, which was interpreted as a reference to the ideas of Jerusalem, biblical, and Solomonic architecture [20]–[22] with the Jerusalem associations of the Bautzen castle from the times of King Matthias as suggested above. It would not be the only one – such connections could be seen in other works by Benedikt Ried, i.e., from the Prague Castle [23], [24] to the Blatná Castle of the political rival of Charles I, the all-powerful Bohemian magnate Zdeňek Lev of Rožmitál [25] as well as in the seats of other important “players” on the political scene of the Bohemian Crown of those years, namely Casimir II of Cieszyn in Cieszyn (with the motif of the “Tower of David”) [22], Vojtěch of Pernštejn in Pardubice (biblical associations of the castle church) [26], and Prince Frederick II of Legnica and Brzeg (mainly the gate of the castle in Legnica) [20].

Summary and suggestions for further research

Thus, the list of castle references to the biblical descriptions of the Old Testament residence of Solomon in the area of the former Bohemian Crown, which, by the way, is not exhausted here [26], can be supplemented by the Ortenburg castle in Bautzen, with the important addition that its Jerusalem code is older than the 16th century and most likely dates back to the times of King Matthias, an aspirant to the imperial crown, who – in the face of parvenuism “reproached” to him in the public space of Prague by the program of the Powder Tower [27] – towards the end of his life propagated the theory that his ancestors descended from... Turkish sultans [13]. Let us remember that the Ottomans, as the lords of New Rome, i.e., Constantinople, from 1453, considered themselves Roman emperors and there were many in Europe at that time who had no major problem with recognizing this dignity [28]. It was later



Fig. 9. “Tower of David” - a fragment of the Citadel of David in Jerusalem (photo by Adriana, Wikipedia)

Il. 9. „Wieża Dawida” – fragment Cytadeli Dawida w Jerozolimie (fot. Adriana, Wikipedia)



Fig. 10. The central part of the facade of the castle in Żąbkowice Śląskie (photo by B. Czechowicz)

Il. 10. Centralna część fasady zamku w Żąbkowicach Śląskich (fot. B. Czechowicz)

historiography with its subsequent layers and models of historical interpretation that clouded or even obscured this image. When trying to understand it, not only the verbal language is helpful, but also the abstract – which does not mean mute – language of architectural forms. A modern researcher must be sensitive to that language, as the authors of the monograph *Solomon's temple. Myth and history* aptly wrote sixteen years ago: “For three thousand years, the idea and image of the Temple have represented a principal religious paradigm for the Near Eastern and European monotheistic traditions. In countless permutations, the ideal of the temple has manifested itself in ritual, music, art, architecture, literature, poetry, mysticism, and politics” [29].

These words and this contribution should encourage further research in this area, namely to attempt to read the semantic codes contained in these buildings. The already very outdated – even worn out – paradigm of style (Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque) will probably not be of any help here. However, it will certainly be helpful to delve into the historical and cultural context and to remember something as elementary as the fact that the contemporaries of the construction and reconstruction of the castle in Bautzen in the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century had heard nothing about Gothic and the Renaissance, but they knew the Bible perfectly and were constantly looking for new ways to understand it more deeply and seeking for visual means to express these aspirations.

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Streszczenie

Imperialne westchnienie w orientalnej tonacji? Zamek Ortenburg w Budziszynie (Górne Łużyce) w dobie władzy królów Macieja Korwina oraz Władysława II i Ludwika Jagiellończyków (około 1483–1526)

Zamek w Budziszynie został zbudowany w miejscu starszej siedziby pod okiem królewskiego wójta krajowego Górnych Łużyc Georga von Steina w latach 1483–1490. Jego najlepiej zachowanym elementem z tych lat jest wieża bramna, mieszcząca na piętrze kaplicę św. Jerzego. Fasada wieży zwraca się ku miastu z kolegiatą spektakularnym pomnikiem króla Macieja z 1486 roku, ukazanego nie tylko jako władca Czech i Węgier, ale także jako aspirant do tronu cesarskiego. Podkreślanie majestatu władcy kierowane było przede wszystkim w stronę kapituły budziszynskiej, w której zasiadał kler związany z biskupstwem miśnieńskim. Jego główny ośrodek – Miśnia – był ściśle związany z Wettynami. Ich ambicje terytorialne na terenie Korony Czeskiej Maciej konsekwentnie ograniczał. Powstanie tak wyjątkowego pomnika władcy w przestrzeni publicznej, które w środkowej Europie ma tylko precedensy w pomnikach cesarza Fryderyka III w Wiener Neustadt i Jerzego w Pradze, mogło się również wiązać z chęcią demonstrowania praw Macieja jako króla czeskiego do właściwie już wówczas utraconego lenna Korony Czeskiej – Luksemburga. Ostatnia przedstawicielka tej dynastii, Elżbieta zgorzelecka, córka Jana Zgorzeleckiego, przekazała je księżtom Burgundii, ale po śmierci w 1482 roku córki ostatniego z nich, Marii, prawa te przejmowali Habsburgowie, wtedy będący w ostrym konflikcie z Maciejem.

Zamek Ortenburg gloryfikował Macieja nie tylko jako potencjalnego imperatora, ale także jako nowego Dawida lub Salomona. Wieżę zamku prawdopodobnie wieńczyła wieżyczka znana z „Wieży Dawida” w Jeruzolimie. Także detal architektoniczny w kaplicy zdaje się dyskretnym nawiązaniem do architektury orientalnej. W latach 1520–1527 dokonano zmiany zwieńczenia wieży, dodając jej attykę z sześcioma wieżyczkami-pinaklami. Liczba ta odnosiła się najpewniej do związku sześciu miast, do którego należał Budziszyn. Wójtem krajowym Górnych Łużyc był wtedy książę ziębički Karol Minsterberski, który rozbudowywał w tym czasie swój zamek w Żąbkowicach Śląskich. Jego elewacje także zwieńczyła attyka. W zamku tym, jak w wielu innych z tego czasu, także doszukano się odwołań do architektury jerozolimskiej, Salomonowej. Do listy tej należy także dopisać, mimo dokonanego „przeredagowania”, budziszynski zamek Ortenburg.

Słowa kluczowe: Budziszyn, Maciej Korwin, Karol ziębički, późny gotyk, wczesny renesans, zamki, reprezentacja władzy, bibliocyzm