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JOHN FILIPEC: HIS LIFE AND PERSONALITY

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John Filipec: His Life and Personality

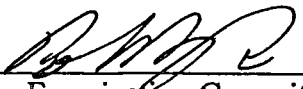
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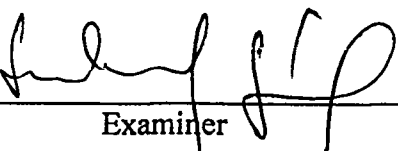
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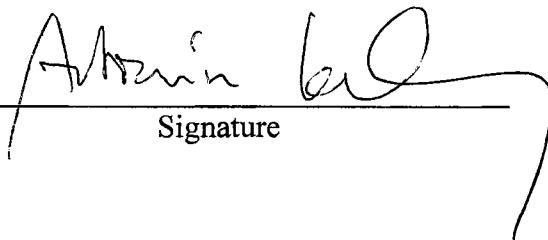

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AČ</i>	<i>Archiv český</i>
AO	Arcibiskupství Olomoucké
<i>ČMM</i>	<i>Časopis Matice moravské</i>
<i>MDE</i>	<i>Magyar diplomáciai emlékek</i>
MZA	Moravský zemský archiv
NK	Národní knihovna
ŘF	Archiv české františkánské provincie
SÚA	Státní Ústřední Archiv
VMO	Vlastivědné muzeum, Olomouc
ZA	Zemský archiv

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is dedicated to the life and personality of John Filipec. In order to set Filipec's life into a broader context, the situation of the political as well as the cultural milieu in Central Europe at the end of the fifteenth century is delineated. Secondly, his life and activity is documented in chronological terms from both Hungarian and Czech as well as other sources, rather than from solely one or the other, creating a more thorough base necessary for understanding Filipec's life. In the third part of the thesis, a closer analysis of the sources is an attempt to reveal and characterise more profoundly the multifaceted personality of John Filipec.

The sources for the life of John Filipec are, due to his wide range of activities, spread over many countries. Fortunately, the most important of them have been published. They are written in Latin, Czech, German, Italian and a few in French. It was impossible to access all of them, but I selected the most important and the most valuable ones for my study. The research conducted both in the Czech Republic and in Hungary made it possible to obtain editions of the most important sources and to exploit the archival sources preserved in the Czech archives and libraries; not many sources were preserved in the Hungarian archives. The secondary literature also varies quite extensively: most of the work has been done by Hungarian and Czech historians, but the relation of the writings of the two groups is problematic, since the works in their national languages are usually inaccessible for the others. Similarly, they tend to use the sources of the provenance of their own countries; for example, the Hungarians rarely used Filipec's letters, the sources of the Franciscan provenance, or the writings of the early historians of the Unity of Brethren. The Czechs, on the other hand, scarcely used the Italian diplomatic reports from Hungary. Both these groups, however, were limited by the inaccessibility of particular editions of the sources: the edition of Antonio Bonfini from 1936 and 1941 and the 1870s edition of the Italian reports from the Hungarian court are inaccessible in the Czech Republic, and abstracts from some Franciscan chronicles, for example, have been published in less important journals, which are not easily accessible in Hungary. Even the German scholarship was affected by this problem, mainly concerning the literature. A book about Filipec has been published by Rudolf Grieger in 1982. For Hungarian and especially for Czech history, he used old and dated literature, mainly in German; nevertheless, he gathered a large number of sources and used them for the

description of Filipec's life.¹ All these sources and all these historiographical traditions need to be brought together.

As far as my methodological approach is concerned, in the first part I proceed in the traditional way, gathering information for documenting Filipec's times and his life. The other part, however, is more concerned with different "lives" of John Filipec, partially disregarding the chronology.² It is necessary to see particular aspects of Filipec's life, politician, diplomat, bishop, friar, and maybe humanist, to draw at least the outlines of his personality. Thus, careful attention was paid to the sources from which information concerning the specific faces of John Filipec could be extracted. At the end, the results are put together to reveal the personality of John Filipec in its complexity.

In regard to technical matters, the quotations used throughout the thesis are usually those of the original source; only those from the Czech sources are consistently translated. All the translations, if not stated otherwise are mine, and the original is given in a footnote. There were also the problems of personal names and place names. In the sources as well as in the secondary literature, they are found in various language forms, so it is important, for the sake of clarity, to use one particular form for each name. I handled these problems in the following way: first, the Christian names of the people were always, where it was possible, rendered into their English forms, otherwise they are given in the form that is traditionally used in the literature or found in the sources. The place names are preferably used in their English forms, if they exist (for example Cracow, Prague, Vienna). Otherwise, even if it may be anachronistic, they are referred to by the current official names. A gazetteer of all the important name forms in various languages is added at the end of the thesis.

¹ Rudolf Grieger, *Filipecz, Johann Bischof von Wardein: Diplomat der Könige Matthias und Wladislaw* (Munich: Rudolf Trofenik, 1982); for evaluation of the book, see the reviews by Erik Fügedi in *Südost-Forschungen* 43 (1984): 404–406, and in *Századok* 119 (1985): 1047–1049.

² This idea was recently elaborated in the biography of Peter Abelard by M. T. Clanchy. See M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1997).

CHAPTER I. *Central Europe in the last decades of the fifteenth century*

In order to set the life of John Filipec in a broader context, this chapter will outline the political as well as the cultural and religious developments of Central Europe in this period. Only the basic features of the milieu will be presented here, particularly those necessary for understanding specific problems of Filipec's life.

The political situation

The political situation of Central Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century was changing quickly. Two of the countries in the region, Hungary and Bohemia, were experiencing a rapid succession of royal dynasties after the death of Sigismund, the last of the Luxembourgs and king of both countries, until the final succession of the Habsburgs in 1526. The Habsburg family hoped to keep the two thrones inherited after the death of Sigismund (1437), but the early death of Albert (1439) and his son Ladislav Posthumus (1457) opened the field for local rulers.

Soon thereafter, in early 1458, George of Poděbrady³ was elected king of Bohemia. The country was still divided by the religious controversies between the Catholics and the Utraquists, and thus, support for the king was not universal: he was elected and supported mainly by the Utraquists. King George was not successful in his attempts to have the compactates, the religious truce between the Czech and the Roman sides, confirmed by the pope. The king's Catholic opposition became stronger when they established the League of Zelená Hora in 1465. In Hungary, Matthias Corvinus,⁴ son of János Hunyadi, hero of the wars against the Ottomans, was elected king only a short time before George in Bohemia. He had received support from the soon-to-be king of Bohemia, and later on, he married Catherine,

³ For George of Poděbrady, see Josef Macek, *Jiří z Poděbrad* (George of Poděbrady) (Prague: Svobodné slovo, 1967); in English, Otakar Odložilík, *The Hussite King: Bohemia in European Affairs 1440–1471* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1965) and Frederick G. Heymann, *George of Bohemia: King of Heretics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965).

⁴ For Matthias Corvinus, Wilhelm Fraknói's work is still useful: *Mathias Corvinus, König von Ungarn (1458–1490)* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1891); and from the newer Hungarian and Czech scholarship, the catalogue to the 1982 exhibition in Austria: *Schallaburg '82, Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541* (Vienna: Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, Abt. III/2—Kulturabteilung, 1982); Josef Macek, *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích* (The Jagellonian Age in the Czech lands), vol. 1, *Hospodářská základna a královská moc* (Economic basis and royal power) (Prague: Academia, 1992), 263–291; Zsuzsa Teke, "Matthias Corvinus: Der ungarische König (1458–1490)," in *Der Herrscher in der Doppelpflicht: Europäischen Fürsten und ihre beiden Throne*, edited by Heinz Duchhardt (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 1997), 11–28; František Šmahel, "Matthias Corvinus: Der böhmische König (1469–1490)," in *Der Herrscher*, 29–49; and András Kubinyi, *Matthias Corvinus: Die Regierung eines Königreichs in Ostmitteleuropa 1458–1490* (Herne: Tibor Schäfer, 1999).

daughter of King George. Similar to King George, the Hungarian king did not have the support of the whole country, his difficulties though stemming from a political rather than a religious context. There was powerful opposition from the other magnate families of Hungary, who supported Frederick III of Austria as king of Hungary.⁵ Despite this opposition, Matthias managed to consolidate his position and was crowned in Székesfehérvár in 1464.

The relations of the two “native” kings were, in spite of all declarations and the connection through marriage, not very cordial. In 1459 George had already begun to negotiate with Emperor Frederick III and with Matthias’ political opposition.⁶ After the early death of Catherine in 1464, there was nothing that would bind the two rulers together. When King George was pronounced a heretic and dethroned by Pope Paul II in 1466, it was Matthias, who, being closely involved in papal politics, volunteered to lead the crusade against the Czechs. Finally in 1469, he managed to be elected king of Bohemia in Olomouc, supported by a number of Czech (rather Moravian) Catholic noblemen.⁷

The conflict did not end with the death of King George in 1471; the diet of Kutná Hora elected Prince Wladislas of Poland as king of Bohemia. However, Matthias did not abandon his own claims and had himself confirmed as the Czech king by papal legates in Jihlava in the same year. In this year a new opposition arose against King Matthias due to discontent with the Czech war of the late 1460s and early 1470s: some magnates and prelates, particularly Matthias’ long-time counsellor, Archbishop John Vitéz of Esztergom, objected to the Czech focus, because Matthias was neglecting the war against the Ottomans.⁸ The conspiracy was led by the archbishop and supported by Prince Casimir of Poland, who was the opposition’s candidate to the Hungarian throne.⁹ King Matthias managed to suppress the plot, thus strengthening his position. It, however, brought about a significant change in his choice of office-holders: he introduced more “new people” into his service after 1471.¹⁰

⁵ Teke, *Matthias Corvinus*, 12–15; Fraknói, *Mathias Corvinus*, 74–88.

⁶ Josef Macek, “Král Jiří a král Matyáš: Od přátelství k nepřátelství (1458–1469)” (King George and King Matthias: From friendship to enmity (1458–1469)), *Časopis Matice moravské* (henceforth ČMM) 110 (1991): 301–302.

⁷ For the development in 1469, see *ibid.*, 307–311; Josef Válka, *Středověká Morava* (Medieval Moravia) (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost), 158–159.

⁸ Teke, *Matthias Corvinus*, 22.

⁹ Krzysztof Baczkowski, *Walka Jagiellonów z Maciejem Korwinem o koronę czeską w latach 1471–1479* (The war for the Czech crown in 1471–1479 between the Jagellonians and Matthias Corvinus) (Cracow: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1980), 48–58.

¹⁰ Kubinyi, *Matthias Corvinus*, 20–28, for magnates in council and the new aristocracy; 137–161, for bishops; and also for bishops, Erik Fügedi, “Hungarian Bishops in the Fifteenth Century: Some Statistical Observations,” in *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, by Erik Fügedi, edited by János M. Bak (London: Variorum reprints, 1986), II, 379–380.

The military conflict between the kings of Bohemia and Hungary then continued with its high points in 1474 and 1477. The year 1474 saw a large military campaign of King Matthias in Silesia,¹¹ and three years later the Austrian-Hungarian war broke out in Lower Austria, in which King Wladislas was involved on the side of the Roman Emperor. Moreover, in return for his support, King Wladislas was confirmed as Bohemian king and elector by the emperor and the German princes in 1474 in Nuremberg and was invested with the regalia in 1477 in Vienna. The year 1477 was, however, very successful for Matthias, since after the peace negotiations in Gmunden in November 1477, he was recognised king of Bohemia by the emperor in the same way as Wladislas had been just several months before.¹² The peace negotiations between Matthias and Wladislas were in progress from late 1474: the first treaty was ratified by the two kings in December 1474 in Wrocław and then the negotiations continued in 1475 at the diets in Prague and Brno.¹³ The later negotiations again took place in Brno in 1478, but the treaty was afterwards not accepted by King Matthias, and the final version of the peace treaty between Matthias and Wladislas was concluded in Buda only in late summer 1478,¹⁴ finally being confirmed by the two kings in 1479 at their meeting in Olomouc. According to this treaty both kings kept the title of king of Bohemia, Wladislas ruling Bohemia and Matthias the other lands of the Crown of St. Wenceslas, namely Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia.¹⁵ If Matthias died before Wladislas, these lands were to be open for redemption by the Czech crown for 400,000 guilders.

The peace treaty of Olomouc was decisive for the lands of the Czech crown, but especially for Moravia, which came under the rule of Matthias Corvinus. Still, the lands of the Crown of St. Wenceslas were not separated completely, for Bohemia and Moravia especially were interlaced with numerous relations. There was the common religious model (the compactates were accepted in both countries), and knowledge of a common origin, law, and language was present during the rule of King Matthias in Moravia.¹⁶ Buda was, however, then the political and cultural centre for Moravia, a situation which continued after the death

¹¹ Baczkowski, *Walka Jagiellonów*, 107–123; František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě* (History of the Czech nation in Bohemia and Moravia), vol. 5, 6th ed. (Prague: Bursík a Kohout, 1906), 56–66; Válka, *Středověká Morava*, 159–162.

¹² The context for both these acts by the emperor is carefully analysed in Karl Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich: Zum hunyadisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum*, 2d rev. ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1989), 73–95.

¹³ Palacký, *Dějiny*, vol. 5, 63–67.

¹⁴ Fraknói, *Mathias Corvinus*, 197.

¹⁵ It was another great success of Matthias, since he was recognised king of Bohemia by Wladislas, see Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus*, 95–99.

¹⁶ Josef Válka, “Matyáš Korvín a Česká koruna” (Matthias Corvinus and the Czech crown), *ČMM* 110 (1991): 319–321.

of King Matthias, when the Jagellonians ruled from there. As late as in the 1520s, some Moravians were willing to accept privileges under the Hungarian royal seal.¹⁷

Even before the 1479 peace treaty of Olomouc, there were Moravians who served King Matthias in one way or another. One of the most influential Moravian lords who did so was William of Pernštejn, who entered the king's service in 1472.¹⁸ The bishop of Olomouc, Protasius Černohorský of Boskovice,¹⁹ had begun to support King Matthias even earlier in 1467, together with other members of the house of Boskovice and other Moravian noblemen.²⁰

The two most influential factors in the Hungarian policy of the period were the wars against the Ottomans and the Austrian war. By concluding the truce with the Ottomans in 1483, the king saved his resources for the Austrian war and by the summer of 1485, he had taken Vienna.²¹ The next five years were filled with political negotiations, in which King Matthias tried to build up coalitions against the Roman Emperor and the German king to prevent them from reconquering their hereditary lands.²² He was only partially successful: he was able to keep the country in his possession up to his death, but after that Hungary lost all its territorial gains in just a few months.

The death of King Matthias actually changed the political climate of the region quite substantially.²³ There emerged several contenders to the throne; the election was practically

¹⁷ Josef Válka, "Politická závěť Viléma z Pernštejna (1520–1521)" (The political testament of William of Pernštejn (1520–1521)), *ČMM* 90 (1971): 71. There were three political tendencies in Moravia, one of them was the traditional close relation to Bohemia; the representatives of the other two wanted to split: either to establish closer relations to Hungary, or to create a kind of land autonomy. The latter was particularly strong after 1490, see Válka, *Středověká Morava*, 163–170.

¹⁸ For his relation to the Czech crown, as well as to Matthias Corvinus, there is the work of Válka, "Politická závěť," and idem, "Politika a nadkonfesijní křesťanství Viléma a Jana z Pernštejna" (Politics and over-denominational Christianity of William and John of Pernštejn), in *Pernštejnové v českých dějinách* (The Pernštejns in Czech history), edited by Petr Vorel (Pardubice: Východočeské museum v Pardubicích and Historický klub—pobočka Pardubice, 1995), 173–183; for William of Pernštejn in general, Petr Vorel, *Páni z Pernštejna: Vzestup a pád rodu zubří hlavy v dějinách Čech a Moravy* (The lords of Pernštejn: The rise and the fall of the house of the bison's head in the history of Bohemia and Moravia) (Prague: Rybka, 1999), 60–139; for entering the service of Matthias Corvinus, *ibid.*, 63–68.

¹⁹ There is no monograph on Protasius; for basic data, see Ivo Hlobil and Eduard Petrů, *Humanism and the Early Renaissance in Moravia*, 2d rev. ed. (Olomouc: Votobia, 1999), 140–141.

²⁰ Válka, *Středověká Morava*, 167.

²¹ Kubinyi, *Matthias Corvinus*, 202–215; Fraknói, *Mathias Corvinus*, 208.

²² Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus*, 168–193; and Vilmos Fraknói, *Mátyás törekvései a császári trónra* (Attempts of Matthias to gain the Imperial throne) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1914), 3–54.

²³ The analyses of this development are given mainly by Krzysztof Baczkowski, *Walka o Węgry w latach 1490–1492: Z dziejów rywalizacji habsbursko-jagiellońskiej w basenie środkowego Dunaju* (The war for Hungary, 1490–1492: From the history of the Habsburg-Jagiellonian rivalry in the middle Danube region) (Cracow: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1995) and András Kubinyi, "Két sorsdöntő esztendő (1490–1491)" (Two decisive years (1490–1491)), *Történelmi Szemle* 33 (1991): 1–54; and Vilmos Fraknói, "II. Ulászló királylyá választása" (Wladislas II's election to a king), *Századok* 19 (1885): 1–20, 97–115, 193–211.

“open”²⁴—every single one of them had a chance to succeed. There was first of all the king’s illegitimate son, John Corvinus, who was, at least in the beginning, considered the unchallenged heir of his father.²⁵ The others were Wladislas II, king of Bohemia; King Casimir of Poland through his son John Albert (Jan Olbracht), Polish prince and younger brother of Wladislas; and Maximilian, king of the Romans. The chances of other candidates, namely Duke Albert of Saxony and Count Frederick of Naples, did not seem feasible.²⁶ There was also Beatrix Aragon, widow of King Matthias, who wanted to become queen through marriage to the newly elected king. Finally, it was King Wladislas of Bohemia who was successful and ascended the Hungarian throne. This election had great significance for Hungary, because, when connected to the Czech lands in the personal union, Hungary did not have to fight for its claims in Moravia. Hungarians, however, lost all their territorial gains in Lower Austria to Maximilian. It was also Moravia that profited from the personal union: together with the other lands of the Czech crown, it joined Bohemia again, but it still did not lose its political and cultural connections to Buda.²⁷

In the following two years, 1490–1492, there were still military skirmishes going on among the other candidates to the throne and Wladislas. Maximilian as well as John Albert still had some territorial claims. The Habsburg claims were settled in the Bratislava negotiations in 1491–1492; the Polish ones, with John Albert in Košice in 1491. He, however, continued fighting and was finally defeated by Stephen Zápolya in northeastern Hungary in 1492.²⁸

King Wladislas II of Bohemia, after succeeding to the Hungarian throne, moved his seat to Buda, from where he ruled both the kingdoms. As it was mentioned before, this fact had an impact on the politics of the other lands of the Czech crown, especially in Moravia, which kept its close connections to the Buda court. This situation also continued during the

²⁴ János M. Bak, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.–16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973), 62–63 (quotation on 62).

²⁵ It was most probably Maffeo Trivillensis who wrote a long list of people who would support John Corvinus in the election: *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából 1458–1490* (Hungarian diplomatic documents from the time of King Matthias 1458–1490), vol. 4 (henceforth *MDE* 4), edited by Iván Nagy and Albert B. Nyáry (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1878), no. 118, 166–167; for John Corvinus in general Gyula Schönherr, *Hunyadi Corvin János, 1473–1504* (Budapest: A Történelmi Társulat, 1894).

²⁶ Baczkowski, *Walka o Wegry*, 33.

²⁷ The most valuable analyses for the relation of Moravia and the Buda court are the works of Josef Válka: Válka, “Politická závěr”; idem, “Matyáš Korvín”; idem, *Středověká Morava*, 159–170; and Peter Wörster: Wörster, “Der Olmützer Humanistenkreis unter Stanislaus Thurzó,” in *Studien zum Humanismus in den böhmischen Ländern*, edited by Hans-Bernd Harder and Hans Rothe (Cologne: Böhlau, 1988), 39–60; idem, *Humanismus in Olmütz: Landesbeschreibung, Stadtlob und Geschichteschreibung in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1994).

²⁸ Baczkowski, *Walka o Wegry*, 136–142 for the Habsburgs, and 142–145 for John Albrecht.

subsequent reign of King Louis II and to some extent even at the beginning of the reign of King Ferdinand I of Bohemia, but later on Moravia was again closely attached to Bohemia.

Cultural development

The influence of early Renaissance art and Humanism was characteristic for the second half of the fifteenth century in Central Europe. Both these phenomena were received from Italy, where they had been flourishing for a long time. It was predominantly Hungary and the court of King Matthias that actively sought these new influences. Later on, it was mainly Renaissance art, which spread to the neighbouring countries through the Buda court, for example, to Poland and, in the Czech lands, first to Moravia. In contrast, Humanism had slightly different routes for reaching Central Europe, that is, mainly through the Italian universities, as well as the Vienna and Cracow universities, which were visited by the students from both Hungary and the Czech lands. Early Humanism had reached Bohemia as early as under King Charles IV, but its development was interrupted by the Hussite movement and the subsequent loss in importance of Prague University. The second half of the fifteenth century was then the period when Humanism was really accepted in both countries.²⁹ The routes of influence of Humanism were actually similar in the Czech lands and in Hungary, but the later advancement of Humanism differed.

In Hungary, the development of Humanism is connected to an Italian humanist Pier Paolo Vergerio, who was the councillor of King Sigismund in the 1420s and 1430s. The most significant person, however, for Hungarian Humanism is John de Zredna, also called John Vitéz.³⁰ After his studies in Zagreb and Vienna, he became one of the most learned people in Hungary at that time. From 1444 he is mentioned as provost in Oradea and later on, in 1451, he became bishop in the same place. He was then a diplomat in the royal service, but he also kept in contact with János Hunyadi, the military leader against the Turks, being the tutor of his two sons Ladislás and Matthias. In his person, John Vitéz connected several specific

²⁹ For Bohemia, František Šmahel, "Počátky humanismu v Čechách (Črta k historické fresce)" (The beginnings of Humanism in Bohemia (A sketch to a historical fresco)), *Historická Olomouc* 9 (1992): 7–30; idem, "Die Anfänge des Humanismus in Böhmen," in *Humanismus und Renaissance in Ostmitteleuropa vor der Reformation*, edited by Winfried Eberhard and Alfred A. Strnad (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996), 189–214; for Moravia, Eduard Petrů in Hlobil and Petrů, *Humanism*, 21–54; for Hungary, István Bitskey, "Spiritual Life in the Early Modern Age," in *A Cultural History of Hungary: From the Beginnings to the Eighteenth Century*, edited by László Kósa (Budapest: Corvina, 1999), 229–241; Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay, "Der Humanismus in Ungarn zur Zeit von Matthias Corvinus," in *Humanismus und Renaissance*, 157–171.

³⁰ About Vitéz, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 9–51; Ritoók-Szalay, "Der Humanismus," 159–164; for his Humanism in a broader context, Libuše Hrabová, "Johann Vitéz de Zredna und die Wege des Humanismus über die Alpen," forthcoming in *Oikumené* (Autumn 2000).

features of Hungarian Humanism. Being the bishop of Oradea, he created at his court a well-known centre of scholarship and learning with a famous library.³¹ It was common that the bishops in Hungary, often having humanist educations, attempted to establish centres of learning in their episcopal sees.³²

Another concept, regarding the spread of the humanist ideas, was the idea of the royal chancellery as a centre of Humanism in Hungary. Leslie S. Domonkos has challenged this and suggested that Humanism in the royal chancellery flourished mainly during the period of the chancellorship of Vitéz, meaning 1464–1471. After 1471 King Matthias, who had bad luck with the choice of his councillors, limited the influence of humanists to the chancellery.³³ It has been also suggested that the king's positive relation to humanists was "probably a calculated one," for Matthias was looking for those who were internationally known to "legitimate" his power.³⁴ It was King Matthias who supported this model of the two centres of Humanism at the beginning of his reign. He was choosing certain people for service in the royal chancellery, and he rewarded them for their service with prebends. There was also the royal court itself that remained the centre of Humanism in Hungary, with its huge library and a number of humanists who came over from Italy.³⁵

The situation was different in the Czech lands. There was the university in Prague, but it did not become a centre of Humanism, even though at the end of the fourteenth and at the very beginning of the fifteenth centuries, it was counted among the leading European universities. The compulsory oath to the chalice, which was introduced in 1462, closed it "denominationally as well as nationally, because foreign Utraquists practically did not exist." The university, however, kept pace with Cracow and Vienna in the acceptance of humanist rhetoric and eloquence.³⁶ Czech students also visited Italian universities. There were Utraquists, who returned from Italy with humanist educations and as Catholics. Some of them worked in the administration of the Prague archdiocese.³⁷ In Bohemia and Moravia there still

³¹ Hrabová, "Johann Vitéz"; Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek*, 52–71, with a list of all the works of the library.

³² Leslie S. Domonkos, "The Hungarian Royal Chancery, 1458–1490: Was it a Center of Humanism?" in *Triumph in Adversity: Studies in Hungarian Civilization in Honor of Professor F. Somogyi*, edited by Steven Béla Várdy and Ágnes Huszár Várdy (Boulder, Co.: East European Monographs, 1988), 97–98; Bitskey, "Spiritual Life," 230.

³³ Domonkos, "The Hungarian Royal Chancery," 100–106; Marianna D. Birnbaum, *The Orb and the Pen: Janus Pannonius, Matthias Corvinus, and the Buda Court* (Balassi, 1996), 11.

³⁴ Birnbaum, *The Orb*, 11.

³⁵ Csaba Csapodi and Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, 2d rev. ed. (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1978); Rózsa Feuer-Tóth, *Art and Humanism in Hungary in the Age of Matthias Corvinus* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990).

³⁶ Šmahel, "Počátky," 9–10.

³⁷ For example, there are Wenceslas of Krumlov and Hilarius of Litoměřice: *ibid.*, 9; and Jaroslav Kadlec, "Hilarius Litoměřický v čele duchovenstva pod jednou" (Hilarius of Litoměřice at the head of the Catholic

existed the denominational problems, and Humanism seems to have been more welcome in the Catholic circles of scholars.

Humanism did not even seem to have any significant influence in the royal court, although centres of early Humanism emerged in the episcopal sees, similar to Hungary. There were only two functioning bishoprics at that time, Wrocław and Olomouc.³⁸ The humanist bishops of these two towns who formed their courts and kept in touch with other humanists in Europe, were Rudolf of Rüdesheim (1468–1482) and John Roth (1482–1506) in Wrocław and Protasius Černohorský of Boskovice (1458–1482) in Olomouc, all of them having studied in Italy. From the late 1460s, it was the direct connection to Hungary, be it through the service of the bishops to Matthias Corvinus, or the direct rule of Matthias in Moravia and Silesia, that helped the spread of Humanism into these parts.

Olomouc, as the political, religious, and cultural centre of Moravia, had a larger importance for the Czech lands than Wrocław which was more remote and less friendly to Bohemia. We can see the impact of Humanism in Olomouc through Bishop Protasius, who studied in Vienna and in Italy. He remained in contact with the great humanists of his time; most importantly for the connection to Hungary, he had a close relation to Janus Pannonius, whom he knew from their common Italian studies, and to John Vitéz.³⁹ Quite significant for the development of Olomouc Humanism is the relation to Hungary in the last decades of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth under John Filipec, the administrator of the bishopric (1484–1490), and Bishop Stanislav Thurzo (1497–1540).⁴⁰

The situation in the field of Renaissance art was, to some extent, connected to Humanism. Hungary, with its close relations to Italy, was much more and much earlier influenced by the Italian development than the Czech lands. It was Matthias Corvinus, who, following the example of John Vitéz, started to attract artists from Italy to his courts in Buda as well as Visegrád⁴¹ and attempted to make his court similar to the courts of the Italian Renaissance rulers. Strong contacts to this Italian milieu were established with the marriage of the king to the Neapolitan princess Beatrix in 1476 and a considerable number of humanists and artists came to the royal court in Buda at this time. Humanism and Renaissance art were interlaced in the court of King Matthias, and many Italian humanists were writing on artistic subjects,

clergy), in *In memoriam Josefa Macka* (In memoriam Josef Macek), edited by Miloslav Polívka and František Šmahel (Prague: Historický ústav, 1996), 187–188.

³⁸ Peter Wörster, “Breslau und Olmütz als humanistische Zentren vor der Reformation,” in *Humanismus und Renaissance*, 215–227.

³⁹ Ibid., 220–221; Ritoók-Szalay, “Der Humanismus,” 167–168; Hlobil and Petrů, *Humanism*, 140–141.

⁴⁰ Wörster, *Humanismus*, 28–36, 45–47; idem, “Der Olmützer Humanistenkreis,” 46–48, 50–53.

⁴¹ Jolán Balogh, “Die Kunst der Renaissance in Ungarn,” in *Schallaburg* '82, 83–88.

including the idea of art patronage⁴²; thus, a change from the medieval *Auftraggeber* to modern *Mäzen* took place in the court of King Matthias earlier than in the neighbouring countries.⁴³ Renaissance art in Hungary was, however, purely elitist, and it was limited only to the royal court, and even there it was not uniform because in the second half of the fifteenth century, a late form of Gothic art, *Spätgotik*, still prevailed in Central Europe.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, Hungary was still the leader in the reception of Renaissance art from Italy in Central Europe, and thus it was an important place for the transmission of Renaissance art to other Central European countries. In the Czech lands it was Moravia which was the first to accept Renaissance art because of its strong connection to the Buda court.⁴⁵ The first example comes from Tovačov, a place near Olomouc, where there was a seat of Ctibor Tovačovský of Cimburk, an Utraquist and governor of Moravia, who was accepted both by Matthias and Wladislas. At the reconstruction of the castle, which took place in the last two decades of the fifteenth century, a portal was built in the *all'antica* style and is regarded as the first monument of Renaissance art in Moravia.⁴⁶

The general artistic milieu of the second half of the fifteenth century was, however, still late Gothic with only a slight and elitist appearance of Renaissance art in the court of Matthias Corvinus and, to some extent, in the courts of the most important Moravian nobles. Later on, Renaissance artistic influences spread to towns in Moravia, especially to Olomouc, which, with its episcopal see, was under the direct influence of Buda.

* * *

These were the wide political and cultural circumstances of the life of John Filipec. The situation of the high political realm, which was crucial for Filipec's activity, was quite unstable. It will be shown that the rise and decline of the Hungarian kingdom under Matthias Corvinus delineated his life. In addition, the spread of Humanism and the Renaissance, mainly through Hungary to the neighbouring countries, brings another and different aspect to his life and activity. The next chapter will attempt to describe Filipec's life in a chronological way, summarising mainly his activity in the service of Matthias Corvinus.

⁴² Feuer-Tóth, *Art and Humanism*, 49–75, including Antonio Bonfini, Francesco Arrigoni, and Francesco Bandini.

⁴³ Ernő Marosi, "Die 'Corvinische Renaissance' in Mitteleuropa: Wendepunkt oder Ausnahme?" *Bohemia* 31 (1990): 332.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 327–328: "Es wird nämlich auf die Stilmischung aus gotischen Elementen mit italienischen Baugliedern und Ornamenten hingewiesen, eine synkretische Stilmischung, die man in Italien selbst kaum vorfindet." (327)

⁴⁵ On the influence of the Hungarian Renaissance Hlobil in: Hlobil and Petrů, *Humanism*, 137–164.

⁴⁶ Ivo Hlobil, "Morava a uherská (italská) renesance za Matyáše Korvína" (Moravia and the Hungarian (Italian) Renaissance in the time of Matthias Corvinus), *ČMM* 110 (1991): 331–338; Hlobil and Petrů, *Humanism*, 148–149.

CHAPTER II. *The life and activity of John Filipec*

The early activity of John Filipec

It was already mentioned in the previous chapter that a considerable number of Moravians joined the side of King Matthias. One of them was John Filipec.⁴⁷ Not being of noble origin, he was, as a *homo novus*, taken by the Hungarian king into his service, coming to Hungary probably in the late 1460s. His career perfectly fits within the pattern of Hungarian history in the reign of Matthias Corvinus: after the 1471 conspiracy against the king led by John Vitéz, Filipec entered the royal chancellery and slowly began to move upward into more and more influential offices. From a scribe in the royal chancellery, he advanced through ecclesiastical prebends (provost in Buda, bishop of Oradea, and administrator of the Olomouc bishopric) to high state functions, such as the Hungarian secret chancellor and the Czech chancellor. In 1490, he was briefly one of the most influential people in the election of the Hungarian king, but then, nearly twenty years before his death, he entered a Franciscan friary and more or less retired, for afterwards he took part only in a few political negotiations for King Wladislas.

John Filipec was born in Prostějov in central Moravia probably in 1431 to an Utraquist family of an oil-monger.⁴⁸ His father's name was Filip, and that is why John is called Filipec.⁴⁹ After attending the Utraquist school in Prostějov,⁵⁰ he probably became a

⁴⁷ For basic information about Filipec, see Grieger, *Filipecz*.

⁴⁸ Reports of Filipec's origin are given by Bonfini and by the *Historia fratrum*: Antonio de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, vol. 4.1, edited by I. Főgel, B. Iványi and L. Juhász (Budapest: K. M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1941), 143: "Is [Ioannes Varadiensis] enim ex humilibus, ut ipse ingenue fatebatur, parentibus et in tenui re ad Olmutium natus tanta ingenii dexteritate, consilio et industria valuit, ut apud regem inter primos et charissimos haberetur et supremus, ut aiunt, cancellarius et secretarius esset. In bello nanque Bohemico, cum rex Moraviam in provinciam redegit, capto Olmutio hunc adolescentem Ciupori vaivode commendavit."; and Národní knihovna v Praze (National library Prague, henceforth NK), codex: XVIII F 51 a: *Historia fratrum*, 264: "Byl ten Jan Biskup Moravec, rodem z Prostějova, syn Filipa Olejníka, chudého a prostého člověka." (This John Bishop, Moravian, was by origin from Prostějov, son of Filip the Oil-monger, a poor and modest man.). Franko V. Sasinek, "Ján Filipec: Biskup veľkovaradinský od r. 1476" (John Filipec: Bishop of Oradea since 1476), *Slovenský letopis pre historiu, topografiu, archaeologiu a ethnografiu* 3 (1879): 127; quoting a chronicle of Uher-ský Brod, says that John's father was a smith.

⁴⁹ This name appears only in two sources, in the *Staré letopisy české* (for example František Šimek and Miroslav Kaňák, eds., *Staré letopisy české z rukopisu křižovníckého* (The Old Czech Annals of the manuscript of the Knights of the Cross) (Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, 1959), 308 and 331), and in a Prague University register (*Liber decanorum Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585*, part 2 (Prague: Joannes Nepomuk Gerzabek, 1832), 167). Otherwise, he was usually called *Joannes*, *episcopus Varadi(n)ensis*, according to the name of his bishopric, or *Joannes de Proztha*, *Joannes Pruisz*, *Joannes de Prostanna*, and so on, names derived from the name of his birth-place. He was often mixed up with John Vitéz the younger, because this one was also appointed bishop in Olomouc, but never got there. Filipec's name thus appears also like *Vitic*, *Vítěz*, and so on. Other people who were confused with him are John Vitéz the older and Janus Pannonius. Tomáš Měšťánek dealt with the problem of Filipec's name Vitic in: "Záhadné cognomen Vitic: Příspěvek k životopisu Jana Filipce" (The mysterious *cognomen* Vitic: A contribution to the biography of Jan Filipec), *Národopisný sborník pro moravskoslovenské pomezí, Slovácko* 9–10 (1968–1969): 105–114, but his explanations are not convincing.

scribe in the chancellery of the Moravian governor (*hejtman*) John Tovačovský of Cimburk and, later on, of his son Ctibor.⁵¹ Nothing is known about this period of his life; there are no sources that mention him. In the late 1460s he arrived in Hungary, but it is not certain how. Bonfini writes about him as a captive being taken from Olomouc in 1469.⁵² Another source about Filipec's arrival in Hungary is the *Historia fratrum*⁵³: it says that John Filipec was taken to Buda by Ctibor Tovačovský of Cimburk as his scribe, and he was the only one who could read some letters that arrived at the court. King Matthias then asked Ctibor to leave John with him, giving him a post in the royal chancellery.⁵⁴ It is not possible to decide which one of the two reports is closer to the historical reality, but it seems that the one of Bonfini is more feasible. It is hard to believe that Ctibor Tovačovský, who supported George of Poděbrady, would visit the Buda court in the late 1460s, the time of war between the two kings.

John spent the first several years in Hungary in the service of voyvode Nicholas Csutor, where he *ingenii prestantia et experientia rerum sic excrevit, ut in gerenda provincia Bohemicisque rebus administrandis hoc potissimum adminiculo et moderatore uteretur*.⁵⁵ He probably accompanied Csutor at the election diet in Kutná Hora in 1471.⁵⁶ In this year, however, the political situation in Hungary changed, and Filipec left the chancellery of the voyvode, who was involved in the conspiracy, and entered the royal chancellery. In 1472 he was one of the negotiators with William of Pernštejn, who at that time had joined the Hungarian side,⁵⁷ this being one of his first achievements in the service of Matthias Corvinus. From then on we do not hear of him until 1476. In the meantime he must have been given a provostship in Buda, for it is mentioned in a letter of King Matthias to Pope Sixtus IV in 1476, that John Filipec “kept and is keeping” this prebend.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ This is reported by the *Historia fratrum*, 264; and by Master Wenceslas Koranda: Josef Truhlář, ed., *Manuál-ník M. Václava Korandy t. ř. rukopis biblioteky klementinské* (The Manual of Master Wenceslas Koranda: The so-called manuscript of the Clementine Library) (Prague: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1888), 130.

⁵¹ *Historia fratrum*, 264.

⁵² Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 143.

⁵³ On the debate of the authorship of this work see Kamil Krofta, *O bratrském dějepisectví* (About the historiography of the Brethren) (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1946), 90–95.

⁵⁴ *Historia fratrum*, 264–264*.

⁵⁵ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 144.

⁵⁶ Pavlína Foltýnová-Mikulcová, “Jan Filipec, diplomat ze sklonku středověku” (John Filipec: A diplomat from the end of the Middle Ages), *Dějiny a současnost* 21 (January 1999), 11.

⁵⁷ Palacký, *Dějiny*, vol. 5, 43; Josef Kalousek, ed., *Archiv český* (The Czech archive), vol. 16 (henceforth AČ 16) (Prague: Bursík a Kohout, 1897), 182: a charter of Matthias Corvinus, in which he promises to release Sigismund of Pernštejn in exchange for William's service; and, *ibid.*, 24: a letter by John Filipec to William of Pernštejn from 1496, where he mentions the negotiations in Sopron.

⁵⁸ Vilmos Fraknói, ed., *Mathiae Corvini Hungariae regis epistolae ad romanos pontifices datae et ab eis acceptae / Mátyás Király levelezése a római pápákkal 1458–1490*, (Budapest, 1891), no. 92, 119–120: “... prepo-

The year 1476 was a turning point in Filipec's career. After a long period of silence the sources show him as one of the leading figures of a delegation to Naples. His name is placed in a list of *oratores* and *aulici*⁵⁹ in the first section right after the bishop of Wrocław, Rudolf of Rüdesheim,⁶⁰ who was the leader of the embassy.⁶¹ The task of this deputation was to bring Beatrix of Aragon, daughter of the Neapolitan king Ferrante I, to Hungary; she was to become the wife of King Matthias.⁶² In this list John Filipec is already referred to as *Dominus episcopus Waradiensis*, as he was chosen by King Matthias to hold the Oradea bishopric in this particular year. The king asked Pope Sixtus IV to confirm his decision, which he supported with the needs of the church of Oradea.⁶³ Filipec was appointed bishop, and the permission to retain the provostship in Buda was also given by the pope.⁶⁴ Filipec's position as the bishop of Oradea did not have much of a religious impact on the diocese; rather as one of the richest dioceses in Hungary, the bishopric gave him a significant income,⁶⁵ which John Filipec needed for his future diplomatic career. Becoming the bishop of Oradea also had other consequences for Filipec: the ecclesiastical position was connected to a state function as in other Hungarian bishoprics. Since 1464 the bishop of Oradea had also

situram sancte Trinitatis de superioribus calidis aquis Budensibus, quam antea tenuit et nunc tenet, ..." (ibid., 119).

⁵⁹ Albert Berzeviczy, ed., *Aragoniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok* (Documents concerning the life of Hungarian Queen Beatrix of Aragon) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1914), no. 21, 27.

⁶⁰ For Rudolf of Rüdesheim, briefly Peter Wörster, "Breslau und Olmütz," 219–220.

⁶¹ Josef Macek, *Tři ženy krále Vladislava* (Three wives of King Wladislas) (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1991), 60; according to Bonfini, the leader of the embassy was Filipec: Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 66–67.

⁶² For Beatrix, see Albert Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz* (Queen Beatrix (1457–1508): Historical picture of her life and time) (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1908); Macek, *Tři ženy*, 40–130.

⁶³ Fraknói, ed., *Mathiae Corvini epistolae*, no. 92, 119–120; idem, *Mátyás király magyar diplomatái* (Hungarian diplomats of King Matthias) (Budapest: Az Athenaeum részvény-társulat, 1898), 92–93. There was no bishop at the time in Oradea and the town was still destroyed after the last Turkish attack in 1474: Vincze Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig* (The history of the bishopric of Oradea from the establishment to the present), vol. 1, *A váradi püspökök a püspökség alapításától 1566. évig* (The bishops of Oradea from the establishment of the bishopric until 1566) (Nagyvárad [Oradea], 1883), 308, 313. About Filipec in Oradea, Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség*, vol. 1, 308–322; Antonius Ganoczy, *Episcopi Varadinenses Fide Diplomatum Concinnati*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Josephus Michael Gerold, 1776), 419–450, he does not say much about Filipec's actual activity in Oradea; Petrus Ransanus, *Epithoma Rerum Hungararum*, ed. Petrus Kulcsár (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), 68, he speaks about John rebuilding the castle in Oradea and giving the liturgical instruments to the church.

⁶⁴ All is mentioned in a pope's letter to the bishop of Veszprém from 15 July 1477: Josephus Lukcsics ed., *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis / A veszprémi püspökség római okleveltára*, vol. 3, 1416–1492 (Budapest, 1902), no. 384, 247–248.

⁶⁵ Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, vol. 2, 1431–1503 (Münster: Libreria Regensbergiana, 1914), 262, the income was 2,000 guilders; cf. also other dioceses in this volume. Also Fügedi, "Hungarian Bishops," 390, table no. 14.

acted as a hereditary ispán of the Bihar county. We, however, do not have any sources describing the activity of Filipec in this position.⁶⁶

From 1477 on, John Filipec is mentioned in the sources quite often. He was present at a number of political discussions and negotiations: in January 1477, at the diet of České Budějovice in Bohemia, he represented King Matthias together with Wenceslas of Boskovice.⁶⁷ Right after that he was sent to Moravia,⁶⁸ and in the same year, in August and in November, John was negotiating in Krems with Emperor Frederick III in matters concerning the Austrian-Hungarian war of 1477.⁶⁹ In the next year he was involved in the peace treaty concluded in Brno and, with Stephen Zápolya, subsequently went to Kutná Hora to bring the treaty to King Wladislas for confirmation⁷⁰ and then to Prague, where he was greeted by the masters of the university.⁷¹ After having visited the pilgrimage site in Kadaň with Zápolya, they returned to Prague, but there they ran into problems: after a quarrel with the Utraquists a brawl started, and the Hungarians were only saved by the intervention of Count Hynek (Henry the Younger, son of George of Poděbrady).⁷²

John Filipec did not take part in the following peace negotiations in Buda because King Matthias had blamed him and the bishop of Olomouc for having trespassed the limits of their competence in concluding the Brno peace treaty as they did.⁷³ In the meantime, the political situation changed: on the very day of concluding the Brno treaty, troops of King Matthias' supporters won a battle near Plzeň against the supporters of King Wladislas.⁷⁴ Both the diplomats were, however, present in Olomouc in 1479 at the meeting of the two kings. Between 1479 and 1481, John Filipec was largely active in foreign politics in Silesia, Austria, and in German areas (Dresden, Passau, Nuremberg).⁷⁵ In November 1480, Filipec again came to Prague, but the purpose of the journey is uncertain. He was again greeted by the university masters led by Wenceslas Koranda and praised by the *Staré letopisy české* (The

⁶⁶ Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség*, vol. 1, 308; Kubinyi, *Matthias Corvinus*, 113–136.

⁶⁷ František Palacký, ed., *Archiv český* (The Czech archive), vol. 6 (henceforth AČ 6) (Prague: Fridrich Tempský, 1872), 55, 141; Palacký, *Dějiny*, vol. 5, 76.

⁶⁸ AČ 6, 55–56.

⁶⁹ Palacký, *Dějiny*, vol. 5, 84; Josef Kinzl, *Chronik der Städte Krems, Stein und deren nächster Umgegend* (Krems: Max Pammer, 1869), 68–69, the truce treaty from 10 November 1477.

⁷⁰ Palacký, *Dějiny*, vol. 5, 91.

⁷¹ They were led by Master Wenceslas Koranda: Truhlář, ed., *Manuálník*, 128–129.

⁷² Palacký, *Dějiny*, vol. 5, 93.

⁷³ Fraknói, *Matthias Corvinus*, 197.

⁷⁴ Palacký, *Dějiny*, vol. 5, 92.

⁷⁵ For summary of this activity, Grieger, *Filipecz*, 109–158; Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus*, 115 (Dresden), 118 (Passau), 139 (Vienna), 140–141 (Nuremberg); *Annales Glogovienses bis z. J. 1493 nebst urkundlichen Beilagen*, edited by Hermann Markgraf, *Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum* 10 (Wrocław: Josef Max, 1877), 39, 40 (“orator regis”), 44, 129, 130 (Silesia).

Old Czech annals) for asking the king to release the prisoners who took part in the skirmish of 1478.⁷⁶

The 1480s and high diplomatic service

In 1482 we hear of John Filipec being in Rome, where he joined the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit. This journey to Rome could have been connected to his Oradea bishopric, for he is mentioned together with a canon of Oradea, and a charter of Pope Sixtus IV for some church property in Oradea is dated only three days after Filipec's joining the Confraternity.⁷⁷ On 24 August 1482, Bishop Protasius of Olomouc died and, according to Wolný,⁷⁸ King Matthias wrote immediately to the chapter that they should not choose anybody as a new bishop, as he wanted to select the bishop himself. The person King Matthias wanted was John Filipec, and indeed, already in August 1484, John titled himself the "administrator of the church of Olomouc."⁷⁹ The bishopric was at that time, just as was Oradea, a rich source of income,⁸⁰ but also a position of high political significance in Moravia.

There, however, emerged serious problems with Filipec's being the administrator of the Olomouc bishopric. The pope did not want to confirm him in this function and, moreover, Matthias Corvinus, according to Lucsics, lost his trust in Filipec and in 1487 he sent another petition to the pope that he should accept John Vitéz the younger, an orator to the papal court, as an administrator of the bishopric.⁸¹ What we know for certain is that on 4 July 1487 Pope Innocent VIII decided that the bishop of Olomouc would be Bishop John Vitéz of Sremska Mitrovica. This bishop, however, never reached Olomouc, and Filipec, again supported by Matthias who sent Nicholas Bocskai to Rome to speak in Filipec's favour, stayed in the office, although he was threatened by the pope with excommunication and an interdict for the

⁷⁶ Truhlář, ed., *Manuálík*, 129–130; František Palacký, ed., *Starší letopisové čeští od roku 1378 do 1527* (The Old Czech Annals from 1378 to 1527), in *Dílo Františka Palackého* (The works of František Palacký), edited by Jaroslav Charvát, vol. 2 (Prague: L. Mazáč, 1941), 190.

⁷⁷ Vincentius Bunyitay, ed., *Liber confraternitatis Sancti Spiritus de Urbe / A római Szentlélek-társulat anyakönyve 1446–1523* (Budapest, 1889), 7–8; Enikő Csukovits, "A római Szentlélek-társulat magyar tagjai (1446–1523)" (Hungarian members of the Society of the Holy Spirit in Rome (1446–1523)), *Századok* 134 (2000): 211–244; for an abstract of the papal charter, see Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum / Várad vára*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 54.

⁷⁸ Gregor Wolný, *Kirchliche Topographie von Mähren*, part 1, *Olmützer Erzdiocese*, vol. 1 (Brno: by the author, 1855), 60.

⁷⁹ Josef Macek, "K dějinám Olomouce na konci 15. století: Spory v olomouckém biskupství" (Contribution to the history of Olomouc at the end of the fifteenth century: Controversies in the Olomouc bishopric), in *Výroční zpráva OA v Olomouci* (The annual of the district archives in Olomouc) (Olomouc: Okresní archiv Olomouc, 1985), 54; the quotation is taken from: *AC* 16, 271–272, "kostela Olomúckého zprávece."

⁸⁰ Eubel, *Hierarchia*, 206.

⁸¹ Lukcsics, ed., *Monumenta*, XXVIII–XXIX; Fraknói, *Mátyás király*, 120–127.

Oradea diocese.⁸² Vitéz was given the bishopric of Veszprém in 1489, but the pope still did not want to accept Filipec and in 1490 Ardicinus della Porta was appointed to the Olomouc bishopric as an administrator.⁸³ He, however, never arrived in Olomouc as well and the new bishop, Stanislav Thurzo, was elected only in 1497.

In 1484 John Filipec received a high position in the Hungarian state administration: after the imprisonment of Peter Váradi, the high and secret chancellor, Filipec was appointed secret chancellor of Hungary.⁸⁴ Moreover, after the 1485 execution of Jaroslav of Boskovice, the chancellor of the Czech chancellery, Filipec also received this position in early 1486, and thus he joined the two chancelleries in a “personal union.”⁸⁵ From then on, having been appointed to the two bishoprics and being the leader of the two chancelleries, he had all the prerequisites to become one of the most influential diplomats in King Matthias’ court; and he did just that.

From 1486 we hear about Filipec quite often: in 1486 he took part in the meeting of the two kings, Wladislas and Matthias. He went to the Czech lands ahead of the King of Hungary, and it was he who persuaded Wladislas to wait for Matthias, who was late for the meeting. There, in Jihlava, Filipec was one of the leading figures as we can learn from the *Staré letopisy české*.⁸⁶ After the meeting of the two kings, he stayed in Moravia to arrange some of his Olomouc affairs. He repurchased the domain of Hukvaldy (in north-eastern Moravia) for the bishopric and arranged some other matters concerning William of Pernštejn.⁸⁷ After having settled these matters, he went to Vienna, and from there, early in 1487, he left for his greatest political mission—an embassy to northern Italy and France.

This embassy had several political tasks: it was to journey to northern Italy (Venice, Ferrara, Milan), France, and also to Switzerland.⁸⁸ Switzerland was later cancelled from Fili-

⁸² Macek, “K dějinám,” 54–55; Augustinus Theiner, ed., *Vetera Monumenta historica Hungariam Sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta collecta ac serie chronologica disposita*, vol. 2, *Ab Innocentio PP. VI. usque ad Clementem PP. VII, 1352–1526* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1860), no. 707, 513, no. 709, 514; see also Fraknói, ed., *Mathiae Corvini epistolae*, no. 189, 241–242; and, for Bocskai (Bácskai), see idem, *Mátyás király*, 90, 123.

⁸³ Macek, “K dějinám,” 55; Lukcsics, ed., *Monumenta*, XXIX–XXX.

⁸⁴ Kubinyi, *Matthias Corvinus*, 35; Grieger, *Filipecz*, 177–190.

⁸⁵ Kubinyi, *Matthias Corvinus*, 39, 206.

⁸⁶ Palacký, ed., *Starší letopisové*, 207–208; Palacký, *Dějiny*, vol. 5, 148–149; Fraknói, *Mátyás törekvései*, 33–38.

⁸⁷ *AC* 16, no. 347, 301–302; Zemský archiv v Opavě, pobočka Olomouc (Regional archives in Opava, Olomouc branch, henceforth ZA), fond Arcibiskupství Olomouc, listiny (Archbishopric Olomouc, henceforth AO, charters), E I a 21 (inv. no. 956) and E I a 22 (inv. no. 957).

⁸⁸ Sources for the embassy are published in: Ernő Simonyi, ed., “Magyar követség Franciaországban 1487-ben” (Hungarian embassy in France in 1487), *Magyar történelmi tár* 13 (1867): 215–219; *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából 1458–1490* (Hungarian diplomatic documents from the time of King Matthias 1458–1490), vol. 3 (henceforth, *MDE* 3), edited by Iván Nagy and Albert B. Nyáry (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1877), no. 209, 339–342; Fraknói, *Mátyás törekvései*, 58–72; Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 143–145; descriptions of the activity of the embassy are to be found in: Fraknói, *Mátyás törekvései*, 17–21,

pec's itinerary because Nicholas Kökericzzi was sent there instead of him.⁸⁹ The French part of the embassy embodied one of the decisive issues of the time: the fate of the Ottoman prince Djem. He was the brother of the then ruling Bajezid II, who had fled to the West, and King Matthias wanted to use him in fighting against the Ottomans by supporting him as contender to the throne.⁹⁰ John Filipec was to bring him to Hungary. Although he spent about four months in France, visiting Angers, Tours, Laval, Paris, Lyon, he was not successful, and King Charles VIII of France transferred custody of Djem to Pope Innocent VIII, who held him in Rome almost until his death in 1495.⁹¹

The Italian part of the embassy consisted of visits to Venice and Ferrara. The main task was to be accomplished in Milan: John Filipec went there to arrange the marriage between Bianca Maria Sforza, a sister of the then count of Milan, Giangaleazzo II Sforza, and the illegitimate son of King Matthias, John Corvinus. The wedding ceremony took place on 25 November 1487, and John Filipec took part in the ceremony as a proxy of John Corvinus.⁹² This marriage was to support the claims of Corvinus in Hungary and Bohemia, but it was never completed, because John Corvinus did not succeed in gaining the throne.

In early 1488 John Filipec had already arrived in Vienna; in September and October 1488 he was in Prague, where he was again greeted by the university masters led by Wenceslas Koranda. We, however, do not know the reason for this journey.⁹³ Filipec was then occupied by a number of negotiations in 1489 and early 1490. In April 1489 King Wladislas made a treaty with his father, King Casimir IV of Poland to end his diplomatic isolation. John Filipec was sent to persuade Casimir to dissolve the Jagellonian treaty and to conclude another one with the Hungarians against the Ottomans.⁹⁴ Other negotiations included a Brandenburg-Hungarian treaty in Olomouc in May 1489 and the two stages of negotiations with the Austrian party, with Maximilian, in Linz in 1489 and in early 1490. The topic of the talks was the Hungarian withdrawal from the conquered country, but the

38–44; Heléne Berkovits, "Une ambassade hongroise en France 1487," in *Revue d'histoire comparée* 26, n.s. 7 (1948): 242–253; Grieger, *Filipecz*, 191–215.

⁸⁹ Fraknói, *Mátyás törekvései*, 43–45. Kökericzzi did not succeed in his attempt to make a coalition of Switzerland, Milan, Tirol, and Bavaria also due to the enmity of Luzern and Milan: Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus*, 182.

⁹⁰ Berkovits, "Une ambassade," 242–243; Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus*, 182.

⁹¹ Berkovits, "Une ambassade," 249–250.

⁹² *MDE* 3, no. 222, 356–359; Fraknói, *Matthias Corvinus*, 243; Grieger, *Filipecz*, 221.

⁹³ Fraknói, *Mátyás törekvései*, 48; Truhlář, ed., *Manuálík*, 130–131.

⁹⁴ Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus*, 186, Filipec was not successful, because at that time Matthias made a truce with the High Porta again, and thus Casimir did not want to make this treaty with him.

Hungarian offer was not acceptable to Maximilian, and no consent was gained. Finally the negotiations were only able to prolong the truce to 8 September 1490.⁹⁵

In March 1490 John Filipec was sent to Moravia and Silesia,⁹⁶ probably to support John Corvinus, as heir to the throne. His journey, however, was interrupted in its beginning: King Matthias died on 6 April 1490 in Vienna.

Events of 1490

The year 1490 was crucial for the development of Central Europe, for it was the death of King Matthias that changed completely the balance of power among the Central European states. The struggle for the Hungarian throne was to be the last period of John Filipec's major political involvement. His position was quite clear: he was the chancellor of both the kingdoms and a prominent diplomat of the dead king—certainly one of the most influential people as far as the election of the new king was concerned.

At the time of the death of Matthias, John Filipec was in Moravia. He was immediately sent for⁹⁷—the royal council was waiting for him to be complete. Even Maffeo Trivillensis, the Milanese ambassador at the Hungarian court, was impatiently awaiting his arrival.⁹⁸ Maffeo was particularly interested in the chances of John Corvinus for the Hungarian throne because of Corvinus' marriage to Bianca Maria Sforza. John Filipec arrived in Vienna on 9 April, and there is a report of Maffeo, who spoke to him on the eleventh.⁹⁹ Already at that point the election chances of John Corvinus were not certain, for King Matthias had died unexpectedly, and there was a number of hindrances as John Filipec said to the Milanese ambassador. The first mention that Filipec changed sides to support Wladislas comes also from Maffeo Trivillensis, from a letter dated from 22 May. He writes that in a discussion with Filipec a few days earlier he learned about the decreasing chances of John Corvinus and about the intention of Filipec to marry Bianca Maria to King Wladislas.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus*, 190–193; Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 159, he says that Maximilian “a multis quidem astronomis fuerat admonitus regem eo anno moriturum,” and that’s why he did not want to make peace.

⁹⁶ *MDE* 4, no. 115, 161–162; no. 116, 162–163; Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 161 and 164.

⁹⁷ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 164.

⁹⁸ *MDE* 4, no. 115, 162; no. 116, 163.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 121, 170–171.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 141, 201: “Come dico, in le altre mie de 18. el Vescovo Varadino desperando dello Illustrissimo Duca Giovanni Corvino, tene la parte del Boemo et non solo per quello, che luy mi dice, ma per quello, che vedo et intendo da altri, tira seco la maggiore parte de questi Prelati et Baroni, et mi ha dato la fede, succedendo la electione del Bohemo, che la Illustrissima Madonna Bianca sera sua moliere, ...”

After this date, as recorded by Trivilliensis, or even at an earlier point,¹⁰¹ John Filipec supported King Wladislas, but at the election diet,¹⁰² according to Bonfini,¹⁰³ he still spoke on behalf of John Corvinus. There exist several interpretations of this event: when John Corvinus chose the speakers for the diet, Filipec and Thomas Bakócz,¹⁰⁴ he either did not know anything about their sympathies and about what was currently happening or he deliberately wanted to weaken the position of Wladislas by having the two prelates on his side.¹⁰⁵ At the election diet it was still not certain who would become the king. During the diet, John Filipec was sent to Vienna to ask Stephan Zápolya about his ideas on the election.¹⁰⁶ Zápolya voted for the Czech king, and John Filipec immediately began to work in his favour.¹⁰⁷ Bonfini's report, however, cannot be fully trusted, particularly the part about the election diet, because there are no sources to verify his account, and he was not present in Hungary at that time, returning only in 1492.

After the election on 15 July, John Filipec still continued to serve King Wladislas, but only until the coronation in Székesfehérvár on 19 September 1490. On that very day John Filipec was sent off on a diplomatic mission to the Jagellonian court in Cracow. He asked Casimir IV to call back the younger brother of Wladislas, John Albrecht, who had titled himself King of Hungary.¹⁰⁸ Filipec arrived in Cracow on 13 October, but he did not succeed in his mission and left the Polish court on the twenty-eighth.¹⁰⁹ He went back to Hungary to King Wladislas, and after making a report of the journey he left for Olomouc.¹¹⁰

¹⁰¹ It has been suggested that John Filipec supported King Wladislas already after the death of King Matthias (see the doubts about John Corvinus), or even during Matthias' life: Baczkowski, *Walka o Węgry*, 36.

¹⁰² It started at the Rákos field on 7 June 1490: Baczkowski, *Walka o Węgry*, 56.

¹⁰³ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 171–172.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Bakócz (1442–1521), bishop of Győr (1486–1491), Eger (1491–1498), and then archbishop of Esztergom (1498–1521), was a man of plebeian origin, who was chosen by Matthias Corvinus for the service in the royal chancellery.

¹⁰⁵ Baczkowski, *Walka o Węgry*, 56, he interprets the ideas of Fraknói and Kubinyi. Kubinyi, "Két," 19, speaks about Filipec and Nagylucsei at this place (and not about Bakócz); Grieger, *Filipecz*, 291–292, he even questioned Bonfini's report, whether the speech took place at all. This is a very suggestive solution to the problem, but there are no sources to prove it.

¹⁰⁶ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 180; *MDE* 4, no. 158, 229.

¹⁰⁷ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 180: "Intellecta Stephani mente Varadiensis mox veteranorum exercitum in Moravia estivantem, cuius viribus Mathias rex maxima queque gesta peregit, datis centum milibus aureorum nummum regni nomine inauctoravit."

¹⁰⁸ Bak, *Königtum und Stände*, 62.

¹⁰⁹ Baczkowski, *Walka o Węgry*, 96.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 100.

Later years after entering the friary

After his return from this mission, John Filipec returned to Moravia to settle his matters there. He left some of his possessions in the Tovačov castle with Ctibor of Cimburk,¹¹¹ but he also arranged other things. He left his property to his family, to his friends, and, as a Prague university register remarks, to the poor and for the restoration of the churches.¹¹² He had various possessions of his own inscribed in the *tabulae terrae* to his sister Dorothy and her children and to his other nephew, John of Kunovice, who later became an influential figure in Moravian politics.¹¹³ He also made William of Pernštejn the guardian of his nephew.¹¹⁴ In Olomouc John Filipec consecrated the chapel of St. Jerome in the town hall on 30 April 1492.¹¹⁵

John Filipec entered the Franciscan order on 10 June 1492 in Wrocław.¹¹⁶ He had been, however, interested in the order much earlier. On 8 October 1490, according to some sources, he was in Bechyně, a Franciscan monastery, and consecrated the monastic church there.¹¹⁷ In 1491 he donated money for restorations of the Franciscan friary in Jawor in Silesia, and for the foundation of an Augustinian convent in Olomouc. In the same year, he founded (or re-founded) the Franciscan friary in Uherské Hradiště in southern Moravia.¹¹⁸ He

¹¹¹ AČ 16, no. 21, 9.

¹¹² *Liber decanorum*, 167: "...episcopus Woradinensis, nomine Filipecz, bonis exterioribus in immensum affluendo, suam substantiam, pro majori parte, pro pauperibus ac reformatione ecclesiarum distribuit..."

¹¹³ Ivo Hlobil, "Jan Filipec a studia Jana z Kunovic" (John Filipec and the studies of John of Kunovice), *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 42 (1990): 403–404.

¹¹⁴ František Matějka, ed., *Moravské zemské desky* (Moravian Land records), vol. 2, *Kraj Olomoucký 1480–1566* (Olomouc region 1480–1566) (Brno, 1948), 62. For Dorota and her children, *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Vlastivědné muzeum Olomouc (Museum for local and national history and geography, Olomouc, henceforth VMO), a record of the consecration of the chapel, č.i. O-2520.

¹¹⁶ On Filipec as Franciscan mainly the works of Klemens Minařík: Minařík, "Vikáři české františkánské provincie od r. 1451 až do r. 1517" (The vicars of the Czech Franciscan province from 1451 to 1517), *Sborník Historického kroužku* 16 (1915): 1–9; *idem*, ed., "Příspěvek k životopisu Jana Filipecze" (A contribution to the biography of John Filipec), *Sborník Historického kroužku* 28 (1927): 61–67, 127–134; and *idem*, "Filipec, Jan," in *Český slovník богovědný* (Czech theological encyclopedia), edited by Antonín Podlaha, vol. 4 (Prague: Václav Kotrba, 1930), 109–110.

¹¹⁷ Moravský Zemský Archiv, Brno (Moravian district archives, Brno, henceforth MZA), fond E-24, Františkáni Uherské Hradiště (Franciscans Uherské Hradiště), Pozůstalost Klemense Minaříka (The legacy of Klemens Minařík), box no. 22, "Františkáni: Kostel a klášter Nanebevzetí P. Marie v Bechyni" (Franciscans: The church and friary of the Assumption of Virgin Mary in Bechyně); Jan Beckovský, *Poselkyně starých příběhův českých* (The messenger of old Czech histories), vol. 2.2, *1608–1624*, edited by Antonín Rezek (Prague: Dědictví sv. Prokopa, 1879), 127. This event is, however, not sure because at that time John Filipec was on journey to Cracow, where he actually arrived on 13 October 1490: Baczkowski, *Walka o Wegry*, 96..

¹¹⁸ Státní Ústřední Archiv, Praha (State central archives, Prague, henceforth SÚA), fond ŘF—Archiv české františkánské provincie (The archives of the Czech Franciscan province, henceforth ŘF), box no. 178, inv. no. 2988; box no. 179, inv. no. 3033; ZA Opava, branch Olomouc, fond AO, sign. A 21, inv. no. 1432, a transcript from a chronicle of the convent of All Saints in Olomouc; ZA Opava, branch Olomouc, codex: CO 538, Magnoaldus Ziegelbauer, *Olomucium Sacrum*, vol. 2, *Ab anno 1482 ad An. 1745*, no pagination [1–19, my pagination]; V. J. Nováček, ed., "Paralipomena de vitis episcoporum Olomucensium ab anno domini 1482 usque ad annum 1571," *Věstník královské české společnosti nauk* 1902, XV, 3; Franciscus Xaver Richter, ed., *Augustini Olomucensis Episcoporum Olomucensium Series* (Olomouc: Aloysius Skarnitzl, 1831), 171–172.

was present at two Franciscan provincial chapters before he entered the order: one in Nysa in August 1491 and the other one in Olomouc in May 1492.¹¹⁹ From this latter one he went directly to Wrocław with other Franciscans, and there, after celebrating a pontifical mass, he entered the Franciscan order at Whitsuntide 1492.¹²⁰

The last decade of the fifteenth century, John Filipec spent mostly in Silesia; he lived in the Jawor friary, and several letters of his to William of Pernštejn written from Wrocław have survived. After 1500 he moved to the Olomouc friary.¹²¹ He was probably present at the provincial chapters of the order. We know, however, only about those in which he was elected one of the definitors, members of a council of the provincial vicar, which occurred in 1503 and again in 1508.¹²² Otherwise, he did not gain any significant posts in the order.

The pope was still attempting to incorporate the Utraquists into the Catholic Church.¹²³ John Filipec was also involved in this attempt: one of his superiors, the papal legate Urso Orsini, wrote to him that he should make some efforts to bring the Utraquists to the obedience of the Holy See.¹²⁴ Urso Orsini also wanted to try to do it, but he certainly did not succeed, and the author of the *Staré letopisy české* wrote that Filipec was sent by King Wladislas to the Prague diet on St. Wenceslas' Day 1494 to correct the words of his superior about the Czechs being heretics.¹²⁵

In 1506, John Filipec also served King Wladislas in negotiations with the Habsburgs: he was one of those who concluded a peace treaty and dynastic alliance in Vienna.¹²⁶ Moreover, John Filipec was, in 1507, according to Greiderer, who does not supply any source for his statement, sent to Constance, where he was to negotiate again between the Jagellonians and the Habsburgs.¹²⁷ In 1508, he acted once again as an envoy of King Wladislas II. He was

¹¹⁹ Minařík, ed., "Příspěvek," 62–63, 127–128.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 64, 129.

¹²¹ Minařík, "Filipec," 110.

¹²² Minařík, ed., "Příspěvek," 65, 130.

¹²³ Palacký, *Dějiny*, vol. 5, 196–202; on the image of Czechs as heretics, Josef Macek, "Víra a náboženství v jagellonském věku" (Faith and religion in the Jagellonian age), *Studia Comeniana et Historica* 19, no. 39 (1989): 26–30.

¹²⁴ Filipec mentioned this in a letter to William of Pernštejn from 22 September 1493: *AC* 6, no. 30, 17, and prophetically wrote: "Než mněť se zdá, byť jeho mule, kterouž má, tři měla ocasy, žeť je prvé v Čechách ztratí, nežli skrze něj ta věc k konci bude moci přivedena býti" (But it seems to me that even if his mule, which he has, had three tails, it would first lose them in Bohemia, before the matter could be brought to an end by him).

¹²⁵ Palacký, ed., *Starí letopisové*, 213; Šimek and Kaňák, eds., *Staré letopisy*, 308: The papal legate reportedly said: "Domini Bohemi etc. Apud Sanctissimum vos nominant omnes hereticos etc."

¹²⁶ Macek, *Tři ženy*, 172.

¹²⁷ Vigilius Greiderer, *Germania Franciscana*, vol. 1, *Germania Franciscana Orientali-Australis* (Innsbruck: Joannes Thomas nobilis de Trattner, 1777), 745. John Filipec wrote from Vienna in early January 1508 to Peter of Rožmberk, he mentioned his negotiations with Maximilian: *AC* 11, 131–132.

in Prague at the Bohemian diet on St. James's Day (25 July)¹²⁸ and also in Olomouc at the Moravian diet on St. Bartholomew's (24 August). The main task of Filipec and Bishop Stanislas Thurzo of Olomouc, who was also present in Prague, was to make peace among the estates of the country: the lords, the knights, and the towns. Another job of the two diets was to suppress the "Pikhart" heresy, the Unity of Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*). Brethren historiography ascribed Filipec the main role in creating the mandate against the Unity, and they attacked him in their writing.¹²⁹

Early in 1509 John Filipec took part in King Wladislas II's retinue, which brought the king's son Louis to Prague for his coronation. According to Minařík,¹³⁰ Filipec came back to Olomouc and then to Silesia. On his way there, while climbing down from a wagon, he suffered a hernia and maybe some other internal injury. He died in Uherské Hradiště on 28 June 1509 at the age of seventy-eight. It is the author of a Franciscan chronicle, who gives the precise day of Filipec's death (and also praises him).¹³¹ There is also another description of Filipec's death. The *Historia fratrum* writes about Filipec being at the St. James diet and then hurrying to Moravia to push through the same regulation for the Brethren as in Bohemia. He, however, did not manage to get to Olomouc and died on the way.¹³² This report does not seem to be true, or at least, the fact that John was going from the diet, for there is nearly a one-year gap between the diet and his death.

Having delineated the life and activity of John Filipec here, the following chapters will focus on specific aspects of Filipec: his activity in diplomatic and political service to King Matthias, his relation to religion and church, and to art and Humanism have been chosen as the most significant fields for analysis.

¹²⁸ Palacký, ed., *Starí letopisové*, 243; Šimek and Kaňák, eds., *Staré letopisy*, 331; for the St. James treaty see *AČ* 6, 386–391; and the Mandat against the "Pikharts," *ibid.*, 391–393. John and Protasius were greeted by the rector of the university and the masters.

¹²⁹ *Historia fratrum*, 264–273; Wenceslas Budovec of Budov in Jerzy Śliziński, ed., *Rukopisy Českých Bratří / Rękopisy Braci Czeskich* (Manuscripts of Czech Brethren) (Wrocław: P.A.N., 1958), 216.

¹³⁰ Minařík, "Filipec," 110.

¹³¹ Minařík, ed., "Příspěvek," 65: "Anno quo supra (1509) decessit et ex hac vita migravit Reverendus pater Johannes, Episcopus quondam Waradiensis, in loco Radisschnensi in vigilia sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ibidem sepultus, qui fuit vir magne prudencie et experiencie in rebus secularibus agendis."

¹³² *Historia fratrum*, 270–271, 273; also Budovec in: Śliziński, ed., *Rukopisy*, 216.

CHAPTER III. *Several faces of John Filipec*

As we have seen, John Filipec was involved in the diplomatic and political events of his time. As an ambassador of King Matthias, he travelled extensively throughout Central Europe as well as in more far away countries, such as France and Italy, where he took part in and often led diplomatic missions and political negotiations. He was also an ecclesiastical figure, the bishop of Oradea and the administrator of the bishopric of Olomouc; moreover, in his sixties he entered the Franciscan order and lived nearly twenty more years as a friar. We can also trace his relation to the arts, be it late Gothic or Renaissance, and to Humanism—as bishop and administrator of important bishoprics and as chancellor of King Matthias he had many possibilities to encounter both Humanism and Renaissance art. This chapter will try to follow Filipec’s several “lives,” his involvement in these different fields, and to analyse them as reflections of a complex personality.

DIPLOMACY AND POLITICS

Diplomat

In the second half of the fifteenth century, diplomatic service had already began to change, from “medieval” into what has been called “Renaissance diplomacy.”¹³³ Italy was the leading area for the development in the diplomatic service, and in this period, mainly in the Italian states, there appeared the position of residence ambassadors; there were even some Italian ambassadors at the court of King Matthias. Nevertheless, diplomats of the other states were still travelling and visited the courts in their destinations only for the negotiations. John Filipec belonged to the “medieval” group, the older-style travelling diplomats.

Bernard du Rosier, a provost and later the archbishop of Toulouse, a lecturer in civil and canon law in Toulouse, and a practising diplomat himself, wrote a “Short Treatise about Ambassadors.”¹³⁴ In his work, he, as well as other theorists in the field, tried to distinguish among the terms used for diplomats. The Latin term *legatus* began to be used only for papal legates, thus describing the highest rank of diplomats. The equivalent term for the highest rank diplomat in non-papal diplomacy was in a sense the word *ambaxiator*, ‘ambassador,’

¹³³ For the development, see Garret Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin, 1964), 15–102.

¹³⁴ The treatise comes from 1436; it is examined in Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 25–40.

according to Rosier, and *orator*, a “less barbarous” term, invented by the Italians, who were leading in the development of the diplomatic service. Diplomats of lower rank were termed nuncios and procurators.¹³⁵ John Filipec was called by his French contemporaries *monsieur l’ambassadeur*, *chief de l’Ambassade de Hongrie*, and by the Italians *ad Gallos orator*, *l’Orator del Re d’Hungaria*, and so on.¹³⁶ According to this division, Filipec was regarded a diplomat of the highest rank in France and Italy.

As far as diplomatic journeys are concerned, Bernard du Rosier distinguishes between the embassies of ceremony and the embassies of negotiation. The first type was designed to pay compliments to the lords they were sent to, usually at some special occasion such as marriage, birth of a child, funeral, and so on. The ambassadors usually left the court right after the event was over. The second type, however, is more important for political events; the ambassadors usually stayed longer at the court because of the length of the negotiations. Another categorisation of embassies distinguishes between those sent to one court only and those which were circular. These are, of course, not clear-cut cases, for “both main divisions admit combinations and overlapping.”¹³⁷

The embassies of John Filipec can mainly be classified as embassies of negotiation, since he represented Matthias Corvinus in political matters. It is possible, however, to regard his journey to Italy in 1476 as a ceremonial one. About this mission Bonfini wrote that *rex procures decem miserat, qui singulari pompa et apparatu per Italiam iter facerent*, and he added about John Filipec, *Varadiensis antistes legationis princeps, ... ab Urbinate duce honorificentissimo exceptus hospitio*. Then Filipec showed the duke of Urbino some beautiful presents and the others were showing their presents as well.¹³⁸ Moreover, there is another source which describes the size of the embassy. It counts all the horses of the Hungarian and Czech representatives, *oratores* and *aulici*; the total number is 539 out of which 60 are ascribed to Filipec, the highest number of all the members of the embassy.¹³⁹ As an embassy of ceremony, this was a highly representative one: the ambassadors, moreover, were not engaged in any significant political negotiations, and they spent only eleven days at the court of Naples;¹⁴⁰ their task was only to bring home the bride, Neapolitan princess Beatrix, for Matthias Corvinus.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 26.

¹³⁶ Fraknói, *Mátyás törekvései*, 69; Simonyi, ed., “Magyar követség,” 217; Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 143; *MDE* 3, no. 209, 339.

¹³⁷ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 30.

¹³⁸ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 67.

¹³⁹ Berzeviczy, ed., *Aragoniai Beatrix*, no. 21, 27.

¹⁴⁰ Macek, *Tři ženy*, 61–62.

In general, “embassies of negotiation” were much more typical for Filipec’s missions. The precise appearance of these embassies to the countries near Hungary is not known; there are not sufficient sources which describe the retinues. The embassy that is relatively well-documented is John’s political mission to France in 1487. This was one of his most important political missions—clearly an embassy of negotiation, according to Rosier’s classification, with several destinations and several political tasks. It was, however, not without elements of pomp and display.

Bonfini described this mission using similar terms to those he used for the one in 1476 to Italy: *legationem tanta ubique pompa gessit, ut nihil tempestate nostra magnificentius usquam gentium spectatum esse referatur*. According to Bonfini, John’s retinue included 300 horses of the same colour and the same height, ridden by 300 noble youths who were similar in age and appearance.¹⁴¹ The picture of the embassy that the humanist Bonfini presents does not necessarily have to be accurate in all its details—he wrote in the humanist style, often colouring events he never saw. It is, however, not only Bonfini, who writes in superlatives (even if he praises the embassy more than others): there are other descriptions of Filipec’s retinue as well.

One of the descriptions is preserved in the town records of Angers, where Filipec arrived on 8 June 1487. This source speaks about the approximately 200 horses that accompanied the bishop of Oradea. The banquet which was organised by the town was very large and needed a careful preparation several days before. When preparing it, the burghers had to borrow 300 plates and 300 sets of cutlery, and the expenses had been shared by the king and the noblemen of the county. A supper was organised a day later by an *eschevin*, who then demanded from the town the expenses: *118 livres, 6 solz et 11 deniers Tournois*.¹⁴² Another description of the embassy comes from a Venetian ambassador in France. According to Hieronimo Giorgio, Filipec himself had fifteen horses and ten mules, plus “136 youths with horses and two very beautiful horses.” The Hungarian ambassador even complained to Giorgio that he pays too much for keeping his court in France because of the protracted negotiations: one day cost him fifty ducats, which the Venetian ambassador did not doubt at all, particularly when Filipec described the splendour of his train.¹⁴³ A notary of Laval,

¹⁴¹ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 144–145.

¹⁴² Published by Simonyi, ed., “Magyar követség,” 216–218; used by Berkovits, “Une ambassade,” 242–253; and idem, “Egy Corvin-kódex származása: Mátyás király követe Franciaországban” (The origin of a Corvin codex: King Matthias’ envoy in France), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 69 (1945), 22–37.

¹⁴³ *MDE* 3, no. 209, 339–342: John Filipec said, according to Giorgio: “Sto de qui cum mio grandissimo incommodo et cum grandissima spexa, spendo piu de ducati 50 al zorno.” Giorgio continued: “Et questo ben credo Principe Serenissimo, perche l’ha una grandissima compagna, et quando intro in questo loco, intro cum

Guillaume Ledoyen, in his rhymed chronicle of the town, also praised the retinue of John Filipec as well as the whole embassy for the pomp of its entry into the town.¹⁴⁴ There are also other factors to evaluate the embassies.

We can conjecture on the solemnity of the embassy also from the entry and the retainers of the lord of the destination place, who accompanied the embassy. Garret Mattingly, quoting from Bernard du Rosier, writes:

On arrival the embassy must expect to make a solemn entry. The court to which they are destined will send to greet them, at some distance from the place appointed for their reception, 'persons of a rank and distinction appropriate to the position of the ambassadors and the solemnity of the embassy.'¹⁴⁵

The sources that mention the Hungarian embassy first in France, in Angers, show Filipec already accompanied by two French bishops, one of Le Mans and the other of Limoges.¹⁴⁶ We do not know where they would have joined him, but it is possible that the bishop of Limoges was already accompanying John from somewhere in central France, in the vicinity of his bishopric, nearly halfway through France the bishop was with him. This would mean a long journey for the bishop and shows the significance of the embassy of King Matthias, since this high-ranking ecclesiastical official went to meet them a long way off from their destination.

It is, however, not only the size, the entry, and the accompanying dignitaries of the retinues, which should be examined in diplomatic activity. The sources for the 1487 embassy to France also offer some details concerning the specific activity of John Filipec. His political negotiations will be described later in the section on political activity; the centre of attention here will be the representational part of the embassy. After arriving in France, he was present at the banquet in Angers, organised by the town and sponsored by the king and the noblemen. Then he travelled throughout France with great pomp, as the sources emphasise; he was shown Sainte Chapelle in Paris, which was a great honour for ambassadors. In France he also spent much money: firstly, for the daily expenses of his retinue,¹⁴⁷ and secondly, for the

gran pompa, havra cavalli XV, et muli X, portavano i suo careazi coperti di scarlato, havea CXXXVI zoveni ben a cavallo, havea cavalli 2, molto belli; siche non dubito, che spendi quello, che me ha detto." (340)

¹⁴⁴ Simonyi, ed., "Magyar követség," 218–219; quoted also in Grieger, *Filipecz*, 205–206.

¹⁴⁵ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 32.

¹⁴⁶ Simonyi, ed., "Magyar követség," 217.

¹⁴⁷ See *MDE* 3, no. 209, 340.

banquets which he reportedly organised.¹⁴⁸ He even had to borrow some money on the way back from the duke of Milan.¹⁴⁹ Although the sources do not describe in detail the actual appearance of the embassy and the banquets, the pomp and the splendour must have been remarkable, for the contemporaries, both the Italians and the French, comment on it in admiring terms.

However, what also plays a significant role in diplomatic negotiations and representation are the gifts, those given as well as those accepted. In 1476 John Filipec brought to Urbino what was either a present of Matthias Corvinus to Duke Federigo da Montefeltro or to Beatrix, the Neapolitan princess—Bonfini did not state this explicitly, but it is more probable that it was a gift to Beatrix.¹⁵⁰ In 1486 at the negotiations in Jihlava, John Filipec presented two silver sideboards and a gilt knife to King Wladislas II.¹⁵¹ According to a chronicle of Lodi, Filipec was, in 1487, carrying silver vessels to the Milanese duke¹⁵² and a large number of other presents, as Bonfini reports, for the king of France, including twenty-five Turkish horses, golden vases, saddles, and bridles, as well as dresses embroidered with gold for the queen.¹⁵³ John Filipec not only distributed presents, but also received some, either for his king or even for himself. In 1487 from the king of France he received a reliquary of St. Martin, silver vessels, and other things as presents for King Matthias,¹⁵⁴ and probably also a valuable illuminated codex of a gradual.¹⁵⁵ Filipec himself accepted some presents during the negotiations in Jihlava, where he was given three horses by the Czech king—even more than King Matthias, who received only two.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, according to Jolán Balogh, John Filipec was given silver vessels by the Milanese duke in 1490. These vessels could possibly be those recorded at the Tovačov castle in Moravia, in late 1490

¹⁴⁸ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 145: “Parisiis sepe forum piscarium in celebrandis conviviis sic exhaustit, ut dispensatores quandoque regii pisces mendicare coacti fuerint.”

¹⁴⁹ Fraknói, *Mátyás törekvései*, 43.

¹⁵⁰ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 67. Hlobil and Petrů, *Humanism*, 142, and Feuer-Tóth, *Art and Humanism*, 52 for Beatrix; Jolán Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* (The art in the court of King Matthias), vol. 1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966), 356 for Federigo.

¹⁵¹ Palacký, ed., *Starí letopisové*, 208.

¹⁵² Balogh, *A művészet*, 355, with a quotation of the chronicle.

¹⁵³ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 145: “Destinata regi Gallorum munera obtulit, que plusquam vigintiquinque milibus aureum veniere; imprimis Turcicos equos vigintiquinque mire pernicitatis, vasa preter hec aurea et gemmata, equos quoque cataphractus et gradarios desultoresque Dacicos. Accedebant ephippia auro lapillisque distincta superbeque cum frenis phalere. Regine e ductili auro contextam trabeam, vestes Persicas, baltea et aureum cubiculi apparatus misit.” Cf. Balogh, *A művészet*, vol. 1, 428.

¹⁵⁴ Fraknói, *Mátyás törekvései*, 69–70; Balogh, *A művészet*, vol. 1, 347, 367; Berkovits, “Une ambassade,” 250.

¹⁵⁵ Elisabeth Soltész, *Das Corvinus-Graduale* (Budapest: Helikon, 1982), 19–21; Berkovits, “Une ambassade,” 251–253.

¹⁵⁶ Palacký, ed., *Starí letopisové*, 208.

among the things that Filipec left there in custody of Ctibor Tovačovský.¹⁵⁷ The reception of these presents by Filipec certainly points to his significance among the rulers he was sent to.

In regard to the diplomatic missions we might also wonder who were the people John Filipec travelled with? whom did he meet? In general, there are not sufficient sources to determine the company of Filipec on the political missions. He was often accompanied by other diplomats of Matthias Corvinus on the more important missions. Bishops in Hungary at the time of King Matthias were more often diplomats and politicians than ecclesiastical dignitaries: some of them also accompanied John Filipec. In 1476, it was the bishop of Wrocław, Rudolf of Rüdesheim (1468–1482); in the political negotiations in the Czech lands, it was often the bishop of Olomouc, at first Protasius Černohorský of Boskovice (1459–1482) under Matthias Corvinus, and later on Stanislav Thurzo (1497–1540) in the service of King Wladislas II. There were also noblemen who took part in the embassies; quite a number of them is named in the list of *oratores* and *aulici* from 1476, as participants of the embassy to Naples. They were present as representatives of the Hungarian and Czech king Matthias Corvinus—both Hungarians and Czechs took part in the embassy. The noblemen, of course, served as politicians and diplomats in the service of King Matthias as well: for example, Wenceslas of Boskovice, or Petr of Rožmberk accompanied John Filipec in some political negotiations. He was in connection with a number of people of the higher levels of society: nobles and ecclesiastical persons. It will be important for his relation to Humanism to notice that the other ambassadors often had humanist educations, or that he could have met a number of humanists on his journeys to Italy. Any closer contacts, however, are not recorded.

An ambassador and diplomat needs skills and abilities, as well as an acceptable social status. What is, however, crucial is his authority. John Filipec was developing this step by step as he moved up in his position. In the early political negotiations he did not play a decisive role, or at least any acknowledged decisive role—he is not even mentioned in the treaty with William of Pernštejn in Sopron in 1472.¹⁵⁸ Later on he obtained diplomatic experience, and, as he moved up in offices, his authority grew as well. His appointment to the bishopric of Oradea was crucial: it was the only way to make a career for a man of non-noble origin—to enter ecclesiastical service. It has already been remarked that bishops under Matthias Corvinus had mainly political functions, either in the state administrative or in diplomatic service, or both. In the second half of the 1480s, when Filipec also became

¹⁵⁷ For the gifts, see Balogh, *A művészet*, vol. 1, 353; for Tovačov, see a letter by Ctibor Tovačovský to William of Pernštejn with an included list of the objects, *AC* 16, no. 21, 9–10.

¹⁵⁸ That he was present is obvious from a letter to William of Pernštejn from 6 May 1496, *AC* 16, no. 39, 23–24.

chancellor, he was sent on the critical political missions, although Matthias Corvinus, aware of Filipec's troubles with the pope, never sent him to Rome for any political matters. At the beginning of his career, he was always accompanied by some other diplomats and backed with the authority of the king; later on, especially in 1490, he became an important figure who was able to participate in the political negotiations.

Politician

On the one hand, John Filipec was very unyielding and, on the other hand, he knew to accept compromises. For example, in August 1477 together with Nicholas Bánfi, another Hungarian diplomat, he led the peace negotiations with Emperor Frederick III in Krems. Although the conditions of the designed treaty were not acceptable to the Emperor, Filipec and Bánfi would not alter them, and Frederick cancelled the negotiations and continued to fight. The following November, after the Hungarian military successes, a truce was signed in Krems by Filipec preserving all the gains of the Hungarian king and setting a meeting between the king and the emperor. He did not compromise in anything: the Hungarian troops stayed in their position; all the castles and towns taken by Matthias remained in his possession after the truce.¹⁵⁹ A year later, however, we see Filipec being too yielding. There were peace negotiations in Brno, in which a peace treaty between the Hungarian and the Czech kings was concluded. Filipec was there accompanied by Bishop Protasius of Olomouc. This treaty finally concluded the long war of the two kings, but was not accepted by King Matthias: he even, as Fraknói writes, rebuked his two representatives for overstepping their authority.

There are some letters of King Matthias in which he characterises the tasks that Filipec should do. In a credential for John Filipec and Wenceslas of Boskovice to the diet of České Budějovice, the king wrote that he was sending them, "fully aware of our intention, whom we ordered to talk about urgent matters with all [the participants of the diet] together and with some [of them] alone," and he asks the members of the diet to trust them in everything, as if they were speaking with the king himself.¹⁶⁰ In fact, John was given the authority to conclude whatever he would think good and acceptable. When Bohuslav of Švamberk, the highest captain of the Czech lands, asked King Matthias about some matters. Matthias reported, two months after the diet, that he did not even know what the bishop of Oradea had concluded in these matters, since he had come back to Buda but was immediately sent off to

¹⁵⁹ Kinzl, *Chronik*, 68–69.

¹⁶⁰ *AC* 6, no. 15, 55: "...úmyslu našeho docela zpravené, jimž něco pilných věcí se všemi spolu a něco také s některými zvláště mluvíti sme poručili..."

Moravia.¹⁶¹ Similarly, King Wladislas in a mandate against the “Pikharts” wrote that he gave John and Stanislav, bishop of Olomouc, “by our letter the full authorisation to negotiating and concluding all the needs of any sort to break the nuisances in the kingdom, as if we were here ourself”; everything concluded by the bishops should be kept by all the estates.¹⁶² This was the general practice; in this way Rosier also divided the diplomats: ambassadors had the right to negotiate in the name of their master, nuncios and messengers only carried letters and did not make any independent negotiations.¹⁶³

To give such an amount of authority to a diplomat, however, could have been also dangerous for the king, for it could have happened that the ambassadors did not try hard enough to accomplish their tasks. Did John Filipec also transgress his mandate in the service of King Matthias? It is not sure. One case was already mentioned, the diet of Brno in 1478. We know, however, that it was only after the victorious battle of Matthias’ followers when the political situation changed that he refused to accept the treaty concluded by his diplomats and proposed new negotiations. His accusation of John and Protasius then did not have to be based on any real transgression of their authority. Another possible instance when Filipec did not fulfil the requirements of Matthias could be the mission to France. In 1489 King Matthias castigated the papal nuncio, blaming the pope who, he said, had not only made the French king withhold the Ottoman prince Djem from him, but also seduced the ambassador to France, the bishop of Oradea, to treacherous behaviour.¹⁶⁴ Fraknói, however, does not believe the charges and ascribes Matthias’ reaction to his immediate wrath; moreover, even after Filipec had returned from France, the king still continued sending him on the most important diplomatic missions.¹⁶⁵ We cannot say, therefore, whether John Filipec violated the mandate and acted against his master. Most probably, he was still a faithful representative of King Matthias, trying his best to accomplish the tasks, which is also noticeable in the report of the Venetian orator from France in 1487.¹⁶⁶ Filipec intended to spend only fifteen days there, but now it was already four months and still nothing had happened because the French king was protracting the negotiations. In the conversation with the Venetian ambassador, Filipec turned out to be quite unhappy with this kind of development and accused Charles VIII of not fulfilling his promises.

¹⁶¹ AČ 6, no. 16, 55–56.

¹⁶² AČ 6, no. 94, 391: “...listem naším plnú moc k jednání a zawření všech a všelijakých potřeb a neřáduow k přetržení w tom králowstwí, tak jako bychom tu sami býti ráčili...”

¹⁶³ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 27.

¹⁶⁴ Quoted in Fraknói, *Mathias Corvinus*, 250; and idem, *Mátyás törekvései*, 43.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 43–44.

¹⁶⁶ MDE 3, no. 209, 339–342.

Thus went the service under King Matthias. Having a large amount of authority for the negotiations, Filipec himself had to decide on the basis of the actual situation and try to follow the best way to achieve his master's demands. His activity in political missions was performed for particular goals set by the king. There was, however, a time when John Filipec had to act alone, following his own guidance. It was the spring and summer of 1490, after the death of King Matthias. At that time, Filipec was still the chancellor of both the chancelleries, and therefore, one of the most powerful and influential persons in the kingdom and actively taking part in choosing the new king.

Before the death of the king, John was involved in negotiations in Milan and in the Czech lands (mainly Silesia) to support the succession of John Corvinus, the illegitimate son of King Matthias. The death of the king, however, changed the situation quite significantly, and Filipec had to analyse the chances of the candidates. John Corvinus had, however, a strong position at the beginning. There exists a list of the supporters of John Corvinus, which had probably been created by Maffeo Trivillensis. It includes the most influential people of the country at that time: Urban Nagylucsei, bishop of Eger and royal treasurer; Stephen Zápolya, captain of Austria (the lands of Austria conquered by Matthias); Hippolit d'Este, archbishop of Esztergom; Stephen Báthory, voyvode of Transylvania; John Filipec, bishop of Oradea and royal chancellor; Thomas Bakócz, bishop of Győr and royal secretary, to name only the first listed.¹⁶⁷

In reality, nothing was so clear. After his arrival in Vienna, or even before, John Filipec must have realised that the possibility of John's success was much smaller than several days before. Despite the powerful supporters named in the list, both the Milanese ambassador, Maffeo Trivillensis, and Filipec were realistic about John's declining chances to ascend the Hungarian throne. Maffeo provides a report of the other contenders, namely the Roman king Maximilian; the Czech king Wladislas; the Polish king Casimir through his younger son John Albert, and their equal chances. Moreover, he writes, that Matthias died too early and did not manage to stabilise the situation.¹⁶⁸ When John Filipec arrived in Vienna, he spoke to the Milanese ambassador, and already at this stage he was aware of possible problems of John Corvinus' election and of the many hindrances.¹⁶⁹

When and why did John start supporting King Wladislas? These are two questions that emerge immediately, but which are not easy to answer. There are several interpretations

¹⁶⁷ *MDE* 4, no. 118, 166–167. For the authorship see the note in *ibid.*, 167.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 119, 168–169.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 121, 170–171.

as far as the time of the change is concerned.¹⁷⁰ The first explicit mention of Filipec being at the side of Wladislas comes from Maffeo Trivillensis and dates from 22 May 1490. It was, however, on the eighteenth, in a lost letter, that Maffeo wrote about Filipec, saying that he had left the side of John Corvinus and started to support the Bohemian king; Bianca Maria, therefore, should marry the latter.¹⁷¹ In June and July, John took part in the election diet, but there he was, according to Bonfini, supporting John Corvinus, together with Thomas Bakócz.¹⁷² Filipec seems to have realised already shortly after the death of Matthias that John Corvinus could not be successful; he must have realised the weak international position of John Corvinus, who was the only one who would have to fight all the candidates. On the contrary, King Wladislas had the advantage of Moravia and the other lands of the Czech crown, which had been connected to Hungary much longer than the hereditary lands of King Maximilian. There is the possibility for further interpretation: perhaps, Filipec, already supporting King Wladislas, did not want it known because he was trying to play as many sides as possible in hopes for the kingdom. He told the Milanese ambassador in the second half of May that he supported King Wladislas and that Bianca Maria should be married to the king. But he also promised Beatrix, Matthias' widow, that Wladislas would marry her; thus Filipec obtained money from her, with which he could finance the army.¹⁷³ There is, moreover, still a possibility that, because of the fact that Filipec was hiding his intentions, John Corvinus did not know anything about his sympathies when he chose him as his representative at the country diet.

In general, by this manoeuvring among the candidates, Filipec tried to accomplish his goals. For example, only when Wladislas was pronounced king by the diet did Maffeo realise, that he had been deceived by Filipec. On 15 July he wrote two indignant letters, in which he complained about Filipec's perfidy.¹⁷⁴ Similarly there was Queen Beatrix, who believed Filipec, and for quite a long time thought that she would marry King Wladislas. Afterwards, both Beatrix's and Bianca Maria's negotiations in marriage matters continued

¹⁷⁰ Baczkowski, *Walka o Węgry*, 36, suggests that Filipec had the idea already during the life of Matthias; Kubinyi, "Két," 11, says that Filipec supported King Wladislas already when he came to Vienna and spoke to the Milanese ambassador; Grieger, *Filipecz*, 277–278, puts the change between 8 and 18 May, which he based on the reports of Maffeo Trivillensis; the idea of Bonfini, and the Czech historiography, which followed him, was that Filipec changed sides only during his visit to Vienna in late June 1490 meeting Zápolya, Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 180; from the Czech historians Macek, "K dějinám," 58.

¹⁷¹ *MDE* 4, no. 141, 201–203.

¹⁷² Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 171–172.

¹⁷³ It was 12,000 guilders, Kubinyi, "Két," 17; see Berzeviczy, ed., *Aragoniai Beatrix*, no.156, 222.

¹⁷⁴ *MDE* 4, no. 165, p. 241–242: "...sed apud istos est perfidia plusquam punica."; and *ibid.*, no. 166, 242–243.

and finally, Wladislas accepted Beatrix, but the marriage was never fully completed and was dissolved by Pope Alexander VI in 1500.¹⁷⁵

Why then did John Filipec switch his support to King Wladislas? There are several possible explanations. First, Filipec's Moravian origin was suggested as a reason for his support to Wladislas—he could have hoped that the other Czech lands would be joined to Bohemia again. This solution is quite feasible; Filipec had friends among the Moravian lords such as William of Pernštejn and Ctibor Tovačovský of Cimburk. The only thing that does not seem to support this idea is the election capitulation of King Wladislas, in which there was a statement that Moravia and the other lands of the Czech crown would stay under the Hungarian crown, until the designated sum of money was paid.¹⁷⁶ Filipec certainly must have known about this. An argument, however, cannot be based on this fact because it is well known that the capitulation was not fulfilled, and Wladislas had promised to the Czech lords, that he would annex the other lands of the Czech crown. Also the personal relations of Filipec to the noblemen could have played role in his decision. Another idea that emerges is the political experience of Filipec. The appropriateness of King Wladislas has already been discussed. It may well be that Filipec realised the advantages of this election which was also supported by many Hungarian magnates and prelates. They, knowing the situation in Bohemia, expected much weaker rule from Wladislas, than there had been under King Matthias. There were, as we have seen, several possible motives for his activity, which do not necessarily contradict one another. His analysis of the political situation as well as the desire for unification of the lands of the Crown of St. Wenceslas are both quite feasible.

Apparently, John Filipec played a decisive role in the royal election negotiations, but probably with some difficulties. He wrote to William of Pernštejn from Vienna on 26 June 1490 that he would rather share William's illness, "...for, from the time I was born until now, the troubles and efforts have not been so many as in the last three days, and God knows, how it will end."¹⁷⁷ All the negotiations must have been tiresome for an ageing man. After he had managed to push through the election of Wladislas and had supervised the coronation of the new king in Székesfehérvár, he left all his political and ecclesiastical functions and, after one last diplomatic mission to Cracow, he left for Olomouc. The motives for this decision are mostly connected to his religious life and will be analysed in the section on Church and Religion. For now, suffice it to say, that John left both chancelleries; Thomas Bakócz then

¹⁷⁵ Macek, *Tři ženy*, 105–125; Baczkowski, *Walka o Węgry*, 89; cf. *MDE* 4, no. 168, 245–248.

¹⁷⁶ Macek, *Tři ženy*, 104–105; Baczkowski, *Walka o Węgry*, 78–79.

entered the position of the secret chancellor—it was suggested by Fraknói, that Bakócz agreed with Filipec to support Wladislas in the royal election in exchange for the post of the secret chancellor.¹⁷⁸ Similarly, the ailing Urban Nagylucsei left his position of royal treasurer after Wladislas' coronation, but unlike Filipec, he kept the bishopric of Eger until his death a year later.¹⁷⁹

John Filipec never wrote explicitly about the state, but some sources that describe Filipec's actions in 1490 and in 1508 suggest that the idea of a concept of state was not unfamiliar to him. Certainly, this needs some level of interpretation. The possibility that he supported the Czech king with the idea that the lands of the Czech crown would again be connected has already been mentioned. In 1508, his activity at the two diets, in Prague and Olomouc, partially reveals Filipec's thinking in these matters. By attempting to settle the feuds among the estates of the kingdom and by supporting the persecution of the Unity of Brethren—which was not only an act against heretics, but also against law-breakers—he clearly defended the idea of the unified state. This activity shows Filipec as a politician even after his retirement, when he was no longer in the service of the king.

As a statesman Filipec was not so influential. We know only a little about his activity in the chancellery, where he probably supported the use of Czech in the diplomatic relations to Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia). He was, for example, involved in settling the problems of Trnava in 1486 and 1488.¹⁸⁰ After a series of problems with his chancellors, King Matthias, however, relied more upon his secretary, Thomas Bakócz, who, after 1482, took over the duties of the chancellor when he was not in the country.¹⁸¹

What was the view of Filipec's contemporaries on his diplomatic and political activity? He must have already gained the deep respect of King Matthias in his first years in Hungary. In a letter to the pope from 1476 the king wrote about *Johannes de Proztha* (John Filipec), that he *intuitu et nostri maxime respectu dignetur*, and also that “he continuously

¹⁷⁷ AČ 16, 7: “...nebo všecky mé starosti a práce ode dne narození mého až do těchto časův nebyly jsou toliké, jako nynější jediné tři dni, a pán Buoh ví, jaký to konec vezme.”

¹⁷⁸ Fraknói, “II. Ulászló,” 18; see Berzeviczy, ed., *Aragoniai Beatrix*, no. 213, 318.

¹⁷⁹ Kubinyi, “A két,” 28; cf. also Erik Fügedi, “A XV. századi magyar püspökök” (The fifteenth century Hungarian bishops), *Történelmi Szemle* 8 (1965), 489.

¹⁸⁰ For the Czech charter in the Hungarian chancellery, see Josef Macůrek, “K otázce české listiny a české kanceláře na dvoře uherském v 2. polovině 15. století” (A contribution to the problem of the Czech charter in the Hungarian court in the second half of the fifteenth century), *Historický časopis* 6 (1958): 560–568; the letters sent to Trnava are published in Václav Chaloupecký, ed., *Středověké listy ze Slovenska: Sbírka listů a listin psaných jazykem národním* (Medieval letters from Slovakia: A collection of letters and charters written in the vernacular) (Bratislava and Prague: Melantrich, 1937), no. 187–188, 151–152; and in Branislav Varsík, ed., *Slovenské listy a listiny z XV. a XVI. storočia* (Slovak letters and charters from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) (Bratislava: SAV, 1956), no. 3–4, 94–96.

¹⁸¹ Kubinyi, *Matthias Corvinus*, 38–39.

carried out many great negotiations of ours.”¹⁸² A Hungarian source that praises Filipec the most is the historical writing of Antonio Bonfini. He writes eulogies on John in several places of his work, mainly praising the pomp and splendour of Filipec’s embassies, as well as his personal qualities as a diplomat. The king entrusted the very difficult foreign negotiations to him, in which Filipec “surpassed other ambassadors of his time with splendour, prudence, magnanimity, and eloquence.”¹⁸³ Similarly, the author of *Chronica Fratrum Minorum de observantia Provinciae Bohemiae* praised Filipec for his ability in political negotiations.¹⁸⁴ Master Wenceslas Koranda in his two speeches in 1478 and 1480 emphasised the role of John Filipec as a peacemaker, referring to the Brno and Olomouc negotiations.¹⁸⁵

There is no explicit statement evaluating the abilities of John Filipec as a diplomat and politician by the French or the Italians. What they usually provide is the description of the pomp of Filipec’s train and the description of the negotiations led by Filipec, in France, Italy, and Hungary. The only reproaches made to the behaviour of John are the complaints of Maffeo Trivillensis, who felt he had been cheated by him. Generally, the sources show that Filipec was appreciated as a diplomat not only by King Matthias and the Hungarian court (through Bonfini), but also by the opposite side in the negotiations.

* * *

The analysis of the sources from the point of view of diplomacy and politics shows us the face of John Filipec that was the most important one. He belonged to the highest class of diplomats, serving his king in the most critical negotiations. There were, surely, not only the negotiations, but also representation, which was an essential part of his embassies. It was, of course, the most visible part of the political missions and thus often reported by the contemporary sources. The sources suggest, by pointing to the special character of his missions, that it was not solely the habit of the period, but Filipec’s personality and individuality as well that formed the appearance of his embassies.

¹⁸² Fraknói, ed., *Mathiae Corvini epistolae*, no. 92, 119–120: “...qui multa et magna negotia nostra continue expedire habet, ...” Cf. also another letter of Matthias to Anellus Anchanianus, an ambassador of the Neapolitan king to Rome, at the beginning of 1477 Matthias writes to him to support John Filipec at the papal court “... pro nostra in eum fiducia...”. Vilmos Fraknói, ed., *Mátyás király levelei, külügyi osztály* (The letters of King Matthias concernig foreign affairs), vol. 1 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1893), no. 248, 362–363.

¹⁸³ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 1, 11; vol. 4.1, 67, 144 (“Gravissima huic queque negotia, que foris imminerent, a rege committi solita.”), 145, 203 (“Quascunque legationes maximas obierat, tam honorifice gessit, uti ceteros sui temporis oratores apparatu, prudentia, liberalitate ac eloquentia superaret.”). See also the section on diplomacy.

¹⁸⁴ Minařík, “Přispěvek,” 64: “Erat enim in omnibus gloriosus, eloquens, ingeniosus, memorietenax et in omnibus agibilibus expeditivus nec in multis terris ei reperiebatur equalis; quippe qui regis Mathie causas in dietis, convencionibus et ambasiatis semper melius et utilius peregit quam speratum et sommissum ei fuerat. Missus siquidem fuerat orator et nuncius ad reges potentissimos, ..., optime se et cum gracia magna ipsorum strenue causas gerendo etc.”

The other part of his activity in this field were the political negotiations themselves. The sources suggest that he was a successful politician, who carried out the most difficult as well as the most significant political negotiations of Matthias Corvinus. His activity in Hungary, the Czech lands, Austria, the German countries, Italy, and France is simply astonishing. As far as we can judge on the basis of the sources available, Filipec always tried his best to accomplish the tasks set for him by his master or, in 1490, by himself. The political treacheries of his, described by the Milanese ambassador in 1490, were, probably, not so amazing as they could seem: it was a practice of a politician who had the authority and skill to meet his aims.

CHURCH AND RELIGION

Bishop

John Filipec occupied several high ecclesiastical positions. First, he received the provostship of Buda and later on, two bishoprics. What is important, however, is the fact that in his early years he was not a Catholic. He was born to an Utraquist family and attended an Utraquist school in Prostějov. In the second half of the fifteenth century, it quite often happened that Utraquists who received higher education, especially those who studied in Italy, converted to Catholicism. For example, Hilarius of Litoměřice and Protasius Černohorský of Boskovice, being Utraquists in their youth, entered the highest positions in the Catholic Church in Bohemia and Moravia: Hilarius became the administrator of the Prague archbishopric and Protasius, the bishop of Olomouc. It is not certain, however, when and why John Filipec converted to Catholicism.

It has been argued by Josef Macek,¹⁸⁶ that Filipec might have studied at some university, either in Vienna or in Italy, since as a student of the Prostějov school he would not have learned good Latin, law, and foreign languages. Macek also pointed to the connections of Filipec to Italy: his diplomatic missions and his respect for Italian physicians that appears only in his later letters. However, this conjecture still remains only hypothetical because no direct sources can attest to this: Filipec never wrote about his studies, there are no connections to any former friends from his period of study, and no reference to Filipec has been found in the records of the universities.

¹⁸⁵ Truhlář, ed., *Manuálík*, 128–130.

It could have been John Capistran, active in Olomouc in the early 1450s, who brought about a change in the religious life of John Filipec. This would already indicate a strong religious aspect to his personality during the early part of his life. It could, however, be suggested that he converted to Catholicism only in Hungary in the late 1460s, when he entered the service of the voyvode Csupor and subsequently of Matthias Corvinus; before that, he served in the office of the Utraquist Tovačovskýs of Cimbura. He never mentioned his earlier denomination, as far as we can tell from the sources, but it must have been widely enough known, since it was known in Rome (this fact was used by the pope when he wanted to remove Filipec from the Olomouc bishopric) as well as in Milan.¹⁸⁷ This widespread knowledge would suggest rather the second possibility that Filipec converted after his arrival in Hungary, and his denomination became known there. The reason for his conversion could be either religious in the proper sense of the word, or pragmatic. The latter possibility is supported by his direct career advances in a Catholic court and also by the fact that his episcopal function was not so important for the religious life in the diocese.

John Filipec was not even ordained priest when he became a bishop. He must have been given an exemption by Pope Sixtus IV, who had been asked for this by King Matthias. Filipec was certainly ordained a priest as well as a bishop afterwards because there are records referring to Filipec's celebrating mass and consecrating churches. He was also one of the three bishops who consecrated John Thurzo as bishop of Wrocław in 1506.¹⁸⁸ Filipec was confirmed bishop of Oradea by the pope in 1477. The situation was more problematic with the bishopric of Olomouc: he had to struggle to remain in the office of administrator and was never confirmed by the pope as bishop. The reasons of Matthias Corvinus for installing Filipec as bishop of Oradea were Filipec's abilities in leading an ecclesiastical institution. He proved competent in the Buda provostship, and, in addition, he needed steady income to be able to serve as a diplomat. After 1482, for Olomouc, Matthias needed somebody who was faithful to him and would support his politics in Moravia.

It is obvious that Filipec was not present very often in his bishoprics; instead, he was travelling on diplomatic missions. In spite of this, he is often described as a bishop who did a

¹⁸⁶ Macek, "K dějinám," 55–56.

¹⁸⁷ Theiner, no. 712, 517: 1 September 1488, "...Iohannes Episcopus Waradiensis, ..., ex parentibus Boemie heresis sectatoribus originem trahens, eorum sequendo errores, que per predecessores nostros et sedem apostolicam domnata est, ..."; *MDE* 4, no. 137, 194, 8 May 1490, "...che el era heretico." See also Macek, "K dějinám," 54–55.

¹⁸⁸ For the masses celebrated, for example Palacký, ed., *Starší letopisové*, 207 (1486 in Jihlava); Minařík, ed., "Přispěvek," 62 (1491 in Nysa), 64 (1492 a pontifical mass in Wrocław). In 1491 he consecrated the Jerome Chapel in the Olomouc town hall, VMO, inv. no. O-2520. For the consecration of John Thurzo, see Minařík, ed., "Přispěvek," 130.

considerable amount of work for both of his bishoprics. One of the reasons why he was appointed to the Oradea bishopric by Matthias was the fact that he was very active in reconstructing the provostship of Buda: he had the provost's house rebuilt and redecorated.¹⁸⁹ He continued in a similar way in Oradea, where he restored the castle, donated liturgical books as well as liturgical robes to the episcopal church, and had a bell cast for the cathedral in 1478.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, in 1482, while in Rome, he probably arranged the transfer of the property of a destroyed Premonstratensian monastery of Oradea into the property of the bishopric.¹⁹¹ In Olomouc he rebuilt the two episcopal castles in Vyškov and Mírov, redeemed the estate Hukvaldy and also the town of Mohelnice, originally in the possession of the bishopric. He also had a convent built for the Augustinian canons in Předhradí in Olomouc.¹⁹² Moreover, he also supported the construction of two Franciscan friaries, in Jawor and Uherské Hradiště.

Filipec's construction activity in both his bishoprics was astonishing and was recorded by the contemporaries with respect. His other activity in Olomouc was connected to book-printing. In 1484 he had a *Breviarium Olomucense* printed in Venice for the Olomouc diocese and in 1486 an *Agenda Olmouensis* in Brno. It was most probably done by Conrad Stahel, who was one of the printers of the Venetian *Breviarium*, and Matthias Preinlein, who, however, are only mentioned in the *Missale Strigoniense* printed in 1491. The missal for the Olomouc diocese, along with a pastoral letter by Filipec, explaining why this missal was produced, was, however, printed in Bamberg in 1488, probably because at that time the Brno printers were busy with the publication of the *Chronica Hungarorum* of John Thuróczy.¹⁹³ The chronicle was printed on the order of John Filipec on 20 March 1488, and he, in addition, had the *Carmen Miserabile* of a thirteenth-century archdeacon of Oradea, Rogerius, printed in the same volume (and thus saved it, as the original copy in the Oradea library has been

¹⁸⁹ Fraknoi, ed., *Mathiae Corvini epistolae*, no. 92, 119: "Ceterum quia ipse dominus electus preposituram sancte Trinitatis de superioribus calidis aquis Budensibus, quam antea tenuit et nunc tenet, in suis ruinis optime et eleganter refecti, adeo ut multis anteactis temporibus omnes sui predecessores non tantum edificii et decoris in ea relinquerint, quantum ipse edificiis exornavit, ..."

¹⁹⁰ Ransanus, *Epithoma*, 68: "...praesidet ei ecclesiae Ioannes, ..., struit Varadini arcem inexpugnabilem, cuius ingens murus turresque et idoneae tanto operi mansiones satis plane ostendunt magnitudinem animi conditoris, sacram, cuius est antistes, aedem ditavit preciosis tum sacerdotum vestibus tum argenteis vasis, libris praeterea magnis, quos vocant graduarios et antiphonarios, omni ex parte adeo mire exornatis, ut magni ac ditissimi cuiusdam regis dicata deo dona possint non immerito iudicari."; see also Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség*, vol. 1, 313–316.

¹⁹¹ Balogh, *Varadinum*, 54, an abstract of the papal charter of 25 June 1482.

¹⁹² ZA Opava, Olomouc branch, fond: AO, charters, E I a 21, and E I a 22; Richter, ed., *Augustini Olomouensis*, 171–172; Ziegelbauer, *Olmucium sacrum*, vol. 2, [1], copying Augustinus Olomucensis; Nováček, ed., "Paralipomena," 3.

¹⁹³ Vladislav Dokoupil, *Počátky brněnského knihtisku: Prvotisky* (The beginnings of book-printing in Brno: Incunabula) (Brno: Univerzitní knihovna v Brně and Archiv města Brna, 1974), 34–37, 77–79.

destroyed). He added this poem about the Mongol invasion to the Chronicle, for Thuróczy did not know this source and differed in his narration from it.¹⁹⁴ Even if Filipec was never confirmed by the pope, he cared for his bishopric: by reconstructing buildings, redeeming the property, and ordering new books for the diocese to replace the old manuscripts, which were often full of mistakes,¹⁹⁵ he proved a good manager of the dioceses.

We, however, do not have any references to his personal economy. It has already been remarked that the two bishoprics created a substantial income for John Filipec: in Oradea it was 2,000 guilders per year, in Hungary, only Pécs and Esztergom had more, and Olomouc with its 3,500 guilders was only second to Esztergom. The two incomes, when put together, were higher than the income of the archbishop of Esztergom by 1,500,¹⁹⁶ and Filipec certainly collected some income also from the Buda provostship. In his position, Filipec must have earned a large amount of money: he is reported by Bonfini to have “100,000 guilders except for the villages and towns,” in 1490.¹⁹⁷ A Franciscan chronicle even estimated the property of Filipec as being 300,000 guilders at the time he was actually entering the friary.¹⁹⁸ Unfortunately, we have no reports on Filipec’s expenses; only his expenses in France had been recorded by the Venice ambassador.

The bishopric of Olomouc was the centre of the anti-Utraquist movement in Moravia, but the four bishops who preceded Filipec and he himself were not very active in the struggle against the “heretics.” Much more active were their administrators.¹⁹⁹ The first bishop of Olomouc more active in the denominational controversies and the struggle against the Unity of Brethren was Stanislav Thurzo: a number of treatises against the Unity were printed in his time in Olomouc,²⁰⁰ and a mandate against the Unity was accepted in 1508. Unfortunately, we do not know much about Filipec’s activity in religious matters; he is only said to be tolerant and conciliatory in religious problems. There are no mentions of any restrictions against the Utraquists or the Unity of Brethren in Moravia done by him during the period of his administration.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 79.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 34–35, quotes from the pastoral letter of Filipec in the incunabulum: “...libros missarum ... ex emendatissimis codicibus imprimendos commisimus.”

¹⁹⁶ Eubel, *Hierarchia*, vol. 2, passim.

¹⁹⁷ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 203: “tantum sibi ex divi Mathie beneficentia divitiarum oppidorumque compararat, ut ad centum aureorum milia preter villas et oppida possideret.”

¹⁹⁸ Minařík, ed., “Přispěvek,” 129: “Fuit etiam opulentissimus in auro, argento gemisque et vestibibus, ornamentis quoque varis et suppellectilibus, ut cunctos episcopus Vngarie anteiret gloria. Quorum summa secundum quosdam existimabatur ad CCC milia florenorum, que omnia dispersa a se alienavit et abdicavit...”

¹⁹⁹ František Šmahel, “Role Olomouce v ideových svárech druhé poloviny 15. století” (The role of Olomouc in the ideological controversies in the second half of the fifteenth century), *Historická Olomouc* 3 (1980), 210.

Friar

The two faces of Filipec within religious and ecclesiastical parameters are quite distinct. The bishop and the friar do not seem to be connected. The year 1490 was the decisive one. The sources do not give us much of an idea about what would have been the reasons why Filipec chose to leave all his influential offices and enter the Franciscan order. Could he have been tired of politics? Did he leave after the loss of a mighty lord and protector? Did he experience a religious conversion?—he personally does not say anything about these matters.

Leaving the prebends and entering a friary certainly was not a common practice in that period and region—Bonfini wrote that it was a deed to be commemorated for a long time, and the author of a Franciscan chronicle reported that it was a deed that was never seen and never heard of.²⁰¹ We, however, know about Urban Nagylucsei, who left his state function, once King Wladislas was crowned, but he remained a prelate. Another man, who was mentioned by the contemporaries together with Filipec, is the Bishop John Szokoli of Cenad (1466–1493), who abdicated in 1493 and entered the Pauline order. Unfortunately, even less is known about Szokoli than about Filipec. Even if Bonfini wrote about commemorating the deed of Filipec, he did not draw any connection between the two men. A papal legate, Urso Orsini, mentions them together in a letter to Rome in 1494.²⁰² It is also important to point out that, similar to John Filipec, John Szokoli had already supported the order he later entered, the Paulines, when he was a bishop.²⁰³

There were already several suggestions and interpretations of his retirement in Filipec's time. The *Historia fratrum* suggests that he left Hungary with the royal treasure and entered the Franciscan order to escape the Hungarian lords who followed him. This story,

²⁰⁰ Amedeo Molnár, "Protivaldenská polemika na úsvitu 16. století" (Anti-Waldensian polemic at the beginning of the sixteenth century), *Historická Olomouc* 3 (1980), 153–163.

²⁰¹ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 203: "Facinus de se preclarissimum edidit per omnia tempora commemorandum, ..."; Minařík, ed., "Příspěvek," 64: "... quia in illis partibus nec visum nec auditum fuerat unquam tale quid actum, ut de tanta sublimitate ad tam grandem sui abiectiōem quis prelatorum aliquandu descendisset."

²⁰² Berzeviczy, ed., *Aragoniai Beatrix*, no. 213, 311–318: he wrote in a letter to the pope dated to 11 August 1494, "... fratrem Ioannem, ordinis minorum, olim episcopum Waradiensem, necnon fratrem Ioannem, ordinis sancti Pauli primi heremitaе, olim Cenadiensem episcopum, qui ambo apud regem sunt maximae auctoritatis, ..." (312); Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 237: "Ioannes Chanadiensis episcopus desperata regni quiete et contempta humane vite condicione sacerdotum d. Pauli primi eremite professione discipline se obligavit."; cf. Fügedi, "A XV. századi," 490; Kubinyi, *Matthias Corvinus*, 143, 145, 155, he was of noble origin, studied canon law in Italy, participated in several meetings of the close royal council, and in 1490 he supported the side of Wladislas and was a member of the procession to meet the elected king at Farkashida. The date of his death is unknown.

²⁰³ Szokoli had an altarpiece made for the Paulines in Diósgyőr, see Balogh, "Die ungarischen Mäzene der Renaissance," in *Schallaburg* '82, 77.

however, does not seem to be feasible since the *Historia* accuses Filipec of all possible sins and, moreover, there are no other sources that record this event.²⁰⁴ An Italian report to Milan from Buda reported that Filipec went to Poland with the permission never to return to the king again, “for he had decided to live in tranquillity the little time remaining to the end of his life.”²⁰⁵ Bonfini described these reasons for Filipec’s decision in a speech reportedly given by Filipec himself after the royal coronation in Székesfehérvár. Bonfini, however, was not present and must have his information about the coronation and what happened afterwards from those who were present. He, unlike the *Historia*, reported on Filipec’s withdrawal as his dislike for the world and secular glory, and said that he rather chose more spiritual and quiet place and wanted to return in a humble way to his modest origins.²⁰⁶

A Czech historian František Palacký, who wrote in the mid-nineteenth century, saw the main reason for Filipec’s choice in a conflict within his mind, within his conscience; the conflict between fidelity to his former master King Matthias and his son John Corvinus, whom he probably promised to support, and his friendship with William of Pernštejn, who, according to Palacký, wanted to win him for Wladislas.²⁰⁷ Vilmos Fraknói, a Hungarian historian, probably influenced by Bonfini, wrote, in the end of the nineteenth century, that the bishop of Oradea left all the offices and entered the friary after the changes which followed Matthias’ death, “to ponder over the passing nature of the secular greatness.”²⁰⁸ In his 1982 book, Rudolf Grieger did not give any clear reasoning, but all the possibilities he suggested are those connected to a bad conscience and contempt for the secular world.²⁰⁹ However, Josef Macek, in 1985, rejected Palacký’s idea about the troubled conscience of Filipec and saw several motives for the change: first, there was his bitter experience with Rome and the papal court in the struggle for the Olomouc bishopric; he was still suspected by them of heresy, and secondly and more importantly, it was Filipec’s inward growing aversion to the secular world.²¹⁰

The death of Matthias certainly played a significant role in Filipec’s decision: still the agreement between him and Bakócz on the transmission of the office of the secret chancellor²¹¹ must be taken into account. This agreement shows that Filipec must have

²⁰⁴ *Historia fratrum*, 265–266.

²⁰⁵ Berzeviczy, ed., *Aragoniai Beatrix*, no. 119, 169: “peroché dice havere deliberato de viverere (sic!—editor) in tranquillita quello poco tempo, che li resta de la vita sua, ...”

²⁰⁶ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 203–205.

²⁰⁷ Palacký, *Dějiny*, vol. 5, 189.

²⁰⁸ Fraknói, *Mathias Corvinus*, 272: “..., um dort über die Vergänglichkeit irdischer Größe nachzusinnen.”

²⁰⁹ Grieger, *Filipecz*, 369–375.

²¹⁰ Macek, “K dějinám,” 58–59.

²¹¹ Fraknói, “II. Ulászló,” 18; Berzeviczy, ed., *Aragoniai Beatrix*, no. 213, 318.

already been decided to leave for the friary before Wladislas was crowned or even elected king, and it was probably connected to his support for Wladislas. The political situation alone cannot, however, explain Filipec's leaving his offices and entering a religious order. There are sources that could help this enquiry. On 26 June 1490 Filipec wrote to William of Pernštejn from Vienna describing the problems with the election and writing about the tiresome negotiations. This letter points to Filipec's difficult task which was very exhausting for him in those days. There is also another source that would support the idea of his contempt for the secular world. It is a poem that he wrote into one of his books, namely a volume of Avicenna, which he had with him in the Silesian friaries. Below the verses of the poem, which invoke the idea of terror, imminent death, and worms eating the human body, Filipec added in his native language "and this is real truth."²¹²

The sources again present two different pictures of John Filipec. By some, he is described as a completely secular person; others suggest that he became quite religious. Peter Eschenloer, the historian of Wrocław in the second half of the fifteenth century, recorded about Filipec in 1479, *Diser war nicht Prister, sondern sehr ein weltlicher Herre*.²¹³ The ambassadors who write about Filipec do not depict him as a religious person, and the early historians of the Unity of Brethren characterise Filipec as a certainly non-religious and an almost wicked person.²¹⁴ Unfortunately, there are no personal letters of Filipec that date before 1490, which might reveal his actual relation to religion and faith. We can judge only on the basis of later documents, including the Latin poem that was already mentioned, and some of his letters to William of Pernštejn in the 1490s which often have religious connotations: in one of them Filipec wrote, "... , remember your soul and death; if there are any negotiations for conciliation with the Pope, try, if you can, to help with them, but do it cautiously."²¹⁵ It is certain that there is no simple reason for Filipec's withdrawal; the

²¹² This book consists of two volumes bound together, already in Filipec's lifetime; he probably had it still in the Silesian friaries because it was bought by somebody in Wrocław in 1498 and later on it got to the Country Library of Saxony. Csaba Csapodi, "Die erhalten gebliebenen bücher des Johann Filipec (Pruis), Bischof von Grosswardein (um 1431–1509)," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1975, 340: the poem runs: "Forma, fauor populi, feruor iuuenilis, opesq[ue] / Surripuere tibi, noscere quid sit homo. / Post hominem vermis, post verme[m] feter / et horor, / Sic in non hominem vertitur omnis homo. / Dum hec fili legeris, memem[n]to te cito / morituru[m]. Recole eciam districti iudicis / sententiam: A qua nemini licen[tia] / appellandi concedit[ur] / pondera seuissi[m]orum hostiu[m] funeste / accusato[rum]: / Insup[er] et[er]naru[m] penaru[m] / acerbitem. / I[ohannes] e[piscopus] waradiens[is] / *A to gest prawa prawda* (my italics)." See also idem, "Filipec (Pruis) János nagyváradi és olmützi püspök könyvei" (The books of John Filipec, the bishop of Oradea and Olomuc), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 83 (1967), 243–249.

²¹³ Peter Eschenloer, *Geschichten der Stadt Breslau, oder Denkwürdigkeiten seiner Zeit vom Jahre 1440 bis 1479*, vol. 2 (1467–1479), edited by Johann Georg Kunisch (Wrocław: Josef Max, 1828), 402.

²¹⁴ *Historia fratrum*, 264–273; Budovec in Šliziński, ed., *Rukopisy*, 216.

²¹⁵ AČ 16, a letter of Filipec from 22 September 1493 from Wrocław: "... , na duši a na smrt pomni; a jsou-li jaká jednání o srovnání s Otcem svatým, můžeš-li j[im] v tom prosp[ěti], p[ilně] se přičiň, všakž s rozumem."

problem is more complex. It is necessary to consider the problem from a broader standpoint. Certainly, it was the political situation that brought the change to Filipec's life. Being tired of the political negotiations, he decided to have a rest in the last days of his life, as the Italian ambassador remarked. His decision, however, had its spiritual or religious side, which was his aversion to and contempt for the secular world.

John Filipec entered the Franciscan order after a provincial chapter in Olomouc in May 1492. The bishop of Zagreb and the new bishop of Oradea, who, according to Bonfini, were his friends,²¹⁶ had come there to persuade Filipec not to enter the order. They, however, did not succeed, and he entered the order immediately after the chapter.²¹⁷ By entering the Franciscan order, he left the secular world, but not completely. Beforehand, he organised all the things necessary for transferring parts of his large property to his family. Afterwards, he remained in touch with the outer world through occasional diplomatic service to Wladislas, but also through the contacts with William of Pernštejn. It is exactly from this period of his life that there are personal letters to William, which have been preserved. In these letters Filipec was often assuring William of his friendship, whenever there seemed to be problems, and writing on religious and moralistic themes. He also continued to direct William's support of his nephew John of Kunovice, whose guardian William was.²¹⁸ Filipec also wrote to Peter of Rožmberk, whom he addressed as "my especially dear lord and friend."²¹⁹ In this way, being a friar, he was still active outside his order. His friendship with William of Pernštejn, however, seems to have deteriorated after 1496, since William wrote to him he should not write any more, as we learn from a letter of Filipec. In this letter Filipec clearly stated his attitude to friendship: "...for it seemed to me a sincere friendship, that a friend would tell his friend what he did not like in him." Apparently, he was disappointed that William had a different idea of it and wanted to end their correspondence.²²⁰

As a friar, however, John Filipec did not stop being active in politics: he served King Wladislas several times, but he was active in the "order politics" too. At several provincial chapters, he was elected one of the definitors, but this function did not indicate any powerful

²¹⁶ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 204.

²¹⁷ Minařík, ed., "Příspěvek," 63–64: "Item sub illo capitulo venerunt duo Reverendi patres videlicet Episcopus Sagabriensis et Waradiensis ad dominum Johannem episcopum tentantes, si possent revocare ipsum a proposito, ne religionem ingrederetur, sed non poterant quicquam efficere."

²¹⁸ AČ 16, no. 17, 7–8, nos. 29–30, 14–18, nos. 37–39, 21–24. See also Vorel, *Páni*, 67–68.

²¹⁹ AČ 11, no. 1183, 131–132.

²²⁰ AČ 16, no. 39, 23: "...nebo mi se jest zdálo upřiemé přátelství, aby přítel příteli oznámil, co se jemu do přítele nelíbí." In 1496 the guardianship of William over the nephew of Filipec, John of Kunovice, also finished, even before the required date. Both the charters with which John of Kunovice (AČ 16, no. 635, 490–

position. From the late fifteenth century, there was already a conflict within the Czech Franciscan province between the Czech and the German sides, and Filipec, even before he entered the order, seems to have supported the Czech one. At the 1491 provincial chapter in Nysa, he supported the establishment of a Czech preacher in the Olomouc friary and had the new friary in Uherské Hradiště accepted to the province. On Filipec's intervention with the king, the Czech province also received a friary in Kamenz in Meissen. Minařík saw Filipec's support to the Czech friars also in the fact that he, together with other Franciscans, did not want to affiliate the friaries in Świdnica and Zgorzelec to the Czech province (instead of to the Saxon province). Rather he wanted to strengthen the position of the order in Bohemia and Moravia, so that the Czech Franciscans would gain more influence within their province.²²¹ Minařík does present a perspective from the early twentieth century with its emphasis on nationalities, but it must be admitted that the conflict in the Franciscan province existed and that, according to the sources, Filipec took the Czech side.

Filipec seems to be engaged in religious issues in Bohemia and Moravia more than when he was a bishop; this activity, however, is quite problematic and the sources contradict one another. Some show him as a strong opponent of the Unity of Brethren, while others accuse him of taking heretics into his protection. His activities at the two lands' diets, where he supported the mandate against the Unity of Brethren, and the angry reaction of the historians of the Unity were already mentioned. He also stated his reservations about the Unity in letters to William of Pernštejn. In one of the letters, for example, he warned William that his wife, who was ill, should be very careful in accepting the help of a doctor, who was a member of the Unity.²²² Otherwise, he presents himself in the letters as a believing Catholic with hopes for the reconciliation of the Catholic and the Utraquist sides in Bohemia and Moravia.²²³ On the contrary, the Franciscan sources, when describing the agenda of the 1499 Franciscan chapter in Opava, accused Filipec of protecting the "heretics," and the vicar of the province was asked that he *provideret et ipsum paterne corrigeret*.²²⁴ The *Historia fratrum*, surprisingly, praised Filipec in one point:

"And although he wanted everything bad for the Unity, this bad man, as the one, who was not unaware of the truth, was kind to some of the Brethren. When he came to Litomyšl, he immediately sent for Brother John Klenovský

491) and John Filipec (*AČ* 16, no. 660, 509) are very formal and cannot reveal anything about the actual personal relations.

²²¹ Minařík, ed., "Příspěvek," 130–133; idem, "Vikáři," 2–3, 7.

²²² *AČ* 16, no. 29, 14.

²²³ For example, *ibid.*, no. 30, 15–18.

²²⁴ Minařík, ed., "Příspěvek," 129.

and talked to him for several hours very pleasantly and kindly, This bishop used to say, that he knew three men, who could give much advice to this world. He meant, first, Ctibor Tovačovský, secondly himself and Brother Klenovský as the third.”²²⁵

Even the author of this source who never praised Filipec revealed a particular character of Filipec which he appreciated: such a relation of Filipec towards the members of the Unity probably existed, but only on a personal basis—he demonstrated his dislike for them in letters to William of Pernštejn quite convincingly. It is not possible to define who were the “heretics” the Franciscan author wrote about. If we can believe all these sources, it appears that Filipec, even if he worked against the Unity of Brethren, was religiously tolerant to the Utraquists, which is not surprising in the milieu of the Czech tolerance of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²²⁶

In the context of the polemic against the Unity of Brethren, we must consider a treatise which was ascribed to Filipec by Josef Truhlář in his catalogue of Latin manuscripts in the Prague University Library, now the National Library.²²⁷ This codex dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century and contains writings of the Franciscan friar of Bechyně, John Vodňanský, who was very much involved in the struggle against the Unity. Truhlář, however, did not state why he ascribed the treatise to Filipec. There is only one mention that could be vaguely connected to Filipec: the author’s stay in Uherské Hradiště, when he was sent to the king.²²⁸ However, it is not very probable that John Filipec could be the author of this work, since it is a theological treatise with a number of references to the Bible, the Church Fathers, and theologians of the Middle Ages.²²⁹ The author of the treatise deals with three basic questions: “whether the obedience of the pope is necessary for salvation”; “whether the power and the office of the pope is an establishment and foundation of God, or

²²⁵ *Historia fratrum*, 269: “A ačkoliv jednotě Bratrské obmejšlel všecko zlé, ten zlý člověk však jako ten, jenž pravdy neznámý nebyl, na některé z Bratří byl laskav. Když do Litomyšle přijel, hned k sobě pro Bratra Jana Klenovského poslal a s ním velmi dlouho několik někdy hodin mluvil velmi laskavě a přívětivě, Říkával biskup ten, že ví tři muže, kteřížby všemu světu dosti raddy dáti mohli. Mínil jednoho pana Ctibora Tovačovského, sebe druhého a Bratra Klenovského třetího.”

²²⁶ One of the Czech nobles that is shown as a model of religious tolerance, in fact a man without any strict denomination is William of Pernštejn. For this issue, see Válka, “Politika,” 173–183.

²²⁷ Josephus Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C. R. Bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, vol. 2 (Prague: Regia Societas Scientiarum Bohemica, 1906), 150; NK, Prague, codex XI E 1, foll. 196v–224v. Incipit (fol. 196v): “Poczina se tractat proti kaczierzon a pikhartom y p(ro)ti wssem bludnym etc.”; explicit (fol. 224v): “... a to kdoz koli uczini dojde od boha wssemohuczeho zde milosti a potom na onom swietie wieczne radosti. Amen.”; and the colophon (fol. 224v): “Scripti sunt illi duo tractatus contra pikharditas et hussitas per me fratrem Wolfgangum protunc curatum in Kadow anno 1511 feria quarta post festum sanctae Katharine virginis et matris alme.”

²²⁸ NK, Prague, XI E 1, fol. 197r.

²²⁹ St. Bernard, Ciprian, St. Thomas Aquinas, Isidor, Augustine, John Chrysostomos, St. Gregory the Great, Ambrosius, Hieronymus, Anacletus, etc.

not”; and “what is the universal Church, the head and administrator of which is the pope.”²³⁰ The only reference regarding Filipec’s studies is the Utraquist school in Prostějov; no theological or any other higher studies are mentioned, thus, it is unlikely that he would have been able to write such a learned piece. This piece of writing, then, cannot be used to support the idea of Filipec’s involvement in the theological polemic with the Brethren.

There is another activity that is associated with his life in the Franciscan friaries. In the eighteenth century, Antonius Ganoczy already wrote about Filipec that when he retired to the friary in Uherské Hradiště he, “according to a tradition,” copied liturgical books with his own hand.²³¹ We know only one book that was written by Filipec himself, and it is a *Regula of St. Francis* and his *Testament*. It is a small, but quite elaborate nicely written manuscript preserved in the library of the Franciscan friary of Kadaň.²³² The colophon, written in Czech, dates the book precisely to 16 March 1499, and it also states that it was written by “brother John, once bishop of Oradea, etc., ..., for the pleasure of his dear brothers of the Bechyně friary.”²³³ This means, that this book was a present of John Filipec to the friars. However, this does not prove that he was copying books regularly, as Ganoczy suggested. In the time of book-printing, which he himself as a bishop supported, he, as a former scribe, probably copied books as a “hobby,” both for his own pleasure as well as the delight of the recipients of the book.

* * *

Even if he was not present in his bishoprics very often, as a bishop, John Filipec was very efficient in organising and leading his bishoprics to prosperity by a large-scale reconstruction of the buildings, redeeming old and getting new estates, supplying books to the churches as well as to the whole diocese. This points to his abilities rather than to any side to his character. In his later conversion to the religious life, he revealed a more spiritual side of his personality. His letters to William of Pernštejn show him moralising and much more concerned about the religious problems of his time than when he was, judging from what we know from the sources, in his episcopal offices, a fact that could also suggest a possible

²³⁰ NK, Prague, XI E 1, fol. 197v.

²³¹ Ganoczy, *Episcopes*, vol. 1, 449: “..., traditio perhibet.” See also Csapodi, “Filipec,” 249.

²³² SÚA Praha, fond: ŘF, book no. 267, inv. no. 660, *Regula et Testamentum S. Francisci*. The book is recorded in the catalogue of the library of the Kadaň friary in 1742, SÚA, ŘF, book no. 268, inv. no. 661, *Catalogus librorum Qui Anno 1742 inventi sunt in Bibliotheca Conventus Caadaniensis Fratrum Minorum...*, no pagination.

²³³ *Regula*, fol. 49r, the colophon: “Leta od narozeni syna bozieho Tisieczieho čtyrztsteho dewadessateho dewateho. Tyto knijzky napsal gest bratr Jan Biskup niekdy Waradisnky etc. nynij bratr zakona bosaczskeho ku potiessenij swych milych bratrzij klasstera Bechinskeho kterez gest dokonal w sobotu przed Nedielij Judica

religious conversion at the end of his life. These sources certainly show a much more personal side: his care for his nephew and the family of his sister, his relations with his friends, which are traceable only in his letters.

It must be admitted that his world view changed together with his social position. As a bishop, he used to have a large retinue, his income was one of the largest among the Hungarian bishops, he used precious decorated books. He left all of these things before becoming a Franciscan friar and lived according to the standards of the friars. From a 1493 letter to William of Pernštejn, we learn that he offered to send Filipec everything he needed and might want. Filipec, however, answered that he had enough of everything “as it should be for a monk.”²³⁴

ART AND HUMANISM

Patron of the arts

One sphere of Filipec's life and activity that in question is his relation to art. He lived through a period that witnessed the spread of Renaissance art from Italy to Central Europe, mainly through Hungary. Often staying at the royal court, Filipec encountered Renaissance art in the residences of King Matthias where it was not only architecture that was produced exclusively for Matthias Corvinus, but also other spheres of art were supported, including sculpture, decorative art, and also manuscripts.

These artistic products were certainly not alien to Filipec. There is a number of references in the sources describing the presents he carried to various destinations in his diplomatic missions. The most detailed report comes from Bonfini describing the presents displayed at the court of Urbino in 1476. He describes a very elaborate salt-cellar made of gold and precious stones in the shape of a tree, and a golden jug, which was dragon-shaped.²³⁵ Other references note silver vessels and other pieces of art.²³⁶ Quite remarkable is the collection “silver and other things,” which Filipec left with Ctibor Tovačovský of Cimburk at the castle of Tovačov in late 1490. The list of these items sent by Ctibor to William of Pernštejn contains two mitres, a crosier, a censer, a reliquary and then a large

czwrtý den przed sławnym dnes Yozefa swateho Panny Marie kralewny nebeskey chotie wierneho A pana Jeziesse Crysta piestauna pielneho.”

²³⁴ AČ 16, no. 29, 15: “jakž na mnicha slušie.”

²³⁵ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 4.1, 67; Feuer-Tóth, *Art and Humanism*, 51–52.

²³⁶ See Balogh, *A művészet*, 353, 355, 367.

number of silver table utensils: several decorated vessels and a large number of bowls, knives, spoons, and also some forks.²³⁷ Filipec's Italian missions are also connected to art-historical interpretations. Ivo Hlobil draws attention to these because it was not only the influences of Hungarian Renaissance art but also a direct experience of Italy which could have been brought to Moravia by Filipec. He particularly speaks about "the beginning of acceptance of the Italian Renaissance in the Czech lands, for which the connections with Urbino (the castle in Tovačov and Vladislav Hall in Prague) are characteristic."²³⁸ Through his friendship with Ctibor Tovačovský, Filipec could have been a mediator between Renaissance Italy and the Czech lands, especially Moravia.

We know that Filipec had access to the most modern artistic production, but did John himself ever support art production? Yes, he did; it was mainly from his position as a bishop that he ordered pieces of art. In his episcopal centres as well as in the provostship of Buda, he commissioned some architectural works: the reconstruction of the provost's house in Buda, the reconstruction of the castle in Oradea and of the castles of the bishop of Olomouc, namely Mírov and Vyškov in Moravia. He also sponsored the construction of some Franciscan friaries in Moravia and Silesia. These buildings, however, did not show any features of Renaissance art at all. The support of particular artists, however, is never mentioned in the sources. In Oradea, Filipec donated a number of priestly vestments, silver vessels, and large liturgical books to the episcopal church; in Uherské Hradiště he endowed the Franciscan friary he founded with books and liturgical robes. Before 1490, a pontifical was prepared for Filipec, probably also ordered by him: the title page contains his coat of arms. Again, this fact was evaluated by Hlobil: "It is possible to consider the Esztergom pontifical to be the oldest preserved illuminated manuscript in the new Renaissance style made for a collector of Moravian or Czech origin [meaning Filipec]."²³⁹ This is one of the few books of Filipec's library that were preserved. The other two are Venetian prints from 1483 and 1484; they are, however, of no special artistic value.

It was already mentioned that Filipec's activity is also significant in regard to the spread of book-printing. The *Breviarium Olomoucense* that was printed in Venice had some "Renaissance typographical material," but the later prints and woodcuts produced in Brno are not yet Renaissance.²⁴⁰ In the Brno printing office several prints for the needs of the bishopric were produced, as well as the Thuróczy chronicle, commissioned directly by Filipec himself.

²³⁷ AČ 16, no. 21, 9–10; Hlobil and Petrů, *Humanism*, 143.

²³⁸ Ibid., 142.

²³⁹ Ibid., 143.

There are some questions which would be interesting to answer, which, however, cannot be firmly established. First, it is difficult to know whether the printing office can be regarded as the achievement of Humanism in Moravia or of the Catholic Church.²⁴¹ The two were connected to a large extent since the centre of Humanism in Moravia, Olomouc, was also the centre of the Catholic Church. The second problem is connected to a broader concept, the idea of the patronage of art. The patronage of art was writ large at the court of Matthias Corvinus, and there are several treatises that praise and defend the patronage of King Matthias. No written evidence can prove the patronage of John Filipec over the printing office in Brno. No direct sources prove it, but we may suppose that the printers were invited by him since the printing types show their intention to print liturgical books and the first print is the *Agenda Olomouensis* printed for the bishopric. Moreover, one of the printers had been recorded already two years before in another book for the Olomouc bishopric. Filipec certainly commissioned a number of artistic objects made for the churches and his dioceses. He might have had residents artists in his episcopal courts, but this is only a hypothesis. The few books, including the pontifical, that were commissioned by Filipec, however, cannot point to his personal taste in art. Although Renaissance art was supported by King Matthias, the general artistic milieu was still late Gothic.

To summarise Filipec's attitude to art, several important factors must be pointed out. Firstly, even if Filipec must have been aware of the new artistic forms—he was living in the centre of Renaissance art, he certainly knew what was being built and produced in the royal court, and he also visited Italy several times—the works ordered by him do not show much Renaissance influence. This, however, is no exception, since late Gothic art, as it was pointed out by Ernő Marosi, was still prevailing in his time in Central Europe. Secondly, it was mainly his episcopal office that delineated his interest in art and gave him the possibility to support artistic production on a larger scale. Rózsa Feuer-Tóth points to the problems of the high church dignitaries and the patronage of art:

An impeccable practice of the virtue of *magnificentia* was a sensitive point for those high ranking church dignitaries in the middle of the 15th century who, because of their large scale building, could be charged with showing an exaggerated interest in their personal worldly glory.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Dokoupil, *Počátky*, 34.

²⁴² Feuer-Tóth, *Art and Humanism*, 45.

Although, there are apologies of several mid-fifteenth century popes defending their patronage of art, there are, however, none by any of the Hungarian bishops. We only know the praises of John Filipec for his large scale reconstructions and donations. Filipec's patronage²⁴³ was supported by the idea that he owned a manuscript codex of Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*, a book about architecture and also art patronage. The codex originally belonged to the Corvinian Library, and Filipec was said to have it for some time in his possession and to bring it to Olomouc, where it remained to the present day. This idea was, however, rejected by Csaba Csapodi, who has proved that the book never belonged to Filipec.²⁴⁴ This, however, does not change the fact that as a bishop he sponsored a great amount of artistic production in his dioceses.

Humanist?

Within his lifetime, John Filipec was exposed to the influence of Humanism. As a member of the royal court of Matthias Corvinus, who was a supporter of the humanist movement, and also as a bishop in Oradea, a well-known centre of Humanism over the Alps, he certainly encountered this phenomenon quite often.

The influence of Humanism on John Filipec could have come from several places. The first possible source of Humanism is the court of King Matthias.²⁴⁵ He got there in the early 1470s, when the influence of John Vitéz and his nephew Janus Pannonius was still present. A decline in the royal support to the humanists in the royal chancellery started in 1471, but the court still kept its connections to Italy. Italian humanists, especially after the marriage of Matthias to the Neapolitan princess, were still coming to Buda and later on to Vienna. The only one of the humanists who seems to be interested in John Filipec was Antonio Bonfini, who came to Matthias' court in late 1486. He, however, could have met Filipec even before, in 1476 in Italy. Bonfini had visited Beatrix and her retinue in Loreto on their way to Hungary.²⁴⁶ It was even suggested that Bonfini could have been present at the

²⁴³ For the art patronage of John Filipec, see Balogh, "Die ungarische Mäzene," 77–79; idem, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, vol. 1 (Koložsvár [Oradea]: n.p., 1943), 180–182.

²⁴⁴ ZA Opava, Olomouc branch, fond: Dómská a kapitulní knihovna Olomouc (The cathedral and chapter library in Olomouc), codex CO 330: Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*. It was believed by the older scholarship, and by Jolán Balogh as well (see Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, 53, 180–182), that Filipec had brought this book to Olomouc. Csapodi, "Filipec (Pruisz) János," 246–248, with an overview of the older scholarship; idem, "Die erhalten gebliebener Bücher," 339; see also Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca*, 62.

²⁴⁵ For Humanism at the court of Matthias Corvinus, see Ritoók-Szalay, "Der Humanismus,"; Domonkos, "The Hungarian Royal Chancery,"; Péter Kulcsár, "Der Humanismus in Ungarn," in *Schallaburg* '82, 57–59; Feuer-Tóth, *Art and Humanism*, 49–113.

²⁴⁶ Bonfini, *Decades*, vol. 1, introductio, VI.

court of Urbino when Filipec visited there.²⁴⁷ On the diplomatic journeys he also encountered other diplomats of Matthias, who often had humanist educations, such as Rudolf of Rudesheim, Protasius Černohorský of Boskovice, Stanislav Thurzo. Even if Filipec must have remained in contact with them as well as with the court, no sources suggest any major influence on him, and there is no trace of correspondence between them. Moreover, except for Bonfini, the humanists at the court of Matthias did not mention Filipec.

The influence of Filipec's episcopal sees was probably of lesser importance to him, but they have to be mentioned as well. It was the episcopal court of Oradea that had a strong humanistic tradition from the time of John Vitéz and Janus Pannonius. The latter one mentions the famous library of Oradea in one of his most famous poems, "Farewell to Várad." He writes:

We bid you farewell, famous old library,
Endowed with the works of long-dead great authors.
Phoebus has moved here from his home, Patara,
And patrons of poets, the divine Muses,
Have come to prefer it to Castalia.
Let's drive on, my comrades, and devour the road.²⁴⁸

Being a centre of early Humanism through the presence of the two leading humanists of the period, Oradea became an important place for transmitting humanist ideas to Central Europe. The Olomouc bishopric did not have such important connections to humanist culture before Filipec. It was only Protasius Černohorský of Boskovice, who kept in touch with the humanists of his time. Humanism began to flourish in Olomouc only under the following bishop, Stanislav Thurzo. These places certainly must have had an impact on Filipec, but it does not necessarily have to have been a major one because he did not regularly stay there.

Another place for possible encounters with Humanism was Italy. It has already been shown that John Filipec went to the Italian centres several times, but the sources do not reveal anything about contacts with the Italian humanists, we only know about the possible meeting with Antonio Bonfini in Urbino. Similarly, Filipec could have met other humanists on his diplomatic missions.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Feuer-Tóth, *Art and Humanism*, 52.

²⁴⁸ Translated by Marianna D. Birnbaum in idem, *Janus Pannonius: Poet and Politician* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1981), 112.

²⁴⁹ Paul Oskar Kristeller in his *Iter Italicum* recorded three manuscripts, in Venice, Padova, and Treviso (places not far from each other than twenty kilometres), where poems by Hieronimus Bononii were preserved. These poems were written to different people, and among others also "Jo. praesul Valladiensis, envoy of Matthias Corvinus" is mentioned. In the references in the index of Kristeller's work, John Vitéz and John Filipec are mixed up, but these seems to refer to Filipec. All the manuscripts come from the end of the fifteenth or the

Some scholars have placed Filipec among the humanists of the period.²⁵⁰ This issue, however, cannot be established with any reasonable exactitude because we lack sources for it. There are no signs whatsoever that would suggest a humanist education or correspondence with other humanists. We know several books from his possession, but neither of them shows any impact of Humanism. One was the pontifical, that was copied for the use of John Filipec and used by him before 1490. The other two books owned by him were two Venetian prints of medical works of Avicenna from 1483 and 1484 respectively, one of them contains *Canon* and *De viribus cordis*, the other one *Cantica de medicina*. The last book that is mentioned in connection to Filipec is the gradual that was kept in the famous Corvinian library. It probably originated in France where Filipec received it as a present for King Matthias. Also this manuscript is in its form and iconography still medieval and does not show any traces of Humanism.²⁵¹

Having such a weak source basis, we must conclude, that Filipec was not a humanist in the sense that he would write his own literary works, be in correspondence with other humanists, or studied antique as well as humanist works. He was rather a man, who lived within the milieu of spreading Humanism, which he more or less passively accepted and absorbed.

* * *

What was the importance of art and Humanism for John Filipec will probably remain well outside the possible results of research. There are mainly indirect sources for this problem and it is often necessary to include a great deal of interpretation. We can say that he was aware of both the new phenomena, Humanism and Renaissance art, but he was not very active in these fields. However, it can be said that especially for Moravia, he could be seen as the mediator of Renaissance art, as Hlobil suggested, and also of Humanism. He prepared the milieu for Humanism in Olomouc with the maintenance and strengthening of the close links

beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and all have been preserved in the vicinity of Venice, which Filipec had visited in 1487. John Vitéz never went to Italy and died already in 1472. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 2, *Italy: Orvieto to Volterra, Vatican City* (London: Warburg Institute, 1967), 10–11, 194, 260. I, unfortunately, did not manage to find anything on Hieronimus. The assumption about the recipient of the poems being Filipec could be verified only on the spot.

²⁵⁰ Šmahel, “Počátky,” 11; Josef Macůrek, “Humanismus v oblasti moravskoslezské a jeho vztahy ke Slovensku v 2. polovině 15. století” (Humanism in the Moravian-Silesian region and its relations to Slovakia in the second half of the fifteenth century), in *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku v 15.–16. storočí* (Humanism and Renaissance in Slovakia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), edited by Ľudovít Holotík and Anton Vantuch (Bratislava: SAV, 1967), 338–346.

²⁵¹ Pontifical: Gyöngyi Török, “Pontificale des Bischofs Johannes Filipecz,” in *Schallaburg* '82, 433–435; Avicenna: Csapodi, “Die erhalten gebliebener Bücher,” 340; gradual: Soltész, *Das Corvinus-Graduale*.

to Buda. But whether he was anything more than *Wegbereiter des Olmützer Humanismus*, as Peter Wörster calls him²⁵² must remain open.

²⁵² Wörster, *Humanismus*, 28.

CONCLUSION

The different “lives” of John Filipec, which, however separated into these chapters, cannot be, in fact, separated so radically. Filipec the diplomat is an essential part of Filipec the politician, and vice versa. Both of these indeed are inseparably linked with Filipec the bishop. Through his abilities to represent King Matthias, he proved to be a worthy and useful diplomat, as the sources explicitly state. He travelled with marvellous embassies, as was noted by his contemporaries, who were amazed by the splendour and pomp of his role as ambassador of King Matthias. From this pomp his authority also stemmed, and this he needed for a strong negotiating position. As a politician he was unsuccessful several times, but the results of the negotiations did not depend only on his person but also on the political situation. However, when he was one of the decisive persons, he tried to achieve his goals by all means and was even accused of treacherous behaviour. Filipec’s episcopal tenures helped him to establish his authority as a diplomat and politician, but he was also active in his dioceses. His activity there proved his ability as a good manager because he cared much more for the secular improvement of his dioceses than for any religious one. These positions gave him the possibility to support art, endow churches with liturgical objects and other items, rebuild the buildings of the bishoprics, and support religious orders, mainly the Franciscans. As a friar he was active in the Franciscan order, but never reached any influential position.

It appears that John Filipec was quite pragmatic; he did what was practical and what was beneficial for him. By entering the service of King Matthias, and his conversion to Catholicism without any explicit signs of religious motives, he chose the best of the possibilities which allowed him to proceed significantly in his career. Moreover, in the critical year of 1490, he must have analysed the political situation and realised who was the most promising candidate for the throne. What is most astonishing in his career, however, is his retirement to the Franciscan friary in 1492. It is hard to decide whether his choice stemmed from the political situation, his fatigue because of the political negotiations, or a personal religious conversion. Most probably all these factors were connected: the sources support all of the possibilities. It is important, that some parallels for his departure of both secular and religious offices, have been found. This shows that even if such a behaviour was exceptional, there were also other people who acted in similar way. Their motives, however, are also not clear.

It is apparent from Filipec's letters, that he turned seriously religious at the end of his life. Also the closer relations to his family and friends are revealed in the sources from this period: it is the correspondence with William of Pernštejn and his care for John of Kunovice, his sister's son. Interesting is his view on friendship, that was recorded in one of his letters to William

After drawing the particularities of Filipec's life, we must see the broader setting of it. Why was this biography worth writing? First of all, it helps to see profoundly the personality of John Filipec, but there is also another contribution. The important factor is the time and the region. To use a cliché, John Filipec was "a child of his own age." The analysis of the specific "lives" enables us to perceive the Hungarian and Czech common history from several perspectives and more clearly. Being a Moravian of lower origin and becoming one of the most influential people in the court of King Matthias, he was the connector of the two countries in reality. We cannot draw any sharp conclusions concerning Filipec's character and personality, but on the basis of relevant sources and using the literature of both Hungarian and Czech historiographical tradition, we can understand through "one real life" of a person, what was happening in the last decades of the fifteenth century in Central Europe.

GAZETTEER OF GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS

The first column contains names used in the thesis; those in italics indicate the names that are currently in official use. Places with English names (e.g., Cracow, Prague) are not included.

C = Czech
Cr = Croatian
G = German

H = Hungarian
L = Latin
P = Polish

R = Romanian
S = Serbian
Sl = Slovak

<i>Bratislava</i> (Sl)	Pressburg (G)	Pozsony (H)		
<i>Brno</i> (C)	Brünn (G)			
<i>Buda</i> (H)	Ofen (G)	Budín (C)		
<i>Cenad</i> (R)	Tschanad (G)	Csanád (H)		
<i>České Budějovice</i> (C)	Budweis (G)			
<i>Eger</i> (H)	Erlau (G)	Jager (C)	Agria (L)	
<i>Esztergom</i> (H)	Gran (G)	Ostřihom (C)	Strigonium (L)	
<i>Győr</i> (H)	Raab (G)	Ráb (C)	Jauri(n)um (L)	
<i>Hukvaldy</i> (C)	Hochwald (G)			
<i>Jawor</i> (P)	Jauer (G)	Javor (C)		
<i>Jihlava</i> (C)	Iglau (G)			
<i>Kadaň</i> (C)	Kaaden (G)			
<i>Kamenz</i> (G)	Kamenec (C)			
<i>Košice</i> (Sl)	Kaschau (G)	Kassa (H)		
<i>Kutná Hora</i> (C)	Kuttenberg (G)			
<i>Mohelnice</i> (C)	Müglitz (G)			
<i>Nysa</i> (P)	Neisse (G)	Nisa (C)		
<i>Olomouc</i> (C)	Olmütz (G)	(Alamóc) (H)		
<i>Opava</i> (C)	Troppau (G)			
<i>Oradea</i> (R)	Grosswardein, Wardein (G)	Nagyvárad, Várad (H)	(Velký) Varadín (C)	Varadinum (L)
<i>Pécs</i> (H)	Fünfkirchen (G)	Pětikostelí (C)	Quinqueecclesia (L)	
<i>Plzeň</i> (C)	Pilsen (G)			
<i>Prostějov</i> (C)	Prossnitz (G)	Prostanna (L)		
<i>Sopron</i> (H)	Ödenburg (G)	Šoproň, Edemburk (C)		
<i>Sremska Mitrovica</i> (S)	Sirmien (G)	Szerém (H)	Srēm (C)	Sirmium (L)
<i>Świdnica</i> (P)	Schweidnitz (G)	Svidnice (C)		
<i>Székesfehérvár</i> (H)	Stuhlweissenburg (G)	Stoličný Bělehrad (C)		
<i>Trnava</i> (Sl)	Tyrnau (G)	Nagyszombat (H)		
<i>Uherské Hradiště</i> (C)	Ungarisch Hradisch (G)	(Magyarvár) (H)		
<i>Vác</i> (H)	Waitzen (G)	(Vacov) (C)		
<i>Wrocław</i> (P)	Breslau (G)	Boroszló (H)	Vratislav (C)	Vratislavia (L)
<i>Zagreb</i> (Cr)	Agram (G)	Zágráb (H)	Záhřeb (C)	Zagrabia (L)
<i>Zgorzelec</i> (P)	Görlitz (G)	Zhořelec (C)		

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