

Havel, Dalibor

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In: Havel, Dalibor. *Počátky latinské písemné kultury v českých zemích : nejstarší latinské rukopisy a zlomky v Čechách a na Moravě*. Vydání první Brno: Filozofická fakulta, Masarykova univerzita, 2018, pp. 481-486

ISBN 978-80-210-8918-1; ISBN 978-80-210-8919-8 (online : pdf)

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/138206>

Access Date: 09. 12. 2024

Version: 20220831

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SUMMARY

The Onset of the Latin Written Culture in the Bohemian Lands. The Oldest Latin Manuscripts and Fragments of Bohemia and Moravia

The spreading of Latin written culture in Bohemia and Moravia is closely linked to the slow Christianisation of these territories. The oldest Latin influences came from the ecclesiastical centres (bishoprics and Benedictine monasteries) of the south-eastern borderlands of the Frankish state – i.e. Bavaria. From the IXth century on, they became the main source to clergymen, who wandered the prevailing Slavic Czech and brought the first Latin manuscripts, who had a mostly liturgical content.

Among the few preserved texts, only two fragments can be identified with certainty. They probably belonged to the most precious hence oldest group of manuscripts, associated to the activities of the wandering clergymen that were active in the Prague outpost of the bishopric of Regensburg. These are the fragments of the galican psalter (preserved in the Czech National Library, sign. III.F.22; Catalogue number 1) and of a lectionary (today partly preserved in the Royal Library of the Premonstratensian canony of Strahov, sign. 548/zl., and partly in the library of the Schlägl monastery, sign. Cpl. 61; Catalogue Nr. 2). Their Bavarian provenance can be determined by a palaeographic analysis. Similar origins has an another group of fragments that primarily formed an entity (it consists also of a lectionary, Catalogue number 3: MZA Brno, G 1, sign. 12 307/5 lat., MZA Brno, G 2, sign. 726 C/34 and Chicago, Newberry Library, sign. frag. 4). In the latter case there is unfortunately no possibility to prove that the manuscripts already stayed in the Czech lands during the Early Middle Ages.

In the IXth and Xth centuries, neither an autonomous Czech diocesan structure existed, nor was there a well organised network of ecclesiastical institutions,

capable to import, adapt or produce an indigenous Latin written tradition. The evidence that depict this earliest layer of Latin manuscripts in the Czech lands is limited to parchment macules, preserved in younger book bindings but also in a few autonomous volumes. The study at hand relies on the cataloguing of 216 such entities. Chronologically, it embraces the production from the verge of the VIIIth/IXth centuries to the transition period at the end of the XIIth and the beginning of the XIIIth century. This complex contains about a third of the whole parchment macula known from the Czech and Moravian archive and library funds for this period and has been chosen to represent all categories of preserved Latin fragments.

From a palaeographical sight, it includes mostly texts written in Carolingian Minuscule. Rarely (i.e. exclusively in the bindings of much younger books) there is also evidence of an Non-Carolingian writing tradition: The prove is given by some fragments of English or Anglo-Saxon provenience, linked to the evangelisation of the European continent (Catalogue Nr. 66, 73 and 192) and an example from Southern Italy represented by an fragment written in beneventan script (Catalogue Nr. 13, 80 and 100). But there is also an isolated document in Wisgoth script (Catalogue Nr. 106). A bit of an oddity is the fragment of an evangelistary (Catalogue Nr. 99: deposited in the National Library of the Czech Republic, sign.VI.D.24, to whom belong the following *membra disieta*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, sign. Clm 27.270 and Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Fragmentensammlung, Frag. Sine num.); it is written in the late uncial of the Mondsee monastery from the verge of the VIIIth/IXth centuries.

As for its content, it corresponds to other Latin texts (manuscript entities) preserved from the Early Middle Ages, in whose liturgical books prevail. Before the XIIth century it's mostly sacramentaries, lectionaries and missals; breviaries appear only after 1100. Among the patristic works we find mostly the works of authorities used in the homily practice.

The oldest Bohemian centre with an active relation to the Latin written tradition was the domicile of the bishop of Prague and its nucleus of a chapter. The foundation of the bishopric in the 70ties of the Xth century was followed by an inflow of intellectuals from saxonian centres, in first place the Benedictine abbey of Corvey. This development was linked to the first (Thietmar) and third bishop (Thidagg) of Prague; even the study visit of the second bishop Adalbertus had a certain impact on writing culture. With this "saxonian wave" of influence that lasted until the second decade of the XIth century coincided probably the acquisition of the evangelistary Cim. 2 for the church of Prague. There is a provenience accordance with a group of fragments from one codex – a sacramentary, written in Corvey eventually at the beginning of the Xth century (divided into the bindings of the nowadays Clementinian codices sign. III.B.18,

V.E.9 and XXIV.A.140, Catalogue Nr. 95). However, its presence in early medieval Bohemia remains merely hypothetical.

It corresponds to the references in the sources that help to establish the existence of a school at latest in the early XIth century by Prague chapter. By then, it already had the potential to attract the intellectual elite of Western Europe (p.e. Hucbaldus). The records written in this centre are influenced by the second bishop of Prague, Adalbert/Vojtěch. This accounts in first place for the record of the so called edict of duke Boleslav II. of Bohemia (*CDB I*, Nr. 37), who was inscribed as memory note on fol. 76^r in the manuscript Nr. 217 of the Cistercian library at Heiligenkreuz. The edict goes back to the year 992 and must have been written down at the Prague bishopric only a little later. As such, it is the oldest identifiable and preserved Latin text written on Czech ground. In the first half of the XIth century, further texts were written into the said codex; so the *Ammonicio et exhortacio episcopalis* (fol. 51^r–53^r), who was already known as St. Adalbert's work and the sermon *Quia semel vestre caritatis* (fol. 77^r–77^v), who could be identified as his work in the present study for the first time. The complex of the Prague interpolations into manuscript Nr. 217 from Heiligenkreuz is concluded by the copy of a letter by pope Stephen V. addressed to the Moravian duke Svatopluk (fol. 5^v–6^v + 78^r–81^r; *CDB I*, Nr. 26). All this graphic products were written differently, all the writers' hands appear only once and there are insofar no formal relations (affinities) between them. Therefore we can assume, that there was no scriptorium at the Prague bishopric in the first half of the XIth century. This early phase was dominated by a group of literate individuals.

From mid-XIth century on, the preserved sources show an substantial quality of the Latin texts from Bohemia. This finding is underlined by the gradual flourishing of spiritual life in Bohemia and Moravia, where diocesan structures evolve and ecclesiastic institutions establish. Finally, they begin to resemble Western European "standards"; local monasteries are no longer merely consumers of Latin texts but begin to produce them as well. The life of the Benedictine monasteries in this period is strongly influenced by Gorze-oriented brothers from the Bavarian convent of Nideralteich.

This intellectual background formed p.e. Meinardus, who came to Břevnov. In his long abbotship (1035/1044–1089), a scribe school was founded here that left identifiable inprints in the written memories. The scriptorium of Meinhardus is still the oldest identifiable scribe school in the Czech lands. The reconstruction of the Břevnov scriptorium is primarily relying on methods independent from a palaeographical analysis in a narrow sense of the word: It bases on the recollection of codices, nowadays situated in different places, whose (medieval) origins lead back to Břevnov as well as on the search of manuscript bindings or frag-

ments without explicitly indicated signs of provenience. Such is p.e. the case of the following works: the codex Cod. 908 from the Austrian National Library that contains Hrabanus Maurus' *De laudibus sanctae Crucis*, the highly versatile manuscript from the University Library of Johann Christian Senckenberg in Frankfurt am Main denominated Ms 114 and an homiliary from the Prague chapter, A 156. From a graphical point of view, the first one is identic with the *Sermones* of pope Leo the Great, which are preserved as fragments in the National Library of the Czech Republic under the signature IV.A.24 (written by the same hand as Cod. 908), and the second one is identic with the fragment of an missal, used as binding for the incunabulum Nr. 50 from the Metropolitan Library of St. Wenceslas in Olomouc (written by the same scribe as Ms. 114).

An important point of reference in the scribe school of Břevnov is the so called *Professio Adalberti* (National Archive, ŘB Břevnov, inv. Nr. 191). The Břevnov origin of its lettering can't be denied because of the rhythm of the scribes hand, who has a certain tradition in its scriptorium. A similar writing appears also in the already mentioned codex from Frankfurt Ms. 114 (it's the hand of the calligrapher "A") and in the homily of Gregor the Great from the National Library of the Czech Republic, sign. IV.D.7 (auxiliary scribe "B"). The main scribe of this Clementinian codex is by chance the only writer from the Břevnov scriptorium who can be identified as "brother Modestus".

The Benedictine provenience of manuscript IV.D.7 is confirmed by younger additions to the original text, whose letter types are putting it into the first half of the XIIth century. They were performed by a known hand, that reappears in a Czech Benedictine gradual that is nowadays preserved in the Library of the Benedictine abbey of Rajhrad under the signature R 418.

An important indication for the scribe school of Břevnov is the hand denominated as "glossator B". Mostly, he worked on the texts with neums that were a mid-XIth century complement to the early Carolingian martyrology of Ado (today: Library of the Benedictine abbey of Rajhrad, sign. R 388). In addition to this text annotations, the glossator B adapted the text of the martyrology to the needs of the bohemian Benedictine community (p.e. the saint's days of St. Wenceslas and St. Scholastica); the presence of R 388 in XIth century Bohemia is proven by additions in ecclesiastical Slavonic that were executed alongside the work of glossator B. His interest for musical theories is reflected in the glosses he left in the *Quadrivium* manuscript of Boethius (NL of the CR, sign. IX.C.6). It probably belonged to the equipment of Meinhardus' library at Břevnov, even though it was written earlier, probably in the first half of the XIth century, i.e. outside of Břevnov. It's not surprising, that glossator B left a tiny track in the codex NL CR, sign. IV.D.7. as well.

The Břevnov school of the mid-XIth century, at the time of abbot Meinhardus, has therefore a rather mixed character who is dominated by two parallel groups of scribes: The first group were calligraphers with a very steady written manifestation of high quality, who had no immediate bonds with other scribes. They probably came to Břevnov as already educated professionals. From a palaeographical point of view, they were the bearers of the prime Carolingian Minuscule, who fits in the regional (central European) style of Otloh. Among their written works is the Vienna codex 908, the Clementinian fragment IV.A.24. and the Olomouc fragment in the incunabulum Nr. 50 from the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of St. Wenceslas. The second group involves scribes, whose writing rhythm is distinguishable by relating signs that were characteristic for the members of the Břevnov school of scribes. Among their works are the so called *Professio Adalberti*, a part of the Frankfurt (Ms. 114) and a section of the Clementine codex (IV.D.7). The glossator B is among the latter.

The reconstruction of the second scriptorium mentioned in this publication, the one of Hradisko u Olomouce, is primarily based on the interpretation of the full-page dedicational illumination in the *Horologium Olomucense* (Kunghliga Biblioteket, sign. Cod. Theol. A 144, fol. 34^v), where the scribe of the codex is identified by an “R” sign. His clothing reveals him as member of the Benedictine order. Besides, he participated in the transcription of the works of John Cassian, that are nowadays stored at Strahov (the Library of the Royal Premonstratensian canonry of Strahov, sign. DA III 25). This manuscript contains also an ex libris that reveals its former depository: it’s the library of the monastery in Hradisko u Olomouce. According to their graphic affinities, the remaining two codices can be assigned to the circle of the calligrapher “R”: It’s the case of the manuscript from the Metropolitan chapter of Olomouc, sign. CO 96 that contains the *Confessiones* of St. Augustine (this affinity is confirmed by the presence of hand “F”) and the breviary from Rajhrad, currently preserved in the Library of the Benedictine abbey, sign. R 387. This breviary reveals in its sanctoral part (an structure similar to the calender in an horologium) its Moravian and Benedictine provenience (besides the usual “Czech” saints it contains also St. Ludmila).

All of these manuscripts can be clearly identified as products of one scriptorium, who bears all the signs of a scribe school. It is dominated by the handwriting of a very cultivated scribe. Besides him, 13 different hands could be identified, who all were marked by a certain manual affinity related to the exemplary calligrapher “R”. The same accounts for a functional interpretation of the codex DA III 25, that points toward the existence of a scribe school that can be located in the Benedictine abbey of Hradisko u Olomouce.

This scriptorium existed in the same period as the Olomouc scriptorium of bishop Jindřich Zdík, i.e. in the 30ties and 40ties of the XIIth century, which was also the time of abbot Bohumil in the Hradisko monastery. It is even probable that there was a collaboration between the two writing centres. The Hradisko school was able to realize even most demanding commissions. But on the level of high quality calligraphy, it had to rely on outside artists, as it's shown by the cases of Hildebert and Everwin.

After the Benedictines left Hradisko, we can follow the marks of their scriptorium in the West Bohemian Benedictine abbey of Kladruby, where a part of the brothers from Hradisko took shelter; two examples of the so called foundation charter of the Kladruby monastery (*CDB I*, Nr. 390 B1: NA Prague, AZK, inv. Nr. 493, sign. ŘB Kladruby 1b and *CDB I*, Nr. 390 B2: ANM, Sběrka pergamenů A, sign. Perg-A1) are written by a hand with a strong affinity to calligrapher "R" from Hradisko.

The handwriting of its Benedictine scribes show signs of a late and already declining Carolingian minuscule that was ready to adapt stylistic particularities of the arising Gothic style. In this study, an excursus is dedicated to the production linked to the scriptorium of the Benedictine abbey of Ostrov u Davle. The method of reconstruction is copied from the case studies described above: The writings recollected on the base of the common library provenience are the starting point for the application of analytic and comparative palaeographical methods. On this base, a group of potential products from the oldest scriptorium of Ostrov has been determined. Among the first ones, figures the codex from the Library of the Prague chapter, sign. A 173, that contains the Dialogues of Gregory the Great. Prove has already been given that it was glossed in Ostrov. In the present study, the known production of its basic scribes has been completed with graphically related material from manuscript fragments, such as the fragment group of the *Homiliarium* of Haimo of Halberstadt (Catalogue Nr. 89). Even though none of the hands from this group reappear in other manuscripts, their affinity is quite clear and can serve to confirm the fact, that Ostrov probably had an scriptorium of its own in the first half of the XIth century.

Translated by Klára Hübnerová