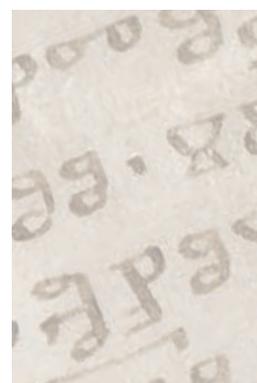
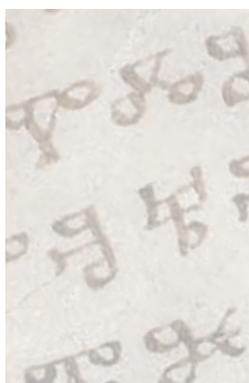


THE CYRIL AND METHODDIUS MISSION AND EUROPE

1150 Years Since the Arrival of the Thessaloniki Brothers in Great Moravia

Pavel Kouřil et al.





**VELKÁ
MORAVA**

1150 let křesťanství ve střední Evropě



Cyrl a Metoděj
1150 let

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The Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Brno

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FOREWORD

Pavel Kouřil

In 2013 we celebrated the 1,150th anniversary of the arrival of the Byzantine pastoral mission in Great Moravia (863), headed by the intellectually prominent Thessalonian brothers – the philosopher and theologian Cyril and the monk Methodius – who came with an understanding of the Slavic language and had ample experience of missionary work. They translated the basic liturgical texts into Slavic, for which they also created a special alphabet, Glagolitic. This was the high water mark in the efforts of the Moravian ruler Rostislav (846–870) to improve Moravian ecclesiastical organisation and ensure its independence. Even though the brothers' work suffered a violent destruction in Moravia following Methodius' death (885), it nevertheless had a profound impact as it spread into many other Slavic territories, mainly of the southern and eastern Slavs, who further developed Slavic liturgy and literature.

The Cyrillo-Methodian theme likewise remained very much alive, discussed and studied from various perspectives, in our environment (and of course not only here) and it is still alive now that Sts Cyril and Methodius have been proclaimed co-patrons of Europe. Despite the immense time lag, their legacy creates an imaginary connection among various spheres of public life and may serve as one of the basic building blocks which has moulded and may still mould our spiritual, national and state identity. The already enormous amount of information and literature focused on this theme inspired the idea of organising an international scholarly conference in connection with this important anniversary, which would, with the assistance of prominent European specialists and in a wider international and interdisciplinary context, summarise the results of years of research and studies in the various relevant fields (e.g. archaeology, history, art history, Slavic Studies, philology and literary studies). In cooperation with the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Ministry of Culture (Project NAKI), Chamber of Deputies and Senate, the Archaeological Department of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Brno (as the main organiser) coordinated the conference entitled *The Cyrillo-Methodian Mission and Europe – 1,150 years since the arrival of the Thessalonian brothers in Great Moravia*. Further participants included the Moravian Land Museum in Brno, the Department of History and the Slavonic Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague, the Department of Archaeology and Museology and the Departments of History of the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University in Brno and of Palacký University in Olomouc and the Zlín Region. It was organised under the auspices of the Prime Minister, the President of the Senate, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, the Archbishops of Prague and Olomouc, a representative of the Orthodox Church, the President of the Academy of Sciences and many other important cultural-political personalities. The event took place at the ancient site of Velehrad, an important spiritual and peregrinatory centre connected with annual Cyrillo-Methodian celebrations, between May 13 and 17, 2013. The scholars convened in the Slavic Hall of Stojan Grammar School. The opening speeches were presented by the President of the Academy of Sciences, Jiří Drahoš, President of the Chamber of Deputies, Miroslava Němcová,

the Metropolitan of Moravia the Archbishop of Olomouc, Jan Graubner, successor to the see of Methodius, and the Hetman of the Zlín Region, Stanislav Mišák.

The conference was divided into three thematic parts: *The Preconditions*, *The Thessalonian Brothers*, and *Memory*, in the course of which leading scholars from 10 European countries (the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Russia, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, Austria and Germany) presented 43 concise contributions covering the period from the 8th/9th to the 18th centuries, followed by rich and mostly fruitful discussions. The contributors expanded their papers into high quality studies for the purpose of creating this thematic monograph. These are thus original pieces of research that take our knowledge of this topic a step further.

We therefore believe that this publication will find a wide circle of readers not only among scholars.

The convention, which lasted five days, was accompanied by a varied programme. The conference participants visited the open-air museum in Modrá close to Velehrad, the Memorial of Great Moravia in Staré Město, the Sady Heights in Uherské Hradiště and what is at present the most important Great Moravian site, Mikulčice. I have the pleasant duty to thank the mayors of the above-mentioned places for their help, support and hospitality as well as to thank the grammar school choir for an original opening. The symposium was much talked of in the media and among the public and, beside the 51 specialists, it was attended by another 220 persons, both scholars and laymen alike.

Brno, August 2014

INTRODUCTION

THE UNIVERSALISM OF THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN MISSION

Vladimír Vavřínek

Constantine-Cyril and Methodius were sent to Moravia by Byzantine Emperor Michael III and by Patriarch Photios to satisfy the request of Duke Rastislav, prepare local pupils for taking holy orders and to make the necessary arrangements for establishing an ecclesiastical diocese independent from the Frankish episcopacy. The diocese should originally have been established within the Patriarchate of Constantinople; while in Moravia, however, both brothers understood that the goals of the Moravian ruler, with regard to the political-geographical position of the land and its former traditions, could only be achieved within the Western Patriarchate, under the patronage of the Roman Pope. But this did not mean in any way that they would adopt an anti-Byzantine stance. Even though their mission took place during the first great dissension between the Western and the Eastern Church, at the time of the so-called Photian schism, they did not support either of the opposing parties but maintained a rare non-party stance. They themselves thought, lived and acted in the spirit of early Christian universalism and subordinated all their activities to the interests of the ruler and the people to whom they were sent. The primary goal was to establish literature in the local Slavic language and introduce it into the liturgy as well. This original idea by Constantine the Philosopher was far beyond the borders of contemporaneous thinking, not only in the West but also in the East, in Byzantium. This practice was very successful with missionary activities among the Moravian people, but met with hard resistance from the Frankish clergy. The only support given to them was from Popes Adrian II and John VIII, who were thereby following their own interests; their permission to hold church services in the Slavic language, after all, was only limited to the territory of Svatopluk's empire. The pupils of Methodius were expelled from Moravia after his death. Nevertheless, the cultural legacy of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission – Slavic ecclesiastical literature and Slavic liturgy – was saved above all by the southern and eastern Slavs. These peoples were thus able to adopt Byzantine culture without losing their own national identity and being Hellenised; at the time of ecclesiastical dissension, however, in contradiction to the legacy of both Thessalonian brothers, they definitively took the party of Byzantine Orthodoxy, which was hostile towards the Latin West.

Key words: Cyrillo-Methodian Mission, Old Church Slavonic literature, Slavic liturgy

1150 years ago, a small group of Byzantine missionaries led by the brothers Constantine-Cyril and Methodius arrived in Moravia at the invitation of Prince Rastislav. Their ministry in Moravia did not last long, in fact less than a quarter of a century. After the death of the elder of the two brothers, Archbishop Methodius, his Byzantine companions as well as his local pupils were either expelled from the principality or sold abroad into slavery. This period may therefore seem a mere episode, though perhaps a notable one, worthy only of a mention in history textbooks. In reality, however, the literature dedicated to the history, ministry and cultural heritage of this mission have already achieved dimensions which an individual may have difficulty to appreciate.¹ It does not

always include scholarly investigations or learned discussion. In the course of the centuries, the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition repeatedly became the subject of contradictory interpretations, party controversies and sometimes also the means of promoting various particular, ecclesiastical, social and political interests. Nonetheless, despite all the previous research devoted to the topic, we must still inquire into the historical import of this mission, which excited and continues to excite much interest and generates extensive scholarly debate. We may also ask whether the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition still has something to say today.

The reasons for which Moravian Prince Rastislav requested missionaries from the Byzantine emperor, Michael III, were of both a practical and political nature. His aim was not to Christianise the country. It is a well-established fact that, thanks to the activity of Frankish missionaries, joined in their ministry by priests from the Aquileian patriarchate, the great part of Moravian inhabitants, and particularly their social elites, had already been converted more than three decades earlier. Following this Christianisation, the Bishop of Passau assumed the spiritual government of the principality, considering Moravia the missionary sphere of his

¹ Scholarly work related to the Cyrillo-Methodian question is nowadays difficult to survey. A bibliography of relevant works was compiled by Grigor A. ILJINSKIJ, *Opyt sistematičeskoj kirillo-mefod'evskoj bibliografii*, Soňa 1934; Michail POPRUŽENKO – Stojan ROMANČUK *Kirilo-Methodievska bibliografija za 1934–1940*, Soňa 1940 (updated reprints of them were published in Soňa in 2003 and 2010) and finally Ivan DUJČEV – Angelina KIRMAGOVA – Anna PAUNOVA, *Kirilometodievska bibliografija 1940–1980*, Soňa 1983, contain close to 13,000 items. – A good survey of all preserved sources related to the Cyrillo-Methodian mission is offered by A. SALAJKA, *Die Quellen zum Leben und zur Geschichte von Konstantin-Kyrill und Method*, in: Antonín Salajka (ed.), *Konstantin-Kyrill aus Thessalonike (Das östliche Christentum, N.F. Heft 22)*, Würzburg 1969. – A comprehensive edition of all primary sources related not only to the Cyrillo-Methodian mission itself but also to the history of Great Moravia in general with parallel translations into Czech was published by (along with a group of Slavists and classical philologists) the historian Lubomír Emil HAVLÍK, *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici: I – Annales et chronicae*, Praha – Brno 1956; II – *Textus biographici, hagiographici, liturgici*, Brno 1967; III – *Diplomata, Epistolae, textus historici varii*, Brno 1969; IV – *Leges – textus iuridici, supplementa*, Brno 1971; V – *Indices*, Brno 1976; further only *MMFH*. (I cite the Old Church Slavonic *Life of Constantine* under the abbreviation VC and the Old Church Slavonic *Life of Methodius* under the abbreviation VM).

diocese and appointed there an archpresbyter as his deputy and head of the local clergy.²

In the 850s, when Prince Rastislav militarily freed his principality from political dependence on the Frankish Empire, he also desired the ecclesiastical autonomy of Moravia in order to have his church government independent from the Bavarian Episcopate. Sometime around 860, he therefore asked Pope Nicholas I to establish a self-governing Moravian church archdiocese. When his request had been rejected in Rome, he resolved to achieve his purpose with the aid of the second great power of the Christian world of his time, the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate. Though the Byzantine authorities did not completely refuse his appeal, they also did not fully satisfy the Moravian prince's supplication. They believed it premature to send a bishop to a country which until then they had not had any dealings with, and to build an autonomous church province without sufficient information regarding the local situation.³ Instead they decided to send two capable missionaries proved in other diplomatic assignments to Moravia. The younger, Constantine, had been known since his youth as "the Philosopher" for his great learning; the elder, Methodius, was a man of much organisational experience acquired prior to his entry into a monastery while governing a province inhabited by Slavs. Their task was to observe the situation in Moravia, prepare the ground for the possible foundation of a diocese and, mainly, to instruct local pupils to later take over its government.⁴

On their own initiative, the brothers however connected their official assignment with a magnificent cultural programme. For the purposes of this mission, they decided to translate Holy Scripture and liturgical texts into the vernacular of the people to whom they were sent. In their time, such an initiative was quite novel and unheard of. It was not a common practice of the Byzantine Church, allegedly supporting the use of local languages in missions among pagan nations, as has long been believed.⁵ In fact it was quite the contrary because from the be-

2 Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Die Christianisierung und Kirchenorganisation Grossmährens*, *Historica* 7, 1963, pp. 5–56; IDEM, *Předcyrilometodějské misie na Velké Moravě [Pre-Cyrillo-Methodian missions in Great Moravia]*, *Slavia* 32, 1963, pp. 461–480; IDEM, *Cirkevní misie na Velké Moravě [The ecclesiastical missions in Great Moravia]*, Praha 1963; Zdeněk Radslav DITTRICH, *Christianity in Great Moravia*, Groningen 1962; František DVORNÍK, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs*, New Brunswick, N. J. 1970; (Czech translation: *Byzantské misie u Slovanů*, Praha 1970); Alexis Peter VLASTO, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*, Cambridge 1970. The newest synthetic monograph on the history and Christianisation of Great Moravia was published by Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin [Moravia at the dawn of history]*, *Vlastivěda moravská*, vol. 4, Brno 2011, which contains a sizeable bibliography.

3 On Byzantine missions in general see Hans Georg BECK, *Christliche Mission und politische Propaganda im byzantinischen Reich*, in: *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo XIV*, Spoleto 1967, pp. 649–674; P. CHRISTOU, *The Missionary Task of the Byzantine Emperor*, *Byzantina* 3, 1971, pp. 277–286; Christian HANNICK, *Die byzantinischen Missionen*, in: K. Schäferdiek (ed.), *Die Kirche des frühen Mittelalters. Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte II/1*, München 1978, pp. 279–359; Ihor ŠEVČENKO, *Religious Missions Seen from Byzantium*, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12–13, 1988/89, pp. 7–27; Sergej IVANOV, *Vizantijskoe missionerstvo. Možno li sdelat' iz „varvara“ christianna?*, Moskva 2003 (Czech translation: *Byzantské misie, aneb je možné udělat z barbara křesťana?*, Červený Kostelec 2012).

4 From numerous earlier works dedicated to the history of Cyril and Methodius let us mention at least the following: František DVORNÍK, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, Praha 1933; Franz GRIVEC, *Konstantin und Methodius, Lehrer der Slaven*, Wiesbaden 1960; Leonard BOYLE, *Cirillo et Methodio, I santi apostoli degli Slavi*, Roma 1963; Pierre DUTHILLEUL, *L'Évangélisation des Slaves. Cyrille et Méthode*, Tournai 1963. Antonios-Emilios N. TACHIAOS, *Cyrl and Methodius of Thessalonica. The Acculturation of the Slavs*, Thessaloniki 1989. I have summed up my own views recently in the book Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Cyrl a Metoděj mezi Konstantinopolí a Římem [Cyril and Methodius between Constantinople and Rome]*, Praha 2013.

5 For example Dionysios ZAKYTHINOS, *Les peuples de l'Europe du Sud-Est et leur rôle dans l'histoire. La synthèse byzantine*, in: 1^{re} Congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes, Sofia 1966, pp. 21nn.; Ivan DUJČEV, *La problema delle lingue nazionali nel medio evo e gli Slavi*, *Ricerche slavistiche* 8, 1960, pp. 59. Most recently Judith HERRIN, *Byzantium. A surprising life of a medieval empire*, London 2008, pp. 131–138.

ginning the Byzantine Church operated purely in Greek. It is true that in the Christian Orient, Syria, Egypt, in Mesopotamia and in the Caucasus, in Armenia and Georgia, local nations developed writing in their own languages, in which they also celebrated the Divine Office. This phenomenon, however, resulted from indigenous development in regions with ancient cultures of their own, which in Late Antiquity experienced revivals due to Christianity. The origin of these national cultures, which also used their own alphabets, did not depend on an agreement with or support from official Byzantine authorities nor did it proceed from their initiative. Quite the contrary; the loss of these territories following Arab expansion in the 7th century only sped up the Hellenisation of the whole of Byzantine society and especially the Byzantine Church.⁶

In the 9th century, when, along with a new political expansion of the Byzantine Empire, its missionary activity once again increased both within the empire and among its neighbours, the sources never mention that Byzantine priests would have translated sacred books into the local language or even used the latter in liturgy. From the end of the 8th century, the Byzantine government had been attempting to subdue the Slavic tribes which had previously occupied Greece and the Peloponnese, and to integrate them by means of Christianisation and Hellenisation, both deeply intertwined in the process.⁷ Using local languages in liturgy did not become an option even when Patriarch Photios and later also Patriarch Ignatios dispatched their missionaries to Bulgaria and Russia. Both sent priests there and later also bishops who in their ecclesiastical practice only used Greek. The struggles of these two patriarchs with Roman Popes Nicholas I, Hadrian II or John VIII only concerned the question under whose jurisdiction the newly baptised Bulgaria should belong. Their rich mutual correspondence, as well as the acts of both councils held in Constantinople in 869/70 and 879/80 where this bone of contention was discussed, offer no evidence that the question of liturgical language came up at all in their debates. Apparently, the patriarchs had no doubt of the sole eligibility of Greek and Latin.⁸

The intention to create Slavic literature for the purposes of the Moravian mission and to celebrate liturgy in their own language – Slavic – arose from the personal initiative of Constantine

6 Gilbert DAGRON, *Les origines de la culture et langue de l'État*, *Revue historique* 93, t. 241, 1969, pp. 23–53.

7 Expressed by Emperor Leo VI in his eulogy on his father Basileios I (*Leoni VI. Taktika* XVIII, 101, in: *Patrologia graeca* 107, ed. Jean Paul Migne, Paris 1863, col. 969). Compare with Dimitrij OBOLENSKY, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe 500–1453*, London 1971, pp. 69–70; Antonios-Emilios N. TACHIAOS, *Cyrl and Methodius of Thessalonica*, pp. 86–96, on the contrary claims that the Byzantine ruling circles prepared a special project for the intended mission to the Slavs as supported by the passage in VC 8 according to which Constantine in the course of his winter stop (on the way to the Khazars) in Cherson in the Crimea found a Psalter written "in Russian letters" and there met a man "speaking this language". This thesis was later further developed by A. E. N. TACHIAOS in his study *Cyrl and Methodius in the Perspective of the Byzantine "Slavic Project"*, in: *Образ и слово – Εικόνα και Λόγος. Recueil à l'occasion du 60e anniversaire du Prof. Axinia Džurova*, Sofia 2004, pp. 407–415. Compare with my polemic with this interpretation: Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *"Russische Buchstaben" im byzantinischen Cherson*, in: Klaus BELKE et al. (ed.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2007, pp. 693–703.

8 The progress of these negotiations and their background was described in detail by František DVORNÍK, *The Photian Schism. History and Legend*, Cambridge 1948, pp. 91nn., which mentions and partly quotes all the relevant sources. See also Vasil GJUZELEV, *Knjaz Boris I. Bulgaria prez vtorata polovina na IX vek*, Sofia 1969, pp. 241–323; Hans Dieter DÖPMANN, *Zum Streit zwischen Rom und Byzanz um die Christianisierung Bulgariens*, *Palaeobulgarica* V/1, 1981, pp. 62–73; Liliana SIMEONOVA, *Diplomacy of the Letter and the Cross. Photios, Bulgaria and the Papacy, 860's–880's*, Amsterdam 1998. An excellent overview of these controversies has recently been offered by Henry CHADWICK, *East and West. The Making of a Rift in the Church*, Oxford 2003, pp. 95–124.

the Philosopher.⁹ In his time, this idea had no equal and represented a revolutionary act, which surpassed the way of thinking of his contemporaries not only in the West but also in Byzantium. In the period of political growth of the Byzantine Empire, Byzantine intellectuals, both secular and ecclesiastical, felt culturally, arrogantly superior to everything non-Greek.¹⁰ In this respect, the statement of Emperor Michael III, who in his letter to Pope Nicholas I disdainfully described Latin as a “barbarian and Scythian language”,¹¹ well characterises this attitude. At about the same time Patriarch Photios, the teacher of Constantine-Cyril, believed, along with the majority of his contemporaries, that Divine Providence had selected Greek as the means of spreading the Christian faith, which exclusively possessed the means to express and precisely formulate its subtleties.¹²

Constantine the Philosopher was an outstanding philologist who since childhood had revealed an exceptional linguistic gift. His interest in the Old Testament books and their exegesis brought him to study Hebrew. He certainly knew that the eastern Christian nations living outside the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire used their own languages in liturgy.¹³ Unlike many of his contemporaries, he believed it their undeniable right, justified by Scripture, and especially by the letters of the Apostle Paul, who broke the religious isolation of the Jewish community and taught that the words of Christ had to be proclaimed to all nations.

Constantine’s thinking was much influenced by the deliberations of his teacher Photios who, with his students, read and commented on various literary and theological works. Photios apparently dedicated a lot of time to the Apostle Paul’s letters. In the analysis of the First Epistle to the Corinthians he closely examined the aspect of comprehensibility of interpretation and stressed to his pupils the educational power of the word. He also inquired into how to use linguistic means of expression and rhetoric better to convey and formulate the speaker’s purpose.¹⁴ However, when Photios spoke about

clarity of language, he was thinking about the only language worthy of a Byzantine intellectual – Greek.

These ideas certainly deeply influenced the young Constantine. Nonetheless, while preparing for his mission among the Slavs, the young scholar largely surpassed the ideas of his teacher. He came to believe that if a barbarous nation should embrace Christ’s teaching it had to be proclaimed in an understandable way; it had to be imparted to them in a comprehensible language – in their mother tongue. Already missionaries, both western and eastern, had had to master the language of the people to whom they had come, sufficiently enough to explain the basic principles of Christian faith. In general these were mostly, at least in the West, only the basic formulas: the *Credo*, the prayer *Our Father*, the baptismal promise, the confessional prayer and the teaching on sins and virtues.¹⁵ This amount of knowledge, however, did not seem sufficient to Constantine. He saw himself called to do much more; he wanted to enable the Slavs to know God’s word in its authentic form, to be able to read it in their own language or hear it as it was inscribed in the Gospels. He expressed this noble idea with a captivating impact in a number of poetic similes in his rhymed introduction to the Slavic translation of the Gospels called *Proglas*, claiming that the words of the Lord proclaimed to a nation in a foreign language would only be “the sound of a copper bell” and that the nations must therefore have books speaking to them in their own languages or else remain “as if naked in the strife with the adversary of human souls”, for “a soul deprived of books is as if dead in the man”.¹⁶

As a typical Byzantine scholar, Constantine believed that true faith could only be founded on the testimony of holy books, the only source of true learning. Thus in his dialogue with the Emperor he undertook his mission to Moravia only on condition that he would be able to procure for the Slavs books in their own language, because only thus would he be able to succeed in his mission (*Vita Constantini*, further only *VC*, chpt. 14). When he spoke about books he meant of course the ultimate books, the Scriptures, which to him were the source of all knowledge and the guarantee of orthodox faith. We may only imagine why the Emperor and Patriarch granted this request, unheard of in Byzantine missionary politics. The enthusiastic persuasiveness of Constantine’s arguments is evident. On the other hand, the fact that the mission was dispatched to a distant country outside the immediate sphere of Byzantine political interest where such an experiment could do no mischief certainly played an important role in the Emperor’s decision-making.

Constantine took up his assignment immediately and with great fervour, and along with his brother Methodius and several co-workers, who, according to the hagiographer were “of the same spirit”, had already translated the lectionary (*aproskos*) prior to their departure from Constantinople. Later in Moravia they continued this work, creating a complete translation of all four Gospels complemented by the “Apostle” (the *Acts* and apostolic letters). The meaning and cultural impact of this work is priceless. For the first time in mediaeval

9 I presented this view in the study Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *The Introduction of the Slavonic Liturgy and the Byzantine Missionary Policy*, in: V. Vavřínek (ed.), *Beiträge zur byzantinischen im 9.-11. Jahrhundert*, Praha 1978, pp. 255–279 (Russian translation: *Kul'turnye i cerkovno-političeskie predposylki vozniknovenija slavjanskoj liturgii*, in: Peter Dinekov et al. (vyd.), *Kirilo-Methodievski studii IV*, Sofia 1987, pp. 130–137); Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK – Bohumila ZÁSTĚROVÁ, *Byzantium's Role in the Formation of the Great Moravian Culture*, *Byzantinoslavica* 43, 1982, pp. 161–188.

10 Ihor ŠEVČENKO, *Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission*, *Slavic Review* 23, 1964, pp. 220–236, especially 226–228. D. OBOLENSKY, *Cyrille et Méthode et la christianisation des Slaves*, in: *La conversione al Cristianesimo nell'Europa dell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo XIV), Spoleto 1967, pp. 587–609, especially 594–602.

11 *Nicolas I. papae epistolae*, ed. Ernst PERELS, in: MGH EE 6, Berlin 1925, no. 88, p. 459.

12 Photios formulated these ideas in letters to the Catholics of the Armenian Church Zecharias (Francis DVORNÍK, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, Cambridge, Mass. 1958, pp. 239–242), the authenticity of which was recently disputed by several scholars, see Vlada A. ARUTJUNOVA FIDANIAN, *K voprosu ob avtorste Poslnija k Zaxarii*, in: *Vizantiskije očerki*, Moscow 1996, pp. 56–75. Whether Photios did formulate these letters himself or whether they are the work of someone else, they doubtlessly express his ideas. In a letter addressed to the “Patriarch of Aquileia” he claimed that Pope Leo III engraved the *Credo* into a silver plate in Greek so that he would ensure that its precise formulation would not be corrupted by translation into a “barbarian language”, by which he apparently meant Latin. (*Photii epistolae et amphilochia II*, ed. Basileios Laourdas – Leendert Gerrit Westerink, Leipzig 1984, Ep. 291, pp. 141–142). In reality the Pope had two plates made; on one he had the *Credo* engraved in Greek and on the other in Latin.

13 František GRIVEC, *De orthodoxia ss. Cyrilli et Methodii* (Opera Academiae Velehradensis, 10), Kroměříž 1922.

14 Růžena DOSTÁLOVÁ, *Zur Entwicklung der Literarästhetik in Byzanz von Gregorios von Nazianz zu Eustathios*, in: V. Vavřínek (ed.), *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.-11. Jahrhundert*, Praha 1978, pp. 143–177, esp. 148–149.

15 Alaxander V. ISAČENKO, *Začiatky vzdelanosti ve Vel'komoravskej ríši [The beginnings of learning in Great Moravia]*, Turčianský sv. Martin, 1948.

16 Josef VAŠICA, *Literární památky epochy velkomoravské 863–865 [Literary documents of the Great Moravian era]*, Praha 1966, pp. 26–28, 103–104.

Europe since Wulfila's translation of the Biblical books (and apparently only a selection of these) into Gothic in the 4th century, the Scriptures and more particularly the New Testament, until then accessible only to a small group of learned westerners able to read Latin, were translated into a people's vernacular.

For the literary purposes of the Slavic language, Constantine considered it necessary to create a special alphabet (today called Glagolitic) with letters for all its phonemes. In this he was probably inspired by the east Christian nations, which had also developed writing in their own languages using unique alphabets.¹⁷ He did not, however, only create letters, though these did fill their contemporaries with much awe (or wrath). In order to produce the intended translations, Constantine and Methodius had to construct a Slavic literary language. The Slavic spoken in their native Thessalonica, which they had learned in their youth, was a simple language useful only for everyday family life, the marketplace or fieldwork. In order to translate the Gospels, they had to enrich its vocabulary with numerous expressions and create many new syntactic constructions and phrases.¹⁸ The result of their work is admirable. One of the great Slavists and Byzantinists of the last century, Ihor Ševčenko, stressed as one of the great paradoxes of the Thessalonian brothers' ministry the fact that the Old Church Slavonic literature created by them had already in its beginning reached such linguistic perfection that the following generations of authors writing in this language vainly attempted to achieve this level.¹⁹

However revolutionary and, in its time, unheard of, Constantine and Methodius' translation of the New Testament books was only part of their magnificent programme. Soon after their arrival in Moravia they also translated the mass canon, Psalter and Hours from Greek to Slavic and began to use them in liturgy. They did so with two objectives. The brothers were certain that if the new believers could fully comprehend the words and prayers of the priest, they would also be able spiritually to experience the Eucharist with him instead of merely passively observing a ritual celebrated in an unintelligible language. Simultaneously, Slavic liturgy was to them a symbolic expression of this formerly "barbaric" people now achieving a higher level of civilisation and becoming a full member of the advanced Christian *oikumene*, or "one of the great nations, which worship God in their own language" (VC, chpt. 14). They thus gave their ecclesiastical-political mission a higher meaning; they believed that it was not merely a nation capable of defending its independence by military might but one which had and was able creatively to develop its own culture that could become truly independent. They thus countered the claim that the necessary price for entering civilised Christian society was a readiness for cultural assimilation with the principle that every nation had a God-given right to enter the above as a full member with its own language in order to contribute to its development.

17 Thorvi ECKHARDT, *Azbuka. Versuch einer Einführung in das Studium der slavischen Paläographie*, Wien – Köln 1989.

18 R. VEČERKA, *Vliv řečtiny na staroslověňštinu [The Greek influence on Old Church Slavonic]*, *Listy filologické* 94, 1971, pp. 129–151; IDEM, *K vlivu latiny na staroslověňštinu [On the influence of Latin on Old Church Slavonic]*, *Slavia* 47, 1978, pp. 340–344.

19 Ihor ŠEVČENKO, *Three Paradoxes*, p. 231–236.

Such ideas, however, invited the disapproval of the majority of their contemporaries, not only in the West where the exclusive use of Latin was insisted upon, but also in the East where the Byzantine Church promoted the hegemony of Greek. Constantine and Methodius' activity met with the especially strong or even hateful opposition of the Frankish and other Latin priests who had worked in Moravia prior to their arrival. If they already considered the coming and ministry of the Byzantine missionaries an abuse of their claims to this region, then the introduction of Slavic liturgy must have seemed a heresy to them, since in their opinion the only sacred languages which could be used in liturgy were Greek, Latin and Hebrew.²⁰ The Moravian prince could protect and support the Thessalonian brothers against the wiles of their enemies, but they needed a higher ecclesiastical power in order to materialise their goals – that is, to ordain local pupils and possibly establish a Moravian diocese. It is one of many great paradoxes, so typical of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, that the Byzantine missionaries achieved these aims not in Constantinople as they had probably originally intended but via the Apostolic See in Rome.

Constantine and Methodius remained in Moravia about three and a half years, approximately from the autumn 863 till the spring of 867²¹ when the great conflict between the Constantinopolitan patriarchate and the Papal Curia known as Photios' Schism took place. It revolved around the question of whether the Byzantine Church would recognise the claim of the Roman Pope to decide on all controversies of the whole Christian Church, including the choice of Patriarch of Constantinople, or whether the ecclesiastical principle of pentarchy – the right of the five patriarchates to absolute sovereignty in the internal affairs of their dioceses²² – would be justified and the Roman Bishop, as the acknowledged successor of St Peter, would enjoy honorary, but not juridical, primacy.²³ This controversy, which mainly concerned the prestige of both sees, also had other, much more practical and clearly also political causes chiefly concerned with the question of which of them had the right and would exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over eastern Illyricum, and particularly the newly converted Bulgaria, which gained importance as a new power on the political map of Europe.²⁴

The Thessalonian brothers typically refused to become involved in these power struggles between the two ecclesiastical

20 A thorough study containing a detailed overview of the development of these ideas with an exhaustive bibliography of the literature devoted to this question is offered by Francis J. THOMSON, SS, *Cyril and Methodius and a Mythical Western Heresy: Trilingualism. A contribution to the Study of Patristic and Mediaeval Theories of Sacred Languages*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 110, 1992, pp. 67–122.

21 The sources contain no precise information in order to establish a precise date of the arrival of Constantine and Methodius in Moravia. Even the length of their stay in Moravia differs: 40 months (VC), 3 years (VM), 4 and a half years (*the Italian legend*). Josef CIBULKA, *Der Zeitpunkt der Ankunft der Brüder Konstantin-Cyrl und Methodius in Mähren*, *Byzantinoslavica* 26, 1965, pp. 318–364, following several earlier historians (F. Hybl, J. Dekan, A. Frnta, L. E. Havlík) tried to prove that both brothers came to Moravia only in 864; this idea was, however, resolutely rejected by Vojtěch TKADLČÍK, *Datum příchodu slovanských apoštolů na Moravu [The date of arrival of the Slavic apostles in Moravia]*, *Slavia* 38, 1969, pp. 542–551, who persuasively argued for the traditional dating of the arrival of the two brothers to the year 863. I attempted to defend my dating of the event, of course also only hypothetical, in my book Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Cyrl a Metoděj*, pp. 130–131.

22 Hans Georg BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, pp. 32–35; V. PERI, *La pentarchia – istituzione ecclesiale (IV–VII sec.) e teoria canonico-teologica*, in: Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo, *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 34, Spoleto 1988, pp. 209–318.

23 Francis DVORŇÍK, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*, New York 1966; John MEYENDORFF (ed.), *The Primacy of Peter. Essays in Ecclesiology and in the Early Church*, Crestwood, N.Y. 1992.

24 See the literature mentioned in footnote 8.

magnates. Concerned only with the interests of the people to whom they had been sent, they strived to achieve the goals they had been assigned and to obtain assent to the use of the means they had chosen for themselves for this purpose. This may explain why, in spite of the fact that they had been sent from Byzantium to prepare the conditions for the inclusion of Moravia into the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, in the end they decided to turn to Rome. In the course of their stay in Moravia they must have realised that it belonged, geographically and by tradition, to the sphere of the western patriarchate. This reality became clear when they spread the area of their ministry further to Kocel's Pannonia, which in Late Antiquity was a province of the West Roman Empire and in which, prior to Germanic and nomadic attacks, existed a developed ecclesiastical organisation under the supremacy of the Papal See. Moreover, the fact that Bulgarian Khan Boris, shortly after receiving baptism from Byzantium, changed sides and, having expelled the Greek priests from his realm, subordinated it to Roman jurisdiction created another insurmountable obstacle for bringing Moravia into obedience to the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. The fact that the brothers carried with them the relics of St Clement, which Constantine had discovered in the Crimean Cherson in the course of his diplomatic mission to the Khazars preceding his journey to Moravia, implies that though they had planned to return to Byzantium, the brothers perhaps intended to come *ad limina apostolorum* to the thresholds of the Apostles, and bury the remains of the fourth Roman bishop in the place of his origin.

The translation of the relics of one of the first Popes, very popular in Rome at that time, probably added to the reasons for which Pope Hadrian II received Constantine and Methodius with much openness, corroborated their translation of the Scriptures, had five of their pupils ordained²⁵ and even ordered the Slavic Divine Office to be celebrated in the four foremost Roman churches.²⁶ It was a fantastic success, but for a long time also the last one. Only in the spring or perhaps in the summer of 869, after Constantine had died with the aura of a saint in one of the Roman monasteries, did Pope Hadrian accede to the wishes of the Slavic rulers, renewing the former Pannonian archdiocese, which would now also include Rastislav's Moravian state, ordaining Methodius a missionary archbishop and naming him an apostolic legate for the Slavic lands with the right to celebrate liturgy in Slavic. It was a well thought-through plan. The re-established Pannonian archdiocese was to guarantee the Pope's supremacy over western Illyricum and simultaneously serve as a stronghold of Papal power against both Byzantine expansionism on one side

25 One of the examples of the unfounded speculations by which various authors sought to replace the missing information in the preserved sources are the attempts to give these ordained the name of the five co-workers of Constantine and Methodius known to have come with them from Byzantium to Moravia (according to a later Bulgarian tradition of the so-called *Seven Holy Men*) – Clement, Naum, Angelarios, Sáva (Sabbas) and Laurentius (instead of him, sometimes their Moravian pupil Gorazd is mentioned); see Andrej ŠKOVIERA, *Svatí slovanskí sedmipočteníci*, Bratislava 2010, p. 24. L. E. HAVLÍK in his commentary on VM 6 and on the Italian legend, chpt. 8, MMFH II, Brno 1967, p. 129, note 3 even determined which of them was ordained to the priesthood and who to a deaconate. These authors, however, did not notice that both brothers took with them their Moravian disciples, whom they taught Slavic learning in the course of their stay in Moravia (possibly also while at Kocel's) in order to be ordained. They did not think of who would have, in the course of those 40 months of their presence in Moravia, celebrated the liturgy in the Slavic language if Constantine had been the only priest in the whole Byzantine mission.

26 On the position of Pope Hadrian II see the excellent monograph Hans GROTZ, *Erbe wider Willen. Hadrian II. und seine Zeit*, Wien – Köln – Graz 1970, especially pp. 149–186.

and the excessive independence of the Frankish episcopate on the other.²⁷

This intention, however, met with the strong opposition of the East Frankish ruler and the Bavarian bishops. Due to conflicts within the Moravian elite, in 870 the Franks managed to assume power over Moravia and capture not only Prince Rastislav but also Methodius, who, based on the decision of a court that was summoned and presided over, contrary to canon law, by the Bavarian bishops, was to secretly disappear in a Swabian monastery. Only after Prince Svatopluk chased out the Frankish occupants from Moravia and took over its government did Hadrian's energetic successor John VIII manage to liberate Methodius from prison in Bavaria and have him resume his office, though only in Moravia. The Blatnograd principality, despite the efforts of Kocel, who either died or was disposed of soon afterwards (874), stayed under Frankish control and the renewal of the Pannonian archdiocese remained a phantom from the realm of unfulfilled wishes.

However, Methodius' efforts to establish a Slavic Church in Moravia became more energetic. With the aid of his collaborators he educated further disciples, whom he could now ordain deacons and priests, devoted himself to translation and literary activities to which he led his disciples too and, faithful to the legacy of his venerated brother, he continued to celebrate the liturgy in Slavic even though John VIII, after he had liberated Methodius from Bavarian prison, forbade the archbishop to continue this practice.²⁸ This disobedience of course gave the Latin priests, who obstinately refused to accept the Slavic liturgy, cause continuously to malign Methodius, whom they also accused of spreading Byzantine heretical doctrines, in front of the prince. Svatopluk, though increasingly preferring the Frankish clerics, requested the decision in this controversy from the Papal See. Without compromising his views, Methodius persuaded the Pope of his orthodoxy and by diplomatic prowess secured the bull *Industriae tuae* published in June 880 in which John VIII confirmed Methodius as Archbishop of the Moravian Metropolis with the right to celebrate the liturgy in Slavic, even though this privilege was limited to the territory of Svatopluk's realm.²⁹

Methodius had thus finally fulfilled the original purposes for which the Moravian prince had requested the dispatch

27 The question of the renovation of the Pannonian Archdiocese has recently been much disputed: Richard MARSINA, *Čirkevná organizácia na Veľkej Morave [The ecclesiastical organisation in Great Moravia]*, in: Luděk Galuška – Pavel Kouřil – Zdeněk Měřinský (ed.), *Velká Morava mezi Východem a Západem [Great Moravia between the East and the West]*, Brno 2001, pp. 291–304; Libor JAN, *Počátky moravského křesťanství a církevní správa dobou husitské [The beginnings of Moravian Christianity and ecclesiastical government until the Hussite period]*, in: Mikulčícká symposia XXVII, Brno 2003, pp. 7–20; David KALHOUS, *K významu sirmijské a apoštolské tradice při formování episkopální organizace na Moravě [On the importance of the Sirinian and apostolic tradition in the course of the formation of episcopal organisation in Moravia]*, in: Luděk Galuška – Pavel Kouřil – Jiří Mitáček, (ed.), *Východní Morava v 10.–14. století [Eastern Moravia in the 10th–14th centuries]*, Brno 2008, pp. 43–52; Libor JAN, *Methodius' pannonisches oder mährisches Erzbistum?*, in: Jiří Macháček – Šimon Ungermann (ed.), *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa. Studien zur Archäologie Europas 14*, Bonn 2011, pp. 665–668; Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Cyril a Metoděj mezi Konstantinopolí a Římem*, p. 173–189. Most recently Maddalena BETTI, *The Making of Christian Moravia (858–882). Papal Power and Political Reality*, Leiden 2014.

28 The letter of John VIII to Methodius from the spring 873, in which the Pope forbids celebration of the liturgy in Slavic, did not survive but the above information is implied by the Pope's letter to Methodius from June 879 (L. E. HAVLÍK, ed., in: MMFH III, *Epistolae*, Brno 1969, no. 81, pp. 192–193).

29 Bull *Industriae tuae*, in: MMFH III, *Epistolae*, č. 90, s. 197–208.; Lubomír Emil HAVLÍK, *The Roman Privilege „Industriae tuae“ for Moravia*, *Cyrilomethodianum 7*, 1983, pp. 23–37.

of the Byzantine mission and the brothers left Constantinople. The circumstances of this success belong to the paradoxes typical of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. Though sent to Moravia as a leading personality of the Byzantine mission, Methodius was named apostolic legate for the Slavic lands. He achieved the foundation of the Moravian ecclesiastical metropolis but not within the framework of the Byzantine Church but under Roman jurisdiction. He was ordained its archbishop not by the Patriarch of Constantinople but by the Pope. Finally, it was also to his credit that the Moravian ruler, though not Rastislav who had initially requested his sending but Svatopluk, a partisan rather of Methodius' adversaries, was recognised as a sovereign and completely independent ruler, though under the patronage of the Holy See and not under the aegis of the Byzantine emperor.

In supporting Methodius, John VIII was following agendas of his own. At the very beginning of his pontificate, he resumed intense negotiations with the Byzantine emperor and Patriarch Ignatios over the return of Bulgaria to Roman jurisdiction and when it turned out fruitless, he reopened the discussions after Ignatios' death when Photios returned to the patriarchal throne. This question was one of the key issues discussed by the council gathered in Constantinople at the end of 879.³⁰ Great Moravia played only a minor though not unimportant role in these conflicts between Byzantium and Rome. The fact that the Byzantine who stood at the helm of the Moravian Church showed an unconditional willingness to submit himself to the sovereignty of the Roman Curia not only significantly increased the prestige of the Holy See but also strengthened his position in his negotiations with the Byzantine authorities. The corroboration of the Slavic liturgy, limited only to the region of Methodius' metropolis, represented only an unimportant concession, rewarding the archbishop for his loyalty.

Methodius' submission to Roman jurisdiction was dictated by a realisation that Moravia belonged not only geographically but also politically and by tradition to the sphere of the western patriarchate and that only within its framework could the intentions of the Moravian ruler, fully espoused by Methodius, materialise. Though he recognised the Pope as the head of the church corroborating Papal primacy, as expressed in the Old Church Slavonic *Life of Methodius* in several ways,³¹ he did not assume an anti-Byzantine position. Quite the contrary. The Old Church Slavonic *Life of Constantine*, written under his guidance if not with his participation, repeatedly mentions elements of the Byzantine political philosophy according to which God had established the Byzantine emperor as supreme ruler of the Christian *aikoumene*. The Byzantine Empire itself was Christ's kingdom on earth, which the emperor governed as his vicar.³² The *Life of Methodius*, written shortly after his death by one of his pupils while still in Moravia, in several places quotes Biblical passages which belonged to standard arguments

of Byzantine political ideology; its author supports his apologetic tendency by the claim (among others) that the Byzantine emperor personally entrusted Methodius with secular and ecclesiastical offices and at the end of the latter's life endorsed his ministry. Before his death, Methodius first blessed the emperor and only then the prince and the people.³³

In respect to the conflict between the supreme ecclesiastical powers, Methodius remained intentionally uninvolved, siding with neither party. His calling was principally to serve the nation to which he had been sent, first by the emperor and then by the Pope. Both Thessalonian brothers, in their opinions and their ecclesiastical practice, built on the tradition of early Christian universalism, living, thinking and ministering as members of a united, undivided Church of Christ. It was a symbolic expression of their philosophy of life that they chose as patron saint of their mission the patron of their native Thessalonica, Demetrius, and along with him also Clemens, the fourth Bishop of Rome, whose relics they had found in the Crimean Cherson and brought, through Constantinople and Moravia, to their eternal repose in the Eternal City.

In their activities the Thessalonian brothers showed much tolerance and willingness to adjust to existing conditions. In the area of language, though they created a rich vocabulary for their translations into Slavic, they willingly enriched it with church terminology introduced by western missionaries in Moravia prior to their arrival.³⁴ Even though they originally celebrated the mass according to the Byzantine rite, they did not hesitate also to include in the liturgy the Latin texts that were already being used in Moravia before their coming. One of these was for example *libellus missae* from north Italy, preserved in a Slavic translation in the so-called *Kiev Fragments*.³⁵ In their *euchologium* (prayer book), the brothers also included the *Bavarian (St Emmeram's) confession prayer* that had already been translated by Frankish missionaries into the western Slavic dialect at the beginning of the 9th century.³⁶ Methodius himself had, beside his own adaptations of Byzantine law texts, also translated a western penitentiary preserved under the title *Zapovědi svętyichъ oъьъ [The Rules of the Holy Fathers]*.³⁷ Methodius' decision to designate as his successor Gorazd, a Moravian of noble origin, educated not only in Slavonic but also in Latin books and apparently originally a pupil of Frankish priests (*VM*, 17), represents his supreme act of good will towards his Latin opponents, aimed at promoting the harmonious coexistence of both parties and the unity of the Moravian Church.

Nevertheless, nothing could break or at least diminish their opposition to Methodius' ministry. They did not accept the Slavic

33 On the ideological tendency of the Old Church Slavonic Lives of Constantine and Methodius see Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Cyril a Metoděj*, pp. 298–301.

34 Alexander V. ISAČENKO, *Začiatky vzdelanosti* (see note 15). Also recently Vít BOČEK, *Studie k nejstarším romanismům ve slovanských jazycích [Studies on the oldest Romanisms in the Slavic languages]*, Praha 2010 (with an exhaustive bibliography on this topic).

35 Klaus GAMBER, *Das glagolitische Sakramentar der Slavenapostle Cyril und Method*, *Ostkirchliche Studien* 6, 1957, pp. 161–173; IDEM, *Die Kiever Blätter in sakramentargeschichtlicher Sicht*, in: M. Hellmann et al. (ed.), *Cyrillo-Methodiana. Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums bei den Slaven*, Köln – Graz, pp. 363–371; Jos SCHAEKEN, *Die Kiever Blätter*, Amsterdam 1987; R. VEČERKA, *Anmerkungen zu den Kiever glagolitischen Blättern. In margine des Buches von J. Schaecken*, *Byzantinoslavica* 49, 1988, pp. 48–58.

36 Josef VAŠICA, *Literární památky*, pp. 48–51.

37 *Zapovědi svętyichъ oъьъ*, ed. Josef Vašica, in: MMFH IV, Brno 1971, pp. 137–146.

30 František DVORNÍK, *The Photian Schism*, pp. 159nn.; Henry CHADWICK, *East and West*, pp. 173–181.

31 Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Staroslověnské životy Konstantina a Metoděje [Old Church Slavonic Lives of Constantine and Methodius]*, Praha 1963, pp. 108–110.

32 On Byzantine political philosophy and state ideology see especially: Otto TREITINGER, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Staatsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniel*, Jena 1938, 2nd ed. Darmstadt 1956; Francis DVORNÍK, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy. Origins and Background*, I–II, Washington, D.C. 1966; Hélène AHRWEILER, *L'ideologie politique de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 1975; Herbert HUNGER (ed.), *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild, Wege der Forschung* 351, Darmstadt 1975 (with a bibliography compiled by Otto KRESTEN); Alexander P. KAZHDAN – Gilles CONSTABLE, *People and Power in Byzantium*, Washington, D.C. 1982; Gilbert DAGRON, *Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, Cambridge 2003.

liturgy and in fact the existence of the Slavic party in the Moravian Church. Despite the exceptional privileges which Pope John VIII bestowed on Methodius, he perhaps unwittingly sanctioned the division of the Moravian Church when at Svatopluk's request he ordained Methodius' ruthless adversary, Wiching, his suffragan in Nitra, and agreed that beside Slavic liturgy the mass would also be read in Latin for the prince and members of the Moravian ruling elite.

Prince Svatopluk did not understand the far-reaching possibilities of connecting his own church-political aims with the cultural work of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius. He was content to have achieved the independence of his realm, both in a political and ecclesiastical sense, but he did not see how fragile the basis of his principality was. In his desire for equality with the Frankish rulers he blindly preferred the Latin priests, which Wiching insidiously exploited after Methodius' death (885). He managed to persuade the newly-elected Pope Stephen V, who changed the policies towards the East practiced by his two great predecessors, that Methodius' pupils were spreading heretical Byzantine doctrines in Moravia and celebrating the liturgy in Slavic, contrary to the express prohibition of John VIII. Supported by his bull *Zelo te fidei*,³⁸ he persuaded Svatopluk that the Pope had ordered the Slavic priests to be exiled from the principality and the prince gave him a free hand to do with them as he pleased.

Wiching did not hesitate. He had Methodius' foremost companions, obviously the ones who had once come with him from Byzantium to Moravia, imprisoned and then brutally evicted and ordered the majority of younger Slavic priests and deacons sold into slavery. Only a few managed to escape to neighbouring lands. Their contemporaries may have thought that the short episode of a Slavic Church in Moravia had ended in catastrophe and that it would be forgotten. The ironic end to this story is the reality that neither contemporary Byzantine chronicles nor the writings of Patriarch Photios, who had sent Constantine and Methodius to Moravia and who two decades later warmly welcomed Methodius in the course of his visit to Constantinople, contain any information about the Moravian mission.³⁹

The heritage of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission was nevertheless preserved by the southern and eastern Slavs, mainly the Bulgarians in whose country, due to Tsar Symeon, the Church Slavonic

38 MMFH III, *Epistolae*, no. 101, pp. 215–225.

39 It is not very surprising that the mission of Constantine and Methodius was not mentioned by contemporary Byzantine chroniclers, who mostly ignored events taking place on the borders of the Empire or beyond them, unless these involved a scandal or an extraordinary situation. It is, however, rather surprising that this mission is not mentioned anywhere by Patriarch Photios. In the conclusion of the encyclic from spring 867 *Photii Epistolarum libri III*, in: *Patrologia graeca* 102, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1900, col. 722–741), by which he invited the eastern patriarchs to participate in a synod summoned for the summer of that year to Constantinople, Photios highlighted the successes which the Byzantine Church had achieved under his guidance in the Christianisation of the Bulgarians and also mentions the bishop and several priests whom he sent to Russia. The letter, however, does not say a word about the dispatch of his favourite pupil Constantine along with a group of clerics to Moravia. According to VM 13, Methodius as Moravian Archbishop visited Constantinople in the course of Photios' second patriarchate and was kindly received by him. Photios, however, from whose pen so many literary works and letters have been preserved, does not breathe a word about this circumstance. The learned Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos apparently also did not know anything about this mission. In his work *De administrando imperio*, written sometime at the end of the 940s, he speaks about Great Moravia in fully five chapters (he in fact coined the expression Great Moravia in order to indicate that it was a distant country far beyond the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire). In one place he even speaks about it as about a land so far unbaptised (*Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio*, ed. Gyula MORAVCSIK – Romilly J. H. JENKINS, Washington, D. C. 1967, chpt. 40, p. 176). From the perspective of immediate Byzantine political interests, the Cyrillo-Methodian mission perhaps represented a failure and fell into oblivion in Constantinople after the ascent of Leo VI.

language became not only the liturgical but also the state language. Thanks to his initiative and support, works of Byzantine literature were frequently translated into Slavic. The Bulgarians thus received the opportunity to become familiar with a wide spectrum of Greek (though almost exclusively Christian) literature without the danger that they would lose their ethnic identity in this invasion by a higher foreign civilisation, as had been the case of the Slavs living on Greek territory only shortly before.

The Bulgarians passed Church Slavonic literacy, which they first took over and later mightily developed, on to other Slavic nations – the Russians and Serbians.⁴⁰ Thus the prophetic words mentioned in Rastislav's letter to Michael III, but obviously expressing rather the cultural programme of Constantine the Philosopher himself, were fulfilled, "[...] so that other nations too, perceiving that, would imitate us" (VC 14). Taking over Church Slavonic literature and the Slavic liturgy, a belt of politically independent countries developed along the border of the Byzantine Empire, which yet were culturally and spiritually connected with the latter. The great Byzantinist Sir Dimitri Obolensky characterised them somewhat anachronistically but very poignantly as "the Byzantine Commonwealth".

The aim of Constantine the Philosopher – that the Slavic nations would accept and profess Christian faith in their own language – was thus fulfilled. His other great idea, that all these nations, developing their culture in their own languages, would live in harmony with each other and add to the growth and might of a united Church of Christ, however, did not materialise. The south Slavonic heirs of the Thessalonian brothers did not take over their concept of ecclesiastical universalism. In Croatia, Slavic liturgy and the use of Glagolitic survived and was finally approved, despite the initially strong opposition of the local Latin hierarchy, mainly because the Slavic priests always affirmed Roman ideas.⁴¹ In Bulgaria, Church Slavonic became the means of reception not only of Greek literature but also of Byzantine Orthodoxy, which gradually separated it from the Latin West. The schism between both churches in 1054 fully placed the Bulgarian Church as well as the eastern Slavs side by side with the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate and against the West. After the fall of Constantinople and the Turkish occupation of the Balkans, Russian Orthodoxy took over the role of the defender of eastern Orthodoxy against "Latin heresy". On the other hand, according to the interpretation of the Latin West, Slavonic liturgy became, quite contrary to the original intention of Constantine and Methodius, a symbol of schism within the Christian Church.

Centuries passed before this stigma was undone. By the decision that liturgy may and should be celebrated in national languages, only the Second Vatican Council finally corroborated and confirmed the idea, which 1100 years earlier Constantine the Philosopher had come to defend in Rome. And the efforts of both Thessalonian brothers to achieve the ideal of Christian universalism were only recognised by Pope John Paul II, who pronounced the Apostles of the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius, along with St Benedict, co-patrons of Europe.

40 Gerhard PODSKALSKY, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865–1459*, München 2000; IDEM, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)*, München 1982.

41 Francis DVORNIK, *Byzantine Missions*, pp. 230–244.

ASSUMPTIONS

THE CHRISTIANISATION AND STATE FORMATION PROCESS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Josef Žemlička

The emergence of early “states” in Central and Central-Eastern Europe underwent several phases of development and differed from everything that was known to the European West, which was able to build on the urban traditions of Late Antiquity and the legacy of its civilisation in general. The determinative element in this process was the establishment of a strong “ducal” power, which became stabilised at the expense of old “tribal” institutions. The common attribute of these formations, namely Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Old Rus and the Balkans (among others), was an early adoption of Christianity, first by the ruler, his court and circles, and then by the whole society. Old customs were “broken” and new standards based on ecclesiastical principles were put into practice. This was in fact procured by the emergent “state”, whose rulers long remained the actual masters and protectors of the churches on their land. In other words, the observance of elementary Christian principles in these groundbreaking times also became a matter of “state discipline”. When, for example, the Polish Duke Bolesław I the Brave († 1025) had the teeth knocked out of those people who did not observe Great Lent, he was also defending the validity of his own decrees. The same was also the case with Bohemian Duke Bretislav I (1035–1055) who issued his decrees in 1039. This is also why the link between the formation of early states beyond the eastern frontier of the Carolingian, Ottonian or Salian Empire and Christianisation remains very tight.

Key words: Christianisation, early state, *duces Boemanorum*, duke, unification process, Bohemia, Poland

There is still no generally acknowledged agreement on what to call the structures that emerged between the 9th and the beginning of the 11th century from tribes, *gentes*, or ethnic groups in Central, East-Central and Eastern Europe. Should we call them dominions (*Herrschaft* in German), domains, *regnum* (“empires”), or early “states”, knowing how substantially they differed from the elaborated structures of a modern state? Yet even those structures evinced the elementary features of a “state”: a simple but functioning global administration focused on (besides other things) collecting salaries, charges, and services, in one word – taxes; also the features of a common defence and foreign policy were included. Unlike Western and Southern Europe those structures could not have been patterned on the late ancient or early mediaeval experience of state formation. They were built on greenfield. Their cultural bases were different from those of the Frankish, or rather Carolingian Empire, or its successor the Holy Roman Empire on the one hand, as well as the surviving Greek Byzantine Empire on the other one, both with imperial claims. Even though their separation was not absolute and particularly the elites of those *gentes* were characterised by relative mobility, it seemed as if the old Roman *limes* tenaciously separated two worlds, one in front of the *limes* and the other behind it.¹

Similar features might be also applied to Great Moravia which, however, was not able to undergo further development. It would be extremely interesting to know where its course might have turned, but unfortunately history had different intentions. The relatively short history of Great Moravian culture ended

at the very beginning of the 10th century, although its contribution to the treasure store of Central European civilisation was to endure. The state life of Přemyslid Bohemia, the Piasts’ Poland, as well as the Árpáds’ Hungaria, which are to be commented on in the subsequent part of the text, started to develop after something of a delay.²

The establishment of early states in the course of the 10th century beyond the late ancient empire was accompanied by the embracing of Christianity. Its form was significantly different from the way the “new religion” had spread in its historical beginnings, i.e. from pauperised social classes to higher classes; it also differed in its gradual advance from the volatile Near East to the European and African provinces of the Roman Empire. Neither was it similar to the ways the Frankish and the subsequent Carolingian Empire acted in relation to the Bavarians and particularly the Saxons. In Central and Central-East Europe a different, quite stereotypical pattern became established. At first the ruling heads, that is the ruler and his court, had themselves baptised. Afterwards they were followed by the rest of population, irrespective of the rite, whether Roman or Greek. For example, according to later documents of the bishopric of Passau, Bishop Reginhar baptised the Moravians – actually the dukes and noblemen – in 831; Bulgarian Knyaz Boris with his family and noblemen professed faith in Christ in 864. Twenty years later, the first known Přemyslid ruler Bořivoj, together

¹ There is a wide range of resources on this topic, e.g. Stuart AIRLIE – Walter W. POHL – Helmut REIMITZ (Hrsg.), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 11, Wien 2006; W. W. POHL – Veronika WIESER, *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 16, Wien 2009.

² It would be unreal to list the immense amount of literature focused on Great Moravia, so we have drawn attention only to two of the newer compendia which describe both the inner and outer dimensions of the Great Moravian area. These are: Luděk GALUŠKA – Pavel KOUŘIL – Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ (ed.), *Velká Morava mezi Východem a Západem. Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní konference, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 19, Brno 2001*; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin, Vlastivěda moravská. Země a lid. Nová řada, svazek 4, Brno 2013*; on the Great Moravian roots of “Moravia in the times of dukes”: Martin WIHODA, *Morava v době knížecí 906–1197*, Edice Česká historie 21, Praha 2010.

with his retinue, were baptised in Moravia by the very hands of Methodius. The Polish ruler Mieszko was baptised through the agency of the Bohemians, and later also the Hungarian chieftain Geza, together with “his” people, chose the way to salvation. After several complicated twists and turns and various attempts (860 Askold, 955 Olga) the series was completed in 988 when Vladimir, the grand prince of Kiev, was baptised at the hands of the bishop of Cherson. His historic decision was even preceded by a kind of “research” into what religion would have been most appropriate. Up to the 12th century the dukes of the Polabí tribes followed this pattern and received (and then turned away from) baptism, usually forced by political circumstances. The same mechanism basically applied to the Nordic territories too when mediaeval Denmark, Norway and Sweden began to emerge from the Viking age.³

Those ceremonial acts in which the baptism of a duke and his relatives metaphorically applied to all the “subjects” used to be the formal completion of Christianisation efforts, even though they might have taken place in their beginnings. The process of the establishment of faith in Christ could drag on for whole centuries. It was usually initiated with missions that prepared the way for the “new religion”. They were usually connected with “important” names, such as Boniface, Ansgar, Willibrord, naturally Constantine and Methodius, later Adalbert of Prague, or Otto of Bamberg. Not even their successes were always permanent and might have had to have come in more waves. Only then, under the ruler’s explicitly declared patronage, could the real work get started, connected with pastoral activities, the relentless establishment of organisational structures and other components that refined and cultivated “rough Christianity” (*Christianitas rudis*), as the Synod of Mainz (852) called it before the Cyrillo-Methodian mission to Moravia. Nevertheless, not absolutely everything disappeared that had been connected with the old times. The traditional feast days, connected with agricultural or lunar cycles, were given a Christian coating. It was similar with old customs; they survived either under different names or with a different meaning. The way to a Christianised society was neither short nor straight. Even in the rapidly Christianised Bohemia it took a long time for the basic regulations to become commonplace. According to Cosmas’ records, even the well-known successor statutes of Bretislav II (1092–1100), which emphasised the need to keep Christian manners, brought about no crowning moment. Many “pagan” hangovers remained in various forms throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, and even longer. Acceptable limits were collectively exceeded for instance due to military campaigns abroad. Foreign correspondents often labelled the Bohemians

³ These questions were revived for Czech historiography by Dušan TRĚŠTÍK, *Křesťanský knížat roku 845 a christianizace Slovanů*, Český časopis historický 92, 1994, pp. 423–459; from recent times we can mention the attempt to depict Christianisation in Northern and Central Europe as well as in Kievan Russia in a complex way, in relation to the forming of new states: N. BEREND (ed.), *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus’ c. 900–1200*, Cambridge 2007, Czech translation Nora BERENDOVIÁ (vyd.), *Christianizace a utváření křesťanské monarchie. Skandinávie, střední Evropa a Rus v období 10.–12. století*, Praha 2013; with the use of interdisciplinary approaches Leidulf MELVE – Sigbjørn SÖNNESYNN (ed.), *The Creation of Medieval Northern Europe. Christianization, Social Transformations, and Historiography*, Essays in honour of Sverre Bagge, Oslo 2012; or e.g. Boris N. FLORJA, *Prinjatije christianstva v Velikoj Moravii, Čechii i Polše*, in: Gennadij G. LITAVRIN (red.), *Prinjatije christianstva narodami Centralnoj i Jugo-Vostočnoj Evropy i kreščenije Rusi*, Moskva 1988, s. 122–156; *Chryszcijanizacja Polski południowej*, Rola Krakowa w dziejach narodu 13, Kraków 1994; Herwig WOLFRAM, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich. Die Conversio Bagoanorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsband 31, München 1995.

“pagans and enemies of Christ”; this term was used for example by the Bishop of Augsburg in 1132. Similar external accusations were frequent even later.⁴

Much has been written about incentives that introduced the “barbaric” *gentes* into the family of the Christian universe. There was a whole range of such motives: political, defensive, goal-directed, prestigious, cultural or purely personal; they were often interconnected. However, there was no unified pattern for modelling Christianity. What did matter was the intensity of missionary activities, their success, maturity and preparedness. Each region showed particularities that usually cannot be put under a common denominator. Nevertheless, there is one more dimension, which is the role of baptism as a tool that helped to strengthen the central power of the ruler in the closing stages of the unification processes.

The “early” Slavonic states were not created out of thin air. Although it may be hard to decipher, they had a long history. They grew out of old, apparently tribal structures. Even their structure is still a subject for polemics; probably the greatest amount of information is known from the Polabí – Slavonic territory that soon entered the spectrum of Frankish and East-Frankish annalistics. And that society was far from egalitarian either. It had “tribal” and family chieftains or patriarchs who were even called dukes; however, they were not hereditary autocratic authorities but rather elected representatives of their tribe. Those dukes were probably partly connected with cult practice. They were usually chosen from the tribal aristocracy that had every interest in the preservation of a rhythmical order, which would have, year by year, in a kind of circle, petrified its priority position. Nevertheless, the *gentes* themselves went through changes. The original cohesiveness of the “tribe and blood” became fractured and weak as the population became rooted in settlement districts and chambers, often isolated by barriers of forests and marshes from each other. The sense of territorial belonging grew stronger. This is how we could imagine the development in the Bohemian Basin, in the flatlands near the Elbe and Oder, or in the central Polish and Silesian territories. The original tribal linkage was shattered and replaced with a fragmentation that respected the logic of geography and settlement; this is what a mid-9th century text of a *Bavarian Geographer* probably indicates. It registers not only the tribes settled in *regiones* but also lists their castles (*civitates*).⁵

⁴ *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae I. (805–1197)*. Ed. Gustav FRIEDRICH, Prague 1904–1907 (hereafter *CDB*), p. 4, no. 5, p. 127, no. 118; *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz, MGH SRG NS 2, Nachdruck München 1995 (hereafter *KOSMAS*), III.1, pp. 160–161. As to some examples mentioned above: Petr SOMMER, *Začátky křesťanství v Čechách. Kapitoly z dějin raně středověké duchovní kultury*, Praha 2001. Also the forms of “pagan” hangovers are described in numerous documents; a kind of general typology of them was presented in Čeněk ZIBRT, *Seznam pověr a zvyklostí pohanských z VIII. věku*, Rozpravy České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění v Praze, vol. III, class. I, no. 2, Praha 1894, reprint 1995. On these issues in many aspects: Władysław DZIEWULSKI, *Postępy chrystianizacji i proces likwidacji pogaństwa w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1964; Stanisław ROSIK, *Interpretacja chrześcijańska religii pogańskich Słowian w świetle kronik niemieckich XI–XII wieku (Thietmar, Adam z Bremy, Helmold)*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis 2235, Historia 144, Wrocław 2000; etc.

⁵ *Descriptio civitatum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii* (tzv. *Bavorský geograf*), ed. Bohuslav HORÁK – Dušan TRÁVNÍČEK, Praha 1956 (= Rozpravy ČSAV 66/2), cf. also Rostislav NOVÝ, *Die Anfänge des böhmischen Staates, I. Mitteleuropa im 9. Jahrhundert*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philosophica et Historica, Monographia 26/1968, Praha 1969, pp. 140–141. The forming of “empires” in Central-Eastern Europe is described (however, not quite successfully for Moravia and Bohemia) in H. WOLFRAM, *Die ostmitteleuropäischen Reichsbildungen um die erste Jahrtausendwende und ihre gescheiterten Vorläufer*, in: Ivan Hlaváček – Alexander Patšchovsky (Hrsg.), *Böhmen und seine Nachbarn in der Přemyslidenzeit*, Vorträge und Forschungen 74, Ostfildern 2011, pp. 49–90.

When at the beginning of the 9th century the pressure of the Carolingian Empire on its eastern neighbours started to grow stronger, the need for them to protect themselves increased. The “old” tribes’ organisational structures, being too rigid and clumsy for new tasks, were not quite able to cope. The need for protection, especially against the threat from neighbours, required more authoritative forms of leadership. There was a chance for capable individuals to circumvent the well-established family and tribal aristocracy. Those men rallied around themselves groups of warriors who changed into “professionals”, having been extracted from the common tribal structures and obedient to, as well as dependent on, their lord. Such retinues, however small at first, were generally more flexible and mobile than free men on alert. They became a support to the rising class of “dukes” of a new type; this meant the dukes taking a stand beside (and later above) the shattered tribal institutions and breaking through in their territories. In the next stage such a “duke” brought those institutions under his control, or else he entered into a more or less obvious confrontation with them. It did not matter whether he rose to his position as an absolute *homo novus*, or whether he reached it as one of the privileged “seniors” of his *gens* who made it to the top thanks to an unusual or critical state of affairs.⁶

Thus, according to this interpretation, we can imagine how the group of “dukes” in the Bohemian Basin formed, those who in the 9th century were even responsible for foreign political representation of the “Bohemians”. Due to a lack of suitable terminology, Frankish and East-Frankish documents call them *duces*, dukes, more precisely *duces Boemanorum*, the “dukes of the Bohemians”, although in fact they were a kind of local ruler or chieftain of a settlement area, the total number of which made up altogether only very hardly one tenth or one fifteenth of today’s area of Bohemia. The development of other areas of Central and Eastern Europe may have had virtually identical characteristics, certainly with regional particularities that are difficult to express. There are numerous records of them, especially in the areas bordering the Frankish and East-Frankish empires (Lower Polabí, Serbia; Slovenia, Croatia, and Carinthia in the south); here we can see the extraordinary interest of Frankish annalists in these conflict-ridden marches. The dukes did not stop being considered part of the social elite after losing their ruling positions, since awareness of their “nobility” persisted, which helped them to maintain the contacts they needed both at home and abroad and to break through again under suitable circumstances. After being expelled from the Nitra region, both Priwina and his son Chozil, whose way to their Mosapurc residence was lined with dramatic flights, reconciliations and comebacks, gained a dignified position.⁷

The *duces* usually resided in their own castles. From his castle the duke controlled his neighbourhood; he took refuge there in dangerous times and he also made the people living nearby do certain jobs for him. Such a castle is mentioned in *Annales Fuldenses*. In a record from 857 we can read that the Frankish armies invaded Bohemia and seized the rebellious castle of Duke

Wiztrach (*civitas Wiztrachi ducis*) where his son Slavitah ruled in a “tyrannical” way. The campaign was successful, since the endangered Slavitah fled to Rastislav of Moravia. There is no more information about Slavitah in the document. We do not know whether he ended up in Great Moravia esteemed as the lord of a military retinue or tolerated as an expatriate. The victors entrusted the castle to his brother (of unrecorded name) who had previously stayed in exile at the court of Serbian Duke Čestibor. According to the *Annales Fuldenses*, the Bohemian *duces* who were defeated by the Frankish army (lead by Liutbert, the Archbishop of Mainz) in 872 also retired to their castles.⁸

More than the disputes over the location of Wiztrach’s castle (usually placed in the village of Zabuřany near Bílina⁹ in agreement with the opinion of Jiří Sláma), what is interesting about *Annales Fuldenses* is its more general scope. According to this document, the rule of the Bohemian *duces* was (or at least tended to be) hereditary; in practice, however, they might have submitted to the formal voting of “all people”. We can see that Wiztrach was succeeded by his son Slavitah, after whose expulsion the castle remained in the possession of the family. The graves of dukes in Stará Kouřim also seem to give evidence of dynastic continuity. On the other hand, the information that Slavitah ruled in a tyrannical way (*tyrannidem exercebat*) seems to be ambiguous. Understandings of these words differ – usually they are interpreted as Slavitah’s relation to foreign countries, or his rebelliousness (which the Franks regarded as illegitimacy and tyranny). In the context of the phenomena that have been followed here, the reflections of Henryk Łowmiański, the author of the 6-volume *Beginnings of Poland*, should not slip through the cracks. In comparison with other texts, he inclined to the interpretation that Slavitah’s rule was no longer similar to the rule of a duke supported by his tribe, such as a duke in the old times, but that it was ducal rule of a new type connected with imposing charges on a “free” castle population. Here we can see an inclination to a structure which, in a simplified and not entirely accurate way, could be called a state apparatus.¹⁰

We can only speculate about the initial number of the *duces Boemanorum*. The number was not fixed in any way. They might have been concentrated in North and North-West Bohemia, in a militarily sensitive area with a relatively dense population. It was probably no coincidence that the densest network of dukes’ administrative castles was later established right there. Not even later on did those dukes lose the sense of belonging to a single ethnic unit. Despite their mutual rivalry they were able to agree on such a difficult event to organise as the baptism of 14 “Bohemian dukes” (*ex ducibus Boemanorum*) in 845.

8 *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 7, Hannoverae 1891, pp. 47, 75–76. On the phenomenon of “Bohemian dukes”: Josef ŽEMLIČKA, “*Duces Boemanorum*” a vznik přemyslovské monarchie, Československý časopis historický 37, 1989, pp. 697–721; the issue was historiographically (and unusually thoroughly) summarised in Marzena MATLA KOZŁOWSKA, *Pierwsi Przemysłdźci i ich państwo (od X do połowy XI wieku)*, Poznań 2008, pp. 15–54.

9 Jiří SLÁMA, *Civitas Wiztrachi ducis*, *Historická geografie* 11, 1973, pp. 3–30; IDEM, *Střední Čechy v raném středověku*, II. *Hradiště, příspěvky k jejich dějinám a významu*, Praehistorica XI, Praha 1986, pp. 57–58. On the hillfort of Zabuřany: Alexandra RUSŮ, *Příspěvek k poznání slovanského hradiště v Zabuřanech*, Teplice 1991.

10 Henryk ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Początki Polski*, IV. *Z dziejów Słowian w I tysiącleciu n.e.*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 402–403; with another interpretation: D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy*, pp. 171–173; with an open question of Slavitah’s “tyranny” e.g. Oldřich KOTYŽA, *Peruc a okolí v časně době dějinné a na prahu středověku. K počátkům přemyslovské správy na tomto území*, in: Peruc v mýtech a dějinách. Sborník příspěvků k milénium setkání knížete Oldřicha s Boženou, Peruc 2004, pp. 68–71. Wiztrach and Slavitah are regarded as the dukes of “all Bohemians”, i.e. the main dukes of Bohemia, in Ján STEINHÜBEL, *Kapitoly z nejstarších českých dějin 531–1004*, Kraków 2011, pp. 58–63, however, it is difficult to agree with him.

6 With an emphasis on the character of early nobility Pavel KOUŘIL (Hrsg.), *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas*, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 25, Brno 2005.

7 “Pre-state” Central and Central-Eastern Europe is depicted in D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy. Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871*, Praha 2001. As to the fortunes of Priwina and Chozil: Matuš KUČERA, *Postavy velkomoravské historie*, Martin 1986.

To be grammatically accurate, not all *duces*, dukes of the Bohemian Basin, must have headed off for Regensburg; it is certain, however, that the main part of them was there. On the other hand, not only does the number (around 15) almost precisely correspond with the number of more distinctive settlement territories in Bohemia, but also the *Betheimare* of the *Bavarian Geographer* include 15 “castles” (*Betheimare, in qua sunt ciuitates XV*).¹¹

The number of Bohemian *duces* fell afterwards. In 872, the united forces of five Bohemian *duces* waged war against the Franks somewhere near the Moldau; the *Schlettstadt manuscript*, a later transcription of the *Annales Fuldenses*, also mentioned the sixth duke – Bořivoj, the first historically known Přemyslid ruler. Although the dukes mentioned above were probably only part of a more numerous group, the number does indicate something. In that struggle stronger structures swallowed the weaker ones and some of the Bohemian “dukes” became dependent on their more powerful neighbours. Before the Frankish attacks the dukes often became closer to Great Moravia, which can be seen in the traces of Great Moravian culture and its influences in Bohemia, as well as in the indications of the Mojmir dynasty’s family relations with Bohemia (interpretations, however, have not been unanimous). That might have been one of the reasons Frankish armies used to move simultaneously into Moravia and Bohemia, starting from the middle of the 9th century. It was Zwentibald who attached Bohemia to his “empire” more tightly, without stopping the process of differentiation. It was obvious after his death when “all the dukes of the Bohemians” (*omnes duces Boemianorum*), of whom “Spytihněv and Vítislav were the prominent ones” (*primores erant Spytignewo, Witizla*), came to Regensburg in 895. The process of centralisation was drawing to a close; the group of dukes was not homogeneous any more but it was divided hierarchically according to their real power and significance. It was led by Přemyslid Duke Spytihněv, together with Vítislav, probably lord of the Žatec or Kouřim region where – like in the Central Bohemian Prague region – inclinations to centralisation were appearing.¹²

This information mentioned in *Annales Fuldenses* is very valuable in several respects. In the first place it gives evidence of the fact that the process of unification in Bohemia was winding up. Spytihněv, undoubtedly the son of Duke Bořivoj, and “Witizla”, who might be identified with Vítislav, one of the dukes known from the confrontations in 872, were in the foreground of the process. As it seems, both of them were getting along well with each other in 895, also with respect to the reversal of external policy (they freed themselves from the influence of Great Moravia and took the side of King Arnulf). There has been a difference of opinion on whether Vítislav was the lord of the Kouřim or Žatec region. However, his name unquestionably evokes Vítislav, the Duke of Lucko in central Poohří, who was mentioned in Cosmas’ *Chronicle*. Taking into consideration the sensitive position of “Lucko” in relation to the western neighbourhood,

the power of the duke might have broken through more emphatically there than in other territories. Soon after the Regensburg event (895), both dominant dukes probably went their separate ways. If we can have broad faith in Cosmas’ words, then Vítislav-Vlastislav wanted to let war decide the issue. However, the potential confrontation might have been triggered from the other side, which means that he had to resist the expansionism of the Central-Bohemian Přemyslids who later became the dominant leaders of unification.¹³

Nevertheless, Bořivoj set himself apart from the other *duces* earlier with an unusual act: he radically diverged from tradition and, together with his people, received baptism at the hands of Methodius in Great Moravia at the beginning of the 880s. It likely happened under the unscrupulous pressure of Zwentibald, to which all the Bohemian *duces* yielded. Yet Bořivoj profited from it extensively: first of all he gained a partnership with the political elites in his Moravian and Bavarian neighbourhood. Christian’s story about a feast in Zwentibald’s court, where Bořivoj, being a “pagan”, was seated demeaningly on the floor, may be analogous to the description of Thietmar of Merseburg, who depicted Mieszko of Poland at first kowtowing to the Margrave Hodo, even though the following text refers to his initially dependent secular position. This is why Regino of Pruem († 915) was able to write about the “dukedom of the Bohemians who have been ruled so far by a duke of their blood and dynasty” (*ducatum Behemensium, qui hactenus principem suae cognationis ac gentis super se habuerant*) in 890. He either disregarded or ignored the other *duces*.¹⁴

Wiztrach, Slavita and also Bořivoj and his successors can be considered examples of dukes of a new type, i.e. hereditary dukes. Their responsibility for the tribe weakened; as it did, their dependence on their retinue grew stronger. In the records of the Frankish annalists the retinues appeared only indirectly: for example the record from 845 mentioned that the Bohemian *duces* were baptised together “with their people” (*cum hominibus suis*), in a similar way to Bořivoj, who received baptism in Great Moravia “with his thirty who came with him” (*cum suis triginta, qui advenerant*). The retainers of Bohemian dukes were certainly recruited from the followers, relatives, or clients of their lords. Various adventurous elements might have been incorporated into the retinue structure; judging from the names of Tunna and Gommon, the murderers of Drahomíra, there may even have been men of Norman origin. Not only the heads, but also the non-ruling members of the ruling dynasty, including women, tended to have retinues in the following years. Duke Boleslaus (I), Ludmila and Drahomíra, and many others in the 11th and 12th centuries were a good example of that fact for the Bohemians. In the oldest legends some of the retainers

13 KOSMAS I.10–12, pp. 22–28. On the various opinions of the identification of Vítislav-Witizla: J. ŽEMLIČKA, “*Duces Boemianorum*”, pp. 706–707, who prefers the Lower Poohří, conversely J. SLÁMA, *Vítislav (uí utizla)*, in: Zdeněk Hojda – Jiří Pešek – Blanka Zilynská (ed.), *Seminář a jeho hosté. Sborník prací k 60. narozeninám doc. dr. R. Nového*, Praha 1992, pp. 11–19.

14 *Legenda Christiani. Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmille ave eius*, ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Praha 1978, pp. 18–21; *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon*, ed. Robert Holtzmann, MGH SRG NS IX, Berolini 1935 (hereafter *THIETMAR*), V.10, p. 233; *Reginonis Chronicon a.a. 890*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. F. Kurze, Hannoverae 1890, p. 134. On the position of Bořivoj and on the historical significance of his baptism: D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Bořivoj a Svatopluk – vznik českého státu a Velká Morava*, in: Josef Poulik – Bohuslav Chropovský et al., *Velká Morava a počátky československé státnosti*, Praha – Bratislava 1985, pp. 273–301. A recent biography of Mieszko: Gerard LABUDA, *Mieszko I*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 2002.

11 On the attempts to use different names of Bohemia or for Bohemians: D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Počátky Prahy a českého státu*, Folia Historica Bohemica 5, 1983, pp. 11–14.

12 *Annales Fuldenses*, pp. 75–76, 126; in a thoroughly factual way: Václav NOVOTNÝ, *České dějiny*, I. 1. *Od nejstarších dob do smrti knížete Oldřicha*, Laichterův výbor nejlepších spisů poučných 38, Praha 1912, pp. 352–354. Much has been written on the form of Bohemian dependence on Zwentibald; from recent Slovak texts: M. KUČERA, *Kráľ Svatopluk (830?–846–894)*, Martin 2010, pp. 80–93. A thorough list of reference sources for *Boemi* and *Boemia*: Jadran FERLUGA et al. (Hrsg.), *Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa*. Serie A: Lateinische Namen bis 900, Bd. II. Belaa – Carolus (Magnus), Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 51–94.

are not anonymous; the prominent ones, being the active movers of events, were mentioned by name (Podiven, Mstina, Hněvsa, Tuža and so on). Allegiance to the retinue might have become a springboard for advancement and wealth. The relation between the lord and a retainer followed the principle of devotedness and obedience, but it was favourably disposed to patriarchal features as well. Here we could mention several words that originate from Slavonic languages: “*děti*” (children), or “*mlad*” (the young) – some of the terms used for “retinue”, or the Russian word “*dětinec*” meaning the district in which the duke and his retinue had their residence. In short, even the retinue system severed the ties of traditional tribal and family communality and contributed to the decline of the old Slavonic society.¹⁵

While the tribal system was attached to “paternal manners” and religious polytheism, Christianity, at the end of the unification processes, found a breeding ground in the structures that were wriggling out of the old bonds and heading for the establishment of a higher-level community, the early state. However, groups bound to the surviving order must have felt threatened. Uprisings and rebellions even broke out: Bulgarian Knyaz Boris, who accepted faith in Christ in 864, was immediately afterwards confronted with a revolt of noblemen and he had about fifty of them executed. That is why Bořivoj only very tentatively established the first places of worship outside the castle acropolis of Prague (Levý Hradec, Church of the Virgin Mary in Prague). Similarly, Duke Mieszko, who only little by little inclined towards the new faith, did not connect the oldest Polish bishopric with Gniezno. Typically, even the places of Christian worship located in castles can be definitely identified within Bohemia only in the Přemyslid castles of the old Prague region. There the rulers were the first to accept the new faith and thus their domain differed from the rest of the country. The number of records mentioning the hostile behaviour of “nobles” from the Kievan, Bulgarian, Bohemian and other territories increased; their hostility was not directed at Christian teaching itself but rather at its by-products and basic regulations. Their biggest complaint was about the interfering into their “private lives” that was supposed to cultivate their “barbarian” and pagan manners. They bore a grudge against long fasts, against being reproached for polygamy and heavy drinking. Similar conflicts caused Adalbert (the second bishop of Prague) to leave his diocese.¹⁶

Christianity had much to offer to the flourishing early mediaeval monarchies. By accenting humility it helped the “new dukes” strengthen their rule and immediately granted the sacral character of that rule. In that stage it was a most welcome help. Traditional tribal bonds were replaced by rather vertically-oriented relations. At the top there was the duke, not only

15 The phenomenon of retinues was regarded as very important for the birth of state life in Central Europe by František GRAUS, *Raně středověké družiny a jejich význam při vzniku států ve střední Evropě*, Československý časopis historický 13, 1965, pp. 1–18; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Początki Polski IV*, p. 164–192, on the Normans in the Přemyslid retinue: J. LUDVÍKOVSKÝ, *Tunna und Gammon – Wikinger aus der Prager Fürstengefolgschaft?*, *Folia diplomatica* 1, 1971, pp. 171–188. On the terms used for retinues and retainers: Stanislav ZHÁNĚL, *Jak vznikla staročeská šlechta. Příspěvek k nejstarším politickým a sociálním dějinám českým*, Brno 1930, pp. 97–109.

16 On some such revolts: W. DZIEWULSKI, *Postępy*, pp. 48–49; J. STEINHÜBEL, *Štyri veľkomoravské biskupstvá*, *Slovanské štúdie* 1994, pp. 21–24; on Adalbert of Prague with attempts to present the issue in a complex way: D. TŘEŠTÍK – J. ŽEMLIČKA (ed.), *Svatý Vojtěch, Čechové a Evropa*, Praha 1998. Such “non-Christian” offences are later dealt with globally in the so-called Homiliary of Opatovice in an insufficient edition, see *Das Homiliar des Bischofs von Prag. Saec. XII*, ed. Ferdinand Hecht, Prag 1863 (= Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens, Abt. I. Quellensammlung).

as an administrator of secular issues, but also as the protector and actual lord of developing provincial churches. The rather peaceful course of accepting the “new faith” by the ordinary populace at the same time reflected their decreasing confidence in the “old gods” who, during the process of change, were not able to protect traditional values. The real waves of mass resistance, connected with demands for the return of the old order, appeared more likely in extreme situations (Poland, Hungaria, Kievan Russia).¹⁷

The establishment of the new religion became a sensitive touchstone crucial for the new elites to test their positions in the new “state” system. In some areas such changes came gradually, while rulers in other places had to face direct confrontation. After his return from Moravia, even Bořivoj faced a rebellion when, according to the monk Christian, he was confronted with “pagan” reaction under the patronage of his kinsman Strojmir. Decisions were neither easy nor safe, as the disappearance of the old gods was connected with the vanishing securities of the old world: not only tangible ones, such as reaping a good harvest, averting natural disasters, or living everyday life in peace and quiet, but also the very important “afterlife” issues. In 694, a Frisian king, Radbod, promptly got out of the baptismal tub on hearing that after his death he would not meet his ancestors, since they were ignorant pagans and would have ended up in hell. In fact, a world of being in which the living and the dead were interconnected did not fit into the Christian views of salvation (heaven) or condemnation (hell).¹⁸

There is hardly any doubt that the early state enforced respect in unscrupulous ways and there is plenty of evidence for this. For example Cosmas’ story of the founding of the castle in (Stará) Boleslav, which has a very strong point, unwittingly supports the fact. Boleslaus (935–972), brother of Duke Wenceslaus, decided to found a castle there “in the Roman way” (*opere Romano*). However, the people he had assembled to build it refused to work, saying that not even their ancestors had known how, or managed, to do such a thing. Boleslaus solved the situation purely and simply. He picked out “the first among the seniors” (*qui fuit primus inter seniores*), most probably one of the headmen of the old type, perhaps one of the elders, and without delay cut his head off; upon which the chastised mass submitted to him. Such “breakings” opened the way for the state formation that, in Central, East-Central, as well as Eastern Europe, was interconnected with the reception of Christianity. The mutual links could have gone so far that, at that critical juncture, even the observance of elementary Christian principles turned into an issue of “state discipline”. Though the ostensible reason for Bolesław the Brave having the teeth knocked out of those of his *regnum* who did not fast but ate meat was that they had not been fasting, he was basically protecting the validity of his statutes. The same is true for Bretislaus I, who issued his decrees in Gniezno and connected respect for them with the “national interest”.¹⁹

17 These aspects are also included in the concept of H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian i jej upadek (w. VI–XII)*, Warszawa 1979; cf. also the texts quoted in annotations 2, 3.

18 *Legenda Christiani*, pp. 20–25; on Strojmir and the circumstances of the anti-Christian revolt: D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Bořivoj a Svatopluk*, pp. 282–284; on Radbod D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy*, pp. 128–129.

19 *KOSMAS* I.19, pp. 38–39, II.4, p. 85–89; *THIETMAR* VIII.2, p. 495.

The merging of ecclesiastical and state symbolism was also evident on Bohemian territory. On the one hand there was the Prague stone throne, and on the other there was the ideology of Saint Wenceslas, which sacralised the Bohemian *regnum* and in a way discreetly veiled the memory of the “pagan” times connected with the throne stone. However, those times had become history by then. They had been replaced by a mediaeval state or, to be more precise, an early state that started to establish new power structures. The once “free” peasant population was at that moment burdened with a set of “state” (formally ducal) charges, taxes, statute labour, fees and duties. Even the burgeoning ecclesiastical organisation, at first overlapping with the dukes’ administration bound to castles (*civitates, urbes*), also took charge of tasks connected with the administration of the state rather than with purely pastoral care (the role of the castle priests).²⁰

The role of Christianisation in the life of Central Europe can be perceived from the above-mentioned points of view. Of course it is a mere segment of a much more diverse area which, after all, brings up the question of the preconditions for the establishment of state life in our part of the Continent. It did not follow one pattern, as it was multi-faceted and its faces are difficult to unveil.

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²⁰ On the St Wenceslaus idea: D. TRĚŠTÍK, *Kosmova kronika. Studie k počátkům českého dějepiscetví a politického myšlení*, Praha 1968, pp. 183–231. There have been more texts written on this topic since then; a synthesis of contemporary knowledge is presented in D. TRĚŠTÍK, *Počátky českého politického myšlení*, in: Vítěz Herold – Ivan Müller – Aleš Havlíček (ed.), *Politické myšlení raného křesťanství a středověku, Dějiny politického myšlení II/1*, Praha 2011, pp. 404–446; or J. ŽEMLIČKA, *Pražský kámen a koruna králů v legitimizační symbolice přemyslovské epochy*, in: Eva Doležalová – Petr Meduna (ed.), *Co můj kostel dnes má, nemůže kníže odníti. Věnováno Petru Sommerovi k životnímu jubileu*, Praha 2011, pp. 169–180; Eva Doležalová – Petr Meduna, *Svatý Václav jako věčný kníže “Čechů”*, in: Petr KUBÍN (ed.), *Svatý Václav. Na památku 1100. výročí narození Václava Svatého*, Opera Facultatis theologiae catholicae Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis. Historia et historia artium 11, Praha 2010, pp. 211–220. On the burdens laid on the peasant population in Poland (which could be applied to Bohemia as well): Karol MODZELEWSKI, *Chłopi w monarchii wczesnopolskiej*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź 1987. Other complex interpretations: Tomáš PETRÁČEK, *Fenomén darovaných lidí v českých zemích 11.–12. století. K poznání hospodářských a sociálních dějin českých zemí doby knížecí*, Praha 2002; J. ŽEMLIČKA, *Čechy v době knížecí (1034–1198)*, 2nd ed. Praha 2007, pp. 191–209.

THE BAVARIAN MISSION TO PANNONIA IN THE 9TH CENTURY

Herwig Wolfram

This paper especially deals with the Bavarian mission to Pannonia after the downfall of the Avarian commonwealth around 800. At this time the sources speak of at least four different Pannoniae. After 795/96 the region was politically divided between the Frankish-Lombard Duke of Friuli who ruled over Pannonia between the rivers Drava and Sava and the “super-count” of Bavaria who governed the better part of Pannonia between the rivers Drava and Enns. As far as ecclesiastical matters were concerned the Patriarchate of Aquileia was in charge of Pannonia south of the Drava and stayed so even after 828 when the area between the two rivers became Bavarian. Pannonia north of the Drava foremost consisted of the “triangle” between the rivers Raab/Raba, Danube and Drava which in the summer of 796 Pepin, King of Italy and second son of Charlemagne and Hildegard, bestowed upon the Church of Salzburg. Probably at the same time, but first only in theory, the area west of the River Raab/Raba became part of the Diocese of Passau. As opposed to this technical differentiation there are many instances when Pannonia is equated with Avaria (and the other way around) so that regions that had never belonged to the former Roman province (such as what are now Lower Austria and eastern Styria, southern Slovakia, and the Hungarian Alföld) were also considered Pannonian.

The best source dealing with the Bavarian or rather Salzburg mission to Pannonia was the famous *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* written by a clergyman of St Peter’s of Salzburg in 870. The author, who might have been Archbishop Adalwin himself, wanted to prove that “the Greek philosopher” Methodius, who had stayed at Chozil’s court at Zalavár and was taken prisoner there, was an intruder and invader in his diocese. The manuscript was addressed to King Louis the German, who in November 870 held a synod at Regensburg which, indeed, sentenced Methodius to custody in an Alemannian monastery. Salzburg was, however, only successful in defending its Pannonian position before a royal court. Under ecclesiastical law its position was weaker though, since the Salzburger had no papal charter to recognise their claim. But the author found a loophole. In the 8th century three different popes had confirmed that Carantania (successor to Noricum) belonged to the Diocese of Salzburg. So the author extensively discussed Salzburg’s mission to Carantania and made the Pannonians “neighbours” of the Carantanians. Despite the fact that this was blatantly wrong, the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* provides most valuable information about the whole Danube and Eastern Alpine region in the 8th and 9th centuries, because the methods successfully applied to mission the Carantanians could be also used in Pannonia. These methods were preaching, baptising and administering the other sacraments, ordaining priests and building and consecrating churches. But this was only possible after monarchical rulership had been installed everywhere among the Slavs so that their mission, which had begun in the middle of the 8th century in Carantania, after 800 succeeded everywhere to the east of Bavaria, since Christianisation could now follow the Frankish Clovis pattern from top down to bottom. Little wonder that the Hungarians had to follow suit when King Géza and especially his son Istvan decided to join Christian Europe.

Key words: Patriarchate of Aquileia, (Arch)Bishopric of Salzburg, Avars, Bavaria, Bavarian mission, Christianisation, Noricum, Pannonia, Early Middle Ages, Slavs, Great Moravia

After the Lombards had pulled out from what is now Hungary in 568, the realm of the Avar horsemen spread from Pannonia as far as the western limits of the Slav advance.¹ In the 7th century first attempts were made to evangelise the Avars and their Slavs but the would-be missionaries all failed since these peoples stubbornly remained pagan. Besides, Christianisation would quickly have destroyed Avar identity, since being an Avar was closely linked to the pagan khagan, the highest

Avar chieftain.² The Slavs did not even know what to do with Western missionaries. For instance, they deeply frustrated Saint Amandus because they did not even care to kill him. He returned home to become Bishop of Maastricht where he died around 675–680.³

² W. POHL, *Awaren*, p. 203; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum. Das Weißbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantänien und Pannonien*, ed. Herwig Wolfram, 2nd ed. Ljubljana 2012, p. 114 with no. 35. For the critical standard edition see *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, ed. Fritz Lošek, MGH Studien und Texte XV, Hannover 1997, pp. 1–135.

³ Ian WOOD, *The Missionary Life. Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1050*, Harlow 2001, p. 39; H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich. Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband XXXI, Wien 1995, p. 43; H. WOLFRAM, *Austria before Austria. The Medieval Past of Politics to Come*, Austrian History Yearbook, vol. 35, Minneapolis 2007, p. 10.

¹ Walter POHL, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822*, 2nd ed. Munich 2002, pp. 117nn. (English translation forthcoming).

Early mediaeval Pannonia was associated with Avaria and vice versa. Therefore Avar Pannonia not only consisted of the four former Roman provinces, but also of southern Slovakia probably as far as Nitra/Neutra, the Hungarian Alföld, and all of Roman Noricum east of the River Enns and what is now the Styrian Fischbach Alps. There the Slavic place name *Pretul/Predel/Predil*, i. e. border or divide, still reminds us of this early mediaeval border-line.⁴ Since the old Roman terminology and early mediaeval geographical notions mingled with each other it might be helpful to cast a glance back to Roman times. Emperor Trajan (98–117) divided the huge Roman province of Pannonia into Pannonia superior and Pannonia inferior. These geographical notions lived on although Emperor Diocletian (284–305) created four Pannonian provinces: Pannonia superior was divided into Pannonia I north of the Drava, and Savia south of the river, and Pannonia inferior into Valeria north of the Drava, and Pannonia II south of the river. Valeria disappeared as a political entity with the Hunnic invasion, and Savia morphed into Ostrogothic Suevia in the 6th century. Isidore of Seville knew only of a reduced Pannonia between the rivers Drava and Sava, which is the region that the *Annales regni Francorum* call Pannonia inferior at the beginning of the 9th century.⁵ This terminology was no longer used after 828, when the better part of this Carolingian Pannonia inferior was made into a Frankish county in the Ljubljana basin and the tributary Slavic principality of Siscia/Sisak, the *regnum inter Dravo et Savo flumine* (sic).⁶ Consequently, the term Pannonia inferior was available for use in another context, which the famous *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* freely took advantage of. This important Latin source, dealing with the Bavarian or rather Salzburg mission to Pannonia, was written by a clergyman of St Peter's of Salzburg in 870. The author (who might have been Archbishop Adalwin himself) wanted to prove that "the Greek philosopher" Methodius was an *intrusor et inuasor* in the Diocese of Salzburg. The Greek had stayed at Chozil's court at Zalavár and was taken prisoner there by his Bavarian enemies. The author of the *Conversio* "lied with the truth" by leaving out all the facts, legal decisions and forms of organisation the mention of which could have damaged his position. He addressed his documentation to Louis the German. In November 870 the Eastern Frankish king held a synod at Regensburg which, indeed, sentenced Methodius to custody in an Alemannian monastery. Salzburg was, however, only successful in defending its Pannonian position before a royal court. Under ecclesiastical law, however, its position was rather weak, since the Salzburger had no papal document to prove their claim. But the author found a loophole. In the 8th century three different popes had confirmed that Carantania (successor to Noricum mediterraneum) belonged to the Diocese of Salzburg. So the author extensively discussed Salzburg's mission to Carantania and presented the Pannonians as the "neighbours" of the Carantanians. Despite the fact that this was blatantly wrong, the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* provides most valuable information about the whole Danube and Eastern Alpine region in the 8th and 9th centuries, since the methods applied to send missions

to the Carantanians could also be used in Pannonia.⁷ These methods were preaching, baptising, ordaining and installing priests and building and consecrating churches.⁸ The archbishops recruited their personnel not least among the Romans in the areas around Salzburg.⁹ But the mission was only successful where monarchical rulership had been installed among the Slavs and especially in Pannonia. Now Christianisation could follow the pattern associated with the Frankish world of Clovis, from top to bottom as in Western Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire.¹⁰

The final downfall of the Avar commonwealth began in the 790s but the resistance of Avar splinter groups lasted at least until 811; an Avar tributary principality was probably abolished only in 828, and the *Conversio* mentions Christian Avars living as *tributarii regum* (sc. Francorum) in Pannonia still in 870.¹¹ Then the Avars disappeared "without offspring" as a Slavic writer pointed out. That is how the typical end of a people both pagan and "Scythian" came about. One remained a pagan Avar as long as one could be in the saddle and act as lord, irrespective of the language one spoke, be it Turkish, Slavonic, Germanic, a Romance language or some other unknown vernacular. When the status of master ended and one had to step down from the saddle, one became a Christian Slav, Bavarian, Lombard or Roman. Whoever wanted to preserve his status as lord had, in time, to go over to the Franks and Bavarians. The only Avar nobleman whose personal name is known for sure was called Ingomer, like the uncle of the Cheruscan Arminius or the first son of Clovis. When the Frankish and Lombard troops drew nearer to the political centre of the Avars in the Alföld, the plain between the rivers Danube and Tisza, Ingomer planted himself in front of the khagan, jeered at him and predicted evil things to come. The malicious joy of the noble Avar bearing a Germanic name cannot be overlooked. He had apparently taken precautions in case the glory of the Avars was to come to an end. He likely survived and preserved his status as a Bavarian or Lombard.¹²

The glory of the Avars had already faded in 626 after their defeat in front of the walls of Constantinople; but they had recovered.¹³ So it was only in the 790s that the mission could start, when the Frankish armies took the offensive and destroyed the Avar khaganate. In 795 as well as 796 Frankish armies under the nominal leadership of Pepin, King of Italy and second son of Charlemagne and Hildegard, conquered and plundered the *hring*, the residence of the khagan in the Alföld. In 796 the king received the formal surrender of the khagan and his nobles, *tarkhans*, and held a *conventus episcoporum* on the right bank of the Danube. The synod probably convened near the mouth of the Drava and was presided over by the Patriarch of Aquileia. The bishops were supposed to discuss the ecclesiastical order of the conquered land and investigate the state of Christianity in the *regnum Avarorum*. They found

7 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 25–33.

8 See e. g. *Conversio* cc. 5 and 11–13, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 64–66 and 74–78.

9 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 131, no. 23 and 213.

10 H. WOLFRAM, *Austria before Austria*, p. 11.

11 W. POHL, *Awaren*, pp. 32nn.; *Conversio*, c. 3, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 62 and 113nn.; cf. pp. 264nn.

12 W. POHL, *Awaren*, pp. 318nn.

13 W. POHL, *Awaren*, pp. 248nn.

4 Peter ŠTIH, *The Middle Ages between the Eastern Alps and the Northern Adriatic. Select Papers on Slovene Historiography and Medieval History*, Leiden – Boston 2010, p. 141.

5 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 149nn.; H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg*, pp. 68–71; H. WOLFRAM, *Die Goten. Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts*, 5th ed. München 2009, p. 320; or H. WOLFRAM, *History of the Goths*, Berkeley 1988, p. 320 (Suevia for Savia).

6 *Annales Fuldenses* a. 884, ed. Friedrich Kurze – Hans Frieder Haefele, MGH SS rerum Germanicarum 7, 2. vyd. Hannover 1891, reprint 1993, p. 113.

out that there was a Christian minority among the pagans, but no bishops. They also learnt about *presbyteri illiterati* who administered baptism and the other sacraments in a crude and thoroughly uncanonical way. These priests baptised without having instructed the catechumens in the doctrine of Christianity. They simply plunged the people under the water, and that would suffice for baptism. So the bishops agreed to have those virtually unbaptised baptised again.¹⁴ But in sum the bishops were prepared to follow Alcuin's advice to avoid the mistakes made by the mission to the Saxons and care for the souls and not for collecting the tithe. Consequently, the *decima Sclavorum* was introduced, which amounted to only half of the regular tithe, and was abolished in the High Middle Ages only at the Synod of Tribur in 1036.¹⁵

At the end of the campaign of 796 King Pepin bestowed ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Pannonian "triangle" between the rivers Raab/Raba, Danube and Drava upon Arn, who was still Bishop of Salzburg; he was to become Archbishop only two years later in 798. Pepin's decision was confirmed by Charlemagne who came in person to Salzburg in 803. The area west of the Raab/Raba probably became a part of the Diocese of Passau as early as 796, and not only around 828–830, whereas the Patriarchate of Aquileia was in charge of the jurisdiction over Pannonia between the rivers Drava and Sava.¹⁶ This order was only effective theoretically, as long as it could not rely on an effective political-military structure.

After Tassilo III's downfall in 788, Charlemagne put Count Gerold I, his brother-in-law, in charge of Bavaria. Then Gerold of Bavaria and Duke Eric of Friuli were responsible for both their commands, *missatica*, and the protection of their frontiers, *marcae*, which formed the south-eastern borders of the Carolingian Empire. Both Gerold and Eric were killed in action in summer 799. After the death of Gerold I his command was divided into two different units, i. e. Bavaria properly speaking with the royal city and former Roman legionary camp of Castra Regina – Regensburg and the eastern Bavarian territories, *plaga orientalis*, with another former Roman legionary camp Lauriacum – Lorch. Thus a separate border organisation with an administrative centre and officials was set up to defend and secure the marches rather than to expand them. This radical change of policy was brought about by the end of the military expansion of the Carolingian Empire. In the almost ninety years between the coming to power of Charles Martell (714–741) and the conclusion of a lasting peace with the Saxons in 803–804 there were scarcely more than a handful of years when the Frankish army was not summoned and the Frankish warriors could stay at home during the summer. Now the former expansive or even aggressive potential of the Carolingian Empire halted in almost no time. A period of consolidation and containment required an effective defence system.¹⁷

14 *Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii*, ed. Albert Werminghoff, MGH Concilia 2, 1/1, Hannover/Leipzig 1906, reprint 1997, pp. 172–176; W. POHL, *Awaren*, pp. 312nn., especially 319nn.; *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 148nn.

15 H. WOLFRAM, *Grenzen und Räume. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung. 378–907*, Wien 1995, p. 224; H. WOLFRAM, *Conrad II (990–1039). Emperor of Three Kingdoms*, Penn State UPress, University Park 2006, p. 313, no. 34; and *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, p. 300 (Tribur).

16 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 147–149; H. Wolfram, *Grenzen und Räume*, pp. 224–228. *Ibidem* pp. 227nn. still has 828/30 which is not correct.

17 *Conversio*, c. 10, ed. H. WOLFRAM, pp. 72, 162, 246nn., 261nn., and 274nn.; H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg*, pp. 185nn. and 298nn.; H. WOLFRAM, *Grenzen und Räume*, p. 211nn.

"At no time did the prudent Charles give any of his counts more than one county, save those in the march and on the frontier with the barbarians." Notker Balbulus's statement is certainly not contemporaneous,¹⁸ but quite appropriate since there was actually a concentration of power in the frontier regions. Both the count that commanded a border region and his associated and junior counts were *missi dominici*, envoys of the king. The Carolingian super-count who acted as commander-in-chief did not only hold sway over other Frankish counts, but also over tribal princes, *duces*.¹⁹

The ecclesiastical order established in 796 remained even after 828 when the area south of the River Drava, which since 795–796 had been under the sway of the Frankish-Lombard Duke of Friuli also became Bavarian. Then the super-count of Bavaria not only governed the better part of Pannonia between the Drava, the Danube and the Enns, but also the whole of Avarian Pannonia from the mouth of the Enns to Fruška Gora, the Frankish Mountain, west of Belgrade. As the Bulgarian invasions of 827 had made perfectly clear, this order was rather weak and vulnerable.²⁰ It was, however, still Charlemagne who had installed a Christian Avar tributary principality *inter Sabariam et Carnuntum*.²¹ But this political entity failed to fill the ethno-political and military vacuum that the fall of the Khaganate had left. So it was abolished, probably in 828, for good.²² Thus far the Bavarian or rather Salzburg mission to Pannonia did not achieve much despite the fact that Arn's successor, Archbishop Adalram (821–836), tried hard. He was the only high clergyman we know of who was able to preach in Slavonic, and the only one who was involved in missionary activities in the "Far East". In the early 820s Adalram consecrated a church as far from his see as Nitra/Neutra. He did so for Prince Priwina of Nitra/Neutra as the text informs us. But Priwina was only baptised in 833, and on Bavarian soil. So whose religious needs was this church supposed to serve? Priwina's son was called Chozil, which is short for the Germanic name Cadolah. He must have been Christian already before his father's conversion, since there is no mention of his baptism in the context of Priwina's. Chozil owned inherited property, *hereditas*, in the Traungau (now central Upper Austria), which was governed by Bavarian counts of the Wilhelm family. Chozil succeeded his father as Pannonian *knaz*, but also became a Frankish count, a function which was never bestowed upon a Slavic prince in the 9th century. When Chozil came to power at Zalavár he called his residence by the Germanic name *Mosapurc*, i. e. swamp castle.²³ So with all caution it may be concluded that Chozil's mother was a member of the Bavarian Wilhelm family, and that Adalram consecrated the church at Nitra for her and her son soon after 821.²⁴

This means that Adalram's only recorded missionary activity came very close to the year 822 when the Avars were

18 *Notker Balbulus, Gesta Caroli Magni imperatoris* I 13, ed. H. F. Haefele, MGH SRG NS XII, Berlin 1959, reprint 1980, p. 17.

19 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 179–181.

20 H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg*, pp. 298–316; *Conversio*, ed. H. WOLFRAM, pp. 167–178 and 182 (chart).

21 W. POHL, *Awaren*, p. 322; *Annales regni Francorum* a. 805, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG 6, Hannover 1895, p. 119.

22 W. POHL, *Awaren*, p. 323, no. 133; *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, p. 172, no. 35.

23 *Conversio*, c. 13, ed. H. Wolfram, p. 78.

24 *Conversio*, c. 11, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 74 a 185nn.

mentioned for the last time, and the Moravians for the first.²⁵ A new political entity had developed along the north-eastern border of Bavaria and its eastern territories. As to the question of where the *regnum Maravorum* was “really” located, the only point I would like to make is that an original diploma, issued by the East Frankish King Arnulf in 888 and kept at the Viennese Haus-Hof-und Staatsarchiv, refers to an estate whose noble owner was charged to mete out justice to and for all who came from the Moravian *regnum*. Since this estate was located in the centre of Lower Austria between Krems and St Pölten, the Moravians could not have lived in what is now Serbia or Romania, but rather in the neighbourhood of central Lower Austria, that is, in Lower Austria to the north of the Danube and in what is now neighbouring Moravia and Slovakia.²⁶ Therefore it must have been in these regions that the Moravians established themselves as heirs to the Avars, becoming their only successors to develop an ethnic name of their own. Charlemagne and the Carolingians based their claims to the territory of the Moravians on the emperor’s victory over the Avars, and thus attempted to treat Moravia as a dependent territorial principality in which they had at least the right to name the rulers. By 830 at the latest, a single Moravian prince called Moimir I (c. 830–846) made himself the representative of a pagan ruling clan that, after its conversion, continued to rule until the end of the Moravian realm shortly after 900. Its most powerful prince was Zwentibald I (870–894). He was the only Moravian prince to be called king by a pope, and to be succeeded by his own sons. Before his death, the Hungarians appeared as the new enemy in the east, and after this Moravia began its uninterrupted decline. When Regino of Pruem wrote his chronicle in 907 or 908, the fate of the Moravians was already sealed.²⁷

The Moravian Prince Moimir I had obviously prevailed against tribal competitors, the last of whom was Prince Priwina of Nitra/Neutra. In 833 Priwina, his son Chozil and a considerable number of followers had to leave the country and fled to the Frankish super-count Ratbod. He was the sixth in a row of commanders-in-chief of the eastern Bavarian territories. Ratbod presented the refugee to King Louis the German at Regensburg, who ordered him to be baptised at St Martin’s in the Salzburg stronghold of Traismauer. Soon after, a heavy conflict arose between Ratbod and Priwina over the question of where the itinerant Slavs could settle and establish a political organisation of their own.²⁸ It took some years until Louis the German first enfeoffed Priwina with “a certain region of Pannonia inferior on the banks of the River Zala (now Zalavár west of Lake Balaton)” and then granted it to him as property in 848. Thus central Pannonia’s ethno-political and military vacuum was finally filled. Priwina was recognised as *fidelis dux noster* by the king,²⁹ and attracted a lot of different peoples not least of Germanic origin and became a “great lord” in central Pannonia.³⁰

As the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* monopolises the Salzburg mission to Carantania, the documentation makes the Bavarian efforts in Pannonia Salzburg’s sole and unique achievement. But the famous *Monumenta Frisingensia* are the oldest liturgical text in the Slavonic language and in Latin characters.³¹ Priwina and Chozil kept excellent relations with the Church of Regensburg, too.³² The first priest at Priwina’s court whose name is known was Dominicus, former royal notary and member of the clergy of Regensburg. It took a lot of difficult negotiations to have him transferred to Salzburg on 24 January 850. In 860, only months or even weeks before he was killed “by the Moravians”,³³ Priwina received a royal confirmation diploma for an enormously rich donation of his near Zalabér to the Monastery of Niederalteich that belonged to the Diocese of Passau.³⁴ *The liber vitae* of Cividale bears witness to Priwina and Chozil being on excellent terms with Friuli and the Patriarchate of Aquileia.³⁵ The same holds true of Brazlavo of Siscia/Sisak who became *dux* at Zalavár in 896.³⁶ But this does not mean that the role Salzburg played in the mission was a mere exaggeration. In some way the Bishop of Passau was engaged in Pannonia west of the River Raab/Raba, where he even invested land-bishops. Passau claimed jurisdiction over Moravia. Bishop Ermenrich tried in vain to evangelise the Bulgarians. But in sum there is too little evidence to tell what the Passauers really did and what they achieved.³⁷

In 798 Charlemagne urged the Pope to make Arn Archbishop of Salzburg, against the will of the Bavarian episcopate.³⁸ In 799 the king wanted Arn to take over responsibility for the whole mission to Avaria.³⁹ First Charlemagne ordered Arn to ordain a land-bishop for the mission. But we know next to nothing about this Theodericus.⁴⁰ There is a hint of Salzburg having re-activated its engagement in Pannonia between 826 and 832.⁴¹ So it was only with Priwina’s recognised and stable installation in central Pannonia that the mission to Pannonia could begin in earnest. Dominicus, Priwina’s court priest, was succeeded by three Salzburger priests in a row. Since 859 they functioned as *archipresbyteri* but never made it to become land-bishops.⁴² This was a mistake for which the archbishops had to pay dearly when Methodius appeared on the scene in 869. But meanwhile Liupram (836–859) and Adalram (859–873) did not hesitate to take care of the easternmost region of their diocese. In the years 850, 852–853 and 864–865 they came in person to preach, ordain and install priests, administer the sacraments and consecrate more than 30 churches within

25 *Annales regni Francorum* a. 822, p. 159. H. WOLFRAM, *Grenzen und Räume*, p. 315 with n. 204.

26 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 340–353; or Herwig WOLFRAM, *D. Arnolf 32: Wartbruch II*, in: Anja Thaller – Johannes Gießbauf – Günther Bernhard (ed.), *Nulla historia sine fontibus*, Festschrift für Reinhard Härtl, Graz 2010, pp. 530–541. For an extensive discussion of the topic see H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg*, pp. 87–100.

27 H. WOLFRAM, *Grenzen und Räume*, pp. 315–321.

28 *Conversio*, c. 10, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 72 and 74, 174–176.

29 *Diplomata Ludovici Germani* (=DLG), in: *Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum I*, ed. Paul Fridolin Kehr, Berlin 1934, p. 144, no. 100.

30 *Conversio*, c. 11, ed. H. WOLFRAM, pp. 74 a 183nn.

31 P. ŠTIH, *The Middle Ages*, pp. 50, 110–117 (Molzibich); Karl BRUNNER, *Herzogtümer und Marken. Vom Ungarnsturm bis ins 12. Jahrhundert 907–1156*, Wien 1994; Harald KRAHWINKLER – Herwig WOLFRAM, *Der Alpen-Adria-Raum im Frühmittelalter*, in: Andreas Moritsch (ed.), *Alpen-Adria. Zur Geschichte einer Region*, Klagenfurt 2001, pp. 112nn., p. 114 (tab.), 2nd ed. 2003, pp. 164nn.

32 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 180, no. 28 (Chozil) and 198 (Priwina and Chozil).

33 *Conversio*, c. 13, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 78 and 198.

34 DLG, pp. 144–145, no. 100; *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, p. 198, no. 4.

35 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 278–281 (picture on p. 279)

36 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 173 and 285nn.

37 H. WOLFRAM, *Grenzen und Räume*, pp. 188nn., 226–228 and 267.

38 H. WOLFRAM, *Grenzen und Räume*, pp. 172nn.

39 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, p. 148, no. 19.

40 *Conversio*, c. 8, ed. H. Wolfram, p. 70, see also pp. 160–162.

41 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 290 sq.

42 *Conversio*, c. 12, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 76–78 and 196nn.

Pannonia inferior,⁴³ and nobody would have dared hinder them from doing so, as the *Conversio* points out.⁴⁴ In 821 Patriarch Fortunatus of Grado sided with the rebellious Liudewit of Siscia, and provided the *dux Pannoniae inferioris* with construction workers to help build fortifications.⁴⁵ Unlike Fortunatus, Liupram sent artisans of different kinds, masons, painters, blacksmiths and carpenters, to build St Hadrian's huge church, the excavated ground plan of which can still be admired at Zalavár.⁴⁶ But this pleasant, harmonious picture was endangered. The Moravian Princes Rastislav and Zwentibald had asked for "teachers" from Constantinople, and Emperor Michael III had sent Konstantinos and Methodius to Moravia in 863. At the end of 866 or the beginning of 867 the brothers, on the way to Rome, made a lengthy stop-over at *Mosapurc*, as Chozil's residence had most recently been called.⁴⁷ In Rome Konstantinos, as Cyril, died on 14 February 869, and the mission of the Greek brothers almost came to an end. At this moment it was neither Rastislav nor Zwentibald, but the Frankish count and dependent prince of Zalavár/*Mosapurc*, who initially kept the Greek mission alive, since "he loved Greek letters very much".⁴⁸ This certainly was not the only reason. The churches consecrated by the aforementioned archbishops were owned by men whose names clearly show that most of them were of Germanic origin.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the majority of Chozil's people were Slavs whom Methodius addressed in their mother tongues, which easily explains his success. Consequently in 869 Chozil successfully intervened in Rome so that Pope Hadrian II made Methodius Archbishop of Sirmium/Sremska Mitrovica.⁵⁰ At the same time the Salzburg archpresbyter resigned and left *Mosapurc* in 870 for good.⁵¹ But it only took a short period of time for Methodius to be taken prisoner by the Bavarians. This must have happened during the internal turmoil and upheaval in Moravia in 870, which amounted to a fully-fledged war between Carloman, the son of Louis the German, and Zwentibald who had ousted and betrayed his uncle Rastislav.⁵² Chozil, however, did not give up. When in 873 Methodius was released from custody following a sharp papal intervention, the Greek went to Zalavár, and not to Moravia where he was supposed to go. So it was Chozil who kept the Greek mission alive for the third time. Only in 874, when Louis the German and Zwentibald concluded a peace treaty at Forchheim, could Methodius go to Moravia as archbishop, until his death in 885. After Methodius' departure Chozil must have come to terms with Salzburg. Already in 874 the archbishop consecrated one of Chozil's churches at Ptuj/Pettau, which points at the restoration of relations.⁵³

Between Chozil's death around 876 and the coming of the Hungarians shortly before 900 there is no evidence of missionary activities in Pannonia. There were obviously no scandals

and was therefore no need for documentation. Things changed thoroughly when the Hungarians conquered Pannonia, which served in turn as a springboard for an attack on Bavaria west of the River Enns in the year 900. Only five or six years later the Hungarians dealt a mortal blow to the *regnum Maravorum* and defeated the Bavarians at Pressburg/Bratislava in June 907. Thanks to this victory the Hungarians retained a lasting hold on all of early mediaeval Pannonia despite their defeat at Lechfeld in 955. After the Bavarian Duke Henry the "Quarrelsome" triumphed over the Hungarians in 991, Prince Géza was prepared to improve relations with Bavaria and the East Frankish kingdom. His son Vaik was baptised as Stephen and married a Bavarian princess, the sister of Henry, who later became king of the East Frankish kingdom and even emperor (1002–1024). In the year 1000 Stephen was crowned the first king of the Hungarians. It was this political, military and religious genius who saved the Hungarians in and for Europe. God willing his example will never be forgotten.⁵⁴

Résumé

All peoples of Bavaria and its eastern territories were directly or indirectly united under the sway of the Frankish rulers. They were part of an *Imperium Christianum* committed to convert all peoples within and outside its borders to Christianity. In other words, just as in Jerusalem at Pentecost, the apostles did not make the Jews "from all over the world" understand their Galilee dialect, but made themselves understood in everybody's mother tongue, a Bavarian missionary, whether he spoke Bavarian, some sort of Latin, or Slavonic, did not urge a pagan Slav or Avar to become a Bavarian but a Christian. This missionary zeal was even more true of the Byzantine brothers Konstantinos and Methodios, whose command of the south Slavonic vernacular was so perfect that they were able to create the first Slavonic literary language. Christianization and ecclesiastical organization were the most important constituents of any early medieval ethnogenesis. Being Christian meant both political recognition by the Frankish emperors and kings and religious integration into a world where, according to the gospels, all peoples and languages were equally welcome to God. The ecclesiastical organization provided for the unity of a given people. The archbishopric of Salzburg comprised almost all Bavarians, the bishopric of Prague all Bohemians, Poznan all peoples who were to become Poles, the archbishopric of Gran-Esztergom all Hungarians.⁵⁵ The "speakers" of a given people, as the late František Graus called them,⁵⁶ were the learned clergymen whose literally constructed origin-sagas created or at least reflected new ethnic identities. For example, Salzburg was the only early medieval bishopric located in what was the former Roman province of Noricum. When in 798 Salzburg became the Bavarian metropolis, the Bavarian "speakers" started calling their people *Norici*, although the majority of the Bavarians lived in the former Roman province of Raetia.⁵⁷ The great painter and engraver Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), a native of the Bavarian city of Nuernberg, still signed his *Allerheiligenbild*, All-Saints-Picture, as *Noricus*.

43 *Conversio*, cc. 11 a 13, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 74 and 76, and p.78. See also pp. 203–213.

44 *Conversio*, c. 14, ed. H. Wolfram, p. 80; see also p. 185.

45 *Annales regni Francorum* aa. 818 a 821, pp. 149 and 155.

46 *Conversio*, c. 11, ed. H. Wolfram, pp. 76 and 204nn.

47 *Conversio*, c. 13, ed. H. Wolfram, p. 78.

48 *Conversio*, ed. H. WOLFRAM, pp. 22–25.

49 *Conversio*, ed. H. WOLFRAM, pp. 208–213.

50 *Conversio*, ed. H. WOLFRAM, pp. 22–25.

51 *Conversio*, c. 12, ed. H. WOLFRAM, pp. 78

52 *Conversio*, ed. H. WOLFRAM, pp. 24nn.

53 *Conversio*, ed. H. WOLFRAM, pp. 239, no. 66.

54 H. WOLFRAM, *Conrad II*, pp. 227nn.

55 H. WOLFRAM, *Austria before Austria*, pp. 9nn.

56 František GRAUS, *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen im Mittelalter*, Nationes III, Sigmaringen 1980, especially p. 15nn., cf. 260 sub voce "Sprecher"; *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, p. 326, no. 137.

57 H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg*, pp. 72nn.

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THE LATIN HAGIOGRAPHY OF MISSION FROM RIMBERT TO BRUNO OF QUERFURT

Ian Wood

Much of the hagiography of mission in the early Middle Ages was written by men who were themselves missionaries. We can, therefore, expect it to illustrate the genuine concerns of missionaries, even if it is not always factually reliable. Among the recurrent concerns that we find in hagiographical texts is an interest in the legitimacy of the mission, which comes to be linked with the acquisition of papal approval or royal support. Equally interesting is the emphasis on the psychological pressures on a missionary, especially on the need to overcome fear.

Key words: Hagiography, Mission, Methodius, Vita Methodii, Vita Constantini, John VIII – pope, Nicolas I – pope, Gregory I – pope, Adalbert – bishop of Prague, Bruno of Querfurt, Passio Adalberti, Vita Quinque Fratrum, Romuald of Ravenna, Louis the German, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, Wenceslas – ruler of Bohemia, Liudger, Gregory of Utrecht, Willehad of Bremen, Rimbert, Vita Anskarii, Adalbert of Magdeburg, Regino of Prüm, Passio Gorgonii, Poppo, Harald Bluetooth, Meseritz, Gumpold of Mantua, Stephen – king of Hungary, Geza – king of Hungary, Hadrian II – pope, Henry II – emperor, Harald Klak, Olga, Boleslaw Chrobry, Vladimir – ruler of Rus', John Canaparius, Louis the Pious – emperor, Otto III – emperor

The Moravian mission of Methodius, from the 860s until his death in 882, is part of the broad history of the evangelisation of Central and Eastern Europe. It belongs within a sequence of Byzantine missions, which include those to the Bulgars, also of the 860s, and of the Christianisation of the Rus just over a century later.¹ It also has to be situated within the history of papal involvement in mission. The correspondence of John VIII, together with the *Life of Methodius*, reveal the involvement of Rome in the Moravian mission.² Only two decades earlier Nicolas I had responded to a Bulgar request for religious guidance, as is well known from the Pope's letter of 866.³ Although the papacy did not show a consistent concern to sponsor mission, individual popes had been keen on the evangelisation of pagan peoples from the days of Pope Celestine in the 5th century onwards.⁴ Gregory the Great's mission to England perhaps led the Anglo-Saxons to regard papal authority for mission as desirable, as we see in the histories of Willibrord and Boniface. In the 10th and 11th centuries Adalbert of Prague, Bruno of Querfurt and Romuald of Ravenna would all seek papal approval to work among the pagans.⁵

The mission of Methodius also needs to be set alongside Carolingian and Ottonian interest in evangelisation, although Methodius' own experience of the German Church was less than happy.

It is, however, clear, both from the Thessalonian's treatment at the hands of Louis the German's bishops, and also from the Salzburg *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, that the German clergy, and the bishops of Salzburg, Passau, Regensburg and Freising in particular, felt that their authority had been infringed, and that Methodius was active within a zone that they had already claimed as their own.⁶ Carolingian involvement in the Christianisation of Central Europe can already be seen in the account of the visit of the Bohemian dukes to the court of Louis, recorded in the *Annales Fuldenses* under the year 845.⁷ German interest in the Church of Bohemia is still firmly in evidence in the time of Wenceslas.⁸ It can be detected in the early histories of Christianity among the Poles and among the Magyars.⁹

The conversion history of central Europe has to be pieced together from a wide variety of sources:¹⁰ from narrative histories, usually written much later, from episcopal letters and from a number of works of hagiography. Much of this material is concerned not to recite the order of events, which is often obscure, but rather to assert authority. This is particularly true of the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*.¹¹ Equally striking, a number of the hagiographical works which deal with mission were written by men who were themselves missionaries.¹²

1 Nora BEREND (ed.), *Christianization and the Rise of the Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, Cambridge 2007.

2 *Registrum Iohannis VIII. papae*, ed. Erich Caspar, in: MGH Epp. VII, 2nd ed. Berlin 1974, pp. 200, 201, 255, 276; *Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII. papae*, ed. E. Caspar, in: MGH Epp. VII, Berlin, 2nd ed. 1974, pp. 16, 20, 21–38.

3 *Nicolai I papae epistolae*, ed. Ernst Perels, in: MGH Epp. VI, Berlin 1925.

4 Thomas Mowbray CHARLES-EDWARDS, *Palladius, Prosper and Leo the Great: mission and primatial authority*, in: David N. Dumville (ed.), *Saint Patrick A.D. 493–1993*, Woodbridge 1993.

5 *Vita Adalberti*, 22; *Brunonis Passio Adalberti (II)*, ed. Lorenz Weinrich, in: *Heiligenleben zur deutsch-slavischen Geschichte: Adalbert von Prag – Otto von Bamberg (= Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 23)*, Stuttgart 2005, s. 70–117. I have cited Weinrich's edition, rather than that of J. Karwasińska, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. IV 2, Warszawa 1969, on which it is based, because of its greater accessibility. For the anonymous *Life of Adalbert*, see also Cristian GASPAR, in: Gabor Klaniczay (ed.), *Vita Sanctorum Aetatis Conversionis Europae Centralis (Saec. X–XI)*, Budapest 2013.

6 Herwig WOLFRAM, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum. Das Weißbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die Erfolgreiche Mission in Karantanien und Pannonien mit Zusätzen und Ergänzungen*, Ljubljana 2012.

7 *Annales Fuldenses*, sub anno 845, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 7, Hannover 1891.

8 Petr SOMMER – Dušan TŘEŠTÍK – Josef ŽEMLIČKA, *Bohemia and Moravia*, in: N. Berend (ed.), *Christianization*, pp. 234–235.

9 Przemyslaw URBAŃCZYK – Stanislaw ROSIK, *The Kingdom of Poland*, in: N. Berend (ed.), *Christianization*, pp. 288–289; Nora BEREND – József LASZLOVSKY – Béla Zsolt SZAKÁCS, *The Kingdom of Hungary*, in: N. Berend (ed.), *Christianization*, pp. 335–337.

10 N. Berend (ed.), *Christianization*.

11 H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*.

12 Ian WOOD, *The Missionary Life. Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1050*, Harlow 2001, pp. 264–265.

It is with the implications of this autobiographical element in missionary hagiography that I am concerned.

The involvement of missionaries in the writing of hagiography is apparent from the early 9th century onwards. Liudger, who worked in Frisia and in the lands around Münster, wrote a *Life* of his teacher Gregory of Utrecht.¹³ Anskar who preached to both the Danes and the Swedes recorded the miracles of an earlier bishop of Bremen, Willehad,¹⁴ and Rimbert wrote a *Life of Anskar*, his predecessor and mentor.¹⁵ In the early 11th century Bruno of Querfurt twice wrote a *Life of Adalbert of Prague*, whom he and many others in his circle revered as a model:¹⁶ he also wrote an account of his friends Benedict and John, in the text known as the *Vita Quinque Fratrum*.¹⁷ In addition to his hagiographical writings he set down a short account of his own missionary work in a letter to the emperor Henry II.¹⁸ Fifty years earlier Adalbert, who would become Archbishop of Magdeburg, had included a description of his own failed mission to the Rus in a continuation to the *Chronicle of Regino of Prüm*.¹⁹ He is also the likely author of the *Passio* of the Diocletianic martyr Gorgonius.²⁰ This text used to be ascribed to Adalbert of Prague, who was certainly responsible for a homily on the legendary Roman saint Alexius – one of the patrons of the monastic community in Rome of which he was twice a member.²¹

Near-contemporary *Lives* of saints add greatly to our understanding of mission. In those instances where we have a hagiographical text dealing with mission, our knowledge of the process of Christianisation is a great deal richer than it is elsewhere – leaving aside the exceptional case of the missions to the Bavarians and Carantanians recorded in the Salzburg *Conversio*. Thus, we have a very much more detailed understanding of missions to Scandinavia in the time of Anskar than of the crucial moment in the mid-10th century when Poppo converted Harald Bluetooth.²² We know a good deal more about the missionary community at Meseritz and about the final missions of Adalbert of Prague and Bruno of Querfurt than about the actual acceptance of Christianity in Poland.²³ We are far better informed about Christianity in Bohemia in the days of Wenceslas than

we are of the establishment of the Church in the region – and whatever the dates of Christian or of the Slavonic *Lives of Ludmilla* and *Wenceslas*, we have the securely dated work of Gumpold.²⁴ We have a much clearer picture of the reign of Stephen in Hungary than we do of the conversion of his father Geza, despite the possible involvement of Adalbert of Prague.²⁵ Near-contemporary hagiography provides much more detailed information than does the occasional comment in a work of history or in a papal, episcopal or royal letter. And to the Latin *Lives* we can probably add that of Methodius, the original version of which may well have been composed soon after the missionary's death, although only later versions have come down to us.²⁶ The text of the *Vita Constantini* is arguably more problematic.²⁷

The fact that some missionaries were authors of works of hagiography and history makes the evidence that they set down all the more valuable, for it gives us a more nuanced appreciation of their intentions and strategies, hopes and fears, than can be gleaned from a short statement about their preaching of the Gospel.²⁸ I will pick out two recurrent themes: the first is a concern about the legal standing of a mission: the second is the insight that the texts written by missionaries provide of the psychological stresses weighing on the authors.

It is striking how often the writers of hagiographical texts concerned with mission felt the need to set out the legal basis of their enterprise. This is, of course, a major feature of the *Life of Methodius*. The *vita* lists the request of Rostislav and Svatopluk to the emperor Michael,²⁹ which prompted the sending of Constantine and his brother, in addition to Pope Nicolas' demand to see the two Thessalonians, as well as Hadrian II's approval of their Slavonic Gospels and also of the Pope's ordination of Methodius.³⁰ The *Life* contains the text of a letter of Hadrian recommending Methodius to Rostislav, Svatopluk and Kocel,³¹ and it also recounts the Pope's intervention, following the seizure of the missionary by the German Church.³² Given the extent to which the legitimacy of Methodius' mission was questioned by Louis the German and his bishops, as can be seen in the Salzburg *Conversio*,³³ this emphasis is scarcely surprising. Indeed, the *Life of Methodius* can be read as a defence of the saint's actions in the face of challenges to the legitimacy of his work.

This concern with the legitimacy of missions is a recurrent issue in missionary hagiography. The *Vita Anskarii* presents a justification for the establishment of Hamburg as a diocese

13 *Liudgeri Vita Gregorii abbati Traiectensis*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS XV. 1, Hannover 1887, pp. 63–79.

14 *Anskari Miracula Willehadi*, ed. Albert Poncelet, Acta Sanctorum, November, vol. 3, Brussels 1910, pp. 847–51.

15 *Rimberti Vita Anskarii*, ed. Werner Trillmich, in: Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der Hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches, Darmstadt 1961.

16 *Brunonis Passio Adalberti (I)*, s. 70–117. For the first version, see *Sancti Adalberti Pragensis, episcopi et martyris Vita altera auctore Bruno Querfurtensis (I)*, ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska, Monumenta Poloniae Historica NS IV.2, Warszawa 1969, pp. 3–41.

17 *Brunonis Vita Quinque Fratrum*, ed. Marina Miladinov, in: G. Klaniczay (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Aetatis Conversionis*.

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19 *Adalberti continuatio Reginonis*, sub anno 962, ed. Albert Bauer – Reinhold Rau, in: Quellen der Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit, Darmstadt 1971.

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22 *Widukindi Rerum Gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres*, III, 65, ed. A. Bauer – R. Rau, in: Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit (= Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 8), Darmstadt, 5th ed. 2002.

23 P. URBAŃCZYK – S. ROSIK, *The kingdom of Poland*, pp. 274–275.

24 P. SOMMER – D. TŘEŠTÍK – J. ŽEMLIČKA, *Bohemia and Moravia*, pp. 225–235; I. WOOD, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 187–206.

25 N. BEREND – J. LASZLOVSKY – B. Z. SZAKÁS, *The kingdom of Hungary*, pp. 331–333.

26 *Vita Methodii*, ed. André Vaillant, in: Idem, *Textes vieux-slaves I: Textes et glossaire*, Paris 1968.

27 *Vita Constantini*, ed. A. Vaillant, in: *Ibidem*.

28 I. WOOD, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 264–265.

29 *Vita Methodii*, chap. 5.

30 *Vita Methodii*, chap. 6.

31 *Vita Methodii*, chap. 8.

32 *Vita Methodii*, chap. 11–12.

33 H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, pp. 19–27.

and for its amalgamation with Bremen.³⁴ The rights of Hamburg would, indeed, be a major issue down to the days of Adam of Bremen – and the Church of Hamburg was not above falsifying the record. This is scarcely surprising: the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction outside the established diocesan pattern was almost inevitably going to cause problems, and had done since at least the days of Boniface in the early 8th century.

Yet concern with the legitimacy of mission was not just a response to questions of provincial or diocesan jurisdiction. Adalbert of Prague needed approval from the papacy and from his immediate superior, the Archbishop of Mainz, both to leave his Bohemian see, and to preach to the northern Slavs.³⁵ Even more striking is the concern of Bruno of Querfurt a decade later to secure papal approval for the mission that he and his two friends Benedict and John intended to carry out. While the main narrative of the *Life of the Five Brothers* concerns Benedict and John, and the murder of them and their three companions, Bruno devotes a number of pages to his somewhat dilatory acquisition of a papal licence, and of his subsequent failure to take it to his companions before they were killed by robbers.³⁶ Approval mattered: anyone aware of the treatment of Methodius would have known how important it was to have one's mission recognised by the highest authority, though for Adalbert, Benedict, John and Bruno, once beyond the borders of the Reich there can scarcely have been any challenge from the established German Church.

The hagiography of mission thus has an eye on legitimacy, and in the case of texts from Hamburg-Bremen on jurisdiction. Naturally there was also a question of acceptance by the rulers of the territory to be evangelised, or by adjacent powers, as is apparent from the experience of Methodius, in terms of his reception both by the Slav princes and by Louis the German. The value of approval from secular powers can be seen in the career of Anskar. He initially travelled to the Danish kingdom in the company of Harald Klak and he went on to Birka following a request by Swedish ambassadors to Louis the Pious.³⁷ In the 10th century the mission of Adalbert to the Rus was arranged as a direct response to an appeal by Olga in Kiev.³⁸ Adalbert's namesake and pupil tried on two occasions to negotiate visits to the Hungarians.³⁹ His final mission was backed by Boleslaw Chrobry,⁴⁰ who was also a supporter of Bruno, as the latter reveals in his letter to Henry II.⁴¹ Bruno is even more explicit about his attempt to secure agreement from Vladimir for his mission to the Pechenegs.⁴²

More interesting, however, is the information contained in missionary *vitae* concerning the pressures that weighed on missionaries in the field. Many missionaries seem to have been fearful about what might happen to them. We find this

34 Eric KNIBBS, *Ansgar, Rimbert and the forged foundations of Hamburg-Bremen (Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West)*, Farnham 2011.

35 *Vita Adalberti*, chap. 18, 21–22; *Brunonis Passio Adalberti (I)*, chap. 15, 18.

36 *Brunonis Vita Quinque Fratrum*, chap. 5, 9, 10.

37 *Rimberti Vita Anskarii*, chap. 9.

38 *Adalberti continuatio Reginonis*, sub annis 959, 962.

39 *Brunonis Passio Adalberti (I)*, chap. 16, 23; N. BEREND – J. LASZLOVSZKY – B. Z. SZAKÁS, *The kingdom of Hungary*, pp. 329–330.

40 *Brunonis Passio Adalberti (I)*, chap. 21, 22–24.

41 *Brunonis Epistola ad Henricum II imperatorem*.

42 *Ibidem*.

already in the correspondence of Gregory the Great concerning the mission of Augustine to the Anglo-Saxons. Augustine almost abandoned the task, and had to be encouraged to continue.⁴³ Fear is a major aspect of Bruno's version of the *Life of Adalbert of Prague*. In revising the original *Life*, which had probably been written by John Canaparius in Rome, he enhanced the sense of danger in the course of the saint's last days.⁴⁴ Fear also dominates Bruno's presentation of his own actions in the *Life of the Five Brothers*, where his anxiety about the danger of travelling to and from Rome led him to put off his acquisition of a papal licence.⁴⁵

In some cases missionaries may have become increasingly fearful because of a change in the circumstances in which they were working. Ermoldus Nigellus, writing almost immediately after Anskar set off on his first Danish mission in 826 presents the moment of departure without any indication of apprehension.⁴⁶ According to Rimbert writing forty years later the counsellors of Louis the Pious understood the danger of undertaking mission among the Danes, even though one of the contestants for the throne, Harald Klak, had been baptised and was indeed to travel back to his kingdom with the missionaries.⁴⁷ The bishops had a strong feeling that no one should be pressurised into the dangerous task of evangelising pagans in alien territory. Anskar was more than willing to undertake it: indeed, according to Rimbert the saint positively relished the thought of martyrdom, which he thought had been promised to him in a vision.⁴⁸ Towards the end of his life he needed reassurance that not being martyred did not amount to failure. Anskar's desire for danger was clearly an extreme, although not a unique, point of view. When he initially expressed a willingness to undertake the Danish mission the advisers of Louis the Pious were astonished that his friend Autbert was keen to accompany him, despite his nobility.⁴⁹ There seems to have been an understanding that men of relatively low birth were better suited to the danger of living in an alien world, than were members of the aristocracy.

Not everyone involved in the Scandinavian mission relished the prospect of martyrdom. Among the clergy involved, Gautbert seems to have been happy to undertake the work when the Swedes were welcoming,⁵⁰ but he later fled from Birka after the martyrdom of his priest Nithard,⁵¹ and he subsequently refused to return. No doubt the fact that he had become Bishop of Osnabrück in the meantime justified his refusal: but he also explained that he felt the task was too dangerous for him to undertake, and thought that his nephew Erimbert was better suited to the job.⁵²

43 *Bedae Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, I. 23, ed. Charles Plummer, in: *Baedae Opera Historica*, Oxford 1896.

44 I. WOOD, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 216–220.

45 I. WOOD, *Shoes and a fish dinner: the troubled thoughts of Bruno of Querfurt*, in: Richard Corradini – Mathew Gillis – Rosamond McKitterick – Irene van Renswoude (ed.), *Ego Trouble: authors and their identities in the Early Middle Ages*, Vienna, 2010, pp. 249–258.

46 *Ermoldi Nigeli In Honorem Hladovici Pij*, ed. Edmond Faral, in: *Ermold le Noir – Poème sur Louis le Pieux*, Paris 1932, lines 1822–2513.

47 *Rimberti Vita Anskarii*, chap. 7.

48 *Ibidem*, chap. 40.

49 *Ibidem*, chap. 7.

50 *Ibidem*, chap. 14.

51 *Ibidem*, chap. 17.

52 *Ibidem*, chap. 25, 28.

A century later Adalbert, who subsequently became Archbishop of Magdeburg, seems to have remembered his experiences among the Rus with horror. The various entries that relate to his mission among his additions to Regino's Chronicle are full of a sense of betrayal at the hands of Helena: the fact that he calls her by her baptismal name, rather than by the name Olga, enhances the sense of her faithlessness.⁵³ Even before his mission, however, Adalbert may have channelled his concerns about working in a pagan land into the composition of the *Passio Gorgonii*.⁵⁴ There he would seem to have used the form of the *Acta Martyrum*, that is, of martyr acts relating to the period of the Roman persecutions of the third and fourth centuries, to explore the experience of interrogation and torture at the hands of a hostile ruler.⁵⁵

Yet Gautbert and Adalbert would seem to have been the exceptions in remembering their missionary failures badly. Even if would-be missionaries were apprehensive about the dangers facing them, most of them triumphed over that apprehension. We see this most fully in the works of Bruno of Querfurt. The threat of martyrdom hangs over all the early versions of the *Lives of Adalbert of Prague*. Visions symbolic of the saint's death were experienced both by Adalbert himself and in the community of SS Boniface and Alexius in Rome.⁵⁶ In his version of the *Life of Adalbert*, however, Bruno enhances the sense of terror experienced by the saint in his last hours, and in so doing he strengthens the image of Adalbert facing his martyrdom heroically.⁵⁷ In the self-portrait that Bruno presents in the *Life of the Five Brothers* we see him as too frightened to cross a rebellious Italy that was hostile to Otto III and to all who had supported him, but finally resolving to make the journey to Rome on hearing of the lynching of an old friend.⁵⁸ In the letter to Henry II, Bruno describes his negotiations with Vladimir on the Serpent Walls: the ruler thought any attempt to evangelise the Pechenegs was too fraught with danger. Bruno, however, remained steadfast, finding solace in the liturgy. The visit to the Pechenegs was very nearly as dangerous as Vladimir had anticipated, but Bruno both endured and triumphed, even if the triumph amounted to the conversion of a mere thirty souls.⁵⁹ Finally, in the accounts of Bruno's own death, we learn that he approached the King of the Rus (either a group other than the Rus of Kiev, or a mistake for the Prussians⁶⁰) as a beggar: on being laughed at he retired, and returned dressed in full vestments, and he then underwent an ordeal by fire.⁶¹ He was killed by men who felt that he was too persuasive. Of course Bruno may have painted a deliberately critical picture of his behaviour in Italy in order to highlight the virtues of Benedict and John as they waited for him at Meseritz, but taking all his work together we find a clear recognition of the dangers that

had to be faced by a missionary and an acceptance of the possibility of martyrdom.

The hagiography of mission, especially that written by missionaries, thus underlines the psychological strength of those who undertook the task of evangelising in an alien environment. It also reveals something of the flexibility of mind required by those who ventured into the unknown. The plans of missionaries were always subject to change, as Methodius learnt from his experiences in Moravia. Political change could transform what appeared to be a safe environment into a dangerous one, as happened in Anskar's Scandinavia, Methodius' Moravia and Adalbert of Magdeburg's Kiev. So too, a realisation that a missionary strategy was not working could prompt a reconsideration of the best way to proceed. Again the fullest evidence comes from Bruno's *Life of Adalbert*, where the saint's realisation that his message was unwelcome leads him to consider a complete change of tactics. Instead of aggressively proclaiming the Gospel, Adalbert announces that it would be better to integrate into the society that he and his two companions wished to evangelise, and then, once they had been accepted, slowly to introduce the people to Christ.⁶² Whether or not Adalbert really did change his missionary strategy, it is clear that Bruno felt that such flexibility was proper.

Methodius' experiences in Moravia were not those of Adalbert of Magdeburg, Adalbert of Prague or Bruno. They were not even those of Anskar or his fellow missionaries in Scandinavia. The Thessalonian saint was working in an environment where for the most part he was well received. The dangers came largely from other Christians, who felt that their jurisdiction had been challenged, and who were unhappy at his use of a Slavonic liturgy – though they themselves were already using the Slavonic language to evangelise.⁶³ In addition, Methodius had the support of the Pope, who was in a position to put pressure on Louis the German and on the Bavarian bishops. What Methodius and his brother Constantine experienced among the Khazars is likely to have come very much closer to the experiences of Anskar, Adalbert and Bruno. Indeed, like Rimbert, the author of the *Life of Methodius* claims that his hero was willing to die for the Christian faith.⁶⁴

The reality of the Christianisation of Moravia, like that of Bohemia and of Poland, was no doubt rather closer to the picture that we see in the Salzburg *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* than the terrifying venture into the unknown lands of the Prussians or Pechenegs. Yet the concerns of the missionaries as expressed in the hagiographies of Anskar, Adalbert of Prague and Bruno of Querfurt were surely shared by Methodius. Anxiety, a constant need to assess how best to proceed, and a concern with jurisdiction, were all issues that would have affected the Thessalonian, even if his Moravian hosts were less frightening than the pagan leaders of the Danes, Swedes and Prussians. Because Liudger, Rimbert, Adalbert of Magdeburg and Bruno of Querfurt were missionaries who wrote about mission, they give us a first-hand sense of what it was like to preach the Gospel. The point of view of the bishops of the Carolingian and Ottonian empires is captured by the Salzburg *Conversio* – and is perhaps

53 *Adalberti continuatio Reginonis*, sub annis 959, 962.

54 *Miracula s. Gorgonii*, pp. 83–86.

55 See I. WOOD, *The Missionary Life*, p. 213, where the text is (probably wrongly) associated with Adalbert of Prague.

56 *Vita Adalberti*, kap. 24, 29; *Brunonis Passio Adalberti (II)*, chap. 27, 29.

57 *Brunonis Passio Adalberti (II)*, chap. 30–33.

58 *Brunonis Vita Quinque Fratrum*, chap. 10; I. WOOD, *Shoes and a fish dinner*.

59 *Brunonis Epistola ad Henricum II imperatorem*.

60 *Petri Damiani Vita Romualdi*, ed. Giovanni Tabacco, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, 94, Rome 1957, chap. 27; see Darius BARONAS, *The Year 1109: St Bruno of Querfurt between Poland and Rus'*, *Journal of Medieval History* 34, 2008, pp. 1–22.

61 *Petri Damiani Vita Romualdi*, chap. 27.

62 *Brunonis Passio Adalberti (II)*, chap. 26.

63 I. WOOD, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 174–176.

64 *Vita Methodii*, chap. 4.

countered by the narrative of the *Life of Methodius*. The experience of the missionary is more directly expressed in the some of the key texts of the Latin hagiography of mission.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF GREAT MORAVIA

David Kalhous

The present paper concentrates above all on problems associated with the ways we might understand the structure and dynamics of society in Great Moravia on the basis of available sources. The author's main focus is on the problem of the origin of sources and their thematic focus. He sees some solution above all in the analysis of terminology set in a wider European context, in the interpretation of behavioural patterns, as recorded (or, more precisely, presented!) by literary sources, and in the consideration of archaeological finds from burial grounds and settlements situated out of central localities. The answers to these questions, however, are also equally important for understanding the dynamics of power and power-structures in what is now south and central Moravia and west Slovakia. The author supposes that ducal power was already relatively tightly bound with the Mojmirids, who were surrounded by a small group of "princes". We do not know the source of their power but we can suppose a certain degree of sacred legitimisation of monarchic power and the power of the ruling dynasty. It may well be that this prominent group within Moravian society took part in a similar "game of offices" to that which we witness in the Frankish Empire, where the office of the Count formed an important bond between local elites and the central power. From weapons and personal ornaments found in rural burial grounds it can further be inferred that rural settlements also had their own elites, "free Moravians", whose social status probably emerged from a combination of many different sources (personal charisma, inertia of social structures etc.). The sources of their loyalty towards the Prince are not known but we can probably consider it another designation of the foundations of ducal power.

Key words: Great Moravia, 9th century, literary sources, archaeology, power, legitimacy, social status, social structure, elites

Significant attention was paid to the question of Great Moravian social structure by Marxist historiography in its time.¹ A discussion was conducted, that is, about whether or not Great Moravian society already exhibited a feudal character. Thus, it may be regarded as one of many discussions of a similar type that was carried out at that time by historiographies of the Eastern Bloc.² (Let us leave aside the fact that "feudal society" was only poorly defined in the discourse of that time). To be more specific, archaeologists and historians before the year 1989 evaluated the character of Great Moravian society as feudal. It is impossible to overlook the fact that efforts to attribute a certain degree of economic and social development to Great Moravia that would be comparable to the "Western" Frankish Empire was an expression of the endeavour to equate the level of the ancestors of modern western civilisation with "our" ancestors; thus it subliminally referred to a nationalistic vision of the world. It is possible that this tendency does not follow from the choice of theme but rather from its treatment.

Following František Graus, major attention was devoted to this issue at the beginning of the 1980s by Lubomír Havlík, who collected extensive source material from all corners of early medieval Europe in an effort to reconstruct the social structure

of Great Moravia, using the comparative method.³ He noted that there were certainly extensive differences between the centre of the principality and its periphery, which naturally also influenced its power structure. He placed the seat of, as many other authors did, in the areas of today's South Moravia and Western Slovakia. Supposedly, the surrounding areas were tied to this centre by means of more or less regularly-paid tribute. According to Havlík, in Great Moravia we could find a duke, servant elite,⁴ free men⁵ and serfs.⁶ Havlík also admitted that, already at this time, the elite held in their hands large tracts of landed property.⁷ We have to note that even though Havlík was the author of many introductions to written sources of Great Moravia in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici* (MMFH), collection of sources related to Great Moravia, he did not reserve much space for criticism of the sources he used. In addition, although he considered extensive comparative material, he gave only little space to archaeological sources, despite the fact that in his time archaeologists had already published at least part of the important material.

Peter Ratkoš also agreed with the existence of a structured society. At the head of Moravian society he saw a Moravian duke whose power was hereditary within the more extensive

1 Comp. a very realistic view in the book by Stefan ALBRECHT, *Geschichte der Großmährenforschung in den tschechischen Ländern und in der Slowakei*, *Práce Slovanského ústavu*, Nová řada 14, Praha 2003. I dedicate this work to the memory of Dušan Třeštík on the occasion of the eightieth birthday he did not live to.

2 Comp. Michael BORGOLTE, *Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters: eine Forschungsbilanz nach der deutschen Einheit*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, Beihefte, München 1996, pp. 93–118.

3 Naturally, the following list is not exhaustive. It is only supposed to show some issues touched on by historians.

4 Lubomír Emil HAVLÍK, *Moravská společnost a stát v 9. století, 1. Moravská společnost, její struktura a organizace v 9. století*, *Slavia Antiqua* 27, 1980, pp. 8–16.

5 *Ibidem*, pp. 20–26.

6 *Ibidem*, pp. 14–20, 26–28.

7 *Ibidem*, pp. 12–13.

family.⁸ Based on an analogy from Croatia and based on a report on the existence of a *subandž* in Ibn-Rustah, he further anticipated the existence of a duke's court.⁹ It was surrounded by "Moravians", who, in his view, were a small but influential group of the population and whom he definitely refused to equate with all freemen. Ratkoš proceeded mainly from a reference in the *Life of Methodius*, which mentions that Methodius was received by "Svatopluk and all Moravians".¹⁰ We can hardly agree with this since the author of the text was using a classical topos that was intended to stress the respect Methodius commanded among all and not to prove how many people were then present at the welcome. Ratkoš further anticipated the existence of a stratum of mounted warriors, *milites*, *vitędzi*. By identifying this social group he attributed a significant role to archaeological evidence. That is, he placed stress on sets of belts, which according to Carolingian analogies he took for an indicator of social status.¹¹ He also thought that it was possible to meet serfs and domestic slaves in Moravia.¹² He did not doubt the existence of servant settlements either.¹³ He deemed that, at least in its core, Great Moravia was divided into hill-fort districts that corresponded to the "*civitates*" of the *Bavarian Geographer* and that they were further divided into smaller territorial units.¹⁴ He definitely regarded Great Moravia as an early feudal state. He reasoned firstly by the existence of the hereditary power of the prince, relying on vassals and retinue, and secondly on the key importance of land as a means of production when, however, the instruments themselves belonged to the peasants and the collection of feudal rent relies on economic violence.¹⁵

In contrast, although archaeologists amply cited written sources, they rather used them to support their theses and they did not pay much attention to systematic criticism of them. Sources of that time (as well as later) were thus transformed especially by means of MMFH into a kind of a storehouse of authorities, in which it was possible to search for a suitable place according to need. Archaeologists aimed the edge of their criticism especially at the analysis of grave findings in the burial grounds of the central fortresses of Great Moravia, including analysis of the size of the grave pits, their possible arrangement,¹⁶ the structure of the burial ground¹⁷ and the use of the coffin.¹⁸ By combining these sets of data with the topographic context, Mechthild Schulze-Dörlam even arrived at the conclusion that

the graves in the churches in the central Moravian castles may be hiding nothing other than the remains of the dukes of the Mojmir dynasty.¹⁹ More valuable without doubt was the reminder of the significance of the phenomenon of children's graves²⁰ – while it is not difficult to attribute a clear utility value to different items accompanying adult individuals (sword/spurs of a warrior), the placing of miniature versions of these items in children's graves represents a strong indication that we could take these items also as status symbols, by means of which different individuals were trying to demonstrate their social status and its potential transferability by these very items. We do not, however, have to go as far as to automatically relate a certain set of items to a legally determined group, as defined by the so-called barbarian law codes.²¹

The realisation that there is a certain correlation between social status and the ownership of a certain item, though, does not only have to be based on the indirect evidence of archaeological sources. It is sufficient to find the narrative of the fate of Svatopluk on the pages of the *Chronicle of the Bohemians* by Cosmas.²² The Prague canon claims that after Svatopluk learned of his mistake – by which the Chronicler means a "revolt" against the emperor Arnulf – he found a quiet place in the forest, killed his horse, and laid his sword aside to live from that moment onward unrecognised among hermits. For Cosmas, the horse and sword are thus symbols of affiliation to the elite, symbols of the right to rule and power. Without his sword and horse Svatopluk too may live unrecognised among hermits. While we may acknowledge a certain information value in the evidence of a relatively late Czech chronicle (despite the passing of three hundred years between the reign of Svatopluk and the time of the author regarding period opinion schemes, which certainly kept their validity throughout the whole Middle Ages) evidence of other written sources on the social structure of Great Moravia is much more problematic.

We must realise that the majority of sources that mention Great Moravia did not originate within the borders of the Great Moravian Principality of Mojmir. They were composed in areas controlled by Franks, Byzantines, Anglo-Saxons, Arabs or Persians. Moreover, their authors did not generally visit Central Europe and they worked with second-hand records. Only Ibn-Rustah († 913) described the functioning of the local principality and its social structure relatively systematically. Apart from the geographical barrier, many authors were further separated from Great Moravia by a gap of time. Again, the Prague canon Cosmas

8 Peter RATKOŠ, *Slovensko v dobe veľkomoravskej*, Košice 1990, p. 86.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 87.

10 *Ibidem*, pp. 84–85 according to *Žitije Mefodija*, ed. Radoslav VEČERKA, in: MMFH II, chap. 10, p. 154.

11 *Ibidem*, pp. 87, 92–93.

12 *Ibidem*, p. 85.

13 *Ibidem*, pp. 89–90, 99–101.

14 *Ibidem*, pp. 62–63.

15 *Ibidem*, pp. 90–92, 95.

16 Comp. also for the territory of today's Slovakia Milan HANULIAK, *Veľkomoravské pohrebiská. Pochovávanie v 9.–10. storočí na území Slovenska*, Nitra 2004, pp. 67–100.

17 Comp. e.g. Danica STAŠŠÍKOVÁ ŠTUKOVSKÁ, *Pohanstvo a kresťanstvo: k vybraným archeologickým prameňom vo včasnom stredoveku*, in: *Pohanstvo a kresťanstvo*, Bratislava 2004, p. 180 notes places with higher and lower concentrations of graves.

18 Luděk GALUŠKA, *Gehörten die in Särge bestatteten Personen zur Gesellschaftselite des Grossmährischen Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště?*, in: Pavel Kouřil (Hrsg.), *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas mit einem speziellen Blick auf die grossmährische Problematik. Materialien der internationalen Fachkonferenz, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR v Brně 25*, Brno 2005, pp. 193–207; Lumír POLÁČEK, *Zur Erkenntnis der höchsten Eliten des grossmährischen Mikulčice. Gräber mit beschlagenen Särge*, in: *Ibidem*, pp. 137–156.

19 Mechthild SCHULZE DÖRLAMM, *Bestattungen in den Kirchen Großmährens und Böhmens während des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 40, Mainz 1993, pp. 618–619.

20 Nada PROFANTOVÁ, *Die Elite im Spiegel der Kindergräber aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert in Böhmen*, in: P. Kouřil (Hrsg.), *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas mit einem speziellen Blick auf die grossmährische Problematik. Materialien der internationalen Fachkonferenz, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR v Brně 25*, Brno 2005, pp. 313–334; Kateřina TOMKOVÁ, *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite aus der Sicht der Gräberfelder auf der Prager Burg und ihren Vorfeldern*, in: *Ibidem*, p. 335–352; Jan KLÁPŠTĚ, *The Czech Lands in Medieval Transformation*, Leiden – Boston 2012, pp. 18–21.

21 Comp. discussions of Ivan BORKOVSKÝ, *K výkladu nožů na slovanských pohřebištích*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 9, 1957, pp. 553–560; Jan FILIP, *Archeologie a historie*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 9, 1957, p. 561–566; František GRAUS, *O poměr mezi archeologií a historií. K výkladu nožů na slovanských pohřebištích*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 9, 1957, pp. 546–552.

22 *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. B. Bretholz, MGH SRG N. S. 2, Berlin 1923, I. 14, pp. 33–34: "Quo ubi pervenit, ipsius silve in abdito loco equum interfecit et gladium suum humi condidit et, ut lucente die ad heremitas accessit, quis sit illis ignorantibus, est tonsuratus et heremitico habitu indutus et quamdiu vixit, omnibus incognitus mansit, nisi cum iam mori cognovisset, monachis semetipsum quis sit innotuit et statim obiit."

serves as a good example. Let us disregard that contemporary sources do not mention anything about Svatopluk's penitence or retirement into seclusion. More significant is a memento which Cosmas inscribes between the lines of his short story – no duke may rebel against the emperor and anyone who dares will be affected by severe punishment that will result in the loss of power.²³ In other words, the story of Svatopluk is a mere tool for Cosmas to express his own ideal of the relation between the Czech lands and the Empire, which allows us no more than to penetrate into his, that is Cosmas', world of thought. It has little in common with the situation in the 9th century and its perception in the Moravia of the time.

Only a few of the texts that are known today originated in Great Moravia. Their evidence, however, is not free from interpretational difficulties either. Although we know these texts in the Old Church Slavonic wording, that is, the language that was only little distant from the speech of the local inhabitants of that time, the vocabulary and syntax used show the strong influence of Byzantine culture mediated by Constantine and Methodius, or of Italian, Dalmatian and Frankish missionaries who mediated Latin culture – e.g. a letter to the Byzantine emperor that we only know through Moravian legends shows a knowledge of the rules of Greek epistolography.²⁴ Translations of canonical-legal texts are only slightly modified translations of original Greek texts, the practical role of which within Great Moravian society of that time we may not have grand illusions about – the relation between legal rules represented by different codes of law and capitularies on the one hand, and documents, that is, the law in practice on the other hand, has already been a subject of extensive discussion since the beginning of critical historiography – also in the situation when we have enough of both types of sources.²⁵ However, we are lacking a corrective in the form of charters and deeds from Great Moravia.

Understandably, the authors of the so-called Pannonian Legends were not interested in the social structure of Great Moravia. Nevertheless, we may still analyse the terminology used by the authors to describe social relations to be able to see in which contexts they considered affiliation with the elite. An anonymous author, when he wants to mention the apex of Moravian society, apart from Rastislav he also refers to "his dukes and Moravians".²⁶ The author of the *Life of Constantine* refers to the father of the protagonist as "of a wealthy and good family".²⁷ The author understands the fact that someone renouncing his affiliation to the elite was also renouncing "wealth and honour".²⁸ The elite are viewed as a group of "honourable men".²⁹

23 *Cosmae Chronica*, I, 14, pp. 33–34. Comp. David KALHOUS, *Anatomy of a Duchy. The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures of Early Přemyslid Bohemia*, Leiden – Boston 2012, pp. 173–186; IDEM, *Čechy a říše: problém pramenů nebo historiografie?*, Český časopis historický 111, 2013, pp. 481–516.

24 Dagmar MAREČKOVÁ, *Rostislavovo poselství v Životech Konstantinově a Metodějově ve světle středověkých řeckých listů a listin*, Listy filologické 91, 1968, pp. 401–414. However, it is not quite clear if the text composed in this manner could have been created for the purposes of the legend.

25 Harald SIEMS, *Zu Problemen der Beweitung frühmittelalterlicher Rechtstexte: Zugleich eine Besprechung von R. Kottje, Zum Geltungsbereich der Lex Alamannorum*, Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte Germanistische Abteilung 106, 1989, pp. 291–305; Rosamund MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the written word*, Cambridge 1989.

26 *Žitije Konstantina*, ed. R. Večeřka, in: MMFH II, chap. 14, p. 98: "[...] moravskij knjaz Bogom ustim cviti s knjazi svoimi i s Moravljany [...]"

27 *Ibidem*, chap. 2, p. 61: "[...] dobrorodnyj i bogatyj [...]"

28 *Ibidem*, chap. 4, p. 67: "[...] česti i bogatstva [...]" he will conquer once he spends enough time studying.

29 *Ibidem*, chap. 11, p. 91: "[...] čstny mužij [...]"

"Wealth" and closeness to the duke seem to be significant too for the unknown author of the *Life of Methodius* since the author, when he talks about an unknown member of the elite, stresses that he belonged to the "retinue of the duke, [he was] very wealthy and belonged among the duke's advisors".³⁰ However, to emphasise wealth – despite the fact that this does not necessarily mean tangible property – is not quite unusual for the Latin discourse on social relations of that time, even though contemporary legends or heroic epics mention the wealth of dukes and bishops, and wealth does not perform here as such but rather as a source of generosity.³¹

Zakonъ sudnyi ljudmъ may also be a source of terminology regarding social groups, although reading it we will not learn many new and especially reliable pieces of information. Similar to the majority of Old Church Slavonic texts, we know of this one only thanks to manuscripts of the 13th century.³² We are already aware of four editions of the text and it has been proven that an original Byzantine model was at the birth of this code. Since we are not going to focus on the contents of the provisions but the lexicon of the text, it is still acceptable to take *Zakonъ sudnyi ljudmъ* into consideration. Similar to other texts of that time, *Zakonъ sudnyi ljudmъ* contrasts "great" and "small", "patriarchs" and "common men".³³ The mention of a "lord" and his "slave" would indicate the existence of people who were tied to their lords with a significant level of dependence.³⁴ However, to accept this conclusion would mean automatically to accept the diction of the source on one hand, and to conjecture about the content of the text in undefined terms on the other hand. The same holds true for "squires"³⁵ and "dukes and judges".³⁶

If we compare this terminology, admittedly not too representatively evidenced, of the so-called Pannonian Legends with the chronicle of the Prague canon Cosmas, certain differences become apparent, since in Cosmas' chronicle wealth plays almost no role. In Cosmas' chronicle, the category of family relationship and relation to the duke is shown as much more significant.³⁷ Also in the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Legend of St Anastasia the terms *illustri* or *nobiles* are translated with the expression *чьстьнь*, that is, "(persons with) honour", "persons who command certain respect".³⁸ However, if we set aside the emphasis on wealth, both the *Lives* agree with Cosmas

30 *Žitije Mefodija*, chap. 11, p. 156: "Eter drug, bogaty zjelo i syvitiniki [...]"

31 Comp. *Crescente fide*, ed. J. Emler, in: FRB I, chap. 2, p. 184: "[...] exercitumque suum non solum armis induebat, sed etiam optimis vestimentis [...]" This is a topos that occurs e.g. also in the literature of the Carolingian period.

32 *Zakonъ sudnyi ljudmъ*, ed. Josef Vašica, in: MMFH 4, pp. 147–177. The text survived as late as in manuscripts of the 13th–14th centuries and linguists recognise up to four of its editions. They also agree that they originate from a Greek model – the Eclogue from the period of the reign of Leo III or Constantine V (first half of the 8th century). Even though there were doubts about a Great Moravian origin of the text I consider the conclusions of Vašica in favour of this thesis more convincing; Comp. apart from Vašica's introduction to the edition IDEM, *Jazyková povaha Zakona sudného ljudem*, *Slavia* 27, 1958, pp. 521–537.

33 *Zakonъ sudnyi ljudmъ*, ed. J. Vašica, §3, p. 180: "[...] v ravnuju čast razdieliti, velikago i malogo [...]" ili kьmeti, ili prosьtychъ ljudij [...]"

34 *Ibidem* §5, p. 182: "[...] gospodinu rabъ [...]"

35 *Ibidem* §17, p. 189: "Vešъ itъai съ jeterъmъ i ne povъdaja vladыkamtъ [...] ot vladыky zemli toi da terьъ [...]"

36 *Ibidem* §2, p. 178: "[...] knjazju i sudci [...]" Comp. §7a, p. 184 or §30a, p. 197

37 David KALHOUS, *Anatomy*, pp. 113–119. Comp. Jean Claude DUFERMONT, "Pauperes" et "paupertas" d'après les sources anglosaxonnes du VIIIe au XIe siècles, *Revue du Nord* 50, 1968, pp. 189–201, which evidences the frequency of occurrence of the pair "dives"/"pauper".

38 František ČAJKA, *Církevněslovanská legenda o svatě Anastázii*, Praha 2011, pp. 159b/11; 162b/3.

in that they put great emphasis on the role of good origin and closeness to the duke. We may only speculate whether the emphasis on wealth reflects a certain instability of Moravian society, where wealth is not a given, but important – and therefore emphasised – aspect of affiliation to the elite. This thesis also seems to be confirmed by archaeology, since there is a contrast between the richness of Great Moravian burials (and thus a supposedly unstable society where the demonstration of wealth still plays a key role) and the poverty of Přemyslid era burials, that is, burials from an already stable society where a more subtle distinction is enough to demonstrate status. This is, without doubt, related to the already-mentioned phenomenon of children's burials.³⁹ However, to clarify the meaning of the category of wealth in Great Moravian sources it will be necessary to analyse in particular the Byzantine texts of that time.

Without doubt, Moravia was headed by a ruler of the Mojmir dynasty. Even though the principedom was not passed on from father to son with the exception of the last,⁴⁰ rather unfortunate generation, the fact that the leaders of the rebellion against the Franks elected one member of this dynasty even in a time when the position of the dynasty was most probably highly weakened (Rastislav blinded and Svatopluk in Frankish captivity) gives evidence of its establishment.⁴¹ (After all, many Přemyslids failed to ensure the reign of their sons).

It is of no use pondering whether Ibn-Rustah and other authors of that time or later considered Svatopluk a king – he is identified as such e.g. by Regino,⁴² Widukind⁴³ and Cosmas,⁴⁴ – or only as a duke. While evidence of later sources is irrelevant here, the sources of the 9th–10th centuries still do not form a stable hierarchy among holders of different titles and the designation of *comes*, *dux* or *princeps* in comparison to the title “king” does not have to be by any means demeaning. If we take the territory of the Frankish empire, we learn that this is how members of the higher nobility were titled. The ritual of anointing and liturgy related to this, which would possibly allow distinguishing the king from others, was not a natural element of the taking of power even in the royal family and often such rituals were rather evidence of weakened legitimacy, which had to be strengthened through the Church and sanctification by it.⁴⁵ The ritual becomes a customary part of taking over the royal title only during the course of the 10th century; however, even at that time Widukind does not hesitate to talk of Boleslav I

(who was most probably not anointed) as of a king.⁴⁶ Svatopluk was simply a *knjaz*, prince – a ruler whose rule and power were sanctioned by the consent of the Moravians, military might of his retinue and possibly also sacrally.⁴⁷ We, though, do not know precisely how.

A rediscovered letter from Margrave Arrib together with a report from the Persian (or Arab) historian and scholar Ibn-Rustah seem to offer a certain insight into the functioning of Moravian society in the 9th century that *Zakonъ sudnyi ljudmъ* promises further to condense. Ibn-Rustah claims that “Svatopluk is the chief of the chiefs” who has at his hand a *subandž*.⁴⁸ Naturally, it is not sure if he is modelling the Moravian power structure according to the caliphate model and that “subandž” for him is just an exotic name for a “vizier”. The similarity between the terms “župan” and *subandž*, though, allows us at least to suppose that this title was already used in the 9th century without, however, being able to say anything about its content and the mutual relation between its holder and the Great Moravian duke. Later sources from Přemyslid Bohemia and Moravia use the term *suppani* for the top of society and they generally use the name *suppa* for offices related to the administration of the land.⁴⁹ According to Ibn-Rustah, numerous horses also belong to Svatopluk, from which food and beverages are prepared for him. It is apparent that the scholar attributes the character of status symbols to these dishes. It is, though, less evident to what extent this is a part of the efforts to stylise the Moravians as nomads, since the drinking of koumiss represents only one of the ways to complete this picture with a valuable detail or whether the Moravians really took over a part of Avar customs.⁵⁰ Ibn-Rustah further mentions that a part of the treasure of Svatopluk is numerous sets of armour, but to construct from this reference an indication of a large state retinue would be of utmost credulity without a complex analysis of the picture of European ethnic groups in the Arabian and Persian sources of that time.⁵¹ The same holds true for the report of a tax collection in the form of clothing.⁵² Therefore, there only remains the report of a regular three-day fair in the town of Morava.⁵³

Closer both geographically and in time to the Moravian milieu through its place of origin, there is a letter of Margrave Arrib from

46 *Widukindi Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*, III, 8, p. 108: “[...] in militiam contra Bolizlavum regem Boemiorum [...]”

47 *Kitábu l-Masálik wa-l-mamálik Li-bni Churdábiha*, ed. Ivan Hrbek, in: MMFH III, p. 327 “The king of the Slavs is called k.náz.”

48 *Ibn Rusta, Kitábu l-Álákí N-Náfisati Li-Bni Rusta*, ed. Ivan Hrbek, in: *Ibidem*, pp. 346–347: “Excellent and well-known among them is the one who is called the chief of the chiefs and they call him ‘s. w. j. t. m. l. k’ and he is more honoured than súbandž and súbandž is his deputy.”

49 To this most convincingly Libor JAN, *Václav II. a struktury panovnícké moci*, Brno 2006, pp. 176–187.

50 *Ibn Rusta, Kitábu*, p. 347: “This ruler has riding animals and he has no other food apart from that which he draws from their milk.”

51 *Ibidem*, p. 347: “And his armour is excellent, strong and precious.” Criticism of this concept by David KALHOUS, *Anatomy*, pp. 12–46.

52 *Ibn Rusta, Kitábu l-Álákí*, p. 347: “Each year, their king collects a tax from them; if a man has a daughter he will take from their clothes one festive clothing annually and if he has a son, he will take from his clothing also one festive clothing each year. If he has neither a son nor a daughter, he will take one festive clothing from the clothing of his wife or a female slave.” Dušan TŘEŠTÍK offers an inventive way to interpret the tax on clothes as a relic of old tribal organization, „Mír a dobrý rok. Státní ideologie raného přemyslovského státu mezi křesťanstvím a ‚pohanstvím‘“, *Folia Historica Bohemica* 12, 1988, pp. 23–45; k možným analogiím ve francském prostoru viz např. Ludolf KUCHENBUCH, *Bäuerliche Gesellschaft und Klosterherrschaft im 9. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Sozialstruktur der Familie der Abtei Prüm*, Wiesbaden 1978 (= VSWG Beiheft 66), pp. 146–195.

53 *Ibidem*, p. 347: “The town where he resides is called Dž.rwáb and they have a market there for three days each month and they trade and sell at the market.”

39 Comp. for Hungaria D. STAŠŠIKOVÁ ŠTUKOVSKÁ, *Pohanstvo a křesťanstvo*, p. 180.

40 Wilhelm GIESE, *Designative Nachfolgeregelungen in germanischen Reichen der Völkerwanderungszeit*, ZRG GA 117, 2000, pp. 39–120.

41 *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG 7. Hannover 1891, p. 73: “[...] quendam presbyterum eiusdem ducis propinquum nomine Sclagmarum sibi in principem constituunt [...]”

42 *Reginonis Prumiensis Chronicon*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG [50], Hannover 1890, p. 134: “Anno dominicae incarnationis DCCCXC. Arnulfus rex concessit Zuendibolch Marahensium Sclavorum regi ducatum Behemensium, ...”

43 *Widukindi Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*, eds. Paul Hirsch – Hans Eberhard Lohmann, MGH SRG [60], Hannover 1935, I, pp. 19, 29: “Victi autem a Magno Karolo et trans Danubium pulsati ac ingenti vallo circumclusi, prohibiti sunt a consueta gentium depopulatione. Imperata autem Arnulfo destructum est opus, et via eis nocemi patefacta, eo quod iratus esset imperator Centepulcho regi Marorum.”

44 *Cosmae Chronica*, I, 14, p. 32: “Eodem anno Zuatopluk rex Moraviae, sicut vulgo dicitur, in medio exercitu suorum delituit et nusquam comparuit.”

45 For the development and importance of the royal anointment and royal ritual see Janet NELSON, *Lord's Anointed and the People's Choice: Carolingian Royal Ritual*, in: the same author, *The Frankish World, 750–900*, London 1996, pp. 99–131.

the year 891, which was added to the known corpus of sources only in the 1970s after it was rediscovered by Hans Schwarzmeier.⁵⁴ However, the letter only survived as part of a later manuscript and therefore it is no wonder that an unknown book-binder cut it out so that he could use it in a better way. Thus, an array of words disappeared that now offer a space for more or less certain interpolations at often key places in the text. While e.g. Holder or Schwarzmeier add “p” to make the word *pecora*, livestock, Ratkoš deems that the Moravians paid tribute to King Arnulf in money (*pecunia*). In any case, the letter shows that the Margrave does not hesitate to compare the Moravians to slaves and uses the payment of tribute as a pretext.⁵⁵ Thereby his opinion falls quite well among similar declarations put in the mouth of their heroes by many other early mediaeval authors such as e.g. Widukind or Bruno; however, it does not give much evidence about Moravian society.⁵⁶ If, though, a tax was paid to Bavaria, we need to expect certain mechanisms for its collection in Moravia itself. A certain level of tax collection organisation is evidenced by the existence of enclosures also mentioned in the letter from Aribo, which also shows that tax was collected in cattle rather than in money.

Social and power structures naturally also have their spatial dimension, as is shown by numerous studies dealing with itineraries, places where documents were issued and power centres.⁵⁷ Naturally, the set of written sources on Great Moravia does not allow similar research; there is a considerable shortage of letters and deeds. Still, at least archaeology offers some way of getting closer to some issues of the regional structuring of power in Great Moravia. However, apart from rich burials at the most important castles, we need to consider smaller, so-called “country” burials outside the main power centres.⁵⁸

54 Alfred HOLDER, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften, 2: Die Papierhandschriften – Fragmenta – Nachträge*, Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 6: Die Reichenauer Handschriften 2, Leipzig – Berlin 1914, p. 604. Comp. also Hans SCHWARZMAIER, *Ein Brief des Markgrafen Aribo an König Arnulf über die Verhältnisse in Mähren*, Frühmittelalterliche Studien 6, 1972, pp. 55–67.

55 Peter RATKOŠ, *Cenný prírastok k prameňom o Velkej Morave. List grófa Aribo kráľovi Arnulfovi z roku 891*, Slovenská archivistika 11, 1976, pp. 178–179: “In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis. Arnulfvs divina favente clementia serenissimo regi, vita et salus Aribo, humilis vester comes fidele servitium. Sciát clementia vestra, ut in me nec liberum nec servm fideiorem vobis habetis, quantum viribus valeo innotescimus dominica die et denunciaverunt nobis, ut omnes Marahoni in simul mandaverunt (pecora/pecunias) in servitium, sicut proprii servi facere deberunt. Et sunt omnes adunati in amici-tiam et ad servitium vestrum, se cum nulli dominationi procerum subiciant nomine episcopum Uuihingum et alterum nuntium vestrum cum gaudio receperunt et negaverunt se ipsos, quod deputatum est de illis, esse. Omnia debita eorum in observatione sunt et cottidie congregant ad vestrum servitium. Piissime domine, quando de nostris partibus perexistis, cum magnis meis ab hostibus conprehensus fui et tum volui in orientibus partibus venire atque omne erga vos, quod melioratum est adhuc, servitium vestrum perpetrarem qua [...] tali nomine mortui sunt [...]”. Comp. descriptively Ondřej ZAVADIL, *Dopis markrabího Aribo kráľi Arnulfovi*, *Medievalia historica Bohemica* 11, 2007, pp. 7–21; D. TRĚŠTÍK, *Počátky Přemyslovců. Vstup Čechů do dějin 535–935*, Praha 1997, pp. 72–73.

56 Barbara KRZEMIEŃSKÁ – D. TRĚŠTÍK, *Hospodářské základy raně středověkého státu ve střední Evropě (Čechy, Polsko, Uhry v 10. a 11. století)*, *Hospodářské dějiny* 1, 1978, pp. 194–200; pointed out at a passage in Bruno’s *Kniha o saské válce (Brunonis De bello Saxonico)*, ed. H. E. Lohmann, MGH Kritische Studien und Texte 2, Leipzig 1937, p. 80: “Nolite, dicentes, ‘optimi Saxones, nolite servitutis iuga recipere, nolite hereditatem vestram tributariam facere [...] Erigite ergo cervicem iugo servitutis excusso liberam, numquam posthac servitute premendam, adiuvante Deo. Retinete manus a tributis solvendis, retinete possessiones vestras liberas, sicut liberas eas a vestris parentibus accepistis.” Although it is not excluded that this passage only relates to those of noble birth, it is however certain that this idea connecting pay and the absence of freedom was quite widespread; see also the speech of Imm, Duke of Lorraine in Widukind’s *Gesta*, II, 28, p. 90: “Et nunc quae necessitas cogit, ut serviamus Saxonibus, nisi nostra discordia? [...] modo, ut scitis, pro merito honore contumelia ab eo affectus, armis circumdatus, pene ex libero servus factus sum.”

57 Comp. D. KALHOUS, *Mittelpunkte der Herrschaft und Cosmos von Prag. Zum Charakter der Macht des frühmittelalterlichen Fürsten*, in: J. Macháček – Šimon Ungermann (Hrsg.), *Praktische Funktion, gesellschaftliche Bedeutung und symbolischer Sinn der frühgeschichtlichen Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*, Studien zur Archäologie Europas, Bonn 2011, pp. 669–689, where there is further literature.

58 Comp. further in text.

We do not know much about the “country” settlements of that time. The tradition of research into so-called “country burials” is more significant, even though they are put in the shade by the interest in burial grounds located close to the most important centres. Despite this, these often indistinctive settlements and burials outside the centres have a key importance for the understanding of the functioning of Moravian society. Recently, in connection with this Ivo Štefan again resourcefully pointed to the phenomenon of local graves with weapons that are concentrated in the south of Moravia and in the Olomouc region.⁵⁹ He identified the buried individuals as “free Moravians”, whose relation to the life in centres was only tied indirectly through loyalty to the ruling duke; this duke could, however, have played a key role in e.g. solving local disputes and problems.⁶⁰ If we accept the idea that a certain burial assemblage or burial treatment could be indicators of social status, it is the country burials that provide evidence of the existence of local elites who, however, in view of the social structure of the Moravian principality we may easily consider “free Moravians”. The subsequent enumeration of findings, though, is highly problematic since it firstly limits itself to the research of recent years and secondly it proceeds from brief information facilitated by *Přehledy výzkumů*. It is therefore necessary to be cautious and assess it rather as a set of possible evidence of the existence of armoured men and generally rich burials outside the most significant hill forts that require a longer, substantially closer review.

In Břeclav-Poštorná, five Great Moravian burials were unearthed and an axe, spurs and a part of a belt set were discovered;⁶¹ Víceměřice in the Prostějov District provided a burial with remnants of iron mounts;⁶² evidence has been supplied of a burial ground in Slavičín (Zlín District) from the 9th–10th centuries with two knives, 8 beads and a possible arrow tip;⁶³ we can also find graves of warriors at the Slavonín burial ground (9th–11th century);⁶⁴ as many as three graves with knives were discovered out of a group of 12 graves in Bukovany (Hodonín District) (H3, 6 and 10),⁶⁵ and H6 showed traces of a coffin; tiny pieces of jewellery were unearthed in Prostějov at a small graveyard

59 Ivo ŠTEFAN, *Great Moravia, Statehood and Archeology. The Early Medieval Polity System Collapse*, in: Jiří Macháček – Š. Ungermann (Hrsg.), *Praktische Funktion, gesellschaftliche Bedeutung und symbolischer Sinn der frühgeschichtlichen Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*, pp. 335–338; preserved importance of an earlier work which is still important by Bořivoj DOSTÁL, *Slovanská pohřebiště ze střední doby hradištní na Moravě*, Praha 1966. Comp. a very valuable overview of Great Moravian burials in Slovakia M. HANULIAK, *Velkomoravské pohřebiště*; for burials with weapons see pp. 140–154.

60 Only unwillingly would I use a possible a parallel in Bavaria, see Theodor BITTERAUF (ed.), *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising 1*, Quellen und Erörterungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte N. F. 4, München 1905, No. 548, pp. 469–470 from 21. 8. 827: “[...] quesivit inter vetustissimis viris Baiouuariis et Sclavianis ubi rectissimum terminum invenire potuissent [...]” This is a model situation of the settlement of a dispute between locals we could encounter all over Europe, not only in the Early Middle Ages; comp. Susan REYNOLDS, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300*, New York – Oxford 1984; Wendy DAVIES, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1988.

61 Blanka KAVÁNOVÁ – Petr VITULA, *Siedlung und Gräberfeld aus der mittleren Burgwallzeit in Břeclav-Poštorná (Bez. Břeclav)*, *Přehled výzkumů* 33, 1988, p. 51.

62 Alena PRUDKÁ, *Hradištní hrob z Víceměřic (okr. Prostějov)*, *Přehled výzkumů* 33, pp. 52–53.

63 Jiří KOHOUTEK – K. PLÁŠEK, *Průzkum slovanského mohylníku na katastru Slavičína (okr. Zlín)*, *Přehled výzkumů* 34, 1989, pp. 78–80.

64 Miroslav ŠMÍD, *Slavonín (okr. Olomouc)*, *Přehled výzkumů* 39, 1995–1996, p. 460.

65 Otto MAREK – Rostislav SKOPAL – Jaroslav ŠKOJEC, *Bukovany, okr. Hodonín*, *Přehled výzkumů* 40, 1997–1998, pp. 317–322.

with 8 graves;⁶⁶ other knives were discovered in Kuřim⁶⁷ and Velatice.⁶⁸ Two alcove graves were also discovered in Diváky (Břeclav District); these, however, are possibly later since they contain denarii.⁶⁹ Archaeologists have already dug out quite an extensive burial ground with 270 graves in Čejč (Hodonín District). However, the graveyard operated continuously until the Late Hill Fort Period.⁷⁰ A preliminary evaluation showed that weapons are contained in as many as 13 graves.

The seats of these local elites, though, are difficult to evidence, not only in the milieu of Great Moravia of the 9th century. The situation in Bohemia of the 10th–11th centuries, and also in the Bavaria and Swabia of Agilulf, poses a similar problem, where, though, Heiko Steuer finally accepts the existence of farmyards of the elite as a given fact and offers other possible indications of their presence.⁷¹

As we have already mentioned, it is much more difficult to discuss the character of rural settlements. Archaeologists only began to be more interested in the settlement background of castles in recent years.⁷² Even preliminary research into the settlement in the surrounding of Pohansko castle shows that the surrounding settlements are possibly not concentrated in its vicinity at random and we may accept this information as another indication of the existence of interrelationships.⁷³

How then to take the relation between rich castles and poorer surrounding settlements? Seemingly we could imagine the castles of south Moravia, together with Slavík, as mere footholds of marauding gangs, as local centres of power rather than as true centres of local administration. We would thus take the correlations between these elements as a one-sided relation of dominance and violence. Surely, there would be much truth in this view. After all, there is no way of proving the functioning of stable administrative structures, at least to the extent to which they functioned within the borders of the Frankish empire where, even though it was possible to unseat office holders, still the “offices” were rather a means of providing local elites with a more broadly-established legitimacy, in exchange for which dukes received loyalty rather than a lever of the central power.⁷⁴ This is the reason why we do not know what to do with the “župan” mentioned in Ibn-Rustah. Even if we admit that it is evidence not misrepresented through the filter of Arabian-Latin culture, we still face the fact that Ibn-Rustah only mentions the žu-

pan’s subordination to Svatopluk.⁷⁵ Furthermore, he only refers to one “župan”, not generally to “župani” (pl.). He does not mention this office more closely and to rely on the evidence of sources of the 13th century in interpreting the content of this concept would mean significantly exceeding the bounds of possibility the evidence from the relevant sources has. However, it is certainly true that these relatively populous settlements could not, despite the undoubted existence of agricultural production close to the hill fort itself, survive without the supply from nearby villages. We have to anticipate that local dukes were able to enforce at least the minimum loyalty of the nearby population. Together with tribute, the phenomenon of castles themselves also anticipates the existence of social organisation, which was able to enforce a certain mobilisation of the work force, allowing not only the castles to be constructed but also (and mainly) the regular maintenance and protection of them.⁷⁶ Two explanations that do not exclude each other come into consideration – firstly, works could have been enforced within a closer community based on a common decision, or there could be an analogy to the obligation towards a duke (which is plentifully evidenced across Early Middle Ages Europe) that places a duty to build castles, maintain bridges and rush to defend the land with weapons.⁷⁷ Although much remains open, there are indications that make us anticipate some more regular mechanisms of power execution directly in the core of the Moravian principality in today’s Southern Moravia and Western Slovakia.

Even though we do not know how dukes ensured this loyalty, I have already pointed out the relative stability of the position of the Mojmir dynasty for the period of approximately 80 years.⁷⁸ Jiří Macháček recently noted that “rulers did not decide quite autonomously” and that individual dukes too (with the exception of Svatopluk) were not able to secure the succession of their sons.⁷⁹ Further, he mentions that Moravian dukes did not mint coins and were not able sufficiently to exploit the quite unstable territory under their power.⁸⁰ Together with Ivo Štefan and Dušan Třeštík, he puts significant emphasis on the importance of long-distance trade as a source for the gaining of luxury goods that came into circulation as gifts and that were obtained as counter-value for slaves.⁸¹ Both these are related to the quite strong emphasis

75 Comp. note 48.

76 This has also been noticed by I. ŠTEFAN, *Great Moravia, Statehood and Archeology*, pp. 340–341; however, he does not attach so much weight to this phenomenon.

77 Charles W. HOLLISTER, *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions on the Eve of the Norman Conquest*, Oxford 1962, p. 59–63; William H. STEVENSON, *Trinoda necessitas*, *English historical review* 29, 1914, pp. 689–703, pp. 696–702; George T. DEMPSEY, *Legal Terminology in Anglo-Saxon England: The Trinoda Necessitas charter*, *Spaeculum* 57, 1982, pp. 843–849. Documents prove this obligation was already in Mercia in the 8th century, but we encounter this also on the Continent in the immunities of Carolingian times. It is not unknown in the local milieu either, comp. a later Náklo supplement to the document for Hradisko Monastery; *CDB I*, No. 79, p. 83: “*Nakel ea conditione, ut qui eam inhabitare deliberant, tributum et decimas beato Stephano solvant, ceteris vero ad imperium ducis bella exercentibus sive urbem aut pontem parantibus seu qualibet necessitate laborantibus, quod prefati cenobii pater iusserit, faciant.*”

78 Comp. below on pp. 42–43.

79 Jiří MACHÁČEK, “*Velkomoravský stát*” – *kontroverze středoevropské mediévistiky*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 64, 2012, p. 779. Jiří Macháček and a little earlier I. ŠTEFAN, *Great Moravia, Statehood and Archeology* are most inspiring in how they use terminology as an analytical instrument. Thanks to this, we can well discuss with both the texts mentioned.

80 J. MACHÁČEK, “*Velkomoravský stát*”, pp. 779–780.

81 *Ibidem*, pp. 781–782; Comp. I. ŠTEFAN, *Great Moravia, Statehood and Archeology*, pp. 340–345.

66 M. ŠMÍD, *Prostějov (okr. Prostějov)*, *Přehled výzkumů* 42, 2001, pp. 240–241.

67 Miroslav BÁLEK, *Kuřim (okr. Brno-venkov)*, *Přehled výzkumů* 43, 2002, p. 265.

68 Tomáš BERKOVEC, *Velatice (okr. Brno-Venkov)*, *Přehled výzkumů* 43, 2002, p. 298.

69 Josef UNGER – Michal ŽIVNÝ, *Diváky (okr. Břeclav)*, *Přehled výzkumů* 44, 2003, p. 249; J. UNGER, *Diváky (okr. Břeclav)*, *Přehled výzkumů* 46, p. 2005, p. 281.

70 Marian MAZUCH – L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Čejč (okr. Hodonín)*, *Přehled výzkumů* 45, 2004, p. 195.

71 Heiko STEUER, *Herrensitze im merowingerzeitlichen Süddeutschland. Herrenhöfe und reich ausgestattete Gräber*, *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 38, 2010, pp. 1–41.

72 Comp. e.g. L. POLÁČEK (Hrsg.) *Das wirtschaftliche Hinterland der frühmittelalterlichen Zentren*, *Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice* 6, Brno 2008.

73 Petr DRESLER – J. MACHÁČEK, *Hospodářské zázemí raně středověkého centra na Pohansku u Břeclavi*, in: *Počítačová podpora v archeologii* 2, Praha 2008, pp. 120–147.

74 Comp. Michael BORGOLTE, *Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens in fränkischer Zeit*, *Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband* 31, Sigmaringen 1984.

Jiří Macháček places on strong central power (the Pohancko “experiment” in ruling). If we accept his arguments, this would mean that in this sense we cannot speak of states during the early Middle Ages at all.⁸²

However, this assumption leads to paradoxes. Therefore, we will rather have to turn our attention to the factors which were pointed out by Walter Pohl.⁸³ Since Pohl rather sees the state as a more firmly specified social framework than a lordly organisation, he thus puts more stress on the application of “soft” power and self-identification mechanisms of the elites than on the military and economic power of the core. Relevant texts from the Great Moravian milieu are lacking. However, suitable – and strong – evidence of the power of Moravian identity is the revolt of the Moravians and the election of Sclagamar. The fact too that the local elites most probably acted again under the name “Moravians” 100 years after the fall of Svatopluk’s power evidence the attractiveness of this name. Thus, if we do not see the importance of the state in a strong central power perceived as capable of many, often reasonless acts, but we stress the interest of the population on a given, quite stable territory – such as the core of Old Moravia was – to identify itself with a relatively numerous and further internally structured community, then Old Moravia (the core of the principality of Mojmir, Rastislav and Svatopluk) would have had significantly greater chances to be recognised as a state.⁸⁴

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⁸² Even though the Carolingians minted coins and used the written word significantly more, the Carolingian monarchy also knew competing centres of power, kings were capable of seizing control over extensive territories, to divide them among their sons one generation later. Similarly, each ruler depended on the loyalty of his supporters of which many could have been, at least in the period of the major domus office, mightier than the ruler himself. No wonder that e.g. Timothy Reuter declared that it was precisely the gaining of plunder that was the main engine of Frankish expansion. In the ceasing of this practice he sees – as did Dušan Třeštík in the case of the “Central European type states” or later Ivo Štefan in the case of Great Moravia – the reason for a structural crisis that eventually put the Carolingian monarchy on the defensive and ruined it. Comp. Timothy REUTER, *Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire*, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th ser. 35, 1985, pp. 75–94. Compare to this critically J. NELSON, *The Frankish World, 750–900*, London 1996, pp. 28–30, or David KALHOUS, *Anatomy*, pp. 12–46. If we look at contemporary Byzantium, we find out that even here the central power was limited to the collection of taxes and the defence of the land; it did not enter into local issues since it had no means to do this; comp. Leonora NEVILLE, *Authority in Byzantine provincial society, 950–1100*, Cambridge 2004.

⁸³ Walter POHL, *Staat und Herrschaft im Frühmittelalter: Überlegungen zum Forschungsstand*, in: Stuart Airlie – Walter Pohl – Helmut Reimitz (Hrsg.), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 11, Wien, pp. 9–38. Jiří Macháček also cites this work; in his text he rather follows the works of R. Hodges and others who focus on the economic dimension of the origin and maintenance of social organisation.

⁸⁴ Comp. D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy: Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871*, Praha 2001 where he writes about a decision for the state.

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PAGANISM AND THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY IN MORAVIA AND SILESIA

Zdeněk Měřínský

The earliest knowledge of the religiosity of the Moravian Slavs in archaeological and literary sources; four layers of religious beliefs before the adoption of Christianity and their manifestations, mainly in burial rites. Magical practices for protection and prosperity, sacrifices and substitutional offerings, cultic places on hilltops, at springs and in sacred groves. Evidence of religious and mythological beliefs from the 8th and 9th centuries. Pre-Christian cultic places and their relationship to the earliest Christian churches. The earliest penetration of Christianity at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries; the existence of dual belief, documented by literary sources and archaeological evidence, mainly in cemeteries.

Key words: Moravia, Silesia, paganism, origins of Christianity, archaeological finds and features

There are sparse records of the early religiousness of the Slavs of Moravia and Silesia, or rather, certain indications in written sources, and then only in a mosaic-like, incomplete form, and rare knowledge from archaeological sources. Generally, these earliest pagan religious beliefs were not beyond the basic framework of Indo-European religions of the pre-literary period, a number of peculiarities and original features notwithstanding. The whole complicated topic may be studied only through a complex approach with a balanced representation of the main branches concerned – history, linguistics, archaeology, ethnology, and, at present, also religious studies and psychology.¹ Generally, the Old Slavonic religion had neither a developed complete religious system, literary records of ethics or eschatology, nor a mythology which formed, and still forms, in the subconscious, an inseparable part of the human mind from the beginnings of the cultural evolution of man.² However, the intricacy of the whole issue, based on a broad multidisciplinary approach with a significant portion of caution and criticism in the interpretation of individual events, provides numerous possibilities for various uncritical, often baseless or manipulated presumptions and fantastic, unscientific interpretations. Here, inventions of the national revival period as well as some recent Czech and Slovak literary works are left aside.³

1 For example Ludmila KAŇÁKOVÁ HLADÍKOVÁ, *Postneolitická štipaná industrie. Dissertationes archaeologicae Brunenses/pragensesque* 15, Brno 2013, pp. 241–244.

2 Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu I*, Praha 2002, pp. 531–534; Vladimír PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství pravěkých Evropanů*, Brno 2006, pp. 8–175, 489–542; Naďa PROFANTOVÁ – Martin PROFANT, *Encyklopedie slovanských bohů a mýtů*, Praha 2000, pp. 11–38; Zdeněk VÁŇA, *K současnému stavu studia slovanského pohanství*, Památky archeologické 76, 1985, pp. 228–250; IDEM, *Svět slovanských bohů a démonů*, Praha 1990, pp. 18–190; IDEM, *Mythologie und Götterwelt der slawischen Völker*, Stuttgart 1992.

3 V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, note 2 on page 501; only several of the most recent ones are given as an example: Rudolf IRŠA, *Slovo a Slovanoch, ich démonoch a bohoch*, Bratislava 2nd ed. 2007; a subjective interpretation mixing various time horizons and cultural as well as civilisation spheres from Palaeolithic to the Early and Late Middle Ages was provided by Jan CINERT, *Bylo to jinak. Jiný výklad mytologie. Nový pohled na Staré pověsti české. Skutečný příběh knížete Václava*, Praha 2008, pp. 7–172; everything was resolved by Antonín HORÁK, *O Slovanech úplně jinak. Co nebylo o Slovanech dosud známo 1970–1990*, Vizovice 1991, because the earliest written expression of the Eurasian region, including mythology and religious concepts, is Proto-Slavonic and the original language was not Indo-German but Indo-Slavonic! By this he turned the theory of the Aryan Indo-Teuton inside out; regarding these mistaken theories proclaimed especially by the Nazis comp. e.g. Heather PRINGLEOVÁ, *Velký plán. Himmlerovi vědci a halocaust*, Praha 2008 (English original *the Master Plan*, New York 2006); Tobias WEGER, *Balko Freiherr von Richthofen a Helmut Preidel. Případová studie o roli archeologů v tzv. vyhnaneckých organizacích po roce 1945*, Archeologické rozhledy 62, 2010, pp. 696–711; or the compilation Judith SCHACHTMANN – Michael STROBEL – Thomas WILDERA, (Hrsg.), *Politik und Wissenschaft in der prähistorischen Archäologie. Perspektiven aus Sachsen, Böhmen und Schlesien*, Berichte und Studien 56, Göttingen 2009.

The first layer of Old Slavonic religion is considered to be the common Balto-Slavonic origin, with the gods Perun and Veles who reigned over the animal world and underworld, including the inhumation cremation rite;⁴ the second layer contains the Iranian component of religious terminology and the cult of the sun and fire; the third layer includes a rather weak Germanic influence with economy- and war-orientated gods, polycephaly, and professed respect for trees, springs and heights. Only the fourth layer, developed in the Polabian-Baltic tribes, was distinguished by the inception of new local forms of Slavonic tribal deities. It was only here (since there are no other written sources) that the socially significant caste of priests with its hierarchy, organised cult, oracles and temples developed, only among the Slavs in the north-western part of their 10th–12th century Ecumene. This fourth layer, symbolised by a group of priests of a pagan cult, is an archetype of a developmental stage which Slavonic paganism could have reached were it not for other Slavonic tribes embracing Christianity in the 9th and 10th centuries.

Only much later were the pre-Christian religious beliefs of the Slavonic population of Bohemia mentioned in the St Wenceslas legends *Crescente fide*⁵ and *Christian's Legend – the Life and Passion of Saint Wenceslas and his Grandmother Saint Ludmila*,⁶ the former from after 975 and the latter perhaps from the 970s, although the dating has recently been questioned.⁷

4 Henryk ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian i jej upadek*, Warszawa, 2nd ed. 1986, pp. 99–119, 122–126, 129–134, 153–158, 218–225; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 494–497; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 160–163, 229–230; Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, pp. 70–77; for Veles comp. below. E.g. Aleksander GIEYSZTOR, *Mitologia Słowian*, Warszawa 1982; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian*; Jan MÁČHAL, *Bájesloví slovanské*, Praha 1907, 2nd ed. Olomouc 1995; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 532, 545–546; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 491–508, 529–533; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, for example p. 42–46, 59–62, 75–77, 84–85, 89–90, 102–107, 112–113, 143–148, 153–157, 160–165, 194–195, 210–213, 215–216, 222–223, 229–230, 243–246; Z. VÁŇA, *K současnému stavu studia*, s. 239–244; IDEM, *Svět slovanských bohů*, s. 67–132.

5 *Crescente fide (bav.)*, ed. Josef EMLER, in: FRB I, Praha 1874, pp. 183–190; translation Jaroslav LUDVÍKOVSKÝ – Václav CHALOUPECKÝ (ed.), *Na úsvitu křesťanství*, Praha 1942, pp. 78–86, 264–266, here chapter 4 on p. 81, note on p. 265.

6 *Legenda Christiani. Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmille ave eius*, ed. J. Ludvíkovský, Praha 1978, see chpt. 2 on pp. 18–19; more recent literature Dušan TŘEŠTÍK, *Deset tezí o Kristiánově legendě*, Folia Historica Bohemica 2, 1980, pp. 7–38; IDEM, *Kristián a václavské legendy*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et historica 21/2, 1981, pp. 45–91.

7 Petr KUBÍN, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů*, Praha 2011, pp. 89–103, esp. pp. 112–118. Cf. Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 538; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Pohanský idol z Kouřimi*, Česká republika, Studia Mythologica Slavica 15, 2012, pp. 79–90.

In any case, both legends mention the destruction of idols in the first third of the 10th century. Further, the chronicler Cosmas († 1125) gave us information about the *Gniezno Decrees* declared by Bretislaus I, Duke of Bohemia (reigned 1035–1055), over the grave of St Adalbert of Prague in Gniezno in 1039⁸ and the *Statutes* of Bretislaus II, Duke of Bohemia (1092–1100), from 1092,⁹ as well as some other sources, such as the *Opavice Homiliary*,¹⁰ a collection of homilies by Heřman, Bishop of Prague, from the late 11th / early 12th centuries.¹¹ However, what they especially show is pagan anachronisms in the country, in the form of magic ideas, practices and belief in demons, and attempts to bury the dead in non-baptised places. Cosmas described villagers as semi-pagans and listed all the sins which Bretislaus II wanted to remove through his *Statutes*. He mentioned wizards, magicians, fortune-tellers, sacred groves, the worship of trees and springs, described other sacrificial customs, and condemned burials at crossroads and festivities around the deceased, which Bretislaus I had tried to dispose of but to no avail. However, all of these were mere reverberations of old, pre-Christian customs which could be encountered up until the Late Middle Ages and early modern times, and which can often be encountered even in recent ethnological surveys.¹²

A special position among them is held by burial rituals and practices. A significant part of these rites is represented by separating rituals such as keeping vigil over the dead, washing their bodies, carrying the dead out from the dwelling through a special opening (sometimes made specifically for this purpose), and even killing animals. Bodies of the deceased were transported to the grave or funeral pyre on wooden biers or planks; traces of wooden lining and wooden cases made of chiselled-out tree trunks have been found in inhumation graves from the 9th century onwards, as well as complex stake structures of burial chambers, niches, and stone lining and biers.¹³ Members of the upper class were buried in metal-coated coffins or even brick vaults. With some exceptions (Nechvalín II/N-109/ and Prušánky II/P-229/) such burials were situated in church graveyards in the most important Great Moravian centres, such as the Mikulčice-Kopčany and Staré Město at Uherské Hradiště

agglomerations, or the sacral district in “Sady” (part of Uherské Hradiště). Traces of metal-coated coffins have also been found in Pohansko (Břeclav district).¹⁴ However, it must be pointed out that the first half of the 9th century represented the initial stage of the dissemination of Christianity.¹⁵

An inseparable part of the burial rites was praise, the hysterical wailing of women (“professional weepers”, as they are known in ethnology) who tore their hair, rent their faces and tore their robes. Prior to the rites, animals were sacrificed and sometimes even humans such as slave women, concubines and widows, as recorded in written sources, but not on our territory. The deceased in such cases were probably male members of the upper classes; different ethnic conditions could have certain influences, too. This was followed by the cremation or burying of the body, when the grave pit was smoked out and grave-goods were intentionally destroyed (killed).¹⁶ Inhumation burials were accompanied by broken vessels being thrown (perhaps food remains) and arrows being shot into the pit fill. Finds from graves include traces of smoking-out in the form of carbon deposits, sometimes even in vessels, and meat food, especially parts of domestic fowl (*Gallus gallus f. domestica*) and eggs with a symbolic meaning. Other food was certainly inserted in vessels, despite not having been preserved.¹⁷ The burial rite included a remembrance ceremony called *tryzna* and a funeral feast, known from sources from the previous age of the migration of nations and expansion of Slavs to the Lower Danube region in the 5th and 6th centuries, as *strava*. Both these expressions come from Old Church Slavonic. However, these rites cannot be strictly separated from each other and they may have often mixed. *Tryzna* probably represented a ceremony over the grave and consisted of a symbolic play accompanied by singing and drinking. Its form and content varied depending on the environment and the size of the family and its wealth. *Strava* took place directly by the grave and included the consumption of intoxicating beverages. Some of the food and beverages were consumed during the rite, which was followed by merrymaking and the unrestrained consumption of alcohol. Eastern Slavs were known to pour a cup of mead on the grave during the first, official part of the rite in tribute to the deceased. *Tryzna*, with the funeral feast, represented transition rituals connected with making a different bond between the deceased

8 *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz – Wilhelm Weinberger, MGH SRG NS II, Berlin 1. vyd. 1923, 2. vyd. 1955, 3. vyd. 1980, II. 4, pp. 85–89, K. 68–70 ad a. 1039; *Kosmova kronika česká*. Trans. Karel Hrdina – Marie Bláhová, translation revised and introduction by Zdeněk Fiala – M. Bláhová, Prague 1972, pp. 80–82; *Kosmova kronika česká*. Trans. K. Hrdina and M. Bláhová. For this edition the translation was revised and introduction written by M. Bláhová. Notes, the passage on Cosmas and his Chronicle was written, notes and indices elaborated and revised by M. Bláhová, Bratislava 2004, pp. 93–96; *Kosmova kronika česká*. Trans. K. Hrdina and M. Bláhová, Prague 2012 (6th edition in this translation), pp. 89–91; an extensive passage on Cosmas and his Chronicle added, with an overview of known manuscripts of the chronicle (pp. 211–246), Cosmas and his era in historical literature with a list of editions of Cosmas’ Chronicle, translations of the Chronicle into Czech, German, Polish, Russian and English, as well as editions and Czech translations of Cosmas’ sources, sources for the study of the Chronicle and Cosmas’ era, and an extensive bibliography in relation to a broader context connected to the chronicler and his era (pp. 246–263).

9 *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, lib. III. cap. I, p. 160, K. 101–102 ad a. 1092; *Kosmova kronika česká*, Praha 1972, p. 143; *Kosmova kronika česká*, Bratislava 2004, p. 170; *Kosmova kronika česká*, Praha 2012, pp. 148–149.

10 *Das Homiliar des Bischofs von Prag*, ed. Ferdinand Hecht, Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens, Abt. I, Quellensammlung, I. Band, Prag 1863; comp. Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, p. 29; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 490; Petr CHARVÁT, *Předkřesťanské ideologie v raném českém středověku*, SMB I, 1988, pp. 77–90.

11 Petr SOMMER, *Svatý Prokop. Z počátků českého státu a církve*, Praha 2007, text for coloured annex 3.

12 Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 534; P. SOMMER, *Svatý Prokop*, pp. 48–54.

13 Bořivoj DOSTÁL, *Slovanská pohřebiště ze střední doby hradištní na Moravě*. Praha 1966, pp. 20–24; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*. Vlastivěda moravská, Země a lid, NR sv. 4. Brno 2013, pp. 440–495; Pavel FOJTÍK – Miroslav ŠMÍD, *Slovanské hroby a pohřebiště na Prostějovsku*, Brno 2008, pp. 30–47; Pavel FOJTÍK, *Slovanské osídlení Prostějovska ve světle hrobů a pohřebišt*, Olomouc 2008, pp. 71–72; for the bier see also Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 459.

14 B. DOSTÁL, *Slovanská pohřebiště*, pp. 15, 20, fig. 5:5 on p. 21; Luděk GALUŠKA, *Uherské Hradiště – Sady*. Křesťanské centrum říše velkomoravské, Brno 1996, p. 81; L. GALUŠKA – Lumír POLÁČEK, *Církevní architektura v centrální oblasti velkomoravského státu*, in: P. Sommer (ed.), *České země v raném středověku*, Praha 2006, pp. 125, 127, 131, 140, fig. on p. 126; Blanka KAVÁNOVÁ, *Großmährische Gräber in Kirchen – Erkenntnisstand*, in: P. Kouřil (ed.), *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas (mit einem speziellen Blick auf die großmährische Problematik)*, Materialien der internationalen Fachkonferenz Mikulčice 25.–26. 5. 2004, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 25, Brno 2005; Zdeněk KLANICA, *Nechvalín, Prušánky. Čtyři slovanská pohřebiště*, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 28, Brno 2006/1, pp. 29–30, tab. 14 on p. 163, 17 on p. 166, 53 on p. 202; 2006/1, pp. 43, 47–48, 189–191; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 446, 485–487, 491–494; L. POLÁČEK, *Zur Erkenntnis der höchsten Eliten des großmährischen Mikulčice (Gräber mit beschlagenen Särgen)*, in: P. Kouřil (ed.), *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas (mit einem speziellen Blick auf die großmährische Problematik)*, Materialien der internationalen Fachkonferenz Mikulčice 25.–26. 5. 2004, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 25, Brno 2005, p. 140, fig. 1 on p. 139; Josef UNGER, *Pohřební ritus I. až 20. století v Evropě z antropologicko-archeologické perspektivy*, Panoráma biologické a sociokulturní antropologie 25, Brno 2006, p. 48.

15 B. DOSTÁL, *Slovanská pohřebiště*, p. 15, 17; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 434–521, 569–601; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 294–319, 485; J. UNGER, *Pohřební ritus*, pp. 48, 78–79.

16 B. DOSTÁL, *Slovanská pohřebiště*, pp. 28–29, 97; Michal LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, Praha 2001, p. 242; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 93–116, 352–358; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 47–56, 142; Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, pp. 133–141.

17 Comp. e.g. Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 436–495.

and the bereaved. These rituals were characterised by funeral plays, such as the depiction of a battle or fights, games with masks, and other unrestrained merriment with “devilish singing” accompanied, again, by intoxicating beverages. The masks probably represented the souls of dead ancestors, and their holders’ dances were supposed to frighten off and confuse spirits and demons which were already threatening the bereaved present at the funeral. This was probably a ritual of the living representing the world of the dead and communicating with it. The spirits of the deceased were subsequently regularly worshipped in further ceremonies held at necropolises and included sacrifices and feasts. These rites, feasts and rituals took place on certain days of the year, usually three or four times a year. In the late 10th century, Christianity transformed memorial services into the similar celebration of “All Souls’ Day” in autumn. It may be noted, since it is documented by both archaeological and written sources, that pagan customs survived from the early 9th century onwards despite the victory of Christianity, both in the country and in church graveyards. They survived until the 11th and 12th centuries, such as the obolus of the dead with origins in Great Moravian times,¹⁸ and in rural communities even until modern times.¹⁹ the obolus of the dead, ensuring the safe passage of the soul to the underworld, gradually transformed within Christianity into the cult of St Michael, to whom cemetery chapels, standing on older pagan cult sites, were dedicated.²⁰

Numerous magical practices are known from archaeological as well as accidental finds, such as apotropaic or prosperous ones. The latter included for example the so-called substitute sacrifice wherein an animal figure (horse, ram, etc.) was sacrificed instead of the animal itself,²¹ as demonstrated by such artefacts from Mikulčice. The earliest evidence of these old

pagan practices on our territory includes, undoubtedly, a 200 × 160 cm pit (obj. no. 400) excavated north-west of the so-called Prince’s Palace within the Mikulčice hillfort, formerly considered to be connected to a pre-Christian cult. In its bottom section, 80–90 cm deep, numerous sculptures made of baked clay were laid next to sherds of hand- and wheel-shaped pottery from the Danube production area, daub and oven daub. The find, processed by B. Novotný, contained 207 pieces in total, including figurines of horned cattle (European bison or wild bovine) and their heads, birds, fish, horses, the lower part of human figures, fragments of berried and flat sculptures, clay saddles, two discs used as weights, and two human heads with schematically contrived eyes, nose and mouth. Similar figurines were also found in other parts of the Mikulčice hillfort, and the discovery of the pit indicates that within the pre-Great Moravian agglomeration in Mikulčice this place had been the centre of a pagan cult practising so-called creative magic, the aim of which was to ensure the successful reproduction of livestock. The construction of the structure has not yet been sufficiently solved; its dating to the 5th or 6th centuries seems to be too early. Rather, the find belongs to the period of the establishment of the pre-Great Moravian fortified settlement in the 2nd half of the 7th century. Items found in 6th–8th century settlements in Moldavia, on the territory of Antes, from where the second wave of Slavs supposedly arrived, are of definite importance.²²

Cult sites were often located on mountaintops, at special stone formations, in sacred groves, at trees, springs, rivers and lakes, and also in necropolises.²³ Cult sites in Moravia probably included the top of Mt. Hostýn, Mt. Radhošť, Děvín in the Pálava Hills, and Klášťov in the Vsetín region.²⁴ On the other hand, Michalský Hill in Olomouc,²⁵ the knoll with St Michael’s Church in Znojmo,²⁶ and the knoll in Uherské Hradiště – Sady, including the burial ground in “Horní Kotvice” tract²⁷ and the sacral complex itself (as speculated by V. Richter²⁸) are questionable.

A number of sources give evidence of the worshipping of springs and other water bodies by the Slavs.²⁹ Ethnological materials

18 From rich literature e.g. B. DOSTÁL, *Slovanská pohřebiště*, p. 29; Dezső CSALLÁNY, *Vizantijské monety v avarských nachodkach*, Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 2, 1952, pp. 235–250; Zlata ČILINSKÁ, *Frühmittelalterliches Gräberfeld in Želovce*, Bratislava 1973, pp. 65, 180, Tab. XXX: 2 on p. 203, CXXX: 6 on p. 253, graves nos. 170 and 818; Jarmila JUSTOVÁ, *Dolnorakouské Podunají v raném středověku. Slovanská archeologie k jeho osídlení v 6.–11. století*, Praha 1990, pp. 65–66, 167–168; B. KAVÁNOVÁ – Jan ŠMERDA, *Zlatý solidus Michala III. z hrobu č. 480 u baziliky v Mikulčicích*, in: Šimon Ungerma (ed.), *Zaměřeno na středověk. Zdeňkovi Měřinskému k 60. narozeninám*, Praha 2010, p. 160; Z. KLANICA, *Nechvalin, Průšánky. Díl I*, tab. 16 on p. 165, *Teil II*, pp. 46–47; Eva KOLNÍKOVÁ, *Obolus mrtvých vo včasnostredovekých hrobach na Slovensku*, Slovenská archeológia 15, 1967, pp. 189–254; Tatána KUČEROVSKÁ, *Die Zahlungsmittel in Mähren im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, in: *Rapports du III^e Congrès International d’Archéologie Slave Bratislava 7–14 septembre 1975*, Tome 2, pp. 214–215, Bratislava 1980; IDEM, *Münzfunde aus Mikulčice*, in: L. Poláček (ed.), *Studien zum Burgwall von Mikulčice 3*, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 11, Brno 1998, p. 155; M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, p. 242; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *K problematice nekropoli druhé poloviny 10. až počátku 13. století na Moravě*, in: P. Michna – R. Nekuda – J. Unger (ed.), *Z pravěku do středověku. Sborník k 70. narozeninám Vladimíra Nekudy*, Brno 1997, p. 97; TYŽ, *České země I*, p. 536; IDEM, *Hmotná kultura mladší doby hradištní na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, *Archaeologia historica* 38, 2013/1, pp. 64–65; Jaroslav POŠVÁR, *Platební prostředky ve Velkomoravské říši*, in: Jiří Sejbal (ed.), *Sborník I. numismatického sympozia 1964*, Numismatica Moravia 2, Brno 1966, p. 47; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 538–540; Josef POULÍK, *Mikulčice. Sídlo a pevnost knížat velkomoravských*, Praha 1975, p. 86; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 149; Pavel RADOMĚRSKÝ, *Obol mrtvých v Slovanů v Čechách a na Moravě (Příspěvek k datování kostrových hrobů mladší doby hradištní)*, *Sborník Národního muzea, řada A – Historie* 9/2, 1955, pp. 3–81; J. SEJBAL, *K počátkům peněžní směny ve Velkomoravské říši*, *Časopis Moravského zemského muzea – vědy společenské* 45, 1960, pp. 75–77; IDEM, *Nálezy denárů z pohřebiště na sadské výšíně velkomoravského Starého Města*, in: J. Sejbal – Lubomír Emil Havlík et al. (ed.), *Denárová měna na Moravě. Sborník prací z III. numismatického sympozia 1979. Ekonomicko-peněžní situace na Moravě v období vzniku a rozvoje feudalismu (8.–12. století)*, Numismatica Moravia 6, Brno 1986, pp. 166–181; Vlasta ŠIKULOVÁ, *Moravská pohřebiště z mladší doby hradištní, Pravěk východní Moravy I*, 1958, pp. 107–108; Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *„Charaňův obolus“ na Velké Moravě*, Numismatické listy 25/2, 1970, pp. 33–41; Š. UNGERMAN, *Archaika in den frühmittelalterlichen Gräbern in Mähren*, in: Petra Maříková Vlčková – Jana Mynářová – Martin Tomášek (ed.), *My Things Changed Things. Social Development and Cultural Exchange in Prehistory, Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Praha 2009, p. 239.

19 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 548–549.

20 Václav RICHTER, *Raně středověká Olomouc*, Praha – Brno 1959, p. 26.

21 Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, pp. 33, 180–181, 204, 232.

22 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 535, 551–553; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 100; Boris NOVOTNÝ, *Hromadný nález votivních hliněných symbolů ze slovanského knížecího hradu u Mikulčic*, *Památky archeologické* 57, 1966, pp. 649–688; IDEM, *Časné slovanské moldavské obdoby k hromadnému nálezu hliněných votivních symbolů z Mikulčic*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 22, 1970, pp. 412–420; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 514, tab. 159 on p. 159; N. PROFANTOVÁ, – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 129, fig. on p. 130; Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, pp. 33, 180–181, 204, 232.

23 N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Nové poznatky o archeologicky zjištěných projevech pohanství v Českých zemích*, in: Eva Doležalová – Petr Meduna (ed.), *Co můj kostel dnes má, nemůže kníže odnít. Věnováno Petru Sommerovi k životnímu jubileu*, Praha 2011, pp. 21–39; IDEM, *Pohanský idol z Kouřimí, Česká republika*, *Studia Mythologica Slavica* 15, 2012, pp. 79–90; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 503.

24 V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 516; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Nové poznatky*, p. 24, fig. on p. 32; IDEM, *Pohanský idol*, fig. 6 on p. 87; for Klášťov see e.g. Drahomíra FROLÍKOVÁ KALISZOVÁ, *Klášťov – hora čarodějů. Unikátní archeologické objevy z doby starých Slovanů*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 62, 2010, pp. 727–728.

25 Comp. also; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 547; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Nové poznatky*, fig. on p. 32; IDEM, *Pohanský idol*, fig. 6 on p. 87; Josef BLÁHA, *K funkci Michalského kopce v Olomouci. Několik úvodních poznámek*, in: *Historická Olomouc. Sborník příspěvků ze sympozia Historická Olomouc XII., zaměřeného k problematice zakladatelských mýtů a mýtů „počátků“ ve světle kritiky pramenů Muzeum umění Olomouc – sál Beseda*, 6.–7. října 1998, Olomouc 2001, pp. 38–40, 44.

26 Comp. also; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 547.

27 N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Nové poznatky*, fig. on p. 32; IDEM, *Pohanský idol*, fig. 6 on p. 87.

28 V. RICHTER, *Předkřesťanské svatyně na Moravě*, in: *Velká Morava*, p. 121 and fig. below, Brno 1965.

29 Lubor NIEDERLE, *Život starých Slovanů. Slovanské starožitnosti, oddíl kulturní, díl II.*, vol. 1, Praha 1916, pp. 26–31; IDEM, *Rukověť slovanských starožitností*, Praha 1953, p. 287.

show that water, particularly spring water, was a real as well as superstitious purifying agent.³⁰ Such springs may have been transformed into places of pilgrimage after Christianity was embraced.³¹ These centres often combined several sacred elements, especially springs and other water sources (watercourses and lakes), frequently rising on “sacred” mountains, or situated in elevated places (promontories above rivers) or cape-like formations protruding into lakes. Pagan cults often included the worshipping of various rock formations and sacred trees, especially an oak tree (mighty and hard) dedicated to Perun.³² This tradition survived a long time, often until modern times, although in many cases this could be the product of the “national revival” or “national mythology” (as was the “Slavonic lime tree”), because they have generally been evidenced since the Napoleonic wars. Apart from the oak tree, the Ancient Slavs also worshipped other trees, for example walnut, birch and ash trees.³³

Object no. 5, and perhaps no. 6, located in the northern corner and in the middle of the north-eastern side of the Velké Bílovice-Úlehly necropolis (Břeclav district) may have served as ceremonial wells with a purifying function. They were 365 and 270 cm deep, respectively. The deeper structure in the northern corner (obj. no. 5), which contained a human skeleton, was located directly in the assumed entrance to the burial ground and was probably enclosed in some way. The connection of both these well-like structures with the burial ground is indicated by the fact they respect the necropolis ground plan arrangement. Upon sparse findings of pottery, obj. no. 5 may be dated to the middle-hillfort period. Since obj. no. 6 had a similar ground plan and profile, as well as fill of the same character, it may be considered to be of the same age.³⁴ A more complicated question is the purpose of both the pits. In obj. no. 5, sand from its upper parts kept falling off into the pit as it was gradually filled. Despite this, its entrance ground plan has been preserved, having the form of a grave pit with a 105 × 65 to 45 cm opening in the bottom, followed by a shaft. The overall shape and ground plan of both these structures, as well as the fact they were dug in sand and fit in the burial ground arrangement system, exclude their purpose as grain pits. A worn out wedge-shaped ring in the wall of obj. no. 5, formed undoubtedly by water, indicates that both the structures were wells. Although non-strengthened wells are rather rare on Slavonic territory³⁵, similar wells with rings worn out by water were found in Pohansko near Břeclav and in “Na laze” in Pobedim, Slovakia.³⁶ Wells located in burial

grounds may have been connected with cult practices of the Old Slavonic population, who carried out burials in necropolises. Those structures probably perished when the burial ground was still being used for burying. However, more precise dating cannot be made on the materials obtained.³⁷

From analogical situations it is known that wells could be related to funeral feasts. In obj. no. 5 in Velké Bílovice, seventy-nine bones of domestic sheep (*Ovis ammon* f. *aries*) approx. one year old were found 230 cm underground (plus 60–70 cm of surface layers). An even more important finding was made 180–210 cm underground (plus 60–70 cm of surface layers) – the skeleton of a 16–18-year-old human of uncertain sex that had been thrown in. Anthropological analysis showed that this young person suffered a rather visible defect – grown-together upper front incisors with supernumerary teeth. This defect may have been the reason for this unusual burial.³⁸ Since the skeleton was situated 90–120 cm above the bottom of the pit, on the fill layers, the structure was certainly not serving its original function when the body was thrown in. The well-shaped obj. no. 5 could have been related to certain magical rites of a purifying and protective character; the connection of such wells with funeral feasts (the above-mentioned *strava*) is usually assumed,³⁹ as indicated by the discovered sheep bones. On the basis of the possible protective (apotropaic) and purifying power of the well in the northern corner of the Velké Bílovice burial ground it may be presumed why the human body was laid in it unusually. This young person with the visible defect would certainly have caused superstitious assumptions regarding supernatural powers in the rural environment.⁴⁰ These could be assumptions and practices about vampires, recorded in numerous cases during the Early as well as Late Middle Ages, and even modern times.⁴¹

Further, there are sacrifices documented by archaeological finds.⁴² They expressed the effort to gift gods, souls of the deceased, etc., as well as to obtain protection, secure good health, a good harvest and other advantages. These sacrifices could be bloodless such as grain, bread, cheese, honey, milk, intoxicating beverages, cakes and other food which is hard to document in archaeological sources and is usually referred to in written sources. Other objects connected to religious beliefs include glass sherds placed in graves,⁴³ some amorphous iron fragments, the ritual function of which was speculated about by J. Eisner⁴⁴ as well as V. Hrubý,⁴⁵ and perhaps also part

30 Richard JERÁBEK, *K otázce vzniku poutních míst a jejich vlivu na život a kulturu venkovského lidu*, Český lid 48, 1961, pp. 145–147; Josef TOMES, *Společenský a rodinný život*, in: Kolektiv autorů, Hornácko. Život a kultura lidu na moravsko-slovenském pomezí v oblasti Bílých Karpat, Brno 1966, p. 287.

31 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, s. 545, 550–551, 554; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, s. 503, 514, 516, 527, 533; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 79–80, 177–178; for transformation see e.g. R. JERÁBEK, *K otázce vzniku poutních míst*.

32 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 541; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 494–495, 533; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 160–163.

33 Comp. e.g. R. JERÁBEK, *Dub – Eiche – Makk – Encina*. K filiacím některých charakteristických znaků mariánských poutních míst v Evropě, *Národopisná revue* 2/98, pp. 69–76; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 533 and note 6.

34 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Sídlištní objekty, jámy, kúlové jamky a žlábký prozkoumané při výzkumu velkomoravského pohřebiště u Velkých Bílovic (okr. Břeclav)*, *Archaeologia historica* 9, 1984, p. 47, 57, figs. 7–9 on pp. 45–47, figs. 10–11 on pp. 49–50; IDEM, *Velkomoravské kostrové pohřebiště ve Velkých Bílovicích. K problematice venkovských pohřebišť 9.–10. stol. na Moravě*, *Studie Archeologického ústavu ČSAV* Brno 22/1, Praha 1985, p. 125, figs. 43–44 on pp. 125–126, 131, 135, tab. IX:2.

35 Jaroslav TRIBULA, *Raně středověké slovanské studny*, *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity E* 11, 1966, p. 68.

36 Bořivoj DOSTÁL, *Dvacet let archeologického výzkumu Břeclavi – Pohanska*, *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 30, 1978, p. 141; Viera VENDTOVÁ, *Studne z doby velkomoravskej v Pobedime*, *Slovenská archeológia* 14, 1966, p. 422.

37 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Sídlištní objekty*, pp. 47–48; IDEM, *Velkomoravské kostrové pohřebiště*, p. 81.

38 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ – Milan STLOUKAL, *Antropologický materiál ze slovanského pohřebiště ve Velkých Bílovicích (okr. Břeclav)*, *Časopis Národního muzea, řada přírodovědná* 152, 1983, pp. 194, 208, fig. 11: 71 on p. 206, 218–220.

39 Jan EISNER, *Rukověť slovanské archeologie*, Praha 1966, p. 406.

40 Kolektiv autorů, *Československá vlastivěda*, díl III, Lidová kultura, Praha 1968, p. 556; Ján MJARTAN, *Vampírske povery v Zemplíne*, *Slovenský národopis* 1, 1953, pp. 113, 132; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 554.

41 L. GALUŠKA, *Velkomoravské hroby revenantů ze Starého Města*, in: Gabriel Fusek (ed.), *Zborník na počesť Dariny Bialekovej*, Nitra 2004, pp. 81–90; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 540–542; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 228–229.

42 Comp. also above in the explanation of funeral customs.

43 Z. ČILINSKÁ, *Slovansko-avarské pohrebisko v Žitavskej Táni*, *Slovenská archeológia* 11, p. 100; Vilém HRUBÝ, *Staré Město. Velkomoravské pohřebiště „Na valách“*, Praha 1955, p. 279; J. JUSTOVÁ, *Dolnorakouské Podunají*, pp. 64–65, 167; Š. UNGERMAN, *Archaika*, pp. 226–231, 235, 237–239, 242, 248–249.

44 J. EISNER, *Rukověť*, pp. 434–435.

45 V. HRUBÝ, *Staré Město*, pp. 103.

of flake industry, as indicated by finds from numerous sites.⁴⁶ Knives laid on the pelvic bones of deceased women may also have a ritual meaning.⁴⁷

There are animal sacrifices documented, either as whole animals or their parts, laid on funeral pyres and later into inhumation graves in the form of meat food. These included birds, especially cocks, hens and chickens (*Gallus gallus f. domestica*). A lot of evidence comes from graves in Prušánky burial grounds I and II⁴⁸ or Lower Austrian burial grounds such as Sopronköhida–Pitten–Pottenbrunn.⁴⁹ According to a frequent opinion these feathered animals had a special symbolic function⁵⁰ which is profusely documented in numerous ethnological materials obtained from research into Slavonic folk family customs connected to birth, the postpartum period, weddings and death. The cock invited a new day, by which it ensured the return of the sun and the daily cycle, drove away bodies of the living dead with its crowing, and protected the house.⁵¹ Its morning crowing supposedly drove away bad forces and the harmful powers of ghosts. On the other hand the cock represented the demon of destructive fire, the symbol as well as intermediary of the devil and foul forces, lustfulness and marital perfidiousness. The original home of the fowl, as well as the majority of related religious beliefs, may be found on the Indian subcontinent.⁵²

The purifying function was also attributed to eggs, as documented by shells found in graves of the middle- and late-hillfort periods, in Velké Hostěrádky (Břeclav district), even painted as today's Easter eggs.⁵³ Its symbolic meaning in graves was related to the concepts of afterlife, rebirth, fertility etc.⁵⁴ A special position among pottery products is held by colourfully glazed artefacts imported from Kievan Rus' – decorated clay eggs (called *pisanky*) from the 11th and 12th centuries, a spherical rattle and a spherical amulet (or pendant) with nipples or thorns (both objects, together with the majority of *pisanky*, discovered in Olomouc), finds from Brno, the former Zábřacany settlement (Uherské Hradiště district) and Lužice near Hodonín.⁵⁵

Other sacrificed animals included aurochs (*Bos primigenius f. taurus*) – a bull, to be more specific – sheep, goats (*Ovis/ Capra*) and pigs (*Sus scrofa domestica*). Animals were also sacrificed at weddings and other transition rituals. Holy days often

ended with boisterous feasting.⁵⁶ the burial grounds in Lower Austria (Sopronköhida–Pitten–Pottenbrunn) and Carantania contained the horned frontal bones of livestock. This was a significant pagan custom but its exact purpose is still not certain. The bones were usually placed outside coffins and the dead bodies are assumed to have been wrapped in animal skin, with the horned animal skull placed on their heads. These are sometimes thought to be manifestations of totemism,⁵⁷ but realistic interpretations consider them the remains of funeral feasts.⁵⁸ Apart from Lower Austria, these practices were also evidenced in the Uherské Hradiště – Sady necropolis in "Horní Kotvice" (for the cult object see below and graves nos. 8, 24, 28, 50, and 55), in "Na valách" (Staré Město at Uherské Hradiště),⁵⁹ and also in grave no. 35 in the north-eastern outwork of Pohansko (Břeclav district) where other cattle and pig bones were found, possibly coming from a funeral feast, although B. Dostál assumes these animal bones had intruded into the grave fills from the settlement layer or from damaged objects.⁶⁰

Considerable attention is paid to human sacrifices, documented in written sources as part of the worship of Slavonic deities to whom the heads or blood of Christians were sacrificed. There is evidence available of widows, concubines or slave women having been sacrificed at burials of important persons of the upper class, which could have been influenced by different ethnic communities. However, no reliable evidence of human sacrifices on our territory is available.⁶¹

A special position is held by construction sacrifices, evidenced as early as the middle-hillfort period, but practised frequently until modern times.⁶² These human sacrifices are also documented in later folklore – legends and songs. One of the Novgorod legends tells of a child sacrificed in the foundations of the local fortress from which its name *dětinec* supposedly originated. Similarly in the Balkans, old Serbian and Bulgarian songs include the motif of sacrificing single young men and women by immuring them in the foundations of the fortifications of towns, bridges and even churches. This was a different kind of sacrifice from those performed in pagan temples, which were supposed to ensure a particularly magical protection of the structure and included animal sacrifices as well as other artefacts such as pottery, food, amulets, horned animal skulls, slaughtered animals or children (however, those children may have died before being sacrificed) found under earthworks and walls, house foundations or ovens.⁶³ Sometimes it is rather difficult to distinguish a general apotropaic function from a real

46 J. EISNER, *Rukověť*, p. 435.

47 Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Velkomoravské kostrové pohřebiště*, p. 81.

48 Z. KLANICA, *Nechvalín, Prušánky*, díl I, pp. 269–277.

49 J. JUSTOVÁ, *Dolnorakouské Podunají*, pp. 157, 165–166.

50 Lubor NIEDERLE, *Život starých Slovanů*, Slované starožitnosti, oddíl kulturní, díl I, Praha 1911, pp. 174, 261–262; IDEM, díl II., sv. 1, p. 184; IDEM, *Rukověť*, p. 291; J. EISNER, *Rukověť*, p. 447–448.

51 L. NIEDERLE, *Život starých Slovanů*, part I, Praha 1911, p. 262; Václav MACHEK, *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého a slovenského*, Praha 1957, p. 212.

52 R. JERÁBEK, *Motiv „jízdy na kohoutu“ v mezinárodní tradici. Příspěvek k ikonografii zlidovělé grafiky*, Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity F 17, 1973, pp. 129–133.

53 Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 541; IDEM, *Hmotná kultura mladší doby hradištní*, p. 64; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 538; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 167, 229.

54 J. EISNER, *Rukověť*, pp. 448–449; V. HRUBÝ, *Staré Město*, pp. 101–102; Karel LUDÍKOVSKÝ – Robert SNÁŠIL, *Mladohradištní kostrové pohřebiště ve Velkých Hostěrádkách (o. Břeclav)*, Studie Archeologického ústavu ČSAV Brno, 2/ 4, Praha 1974, pp. 45–46; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Velkomoravské kostrové pohřebiště*, p. 81; L. NIEDERLE, *Život starých Slovanů*, part II, vol. 1, pp. 183–184.

55 Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Hmotná kultura mladší doby hradištní*, p. 49; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 167; Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, p. 182.

56 V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 534; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 99, 133–144.

57 Kristina MAREŠOVÁ, *Projevy totemismu u Slovanů*, Sborník Národního muzea, řada A – Historie 24, 1970, pp. 123–127.

58 J. JUSTOVÁ, *Dolnorakouské Podunají*, pp. 157, 165–166.

59 K. MAREŠOVÁ, *Projevy totemismu*, s. 123–127; TÁŽ, *Uherské Hradiště – Sady. Staroslovanské pohřebiště na Horních Kotvicích*, Brno – Uherské Hradiště 1983, s. 5–7, 25, 29, 45, 47–49, 124–125, tab. 2 top.

60 B. DOSTÁL, *Drobná pohřebiště a rozptýlené hroby z Břeclavi – Pohansko*, Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity E 27, 1982, 167, 179–180, 184, fig. 13: 7 on p. 166.

61 Srov. M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, p. 216; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 535; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 99, 145–148.

62 Comp. e.g. Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Lidská stavební a ochranná oběť z hradu Rokštejn*, in: E. Doležalová – P. Meduna (ed.), *Co můj kostel dnes má, nemůže kníže odníti. Věnováno Petru Sommerovi k životnímu jubileu*, Praha 2011, pp. 223–235.

63 Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, p. 203; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 514, 516, 534.

construction sacrifice. For example, research into the earthwork of the Great Moravian fortification Petrova louka at Strachotín (Břeclav district) revealed the skeletons of a child and two adults, without any grave-goods, laid in the tamped footing of the inner side of the earthwork.⁶⁴ However, in this case it is questionable whether those were human sacrifices in the true sense of the word, or humans killed in the course of the violent destruction of the settlement in the first half of the 10th century.⁶⁵ The infant skeletons found by house walls in dugouts from the 9th and 10th centuries in one of the main centres of the Bohemian tribes – the Budeč hillfort – are also protective construction sacrifices.⁶⁶ A different case is presented by the discovery of two child skulls under the millstone beyond the earthwork of the Petrova louka settlement at Strachotín. Those occurred rather often until the Late Middle Ages as a symbolic closing down of deserted structures – hillforts, castles with their gates, wells etc. A similar situation is known from the Lower Austrian hillfort Gars-Thunau where a receptacle containing a human skull was found at the inner side of the earthwork.⁶⁷

Protective magic in settlements can undoubtedly be encountered in the ritual burials of dogs (*Canis lupus f. domestica*)⁶⁸ and other animals. In the Mutěnice settlement, two skeletons of gilts laid side by side on their left sides, with both forelimbs and hind limbs bent towards their bodies and heads turned to the north-east, were found in a 100 × 140 cm oval hole (obj. no. 18),⁶⁹ and a horse skull with anatomically arranged hind limb bones in a shallow round pit (obj. no. 140). Obj. no. 18 is considered to be early Slavonic; obj. no. 140 was not accompanied by any other finds.⁷⁰ According to Z. Klanica, numerous ritual burials of dogs were found at the Mikulčice hillfort. Complete remains of dogs, and also a cow and horse, thrown into pits are known from a number of other sites, for example an incomplete human skeleton and the skeletons of three dogs and a cow (*Bos primigenius f. taurus*) in a gravel-pit at Dolní Věstonice,⁷¹ five dogs buried in Břeclav–Líbivá during Great Moravian times,⁷² the skeletons of one dog and three domestic cats (*Felis lybica f. catus*), cattle and pig bones in a settlement pit (obj. no. 57) situated approx. 80 m from the centre of the necropolis in “Úlehly” tract at Velké Bílovice.⁷³ Similar artefacts have also been found in other archaeologi-

cal sites. However, interpretation of those animals is rather difficult. The “Petrova louka” hillfort at Strachotín contained dog or wolf skulls, ritually laid in the corner of a dugout, opposite to the entrance. This spot was later called the “sacred corner” in traditional folk culture.⁷⁴ Dogs were frequently buried in the foundations of fortifications and other structures; a dog buried under the floor of a house had a protective function. This is the origin of the Czech saying “a dog is buried here” (meaning “the root of the trouble”).⁷⁵ The survival of these practices and dual beliefs containing the old, pre-Christian practices may be evidenced by a number of construction sacrifices from the Late Middle Ages and early modern times.⁷⁶

A similar phenomenon is represented by ritually buried horses, especially the hypothetical “Sun shrine” with a staked cult structure of the Perynja kind in its centre (Pohansko II; see below) in the local cremation necropolis – supposedly a pagan shrine probably related to a sun deity cult. A group of graves were located within the shrine, without grave-goods and with skeletons and a contracted child burial. These inhumation graves were orientated along a line connecting the centre of the Perynja-kind circle and its contracted child burial with another grave containing a horse situated 120 m southeast (in the “Lesní hrůd” locality) and child contracted burials 9 m north-northeast and 13 m northwest. This line corresponds to the direction of the rising sun at the winter solstice, when the deceased in the inhumation graves were looking towards the returning sun as well as the contracted child. Along the extended line from the contracted burial through the staked structure, half way on the opposite side, a horse skeleton was situated. At the same distance from the cult structure centre as the contracted burial, in the direction of the equinox (i.e. precisely eastwards), an empty grave pit is situated, perhaps a cenotaph. Along the extended line from the centre stake of the Perynja-kind structure in the direction of the rising sun at summer solstice, another ritually laid horse burial was situated. The whole structure, including the horse burials, probably corresponded to the most important moments of the solar cycle. An observer standing on one of the marked horse burials watched the sunrise at summer or winter solstice above the central (highest?, anthropomorphic?) pillar of the circular ritual site. The child contracted burial could then represent the sun at its “highest weakness” at winter solstice, i.e. in the time of its “death” and, at the same time, its “rebirth”. The empty grave pit located in the equinoctial direction may have symbolised the moment of the sun leaving the “realm of death” and gaining dominion over the earth. This interpretation naturally represents a possibility which must be verified through more evidence.⁷⁷

64 B. NOVOTNÝ, *Výzkum nížinného opevnění „Petrova louka“ u Strachotína*, in: Josef Skutil (ed.), *Sborník III, Karlu Tihelkovi k pětadesátinám*, Archeologický ústav ČSAV v Brně, Brno 1963–1964, p. 168; comp. V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 535.

65 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava v 10. století ve světle archeologických nálezů*, *Památky archeologické* 77, 1986, p. 37, fig. 9–10 on p. 38–39; comp. M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, p. 314.

66 Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, p. 203.

67 V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 516; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Nové poznatky*, p. 28, note 39 on p. 37.

68 N. PROFANTOVÁ, – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 166.

69 N. PROFANTOVÁ, – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 166, dogs are mentioned.

70 Z. KLANICA, *Mutěnice – Zbrod. Zaniklá slovanská osada ze 7.–10. století*, *Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno* 36, Brno 2008, pp. 38, 117, 150–151, 170, 227–228, fig. 20: 2 on p. 31, photo 12 on p. 137; comp. Renáta PŘICHYSTALOVÁ, *Intencionálně uložení koňa – obeť či pohřeb? Niekoľko postrehov na základe nálezov z Břeclavi – Pohanska*, *Studia archaeologica Brunensia* 18, 2013/1, p. 26.

71 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Pokračování záchranného výzkumu v nové štěrkovně n. p. Ingstav u Dolních Věstonic (okr. Břeclav)*, *Přehled výzkumů Archeologického ústavu AV ČR* 1977, p. 108, tab. 14, Brno 1980; IDEM, *Záchranný archeologický výzkum v nové štěrkovně n. p. Ingstav u Dolních Věstonic, Jižní Morava 17/20, 1981*, p. 194, fig. 2; R. PŘICHYSTALOVÁ, *Intencionálně uložení koňa*, pp. 26–27, note 4 on p. 26.

72 Jiří MACHÁČEK, *Zpráva o archeologickém výzkumu Břeclav – Libivá 1995–1998*, *Archaeologia mediaevalis Moravia et Silesia* 1/2000, Brno 2001, p. 42, figs. 5–6, 8 on pp. 45–46, 48.

73 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Sídlíštní objekty*, pp. 61–62, fig. 17 on p. 58.

74 Zdeněk SMETÁNKA, *Legenda o Ostajovi. Archeologie obyčejného života v rané středověkých Čechách*, Praha 1992, pp. 134–135.

75 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 546–547.

76 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Lidská stavební a ochranná oběť*, pp. 223–235; comp. V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 535–536.

77 J. MACHÁČEK, *Die heiligen Bezirke in Pohansko bei Břeclav – ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Heidentums und des Christentums der mitteleuropäischen Slawen im frühen Mittelalter*, in: Alfred Wiczorek – Hans Martin Hinz (Hrsg.), *Europas Mitte um 1000*. Katalog. Band 1, Stuttgart 2000, p. 406; viz IDEM, *Sakrální areály na Pohansku u Břeclavi. Příspěvek k poznání pohanství a křesťanství středoevropských Slovanů v raném středověku*, in: *Střed Evropy okolo roku 1000. Příručka a katalog k výstavě*, p. 143, Praha 2002; J. MACHÁČEK – Andrej PLETERSKI, *Altslawische Kultstrukturen in Pohansko bei Břeclav (Tschechische Republik)*, *Studia Mythologica Slavica* 3, 2000, pp. 9–22; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 511, tab. 158 on p. 513; R. PŘICHYSTALOVÁ, *Intencionálně uložení koňa*, pp. 16, 23, 27; comp. also note 83.

There are other known horse burials in Moravia: Kostelisko in Mikulčice,⁷⁸ “Na pískách” in Dolní Věstonice (Břeclav district) from the 9th–10th centuries with two horse burials,⁷⁹ and Nemilany (Olomouc district) with three horse burials.⁸⁰ Apart from the two above-mentioned horse burials, Pohansko at Břeclav contains a further two horse and one foal burial.⁸¹ A horse burial with a triple burial of two adults and one child was found in Náměšť na Hané;⁸² a horse burial outside the burial site (P-243)⁸³ was found in Prušánky, and an alleged horse and pig burial (?) was found in 1953 in the Přitluky settlement, which may be evidenced by a photograph deposited in the archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (ARÚ AV ČR) in Brno.⁸⁴

Circular formations of various sizes and dimensions represent a large part of the archaeological finds that evidence the pagan cult among the Bohemian and Moravian Slavs, with analogies practically throughout the whole of Slavonic territory. The existence of these circular cult objects is evidenced by a number of archaeological finds excavated within the territory of Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Ukraine, Russia, Bulgaria and other countries. Basically, they could represent two types with various dating and sizes. The first type includes structures with the central stake surrounded by a ring of other stakes. One of these was mentioned above in connection with the “sun shrine” with a staked cult structure of the Perynja kind in its centre (Pohansko II, obj. no. 28/III). Another of the same type was located 10 m northeast of the apse of church I in the nobleman’s farmstead (Pohansko I, obj. no. 39). Both these structures in the Pohansko hillfort, 250–300 cm in diameter, consisted of a semi-circular palisade in the northeast and eight wooden peripheral idols positioned in a circle around the central pillar. The first structure, excavated near the Great Moravian church with the burial ground, dates back to the time after the Great Moravian downfall in the early 10th century, as does another one situated 330 m south within the “sun shrine” area, also dated to the 10th century (acc. to B. Dostál) when the collapse of the church organisation with a following pagan reaction may have occurred.⁸⁵ An exact analogy, including eight peripheral

round pits, is represented by the cult structure in the Bogit hillfort above the River Zbruč in Galicia, Ukraine, in the centre of which the well-known Zbruč idol was probably placed. However, its dimensions were greater, with a diameter reaching 10 m. These researched structures show a rare similarity with the account of the 10th century Arabian merchant Ibn Fadlan, who informs us of Russian merchants from the River Volga region praying to a large idol standing in the middle of a circle of smaller idols. They can be explained in relation to the ancient solar cult – circular shrines as a symbol of the sun, or the universe. The spring/autumn equinox and summer/winter solstice were important days for agricultural communities. The round pits of these structures probably indicate the existence of a group of eight idols representing individual pagan deities with the main god in the centre (this could be Perun; the other gods remain unknown). A very important fact is that an identical number (eight) of worshipped idols, encircling the ninth, the main one standing in the centre, and a protective palisade in the northeast, occur both among the Eastern Slavs and in Pohansko in southern Moravia, which indicates certain common bonds. In the Eastern Slavonic territory these structures reach larger dimensions, although there are some that correspond to those found on our territory, such as in Děvičhora, Staraja Razaň na Rusi and Tušemlja in Belarus with a diameter of 5.5 m.⁸⁶

The second type of these circuit cult structures is delimited with a ring moat and/or an earthwork. As an example from our territory, a structure from Mikulčice is usually given, situated on the northern bank of a sharp bend in the river bed, directly opposite an elevation at the entrance to the acropolis where church II used to stand. A circular moat approx. 12 m in diameter was located on a cape protected by the watercourse from the south, east and west. On its northern side, towards the settlement, the moat was shallower and included a large circular pit with edges strengthened with stones indicating that an artefact approx. 1 m in diameter was once embedded here. The whole moat was up to 3 m wide and contained irregularly placed pockets with charcoal and various objects such as iron talents, axes and millstones. The archaeological material found indicates that the structure comes from the final Great Moravian period. Thus, it would represent, as do the cult objects in Pohansko, evidence of a pagan reaction related to the crisis and downfall of Great Moravia.⁸⁷ However, this structure was recently questioned and it was declared to be a natural formation.⁸⁸

Structures of this type can be encountered throughout practically the whole Slavonic world. On Eastern Slavonic territory they are especially common at Perynja near Novgorod, Russia, above the River Volkhov at its outflow from Lake Ilmen, with the central shrine dedicated to Perun, destroyed in 988; Rzavin Forest in Bukovina, Ukraine, with a sacred spring; and smaller objects found in Krasnogorskoje in the Pripyat forest district

78 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Mikulčice – das Gräberfeld bei der IX. Kirche. Verlauf der Forschung und Fundschicht*, in: Pavel Kouřil (ed.), *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas (mit einem speziellen Blick auf die großmährische Problematik)*, Materialien der internationalen Fachkonferenz Mikulčice 25.–26. 5. 2004, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 25, Brno 2005, p. 120; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 461.

79 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 456; R. PŘICHYŠTALOVÁ, *Intencionálne uloženie koňa*, p. 26.

80 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 456; R. PŘICHYŠTALOVÁ, *Intencionálne uloženie koňa*, p. 26.

81 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 456; horse grave (obj. no. 270) related perhaps to the staked structure no. 269 and the skull of a foal that had been dumped south of structures no. 109 and 110 were located in the Forest Nursery and another horse grave (H 7 – LH/007) was located in the Lesní hrůd locality southeast of the cremation burial ground (comp. note 79 above); findings of a complete horse skeleton at obj. no. 230 and its parts from obj. no. 61 in the southern outwork cannot be definitively interpreted; they could be thrown out carcasses; comp. R. PŘICHYŠTALOVÁ, *Intencionálne uloženie koňa*, pp. 16–25.

82 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 456.

83 Z. KLANICA, *Nechvalín, Prušánky*, Part II, p. 157.

84 Z. KLANICA, *Mutěnice-Zbrod*, pp. 227–228; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 563; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 456; Archive of the ARÚ AV ČR in Brno, neg. no. 3758.

85 B. DOSTÁL, *Slovanské kultovní místo na Pohansku u Břeclavi? K interpretaci kulového objektu č. 39. Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 20, 1968, p. 3–25; IDEM, *Velkomoravské hradisko Břeclav – Pohansko. Deset let archeologických výzkumů*, *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 22, 1970, p. 19; IDEM, *Břeclav – Pohansko IV. Velkomoravský velmožský dvorec*, Brno 1975, p. 104–110, 171–175, 265–266, 282–283; IDEM, *Drobná pohřebiště a rozptýlené hroby z Břeclavi – Pohanska*, *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity E* 27, 1982, p. 196; comp. Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava v 10. století*, p. 34.

86 E. g. P. KOUŘIL, *Slovanské osídlení českého Slezska*, Brno – Český Těšín 1994, pp. 99–100; M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, p. 39; J. MACHÁČEK, *Die heiligen Bezirke in Pohansko bei Břeclav*, p. 406; see IDEM, *Sakrální areály na Pohansku u Břeclavi*, p. 143; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 557; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 510–511, 514, fig. 172–173, tab. 157–158 on p. 511–513; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 50–51.

87 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, s. 557–558; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 510; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 130.

88 Marian MAZUCH, *Revidierte Interpretation der „kreisförmigen heidnischen Kultstätte“ im nördlichen Suburbium von Mikulčice*, in: L. Poláček – Jana Mafíková Kubková (ed.), *Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 8. Frühmittelalterliche Kirchen als archäologische und historische Quelle herausgegeben*, *Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno* 41, Brno 2010, pp. 123–133.

(Ukraine), Chodosovici and Nizhny Vorgol on the River Don (Russia). This territory includes a number of other similar structures as well as cross-shaped and squared sacrificial structures, etc. Similar structures were discovered on Western Slavonic territory, too: on a cape in Lake Parsteiner near Pehlitz (Mecklenburg – Western Pomerania, Germany) or Trzebiatów in Pomerania, Poland, with three idols placed in the middle of a circular site. On Southern Slavonic territory, a circular sacrificial structure delimited with a moat containing human sacrifices was discovered at the Devnja burial site in Bulgaria.⁸⁹

There is another known type of cult structure, constructed in the form of linear lines. Such a structure was located on the north-eastern edge of the burial site in Horní Kotvice, Uherské Hradiště – Sady. It is considered to be a funerary cult structure formed by a shallow, 1.5 m wide arc-shaped channel, with a bay on its western side containing four stake pits delimiting a 2.5 x 1.15 m rectangle. Southeast from the structure, three pits were located for the main idol with two minor idols on the sides. Whether this really was a simple shelter for placing the bier with the deceased next to the worshipped idols before their burial would have to be verified by similar formations found in other necropolises. The structure included a bovine skull (*Bos primigenius* f. *taurus*) and horns, perhaps a totemic animal placed on the front side of the shelter or on one of the pillars.⁹⁰

There is further remarkable proof of pre-Christian cult objects, in this case related to ritual horse burials. Such an object was excavated between 1968 and 1976 north of the Prince's Palace in Mikulčice, in Klášteřisko tract. It was the ruins of a wooden structure (or enclosure) delimited with a palisade channel 40 cm wide and 35 cm deep (plus 55 cm of upper layers), destroyed in several places, with the visible marks of individual wooden stakes 30 cm in diameter, embedded immediately next to one another, i.e. traces of a palisade wall. The channel delineated an area 20–24 m (or even 26 m) long and 11.3 m wide, orientated roughly along the west-east axis. The eastern section of this formation contained a special oblong area 5 x 7 m forming a narrow entrance to the structure from the southeast (7.5 x 11 m with the entrance). In the centre of this area a horse burial was found. A further two horse skeletons were laid close to the centre; three cast bronze bracelets from the 8th century, laid in a hole, and the amputated part of a left human leg in another hole were found with one of the horse skeletons. Not far from there a human skeleton without the left leg was found; however, the amputated leg did not belong to it. The burial ground included more such anomalies, e.g. lower human extremities (detached at the joints) laid on the horse burial.⁹¹

89 Comp. e. g. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, s. 558–559; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 510, 514, tab. 161: 2–3, fig. 172, tab. 157 on p. 509, 511–512.

90 K. MAREŠOVÁ, *Projevy totemismu*, pp. 123–127; IDEM, *Uherské Hradiště – Sady*, pp. 5–7, 25, 29, 45, 47–49, tab. 2 on top; M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, p. 340; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 559 and fig. *ibidem*; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 448–449, fig. 146 on p. 448; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 510–511, tab. 156: 4, 4a on p. 509; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 226, fig. on p. 227; for skulls of horned cattle comp. above.

91 Z. KLANICA, *Mikulčice – Klášteřisko*, *Památky archeologické* 76, 1985, pp. 474–489; IDEM, *Slovanský templ, palác a kostel*, in: Václav Frolec (ed.), *Rodná země. Sborník k 100. výročí Muzejní a vlastivědné společnosti v Brně a k 60. narozeninám PhDr. Vladimíra Nekudy CSc.*, Brno 1988, p. 156; IDEM, *Křesťanství a pohanství staré Moravy*, in: Richard Marsina – Alexander T. Ruttikay (ed.), *Svätopluk 894–1994*, Nitra 1997, p. 104; comp. M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, p. 186–187; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 561, fig. on p. 562; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, s. 461, obr. 155 na s. 460; L. POLÁČEK, *Terénní výzkum v Mikulčicích. Mikulčice – průvodce. Svazek 1*, pp. 4–5, Brno, 2nd ed. 2006; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 507, tab. 155: 1a–b; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 131; R. PŘICHYSTALOVÁ, *Intencionálne uloženie koňa*, pp. 27–28; for the horse burials comp. above.

The burial ground around the structure contained 314 graves in total, and chronologically it can be divided into two parts. For the beginnings of burials, grave no. 1241 is important, since it did not respect the orientation. It contained a spear head with vanes and Biskupija-Crkvina type spurs, thanks to which it can be dated to the first third of the 9th century, or even the turn of the century. The oldest group of graves, not respecting the structure, was dated by Z. Klanica to the mid-9th century; by the end of the 9th century no burials were performed in the necropolis. Thus the cult structure in Klášteřisko, Mikulčice, is assumed to date back to the 8th century; it perished shortly after 850 at the latest. Two key findings of ritual horse burials are essential for the determination of the whole structure, because a sacred horse represented an attribute of important Slavonic deities, especially those related to the sun and war. Only priests took care of the horses which served for prophecies and were kept in sacred enclosures which nobody except the priests could enter. The significance of the horse was emphasised by the fact that it was one of the symbols of the newly formed social elite. The cult of the horse, including objects related to corresponding practices, is known from Balto-Slavonic territory (see above) where the horse had always played an important role. Thus, the closest analogy to the Mikulčice structure may be found in the archaeologically researched temple in the Groß-Roden hillfort (Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Germany), founded sometimes between the late 9th and early 10th centuries, in which six horse skulls were discovered under the floor.⁹²

The analogy and archaeological situation indicate that the structure researched in Klášteřisko, Mikulčice, represented a cult enclosure connected with pagan rites in which the horse played a very significant role. An even more interesting fact (as pointed out by Z. Klanica⁹³) is that this enclosure had similar features (dimensions, orientation, layout) to the excavated foundations of the Prince's Palace which used to stand on the highest point of the Mikulčice acropolis. However, the construction material is different – the palace was built of stone and mortar, or at least it had stone foundations, while the cult enclosure was built of wood. Not far from the palace the above-described pit containing clay sculptures was located, which leads to the question of what the real function of the structure was. A number of analogies in nearby locations suggest the structure might well have combined residential, representative and cult functions, all of which formed a certain unity in the Early Middle Ages. The opinion presented by V. Richter, that structure B under 2nd church in Mikulčice had a cult function, but was hardly a Christian shrine, may be considered highly hypothetical. According to this researcher, the structure may be considered an enclosed yard behind which a narrow hallway (with a roof in front of the entrance) was situated and a *cell* too with a floor higher than that in the hallway.⁹⁴ Most probably, structure B was from an older construc-

92 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 563 and fig. *ibid.*; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, p. 507, tab. 154: 1–2 on p. 505, for the cult of horse and sacrifices *ibid.* p. 536; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 75–76 and fig. on p. 76; for the cult development, details of positions of the buried horse and interpretations generally, incl. Pohansko at Bředlav comp. R. PŘICHYSTALOVÁ, *Intencionálne uloženie koňa*, pp. 23–29; Rolf VOSS, *Der altslawische Tempelort Groß Raden in Mecklenburg*, in: A.Wieczorek – H. Hinz (Hrsg.), *Europas Mitte um 1000*. Katalog. Band 1, Stuttgart 2000, spp 252–256; see IDEM, *Staroslovanská chrámová osada Groß Raden v Meklenbursku*, in: *Střed Evropy okolo roku 1000. Příručka a katalog k výstavě*, Praha 2002, pp. 92–94.

93 Z. KLANICA, *Slovanský templ, palác a kostel*, p. 162.

94 V. RICHTER, *Předkřesťanské svatyně na Moravě*, p. 121, fig. on p. 120 bottom.

tion stage of Christian 2nd church.⁹⁵ However, there are differences between the central section of the Mikulčice settlement agglomeration and its outwork. The first Christian sacral structures within the settlement were built in the early 9th century, but not far from there a temple still existed in which pagan rites were practised. These issues of so-called dual beliefs and the gradual victory of Christianity, including all peripetia related to the temporary strengthening or return of pagan cults, are to be discussed later. In this lecture on pagan cult structures, chronology is not observed strictly since a proportion of archaeological evidence of these sacrificial sites and structures belongs to the 9th century, when Great Moravia accepted Christianity as an official religion.⁹⁶

Another type of pagan cult structure is the regular shrines or sacred enclosures of a rectangular shape, related to similar sites of the cult north of our territory, among the Polabian and especially Baltic Slavs. There is a possible chronological sequence of assumed pagan cult structures and Christian temples.⁹⁷ When researching the hillfort in Chotěbuz-Podobora, Cieszyn Silesia, P. Kouřil found an oblong structure 3.2 × 5.2 × 5.8 m, open to the west, surrounded by a palisade formed of large stakes (obj. no. 56). Remains of a burnt, 1.2 × 1.2 m wooden box were found inside, which is usually explained as a pedestal or receptacle for an idol or statue of an unknown deity. The whole structure dates back to the 9th century.⁹⁸

There are indications of other such excavated enclosed structures linked to the earliest Christian sacral architecture. However, giving a definite explanation of them is considerably difficult – due to the complicated constructional development of the churches and related burials, which damaged or even completely destroyed the original structures – and leads to ambiguous and often also questionable conclusions and hypotheses. Such a cult function may be assigned to an enclosure with the dimensions 21.5 × 17 m / 358 m² in Pohansko, the remains of which, in the form of 50 cm wide palisade channels, erected on the site of an older palisade enclosure of the nobleman's farmstead, were excavated close to the foundations of the local Christian church. The entrance into the enclosure, approx. 4 m high, was probably located on the side of the farmstead, the origins of which, including the older enclosure and, thus, also the cult enclosure, date back to the 820s (B. Dostál), when the pagan cult could have been being practised there shortly before the church was founded around 850. This is also indicated by the discovery of fifteen stake pits inside, perhaps remains of an unknown structure (B. Dostál speculated on the existence of two fire rings) and the orientation of the longer axis of the enclosure towards the sun at summer solstice. Since the Christian church maintained the same orientation, it was certainly founded on the site of a pagan cult.⁹⁹

95 Comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu II*, Praha 2006, pp. 584–588; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 358–361.

96 Z. KLANICA, *Mikulčice – Klášteřišsko*, pp. 474–535; IDEM, *Mutěnice – Zbrod*, pp. 227–228; M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, pp. 186–187; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 561, 563–564; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 461; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 507–508; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 131.

97 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 560.

98 P. KOUŘIL, *Slovanské osídlení českého Slezska*, pp. 99–101, esp. p. 100; M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, pp. 102–103, here on p. 103; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 83.

99 B. DOSTÁL, *Břeclav-Pohansko IV*, p. 36; M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, p. 39; J. MACHÁČEK, *Die heiligen Bezirke in Pohansko bei Břeclav*, pp. 405–406; see IDEM, *Sakrální areály na Pohansku u Břeclavi*, p. 143; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 560–561; IDEM, *České země II*, pp. 582, 584; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 355, 357, fig. 102 on p. 356; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, tab. 156:1 on p. 509; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 50; V. RICHTER, *Předkřesťanské svatyně na Moravě*, p. 121.

A similar case is represented by Modrá at Velehrad (Uherské Hradiště district) where an older settlement delimited by stake pits also preceded a Christian church founded in the early 9th century at the latest. J. Cibulka assumed that it was not originally founded as a funerary church, i.e. burying started later.¹⁰⁰ There were also stake pits around the church, delineating a trapezoidal area narrowing toward the chancel. V. Hrubý considered them to be an enclosure around the church.¹⁰¹ J. Böhm¹⁰² assumed these five pits, together with other sub-structures, to be the remains of a somewhat older wooden structure in the shape of an elongated pentagon, symmetrical along its longitudinal axis, which preceded the sacral stone structure. V. Richter¹⁰³ declared them to be traces of an older pre-Christian shrine, and J. Cibulka¹⁰⁴ considered them to be an enclosed area, similar to those found in pre-Carolingian structures, used (also in stone form) for performing the rite of baptism. Thus, searching for an analogy in the trapezoidal ground plan of St Blaise's Church in Olomouc – the original "pagan" shrine in the Slavonic market settlement below Olomouc Hill, abolished under the reforms of Joseph II and demolished in the 19th century – is not justifiable.¹⁰⁵ The ground plan of this sacral structure, documented in plans from the 19th century, was of Late Gothic character.¹⁰⁶

A new interpretation of the stake pits found during the research performed by V. Hrubý was given by J. Lichardus in 2003. Using our present knowledge of wooden churches of the Early Middle Ages in the Carolingian Empire and comparison of the researched structures of this type with that found in Modrá, J. Lichardus concluded that the structure in question was originally a wooden church, too, reconstructed in two alternatives. The first alternative would be a rectangular structure 5 × 4.3 m without an apse; the second alternative would also be a rectangular structure 16.70 m long and 9.30 m wide, with a rectangular 5.50 × 3.50 m apse in which a T-shaped embedding was situated, assumed to be an iconostas (however, an iconostas cannot be considered for the period in question; ZM). The later structure would be bigger than the stone church. Based on archaeological observations and historical reports related to Irish-Scottish missions, J. Lichardus came to believe that the wooden church of the latter alternative was founded by Irish-Scottish missionaries before 822, which is supposed to be proved by the dating of grave no. 22. Only after that was a smaller stone sacral Christian structure constructed, and graves located in its vicinity document only common regional burials of the deceased. In this alteration J. Lichardus¹⁰⁷ saw the beginnings of a new church organisation in Moravia, as proved by the newly-founded nearby church centre in Staré Město at Uherské Hradiště. It may be stated that the existence of an older sacral wooden

100 Josef CIBULKA, *Velkomoravský kostel v Modré u Velehradu a začátky křesťanství na Moravě*, Praha 1958, p. 46.

101 V. HRUBÝ, *Staré Město*. Velkomoravský Velehrad, Praha 1965, pp. 200–201.

102 Jaroslav BÖHM, *K rozboru kostela v Modré u Velehradu*, Sborník prací k počtu 60. narozenin akademika Jana Filipa, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et historica 3, Praha 1959, pp. 273–284.

103 V. RICHTER, *Die Anfänge der großmährischen Architektur*, in Josef Macůrek (ed.), *Magna Moravia. Sborník k 1100. výročí příchodu byzantské mise na Moravu*, Brno 1965, pp. 153–155; IDEM, *Předkřesťanské svatyně na Moravě*, p. 121, fig. on p. 120.

104 Josef CIBULKA, *Velkomoravský kostel v Modré*, pp. 46–47.

105 V. RICHTER, *Předkřesťanské svatyně na Moravě*, p. 121, fig. on p. 120 in the middle.

106 Ivo HLOBIL – P. MICHNA – Milan TOGNER, *Olomouc*, Praha 1984, pp. 20, 40, fig. on p. 41.

107 Ján LICHARDUS, *Grundriss einer altslawischen Holzkirche von Modrá*, Slovenská archeológia 51, 2003, pp. 113–116.

structure on the site of the excavated stone church in Modrá cannot be excluded, nor can a possible mission working with Irish-Scottish “traditions” be excluded. What is highly improbable though – considering the content of grave no. 22 – is the absence of burials near the wooden structure – as well as the building having been founded after 822.¹⁰⁸

As already indicated above, these structures are difficult to understand, because only unclear and ambiguous traces are usually preserved and without sufficient evidence we can only reach unfounded conclusions and rather questionable hypotheses. This applies all the more to the identification of some church dedications, such as to Saints Michael and Vitus, as former sites of pagan cults. As an example a thesis expressed once by Václav Richter may be used¹⁰⁹ that churches dedicated to St Michael were erected on sites where a pagan cult had been practised. This applied for example to St Michael’s Church in Znojmo,¹¹⁰ in Brno,¹¹¹ and especially in Olomouc where a site with a central function or an archaic “centre” is assumed to have existed within the so-called Michalské návrší (Michael’s Hilllock) with a temple of the same name which has been standing here, together with a Dominican convent, since the 1240s.¹¹² However, no particular evidence of the existence of such a cult structure is available, and the hypothesis that the cult of the pagan deity Veles had been performed on the unconfirmed site within Michalské návrší (which is supposedly supported by the dedication of St Blaise’s Church located below Olomouc Castle) may be considered unprovable.¹¹³ Blaise was supposed to replace Veles among the pagan East Slavs.¹¹⁴ V. Richter himself pointed out another meaning behind the St Michael dedication – cemetery chapels had been dedicated to this saint since the Carolingian period.¹¹⁵ Completely beyond serious scientific discussion is a thesis stating that churches dedicated to St Vitus were founded on our territory as well as in the Danube region in Austria on sites where the cult of Svantovit had been practised, such as with the Saxons, who replaced the reverence of the Polabian and Baltic Slavs’ for Svatovit with St Vitus (even hypothetically derived from the church of this dedication in Prague),¹¹⁶

and other similar fanciful ideas.¹¹⁷ the Christian origin of the Slavonic deity Svantovit as a “paganised” St Vitus was decidedly rejected by V. Procházka.¹¹⁸

Archaeological materials and written sources provide only some ambiguous indications on religious beliefs, rituals and especially mythology. Thus, we must rely on analogies from various, often older-time horizons, different ethnic groups, ethnological parallels, etc.,¹¹⁹ while it is necessary to be very cautious and avoid definite – sometimes very hypothetical or opposing, even completely fantastic – conclusions, such as the transformation of the cult of Svantovit into the worship of St Vitus expressed by the construction of Christian shrines dedicated to him (comp. above). An example may be Závěš Kalandra and his strange interpretation of Czech mythology¹²⁰ in which he included St Ludmila and St Wenceslas as Slavonic deities who were turned into saints by Christianity.¹²¹

Proof of religious and mythological beliefs may be found especially on parts of straps, the main and most important of which was certainly the strap end (one-piece, two-piece or multi-piece ends). Neither a detailed description of their forms and parts, nor individual evidence may be provided here. A mythological interpretation of these artefacts is usually ambiguous and individual researchers sometimes differ significantly. Zoomorphic motifs may represent for example a fight between animals, more animals placed next to, above or facing one another, feathered animals and animal heads (boar, horse or mythical beasts). Undoubtedly the most valuable specimen, with significant information value as regards the thought-world surrounding not only the cast industry makers and bearers and their religious beliefs, but also period costumes, symbolism, and attributes of the upper class in pre-Great Moravian society, are strap ends and other strap parts with anthropomorphic motifs, usually representing unique evidence telling certain tales or connected to classical mythology, cults of the eastern Mediterranean and other territories, from Sassanid Iran through the Middle East to the Far East. These motifs portraying human figures include for example circus scenes, crouching figures or equestrian scenes.¹²²

Myths from the time before the state ruled by the Moravian Mojmir dynasty was founded are probably shown on some unique cast bronze garnitures, such as the strap end with unique scenes found in grave no. 7 in Dolní Dunajovice. However, these myths cannot be reliably deciphered. The strap end from Dolní Dunajovice consists of two completely identical parts located on the obverse and reverse sides, 12.3 cm long and 3 cm wide. Its area is divided into three figural scenes. The upper section (1.5 × 1.8 cm) holds a depiction of a four-legged animal below which, on the middle section, there are two human figures

108 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země II*, pp. 444–446; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 297–299, fig. 97 on p. 298.

109 V. RICHTER, *Raně středověká Olomouc*, Praha – Brno 1959, p. 26; IDEM, *Předkřesťanské svatyně na Moravě*, p. 120.

110 V. RICHTER, *Předkřesťanské svatyně na Moravě*, p. 120; Lubomír KONEČNÝ, *Geneze města Znojma a typy předlokační aglomerace*, *Archaeologia historica* 10, 1985, pp. 157, 159.

111 L. KONEČNÝ, *Počátky Brna ve světle nejnovějších poznatků*, *Forum Brunense* 1995/96, *Sborník prací Muzea města Brna*, p. 15; comp. IDEM, *Nejstarší krypty a funkce svatopetrského chrámu v Brně*, *Umění* 44, 1996, pp. 331, 336.

112 V. RICHTER, *Raně středověká Olomouc*, p. 26–28, 30–35; IDEM, *Předkřesťanské svatyně na Moravě*, p. 120; J. BLÁHA, *Časněslovanská osada v Olomouci a počátky řemeslnícko-kupeckého podhradí. Příspěvek k postavení Olomouce v 10. století*, *Archaeologia historica* 9, 1984, pp. 141, 143, fig. 4 on p. 142; IDEM, *Několik poznámek ke genezi a významu raně středověké Olomouce*, *Archaeologia historica* 10, 1985, p. 146–147; IDEM, *K otázce lokalizace „centrálních funkcí“ v areálu Olomouckého kopce*, *Umění* 34, 1986, pp. 437–439; IDEM, *K funkci Michalského kopce v Olomouci*, pp. 33–37, 40–49; IDEM, *Olomouc jako středisko předkřesťanského kultu (na okraj úvah V. Richtera)*, *Okresní archiv* 1982, pp. 90–92. Olomouc 1983; L. KONEČNÝ, *Glosy k olomouckým otázkám*, *Archaeologia historica* 11, 1986, p. 107–108; I. HLOBIL – P. MICHNA – M. TOGNER, *Olomouc*, pp. 16, 20–22.

113 J. BLÁHA, *Časněslovanská osada v Olomouci*, p. 143, fig. 4 on p. 142.

114 V. RICHTER, *Raně středověká Olomouc*, p. 34; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian*, pp. 106–109; for Veles and the transformation into St Blaise Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, pp. 75–77, 232 and note 140.

115 V. RICHTER, *Raně středověká Olomouc*, p. 26; comp. J. BLÁHA, *K funkci Michalského kopce v Olomouci*, pp. 44–45.

116 V. RICHTER, *Raně středověká Olomouc*, p. 34; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian*, pp. 110, 198–203; for Svantovit e.g. V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 497, 499; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 210–212; Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, pp. 87–93.

117 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 551.

118 Vladimír PROCHÁZKA, *Organizace kultu a kmenového zřízení u polabsko-baltských Slovanů*, in: J. Eisner (ed.), *Vznik a počátky Slovanů*, vol. 2, Praha 1958, p. 153.

119 Comp. e.g. D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Mýty kmene Čechů (7.–10. století). Tři studie ke „Starym pověstem českým“*, Praha 2003, pp. 7–27; about mythology L. KAŇÁKOVÁ HLADÍKOVÁ, *Postneolitická štipaná industrie*, p. 243.

120 Závěš KALANDRA, *České pohanství*, Praha 1947, pp. 524–525.

121 D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Mýty kmene Čechů*, pp. 24–27.

122 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 433–437; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 169–170; Z. KLANICA, *Počátky slovanského osídlení našich zemí*, Praha 1986, s. 114–118; most recently Š. UNGERMAN, *Ikonografie velkomoravských nákončí a symbolika opasku v raném středověku*, *Listy filologické* 124, 2001, pp. 223–258; IDEM, *Konstrukce honosných velkomoravských opasků*, *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity M 7*, 2002, pp. 93–120.

standing face to face; below them, separated by a twisted-like divider, in his left hand a rider is holding a strange four-legged creature with a beak-like head and open mouth under its neck. Its paws have claws; its tail is long and thin, not that of a horse. The rider, sitting on a mythical beast, is wearing a feather headband; the same headband is being worn by the person in the bottom section. This figure is holding a long, bent object with a little spiral at the end in the left hand (club?, a satyr with a staff hung with vines and ivy as Dionysus' attributes) and is strangling a bird with long tail feathers, somewhat bent at their tips, with his right hand. The scenes depicted undoubtedly represent a heroic epos or myth. However, they are interpreted in many different ways: as (a depiction of) the cult of Dionysus, a Heracles series or the cult of Mithra, with the feather crown being related to the symbol of the sovereign power of the Moravian rulers.¹²³

A unique strap end found in Pohořelice depicts winged creatures riding a four-legged beast with a human head. Its inserting section is connected with a hinge and ends in a clasp with a pair of animal heads, probably a schematised motif of the peacock dragon. The inserting section is decorated with a winged figure and the end surface with four identical figures riding animals with human heads: leopards according to J. Dekan Erot, motifs of the Dionysus myth according to K. Banda, and an Iranian mythological theme depicting the righteous Arda Viraz according to P. Charvát.¹²⁴

Mythical animals were recurrent in Slavonic tradition as in the narrations of other nations and were distinguished by numerous special features. Due to the considerable stylisation of their depiction it is sometimes rather difficult to distinguish mythical creatures from real, if significantly stylised, animals. There is evident inspiration by foreign environments, mostly late antique or Iranian,¹²⁵ in particular the griffin – a four-legged creature with wings and an eagle beak, one of the typical motifs on cast garnitures of the multi-ethnic environment of the Carpathian Basin in late Avar period I (710–740) and II (740–770). The motif was probably adopted from Byzantium during the middle Avar period (650–710), when moulded tin ornaments were produced.¹²⁶

123 Klement BENDA, *Umění pravěku a časné doby dějinné*, in: Rudolf Chadraha – Josef Krása, *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění I/1*, Praha 1984, p. 30; Ján DEKAN, *Zur archäologischen Problematik der awarisch-slawischen Beziehungen*, *Študijné zvesti Archeologického ústavu SAV* 16, 1968, pp. 85–86; IDEM, *Herkunft und Ethnizität der gegossenen Bronzeindustrie des VIII. Jahrhunderts*, *Slovenská archeológia* 20, 1972, pp. 405–408; Z. KLANICA, *Předvelkomoravské pohřebiště v Dolních Dunajovicích. Příspěvek k otázce vzájemných vztahů Slovanů a Avarů v Podunají*, *Studie Archeologického ústavu ČSAV Brno 1/1*, Praha 1972, pp. 26–36, for grave no. 7 in Dolní Dunajovice *ibid.* pp. 15, 26–36, tab. 7:9, 9a on p.14; Z. KLANICA, *Počátky slovanského osídlení*, p. 202; Alfred KOLLAUTZ, *Denkmäler byzantinischen Christentums aus den Donauländer*, Amsterdam 1970, p. 54; M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, pp. 61–62, fig. on p. 61; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 345–350, 352, esp. p. 348–350, fig. on p. 347 no. 9, 9a; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 135, 138, fig. 45:9, 9a on p. 137; interpretation of J. CINERT, *Bylo to jinak*, fig. on p. 103, is inadequate.

124 K. BENDA, *Umění pravěku a časné doby dějinné*, p. 30; J. DEKAN, *Herkunft und Ethnizität der gegossenen Bronzeindustrie*, pp. 402–405; P. CHARVÁT, *Pohořelice na Moravě a spravedlivý Artá Viráz: Íránská mytologie na avarských pásových kováních?*, in: Lucica Obuchová (red.), *Svět živých a svět mrtvých. Soubor studií interdisciplinární pracovní skupiny „Náboženské směry v Asii*, Praha 2001, pp. 128–137; M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, fig. on p. 138; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 436, fig. on p. 437; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 170, fig. 59 *ibid.*; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, fig. on p. 140:1; interpretation of J. CINERT, *Bylo to jinak*, fig. on p. 103, is inadequate.

125 N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, p. 141.

126 Falko DAIM, *Der awarische Greif und die byzantinische Antike*, in: Herwig Friesinger – F. Daim (Hrsg.), *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern*, Teil 2, *Berichte des Symposiums der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung*, 27. bis 30. Oktober 1986, Stift Zwettl, Niederösterreich, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung, Bd. 13, Vienna 1990, pp. 273–303; Peter STADLER, *Verbreitung und Werkstätten der awarischen Hauptriemenbeschläge mit Greiffendarstellung*, in: *Ibidem*, pp. 305–350; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 31, 433, 437; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 169–171.

the griffin was depicted either alone in hunting scenes or fighting with a serpent which, in this case, symbolised evil,¹²⁷ similar to the below-mentioned dualistic symbol of “good” in the form of a peacock dragon. Finds from Moravia include one complete and one incomplete open-work metal mounting with the griffin and a hinged pendant, found together with a Silesian-type bowl in Krumvíř (Hodonín district), and pendants made from these metal mountings found in Olomouc-Povel and in inhumation grave no. 17 (a child about six years old) in the cremation burial ground in Pohansko (Břeclav district), where it was very probably used as part of a necklace during the 1st half of the 9th century. Another unique artefact is a bronze disc with the griffin fixed to a strap prong found in grave no. 7 in Dolní Dunajovice. A cast bronze horse harness mounting 5.9 cm in diameter with a prong, found in obj. no. SO 199A in Mikulčice, has a wide flat edge reinforced with bars and an astragal between them. The inside part is decorated with four griffin heads arranged in a shape recalling a swastika. Further examples are four cast bronze circular (or discoid) mountings with astragal edges and an antique motif of a mermaid (Nereid riding a hippocampus) or of a man riding the griffin in equestrian combat, found in Hevlín (Znojmo district).¹²⁸

The most outstanding artefact with a zoomorphic motif is a phalera made from a single piece of plastically shaped, approx. 2 mm thick bronze sheet, with traces of gilt on the front, preserved in two pieces. It probably formed a discoid decorative part of a horse harness, 65–67 mm in diameter, bearing the depiction of a lion or dragon head with open mouth, surrounded by tendrils. Just behind the spirals lining the animal head there are four regularly-spaced circular holes for fixing. It was found in pre-Great Moravian layers in the outwork of Štěpnice, northwest of the centre of the Mikulčice hillfort, in an area researched in 1982 and 1983 southeast of the memorial building. Analogical objects may be found in the Komárno-Loděnice necropolis, and also in other inhumation burial grounds with cast garnitures in the Carpathian Basin (Orosháza, Várpalota); however, all of those were made with a different structure, with an animal head riveted to the centre of a bigger disc decorated in some cases with an edge strip. Of finds from the middle Danube region, only the Mikulčice phalera with its form and the way it was made comes close to especially central-Asian models and may be assumed to have been part of a horse harness. These fantastic depictions from Central European sites originated within the extensive territory reaching from the Lower Volga region, across the southern Ural Mountains, Central Asia, western and southern Siberia to Mongolia and the Far East, where they had an apotropaic function in the spiritual sphere of various ethnic groups, especially eastern nomadic tribes. Finds from

127 N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 139, 141.

128 Andrea BARTOŠKOVÁ, *Slovanské depoty železných předmětů v Československu*, *Studie Archeologického ústavu ČSAV Brno*, 13/ 2, Praha 1986, p. 22; K. BENDA, *Umění pravěku a časné doby dějinné*, p. 30; J. BLÁHA, *Předběžná zpráva o objevu předvelkomoravského ústředí v Olomouci*, *Archaeologia historica* 13, 1988, fog. 8: 8 on p. 163; B. DOSTÁL, *Drabná pohřebiště*, pp. 141, 143, fig. 2: 17, 3: 22–26 on p. 194, tab. XXIX: 11–14; L. GALUŠKA, *Hledání původu. Od avarských bronzů ke zlatu Velké Moravy*, Brno 2013, pp. 59–60, 70–73, 79–80, fig. 37 on p. 59, 47–49 on p. 70–72, 53 na s. 79; Z. KLANICA, *Předvelkomoravské pohřebiště v Dolních Dunajovicích*, p. 15, tab. 7: 3 on p. 14; M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, p. 78; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 251, 345–348, 352, 437–439, 459, fig. on p. 438, fig. on p. 347: 3on p. 349, on p. 351: 6–8, on p. 262: 10; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 170–171 138, fig. 45: 5 on p. 137, 47: 6–9 on p. 139; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Awarische Funde aus den Gebieten nördlich der awarischen Siedlungsgrenzen*, in: F. Daim (Hrsg.), *Awarenforschungen*, Bd. 2, Vienna 1992, pp. 614–615, 669 no. 26e, 671 no. 31, 689 no. 35, tab. 11:4 on p. 725, 15:6–7 on p. 729, 33:3 on p. 747, 54:9 on p. 768. Mit einem Beitrag von Jaroslav Frána und Antonín Maštálka (S. 779–801).

the territory date back to the 6th and 7th centuries. They feature, in various modifications, even in present-day Buddhist cultures. The circumstances of its discovery suggest that the Mikulčice artefact may date back to the 7th century, but more probably to the first half of the 8th century, because the layer in which it was found was covered with a continuous settlement layer from the 8th century, thus (as claimed by B. Kavánová) dating it to a later period is hardly conceivable.¹²⁹ This phalera very probably comes from Central-Asian nomadic ethnic groups, or its origins may be found on East Asian territory, probably Buddhist. However, B. Kavánová pointed out that the compositionally closest decorative phaleras from North Africa had the original ideological purpose of depicting the god Mithra in its animal incarnation.¹³⁰ According to N. Profantová, the artefact belongs to late Avar period II (740–770); according to Z. Klanica it may be related with chronological stage VI of pre-Great Moravian finds from Mikulčice dating back to the mid-8th century or to the last quarter of the 8th century.¹³¹

Child grave no. 821, located by the hypothetical Mikulčice church No. 11, also contained a cast bronze strap end in the shape of (probably) a horse head, and a cast bronze carriage bell. The mounting is decorated with engraving and beating in the so-called Nagyszentmiklos style and provided with two openings for a fixing rivet. Such garnitures occur on Carpathian Basin territory, usually in connection with equestrian graves, but its purpose in Mikulčice was different, probably a symbolic function pertaining to a certain social class. J. Pouлік dated the grave to 800.¹³²

On the other hand, some cast mountings dated to the 8th century, e.g. those from Mikulčice and the Kal hillfort in eastern Bohemia, show the religious dualism of good and evil, depicted by the fight of a serpent, representing evil, with a peacock dragon (a mythical winged creature with a peacock tail) representing good.¹³³ the “Štěpnice” settlement, adjoining the core of the Mikulčice hillfort in the northeast, contained two cast open-work, pavis-shaped mountings with a hinge and broken-off pendant. They are originally gilt garnitures in the shape of a wide pavis, 3.2 and 3.3 cm high, filled with an open-work relief with

a mythical creature standing on four stiff legs, with rough scratches across its body as fur, twined with a serpent with a sign of scales on its body and a loop on the dragon’s chest; undoubtedly two beasts fighting. Minor defects from the casting may indicate local production, perhaps according to models from the Pontic region.¹³⁴ A pair of zoomorphic motifs can also be found at the end of small bronze mounting 383/72 from chronological stage VI of the pre-Great Moravian finds from the Mikulčice outwork “Štěpnice”, dating back to the 2nd half of the 8th century.¹³⁵ Two animal heads facing one another, probably representing a schematised motif of the peacock dragon, occur on the hold of the inserting section of the above-described strap end from Pohořelice and on the upper holding part of the cast bronze open-work strap end from Mikulčice.¹³⁶ This motif originated on Iranian territory, thus indirectly evidencing an encounter of the Slavs with ethnic dualism; however, a transformation independent of the initial spiritual context may not be excluded either.¹³⁷

Some other individual items of material culture related to religious beliefs must be mentioned, too. These include especially a cast gilt bronze triangular pendant found within the mound burial ground in Hluk (“Hluboček”), Uherské Hradiště district. It is decorated by notching and has the shape of an elongated, 5.9 cm high triangle with three pairs of side bent corners wound at their ends into rings, with their bottom parts finished with three small balls and an upper suspension ring. The middle rhomboidal area bears a depiction of a bearded human face. The upper stripe of the corners is connected in the shape of an arc, which gives the impression that the corners are projecting from the head. The depiction is interpreted either as a demon or the god Veles, and remotely recalls some types of radial fibulae (brooches) from the 6th and 7th centuries from East Slavic territory. According to V. Richter, the Veles cult was transformed into respect for St Blaise among the East Slavs.¹³⁸

Another similar object comes from the early mediaeval structure no. 9, dated to the 11th century and located in the eastern part of the chapter house garden within Olomouc Castle, where the torso supposedly ended up via an accidental intrusion. V. Dohnal, the author of the research, identified it as an ornament made of a bronze radial fibula dating back to the 5th or 6th century, provided with a fastening needle at the time of its

129 B. KAVÁNOVÁ, *Bronzová zoomorfní faléra z Mikulčic a její zařazení ve stratigrafii sídliště na předhradí*, *Pravěk Nová řada* 7, 1997, p. 373–385, Brno 1998; Z. KLANICA, *Zur Periodisierung vorgroßmährischer Funde aus Mikulčice*, in: F. Daim – L. Poláček (ed.), *Studien zum Burgwall von Mikulčice 1*, *Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno* 2, Brno 1995, Nr. 205 on p. 434 (inv. no. 594–576/83) on the second alteration of the tamped clay floor at the southern edge of obj. no. 1102 Abb. 1.

130 B. KAVÁNOVÁ, *Bronzová zoomorfní faléra z Mikulčic*, pp. 373–388; IDEM, *K původu a funkci zoomorfní faléry z Mikulčic*, in: G. Fusek (red.), *Zborník na počest Dariny Bialekovej*, Nitra 2004, pp. 176–178; M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, pp. 73–74, fig. on p. 73; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 459, fig. on p. 458; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 180, fig. 66 on p. 179; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Awarische Funde*, pp. 634, 684, tab. 25: 15 on p. 739; the wooden phalera 7.5 cm in diameter with a tiger head, once part of a horse harness, comes from Scythian graves from around 900 B.C. in the Altai Mountains; comp. Karl JETTMAR, *Die frühen Steppenvölker. Der eurasiatische Tierstil. Entstehung und sozialer Hintergrund. Kunst der Welt. Ihre geschichtlichen, soziologischen und religiösen Grundlagen*, Baden-Baden, 2nd ed. 1980, pp. 81–82, fig. 42 on p. 82.

131 L. GALUŠKA, *Hledání původu*, fig. 25 top left on p. 43; B. KAVÁNOVÁ, *Bronzová zoomorfní faléra z Mikulčic*, p. 385; Z. KLANICA, *Zur Periodisierung vorgroßmährischer Funde aus Mikulčice*, p. 380, Abb. 1 on p. 441, Nr. 205 on p. 434; comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 31; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Awarische Funde*, p. 684.

132 L. GALUŠKA, *Hledání původu*, pp. 56–58, fig. 25 top right, 36.4 on p. 56; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 260–261, fig. on p. 261:16; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, fig. 29:16 on p. 99; J. POULÍK, *Mikulčice. Sídlo a pevnost knížat velkomoravských*, Prague 1975, p. 121; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Awarische Funde*, pp. 618, 683, tab. 23:5 on p. 737; Z. KLANICA, *Zur Periodisierung vorgroßmährischer Funde aus Mikulčice*, p. 401, Nr. 81, on p. 425, Abb. 1 on p. 441.

133 Z. KLANICA, *Dvě mikulčická kování s figurální výzdobou*, *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity E* 16, 1971, pp. 185–198; M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Encyklopedie slovanské archeologie*, p. 117.

134 N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Awarische Funde*, pp. 620, 621, tab. 21: 3 and 6 on p. 735; L. GALUŠKA, *Hledání původu*, p. 45, fig. 26 on p. 44; Z. KLANICA, *Dvě mikulčická kování*, pp. 185–198; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 249, fig. on p. 250:8–9, 253; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, 96, 98.

135 Z. KLANICA, *Zur Periodisierung vorgroßmährischer Funde aus Mikulčice*, p. 380, Nr. 166 on p. 432; B. KAVÁNOVÁ, *Bronzová zoomorfní faléra z Mikulčic*, p. 383, fig. 5:1 on p. 382.

136 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, pp. 260–261, 436, fig. on p. 261:3, 437; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 170, fig. 59 ibidem, fig. 29: 3 on p. 99; Z. KLANICA, *Zur Periodisierung vorgroßmährischer Funde aus Mikulčice*, Nr. 181 on p. 433, Abb. 1 on p. 441; phases 5–6.

137 Z. KLANICA, *Počátky slovanského osídlení*, pp. 106, 108, 110–112; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země I*, p. 434; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 169; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 65–68.

138 L. GALUŠKA, *Hluk v dobách starých Slovanů*, in: *Hluk. Dějiny města*, Hluk 2011, pp. 96–99, fig. 19 on p. 98; IDEM, *Hledání původu*, pp. 73–76, figs. 50–51 on pp. 73–74; IDEM, *Morava v době před příchodem byzantské misie – počátky christianizace / Moravia in the Period before the Arrival of the Byzantine Mission – the Beginnings of Christianization*, in: Jiří Mitáček (ed.), *Cyrl a Metoděj – doba, život a dílo / Cyril and Methodius – Their Era, Lives, and Work*, Brno 2013, p. 11, fig. on p. 10; J. MITÁČEK (ed.), *Cyrl a Metoděj*, p. 153 and fig. ibidem; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, fig. 16 on p. 8, for mounds pp. 473–474; for Veles and the transformation into respect for St Blaise comp. above note 116 and e.g. V. RICHTER, *Raně středověká Olomouc*, p. 34; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian*, pp. 106–109; V. PODBORSKÝ, *Náboženství*, pp. 496–497; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 229–230; Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, pp. 75–77, 232.

discovery. According to V. Dohnal, it was of a rhomboidal shape, without any decoration, but with two pairs of more or less damaged projections on its sides (only one survived intact). However, N. Profantová identified a partial depiction of a human face on the object, with one eye elongated and the hint of an eyebrow, and another eye covered with rust, and even a nose tip with the remains of a moustache and thick grooving on the upper semi-circular edge of the ornament. N. Profantová also disagrees with the idea that the object is a pendant made from an early Slavonic fibula, and claims a relation to Avar production. She finds the closest analogy in the specimen from Hluk and admits it was made in Moravia, probably under Avar influence, and worn by a person practising a pagan cult at special occasions. However, some given analogies from the Carpathian Basin as well as Carolingian Empire territories are rather remote and in the case of the evidence from Hluk, the above-mentioned interpretation of L. Galuška may be accepted that it is either a demon or the god Veles, although it is only a hypothesis. The pendant could have been made as early as the 8th century in Moravia; according to the wear-and-tear it bears it was worn either for a long time or intensively for a short time, and at some time in the 9th century it probably ended up in the mound burial ground. Thus, it may evidence the paganism of the Moravian Slavs before they embraced Christianity or during early Christianisation (dual beliefs era).¹³⁹

Numerous pagan practices which are also evident in graves dating back to the second half of the 9th century may be encountered in rural necropolises, especially in mound burial grounds (practices, not anachronisms, it must be pointed out). This applies generally to grave-goods and other objects placed in graves, such as food or eggs. However, no unequivocal conclusions on the spreading of Christian ideology can be drawn from the discovery situation and inventory. The differences between the inventory of rural burial grounds and of church cemeteries need not indicate solely the level of Christianisation, but also the social structure of the centres of Great Moravia. It is assumed that the spreading of Christianity in Moravia was demonstrated in the transformation of the cremation rite into the inhumation rite in the late 8th or early 9th centuries, and missionary activities in the 1st half of the 9th century throughout the territory are evidenced not only by historical reports (comp. below), but also by archaeological finds, particularly in the form of some sacral structures.¹⁴⁰ However, the newly converted probably had rather confused ideas about Christianity for a long time and their belief was often a mixture of various archaic convictions and old customs. The church in all probability tolerated many of those practices and customs, such as placing various objects into the graves, as evidenced in numerous written and ethnological records from later periods.¹⁴¹ Regarding archaeological materials obtained from the majority of rural burial grounds, nothing concrete may be stated for the time being regarding the question of whether at least a part of the population, and especially

139 Vít DOHNAL, *Olomoucký hrad v raném středověku II*, *Archaeologiae Regionalis Fontes* 6, Olomouc 2005, pp. 43–53, esp. pp. 44–45, 50, tab. 20: 6 on p. 198 (A 83960); L. GALUŠKA, *Hluk v dobách starých Slovanů*, pp. 97–99; IDEM, *Hledání původu*, pp. 73–76; IDEM, *Morava v době před příchodem byzantské misie*, p. 11, fig. on p. 10; J. MITÁČEK (ed.), *Cyril a Metoděj*, p. 153; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Závěsek s motivem lidské tváře – nová interpretace staršího nálezu z Olomouce*, in: Jan Bistřický, Arcidiecézní muzeum na Olomouckém hradě. Příspěvky z mezinárodní konference, Olomouc, 20.–22. 11. 2007, Olomouc 2010, p. 59–60, fig. 46, 48–51; IDEM, *Nové poznatky*, p. 26, fig. on p. 27 right.

140 B. DOSTÁL, *Slovanská pohřebiště*, pp. 28–29, 89, 97.

141 Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Církevní misie v dějinách Velké Moravy*, Praha 1963, pp. 26–50.

the ruling class, of the centres of Great Moravia (Mikulčice, Pohansko, Staré Město) were already Christianised.¹⁴²

This double-belief aspect is supported by a lot of evidence in the form of arts and crafts. Examples include especially strap ends, such as those from grave no. 100 by church II and from the damaged grave no. 240 by the apse of the three-nave basilica (church No. 3), both in Mikulčice. These unique large, tongue-shaped strap ends, cast or tin, made from non-ferrous as well as precious metals, with both sides decorated using various techniques (including inserted glass, pearls and semiprecious stones), especially engraved human figures (probably laic and the so-called orants), have been rated by J. Poulik, J. Justová¹⁴³ and other researchers to the material content of the so-called Blatnice-Mikulčice horizon. They claimed the finds represented evidence of the survival of old pagan beliefs beside the new Christian one, and large strap ends (Avar and Germanic as well as Slavonic) were not only a certain attribute but also expressed a protective magical function. Considering the originality with which these artefacts were made and their diversity it is very difficult to date them precisely, and the majority of them belong to a later period than 800–830, where the Blatnice-Mikulčice horizon chronologically belongs.¹⁴⁴

J. Dekan claims that only their formation and the initial occurrence fall into this period. Considering the circumstances of their discovery – and partially also style and iconographic criteria – he includes here for example the strap end from grave No. 100 at church No. 2¹⁴⁵ or the strap end from grave No. 240 by the apse of church No. 3, both in Mikulčice.¹⁴⁶ The silver gilt strap end from grave No. 100, 5.1 cm long and 3 cm wide, short and tongue-shaped, reflects Carolingian influences shown by five riveted heads in the reverse side, inlaid in wreaths snarled to form a twisted hem. The obverse side consists of two parts – a strongly granulated edge and inner area separated by an astragal, divided by two grooved ribs into upper and lower fields with two medallions imitating inlaid precious stones. The rounded frame, decorated with coarse cast granulation, need not be related to the tongue-shaped strap ends of the late Avar horizon, but five bossed rhombic leaves, decorated with niello, on the peripheral frame, occurring also in other strap ends, may imitate – according to J. Dekan – the fastening plates of hinges that close two-piece reliquaries. The upper circular medallion, imitating perhaps an inlaid precious stone or glass, includes the motif of a round and slightly elongated human face with hair cut above the forehead in an arc, an oblong narrow nose, triangular eyes and round mouth. The lower elliptical medallion contains an eye and perhaps a mouth below it. K. Benda¹⁴⁷ considers them to be two apot-

142 Z. MEŘÍNSKÝ, *Velkomoravské kostrové pohřebiště*, p. 81.

143 J. POULÍK, *Výsledky výzkumu na velkomoravském hradišti „Valy“ u Mikulčic I. Zpráva za r. 1954–1956*, *Památky archeologické* 48, 1957, pp. 292, 294–296, 298; IDEM, *Mikulčice*, pp. 61–71; IDEM, *Svědectví výzkumů a pramenů archeologických o Velké Moravě*, in: J. Poulik – B. Chropovský, *Velká Morava a počátky československé státnosti*, Praha – Bratislava 1985, pp. 27–33; Jarmila JUSTOVÁ, *Nálezy blatnicko-mikulčického stylu na území zlického kmenového knížectví*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 29, 1977, pp. 498–499.

144 For this issue comp. above Z. MEŘÍNSKÝ, *České země II*, p. 232; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 244–245.

145 J. DEKAN, *Velká Morava. Doba a umění*, 2nd ed. Bratislava 1985 (Czech edition *Velká Morava. Doba a umění*, Praha 1980, pp. 134–136, figs. 102–103 on pp. 52–53).

146 J. DEKAN, *Velká Morava*, pp. 135–136, fig. 104–105 on p. 54–55; for churches comp. below.

147 J. POULÍK, *Výsledky výzkumu*, pp. 309–310; K. BENDA, *Mikulčický orans*, *Památky archeologické* 64, 1973, p. 96; IDEM, *Ostatní výtvarná činnost na Velké Moravě*, in: R. Chadraha – J. Krása, *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění I/1*, Praha 1984.

ropaic masks; the upper round one may be characterised as an Eastern one, and the lower elongated one as Western.¹⁴⁸

Both these motifs are compatible with the engraved figure of an orant wearing a clerical vestment on the reverse of the strap end. The Christian symbol (Daniel in the lion's den) is clearly combined here with a protective pagan symbol. If this figure had been on the original reliquary, the orant, with a stylised nimbus around his elongated head and a Greek cross on the chasuble, would have undoubtedly represented a praying saint. But it could also be a priest or bishop carrying on his chest a Greek cross with widening arms at their ends and engraved intersecting lines across the surface. Footwear may be recognised on just schematically contrived feet.¹⁴⁹

J. Pouлік as well as J. Dekan sought the origin of this motif on Byzantine-Coptic territory. The latter speculated that it arrived in Moravia through the missionary activities of the Aquileia patriarchate; however, this cannot be proven.¹⁵⁰ The Christian symbol of the orant (or Daniel in the lion's den) praying to God for help is known particularly from Burgundian territory during the early Christian period, but in the western parts of the Carolingian Empire it occurred from the 5th century, brought by Irish-Scottish missionaries from Syria and the Coptic territory in Egypt, where it can be found on foundry, wood-carved and textile products. In the West, this symbolism occurs on strap garnitures in equestrian graves, which brought J. Pouлік to the conclusion that it was from here that it reached the Slavs located east of the Carolingian Empire in the Prealps and in Moravia as early as the 8th century.¹⁵¹

However, this dating may be considered too early; much more probable seems to be a mediating role on the part of Byzantium, the Eastern Mediterranean, and then the northern Adriatic and Aquileia and Grad. The closest analogy to the Mikulčice orant is a cross-shaped reliquary, at present located in the Vatican Museum, described as a find from Palestine. A similar theme may be found in depictions of Christ on numerous small crosses related to Syrian territory, such as a small silver cross from Mikulčice, lead ones from Mainz (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany) with Maria-orans on the reverse, and ones from Staré Město and "Sady" near Uherské Hradiště. It was the human mask in the upper medallion that led to the comparison of this motif with evidence from late Avar ironwork from a halter from grave No. 10 in Žitavská Tůň (Slovakia), crosses in Cividale and other north Italian Lombardic sites, gilt bronze spurs from grave No. 44 at church No. 2, and especially a sword hilt from Blatnice, which led to a relatively narrow and early chronological classification of this motif and its relation to the so-called Blatnice-Mikulčice horizon. However, today we know that it was

wrong; the ornamental motif has been found on various territories and has a wider chronological position, having occurred in prongs with a prolonged neck as well as in whole mounting garnitures from Slovenia. Further, a gilt silver strap end was found in grave no. 100, containing a boy of approximately three years of age, located 4 m west of church No. 2 in Mikulčice. This strap end was once part of a strap also consisting of a silver buckle with a tin plate with two rivets and an almost oval frame decorated with coarse granulation with embossed rhombuses, two bronze belt hooks in the shape of a pair of birds, and three helmet-like bronze mountings adorning the strap in a helix form. Further, two large buttons (a typical Great Moravian jewel) were found at the boy's collarbones and an iron knife between his thighbones.¹⁵²

In 1957, J. Pouлік claimed that the lavish strap of the boy (sic!), with the gilt end adorned with an orant, was made in the first half of the 9th century. However, he then stated that "some analogies testify to rather the second half of the 9th century. If we take into consideration that it was a valuable object and an attribute of a member of the upper class, we must also admit that it could have been worn for a longer time. However, it was placed into the grave as late as the last third of the 9th century, as evidenced by those large silver buttons with a plant motif. The strap end with the orant was made in the time when the western, so-called Carolingian and south-eastern art movements met in Moravia. The latter may have got there even before the arrival of the mission of Constantine and Methodius, because we have already pointed out that Byzantine influences were also reflected in late Avar arts and crafts, in which the Slavs from the Danube region greatly participated".¹⁵³ The above-described bird-shaped hooks emerged, according to recent knowledge, as late as the mid-9th century and were used, at least in some cases, also during the 2nd half of the 9th century. On the other hand, Š. Ungerman, who studied these bird-shaped strap hooks in detail, considered them to be, based on current research, chronologically inaccurate.¹⁵⁴ The strap end from grave No. 100 at church No. 2 in Mikulčice definitely does not belong to artefacts from the so-called Blatnice-Mikulčice horizon and probably cannot be dated to the 1st third of the 9th century. Most probably it was made around the mid-9th century and it may have been placed in the child's grave with a significant delay. J. Pouлік also considered the strap end to have been made by local jewellers in Mikulčice. A silver end, forming part of a similar strap with a silver prong and two hooks in the shape of doubled birds, found in grave no. 390 located approx. 15 m from the three-nave basilica in Mikulčice, probably comes from the same period.¹⁵⁵

The decoration of another massive gilt strap end, cast in a form imitating notching from an alloy containing copper and an addition of lead, found in the damaged grave no. 240

148 J. POULÍK, *Mikulčice*, pp. 63–68, fig. 19 on p. 67, tab. 37:1–6, 38:2; IDEM, *Svědectví výzkumů*, tab. VIII top right; comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země II*, pp. 232–233, fig. on p. 233; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 245, fig. 90:1 ibidem; Š. UNGERMAN, *Ikongrafie velkomoravských nákončí a symbolika opasku v raném středověku*, *Listy filologické* 124, 2001, 223–258; IDEM, *Konstrukce honosných velkomoravských opasků*, *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity M 7*, 2002, 113.

149 Comp. e.g. K. BENDA, *Ostatní výtvarná činnost na Velké Moravě*, p. 41 fig. 11 ibidem; J. POULÍK, *Výsledky výzkumu*, p. 312; IDEM, *Svědectví výzkumů*, tab. 4: 4; Š. UNGERMAN, *Konstrukce honosných velkomoravských opasků*, pp. 96, 113; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země II*, pp. 233–234, fig. on p. 233; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 245, fig. 90: 2 ibidem.

150 J. POULÍK, *Výsledky výzkumu*, pp. 310–318; J. DEKAN, *Velká Morava*, pp. 134–135.

151 J. POULÍK, *Výsledky výzkumu*, pp. 312; comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země II*, p. 234; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 245–246.

152 J. POULÍK, *Svědectví výzkumů*, pp. 309–310; tab. 4:4; Š. UNGERMAN, *Konstrukce honosných velkomoravských opasků*, p. 113; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země II*, pp. 234–235; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 246 with different older data.

153 J. POULÍK, *Svědectví výzkumů*, pp. 309–310; tab. 4:4; Š. UNGERMAN, *Konstrukce honosných velkomoravských opasků*, p. 113; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země II*, pp. 234–235; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 246 with different older data.

154 J. POULÍK, *Výsledky výzkumu*, p. 316; IDEM, *Mikulčice*, pp. 63–67.

155 J. POULÍK, *Mikulčice*, pp. 66–68; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Mikulčice – pohřebiště u 6. kostela: pokus o chronologické a sociální zhodnocení*, in: N. Profantová – B. Kavanová, *Mikulčice – pohřebiště u 6. a 12. kostela*, *Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 22*, Brno 2003, pp. 7–209; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 388; Š. UNGERMAN, *Konstrukce honosných velkomoravských opasků*, pp. 99–101.

by the apse of the three-nave basilica in Mikulčice (church No. 3), is also utterly unique. It is a wide, short, tongue-shaped end 5.2 cm long, 3.4 cm wide and 1.3 cm thick with the obverse side provided with segmented, high cast notching. Along the edge there are seven triangular protrusions with flat surfaces decorated with “V-shape” notches. Between the first and second pairs of the protrusions on the rear, there is a row of five rivet heads with filigree collars, lined along the sides with embossed ribs decorated with notching, perhaps a strongly schematised plant pattern. They are interconnected through the first and second pairs of the protrusions. Between them, four groups of circular sockets are located along the perimeter, originally embedded probably with glass or semiprecious stones. The middle field contains an embossed, indeterminable animal, perhaps a frog. The reverse side bears an engraved stylised human figure in a wide tunic, which is holding objects resembling a hammer and ox horn in its hands. The find was completed with a gilt bronze buckle without a pin and with an oval, relatively wide frame decorated with notching, and a tin plate with two rivets, 5.8 cm long and 5.7 cm wide.¹⁵⁶ As in the previously described artefact from grave No. 100 at church No. 2 in Mikulčice, the strap end perimeter contains five embossed rhomboidal leaves, according to J. Dekan imitating the fastening plates of real reliquaries which had served as models for these garnitures. The centre of the obverse is filled with a stylised relief of a fantastic animal, perhaps a frog or bear with bulging eyes, viewed from above. It may be interpreted as the personification of evil.¹⁵⁷

The reverse, intentionally roughened (definitely an Eastern element), holds an engraved depiction of a simplified male figure with a standard (so-called labarum) in his right and a horn in his left hand. It is assumed to represent a prince, with the typical attributes of monarchic dignity and Biblical unction, according to V. Denkstein sovereign symbols. However, K. Benda considered it to be a stylised figure with a tablet and a horn of plenty in its hands – Victoria, the Roman goddess of victory, or Thor’s hammer. Z. Váňa considered it to be a pagan medicine man with a mirror and drinking horn placed on the reverse of a strap end with a Christian saint – orant. They were supposed to represent a typical example of the dual beliefs and to protect the bearer. However, these are highly speculative and difficult to prove as interpretations.¹⁵⁸ Both the combination of metal and glass or precious stones, and the ornamental motif of the frog (or a similar animal) indicate Western models, which are known for example from the reliquary of Gandersheim (Lower Saxony, Germany). Their origins have also been sought in the insular style of the late 8th and early 9th centuries, but the cult of the frog is also of Eastern, probably Egyptian origin. According to J. Pouлік, this strap end must have been made at a time when animal motifs were still in use, but when

156 K. BENDA, *Ostatní výtvarná činnost na Velké Moravě*, p. 41, fig. 10 *ibidem*, erroneously stated the reverse of a strap end from grave no. 240 with a stylised figure of Victoria; comp. Š. UNGERMAN, *Konstrukce honosných velkomoravských opasků*, pp. 101, 114, with corrected data; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země II*, pp. 235–236, fig. *ibid.*; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 246 fig. 91 *ibidem*.

157 J. POULÍK, *Výsledky výzkumu*, p. J. POULÍK, *Mikulčice*, pp. 79–81, tab. 47: 1, 1a; IDEM, *Svědectví výzkumů*, tab. VIII top left, tab. 4: 2; Š. UNGERMAN, *Konstrukce honosných velkomoravských opasků*, p. 113.

158 J. DEKAN, *Velká Morava*, pp. 135–136; K. BENDA, *Ostatní výtvarná činnost na Velké Moravě*, p. 41; comp. Š. UNGERMAN, *Konstrukce honosných velkomoravských opasků*, p. 113; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země II*, pp. 236–237, fig. on p. 237; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 246–247 fig. 92: 1 on p. 247; for the motif e.g. Günter RISTOW, *Das Frosch- und Krötenmotiv auf koptischen Tonlampen in der frühchristlich-byzantinischen Sammlung*, *Forschungen und Berichte* 3/4, 1961, pp. 60–69. Berlin.

a new shape was already breaking through, which could only be in the late 8th or early 9th centuries.¹⁵⁹ As with the previously described strap end from grave No. 100 at church No. 2 in Mikulčice, this artefact may be considered to be of a later date.¹⁶⁰

The church in Modrá at Velehrad¹⁶¹ brings us to the beginnings of Christianity in Moravia. Opinions regarding its origins in connection with the activities of the Irish-Scottish mission in Moravia as early as the second half of the 8th century can hardly be accepted; on the other hand, the arrival of individual missionaries from Bavaria at that time cannot be excluded.¹⁶² Similarly, there is the question of whether the transition from cremation to inhumation burial rites in the late 8th and early 9th centuries, or even earlier, was really influenced by the arrival of Christianity.¹⁶³ In any case, D. Třeštík’s hypothesis¹⁶⁴ may be considered realistic, postulating that the Moravians were baptised by Reginhar, the Bishop of Passau (818–838), in 831, as evidenced by later sources from the second half of the 13th and first quarter of the 14th centuries.¹⁶⁵ However, the Moravians may have been baptised even earlier by Uroľf, the Bishop of Passau around 805,¹⁶⁶ as evidenced by later sources by Johannes Aventinus (1477–1534). This tradition is based on a letter of the Bavarian episcopacy from 900 and on the so-called Pilgrim’s fakes (Pilgrim of Pechlarn, the Bishop of Passau in 971–991) from around 973 which were supposed to support the claims of Passau to be elevated to an archdiocese to the detriment of Salzburg.¹⁶⁷ The crucial moment was undoubtedly the destruction of the Avar khaganate by Charlemagne between 791 and 796, or between 798 and 803, which led to the intensive Christianisation of the whole Pannonian territory, supported by the Salzburg archdiocese (elevated in 798), Passau diocese and the Aquileia patriarchate. Ever after, Salzburg and Passau very probably competed for a share in missionary activities east of the Vienna Woods (Weiner Wald) as far as the River Raba, and also in the Nitra region, Slovakia.¹⁶⁸ Disputes between the two church provinces had to be solved by Louis II the German as a young Bavarian king sometime in 828–830 (reigning from 826), as indicated by the original core of the later mediaeval fake.¹⁶⁹ As is known from the *Codex Lonsdorfianus* from the mid-13th century (fol. 63^v), before the intervention of Louis II the German, Adalram, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and Reginhar, the Bishop of Passau, were in great dispute over the territory east of the Vienna Woods. The Bavarian king eventually

159 Vladimír DENKSTEIN, *K ikonografii mikulčického nákončí*, *Památky archeologické* 52, 1961, pp. 506–513; K. BENDA, *Mikulčický orans*, pp. 86–102, esp. pp. 88–100; IDEM, *Ostatní výtvarná činnost na Velké Moravě*, p. 41; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Nové poznatky*, p. 34, note no. 71 on p. 39; N. PROFANTOVÁ – M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie*, pp. 132–133; Z. VÁŇA, *Svět slovanských bohů*, p. 183; comp. P. CHARVÁT, *Předkřesťanské ideologie*, pp. 77–90.

160 J. POULÍK, *Mikulčice*, p. 80, tab. 47: 1a; IDEM, *Svědectví výzkumů*, tab. 4: 2.

161 Comp. above and Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země II*, pp. 237–238, fig. on p. 237; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 247 fig. 92: 2 *ibidem*. Comp. above Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 297–300.

162 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 300.

163 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 303–305.

164 D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy. Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871*, Praha 2001, pp. 125–126, 308.

165 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 316.

166 *Ioannis Aventini Annales Bavorum*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH I, Brno 1966, chap. IV, X17, p. 376.

167 *Epistola*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH III, no. 109, pp. 232–244; comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 316–317, 336–340.

168 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 313–314.

169 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 313.

ordered the territory to be divided so that the Passau bishopric gained parishes on the left banks of the Spratzbach (a tributary of the Rábnice) and the rivers Rábnice and Raba, i.e. The whole of Upper Pannonia. Those watercourses, particularly the Raba, later formed the local boundary with the territory that fell under the Salzburg church administration. Around 830 the whole territory east of the Vienna Woods ridge up to the River Raba was transferred to the administration of the Passau bishopric, which is indicated, among other things, by numerous donations made to this diocese from within the territory. That is why the Christianisation of Moravia could conceivably fall in this period.¹⁷⁰

However, it must be pointed out that the Christianity of the old Moravians remained rudimentary throughout the 9th century, as evidenced by some particular sources as well as indicated by other, more general mentions in the resolutions of synods, edifications and penitentials, as well as proof from archaeological research. Those include *Decreta synodi Dingolfingensis* (*Decrees of the Synod in Dingolfing*) of 770,¹⁷¹ *Capitula conciliorum Aquisgranensium* (*Articles of the Councils in Aachen*) of November 801 and March to October 802,¹⁷² *Capitula ecclesiastica* (*Ecclesiastical Article*) of 803–804,¹⁷³ and *Capitula concilii Moguntinensis* (*Articles of the Council of Mainz*) of May – 9 June 813.¹⁷⁴ Important information is contained in *Ratio de catechizandis rudibus* (*Directions for the Catechisation of Proselytes*) created in the circle of Alcuin at the time of Charlemagne, perhaps as early as 800, usually dated to 796–812.¹⁷⁵ What should not be omitted is the masterpiece of pastoral wisdom *Responsa Nicolai papae I. ad consulta Bulgarorum* (*Responses of Pope Nicolas I to the Queries of the Bulgarians*), summarising an issue of belief requested from the Pope by the first Christian ruler of Bulgaria, Khan Boris (Bogoris), named Michael I after his baptism, and issued by Nicolas in Rome on 13 November 866.¹⁷⁶ Old Slavonic church artefacts should not be forgotten either, representing the primary sources for the assessment of the extent of the development of Christianity, the law enforcement situation, the advancement of new social relations, and knowledge of old pagan anachronisms at a time when the so-called dual beliefs existed especially among the plebeian class. A unique handbook for priests and confessors translated in Great Moravia from the Latin original into Old Church Slavonic at the time of Constantine and Methodius is the collection of epitemia, i.e. rules on penance for various sins, *Zapovědi svętyichъ otъsъ* (*Commandments of the Holy Fathers*).¹⁷⁷ Further to be mentioned is the *Zakonъ sudnyi ljudъmъ* (*Law for Judging the People*) with its

provisions for the advancement of Christianity and its principles,¹⁷⁸ the homily *Vladykam zemľę božie slovo veliť* (*The Word of God Gives Orders to Earthly Rulers*, or in short, *Admonition to Rulers*), the authorship of which is ascribed to Methodius himself,¹⁷⁹ as is *Notokanonъ* – a collection of church canons and “civic” laws related to the Church.¹⁸⁰

Interesting evidence of ecclesiastical conditions in Moravia, punishments for murder and adultery, and the institution of public penance is included in the commandment of Louis II the German from the synod of Mainz held in 852. It contains detailed information on the conviction of the nobleman Albgis for the public abduction of Patrick’s wife, whom he took to the furthest parts of the kingdom, to the territory of rude (not yet matured, still primitive) Christianity in Moravia.¹⁸¹ According to V. Vavřínek, the term *rudis* may be understood in the meaning “pagan, barbaric” and *rudis christianitas* may be loosely translated as “Christianity mixed with paganism, pagan beliefs and customs”.¹⁸² A reference to this “rude” Christianity is included in chapter XV of *Žitije Konstantina* (*The Life of Constantine*), written at the beginning of the reign of Svatopluk I, in connection with Frankish and Bavarian clergymen working in Moravia, “They prevented neither sacrifices from being made according to previous customs nor dishonourable marriages from being entered into.”¹⁸³

This situation is evidenced also by some archaeological finds. Protective ritual magic in the form of ritual burials of dogs and other animals is often encountered in settlements, such as Mutěnice, with two gilts buried in an oval hole. Numerous ritual burials of dogs are known from the Mikulčice hillfort. The Petrova louka hillfort at Strachotín (Břeclav district) contained dog or wolf skulls, ritually laid in the corner of a dugout, opposite to the entrance. A dog was frequently buried in the foundations of fortifications and other structures; a dog buried under the floor of a house had a protective function.¹⁸⁴ Numerous rites related to pagan beliefs may be encountered at burials and in necropolises in the form of grave-goods or other customs connected with the burial. A cult structure in a somewhat linear arrangement was discovered on the northwest edge of the inhumation burial ground in Uherské Hradiště – Sady, “Horní Kotvice” tract; a well-like structure was found in the necropolis in “Úlehly” tract at Velké Bílovice.¹⁸⁵

Remarkable evidence of a pre-Christian cult structure was found between 1968 and 1976 north of the Prince’s Palace in Mikulčice, in “Klášteřisko” tract. It was the ruins of a wooden structure (or enclosure) delimited with a palisade channel, destroyed in several places, delineating an area 20–24 m (or even 26 m) long and 11.3 m wide, orientated roughly along

170 *Epistolae*, no. 107, pp. 119–121; comp. Herwig WOLFRAM, *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung 378–907*, Wien 1987, p. 278; Jarmila BEDNAŘIKOVÁ – Aleš HOMOLA – Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Stěhování národů na východě Evropy. Byzanc, Slované, Arabové*, Praha 2006, p. 81; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 314–319.

171 *Decreta synodi Dingolfingensis*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH IV, Praha 1971, p. 13.

172 *Capitula conciliorum Aquisgranensium*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH IV, Praha 1971, p. 21.

173 *Capitula ecclesiastica*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH IV, Praha 1971, p. 22.

174 *Capitula concilii Moguntinensis*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH IV, Praha 1971, p. 28.

175 *Ratio de catechizandis rudibus*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH IV, Praha 1971, pp. 26–27, esp. p. 27; comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 302.

176 *Responsa Nicolai papae I. ad consulta Bulgarorum*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH IV, Praha 1971, pp. 38–107. Comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 309–310.

177 *Zapovědi svętyichъ otъsъ*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH IV, Praha 1971, pp. 137–146; comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 310.

178 *Zakonъ sudnyi ljudъmъ*, ed. Josef VAŠICA, in: MMFH IV, Praha 1971, pp. 199–204; comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 310–311.

179 *Vladykam zemľę božie slovo veliť*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH IV, Praha 1971, pp. 199–204; comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 310.

180 *Notokanonъ*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH IV, Praha 1971, pp. 147–198; comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 310–312.

181 *Capitula concilii Maguntini*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH IV, Praha 1971, pp. 34–35, comp. no. 3 ibidem.

182 Josef CIBULKA, *Velkomoravský kostel v Modré*, pp. 279–283; comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, pp. 308–309.

183 *Žitije Konstantina*, ed. Radoslav VEČERKA, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, p. 83; comp. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, p. 309.

184 Comp. notes nos. 70, 73–77 above.

185 Comp. note no. 92 above.

the west-east axis. In the centre of the delineated section with a narrow entrance to the structure from the southeast, a horse burial was found. A further two horse skeletons were laid nearby. Burials of horses are also known from Pohansko at Břeclav and from some other necropolises. 314 graves in total were discovered within the Mikulčice burial ground. This cult was founded probably in the later part of the 8th century and perished after the mid-9th century.¹⁸⁶ the existence of another type of circular cult structure in Mikulčice, located on the northern bank of the river opposite a hillock at the entrance to the acropolis where church No. 2 once stood, has recently been questioned.¹⁸⁷ Two circular structures with a central stake and surrounded by eight smaller stakes, supposedly idols, are connected with a pagan reaction to the crisis and downfall of Great Moravia.¹⁸⁸ This crisis is very probably also related to the depot of pottery and iron objects found beyond the earthwork of the Petrova louka hillfort as well as in other sites.¹⁸⁹ A pit containing child skulls, covered with a millstone, was discovered beyond the Petrova louka hillfort earthwork.¹⁹⁰

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186 Comp. notes nos. 93–95 above.

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189 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Morava v 10. století*, p. 37, figs. 9–10 on pp. 38–39; IDEM, *Morava na úsvitě dějin*, figs. 178, 180 on pp. 619, 621.

190 Comp. notes nos. 66–69 above.

GREAT MORAVIAN SACRAL ARCHITECTURE – NEW RESEARCH, NEW QUESTIONS

Lumír Poláček

The assemblage of pre-Romanesque church structures from the 9th and early 10th centuries located on Moravian and Slovak territories, defined as Great Moravian sacral architecture, was discovered, for the most part, in the 1950s and 1960s. However, neither critical assessment of many of these structures nor complex theoretical evaluation of the whole assemblage is available yet. In the 1980s the possibilities of field excavations of Great Moravian churches seemed to be already exhausted and the whole assemblage seemed to have been concluded. However, recent field excavations indicate a different situation. Further churches have been discovered; some of those previously excavated have been re-dated to the 9th century, and revision field research of almost all known church structures in Mikulčice has been carried out. The field excavations and the assessment of “old” materials have brought new, essential knowledge of this issue. These works are part of a new stage of the study of Great Moravian churches which developed after 2000. The work submitted summarises the contribution of the new field excavations to the solution of selected issues in the study of Great Moravian sacral architecture, focusing on churches of the Mikulčice-Kopčany early mediaeval settlement agglomeration.

Key words: pre-Romanesque architecture, churches, archaeology, Great Moravia, Mikulčice

The “Golden age” of discoveries of Great Moravian church structures in the 1950s and 1960s was accompanied by a wave of broad and intensive interest in pre-Romanesque Great Moravian architecture.¹ Although the following period (1970s–1990s) brought some partial field discoveries and also the first complex but sporadic results of archaeological assessment of older discoveries of church structures and corresponding settlement and burial complexes,² no real analysis of the whole assemblage of Great Moravian sacral architecture based on critical assessment of source materials was then performed.³

The real “return” to church issues has only occurred in the new millennium, and especially over the last few years. Deeper study was initiated by field discoveries, particularly these three events: the re-dating of St Margaret’s Chapel in Kopčany on the Slovak side of the Mikulčice agglomeration in 2004, the discovery of church II in Pohansko near Břeclav in 2008, and revision

research into the assemblage of church structures in Mikulčice performed in 2008–2013.

The Chapel of St Margaret of Antioch at Kopčany, located less than two kilometres from the Mikulčice settlement acropolis, was first researched more or less randomly. Systematic research into it began in 1998 when the archaeologist Peter Baxa of the Bratislava District Monument Board, Slovakia, took charge of the archaeological, constructional, and historical research. Further graves discovered by the church in 2004 provided a new impulse for the discussion related to its age. Field research within the wider surroundings of the structure, essential for knowledge of the settlement complex, is still ongoing.⁴ The dating of the church to the 9th century is based on rather indirect evidence which, however, in its influence and in the overall context of the settlement history, is convincing enough that the dating to the Great Moravian period may be considered conclusive. Its layout, with a rectangular nave and right-angled chancel, is similar to those of other churches in Mikulčice (no. 2, 8, and 10), but this church also has a western entrance hall with an accurate masonry tomb. The occurrence of this tomb is undoubtedly one of the keys to the interpretation of the church’s establishment and function.⁵ Thus, the church in Kopčany, many times rebuilt in the past millennium, is, in its core, probably the only preserved Great Moravian structure. This fact is the basis for its unique position in the collection of sources for studying the pre-Romanesque architecture of the 9th century in Moravia and Slovakia. Most of what can be found in Mikulčice and other sites as mere fragments and “imprints” may be studied in Kopčany in its

1 The term “Great Moravian sacral architecture” denotes church structures from the 9th and early 10th centuries built within the assumed central territory of Great Moravia. For the evolution of knowledge and the situation with research into Great Moravian sacral architecture see e.g. Luděk GALUŠKA – Lumír POLÁČEK, *Církevní architektura v centrální oblasti velkomoravského státu*, in: Petr Sommer (ed.), *České země v raném středověku*, Praha 2006, pp. 92–153; L. POLÁČEK, *Altmährische Kirchen als archäologische Quelle*, in: Martina Pipal – Falko Daim (Hrsg.), *Die frühmittelalterlichen Wandmalereien Mährens und der Slowakei. Archäologischer Kontext und Herstellungstechnologische Analyse. Monographien zur Frühgeschichte und Mittelalterarchäologie* 12, Innsbruck 2008, pp. 11–30.

2 See e.g. Bořivoj DOSTÁL, *Břeclav – Pohansko IV. Velkomoravský velmožský dvorec*, Brno 1975; L. GALUŠKA, *Uherské Hradiště – Sady. Křesťanské centrum Říše Velkomoravské*. Brno 1996.

3 See the summary of the evolution of knowledge in L. GALUŠKA – L. POLÁČEK, *Církevní architektura*, pp. 92–153; L. POLÁČEK, *Altmährische Kirchen*, pp. 11–30; Jana MAŘÍKOVÁ KUBKOVÁ – L. POLÁČEK, *Bemerkungen zur Problematik der frühmittelalterlichen Kirchen als archäologische und historische Quelle (unter Berücksichtigung der Lage in den Böhmisches Ländern und der Slowakei)*, in: L. Poláček – J. Maříková Kubková (Hrsg.), *Frühmittelalterliche Kirchen als archäologische und historische Quelle. Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice VIII. Works of the Institute of Archaeology of the AVCR Brno 41*, Brno 2010, pp. 9–17; J. MAŘÍKOVÁ KUBKOVÁ, *Aktuelle Fragen des Studiums der frühmittelalterlichen Architektur*, in: L. Poláček – J. Maříková Kubková (Hrsg.), *Frühmittelalterliche Kirchen*, pp. 19–30, Tab. 5–7.

4 See translation in Peter BAXA, *Die Kirche St. Margarethen und andere Fundplätze des 9.–10. Jahrhunderts auf der Flur “Za jazerom pri sv. Margite” von Kopčany*, in: L. Poláček – J. Maříková Kubková (Hrsg.), *Frühmittelalterliche Kirchen*, pp. 135–147, Tab. 15, with lit.

5 *Ibidem*.

original form. This applies to the building layout, aboveground masonry structure, construction details, technological and ornamental elements. The complex publication of the results of the archaeological, construction and historical research into St Margaret's Chapel may be assumed to represent an essential contribution to the knowledge of Great Moravian sacral architecture. Further, it will be one of the main clues for the reconstruction of the churches in Mikulčice.

The significance of the discoveries in Kopčany has another dimension – setting the church into the particular geographical and historical context of the settlement. The layout of sand dunes and the related terrain profile as well as the range, structure, and evolution of the settlement – all of this together forms a unique picture of the historical, 9th century landscape in the closest “periphery” of the power centre. The near future will certainly provide fundamental arguments for discussion on the significance of the whole “Za jezerom pri sv. Margite”⁶ complex and a subsequent shift towards one of the possibilities of interpretation: was the whole compound part of the lower castle, or of the farming facilities of the Mikulčice castle? Or was it a relatively separate structure with the role of a political and economic satellite of the Mikulčice power centre?⁷

Unexpected possibilities have been provided by the interpretation of an enclosed structure in the immediate vicinity of St Margaret's Chapel discovered recently by aerial and geophysical research. If this structure is proved to have been a farmstead,⁸ it would be the first prominent example of a connection of sacral and profane structures within the Mikulčice-Kopčany agglomeration. It must be added that farmsteads, as potential residential and farming units, had been being searched for in the vicinity of the Mikulčice churches for decades, so far without clear results.⁹

Another significant discovery made recently in relation to Great Moravian sacral architecture is the excavation of church No. 2 in Pohansko at Břeclav.¹⁰ Almost fifty years after church I (situated within the nobleman's farmstead) was discovered and investigated, the research team of the Department of Archaeology and Museology at Masaryk University in Brno managed to detect, with the use of probes by geophysical survey, and then, in 2008–2009, excavate church 2. It is a central structure with a combined, wooden-stone construction, located within the north-eastern outwork. The construction type (rotunda)

6 As the settlement complex surrounding the Church of St Margaret of Antioch at Kopčany should be correctly called – see P. BAXA, *Die Kirche*, p. 135.

7 Further see e.g. L. POLÁČEK, *Das Hinterland des frühmittelalterlichen Zentrums in Mikulčice. Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung*, in: L. Poláček (Hrsg.), *Das Wirtschaftliche Hinterland der frühmittelalterlichen Zentren. Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 6*, Spisy Archeologického Ústavu AV ČR Brno 31, Brno 2008, p. 270; Marek HLADÍK, *Sidelný vývoj na slovensko-moravskom pohraničí vo včasnóm stredoveku. Južná časť “Dolnomoravského úvalu” vo včasnóm stredoveku*. Unpublished dissertation thesis, Komenského Univerzita Bratislava, 2012.

8 See P. BAXA, *Die Kirche*, pp. 140–141.

9 See e.g. M. HLADÍK – Marian MAZUCH – L. POLÁČEK, *Das Suburbium des Burgwalls von Mikulčice und seine Bedeutung in der Struktur des Siedlungskomplexes*, in: Ivana Boháčová – L. Poláček (Hrsg.), *Burg – Vorgurp – Suburbium. Zur Problematik der Nebenareale frühmittelalterlicher Zentren. Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 7*, Spisy Archeologického Ústavu AV ČR Brno 35, Brno 2008, pp. 204–207. Most recently on the issue of Great Moravian farmsteads: Pavel KOUŘIL, *Vom Burgwall zur Curtis bei den oberdonauländischen Slawen. Zur Problematik der Entwicklung, Datierung und Struktur der Herrenhöfe während der grossmährischen Periode*, in: Uta von Freeden – Herwig Friesinger – Egon Wamers (Hrsg.), *Glaube, Kult und Herrschaft*, Bonn 2009, pp. 359–376.

10 Pavel ČÁP – Petr DRESLER – Jiří MACHÁČEK – Renata PŘICHYSTALOVÁ, *Großmährische Kirchen in Pohansko bei Břeclav*, in: L. Poláček – J. Maříková Kubková (Hrsg.), *Frühmittelalterliche Kirchen*, pp. 190–203.

and its location in the “second-rate” complex of the power centre is similar to the situation in Mikulčice where central structures are located solely in the lower castle (churches no. 6, 7, and 9). Their placement probably indicates a specific function of this structure type.

From the architectural (constructional) point of view it was a structure of secondary quality, as indicated by the mixed wooden-stone construction, small dimensions, and probably also the absence of interior decoration. With its construction and overall simplicity, the structure is similar, to a certain extent, to Mikulčice church no. 7 – a rotunda situated in the northwest lower castle, made of a supporting wooden construction, wattle reinforcement, and mortar sheathing.¹¹ Church no. 7 in Mikulčice belongs to the simplest structures which may be classified as Great Moravian “architecture”. However, in the case of church no. 2 in Pohansko, this constructional “second-rating” is in stark contrast to another remarkable finding – the occurrence of graves inside the church.¹² Generally, it is assumed that the main spaces of Great Moravian churches were used for burials only exceptionally, for burying the most important people, most likely members of the ruling Mojmir dynasty.¹³ Thus, those should be the most important and sumptuous structures mainly situated inside residential complexes, and the graves should be furnished to a higher than usual standard of quality. The find context of Great Moravian churches that have been researched corresponds to this model, with the exception of the problematic church no. 12 in Mikulčice, and now also church no. 2 in Pohansko. As in the “church” in Mikulčice in question, specific features of late Great Moravian development could be pointed out in the church in Pohansko, when similar “low” sacral structures may have served as burial sites for the lingering destitute nobility.¹⁴ This hypothesis is difficult to be verified, because – among other things – our abilities to make more accurate dating are limited and the interpretation given above of church no. 12 in Mikulčice is not sufficiently convincing.¹⁵

Two distinctive strengths, distinguishing church no. 2 in Pohansko from the majority of other Great Moravian churches, cannot be denied: modern field excavation and prompt publication of results.¹⁶ The methodology of the field research and documentation in most Great Moravian structures from the 9th century corresponds to the time of their discovery, i.e. the 1950s and 1960s. A large number of those structures have not yet been comprehensively assessed and the results published. The overall result is inevitably affected by the loss of information due to the time delay (between the field research and its assessment) and different persons in charge (the person managing

11 Recently P. KOUŘIL, *Kirche Nr. 7 in Mikulčice*, in: L. Poláček – J. Maříková Kubková (Hrsg.), *Frühmittelalterliche Kirchen*, pp. 57–69.

12 J. MACHÁČEK – Adéla BALCÁRKOVÁ – Petr ČÁP – P. DRESLER – Antonín PŘICHYSTAL – R. PŘICHYSTALOVÁ – Eliška SCHUPLEROVÁ – Vladimír SLÁDEK, *Velkomoravská rotunda z Pohanska u Břeclavi*, *Památky archeologické* 105, in print.

13 Mechthild SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM, *Bestattungen in den Kirchen Großmährens und Böhmens während des 9. und 10. Jhs.*, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 40, 1993/2, 1995, pp. 612–619.

14 See Blanka KAVÁNOVÁ, *Kostel č. 12 v Mikulčicích*, in: Luděk Galuška – Pavel Kouřil – Zdeněk Měřinský (Hrsg.), *Velká Morava mezi východem a západem*, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 17, Brno 2001, pp. 209–227.

15 See L. GALUŠKA – L. POLÁČEK, *Církevní architektura*, pp. 132–134; L. POLÁČEK, *Altmährische Kirchen*, p. 27.

16 See J. MACHÁČEK – A. BALCÁRKOVÁ – Pavel ČÁP – P. DRESLER – A. PŘICHYSTAL – R. PŘICHYSTALOVÁ – E. SCHUPLEROVÁ – V. SLÁDEK, *Velkomoravská rotunda z Pohanska u Břeclavi*, *Památky archeologické* 105, in print.



Fig. 1. Mikulčice – Valy hillfort.

Northern, elevated part of the acropolis during the revision research into the sacral architecture in 2012. Renewed ground-plans of the palace and churches No. 3 and 4. Revision research into church no. 5 in progress below the tent; rescue research into bulwark in progress close to the pavilion of church No. 2. Photo by Geo-cz.

the research and the author of the publication are usually two different people).

Thus, the newly researched “second” church in Pohansko brings a number of questions and issues which could not be solved, or even registered, in the “old” research. This applies, for example, to combined construction techniques. The massive occurrence of wooden constructions in Great Moravian stone architecture has been known from imprints in mortar, but the detailed method of their use in combination with stone and mortar is largely unknown. The Pohansko case represents a rather unambiguous form of a combined construction technique related to the “second-rate character” of the structure, so it may not be typical. In spite of this fact it is possible to imagine the possibilities and limits of the builders (as well as construction workers) of that period, which contributes essentially to the interpretation of building structures of other Great Moravian churches.

The most extensive field event in recent times concerning Great Moravian architecture has been the revision research into the assemblage of masonry structures in Mikulčice. The research was carried out by the Mikulčice unit of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in two separate stages. In late 2007 and early 2008 church II was investigated as the only church structure in Mikulčice presented today *in situ*.¹⁷ In 2010–2013 the field work continued in the form of revision research of the “palace”

and churches no. 10, 3, 8, 4, 5, 9 and 6 (in this order).¹⁸ Attention was not only paid to church no. 7 and hypothetical structures no. 11 and 12.¹⁹

The first stage of the revision research was initiated by the reinstallation of an exhibition room in a pavilion built in the late 1950s above the then discovered remains of church no. 2. The revision research was performed in the form of test-pits made mostly in places of previous excavations. Thus, the work was focused especially on neatening and documenting old sections. The second stage was part of a Czech–Slovak investment project for the creation of a new presentation of church structures in Mikulčice and Kopčany. The original presentation, in the form of ground plans of the structures highlighted at terrain level, was replaced

¹⁸ L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín). Hradiště Mikulčice – Valy, akropole, plocha “Palác 2010”* (č. 86), *Přehled výzkumů 52/2*, 2011, pp. 167–168; IDEM, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín), Přehled výzkumů 53/2*, 2012, pp. 149–153; L. POLÁČEK – M. MAZUCH – M. HLADÍK – J. ŠKOJEC – L. KALČÍK, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín), Přehled výzkumů 54/2*, 2013; M. HLADÍK – L. KALČÍK – M. MAZUCH – L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín), Přehled výzkumů 55/2*, 2014.

¹⁹ The existence of church I, searched for in the 1950s in the immediate vicinity of church II, see Josef POULÍK, *Výsledky výzkumu na velkomoravském hradišti “Valy” u Mikulčic. I. Zpráva za r. 1954–1956*, *Památky archeologické* 48, 1957, pp. 249–258, cannot be proved, therefore this church is not included in later literature. Churches II to X were discovered and researched by Josef Poulík, Marie Kostelníková, Jaroslav Tejral and Zdeňek Klanica between 1957 and 1964 – see e.g. J. POULÍK, *Mikulčice. Sídlo a pevnost knížat velkomoravských*, Praha 1975; Zdeňek KLANICA, *Náboženství a kult, jejich odraz v archeologických pramenech*, in: J. Poulík – Bohuslav Chropovský et al., *Velká Morava a počátky československé státnosti*, Praha – Bratislava 1985, pp. 107–140. Hypothetical churches no. 11 and 12 were “discovered” and included in literature by Z. KLANICA, *Výzkum hradiška v Mikulčicích v roce 1965*, *Přehled výzkumů 1965, 1966*, p. 63; IDEM, *Předběžná zpráva o výsledcích 24. sezóny výzkumu v Mikulčicích, okr. Hodonín, Přehled výzkumů 1977, 1980, 56*, field work on church XII was supervised by B. KAVÁNOVÁ, *Kostel č. 12*; IDEM, *Mikulčice – pohřebiště v okolí 12. kostela*, in: Naďa Profantová – B. Kavánová, *Mikulčice – pohřebiště u 6. a 12. kostela*, Brno 2003, pp. 211–413.

¹⁷ L. POLÁČEK – Jaroslav ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín). Hradiště Mikulčice – Valy, II. kostel 2007–08*, *Přehled výzkumů 50*, 2009, pp. 402–403.

with low masonry walls made on the original ground plans of individual churches (Fig. 1).²⁰

The field works in the second stage were carried out upon a cohesive methodology. First, the recent backfill of the original research was removed. Then, the terrain reached during the research in the 1950s and 1960s was neatened and documented. After that, detailed sections were laid for monitoring stratigraphical and constructional-historical issues and samples for exact analyses were collected. During the performance of all these works one basic rule was observed: to take the greatest care to keep the archaeological terrain intact in order to preserve it for a future research.²¹

The revision research objective was to verify and complete the results of the original research from the 1950s and 1960s. Partial tasks included the revision and detailed documentation of the remains of individual structures and the solution of stratigraphical, chronological, constructional, historical, and technological issues. Since the time aspects of the research were set by the constructional work schedule, i.e. by the conditions stipulated by the European operational programmes,

20 With the exception of church no. 2, the remains of all church structures discovered in Mikulčice in the 1950s and 1960s were, after the research was completed, presented *in situ* for some time. However, due to demanding maintenance they were soon backfilled and their ground plans outlined on the surface of the present-day terrain.

21 The archaeological part of the works finished with the remains of the structure being covered and backfilled. Then, low stone walls were built on the surface, exactly above the original ground plans and on a sufficient interlayer.

the work pace regarding the needs of proper archaeological research was entirely inappropriate; two to three church structures had to be investigated in one season. Due to this, the field works could not be evaluated and find reports could not be elaborated concurrently.²² On the other hand, archaeologists had a unique opportunity to complete and verify the existing picture of the sacral architecture in Mikulčice and thus to obtain information needed for a complex assessment and further publication of all source materials regarding individual structures. It may already be stated that the new field works have fundamentally changed the process of assessing old research and have brought new questions for these works as well as for further theoretical research.

Only a narrow selection of newly obtained knowledge concerning the reliability of the original field documentation and issues related to building structures and the church dating may be given herein. Since the majority of Great Moravian churches have survived in the form of negatives of their foundation walls (i.e. secondary backfilled foundation

22 The assessment of the research results had to be postponed to the time after the project completion, more precisely after the completion of other rescue research related to the current reconstruction and revitalisation of the NKP (National Cultural Monument) Mikulčice. Unfortunately, this led to the same problem as during the original research in the 1950s and 1960s when the concurrent assessment of the research was eclipsed by the constant extending of the field research projects. However, at present, it is not archaeology but the organisation of the care of historical monuments in the Czech Republic that is to blame. A possible solution is intervention by the Institute of Archaeology of the AS CR, Brno, and other institutions in the form of programmes and projects supporting the preferential processing of the whole source fund based on research into sacral structures.



Fig. 2. Mikulčice – Valy hillfort, acropolis.

Ground plan of the chancel of church No. 5 with a wall preserved intact on the basis of a foundation trench – negative. Photo by L. Poláček.



Fig. 3. Mikulčice – Valy hillfort, acropolis.

Revision research into the interior space of the three-nave church No. 3 in 2011. Photo by L. Poláček.

trenches), one of the first tasks of the revision research was to verify the reliability of the original field documentation with respect to the accuracy of the structural ground plans. The result is that the ground plans of churches in the original documentation from the 1950s and 1960s mostly correspond to the course of foundation trenches. Although unpreserved aboveground walls obviously did not have to copy exactly the foundation walls, they could not diverge much. All masonry preserved intact, located in smaller or larger “negative” sections often in places important for the overall reconstruction of the structure in question, was newly documented with great accuracy. Corrections of the original ground plans include, for example, the apse of church III which was in fact a little shorter than is stated in the documentation and literature.²³ Significant uncertainty still reigns in relation to the shape of the church no. 4 apse; the revision research showed that its discoverers in the 1950s probably had very few exact props for modelling its ground plan and rather relied on their intuition. On the other hand, the “irregular” (trapeziform) foundation of the church no. 5 chancel was confirmed, if it can be concluded only on the basis of one (southern) side with a foundation wall preserved intact (**Fig. 2**).²⁴ In church no. 10 the existence and shape of pillars located on the outer side of the nave circumference were able to be verified (these

elements have been often mentioned in relation to the Dalmatian analogies for the building).²⁵

In church no. 8 traces of wooden constructions were found. The remains of this building that have been preserved differ from those of other churches in Mikulčice, not excluding the use of a combined construction similar to that of church no. 2 in Pohansko at Břeclav. If churches no. 8 and 7 in Mikulčice are schematically and preliminary classified as constructional “second-rate” objects, then the top quality is definitely represented by church no. 3 – a three-nave basilica, more precisely its eastern part. With its massive foundation, masonry quality, and dimensions it has no parallel among the churches in Mikulčice; it was the only “monumental” building in that location (**Fig. 3**).²⁶ The other Mikulčice churches are of a “standard” quality, with the still-standing St Margaret’s Chapel at Kopčany as an illustrative example. Another considerably developed structure in terms of architecture and construction was the two-apse rotunda.

Although only a little new information regarding the dating of the churches may be submitted, it is of a fundamental significance. It is necessary to distinguish between relative dating (i.e. evidence of the constructional development of a church)

23 L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín)*, Přehled výzkumů 53/2, 2012, pp. 149–153.

24 *Ibidem*, pp. 149–153.

25 L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín). Hradiště Mikulčice – Valy, akropole, plocha “Palác 2010” (č. 86)*, Přehled výzkumů 52/2, 2011, pp. 167–168.

26 L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín)*, Přehled výzkumů 53/2, 2012, pp. 149–153.



Fig. 4. Mikulčice – Valy hillfort, acropolis.

Revision section of the “negative” of the arcade row of the three-nave church No. 3. Part of one interior grave-pit filling reaches under the negative. Photo by L. Poláček.

and absolute dating. The most complicated constructional development and probably also the longest existence may be assigned to church no. 2 – originally a wooden structure with a poured mortar floor, then a stone shrine with a rectangular chancel to which a burial (?) chamber was added on the northern side in the next stage. The whole relatively complicated find situation is completed with child’s grave 2032 with small golden buttons newly found under the nave foundations close to its south-eastern corner.²⁷ As the only evidenced grave within the superposition with the church of the second construction stage so far, this find will be of great importance for the dating of the building after the adjoining burial site has been evaluated. Another structure with evidence of gradual construction is church no. 3 – the three-nave basilica. A western section with two spaces, a traditionally designated narthex and atrium, was later added to the three naves. Such a development may be assumed from the significantly lighter foundations of the whole western section of the structure and from the irregularities in the areas where its ground-plan is connected to the three-nave structure.²⁸ The three-nave structure itself

27 L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín). Hradiště Mikulčice-Valy, II. ko-stel 2007–08*, Přehled výzkumů 50, 2009, pp. 402–403.

28 L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín)*, Přehled výzkumů 53/2, 2012, pp. 149–153.

will certainly be the subject of considerations and discussions, particularly in connection with the graves discovered as early as 1957 in the main nave and considered to be the most important graves of Great Moravian Mikulčice.²⁹ Further it was found that both grave-pits are overlaid in the parts at their edges with the foundation walls of the arcade rows of the three naves; they also show slightly different orientation towards the whole structure (Fig. 4).³⁰ For the time being it is not certain whether the arcade rows were built in an already existing shrine as an addition or whether the graves belonged to an older, unpreserved stage of the church built of wood. There are probably other explanations, too, which should result from the overall assessment of the church. Unfortunately the original documentation from the 1950s is so fragmentary in terms of present-day needs that it is not able to provide us any clear answers.

New indications for the absolute dating of the churches were obtained especially in places where the superposition of the structure with a settlement structure or a grave is evidenced on the basis of the revision research. Regarding settlement structures, this applied to four buildings: the “palace” and churches no. 4, 5 and 8. Pottery from the pits damaged by the foundations of these buildings belongs to finds characteristic of the early up to the late Great Moravian horizon (Fig. 5).³¹ Contrary to traditional ideas, which had the majority of the churches in Mikulčice being founded as early as the first half of the 9th century but in any case before the arrival of the mission of Constantine and Methodius,³² it is now obvious that those structures were more probably founded in the late 9th century. The dating of churches discovered in superposition with graves is more difficult and depends on the overall evaluation of the corresponding burial sites. It is already evident that the traditional concept of church structures consistently respected by all graves of an adjoining cemetery “goes to ruin”, as evidenced by the newly found graves reaching under the foundations of churches no. 2, 3 and 9 (Fig. 6)³³.

This is a mere selection of the new findings and particular questions related to the sacral architecture of Great Moravia. New field works as well as analyses of the old research provide fundamental knowledge for the interpretation of the church structures. The results of interdisciplinary research into constructional and technological elements – mortar, plaster, poured floors, and other finds from both the old and new field research – may serve as an example.³⁴ Particularly the latest investigation

29 Comp. Z. KLANICA, *Náboženství a kult*, pp. 119–120; IDEM, *Hlavní hrobka v moravské bazilice*, *Mediævalia historica bohemia* 3, 1993, 97–709; L. GALUŠKA – L. POLÁČEK, *Čirkevní architektura*, pp. 125–127; L. POLÁČEK, *Altmährische Kirchen*, pp. 23, Fig. 69.

30 L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín)*, Přehled výzkumů 53/2, 2012, pp. 149–153.

31 L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín). Hradiště Mikulčice – Valy, akropole, plocha “Palác 2010” (č. 86)*, Přehled výzkumů 52/2, 2011, pp. 167–168; IDEM, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín)*, Přehled výzkumů 53/2, 2012, pp. 149–153; L. POLÁČEK – M. MAZUCH – M. HLADÍK – J. ŠKOJEC – L. KALČÍK, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín)*, Přehled výzkumů 54/2, 2013; M. HLADÍK – L. KALČÍK – M. MAZUCH – L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín)*, Přehled výzkumů 55/2, 2014.

32 J. POULÍK, *Mikulčice*, pp. 49–121.

33 L. POLÁČEK – J. ŠKOJEC, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín). Hradiště Mikulčice – Valy, akropole, plocha “Palác 2010” (č. 86)*, Přehled výzkumů 52-2, 2011, pp. 167–168; DITTO, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín)*, Přehled výzkumů 53-2, 2012, pp. 149–153; L. POLÁČEK – M. MAZUCH – M. HLADÍK – J. ŠKOJEC – L. KALČÍK, *Mikulčice (okr. Hodonín)*, Přehled výzkumů 54/2, 2013.

34 See M. PIPAL – F. DAIM (Hrsg.), *Die frühmittelalterlichen Wandmalereien*.



Fig. 5. Mikulčice – Valy hillfort, acropolis.

Eastern part of church No. 4 during the revision research in 2012. The floor of the whole eastern part of the nave sunk secondarily into the large pit filling. Ceramic material from the pit backfill moves the dating of the structure to the early or late phase of the Mojmir dynasty period. Photo by L. Poláček



Fig. 6. Mikulčice – Valy hillfort, “Kostelisko” in the lower castle.

A “negative” of the ground plan of church No. 9 with a preserved fragment of an intact wall and newly found grave reaching under the church wall. Photo by Geo-cz.

in this field literally changes the concept of Great Moravian sacral architecture.³⁵

Although discoveries in the field of Great Moravian sacral architecture may appear to be over, the above-described cases show that new key findings may be expected, both from field work and from the assessment of the old documentation and find material. It is important that these discoveries undergo a systematic assessment and are published as soon as possible in order to avoid the repetition of the fate of the unique – but for present as well as future research rather depreciated – discoveries made during the “Golden age” of sacral architecture research in the 1950s and 1960s.

35 J. MAŘÍKOVÁ KUBKOVÁ, *Aktuelle Fragen*, pp. 22–28.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE PERIOD OF THE BYZANTINE MISSION AND THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF METHODIUS ON THE BASIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES IN THE AREA OF VELIGRAD – STARÉ MĚSTO AND UHERSKÉ HRADIŠTĚ

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The origins of Christianity in the area of the Great Moravian centre at Veligrad, which extended where the towns of Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště exist today in East Moravia, can be dated, based on archaeological sources, to the late 8th and early 9th centuries. At that time, and in the course of the 9th century as well, at least 4 churches were built of stone and mortar in this area (Modrá u Velehradu, Staré Město “Špitálky”, Staré Město “Na Valách” and Uherské Hradiště – Sady “Špitálky”). The earliest graves with Christian symbols – crosses – have been found in their neighbourhood. At the time of the arrival of the Byzantine Mission of Constantine/Cyril and Methodius in Moravia in 863, Christianity had put down firm roots in the area of Veligrad, even though evidence of the survival of the so-called Old Slavic pagan religion in this region also appears. The period involving the Byzantine Mission (863–867) and the subsequent Archbishopric of Methodius (873–885), in our opinion, encompassed the following undertakings: the church at Staré Město “Špitálky” was rebuilt as a Byzantine-type building with cross-shaped layout, and a narthex – anteroom – was added to its western wall. The church at Uherské Hradiště – Sady was extended by a narthex with two entrances on the western side, and by a burial chamber and a proprietary chapel on the northern side; after becoming the site of two prominent burials, the chapel probably became a tomb. Other buildings were probably also constructed in this area, the most significant of which was a long hall-type wooden building south of the church with a narthex, and a log-house settlement on its northern side. Finds such as a lead cross with the Greek inscription “Jesus – Christ – Light – Life – Prevails”, iron and bone styli – tools intended for writing into the wax surface of tablets, or fragments of Byzantine and Carolingian glass vessels clearly attest to the presence of Christian missionaries, mainly of Greek origin, in this area. Based on this, it is supposed that the religious centre at Uherské Hradiště – Sady was probably the heart of the Archbishopric of Methodius in 873–885, as well as the residence of his successor or successors after AD 900. It may also have been the second place of work of the Byzantine Mission of Constantine/Cyril and Methodius after Duke Rostislav was taken captive by the Franks and Bavarians at “Dowina” in 864, when the Passau clergy and the Archpriest are supposed to have returned to Moravia, most probably to the Mikulčice region. The significance of the church at Sady is also accentuated by the fact that approximately 900 inhabitants of the surrounding villages were buried in its vicinity. Among them there were also people from the market village of Veligrad, which in 1140 was mentioned in the place where Staré Město is now. We suppose that this “popularity” of the church at Sady, surviving even three centuries after the decline of Great Moravia, was associated with local tradition or awareness, the guardians of which were priests who conducted services (and burials) at this place and were the only literate people of that time. All the above aspects document the fact that the area of Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště – Veligrad was a significant centre of Christianisation at the time of the Byzantine Mission and the Archbishopric of Methodius. It also played a remarkable, until now rather neglected, role in the post-Great Moravian period and the subsequent ducal era.

Key words: Great Moravia, the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration, Christianity, church, cross

The beginnings of Christianity in the Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště areas, which in the early Middle Ages were the site of a town called Veligrad, are recorded as early as the late 8th to early 9th century, i.e. in the early phase of the Christianisation of the Moravian Slavs. This was a period during which the prerequisites were emerging for the formation of an early state structure in the area now occupied by Moravia and south-west

Slovakia. The first fortifications were already in existence, enclosed by wood and clay walls, and social elites were forming. Their menfolk were beginning to use new types of spears with arms mainly ending in retaining plates with rivets, and also ancient swords of the western or northern type. They wore belts of the late Avar and early Carolingian type with decorative or functional ironwork, and wielded characteristic Viking-style



Fig. 1. Visual reconstruction of the church in Modrá u Velehradu. Photo by S. Doleželová.

axes in battle (see *Kouřil ed., 2005* for more details). The womenfolk were beginning to decorate themselves with the first gold and silver jewellery, mainly earrings, rings and gombíks (small wearable baubles or buttons typical of the time and region), which today have been given various names, e.g. Byzantine-oriental jewellery, or jewellery of the Veligrad or Staré Město type (see *Galuška 2013, 174–241* for more details). It is in exactly this period and social environment with its dominant Slavic element that the foundation took place of two of the oldest churches to be built with mortar in the Uherské Hradiště region, and indeed in the whole of Moravia. The churches in question are a church with a cross-shaped layout in Uherské Hradiště – Sady and a church with an extended rectangular chancel in the village of Modrá u Velehradu (**Fig. 1**). We believe that the first of the churches, at Sady, appeared in the earliest phases of the Christianisation of Moravia, so sometime at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century. With regard to its probable above-ground structure in the shape of a cross, with a dominant central tower and a roof built of fired clay components in the ancient style (**Fig. 2**), we believe that missionaries from the Patriarchate of Aquileia in the northern Adriatic region

played a significant part in its construction. Old Christian shrines still standing on the territory of that patriarchate, e.g. the Church of St Nicholas in Nin and the Church of St Mary Formosa in Pula, are strikingly similar to the structure in Sady. Traces left by the activities of priests from the south, or rather southwest, can also be found in the spheres of language and literature, and at the same time it is not possible to ignore *The Life of Methodius* when it mentions that before the Byzantine mission to Moravia “Christian teachers from Vlachs” were active there, among others (for the newest treatment of this topic, see *Vavřínek 2013, 106–110*). While a church with a cross-shaped layout was a relatively typical kind of religious building at the time in the area of today’s Dalmatia and Istria, the church of a similar type at Uherské Hradiště – Sady is, with regard to its above-ground structure, a unique building within the territory of Great Moravia. Such a structure was never built again in the areas controlled or influenced by the Moravians, even in later periods (*Galuška 1996; 2011, 115–119*). On the other hand, in the case of the church in Modrá u Velehradu what we are dealing with is a relatively common structural type, with a characteristic rectangular nave and chancel, though it is true that this is markedly elongated in contrast with similar Christian structures. If we leave aside a number of opinions that have been written and uttered with regards to the church at Modrá, particularly those connected with the building of the church by Hiberno-Scottish monks, then we end up favouring a Bavarian (perhaps Passau or Salzburg) origin for the constructors of the Modrá church, with



Fig. 2. Visual reconstruction of the central church of Virgin Mary.

With annexes and lining of the presbytery in place of the probable grave of the Archbishop Methodius in Uherské Hradiště – Sady. Photo by S. Doleželová.

the time of building placed somewhere in the late 8th to early 9th century. Just for interest's sake we can add that the origins of the Slavic settlement discovered on the slopes to the south of the church seem to reach back to the same historical period. Today that area is home to an open-air archaeological museum named the "Great Moravian fortified settlement of the central Pomoraví Region" (for the latest text on this topic see *Galuška 2011*, 115–119).

At that time, at the location known as "Na Valách" in Staré Město, upon an already existing burial ground (which was still, however, without a church), the first isolated graves with the attributes of early Christianity appeared. The dead were buried there with crosses, or symbols of them (**Fig. 3–6**). The most noteworthy of these was grave number 266/49, containing a nobleman laid in a coffin made of planks, bound with 16 iron bands (*Hrubý 1955*, 452–453). The circumstances surrounding the find, particularly the fact that the coffin was covered by three newer graves (or perhaps they fell into the hollow left after the coffin collapsed), are clear evidence for grave 266/49 having been created in the oldest phase of burials at the Staré Město burial site (compare *Hrubý 1951*, 181–185; *Galuška 1998*, 995–107). The noble buried there, of whose skeleton only the remains of the long bones are left, wore opulent and massive iron spurs with arms ending in plates with four silver rivets, the whole surface of which was decorated with strangely applied gold plating and inlaid silver. With the spurs, their metal fittings and the clasps of their fastening straps, again decorated with

inlaid silver and plating, were also found. The nobleman's grave also contained a pail and an ornate belt with several tongue-pieces and buckles decorated with gold and silver in the same style as the spurs. This means that the spurs and belt described were almost certainly parts of one magnificent set, created in the same workshop, at one and the same time, no doubt by a single artist-blacksmith. The symbol of Christianity, a small, plain, iron cross with the dimensions $4.4 \times 3.1 \times 0.8$ cm, the longer arms of which are provided with a retaining groove around the perimeter, lay at the left side of the buried man. The groove on the ends of the arms indicates that the cross was attached to some kind of base, which was probably made of wood, which of course may have had the shape of the cross itself. With regard to the chronological placement of grave 266/49 somewhere in the late 8th to early 9th century, or perhaps the first two or three decades of the 9th century, this little cross which was found is thus the oldest item of its type found in graves on the territory of the ancient Moravians.

According to current knowledge, it seems to be very probable that in the time before the arrival of the Byzantine missionaries led by Constantine/Cyril in Moravia, at least two other churches (**Fig. 7**) appeared in the area of the spreading Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště conurbation. The first of these was built in Staré Město at the location known as "Špitálky", on a more than 10 m high promontory towering above the River Morava, not far from the western gate of the so-called outer line of fortifications which had recently been built to protect

the right-bank part of the agglomeration (Pouлік 1955, 307–351; latest work by Galuška 2011, 102–105). It would seem to have been the private chapel of the local nobleman and his family, though other explanations cannot be ruled out. The church at “Špitálky” was clearly originally built as a simple structure with a semi-circular apse and a rectangular nave with a flat ceiling, which was covered with a saddle roof made up of fired roofing material of an ancient design. According to the goods found in several graves from the surrounding burial ground, and the places they were found in, the foundation of the church at “Špitálky” in Staré Město occurred as early as the 1st half of the 9th century (Fig. 8).

The second shrine from the pre-Cyrillo-Methodian era within the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration was again a church in Staré Město, this time at the previously mentioned location known as “Na Valách” (Hruby 1955, 265–306). Once again, the old Moravians built their church in a dominant position, on the south-eastern edge of the so-called northern Staré Město promontory, on the already-existing burial ground



Fig. 3. Brest leaden cross with decorated surface of irregular imitated astragal.

Staré Město “Na Valách”, 243/AZ grave. Photo by S. Doleželová.



Fig. 4. Brest leaden cross with the image of Christ on the obverse and Virgin Mary (?) on the reverse side.

Staré Město “Dvorek”, from the filling of the hillfort fortification moat. Photo by S. Doleželová.

of an old fort. This of course happened at a time when that fort was ceasing to fulfil its role, due to the intensive settlement of the right bank of the Morava in the area of today’s Staré Město. Its fortifications and moats were disappearing, and the function of the land on which it stood was gradually changing from a secular to a funerary function. The layout and above-ground structure of the church at “Na Valách” probably had the same form as that which we have assigned to its probable predecessor, i.e. the church at “Špitálky”; just its apse was more elongated, to the point of being horseshoe-shaped. This would suggest that both sacred buildings had identical origins. The saddle roof of the “Na Valách” church was once again made up of fired roof coverings of an ancient type, and also some parts of its interior, particularly what was probably a flat ceiling, were fabricated



Fig. 5. Breast bronze cross with the image of Christ on the obverse and Virgin Mary (?) on the reverse side.

Uherské Hradiště, Hradební ulice, finding No. 114. Photo by S. Doleželová.



Fig. 6. Replica of a breast lead cross with a Greek liturgy inscription on the obverse and a picture of Christ on the reverse side.

Uherské Hradiště – Sady “Špitálky”, dwelling No. II. Photo by S. Doleželová.

from wooden planks and plastered wicker plaits. It is clear that the construction of the “Na Valách” church heralded a change in the status of the original burial ground, which the act of constructing a sacred building there caused to become Christian, already only containing the dead that had converted from their original polytheist “pagan” religion to monotheist Christianity. From a functional perspective, the “Na Valách” church was probably not only a place for regular church services, but also a shrine at which funeral rites were conducted. From this point of view it is not possible to rule out the possibility that the church may have been maintained and perhaps even owned by the Church itself, and not by one of the local noblemen (a topic dealt with most recently in *Galuška 2011*, 99–102; *2013*, 203–210). It is clear from the previous paragraphs that at the time of the Byzantine Mission of Constantine and Methodius in Moravia, that is, at the start of the 860s, at least four sacred structures built of mortar, stones and bricks

(probably mainly of Roman origin) existed in the Veligrad region (Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště). These were churches at which only Christians were buried.

In the case in question, the date at which another of the sacred structures in the area of the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště conurbation was founded has not yet been definitively ascertained, i.e. whether it comes from the period before or after Constantine/Cyril and Methodius arrived in Moravia. We are talking about the rotunda whose foundations were discovered in Staré Město at the location named “Na Dědině” under the floor of the Church of St Michael the Archangel, which stands in the grounds of the current cemetery (*Hrubý 1967*, 47–74). This shrine almost certainly existed during the whole 2nd half of the 9th century, when it was part of the Veligrad seat of power, which additionally included a walled palace-type structure and surrounding dwellings, extending to the watercourse known in the Middle Ages

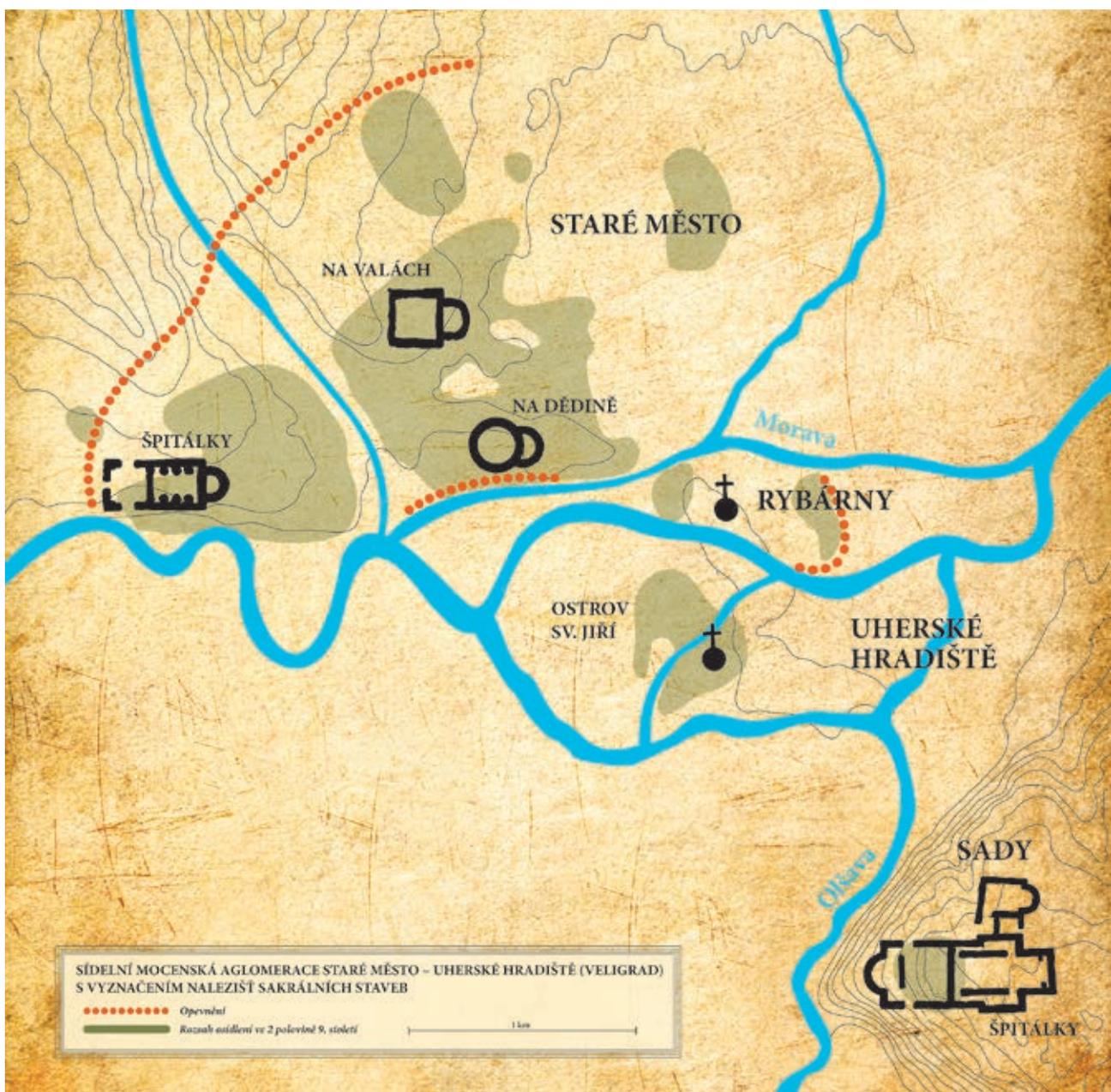


Fig. 7. Settlement power agglomeration Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště (Veligrad) with marked excavations of sacral buildings.



Fig. 8. Visual reconstruction of the Byzantine appearance church with the narthex.

Staré Město at "Špitálky". Photo by S. Doleželová.

as the Vlása, equipped with an earthwork on the outer side built perhaps more for flood protection than defence. The foundations of the rotunda, today primarily preserved under the tiles of the quadratic chancel of the Church of St Michael, is formed of stones connected with mortar, which are laid in the form of a recumbent ear of corn, so they remind one of the Roman *opus spicatum* technique. The above-ground part of the masonry of the rotunda was, however, built of flat stones and fired bricks of ancient, i.e. Roman origin, and probably also of bricks of domestic "Great Moravian" origin. The inner sides of the walls were plastered with quality mortar. The floor of the rotunda was made of poured mortar, and the roof was formed of ceramic tiles with an ancient look. It was similar with the nearby 20 m long and 10 m wide secular palace-type structure, connected with the rotunda by a path covered in a layer of gravel (*Galuška 1990*, 121–136). During research at the Church of St Michael in the 1960s, no graves with sumptuous contents typical of the dukes of Great Moravia were uncovered, so the oldest grave of verifiable age is No. 56, which was covered by the foundation of the hall-type Church of St Michael, and contained a silver denarius coin dating from 1061–1087 featuring the appanage of Prince Otto I, the Fair. Of course, the find also included the broken pieces of a coffin made of wooden planks bound by iron bands, of the type known from Great Moravian graves from "Na Valách" in Staré Město, the church cemetery at the religious centre in Sady, and the area of several burial grounds by the churches in Mikulčice (for more, see *Galuška 2006*,

99–127; *Poláček 2006*, 137–157). With regard to the general situation at the Staré Město location named "Na Dědině" in the 2nd half of the 9th century we consider it probable that the user of the church – the Rotunda of St Michael – was a person from the highest social circles in Great Moravia, most likely the owner of the nearby palace. We suppose that in some periods the owner may have been the ruling Moravian duke himself. If we have to comment on the time when the seat of power "Na Dědině" with the Rotunda of St Michael was in active use, we consider it likely that it appeared sometime in the course of the 2nd third of the 9th century, and was definitively abandoned and destroyed as late as in the 12th century, when material from it was used as building material in the construction of the ossuary – the Chapel of St John (*Galuška 2008*, 104–107).

Grave 1/2003, found at Modrá u Velehradu and dated to around the middle of the 9th century, is very interesting for what was found there, and subsequently how it can be interpreted. In our opinion, it tells much about the level of Christianity in the immediate environment of Veligrad right during the period when the Byzantine mission arrived in Moravia, or possibly a little earlier (*Galuška 2012*, 91–110). This grave was uncovered about 50 m ESE from the Church of St John. It contained the remains of an adult man stretched out on his back, laid within a rhomboid-shaped (!) hole. The man wore a belt on which a bag had been hung containing a kit for making fire, knives,

and the fragments of the arms of two spurs ending in plates. A long iron knife lay along his left thighbone, and on his legs he wore straps with metal fittings to which large U-shaped plate-type spurs were attached. This is still just an ordinary grave belonging to a member of the higher levels of Moravian society, though it gives rise to the unstated question as to why this individual – unlike at least three other similarly-equipped men – was not buried by the nearby church, which was certainly standing at the time of his funeral. We believe the answer is connected with other grave goods interred with the man in grave 1/2003: three (!) ceramic vessels, of which the largest was 31.5 cm in height, as well as 28 cm in width at its widest point. Only perhaps two or three other graves from the time of Great Moravia are known to have held the same number of vessels, not to mention the large pot described above with the typical features not of grave goods but rather of ceramic items so characteristic of settlements in the area around nearby Staré Město (*Galuška 1993*, 101–113). We will add that no ceramic vessels were found in the graves by the Church of St John in Modrá either when they were uncovered in the 1950s or during our research in 2004 (*Hrubý – Hochmanová – Pavelčík 1955*, 42–126). We therefore believe that the placing of three vessels into grave 1/2003 was deliberate, and was accompanied by some kind of ritual with an origin in all probability in the distant “pagan” past of the ancient Slavs. This probably did not dovetail too well with Christian burial habits, and so the local priests refused to allow the nobleman to be buried near the church. This is one possible answer, based of course on a certain form of discrimination against the buried man, i.e. the placing of the grave of this member of the elite at a less important location away from the preferred (?) burial ground by the church. A second answer, which we consider to be more likely, is that grave 1/2003 comes from the time of “approximate” Christianity among Moravians, so from the time around the middle of the 9th century, i.e. the period just before the Byzantine Mission arrived. At that time, it would seem, both those who had already converted to Christianity, and those “traditionalists” who still preferred the traditional religious faith of their forebears, lived side by side in peace. This included several nobles, of whom one such “traditionalist” could have been placed in the grave in Modrá that we have classified as 1/2003 so as to be among his relatives, who had shared the same religious orientation (see *Galuška 2012*, 91–110 for more details). We believe that in the archaeological situation described above one can find evidence for a religious situation which can only be identified with great difficulty elsewhere, for example at the nearby burial ground at “Na Valách” in Staré Město.

We believe that in the period before the church was built at the burial ground at “Na Valách” in Staré Město, the site was a necropolis shared by the still predominant believers in traditional “pagan” religion – who at first buried cremated remains and from the end of the 8th century buried only unburned bodies – and the first Moravian Christians. It was thus probably a shared necropolis for two ideologically different social groups. Of course, discerning between them, i.e. if the graves of “pagans” were laid next to the graves of Christians, or if they formed two separated groups, as they did at Modrá, is almost impossible, though V. Hrubý (1955, 49) considered something similar in the past. He actually stated, giving consideration of course to the grave goods and sympathy gifts found in the graves, without any form of reference to a possible connection with belief systems, that burial in two separate

groups, made up each time of one central grave or tomb and several other nearby graves, continued at “Na Valách” until about the 3rd quarter of the 9th century, and then this system was “erased” by the placing of more and more graves during the newer phases of the necropolis. Even today it still seems that Hrubý’s observation regarding group burial may be probable. However, to state on that basis that certain groups at the burial ground were made up of baptised individuals, and other groups of graves contained the unbaptised, is on no account possible, as we are lacking more numerous verifiable finds of a religious character. This is the case because even though the “Na Valách” necropolis in Staré Město is the site of the greatest amount of crosses found in all Great Moravian burial grounds, seven crosses in total (e.g. **Fig. 3**), and one more in grave 27 by the church at “Špitálky” (*Hrubý 1955*, 264–265; *Frolíková Kaliszová 2003*, 555–556), this is still too few for us to state any fundamental conclusions based upon them. The number remains small even if we add the number of crosses found close to graves, or as part of the contents of structures, or in layers at the site of the settlement, or if we also add finds featuring religious symbolism and “Kaptorga” reliquary boxes. What at first sight seems to be a logical assumption – that the arrival of Christianity in Moravia in the 9th century should have been reflected in a marked increase in the number of Christian objects in graves (and this particularly in the light of the content of written sources), or in the numbers of graves and churches discovered (not only in the area of Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště, but also at other significant Moravian centres, in particular Mikulčice) – has not been archaeologically confirmed to date. The fact cannot be ignored, of course, that out of the approx. 1,500 graves at the “Na Valách” necropolis that originate from the time after the church was built, i.e. from the 2nd half of the 9th century, the number of those containing lavish grave goods declined, with many of them being emptied of absolutely all sympathy gifts and grave goods. To what extent this is partially due to the penetration of Christianity into the wider layers of the population of Veligrad, in combination with the efforts of priests to limit the placement of objects with the dead in their graves, or perhaps due to the growing differentiation of society, or more precisely the gradual descent into poverty of a significant part of the population towards the end of the 9th century and at the beginning of the 10th, we do not know for sure. Both scenarios are possible, though hypothetically we lean more towards the first possibility.

The period around the arrival of the Byzantine mission in Moravia saw the discovery of one of the most recently gained and simultaneously most extraordinary objects of a Christian character found in the grounds of Veligrad. It is a pectoral cross, found in the contents of the vanishing moat of the fortifications at “Na Valách” in Staré Město, discovered at the location named “Na Dvorku” (**Fig. 4**). The face of the cross is engraved with a figure representing Christ, probably in the crucified (or possibly adoring) position, clothed in a long draped robe called a *chiton* or *colombium*. On the reverse, a woman is depicted in relief, probably the Virgin Mary, Mother of God. A small tablet lies above her head with lines that cannot be read clearly. She is dressed in an upper robe with long sleeves, and in a long draped skirt. The combination of the two most significant personalities of the Christian world on a tiny cross is remarkable, though not unique, not even within the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště urban agglomeration. It is extremely likely that it also appeared on the probably more recent Great Moravian



Fig. 9. Model of the sacral area.

With a church, its annexes and burial ground; settlement and a long, wooden hall building in Uherské Hradiště – Sady “Špitálky”.
Photo by S. Doleželová.

cross from Uherské Hradiště, Hradební Street (**Fig. 5**). One side depicts the crucified Christ, and the other the Virgin Mary in the Intercession position (or possibly Christ again, victorious over death). While the cross comes from the contents of a notably newer, High Mediaeval structure, the style of its rendition suggests it comes from an older period, probably that of Great Moravia (*Frolíková Kaliszová 2009*, 563–574). Let us also add that the Staré Město example of a similar cross also came from the Poor Clare monastery in Mainz in Germany. Another artefact with almost identical dimensions, and with an almost identical material composition of lead, and with a similarly depicted image of Christ, is the famous lead pectoral cross from Uherské Hradiště – Sady, found at the settlement around the religious centre there (**Fig. 6**). Even though a certain connection with the East Frankish Empire cannot be ruled out, it is true that more similarities and correspondences with the cross from Staré Město, or at least its motif, can be found on the territories of the Byzantine Empire, or in the cross from the Sady Heights. It is also possible that both items were created in the same workshop.

While we expressed doubts in the paragraphs above as to whether the foundation of the seat of power at “Na Dědině” in Staré Město, with its palace-type structure and the Rotunda of St Michael, took place after the Byzantine Mission was active in Moravia or in the period before, in the case of the further development of the “Špitálky” area in Staré Město we are far more sure, as this almost certainly took place in the second half of the 9th century (*Poulik 1955*, 307–351; most recently *Galuška 2011*, 102–105). For the meantime, everything indicates that the original hall-type church was rebuilt first, which gave its above-ground structure the form of a church

of the inscribed cross type with a circular tower, a type which is known primarily from the Byzantine cultural and religious spheres (**Fig. 8**). It is certainly the case that in the 1950s the architect Josef Pošmourný proposed that the above-ground structure of the church had taken this form, and after agreement with Vladimír Vavřínek, Pavel Kouřil and Radek Míka we used a slightly improved version of this design when creating a new model of the church for the exhibition “Cyril and Methodius: their era, lives and work”, which was presented in Brno from March to September 2013 and in Prague from October 2013 to February 2014. The roof of the rebuilt “Špitálky” church was covered with roofing material of an ancient character, as indicated by parts of it found in the remains left after the destruction of the building. Josef Poulik originally considered these fragments to be tiles. After the church had been rebuilt, a lobby area (narthex) was built at the western wall of the church. Its external walls covered several older graves from the surrounding cemetery, from which a total of 57 burials were able to be investigated. Let us add that no weapons or ceramic vessels were found in the graves, and that alongside some remarkable jewellery of the Veligrad type, and one (!) tiny cross, the most important find was a unique silver plaque featuring a rider with a bird of prey, the so-called Falconer, which was probably a decoration for a nobleman’s staff. A 330 cm – deep well-like hole was also uncovered north of the apse of the church, with its bottom covered by wooden boards. We believe it may have been a piscine – i.e. part of a baptistery (regarding this, see e.g. *Klanica 1985*, 116). The whole of the church grounds at “Špitálky” in Staré Město lie within a fence made of wooden stakes in the shape of a rectangle with the dimensions 21.0 × 17.5 m. A groove still remains from what was the entrance. In this case we are not in agreement with the architect Josef Pošmourný,

who considered the groove to be part of the foundations of a wooden support structure, which was supposed to have held up a peripheral mono-pitched roof extending to the external sides of the walls of the church and narthex. Apparently, the aim of this was optically to increase the amount of space in the religious building. In contrast, we, along with other researchers, e.g. Tatiana Stefanovičová and Vladimír Vavřínek, believe that the church at the “Špitálky” area in Staré Město is one of the few religious structures whose origins can be connected with the Byzantine world, and so can be connected with the activities of the Byzantine mission in Moravia (Štefanovičová 2001, 402; Vavřínek 2013, 213–214).

Bells are traditionally connected with the existence of churches, and our interest in bells grew after a complete example, with clapper, was found close to Bojná fort near Topolčany in western Slovakia, and several other parts of bells were found during archaeological excavations right at the fort itself (Jánošík – Pieta 2007, 121–158; Pieta – Ruttkay 2007, 21–70). We are mentioning this because an extensive metal casting and blacksmithing area was uncovered by Vilém Hrubý at “Nad Haltýři” within the area now covered by Staré Město. The area discovered contained more than ten remains of casting furnaces of the crucible type, around which a large amount of cast iron was found. Analysis of this material showed that it had a composition very close to that used in the casting of bells, i.e. bell metal (Hrubý 1965, 334–336). Within the given context we will add that three small bronze bells have been found in Staré Město graves. The bells are considered to come from the earlier Great Moravia period, and are not dissimilar to Hungarian finds from the time of the Avars, where they had the function of amulets (compare Jánošík – Pieta 2007, 139).

Even though quite a few finds from the early period of Christianisation have been made in the Staré Město region, the Christian centre of Veligrad was not there, but in Uherské Hradiště – Sady, on a striking and dominant natural feature – a raised area sharply cutting into the flood meadows of the River Morava; in the 9th century the River Olšava flowed around it (Galuška 1996; most recently 2011, 110–113). Two or perhaps three views (e.g. Pomfrová 2011, 38, note 13) exist regarding the historical and architectural development of this centre, and its historical significance. One has it that a community of monks was based there, while another holds that it was the Moravian centre of the archpresbyteriate of the Bishop of Passau; most often, however, it is considered to be a location at which Archbishop Methodius carried out his activities, or also where the Byzantine Mission itself was active in the years from 864 to 867 (the most recent work concerning this topic Vavřínek 2013, 223–226). It is not possible to present all the viewpoints on the Sady area in detail, and we do not feel that for this location it is even completely necessary. Because of this, we will only present the perspective which we believe best corresponds to the results of archaeological research and which is not in conflict with historical sources. As was already written in the introduction, the oldest part of the future Christian centre at Sady was the church with a cross-shaped layout built in the earliest phase of the Christianisation of Moravia. It was first extended by the western church lobby (narthex) with two side entrances. We do not know exactly when this happened, but it was not earlier than around the middle of the 9th century, as the graves found within the area covered by the lobby contain objects mostly datable up to the 2nd half of the 9th century.



Fig. 10. Bone and iron writing stili.

Uherské Hradiště – Sady “Špitálky” and Staré Město “Dvorek”.
Photo by S. Doleželová.

Just for interest’s sake: the majority of older graves were placed outside the church, probably just with the exception of three graves with the remains of wooden biers sunk within the main nave of the church with a cross-shaped layout. In the next (third) phase of building, easily distinguished on the basis of analysis of the mortar and stone building material acquired, a chamber was built against the northern wall of the church with an independent entrance from the east. It was constructed for the tomb of an important woman, who was buried in an ironbound coffin made of wooden planks. A small chapel was then built next to the chamber, with the layout of a small hall-style church with a semicircular apse, again with an independent entrance, though from the west side this time (Fig. 2). During the time when this chapel was in use, the brick, board-lined tomb of an important individual was built there – a man with gilded gombíks – buried in a coffin which was made of planks and bound with 36 iron strips. His burial in the chapel was soon followed by that of a woman, also laid to rest in an ironbound coffin. The exceptional status of both the buried individuals, as well as of the woman found in the ironbound coffin in the neighbouring burial chamber, surely does not need excessive emphasis, even though the dead were not accompanied by any grave goods. With the aforementioned extensions to the northern side of the church, and also the construction of a low wall in the lobby of the shrine, and the building of the rotunda with

a mortar floor – probably a baptistery – to the west of the lobby, the church grounds of the Sady religious centre gained their final shape. This happened during the 2nd half of the 9th century, which indicates that precisely this period represents a climactic era in which the church played a significant role within the religious organisation of Great Moravia. This was also underlined by the fact that at that time a settlement was built to the north of the church, separated from the church grounds by two massive stone walls and a fence, between which a road passed opening into a space lying north of the narthex (Fig. 9). From there it was possible to enter the church lobby, and also the church chapel at the side. It is not possible to forget that this settlement is the site where a unique lead pectoral cross was found, featuring an engraving of Christ on the cross on one side, and the Greek inscription *I(ESU)S-CH(RISTO)S-ZOE-FOS-NIKA*, i.e. “Jesus – Christ – Light – Life – Prevails” on the other side, which makes it the only find of its type from the Great Moravian environment. Other items found at this location include several bone and metal styli used when teaching writing (Fig. 10).

At the opposite (southern) side of the church area, the remains of a 36m-long wooden structure have been identified. It has a layout in the shape of the letter “L”, delineated by a line of stake holes and the remnants of three destroyed fireplaces and ovens, which are accompanied by numerous ceramic fragments. This palace-type building was connected with the church with the cross-shaped layout via a narrow path – a free corridor

leading between graves (Fig. 9). An important historical source has been found at that location, and also at other parts of the religious centre: small fragments of glass (Fig. 11), only recently analysed, which are either coloured or coated with gold foil. They are made up of the decorative glass used in church windows and in vessels; some of them are of the Carolingian type, but most are of eastern Mediterranean origin, i.e. mainly of Byzantine origin, and this includes portable lamps (*Galuška – Macháček – Pieta – Sedláčková 2012, 74–82, 85–88, 90–92; Wedepohl 2012, 93–95*).

If we take into account the archaeological sources we have evaluated and very briefly described, the dominant position of the sacred area above one of the most important centres of the Moravian state – Veligrad, and its probable development over time and overall appearance, it cannot be doubted that the religious centre at Sady ranked among the most significant within the church organisation of Moravia in the 2nd half of the 9th century. I do not believe, however, that the Archpresbyter of the Bishop of Passau had his seat there, as some have concluded. At the time of his influence, i.e. during the 1st half of the 9th century until the beginnings of the 870s, the most clearly important building in Moravia is actually the basilica with annexes at Valy fort by Mikulčice, church No. 3 found at that location. This was, in my opinion, the real seat of the Passau Archpresbyter, which corresponds with the highly likely possibility that “Valy” u Mikulčic was in all certainty the seat of Mojmir I,

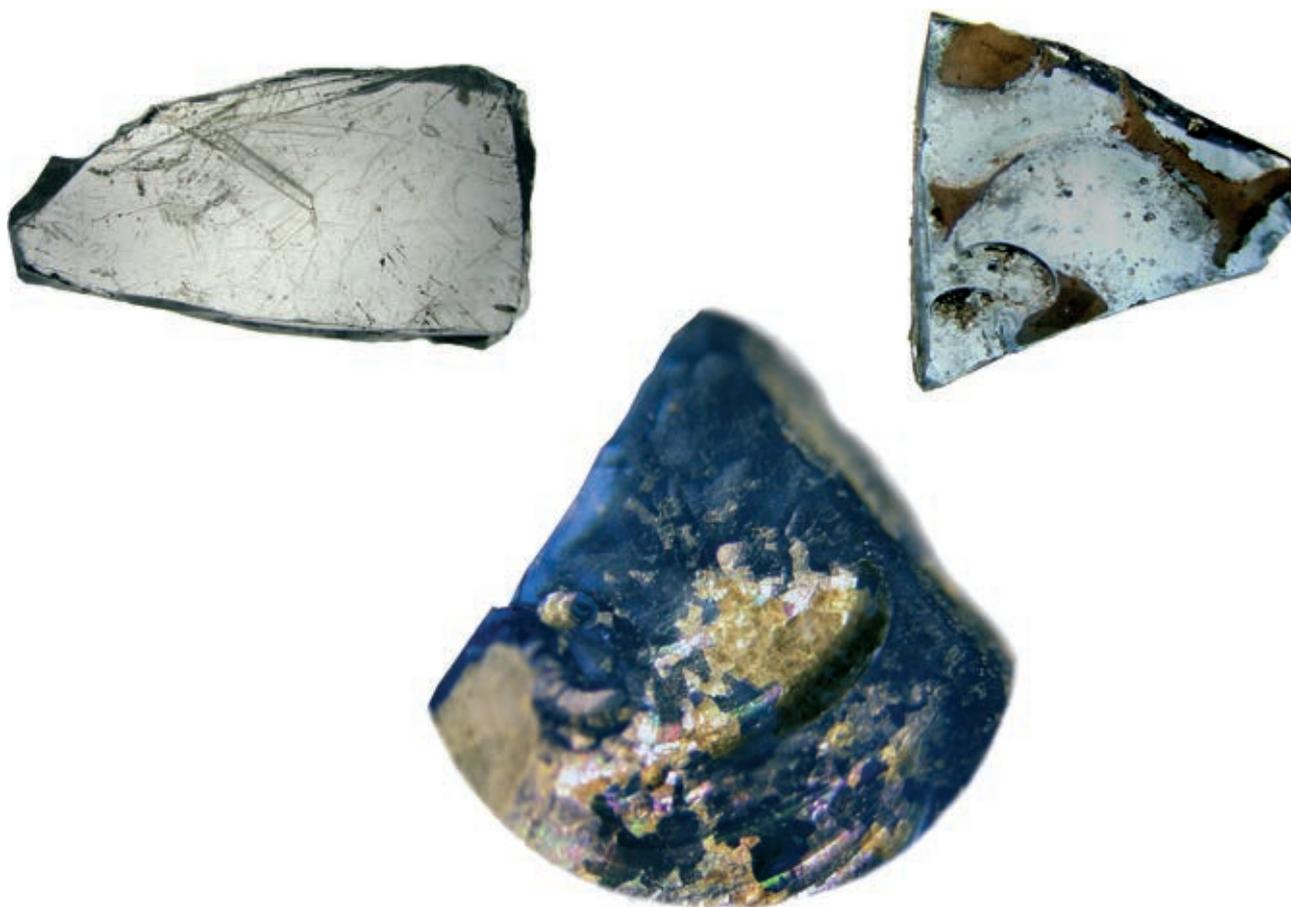


Fig. 11. Fragments of glass from lamps of the Byzantine origin and decorated stained glass of the church window.
Uherské Hradiště – Sady “Špitálky”. Photo by S. Doleželová.

and also Rostislav. And where else should the representative of the Diocese of Passau have his seat if not right there? I think it probable that the fort by today's Mikulčice was also the destination of the Byzantine Mission of Constantine/Cyril and Methodius, along with church No. 3, which had certainly been abandoned by the Bavarians by that time. It is likely that they made use of the church at the beginning, as some evidence for this has been found in the graves of the church necropolis, or in the mixed layers of soil at the site of the old settlement. These include a solidus from the reign of Byzantine Emperor Michael III, and parts of Byzantine amphorae (*Kavánová – Šmerda 2010*, 151–162). At the same time, I also believe that after Duke Rostislav was captured by the Bavarians and Franks at "Dowina" in 864, and his subsequent oath of loyalty to the Frankish ruler Louis II, the Passau priests who had been expelled by the Moravian leader returned to Moravia with the Archpresbyter at their head. This return was almost certainly accompanied by the restitution of the churches founded by the Bavarians, including church No. 3, i.e. the basilica with its annexes. This is, in my opinion, the main event that led to the departure between 864 and 867 of the learned Byzantines and their pupils from "Valy" u Mikulčic. I assume that in all probability they headed for the second important Moravian centre, Veligrad, to the Sady Heights where for half a century a church had stood with a cross-shaped layout that rendered it very similar to the structures which they knew from their homeland. The arrival of Constantine and Methodius at Veligrad was thus the stimulus that triggered the above-described construction activities at Uherské Hradiště – Sady, which under Archbishop Methodius in the last third of the 9th century resulted in the formation of a centre of Old Slavonic liturgy, and in 880 the main seat of the "Holy Moravian Church" (compare *Vavřínek 2013*, 217–228).

The significance of the Sady area as an important centre of Christianity in Great Moravia is also shown by other facts: for example, the fact that unlike other important centres, this one did not disappear with the downfall of the Moravian state. From the 10th to the 12th century around 900 inhabitants of nearby villages, including Veligrad, were buried at the cemetery around the church. This is a number which has no equal in Moravia at that time, even if one considers centres such as Olomouc, Brno or Znojmo. Even within the whole mediaeval Přemyslid domain, in terms of the number of dead buried in one necropolis the Sady cemetery is second – only to Radomyšl in South Bohemia (*Nechvátal 1999*). This is a highly remarkable and until now little emphasised discovery, if we bear in mind that in the 11th century a turbulent border zone ran just below the Sady Heights along the Rivers Olšava and Morava between the states of the Czech Přemyslids and the Hungarian Árpáds. Also, at that time a still more important Christian administrative centre lay just a short distance away, the Archdeaconry of Spytihněv, which was part of the diocese of the Bishop of Olomouc. Why then did the inhabitants of the village of Veligrad (which stretched over the area now covered by Staré Město in the time around 1141, when that name appeared absolutely for the first time in writing) and the villages around it not wish to be buried by the Archdeacon's church in Spytihněv, or at the extensive burial ground in Staré Město – Veligrad at which several generations of their "Great Moravian" ancestors had been laid to rest? What attracted them to the Sady Heights with the old church and sepulchral chapel? Some time ago I already expressed the opinion that there could

have been at least two stimuli for such an attraction (*Galuška 2007*, 53–54). The first lay in an awareness of the importance of the Sady site in the Great Moravia era, perhaps in conjunction with some relics which reminded people of the local activities of an important Christian figure, perhaps Methodius himself. The second stimulus was directly related to the first, as, if people were still being buried on the Sady Heights three hundred years after Great Moravia, there must still have been educated priests at the site who were the only ones who could have kept the traditions going, and simultaneously were aware of their position as the maintainers of the tradition. The first of them was almost certainly a bishop, one of Methodius' successors ordained while still in Moravia in 900, and it cannot be ruled out that his possible successors continued their activities at "Sady" in the 10th century, including Vracen, or the Moravian bishop of unknown name who was ordained in January 976 together with Dětmar of Prague (*Třeštík 2002*, 144).

We can therefore conclude that not only archaeological sources from the Great Moravian period, but indirectly also later sources from the Mladohradištní period, clearly show that the religious site at Sady fulfilled the function of a very important early mediaeval centre of Christianisation, and at the same time was probably the seat of the first Moravian archbishop, Methodius. Together with the Mikulčice-Kopčanska agglomeration, the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště conurbation (Veligrad) was not only one of the most Christianised areas in Great Moravia, but also a significant Central European centre of Christianity in the 9th century.

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FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE EAST FRANKISH EMPIRE: MORAVIA AND ITS ASCENT TO POWER UNDER PRINCE ROSTISLAV

Christian Lübke

Based on the assumption that the dignity of Emperor Otto I in the 960s should, in contrast with the Byzantine emperors, be assessed according to the power of the Slavic princes who were his subjects, this article examines the question of the emergence of the Moravians and their princes from a position that was originally an inferior one. Thus in the initial stages (822) they were just one link in a chain of tribal communities (*gentes*) under the control of the Carolingians and who still clung to their pagan beliefs. In the written sources, a socioeconomic basis for the gradual emergence of the Great Moravian Empire in this situation is not apparent. However, a gradual emancipation is indicated by the adoption of the Christian belief, the intensification of relations with the highest Frankish-Bavarian noblemen at the eastern end of the Frankish empire, adept geopolitical positioning as a basis for Greek missionary activities, and successful military defensive actions during the rule of Prince Rostislav, culminating in Svatopluk becoming the godparent to a scion of the Carolingian dynasty, in a complete reversal of traditional roles.

Key words: Carolingians and Slavs, Frankish external political control, political instrumentalisation of baptism and missionary activities, geopolitical position of the Great Moravian Empire, emancipation of Mojmirid rulers in relation to Frankish noblemen

“The fact that the orders of my master are obeyed by Slavic princes who are more powerful than the Bulgarian King Petrus, who received the hand of the daughter of Emperor Christophorus in marriage, you should not ignore” – during his stay at the court of the Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros Phokas in the year 968, the envoy of Emperor Otto I the Great, Bishop Liutprand of Cremona, used these words to reinforce his employer’s wish to obtain a purple-born Byzantine princess’s hand in marriage for Otto’s son of the same name, Otto (II).¹ Thus it was the command over Slavic princes that Liutprand introduced as being the decisive factor with which he intended to prove that the Saxon ruler Otto, who had been following in the footsteps of Charlemagne as Roman Emperor since the year 962, was worthy of attaining the highest possible level of honour through kinship with the Byzantine Emperor.

The event associated with this anecdote, which the envoy mentioned in an in-depth report on his mission, took place more than one and a half centuries after Charlemagne’s coronation as Roman Emperor; nevertheless it seems suitable as a characterisation – valid over a long period of time – of the mainly Slavic ethnic communities, i.e. the *gentes* of the contemporary Latin written sources. In the “mental mapping” of the time, these people seemed to be situated somewhere between the two Roman Empires. Moreover, in the geopolitical interrelationships and on the mission field of the two great powers, they seemed to be gradually emerging from their “grey zone”

from the 9th century onwards.² If we use written sources originating from neighbouring areas as a measure, the Moravians were among the key actors involved in the history of events at the eastern edge of the Frankish Empire. Their princes, who were named, were mentioned more often than others in these reports, not least due to the activity of the two apostles to the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius. However, if it is the attention aroused by historical phenomena among professional researchers and lay public that is taken as the basis for judgement, then it was logical to say that the early mediaeval Moravians did not play a significant role with regard to the formation of trans-regional power structures – until the sensational archaeological finds of the 1950s which proved this hypothesis wrong and which were displayed in international exhibitions.

Once the rich legacy of the Moravians became visible, revealing a high standard of craftsmanship, new considerations arose concerning their role in the historical development of the lands described by the genealogical lines of the so-called *Bavarian Geographer* as situated “on the northern shores of the Danube”. This even led to the opinion that the Moravian Mojmirid leaders functioned as a role model for the organisation of later princely states in the 10th century (Bohemia, Poland, Hungary), as the direct missing link with the Carolingian Empire, from which they had adopted significant elements.³

1 *Liudprandi Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, in: Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona, ed. Joseph Becker, MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, 41, 3rd ed. Hannover – Leipzig, 1915, pp. 175–212; German translation: *Liudprands Gesandtschaft an den Kaiser Nikephoros Phokas in Konstantinopel*, ed. Albert Bauer – Reinhold Rau, in: Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 8), 2nd. ed. Darmstadt 1977, pp. 524–589. On the report: Christian LÜBKE, *Ottonen, Slaven und Byzanz*, in: Maciej Salamon – Marcin Wołoszyn – Alexander Musin – Perica Špehar – Matthias Hardt – Mirosław P. Kruk, Alexandra Sulikowska-Gąska (ed.), Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence, Kraków 2012, vol. 1, pp. 175–181.

2 The term “grey zone” was used by Aleksander Gieysztor to describe the extensively similar material culture, accompanied by low levels of political differentiation, which dominated until well into the 9th century. Compare Aleksander GIEYSZTOR, *L’Europe nouvelle autour de l’an mil: la papauté, l’Empire et les „nouveaux venus”*, Conferenze dell’unione internazionale degli istituti di archeologia, storia e storia dell’arte in Roma 13, Roma 1997; IDEM, *L’Europe chrétienne autour de l’an mille et ses nouveaux adhérents*, in: Przemysław Urbańczyk (ed.), Early Christianity in Central and East Europe, Warszawa, pp. 13–19.

3 This idea was represented in particular by Dušan TRĚŠTÍK, *Von Svatopluk zu Boleslaw Chrobry / Od Svatopluka po Boleslava Chrabrého. Die Entstehung Mitteleuropas aus der Kraft des Tatsächlichen und aus einer Idee*, in: P. Urbańczyk (ed.), The Neighbours of Poland in the 10th Century, Warszawa 2000, pp. 111–145.

In contrast with the valuable archaeological objects that were found, the informative potential of the written sources was not significantly added to after the first editions. However, once the archaeological evidence had exposed the significance of the Moravian princes and their centres, there was a change in perspective concerning the ruler within the context of military and political-diplomatic conflicts within the area of tension surrounding the Frankish and Byzantine Empires. This focused on the existence of a (large) following, early forms of nation-building and, of course, on the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. The following considerations are dedicated to the question of the western perspective, i.e. the perception of events in the Moravian area, which was not so far away from the East Frankish-Bavarian metropolis of Regensburg, in the 9th century, up to the beginning of the mission undertaken by the apostles to the Slavs Cyril and Methodius, which can only be traced by referring to written records. In order to provide a comparison, events along the eastern borders of the East Frankish Empire are also examined.⁴

Apart from individual reports in the Royal Frankish Annals⁵ – and, after they were interrupted, in the *Fulda Annals* from the year 829⁶, and also in *The annals of St Bertin*⁷ – there are very few contemporaneous texts whose character may be considered to provide adequate proof of and reasoning for the Frankish leaders' basic interest in their eastern neighbours. One of these is of course the genealogical list drawn up by the *Bavarian Geographer*, which is generally estimated to have originated in the 2nd half of the 9th century at the court of Regensburg, although no more accurate date can be established. This list can certainly be seen as an expression of general interest in the whole large area "north of the Danube", which extended from the Slavic communities directly at the eastern border of the Frankish realm to as far as the Volga region (to the Khazars). The names, and the number of *civitates* with which they corresponded, must have been the result of a scheduled collection of data, completed using information obtained from merchants who undertook long-distance journeys and were

passing through Regensburg.⁸ A second text, originating earlier, refers to article 7 of the Capitulary of Diedenhofen (805), and contains regulations pertaining to border traffic towards the east, in particular the ban on arms exports.⁹ Taking into consideration the difference in the character of the two documents, and the fact that there was probably a significant difference between the dates of their origination, both of them bear witness to the will of Frankish leaders to gain political-military control over their neighbours to the east, although this would not have been linked with complete isolation. Rather, any security concerns regarding the east must have been balanced with trading interests and the idea of the sovereign's court that it could use possible missionary activity for political purposes, which was not supposed to have become a strategic intent until much later, in the Ottonian era.¹⁰ A third text, which did not originate until the beginning of the 10th century, when political conditions had considerably changed, is the *Raffelstetten Customs Code*¹¹, which has more of a regional character. However, by mentioning the "Moravian market" (*mercatus Merharorum*), it points towards the significance of the area in question here, particularly as one can assume with certainty that this market had a trans-regional function reaching as far as the Black Sea, via the Danube. Finally we should also mention the memoir from the Salzburg Church from the year 870, the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*,¹² which documents the view of the Frankish rulers towards the east in an indirect and locally restricted way, attempting to exert influence there. Its author was certainly "a member of the Salzburg Church, who wished to win over the East Frankish King Louis the German (...) onto the side of Archbishop Adalwin (859–873) and the Bavarian Church, in the conflict with Methodius".¹³ However, the Salzburg archbishop wished to prevent the work of this Greek bishop "only in Pannonia",¹⁴ and the author of the *Conversio*, probably Adalwin himself, emphasised the fact that he relied "truthfully" on the "Annals of the Emperors and Kings of the Franks and Bavarians".¹⁵

4 These deliberations cannot take the entire milieu of the emerging Moravian power structure into consideration in detail; in particular they do not incorporate events surrounding Princes Pribina and Kocel (Chezi) in Pannonia, happenings in the Bavarian Eastland and conflicts in the area of tension surrounding Rome and Constantinople. Many facets of this complex system can be found in the newest edition of *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (Herwig Wolfram), to which comments and further writings have been added. See Herwig WOLFRAM, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum. Das Weißbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantanien und Pannonien mit Zusätzen und Ergänzungen*, 2nd ed. Lubljana/Laibach 2012. A detailed analysis of the entire complex of themes can also be found under: D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy. Moravané, Čechové a Střední Evropa v letech 791–871*, Praha 2001; Zdeněk MĚŘIŇSKÝ, *České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu II*, Praha 2006. An instructive overview of ecclesiastical political associations and ambitions with regard to the Moravians can be found in Arnold ANGENENDT, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe*, Berlin 1984, pp. 238–247; also to be considered Charles R. BOWLUS, *Franks, Moravians and Magyars. The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907*, Philadelphia 1995, featuring the questions of the southern localisation of Moravia, represented earlier by Imre Boba and Martin Eggers, which has no relevance here.

5 *Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829 qui dicuntur Laurissenes maiori et Einhardi*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 6, Hannover 1895, pp. 1–178; German translation: *Die Reichsannalen mit Zusätzen aus den sog. Einhardannalen [Annales regni Francorum]*, transl. R. Rau, in: *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, vol 1 (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 5), Darmstadt 1974, pp. 9–155.

6 *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum Orientalis*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 7, Hannover 1891 (2nd ed. 1978); German translation: *Jahrbücher von Fulda*, ed. R. Rau, in: *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, 3 (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 7), Darmstadt 2002, pp. 19–177.

7 *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 5, Hannover 1883; German translation: *Jahrbücher von St. Bertin*, ed. R. Rau, in: *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, 2 (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 6), Darmstadt 1969, pp. 11–287.

8 The *civitates* refer to settlement fields, or in more modern terminology microregions, whose appearance features fortifications, generally a fortress wall made of wood and earth. With regard to detailed commentary on the many ethnonyms of the "Bavarian Geographer", the version published by Aleksandr Nazarenko is worthy of note. See Aleksandr V. NAZARENKO, *Opisanie gorodov i oblastej k severu ot Dunaja, ili Bavarskij Geograf*, in: A. V. Nazarenko, *Nemeckie latinojazyčnye istočniki IX–XI vekov. Teksty, perevody, kommentarij*, Moskva 1993, pp. 7–58. On the Moravians (*Marharii*, in the genealogical list *Marharii habent civitates XI*) see p. 21, comment 15. Nazarenko also considers the *merehani*, who appear in the list a few lines later after the Bulgarians, "almost generally accepted" (*Est populus quem vocant merehanos. isti habent civitates XXX.*) as Western Slav Moravians (p. 22, comment. 17). In any case, according to the declaration of the Bavarian Geographers, both *Marharii* and *merehani* belong to those *regiones* "that lie at our borders" (*Iste sunt regiones que terminant in finibus nostris*). Language-wise the *merehani* are related to the *Marahani*, as we understand from a letter from Margrave Arbo to King Arnulf dated between 887 and 896, which refers to Moravia – compare also Hansmartin SCHWARZMAIER, *Ein Brief des Markgrafen Arbo an König Arnulf über die Verhältnisse in Mähren*, Frühmittelalterliche Studien 6, 1972, pp. 55–66, here p. 57.

9 *Kapitular von Diedenhofen*, ed. Alfred Boretius, in: MGH *Capitularia regum Francorum I* (MGH *Leges II/1*), Hannover 1883 (reprint 1960), no. 44, p. 123, Art. 7.

10 The question of the missionary political aims behind the foundation of the Archbishopsrics of Salzburg (by Charlemagne) and Hamburg (by Louis the Pious) is not taken into account here. In a comparative study of these two archiepiscopal foundations, Brigitte Wavra recognised no motives of this nature in the case of Salzburg. See Brigitte WAVRA, *Salzburg und Hamburg. Erzbistumsgründung und Missionspolitik in karolingischer Zeit*, Berlin 1991, p. 137 f.

11 *Inquisitio de theloneis Raffelstettensis*, ed. A. Boretius – Victor Krause, in: MGH *Capitularia regum Francorum, II* (MGH *Leges II/2*), Hannover 1897, no. 253, pp. 249–252.

12 Newest edition with translation H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, pp. 57–81.

13 *Ibidem*, p. 25.

14 *Ibidem*, p. 25.

15 *Conversio*, ed. H. Wolfram, kap. 10, p. 72: "[...] conamur, prout veracius in chronica imperatorum et regum Francorum et Bagoariorum scriptum reperimus, scire valentibus manifestare." See also the commentary in H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, p. 166.

The instruments used by the Frankish side to advance their own interests outside of the actual borders of the empire were well documented in the early 9th century in the Royal Frankish Annals, particularly for the areas of the Elbe Slavs and Baltic Sea Slavs further to the north, where the tribal confederations of the Wilzes and the Abodrites were the principal factors.¹⁶ There was also documentation for the Sorbs in the Saale-Elbe area, who were placed under the supervision of a man named Thakulf as *dux Sorabici limitis* around the middle of the 9th century. This overseer was familiar with their rules and customs (*leges et consuetudines Sclavicae gentis*), as reported in the *Fulda Annals* in the year 849.¹⁷ The intention was to control and monitor the Slavic communities by means of military pressure and diplomatic measures. This particularly entailed the acceptance of the leadership of individual princes who were approved by the Franks or taking into consideration the wishes of the *populi* of the *gentes*, which were crucial for their placement.¹⁸ These princes would then show their allegiance to the empire and loyalty towards the emperor by regular compulsory visits to the imperial diets.

The Moravians were first added to the spectrum of Slavic *gentes* represented on such occasions in the year 822; their envoys appeared before Emperor Louis the Pious in Frankfurt am Main, “bearing gifts” like the others.¹⁹ It may be significant that on this occasion, at the changing of the guard in the south-east borderlands of the Frankish Empire, which was carried out under Frankish control – or at least not without their knowledge – envoys from the “Avars living in Pannonia” appeared for the last time. Their former great power had been critically diminished following their defeats at the hands of Frankish armies between 786 and 796, leaving only a few remaining parts situated in Pannonia. This delegation was the final appearance of the political unity of the Avars in written records, at precisely the same moment when the Moravians appeared on the stage of European events for the first time.

At the same time, this is the only mention of the Moravians in the Royal Frankish Annals. Their position regarding Slavic neighbours in general, and particularly the Moravians, was later adopted by the annals of the imperial abbey in Fulda, and by the *Conversio*. The latter was not written until the year 870, but its accounts refer to earlier events, earlier events which encompass the first mention of the Moravians. These refer to Prince Pribina, a resident of Nitra (Neutra), who had been driven away by Mojmir, a prince of Moravia (*exulatus a Moimaro duce Maravorum*).²⁰ Pribina, as the *Conversio* reports, had

come to Margrave Ratbod across the Danube – an event which cannot be narrowed down to an exact year, but which is estimated to have occurred “around 833”.²¹ In any case, this fits in well with Frankish-Slavic relationship patterns known from the empire’s northern borders, where the principle of “divide et impera” had an important function. There are certain parallels with a conflict between two Wilze princes, the brothers Milegast and Cealadrag, which was carried out before the emperor in person in Frankfurt in the year 823. The emperor decided in favour of the younger of the two, Cealadrag, who had an added advantage in that the *populus* had spoken out for him.²² A dual rule involving two Slavic princes, a situation which had previously existed and then come to an end, had been brought about by Emperor Louis amongst the Wilzes’ neighbours, the Abodrites, several years before. Evidently, the emperor’s intention had been to prevent excessively independent politics on the part of the autocrat Slavomir; in any case, in the year 817 he ordered that the latter share his rule with the son of his predecessor Dražko, Ceadrag. Furious about this decision, the Abodrite prince stopped working with the Franks, joined ranks with the Danes and orchestrated an – albeit unsuccessful – attack on the stronghold of Esesfeld near Itzehoe, which had been established by Charlemagne.²³ In the year 819, he was taken prisoner by a Frankish-Saxon army and taken to Aachen.²⁴ As a consequence Ceadrag triumphed over his competitor; however, in the year 821 he was also accused of engaging in an alliance with the Danes, who were enemies of the emperor. Here the Frankish side remembered the imprisoned Slavomir, who was released and returned home. However, he was never to see his homeland again, as he died on the journey.²⁵

Falling into the exact same time scale as these conflicts in the north, between the years 818 and 823 events occurred which shattered the south-eastern borderlands of the Frankish Empire. Several reports of these events were given by the Dalmatian Prince Borna (who was directly involved) to the emperor both in person and via envoys.²⁶ Borna’s competitor and opponent was Prince Liudevit, who resided between the Drava and Sava in “Lower Pannonia”. Liudevit was on occasion closely allied with the Serbs, beyond whom a trans-regional conflict involving the Frankish Empire, the Bulgarians and Byzantium was arising.²⁷ Similar to the situation in the north, close relations were fighting against one another: Liudevit’s father-in-law had taken the side of Borna. In the year 823, Liudevit himself sought the protection of one of Borna’s uncles, who betrayed and consequently killed him. Here also, it was compulsory to confirm affiliation with the Frankish Empire through regular visits *ad praesentiam regis/imperatoris*.²⁸

Throughout these events, there was no mention of Frankish attempts to carry out missionary work in the Slavic communities – with one exception, which remained without effect due

16 On the events occurring there see Wolfgang Hermann FRITZE, *Probleme der abodritischen Stammes- und Reichsverfassung und ihrer Entwicklung vom Stammesstaat zum Herrschaftsstaat*, in: Herbert Ludat (ed.), *Siedlung und Verfassung der Slawen zwischen Elbe, Saale und Oder*, Gießen 1960, pp. 141–219; also Chr. LÜBKE, *Herrschaftsrepräsentation und -imitation im Wechselspiel zwischen Karolingern und Slaven in der Zeit Karls des Großen und Ludwigs des Frommen*, in: Zofia Kuratowska (ed.), *Słowiańszczyzna w Europie Średniowiecznej*, vol. 1, Wrocław 1996, pp. 105–112.

17 *Annales Fuldenses ad a. 849*, p. 38.

18 The fact that these elements of decision-making were also used in the south is shown by the succession policy of Prince Borna of Dalmatia and Liburnia in the year 821, when his nephew Vladislav (*Ladasclavus*) *petente populo atque consentiente imperatore* was appointed *dux* by Emperor Louis the Pious. See *Annales regni Francorum ad a. 821*, p. 155.

19 *Annales regni Francorum ad a. 822*, p. 159: “*In quo conventu omnium orientalium Slavorum, id est Abodritorum, Soraborum, Wilzorum, Beheimorum, Marvanorum, Praedenecentorum, et in Pannonia residentium Abarum legationes cum muneribus ad se directas audivit.*”

20 *Conversio*, chap. 10, p. 72.

21 A. ANGENENDT, *Kaiserherrschaft*, p. 239; H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, p. 18.

22 *Annales regni Francorum ad a. 823*, p. 160.

23 *Annales regni Francorum ad a. 817*, p. 147.

24 *Annales regni Francorum ad a. 819*, pp. 149 nn.

25 *Annales regni Francorum ad a. 821*, p. 157.

26 *Annales regni Francorum ad a. 819*, p. 152; see also H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, p. 317.

27 For a description of the events see H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, pp. 317–319.

28 *Ibidem*, p. 318.

to the imminent death of the Slavic participant. In the year 821, Slavomir had been baptised before he was released from imprisonment and returned home as the prince of the Abodrites. Even though nothing is known about the circumstances and motives surrounding the baptism, it at least seems as though there were close links between the act of baptism and the emperor granting support to the newly baptised prince. A particularly impressive and informative report is given of the ceremonial festivities at the coronation of the Danish King Harald Klak by Emperor Louis the Pious, which took place in Ingelheim in the year 826.²⁹ Here, the Danes – Harald’s wife, son and retinue were involved in the ceremony – not only carried out a religious act, but a real rite of passage, whereby the baptised parties were dressed according to Frankish tradition and converted to the Frankish way of life.³⁰ However, this baptism also remained without effect, for if Harald Klak ever did make his way back to Denmark, he was quickly driven out again.

In the case of Pribina, who was banished by the Moravian Prince Mojmir, the scenario of the Ingelheim baptism was probably not repeated. After his flight, Pribina was taken by the Eastland prefect, Ratbod, to King Louis the German. Although Louis gave orders for him to receive instruction in the Christian belief, his baptism took place in the church of the Court of Trausmuer,³¹ which probably signifies that the king was not present. In contrast with the Abodrite Prince Slavomir and his domain, Pribina had experienced an earlier encounter with Christianity. According to an account given in the *Conversio*, he had had a church in Nitra consecrated by Archbishop Adalram from Salzburg before taking flight.³² And, as Herwig Wolfram points out, there is a second difference compared with the north-western part of the Slavic settlement area. Pribina’s son Kocel (Chezilo), who accompanied his father on his way to Bavaria, was already a Christian, and his name also suggests Frankish-Bavarian origins on his mother’s side. Thus, taking Kocel’s later standing into consideration, it is probable that “long-standing relationships” existed between Pribina and the representative of Eastland. If applied to the situation as a whole, this means that the “the members of the German (Theodisk) and Slavic nobility in the region accepted each other as equals and appeared together on a political and social level”, or even that a “koine inside and at the borders of the former Avar Kingdom” had developed.³³ A situation such as this did not arise in the north until the 10th century.³⁴

Regardless of possible further Frankish intentions regarding the baptism of Pribina, for the time being the Slavic prince proved himself to be an uncertain follower of the king, perhaps because the latter did not give him as much help as he had hoped for in his quest to return home. Pribina escaped to the Bulgarians, but then became reconciled with the Franks, by whom he was finally given Lower Pannonia in fief, of which he was then conferred ownership by Louis in the year 847.

Although there is no specific information concerning the extension of Pribina’s former dominion, it becomes apparent through further developments that Mojmir’s capture of Nitra and the incorporation of this stronghold into his principality formed the basis of the further rise of Moravia, which evidently – quite unimpaired by the lack of Christian elements – had the full backing of its Frankish neighbours. The next piece of news concerning the Moravians comes from the year 846, shortly after the death (or forced deposition) of Mojmir, when King Louis, in keeping with the measures used earlier by the Franks towards their eastern neighbours, led a campaign to ensure that his candidate Rostislav, Mojmir’s nephew, was placed on the Moravian princely throne.³⁵ The rather sparse account in the *Annals of Fulda* describes a course of events that is reminiscent of Charlemagne’s campaign against the *civitas Dragawiti* of the Wilze Prince Dragovit in the year 789, and later the decrees of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious concerning princely control amongst the Abodrites and Wilzes.

The fact that Christianity was to play a greater role in King Louis’ external political affairs than in earlier days is revealed by the fact that a year before his campaign against the Moravians he had already become active with their neighbours, the Bohemians, arranging for 14 of their princes (*duces*) to accept baptism.³⁶ In the case of Rostislav, there is no specific report regarding his baptism, but it is a generally accepted theory that he was already a Christian when he was installed by King Louis as Prince of the Moravians.³⁷ It is a matter of speculation whether he had been educated in a Bavarian monastery. There are two specific comparable cases: firstly that of the Carantanians Cacatius and Cheitmar – a son and a nephew of Prince Boruth, respectively. He arranged for them both to receive a Christian education; after his death they were returned to their homeland one after the other to take over a principality under Frankish supremacy;³⁸ and secondly, in the 10th century when, after the main castle of his homeland Brandenburg had been captured, the Hevelli Tugumir was sent to Saxony to be educated, from where King Otto I released him to Brandenburg in the year 940, where he reigned for a short period before surrendering the territory back to the king.³⁹

In the same way, by appointing Rostislav, King Louis was hoping for the long-term subordination of Moravia under his sovereignty, probably linked with the expectation of a beneficial growth in Christianity. If one follows a formulation in the eleventh chapter of the Council of Mainz, dealing with the case of the nobleman Albgis who had kidnapped the wife of a certain Patrichus and taken her to Moravia, there already existed “at the utmost edge of the kingdom” a still “raw

29 *Ermold le Noir, Poeme sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au Roi Pipin*, ed. Edmond Farel, Paris 1932, v. 2234–2279; *Annales regni Francorum ad a. 826*, p. 169nn.

30 A. ANGENENDT, *Kaiserherrschaft*, pp. 216–23.

31 *Conversio*, chap. 10, p. 72; H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, p. 175 f.

32 *Conversio*, chap. 11, p. 74; H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, p. 186, quotes the date as being “soon after 821”; A. ANGENENDT, *Kaiserherrschaft*, p. 239, note 5 with older literature for 827/28.

33 H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, p. 186.

34 Chr. LÜBKE, *Slaven und Deutsche um das Jahr 1000*, *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 3, 1993, pp. 59–90, in particular pp. 80–86.

35 *Annales Fuldenses ad a. 846*, p. 36.

36 *Annales Fuldenses ad a. 845*, p. 35.

37 A. ANGENENDT, *Kaiserherrschaft*, p. 240; Ch. R. BOWLUS, *Franks*, p. 104.

38 *Conversio*, chap. 4, p. 64.

39 *Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres*, ed. Paul Hirsch – Hans Eberhard Lohmann, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 60, Hannover 1935; German translation: *Die Sachsen-geschichte des Widukind von Korvei*, transl. A. Bauer – R. Rau, in: *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit (Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 8)*, 5th ed. Darmstadt 2002, pp. 1–183; see also Chr. LÜBKE, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Slaven an Elbe und Oder (vom Jahr 900 an)*, Bd. II, Berlin 1985, no. 66.

Christianity of the *gens* of the Moravians".⁴⁰ From the point of view of canon law, the newly converted Moravians' perception of this crime was all the more sacrilegious, but from Albgis' perspective Moravia was particularly suited as a place of refuge because it offered him safety from the persecutions of the authorities in the Frankish empire. Even though Albgis himself finally returned from Moravia and surrendered himself up to council procedures, his view of Moravia seems to have been a fairly common one, for Rostislav's principality had earlier become a retreat for opponents of the East Frankish king, a crucial element being the mutual political and social acceptance ascertained in relation to Pribina and his son Kocel.

The first person who allied himself with Rostislav independently of the king was Ratbod, who had been the prefect of Eastland for many years. In the year 854 he was removed from office, the same year in which, according to the older *Salzburg Annals*, a *carmula* (uprising) began.⁴¹ Rostislav was evidently striving for independence from King Louis. To this end it appeared useful to enter into cooperation with the Bavarian-Frankish opposition, which was soon to be led by Louis' son Carloman. With the temporary presence of members of the Bavarian-Frankish elite in Moravia, not as political-military overseers but as allies against the king, a new level was reached in relations between the Franks and their Slavic neighbours. In the north, in the region of the Abodrites and Wilzes, this was not to happen until a good century later, when the Saxon noblemen Wichmann and Ekbert moved into Slavic territory, where they functioned as military leaders.⁴²

Similar to the events that occurred exactly a hundred years later, when King Otto personally led a military campaign against the Elbe Slavs and forced the two Saxons to flee to France following his victory,⁴³ in the year 855 King Louis initiated a campaign against Moravia, which, however, ended in defeat. Following this, Louis entrusted Carloman with the administration of Eastland, and there were also battles with the Moravians,⁴⁴ but a campaign against Moravia led by King Louis in the year 858 was arbitrarily broken off by Carloman, who preferred to come to an understanding with Rostislav. At the same time he reorganised the conditions in Bavarian Eastland by disposing of the personnel who, appointed by his father, had been in office up to then – the counts and princes of the *gentes*. His aim was to build up an independent dominion in Bavarian Eastland and in Bavaria to the east of the River Inn.⁴⁵ Pribina also fell victim to these activities – in the year 860 he was killed by the Moravians, with whose prince, Rostislav, Carloman then held a formal alliance after

40 *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 843–859*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann, MGH Concilia 3, Hannover 1984, p. 248: "Albgis, qui uxorem Patrichi publice auferens ad extremos fines regni duxit in rudem adhuc christianitatem gentis Maraensium."; L. KÉRY, *Gottesfurcht und irdische Strafe: der Beitrag des mittelalterlichen Kirchenrechts zur Entstehung des Strafrechts*, Köln 2006, p. 37, confirms that in the treatment of this case a very severe view of the crime was taken, especially due to the public perception of the newly converted.

41 *Annales ex annalibus Iuvavensibus antiqui excerpti*, ed. Harry Bresslau, in: MGH Scriptorum 30/2, Leipzig 1934, p. 727–744, hier ad a. 854, p. 744.

42 *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi chronicon*, ed. Robert Holtzmann, MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova Series 9, Berlin 1935, II/12, pp. 51nn.; *Widukind III/50*, p. 129 nn.; Chr. LÜBKE, *Regesten II*, no. 92.

43 *Thietmar*, II/12, p. 52; *Widukind*, III/55, p. 135; Chr. LÜBKE, *Regesten II*, no. 102.

44 *Annales Iuvavenses ad a. 856, 857*, p. 744; H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, p. 16.

45 H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, p. 240.

861, thereby openly rebelling against his father.⁴⁶ In return, Louis entered into an alliance with the Bulgarians and waged wars against Carloman (863) and Rostislav (864), without lasting effect. Only the *Fulda Annals*, in the August of 864, give an account of the king defeating Rostislav at the stronghold (*civitas*) of Dowina, and of elements of public representation witnessing his sovereignty over the Moravian prince. This corresponds with reports of similar events in the preceding decades, such as the position of hostages and the integration of further representatives of the Moravians (*universi optimi sui*) – similar to the *populus* of the Abodrites and Wilzes – in the agreed peace settlement.⁴⁷ At this point in time, the "teachers" sent from Byzantium, the missionaries Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius, had already arrived in Moravia, and their presence could be one of the reasons for the campaign and the disputes in negotiations.

In any case, after 864 Rostislav sought to continue his independent politics, and in the year 865 Louis the German granted Carloman the separation of the realm in anticipation of succession, i.e. kingly rule over Bavaria. However, this changed the overall political constellation, thus removing the basis of the alliance between the new King of Bavaria and the Moravian prince. In the ensuing years, military conflicts began between the two former allies, and in the year 870 Rostislav met with a similar fate as his predecessor Mojmir: he was removed from his position in favour of his nephew Svatopluk, who surrendered him up to Carloman. In this way, if only on a temporary basis before Svatopluk's rise to uncontested sovereignty from 871, traditional Frankish politics were enforced amongst the *gentes* in the east. Carloman even attempted to take a completely new direction with the appointment of two foreign administrators, the dukes (*duces*) Engelschalk and Wilhelm⁴⁸, who however were unable to withstand the resistance of the Moravians. The most impressive sign of the rapprochement of the Theodisk and Moravian elites at that time, in spite of all their conflicts, is the fact that, in the year 870, Svatopluk became godfather to Carloman's grandson, the son of the later East Frankish King Arnulf. The child was baptised with a name which was an adaptation of the name of his godparent, in the form Zwentibold. Even if the significance of this act may be qualified in face of the uncertainty of future successions,⁴⁹ the fact that a *compaternitas* existed between Arnulf, the offspring of the Carolingian imperial house, and the Slavic prince remains a remarkable one. In comparison with the initial situation at the time of Charlemagne's coronation as Roman Emperor, or the first appearance of the Moravians before Emperor Louis, where they seemed to be a mere accessory to the imperial occasion, at the beginning of Svatopluk's reign they were on the way to emancipation from the noblemen of the Frankish Empire.

46 *Conversio*, chap. 10, p. 78: "Priwina, quem Maravi occiderunt"; *Annales Bertiniani ad a. 861*, p. 55 (Carlomanus [...] cum Resticio Winidorum regulo foederatur), and ad a. 862, p. 62 (Karlomanno, qui auxiliante Resticio Winido contra patrem rebellaverat).

47 *Annales Fuldenses ad a. 864*, p. 62: Rostislav "obsides, quales et quantos rex praecepit, necessitate coactus dedit; insuper cum universis optimatibus suis fidem se cunctis diebus regi servaturum esse iuramento firmavit."

48 *Annales Fuldenses ad a. 871*, p. 73.

49 H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, pp. 294nn.

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THE BYZANTINE MISSION AND EVIDENCE OF ITS ACTIVITIES IN POHANSKO NEAR BŘECLAV

Jiří Macháček

Unlike written reports, archaeological evidence of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission on the territory of Moravia is very sporadic. Researchers have mainly searched for traces of the activities of this mission in religious architecture, in which, however, Byzantine influences have not yet been reliably identified. This paper presents above all an attempt to solve this problem by carrying out functional analysis of building relics from Pohansko and other Great Moravian localities. The analysis is based on the reconstructed form of the Byzantine liturgy which was probably used in Moravia by Constantine and Methodius. An important and almost irreplaceable role in the variegated Eastern Rite was played by the narthex and the so-called skeuophylakion. Significant Great Moravian churches were extended by accessory buildings which may have fulfilled the function of both liturgical rooms.

Key words: Great Moravia, churches, narthex, skeuophylakion, Byzantium

Even though Christianity had already been brought to Moravia some decades before the arrival of Constantine and Methodius (*Dvorník 1970, 96–97; Třeštík 2001, 125–126; Vavřínek 1963, 37; 2013, 95–105*), the Eastern Mission and related cultural impulses are among the most interesting questions with which our historians and archaeologists have been concerned. But while the Byzantines left a deep trace in literary sources, archaeological evidence of their presence in Moravia is still somewhat misty. Besides the disputable and constantly discussed indications in the explored religious architecture, there are only several unique artefacts. Most finds whose origin has been sought in the Eastern Mediterranean area come from the territory of Uherské Hradiště and Staré Město, particularly from Sady hill. In addition to the well-known relics, such as for example a lead cross with Greek inscription from house II at “Sady” (*Galuška 1996, 112*), recently there have also appeared fragments of glass goblet lamps, which were identified in the material by Hedvika Sedláčková. Lamps played an important role in the Byzantine variant of Christian liturgy (*Galuška – Macháček – Pieta et al. 2012, 91; Młynarczyk 2006, 26*). Less certain objects of Byzantine origin are also known from Mikulčice. Among them is, for example, a gold pendant with pearls and a red glass inlay imitating almandine (*Benda 1966, Abb. 32; Wieczarek – Hinz 2000, 213*). The most conclusive evidence of activities by Constantine and Methodius was found, somewhat paradoxically, beyond Moravian territory – in Hungarian Zalavár, where Béla Szöke, conducting excavations at the seat of Pribina and Kocel, discovered fragments of a ceramic bottle with engraved Glagolitic letters (*Szöke 2010, 48–50*).

The following text is a short reflection on whether some traces of activities of the Byzantine Mission can also be identified in Pohansko near Břeclav.

Pohansko near Břeclav

Pohansko near Břeclav is among the most significant Great Moravian localities. Archaeological excavations show that it played many important roles, particularly in the field of military affairs, administration, craft production and trade (*Macháček*

2010). From the find of two early mediaeval churches, it is clearly evident that it was also a centre of religious life in the gradually Christianising society (*Čáp – Dresler – Macháček et al. 2011*). The extensive agglomeration at Pohansko undoubtedly existed at the time of the Byzantine Mission in Moravia, especially when the Moravian Church was led by Archbishop Methodius. This conclusion is based not only on a somewhat vague archaeological chronology, which has lately been undergoing a crucial revision (*Dostál 1991; Galuška 2013, 195–251; Charvátová 2004; Ungerman 2005*), but mainly on much more exact scientific methods. Several samples from Pohansko have been dated by dendrochronology, and especially the timbering of well 203 from the area of the so-called Forest Nursery has yielded high-quality dates. The well was built of wood which was felled after the year 882 (*Dresler – Humlová – Macháček et al. 2010, 114–122*), that is, shortly after the papal bull *Industriae tuae* was issued. Methodius triumphed at that time and solidified his position at the top of the Moravian Church, where he also implemented Slavonic liturgy, which had formerly been banned by the Papal Curia. In 882 he returned to Moravia from Byzantium, which he visited after 17 long years (*Vavřínek 2013, 248–249, 258–260*). However, the well, which was built at the time of major expansion of the archdiocese of Methodius and the whole of Great Moravia, was not isolated at Pohansko. It belonged to a complicated settlement structure consisting of many interlinked elements. Among them were not only homesteads of craftsmen with wells in the “Lesní školka” (Forest Nursery) and in two suburbs, but also a massive wood-and-earth fortification with a front stone revetment wall, which according to dendrochronological analysis arose as late as in the 880s or even later (*Dresler 2011, 138–139; Dresler – Humlová – Macháček et al. 2010, 124*). The most important part of Pohansko, however, was indisputably the so-called Ducal Manor – the centre of local settlement. It was an imitation of a Carolingian *palatium* and probably also one of the possible residences of the Great Moravian ruler or someone from his retinue (*Macháček 2008*). Its area, measuring about 1 ha, was enclosed by a massive square palisade which was built in at least two phases and whose protective purpose is beyond doubt (*Dostál 1969*). Within this area

we can identify several functional compounds (Dostál 1988, 283): a sacred compound with church and cemetery, residential part with single-room and multi-room houses on stone and mortar substructions, farming compound with stockyards, sheds, barns, granaries etc. and large aboveground post-built buildings and possible assembly places (Dostál 1975, 80). The overall appearance of the so-called ducal manor was mainly influenced by western patterns, and the church may have been partly inspired by the Byzantine area.

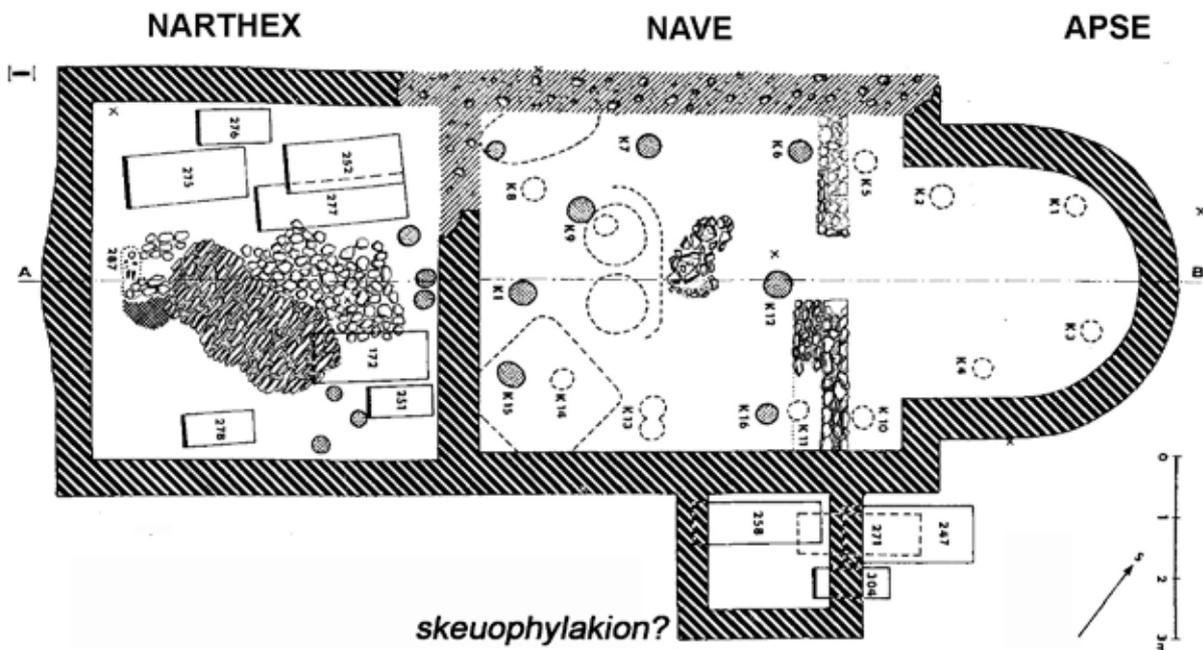
Byzantine influences in ecclesiastical architecture at Pohansko near Břeclav and other Great Moravian localities

From Pohansko we do not know any artefact which could be clearly associated with Eastern Europe or the Eastern Mediterranean area. An exception is represented by silk (Kostelníková 1973, 8–9; 1980) or brocade (Kalousek 1971, 105) from graves in the neighbourhood of the church in the ducal manor. Precious fabrics were imported to Great Moravia either from Byzantium or from Central Asia, from where they were brought by Jewish merchants travelling along the Silk Road (Charvát 1994, 114). These fabrics, however, are items of trade or gifts, which do not necessarily have anything to do with the Byzantine Mission (even though it is certainly possible, for example in the case of the gifts which were brought by Methodius returning from Constantinople; Vavřínek 2013, 260). The only potential source of information about the activities of the Byzantines at Pohansko thus remains Church No. 1, which was explored inside the ducal manor (Fig. 1). It is a single-nave building (length 18.65 m, width 7.2 m) with a well-distinguished semi-circular apse and an almost square narthex. On the south-eastern side, the nave was extended by a small annex. The church was built from quarry stone bound with lime mortar. The walls were plastered and whitewashed, and the ones in the interior were decorated

with colour paintings. In the nave there were the remains of a stone-built chancel screen with a passage in the middle (Dostál 1992; Dostál – Kalousek – Macháček 2008; Kalousek 1967). The building is one of a group of churches with semi-circular apses; Josef Pošmourný (1964, 188–194; 1971, 43–48, 56–57) had earlier tried to prove their connection to the Byzantine cultural sphere. Nevertheless, his argumentation, which was based on the implementation of a module system in the construction of churches and shape of apses, was called into question and is no longer generally accepted today (Dostál 1992, 85; Galuška – Poláček 2006, 96; Poláček 2008, 18; Vavřínek 1980, 280–281; 2013, 211).

The activity of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission did not find any significant reflection in the ecclesiastical architecture of Great Moravia, Vladimír Vavřínek wrote (Vavřínek 2013, 213). An exception in this regard, according to him, might only be the added-on narthexes, which have already been discussed by older researchers, who emphasised their connection to the Byzantine cultural and missionary sphere (Pošmourný 1964, 191). These annexes had already appeared in the Late Antique Christian architecture of the Adriatic area, as well as in the Carolingian realm (Kotrba 1964, 340; Richter 1965, 202). Their connection with educational activity by Constantine and Methodius is possible (Vavřínek 1963, 141; 2013, 129, 213), but not definitely verified. In their interior or in the immediate neighbourhood (Uherské Hradiště – Sady, Church No. 3 in Mikulčice) there sometimes occur writing utensils – *styli* (Galuška 1996, 71; Poulik 1975, 84), which indicate a church school, but they are absent in several churches with narthexes (Staré Město – Špitálky, Pohansko). *Styli* were also found outside church vestibules, for example near the palace at Mikulčice (Poláček 2006, 8–9) or in a settlement of log houses within the complex at Sady (Galuška 1996, 71). Luděk Galuška, moreover, rightly points out that schools already existed in Moravia before the arrival of the Byzantine Mission (Galuška 1996, 71–72). Gorazd, the only Moravian disciple of the Thessalonian brothers whom we know by name, learned to read (and probably also write) in Latin from western priests (Vavřínek 2013, 129). Somewhat later, *styli* from

Fig. 1. Břeclav – Pohansko. Church No. 1.
After B. Dostál 1992, 77, Fig. 74 – modified.



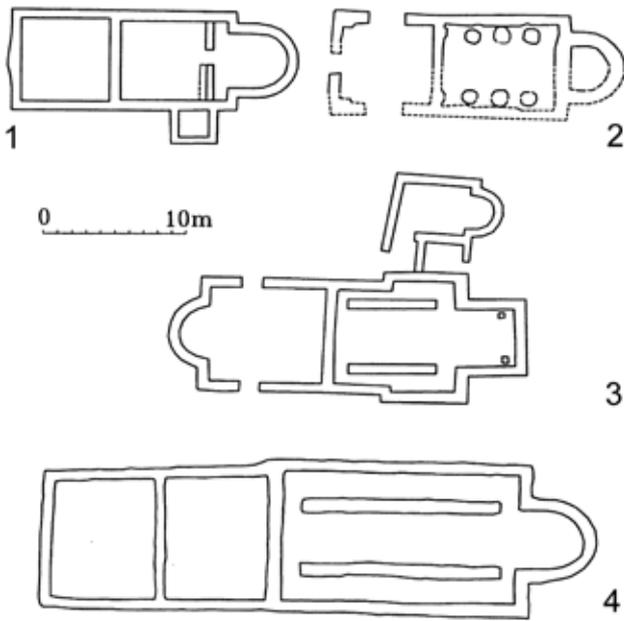


Fig. 2. Great Moravian churches with narthexes.

After L. Poláček 2008, 14, Fig. 12 – modified: 1 – Břeclav – Pohansko, Church No. 1; 2 – Staré Město – Špitálky; 3 – Uherské Hradiště – Sady; 4 – Mikulčice, Church No. 3.

the German or Danish area also came to the north-western Slavs (*Gringmuth-Dallmer 2011, 93*).

Despite these doubts I suppose that narthexes, not only at Pohansko but also at other Great Moravian localities, are indeed associated with activities by the Byzantines in Moravia. All of the four vestibules (Staré Město – Špitálky, Pohansko – Church No. 1, Uherské Hradiště – Sady¹, Mikulčice – Church/Basilica No. 3) which are known from Moravia (**Fig. 2**) are proved, or supposed, to have been added to already existing churches (*Galuška 1996, 56; Galuška – Poláček 2006, 102; Poulik 1975, 87*). In Pohansko near Břeclav it is evidenced by the clear interruption of foundation masonry by a sterile sandy-clay subsoil and some differences in the composition of mortar, F. Kalousek wrote (*Kalousek 1961, 143*). B. Dostál (*1975, 102*) adds that the narthex had slightly narrower foundations and a different type and level of the floor, and, most importantly, that the wall of the church narthex overlaid the north-eastern wing of the early phase of fortification of the ducal manor (*Dostál 1969, 207*). The construction of the narthex and the need for more space for burials in the neighbourhood of the church are considered to have caused a rebuilding of the enclosure of the manor (*Dostál 1975, 244*). The additional construction of the narthex was probably not very distant in time from the construction of the church itself, because its walls do not overlay any graves. This was also the case with the western annex of the church complex in Sady (*Galuška 1996, 60*) and to some degree also with the basilica in Mikulčice, where the partition between the narthex and atrium overlaid two graves, but the perimeter walls of annexes do not disturb any graves (*Galuška – Poláček 2006, 125*). A little more complicated is the situation in Staré Město – Špitálky. Now it is supposed that the foundations of the narthex overlay some graves, but these

graves were originally expected in the places of the side entrances to the narthex, where the masonry was allegedly interrupted (*Dostál 1992, 75–78; Galuška – Poláček 2006, 102–103*).

The exact time of construction of Great Moravian narthexes cannot be clearly determined. From a relative-chronological point of view, however, it was always a “later” phase from the time when narthexes were generally demanded. As I have already mentioned above, their construction could hardly have been instigated only by educational activity. Judging from the distribution of *styli*, disciples were most probably also educated at other places. And, above all, schools were already needed at the beginning of the Christianisation effort, maybe parallel to the construction of the earliest churches, which did not yet have narthexes. The first missions that came from the West had already educated their own disciples (*Vavřínek 2013, 105*).

The explanation why churches from the time before the arrival of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission (e.g. *Dostál 1990, 39*) were additionally extended by vestibules must therefore be sought elsewhere. A crucial contribution to the discussion about the purpose, dating and origin of narthexes in Great Moravia was provided by an in-depth study of the liturgy of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission by Andrej Škoviera (*Škoviera 2007*).

It is beyond doubt that the “Slavic missionaries” (also?) held church services based upon the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, which was gradually supplemented with several western elements (*Škoviera 2007, 120*). Masses were still based on the Byzantine rite, as is evident from a festive thanksgiving prayer for the completion of the Slavic translation of the Bible, which Methodius in his later years celebrated in accordance with Byzantine Liturgy, as well (*Vavřínek 2013, 261*).

The question of what such Byzantine Liturgy in Great Moravia would have looked like has already been answered by the above-mentioned Andrej Škoviera. He argues that it must have been a so-called cathedral or parochial service (Gr. *asmatiki akoluthia*), which was celebrated in town cathedrals and with which Constantine and Methodius were already familiar from Thessalonica. However, the monastic service can also be taken into consideration, because it was much simpler and the members of the mission to Moravia mostly came from the monastic milieu (*Škoviera 2007, 104–105, 120–122*). According to G. Woolfenden, it may also have been a hybrid Constantinopolitan synthesis of both the above forms (*Woolfenden 2007, 320*).

Byzantine Liturgy differs from the western one, among other things, by its *Proskomedía*, the act of preparation of the celebrating priests and offerings, and by having a small and a large entrance (*Škoviera 2007, 124*). Offerings from believers were collected before the beginning of the Divine Liturgy in a special building called a *skeuophylakion*, which was situated in the neighbourhood of the apse, on the north-eastern side of the church (*Ching – Jarzombek – Prakash 2011; Woolfenden 2007, 327; Fig. 3*). A free-standing *skeuophylakion* in the form of a round building (rotunda) can still be observed, for example, near the north-eastern corner of the Hagia Sophia Basilica (*Marinis 2010, 286, 300; Taft 1980, 49*). The divine service itself began in the narthex (or in another church, from which a procession came out). At this place antiphonal psalms were sung (by one choir in response to another). After the prayer was

¹ The theory that a so-called shared church (Ger. Doppelkirche) may have been built in Sady was recently rejected by V. Vavřínek (*Vavřínek 2013, 130*).

finished, the priests, their assistants – deacons, and believers entered the sacred space in the church nave. Here the Eucharistic liturgy was held. During mass, the deacons went out of the church to bring the offerings of bread and wine from the *skeuophylakion*. After the Eucharist was given out, the deacons took the empty vessels back to the *skeuophylakion*. It is necessary to remark that during the 9th century, after the end of the iconoclastic crisis, free-standing *skeuophylakions* gradually ceased to be built and their function passed over to side apses of the sanctuary. On the southern side there was a separate chamber where vestments and books were kept (*diakonikon*) and on the northern side there was a place for sacred vessels and offerings (*prothesis*; Mathews 1997, 31; Škoviera 2007, 108; Vavřínek 2013, 212).

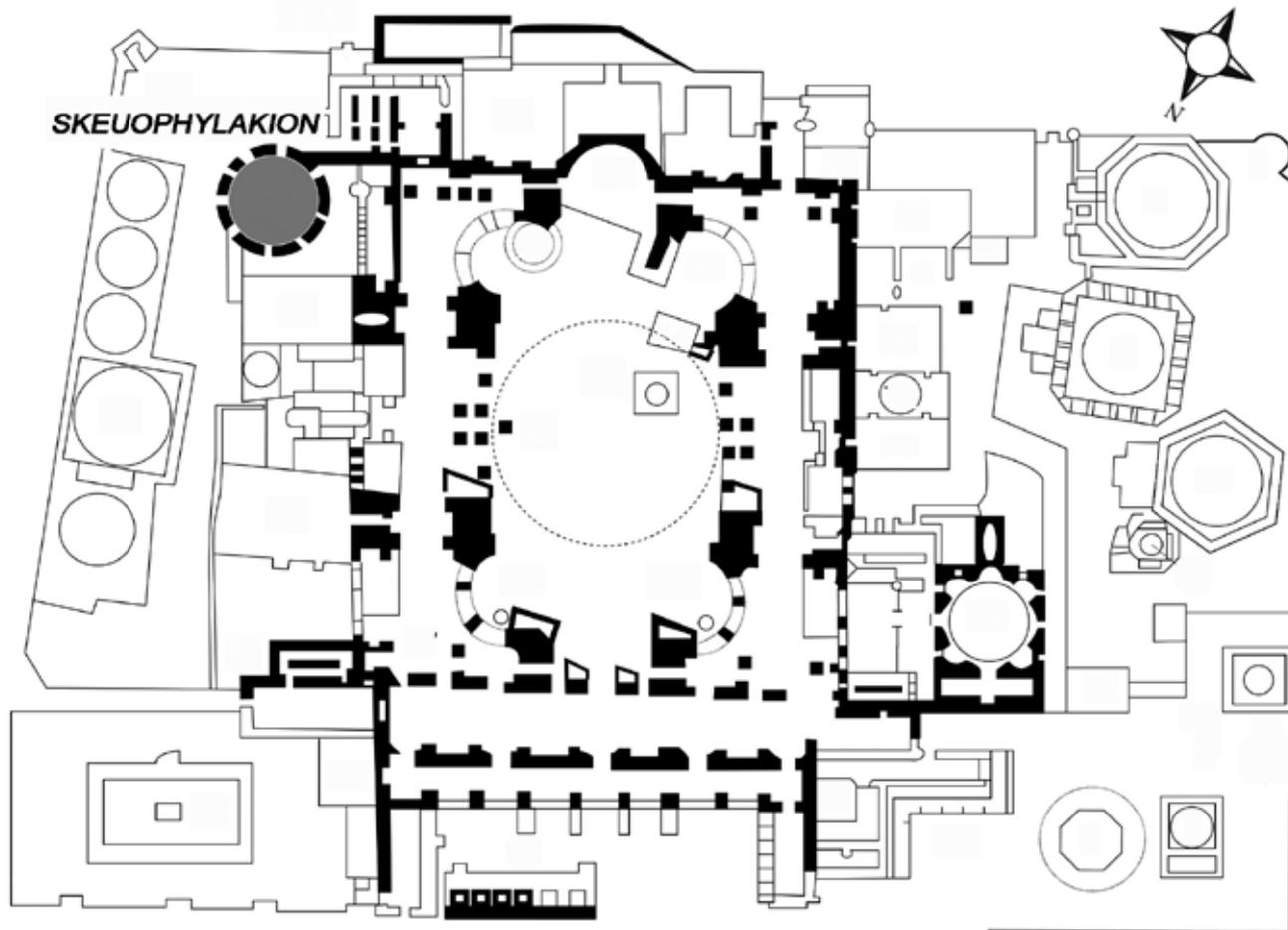
From the above description it is evident that the narthex played an important role in Byzantine religious architecture (Woolfenden 2007, 321). Its construction adapted Moravian churches to meet the liturgical needs of the Eastern Mission. The question is, when these extensive building alterations took place. It may have been immediately after the arrival of the Byzantines in Moravia (863/4), when the western priests had to abandon their own churches which they had built and consecrated. The process of the Byzantinisation of Great Moravian architecture, however, was complicated by the fact that after the defeat

of Rostislav at Dowina in 864, the Archpriest of Passau probably returned to Moravia to “lead together with the other Frankish and Latin clergymen a sharp campaign against the Byzantine missionaries” (Vavřínek 2013, 122, 126). An optimal time for alterations to churches then would not have come earlier than after the issuance of the bull *Industriae tuae* (880), which represented a striking triumph for Methodius, especially after his return from Constantinople in 882. The time interval for the construction of narthexes, however, would thus be quite short – until the death of Methodius in 885. It is not very likely that all the narthexes in Great Moravia were built within such a short time span, even though some possibility exists. This assumption could be corroborated by, for example, the above-mentioned dendrochronological dating of Pohansko, which shows that large-scale rebuilding activities took place here in the 1st half of the 880s (maybe inclusive of a new enclosure of the ducal manor and construction of a narthex; however, it is not possible to synchronise these events exactly, so all the considerations are only hypothetical).

As Vladimír Vavřínek wrote (2013, 212), in the Moravian churches we cannot find separate chambers for *prothesis* and *diakonikon*. These important components of Byzantine churches, which were placed in side apses, already anticipate more complicated, internally divided architecture. Therefore it must be taken into account that in Great Moravia with its small churches with simple layout, eastern missionaries may also have used an earlier concept based on the existence of a *skeuophylakion* as a separate room situated outside the church, where sacred vessels were kept and from where offerings – bread and wine – were brought out during the divine

Fig. 3. Hagia Sophia, Turkey.

Schematic plan showing the position of a *skeuophylakion*. After Hagia Sophia [online] – modified.



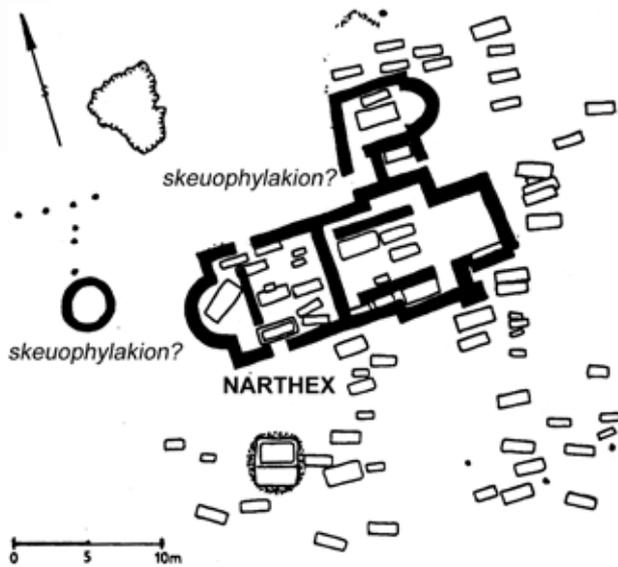


Fig. 4. Uherské Hradiště – Sady.

After L. Galuška 1996, 28, Fig. 12 – modified.

service (Rosser 2012, 151). This would be in no way surprising. According to eyewitnesses, the *skeuophylakion* in the main Constantinople church was still serving its liturgical purpose in the year 1200 (Majeska 1998, 212).

When we pay attention to Great Moravian churches with a narthex, we find that in their neighbourhood there were always some separate buildings, which may have played the role of a *skeuophylakion*. The most distinctive example of this accessory architecture is a “small church” with semi-circular apse on the northern side of the religious complex at Sady (Fig. 4). In its interior there are two grave pits, but they were dug additionally, because they disturb the original mortar floor. The northern annex did not originally serve as a funeral chapel, L. Galuška wrote. Only hypothetically, it may have been a proprietary chapel or episcopal oratory (according to V. Hrubý), but most probably “a functional annex supplementing the activity of the main church” (Galuška 1996, 68). The above characteristic would correspond best to the character of a *skeuophylakion*. At the same time it must be remarked that the northern part was probably not built until the construction of the western vestibule, in connection with alterations in its interior. This assumption, however, is based only on the similar character of the masonry of the northern “chapel” and a partition which was built additionally inside the western annex (Galuška 1996, 68). What is sure is that the northern building is older than the original church with cruciform layout, to which it is attached through a so-called funerary chamber (Galuška 1996, 65). It is also possible that the role of a *skeuophylakion* at Sady may have been played by a round building situated west of the church. Until now it has been interpreted as a baptistery. However, it lacks a sunken basin. In its shape (not size) it would correspond well to the *skeuophylakion* in the Hagia Sophia Basilica of Constantinople.

Another ecclesiastical building with a narthex and accessory buildings is “Špitálky” in Staré Město (Fig. 5: 1). From the pillars in the interior of the nave it has been inferred that the church was equipped with a domed tower. It was probably

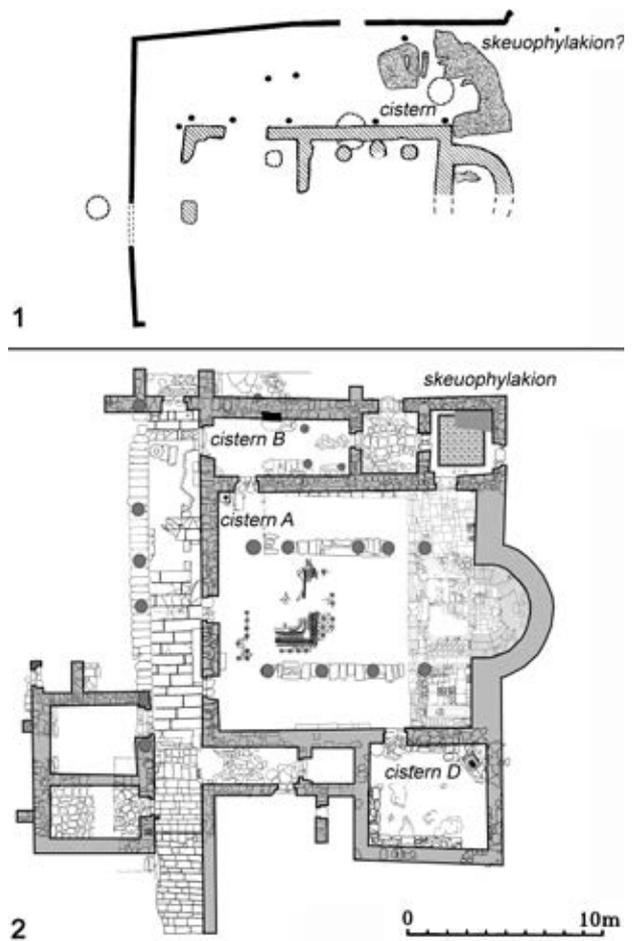


Fig. 5: 1 – Staré Město – Špitálky.

After L. Galuška – L. Poláček 2006, 102 – modified.

Obr. 5: 2 – Hippos – Sussita, Israel.

After J. Młynarczyk 2011, 282 – modified.

the constructional type in the form of an inscribed cross, which is typical of Byzantine architecture (Galuška – Poláček 2006, 102). Archaeological excavations unearthed the remains of a combined annex along the entire northern wall of the church. The annex consisted for the most part of a wooden construction (c. 2 m wide), from which the postholes are preserved (Poulik 1955, 311).² The part situated closest to the apse, however, was probably built of stone bound with mortar. The stone-built part of the annex became evident as both an irregular large mortar block and a regular round block 1.60 m in diameter. Below the mortar block there was a pit 330 cm deep, which is considered to have been the piscina of a baptistery (Klanica 1985, 116; Poulik 1950, 309–310). The find context and its description are unfortunately very unclear, so that this interpretation cannot be definitely verified. The purpose and dating of the deep pit thus remain unknown. But it could hardly have been a baptistery. The baptismal rite, which demanded the existence of separate baptisteries, died out during the 7th or at the beginning of the 8th century, and none of the examples of early mediaeval baptisteries discovered

² This construction is not related in any way to a trench on the northern and western side, which was rather a remnant of the palisade enclosure of the sacred compound (Galuška – Poláček 2006, 103).

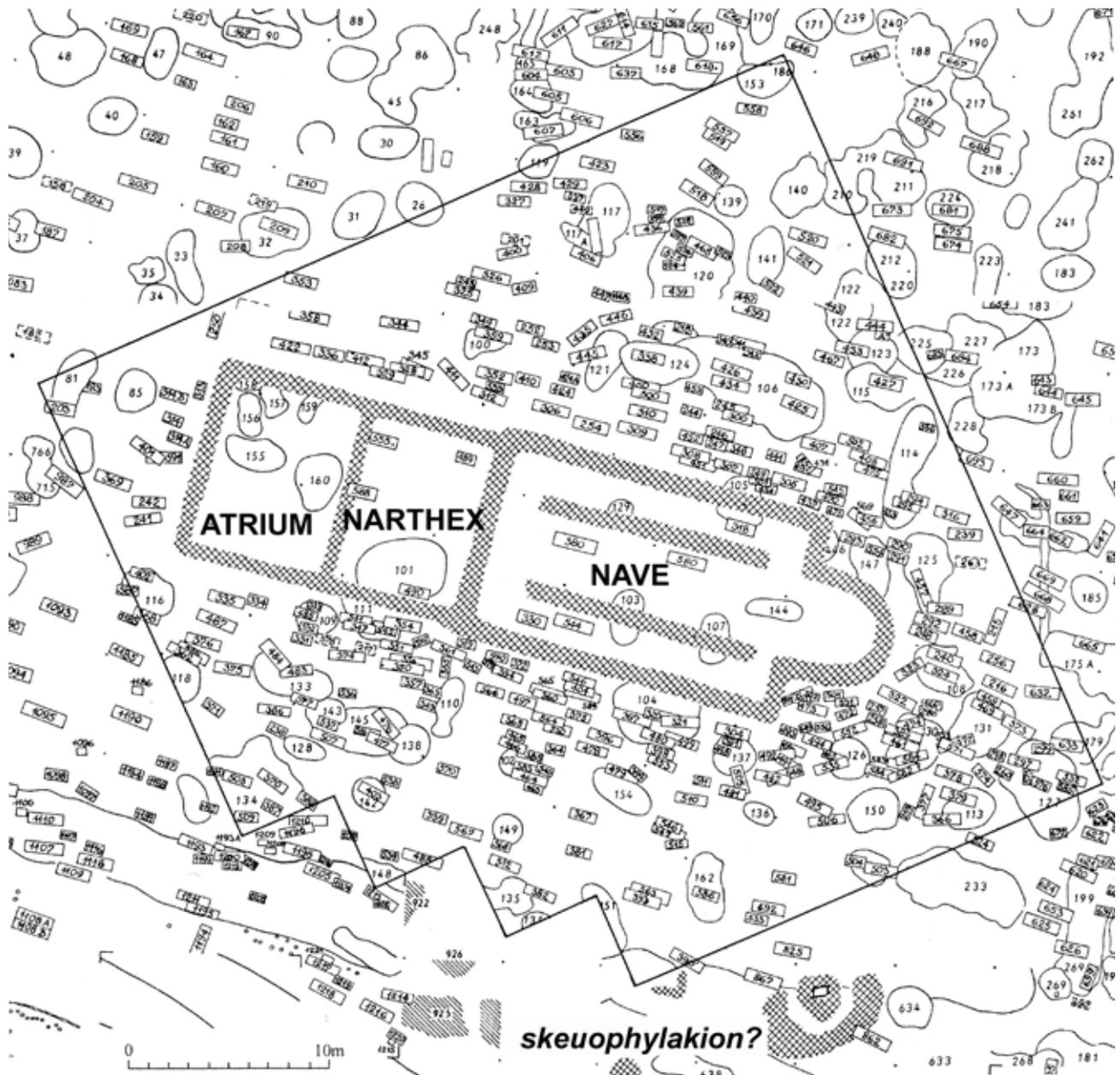


Fig. 6. Mikulčice – Church No. 3.

After L. Poláček – O. Marek 2005, 67, Fig. 44 – modified.

north of the Roman Limes, inclusive of those from the territory of Great Moravia, are indisputable (Kubková 1996, 136).

However, the northern annex and cistern can also be interpreted in a different way, based on analogies from the Byzantine milieu. In its dimensions and layout, inclusive of pillars built inside the church nave, Špitálky reminds us of the so-called Northeast Church from the Byzantine city of Hippos (Sussita; today's Golan Heights in Palestine). Archaeological excavations have been conducted there since 2002 by a team from Concordia University, St Paul (USA). The church is dated to the 5th to 7th centuries (Fig. 5: 2). A row of three narrow rooms (c. 4 m wide) is attached to the northern wall of the church nave. The last among them, closest to the apse, was a *skeuophylakion*, which provided an entrance to the nave of the church. This room was built most thoroughly; its floor was decorated with a mosaic

(Młynarczyk 2011, 264–268, fig. 265). The Northeast Church in the city of Hippos also included several deep cisterns; one of them (cistern D) was situated in a room adjacent from the outside to the south-eastern corner of the church nave – on the side opposite the *skeuophylakion* (Młynarczyk 2011, 267). Another cistern (cistern B) was even detected right in the northern part of the religious complex, in the neighbourhood of the *skeuophylakion* (Northeast Church Project, online). The sacred water from cisterns in the Northeast Church of the city of Hippos may have been used for healing. Numerous cisterns and wells, eight of them examined recently by archaeological methods, were also mentioned by mediaeval reports in the main Constantinople Church of Hagia Sophia. Besides utilitarian needs they were also used for ritual purposes (Aygün 2010, 67–72). The cisterns from Great Moravian religious complexes, which may have been built here under the influence of the Byzantine Mission, probably also had a similar purpose.

Least conclusive is the existence of a *skeuophylakion* with Church No. 3 in Mikulčice (Fig. 6). The basilica with a narthex and atrium is not immediately adjoined by any side building.

Relics of stone buildings, however, were detected about 15 m south of the apse of the church. One of them has been considered a baptistery due to a well-shaped cistern with square layout (Poulik 1975, 87). This interpretation, however, can be called into question for the above-mentioned reasons (Galuška – Poláček 2006, 128). In the neighbourhood

of the building with the well there were some other ruined stone buildings (Klanica 1966, 59; 1967, 42–43), which were probably related with the nearby basilica. Among them is a building with wattlework armature and the remnant of a rectangular substruction, which was probably orientated parallel to the basilica.

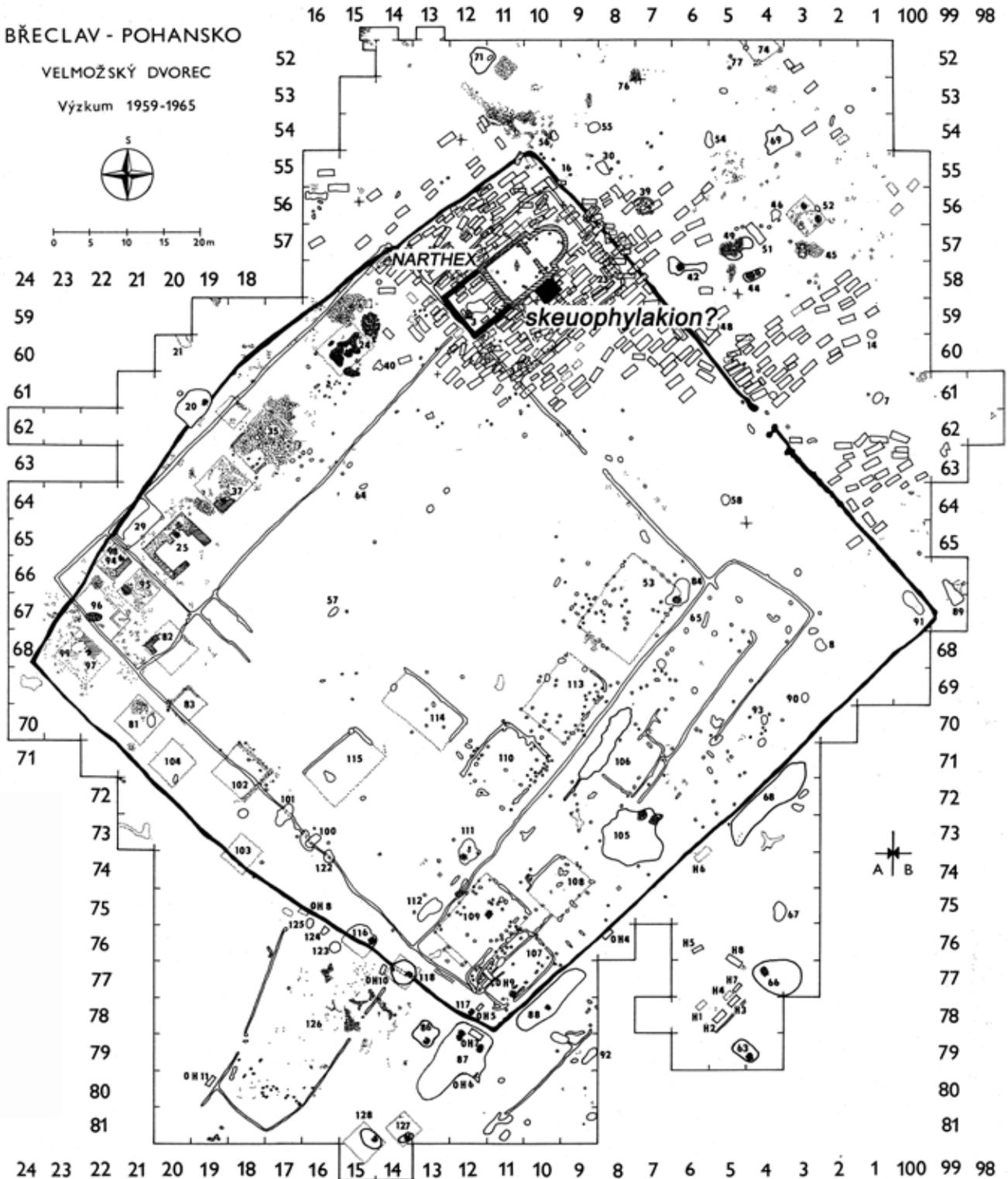


Fig. 7. Břeclav – Pohansko, Church No. 1 and the so-called ducal manor (*palatium*).

After B. Dostál 1975, 24, Fig. 23 – modified.

The role of *skeuophylakion* at Pohansko was hypothetically played by an annex on the SE side of Church No. 1 in the ducal manor (Fig. 1). It was attached to the outside of the nave, approximately at the level of a chancel screen, which separated the presbytery from the nave. A step in front of the eastern arm of the partition was maybe associated with the side entrance to the church, which was situated in the annex (Dostál 1992, 80).³ The annex, built without foundations, was a low light building (that is, not a tower, as was sometimes supposed) which arose when burials around the church had already been being conducted for a long time. The building overlaid three graves. Sometimes it was also considered to have been a sacristy or a tower (Dostál 1975, 102; Kalousek 1961, 144). This interpretation, however, was called into question by V. Kotrba and V. Richter, who considered it ahistorical or technically impossible and supposed that the annex has served some other, more significant, purpose (Kotrba 1964, 340; Richter 1965, 194). The sepulchral function suggested by Kotrba, however, is out of the question due to the stratigraphic relations between the graves and the annex. But might it indeed have been a *skeuophylakion*? An argument against is the position of the annex on the southern side of the church, which is not usual with this type of building (Fig. 7). Here, however, we must also admit the possibility that the builder had to improvise to a certain extent and adapt to the layout of the other buildings as well as to local conditions. If the *skeuophylakion* had followed the rigid rules and adjoined the northern side of the already-standing church, it would have been situated in the corner of the later phase of the palisade enclosure of the ducal manor. This position would have considerably complicated the access of processions to the deposit of offerings (Taft 1980, 53; Woolfenden 2007, 328), and visual contact between the small but important building and the centre of the manor, where believers gathered for worship, would then have been impossible (on ceremonies see Škoviera 2007, 108). The annex at the church in Pohansko thus may have been, in my opinion, a *skeuophylakion*.

Conclusion

Unlike written reports, archaeological evidence of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission on the territory of Moravia is very sporadic. Researchers dealing with this problem have based themselves mainly on exclusive artefacts and religious architecture. Byzantine influences, however, have not yet been reliably identified and the complicated problem has been intensively discussed for fifty years without any definitive conclusion (Vavřínek 2013, 212–213). Recently I have tried to solve this problem using a functional analysis of building relics from Pohansko and other Great Moravian localities. The analysis was based on a recently published essay by A. Škoviera on the Byzantine form of liturgy, which was used by Constantine and Methodius during their mission to Moravia. An important and almost irreplaceable role in the voluminous Eastern Liturgy was played by the narthex and the so-called *skeuophylakion*. Provided that we accept the existence of the Byzantine rite in Moravia, then both of these building elements must be present here.

The existence of narthexes in Great Moravian churches is beyond doubt, even though the interpretation of their purpose by individual

researchers is disputable. They have mainly been associated with the educational activity of the Byzantines. This interpretation, however, is not very conclusive, because similar activity had already been undertaken here by previous missions that had come from the West or from the Adriatic area, where narthexes also occurred. The connection between narthexes and the Byzantine Mission is mainly evidenced by the fact that these building structures were always added to older churches – and we can rightly suppose that these churches had already been built before the arrival of Constantine and Methodius (e.g. Dostál 1990, 39).

Buildings which may have played the role of a *skeuophylakion* have not yet been sought in Moravia. I have tried to show that they do exist and in individual churches they occur in combination with narthexes. Most of them are later annexes, just as it was with vestibules.

Viewed chronologically, it is interesting that narthexes were built not very long after the churches themselves. In the main, the walls of vestibules do not disturb any graves of the adjacent churchyards. Provided that the above-mentioned thesis is right and the narthexes or other accessory buildings were not built until the arrival of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission, then churches such as, for example, the basilica of Mikulčice or Church No. 1 from Pohansko could not have been built very long before the mid-9th century. This conclusion must be verified by an in-depth analysis of material from cemeteries in their neighbourhood and by other dating methods (Galuška – Poláček 2006, 128).

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³ Cf. the direct entrance to the nave from the *skeuophylakion*, as was detected in the Northwest Church of the city of Hippos (Młynarczyk 2011, 264).

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF CHRISTIANITY IN RELICS OF MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES IN MORAVIA WITH FOCUS ON CROSSES

Pavel Kouřil

The study submitted focuses on the most significant relics of minor material culture related to the beginnings of Christianity in Moravia, and probably the most typical aspects of the evangelisation process – crosses, the sign of Christ’s suffering and, at the same time, of his triumph. Other artefacts of Christian character, especially handicraft products, cannot be taken into consideration due to the limited scope of the study. Geographically, the study focuses on the core of Mojmir dynasty Moravia, i.e. the southern section of the present-day territory and adjoining south-eastern Slovakia, as well as the Danube region in Austria, during the Great Moravian period.

Key words: archaeology, Great Moravia, Christianity, pendant and other crosses

The study submitted focuses on the most significant relics of minor material culture related to the beginnings of Christianity in Moravia, and probably the most typical aspects of the evangelisation process – crosses, the sign of Christ’s suffering and, at the same time, of his triumph. Other artefacts of Christian character, especially handicraft products, cannot be taken into consideration due to the limited scope of the study. Geographically, the study focuses on the core of Mojmir dynasty Moravia, i.e. the southern section of the present-day territory and adjoining south-eastern Slovakia, as well as the Danube region in Austria, during the Great Moravian period.

The devotional objects in question – engolpions, simple pectoral crosses, processional crosses, and other less noticeable examples of these symbols of the new belief – were paid substantial attention with conclusions often valid to the present day, although those were mainly assessments of individual objects or their groups. Thus, the objective of this text is to provide an overview of all objects of the type under discussion that have been published so far, complete with some new, as yet unpublished finds obtained by standard archaeological research as well as by detector surveys, to show their uniform drawing documentation, and especially – upon non-destructive X-ray-fluorescent analyses of selected representatives – to try to offer a somewhat innovative view of their possible provenance, mutual relations, and significance.

The Christianisation of the territory north of the middle reaches of the Danube clearly did not occur in connection with the Cyril-Methodian mission, but undoubtedly much earlier. Sporadic attempts to disseminate the Word of God among the Slavs living north of Danube are reported to have occurred as early as the 7th century, although unequivocal evidence of such activities in that period is missing. However, not only scanty written reports but also archaeological evidence (particularly crosses of various types made of different materials) from the 8th century are available. Thus, this period may be considered to be the beginning of the evangelisation of Moravian territory,

especially through the Bavarian episcopate, at first in a more liberal and random form and probably peaking with the baptism of “all” Moravians by Reginhar, Bishop of Passau, in 831. However, that act should not be considered to have been a spontaneous decision of the Moravian elite. It was a purely pragmatic choice, evident political calculation, and although Moravian Christianity was considered rude or immature by contemporary sources (*rudis christianitas* by 852), it is rather surprising how easily it won out or, more specifically, how it was accepted without any obvious resistance (?), at least by the most important segment of society. A considerable number of the privileged (but definitely not all of them) appear to have realised what they could gain through acceptance of the teachings of Jesus; they undoubtedly drew a lesson from the Avar wars.¹ The immediate impulse behind the whole event, the purpose of which was to weaken the possible political isolation of the rising Moravian Principality, may have been the official consecration of a small church in Pribina-ruled Nitra by Adalram, Archbishop of Salzburg, in 828, which increased the prestige of the Principality of Nitra, a rival territory, in a way accepted in the western Christian world, annexed by the first historically documented Moravian ruler, Mojmir I, perhaps as early as 833 (?).² However, the whole situation may be interpreted the other way round: a baptised Mojmir expelled the pagan Pribina. In any case, it was a well thought-out and targeted effort to join the Christian universe and to secure, within its framework, the most independent position possible.³ In this connection it should be pointed out that for example

1 Pavel KOUŘIL, *Velká Morava*, in: Petr Sommer – Dušan Třeštík – Josef Žemlička (ed.), *Přemyslovci. Budování českého státu*, Praha 2009, pp. 100–121.

2 However, present research indicates more and more often the fact that numerous hillforts, the definitive end to which was considered as having occurred in connection with this annexation in the given period, perished much later, in the late 9th century; comp. Joachim HENNING – Matej RUTTKAY, *Frühmittelalterliche Burgwälle an der mittleren Donau im ostmitteleuropäischen Kontext: Eindeutsch-slowakisches Forschungsprojekt*, in: Jiří Macháček – Šimon Ungerman (ed.), *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*, Studien zur Archäologie Europas 14, Bonn 2011, pp. 259–288.

3 Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Cyril a Metoděj mezi Konstantinopolí a Římem*, Praha 2013, p. 217.

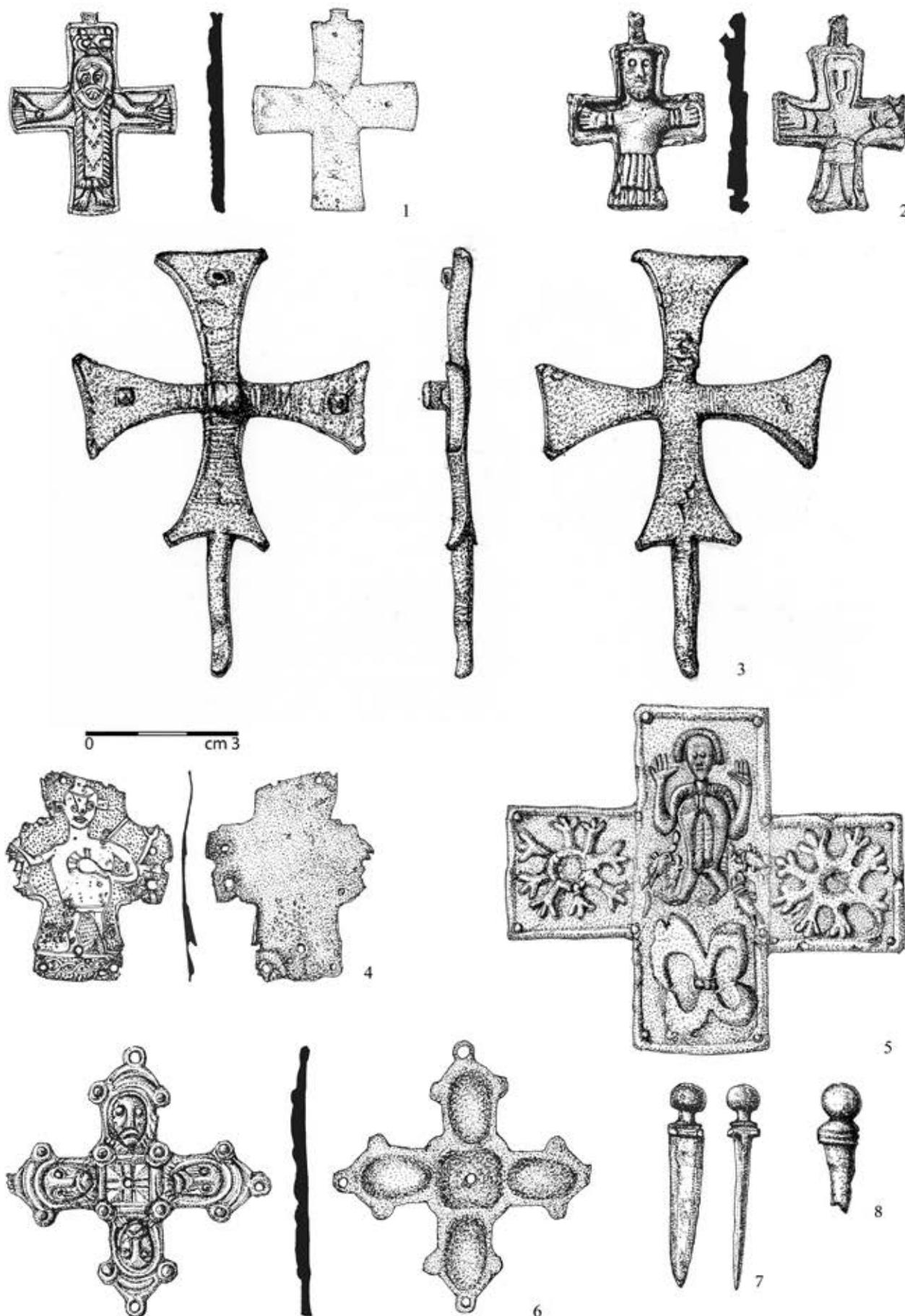


Fig. 1. Mikulčice.

1-2 - Cross pendants; 3 - Processional cross; 4-6 - Cross mountings of wooden receptacles; 7 - Amulet - miniature sword imitation (?); 8 - Uherské Hradiště - Sady, Amulet torso (?), after L. Galuška 1996.

in Mikulčice, the key site of Great Moravia, even large cemeteries outside the central fortified area contained graves which may be compared, with their content and dating, to the most pompous burials inside the castle. Their location in contact with assumed pagan cult zones (?)⁴ leads, via conditioned reasoning, to the question whether these cemeteries also served for those of the elite in whom the new religion raised fears, distaste, and especially a feeling of the loss of their own identity, and who, therefore, held to the belief of their predecessors. Despite the fact that burials of men, women and children of the same importance, that were just several hundred metres away, by newly-built shrines, slowly but permanently adapted to the new ideology.⁵

The most relevant evidence of these critical events that changed the course of history provided so far comes from extensive archaeological research into the central Great Moravian sites: Mikulčice, the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration and Pohansko near Břeclav. Apart from the excavated remains of sacral structures, the number of relics coming into focus is not at all impressive. Regarding crosses, there are only five pieces from Mikulčice available for analysis; another six pieces have been obtained recently by a targeted detector survey (mainly from the castle area); however, they have not been published yet, and are thus unavailable.⁶ But there are two cross-shaped mountings of wooden receptacles depicting Jesus. It is symptomatic that, with the exception of one cross (child's grave 339 at church III; although even here the situation is not completely clear), none of them can definitely be said to have come from a burial assemblage. Further, there are eight specimens available from the Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště – Sady sites, but four of them, relatively small artefacts coming from graves in "Špitálky" and the "Na valách" burial sites, need not be related to Christianity and their form may be accidental. Another four possible pieces of evidence from the same necropolis are highly doubtful, including two pieces of cross-shaped gilt-bronze ironwork mounted on wood from child's grave 309/49. Finally, there are three crosses from Pohansko available, but two of them have not been published yet.

First to be focused on are the finds from Mikulčice. Considerable attention has always been paid to a silver cross,

4 In summary Zdeněk KLANICA, *Interpretace moravských objektů slovanského kultu*, in: Eliška Kazdová – Vladimír Podborský (ed.), *Studium sociálních a duchovních struktur pravěku*, Brno 2007, pp. 331–350; however, such an interpretation of the objects in question has recently been seriously challenged by a new evaluation of their find context, although, rather logically, it offered no "alternative" explanation and, with respect to the situations they were found in, could not offer any; comp. e.g. Marek HLADÍK, *Zur Frage der heidnischen Kultstätte in "Těšický les" im Suburbium des Burgwalls von Mikulčice*, in: Lumír Poláček – Jana Maříková Kubková (Hrsg.), *Frühmittelalterliche Kirchen als archäologische und historische Quelle*, Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 8, Brno 2010, pp. 101–121 or Marian MAZUCH, *Revidierte Interpretation der "kreis förmigen heidnischen Kultstätte" im nördlichen Suburbium von Mikulčice*, *ibidem*, pp. 123–133.

5 Also the necropolis in Modrá by Velehrad in the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration – comp. Luděk GALUŠKA, *Hrob 1/2003 z Modré u Velehradu. Pohřeb "pohanského" velmože z éry raného křesťanství na Moravě?*, in: Jiří Doležel – Martin Wihoda (ed.), *Mezi raným a vrcholným středověkem*. Pavlu Kouřilovi k šedesátým narozeninám přátel, kolegů a žáci, Brno 2012, pp. 91–110. A certain parallel, with some chronological difference, may be seen in the Přemyslid's domain in Central Bohemia where the society's elite was buried in the same time horizon, not only in the church cemeteries of the most important power centres, but also at non-church burial sites outside their fortifications; most recently in summary and with relevant literature Andrea BARTOŠKOVÁ, *Budeč. Významné mocenské centrum prvních Přemyslovců*, Praha 2014, pp. 77–84.

6 Comp. L. POLÁČEK, *Mikulčice und das Christentum in Mähren im 9. Jahrhundert*, in: Maciej Salamon – Marcin Wołoszyn – Alexander Musin – Perica Špehar – Matthias Hardt – Mirosław P. Kruk – Aleksandra Sulikowska-Gąska (ed.), *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence*, vol. I, Krakow – Leipzig – Rzeszow – Warszawa 2012, pp. 116–118.

several times published and quite well described, coming from the burial site by the largest Great Moravian church, the three-*na*ve basilica (south of the atrium, approx. 70 cm below the ground, originally perhaps from a burial assemblage (?); **Fig. 1: 1**). It depicts the crucified Jesus dressed in a *colobium* (a sleeveless tunic reaching to the feet), with arms spread out and wide palms with clear marks of nails; the drop-shaped head with the hint of a nimbus, accentuated eyes and beard, is not bowed but upright; a small rectangular plate is placed above the head, bearing images ambiguous to interpret (the sun and moon as the symbols of an eclipse at the time of Jesus' death) and the inscription CXXO. The cross was assigned a Syrian origin, from the 8th or 9th centuries.⁷ However, its level of rustication (unbowed head, inorganically enlarged bulging eyes, sleeveless robe unfastened with a belt) and the symbols above the crucified figure's head, perhaps misinterpreted, may indicate an item of local origin (?) rather than an imported one, dating from the mid- or second half of the 9th century, from the time of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. Such an assumption is somewhat supported by the original material from which the cross was cast (84 % silver, 4 % gold and almost 10 % copper), indicating it may have been made in a goldsmith's workshop assumed to have been in operation at the Mikulčice castle. It should be added that burials around church III (the three-*na*ve basilica) probably began in the 2nd quarter of the 9th century, which obviously cannot be considered clear evidence of the proposed dating of the devotional object, but could be accepted as a supporting argument. More or less faithful analogies of the cross from Mikulčice may be seen in numerous specimens known from Western Europe, such as a standing pectoral cross probably of Rhineland provenance from Mainz, made of lead according to Eastern Mediterranean models,⁸ or artistically much more professional crosses from the so-called Morgan Reliquary (a container for relics), from a book binding placed in Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (compartment enamel), or from the Monza Dome treasure,⁹ regarded as an older import probably from Syria.¹⁰ There are also other parallels (e.g. the reliquary of Vicopisano or a plate from the reliquary of Halberstadt), perhaps related to workshops in Constantinople.¹¹ Sporadically it is considered to be an imported continental product, partly influenced by Irish-Scottish handicraft, but drawing inspiration from the Eastern Mediterranean.¹²

The oldest object of all is considered a lead processional cross found in a secondary position (in a surface layer), also close to church No. 3 (**Fig. 1: 3**). Its arms widen in a trapezium shape and are slightly bent; three of them (as well as the centre cross) bear obvious protrusions, evidently imitating inlaying with gems, or round medallions with figures of saints or various

7 Zdeněk KLANICA, *Práce klenotníků na slovanských hradištích*, *Studie Archeologického ústavu Československé Akademie věd v Brně*, year II, no. 6, Praha 1974, pp. 17–18.

8 Jiří FREL, *Křížky z Mikulčic*, *Pravěk Nová řada* 5, 1995, p. 317.

9 So-called Gregory's cross – comp. Hermann DANNHEIMER, *Goldschmied arbeiten aus dem Besitz der Königin Theodelinde*, in: *Die Bajuwaren von Severin bis Tassilo 488–788*, Korneuburg 1988, pp. 342–345.

10 Z. KLANICA, *Křížky z 8.–9. století v Mikulčicích*, *Pravěk Nová řada* 3, 1993, pp. 212–214; J. FREL, *Křížky z Mikulčic*, p. 317.

11 In detail Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu II*, Praha 2006, pp. 633–636.

12 Ján DEKAN, *Velká Morava. Doba a umění*, Bratislava 1976, pp. 173–174; Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Ilustrované české dějiny*, Praha 1996, p. 56.

receptacles applied later.¹³ The bottom arm contains a spike allowing the processional cross to be mounted on a wooden handle (staff). Its provenance has been assumed to be from the East where similar crosses were relatively frequent as early as the 6th and 7th centuries¹⁴ (particularly in Syria and Egypt, but a western origin cannot be excluded, either). However, the cross could have been brought to Moravia with the arrival of the Thessalonian brothers.¹⁵ Due to its material (almost 100 % Pb), relatively small dimensions, simple design and missing ornamental elements (or an inscription), its being a local work cannot be completely excluded, but this is a rather speculative assumption (?).

A very simple conception is also characteristic of another cross pendant, perhaps from child's grave 339 near the three-nave basilica (with no other finds; **Fig. 1: 2**). This pectoral cross bears a rather shapeless erect figure of the Saviour with individual body parts – head, torso and lower limbs – roughly of the same size, shorter arms with palms separated by a double ring (nails, or hollows caused by them, are missing), from the waist down to his feet he is covered with a pleated robe (the idea that this could depict wide pants/trousers as a typical garment of the Slavonic male population has not really been substantiated); the top of the head is distinctively flattened; the face consists of blinded eyes and an indication of the nose and mouth. The reverse side bears a practically identical figure in an artless, simplified engraved form, with the pleated robe missing. A certain primitiveness of the object, including its artistic realisation, indicates it could be a local product from the 2nd half of the 9th century. Compared to the majority of other pectoral crosses it contains only 42 % lead, but 54 % tin, thus being utterly unique among the crosses evaluated.

The two remaining torsos of lead crosses from Mikulčice belong to the Bernhardsthal type and will be taken into account in a subsequent text analysing this kind of finds.

The second largest territory in terms of the number of devotional objects studied – Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště – must be represented by the best-known acquisition: a lead Latin cross pendant with slightly widening arms, low relief framing, and a loop, made famous by the Greek inscription on its reverse side ICX – XC – NHKA – φΩC – ΖΩΗ (“Jesus Christ – Christ – Victory – Light – Life”; **Fig. 2: 1**) as the oldest Great Moravian palaeographic relic. It was found together with two iron styli, among other objects.¹⁶ Its obverse side bears an engraved crucified figure with an oval head covered with a cross nimbus, a face with fish eyes and a longer indistinct nose; the hand of God (or perhaps an angel) is pointing to the head from above. Longer, outspread arms end with large palms with only three fingers on each, with no marks of nails (see below). The whole figure is dressed in a long, flowing *colobium* (chiton) decorated with a chevron motif (a fir branch or fish bone); the same can be seen for example on the lead pectoral cross from the “Na dvorku” site in Staré Město, (see below),

on crosses from Mainz or Zemianské Podhradie in western Slovakia,¹⁷ on plaque IV from Bojná¹⁸, or on the silver cross from Mikulčice, crosses from Biblioteca Marciana or the Morgan Reliquary. The figure's feet have toes turned apart. The cross from the Sady site may be connected with the activities of the Byzantine mission;¹⁹ however, it is uncertain whether it was a direct import. The standard content of lead (almost 90 %) basically corresponds to the majority of other finds from Moravia; the relatively higher content of phosphorus (4 %) and silicon (approx. 5 %) most likely indicates the way the object was laid in the ground.

The above-mentioned pectoral cross from the “Na dvorku” site, in the form of a Latin cross with slightly widening arms, relief framing and a loop, bears a figural motif on both sides (**Fig. 2: 2**). The obverse side bears an obvious depiction of the Redeemer with an oval to drop-shaped head, slanting eyes, indistinct nose, and a hint of a beard. The outspread arms bear no marks of nails; the whole body, including feet with toes turned apart, is dressed in a sleeveless *colobium* decorated with a chevron motif. The situation above the figure's head with a halo is unclear; symbols of the sun and moon cannot be ruled out. The reverse side also bears an engraved figure in a pleading position (not the usual position with arms spread), dressed in a pleated tunic fastened with a belt, so far usually interpreted as another depiction of Jesus;²⁰ however, such a double portrayal would be nonsense, since no other similar example is known. Although there is the indication of a nimbus around the figure's head, with a small inscription plate above, as it is on the obverse we are inclined to think, in accordance with one recent interpretation as well as a number of analogies, that it is more likely a depiction of the Mother of God, not of Jesus.²¹ With its dimensions, design and embodiment, this cross clearly approximates the silver specimen from Mikulčice, or the one from Sady. Once again, it is made of almost pure lead (93 %), with added silicon (5.2 %) and phosphorus (1.2 %).

17 From this site there comes a small, Greek-type lead cross (81 % Pb, 11.3 % Sn, 3.2 % Si, 2.5 % Al), currently part of a private collection (**Fig. 2: 9**). It bears an engraved figure of the Redeemer with outspread arms and four-fingered hands, dressed in a long-sleeved *colobium* with the “X” motif on the chest and feet with toes turned apart. The schematic, drop-shaped head has an accentuated mouth and nose and just slightly indicated eyes; the forehead is secondarily perforated with a hole for attaching when the assumed original loop was broken off. The hands and feet show no signs of holes from nails; the reverse side is plain. The pectoral cross, most likely under Byzantine influence (the saltire on the chest?), represents perhaps simpler local work, although a direct eastern origin cannot be excluded either. It is so far the only cross of this kind probably related to the Great Moravian milieu; it is assumed to come from a site in which numerous objects from that period have been found. However, its dating to a later period may not be excluded, when e.g. simple Bulgarian pectoral crosses without any depiction, bearing the letter X in their centres, are usually considered to come from the 11th and 12th centuries, comp. Ljudmila DONČEVA-PETKOVA, *Srednovkovnikrstove-enkolpioniat Blgarija (IX–XIV v.)*, Sofia 2011, p. 492. On the other hand, they are known in the same form from the Syrian-Palestinian area, also made of stone, from as early as the 6th and 7th centuries till the 10th–12th centuries, comp. Yael ISRAELI – David MEVORAH (ed.), *Cradle of Christianity*, Jerusalem 2000, pp. 141, 222; A. E. MUSIN, *Archeologija “ličnovo blagočestija” v christijanskoj tradicii vostoka i zapada*, in: *Christijanskaja ikonografija vostoka i zapada*, Sankt-Peterburg 2006, p. 207.

18 Alexander T. RUTTKAY, *Der Burgwall Bojná I – Valy*, in: Uta von Freeden – Herwig Friesinger – Egon Wamers (Hrsg.), *Glaube, Kult und Herrschaft, Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, Band 12, Bonn 2009, pp. 440–443; Martin VANČO, *Figurálne motívy plakiet z Bojne v kontexte veľkomoravského umenia*, *Studia mediaevalia pragensia* 9, 2010, p. 121.

19 L. GALUŠKA, *Uherské Hradiště – Sady*, p. 112.

20 L. GALUŠKA, *Nejstarší dějiny Starého Města*, in: *Staré Město v proměnách staletí*, Staré Město 2000, p. 91.

21 Drahomíra FROLÍKOVÁ KALISZOVÁ, *Bronzový křížek z Uherského Hradiště*, *Archeologia historica* 34, 2009, pp. 570–572; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země*, pp. 645, 656–658; Lukáš ROGANSKÝ, *Signa Christiana. Artefakty křesťanského rázu z poslednej tretiny prvého storočia medzi Čechami a Patisím*, Nitra 2009, p. 71; L. GALUŠKA, *Náprsní křížek (Staré Město “Dvorek”)*, in: Jiří Mitáček (ed.), *Cyrl a Metoděj – doba, život, dílo / Cyril and Methodius – Their Era, Lives and Work*, Brno 2013, p. 167.

13 Comp. e.g. Helen C. Evans – Wiliam D. Wixom (ed.), *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A. D. 843–1261*, New York 1997.

14 Z. KLANICA, *Křížky*, pp. 217–218.

15 J. FREL, *Křížky z Mikulčic*, p. 316.

16 Comp. Radislav HOŠEK, *První řecký nápis na Moravě*, in: *Almanach Velká Morava*, Brno, p. 140; L. GALUŠKA, *Uherské Hradiště – Sady. Křesťanské centrum říše velkomoravské*, Brno 1996, pp. 112–113; Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Cyrl a Metoděj*, p. 222.

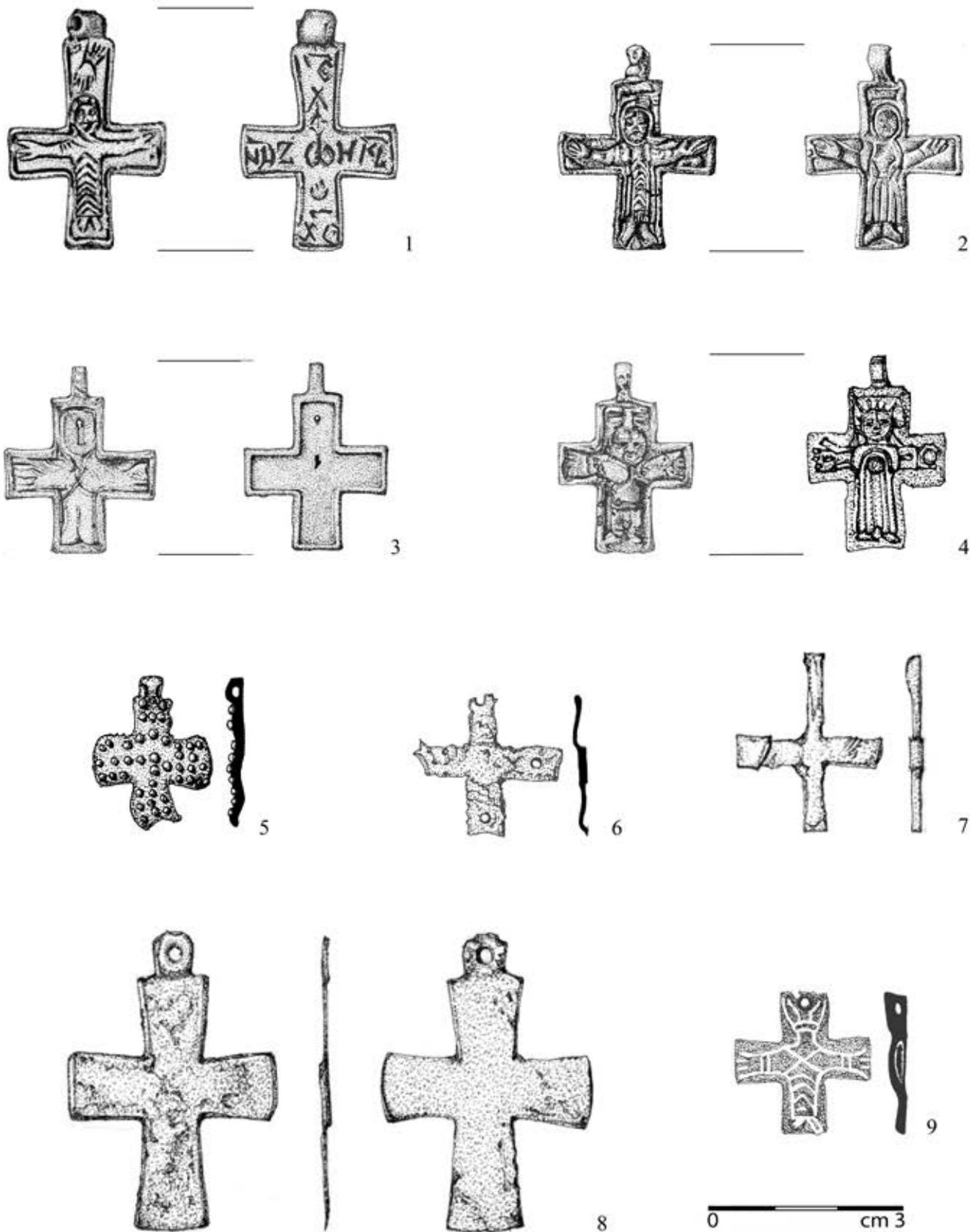


Fig. 2. Cross pendants (except for 6 and 7).

1 – Uherské Hradiště – Sady; 2 – Staré Město – “Na dvorku”; 3 – Uherské Hradiště – Otakarova Street; 4 – Uherské Hradiště – Velehradská Cross pendants; 5 – Staré Město – “Na valách”; 6 – Staré Město – “Na valách”; 7 – Břeclav – Pohansko; 8 – Dolní Věstonice; 9 – Zemianské Podhradie, Slovakia.

A significantly rustic realisation of figural motifs can be seen on the two remaining crosses of this type: from Otakarova Street (**Fig. 2: 3**) and Velehradská Street (**Fig. 2: 4**) in Uherské Hradiště. The former is a lead, basically Greek-type cross with undrilled loop, bearing on the obverse a schematic crucified figure filling the whole area.²² Its distinctive, oval head, damaged by secondary perforation, is accentuated only with a vertical nose; wide hands have disproportionately large palms with longer fingers; two curves run across its chest, perhaps indicating a chasuble with a neckline (?), or just symbolising the dress; legs are shorter and cylindrical, with no toes. The reverse is plain, but lined with a border 1 mm high and wide along the circumference, which led to the assumption that it could be the front part of an engolpion (but this seems to be highly improbable), or the area could have been filled with an organic material, perhaps wood. The dating of the object is not clear upon the find context; the end of the Great Moravian period is assumed. The devotional object described was among the few to have undergone a non-destructive X-ray-fluorescent analysis at the time which brought remarkable results. The original material (92.5 % Pb) contained an admixture of nickel and tellurium, a very rare element, occurring in larger quantities in Europe only in present-day Transylvania which was then in the Byzantine sphere of interest. From there, lead could have been brought in the form of ingots or talents, which supports the theory of Byzantine models of Greek-type lead crosses bearing a depiction of the Saviour.

The Latin cross from Velehradská Street (present-day Hradební Street) with unequally wide arms, bordering and a loop bears a depiction of a shapeless figure, difficult to interpret, of crucified Jesus in low relief.²³ His round head with a nimbus, a trace of eyes, nose, and probably mouth, is wedged between the shoulders; stubby arms end with wide palms with short fingers and no marks of nails; around the lower torso a pleated robe is more visible (as it is on the cross from Mikulčice); the lower limbs have feet with toes turned apart. A rather unclear situation above the head may be interpreted as a small cross emerging from the nimbus. The reverse bears a figure with outspread arms, a round head with a crown of thorns (?), and a quite realistically depicted face, dressed in a long, short-sleeved pleated tunic, from underneath which come feet turned in one direction. The torso is accentuated with a circular heart (?).²⁴ The cross is made of bronze with a high content of copper (86 % Cu, 9 % Sn, 1.5 % Pb + Si + Al) and has been dated to the 9th–10th centuries, or the early 11th century at the latest. It is very probably a local product, artistically not well-made; however, with an unclear find context, the dating and material used, a later dating may be considered.

As already mentioned, other small crosses were found in burn sites at the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration. If provided with a loop, they can be considered to be pectoral crosses. They include a lead specimen (95 % Pb) with a plain reverse side and tiny semicircular lumps (fake astragal) placed in irregular rows over the whole obverse (**Fig. 2: 5**). It was the only object laid under a child's skull (grave 243/

AZ "Na valách") and this may be dated to the second half of the 9th century.²⁵ The same applies to a lead, undecorated Greek-type cross with a loop from the same burn site,²⁶ also found at the skull of a dead body (grave 278/AZ).²⁷ The third example is a lead pectoral cross in the shape of a four-leaved clover with a hole, from a male burial (grave 27) in the Špitálky necropolis dated to the late 9th century (?); together with other minor objects it was probably placed in a pouch laid by the left side of the deceased.²⁸ This group also includes a lead, undecorated cross with arms unequally wide and long, without a loop, placed below the chin of a child (grave 4/48 "Na valách").²⁹

The remaining artefacts from the same necropolis, two of which are uncertain (because the lead and bronze fragments of necklaces from female grave 66/49 and girl's grave 238/49 have been interpreted, although with a question mark, as the remains of crosses), may be considered to be objects with a decorative or practical purpose rather than evidence representing materialised symbols of the new belief (?). They include a lead, poorly cast cross (81 % Pb) with slightly grooved arm ends for attaching to a base, coming from a rich burial of a warrior containing, among other objects, sumptuous strap ends and spurs (grave 266/49), and two delicate, gilt-bronze pieces with remains of a wooden base to which they were attached (grave 309/49; **Fig. 2: 6**).³⁰ The same classification may apply to an irregular piece of thin silver (tin) cross-shaped ironwork from Blučina, with remains of wood on four small rivets, found in a male burial with a niche (grave V).³¹ All the above-listed objects may be dated to the 9th century.

A shapeless, undecorated, roughly-cast lead cross without a loop (72 % Pb, 16 % Si, 4.5 % P, 3 % Al) was found in the manufacturing structure (no. 42) within the nobleman's farmstead in Pohansko (Břeclav district), connected with a later stage of the structure (**Fig. 2: 7**).³²

A group of lead pectoral crosses with arms of almost the same length (Greek-type crosses – *crux quadrata*), with relief framing of the arms and loops added later, are specimens the central motif of which is a simplified, stereotypical figure of the crucified Jesus in the typical adoration posture. From the best preserved pieces it may be deduced that the corpus of Jesus has a drop-shaped head with outlined eyes, mouth, and perhaps a nose, sitting on a greatly stylised rhombic body decorated with a trellis-work pattern, with outspread arms with three-fingered hands and legs ending with feet turned left. In some figures a net robe reaches down to the calves and there are shallow holes in the palms indicating crucifixion. The reverse side is always plain or only slightly roughened.

25 Vilém HRUBÝ, *Staré Město. Velkomoravské pohřebiště "Na valách"*, Prague 1955, p. 391. Such decoration, although of a higher quality, may be seen for example in some simpler pectoral crosses from the Byzantine territory; however, Bulgarian finds of this kind are dated to the 10th or even the 1st third of the 11th century, comp. L. DONČEVA-PETKOVA, *Srednověkovníkrostoje*, pp. 454–455.

26 D. KALISZOVÁ FROLÍKOVÁ, *Olověný křížek*, p. 556, states that the loop is missing.

27 V. HRUBÝ, *Staré Město*, p. 394.

28 Josef POULÍK, *Nález kostela z doby říše velkomoravské v trati "Špitálky" ve Starém Městě*, *Památky archeologické* 46, 1955, pp. 324, 336.

29 V. HRUBÝ, *Staré Město*, p. 409.

30 V. HRUBÝ, *Staré Město*, pp. 429–430, 448–449, 452–453, 460.

31 J. POULÍK, *Staroslovanská Morava*, Prague 1948, pp. 143–144.

32 Bořivoj DOSTÁL, *Břeclav – Pohansko. Velkomoravský velmožský dvorec*, Brno 1975, pp. 240, 283.

22 D. FROLÍKOVÁ KALISZOVÁ, *Olověný křížek z Uherského Hradiště, Otakarovy ulice*, *Archaeologia historica* 28, 2003, pp. 553–560.

23 L. GALUŠKA, *Uherské Hradiště. Královské město na řece Moravě*, Uherské Hradiště 2007, p. 48.

24 In detail D. FROLÍKOVÁ KALISZOVÁ, *Bronzový křížek*, p. 572.

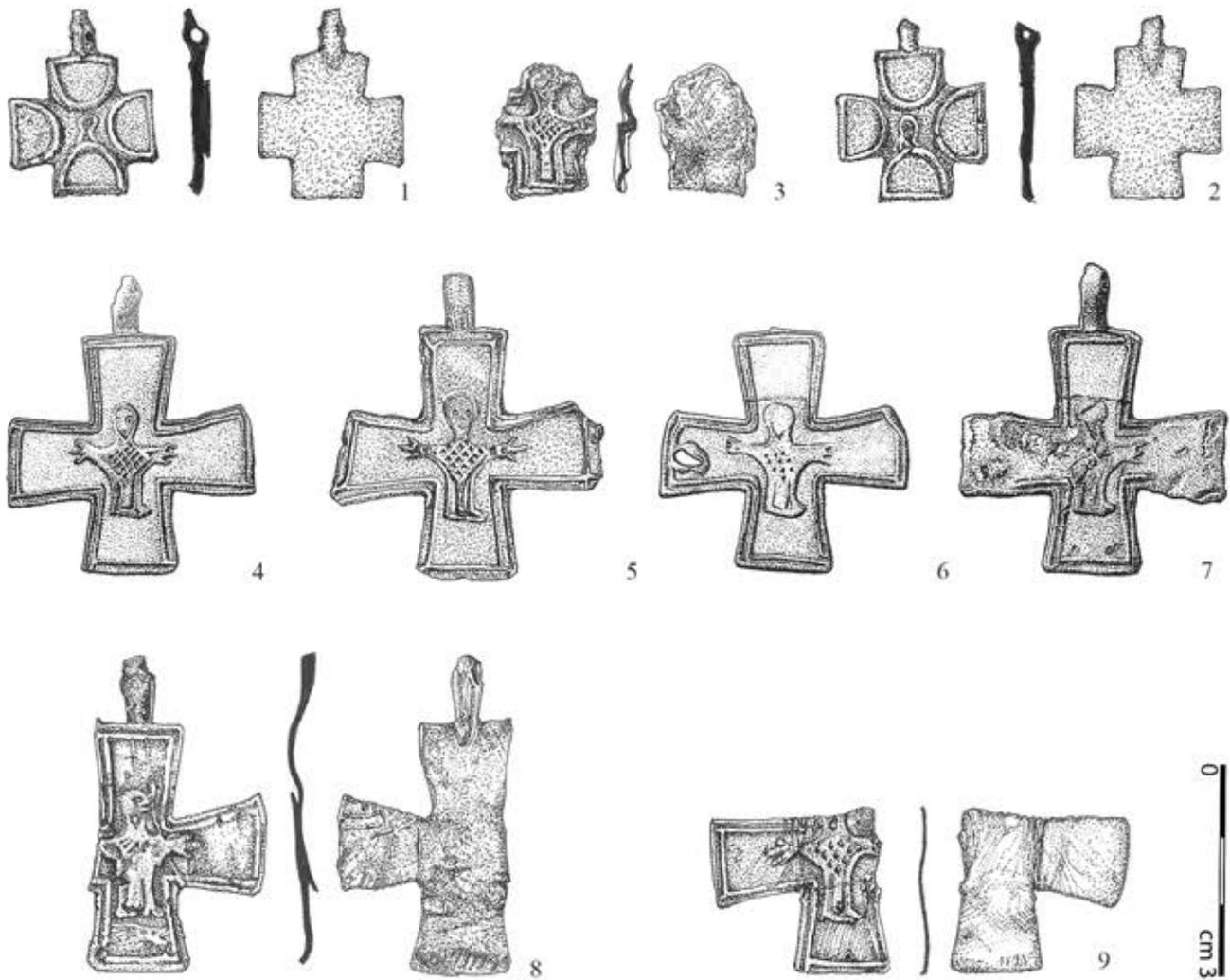


Fig. 3: Lead cross pendants.

1–2 – Dolní Věstonice type (1–2 D. Věstonice); 3–9 – Bernhardsthal type (3 – Mušov, Na pískách; 4 – Bernhardsthal, Austria; 5 – Dojč, Slovakia; 6 – Gars-Thunau, Austria; 7 – Dolní Věstonice, Na pískách; 8 – Mikulčice-Valy; 9 – Mikulčice – outwork).

After Z. Měřínský 1988 (4, 6); Bača – Kolník 2010 (5).

Currently, eight crosses of the kind described are known (Fig. 3: 3–9; Fig. 4), four of which come from southern Moravia (two from Mikulčice, one from Dolní Věstonice and one from Mušov), three from the Danube region in Austria (Bernhardsthal, Gars-Thunau, Guntramsdorf – missing), and one from Dojč, Záhorie region of western Slovakia. All of them are referred to as Bernhardsthal-type crosses according to the relatively well-preserved specimen from Bernhardsthal. Only two of them were part of a grave inventory, four of them were found in settlements, and two have uncertain places of origin. All of them differ in dimensions as well as some details. Various moulds were used for their casting; a single mould could be considered only for the incomplete and damaged crosses from Mikulčice, which is supported by a very similar composition of the original material (96 % Pb, 2 % Al, 2 % Si and 97 % Pb, 1.5 % Al, 1.2 % Si). Since the foreign finds (from Austria and Slovakia) are unavailable, only the two fragmentary pieces from Mikulčice, the one from Dolní Věstonice (99 % Pb + traces of Zn and Fe) and the torso of the cross from Mušov (99 % Pb + traces of Fe) underwent an X-ray-fluorescent analysis. The measurements showed a different (although not radically so) content

of lead and some other trace elements, thus strengthening but not definitely proving the assumption that they were made in more than one workshop, most likely in several places (?). This is most obvious in the cross from Dolní Věstonice (grave 481) with a poor-quality (blurred) depiction of the Redeemer and a non-perforated loop; this devotional object seems not to have been cast in an original mould but made with the use of another, higher-quality specimen as a model. The dating of the crosses to the period from the last third of the 9th to the first decades of the 10th century is unanimously accepted; they were found alongside other cast-lead ornaments, such as parts of necklaces (beads, lunice [type of Great Moravian earrings] and buttons), characteristic of the early Great Moravian horizon.³³

³³ Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Kosočtverečné olověné křížky a jejich chronologické postavení v rámci hmotné kultury střední doby hradištní*, in: V. Frolec (ed.), *Rodná země. Sborník k 100. výročí Muzejní a vlastivědné společnosti v Brně a k 60. narozeninám PhDr. Vladimíra Nekudy, CSC., Brno 1988*, p. 132nn. This study includes detailed data on the find context and accompanying material of individual Great Moravian and Austrian crosses; the torso of the Mušov cross was obtained from a detector survey in 2013.

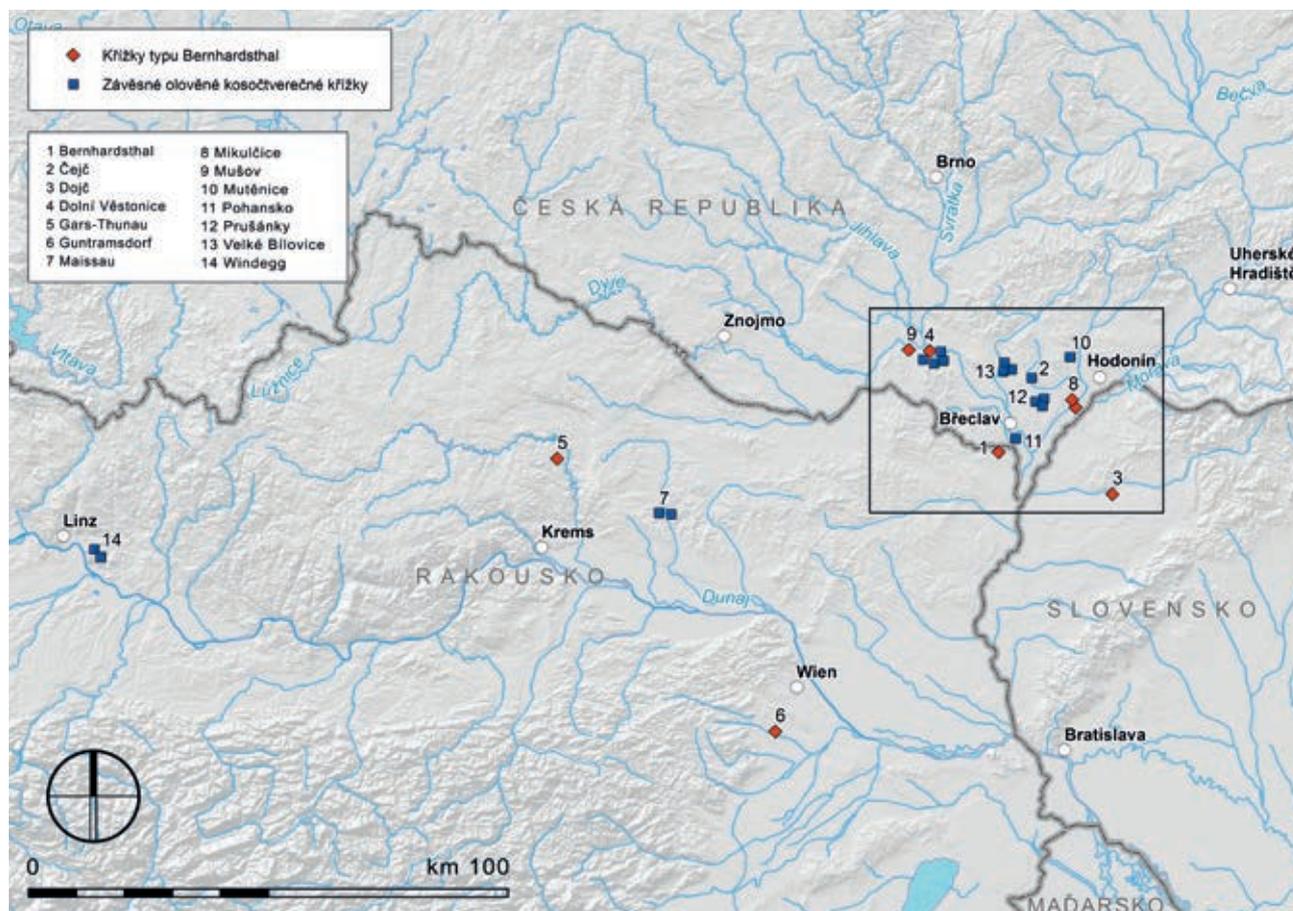


Fig. 4. Map with marked finds of Bernhardsthal-type crosses and lead rhombic crosses. After Z. Měřinský 1988, modified.

In connection with the publication of the find from Dojč, the authors were the first to wonder at the fact that the crucified Jesus on the Bernhardsthal-type crosses always has only three clearly separated fingers on each hand, while figures of God the Father, Jesus Christ or orants on almost all other known Great Moravian relics have hands with five fingers.³⁴ They believe it is not due to accidental simplification or insufficient skilfulness on the part of the maker, but an utterly intentional message. They sought the explanation in the magic of the number three and its symbolism (three as the sign of unity, perfection, and completeness; connection between the beginning, middle, and end; Jesus lay in the grave for three days and three nights; he was resurrected on the third day; Peter denied Jesus three times, etc.), when the triad is most often connected with the teaching of the Holy Trinity. They do not even exclude the possibility that such a depiction may have been some kind of reaction to the controversy called *filioque*, i.e. a dispute over the nature of the Holy Spirit. Western clergy held the opinion that the Holy Spirit proceeded from both the Father and the Son, while Eastern theologians (particularly Greek ones) derived the Holy Spirit from the Son – *per Filium*. This was the interpretation preferred by Methodius who defended it in Rome in 880 where he was called by Pope John VIII. Thus, the bearers of those crosses made of less noble metals could have been minor order dignitaries, such as deacons, but the find context in this case

is completely ambiguous: none of them was found close to a sacral structure. Although it is obvious that the crosses may have been partially made locally and their shape (Greek-type cross) and overall design of the depiction of the crucified Jesus (drop-shaped head, trellis-work pattern of the robe) indicate a certain influence of Byzantium, some researchers associate them – quite justifiably, we believe – with the so-called *Taufgeschenke*, coming from the Passau-Salzburg radius.³⁵

The group of pectoral crosses also includes a find from grave 494 (**Fig. 2: 8**) in the Dolní Věstonice necropolis, excavated together with four glass beads and two broken, unspecified bronze earrings, placed at the left shoulder of the deceased from whose skeleton only the *calvaria* (skullcap) has survived; regarding the size of the grave-pit and objects found it was a burial of a young female.³⁶ With its shape, particularly the widening arms, the cross is similar to the Bernhardsthal-type crosses, but it is closer to the classic Latin cross. It is made of bronze with an admixture of lead (85.5 % Cu, 11 % Sn, 2.3 % Pb + traces of Zn, Ag, Fe) and together with the cross found in Velehradská Street, Uherské Hradiště, represents the only specimens made of bronze, although the dating of the latter is not definite. The cross is rather delicate, provided with a loop and a round hole; its reverse is completely plain and its slightly

³⁴ Robert BAČA – Titus KOLNÍK, *Olovený křížik z Dojč (okr. Senica) a jeho geograficko-historický kontext*, Slovákco 52, 2010, pp. 11–12.

³⁵ Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země*, p. 654.

³⁶ Find report 1/1947, deposited in the NZ archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Brno.

roughened obverse (today very hard to identify) may have borne a shallow-engraved figure of the crucified Jesus. It most likely comes from the early Great Moravian horizon.

The most frequent, highly schematised devotional objects of the type under discussion include rhombus-shaped, lead cross pendants (Fig. 5). There are seventeen specimens known, the majority (13 pieces) from the south-Moravian territory (four from Dolní Věstonice, three from Velké Bílovice and Prušánky, and one from Pohansko, Čejč, and Mutěnice)³⁷ and four pieces from Austria (two from Maissau³⁸ and two from Windegg); all of them were concentrated almost solely within a triangle formed by the confluence of the rivers Morava and Thaya, in such Great Moravian centres as Mikulčice and Pohansko. Up to now they have been found solely in grave assemblages of rural burial sites, only exceptionally in adjoining settlements (Mutěnice, Pohansko). They are practically always included in girl burials (e.g. parts of necklaces) in which other lead ornaments are regularly present, such as relatively long and thin segmental beads consisting of two parts and lunice decorated with a trellis-work pattern. However, in some cases they were placed quite far from the neck of the deceased (e.g. at the pelvis, such as in Prušánky and Dolní Věstonice), so it cannot be ruled out that they were put in graves as solitaires. All specimens which are probably connected to the Bernhardsthal Greek-type crosses and represent perhaps simplified derivatives of them (?) have arms with deltoid-shaped ends and the inner area filled with a regular, dense trellis-work pattern in a low relief. Thus, with their shape and dimensions they strongly resemble rhombic or cross fibulas (Rautenfibeln, Kreuzfibeln) of the Carolingian (Ottonian) period from which they may have been derived and which, therefore, could have served as their models or inspiration.³⁹ The trellis-work pattern forms only sixteen fields in the objects from Mutěnice and Windegg, but up to twenty-five fields in those from Velké Bílovice. At least three moulds were used for their casting. The longest distance between the typologically most related crosses is represented by the Čejč and Windegg sites, although the cross from Čejč could be considered to have been made in a different mould (the Čejč type?). Regarding the interpretation

of such a portrayal (crossing of lines), it is generally agreed that it is an abstractly depicted figure of Jesus (see above), although the motif in question represents a rather common and widespread ornamental element. Reverse sides of all types of these crosses are plain; one arm, usually wider and sometimes also a little longer, is always perforated so that the object could be attached to a necklace with a thin string. Individual crosses, together with other lead ornaments (beads, lunice, buttons with a loop) and other chronologically relevant artefacts (earrings, pottery objects, etc.), represent more or less a single time horizon synchronised with the late 9th and 1st half of the 10th centuries, as already generally accepted, although earlier dating, i.e. before the arrival of Cyril and Methodius, cannot be entirely eliminated (Mutěnice around the mid-9th century).

The crosses studied were put into context with the activities of western missions, coming especially from Salzburg and Passau and heading to the Slavs living north of the Danube and into the centre of Great Moravia. They were also rated among the so-called baptising crosses, although it was not clear whether they had been brought by missionaries, which would evidently cause no great trouble due to their size and weight (even in dozens or hundreds), or they were cast locally. On the other hand, it was pointed out that they could have been made locally under the direction of local political and church authorities (especially from Mikulčice). Some light was shed on the question of their provenance by the above-mentioned non-destructive X-ray-fluorescent analyses which were performed on the lead crosses and accompanying lead artefacts within individual sets (necklaces). These analyses proved that the composition of all the objects investigated was completely identical or very similar, so the whole assemblage was very probably made in a single workshop from one original material (perhaps from recast products) at the same time. Further, there were clear differences between individual sets. They were most likely made to order at the time when political, economic, and cultural decline began, a time of coming pauperisation and rustication with a shortage of precious metals, which were replaced with available and cheaper materials, probably for a less wealthy rural clientele; crosses of this type have not been found in any of the central sites, while lead buttons and lunice have been excavated there. Further it should be pointed out that such crosses are completely missing in the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště and Olomouc agglomerations as well as in the eastern part of Great Moravia, the Nitra territory indicates they were made in one or more local workshops which could still “supply” this region where Christianity may have put down deeper roots.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the question arises whether those crosses were consciously regarded as pure Christian symbols, possessing a special meaning, or just decorative objects, since, as already mentioned, they were found only in the graves of young women and girls. It is possible that at that critical time, when the existing order was collapsing and society was becoming disjointed, the bereaved sought any means to provide for their deceased offspring in the next world. That is why they may have chosen a traditional burial into which they implanted, just to be sure, new Christian elements as a reflection of a dualistic view of the world.

37 The find context, incl. accompanying material and appropriate references to the crosses from Dolní Věstonice, Velké Bílovice, Prušánky, and Windegg are published in detail in Zdeněk MĚŘINSKÝ, *Kosočtverečné olověné křížky*, pp. 122–145; regarding the cross from Mutěnice, found in a dugout (together with pottery and two knives) from the latest stage of the settlement, comp. Z. KLANICA, *Mutěnice – Zbrod. Zaniklé slovanské sídliště ze 7.–10. století*, Studies of the Institute of Archaeology of the AV ČR Brno 36, Brno 2008, pp. 222–223. The cross from Pohansko was found in a structure in the outwork; we would like to thank to Jiří Macháček, head of the research, for permitting its publication. The other unpublished cross, from Čejč, was a part of a necklace formed by 12 segmented lead beads. It belonged to a girl buried in grave 129, which further contained one bronze and three silver earrings and egg shells, comp. L. POLÁČEK, Čejč “*Nad hřbitovem*”, *pohřebiště 9.–11. století*, Field research in Mikulčice, Brno 2006, Annex VIII. We are obliged to the author of the research for permitting its publication.

38 For the crosses from Maissau which, together with a lead earring and several lead, segmented beads, formed a necklace (completed with two pieces of pottery, one of which belongs to the so-called antique-shaped pottery), comp. Marco KULTUS – David RUSS – Oliver SCHMITSBERGER, *Erste Ergebnisse der Rettungsgrabungen auf der Trasse der Ortsumfahrung Maissau 2009: Die Flächen 1-Nord und 2 bis 6*, *Fundberichte aus Österreich* 48, 2009, Vienna 2010, p. 332; also Elisabeth NOWOTNY, *On the confessional situation between the Frankish Empire and Moravia in Carolingian times. Focus on archaeological sources from Lower Austria*, in: M. Salamon – M. Woloszyn – A. Musin – P. Špehar – M. Hardt – M. P. Kruk – A. Sulikowska-Gąska (ed.), *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence*, vol. I, Krakow – Leipzig – Rzeszow – Warsaw, 2012, p. 510.

39 Comp. e.g. Rudolf BERGMANN, *Karolingisch-ottonische Fibeln aus Westfalen. Verbreitung, Typologie und Chronologie im Überblick*, in: Christoph Stiegemann – Matthias Wemhoff (Hrsg.), *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn, Mainz 1999*, pp. 438–444; Sven SPIONG, *Fibeln und Gewandnadeln des 8. bis 12. Jahrhunderts in Zentraleuropa*, *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters*, Beiheft 12, Bonn 2000, p. 35nn.; Michael MÜLLER-WILLE, *The Cross Goes North: Carolingian Times between Rhine and Elbe*, in: Martin Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North. Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe AD 300–1300*, Woodbridge 2005, p. 448.

40 P. KOUŘIL, *Kostel číslo 8 v Mikulčicích a jeho archeologický výzkum*, in: Luděk Galuška – Pavel Kouřil – Jiří Mitáček (ed.), *Východní Morava v 10. až 14. století*, Brno 2008, pp. 71–73.

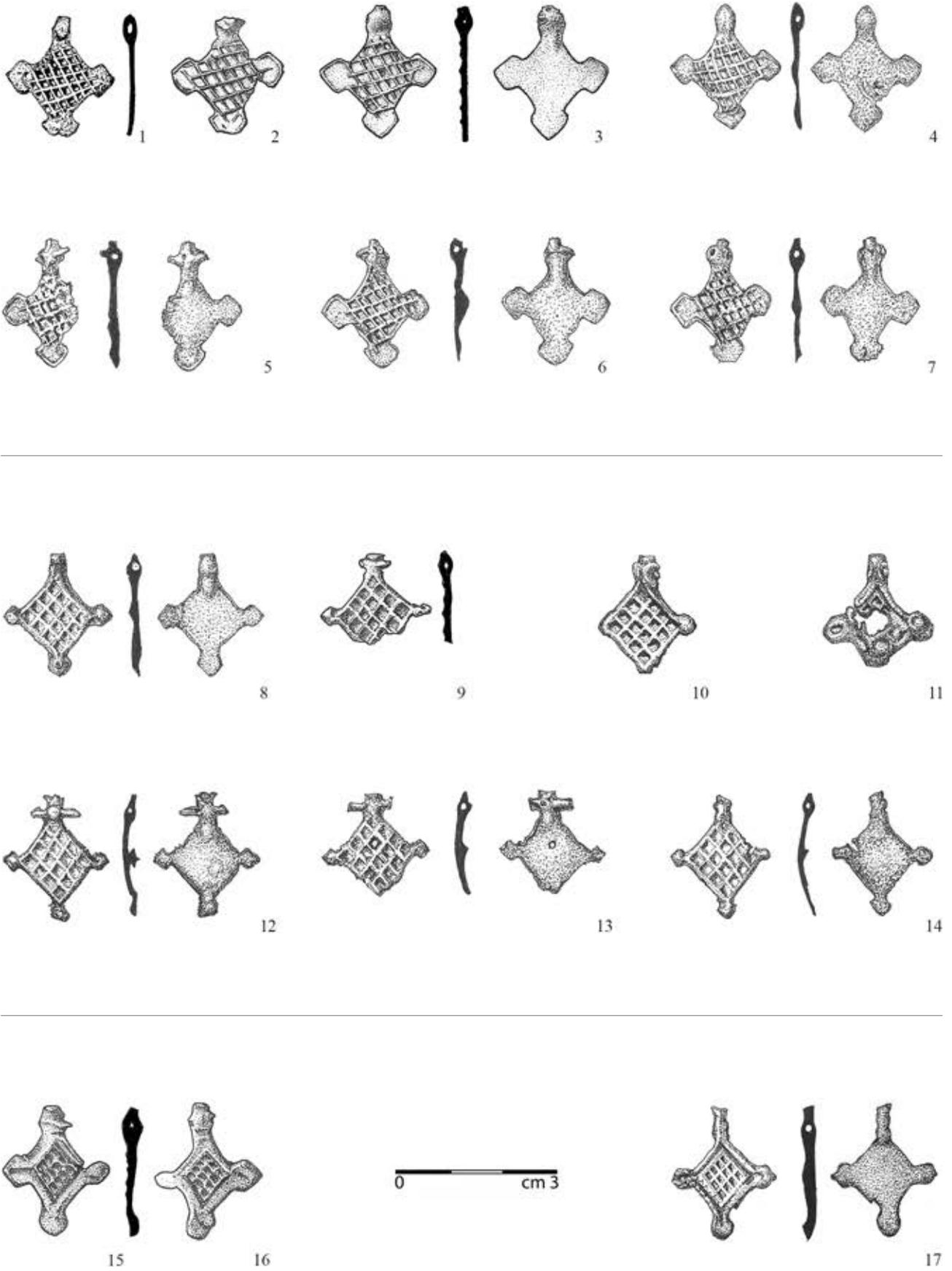


Fig. 5. Lead rhombic cross pendants.

1-7 - Velké Bílovice type (1 - Břeclav - Pohansko; 2-3 - Velké Bílovice; 4-7 - Dolní Věstonice); 8-14 - Mutěnice type (8 - Mutěnice; 9 - Velké Bílovice; 10-11 - Maissau, Austria, 12-14 - Prušánky); 15-17 - Windegg type (15-16 - Windegg, Austria, 17 - Čejč).
 After Z. Měřínský 1988 (15-16); E. Nowotny 2012 (10-11).

A rural burial site in Dolní Věstonice is so far the only place where two small lead crosses in square form have been found (Dolní Věstonice type; **Fig. 3: 1–2**), their sizes corresponding to the rhombic forms one specimen of which was placed in the burial (in the lap of the deceased).⁴¹ Although it is not certain whether all of them were part of a single necklace, it is probable because all the lead components showed a very high content of lead (98 %) and completely identical accompanying elements. Their arms are decorated with small semi-arches in a low relief, with the letter omega in the middle; this letter also appears on the arms of a bronze pendant cross from Horné Orešany in the Little Carpathians region (a so-called binocular motif is sometimes considered).⁴² However, this cross comes from a depot of the so-called late Avarian cast bronzes, falls in the Byzantine circle, and is undoubtedly older than the crosses from Dolní Věstonice.

Indications of this symbol may also be seen on a wrought, gilt-copper tin ironwork in the shape of a Greek cross (98 % Cu), probably bearing a depiction of Jesus in the typical adoration posture with four fish at his feet and hips, and vegetative decoration on both horizontal arms, evoking perhaps the sun and moon (circles with eight rays trisected at the end; **Fig. 1: 5**). It comes from warrior's grave 400 (axe, spur, coffin mounting, mortar in the grave-pit infill) by the three-nave basilica in Mikulčice and probably served as a mounting on a wooden receptacle.⁴³ A rather damaged, very thin bronze tin specimen (91 % Cu, 8 % Sn), with holes for tiny nails and folded ends of preserved arms, found in the remains of Mikulčice church No. 12 (**Fig. 1: 4**), is also considered to be a cross from a reliquary. Its obverse bears an engraved, highly rustic (shapeless and disproportional) depiction of Jesus (in the *Maestas Domini* position) with a cross nimbus around a comically made head, with his left arm placed on his chest (perhaps on his heart, holding a scroll) and right arm in a salutary gesture. In his raised right hand he originally held a small cross; however, this part of the torso completely disintegrated before conservation. The lower arm of the object is decorated with a double plait ornament. Although the motif comes from the Byzantine area, it is clearly a local production.⁴⁴ The last object to mention is cast gilt-bronze ironwork in the shape of a Greek cross (approx. 93 % Cu, 2 % Pb, 3 % Ag), its arms decorated with the motif of oval human masks with accentuated eyes, nose and moustache, found within Mikulčice church No. 5 (**Fig. 1: 6**). The triangular ends of the arms are provided with loops for attaching to a firm base; another attachment hole is in the middle of the central field. However, this artefact is probably not related to a religious cult(?), but is part of the garniture of a sword sling, or a horse harness. It was most likely made in Mikulčice

41 It means eight crosses have been obtained from this necropolis of a collection character, comp. also Šimon UNGERMAN, *Amulety v dětských hrobech na raně středověkém pohřebišti v Dolních Věstonicích – Na pískách*, *Študijné zvesti* 42, 2007, pp. 227–228.

42 Karol PIETA – A. T. RUTTKAY, *Bojná – mocenské a christianizačné centrum nitrianskeho kniežatstva*, in: K. Pieta – A. T. Ruttkay – Matej Ruttkay (ed.), *Bojná. Hospodárske a politické centrum nitrianskeho kniežatstva*, Nitra 2006, p. 54.

43 J. DEKAN, *Velká Morava*, Fig. 121; Zdeněk MEŘÍNSKÝ, *České země*, p. 637.

44 Jaroslav KAVÁN, *Pokus o rekonstrukci malířské výzdoby jednoho z velkomoravských kostelů v Mikulčicích*, *Pravěk Nová řada* 3, 1993, pp. 193–209; Blanka KAVÁNOVÁ, *Mikulčice – pohřebiště v okolí 12. kostela*, *Studies of the Institute of Archaeology of the AV ČR Brno* 22, Brno 2003, p. 272; M. VANČO, *Figurálne motívy*, p. 132.

in the 1st half of the 9th century according to Carolingian models (Worms-type cross fibulas).⁴⁵

In summarising the knowledge of early mediaeval crosses obtained from Moravia, the following may be stated:

There are thirty-nine pieces available in total from Moravian territory (some of them yet to be published) which may be definitely considered to be devotional objects related to the evangelisation process.

They come solely from eight sites concentrated within the lower River Morava territory. Three of those are former power centres (Mikulčice, Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration, Pohansko), the other ones are rural locations (Čejč, Dolní Věstonice, Mušov, Mutěnice, Velké Bílovice), not taking into consideration the lost find of uncertain origin from Žďánice⁴⁶ and the above-mentioned cross with small rivets from Blučina.

In the central agglomerations, the majority of the crosses most likely were not part of grave-goods, which applies particularly to the “more opulent” specimens with figural decoration; small simple crosses without decoration, but with perforation for a string, were found only at the “Na valách” site in Staré Město.

For rural necropolises (in isolated cases also for settlements), simple, Bernhardsthal-type lead crosses are typical, bearing a simplified figure of the crucified Jesus (however, two pieces were found in Mikulčice, although outside the central fortified area), especially highly schematised rhombic forms with trellis-work pattern body (an abstract figure of Jesus) from Velké Bílovice, Mutěnice, and Windegg, related probably to Bernhardsthal-type crosses, and also square forms from Dolní Věstonice. Especially the Bernhardsthal-type crosses are assumed to be connected with lower church dignitaries, or with lay persons of a higher social status.

The majority of Moravian crosses were cast in lead, which usually makes up over 90 % of the alloy used; often around 95 % in the rhombic crosses which, as part of necklaces found solely in graves of girls and young women, have an identical or very similar composition to other mentioned ornaments (beads, lunice, buttons), while individual sets differ from each other. Thus, they were probably produced at the same time in a single workshop, most likely for less wealthy rural purchasers. Only one cross, found in Mikulčice, was made of a precious metal (silver); a relatively higher content of gold and copper (together with the way it was made) may indicate its origin in a local goldsmith's workshop. A rather untraditional and utterly exceptional composition may be seen in another pectoral cross from Mikulčice, containing only 42 % of lead but over 50 % of tin. Of all the crosses found in Moravia only two specimens (one from the “Na valách” site in Staré Město, the other from Dolní Věstonice) were cast in bronze, although the former may have come from a later period (Late Middle Ages).

45 J. DEKAN, *Velká Morava*, pp. 172–173; Mechthild SCHULZE-DÖRRRLAMM, *Unbekannte Kreuzfibeln der karolinger zeit aus Edelmetall*, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 27, 1997, p. 343; in detail with analogies Nada PROFANTOVÁ, *Karolínské imperty a jejich napodobování v Čechách, případně na Moravě (konec 8.10. století)*, in: *Karolínska kultura a Slovensko, Zborník Slovenského národného múzea, Supplementum* 4, 2011, pp. 91–96.

46 B. DOSTÁL, *Slovanská pohřebiště ze střední doby hradištní na Moravě*, Praha 1966, p. 56.

The artistic level of the crosses, particularly of those with figural motifs, may be classified as low (simple rusticated realisation) and, at the same time, in numerous cases individual symbols were probably misinterpreted when being applied; further, nails or marks of them are often missing on hands and always on feet.

The majority of the devotional objects studied may be considered to be local products, especially from the 2nd half of the 9th century when the Byzantine mission was active in Moravia. However, the most frequent types (Bernhardsthal and rhombic forms) may be synchronised only with the final decades of the 9th and the early 10th centuries, so it is possible they were applied widely only after Methodius' disciples had been expelled following his death in 885, when space reopened for direct Passau engagement, which concentrated primarily on rural areas – but only if the crosses in question are considered to be real *Taufgeschenke*, although such an interpretation is not unequivocal. Some researchers point out that the Greek-type cross, drop-shaped face of the crucified Jesus, trellis-work patterned robe, and the overall concept of the figure indicate artistic traditions from territories under Byzantine influence.⁴⁷ The fact remains that they have been found mainly within the Mikulčice centre, while they are completely absent, despite extensive archaeological surveys, from the other important centre Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště and also from other sites. Whether the reason was the influence of the archbishop's disciples still being felt in that area (especially in the Sady heights) is not obviously clear, but it may be accepted as a hypothetical explanation.⁴⁸

The fact that the crosses researched occur chiefly only in the Moravian heart of the Mojmir dynasty's domain and are missing in other important parts of the empire, such as the Nitra, Olomouc or Brno regions, indicates superficial conversion to the new belief which took root partially only in the most important political and power centres of the country; however, a pagan reaction, albeit weak and insignificant, showed after the fall of Great Moravia. When compared with Moravia, current finds in Slovakia are very rare, occurring mainly on the left side of the River Morava, so in the vicinity of the key agglomerations of the territory of Lower Moravia, and only exceptionally across the River Váh in the eastern part of the area.

Excursus

In front of the western entrance to the enclosed space surrounding the three-nave basilica in Mikulčice, an unusual small bronze object (4.1 cm long), its shape resembling a small sword, or a knife (**Fig. 1: 7**), was found together with iron styli in 1969. With reference to supposedly analogous, but somewhat later specimens known particularly from Constantinople and the northern Black Sea region (Malyj Majak, Mangup), it was interpreted as a prayer bookmark.⁴⁹ However,

if the eastern analogies are looked at closely, it becomes obvious that the examples presented by the author do not indicate such an interpretation. For example, a small pendant with a hole in the blade from the Mangup basilica in the Crimea was found, together with other minor objects, among skeletal remains of four persons (grave I), therefore it can hardly be considered a bookmark. Further, the collective burial (?) is dated to the end of the first millennium.⁵⁰ Another questionable find is the object from Constantinople (no detailed specification provided) with a gold head and silver "blade", dated to the 11th or 12th centuries, most likely part of a buckle or fibula (*Gold and Silver Nail and Clasp*);⁵¹ this object obviously cannot be considered a bookmark. The pendant from Malyj Majak could not be found. For the sake of completeness it should be added that the torso of a similar artefact, but made of iron, was obtained in Moravia from the investigation of the Sady complex in Uherské Hradiště (also a sacral district) where Methodius' disciples are assumed to have been active, from cabin X of the log cabin settlement (**Fig. 1: 8**). Among other objects, a fragment of a bronze stylus (?) was found there.⁵² Both objects have spherical or almost spherical heads and short necks, as well as double rings separating their upper, shorter parts from elongated blades.

In connection with the finds presented it must be pointed out that miniatures of both human and animal figures, masks, sharpening steels, scissors, variously designed wheels, chairs, armchairs, books, and weapons (hammers, axes, swords, spears, shields), serving as amulets and dating to the period specified (but also long before and after that)⁵³, have been found throughout the European continent. Particularly silver and bronze miniatures of some swords (but mostly of smaller dimensions) lead to the assumption that the find from Mikulčice could also be interpreted as an amulet (although the majority of those objects were provided with a loop for attaching).⁵⁴ Thus, we are in a quandary about the classification of both the Moravian artefacts. Although their find contexts, incl. accompanying material, indicate they may be objects related to the new religion Christianity (however, their purpose is not known; they are most likely not liturgical bookmarks), we are inclined to consider them to be amulets with an apotropaic function – to avert evil with their magical power and protect their bearer. However, it does not mean they must be a priori considered to be pagan cult symbols; they could express affiliation to a certain social, professional or age group.

50 Maria A. TIXANOVA, *Bazilika*, Materialy i issledovanija po archeologii SSSR 34, Archeologičeskie pamjatniki jugo-zapadnovo Kryma, Moscow – Leningrad 1953, pp. 373–374; totally identical bronze specimens in the shape of a sword with an opening in the middle of the blade (for attaching) have been found together with miniature axes, for example in areas with Slavic settlement around the Dnieper River, dated to the 11th and 12th centuries, definitely considered to be pendants/amulets, comp. Bohdan I. XANENKO – Varvara I. XANENKO, *Drevnosti Pridněprovia, epocha slavjanskaja (VI–XIII v.)*, Kiev 1902, p. 15.

51 Marvin C. ROSS, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, volume 2, Washington 1965, p. 96.

52 L. GALUŠKA, *Uherské Hradiště – Sady*, p. 141.

53 Ines BEILKE-VOIGT, *Frühgeschichtliche Miniaturobjekte mit Amuletten Charakter zwischen Britischen Inseln und Schwarzem Meer*, Bonn 1998.

54 E.g. Miriam KOKTVEDGAARD ZEITEN, *Amulets and Amulet Use in Viking Age Denmark*, Acta Archaeologica 68, 1997, pp. 17–18; Torsten CAPELLE, *Fünf Miniaturen*, in: Brigitta Hårdh (ed.), *Flerfynd i centrum. Materialstudier i och kring Uppåkra*, Uppåkrastudier 9, 2003, pp. 165–171; Anne PEDERSEN, *Amulette und Amulettsitte der jüngeren Eisen- und Wikingerzeit in Südkandinavien*, in: U. von Freden – H. Friesinger – E. Wamers (Hrsg.), *Glaube, Kult und Herrschaft. Phänomene des Religiösen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. In Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, Bonn 2009, pp. 293–294.

47 T. KOLNÍK – R. BAČA, *Unikátny krížik z Dojča – ďalší doklad veľkomoravského kresťanstva na Záhoří*, Historická revue 21/2, 2010, p. 73.

48 Just for the record, a fact to be pointed out in this relation: as for material culture, pottery of the Blučina and Mikulčice circles is also missing in the region in question (with some minor exceptions), which may indicate a different tradition in that area, based perhaps on the inner administrative division which may be a continuation of some original tribal arrangement – comp. M. MAZUCH, *Velkomoravské keramické okruhy a tzv. mladší veľkomoravský horizont v Mikulčiciach*, Studies of the Institute of Archaeology of the AV ČR Brno 45, 2013, p. 98, incl. further references.

49 Z. KLANICA, *Tajemství hrobu moravského arcibiskupa Metoděje*, Praha 2007, pp. 66–67, incl. relevant literature.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE RELIQUARY FROM MIKULČICE

Blanka Kavánová

A reconstructed wooden cylindrical vessel with bronze gilt appliqués has analogies in ivory pyxides which are often known from Lombard burial grounds. The vessel probably represents a later replica which may already have been deposited in a grave near the Mikulčice basilica before the mid-9th century. The shape of decorative elements and the situation on discovery indicate that the vessel had been used as a Christian reliquary.

Key words: Moravia, Early Middle Ages, Mikulčice, reliquary

The institution of saints and martyrs became a relatively significant part of Christian life around the 3rd or 4th centuries; these saints and martyrs, thanks to the faith of the people, were elevated to the role of intermediaries, ensuring communication between the believers and God. Their remains – relics – were therefore reverently kept under the church altars which were constructed over their graves. Over time, only some parts of the bodily remains of the saint or the martyr were transferred in decorated vessels called reliquaries and deposited in the altar bases of newly-founded and consecrated churches. In the Great Moravian area, Christian reliquaries were called *kaptorga* (amulet container); they were decorated hanging vessels, usually made of silver plate, forming a part of a necklace.¹ Recently, on the basis of a deep and wide-ranging analysis, this interpretation has reasonably been questioned.²

In Mikulčice, vessels made of organic material (wood) were found, of which only the metal parts were preserved, in the shape of a cross.³ Therefore, there is a high probability that these vessels had been part of a Christian liturgical inventory, and given the circumstances under which they were found, they may also be regarded as reliquaries. Only in one case was it possible to reconstruct the original appearance,⁴ on the basis of photographs taken onsite, during fieldwork on grave no. 300 (Fig. 2).

The reliquary from grave no. 300 at Mikulčice Basilica (Fig. 1) had a cylindrical shape with a diameter of 9 cm. The minimum height limit was derived from the height of the details of the metal decorations on the walls; the maximum limit is more or less impossible to calculate precisely, and derives from the rationally assessed height of the box on an analogical basis. Analogous ivory pyxides, on which the vessel shape is based, are 8.2–12 cm in diameter, in exceptional cases even more, and their height



Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the reliquary.

is between 7 and 10 cm,⁵ in some cases even greater; the pyx from Žuráň is 7.3 cm high,⁶ and the pyx from Čierné Kľačiany reaches a height of 8.5 cm.⁷

Metal ornaments on the vessel are made of thin gilded bronze plate (Fig. 3: 9). The hardware of the lid has a circular shape 3.2 cm in diameter, to which four rectangular arms are attached in a regular pattern, the tips of the respective arms being turned inwards, terminating in moon-shaped objects with small openings filled with small, thin nails. It is complemented by a convex cross, which is 7.5 cm wide (but which is hard to determine precisely due to the damaged tips). The target centre is decorated

1 Josef POULÍK, *Jižní Morava – země dávných Slovanů*, Brno 1948–1950, Fig. 39; Vilém HRUBÝ, *Staré Město. Velkomoravské pohřebiště "Na valách"*, Praha 1955, pp. 265, 413, tab. 75; Miloš ŠOLLE, *Stará Kouřim a projevy velkomoravské hmotné kultury v Čechách*, Praha 1966, p. 215, tab. XLVI and XLVII; J. POULÍK, *Svědectví výzkumů a pramenů archeologických a Velké Moravě*, in: J. POULÍK – Bohuslav CHROPOVSKÝ et al., *Velká Morava a počátky československé státnosti*, Praha – Bratislava 1985, p. 68.

2 Nada PROFANTOVÁ – Alena ŠILHOVÁ, *Raně středověké kaptorgy v Čechách*, *Památky archeologické* 101, 2010, p. 297.

3 Blanka KAVÁNOVÁ, *Velkomoravské relikváře z Mikulčic. Jižní Morava 2013*, Jižní Morava. Vlastivědný sborník 49/52, 2013, pp. 19–30.

4 The reconstruction was performed by Mr. Vlado Rusnak, restorer at the Archaeological Institute AV ČR in Brno Czech Republic.

5 Wolfgang Fritz VOLBACH, *Elfenbearbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalter*, Mainz 1952, pp. 50–55, 77–82.

6 J. POULÍK, *Žuráň in der Geschichte Mitteleuropas*, *Slovenská archeológia* 43/1, 1995, Abb. 49.

7 Títus KOLNÍK – Ladislav VELIAČIK, *Neskoroantická pyxida z Čiernych Kľačian*, *Slovenská archeológia* 31, 1983, p. 18.



Fig. 2. Details related to the findings at the moment of discovery of grave No. 300.

Photo by J. Škvařil, IAASB.

with radial fluting, with three evident holes filled with nails along the circumference of the circle. The moon-shaped objects at the tips of the arms are decorated with arranged rows of puncture marks copying the shape of the plate, and in one case, these rows are combined with a zigzag pattern. The strap arms are also decorated with puncture marks in different patterns. Despite the thinness of the metal plate, a massive handle in the shape of a bird (pigeon) with a three-dimensional-shaped head was attached to the target centre. The top edge of the box was lined with thin bronze sheet straps, 0.5 cm wide, decorated with a zigzag pattern. Small moon-shaped ornaments were attached to the vertical wall of the cylinder. Small openings filled with nails appear on their extended endings, and in the centre of the outer curve of the moon-shaped object. In addition, individual small nails were preserved, decorated with trefoil heads.

The vessel was found at the left foot of the buried man;⁸ the skeleton, found at a depth of 135 cm, was significantly damaged. It is assumed that the damage was inflicted during the burial in grave no. 245; the upper part, including the skull, was missing (**Fig. 3**). To the left side of the presumed position of the skull, there was a pail, and in its vicinity lay a golden granulated knob. On the right side of the pelvis, two sheathed knives were discovered, and an axe was reportedly found at the right knee (according to the fieldwork description of the grave, that is; in reality it was found neither in physical form nor in documentation related to the grave).

8 Milan STLOUKAL, *Druhé pohřebiště na hradišti "Valy" u Mikulčic. Antropologický rozbor koster z pohřebiště u trojrodního kostela*, Památky archeologické 58, 1967, pp. 272–319.

Grave no. 300 was uncovered approximately 3 meters from the northern foundations of the three-nave church building. Regardless of its proximity, it does not exactly copy the orientation of the longitudinal axis of the church construction, as is the case in the vast majority of the graves in its vicinity, but it deviates slightly in a SW–SE direction, so it may fall into the relatively numerous category of graves of similar and consistently maintained orientation. The reason for this could be the fact that the graves copied the orientation of a different, yet-to-be defined construction or complex of buildings. That is assuming that, from a number of other indicators, these constructions were older than the basilica itself, and were located in approximately the same area. Given the superposition of grave no. 245, with spurs with a row of rivets on a decorated disc, we can chronologically place grave no. 300 in the earlier period of the graves found at the Basilica. The relative chronology of the grave may be somewhat specified thanks to the little knob with patterned granulation. Knobs found at the graveyard represent a relatively closely defined younger stage of the graves dated to an older time period. The pattern of granulation is very interesting and unusual. With its small triangles with two extended tips, it reminds one of the moon-shaped patterns of the objects found on the reliquary. A golden knob in a complex of graves is a characteristic sign, and designates the burial site of a significant male figure belonging to a group of graves of social elites in this burial ground (see for instance graves no. 380 and 580 in the central nave of the church, or grave no. 490 in the narthex).

In the European region, the vessel found in grave no. 300 in Mikulčice is rather unique, with respect to both its appearance and the material it was made from. Analogical findings of ivory pyxides bring us to the area of Langobard graveyards from the 6th century. The closest analogy may be drawn to the pyx found in Žuráň, whose origins may be traced to the Eastern Mediterranean, to Egyptian or Coptic carving workshops. It is dated to the first half of the 6th century.⁹ Its fragments, interpreted as a jewellery box,¹⁰ were found in the grave of a female, buried with two horses. An analogy of the situation of the grave at the moment of discovery is mentioned by J. Poulík in his report from the Langobard burial ground discovered in Hauskirchen in Lower Austria, where some parts of horse harnesses were found in a female grave. However, the equipment for the rider was missing.¹¹ The discovery of a Langobard grave from the 6th century was also reported in Nocerea Umbra.¹² Another analogy, which is significant for its local proximity, may be drawn with the pyx from Čierné Kľačiany.¹³ The authors claim it belongs to a Slavic grave. However, it is not clear whether the grave is male or female. The description of the actual situation of the grave at the time of its discovery, however, was recorded based on an oral statement by the individuals who had found it by chance and therefore cannot be fully relied on.¹⁴ This discovery, however, is also much older, and can be traced to the Mediterranean region, and was probably in some way

9 J. POULÍK, *Žuráň*, p. 75.

10 J. POULÍK, *Jižní Morava*, Fig. 85.

11 J. POULÍK, *Žuráň*, p. 108.

12 W. F. VOLBACH, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, p. 78, Taf. 53: 164.

13 T. KOLNÍK – L. VELIAČIK, *Neskoroantická pyxida*; Marie PARDYOVÁ, *La pyxide de Čierne Kľačiany. La signification de son décor figuré*, *Byzantinoslavica* 49/2, 1988, pp. 222–232.

14 T. KOLNÍK – L. VELIAČIK, *Neskoroantická pyxida*, p. 59.

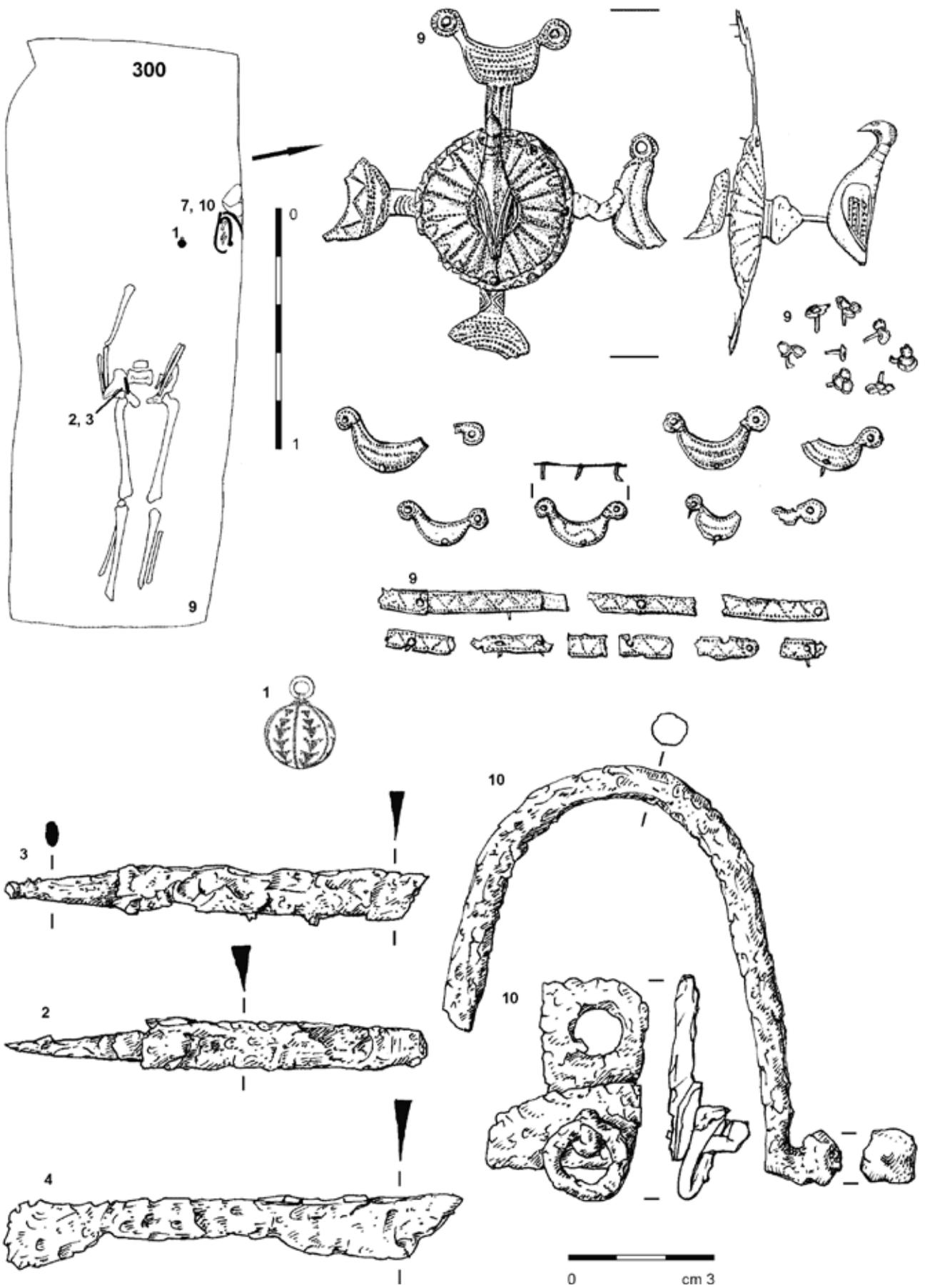


Fig. 3. Description of findings and objects related to grave 300.

Drawing by L. Dvořáková, IAASB.



Fig. 4. A pyx from Nocera Umbra.

By W. F. Volbach 1952.

brought to Central Europe. Therefore, the authors quite boldly claim that its origins could be traced to the period of the Byzantine mission of Constantine and Methodius.¹⁵ It is decorated with embossed mundane patterns, while the pyx found in Žuráň was decorated with Christian ornaments.¹⁶ Based on this fact, there is no more room for speculation.

A full cast handle in the shape of a bird on smaller objects was used for instance in the Balkans (the Museum in Pliska), and therefore presumably in the area of the late ancient material culture. In Mikulčice, this handle was also found on the iron lid of a plain, and on another one there was an iron cross.¹⁷ The bird motif (a pigeon) is considered to be a Christian symbol, frequently used in the Byzantine period between the 6th and the 10th centuries. From there, it spread to other areas, mostly having been

discovered in Copt workshops, and became a part of ancient Croatian Adriatic architecture of the 9th century.¹⁸

Pyxides were originally used as jewellery containers, as well as incense containers during religious ceremonies. Later on, in the High Middle Ages, they were commonly used for the depositing of bodily relics, but also partly as a depository of wafers and incense (Xanten pyx), regardless of the mundane or Christian character of the ornaments. In accordance with a resolution of the Narbonne Council of 589, they were used for Eucharistic purposes. In the 9th century, they became part of altars, occasionally containing relics as well.¹⁹ Therefore, they are often found in amongst church treasures.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

¹⁶ M. PARDYOVÁ, *Pozdně antické slonovinové pyxidy ze Žuráně a Čiernych Kľačan*, in: Národní kulturní památka Slovanské hradiště v Mikulčicích a kostel sv. Markěty Antiochijské v Kopčanech. Památka světové hodnoty na Seznam světového dědictví UNESCO, Mezinárodní odborné sympozium, Hodonín 30. 11. – 1. 12. 2010, Hodonín 2011, pp. 102–107.

¹⁷ J. POULÍK, *Mikulčice. Sídlo a pevnost knížat velkomoravských*, Praha 1975, tab. 74: 1 and 2.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 66

¹⁹ W. F. VOLBACH, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, pp. 50, 77.

The vessel from grave no. 300 in Mikulčice bears several characteristic elements of a pyx. The shape of the object draws significant attention at first sight. Some pyxides have well-preserved lids with metal ornaments;²⁰ the fragments from Čierné Kľačiany show traces of green veneer.²¹ In the case of both of the above-mentioned items, however, it is impossible to determine the shape or the character of the hardware. Only in the case of the Nocera Umbra findings were there records of a bronze handle on a convex lid.²² This pyx is very similar in shape to the one from Mikulčice (**Fig. 4**). A handle in the middle of the lid also occurs on a pyx from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.²³

While pyxides, interpreted as jewellery containers, come from female graves, the vessel in Mikulčice was found in a male grave, showing signs of having belonged to a member of the social elite. The pigeon sculpture and the decorative pattern of the lid in the shape of a cross link this vessel with Christian ideology. Given its appearance, which obviously resembles a pyx, it must have been made in an area with long-term manufacturing traditions, i.e. in the Eastern Mediterranean, or in the adjacent Balkan-Adriatic regions, as a late replica of an oxid, at a time when such vessels were deeply entrenched in people's memory as a suitable container for liturgical purposes, but were no longer being produced. This assumption is supported by the material used, which is no longer ivory, but wood. It is not possible precisely to determine the exact period in which the vessel was made. Assessment of the situation of the findings at the moment of discovery, however, indicates that the vessel was brought to Moravia as a liturgical object in the middle of the 9th century. According to the same supporting evidence, it can be inferred that the vessel was a gift for a high-ranking member of the social elite of Great Moravia, and that it served as his own personal reliquary. This assumption is also supported by the repeated occurrence of other Mikulčice finds, which are, however, impossible to reconstruct.²⁴

20 *Ibidem*, pp. 79, 82, Taf. 53: 166; 55: 177, 178.

21 T. KOLNÍK – L. VELIAČIK, *Neskoroantická pyxida*, p. 18.

22 W. F. VOLBACH, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, p. 78, Taf. 53: 164.

23 IDEM, *Early Christian Art*, London 1961, p. 236.

24 B. KAVÁNOVÁ, *Velkomoravské relikviáře*.

THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY AND EARLY MEDIAEVAL SACRED ARCHITECTURE IN SLOVAKIA – NEW DISCOVERIES AND CONNECTIONS

Alexander T. Ruttkay

In his survey on Christianisation in the Middle Danube Area, especially on the territory of Slovakia, the author puts emphasis on the beginnings of Christianity among the Slavs, on the issue of Great Moravia, the activities of Constantine and Methodius, as well as on the problem of the continuity of Christianity in the 9th–11th centuries. He draws attention to some controversial issues in the interpretation of sources, and through the older phases of Christianisation of the Slavs north of the Danube attempts to point to wider cultural and historical relations. The paper's second part contains a survey of the oldest archaeologically explored or detected Christian buildings in Slovakia and their constructional and functional characteristics.

Key words: Great Moravia, Kingdom of Hungary, Slovakia, Christianity, Christianisation, 9th–11th centuries, churches, monasteries

Despite some known indications of contacts with Christians from Pannonia north of the Danube (*Kolník 2001*), Christian churches or organisation units on our territory did not emerge until the 9th century. An old assumption on the existence of a bishopric in Nitra at the end of the 4th century (*Wurum 1835*, 14) is an unsubstantiated speculation (*Kuzmík 1983*, 76–77).

However, the fact that Christianity on the territory of neighbouring Transdanubia, which had once been the Roman province of Pannonia, was already well-organised in the 3rd century is proved by a record from which we learn that among the 60 bishops – presbyters, who took part in a synod called by Pope Cornelius to Rome in AD 251, there were also bishops from Pannonia and among them was Successus from Brigetio, which was a Roman military camp on the Danube opposite Iža-Leányvár (Kelemantia). In an AD 343 synod in Serdica (Sofia) eleven bishops from Pannonia participated; they represented almost each Pannonian town with local Christian communities (*Bagin 2004*; *Szántó 1983*, 241–243).

After the Hunnic invasion of Pannonia in the early 5th century, many inhabitants fled from this territory to northern Italy and Dalmatia. This event, however, did not cause the decline of Christianity on this territory. The Bishopric of Sirmium (Srijem) still existed, as well as antique sacred buildings, which were even been rebuilt and modified (e.g. *Quinque Ecclesiae – Pécs*). Christianity in Pannonia had to overcome many obstacles during the Migration Period and under the Avar Khaganate, but its continuity until the 9th century is important to the whole of the Middle Danube region in the following period (*Szántó 1983*, 242–243).

The migration of the historical Slavs to the west and south falls within the late phases of the Migration Period (for details see *Fusek 1994*). Higher forms of social organisation – tribes or temporary tribal unions – required fast relocation of large proto-Slavic populations to remote new settlements. The existence of a Slavic social elite was therefore necessary for organisation and the broader military securing of advancement through territories which were usually not depopulated and where

the reactions of local inhabitants were of varied nature. The current picture of early Slavic society in the 6th–7th centuries according to the interpretation of archaeological sources, however, seems to be much more modest. Assemblages of finds from settlements still lack any relevant elements which would characterise what we might logically suppose to have been the uppermost class. It is a task for future research objectively to analyse and fill in this interpretational hiatus. New questions arise, for example, after the discovery of a settlement on the hillfort Bojná II – Hradisko where a settlement horizon was identified with typical 5th–6th century brooches. These are usually associated with the Germans who, unlike the Slavs, did not build massive fortifications on hilltops (*Pieta 2007*, 172–190).

A critical point in the history of Christianity in Pannonia seems to be the changes after the arrival of the Avars in 568 and departure of the Lombards to Italy, and during the lengthy assimilation of the Gepids into the Avar Khaganate (*Bóna 1974*; *Bystrický 2008*, 18nn.).

Christianity had survived on the territories of former Roman provinces in the 7th–8th centuries as well. Even though the Bishopric of Sirmium in Lower Pannonia was temporarily abolished in 582, several older churches continued to be used and were even rebuilt. The Avar Khaganate had in essence an ambivalent relationship with Christianity. In graves attributed to the Avars, Christian crosses sporadically occurred. Some prominent Avars accepted baptism in the 8th century (*Szántó 1983*, 242–243, 274–275). Among new finds in Slovakia is a decorated cross in a large hoard of “Late Avar” bronze objects from Horné Orešany (*Pieta – Ruttkay 2007*, 54–55, Fig. 2.; *Ruttkay 2012*, 118, Fig. 3).

Leaving aside the general information on pagan cults among the Slavs, the original religion of the Slavs who lived within or in the neighbourhood of the Avar Khaganate is not known (*Čaplovič 2001*, 93–108). In his work “On the Gothic War”, Procopius relates about the religion of the “Antes and Sclaveni” (the Slavs living north of the Danube?) that they believed in one god, creator of lightning [...] offered him sacrifices of bulls [...] venerated rivers and nymphs...and other [...] deities (*Ratkoš 1968*, 33).

The cultural interactions of the Slavs may have led to the first contacts with Christianity as early as in the 6th–7th centuries. Among often-cited evidence is the inscription on the tomb of St Martin of Tours (316–397). As the inscription has it, the missionary activity of St Martin would have covered a vast territory and too many ethnic groups (among them the “Pannonians” and the “Slavs”) for one life-time. This source, however, is not reliable because the tombstone was not made until around AD 580. A detailed biography – a legend about the life of St Martin – was written by his near contemporary Sulpicius Severus who of course does not mention the Slavs (*Sulpicius Severus 1997–1998; Pernoudová 2000*). According to present knowledge, proto-Slavic populations did not yet inhabit the Middle Danube region in the 4th century.

One of the episodes from the life of St Amand in the 1st half of the 7th century (that is, at the time the Empire of Samo was in existence) indicates that he was possibly active in north Pannonia, which could also be proved by later toponyms such as *Omuntesthorf* (AD 791) and *Omuntesperch* (AD 890, when Svatopluk and Arnulf met) and even by the current name of Ámándhegy Hill near Pannonhalma Monastery. According to Baudemund (around AD 680), the biographer of St Amand, the saint who longed for the “palm of martyrdom” is said to have forded (?) the Danube around AD 629 (!) and “going through those lands he preached... the Gospel to the people”. This mission failed and Amand returned to Pannonia (?; *Kuzmik 1983, 86*). The identification of the toponyms *Omuntesthorf* and *Omuntesperch* was introduced into the literature by J. Dekan (*1951*). Attempts at missionary penetrations into Slavic territories north of the Danube in the 7th–8th centuries were only individual short-term actions with poor results or unaccomplished intentions.

A question which is quite frequent among specialists concerns the range and significance of Irish missions before the 9th century, associated mainly with the initiative of St Virgil of Ireland, Bishop of Salzburg (about 700–784). The theory of the Hiberno-Scottish mission spreading the new religion by patient activity “from below” among the people, that is, also among the Slavs north of the Danube, survives based on earlier excavations at the church in Modrá near Velehrad (*Cibulka 1958*). Attention should be paid to a recent study by M. Koziak (*2004*) on the topic of early Irish missions with detailed analysis of sources. Relevant arguments considerably diminish the possible potential of insular influences on the Slavs north of the Danube before the 9th century.

According to recent excavations (Kostofany pod Trábečom, Kopčany), churches with an elongated quadratic choir, of which the above-mentioned church in Modrá near Velehrad is one, show themselves in a new light. Such a layout is also known in the Frankish environment, from where some still unspecified Christianisation attempts may already have penetrated into the Slavic territories north of the Danube before AD 800.

The starting point of Frankish Christianisation initiatives may have been, in the main part, Pannonia. The possibility that in the northern part of Pannonia there was an early administrative and regional religious centre is indicated for example by the mention of a “Carolingian church” or a residence of a “monastic community”, which are reported to have been uncovered in 1961–1962 in the neighbourhood of Pannonhalma (*Csóka – Siska 2001, online*).

This was already a prelude to the programmatic Frankish Christianisation of the Slavs and the remains of the Avar population. The programme, with state power behind it, was arranged in a 796 synod in Pannonia (*Ratkoš 1968, 140–142*). The synod was also attended by Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia. This fact testifies to the important position the Patriarchate had in the Christianisation of the Slavs and the Avars in Pannonia, and maybe also in the territory north of the Danube from the end of the 8th century.

We know of guidelines and instructions on how to baptise the population of Pannonia, and the mistakes or aberrations of previous baptisms are also known. These aberrations were maybe rooted in Arianism or Macedonianism. Breaching the fixed ritual made the baptism ceremony invalid so that it had to be repeated (*Ratkoš 1968, 141*). This possibility – that is, repeated baptism – cannot be ruled out with Duke Pribina in Nitra, either. He initiated the emergence of the oldest church on Slavic territory north of the Danube, which is also known from literary sources, but he himself is reported to have been baptised much later.

The regions inhabited by the Slavs became external missionary territories of Eastern Frankish ecclesiastical institutions and the Patriarchate of Aquileia. The contribution of the Frankish authorities to the earliest spread of Christianity among the Slavs is, with some exaggeration, included in the well-known treatise by Frankish clergy on the conversion of the Bavarians and the Carantanians (*Ratkoš 1968, 75–86*). This allocation of missionary spheres, however, has not been consistently observed. In literary sources, the struggle between clerical centres for rights of jurisdiction is reflected. The disputes were caused by geopolitical changes (for example the rise of Great Moravia) and new factors inside the Church, mainly the activity of Constantine and Methodius. The process of previous Christianisation from multiple directions is also mentioned in the well-known textual passage about the invitation made to the Thessalonian brothers by Duke Rastislav in the Pannonian-Moravian Legend (*Ratkoš 1968, 237*).

Frankish influences are reflected in the construction of churches as well as in movable material culture (weapons, the so-called Blatnica-Mikulčice style in handicraft). Frankish missionary penetration into the territory of the Duchy of Nitra is evidenced by a reference in about AD 828 to the consecration of the oldest church in the demesne (residence) of Duke Pribina in Nitra. It is likely that, above all, the Pannonian Slavs had already had their liturgical terminology or prayer texts written in the Slavic language before the arrival of the Thessalonian brothers (*Szántó 1983, 275*). It is indirectly indicated by one of the conclusions of the AD 803 synod in Mainz that the new Christians should adopt Christianity “in the same language to which they were born, to understand what they should abstain from and what confess”.

The mention of Byzantine missionaries before Constantine and Methodius is complicated by a long period of iconoclasm (726–843). The persecution and physical liquidation of priests and monks who defended – often unsuccessfully – sacred paintings from destruction was most intensive under the rule of Emperors Constantine Copronymus (761–775) and Leo V the Armenian (813–820). The effect of Byzantine iconoclasm was a mass exodus of clergy and monks to the west, mostly perhaps to Italy (*Szántó 1983, 296–298*).

The Italian teachers mentioned in the invitation by Rastislav were most probably missionaries from the Patriarchate of Aquileia. Even though this institution was originally intended to act in the south between the River Drava and the Sava, it may soon have penetrated into the Slavic territory north of the Danube as well. This activity and influence are also corroborated by the Adriatic connections of several 9th century churches examined in the Great Moravian environment.

An indication of the presence of missionaries from Italy can be given by an assemblage of gilt copper plaques from the Bojná I – Valy hillfort (*Pieta – Ruttkay 2007*). They fall within the older – pre-Great Moravian – settlement phase at the hillfort from the 1st third of the 9th century. The plaques were found in the southern half of a fortified bailey (with an area of about 2 ha), which is on the western side of the hillfort (about 9 ha in total) near the entrance pincer gate from the Váh river valley.

The exact finding place was verified by archaeological excavation; identification of the place of deposition of the plaques (which had been intruded by tree roots and treasure hunters with metal detectors) required a careful method of operation. The plaques were probably deposited in an almost perpendicular position, one right beside the other. From among six plaques in total, four were round in shape, bordered with a band of triangles with apices directed outward. Two plaques had the form of an isosceles cross with rounded sides; their circumference was bordered with two rows of repoussé beading.

The punched triangles with out-turned apices on round plaques and on separate circumferential borders represent an aureole. The figures on the plaques, with one exception, have no radiant light – aureole – around their heads. The circle of light around the whole body has already been documented from the 6th century. Mandorla emerged later by elongating the circular aureole around a holy person (*Huyghe 1969, 251*). The triangles, that is, “rays”, which radiate from the circular segment towards the mortals symbolise divine power.

In some of the holes at the perimeter of the plaques, small nails 6–17 mm long were still preserved. Their pointed ends were bent. The plaques were mounted on a wooden base (board) approximately 5–6 mm thick.

The number and size of plaques – provided that the assemblage consisted of seven pieces – gives a foundation for estimating the dimensions of the base. Taking into account all possible variants of arrangement it turned out that the wooden case, which may have been covered with leather or textile, was supposedly about 60 × 30 cm at the base and about 30 cm in height. The plaques were thus in all likelihood primarily part of a portable altar. It is, however, possible that in this case – where an attribute of early missionary activities is probably involved – the purposes of altar and reliquary have merged together.

Early mediaeval portable altars and reliquaries are usually decorated with symbols of the New Testament, above all the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ, depictions of other sacred beings symbolically protecting the function or content of the case (mainly angels), and in the case of reliquaries also with scenes from the life and martyrdom of the saint whose relics are stored in the case etc.

From the assumption of a portable altar we can derive one of the hypothetical models of how the plaques were arranged on the case. The plaques may have been placed on the upper board and on the two lateral longer boards. The bottom created a pedestal and on the short sides of the case metal handles for transport of a relatively large object were probably mounted. A similar handle is included in the assemblage of finds from the hillfort (*Pieta – Ruttkay 2007, 31, Fig. 2: 7*). All plaques from Bojná are decorated with winged beings in upright frontal pose and in en face view. The wings and the hand gestures are pictured in a different way on each artefact, and the long-sleeved dalmatics reaching below the knees also exhibit different weaving patterns, but they are made in the same style which recalls some isolated finds from 9th century power centres in Moravia (e.g. *Poulik 1985, 67, Fig. 27, tab. 4: 3, 4*).



Fig. 1. Bojná I – Valy.

An assemblage of gilt copper plaques. The figure of a winged Jesus Christ with a hitherto unidentified inscription written in specific Latin script.

As far as the main motifs on early mediaeval portable altars are concerned, the assemblage from Bojná lacks only the Crucifixion. It may be that the missing third cruciform (!) plaque in the largest circular border (19.2 cm in diameter) was decorated with this central scene. A parallel to the Crucifixion placed on the upper board can be found for example on an ivory portable altar from Essen-Werden from the end of the 8th century (*Schulze-Dörrlamm 2002, 281–363*). In the middle of the frontal lateral side of this object there was also a second – smaller – figure of Jesus Christ in adoration pose and on both his sides were larger figures of two bearded (!) angels. A variant from Bojná corresponds to this arrangement, where in the middle of the frontal lateral side there was a figure with cruciform aureole and the ligature (?) SVAVM (**Fig. 1**). This figure is in accordance with the iconography of Jesus Christ: the cruciform aureole represents the basic and unmistakable identification attribute of Jesus in the western and eastern Christian rite; the difference lies in the fact that in the eastern Christian sphere each arm of the aureole usually bears Greek letters which form the ligature OON (the one, who is;

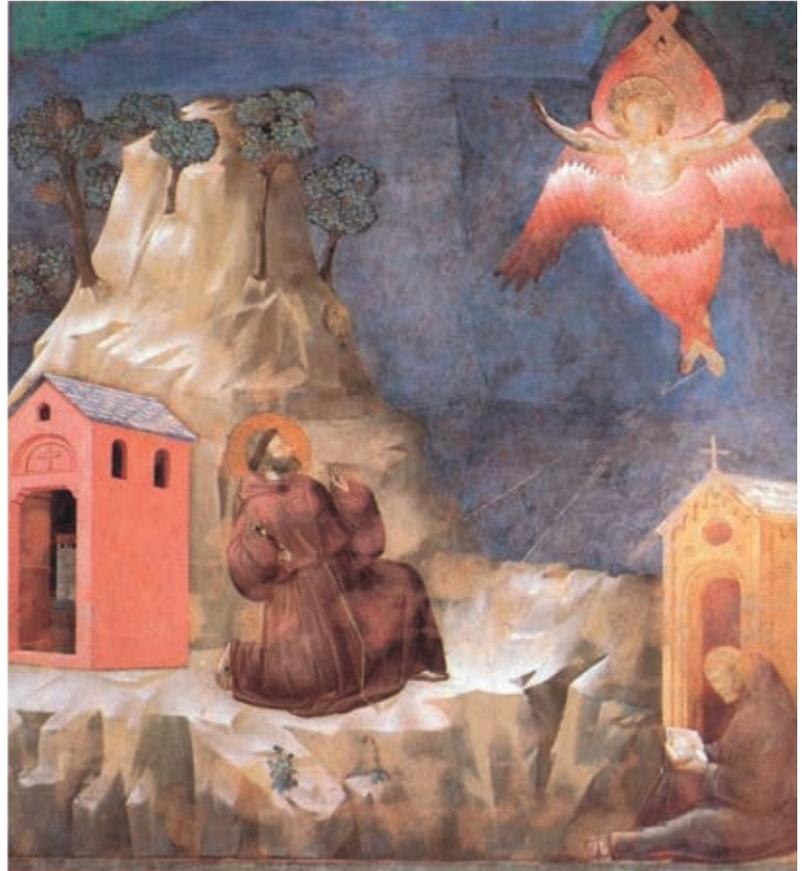


Fig. 2. Giotto di Bondone.

Stigmatisation of St Francis (painted 1292–1297). Left altarpiece (stored in the Louvre, Paris); right a scene from the fresco collection in the Basilica of Assisi.

Mariánsky 1995, online). Such a signature is not usual in the west. On two cruciform plaques with circular borders on both sides of the figure of Jesus in Bojná, figures of guardian angels may have been placed – one of them with two spread wings, the other with four (as with the seraphim angels?) folded wings.

Since attempts appear – which is maybe natural regarding the attractiveness of the topic – to class the plaques from Bojná within Byzantine Christianisation contexts, I consider it necessary to point once more to some known facts about Byzantine Christianity in the period of iconoclasm. By order of the ruler, adherents of the iconoclastic movement removed numbers of icons from churches, inclusive of pictures of the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ.

That the plaques – and along with them also the whole case – do not come from Byzantium but fall within the sphere of Latin, that is western, Christianity, is evidenced above all by the joined-up Latin letters – ligatures – on two of the plaques. A possible reflection of the departure of many Byzantine monks to the west can be traced in the iconographic context of our assemblage. This mainly concerns the plaque bearing a winged figure of Jesus Christ and the inscription SVAVM written in Latin capital letters of unusual form. The legs of the letters, however, have triangular ends, which gives the impression that they were at least indirectly influenced by the Greek alphabet. Several hypothetical variants of the interpretation of the content of this inscription are beyond the scope of this paper, even though

the text should be directly related to the figure of the Divine-Human. The inscription [...] NDE on another plaque is applied with classical Latin capital letters and seems to be more transparent in its content: hypothetically, it may be the second half of the inscription CRE NDE, that is, a ligature of the confession of Christian faith CREDO IN UNUM DEUM.

Another question is the identification of the figures on the plaques. The wings on the plaque with the figure of Jesus Christ initially raised some doubts. The problem of the winged Christ is known to European literature (*Ament 1976*, 357). His occurrence (the so-called Christ-Angel) on relics from before the 9th century may represent, for example, the reduced figures of two winged angels by the side of Christ. In the 9th century, mainly in its final part, however, the winged Christ certainly occurs, maybe as a symbol of victory over death (*Aufleger 1997*, 183–184; with references to further lit.).

The depiction of a winged Jesus Christ, however, is known from various periods where it has different meanings. At the time of the Roman Empire under Emperor Hadrian, for example, the Jewish-Christian sect of the Elcesaites, who were related to the Ebionites, venerated Christ as the Supreme Angel, an Aeon of higher excellence (*Szántó 1983*, 97). From the 3rd–4th centuries comes a depiction of the winged Christ in the Alexandria catacombs (*Majzeš 2005*, online). This image maybe represents the first allegorical depiction of Divine Wisdom (Sophia).



Fig. 3. Bojná I – Valy.

An assemblage of gilt copper plaques. A figure with a St Anthony's Cross (letter Tau).

The flying Jesus belongs to one of the crucial scenes of the Legend of St Francis of Assisi (1181–1226). Already before the mid-13th century, the authors of the two oldest biographies – Thomas of Celano and St Bonaventure – had described a mystical experience of St Francis on Mount La Verna in Tuscany, south of Florence. While Francis was contemplating near his hermitage, Christ descended to him in the form of a seraphim angel with three pairs of wings (**Fig. 2**). This angel gave him the gift of the five wounds of Christ – St Francis received the stigmata that he carried until his death (La Verna – Hora sv. Františka, *Anni Paulini Peregrinatio*, online). This motif is very popular in the visual arts. In 1292–1297, Giotto di Bondone painted an altarpiece which is currently stored in the Louvre Museum, and a series of frescoes in the Basilica of Assisi. The scene of St Francis receiving the stigmata was also mentioned by Dante Alighieri in his *Divine Comedy, Paradise* (*Dante Alighieri 1986*).

The mystical experience was also depicted in the following centuries in Franciscan and later in Minorite and Capuchin churches on the territory of Slovakia. Among them is for example a painting in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Pezinok, which was made after 1718 (*A. Botek*, online).

Another iconographically specific figure in the assemblage of plaques from Bojná is a winged being holding a distinct large object in the left hand – a T-shaped crozier (St Anthony's Cross). On the lower arm of the beam is a bell-shaped pedestal (**Fig. 3**). The combination of the St Anthony's Cross and a possible bell recalls at first sight the attributes associated with Saint Anthony the Hermit. The saint, who is believed to have lived in Egypt in the 3rd–4th centuries, laid the beginnings of Christian hermitic traditions and the development that resulted in the emergence of monastic communities (*Farmer 1996*, 48–49). The St Anthony's Cross and a bell are among the attributes of this saint and represent maybe their oldest layer (*Rusina – Zervan 1994*, 15).

The cult of St Anthony the Hermit has usually been associated with the transfer of his remains to Alexandria, later to Constantinople and around AD 1000 reportedly for the most part to France, which may have inspired the foundation of the hospital order of the Anthonites.

The chronological sequence outlined would localise the core of the cult of St Anthony before the year 1000 in the territory of eastern or Byzantine Christianity. The reality, however, is different. That the cult was also developed in the west is evidenced, for example, by Irish relics from as early as the mid-8th century (*Farmer 1996*, 48), and by the influence which the cult of St Anthony exerted on the beginnings of monastic life in the west (*Szántó 1983*, 231–232). The author of the Legend of St Anthony, St Athanasius, wrote the legend in Rome after AD 340, and after AD 360 it was translated into Latin. Monastic communities following the legacy of St Anthony arose on the territory of Italy, Hispania and Gaul, and somewhat later also in Ireland. Taking into account the inspirational power of the legend in the beginnings of western monachism, it is certainly possible that among the winged guardian beings on the case from Bojná this saint may also occur. The St Anthony's Cross as a symbol of hermitage can be found in the Letters of St Francis of Assisi, who signed his writings on parchment with a St Anthony's Cross (Greek letter Tau; *Schneider 1999; Čačková 2012*, online).

The complicated interpretation of figures on the plaques from Bojná of course involves many other variants. However, it becomes evident that the iconography of winged figures and the Latin letters class the assemblage with sources supporting the presence of western Christianisation streams before the mission of Constantine and Methodius. We mainly prefer an Italian, especially Aquileian, origin of the collection, taking into consideration that one of the inscriptions probably exhibits Greek inspiration, which may be related to the escape of Greek clergy to Italy, mainly during the two most intense phases of iconoclasm.

A trial excavation has already been carried out, but the collection of plaques cannot be dated, neither by comparative archaeological procedures nor scientific dating, for example the one based on the analysis of organic remains. Possible destinies of the portable altar from Bojná were already outlined within the scope of alternative hypotheses and in the context of the development of political powers in the region during the 9th century (*Pieta – Ruttkay 2007*, 54–56). Although they indicate possible missionary activity in this or in adjacent regions already in the 1st third of the 9th century, we cannot say anything definitive about either the conditions under which the sacred object, on which the plaques were originally mounted, was dismantled, or how successful this unknown undertaking was.

After a brief survey on the problem of the plaques from Bojná, I will return to the characteristics of Christianity among the Moravians and Slovaks after the rise of Great Moravia. The basic point is that Christianity – whether from the west, south or directly from Byzantium – was implanted into the local environment from territories with advanced and differentiated social organisation, in which the clergy was already well-established alongside the uppermost class. A crucial moment occurred when the Duke adopted the new faith, began to support missionary activities – which most probably induced conflicts, mainly outside the central regions directly

supervised by the Duke – and the ecclesiastical organisation began to form. The construction of churches – above all stone-built ones – as the most apparent evidence of the strengthening of the position of Christianity could only be accomplished with the consent and support of the Duke. This is evidenced by the location of churches within the area of power centres – castle towns, and by the establishment of “private”, so-called proprietary churches belonging to the internal structure of hitherto uncovered princely or ducal manorial residences. The testimony of movable finds including Christian symbolism is, in a broader context, not as powerful as that of sacred buildings.

The chief event in the foreign-political activities of Great Moravia was represented by the arrival of the Byzantine missionaries Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, who accelerated the progress of Christianisation after 863, gave rise to Slavic literature and conducted diplomatic activities in favour of Great Moravia. The voluminous specialised literature on the political and cultural context of the invitation of the Thessalonian brothers, on their wide-ranging work, and on the development of ecclesiastical organisation in Great Moravia covers all aspects of the topic (in Slovak specialised literature e.g. *Kučera 1985; Marsina, 1985 and 2013; Ratkoš 1988* with an overview of further literature).

The scope of activity of the centres of ecclesiastical organisation – the Archbishopric of Moravia and Bishopric of Nitra – was immediately in the sphere of the Duke, whereas the more remote regions were external missionary territories to Methodius, just as they had been earlier to the Frankish centres. The foundations of 9th century ecclesiastical organisation formed around the power centres. In Slovakia it was the western part of the country, that is, the Duchy of Nitra, where the germs of principal parishes – archpresbyteriates – may also be taken into account. Great Moravian movable finds with Christian motifs exhibit evident syncretism with overlapping Byzantine and western influences. The depiction of saint figures, however, involves some specific features linked with production for the uppermost class (*Pouлік 1985, 27–33*).

Archaeological finds only rarely include artefacts which are considered to be associated with the mission of Constantine and Methodius. The Byzantine mission was no hermitic mission, as were for example the already-mentioned – only supposed – missionaries from the British Isles. Constantine and Methodius were envoys of the Byzantine Emperor who were entrusted with diplomatic missions. The Emperor certainly equipped them for the long journey with an armed escort and with gifts for the inviter – the Duke of Great Moravia. This assumption provided the base for an extensive study, including the hypothesis on the well-known find of a 4th century East Roman ivory pyx in Čierne Kľačany. The pyx, which had been stored over centuries in the Byzantine imperial treasury, is supposed to have been part of the Byzantine imperial gift for the host Duke Rastislav in 863 (*Kolník – Veliačik 1983, 17–18*). Archaeological excavations which were conducted at the place of this chance find and also later in its surroundings, however, have not yielded any relevant terrain contexts and results.

A piece of evidence that pilgrimages were undertaken from Great Moravia to sacred places in Italy is given by the Gospel Book of Cividale listing the names of prominent visitors inclusive of Svatopluk (*Ratkoš 1968, 133–135* with references to the history of research).

Even the Holy Land was probably being visited by pilgrims from Central Europe, even in the 9th century. Besides indications in written reports it is also evidenced by pectoral crosses – Enkolpia of the so-called Syrian-Palestinian type dated to the 9th, 11th or 12th centuries. The Enkolpion from Mača, depicting three figures, is a member of the oldest group. Iconographic interpretation of this composition has several variants. According to detailed analysis based on long-lasting disputes on the essence of the Holy Trinity, which were also taking place in the 9th century, the motif on the cross expresses the Divine Trinity (*Kolník 1994*). A simpler interpretation is maybe that the three spectacularly depicted figures represent the crucified Jesus Christ with the Virgin Mary and John the Apostle standing below him. This, after all, corresponds to the Gospel text and to numerous visual depictions. Among 9th century Christian symbols, there is a cross from Zlaté Moravce as well as a double cross in the corpus on the front board of the Gospel Book of Nitra. The decorative 14th century front board covering the text of the 11th century codex was inlaid with a double-arm silver cross which, according to T. Kolník, may be even older than the text of the codex. The conditions of discovery of a second artefact of this kind, supposedly a “golden pectoral cross” in Zlaté Moravce, are not yet known; only a photo exists, so the artefact can be considered missing. The name “Moravce” (Hungarian form “marót”) testifies that the toponym was already in existence before the 11th century. Along with the name of the nearby village of Kňažice (derived from knjaz – prince/duke) it indicates the existence of a significant 9th century locality which is to be archaeologically verified in the future.

Archaeological problems also involve long-time discussions about the place where St Methodius was buried. However, regarding the aftermath of his death it can be supposed that Bishop Wiching and his followers strived to destroy all traces – that is, also the grave – of the Archbishop of Pannonia and Great Moravia.

The arrival of Constantine and Methodius also had a considerable impact on Pannonia, the major part of which, with the main residence at Mosapurc (Zalavár), was administered in 839–875 by Duke Pribina from Nitra and his son Kocel, who sometimes appears – similar to Rastislav and Svatopluk – as an independent holder of power. He broke free from immediate political and ecclesiastical subordination to the Franks. The building of at least 26 churches and other religious organisational developments have been associated with Pribina and Kocel. The pragmatic political and religious orientation of Kocel is evidenced by his support of the mission of Constantine and Methodius, education of disciples in Old Slavic liturgy and above all by the clear support he gave to Methodius in his struggle with the Frankish ecclesiastical centres. The activity of the Thessalonian brothers at Mosapurc is evidenced by new archaeological finds. Pottery fragments with Glagolitic letters represent the first and so far the only finds of their kind in the West Slavic sphere (a new overview of archaeological excavations and an attempt at their historical interpretation *Szöke 2010*). Among significant discoveries there is also the excavation of a manor including a residence and a church which probably belonged to one of the noblemen who came with Pribina from Nitra (*Müller 1994*), and also recently a palace-like building with stone foundations directly in the area of the ducal residence.

Great Moravia after 880, and in particular after the death of Methodius in 885 and the departure of his disciples, again experienced an increase in western influence. Other East Frankish institutions probably also became active in relation to the Slavs north of the Danube. Among them was maybe also St Pölten Abbey, which might have been related to the patrocinium of St Hippolytus at Zobor Abbey that was probably founded as early as in 880.

A seeming vacuum several decades long existed in ecclesiastical organisation after the decline of Great Moravia. This condition, however, does not imply a mass return to paganism. Even the Old Magyars were in contact with Christianity before their arrival in Central Europe, as is mentioned in both of the Pannonian-Moravian legends (*Ratkoš 1968*, 214–215, 244). Even though devotional objects are sporadically found in Magyar graves (in Slovakia, for example, a cross in Trnovec nad Váhom: *Točík 1968*), the resistance of a part of the Magyar tribal aristocracy to the new religion, but above all to the reign of a single ruler and to feudalisation, is manifested in “pagan” revolts even as late as in the 11th century. A part of the autochthonous – on our territory, Old Slavic – aristocracy, based on the earlier inclination to Latin Christianity, may have provided some support to the first Arpads in their suppressing the rebellion of the conservative part of the former tribal aristocracy (for example one of the phases of the mighty fortification at Biňa: *Habovštiak 1966c*). Excavations carried out by the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in the past years enabled us to specify the existing interpretations of this hillfort, which probably had multiple constructional and functional phases within the 9th and 10th centuries.

What remained of Great Moravian ecclesiastical institutions – the Nitra Chapter and the tradition of the Nitra Bishopric, Zobor Monastery, and maybe also the conjoined chapter in Bratislava – acted in a transformed and reduced form or were renewed within the Kingdom of Hungary. Until the early 12th century, the Duchy of Nitra (ducat) probably reflected the significant position which this locality occupied in the 10th and 11th centuries.

After the 2nd half of the 10th century, the development of the Church in the emergent Kingdom of Hungary was no longer based on the legacy of Constantine and Methodius. New Greek Orthodox influences came from Transylvania and penetrated into the eastern parts of the Middle Danube region and maybe also to East Slovakia. The wife of Geza, the Grand Prince of the Hungarians (she was also called Beleknegini according to some other sources), was mother of the future King Stephen I of Hungary. She is said to have supported the Greek Orthodox Church within her appanage centred in Veszprém. In the last third of the 10th century, the state-forming component led by the Arpads definitively proclaimed their inclination to the western Church. Above all Pruno (Prunward) from St Gallen, Bruno of Querfurt, St Gerhard, St Adalbert, Sebastian-Radla and Astrik had a significant position in missionary activities and in the establishment of ecclesiastical organisation in the Hungarian kingdom.

The topic of relations between paganism and Christianity, and between western and eastern Christianity before and in the early phase of the Hungarian kingdom is treated in the collected volume “Válaszúton. Pogányság – kereszténység” (*Palágyi, ed. 2000*), which includes papers from an international conference on 10th and 11th century problems.

In the 1st half of the 11th century we can record the emergence of a united and stable ecclesiastical organisation on a pan-Hungarian scale. Ten bishoprics were established after 1030; one of them – probably in Transylvania – was initially maybe Greek Orthodox. The subsequent development of parochial organisation, that is, presbyteriates and archpresbyteriates, was directed by individual bishoprics and the process was much more complicated. Some ecclesiastical structures of the pre-Hungarian period were probably retained, too.

The key role in this process was played by the missionary activity of the Benedictine Order. On the territory of present-day Slovakia it was the activity of Zobor Monastery. The significance of the abbey rose at the beginning of the Hungarian state-forming process, which was also reflected in the extensive property granted by King Stephen I of Hungary (1000–1038).

Life in the 11th century monasteries is well illustrated by Maurus, the Bishop of Pécs; he wrote down a legend about two hermits, Andrew-Zorard and Benedict (Stojislav?), who acted in the sphere of Zobor Monastery in the 1st third of the 11th century. The legend fulfilled its main goal, namely to achieve the canonisation of both these hermits as soon as possible. The initiative of Geza, Duke of Nitra (1063–1074) in the emergence of the legend may have been associated with three practical areas (*Ruttkay 2001*).

Geza belonged to that branch of the Arpads who already had a tight relationship to Nitra in the late 10th century (Michael, Ladislaus, Vazul). During dynastic disputes with the ruling representatives of the Arpads it was well understandable that Geza tried to utilise the potential of the frontier principality and proclaim some degree of independence. The Duke headed the Nitra troops in the Battle of Mogyoród in 1074 against King Solomon, which he won and so became King of Hungary (1074–1077). His name has been associated with the founding of the monastery in Hronský Beňadik in 1075 and the donation of an extensive property. The canonisation of Sts Zorard and Benedict is also connected with Geza’s power-political interests towards the Duchy of Nitra.

After the death of Zorard and Benedict, that is, from the end of the 1st third of the 11th century on, these two hermits became, probably entirely spontaneously, widely venerated in Nitra and its neighbourhood. When he had taken on the post of Duke, Geza perhaps then strove to transform the veneration into a cult of the new saints within the context of religious and socio-ideological symbolism. Nitra at that time was probably dominated by the cult of two foreign saints: St Emmeram (church in the ducal residence in the castle) and St Hippolytus (Benedictine monastery at Zobor). The interest in gaining prestige Geza may have had, aiming to have local saints acting on his own territory, may have been another motive for the canonisation.

The emergence of the legend may also have been inspired by the religious disputes of that time. After the schism in 1054, the barrier between western Latin and eastern Byzantine-Orthodox Christianity deepened considerably. It also might be that the Hungarian state power tried to replace the tradition or the local cult of Constantine and Methodius, who are not mentioned in Hungarian narrative sources, with two saints of local origin orientated towards Latin Christianity.

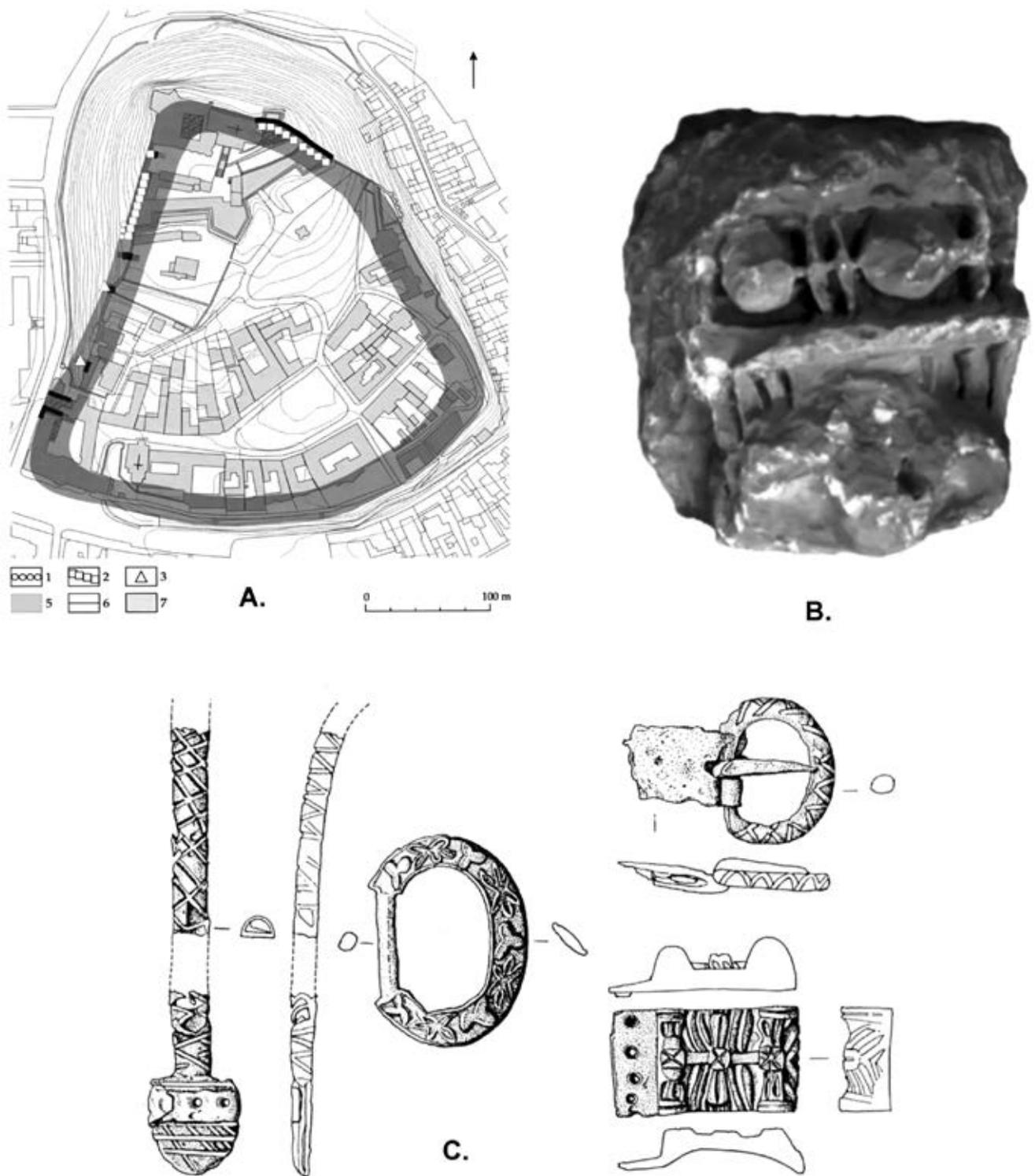


Fig. 4. Nitra Castle.

Fortified area in the 9th–10th cent., architectonic elements from an older building secondarily incorporated into the 9th–11th cent. fortification, finds of Baiuvarian character from the 1st half of the 9th century in a disturbed grave.

The question of whether the tradition of Cyril and Methodius existed in popular awareness in the Nitra sphere of the 11th century cannot be clearly answered. Mediaeval literary sources (Kosmas a. o.) remember Svatopluk and the old tradition of the monastery at Zobor, but the Thessalonian brothers are absent. A short-lived return of Slavic literature to the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom is associated with the arrival of monks from Sázava Monastery around the mid-11th century.

In this regard an older indication is also known from a 1044–1046 treatise by St Gerhard (*Pražák 1988, 56–73*). *Deliberatio...* was mainly targeted against the activity of the Bogomils sect, who may soon – in 1046 – have participated in the well-known “pagan” rebellion lead by Vata, in which Gerhard himself died as a martyr. The treatise, however, includes a section maybe related to the adherents of Methodius, “with the help of whom the power of the Church would weaken to the delight of heretics”.

This might indicate the possible existence of communities adhering to Slavic Orthodoxy and the negative stance of the official Hungarian Church towards these communities in the time immediately before the schism. It is not known whether the treatise mentions persistent Slavic liturgy from the 9th century or an influence from the sphere of the Southern Slavs.

An important role in the consolidation of the Christian religion in the Kingdom of Hungary was played by pilgrimages to memorable places. Hungarian pilgrims in Palestine are mentioned from the early 11th century and even before 1020 King Stephen I had founded a house for their reception – *xenodochium* – in Jerusalem (Szántó 1983, 316).

Archaeology for 9th–11th century churches and monasteries in Slovakia

An attempt to summarise the knowledge of Christian history and culture in Slovakia from the 4th to the 15th century was made by M. Slivka (2007). From his work it also follows that the key role in archaeological assessment of the organisational stability of the Christian religion is played by immovable sources – from the 9th century by churches and soon thereafter by the first monasteries too. The emergence of such buildings testifies – unlike the most part of movable objects from archaeological excavations – among other things to ideological and material support as well, granted by social elites for the spread and consolidation of the Christian religion.

Since 1882, archaeological research has involved 140 churches and monasteries on the territory of Slovakia. A special position with regard to cultural-historical significance has been taken by discoveries and excavation results concerning 9th–11th century architectural remains. Classification of them cannot be separated from research results over the wider territory of Great Moravia and Transdanubia.

Views on the organisational and settlement structure of Nitra in the 9th–11th centuries have radically changed in the past years. Archaeological excavations here indicate the existence of as many as four churches which were built during the 9th century. Earlier it was supposed that among 9th century buildings there was only St Martins Church in the Martinský Vrch hillfort, which declined in the early 20th century and has been archaeologically examined in multiple phases since 1960 (Chropovský 1972; Ruttkay 2006). The hillfort was situated beyond the central parts of early mediaeval Nitra and may have served as a defensive and economic outpost on the left bank of the eponymous river. The church was rebuilt in the Romanesque style in the 11th–12th centuries, and still experienced some further rebuilding until its definitive decline in the early 20th century. The ground plan in individual chronological phases has been specified by new analyses. The supposed dating to the 9th century is mainly evidenced by a Carolingian coin in one of the graves near the church and by the location of this sacred building within the fortified area of the hillfort.



Fig. 5. Bratislava Castle.

Presentation of remains of the 9th century basilica, which partly adjoin the foundations of an 11th century church. Photo B. Tesařová, archive of the Institute of the Archaeology in Brno.

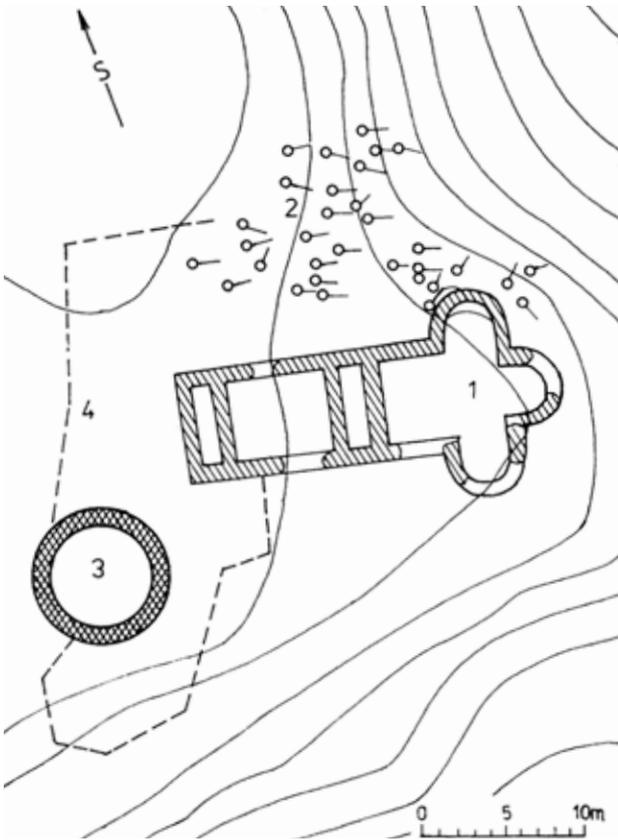


Fig. 6. Devín Castle.

A 9th century church with Great Moravian graves and a round sacred building from the 10th–11th centuries with highlighted area of the surrounding church cemetery. After V. Plachá.

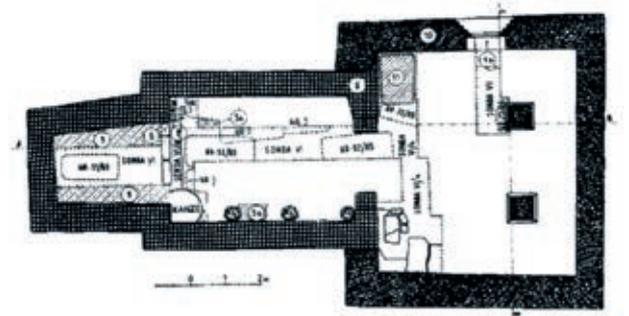


Fig. 8. Kostolany pod Tribečom.

St George Church. Top northern view of the building. Photo archive of the IASAS in Nitra; bottom archaeological excavation in 1985 – interior exposures. After A. Habovštiak.



Fig. 7. Kopčany.

Church of St Margaret of Antioch as seen from the south. Photo B. Tesařová.

Archaeological excavations on the castle hill in Nitra have changed the image of spatial conditions in the area of the castle (*Bednár 2007*). Until as late as the 15th century, the fortified area was several times larger than the present-day castle and enclosed virtually the whole of the castle hill (**Fig. 4**). The Romanesque Church of St Emmeram, the subject of the “polemics about Pribina” from before World War II, falls within a period as late as the early 13th century, but represents, by all appearances, only the fourth sacred feature in a row on the castle hill. This is also evidenced by the building material used for the construction of a Great Moravian defensive wall from the 9th century and an early Hungarian wall from the 1st half of the 11th century. Architectonic elements from a deserted sacred building were also found there. Among grave finds on the castle hill there are also objects from before the 10th century and one of the graves even contained articles from the 1st half of the 9th century. A fortified power centre with an imposing church was located on Nitra castle hill during the 9th century. Contacts with the Frankish Empire are evidenced by decorative architectonic elements as well as by the patrocinium of St Emmeram which has been preserved until today.

Another hillfort within Nitrava was situated on the so-called “Vřšok”. Some graves containing “weapons and jewellery” are



Fig. 9. Ducové – Kostolec.

Top 1995 aerial view of the locality with reconstructed features as seen from the west. Photo I. Kuzma. Bottom general view from the northeast of the exposed rotunda masonry in 1970. Photo A. T. Ruttkay.

said to have been hewn into the bedrock in the neighbourhood of what is now the Church of St Ladislaus. The early mediaeval Church of the Virgin Mary was probably located in what are now the Baroque church and monastic buildings. A peripheral part of the cemetery (11th–12th cent.) has been examined east of St Ladislaus Church in the past years (excavations by M. Ruttkay and J. Ruttkayová; on the rock-hewn graves near the church *Chropovský 1972*, 173–174).

A large-scale excavation in the vicinity of both the above-mentioned fortified sites was carried out during construction of the pedestrian zone in Nitra town centre. The backfills of the 11th century graves, detected in an overview trench in Kupecká St, contained plaster fragments and an ashlar from a deserted building from before the 11th century (*Ruttkayová 1996*).

Other Great Moravian buildings – already entirely published – were archaeologically examined in Bratislava Castle (**Fig. 5**) and in Devín Castle (**Fig. 6**).

The church – basilica – in Bratislava with an adjacent church cemetery was partly built of material from an older, maybe Roman, building. It is characteristic that there is an absence of mortar binder in the foundation masonry. Under early mediaeval



Fig. 10. Ducové – Kostolec.

Selection of jewellery from Great Moravian graves near the rotunda. Photo archive of the IA SAS in Nitra.



Fig. 11. Nitrianska Blatnica – Jurko.

The St George Rotunda from the north. Photo B. Tesařová, archive of the Institute of the Archaeology in Brno.

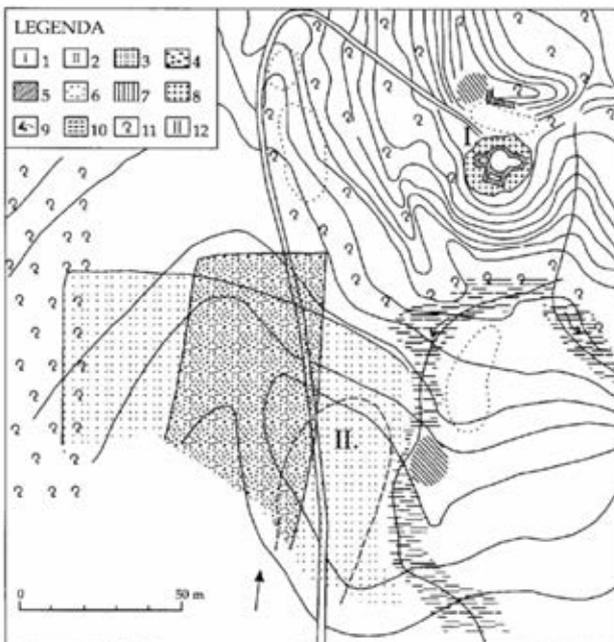


Fig. 12. Nitrianska Blatnica – Jurko a Púšť.

Left: The St George Rotunda at the Jurko site and exposed parts of fortified manors I and II at the Púšť site. After A. T. Ruttkay.



Fig. 13. Nitrianska Blatnica – Jurko.

Archaeological excavation in the interior of the St George Rotunda. Top view of floors in the southern part of the interior; bottom a stone-lined posthole embedded in the mortar of floor No. 2 (pre-Romanesque phase) in the northeast part of the interior. Photo A. T. Ruttkay.



Fig. 14. Nitrianska Blatnica – Jurko.

Restoration research into the aboveground masonry of the St George Rotunda (J. Dorica). Top a window of the first constructional phase (9th century); bottom consecration cross on plaster No. 2 on the northern side of the interior (pre-Romanesque phase). Photo archive of the IASAS in Nitra.

conditions it would have been a monumental building. The span of the three naves was 13 m; the interior was decorated with wall paintings. In virtually the same place a second three-nave church with rectangular choir – the Church of St Salvator – was built in the 11th century (Štefanovičová 1975).

Revision research into a feature with rectangular layout and three apses in the area of Devín Castle, which was once determined to be a Roman building, enabled us to recognise it as a 9th century church. Stratigraphic observations and graves with significant finds in the neighbourhood of the building confirmed that it is indeed a 9th century church. A specific trait of this building is its internal layout, including a possible interconnection with a nearby secular building belonging to a duke or prince. The trefoil apse – similar to that of the three-nave basilica in Bratislava – exhibits connections to buildings in Transdanubia and from there, indirectly, mainly to Dalmatia and to the Aquileia region. The arrangement of the nave in the Devín church, however, allows us to suppose there was a narthex. It is so far the only 9th century building element in Slovakia which may have been inspired by Byzantine examples (Plachá – Hlavicová – Keller 1990).

The period of decline of this building is not known. However, the castle hill took an important position again in the 11th–12th centuries. A group of residential buildings with stone foundation walls was uncovered here. On a rock near the deserted Great Moravian church, a new small plain round building was built, surrounded by a cemetery. The latest publication of the results of older excavations at the cemetery around this, probably sacred, building have yielded strong arguments against the older interpretation of it as a windmill (Plachá – Divileková 2012).

In the past years a still-standing Great Moravian church was discovered in Kopčany (Fig. 7). It is small in size and belonged to the sphere of the central stronghold in Mikulčice on the opposite side of the frontier, that is, definitely to the original sphere

of the Moravian principality (Baxa – Glaser Opitzová – Katkinová 2004; 2005). Further excavations are needed to clarify the relationship of the church towards the surrounding hinterland and the nearby 9th century cemetery at the Kačenáreň site (Kraskovská 1965).

The church in Kopčany has again revived the considerations about Irish missions, which have been associated with churches with an elongated rectangular choir from the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries. Within this group in Slovakia the well-known St George Church in Kostofany pod Tríbečom (Fig. 8) clearly falls; it has the oldest preserved frescoes in the Middle Danube region (Habovštiak 1968). The dating of this church varies (depending on individual interpretational approaches) from the 9th to as late as the 1st half of the 11th century. Previous archaeological research could not yet confirm a 9th century dating, but wood samples taken from the oldest plaster layers in the aboveground masonry testify that it was built in the 9th century.

The churches in Kostofany pod Tríbečom and Kopčany are of the group of sacred buildings whose typological and genetic predispositions are mainly found in the Frankish environment. More detailed knowledge of both these churches would probably be obtained by research focused on their wider surroundings.

Another group of early mediaeval sacred buildings is comprised of central-plan churches. Besides the 30 Romanesque rotundas that have been identified so far, two 9th century rotundas have also been uncovered in Slovakia.

The rotunda in Ducové near Piešťany (Fig. 9, 10) is situated in an elevated location on a spur and incorporated into a Great Moravian fortified manor with secular log-built buildings (Ruttkay, 2005). The rotunda is built of compact and firmly-bound masonry. Its entire aboveground part was plastered and the interior was decorated with polychromatic wall paintings. The aboveground masonry is in accurate proportion. The wall thickness, nave

diameter, as well as the design of the horseshoe-shaped apse, are based on the same module – 36.5 cm. The origin of this module is unclear because despite previous assumptions and a frequent interpretational scheme it does not correspond to the “Lombard” foot, which had indeed already been implemented by the Lombard King Liutprand before the mid-8th century. Its length resembled that of the Roman foot, that is, less than 30 cm. For a clear identification of the module imported into the Great Moravian environment it is thus maybe necessary to look for other sources.

Numerous finds from graves near the rotunda in Ducové which, based on the characteristics of building elements, can be genetically derived mainly from north Italian territory indicate that the rotunda was built around the mid-9th century at the latest. The fortified manor with the rotunda maybe declined in the third quarter of the 10th century in association with the beginnings of the Hungarian state-forming process.

The rotunda in Ducové has the same dimensions as the well-known two-apse rotunda (church No. 6) in Mikulčice (*Poulik 1963*). The module used for the layout of the rotunda in Ducové is also almost identical to that of the St George Church in the forests above Nitrianska Blatnica (**Fig. 11–14**). The Jurko Rotunda is linked with two phases of a fortified manor from the 9th and 10th centuries; however, it is situated on a hill above. Its 9th century dating is based on long-term archaeological excavations of the rotunda, surrounding cemetery and the settlement on the nearby meadow called Púšť (*Ruttkay 1981; 2010; 2012*).

Restoration research into the aboveground masonry of the St George Rotunda confirmed that the Great Moravian Period is represented here by the well-preserved major part of aboveground masonry (with one 9th century window and with consecration crosses from the second phase of plastering) which also falls within the pre-Romanesque Period (*Dorica 2010, 2012*). A possible secondary consecration of the church would be indicated by the first breaking point in the development of the locality, maybe already in the 9th–10th centuries, which probably corresponds to two chronologically discontinuous phases of the fortified manor on the lower part of the Púšť meadow.

In the 11th–13th centuries, after the decline of the fortified manor, a village existed on the platform below the rotunda, orientated towards the exploitation of local iron ore deposits. The church underwent only minimal changes in that time. According to restoration and historic-building research, the Great Moravian masonry has remained preserved until today in its full extent, up to several metres in height. The mediaeval settlement, and along with it the purpose of the rotunda too with its surrounding cemetery, declined in the 1st half of the 13th century. The church underwent Baroque and Renaissance alterations and became extended, but all these modifications left the 9th century core almost untouched. The church has from time immemorial been the scene of regional spring pilgrimages associated with the cult of St George.

The oldest monastery, whose emergence – as I suggested – can be supposed after 880 under the reign of Svatopluk (maybe in the place of a former Old Slavic school), is the Monastery of St Hippolytus on Mount Zobor. Previous trenching in the monastic area indicated the existence of settlement layers older

than the 11th century. Recent discoveries confirmed evident settlement traces near the local spring of St Zorard as early as the 9th century. Excavations in the past years have detected the walls of the Benedictine monastery in its mediaeval location, whose orientation was different from the future Camaldolese monastery *Kraskovská 1942–1943; Habovštiak 1964; Samuel 2005*).

Summarising the current state of knowledge, it can be concluded that none of the 9th century churches which have so far been examined in Slovakia entirely declined in the early 10th century; they had a direct constructional and indirect religious-functional or at least sacred-symbolical continuance in the following period as well. Three 9th century churches with later minor modifications are even still standing. It is an argument that supports the continuity of Christianity between the 9th and 11th centuries. New sacral buildings thus may have emerged in the 10th century as well. However, the only building that can be included in this category – with some reservations – is the Church of St Stephen the Martyr in Nitra – Párovce (*Polla 1964*).

Among pre-Romanesque buildings, there are multiple examples from before the mid-11th century. The dating of a rotunda uncovered in Trenčín Castle and a wooden church with stone foundations above the village of Skala, whose tradition is linked with St Benedict – Stojislav (*Nešporová 1997; Hanuliak 1999*), varies between the 10th and 11th centuries. A deserted church in Starý Tekov in the area of an early Hungarian comitate castle and the earliest recorded constructional phase of the well-known St Michael Church in Nitra – Dražovce (*Ruttkay 1997; Paulusová 1997*) fall within the 1st half of the 11th century. The latter church had already undergone some rebuilding before the mid-13th century. Within these alterations, a manorial gallery was also built in, secondarily, in the interior of the church. A derelict church almost identical to that in Dražovce was examined in the Sokolníky part of nearby Podhorany (*Habovštiak 1966b*). This list is only indicative because the group of 11th century buildings comprises more examples, particularly in West Slovakia.

An extensive archaeological excavation in Hronský Beňadik detected features of the earliest phase of the existence of the monastery established in 1075 (*Habovštiak – Holčík 1975*). The presence of Benedictines in the 11th century is also associated with two other examined localities. A sacred complex from before the 12th century, directly interconnected with a feudal residence, which gradually changed into the grange of a Benedictine monastery, is represented by buildings excavated in Levice – Bratka (*Habovštiak 1963*). An older church with a two-room annex with a residential purpose had a horseshoe-shaped apse. After the decline of the complex before the mid-13th century a somewhat larger church with an elongated semi-circular apse was built in the same place. The monastic grange in Levice – Bratka is one of the oldest archaeologically identified buildings associated with the life of the Benedictines in Hungary before the 12th century. Only the remains of a church excavated in Biňa, Apáti site, connected with the local presence of a Benedictine community in the 1st half of the 11th century (*Habovštiak 1966a*) are older than the buildings at Bratka. As far as East Slovakia is concerned, it is probable that the monastic complex in the Pažiť location near Spišská Kapitula (*Vallašek 2000*) and the Benedictine monastery in Košice – Krásna (*Polla 1986*) were also built in 11th–12th centuries. The oldest church in East Slovakia seems

to be the rotunda in Michalovce, which had probably already been built in the 11th century (Vizdal 1983).

On the territory of Slovakia we do not so far have any relevant knowledge of the presence of Eastern rite monks (Basilians, Anachorets), even though their missionary activity, particularly in the easternmost parts of Slovakia, can be taken into consideration after the 2nd half of the 10th century. Archaeological evidence, however, comprises indications of Orthodox Christianity penetrating to East Slovakia from the sphere of influence of Kievan Rus in the 11th–13th centuries. An example of this is the Orthodox crosses from the graves of the church cemetery around a deserted Romanesque church in Trebišov (Kaminská 1982).

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9TH CENTURY MOVABLE MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF CHRISTIANISATION IN THE EASTERN PARTS OF GREAT MORAVIA

Milan Hanuliak – Karol Pieta

The paper summarises the available 9th–10th century material evidence of Christianity from the territory of present-day Slovakia. Apart from some isolated older objects, the finds were mostly obtained from verified archaeological situations. The oldest early mediaeval Christian relics are represented by isolated decorative metal fittings from late Avar graves and by a bronze cross in a hoard from Dolné Orešany, dating from the end of the 8th century. The most significant assemblage from the Great Moravian period comprises devotional objects and liturgical items. Within this group fall various crosses made of lead, bronze and gold, and with some reservation also an old-fashioned ivory pyx, which according to several interpretations might have been used for liturgical purposes in the Great Moravian environment. The most significant assemblage was discovered in the power centre at Bojná. The six gilt plaques 13–15 cm in diameter were originally mounted on a wooden base – a portable altar, reliquary or procession cross. The winged figures in relief represent Christ and the angels. Two of these plaques bear short inscriptions in Latin script. According to a new hypothesis, one of the texts was additionally engraved in the Glagolitic alphabet. Viewed stylistically, the plaques belong to the sphere of Carolingian art at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries; other researchers suppose that they were made in the local environment under Byzantine influence. From Bojná there comes one entire specimen and fragments of two other bronze bells of the Canino type and a gilt fitting from a codex. The authors collected a considerable amount of secular objects bearing the cross as a Christian symbol, which was applied, probably as a protective element, to ornaments, belt fittings, horse harnesses and spurs. Most of these artefacts were found in the hill fort at Bojná and some of them were even manufactured there. Based on these objects, as well as on the above bells and plaques, we suppose the presence of a Christian mission here. This power centre suffered violent decline at the beginning of the 10th century when the above-mentioned objects were buried in the ground. The symbolical interpretation of crosses at the bottom of ceramic vessels – so-called potters' marks – is less convincing. The archaeological evidence collected completes the picture of Christianity on the territory of present-day Slovakia in the Great Moravian period.

Key words: Slovakia, Great Moravia, Christian symbols, cross, bell, liturgical items, Christianisation

Despite extensive new research, the topic of the Christianisation of the people who lived on the territory of what is now Slovakia remains quite unclear in our historiography. From available sources we know that the origins can be dated to the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries and we logically suppose that this process was continuous and irreversible. Little is known about how the new religion was implemented in the everyday life of people from various social classes who lived in the then fortified centres, settlements in their neighbourhood or in simple agrarian villages spread over the landscape of southwest Slovakia (Fig. 1).

Likewise, knowledge of the origins of the dissemination of the new religion through the medium of monks or priests and clerics from north Italy, the Dalmatian coast and Bavaria is quite fragmentary.¹

Archaeological evidence of the earliest phase of early mediaeval Christianity in Slovakia and on neighbouring territories is quite sporadic, including only a few artefacts from the sphere of Late Avar bronze casts. Among them is a metal fitting from Komárno, which portrays a bird of prey holding a cross (Fig. 2: 2).² An indisputably Christian object from the time before the end of the 8th century is a bronze cross from Dolné Orešany. The arms of the artefact are slightly widened, with triangular ends (Fig. 2: 1). Their surface is decorated with relief symbols for alpha and omega. The perimeter and the central part with a round boss are bordered with beaded lines, and the arms are decorated with binocular ornaments. The cross was part of a hoard which contained more than sixty cast metal fittings from belts and horse harness straps in Late Avar style.³ Several

1 Lubomír, Emil HAVLÍK, *Velká Morava a středoevropští Slované*, Praha 1964, pp. 158–164; Rastislav KOŽIAK, *Christianizácia Avarov a Slovanov na strednom Dunaji: príbeh svätcov-misionárov, svätá vojna alebo kultúrny šok?* in: R. Kožiak (ed.), *Svätec a jeho funkcie v spoločnosti I*, Bratislava 2006, pp. 124–126; Dušan TRĚŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy, Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871*, Praha 2001, pp. 128–130; Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Církevní misie v dějinách Velké Moravy*, Praha 1963, pp. 44–45.

2 Alexander TRUGLY, *Das Gräberfeld aus der Zeit des Awarischen Reiches bei der Schiffswerft in Komárno*, Slovenská archeológia 35, 1987, p. 282, Pl. III: 3; Vladimír TURČAN, *Pôvodné slovanské náboženstvo a christianizácia stredodunajských Slovanov*, in: Bratislava, ktorí zmenili svet – Konštantín a Metod, Príspevky z konferencie, Bratislava 2012, p. 73.

3 Karol PIETA – Alexander T. RUTTKAY, *Bojná – mocenské a christianizačné centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva*, in: K. Pieta – A. T. Ruttkay – Matej Ruttkay (ed.), *Bojná. Hospodárske a politické centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva*, Nitra 2007, p. 55; Jozef ZÁBOJNÍK, *Slovensko a avarský kaganát*, Bratislava 2009, p. 90.

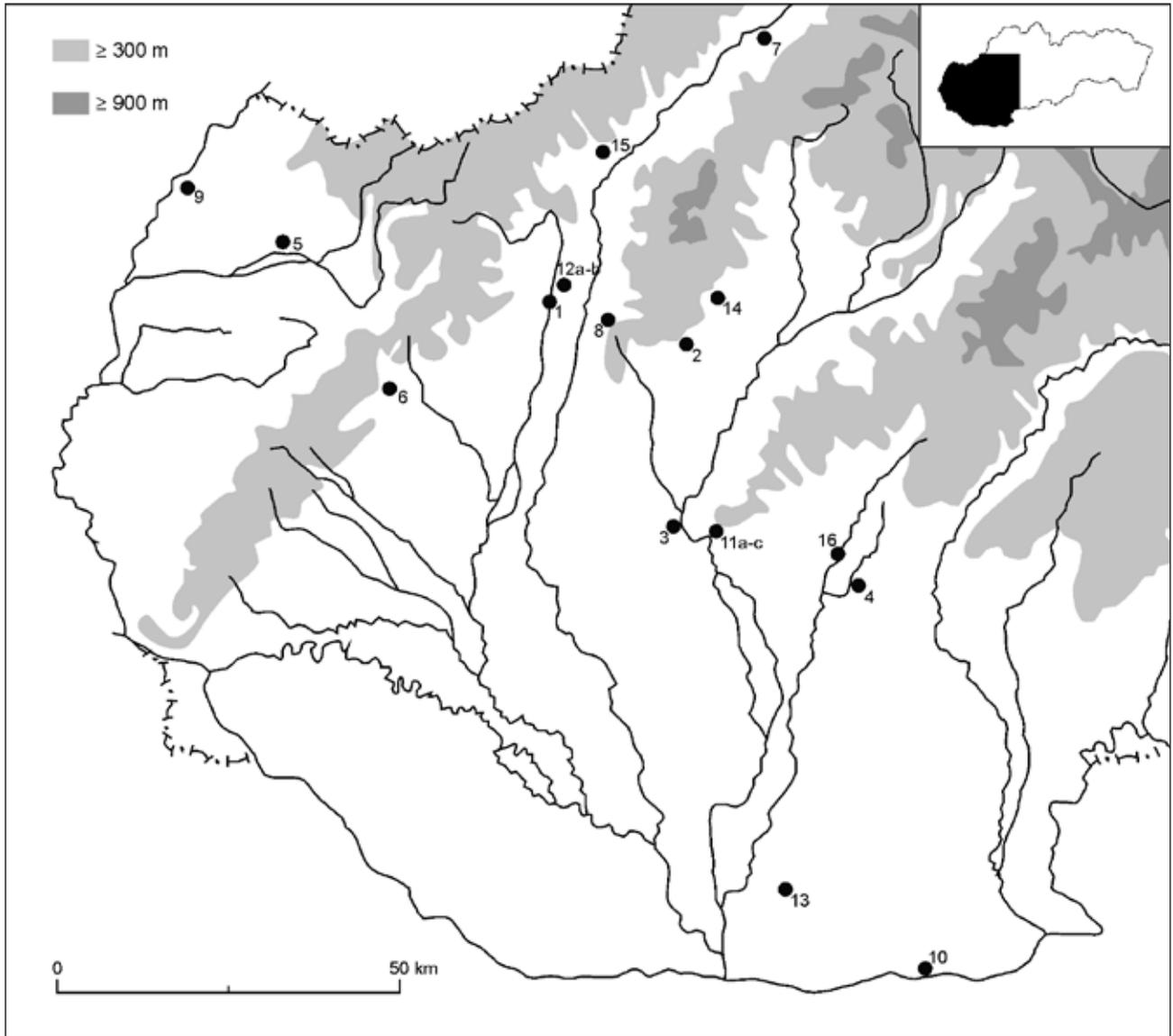


Fig. 1. Localities with objects of Christian character from the territory of Slovakia.

1 – Bašovce (Piešťany dist.); 2 – Bojná (Topoľčany dist.); 3 – Čakajovce (Nitra dist.); 4 – Čierne Kľačany (Zlaté Moravce dist.); 5 – Dojč (Senica dist.); 6 – Dolné Orešany (Trnava dist.); 7 – Dubnica nad Váhom (Ilava dist.); 8 – Ducové (Piešťany dist.); 9 – Kopčany (Skalica dist.); 10 – Mužla – Čenkov (Nové Zámky dist.); 11 – Nitra (Nitra dist.): a – Hradný kopec, Morový stĺp; b – Chrenová, Baumax/Shell; c – Martinský vrch; 12 – Pobeďim (Nové Mesto nad Váhom dist.): a – Hradištia; b – Zapupovec; 13 – Svätý Peter (Komárno dist.); 14 – Závada (Topoľčany dist.); 15 – Zemianske Podhradie (Nové Mesto nad Váhom dist.); 16 – Zlaté Moravce (Zlaté Moravce dist.).

fittings, similar to the above-mentioned cross, are damaged, and some of the artefacts were exposed to fire. An identical piece from the end of the 8th century was also found in the burial ground of Lesencetomaj in the Transdanubian part of Hungary (Fig. 2: 3).⁴

Critical analysis of literary sources has yielded an increased volume of information about missionary activities in the last third of the 9th century, which have mostly been associated with the Eastern Cyrillo-Methodian mission.⁵ The important remark

from the year 852 about “rude Christianity” on Great Moravian territory hardly captures the quality and extent of Christianisation activities from the second third of the 9th century, which were organised in archpresbyterial form.⁶ A specific supplement to historical sources is provided by archaeological finds, which offer relatively unbiased information on this problem, but their testimony is limited to sporadic finds of liturgical items, devotional objects, and a relatively frequent occurrence of motifs of the new ideology on ordinary objects of material culture. An important source of knowledge about the origins of Christianity is represented by remains of ecclesiastical architecture, which have been unearthed in the most significant centres and residences of elites, and by Christian

4 Ágota S. PERÉMY, *Keresztmellékletes sírok a Lesencetomaj-Piroskereszt temetőből*, in: Tivadar Vida (ed.), *Thesaurus Avarorum, Régészeti tanulmányok Garam Éva tiszteletére*, Archeological Studies in Honour of Éva Garam, Budapest 2012, pp. 452–454.

5 Matúš KUČERA, *Postavy veľkomoravskej histórie*, Martin 1986; Richard MARŠINA, *Metodov boj*, Bratislava 1985.

6 *Concilium Moguntinum*, in: *Capitularia regum Francorum II*, MGH Leg. II, ed. Alfred Boretius – Victor Krause, Hannover 1897, No. 249, §11, p. 189.



Fig. 2. Finds with Christian motifs and liturgical items.

1 – Dolné Orešany; 2 – Komárno; 3 – Lesencetomaj; 4a, b – Čierne Kľačany. Illustrations after K. Pieta – A. Ruttkay 2007 (1); Trugly 1987 (2); Á. S. Perémy 2012 (3); T. Kolník – L. Veličik 1983 (4). Scale: a – 1–3; b – 4a, b.

cemeteries in the neighbourhood of these religious buildings or elsewhere.⁷

Movable material evidence of a Christian character can be divided into three groups: the first one is a small group of devotional

objects, which are mainly represented by cruciform pendants and liturgical items. The more voluminous second group consists of functional metal artefacts decorated with Christian symbols. The third group comprises objects such as ornaments or pottery from settlements or graves with uncertain motifs or patterns recalling Christian symbolism.

Devotional objects and liturgical items

This group comprises five types of objects (cruciform pendant, pyx, components of portable altar, bells, book fittings) from five localities. Some of them were already known in the second half

⁷ A. T. RUTTKAY, *Najstaršie sakrálne stavby na Slovensku ako odraz christianizácie a budovania kresťanských inštitúcií v 9.–11. storočí*, in: Branislav Panis – M. Ruttkay – Vladimír Turčan (ed.), *Bratia, ktorí menili svet – Konštantín a Metod, Príspevky z konferencie*, Bratislava 2012, pp. 83–92; Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu II*, Praha 2006, pp. 570–609; Martin VANČO, *Funkcie veľkomoravských kostolov vo vzťahu k pohrebiskám*, in: B. Panis – M. Ruttkay – V. Turčan (ed.), *Bratia, ktorí menili svet – Konštantín a Metod, Príspevky z konferencie*, Bratislava 2012, pp. 102–110; Josef UNGER, *Odraz christianizace Moravy v archeologických pramenech*, in: *Christianizace českých zemí ve středoevropské perspektivě 1*, Brno 2011, pp. 19–71.

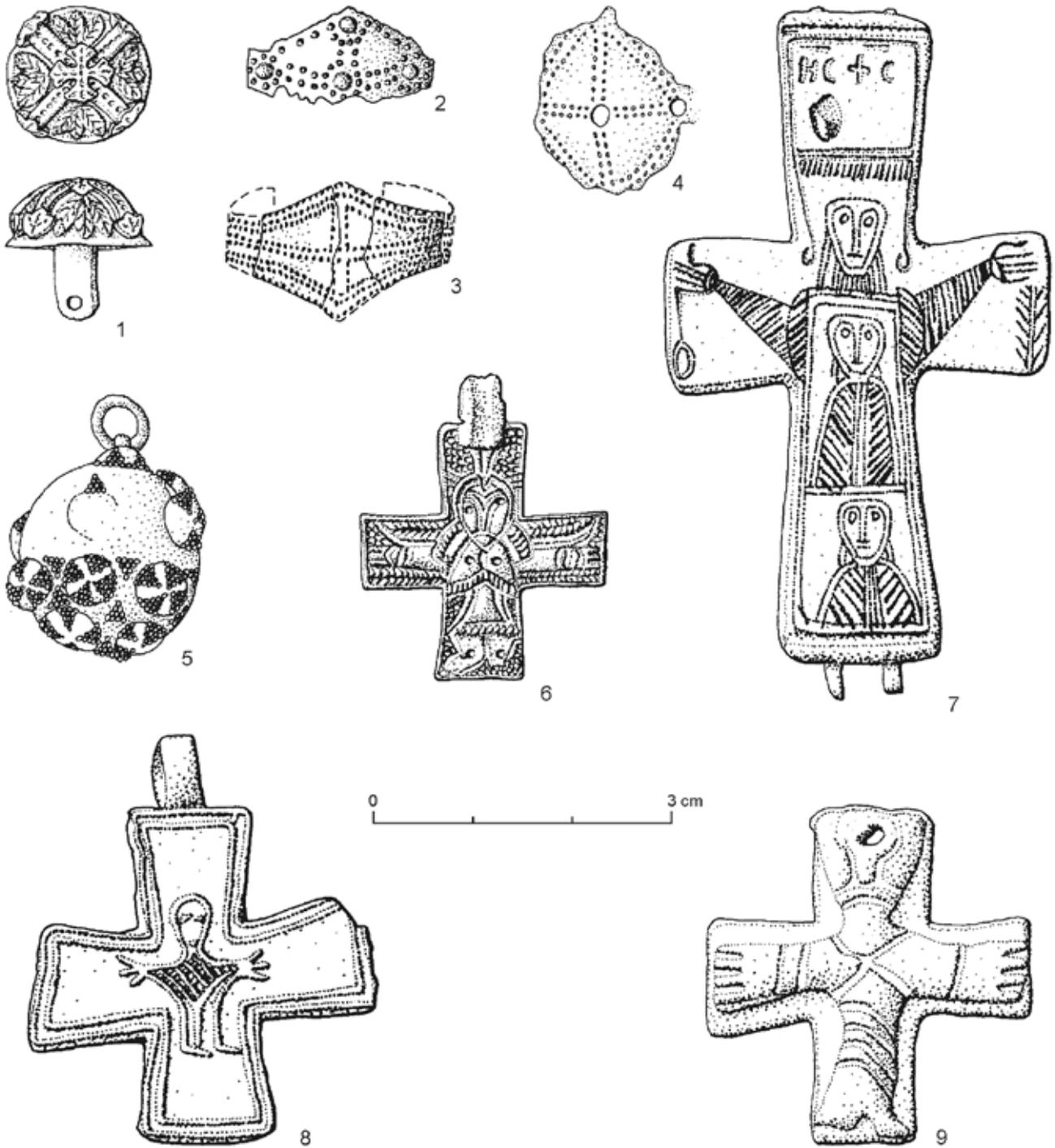


Fig. 3. Metal fittings, jewellery with Christian motifs and cruciform pendants.

1 – Mužla-Čenkov; 2, 3 – Čakajovce; 4 – Svätý Peter; 5 – Kopčany; 6 – Zlaté Moravce; 7 – Veľká Mača; 8 – Dojč; 9 – Zemianske Podhradie. Illustrations after M. Hanuliak – I. Kuzma 2014 (1); M. Rejholcová 1985 (2, 3); J. Béreš 1995 (4); L. Kraskovská 1965 (5); L. E. Havlík 1964 (6); K. Horníčková 2000–2001 (7); T. Kolník – R. Bača 2010 (8); private collection (9).

of the 20th century, but several significant artefacts were found as late as the past decade. The Great Moravian origin of some of these artefacts has been called into question. Recent opinions have taken into consideration doubtful find contexts and accepted the results of more exact art-stylistic analyses.

An example thereof is the well-known Enkolpion cross, which is considered to have been found on cadastral territory of Veľká Mača before 1953. From the original two-part corpus only the rear part is preserved, 7.2 cm long and 4.4 cm wide.

The front part with suspension loop, which is usually decorated with a relief figure of the crucified Christ, is missing. The Enkolpion has the form of a Latin cross with the arms slightly widened at the ends (Fig. 3: 7). Typological and chronological classification of this object is not easy, and it is also difficult to identify the geographical context of its manufacture or specify how the artefact was used with regard to its damaged condition. These facts do not diminish in any way the significance of the above find, which in the Early Middle Ages and after would have been a container intended mainly for keeping wooden remnants from

the Cross of Christ, relics of saints, or earth from the Holy Land. Wearing an Enkolpion upon the bosom may also have signified a member of the high clergy and simplified the performance of various religious and missionary activities.⁸

According to the shape and iconographic analysis of the incised decoration, the Enkolpion was classed among Byzantine products of Syrian-Palestinian origin.⁹ The central part of the decoration is represented by a robed figure with raised hands and symbols of the Resurrection; this figure is overlaid by two other figures. From these latter figures only the head and a part of the body without the extremities and other identification marks are portrayed. For this reason they were also originally associated with the Three Marys who were present at the crucifixion of Jesus.¹⁰ The Holy Trinity was also taken into consideration later.¹¹ Judging from analogies, however, it is more likely that the scene portrays the Virgin Mary, Jesus and John the Apostle.¹²

K. Horníčková¹³ attempts to identify the above motif with the iconographic type called *Platytera*, which would shift the time of origin of this Enkolpion from the 9th–10th century to the second half of the 11th century. Accepting this ambitious construction, however, would require more conclusive evidence than only that which the author has published in her study. According to the author, the stiff expression of the portrayed figures with archaic-looking faces and upright thumbs is associated with the production of a provincial workshop.

Chronological and cultural classification of the Enkolpion can hardly be achieved without the missing front part and a reconstruction of the find context. Currently it cannot be proved with certainty whether this artefact was indeed found in the cadastre of Velká Mača, or whether it was previously perhaps not stored in a private collection of antiquities, or whether it comes from an archaeological context at all.¹⁴ An uncertain find context is also associated with a pectoral cross which was allegedly found in the neighbourhood of Zlaté Moravce. Its later owner purchased it from an unknown finder, added a missing suspension loop to the object and photographed it.¹⁵ These photographs have remained the only evidence of the existence of this valuable artefact, which was lost in the turbulent times of war. The isosceles cross 2.5 cm long and 2.5 cm wide with arms slightly widened at the ends has a plain back side (**Fig. 3: 6**). The front side portrays the crucified

Christ with spread arms. The fingers are splayed and thumbs turned up. Behind the drop-shaped head with eyes and nose indicated, there is a cruciform nimbus. The upper part of the body is shrouded in a two-part braided robe; the flared bordered tunic reaches down to the knees. The feet are turned outward. The corpus is bordered with a twig band and the background above the head is filled in with punched patterns.¹⁶ The feet and the bosom are perforated with small holes. From their symmetrical arrangement it can be inferred that they were used for fastening the cross to clothing or some other underlay after the original suspension loop was broken off. The overall composition and highlighted attributes indicate a Great Moravian origin inspired by Byzantine patterns mediated through the Adriatic area.¹⁷

A different type is represented by the pectoral lead cross which was found in a ploughed field in the village of Dojč in 2009. It is an isosceles cross 3.3 cm long and 3.6 cm wide (**Fig. 3: 8**). Its arms are slightly widened at the ends. In their central axis there is a figure of the crucified Christ, who takes up about a third of the front surface, bordered with a double line at the perimeter. The schematically-portrayed figure has a drop-shaped head with round eyes and mouth. The hands have only three fingers, which is typical of this type of cross. The body is shrouded in a long robe rendered in oblique reticulate pattern.¹⁸ The find is one of a group of six crosses of the Bernhardsthal type (Bernhardsthal, Gars-Thunau, Guntramsdorf, Dolní Věstonice, Mikulčice, Velké Bílovice).¹⁹ The lead cross from Dojč is so far the only specimen of this type east of the River Morava.

The occurrence of such artefacts in burial grounds, strongholds and rural settlements is supplemented with similar lead crosses of the Dolní Věstonice type and with modified examples of rhombic specimens of the Mutěnice and Velké Bílovice types, which were accompanied by crescent-shaped pendants, buttons and segmented beads. Their distribution was facilitated by a simple technology of manufacture from fusible lead alloys, which are typical for their silvery gloss and resistance to corrosion.²⁰ These objects of Christian character have been associated with minor ecclesiastical dignitaries and secular persons with slightly elevated or average social status, who may have obtained them during baptism. Their occurrence at the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th century is probably connected with a new wave or with the consolidation of Christianity among the Great Moravian population. The increased intensity of this process is demonstrated by the rising number of such finds.²¹

A hitherto little-known lead cross from Zemianske Podhradie is stored in a private collection. It may have been found at the Martákova skala site, just as some other Great

8 Š. HOLČÍK, *Stredoveké umelecké remeslá, Nálezy výrobkov na Slovensku*, Kandidátska dizertácia, Bratislava 1979, p. 32.

9 Štefan HOLČÍK, *Pektorálne križe východného pôvodu*, in: Etela Studeníková – Lev Zachar (ed.), *Zborník prác Ludmily Kraskovskej k životnému jubileu*, Bratislava 1984, pp. 264–266.

10 Ján DEKAN, *Velká Morava, Doba a umenie*, Bratislava 1976, p. 91.

11 Š. HOLČÍK, *Pektorálne križe východného pôvodu*, p. 260; Titus KOLNÍK, *Ikonoграфия, datovanie a kultúrno-historický význam enkolpiónu z Velkej Mače*, *Slovenská archeológia* 42, 1994, pp. 126–139.

12 Michal SLIVKA, *Diskutabilný mačanský krížik*, *Verbum* 1994, p. 92; Ladislav ROGAŇSKÝ, *Signa Christiana, Artefakty kresťanského rázu z poslednej tretiny prvého tisícročia medzi Čechami a Patisím*, Nitra 2009, pp. 26–28.

13 Kateřina HORNÍČKOVÁ, *Pektorál z Velké Mače, jeho původ, ikonografie a zařazení do kontextu pektorálních křížků*, *Studia archaeologica slovacica mediaevalia* 3–4, 2000–2001, pp. 190–195.

14 T. KOLNÍK, *Ikonoграфия, datovanie a kultúrno-historický význam enkolpiónu z Velkej Mače*, pp. 143–144.

15 Bohuslav CHROPOVSKÝ, *Príspevok k problematike cirkevnej architektúry a počiatkom kresťanstva na Slovensku*, *Monumentorum tutela – Ochrana pamiatok* 8, 1972, fig. 14.

16 Š. HOLČÍK, *Stredoveké umelecké remeslá*, pp. 33–36.

17 T. KOLNÍK, *Ikonoграфия, datovanie a kultúrno-historický význam enkolpiónu z Velkej Mače*, p. 138.

18 Róbert BAČA – T. KOLNÍK, *Olovený krížik z Dojča (okr. Senica) a jeho geograficko-historický kontext*, *Slovácko* 52, 2010, pp. 111–112.

19 Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *Kosačtverečné olovené křížky a jejich chronologické postavení v rámci kultury střední doby hradištní*, in: *Rodná země*, *Sborník k 100. výročí muzejní vlastivědné společnosti v Brně a k 60. narozeninám PhDr. Vladimíra Nekudy*, CSC, Brno 1988, pp. 122–145.

20 T. KOLNÍK – R. BAČA, *Unikátny krížik z Dojča – ďalší doklad veľkomoravského kresťanstva na Záhorí*, *Historická revue* 21, 2010, p. 73.

21 R. BAČA – T. KOLNÍK, *Olovený krížik z Dojča (okr. Senica)*, pp. 112–114; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu II*, pp. 652–656.



Fig. 4. Bojná I. Plaques and borders.

Gilt copper (arranged according to usual numbering of the plaques). Photo by G. Gatringer.

Moravian and late mediaeval finds were. In general, it is one of the above-mentioned types from Slovakia, Moravia and Austria. However, the find lacks any attributes which would link it not only with the above crosses, but also with the other 9th–11th century finds from Central Europe with a portrayed corpus.²² The cross has an isosceles form, only the horizontal parts of the arms are slightly widened at the end (Fig. 3: 9). The head of the crucified Christ is drop-shaped, with mouth and nose indicated. The eyes disappear between well-distinguished cheek parts of the face. The head is partly damaged by a suspension hole which was perforated secondarily, after the upper part of the vertical arm with the original suspension loop was broken off. The schematically-portrayed robe covers the major part of the body and arms.

The ivory pyx from Čierne Kľačany is one of the well-known finds in the group of material evidence under discussion.²³

²² L. ROGANSKÝ, *Signa Christiana*, pp. 57–65, 68–71.

²³ T. KOLNÍK – Ladislav VELIAČIK, *Neskoroantická pyxida z Čiernych Kľačan*, *Slovenská archeológia* 31, 1983, pp. 37–58; T. KOLNÍK, *Neskoroantická pyxida z Čiernych Kľačan – archeologický svedok byzantskej misie na Veľkej Morave*, *Almanach Nitra* 2002, Nitra 2002, pp. 59–62.

Its uniqueness is given not only by the valuable material used, but also by high-quality workmanship or a hypothetical secondary use of this container for liturgical purposes. Problems are caused by the uncertain find context as well as by some secondary damage which the artefact suffered during its discovery. Of the pyx only about a half of the cylindrical case is preserved, 8.5 cm high and 14.5 cm in diameter (Fig. 2: 4a). The lid is only indicated by the remains of two hinges on the rear side and traces of a locking system on the front side. The case is decorated with low-relief scenes portraying a ploughman behind a plough drawn by a pair of oxen, a woman – goddess carrying a basket with food, a herdsman with sheep and goats and a second crouched figure, and an orant under an arcade arch (Fig. 2: 4b).

The interpretation of the ivory pyx, its origin and dating were mainly made on the basis of iconographic elements of decoration. The main criteria included the hairstyle and clothing depicted, the necklace, sheep's wool and goat fur, the depiction of the orant and the arcade arch. According to the above criteria and to the scene (which was identified as the story of the foundation of Rome), this object was dated to the first

third of the 4th century.²⁴ M. Vančo²⁵ reanalysed individual scenes and their details, and shifted the origin of the pyx to the 6th century, taking into account the form of the vessel's rim. In the figural scene he sees the Biblical theme of the blessing of Jacob by Isaac.²⁶ This dating approaches the chronological classification of a pyx from Grave II in the tumulus of Žuráň. Fragments of this ivory case were found in the backfill of a plundered burial chamber which was built for a female member of the Lombard elite in the 6th century.²⁷

Judging from the not very reliable find context, the pyx from Čierne Kľačany was probably deposited in a grave from the later phase of the Great Moravian Period which was detected at the findspot. This fact caused the pyx to be identified as a liturgical item in the Great Moravian environment. But in fact it may have been an older luxury container, which was used somewhat later in the Christian cult for keeping valuable contents, such as, for example, incense, relics, Eucharistic bread or sacred oil. Such containers turned into liturgical items were kept in the treasuries of significant Christian churches.²⁸ According to T. Kolník,²⁹ it may have reached the Middle Danube region together with the mission of Constantine and Methodius in 863, as part of the gifts which were sent to the Great Moravian ruler by the Byzantine Emperor Michael III. The years 881/882, when Archbishop Methodius spent some time in Constantinople in the court of Emperor Basileos, can also be taken into consideration. The year 869 is also possible, when Methodius may have obtained such a present from Pope Hadrian II in Rome. The reason why the valuable pyx was deposited at the findspot remains unknown. It is a rural locality beyond any fortified central site. A certain role, however, may have been played by the location of the findspot in the wider neighbourhood of the centre in Nitra, or on a trans-regional road leading along the River Žitava in the vicinity of Zlaté Moravce, in a region with standard, but rather rural, early mediaeval settlement. The pre-Hungarian origin of this locality, however, is indicated by the primary form of the toponym "Marót". It may be no accident that the above-mentioned golden pectoral cross was also found in the neighbourhood.³⁰ Despite some problems with the above hypotheses, the pyx from Čierne Kľačany remains an important relic and a distinct, even though uncertain, symbol of the origins of Christianity in our country.

A considerable amount of knowledge of Christianisation on the territory of what is now Slovakia was obtained from archaeological finds from the Bojná I site. The Valy hill fort is part of an extensive fortification system on the eastern slopes of the Považský Inovec mountain range in the cadastre of Bojná village. It belonged to the historical Nitra region and was

undoubtedly a significant seat of the social elite. Besides military importance it also had a considerable economic and production potential based on the nearby iron ore and gold-bearing ore deposits.³¹ A remarkable volume of finds comes from the hill fort. Of major importance for our topic are gilt plaques of copper sheet, which were deposited together in the western outer ward. The assemblage consists of four round pieces 15 cm in diameter and two plaques in the form of a rounded isosceles cross 13.2 cm in diameter (**Fig. 4**). All of them are decorated with hammered winged figures in front view. Their hands are not always depicted in the orant gesture. The feet are turned both right and left. The upper clothes are portrayed in a different way. Only the figure on plaque No. 1 has a cruciform nimbus behind the head (**Fig. 4: 1**).

The circumferential radiant bands representing the aureole are filled in with alternating plain and punched triangles, which were replaced by arches in the case of plaque No. 3 (**Fig. 4: 4**). The same decoration also covers three separate borders. It is supposed that two of them bordered the cruciform pieces, and the third fragment may have been part of the missing seventh plaque. The motif of opposed or inline triangles filled with a beaded pattern occurs in Insular Art. It is an element typical of the Carolingian style from the sphere of the makers of the so-called Tassilo Chalice dated to the end of the 8th and to the first half of the 9th century. This element is one of the buttresses of the dating of the plaques from Bojná. According to technical analysis, it is supposed that the assemblage was manufactured in a single workshop following a unified technology and design, but employing multiple masters.³²

Judging from the nails preserved in the circumferential bands, the plaques were probably mounted on a wooden base, hypothetically as a decoration on a portable altar, reliquary or procession cross. The interpretation of the figures from decorative plaques remains open. Plaque No. 1 probably portrays the winged Christ with radiant aureole; the other figures are supposed to be archangels protecting the sacred case, or saints such as St Anthony the Hermit.³³ Important criteria for the identification of the place where the supposed altar – reliquary was manufactured were not only the style or elements of decoration, but also the short texts on plaques No. 1 and 4. Joint occurrence of these two components indicates that this important liturgical item may have been manufactured in the north Italian area, from where it may have come to the turn of 8th and 9th centuries; territory of present-day Slovakia by the medium of the activities of the Patriarchate

24 T. KOLNÍK – L. VELIAČIK, *Neskoroantická pyxida z Čiernych Kľačan*, pp. 37–58.

25 M. VANČO, *Ivory Pyxis from Čierne Kľačany and the Problem of its Provenance*, in: Marián Gálik – Tatiana Štefanovičová (ed.), *Trade, Journeys and Intercultural Communication in East and West (up to 1250)*, Bratislava 2006, pp. 78–86.

26 Cf. T. KOLNÍK, *Misie solúnskych bratov a pyxida z Čiernych Kľačan*, Literárny týždenník 9–10, 17. 7. 2013, pp. 14–15.

27 Josef POULÍK, *Žuráň in der Geschichte Mitteleuropas*, *Slovenská archeológia* 43, 1995, pp. 71–76; Jaroslav TEJRAL, *Langobardische Fürstengräber nördlich der mittleren Donau*, in: Uta von Freeden – Herwig Friesinger – Egon Wamers (Hrsg.), *Glaube, Kult und Herrschaft Phänomene des Religiösen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, Bonn 2009, p. 133.

28 T. KOLNÍK, *Neskororímska pyxida z Čiernych Kľačan*, p. 55.

29 *Ibidem*, p. 64.

30 T. KOLNÍK, *Ikonografia, datovanie a kultúrno-historický význam enkolpiónu z Veľkej Mače*, pp. 64–65.

31 K. PIETA – A. T. RUTTKAY, *Bojná – mocenské a christianizačné centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva*, pp. 35–56; Jiří JANOŠÍK – K. PIETA, *Nález zvonu na hradisku z 9. storočia v Bajnej*, in: K. Pieta – A. T. Ruttkay – M. Ruttkay (ed.), *Bojná, Hospodárske a politické centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva*, Nitra 2007, pp. 121–123; K. PIETA, *Bojná – ein frühmittelalterliches Machtzentrum in Reichweite von Eisen- und Goldrevieren*, in: Matthias Hardt – Orsolya Heinrich Tamáska (Hrsg.), *Macht des Goldes – Gold der Macht, Herrschafts- und Jenseitsrepräsentation zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donauraum*, Akten des 23. Internationalen Symposiums Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum, Tengelic, 16.–19. 11. 2011, *Forschungen zu Spätantike und Frühmittelalter* 2, Weinstadt 2013.

32 Egon WAMERS: *Continental and Insular Metalwork*, in: Dagfinn Skre (ed.), *Things from the Town, Artefacts and Inhabitants in Viking-age Kaupang*, Kaupang Excavation Project, Publications Series 3, Norske Oldfunn 25, Oslo 2011, pp. 65–97; Mathias MEHÖFER – Verena LEUSCH, *Technologische Analysen und den vergoldeten Goldplaketten aus Bojná*, in: K. Pieta – A. T. Ruttkay – M. Ruttkay (ed.), *Bojná, Hospodárske a politické centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva*, Nitra 2007, pp. 79–120.

33 K. PIETA – A. T. RUTTKAY, *Bojná – mocenské a christianizačné centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva*, p. 53.



Fig. 5. Bojná I. Bronze bells.

Photo and reconstruction by Š. Hritz.

of Aquileia.³⁴ A different idea of the interpretation and origin of the plaques was presented by M. Vančo³⁵ shortly after their publication. Based on iconographic analysis, the above author supposes that the plaques were made in the local Great Moravian environment following Byzantine inspiration. In the texts on plaques No. 1 and 4 he does not see Latin but rather Greek elements.³⁶ P. Žigo interprets the text on plaque No. 1 as the Glagolitic alphabet with some Latin elements (the letter M). He claims that while the Latin majuscule on plaque No. 4 represents an early horizon, the other, Glagolitic, text on plaque No. 1 made with a different technique represents a later chronological layer.³⁷

In the Bojná hill fort (or in its neighbourhood), bells were also used (**Fig. 5**). An entire specimen of these important sacred objects was found in the north-western segment of the perimeter rampart. The characteristic beehive form, 21.5 cm high, ends with a semi-circular suspension lug with two side loops. The iron pyriform clapper is 17 cm long. According to metallographic analysis, the bell metal is mostly composed of a tin-copper alloy with traces of lead, iron and silver.

The occupation layer yielded fragments of two other bells of different size. The first one may have been 23–25 cm high; the other was a little smaller. With regard to their type

34 *Ibidem*, pp. 37–54.

35 M. VANČO, *Plakety z Bojneje a byzantská imperiálna ikonografia*, in: Jozef Michalov et al. (ed.), *Duchovné, intelektuálne a politické pozadie cyrilometodskej misie pred jej príchodom na Veľkú Moravu*, Monografia príspevkov z medzinárodného vedeckého sympózia, Nitra, 2. júla 2007, Nitra 2007, pp. 149–155.

36 M. VANČO, *Figurálne motívy plakiet z Bojneje v kontexte veľkomoravského umenia*, *Studia mediaevalia pragensia* 9, 2010, pp. 111–152.

37 Pavol ŽIGO, *Neznámy text na plakete z Bojneje*, in: K. Pieta (ed.), *Bojná 2. Nové výsledky výskumu včasnostredovekých hradísk. Neue Ergebnisse der Erforschung frühmittelalterlicher Burgwälle*, in print.

and the dating of the settlement in the hill fort, the above two bells are among the oldest artefacts of this kind in Central Europe. They fall within a small group of finds from Gradišče nad Bašljem in Slovenia, Canino in Italy, Oldenburg-Starigrad in north Germany, Schleswig-Haithabu and Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire.³⁸ According to M. Iláš³⁹, simpler forms of the specimens from Bojná and Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire are among archetypes of Canino-type bells from the beginning of the 9th century.

The presence of a portable altar or reliquary decorated with gilt plaques, and finds of multiple bells, logically allow to suppose the existence of a missionary centre in Bojná. Later domestic production of bells for the purposes of divine services in newly-built churches is also possible.⁴⁰

The bronze gilt fitting from the Bojná I hill fort is quite rare in the Great Moravian environment (**Fig. 6: 1**). It has a triangular base with serrated edges and three rivet holes. In the upper part it passes over to a hook-shaped end in the form of a stylised bird. The marginal hollows indicate the feathers of wings and a tail. Judging from these details, the fitting maybe portrays a peacock from the Garden of Eden, which plays an important role in Christian symbolism.⁴¹ Even though other interpretations have also been made, it is most probably a book fitting. These metal pieces were mounted on the upper hard cover of the book where the hook caught the eye of a binding strap or clasp. The fitting from the Bojná hill fort indicates the presence of a codex,

38 Polona BITENIC – Timotej KNIFIČ (ed.), *Od Rimljanov do Slovanov, Predmeti*, Ljubljana 2001, p. 101; Hans DRESCHER, *Denkmäler der Kirche VIII. Glocken und Glockenguss in 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, in: *Das Reich der Salier 1034–1125 (Ausstellungskatalog)*, Sigmaringen 1992, pp. 415–416; Ingo GABRIEL, *Starigrad-Oldenburg*, in: Alfred Wiczorek – Hans Martin Hinz (ed.), *Stred Európy okolo roku 1000, Historické a umeleckohistorické a archeologické štúdie a katalóg k výstave*, Praha 1992, pp. 345–346; Jan SROVNAL – Jiří KOŠTA – Jiří HOŠEK – Jiří DĚD, *K pôvodu "zvonu" z Libice*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 62, 2010, pp. 514–522.

39 Martin ILÁŠ, *Zvon z Bojneje – poznanie jeho pôvodu a datovania*, *Múzeum* 2, 2012, p. 44.

40 Jiří JANOŠÍK – K. PIETA, *Nález zvonu na hradisku z 9. storočia v Bojneje*, pp. 123–142.

41 L. ROGANSKÝ, *Signa Christiana*, p. 43; Jaroslav STUDENÝ, *Křesťanské symboly*, Olomouc 1992, pp. 221–223.

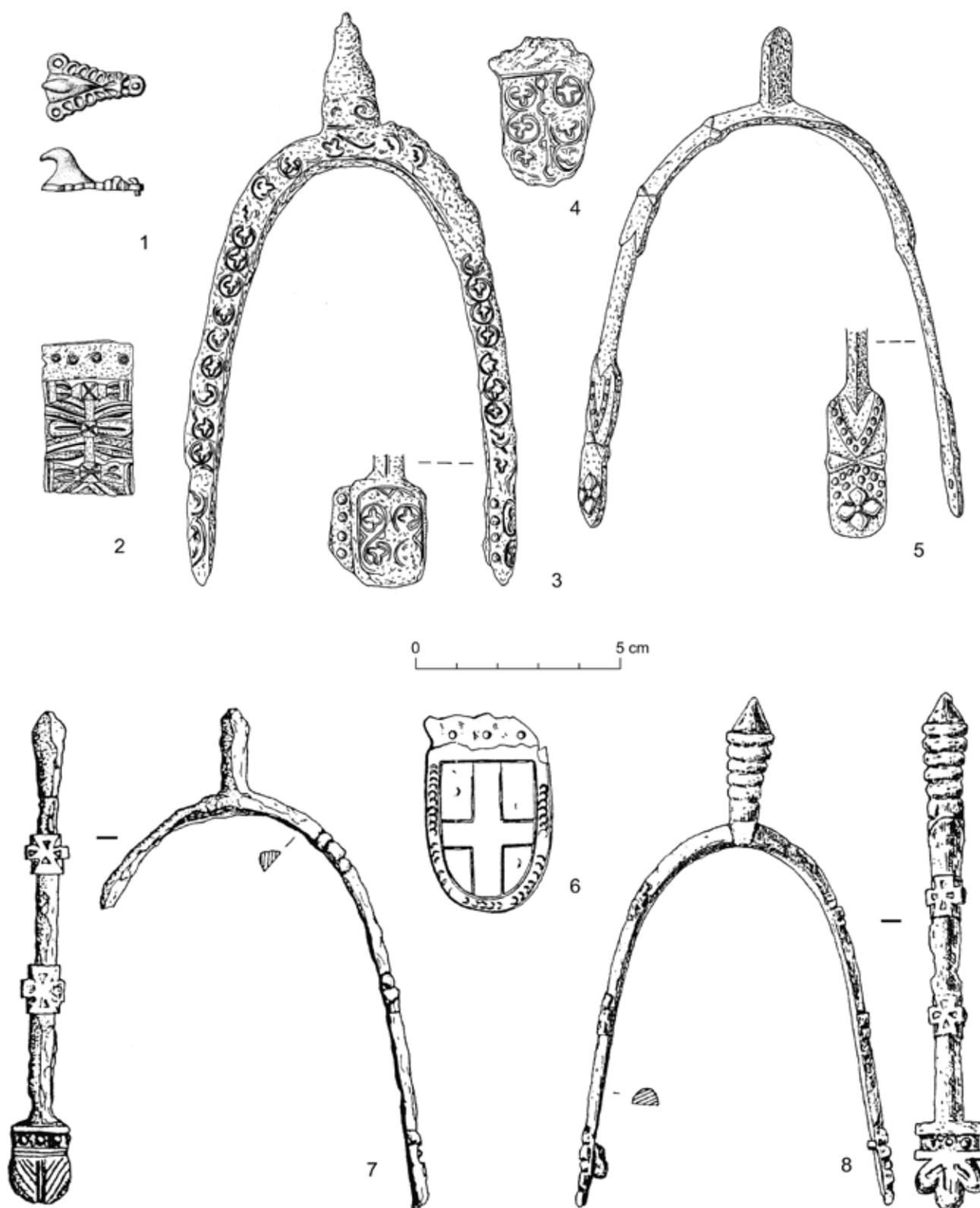


Fig. 6. Spurs and strap-ends with Christian motifs.

1 – Bojná I; 2 – Nitra – Hradný kopec; 3–4 – Ducové; 5 – Závada; 6 – Pobedim – Zapupovec; 7– Nitra – Martinský vrch; 8 – Bašovce. Kresba J. Mészárosová (1). Illustrations after D. Bialeková 1999 (2, 7, 8); A. T. Ruttkay 1998 (3, 4); D. Bialeková 1982 (5).

which was undoubtedly a liturgical item. A similar silver fitting from Nitra – Šindolka was found in a child's grave from the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries, where it was used secondarily as a necklace component. According to its shape it may have played the role of a cross. The origin of this artefact probably remains unknown. It may have originated from one of the books of the Great Moravian Period, which was destroyed when the centre at Nitra was seized by the Magyars. The object may also have been part of the booty from the monasteries or churches which were plundered during raids on West Europe.⁴²

Secular objects with Christian symbols

Unlike the objects with a strictly sacred meaning, the finds from the second group of material evidence show a broader variety of types. Among them are utilitarian metal objects, spurs, fittings from fastening straps, fittings from belts and horse harnesses, and sword scabbard fittings, all of them bearing a cross as a Christian symbol. The objects come from eight localities over a wider territory of southwest Slovakia, above all from the Nitra region.

Cruciform motifs were repeatedly depicted on the heel bands and end plates of spurs, which undoubtedly belonged to the equipment of prominent mounted warriors. The IVA-type spurs from Nitra – Martinský vrch and Bašovce near Pobedim – were found in a disturbed grave or a settlement feature.⁴³ They are decorated with a pair of relief isosceles crosses on the parabolic widened arms (Fig. 6: 7–8). Their perimeter edges overtop the base and the internal area is divided by triangular hollows. They fall within the early phase of the Great Moravian Period, that is, the 1st and 2nd third of the 9th century.⁴⁴ The hollows on the crosses and end plates contained residues of cement, with the help of which a silver foil had been applied to the iron base.⁴⁵ Similar attributes and identical dimensions indicate that both of the spurs may have been manufactured in the same workshop, even though differences exist in the surface finish on the spikes or in the shape of the end plates.⁴⁶

Five spurs from hoard No. 4, which was buried not far from the road in about the middle of the Bojná hill fort, are also classed with the IVA type. The specimen with a transversally grooved spike has shovel-shaped end plates decorated with an isosceles cross motif, which is composed of four punched triangles (Fig. 7: 1). Punched triangles are also visible on the border of the plates and around the fastening rivets.⁴⁷ Identical decoration can also be observed on another spur fragment from the same locality (Fig. 7: 5).

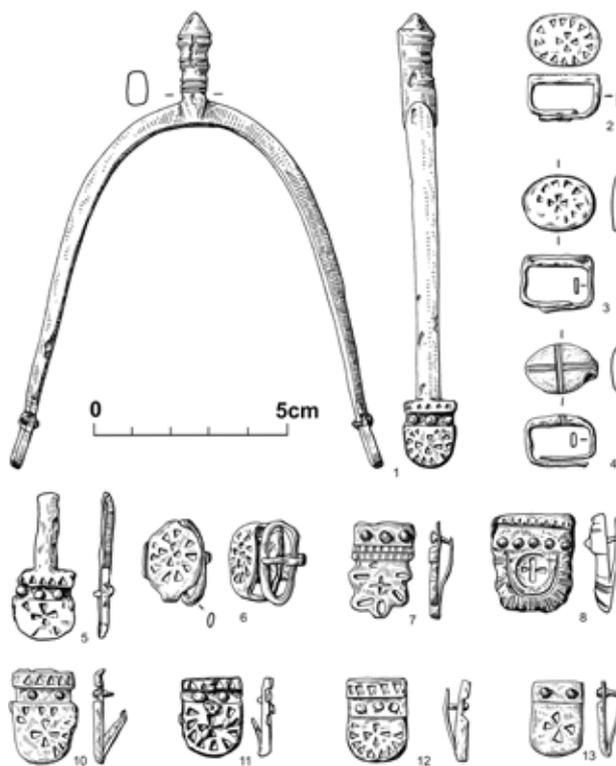


Fig. 7. Bojná I. Spurs, strap-ends and belt loops bearing the symbol of a cross.

Drawings by J. Meszárosová.

An IVA-type spur from the Pobedim stronghold is the only specimen whose end plates have the form of an isosceles cross.⁴⁸ A relief cross symbol is visible on the lower part of the end plates of IIIA-type spurs from Grave II in the cemetery of Závada (Fig. 6: 5). It consists of four rhombic arms attached to the central rivet hole.⁴⁹

The decoration on two VA-type spurs from Grave 1205 in the churchyard in Ducové is different from the previous variants of Christian symbols. The massive arms of these spurs are covered with two silver-inlaid bands of densely arranged rosette-shaped crosses accompanied by a tendril line (Fig. 6: 3). Four identical symbols are also applied to the rectangular end plates with lateral lines of fastening rivets. The spurs were fastened on male shoes with the help of spur straps with fittings decorated in the same manner (Fig. 6: 4). The deceased individual was laid to rest in a metal-fitted wooden coffin and equipped with a razor and a combat knife, which indicates that he was one of the most prominent inhabitants of the ducal residence at Ducové, buried around the mid-9th century.⁵⁰ Similar or identical crosses to those on spurs are also applied to the metal components of fastening straps. It is illustrated by strap-ends and belt loops from Grave 1205

42 Gabriel FUSEK, *Okov korica knjige iz groba u Nitri – Šindolky*, Prilozy Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu, Zagreb 2007, pp. 440–441.

43 Anton TOČIK – Vojtech BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA, *Z archeologických zbierok na Slovensku*, Zborník SNM 81, História 27, 1987, pp. 85–86; Viera VENDTOVÁ, *Slovenské osídlenie Pobedima a okolia*, Slovenská archeológia 17, 1969, p. 147.

44 Darina BIALEKOVÁ, *Sporen von slawischen Fundplätzen in Pobedim*, Slovenská archeológia 25, 1977, pp. 132–133, fig. 2; A. T. RUTTKAY, *Odras politicko-spoločenského vývoja vo veľkomoravskom vojenstve a výzbroji*, in: A. T. Ruttkay – M. Ruttkay – P. Šalkovský (ed.), *Slovensko vo včasnóm stredoveku*, Nitra 2002, fig. 4.

45 Viera VENDTOVÁ, *Slovenské osídlenie Pobedima a okolia*, p. 204, comm. 104.

46 Darina BIALEKOVÁ, *K motívu gréckeho križa na ostrohách z Bašoviec a Nitry*, in: Alexander Avenarius – Zuzana Ševčíková (ed.), *Slovensko a európsky juhovýchod*, Bratislava 1999, p. 113.

47 K. PIETA – A. T. RUTTKAY, *Bojná – mocenské a christianizačné centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva*, p. 35, fig. 10: 2.

48 D. BIALEKOVÁ, *Sporen von slawischen Fundplätzen in Pobedim*, p. 105, fig. 2, 10: 8.

49 IDEM, *Slovenské pohrebisko v Závade*, Slovenská archeológia 30, 1982, pp. 148–149.

50 A. T. RUTTKAY, *Zur frühmittelalterlichen Hof-, Curtis- und Curia regalis-Frage in der Slowakei*, in: Joachim Henning – A. T. Ruttkay (Hrsg.), *Frühmittelalterlicher Burgenbau in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, Tagung Nitra vom 7. bis 10. Oktober 1996, Bonn 1998, p. 414, fig. 7.



Fig. 8. Bojná I. Metal fittings with cruciform motifs.

1, 2, 4 – iron; 3 – bronze; 5 – lead (plate), silver (sheet metal, rivets); 6 – iron, yellow metal (inlay). Drawings by J. Meszárosová (1, 2, 4–6); after V. Turčan 2006 (3).

in the churchyard in Ducové. On the front side of these artefacts we find silver-inlaid rosette-shaped crosses accompanied by a tendril.⁵¹

The most voluminous collection of fittings of this type, however, is known from the Valy hill fort at Bojná, from where we currently know numerous belt loops, buckles and more than 120 strap-ends from horse harnesses, male belts and spur or calf straps.⁵² An unusual concentration of several types, along with finds of workshops and jewellery making tools, testify to the local production of these artefacts.⁵³

Multiple small strap-ends and loops, similar to the above-mentioned spur from hoard No. 4, are decorated with an isosceles cross composed of four punched triangles. It seems that this type of decoration of iron artefacts also was prevalingly applied in this centre, maybe as the product of a local workshop. This decoration technique is rare in other parts of Slovakia, for example in a find from Nitra-Chrenová.⁵⁴

The motifs of isosceles crosses on several strap-ends are made in low relief, whereas on other artefacts they are only indicated

51 A. T. RUTKAY, *Zur frühmittelalterlichen Hof-, Curtis- und Curia regalis-Frage in der Slowakei*, tab. 7: 8, 9, 11, 12.

52 Miriam JAKUBČINOVÁ, *Nálezy jazdeckého výstroja zo Slovenska na základe materiálu z Bojnej*, in: *Bewaffnung und Reiterausrüstung des 8. bis 10. Jahrhunderts in Mitteleuropa*, Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 11, Brno, in print; IDEM, *Včasnostredoveké hradisko Bojná I – Valy – veľkomoravské centrum na juhozápadnom Slovensku*, in: *Rus v IX–X vv: občestvo, gospodarstvo, kultura*, Moskva, in print.

53 Zbigniew ROBAK, *The Age of migrating ideas, A short contribution to a cruciform decoration of a Great Moravian strap fitmen in 9th century*, in: *Bewaffnung und Reiterausrüstung des 8. bis 10. Jahrhunderts in Mitteleuropa*, Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 11, Brno, in print.

54 Gertrúda BŘEZINOVÁ, *Nitra – Chrenová. Archeologické výskumy na stavbách Shell a Baumax*, Nitra 2003, p. 59.

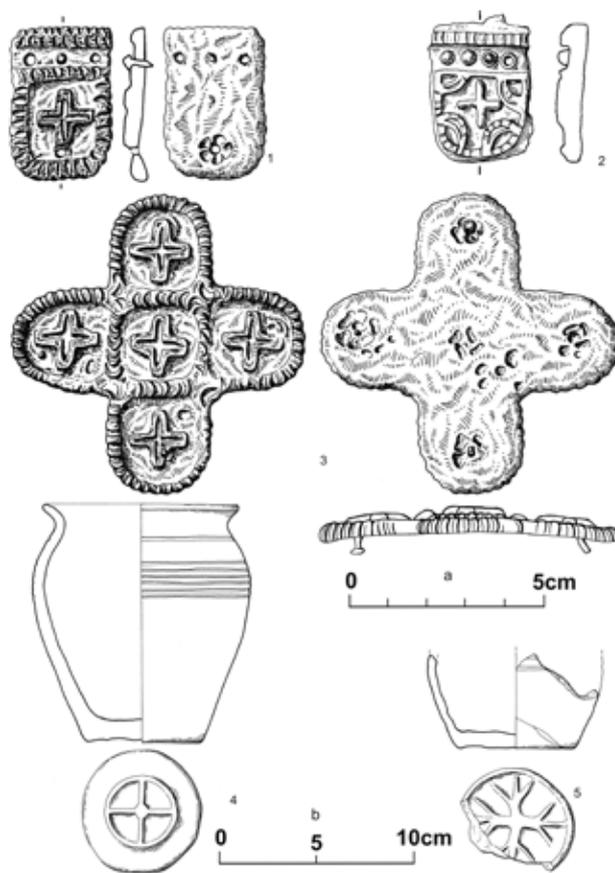


Fig. 9. Bojná I. Cruciform motifs on metal fittings and pottery.

1–3 – iron; 4, 5 – ceramics. Drawings by J. Meszárosová.

by two perpendicular grooves or engraved lines, sometimes inlaid with metal. The cruciform motif is also dominant on a belt fitting composed of a lead plate, which is covered on both sides with decorative pieces of silver sheet. This composition reminds us of a cross from an iron strap-end which was found in the settlement of Pobodim-Zapupovec (Fig. 6: 6).⁵⁵ From the Bojná hill fort we currently know 14 tongue-shaped strap-ends decorated with pseudo-rivets. The decorative ornaments on these strap-ends are often accompanied by horizontal rows of obliquely hatched bands.⁵⁶ In other cases, the surface of fittings is decorated with transversal reticulate motifs, punched semicircles as well as inclined and vertical crosses, sometimes with crosspieces indicated at the end of their arms. Some of these compositions are relatively complicated and the potential cross symbol is optically suppressed (Fig. 8–9). The prevailing X-motif may or may not represent a Christian symbol, as is also the case with other applications of this type.⁵⁷

Among remarkable finds, there are undoubtedly the two silver fittings which were found in a burial ground in the forefield of the fortified settlement at Mužla-Čenkov. Their hemispherical head is decorated with precisely portrayed trilobate leaves

55 V. VENDTOVÁ, *Slovanské osídlenie Pobodima a okolía*, p. 132, 205.

56 P. ŠALKOVSKÝ, *K problematike železných jazykovitých nákonč opaska blatnicko-mikulčického horizontu*, in: G. Fusek (ed.), *Zborník na počesť Dariny Bialekovej*, Nitra 2004, pp. 383–387.

57 L. ROGANSKÝ, *Signa Christiana*, p. 45; cf. Darina BIALEKOVÁ, *K motívu gréckeho kríža na ostrohách z Bašoviec a Nítry*, pp. 114–115.



Fig. 10. Bojná I. Sword scabbard chape – detail.

Iron, silver-inlaid and silver-clad. Photo of the original (left) and computer-edited image. Max. width 44 mm. Photo by P. Červeň, edited by M. Knoll.

separated by two crossed bands (**Fig. 3: 1**). The middle part is filled with an isosceles cross with trifurcate arms. The elevated bands of both crosses are dimpled. As far as we know, these finds do not yet have any analogies in the Great Moravian environment. Based on this fact, as well as on the foreign motifs with a Christian cross of the Greek type, these artefacts were most probably manufactured in the Byzantine milieu.⁵⁸ This possibility is also indicated by the precise depiction of details or the perfect mastering of demanding production technologies. A fastening band with a hole at the end indicates that both these finds may have originally been mounted on the felt or leather base of a belt, belt bag or pouch.⁵⁹

Among important components of early mediaeval fittings, there were also iron cruciform mounts, which probably connected crossing halter reins or sword hangers. They are known from several Slovak localities, but most of them come from Bojná again.⁶⁰ Cruciform mounts were manufactured in several variants and are often richly decorated. Their shape was given by their purpose and in the form of horse harness fittings they already existed at the end of the Bronze Age. This is why these attractive ornaments as such cannot be considered Christian symbols. An exception in this regard is undoubtedly a specimen from Bojná which is decorated in the middle and at the end of each arm with a relief isosceles cross.⁶¹

A unique artefact from the Bojná I hill fort is an iron chape of a sword scabbard. Here we cannot present a comprehensive

analysis of this remarkable artefact, which is entirely unique in the Great Moravian milieu. The find will be treated in a separate study. It only remains to point out the evident Christian symbolism which is contained in its decoration. The fitting is oval in shape, cut out in the middle. The decorated front side is symmetrically divided by a cross with triangular base and short arms. Both sides are divided into two silver-clad metopes, which are filled in with negative triplets of horizontally and vertically placed birds, whose details are inlaid with silver wire, similar to the border of the fitting. It may be a scene from Christian iconography, portraying mythical birds flying around a Tree of Life which has been modified to form the Cross of Christ.⁶²

Uncertain applications of Christian symbols

Within this collection, with some reservation, we can class several objects with applied cruciform motifs (button, finger ring, vessel, amulet), which were prevalingly found in cemeteries. Their being classified as objects with Christian symbolism is rather hypothetical. For illustration purposes we can, for example, mention a so-called raspberry-shaped button made of silver sheet which was found in Grave 14 at the Kopčany, Hrudý I site. Its surface is covered with beads decorated with granulation, which is arranged at the perimeter to form an isosceles cross (**Fig. 3: 5**).⁶³

Grave 39 from Svätý Peter and Graves 163 and 594 from Čakajovce contained bronze sheet finger rings. On their oval and rhombic bezels we find cruciform motifs composed of double engraved lines (**Fig. 3: 2-4**).⁶⁴

58 Denisa STOJANOVA – personal communication.

59 Milan HANULIAK – Ivan KUZMA, *Mužla – Čenkov II. Osídlenie z 9.-13. storočia*, Nitra 2014 (monograph manuscript).

60 M. JAKUBČINOVÁ, *Včasnostredoveké hradisko Bojná I – Valy – veľkomoravské centrum na juhozápadnom Slovensku*, in: Rus v IX-X vv: občestvo, gospodarstvo, kultura, Moskva, in print.

61 J. JANOŠÍK – K. PIETA, *Nález zvona na hradisku z 9. storočia v Bojneji*, fig. 16: 1.

62 Jaroslav STUDENÝ, *Křestanské symboly*, pp. 286–287.

63 Ludmila KRASKOVSKÁ, *Slovanské pohrebisko v Kopčanoch*, Zborník SNM 59, História 5, 1965, p. 26.

64 Július BÉREŠ, *Slovanské pohrebisko v Dolnom Petre IV (teraz Svätý Peter)*, Slovenská archeológia 43, 1995, p. 119; Mária REJHOLCOVÁ, *Pohrebisko v Čakajovciach (9.-12. storočie)*, Katalóg, Nitra 1995, tab. XXXIII: 7, XCV: 10.

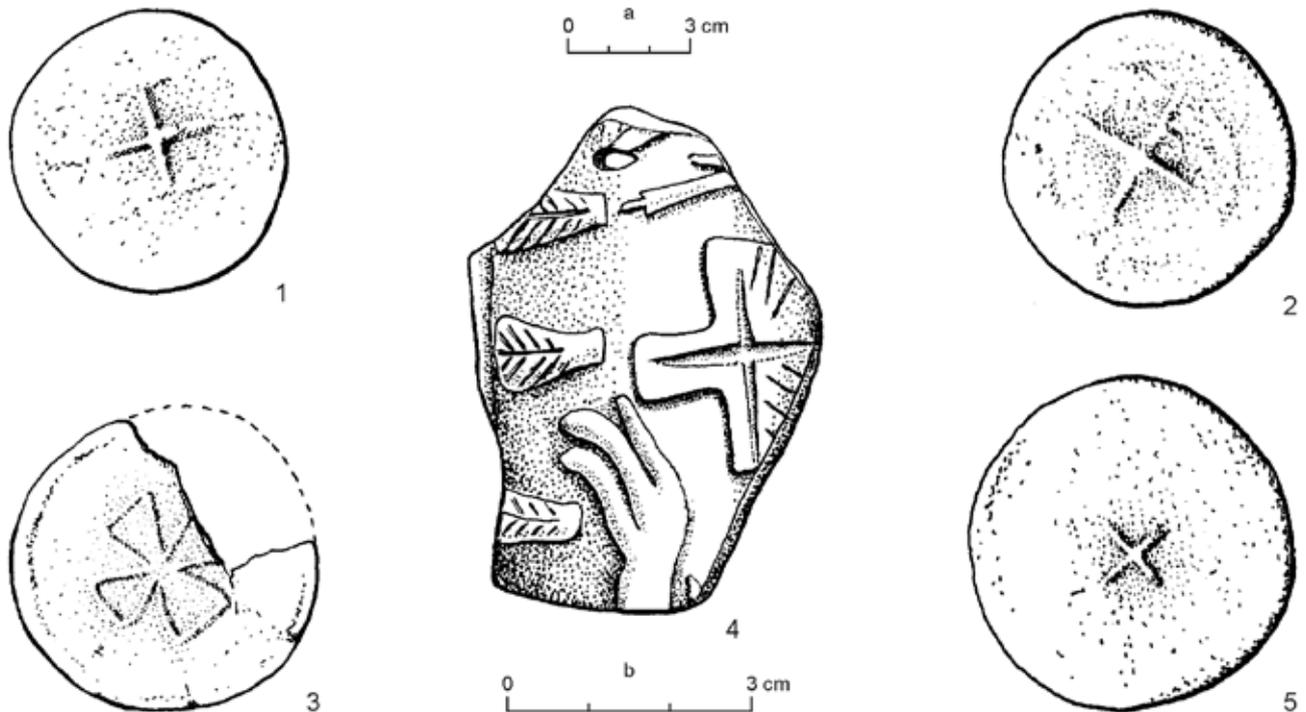


Fig. 11. Bottoms of ceramic vessels with relief marks and amulet from a terra sigillata sherd.

1–5 – Čakajovce. Illustrations after M. Rejholcová 1985. Scale: a – 1–3, 5; b – 4.

At the bottoms of several ceramic vessels we can identify cruciform relief marks. Narrow relief crosses are dominant, but sporadically we can also find cruciform marks with widened or branched arms, which remind us of a sacred motif (**Fig. 11: 1–3, 5**). It is worth remarking that the occurrence of relief marks of the above types increases constantly during the 9th–10th centuries. This trend, which was also identified at the cemetery in Čakajovce, might be theoretically associated with the gradual consolidation of the new belief.⁶⁵

Authentic evidence of the increasing implementation of the cruciform symbol in folk belief is a sherd from a terra sigillata bowl of the Draggendorf 37 type, which was used secondarily as an amulet (**Fig. 11: 4**). The shape of the fragment was modified to form a polygon, so that the motif of an isosceles cross stands out from the other components of relief decoration.⁶⁶

Latent modifications in the religious sphere are also indicated by structural changes in funerary equipment. The objects which were intended to accompany the deceased on their journey to the Afterworld according to pre-Christian beliefs decreased in number after the later phase of the Great Moravian Period. Traditional grave goods, such as objects of daily use, tools and food inclusions in the form of meat, porridge-like meals and beverages in ceramic and wooden vessels,

gradually vanished from graves. These indications show that the people of that time successively ceased to abide by old customs. Besides Christianisation activities, this process may also have been influenced by the increasing feudalisation of social relations.⁶⁷

Conclusions

Material evidence, mainly small movable objects, which have been made available to historical research through archaeology represent only a small part of the original material culture. The evidence it can supply with regard to the spiritual life of ancient societies is considerably limited, but authentic and along with that very valuable. It supplements and challenges historiographical knowledge and facts on the attractive topic of the origins of mediaeval Christianity in our country. The informational value of several artefacts that have been collected, above all the rare liturgical items, is sometimes diminished by their uncertain find context, which makes it impossible to specify any chronological or functional relations. An exception is represented by isolated finds from the end of the 8th century, which directly or indirectly illustrate the origins of the evangelisation efforts associated with the historically evidenced activities of the Patriarchate of Aquileia at the time of break-up of the Avar Khaganate. A connection between these objects and the missionary activities of the Salzburg diocese, instigated by Bishop Virgil, is less likely.⁶⁸

The chronological context of all known objects with Christian symbolism, apart from the above-mentioned oldest pieces, is limited to a relatively long time span of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century. It must be taken into account that

65 M. HANULIAK – M. REJHOLCOVÁ, *Pohrebisko v Čakajovciach (9.–12. storočie). Vyhodnotenie*, Bratislava 1999, p. 83.

66 T. KOLNÍK – M. REJHOLCOVÁ, *Rímske relikty na slovanských náleziškách a problém antických tradícií u Slovanov*, *Slovenská archeológia* 34, 1986, p. 344.

67 M. HANULIAK, *Pohansko-kresťanský synkretizmus a jeho prejavy na nekropolách z mladšieho úseku včasného stredoveku*, *Studia archaeologica slovacica mediaevalia* 3–4, 2000–2001, pp. 114–115.

68 R. KOŽIAK, *Írski misionári a počiatky kresťanstva u Slovanov v stredovýchodnej Európe*, in: R. Kožiak – Jaroslav Nemeš (ed.), *Pohanstvo a kresťanstvo*, Bratislava 2004, pp. 117–119.

devotional objects, just as today, were used over a very long time. The same also applies to the plaques from Bojná, which most researchers date to the beginning of the above time period. Their being buried in the ground, however, did not take place earlier than at the end of this period when this centre was destroyed. The plaques were roughly torn off the original container and buried in the ground. The bell found inside the rampart and the scattered fragments of broken bells give evidence of dramatic events at the hill fort. Judging from the volume of weapons found, buried hoards as well as fortifications and houses destroyed by fire, the area was seized and subsequently abandoned. The rough damage to or inadequate destruction of liturgical items indicates that the victors did not appreciate these extraordinarily valuable and rare artefacts as exclusive Christian symbols or objects of veneration because they either did not understand them or spurned them. The bell in the rampart, however, may rather have been hidden by the believers when under threat.

Several artefacts from the group of objects of daily use with Christian symbolism, such as for example the precious sword scabbard chape from the Valy hill fort, undoubtedly belonged to a higher social class. This is also corroborated by the fact that Christianisation was naturally targeted at members of the Great Moravian elites from the most significant fortified centres.⁶⁹ Among them were, besides the Bojná I hill fort, also the settlement agglomerations in Nitra and Pobedim, the ducal manor at Ducové and the fortified settlement in Mužla-Čenkov. It is in no way surprising that Christian decorative patterns were placed on militaria which were mainly used during the first two thirds of the 9th century. It is worth considering the noticeable spread of the cruciform symbol, which was applied to many belt and spur strap fittings and other objects. This motif may have demonstrated affiliation with the new belief and at the same time it may have been an amulet and protective symbol of the new God, attributed with an apotropaic effect. In the agglomeration at Bojná, the assemblage of such artefacts undoubtedly gives evidence of the considerable spread and social integration of the new belief in the local environment, where some of these objects were manufactured. This trend is, with some reservation, also confirmed by reflections of the new ideology in burial rites or in suggestive symbolism on objects of daily use, for example on pottery.

The above critical overview of the material evidence of early mediaeval Christianity from the territory of Slovakia was made to contribute to the discussion instigated by the anniversary of the arrival of Constantine and Methodius in Great Moravia.

Archival sources

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69 A. T. RUTKAY, *Najstaršie sakrálne stavby na Slovensku ako odraz christianizácie a budovania kresťanských inštitúcií v 9.–11. storočí*, in: B. Panis – M. Rutkay – V. Turčan (ed.), *Bratia, ktorí menili svet – Konštantín a Metod, Príspevky z konferencie*, Bratislava 2012, p. 81.

BOHEMIA IN THE GREAT MORAVIAN PERIOD

Ivana Boháčová – Naďa Profantová

A confrontation between historical and archaeological knowledge points to the difficulties in establishing the “Great Moravian Period” on Bohemian territory because of the interval-based dating of archaeological sources. In addition, sufficient knowledge of the Early Middle Ages in Central Bohemia is needed to be able to reconstruct the development of local society. Here, towards the close of the period under review, certain tendencies can be identified – primarily on the basis of the most recent comprehensive evaluation of available sources – that culminate subsequently in the formation of the Bohemian state.

Archaeology has several specific sources of data at its disposal, on the basis of which the important changes that clearly took place in Bohemia during this era can be observed. Best documented are central sites of the first order – i.e. strongholds, showing signs of being home to the highest social elites, and whose function is, in exceptional cases, documented in written records – followed by burial areas. In terms of certain characteristics (the presence of elites, evidence of Christianisation, size), towards the conclusion of the period under review, some of these strongholds were comparable to the Great Moravian centres. In the category of everyday life, the testimony provided by changes in material culture – not just luxury items, but also objects of daily use, including that basic archaeological source, pottery, can be used as a basis.

Archaeology has shown that the Bohemian elite was culturally tied to its Moravian counterpart for a longer time than the two regions’ political union (c. 880–894). Numerous centres show signs of Great Moravian fashions (in particular earrings and buttons). Of primary importance for studying the acculturation of Bohemia are Prague, Levý Hradec, Klecany and Budeč in Central Bohemia; Kouřim, Kolín and Libice on the boundary between Central and East Bohemia; and Želénky, Zabrušany and Rubín in Northwest Bohemia. These linkages can be seen starting in the 870s at the earliest. In the early 10th century, the evolution of Moravian traditions led to a form of jewellery specific to Bohemia, known as the “Bohemian jewellery workshop” (Kouřim, Prague, Roztoky – Žalov, Libice).

Unlike Moravia itself, Bohemian centres with evidence of Moravian influence often retained their early mediaeval names (Prague, Kouřim, Levý Hradec, Budeč). Among other things, this confirms the localisation of ancient Moravia within the territory of the Czech Republic.

Key words: Bohemia, Great Moravia, strongholds, burial grounds, Early Middle Ages, history, archaeology

Archaeology and history

Archaeological research into the Great Moravian Period in Bohemia is limited by two factors. The first difficulty is that the period under review cannot be identified with greater precision with the help of archaeological finds dated in interval-like form alone. The second is the fact that archaeological knowledge about the Bohemian territory of that time is quite uneven and certainly insufficient. An exception in this regard is the heart of Bohemia where, mainly on the basis of recent comprehensive evaluation of available sources, tendencies can be followed at the end of the period under review, which subsequently resulted in the emergence of the Bohemian state.

Archaeology has some specific types of sources at its disposal, on whose basis the remarkable changes that evidently took place on the territory of Bohemia during the above-mentioned period can be followed independently from other scientific disciplines. In the category of immovable evidence this mainly concerns the first-order central localities (Fig. 1–2), that is, potential seats of the uppermost social elites, whose purpose is exceptionally documented by written sources, and burial areas as well. Towards the end of the period under review, some of the centres in Central Bohemia are comparable to Great

Moravian centres in several parameters (presence of elites, evidence of Christianisation, size). When studying the continuous development of the society and its more or less noticeable turns, we can base ourselves on the evidence of alterations within the category of small archaeological finds – not only luxury items, but also objects of daily use, inclusive of the basic category of archaeological material, pottery. However, taking into account the current state of material evidence, systematic attention can only be paid to selected narrowly defined problems. Any comparison with the results of historical research concerning the period of existence of the known Great Moravian centres in Moravia is thus quite difficult. Unlike literary sources, which provide information on Bohemian-Moravian contacts and even on a temporary political union in the given historical context, archaeology within the area under review only deals with asynchronous intervals, which mainly allow long-term changes to be followed. Despite their material nature, archaeological finds do not give any clear information on spheres of cultural influence. Contacts with the East and West are evidenced, often simultaneously, by only a few sporadically found assemblages of luxury items, whose journey to the findspot can only rarely be identified with absolute certainty. Unlike the ambiguous testimony of archaeological finds, literary sources give evidence of relatively close relationships with Frankia in the early



Fig. 1. Kouřim (Kolín District).

The prime power centre of Great Moravian Bohemia is situated on the eastern border of Central Bohemia. Photo by M. Gojda 2010.



Fig. 2. Budeč (Kladno District).

One of the most significant castles of the Přemyslid domain. General view to the acropolis with the still-standing Rotunda of St Peter and highlighted layout of the Church of the Virgin Mary. Photo by M. Gojda, undated.

9th century. Around the mid-9th century we learn about some military events, and an exceptional source concerning the year 845 is an appeal for the baptism of fourteen dukes “*ex ducibus Boemianorum*”.¹ However the term may be interpreted,² close contacts between Carolingian empire and Bohemia are beyond doubt.

Contacts with the Frankish milieu can exceptionally also be evidenced by archaeological finds, such as luxury metal objects or some specific types of ceramic vessels, for example richly decorated bottles or storage jars.³ Considering the structure and lavishness of Carolingian imports it also can be supposed that one of the above fourteen dukes was most probably the male buried in Kolín (Součkova cihelna), and a second one may have been laid to rest in Kouřim (Fig. 3).⁴ Similar sumptuous burials from other regions, at least from the 850s–860s, are unknown to us. The fact that 9th century Bohemia was a fully-fledged territory within the emergent political arrangement of the Central European region is, however, undoubtedly evidenced by the written sources that are commonly analysed by historiographers and that report contacts between Bohemia and East Frankish Empire and Great Moravia.

On the other hand, the relationship between archaeology and history with regard to the potential informational value of their sources can be regarded as balanced, because sources of both types can supplement each other in reconstructions of past events and at the same time serve to modify hypotheses that are being formulated. This optimal model, however, does not yet really work. Mediaeval archaeology, especially that concerned with the Early Middle Ages, has often been blamed for a too strong dependence on historiography, as far as the illustration of history is concerned. History, on the other hand, is often not capable of reflecting either the evidence of archaeological finds or advances in archaeological knowledge. Czech historiography of the Early Middle Ages, and the Middle Ages in general, is currently, and has been over the long term, occupied with other topics and as a whole it rather inclines to more recent historical periods. Moreover, with regard to the archaeology – history relationship it becomes evident that when there is a lack of systematic excavations focused particularly on the comparison of archaeology with historicising hypotheses, the communication between archaeology and other mediaeval studies is stagnant or entirely absent. This condition should definitely be changed. The unequal state of archaeological knowledge about Bohemia in the period under review is a factor limiting the study of identical phenomena or tendencies detected within the given geographical area. Archaeology in the past decades, however, has shown that its possibilities are not nearly exhausted. The volume of material evidence is increasing rapidly, which

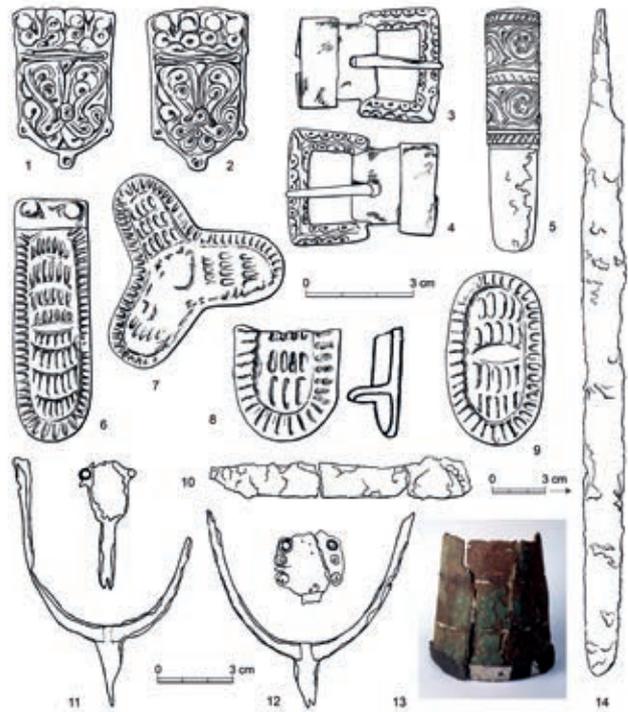


Fig. 3. Kouřim.

Grave 55 – one of the earliest male warrior burials with western imports, 2nd third of the 9th century. 1–4 – spur strap-parts; 5 – spear-end decorated with niello; 6–9 – sword holding strap-parts; 10 – knife; 11–12 – spurs with embedded prick; 13 – bucket of yew wood bounded with ornamented bronze plate (no scale); 14 – sward type sax.

is, among other things, also connected with the development of exact analyses and interdisciplinary studies. Archaeological sources, unlike historical ones, are of a collective nature, which means that they are able to reflect the displays of more general social changes and evolutionary patterns. At the same time they can be the subject of targeted studies focused on very particular questions, such as, for example, the study of contacts within macro- and micro-regions, lifestyle and changes to it, the development of technologies, social stratification etc.⁵

An example of a region where this type of research is already well developed is the natural historical core of Bohemia. Systematic studies in this case were only based on sources with high informational value, or on evidence from older excavations which underwent critical review, be it the finds themselves or preserved documentary materials. If this precondition was not fulfilled, and it must be remarked that this was often the case in the past, then archaeology might operate in the realm of myths and illustrations of historically evidenced events. But in the opposite case, archaeology is well capable of reconstructing some segments of the past entirely independent from history. For example, the upswing of the region and centralisation of power, process of Christianisation, contacts of foreign elites with the Bohemian environment, military campaigns abroad

1 *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 7. Hannover 1891, p. 35.

2 Jan HASIL, *Les élites franques de l'ouest comme des chefs de clans dans l'environnement slave?*, in: D. Buschinger, *Tolérance et intolérance*, Amiens 2011, pp. 50–61.

3 In overview Nada PROFANTOVÁ, *Karolínské importy a jejich napodobování v Čechách (konec 8.–10. stol.)*, in: Vladimír Turčan, V. (ed.), *Karolínská doba a Slovensko*, Zborník Slovenského národného múzea, Archeológia supplementum 4, Bratislava 2011, 71–104, esp. fig. 15; recently a hoard of c. 70 coins of Louis the Pious minted around 822 from Jedomělice, Rakovník dist., probably associated with a road between Rubin and Šárka; Jan VIDEMAN – N. PROFANTOVÁ, *An der Ostgrenze des Frankenreiches. Ein Hortfund von Denaren von Ludwig dem Heiligen bei Jedomělice (Bez. Kladno)*, in: *Questiones Mediaevali Aevi Nowae* 19, in print.

4 N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Power elites in 9th–10th century Bohemia*, in: P. Kouřil (ed.), *Great Moravia and the Beginnings of Christianity*, Brno 2014, in print; idem *Karolínské importy*, esp. p. 98

5 Martin JEŽEK – Jan ZAVŘEL, *Prubišské kameny mezi archeologickými nálezy*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 62, 2010, 608–628; Ivana BOHÁČOVÁ, *Dřevěné konstrukce a využití dřeva v raně středověké opevněné centrální lokalitě. Příklady z Pražského hradu*, *Památky archeologické* 102, 2011, pp. 355–400; Ivana BOHÁČOVÁ – Jiří HOŠEK, *Raně středověké nože ze Staré Boleslavi*, *Archeologia historica* 40, 2009, pp. 367–392; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Karolínské importy*.

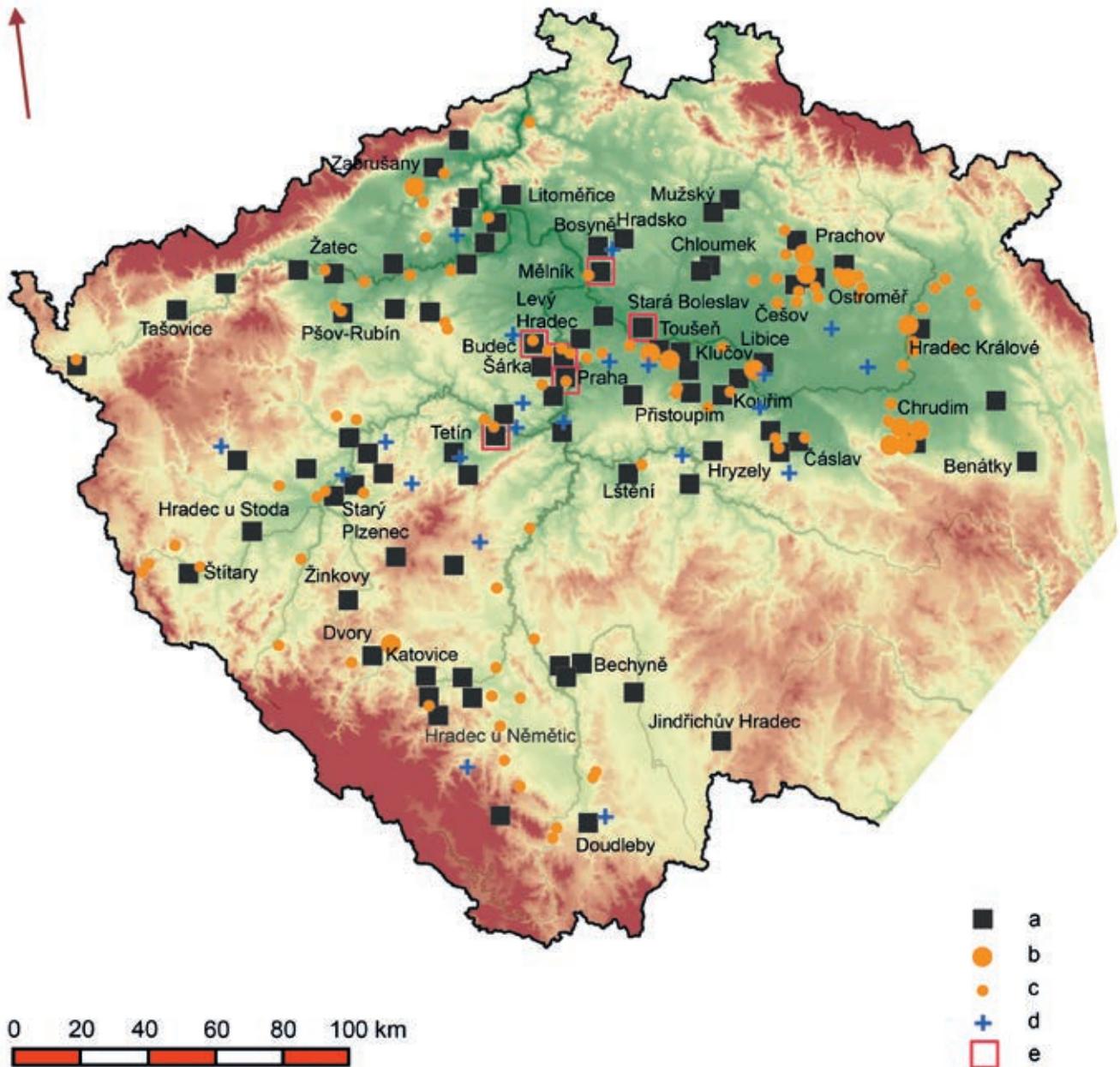


Fig. 4. Bohemia around AD 900:

a – castles; b – settlement finds in three different locations (source Archaeological database of Bohemia /ADČ/, ARÚ Prague, 2013); c – settlement finds (from the Archaeological Database of Bohemia); d – burial grounds (from the Archaeological Database of Bohemia); e – castles of the Přemyslid domain, attested residences of members of the ruling dynasty. Graphic design by I. Boháčová.

or evidence of other conflicts on the territory of Bohemia are archaeologically reflected in, among other things, the construction and rebuilding of power centres, economic development, construction of churches or generally in Christian symbolism on archaeological finds.⁶ From among entirely unique individual examples we can name, for example, the find of Great Moravian jewellery in the Church of the Virgin Mary in Prague Castle, a collective grave of massacred warriors at Budeč, the destruction of a stronghold near Němčice in South Bohemia by an army which employed, among others, Magyars, or the

possible marriage of a duchess of Moravian origin and her exceptional burial at Želánky in Northwest Bohemia.⁷ Many other crucial events or turning points, inclusive of the historically evidenced ones, of course slip the attention because they cannot be localised (e.g. the Battle of Canburg in 805).

Archaeological evidence of the Great Moravian Period in Bohemia

Chronology

Archaeology provides only a minimum of chronological support for delimiting the Great Moravian Period in Bohemia.

⁶ I. BOHÁČOVÁ, *Prague, Budeč and Boleslav. The reflection of state formation in Early Medieval archaeological sources*, in: Jiří Macháček – Šimon Ungerman, *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa, Studien zur Archäologie Europas 14*, Bonn 2011, pp. 371–395; I. BOHÁČOVÁ – N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Čechy a Velká Morava – svědectví archeologie*, in print.

⁷ N. PROFANTOVÁ in this volume.

in a schematised view we could associate the chronological context in hand with Bohemian finds from the 9th to the 1st half of the 10th century. However, it is necessary to remark that in most regions of Bohemia it is not yet possible clearly to distinguish 9th century ceramic production from the previous or the immediately subsequent period. In funerary equipment we can identify evidence of contacts with the Great Moravian environment, but the chronology of assemblages of finds can only rarely be determined in detail. Sometimes we can specify the dating to within as few as 40–50 years (e.g. Grave 28 from Klecany II, Grave 22 or 53 from Klecany I, Grave 15 from Žalov II, Grave 106b from Kouřim, twin grave from Kolín, grave from Želénky, Grave 268 from Libice, twin grave in the Church of the Virgin Mary in Prague Castle etc.).⁸ The problem of missing burial grounds in the early phase of the 9th century has not yet been clarified. The inhumation graves known are not dated to earlier than the 2nd half of the 9th century.

The only region whose chronology, at least at the end of the Great Moravian Period, can be determined in more detail is the formative core of the future Bohemian state – Central Bohemia. From this territory we currently know voluminous and high-quality assemblages of archaeological finds collected over a long period of time. Recent analysis of them has attested to their large informational potential, especially if we regard them as a complex of interlinked pieces of information.⁹ The chronology of the heart of Central Bohemia at the end of the 9th century and in the first two thirds of the 10th century can at present be divided in more detail following the unusually fast development of the characteristic ceramic ware, which is referred to as the Prague pottery sequence. This is also supported by the fact that this territory was the main topic of interest for contemporaneous chroniclers and legendists and was relatively often mentioned in literary sources, which can exceptionally be interlinked with archaeological evidence of this period of change.¹⁰ Moreover, since the end of the 20th century we have obtained some series of dendrodates concerning the end of the 9th – 1st half of the 10th century in the area of Prague Castle and the Lesser Town suburbium, which are based on the dendrochronological standard elaborated recently for Bohemia.¹¹ The end of the period under review can be associated with remarkable changes in material culture, and in the area of Prague it can be dated to the 930s,¹² or a little later.¹³

Settlement structure

As far as the typology of settlements and the settlement structure (**Fig. 4**) of the period under examination are concerned, it can be concluded that we mainly know the residences of the elites

that were situated in strategic locations. Such localities are usually referred to as central settlements, or, to be more precise, first-order centres. These central sites in individual regions may have been isolated or clustered in small groups. Detailed as well as general knowledge of other types of settlements – above all ordinary rural villages – is still missing. Their existence is often indicated only by roughly datable ceramic fragments scattered in smaller or larger clusters over the landscape – the limitations are thus virtually the same as those formulated almost fifty years ago.¹⁴ Present-day settlement studies are thus mainly based on the centres themselves, that is, on fortified sites often placed on hilltops, whose area is between 5 and 15 ha and sometimes even more. Besides these settlements we also know burial grounds from the end of the 9th – 1st half of the 10th century in open landscape, both in the immediate hinterland of central sites and elsewhere. The evidence of cemeteries, however, is not yet systematic.

The occurrence of cemeteries in the neighbourhood of central localities is in no way surprising (right-bank and left-bank Prague, Levý Hradec: Žalov I, II, Libice inclusive of Kanín,¹⁵ Budeč, Kolín). The state of knowledge in the case of densely inhabited areas, such as that of Prague,¹⁶ is not yet definitive, as is indicated by the most recent discoveries.¹⁷ In the open landscape beyond the hinterland of the centres, cemeteries are often the only evidence of settlement, its density and intensity. But the state of knowledge about this phenomenon is far from definitive either.¹⁸ Settlement areas defined only on the basis of these two separate phenomena, that is, central localities and burial grounds, can be identified over the whole territory of what is now Bohemia. Aside from the formative core of the future Bohemian state they also include South, Northwest, East and central East Bohemia (for instance the Cheb region in West Bohemia, then under Frankish influence).

South Bohemia¹⁹ is characterised by scattered settlement with several enclaves which may have been governed by various power systems traditionally based on fortified centres (defensive walls with front stone revetment and internal grid construction). Graves of members of the upper social classes have not yet been found or identified.²⁰ Influence from one of the neighbouring cultural spheres – be it the Great Moravian or the western one – is not really evident in materials from South Bohemia. To a certain extent the region can be compared with the Cheb region,²¹ which fell within the influence of the neighbouring Frankish Empire, but here too a settlement area arose around a fortified central locality and emphasis was put

14 Jiří SLÁMA, *Příspěvek k vnitřní kolonizaci raně středověkých Čech*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 19, 1967, pp. 433–445.

15 Jan MAŘÍK, *Libická sídelní aglomerace a její zázemí v raném středověku*, Praha 2009, p. 149, fig. 63.

16 I. BOHÁČOVÁ – N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Čechy a Velká Morava*.

17 The existence of a 9th–10th century burial ground in the neighbourhood of the river floodplain was recently ascertained in the Clementinum of Prague (Jan Havrda – Anna Žďárská, NPU Praha 2013, unpublished).

18 Among recently discovered 9th–10th century burial grounds in Central Bohemia are, for example, Prague-Zbraslav 1997, Zeleneč 2003–2004, Slaný – Kvičok 2008, Prague – Vínor 2009.

19 Most recently Michal LUTOVSKÝ, *Jižní Čechy v raném středověku. Slovanské osídlení mezi Práchní a Chýnovem*, České Budějovice 2011.

20 The latest solitary finds – e.g. from the neighbourhood of Netolice – have not yet been published.

21 Jan HASIL, *Raně středověké osídlení Chebska*, *Studia mediaevalia pragensia* 9, 2010, pp. 7–73.

8 N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Karolinské imparty*; idem, *Klecany. Raně středověká pohřebiště II*, Praha 2010.

9 I. BOHÁČOVÁ, *Prague, Budeč and Boleslav*.

10 I. BOHÁČOVÁ 2013, *Počátky budování přemyslovského státu a jeho centra – synchronizace výpovědi archeologických pramenů a její interpretace*, *Archaeologica historica* 38, 2013, pp. 7–25.

11 The oak standard curve was set by J. Dvorská on the basis of samples from excavations which were conducted at Prague Castle and in the Lesser Town of Prague within a joint project between the Institutes of Archaeology in Prague and Brno in the years 1997–1998.

12 I. BOHÁČOVÁ, *The archaeology of the dawn of Prague*, in: I. Boháčová – Lumír Poláček (ed.), *Burg – Vorburg – Suburbium. Zur Problematik der Nebenareale frühmittelalterlicher Zentren*, Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 7, Brno 2008, pp. 103–119.

13 N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Ke změnám ve vývoji hmotné kultury 10. století v Čechách*, *Archaeologica historica* 38, 2013.

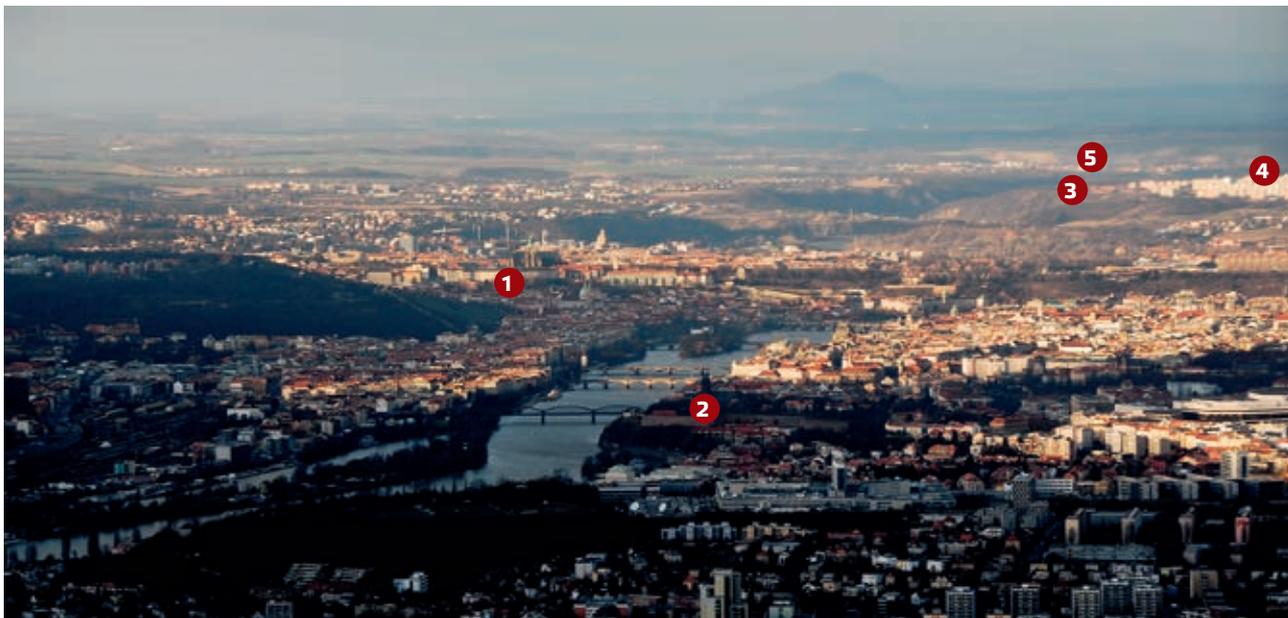


Fig. 5. The Prague Basin.

The significance of the Prague Basin in Early Mediaeval times is corroborated by the many fortified centres which were built here during the 7th–8th centuries (RS2) and 9th – 1st half of the 10th centuries (RS3). Their function, position within the power structure, and exact chronological anchoring are not reliably defined. General localisation: 1 – Hradčany spur with Prague Castle (RS3); 2 – Vyšehrad (RS3/4) – Bohnice – Zámka (RS2 and early RS3); 4 – Klecany (RS3); 5 – Levý Hradec (RS3). Photo by M. Gojda 2012.

on both land and water communication routes. *Terra slavorum* has been considered an allied territory on the eastern frontier of the Empire. The material culture exhibits evident influences from the adjacent Ohře river basin. In some regions of Bohemia, the partly explored settlement areas in the neighbourhood of fortified centres were identified on the basis of pottery fragments collected on the surface. In the eastern part of Central Bohemia a decrease in settlement dynamics, mainly at the end of the 9th and in the 1st half of the 10th centuries, was identified in the hinterland of ancient fortified centres in the region along the River Šembera.²² The previously-made reconstruction of settlement development in the hinterland of Kouřim²³ has not yet been checked against the current state of knowledge, since there have been no more recent excavations conducted in this area. The same can also be said about the region of the middle reaches of the Ohře which, however, was mapped later.²⁴

The system of a network of power centres, which was established to govern the core of Central Bohemia at the end of the Great Moravian Period, was described by J. Sláma some decades ago.²⁵ Even though it has undergone some modifications,²⁶ its essence is probably still valid. The castle in a central location is surrounded with other settlements, which help it control the neighbouring territory. Whether at all, or to what extent, this mod-

el also worked in earlier periods is not yet known. In the course of the 10th century, however, it was used and developed both extensively and by adding further centres of lower order, or by improving the network of strong points (Fig. 5).²⁷ In-depth study of settlement structures in Bohemia is based not only on the evidence of fortified hilltop sites but also on isolated and only rarely verified or verifiable knowledge (settlements in Březno u Loun or Dřetovice, burial grounds in Radětica, Příbram dist., Slaný – Kvíček)²⁸ and stray finds (Jeviněves, Mělník dist.).

Central sites (of the first order)

The knowledge of central sites of the period under review in strategic locations only exceptionally allows for identification of their hierarchical structure. These centres – strong points, be it of higher or lower order – may have changed quickly; their significance and purpose may have shifted within a micro-region, and sometimes they may have formed spatial clusters and fulfilled their functions together. This is now evident with the 10th century agglomeration of Levý Hradec – Klecany / Pravý Hradec, which is situated on both banks of the Vltava (Fig. 6).²⁹ It is supposed that these settlements were fortified with an aboveground wood-and-earth defensive wall. However, the character of fortification systems before the turn of the 9th and

22 Josef BUBENÍK, *K topografii, vývoji a strukturám staršího raně středověkého (6.–9. stol.) osídlení Pošembeří*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 53, 2001, pp. 256–278.

23 Miloš ŠOLLE, *Stará Kouřim a projevy velkomoravské hmotné kultury v Čechách*, Praha 1966.

24 J. BUBENÍK, *Slovanské osídlení středního Poohří*, Praha 1988.

25 Jiří SLÁMA, *Střední Čechy v raném středověku. Archeologie a počátek přemyslovského státu*, *Præhistorica* 14, Praha 1988.

26 Ladislav VARADZIN, *K vývoji hradišť v jádru Čech se zřetelem k přemyslovské doméně (příspěvek do diskuse)*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 62, 2010, pp. 535–554.

27 Zdeněk NEUSTUPNÝ, *Frühmittelalterliche Burgwälle im Prager Becken in Bezug auf die Entwicklung und Struktur der Besiedlung*, in: I. Boháčová – L. Poláček (Hrsg.), *Burg – Vorburg – Suburbium. Zur Problematik der Nebenareale frühmittelalterlicher Zentren*, *Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice* 7, Brno 2008, pp. 153–164. This author pointed for the first time to typical mid-10th century pottery finds in a group of 10th–12th century fortified centres in the Prague Basin.

28 I. BOHÁČOVÁ – N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Čechy a Velká Morava*.

29 N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Klecany. Raně středověká pohřebiště*; N. PROFANTOVÁ, *New Evidence concerning Dating, Importance and Hinterland of Early Medieval Hillfort of Klecany, district of Prague-East*, in: Jiří Macháček – Š. Ungerman (ed.), *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa, Studien zur Archäologie Europas* 14, Bonn 2011, pp. 355–370, esp. tab. 3.

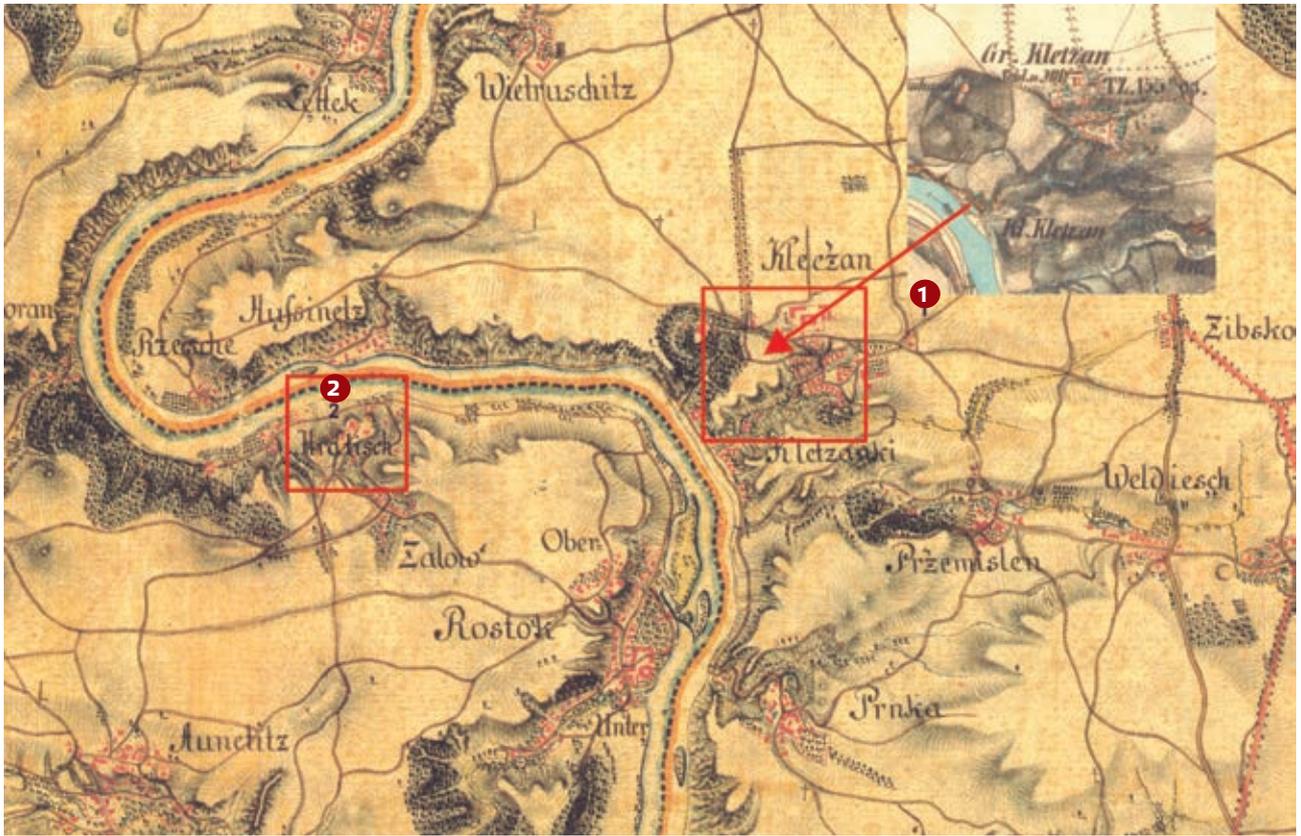


Fig. 6. Levý Hradec – Klecany agglomeration on a cartographical extract from the 1st Military Survey (1764–1768).

A inserted detail with stronghold Klecany (the site is indicated by arrow) – 2nd Military Survey (1836–1852). 1 – Klecany; 2 – Levý Hradec. Source: Laboratory of the Faculty of Environment, Jan Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem.

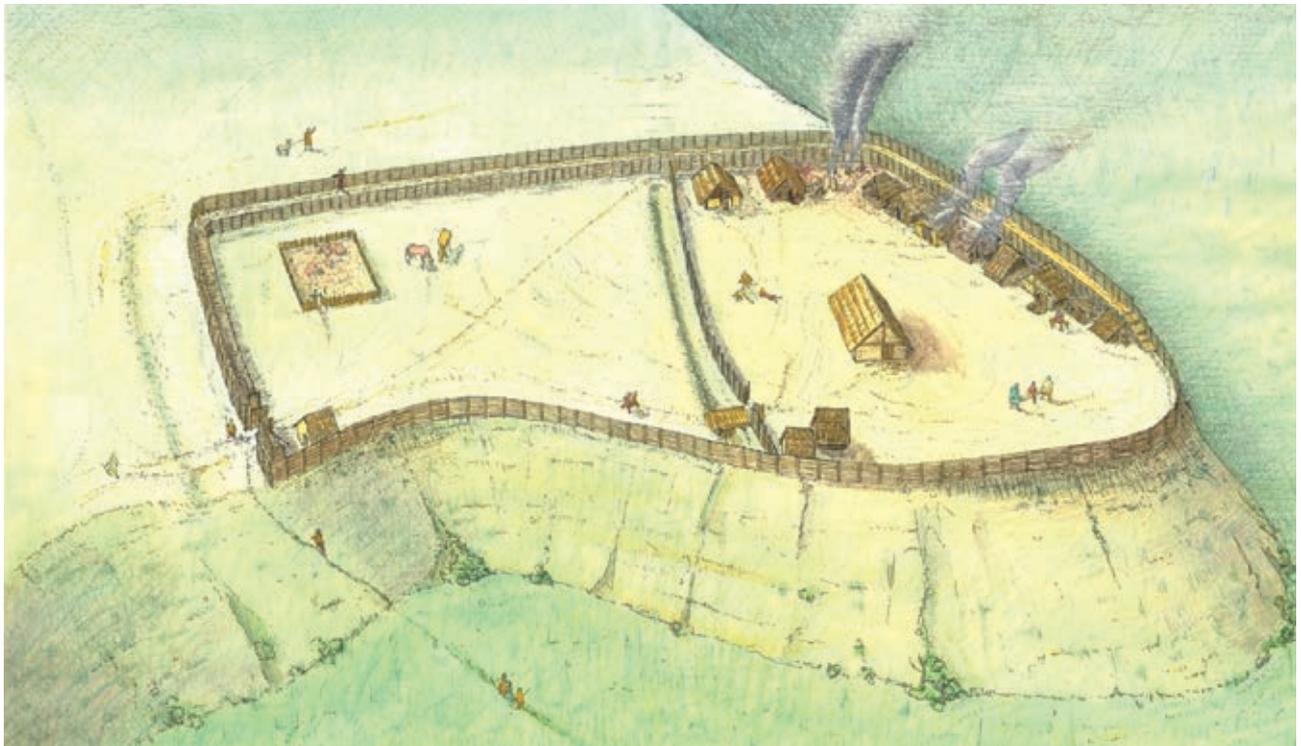


Fig. 7. Hradec u Němčtic, Strakonice District.

Reconstruction of a small stronghold which served as a manor and was destroyed in the 1st third of the 10th century by an army employing Magyar warriors. After Michálek and Lutovský 2002.

10th centuries is, apart from a few exceptions (e.g. Kouřim, Klučov), not yet sufficiently known, or the supposed chronology of the existing fortification is not verifiable. The reasons are twofold: firstly, we do not have at our disposal any relevant sources documenting the detailed development of particular localities (and in particular fortifications) and their relationship to the earliest existing settlement. Secondly, the regional chronology of archaeological sources, as we already know, does not enable a sufficiently fine division. The intervals related to a timeline with absolute dates are essentially only indicative, and finds of stratified chronologically sensitive objects are rare.³⁰ From the example of Prague it follows that some of these centres were probably not equipped with mighty wood-and-earth defensive walls until the early 10th century. More or less distinct indications in Prague as well as at other sites reveal that the primary fortification was a light construction, for example a palisade supplemented with a system of ditches. As is also evidenced outside Bohemian territory (Nitra,³¹ temporarily (?) Pohansko near Břeclav;³² a simple palisade enclosure is also attested in part of Staré Město u Uherského Hradiště; in Bohemia e.g. Levý Hradec has been discussed), this light type of fortification does in no way diminish the status of such localities and their central function. Until we know the chronology of the fortification and with it the mutual relationship between the fortifications of individual areas too, we cannot try to interpret either the locality as a whole or its inclusion in the general context of settlement development within the region. Progress in this field of study – research into central sites, their purpose and structure – represents one of the grand topics which are currently being dealt with by Czech archaeologists. What applies to the development of fortifications is also generally valid for the topography of localities – that is, for the identification of internally divided, maybe functionally diversified areas. New systematic study of outer areas in fortified centres has yielded significant knowledge of the processing of many raw materials inclusive of precious metals, but evidence of crafts is still mostly only indirect and, moreover, related to the next phase of the early mediaeval period.³³ An exceptional new find is represented by fragments of crucibles from the Chloumek 2 hillfort (Mladá Boleslav dist.).³⁴

Besides the problem of fringe areas, the crucial topics also encompass the question of the internal structure of fortified centres, the arrangement of their inner space – among other things, the problem with archaeological evidence of residential areas and in particular the enclosed manors, which are mentioned in somewhat later literary sources (Stará Boleslav, Tetín).

30 In particular for example Northwest Bohemia: Rubín – a golden grape earring and buttons; Central Bohemia: Libice – bailey, Přerov – Hůra etc. Components of warrior equipment are often found in ambiguous contexts – Northeast Bohemia: Češov – a metal-inlaid oval loop from a spur- or calf-strap; Křinec, Central Bohemia – an imported spur with two rivets cf. N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Nově získané kovové předměty z hradiště Češov a jeho okolí*, *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 16, 2012, pp. 315–320.

31 E.g. Gabriel FUSEK, *Die Nebenareale in der Struktur der grossmährischen Burgstadt Nitra*, in: I. Boháčová – L. Poláček (Hrsg.), *Burg – Vorbürg – Suburbium. Zur Problematik der Nebenareale frühmittelalterlicher Zentren*, Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 7, Brno 2008, pp. 271–290.

32 Petr DRESLER: *Opevnění Pohanska u Břeclavi*, *Dissertationes archaeologicae Brunenses, Pragensesque* 11, Brno 2011, p. 179.

33 I. BOHÁČOVÁ – L. POLÁČEK: *Nebenareale frühmittelalterlicher Zentren als Gegenstand der archäologischen Forschung*, in: I. Boháčová – L. Poláček (ed.), *Burg – Vorbürg – Suburbium. Zur Problematik der Nebenareale frühmittelalterlicher Zentren*, Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 7, Brno 2008, pp. 9–17.

34 Jiří WALDHAUSER – M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Druhé raně středověké hradiště na Chlumu u Mladé Boleslavi*, *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 17, 2013, pp. 215–226.

Ecclesiastical buildings in these manors are either evidenced (Budeč – acropolis), or only anticipated (Hradsko – 1st half of the 10th century), or totally absent. From the South Bohemian locality of Hradec near Némětic (Fig. 7) we know an example of a small fortified site, the internal division of which and the existence of a representative building correspond in their arrangement and size to a free-standing manor, as is known from Ducové in the Váh Valley. At the latter locality, however, there was also a church. Small hillforts in Central Bohemia are not yet known to such an extent that they can be interpreted with regard to their function and exact dating.³⁵ Evidence of Great Moravian influence can mainly be identified in the area of central sites and in their immediate hinterland (Fig. 8).³⁶ These specific displays in material culture, above all in funerary equipment but sporadically also elsewhere, can be observed on the eastern border of Central Bohemia as well as in the historical core and close hinterland of Prague, repeatedly within the wider territory of Central Bohemia, and in Northwest Bohemia. On the border of the settlement region along the River Elbe at the foot of the Iron Mountains we can identify a noticeable accumulation of weapons of Great Moravian character. This cluster, together with significant princely graves in Kolín, Kouřim and probably also Libice, indicate that here – in the eastern part of Central Bohemia (wider surroundings of Kolín) – there was most probably an extraordinarily important 9th century centre, whose importance may have decreased at the end of the 9th century in connection with the new Prague “centrality”. With regard to the concentration of significant finds, whose volume is constantly increasing, it may have been situated, for example, in the area of what is now the town of Kolín (Fig. 9). Apart from in this area, not only weapons, but also even warrior graves are rather rare when compared to Moravian territory (Fig. 10).

Research into the 9th–10th century material culture from central localities indicates that in the advanced phase of the above period this milieu saw distinct changes in material culture and lifestyle. These changes can be attested to by buildings as well as by small finds, both luxury items and objects of daily use, and also by the hitherto rare finds of ecofacts. A new type of dwelling at central sites is represented by aboveground buildings. Log houses – however rare such finds are – have repeatedly been unearthed particularly in the inner wards of castles (Prague Castle – Fig. 11,³⁷ Levý Hradec, Kouřim, maybe Budeč).³⁸ Their alternatives are represented by aboveground buildings on stone substractions, whose appearance is still unknown to us for evident reasons. At the same time there also existed, or survived, centres of minor importance where people continued to live in partly sunken-featured buildings, the so-called pit dwellings (Klučov – later phase, Mužský – Hrada in East Bohemia, Hradec u Némětic in South Bohemia). An interesting and so far only little known aspect in the life of the early mediaeval society has been revealed by archaeobotanical studies. The varied and balanced diet of Prague inhabitants and their international contacts in around the mid-10th century are evidenced by finds

35 It is necessary to search for similarly interpreted situations for the purpose of a more general comparison. The state of research and accessibility of material, however, do not yet allow for it (e.g. Zelená Hora u Vyškova).

36 I. BOHÁČOVÁ – N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Čechy a Velká Morava*.

37 In Prague Castle this is a log house from the mid-10th century and which is, dated dendrochronologically as well as stratigraphically, so far the oldest preserved building of this type in Central Europe.

38 I. BOHÁČOVÁ, *Dřevěné konstrukce*.

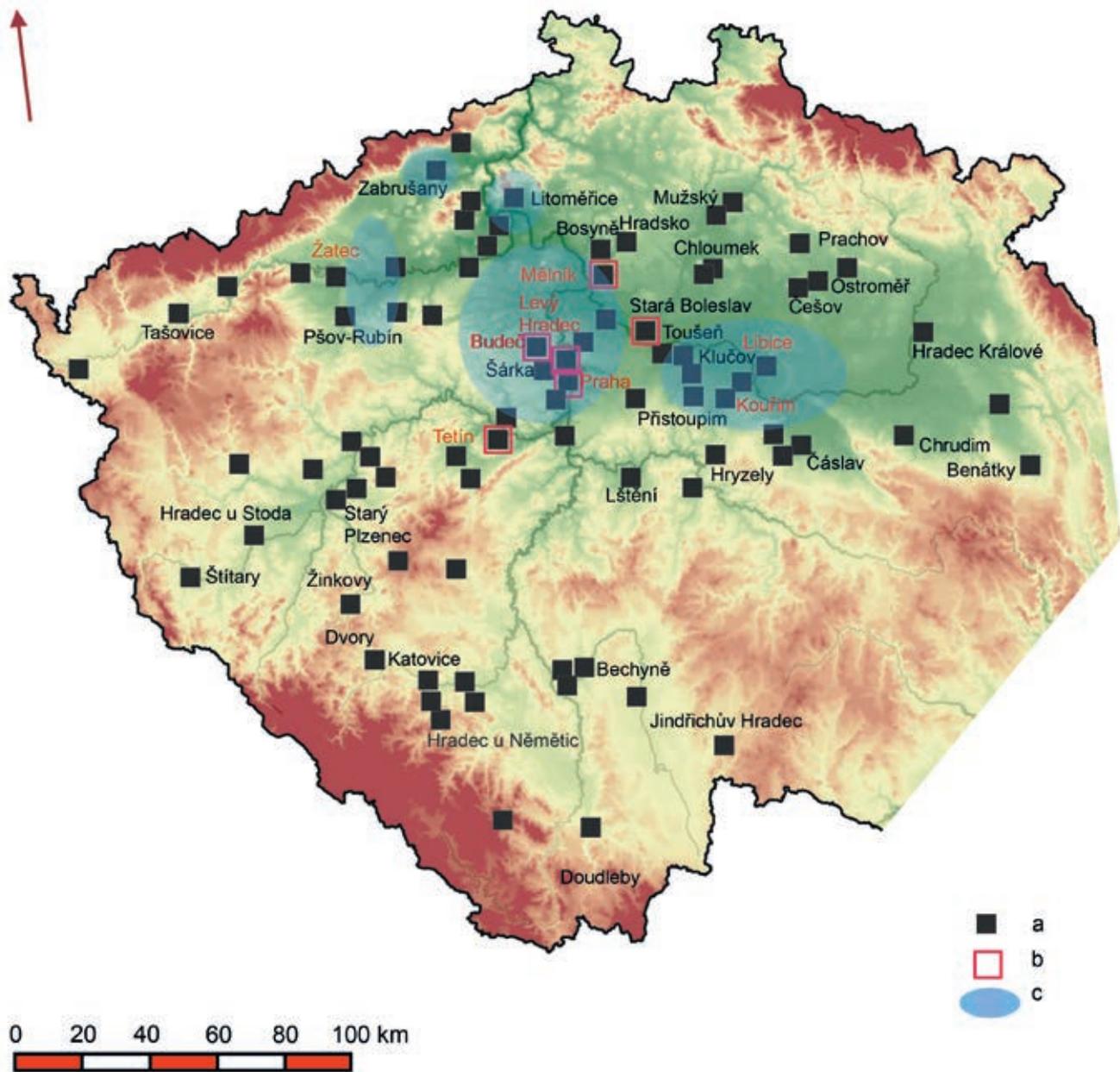


Fig. 8. 9th – 1st half 10th century Bohemia:

a – castles from around AD 900; b – localities of the so-called Přemyslid domain with evidence of Great Moravian influence; c – area with distinct evidence of Great Moravian influence. The original names captured in written sources before 1018 (inclusive of Thietmar) are marked in red; other names of selected castles or their cadastres are marked in black. Graphic design by I. Boháčová.

from both the elite milieu of Prague Castle and its suburbium,³⁹ where plant remains attest to the consumption of the following foodstuffs: cherry / sour cherry, plum, grapevine, fig, dogwood, hazel, oat, millet, common wheat / club wheat, weld, lentil, pea, vetch, hop, and in the suburbium also buckwheat.⁴⁰

Apart from the most common production – pottery (see below), a noticeable development in Central Bohemia of the mid-10th century was recorded with jewellery making, which borrowed Great Moravian patterns and innovated original types and motifs

(esp. amulet containers portraying yoke of horses, earrings with stylised horse heads). An accumulation of finds of precious animal-style jewellery in the Prague Basin indicates that there may have been a workshop in Prague.⁴¹ of Bohemian origin, however, may also have been some other types of precious jewellery, for example trisided-grape earrings, and later three-basket earrings.⁴² Possible jewellery production in Central Bohemia, or in Prague again, is sometimes also taken into consideration with other materials and types of ornaments, in particular glass beads – for example olive-shaped beads – with regard to their frequent occurrence mainly around the mid-10th century. Any direct evidence, however,

³⁹ A site in the neighbourhood of Tržiště (Market) Street instigates the tempting idea of a possible connection with the market area of the 9th–10th century suburbium. This idea, however, cannot yet be compared to the other analysed assemblages, so that it remains only hypothetical and premature.

⁴⁰ Not published, available at: <http://www.arup.cas.cz/?p=184>.

⁴¹ I. BOHÁČOVÁ – N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Čechy a Velká Morava*.

⁴² N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Ke změnám ve vývoji hmotné kultury*.



Fig. 9. Kolín.

An elevated location in the historical town centre with settlement evidence from the second half of the 9th century. 1 – Hradištko (RS4); 2 – Hánín (RS3); 3 – location of the princely twin grave; 4 – location of the warrior twin grave; 5 – cemetery with Great Moravian jewellery. Photo by M. Gojda 2008.

is still missing,⁴³ of exceptional character, even among the uppermost social classes, is evidence of literacy; within the category of isolated finds, for example, there are the writing utensils called styli (Budeč, Libice nad Cidlinou). Here there are also the exceptional archaeological finds of objects with letters, which are a little younger, or hard to date in detail (a reliquary from Libice with incomplete inscription *-onicis*, most probably from *Andronicis*).

Central sites have hypothetically been associated with bone processing,⁴⁴ taking into account the frequent occurrence of a particular type of lavishly decorated bilateral comb in Bohemia and especially at Budeč. But the castle areas, on the other hand, do not contain any semi-finished products or raw material which, considering its minimal occurrence among osteological finds, must have been intentionally sorted and transported to some other place. Intentional selection

of waste from slaughtered animals indicates that this specialised (and, in the phase of the primary processing of raw material, undoubtedly technologically demanding) production may also have been conducted outside these centres, in their hinterland.⁴⁵ There is also a remarkable concentration of small textile production tools in the form of spindle whorls at central sites (Stará Boleslav, Budeč), or in the area of the fortified Prague suburbium, from where we also have the find of a 10th century wooden distaff.⁴⁶ Spinning must thus have been one of the activities which were commonly carried out by women from higher social classes.

Recently developed metallographic research into manufacturing technology has shown that even ordinary tools, such as knives, were of different levels of quality and decorativeness. Examples of lavishly decorated low-quality knives, which are actually unusable, may attest to the fact that these artefacts were

43 Eva ČERNÁ – Kateřina TOMKOVÁ – Václav HULÍNSKÝ – Z. CÍLOVÁ, *Raně středověké skleněné korálky z Pražského hradu a jeho předpolí – typologická a chemická klasifikace nálezů*, *Castrum Pragense* 7/1, 2005, pp. 333–357.

44 Andrea BARTOŠKOVÁ – Ivo ŠTEFAN, *Raně středověká Budeč – pramenná základna a bilance poznatků (K problematice funkcí centrální lokality)*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 58, 2006, pp. 740–741.

45 I. BOHÁČOVÁ, *Contribution to the study of hinterland of the early medieval Stará Boleslav*, in: L. Poláček (ed.), *Das wirtschaftliche Hinterland der frühmittelalterlichen Zentren*, *Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice* 6, 2008, p. 192.

46 Jarmila ČIHÁKOVÁ – Jan HAVRDA, *Malá Strana v raném středověku. Stav výzkumu a rekapitulace poznání*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 60, 2008, p. 217.



Fig. 10. Kouřim, Kolín District.

Plan of a burial ground highlighting the graves with spurs and weapons: a – spurs with short prick and vertically applied rivets; b – spurs with long prick; c – axe; d – Magyar axe-hammer; e – sword; f – graves of children. After N. Profantová 2005.

regarded as a symbol of the elevated social status of their owners. Precious knives of the highest quality are usually found at central sites and in settlement contexts of the 9th and the first half of the 10th century, and they were possibly manufactured in Bohemia.⁴⁷ But, as with jewellery, here we also encoun-

47 Jiří HOŠEK – I. BOHÁČOVÁ – Alena ŠILHOVÁ, *Early medieval knives from stronghold of Stará Boleslav. The second stage of metallographic investigation*, in: Peter Crew (ed.), *Abstracts: Early Ironworking in Europe II conference, Plas Tan y Bwlch – Snowdonia National Park Study Centre, 2007*, pp. 67–68.

ter the problem of the absence of any direct evidence of local craft production in the form of workshops. Moreover, it is true that the volume of evidence of iron-ore or iron processing increases, for example in the Lesser Town suburbium of Prague, in locations beyond the proper settlement core but still in its neighbourhood. Nevertheless, the identification of individual steps in the technological sequence, beginning from ore processing up to the manufacturing of iron products, is not possible only on the basis of ordinary production waste or the numerous



Fig. 11. Prague-Hradčany, Prague Castle.

Foundation frame of a log building unearthed in the third yard of Prague Castle in the 1920s. The building was recently interpreted as a multi-room log house with raised floor, on whose level probably rested an oven. A protective case for small valuables was placed under the floor (rear left in the photo). Photo by I. Boháčová 1997.

archaeologised remains of pyrotechnological facilities.⁴⁸ The frequency or accessibility of precious metals or the quality of metal alloys in early mediaeval Bohemia can be followed not only on the basis of X-ray fluorescence analyses of finished products, melting crucibles and production waste, but also in a new type of artefact – touchstones.⁴⁹ The number of these objects, which were originally considered grindstones, is increasing as further analyses are performed.

The development of craft production, specialisation and technology can be derived from voluminous assemblages of finds which are known from central localities. The evidence of workshops themselves, which could provide crucial clues to how the crafts were organised, what the structure and concentration of production was like and how the distribution of products took place is still missing. Therefore it cannot reliably be identified which activities took place right at central sites and which were conducted outside this area, be it in their immediate neighbourhood or within a wider hinterland. Within the fortified area

48 Jan HAVRDA – Jaroslav PODLIŠKA, *Hutnictví kovů v podhradí Pražského hradu*, Forum urbes medii Aevi VI, 2012, pp. 68–97.

49 M. JEŽEK – J. ZAVŘEL, *Prubiřské kameny*.

we can probably suppose the existence of jewellery making, the domestic production of textiles and small pyrotechnological facilities – smithies.

Rural settlement

The settlement areas themselves remain in fact unknown. An exception is Březno near Louny, where archaeological research into a locality inhabited over a long period of time, since as early as the end of the 6th century, shows that the 9th century village grew immensely compared to previous periods and its spatial arrangement gradually changed. One of its parts exhibits a central layout including a well; the other part seems to be laid out in rows. The houses were mostly sunk into the ground, and one of them was even divided into two rooms; sporadically, aboveground buildings were identified too.⁵⁰ It is not yet possible to compare the layouts with other localities, but elsewhere sunken-featured buildings also dominate and granaries become larger in volume (Dřetovice in the hinterland of Budeč, remnants of a village – c. 15 features). The state of knowledge is similar in this case to that of the previous period (7th–8th century villages at Březno, Tišice, Kolín – bypass, the latter two unpublished).

As is evident from entries in the Archaeological Database of Bohemia, administered by the Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague, v.v.i. (Fig. 4), settlements of the 9th to the 1st half of the 10th century in the open landscape were identified in less than 250 cases based on ceramic fragments; the state of knowledge about this category of settlement structure, however, is very unbalanced. This is evidenced by the fact that according to the above database there are only thirteen districts which include more than six identified settlements each. However, archaeological information was obtained by standard trenching in only 30 out of the 250 cases; in the other cases some less conclusive types of excavations were applied (brief reconnaissance, surface survey). Moreover, some of the registered localities examined by standard excavations undoubtedly belonged to larger central agglomerations or the immediate hinterland of strongholds, particularly in the settlement areas of Central and Northwest Bohemia. Therefore they cannot be considered open-landscape settlements. This existing data cannot be considered entirely reliable because of the way it was collected in the past; it might include both older finds and those from the subsequent, already entirely historical, epoch, that is, the period of expansion of the Bohemian state in the course of the 10th century. At the same time, it is well known that the data that has been collected is not complete, and rather than settlement intensity it may reflect the extent of professional activities as well as the approach of individual experts to the central register of archaeological information.⁵¹ In the near future we will certainly not obtain a more comprehensive view of rural settlement. Some useful information can only be provided by small-scale trenching within individual regions or micro-regions.

This is exemplified by a comparison with the extent of the agrarian hinterland, or rather the minimum number of newly

50 Ivana PLEINEROVÁ, *Die altslawischen Dörfer von Březno bei Louny*, Praha – Louny 2000.

51 This problem will probably not be eliminated by the current transformation of the database into the GIS environment or its revision either (NAKI project, principal investigator M. Kuna).

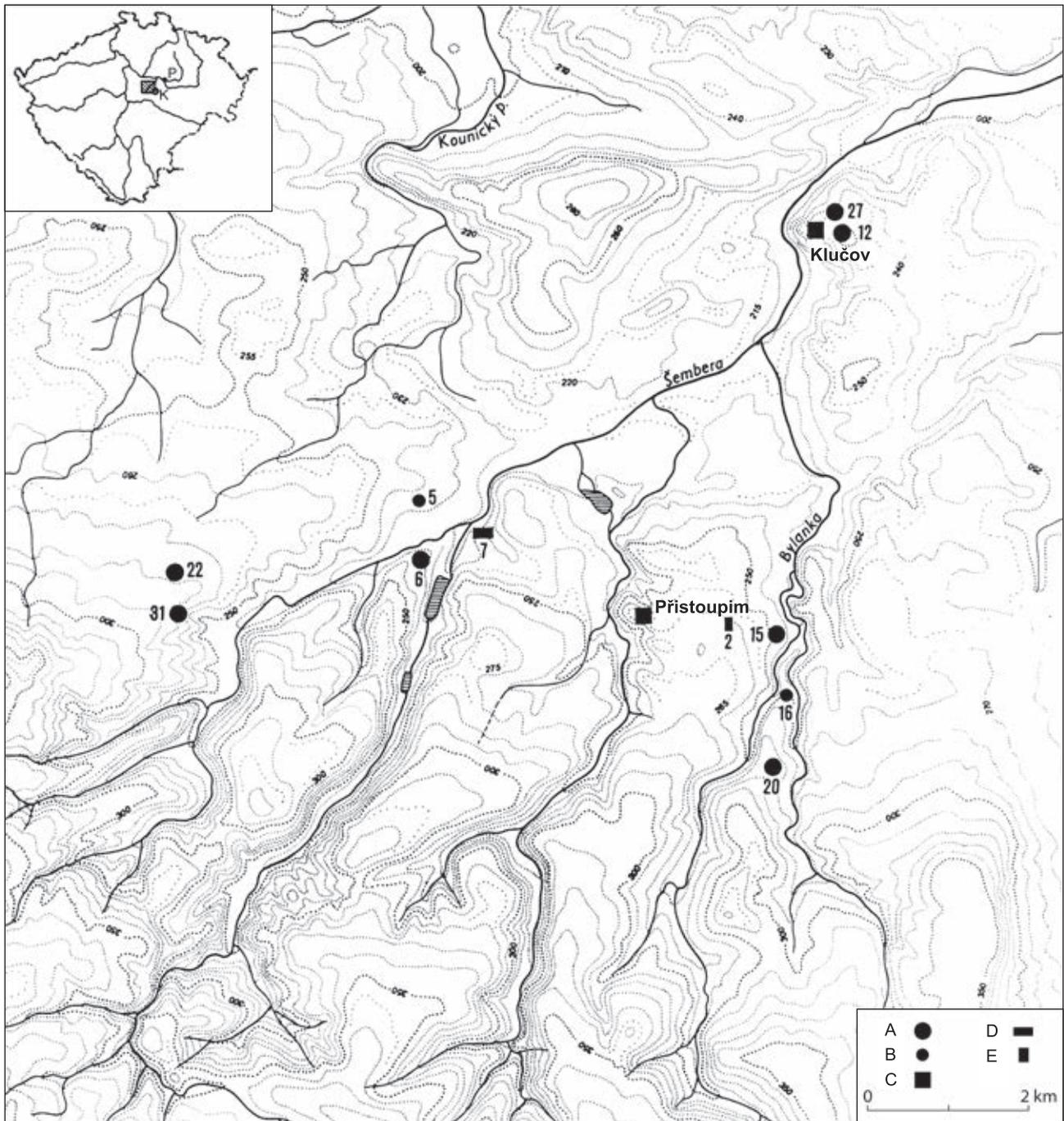


Fig. 12. Settlement in the neighbourhood of two (basin in the 9th century) strongholds in the Šembera river basin.

A decrease in settlement intensity is associated with the decline of Doubravčice and probably also Tismice in the 1st third of the 9th century. A – settlement, B – probably an isolated settlement find, E – stronghold, G – flat inhumation grave, H – probably an isolated grave find. After J. Bubeník 2001.

identified 9th century settlements in the surroundings of Český Brod (Fig. 8, 12, cf. Fig. 4),⁵² even though the settlement density in this area rather atypically decreased compared to the situation at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries. This is most probably associated with the fact that several fortified centres declined at that time (Doubravčice, Tismice).⁵³

⁵² J. BUBENÍK, *K topografii*.

⁵³ N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Doubravčice: zu den Anfängen der frühmittelalterlichen Burgwallanlage aufgrund der Ausgrabungen von J. Kudrnáč*, *Památky archeologické* 89, 1998, pp. 303–364; N. PROFANTOVÁ – Daniel STOLZ, *Kovové nálezy z hradíště v Tismicích a pokus o interpretaci významu hradíště*, *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 10, 2006, pp. 793–838, with older literature.

In the Ohře river basin it was possible to examine a battery of bloomeries in Jenišův Újezd (excavation by J. Bubeník) which, however, was not published in detail. In rural areas, finds of Great Moravian character occur only exceptionally and always as solitary objects. The systematic search for information about 9th to 10th century settlement structures outside the main settlement agglomerations represents a further particularly topical problem for Czech mediaeval archaeology, because information on this type of settlement is as good as completely absent. Even though aerial images are widely used today and other non-destructive methods can also be applied (e.g. the hinterland of Tismice, Přistoupim), the

main problems consist of the verification of, various degrees of intrusion into, and the on-site dating of these contexts. Settlement density within an otherwise unexplored micro-region can sometimes only be inferred from accidentally discovered burial areas (Radětice, Příbram dist.). It is only rarely that we have been able to interlink the cemeteries and settlements beyond the area of the central sites of that time.

Funerary customs, burial grounds

On the most general level it can be concluded that burial rites in the Bohemian environment in general appear quite inhomogeneous, with regard to the barrow fields and maybe also bi-ritual burial grounds that survive in South and Northeast Bohemia. The question of burials in the early phase of the 9th century still remains unclear, because the earliest known inhumation graves are dated to as late as the second half of the 9th century. A change in burial rites most probably occurred in the most significant centres and their hinterland (definitely Kouřim, Kolín, most probably also Žalov, Stehelčevy near Budeč, Nymburk – Zálabí) in about the mid-9th century, and in South Bohemia even later. Individual graves from around the mid-9th century may be known (most probably three or four graves at Kouřim – among them graves 49 and 55; see **Fig. 3**), but due to a wider interval of dating we are not usually able to distinguish them with certainty. Moreover, we lack any flat bi-ritual burial grounds where the transformation of funerary customs could be dated with more accuracy, provided that there were graves with sumptuous funerary equipment. In this regard it would be very useful to identify and at least partly explore the burial grounds belonging to several centres whose existence in the 1st half of the 9th century is indisputable (e.g. Prague – Šárka, Rubín etc.).

From the end of the 9th century, mainly in Central Bohemia, as we would expect, funerary customs exhibit distinct changes associated with the Christianisation process – firstly, burial grounds shifted from peripheral locations outside settlements to their built-up area or right into the central parts of castles (Prague – **Fig. 13**, Klecany, Stará Boleslav). Secondly, the earliest dynastic burials were placed in sacred buildings (Prague – **Fig. 19**). And thirdly, the funerary equipment changed – animal inclusions vanished from graves, the spectrum of grave goods was altered and their number diminished (**Fig. 14 a, b**). The occurrence of burial grounds outside the centres and their immediate neighbourhood may indicate the extent of a wider hinterland of the central site.

The structure of 9th to 10th century cemeteries, the location of burials and the funerary equipment included can provide important information on the social stratification of society,⁵⁴ particularly in cases where they are situated in prominent locations inside the inner area of strongholds, in the neighbourhood of churches or right within, sometimes even independent from the funerary equipment. Attributes of warriors in the graves of small children especially indicate the unfulfilled social demands of prominent families (**Fig. 10: f**). The situation at the end of this period, however, is complicated by the above-mentioned impact of the Christianisation process, which is reflected in both funerary equipment and the location of newly-established



Fig. 13. Prague-Hradčany, Prague Castle.

Church of the Virgin Mary with a tomb and with burials of a woman and man (the excavations 1951–1952).

The woman was equipped with jewellery in Great Moravian style. Institute of Archaeology, CAS, Prague, v.v.i., find No. 6457.

burial grounds. In the period under review, long-existing cemeteries regularly appear in parallel with a small burial area, more or less only with elite graves (around 50), either in the acropolis of a stronghold or in its hinterland (Žalov I in parallel with Žalov II cemetery, Klecany I in parallel with Klecany II cemetery; this situation is less distinct at Budeč where the most part of the larger older burial ground was destroyed). This change can also be regarded as a display of profound alterations in society. However, several isolated elite burials, for example those with gilet buttons (Kačice, Jeviněves), can still neither be classed with any particular burial ground nor (yet?) definitely associated with a fortified centre.

Central Bohemia

With regard to what we know of the general principles of the organisation and functioning of early mediaeval society in the period under review, we have a comprehensive system of knowledge only in case of the historical core of Přemyslid Bohemia. This knowledge particularly regards those archaeological sites in which, using various types of archaeological sources, we can follow the crucial change that occurred in the 9th – 1st half of the 10th century, that is, at a time roughly corresponding to the Great Moravian Period.

Of exceptional value in this regard are chiefly new finds from three long-excavated central sites, which are known from literary sources as later power centres of the Přemyslid dynasty.

⁵⁴ E.g. for Libice see J. MAŘÍK: *Libická sídelní aglomerace a její zázemí v raném středověku*, Praha 2009.

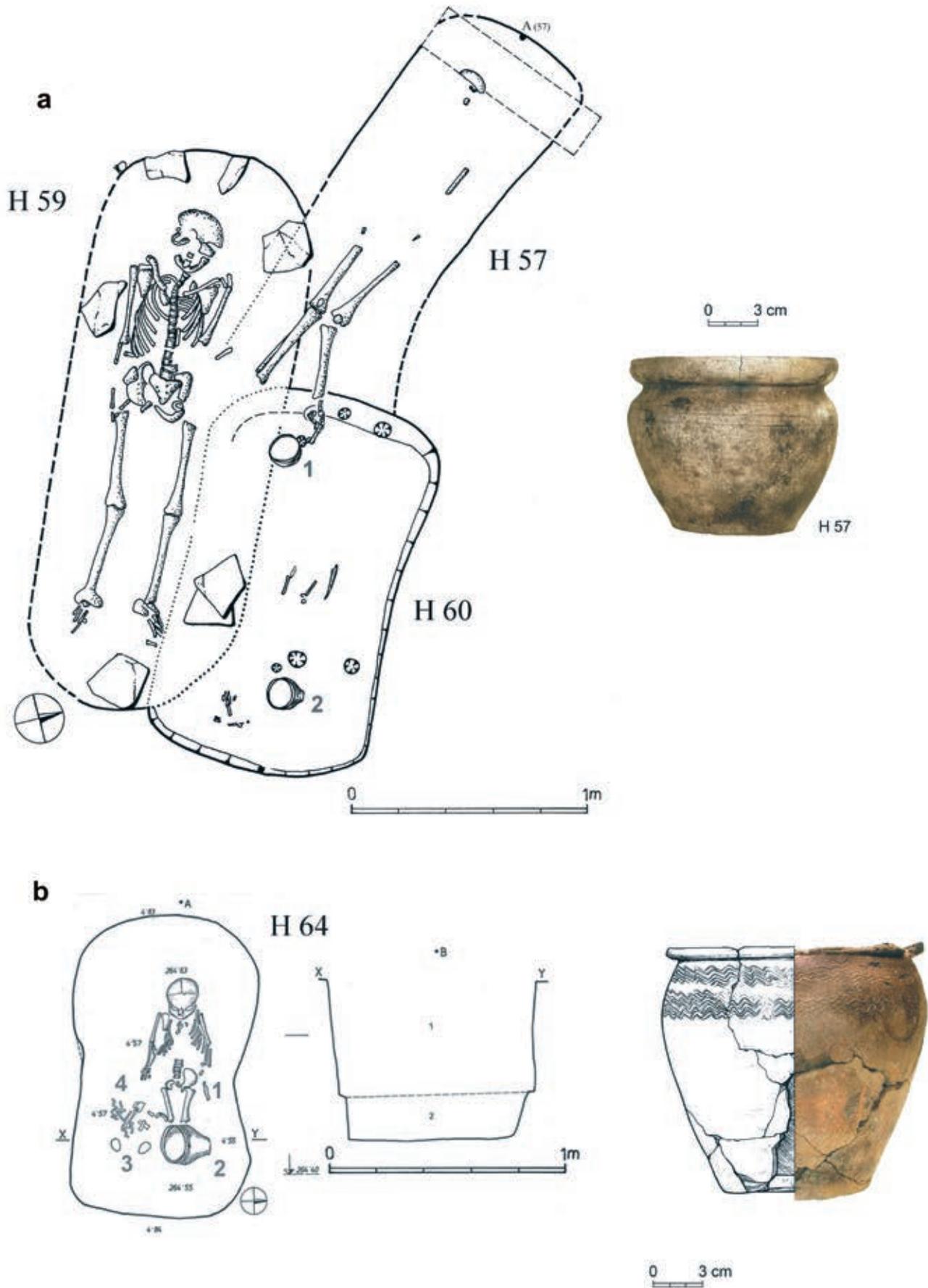


Fig. 14. Klecany, Prague-East District.

Evidence of changes in burial rites: a – A superposition of three graves from the last third of the 9th to the 10th century. Child's grave 60 is the earliest; Grave 59 is the latest. The two older graves contained food or beverages in vessels (H 57: 1, H60: 2). H59 from the turn of 11th century with marlstone cover; b – grave 64 with the knife (1), vessel (2), the egg (3) and the hen bones (4). After N. Profantová 2010.

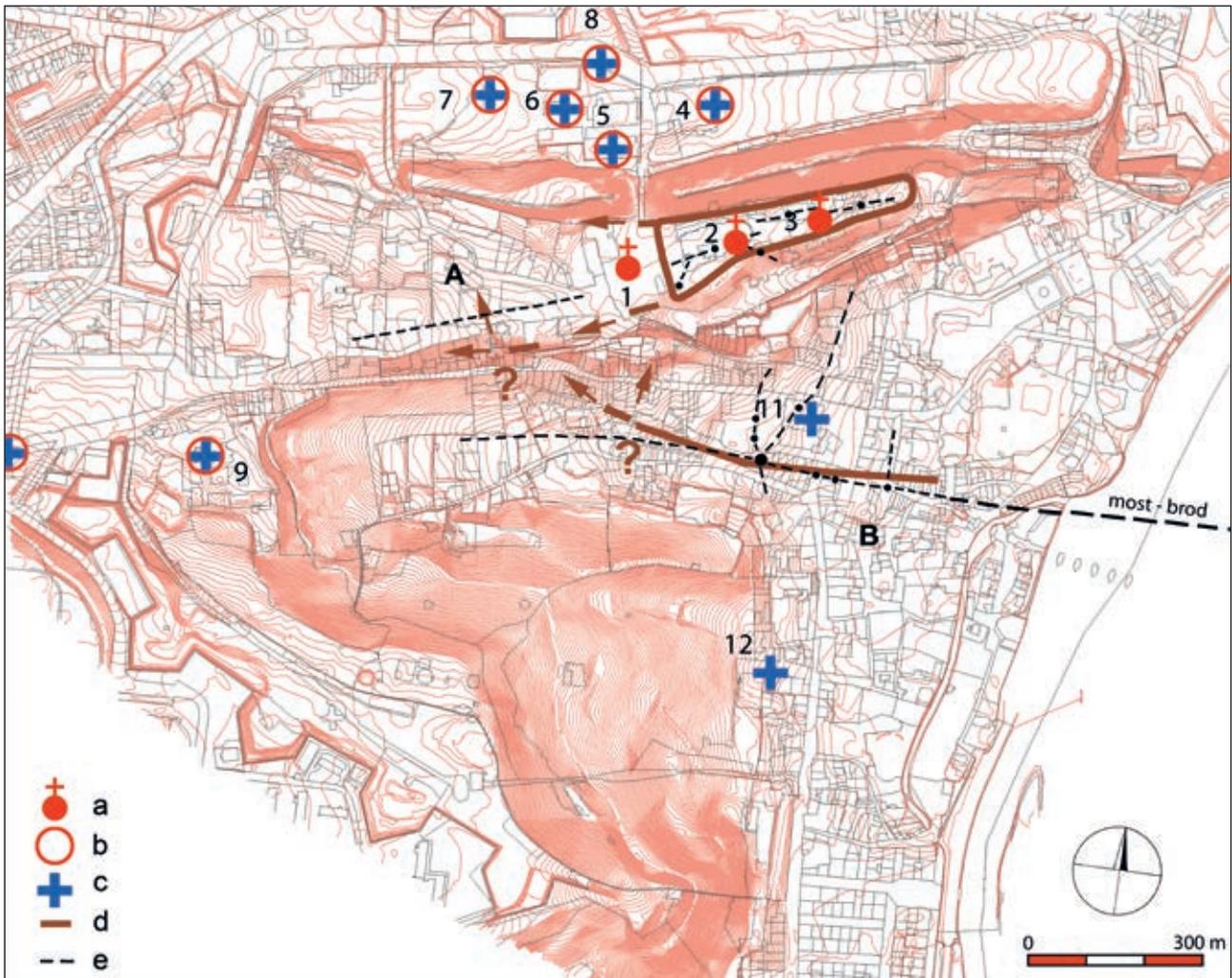


Fig. 15. Prague. Historical town centre with schematised fortification, communication routes and the extent of settlement.

a – evidenced churches with dynastic burials; b+c – cemeteries with evidence of Great Moravian influence; c – 9th to 1st half of 10th century cemeteries; d – known and supposed (dashed line with arrows) course of the 9th to 10th century fortification; e – communication routes. 1 – Church of the Virgin Mary, 2 – Rotunda of St Vitus, 3 – Basilica of St George, 4 – Royal Garden, 5 – Riding Hall, 6 – Lumbe’s Garden – pheasantry, 7 – Jelení St., 8 – M. Horákové St., 9 – Strahov, 10 – Malovanka, 11 – Sněmovní St., 12 – Újezd. After I. Boháčová, J. Podliska and T. Cymbalak.

The potential of Prague, Budeč and Boleslav was already emphasised by K. Guth⁵⁵ in the 1930s, but under entirely different conditions in terms of the sources available and the state of the development of mediaeval archaeology.

In later times these centres became strong points of the emergent Bohemian state, whereas in earlier periods of their existence they represented strategic locations, whose central position is not directly proved by archaeological evidence. But in the later phase of the period under review, especially in the 1st half of the 10th century, these localities were at least in several parameters comparable to Great Moravian centres. Chief among these parameters are a massive fortification system, the presence of elites, clear evidence of Christianisation and also, for example, the dimensions of fortified areas (sometimes only hypothetical, but derived from the known extent of the settlement area). Evidence of the Christianisation process may

be both written and archaeological, the latter in the form of the earliest stone-built ecclesiastical buildings and the above-mentioned first graves within the fortified area or directly inside the church, and objects with Christian symbolism.⁵⁶ The development of Prague is also obvious (Fig. 15); at the beginning of the 10th century it consisted of an extensive settlement agglomeration with fortified core, a bailey (as much as 15 ha in total) and a fortified suburbium (at least 17 ha).

In the category of small finds we can observe remarkable displays of Great Moravian cultural influence, above all in the form of jewellery and sporadically ceramic imports too. A concentration of both phenomena, that is, the earliest evidence of Christianisation and Great Moravian influence, is particularly noticeable in the Prague Basin and in the immediate hinterland of Prague. A further region in Central Bohemia where both these phenomena can be observed, this time in association with an increased occurrence of weapons,

55 Karel GUTH, *Praha, Budeč, Boleslav*, in: *Svatováclavský sborník I*, Praha 1934, pp. 686–818.

56 I. BOHÁČOVÁ – N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Čechy a Velká Morava*.

	Prague	Levý Hradec	Budeč	Boleslav
Written sources	around 885 Church of Virgin Mary <i>in civitate Pragensi</i> (The Legend of Christian)	after 882/3 Church of St Clement referred to as Hradec (The Legend of Christian) 982 Adalbert elected bishop	895–915 Rotunda of St Peter	a) before 935 Church of Sts Cosmas and Damian b) after 930–935? <i>opere romano</i> fortification c) 1039–1046 founding of a chapter and a basilica
Archaeological evidence of historical reports	relics of a building with tomb containing Great Moravian jewellery	a later church of the same dedication	preserved building of the rotunda; churchyard with Great Moravian jewellery	a) mortar residues (?) b) foundation remnants <i>in situ</i> c) preserved building
Dating of the first fortification at the acropolis	Prague Castle dendrodates: within or after 908–917	acropolis: unpublished outer ward: ceramic finds RS3	probably after construction of the rotunda, i.e. after 895–915	ceramic finds: around, after 900? before the <i>opere romano</i> fortification
Dating of subsequent fortification at the acropolis	Prague Castle dendrodates: after 921, after 939 (uncertain origin) ceramic finds from the extension of the transverse rampart: RS3/RS4		ceramic finds: c. 2nd half of the 10th century; after decline of the cemetery with Great Moravian jewellery	Cosmas (see written sources): <i>opere romano</i> ceramic finds from the bottom of a defunct ditch: RS3/RS4
Cemeteries with Great Moravian influence	within the fortified area and in the hinterland (esp. Lumbe's Garden)	in the hinterland (Žalov I, Žalov II)	within the fortified area and in the hinter- land (Zákolany)	no evidence (the 1910 finds from an exten- sive cemetery in the hinterland are not preserved)
Division and spatial extent	acropolis: 4 ha western suburbium: 15? ha southern suburbium: 17.1 ha	acropolis: 3.6 ha suburbium: 2.8 ha	acropolis: 3.5 ha suburbium: 11.7 ha second suburbium?: 10 ha	acropolis: 4 ha suburbium: 11 ha (fortification is not evidenced)

Tab. 1. Prague, Levý Hradec, Budeč and Stará Boleslav.

Information to support the interlinking of archaeologically evidenced events with dates provided by absolute chronology (historical sources – Kosmas Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague, Christiani). Supplemented with archaeological data on spatial extent and the internal division of individual sites, sometimes only inferred from the extent of the inhabited area.

is the eastern border of Central Bohemia – the neighbourhood of Kouřim, the adjacent Kolín Region and the surroundings of Libice nad Cidlinou.⁵⁷

Archaeological evidence from Prague, Budeč and Stará Boleslav recently underwent a relatively comprehensive revision, which has shown that their development is completely synchronous in the context of archaeological interval dating. Comparative studies are based on fundamental stratigraphies capturing the

development of these localities in the earliest phases of their existence, and on the archaeological chronology of the earliest phases of their fortification systems. Here the indisputable correlation between the construction of the earliest massive wood-and-earth fortification systems and distinct changes in ceramic production is remarkable. The ceramic ware clearly indicates the implementation of a more advanced technology, unification of production and probably along with these the professional specialisation of pottery making. The difference from previous heterogeneous ceramic production, which had been characterised by a large variety of clay bodies, decorative patterns or vessel forms, is absolutely evident. The correlation between this change and the construction of fortification systems

⁵⁷ From elsewhere we only know isolated finds, and outside Central Bohemia these phenomena are concentrated in the neighbourhood of the significant centres of Northwest Bohemia – Litoměřice, Zbraslav and Zatec cf. I. BOHÁČOVÁ – N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Čechy a Velká Morava*.

appears to be a non-accidental, that is, systemic, change attesting to a new form of social organisation and social needs. An interconnection with absolute dates was enabled by datable archaeological sources (inclusive of the traditional typological dating – e.g. jewellery, but exact data obtained with the help of dendrochronology was also available), and for these localities we sporadically also know the dates of some historical events which are mentioned in written reports.

In the present state of knowledge, the difference from the situation in Moravia can be seen in the fact that the above-mentioned Přemyslid centres exhibit easily noticeable traits of a unified model, as far as the time of construction, typology of fortification, spatial extent and internal division are concerned. This model will probably also be verified with further contemporaneous localities (esp. Levý Hradec). On the other hand, based on present research results, the Moravian situation is completely different, at least in the case of the relatively well-explored centres at Mikulčice, the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration, and Pohansko. The frequency of religious buildings cannot be compared either; their number in Bohemia is much smaller, and large buildings, such as basilicas, are totally absent. Some differences are also indicated by the evidence of funerary areas. As has already been mentioned, in the historical core of Bohemia, apart from a few exceptions, we lack any attributes of the warrior class. This fact, which has been discussed elsewhere,⁵⁸ is not necessarily determined by the state of research: it may rather be connected with a shift in the significance which was attributed to weapons. Burial grounds at Bohemian centres are also smaller, but none except that in Kouřim has been explored in its complexity. The cemeteries in Lumbe's Garden at Prague Castle and in Klecany II, however, have been almost completely excavated. The smaller number of buried individuals may also indicate smaller concentrations of elites and especially princes's followers. But it must be taken into consideration that each centre had multiple burial grounds at its disposal, and their number is varied. For example, at least seven cemeteries were discovered in the hinterland of Prague Castle, but only two or three in the hinterland of Levý Hradec. The frequency of cemeteries is definitely higher for example in Mikulčice, where their total number, both within the fortified area and in its hinterland, was more than twelve. Other categories of material evidence cannot be compared in more detail due to our limited knowledge.

Archaeological evidence of Bohemia in the Great Moravian Period – conclusions

Cross-checking the historical and archaeological knowledge of Bohemian territory in the period under review is complicated in the main by the difficulty of determining the Great Moravian Period in Bohemia chronologically, due to the interval-based dating of archaeological sources. A second problem is the fact that archaeological knowledge of the Bohemian territory of that time is very uneven and entirely insufficient. In most cases we know nothing about the settlement structure. We only have some knowledge of the existence of settlement areas in the hinterland of fortified centres; settlement activity outside these centres is often indicated only by the known burial grounds. Specific exceptional finds are less frequent compared to Moravia. The best-known category of immovable sources is represented above all by the first-order central sites, that

is, settlements with attributes of residences of the uppermost social classes, and by burial grounds in their neighbourhood. Which functions these centres fulfilled is occasionally mentioned in written sources. The centre and core of Přemyslid Bohemia holds a special position with regard to the quality of sources and the chance to cross-reference results with other mediaeval studies. Based on a recent comprehensive evaluation of available sources it turns out that at the end of the period under review this area exhibits evident tendencies towards change, which eventually resulted in the emergence of the Bohemian state. This knowledge has also been distinctly boosted by the gradual development of exact analyses and interdisciplinary research, thanks to which the range of useful sources has been considerably extended. An important support for anchoring the relative chronology proceeded especially from the dendrochronological standard which was set for Central Bohemia.

The archaeologically recorded changes reflected in alterations to central sites in the historical core of Central Bohemia at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries exhibit attributes of a unified and, moreover, synchronous model for the construction of power centres. Bohemia is in this sense different from the situation with Moravian centres. Towards the end of the period under review, some of the Přemyslid centres in Central Bohemia are comparable to Great Moravian centres across several parameters. Among such parameters we can especially note a massive fortification system, the presence of elites, clear evidence of Christianisation, and also, for example, the dimensions of fortified areas (sometimes only hypothetical, but derived from the known extent of the settlement area). Evidence of the Christianisation process may be both literary and archaeological, the latter in the form of the earliest stone-built ecclesiastical buildings and the above-mentioned first graves within the fortified area or directly inside the church, and objects with Christian symbolism.⁵⁹ What is obvious is the development of Prague. Among important characteristics of this model, there is evidence of the advancing Christianisation process, which was intensified in the later phase of the period under review, above all in the form of newly-built churches at Přemyslid castles. But displays of it are much more modest compared to the Moravian centres, chiefly with regard to the number and spatial extent of these new religious buildings. When studying this intense period of change, we can base ourselves on the evidence of alterations within the category of small archaeological finds – not only luxury items, but also objects of daily use, inclusive of the basic category of archaeological material – pottery, which underwent marked changes in this period and exhibits attributes of products from specialised workshops. Intensified development in this critical period of change was also recorded with some other crafts. Several luxury items, inclusive of jewellery, are considered to have been manufactured in the local environment. The development of Moravian traditions in jewellery making in early 10th century Bohemia led to the emergence of specific so-called animal-style Bohemian jewellery (Kouřim, Prague, Libice).

Some of the changes recorded in the historical core of Bohemia are also reflected in other regions, above all in old settlement areas along the rivers Elbe and Ohře. A specific position in this regard is held by the eastern part of Central Bohemia, Kouřim and the wider surroundings of Kolín, where there was most probably a particularly important 9th century centre, whose

58 I. BOHÁČOVÁ – N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Čechy a Velká Morava*.

59 I. BOHÁČOVÁ – N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Čechy a Velká Morava*.

significance may have decreased at the 2nd half of the 9th century in connection with the new Prague “centrality”. Its prominent position is indicated not only by a strong Great Moravian influence reflected in the funerary equipment, but primarily by the increased occurrence of weapons and warrior graves, which are otherwise rather rare compared to the Moravian environment. Besides central sites, a further important source of archaeological knowledge about the period under review is represented by burial grounds. Ordinary settlements are as good as unknown. Except for the Kouřim stronghold⁶⁰ and the later phase of the Lesser Town of Prague we do not yet know of any other pre-Christian cultic places. These may have been situated beyond the area of central sites, too. Hoards⁶¹ are also fewer in number compared to Moravia (Mlékosrby, Prahov, Klapý, Semice, Smolnice, Prague – Svěpravice and most recently Slavětice in South Bohemia). In Bohemia, in contrast to Moravia, we know of two hoards of Carolingian coins (Martínice four pieces, Jedoměřice 65–70 pieces).⁶²

One of the crucial topical tasks of research into the period under review, which is also the period of the emergence of the later Přemyslid state, is to verify the model of the power structure of the Přemyslid domain formulated by J. Sláma. The present state of knowledge shows how necessary it is to revise it. But its essence – the control over a region based on several centres distributed around the central capital – is probably still valid. Among the topics for further study is the genesis of this power structure and its further development, including the founding of centres of lower orders, and the form and function of individual centres in the initial phase of their existence. This, of course, is also intimately associated with possible research into the structure of rural settlement, be it in the immediate hinterland of central sites or elsewhere.

From archaeological evidence it can be inferred that the Bohemian and Moravian elites were culturally interconnected for a longer time than the political union of both these lands (c. 882–894). Great Moravian influence in Bohemia can be followed in funerary equipment at least after the 870s and it can be evidenced throughout Bohemia – mainly in its central part, on the eastern border of Central Bohemia and in Northwest Bohemia. Prague, where Great Moravian influence is reflected in many burial grounds in the Prague Basin, Levý Hradec, Klecany and Budeč in Central Bohemia, Kouřim, Kolín, Libice on the boundary between Central and East Bohemia, and finally Želénky, Zabuřany and Rubín in Northwest Bohemia are of primary importance for studying the acculturation of Bohemia. The grave of a ducal consort in the Church of the Virgin Mary, for example, is an evident display of Great Moravian influence in Bohemia. The concentration of both the new phenomena, that is, the earliest evidence of Christianisation and of Great Moravian influence, is particularly noticeable in the Prague Basin and in the immediate hinterland

60 Most recently N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Pohanský idol z Kouřimi, Česká republika*, in: *Studia mythologica Slavica* 15, 2012, pp. 79–89. Pagan statues in Moravia are mainly known from Břeclav – Pohansko and Chotěbuz – Podobora; the interpretation of a cultic enclosure in Mikulčice is unclear; most recently Marek HLADÍK, *Zur Frage der heidnischen Kultstätte in Těšický les im Suburbium des Burgwalls von Mikulčice*, in: L. Poláček – Jana Maříková Kubková (ed.), *Frühmittelalterliche Kirchen als archäologische und historische Quelle*, Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 8, Brno 2010, pp. 101–121.

61 The variety of iron objects is similar, but the axe-shaped ingots so typical in Moravia are still missing, except for a settlement find from the Kolín region. In East Bohemia, on the other hand, there are knife-shaped ingots, which do not yet have any analogies and are, because of that, difficult to date.

62 M. LUTOVSKÝ – J. VIDEMAN, *Nález denárů Karla Velikého na hradišti Hradec u Hudčic, okr. Příbram*, *Archeologie ve středních Čechách* 15, 2011, pp. 523–537.

of Prague. A further region in Central Bohemia where both these phenomena can be observed, this time in association with an increased occurrence of weapons of Great Moravian type, is the eastern border of Central Bohemia – the neighbourhood of Kouřim, the adjacent Kolín region and the surroundings of Libice nad Cidlinou. The sporadic occurrence of warrior graves in other regions probably has deeper roots and does not relate in any way to the state of research. Also important is a further factor in the relationship between archaeology and historical studies. Some pieces of archaeological knowledge, which have been obtained independently from historical research, definitely confirm the information contained in the so-called Legend of Christian (end of 10th century).⁶³ The facts that a rotunda was built at Budeč and an imported cross, analogous to a find from Mikulčice, occurred in the adjacent cemetery correspond to Christian's information that Bořivoj was baptised in Moravia. The location of the Church of the Virgin Mary, containing a female burial with Great Moravian jewellery, within the intensively inhabited area of the Hradčany suburbium beyond the main fortification of Prague Castle is in accordance with Christian, who related that Bořivoj founded a church *in ipsa civitate Pragensi*. And the lavishly equipped cemeteries in Žalov (I, II), just as the exceptional aboveground multi-room houses in the outer ward, agree with present knowledge of the existence and significance of Levý Hradec in the 2nd half of the 9th century. Information about the existence of manors is attested by, for example, a critically assessed find context at the acropolis of Budeč. Finds from the fortification of Mělník testify that Pšov – Mělník already existed at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries at the latest. It is also worth pointing out that some of the Bohemian centres with evidence of Great Moravian influence, unlike Moravia itself, retained their early mediaeval toponyms (Prague, Budeč, Kouřim, Levý Hradec, Tetín). That Great Moravia was located on the territory of the Czech Republic is beyond any doubt.⁶⁴ Archaeological reconstruction of the past is based on specific sources which, provided that their evidence is repeated, can reflect general developmental tendencies. Isolated and unique evidence, on the other hand, captures particular and maybe also accidental phenomena, which can be interpreted with a higher or lower degree of probability. A comparison between archaeological evidence and the data from the so-called Legend of Christian, as well as the occurrence of distinct displays of Great Moravian influence on localities whose names were maintained continuously from the Great Moravian Period onward, clearly show that mediaeval archaeology is well capable of reconstructing the past independent from other branches of mediaeval studies, and can also verify or complete their research results.

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63 *Legenda Christiani. Passio sancti Wenceslai et sanctae Ludmilae, avae eius*, ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Praha 1978.

64 N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Archeology and written sources on eighth- to tenth-century Bohemia*, *Early Medieval Europe* 17, 2009, pp. 286–310.

CHRISTIAN GREAT MORAVIA AND SILESIAN LANDS AT THE TURN OF THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES

Krzysztof Jaworski

Contacts between Great Moravia and the area of today's southern Poland became explicit only in the last decade of the ninth century. It should be assumed that cultural influences from Great Moravia primarily reached the area of Silesia and to a lesser extent the area of Lesser Poland. In Silesia, which is situated in the upper basin of the Oder, items originating from Great Moravia have been discovered at archaeological sites linked by archaeologists to the three Silesian tribes recorded in written sources from the 9th century (Golęszyce – the Golensizi of Upper Silesia and Ślężanie – the Sleenzane and Dziadoszanie – the Dadosezani of Lower Silesia). The presence of a Great Moravian population in Silesia is also reflected in Christian cemeteries in the southern part of Upper Silesia (the Opava region) and an evidently Great Moravian settlement from the end of the 9th century and the start of the 10th century (Gilów near Niemcza in Lower Silesia).

Key words: Early Middle Ages, Great Moravia and Silesia, cultural and religious influences, items from Great Moravia in Silesia, early mediaeval settlements

At a certain moment in research into Great Moravian-Bohemian-Silesian cultural relations, archaeologists began to resolve the question of the Christianisation of lands populated in the 9th and 10th centuries by Silesian tribes, which earlier would have been a field reserved only for historians. The acceptance of Christianity in southern Poland is described in extensive reams of literature. Today's production is filled with clashes between polemical opinions regarding the Christian Slavic missions led by St. Methodius (or generally the Great Moravian Empire) in the 9th century, with opposing persuasions, some of which completely exclude any possibilities that there was missionary work in the southern part of Poland during the 9th century. Details of this discussion have been presented in historical literature many times (see *Polek 1994*); this is why this paper will not present the individual opinions of several generations of historians in detail, also because this is primarily an archaeological text. However, it is necessary to emphasise that all the researchers agreed on the location of the "scene of the crime" – that is, the area where the Cyrillo-Methodian or Svatoplukian missions were supposed to (or were not supposed to, according to other historians) have existed. This location was Lesser Poland, i.e. the upper Vistula basin, and was said to have been reigned over by the Prince of the Vistulans in *The Life of St. Methodius*. Silesia does not even receive a mention in these discussions; at most some historians have assumed that Christianisation in the Silesian lands proceeded analogically with the situation in Lesser Poland (e.g. *Widajewicz 1947*, 60). However, religious conditions in Silesia were understood by historians as derived from or copying situations reconstructed for the upper Vistula basin.

Assuming that the oldest contacts between the early mediaeval citizens of Silesia and Christianity could have taken place as early as the 9th century, it is only possible to single out two centres from which new ideological influences could have spread into this part of Europe. The first was the Great Moravian Empire, neighbouring Silesia to the south and south-east, where Christianity arose in the 3rd decade of the 9th century and stabilised after the arrival of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission after the year 863. Another centre whose Christian tradition is older by several

centuries is the Frankish state, at that time reigned over by rulers from the Carolingian dynasty. However, this territory did not border today's Silesia in the 9th century and at the beginning of the 10th. Cultural influences arising from the Carolingian environment, some of which could also have been Christian ideas, would have reached the upper and central Oder basin area indirectly, via Bohemia (to the south-east of Silesia) or Lužice (to the west of Silesia), which separated these two cultural spheres. Despite the good condition of archaeological locations dating back to the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th, it has not yet been possible to discover any type of artefact that would prove the "importation" of traditions and ideologies from the Carolingian west. We are left with the possibility that Christianity was adopted from Great Moravia. Until recently, this manner of the spreading of Christian influence seemed, for many historians and practically all archaeologists, to be very improbable. The scepticism of researchers was caused by one thing – missing sources. It is true that not so long ago finds that could be identified as Great Moravian were missing in Silesia and particularly in Lower Silesia. This situation has radically changed over the last twenty years. It has changed to such an extent that today we may not only talk about contacts between Great Moravia and Silesia at the turn of the 9th and the 10th centuries, but also about attempts in Upper and Lower Silesia to introduce a new cult – Christianity.

Before beginning a more detailed evaluation of finds from the Silesian area that evidence older efforts at Christianisation in at least part of Silesia (the southern territory of this historical-geographical land) during the 9th century, we must briefly mention the main thesis discussed by Polish archaeologists regarding the question of Silesian-Moravian relationships. This question began to appear in archaeological literature during the 1970s, i.e. much later than in papers by Polish historians, who had often engaged in fierce discussions regarding this question many decades earlier – because Upper Silesian and Lower Silesian early mediaeval locations had not thrown up any larger or numerous sets of finds of undoubted Great Moravian origin. The importance of the discovery of inhumation, i.e. Christian,

barrow burials at the end of the 1940s in Stěbořice near Opava in Czech Silesia, where graves were discovered with typical Great Moravian contents, was overlooked by Polish researchers for more than 20 years, only to be later ambiguously explained. Nor did Czech literature unequivocally identify the ethnicity of those buried in Stěbořice (*Dostál 1966, 171; Kouřil 1994, 68*).

The first archaeologist to point out the existence of very intensive contact between Silesia and Great Moravia in the 9th century was Wrocław researcher Józef Kaźmierczyk. During research into several Lower Silesian hillforts dated to the 9th and 10th centuries, he noticed that most of them in the southern part of the region contained stone dividers. This type of fortification, typical of Bohemian and Moravian early mediaeval fortification construction, is very rarely found in Polish hillforts (many fortified locations do have so-called stone shells created by river boulders or glacier boulders; this is, however, a totally different fortification element and type of construction; see *Dzieduszycka 1978; Kaźmierczyk 1978; 1983*). J. Kaźmierczyk also recognised southern elements in ceramics found in some Silesian hillforts with stone dividers (e.g. Gilów, Niemcza and Dobromierz), and connected the existence of stone-covered vallums in Silesia

with direct Great Moravian influence coming from the territory of southern Lower Silesia (*Kaźmierczyk 1983, 240*).

J. Kaźmierczyk's ideas were not widely accepted by Polish archaeologists. Opposing opinions also surfaced, pointing out the possibility that the stone dividers are found in Silesia due to contacts with what is a broadly understood circle of Carolingian culture, i.e. under the influence of impulses coming to Silesia not from the south, but from the west (*Wachowski 1992, 79*). It is necessary to highlight that this discussion that took place in the 1980s, and did not have any support from specific, conclusive archaeological sources. It rather represented an intuitive approach by researchers, which, in the case of J. Kaźmierczyk, later turned out to be correct.

Individual archaeological finds that we can today identify as Great Moravian were already being discovered in Silesia during the inter-war period. They were, however, scattered across a large area of nearly the whole of Silesia. The research of German archaeologists presented finds such as the Viking-type axe from Popęszyce near Nowa Sól (**Fig. 1a**), several parts of military gear in Gostyń near Hlohov and Great Moravian

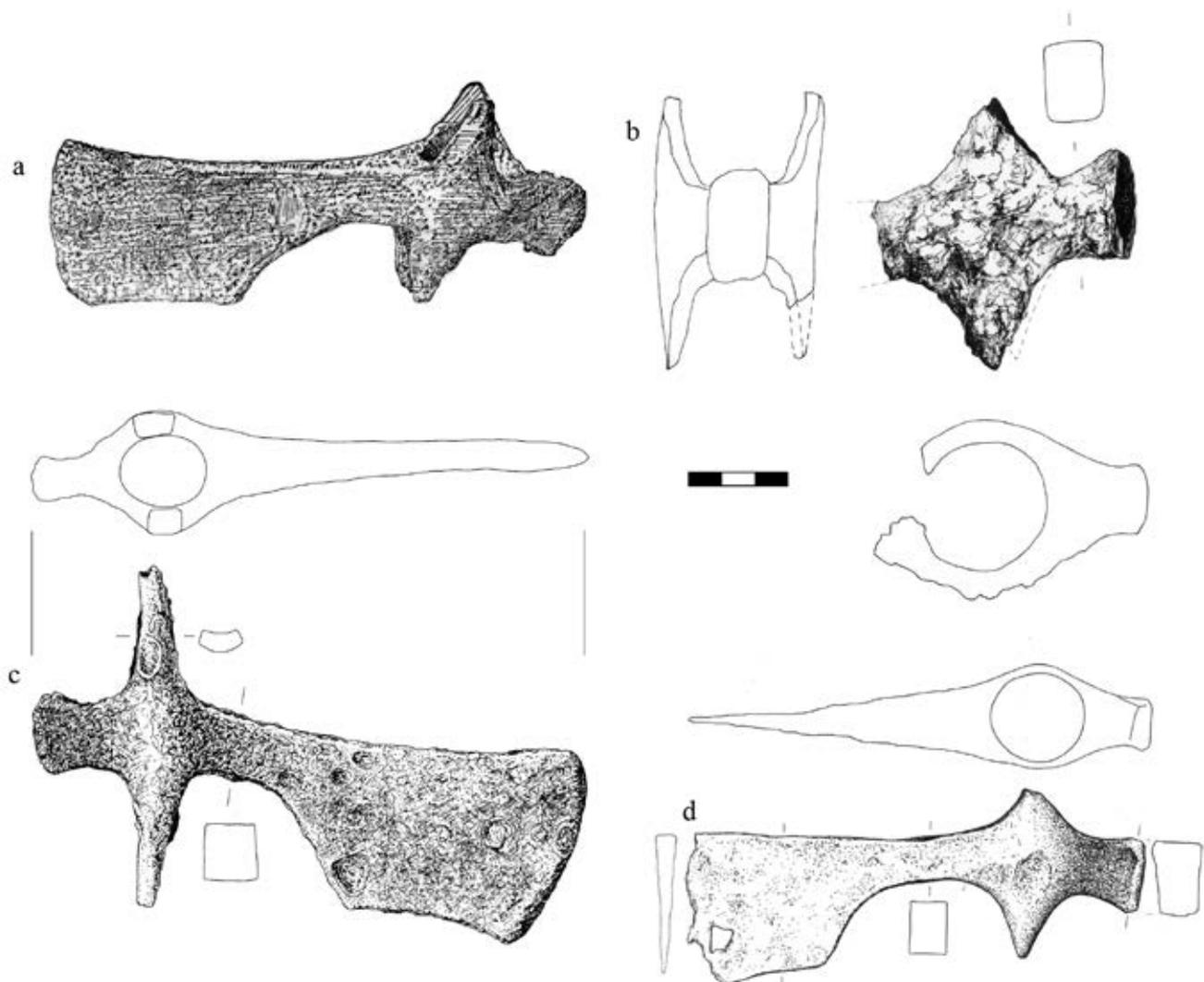


Fig. 1. Great Moravian Viking-type axe from the Silesia area:

a – Popęszyce, Nowa Sól, b – Wałbrzych, Stary Książ hillfort, c – surroundings of Łądek-Zdrój, Kłodzko region, d – Słupice, Dzierżoniów region. According to: Jahn 1937; Jaworski 2005; Konczewska, Konczewski 2009; The Viking-type axe from Słupice has not been published before – information from Mgr Tomasz Ciasnoch.

spurs in Piechocice near Niemodlin in the part of Silesia around Opole. However, none of these finds was identified as Great Moravian by the researchers that published them. They tried to connect these items with other branches of early mediaeval cultural influence, mostly West European.

A significant turning point came at the beginning of the 1990s. Since then, what was a modest group of finds has increased several times over only a few years. New research into the hillfort in Gilów in 1991 discovered dozens of metal items of Great Moravian origin and unequivocally proved the assumption that the Gilów ceramics (the most plentiful category of finds from the location) also contain elements we can identify in Great Moravian ceramics from the 9th century (Jaworski – Rzeźnik 1994, 309n.; Rzeźnik 1997, 127n.; Pankiewicz 2005, 375n.; 2012). Detailed research into the material culture of the Gilów hillfort proves that this building was founded in the last decade of the 9th century and probably carried on functioning until the second decade of the 10th century. The origin of the Gilów hillfort at the end of the 9th century is confirmed by a dendrochronological analysis of the best preserved piece of wood from the location, determining the date of felling to be the year 896 (Jaworski 2005, 83). In addition, analysis of the area and segmentation of the Gilów hillfort made it possible to identify several connections with Great Moravian fortification construction, relating to other facts besides the existence of a stone divider. It is worth drawing attention to the nearly identical segmentation of the hillfort in Gilów and the hillfort in Křenov – Mařín, located in the Bohemian-Moravian borderlands (Fig. 2; Jaworski 2012, 211n., Fig. 1–5). One of the primary conclusions of the Gilów hillfort research and its material culture was the discovery that it unequivocally represents a Great Moravian initiative in the Lower Silesian lands (Jaworski 2005, 325n.; Jaworski – Pankiewicz 2008, 205).

The Gilów hillfort is not the only location in the southern part of Lower Silesia that provided finds of Great Moravian origin. In the 1960s, a spur with discs and a matching buckle were found in the Niemcza hillfort located about 3 km east of Gilów. However, this find was not correctly identified and published until 30 years later (Wachowski 1997, 45n., Fig. 31 c, d). The fact that a “Great Moravian period” of the Niemcza hillfort exists opened another discussion regarding the inhumation burial grounds discovered here at the end of the 19th century. In older literature, in German from the 1930s (Kurtz 1936, 5, 7, 27, 60), and also Polish literature (eg. Wachowski 1975, 100n.), the Niemcza burial grounds were even dated to the 7th century (?) – 8th century, based on stylistic elements on ceramics found in the graves. It was considered the oldest early mediaeval inhumation necropolis in Silesia. Analogies for these ceramics were searched for in Avar-Slavic burial grounds in the area of southern Slovakia. Even though a hypothesis was created, claiming that the burial grounds could have originated in the 9th century and their existence in Silesia could then have been the result of ideological streams reaching Silesia from Great Moravian territory, this hypothesis was not argued further and in detail (Parczewski 1979, 31). In the last years, ceramics from the Niemcza burial grounds have been thoroughly investigated through technological and stylistic analysis undertaken by A. Pankiewicz (2012, 187n.). The author states that it is possible to see numerous analogies for the Niemcza items in Great Moravian pottery from the 9th century. Details of these findings will be introduced in the next part of this text.

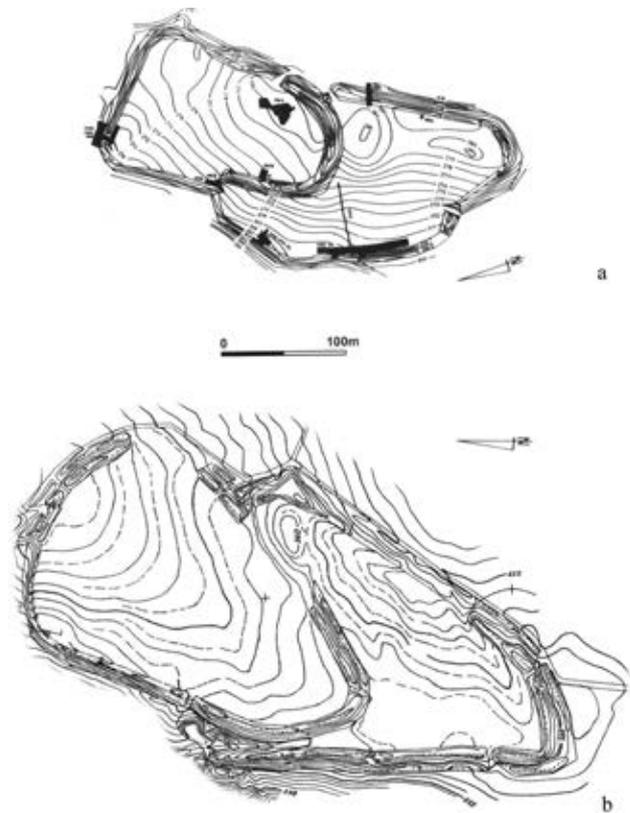


Fig. 2. Plans of mediaeval Slavic hillforts from Gilów, Dzierżoniów region in Lesser Silesia and Křenov – Mařín in the Moravian-Bohemian borderlands.

According to K. Jaworski 2012.

Besides materials from Gilów and Niemcza, artefacts of Great Moravian nature have been discovered in several other locations in the southern part of Lower Silesia. In the hillfort located on the Gromnik peak near Střelín, approx. 22 km east of Niemcza, dated to the end of the 9th century – 1st half of the 10th century, a bronze gombik and a knife for woodworking were found. These knives are often found in Great Moravian locations, whereas from Polish territory we know of them only from locations that offered other items of Great Moravian origin (Gilów – 2 specimens, Cracow – Nowa Huta Mogiła, Trępcza; see Hachulska-Ledwos 1971, 106, Fig. LXI: 6; Jaworski 2005, 277n., Fig. 143 b, c; Ginalski – Glinianowicz – Kotowicz 2013, Fig. 12: 6). In the case of Gromnik, the existence of these items of Great Moravian origin could confirm the hypothesis of a Great Moravian or Bohemian genesis of the double-apsed rotunda from Gromnik, with its foundations being discovered in 2003. This discovery was published several times in domestic and foreign literature (see Pankiewicz 2007, 319; Jaworski – Pankiewicz 2010, 345); however, based on research undertaken between 2010 and 2011, it has been indisputably dated to the 15th century.

A modest but also very interesting set of finds related to Great Moravian origins was found at the beginning of the 1990s at the Stary Książ hillfort near Wałbrzych. This hillfort is significantly different from Lower Silesian structures from the same time due to its area and form. It is much larger than typical Silesian hillforts dated to the 9th and 10th

centuries (it has an area of 3 ha, whereas other castles rarely exceed 0.5 ha; an exception is the Gilów hillfort with an area of 6.5 ha). Its form represents a type called "ostrožna" in Czech archaeological literature, which is very rarely found in Silesia. Part of a Great Moravian Viking-style axe (**Fig. 1b**) was discovered in Stary Książ with an iron sickle. The most interesting find is surely a small cross made out of a bronze sheet with gold-plating on one side. It could originally have been part of the ironwork of a small box (reliquary?) and we have numerous analogies from Great Moravian burial grounds in Staré Město (*Hrubý 1955*, 460, Tab. 68: 1, 2) and Mikulčice (oral information from B. Kavánová).

In the past years two Great Moravian Viking-style axes have been found by metal detector searchers. The first was found in the Kladsko area near the town of Łądek Zdrój (**Fig. 1c**; *Konczewski 2009*, 3); the second, as yet unpublished, one was found near the village of Słupice, about 12km north of the Gilów hillfort (**Fig. 1d**).

Such a concentration of Great Moravian finds in a relatively small area, lying between today's Vratislav and the Sudetes mountain range in the south and south-east, is definitely not random. Even if we do not delve into a detailed assessment of the possibilities and dependencies of the contacts between Great Moravia and Lower Silesia, we may state that they were intensive and direct. Concerning the Gilów hillfort, we may even claim that this structure was founded as a Great Moravian establishment.

An entirely different picture is painted by finds of Great Moravian origin from northern parts of Lower Silesia on the border with Greater Poland. Even though they have been found at a relatively large number of different locations, their presence must be interpreted rather as a result of trade exchange, not necessarily direct trade (inhabitants of the south part of Lower Silesia, maybe Silesians, could have been the mediators). It is not possible to exclude the possibility that some of these items, mainly parts of military gear, could have ended up Silesia because of ongoing armed conflicts. Such findings could be supported by some finds of several parts of gear of late Carolingian type in a destruction layer in the hillfort in Gostyń near Hlohov, found in the inter-war period.

During research undertaken in this area during 1990, several items of Great Moravian origin were discovered, even though this time these were not only parts of gear. Besides an assumed Great-Moravian-type axe, probably type Ib according to the classification of V. Hrubý (*Rzeźnik 1998*, 383n.), there was a set of 8 glass Moravian "olive-shaped beads". However, they were not found together with ceramics with southern elements, as in the case of Gilów. The design, decoration and general stylistic elements of the ceramics in Gostyń are not very different from ceramics characteristic of this region, e.g. from the nearby hillfort in Popęszyc, published by M. Jahn (1937, Tab. 13: 7-9) or from the ceramics found in the hillfort in Klenice about 39 km north of Gostyń, as we know from the research of K. Langenheimer and E. Petersen (*Langenheimer 1936*, fig. 2; *Petersen 1937*,

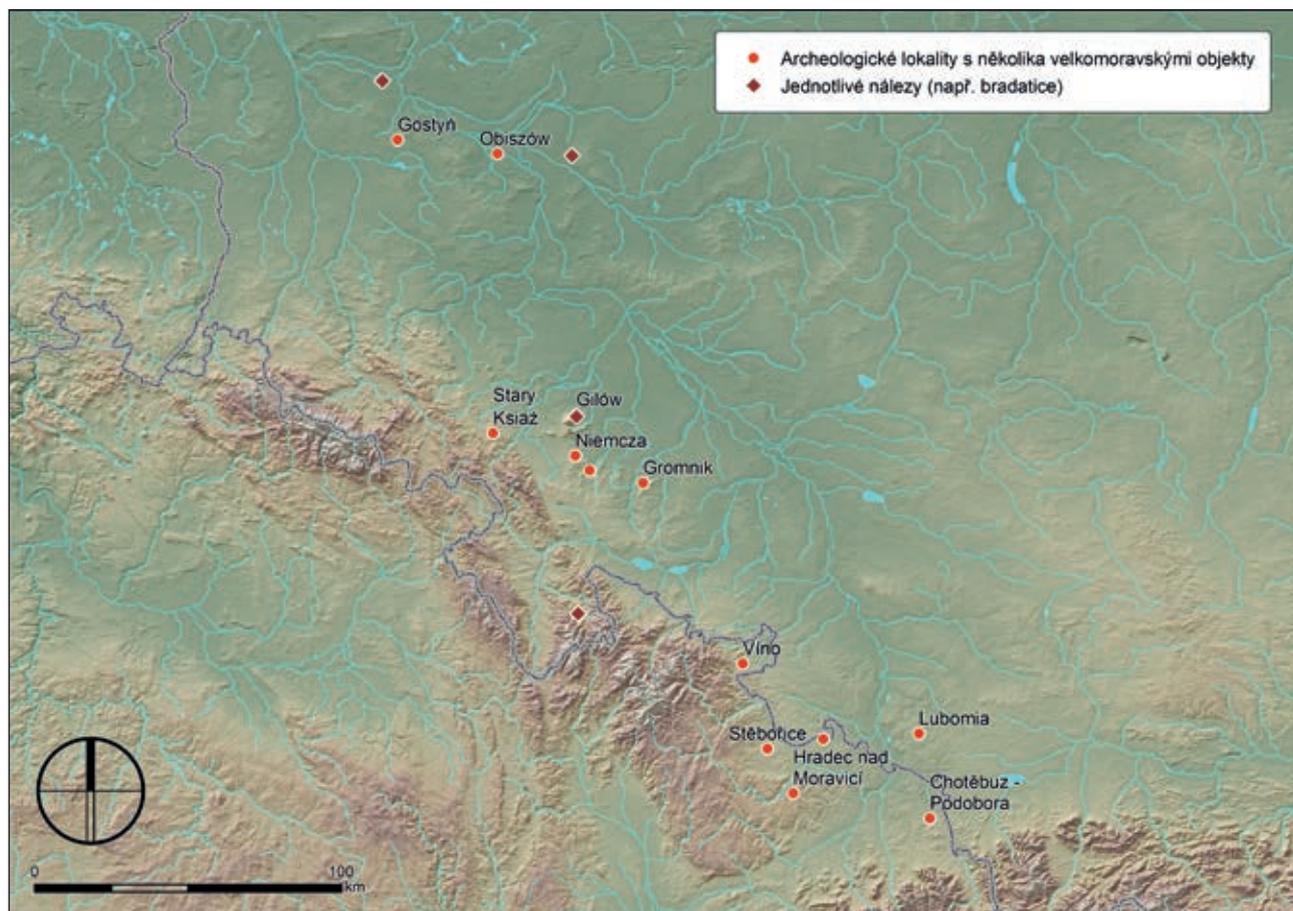


Fig. 3. Map of finds of Great Moravian origin from locations in Silesia.

Fig. 1–3, 6, 19, 23, 30, 32). The sets of ceramics from Gostyń have been dated by P. Rzeźnik most likely to the second half of the 9th century and the first half of the 10th century.

We may encounter similar situations in a number of other locations in the northern part of Silesia in which relics originating from Great Moravia have been found. They were always discovered in a local cultural context (area and form of location, technological and stylistic elements of ceramics, typical production and settlement structures, etc.). This includes the hillfort in Popęszyce (Viking-style axe), Obiszów (buckles and Great Moravian earring), Czeladzi Wielkie (earring) and the nearby hillfort in Bruszczewo near Leszno (spur with disks and a buckle) which is currently located in the Greater Poland Voivodeship. The only location that could have confirmed this thesis about closer contacts between contemporaneous inhabitants of this part of Silesia and Christian Great Moravia is the inhumation burial site in Ługy (pow. Góra), unfortunately destroyed, located approx. 4 km from Czeladzi Wielkie. Only two graves are known from these burial grounds with very little content (an iron knife and earrings). Archaeological literature dates this location to the first half of the 11th century (*Wachowski 1975, 98*); however, the presence in one of the graves of a Danube-region-type earring with multiple s-shaped loops, which is a form dated in Slovakia to the end of the 2nd half of the 8th century and the 1st half of the 9th, means a new analysis of the dating of this location would be worthwhile.

The third area in Silesia where Great Moravian relics have been discovered is its Czech part and the adjacent northern lands of the Polish part of Upper Silesia. In the Czech part of Silesia we encounter Great Moravian products in two hillforts (Chotěbuz – Podobora near Český Těšín and Víno near Bruntál), three indisputable inhumation burial grounds (Stěbořice near Opava, Opava – Hoštice, Hradec nad Moravicí) and an assumed one (Hněvošice). These necropolises directly present the existence of Christian rituals and have been presented in detail in Czech archaeological literature.

On the Polish side of the border, this group consists of the Lubom hillfort near Wodzisław Śląski, where a relatively large number of various items of Great Moravian nature were discovered (earrings, glass gombik, some types of iron tools, etc.). Ceramics from Lubom, besides individual pottery types, do not however contain southern elements and do not fundamentally deviate from the ceramic production known in other locations from this part of Upper Silesia, dated to the 9th and 10th centuries.

Summarising all the current conclusions, we may state that the Silesian archaeological locations with Great Moravian cultural elements can be represented in three groups (**Fig. 3**). Geographically closest to the Great Moravian Empire lies the Upper Silesian group, ranging from Hradec nad Moravicí to Těšín and Ratiboř. The second group – southern Lower Silesia – includes areas to the south of Wrocław in the Giant Mountains / Ash Mountains foothills and at the foot of the Orlice area (central Sudetes). The third group (northern Lower Silesia), farthest from the Great Moravian centre, is located on the north and north-west periphery of Lower Silesia. It should also be mentioned that according to the opinion of many historians and archaeologists, it is these three separated areas that were, during the 9th and 10th centuries, populated by the three Silesian tribes best evidenced in written sources – the Holasici (southern Upper

Silesian group), the Silesians (southern Lower Silesia group) and the Dědošany (northern Lower Silesian group). These tribes were registered by the *Bavarian Geographer* (around 846), and also by later chronicles and documents (*Dietmar's Chronicle, Diploma for Prague Bishopric from 1086* etc.).

Archaeological sources indicate a relatively early Christianisation of Silesia, because it precedes the acceptance of Christianity in the state of Mieszko I in 966 by nearly half a century. We know of such evidence only from two groups – the southern Upper Silesian and southern Lower Silesian groups. This is especially visible in Upper Silesia and around Opava. The local inhumation burial grounds and the nature of their grave content is not different from standard Christian burials from the southern part of Moravia and Slovakia. Some graves from Stěbořice and Hradec nad Moravicí are even different *in plus*.

Regarding the “Silesian” group, we do not have any conclusive locations. We know of only one assumed inhumation burial ground from around Niemcza; it is, however, also at this location where the only metal cross from the Silesian area was found, dated to the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th. The northern Lower Silesian group (“dędošany”) have not yet presented any Christian elements.

Below I will introduce archaeological locations that lie in the area of today's Poland and that can confirm the Great Moravian mediation of Christian ideology and its introduction into Silesian territory in the 2nd half of the 9th century and at the beginning of the 10th. This concerns only two locations lying in the south part of Lower Silesia, localised in relation to the earlier defined “Silesian” group.

The only Lower Silesian sepulchral location whose founding and use could have had a connection with Great Moravian influences or even the physical presence of Moravians on this territory is identified in the literature as Niemcza I. The burial ground was discovered by accident in 1894 and was never subjected to specialised archaeological research. We know of it from several published references in German archaeological periodicals and from five preserved containers from these graves.

The Niemcza I burial ground is located about 800 meters north of the Niemcza hillfort, on the left bank of the River Ślęza, about 50 m from the water's edge. In German literature (*Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, vol. 6 of 1896 and vol. 7, part 2 from 1897), we may only find modest references to the discovery of several skeletons. In one of the pits, near a female skeleton, a millstone was discovered. The grave contents consisted of several containers and iron spearheads. The first published information about this location was not accompanied by illustrations of the graves or their contents.

It was only in 1936 that H. Kurtz published photographs of containers originating from the graves (*Kurtz 1936, 5, 7, 27, 60, Tab. 1: 2, 5*). Based on these engravings, the Niemcza necropolis was identified as the oldest inhumation burial site in Lower Silesia and dated to the end of the 7th (?) – 8th century (*Wachowski 1975, 101*). Its connections to the Southern Danube region have been pointed out (*Leciejewicz 1991, 223*); however, they were not further analysed. Voices began to appear suggesting there should be new and more detailed research of the materials from this necropolis (*Parczewski 1979, 31*).

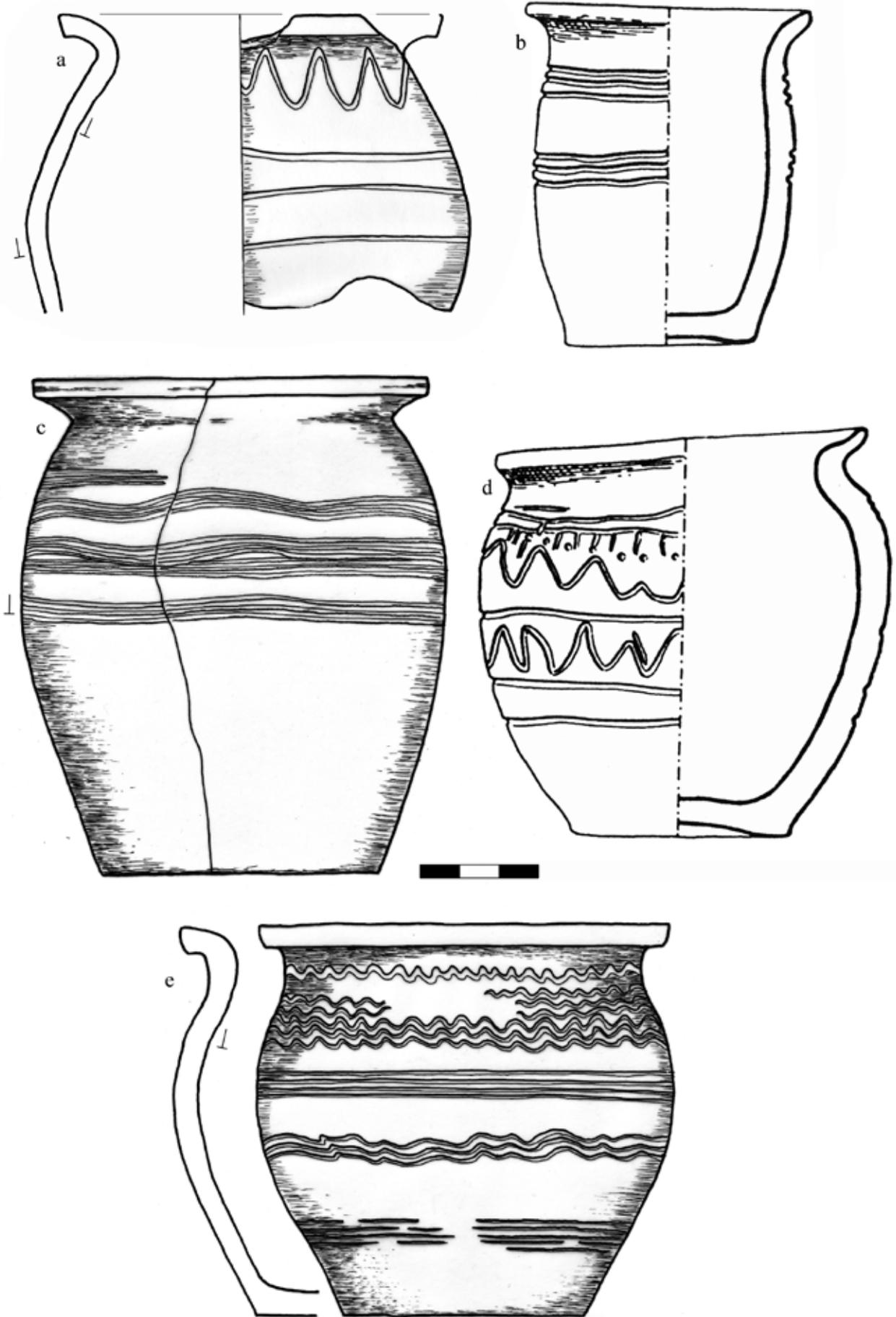


Fig. 4. Ceramic containers from inhumation graves from Niemcza, Dzierżonów region.
According to A. Pankiewicz 2012.



Fig. 5. Bronze gold-plated ironwork in the shape of a cross from the Stary Książ hillfort near Wałbrzych.

According to K. Jaworski 2005.

It is necessary to highlight that some researchers, understanding the imperfections of these sources' publications, also took into account the possibility that this could represent an earlier horizon of the use of this burial site around the 9th century. They did not exclude the possibility of "possible southern, Great Moravian influence" (Wachowski 1975, 69; see also Jaworski 2005, 226).

A. Pankiewicz, using ceramic materials, researched Silesian-Moravian-Bohemian cultural relations and divided ceramics from the Niemcza I location into two groups. Two containers (Fig. 4b, d) can be considered older "archaic" and their form and production technology follows specimens found in this location and dated to the 8th century. The remaining three containers (Fig. 4a, e, c) are described by the author as "not typical containers for locations from the 9th century, from the Silesia region" (Pankiewicz 2012, 187) and she continues to specify their features (technological and stylistic) that have significant continuity with Great Moravian production. The extent of the winding of rope around these containers continues under the end of the bulge and the maximum bulge itself is located roughly in the middle of the containers' height. In comparison with local Silesian production, it is located much lower. Decoration is not limited to the upper parts of the bulge, but also includes the entire lower part of the container. An affinity to Moravian ceramics may also be found in the recipe of the ceramic clay, in two cases with additives of fine-grained assorted sands, forms with reduced necks and the maximum bulges located in the centre of the container or in the decoration of one of the containers. During the 9th

century this appears only very rarely in Silesia, although it is common on Blučina type containers (Fig. 4a).

The two above-named containers of archaic nature may, it seems, only apparently question the dating of the Niemcza I burial ground to the 9th century. In other areas populated by West Slavs, we also very often find the insertion of older ceramic containers into graves, while their archaic stylistic and technological features were contemporaneous with those of the burials (a certain type of "retro" stylistics – see Měřínský 1985, 55–59; Hilczer-Kurnatowska – Kara 1994, 134n., Fig. 13). Ceramics of so-called Avar-Slavic type are dated to the 8th century and located in several Great Moravian burial grounds from the 9th century, e.g. in Velké Bílovice, where they are considered an archaic element of the grave content (Měřínský 1985, 55–59).

The find of a millstone in one of the graves may be the result of Great Moravian influence. This type of item is practically never found in early mediaeval inhumation burial grounds in Poland: we know of only two such examples; both are from Niemcza (one grave with a millstone was discovered in the Niemcza I burial ground and the second in the Niemcza II necropolis, i.e. on a burial ground founded in the second half of the 10th century, in a period when southern Silesia was under the control of Bohemia; see Jaworski 2005, 237–239). It is an entirely different situation from that which we know from inhumation graves from the area of the former Czechoslovakia, where these finds are much more frequent (Černohorský 1957, 528–531; Marek – Skopal 2003, Tab. 8–10; Kavánová 2003, Fig. 125).

Practically the only way to verify the Niemcza I location is to begin extensive archaeological research. The need to undertake such research has already been postulated by the author of this paper (Jaworski 2000, 161; 2005, 327). In 2012, A. Pankiewicz from the Archaeological Institute of the University of Wrocław began research in the Niemcza I area. However, no grave was discovered during this first season. The issue of unequivocally verifying the assumed Great Moravian burial ground in Niemcza remains further unresolved.

A second artefact indicating Great Moravian mediation of the spreading of Christianity in today's Silesia is the above-mentioned small cross from the Stary Książ hillfort. The location is found in the cadastral area of the town of Wałbrzych, in the Pogórze Wałbrzyskie foothills. Only trial-trench research was undertaken at this location. The result of these field activities was the acquisition of a small collection of ceramic and metal items, dating the chronology of the structure to the end of the 9th century or possibly the beginning of the 10th.

The most important find from this hillfort is the one small cross made out of a 0.8 mm bronze sheet with gold-plating on one side. (Fig. 5). On the end of one of its arms are two small holes for small rivets. Unfortunately, during conservation work part of this item was damaged when its upper part broke away. The ironwork has a height of 4.4 cm and a span of 4 cm and width of 2 cm. The form of the small cross is similar to ironwork found in Great Moravian burial grounds in Staré Město, in grave no. 309/49. This was also the case of the small crosses made out of bronze sheets with gold plating on one side with small holes at the end of the arms (Hrubý 1955, 460, Tab. 68: 1, 2; Galuška 1999, 260). According to the authors

of the research, these were the ironwork from wooden boxes used to store relics. Such a use is indicated by pieces of wood attached to the inside part of the small cross without any trace of gold-plating.

The cross found at Stary Książ is not the only item of Great Moravian origin from this location. Part of an iron axe was found here as well, most probably a Great Moravian Viking-style axe (Jaworski 2005, 289, Fig. 152b). Even in the hillfort itself we may find southern influences. This is a relatively extensive hillfort situated on a narrow mountain ridge, segmented with transverse vallums. Such fortified structures in such a location are practically impossible to find anywhere in Silesia. Besides Stary Książ, a similar form is adopted only by the small hillfort in Myśluborz (hillfort II) near Jawor in the Pogórze Kaczawskie foothills. It is probable that future archaeological research in the Stary Książ hillfort may uncover other items of southern origin, which will prove the connections of its ancient inhabitants with Great Moravia or Bohemia.

To sketch out a discussion on the possible Christianisation of the Upper Oder basin (Silesia) and Vistula (Lesser Poland), archaeologists may today incorporate many new findings. It is worth mentioning that items dating back to the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century that could archaeologically be considered Christian have only been uncovered in Silesia. However, they are completely missing (or have been at least until 2010) in the Lesser Poland area. It must be mentioned that Silesian locations and finds that could be connected with Christianity include three or four inhumation necropolises uncovered in the Czech part of Upper Silesia (a burial ground in Stěbořice, Opava – Hořtice, Hradec nad Moravicí and a very little researched burial ground in Hněvošice), assumed flat inhumation burial grounds in Lower Silesian Niemcza (loc. Niemcza I) and the earlier mentioned bronze gold-plated cross from the Lower Silesian hillfort in Stary Książ, which has close ties with Great Moravian locations (inhumation burial grounds in Staré Město and in Mikulčice). Should we compare this state with similar “poor” finds in Lesser Poland, we find ourselves already working with rich and representative sets in these locations.

We may, in my opinion, ask whether the area of the upper Oder was not the goal of missionary projects from Great Moravia, during the 9th and the beginning of the 10th centuries. The two most representative locations in Silesia containing Great Moravian elements were founded in the last decade of the 9th century. This is true also for the inhumation burial ground in Stěbořice (as suggested by the nature of decorations, spearheads and pottery in graves) and the Gilów hillfort (a chronology based on archaeological material was confirmed by dendrochronological dating, suggesting the year 896). The occurrence of a larger amount of Great Moravian items in the Holsice hillfort in Chotěbuz – Podobora also dates back to the end of the 9th century. We may assume that Great Moravian Christianisation projects in Silesia (let us emphasise that they were hypothetical ones, carried out only between the inhabitants of Holsice and the Silesians) were realised in the last decade of the 9th century. It was also the last stage of the territorial expansion of the Great Moravian Empire, falling within the last years of the reign of Svatopluk I († 894) and the short period of the reign of the last Great Moravian Duke Mojmir II. It preceded the imminent Hungarian catastrophe and the downfall of the Mojmir state around 906 by only a few years.

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CONTACTS BETWEEN THE GREAT MORAVIAN EMPIRE AND THE TRIBES OF LESSER POLAND – A SHORT EPISODE OR COMMON ROOTS?

Jacek Poleski

Examples of weapons and parts of riding equipment (or copies of them) found in Lesser Poland (26 finds) and made in Great Moravia represent a significant number of all objects of this category that date back to the 9th century. There are also jewels which have been dated to the 9th century (5 finds) and which are generally considered Great Moravian artifacts. All the objects mentioned above arrived at the area north of the Carpathian Mountains through the Moravian Gate and probably also through the Carpathian passes, following the trails along the rivers Váh, Poprad and Dunajec, and from the Tisza headwater area through the Dukla Pass. In general we can say that archaeological source analysis has confirmed that there were relatively intense contacts between the Great Moravian Empire and the tribes settled in South Poland, which took place in the second half of the 9th century. At this moment, however, it is not possible to give any more details about the character of these contacts. No convincing evidence has been found of campaigns by Moravian troops or of the integration of these areas into the Great Moravian Empire. No evidence of the Christianisation of the local people has been found either.

Key words: Moravia, Lesser Poland, interregional contacts

One of the most interesting topics of Polish Mediaeval Studies is the relations between Great Moravia and the tribes settled in Poland. When the author of *Vita Methodii* (*The Life of St Methodius*) gave some brief information about a “pagan, very strong prince” and about his conflict with “Christians” (probably Moravians), he could not have anticipated how long and outraged the polemic generated among historians would be. In fact, an unnamed Vistulan ruler from the 2nd half of the ninth century was not very interesting for Methodius’ biographer. However, some historians and archaeologists have built an elaborate construction based on this short text. That has given rise to the image of a mighty “state” of the Vistulans whose ruler ended up in conflict with the Moravian Zwentibald. Later on, Zwentibald is claimed to have conquered that area. As a result, the people of south Poland were said to have been Christianised according to the “Slavonic rite” (*Widajewicz 1947*). From when these studies first began, an opposition movement also appeared, which has stood up against all the hermeneutic attempts that have gone to extremes in trying to interpret this source. The chief representative of this movement, Gerard Labuda, has summarised the previous discussions, pointing out the fact that the source analysed only mentions the involuntary baptism of the Vistulan prince “on foreign grounds”. There is as little evidence of the conquest of south Poland by Zwentibald’s troops and its integration into the Moravian state as of the Christianisation of the local people (*Labuda 1988, 125; 1994, 73–76; see also older literature*). K. Polek (*1994, 47–49*) accepts the possibility of the Vistulan duty to pay tribute to the Moravian state. The discovery of a hoard containing 4,212 iron axe-shaped ingots in Cracow could refer to that. Nevertheless, the current state of knowledge does not confirm this thesis (besides other things, serious doubts have appeared about the dating of the hoard). Currently, most historians are inclined to the sceptical opinions of G. Labuda, including his opinion on the possible Christianisation of the Lesser Poland populace via Moravian missionaries at the end of the 9th century

(*Leśny 1982; Szczur 1994; Ożóg 1994; Wyrozumski 1994; Panic 2000, 118–119; K. Polek 2001; Moszyński 2001*).

Since the possibilities for analysis of the available historical sources have mostly been used up, progress in research can only be made by investigation into archaeological sources, the amount of which keeps increasing. At the beginning of the 1980s, K. Wachowski (*1981; 1982*) summarised the existing state of knowledge of contacts between the Moravian state and the people of south Poland. It emerged from his research that such contacts were very rare. As some of the scientific methods used in the quoted texts have been objected to (*Poleski 1991, 194–196; 1993–1994*) and, moreover, other Great Moravian objects have been found in south Poland (*Poleski 1988; 1989; 1997; 2003; Jaworski 1997; 2001; 2005, 271–280*), K. Wachowski has completely revised his former ideas (*Wachowski 1991; 1994; 1997b*). It is surprising that at the beginning of the 1980s K. Wachowski, commenting negatively on Great Moravian contacts with the tribes in Polish territory, did not notice an inhumation cemetery in the village of Stěbořice u Opavy north of the Sudeten Mountains (*Dostál 1966, 171–175, tab. XLVI–XLVIII*) that had been known a long time ago. This cemetery has been dated to between the 2nd half of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century. In this region, such an object is considered a culturally “strange element” that documents the political (and certainly military) expansion of the Moravian state. M. Parczewski (*1982, 107–109, 112–113, 126–127*) had earlier pointed out that this cemetery is of considerable importance for finding out about the relations between south Poland and Great Moravia. His statement dealing with Great Moravian expansion into the area of the Opavian Highlands in the second part of the 9th century has been supported by the relatively recent discovery of another inhumation cemetery in Hradec nad Moravicí, dated to the same time (*Kouřil 2004; Parczewski 2005, 30–31*). Today we have no doubt



Fig. 1. Objects of Great Moravian origin or copies of them.

1 – a spur with plates; 2 – parts of sets used for fastening spurs with plates; 3 – an axe, type Id according to A. Nadolski (bradatic); 4 – jewels; 5 – a strap end; 6 – ceramic or limestone spindle whorls from the 8th or 9th century decorated with waves (imports or copies of Avar or Great Moravian objects); 7 – a settlement; 8 – a settlement next to the hillfort; 9 – hillfort; 10 – surface collection.

that Great Moravian contacts with the south Polish tribes really existed. However, their chronology, intensity and character remain an open question. It is difficult to identify the archaeological evidence that can confirm these relations, besides other things, due to the fact that analysis has not taken into account the degree of difference between the two cultures. These differences could have been defined earlier. In that case, it must have been evident to what extent these differences could have been reflected in material culture, including archaeological finds (see *Poleski 1991*, 194–196). Here we should point to the essential similarity of numerous cultural aspects of the Moravians and the south Polish tribes. The differences between them can be seen especially in the spheres in which Great Moravian culture was exposed to strong external impacts. In short, we can say that these impacts on the material culture, including archaeological finds, are visible especially in some matters of religion newly accepted from the Moravians. The burial rite was changed fundamentally. Cremation was replaced by inhumation. Even the outer form of burial grounds changed. Instead of piling up mounds, shallow graves were mostly dug in the ground. A new kind of building – churches, so far unknown to the Slavs, appeared at many hillforts. Since they were built of stone, we can find many relics of them in the Great Moravian area. In the field of defensive architecture, Great Moravian hillforts differ from similar Slavonic areas in the way that the outer walls of hillforts are built as dry stone walls where the gaps between stones are filled with clay (*Staňa 1985; Procházka 1990; 2009*).

As in the case of most Great Moravian churches, examples of these defensive buildings should be looked for in the area of the Carolingian state. Carolingian culture also influenced the production of weapons and riding equipment. This influence is evident mostly in the total displacement of spurs with hooks by spurs with plates (*Kavánová 1976; Bialeková 1977*). Unfortunately we have little idea which weapons or parts of riding equipment found in the area of Great Moravia were imported from the Carolingian state and which of them were made in this area. Use of the newest Carolingian innovations, especially weapons, was not common at all in the West Slavonic areas. However, there is no doubt that most of the jewellery (especially earrings and decorative buttons – “gombíky”) and parts of clothing (especially buckles and strap ends) were created in Great Moravia (*Dostál 1966*, 39–66). The profession was also in some measure influenced by Carolingian and partly Byzantine jewellery making, but most jewels are Great Moravian originals.

Now that the elements distinguishing Great Moravian culture from other Slavonic cultures of the 9th century have been defined, we can identify archaeological finds from that time which were found in the area of Lesser Poland but made in Great Moravia. Here we must point to the fact that we cannot determine whether most of the movable objects are Great Moravian imports or local copies of them. This brief summary will start with the statement that scientists used to presume there was Great Moravian influence on Polish defensive buildings, namely

the parts of tribal hillforts built of stone, among other materials. Nowadays archaeologists are, in the main, sceptical and cautious. Firstly, they point to the fact that the dating of sites is not accurate enough (*Poleski 1992*, 76–85). Secondly, they have found out that in Poland stone was used only in three examples of dry stone walls. Such dry stone walls were built on the outer side of wood and clay ramparts. These three examples are the oldest stage of the Wiślica hillfort (dated to the 10th century) and the hillforts in Niemcz (*Jaworski 2000*, 152–155) and Dobromierz in Lower Silesia (*Kaźmierczyk 1983*). Recently it has been supposed that the stone-faced ramparts in more than ten Lower Silesian tribal hillforts are originally Great Moravian, including the objects in Gilów and in Graniczna u Strzegomi (*Jaworski 1997; 2000; 2005*, 193–197). Last but not least, in Gilów about 30 objects have been found which undoubtedly come from Great Moravia.

Here we should analyse a statement made by some archaeologists and historians dealing with the military campaign (or campaigns) led by the Moravian prince Zwentibald (*Szydłowski 1998*). Traces of fire in many 9th century hillforts should serve as evidence of military operations. We must keep in mind, however, that while the date of hillfort building can be specified quite exactly, there is no way to substantiate fire in wooden constructions. That is why we cannot be sure that these fortifications fell victim to fire in the days of Zwentibald I and we cannot be sure at all that both events happened at the same time. Even if the fire broke out at that time, it is necessary to take account of the possibility that the fire was a result of Lesser Polish tribal battles, or that it was started naturally by lightning.

The largest set of objects produced in Great Moravia and found in Lesser Poland consists of parts of riding equipment (**Fig. 1–2**). Except for two examples, these objects were found within the hillforts. These were spurs with plates and iron sets used for spur fastening (a buckle with ironwork, a strap ladder lock and a strap end). In the Lesser Poland area seven complete or fragmentary spurs with plates have been found. Only one example has been found in the settlement perimeter; two objects are surface collection finds and the rest comes from hillforts. In the areas of five hillforts seven iron sets used for spur fastening were found, mostly so-called strap ladder locks. One example of late Carolingian style (dated to the 9th century) from the Kraków – Dębni settlement can be identified as a strap end used for spur fastening. Similar finds have been found in the Great Moravian area (the nearest is from the Bojná hillfort). As for the spurs, there are even seven examples rated as type Vb according to V. Bialeková (*1977*). Only the example from the Naszacowice hillfort (from which only a hook has been preserved) probably comes from a spur rated as type IIIa, IIIb, or IV. All eight spurs date from the second half of the 9th century (*Bialeková 1977; Kávanová 2012*).

Polish finds of battle axes are mostly interpreted as imports from Great Moravia or copies of them (**Fig. 1: 3**). They are similar to type Id according to A. Nadolski (*1954*). In the literature this type of axe mostly goes under the Czech name “bradatice”. About a dozen of such axes come from Poland, nine of them from Lesser Poland. As to the areas that are important for this text, one of the axes comes from a hillfort, two axes from a settlement. The rest of them are isolated finds. When the finds were published, all of these axes were dated to the 9th or the 1st half of the 10th century.

Since no archaeological evidence has been found for the alleged Great Moravian military campaign into Vistulan and Lachian territory in the Upper Vistula basin or even the integration of these territories into the Great Moravian Empire, another hypothesis must be assumed. Today’s knowledge let us presume that in the 2nd half of the 9th century (most of the objects mentioned above date from that time) certain parts of arms and riding equipment, similar to those used by Great Moravian troops, were adopted in the area of south and partly Middle Poland. In this way, some of the late Carolingian cultural elements arrived in Polish territory via Great Moravia. This hypothesis is supported by a spur with plates found in the hoard containing iron objects in the Kraków – Mogiła settlement (deposit no. 1) and by a “bradatice” battle-axe found in an iron hoard in the Trepcza hillfort.

Jewels and parts of clothing of Great Moravian origin found in Lesser Poland are not that frequent (**Fig. 1, 4: 1–5**). We could mention two examples of lunulae (one is silver and the other is lead) from the Naszacowice hillfort, a bronze earring from the Cracow bailey Okół and a silver earring from the Będzin hillfort. However, the treasure of silver jewellery and glass pearls from the village Zawada Lanckorońska on the river Dunajec, until recently associated with Great Moravian culture, should be related to other cultures that were influencing Lesser Poland in the 10th century, despite the analogy between some types of earrings from this treasure and the objects found mostly in women’s inhumation graves from the last development stage of Great Moravia (*Poleski 1992*, 31, note 13; *1996*, 116–117; *2004*, 368–370; *Zoll Adamikowa – Dekówna – Nosek 1999; Suchodolski 2003*). It is not clear whether four wave-decorated ceramic spindle whorls from Lesser Poland (found in the former tribal hillforts Naszacowice, Damice, Kraków – Wawel and in the settlement of Kraków – Mogiła I) can be regarded as imports or copies of similar, frequently found objects from Avar Khaganate culture (8th century) or Great Moravian objects from the 9th century (**Fig. 1, 4: 6–9**).

If we are dealing with the matter of the possible influence of Great Moravian culture on the culture of 9th century Lesser Polish tribes in greater detail, we must mention three more finds. The first of them is a bottle-shaped ceramic vessel (*Abłamowicz 1991*, 211–214, Fig. 3: B) that was found during excavations in the Kamieniec hillfort. This hillfort can be included in the settlement area on the upper Oder River connected with the tribe of the Golensizi. The author of the report points to an analogy with the cultural area of the Avar Khaganate and with the Great Moravian cultural area. At the same time he points out that as to production technology and technique, this object is not different from other objects found during explorations of this hillfort. It is most probable that the vessel mentioned above is not imported, but it may be a copy. During explorations of the Naszacowice hillfort (*Poleski 2011*, 65, tab. 205:19), in layer VI, section W4 a knife with a narrow blade and a hilt decorated with grooves was found (both the blade and the iron hilt are 7mm wide). The blade of this knife was probably not fixed into a piece of wood or antler. Such a knife does not fit into any typology mentioned above. The closest analogy would be a knife with a decorated hilt found in a child’s grave (No. 44) at the Great Moravian burial site by the church in Mikulčice No. 6 (*Poulik 1963*, 143, Fig. 33: 2–2a; *Profantová 2003*, 21, Fig. 34). This find dates from the 2nd half of the 9th century, the period when the site was active for burials. As it was found

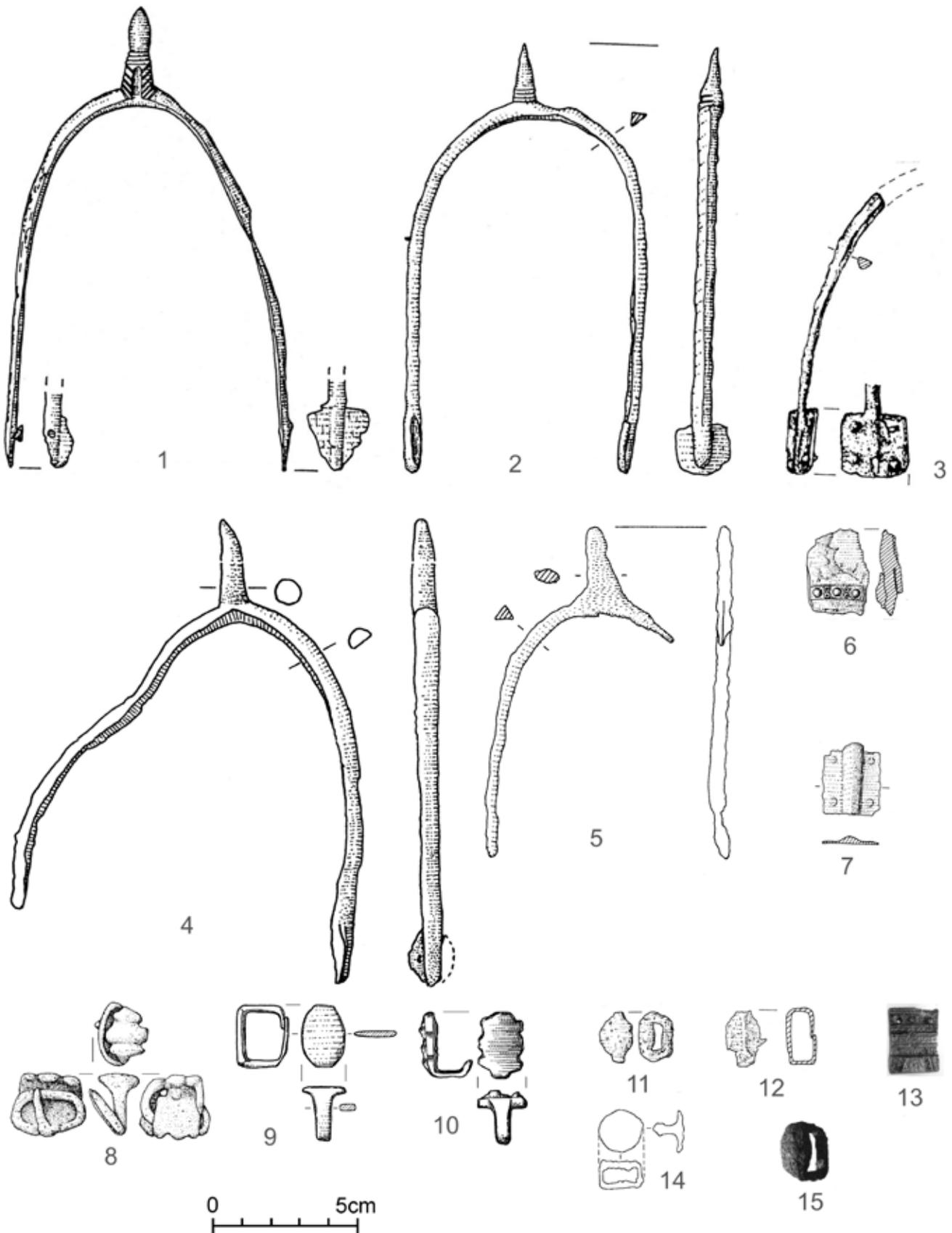


Fig. 2. Lesser Polish finds of riding equipment from the 9th – beginning of the 10th century.

1–7 – spurs with plates (1 – Kraków, Mogiła, site 1, settlement. Iron hoard; 2 – Zawada, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort; 3 – Wietrzno – Bóbrka, Podkarpackie Voivodeship, hillfort; 4 – Kraków – Bieżanów, site 21, surface collection; 5 – Zawada Lanckorońska, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort; 6 – Naszacowice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort; 7 – Szczaworyż, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, hillfort; 8–15 – parts of sets used for fastening spurs with plates (8–10 – Naszacowice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort; 11 – Wietrzno – Bóbrka, Podkarpackie Voivodeship, hillfort; 12 – Stradów, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, hillfort; 13 – Kraków – Dębniaki, a settlement next to the hillfort; 14 – Będzin, Silesian Voivodeship, hillfort; 15 – Trepcza, Podkarpackie Voivodeship, hillfort “Horodna”).

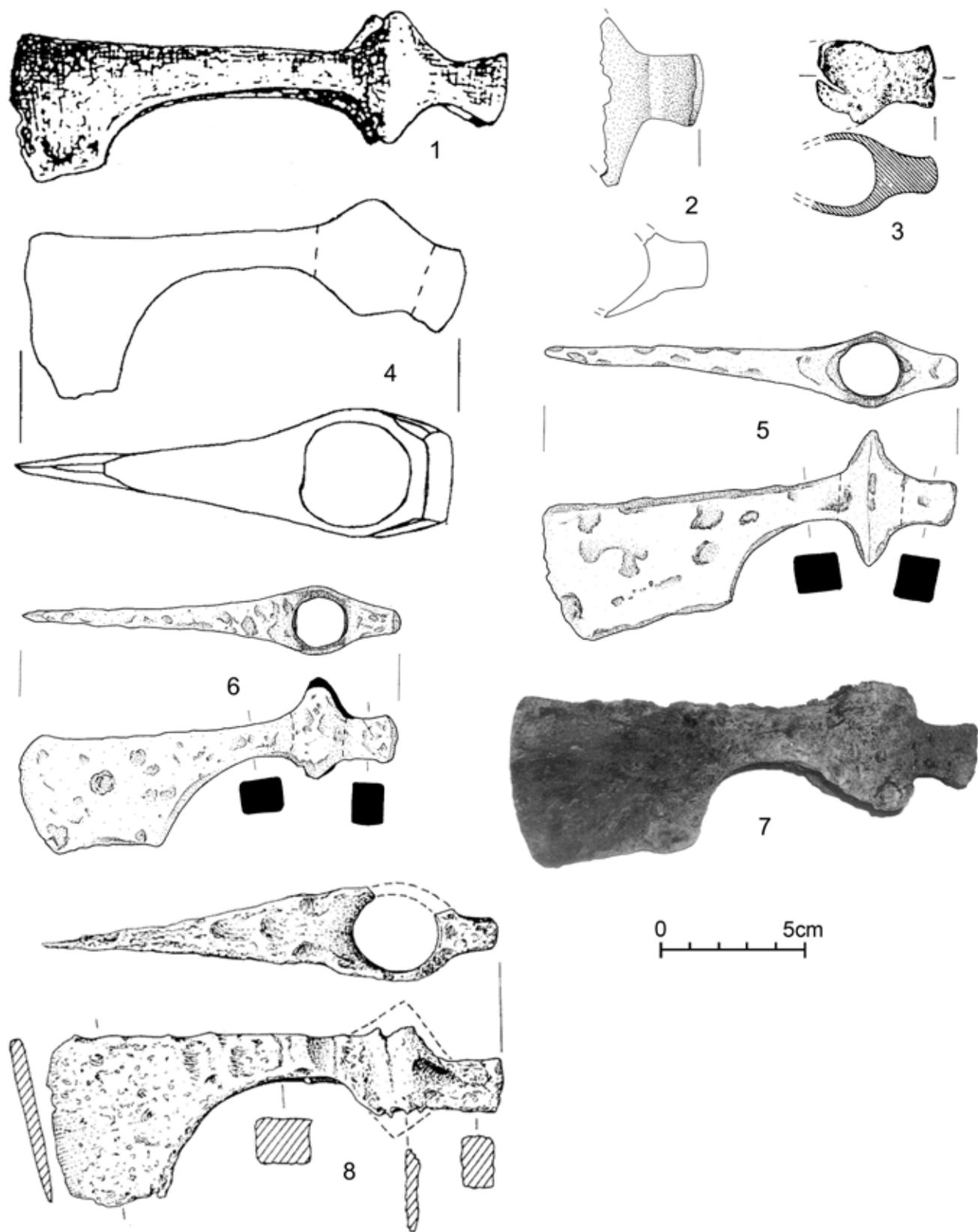


Fig. 3. Axes, type Id according to A. Nadolski – bradatice.

1 – Chodlik – Żmijowiska, site IVa, a settlement next to the hillfort; 2–3 – Kraków – Mogiła, site 1, settlement; 4 – Krasnystaw – Zastawie, Lublin Voivodeship, surface collection; 5 – Łąki – Byki, Lublin Voivodeship, surface collection; 6 – Nowosiółki Przednie, Lublin Voivodeship, surface collection; 7 – Przemyśl, Podkarpackie Voivodeship, hillfort), 8 – Trepcza, hillfort “Horodyszcz”, Podkarpackie Voivodeship, hoard of iron tools and weapons No. 1.

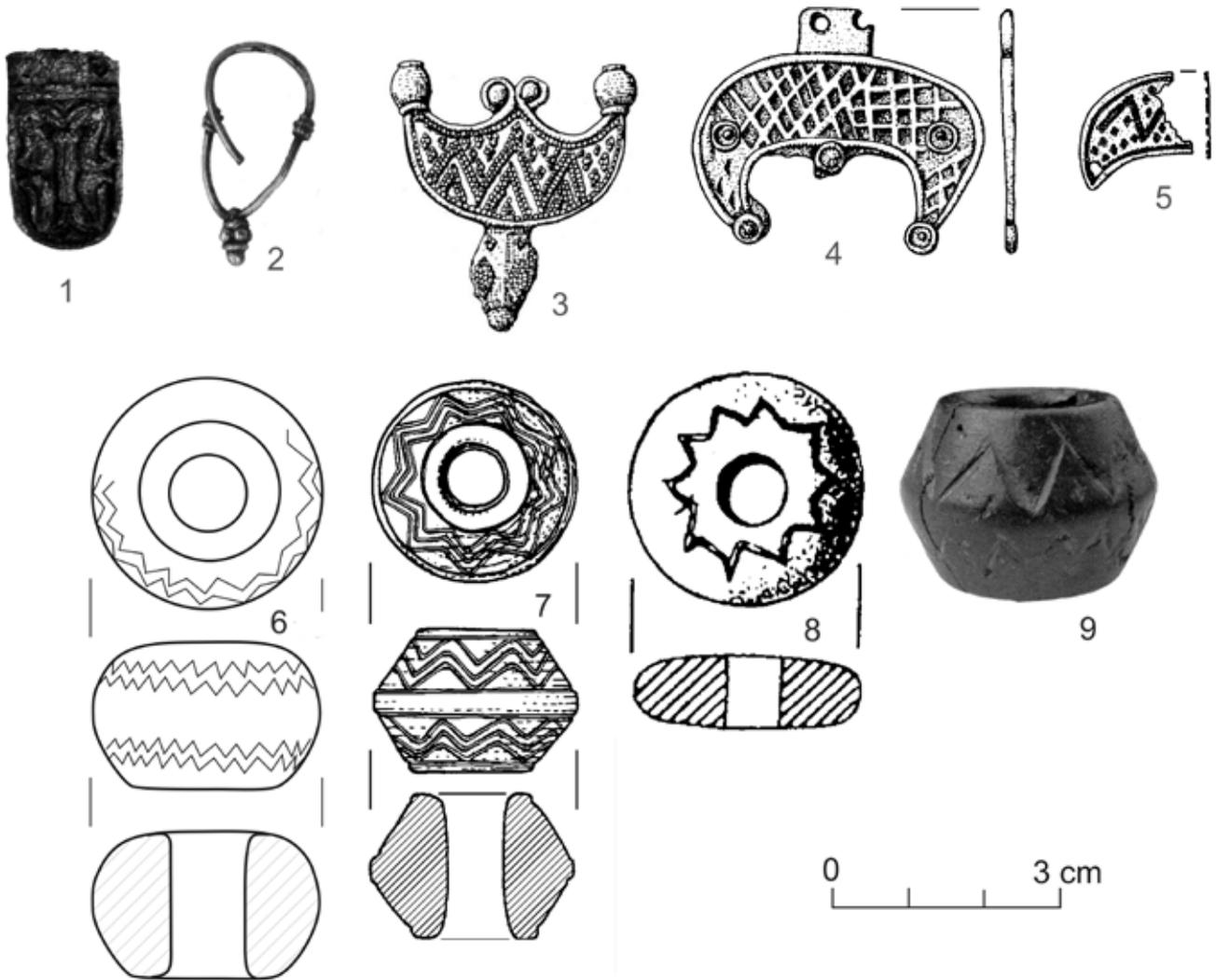


Fig. 4.

1–5 – Jewels of Great Moravian origin found in Lesser Poland, dated to the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century (1–2 – Będzin, Silesian Voivodeship, hillfort; 3 – Kraków – Stare Miasto, Okół; 4–5 – Naszacowice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort); 6–9 – ceramic or limestone spindle whorls from the 8th or 9th century decorated with waves – imports or copies of Avar or Great Moravian objects (6 – Damice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort; 7 – Naszacowice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort; 8 – Kraków – Mogiła, site 1, settlement; 9 – Kraków – Wawel, hillfort). 1 – bronze; 2, 3, 5 – silver; 4 – lead; 6, 7, 9 – ceramic; 8 – limestone.

in Naszacowice, beyond the stratigraphic context of settlement period explorations, it is irrelevant to ask the question whether this object is contemporary with the Mikulčice example or whether we can associate it with the Great Moravian cultural area (either as an import or a copy). Such a thesis is probable, however, hard to prove, taking into account the present results of research dealing with contacts between the Great Moravians and the people of Lesser Poland in the 9th century. The only find from the Tuligłowy hillfort, possibly older than the 11th century, is a piece of ironwork with rivets in its corners (shaped like a cross; *Cabalska 1979a*; 10: 15). The closest analogy could be several pieces of tetragonal horse-harness ironwork dated to the 9th century, found both in Scandinavia and at two Great Moravian hillforts in Slovakia (*Bialeková 1989–1990*, Fig. 4; *Měchurová 1984*, tab. 1, Type IIB). The only example from Polish territory, relatively similar to the ironwork from the Tuligłowy hillfort, was found during exploration of the Brzostowo hillfort in Greater Poland (*Brzostowicz 2002*, 78, Fig. 28: 8). It is dated to the turn of the 9th and 10th century. It is not

clear whether the ironwork from the Tuligłowy hillfort was used as part of a horse harness; in that case, it could date from the 9th century (alternatively to the first half of the 10th century). If this object really comes from the 9th (or the first half of the 10th) century, a Great Moravian origin would be more probable (considering that the Lesser Poland area would be defined by the distance from and the absence of objects originating in Scandinavia, which would be common there in that time period).

At first sight, the Lesser Polish finds of Great Moravian origin mentioned above seem to be of low frequency and little importance. However, things are not what they seem. Lesser Polish finds of riding equipment and weapons made in Great Moravia (or copies of them) represent a significant percentage of all objects of this category that date from the 9th century. Most of the jewels that date from the 9th century are also regarded as Great Moravian products. The above-mentioned objects were brought to the area north of the Carpathian Mountains through

the Moravian Gate and probably also through the Carpathian passes, following trails along the rivers Váh, Poprad and Dunajec, and from the Tisza headwater area through the Dukla Pass. In general we can claim that archaeological source analysis has confirmed the relatively intense contacts between the Great Moravian Empire and the tribes settled in south Poland that took place in the 2nd half of the 9th century. At this moment, however, it is not possible to give any more details about the character of these contacts. No convincing evidence has been found of a Moravian military campaign, or of the integration of these areas into the Great Moravian Empire. No evidence of the Christianisation of the local people has been found either. A definite answer to this unsolved question can only be given by future archaeological research.

The presence of Lesser Polish finds of Great Moravian origin leads to the question whether or not there were any contacts between the inhabitants of the Bohemian Basin, Moravia

and Slovakia, and the inhabitants of south Poland (especially Lesser Poland). In the early Slavonic period up to the middle of the 7th century these territories formed part of the Prague culture. In the following period, up to the beginning of the 10th century, we can observe certain cultural phenomena that definitely interconnected the southern territories of the Western Slavs, although they were separated by the West Carpathian Mountains and the Sudeten Mountains.

From analysis of hillfort locations in the West Slavonic territory from the 8th to the beginning of the 10th century two zones emerged according to the area – southern and northern (Fig. 5, 7). In the southern zone, including the Bohemian Basin, Moravia, Slovakia and Lesser Poland, half the number of hillforts were built in that period (considering the different expanse of the two zones) than in the northern zone which included the remaining West Slavonic territories (Silesia, Greater Poland, Pomerania and, to some extent, Lusatia).

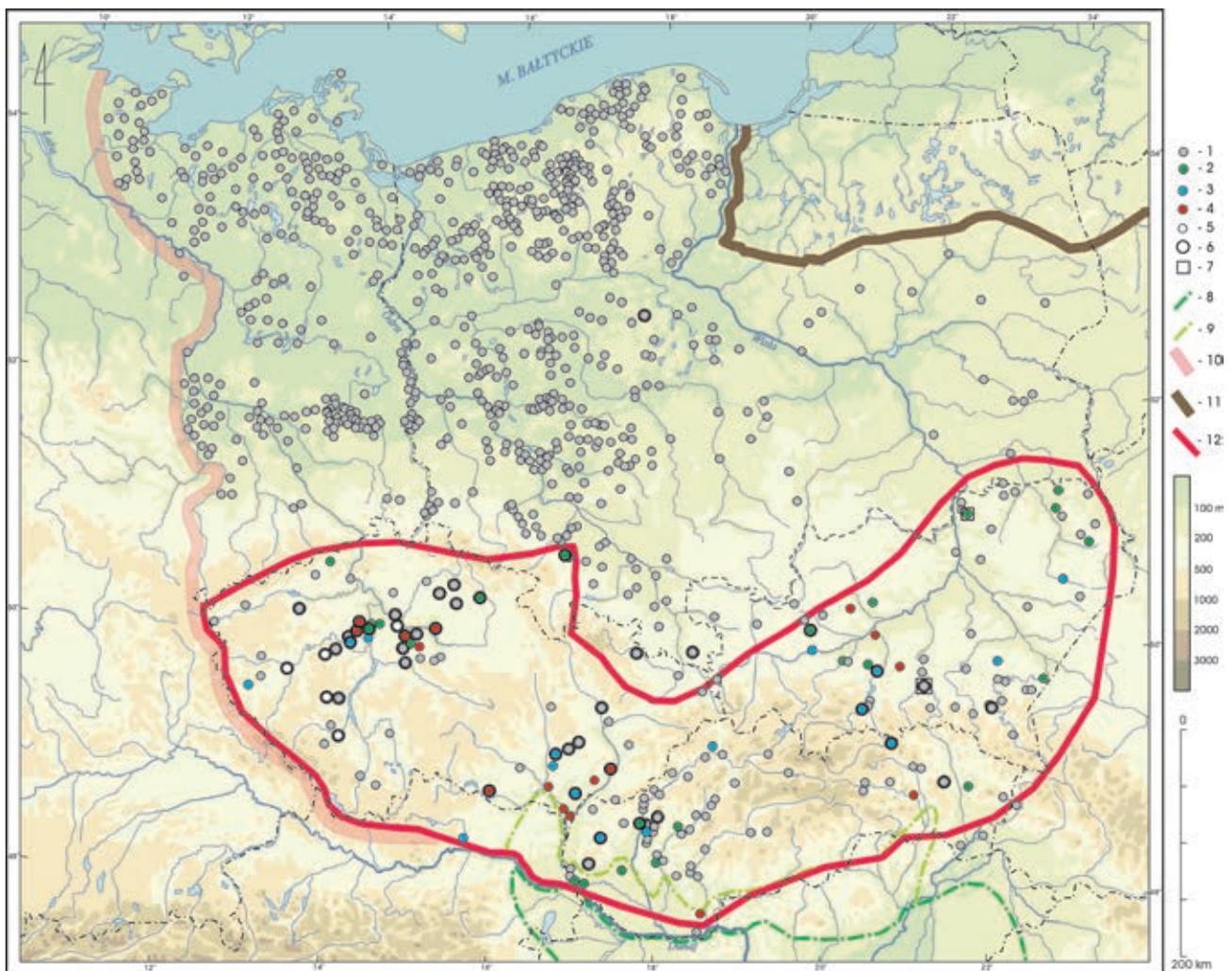


Fig. 5. Hillforts from the 8th–10th century in West Slavonic territories.

1 – hillfort, area up to 5 hectares; 2 – hillfort, area 5–9 ha; 3 – hillfort, area 9–16 ha; 4 – hillfort larger than 16 ha; 5 – probably a tribal hillfort in the Bohemian Basin where late Avar objects from the 8th century have been found; 6 – tribal hillfort where late Avar objects from the 8th century have been found; 7 – hillfort dated to the 8th century by means of dendrochronological methods; 8 – northern border of the so-called early Avar khaganate; 9 – northern border of the so-called late Avar khaganate; 10 – eastern border of Carolingian Empire in the 9th century; 11 – border of Baltic inhabitant settlement; 12 – area in which not only small and medium-sized hillforts (up to 5 ha) but also large hillforts (larger than 5 ha) were built in the 8th – beginning of the 10th century.

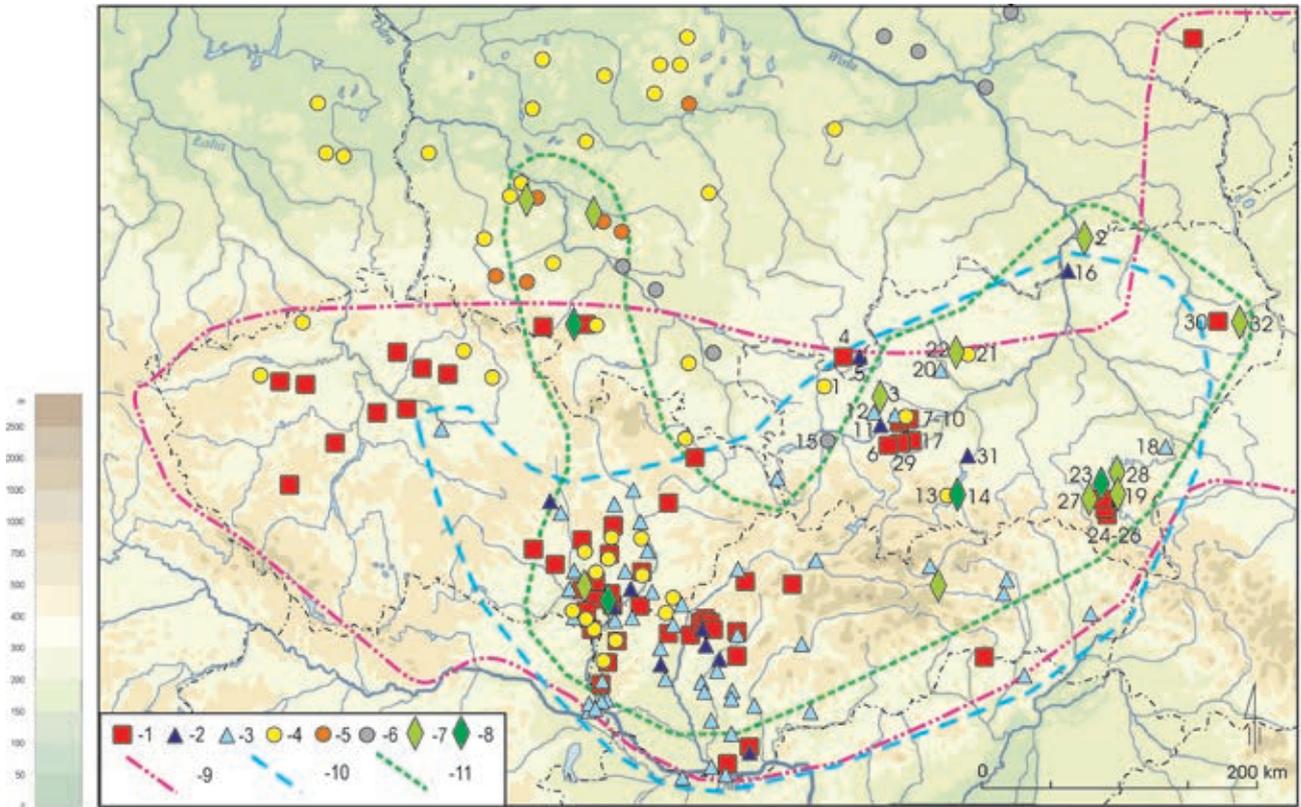


Fig. 6. Southern part of early mediaeval West Slavonic territory. Hoards of iron objects and ingots.

1 – so-called mixed hoard of iron objects (a hoard containing more than 1 category of objects – without hoards including only iron Silesian bowls and no iron ingots or arrowhead-shaped ingots); 2 – hoard containing axe-shaped iron ingots; 3 – isolated find of axe-shaped iron ingots; 4 – isolated find of an iron Silesian bowl (8th–10th century); 5 – hoard containing Silesian iron bowls (8th–10th century); 6 – isolated find of a Silesian bowl from the 10th/11th or 11th century; 7 – isolated find of an arrowhead iron ingot; 8 – find of several arrowhead iron ingots at one site; 9 – expansion of iron object hoards (so-called mixed hoards containing more than one category of object); 10 – expansion of axe-shaped iron ingots (both hoards and isolated finds); 11 – expansion of arrowhead iron ingots (both hoards and isolated finds). Lesser Polish sites are numbered (list of sites – see Poleski 2013, CD-ROM). According to Bubenik 1972, Wachowski 1981, Bartošková 1986, Bialeková 1990, 2000. Completed by J. Poleski.

As to the density of the tribal hillforts that have been located, the territories of Mazovia, Podlaskie and so-called Middle Poland were similar to the southern zone. The southern zone is characterised by the varied size of hillforts – some were smaller (up to 5 hectares), others were large (even larger than 20 hectares). These large fortifications form nearly one third of more than 170 hillforts (8th – beginning of 10th century) identified in the southern area. Nevertheless we must not forget about the revolutionary changes in the southern zone in the 9th century: the beginnings of the Great Moravian Empire were made in the twenties and thirties of this century. Analysis of the shape, area, house-building and function of the Great Moravian hillforts and the large tribal hillforts in the Bohemian Basin and Lesser Poland brought out considerable differences between them. In spite of this, large and very large hillforts were built both in Great Moravia and in other parts of the southern zone (Poleski 2004, 94–108, 162–166; 2011, 200–204; 2013; 58–71, 198–201).

As well as the two kinds of hillfort building development in the period of the 8th to the beginning of the 10th century, we can find more distinguishing features between the southern and northern parts of West Slavonic settlement. From

the first half of the 7th century, the tribes inhabiting the southern zone (Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Silesia, Lesser Poland and, in some measure, Lusatia) share the same burial rite: these were cremations and tumulus burials, in some areas also burials deposited on the surface of tumuli (*Zoll Adamikowa 1979, 205–234; 1988; 1997; 2000*). From this point of view the territories mentioned above clearly differ from the northern part of the West Slavonic territory. Here we can find an Alt Kåbelich type of cremation cemetery from the 9th century and – in Pomerania and Mecklenburg – burial tumuli containing cremations (*Łosiński 1998; see older literature*). This way of burying naturally ended due to Christianisation – in Great Moravia it was in the 830s, in Bohemia at the end of the 9th century, when they switched to burials direct into the ground.

There is no doubt that from the end of the 6th century to the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries Great Moravia, the Bohemian Basin, Slovakia, Lesser Poland and Silesia were under the influence of the Avar Khaganate (*Profantová 1992; 2010; Profantová – Stolz 2006; Szymański 1962, 1985; 1995; Zoll Adamikowa 1992; Poleski 2003; 2004, 158–160; 2009b*). It is clear that the khaganate influenced Moravia, Bohemia and Slovakia much more strongly

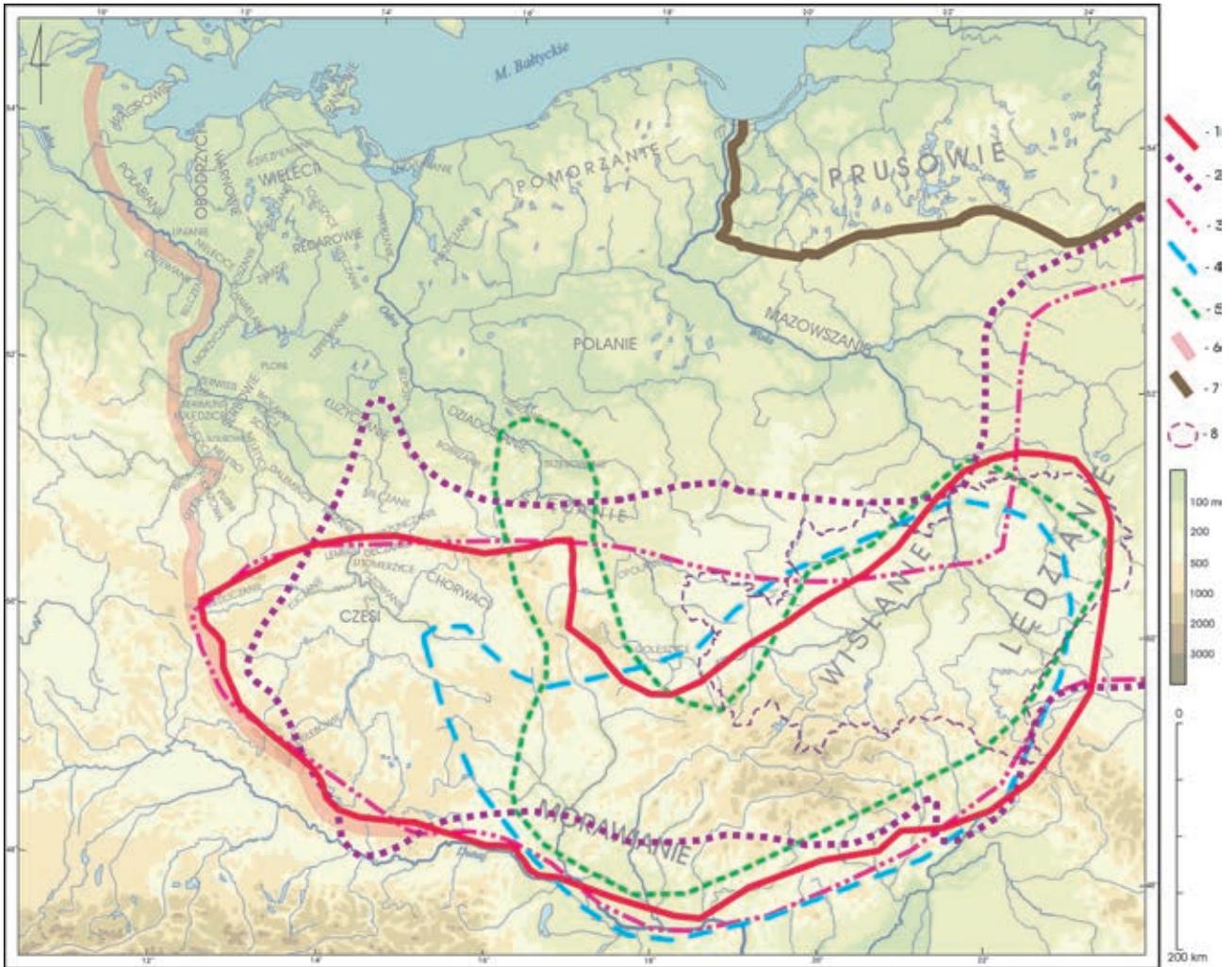


Fig. 7. Selected aspects of West Slavonic culture from the 8th to the beginning of the 10th century.

1 – area in which not only small and medium-sized hillforts (up to 5 ha) but also large hillforts (larger than 5 ha) were built; 2 – expansion of burial tumuli containing cremation (including urn and pit graves, according to H. Zoll Adamikowa); 3 – expansion of iron hoards (mixed hoards containing more than one category of object); 4 – expansion of axe-shaped iron ingots (both hoards and isolated finds); 5 – expansion of arrowhead-shaped iron ingots (both hoards and isolated finds); 6 – eastern border of the Carolingian Empire in the 9th century; 7 – border of settlement of Baltic peoples; 8 – border of Lesser Poland. On the map the names of West Slavonic tribes are used – we must remember that some of these names were first recorded after the 10th century (on Polish territory – the Polish, the Mazovians, the Pomeranians etc.)

than Lesser Poland or Silesia, especially in the 8th century. Since 16 objects belonging to 8th century khaganate culture have been found in Lesser Poland, this territory can be included in the Avar Khaganate sphere of influence. And since in Lesser Poland and Silesia several isolated Carolingian finds from the 8th century have been recorded, we can include Moravia, the Bohemian Basin, Slovakia, Lesser Poland Silesia, and to some extent Lusatia in the common area influenced by the Carolingian culture of that century (see *Wachowski 1997a*, 55–60; *Jaworski 2005a*, 266–268). The first three decades of the 9th century (according to some archaeologists, the first fifty years of that century – see later) are, in the development of Moravian, Slovak and to some degree Bohemian culture, called the Blatnice-Mikulčice period (*Wachowski 1989*; *Profantová 1997*; *Galuška 1996*). However, this cultural phenomenon is reflected only weakly in southern and middle Poland.

The above-mentioned cultural elements that linked the tribes that inhabited the southern area of West Slavonic territory are not the only elements that define features common to local groups of people. During the analysis of similarities and differences between the cultures of these tribes, it was very expedient to map some types of finds that had been created before the middle of the 10th century (**Fig. 6–7**). Isolated finds, hoards of Silesian bowls that date from the 7th – turn of the 10th and 11th centuries (*Bubeník 1972*; *Wachowski 1981*, 168–169; *Poleski 1992*, 41) and also axe-shaped ingots that date from the middle of the 8th – turn of the 9th and 10th centuries (*Bialeková 1990*; *Zaitz 1990*, see also older literature) were taken into account. Also iron objects, including weapons, farming and riding equipment that were found in the Bohemian Basin, Moravia and Slovakia and dated to the 8th–9th century have been mapped (*Bartašková 1986*; *Hachulska Ledwos 1971*, 104–106; *Ginalski 1997*; *Poleski – Rodak 2001*). More

than 40 ironwork hoards have been found. The hoards included carpenters', blacksmiths' and farmers' tools, parts of weaponry and riding equipment and occasionally axe-shaped iron ingots or Silesian iron bowls (*Bartošková 1986*). As to similar finds in the Polish area, nine certain and two lost hoards from Lesser Poland have been identified. In that area, the custom of storing iron hoards in the ground remained in existence at least until the end of the 10th century. Moreover, two hoards of this kind have been found in Silesia (Gilów and Książ Wielki). They date from the 9th century (*Jaworski – Paternoga 2002, 282–285; Jaworski 2005b*).

On the map, isolated finds and hoards of Silesian iron bowls that date from the 7th–11th (12th?) century (*Bubenik 1972; Wachowski 1981, 168–169; Poleski 1997, Fig. 1*) are also taken into consideration, similarly, axe-shaped iron ingots from the 8th – turn of the 9th and 10th centuries (*Bialeková 1990; 2000; Béreš 2002; Žaki 1961; Zaitz 1990, Poleski 1997, Fig. 1*). Since iron bowls and axe-shaped ingots were used instead of money at that time, the extent of their occurrence characterises the area of specific Slavonic “currency union”, or the area where such objects were used as an equivalent of money. Even the finds of treasures of iron objects can be connected with the economy, although their storing in the ground may be connected with political-military or cultural reasons. Silesian iron bowls occurred mostly in Silesia (including the hoards) and about a dozen have been found in Moravia, Bohemia and western Slovakia. In Poland, individual finds of these bowls date from the 11th or even 12th century (*Piekalski 1991, 76–78; Poleski 1992, 41; Biermann 2002, 255–256*). In Moravian, Slovak and Bohemian territory they appear no later than the end of the 9th century. However, we must not forget that Silesian iron bowls can be also found in the northern part of West Slavonic territories. Axe-shaped iron ingots occur mostly in Moravia and Western Slovakia (*Bialeková 1990; 2000; Béreš 2002*); somewhat fewer have been found in Lesser Poland, although the largest hoard of such objects comes from this area (*Zaitz 1990*). In recent years, another type of iron object regarded by many archaeologists as an equivalent of money has been identified. These objects have been called arrowhead-shaped iron ingots. Such ingots have been found at seven sites in Lesser Poland. Broadly speaking, they date from the 9th century, although one example from Naszacowice might date from the 8th century. The same objects from Silesia, Moravia and Slovakia date from the 9th century. In Bohemia, no arrowhead-shaped iron ingots have been found yet. K. Wachowski holds the opinion that the arrowhead-shaped objects were originally used as ingots, the equivalent of money, or that they were just standardised semi-finished iron products used for the next stage of processing. Of course, these two functions are not mutually exclusive. However, having no shaft, these objects could not, it seems, be used as arrow tips.

The map shows that between the beginning of the 9th and (in the case of Lesser Poland) the end of the 10th century, in the southern part of early mediaeval West Slavonic territories there was a relatively united zone, in possession of and certainly using iron equivalents of money (**Fig. 6–7**). Such “money” was used even if it had no standardised weight or size over the whole territory. This absence of standardisation applies primarily to axe-shaped ingots, which can be divided into two typology groups – Great Moravian and Lesser Polish (*Zaitz 1990, 164–166*). In the major part of the territory it was common at that

time to store iron hoards (including the above-mentioned equivalents of money) in the ground. Having summarised the previous reflections, we can say that the division of West Slavonic territories into two cultural zones – northern and southern – is clearly reflected in many cultural areas. In the southern zone equivalents of money were both produced and used, and iron hoards were stored in the ground. Besides, there were similarities in burial rite, house building (pit houses and burdei houses were built over a long period of time) and in hillfort building. It is evident that the southern zone of West Slavonic territory was not culturally united. It can be observed mainly after the formation of the Great Moravian Empire in the 9th century. The analysis of the phenomena described above makes it clear that the areas in which isolated finds materially reflecting this culture have been found do not overlap. There is no definite border between the northern and southern zone of West Slavonic territory. We must rather speak about “temporary zones” and take account of gradual changes in the culture of Slavonic tribes in Lesser Poland and Silesia. At the same time we can observe two main stages of the cultural development of the Slavs living in this area. The older stage is related to cultural impulses coming from the south, namely with the Avar, Merovingian and early Carolingian cultural spheres. The newer stage is characterised by Moravian influence (i. e. both the weak influence of the Blatnice-Mikulčice horizon and strong cultural influence of the Moravian state in the 9th century). In spite of the changes, the network of cultural integrity connecting the regions we are looking at was not severed. In many cultural areas the common features remained in existence until the 10th century. The cultural phenomena of the southern zone of West Slavonic territory described here have the characteristics of “long duration” according to Fernand Braudel (*Braudel 1999, 46–89*).

List of sites according to the pictures

Objects of Great Moravian origin and copies of them in Lesser Poland

1. Spurs with plates (and fragments of them)

1. Jaroszewiec, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, surface collection. Spur with a plate, type Vb according to D. Bialekova; unpublished, information kindly supplied by Dr. M. Wojenka.
2. Kraków, Podgórze, Bieżanów, site 21, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, surface collection. Spur with a plate, type Vb according to D. Bialekova (Fig. 2: 4; unpublished, information kindly supplied by Dr. P. Poleska).
3. Kraków – Mogiła, site 1, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, settlement. Spur with a plate, type Vb according to D. Bialekova, iron hoard (Fig. 2: 2; pit 61/58; Hachulska Ledwos 1971, tab. LX: 12).
4. Naszacowice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort. Iron spur hook decorated with a silver plate, type IV according to D. Bialeková (Fig. 2: 6; Poleski 2011, 63, tab. 200: 4).
5. Szczaworyż, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, hillfort. Iron spur hook, type Vb according to D. Bialeková (Fig. 2: 7; Dąbrowska 1973, 68, 170, Fig. 8: 8).
5. Wietrzno – Bóbrka, Podkarpackie Voivodeship, hillfort. Spur with a plate, type Vb (fragment) according to D. Bialeková (Fig. 2: 3; Tynec 1991).

7. Zawada, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort. Spur with a plate, type Vb according to D. Bialekova (Fig. 2: 2; Cetera, Oikoński 1990, Fig. 2: a).

8. Zawada Lanckorońska, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort. Spur with a plate, type Vb (?) according to D. Bialekova (Fig. 2: 5; Poleski 2004, Fig. 196: 1).

2. Parts of sets used for fastening spurs with plates

9. Będzin, site 1, Silesian Voivodeship, hillfort. Iron ladder lock from a spur (Fig. 2: 14; Rogaczewska 2002, Fig. 4: a).

10. Kraków, Podgórze, Dębniki, settlement. Iron strap end (from a spur or a sword) in late Carolingian style from the 9th century (Fig. 2: 13), probably imported via Great Moravia (Firlert E. 2006, 412). Confirmed by a nearly identical example found in the Great Moravian hillfort Bojná I in Slovakia (Pieta – Ruttkay 2006, Fig. 1: g, see also 1: a).

11. Naszacowice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort. Iron ladder lock from a spur (Fig. 2: 9; Poleski 2011, 64, tab. 209: 1).

12. Naszacowice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort. Iron ladder lock from a spur (Fig. 2:10; Poleski 2011, 64, tab. 210: 2).

13. Naszacowice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort. Iron ladder lock from a set used for fastening spurs with a strap end and a buckle (Fig. 2: 8; Poleski 2011, 64, tab. 199: 5).

14. Stradów, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, hillfort. Iron ladder lock from a spur (Fig. 2: 12; Zoll Adamikowa 1987).

15. Trepcza, Podkarpackie Voivodeship, hillfort. "Horodna" (site 1). Iron ladder lock from a spur (Fig. 2: 15; Kotowicz 2005, 67, Fig. 5: l).

16. Wietrzno – Bóbrka, Podkarpackie Voivodeship, hillfort. Iron ladder lock (Fig. 2: 11; Żaki 1957A, 23, Fig. 16: 5; Poleski 1992, 26).

3. Axes, type 1d according to A. Nadolski (bradatice)

17. Chodlik IV – Żmijowiska, Lublin Voivodeship, settlement next to a hillfort. Axe (Fig. 3: 1; Hoczyk 1969, Fig. 3a).

18. Kraków – Mogiła, site 1, settlement. Axe (Fig. 3: 2; Hachulska Ledwos 1971, tab. XII: 5).

19. Kraków – Mogiła, site 1, settlement. Axe (Fig. 3: 2; Strzyż 2006, Fig. 10: 8, 9)

20. Kraków, Podgórze, Zakrzówek, surface collection. Axe (unpublished, kindly informed by Dr. M. Wojenka).

21. Krasnystaw – Zastawie, Lublin Voivodeship, surface collection. Axe (Fig. 3: 4; Strzyż 2006, Fig. 5: 5).

22. Krzykawka, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, surface collection. Axe (unpublished, kindly informed by Mag. R. Naglik).

23. Łąki – Byki, Lublin Voivodeship, surface collection. Axe (Fig. 3: 5; Kotowicz 2009, Fig. 1: 1).

24. Nowosiółki Przednie, Lublin Voivodeship, surface collection. Axe (Fig. 3: 6; Kotowicz 2009, Fig. 1: 2).

25. Przemyśl, Podkarpackie Voivodeship, hillfort. Axe (Fig. 3: 7; Bober 2006, Fig. 4).

26. Trepcza, Podkarpackie Voivodeship, hillfort. "Horodyszczce" (site 2). Axe, iron hoard (Fig. 3: 8; Ginalski 1997).

4. Jewellery

27. Będzin, site. 1, Silesian Voivodeship, hillfort. During research into this early mediaeval hillfort, a strap end cast of lead (or rather of bronze alloy with a majority of tin – Fig. 4: 1) was found, similar to the Carolingian ornamental style. It dates from the 9th century (Rogaczewska 2000, 17–18, photo D, E). According to A. Rogaczewska the strap end from Będzin can also be associated with the Blatnice-Mikulčice horizon. However, it seems that this strap end should be dated to the whole of the 9th century. According to M. Lennartsson (1997–1998, 490–501, Fig. 81) the plant ornaments used on this strap end were also used in Carolingian art until the end of the 9th century. It is not clear whether the Będzin strap end was made in a purely Frankish workshop, or if it is a Great Moravian (or even local) copy. The last option is probable due to the rather careless processing and the simplified shape of this strap end. A similarly simplified small strap end was found in grave No. 223/51 at the Great Moravian burial site in Staré Město (Hrubý 1955, tab. 80: 4). It should be mentioned that such a type of plant ornament, arranged symmetrically along the vertical axis – "stem" (Lennartsson 1997–1998, tab. 6: 2; 7: 2; 12: 3; 25: 10, 15), a typical slantwise-placed "ribbon" or "knot" on the stem (Lennartsson 1997–1998, Fig. 4d: 37), and also the shape of the strap end with rivets on its upper horizontal edge are characteristic of Carolingian art of the 9th century. This is the reason why we have placed this object within the Carolingian cultural sphere, although it is possible that the object arrived in Będzin from Great Moravia. Finds of other strap ends with similar shape and ornamentation coming from Great Moravian burial sites support this possibility.

28. Będzin, site 1, Silesian Voivodeship, hillfort. During research into the Będzin hillfort a Great Moravian silver earring was found that dates from the second half of the 9th century. (Fig. 4: 2; Rogaczewska 2000, 17, photo C; see also Dostál; 1966, Fig. 8: 6; tab. LXX: 11, 12).

29. Kraków – Stare Miasto, Okół. A silver earring of Great Moravian type from the second half of the 9th century (Fig. 4: 3; Radwański 1960, Fig. 5; Poleski 2004, 276).

30. Naszacowice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort. A fragment of a silver lunula (Fig. 4: 5; Poleski 2011, tab. 201: 11).

31. Naszacowice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort. A leaden lunula (Fig. 4: 4; Poleski 2011, tab. 200: 5).

5. Ceramic spindle whorls from the 8th or 9th century, decorated with waves or broken lines (imports or copies of objects of Avar or Great Moravian origin)

32. Damice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort. A ceramic spindle whorl decorated with broken lines (Fig. 4: 6; Poleski 2009a).

33. Kraków – Mogiła, site. 1, settlement. A lime spindle whorl decorated with broken lines (Fig. 4: 8; Hachulska Ledwos 1971, 158, tab. XCI: 8).

34. Kraków – Stare Miasto, Wawel, hillfort. A ceramic spindle whorl decorated with broken lines (Fig. 4: 9; Firlet 2006, 299).

35. Naszacowice, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, hillfort. A ceramic spindle whorl decorated with waves (Fig. 4: 7, Poleski 2011, 66, tab. 210: 4).

6. "Carolingian" strap end

36. Kraków – Mogiła, site 62 and 62A, settlement. A bronze tongue-shaped strap end with two rivet holes and a narrowed projection on its bottom edge (unpublished, information kindly supplied by Dr. P. Poleska). This object has only a few analogies among the Carolingian examples made of bronze that date from the end of the 8th or the first part of the 9th century (see the analogy from the Carolingian cultural area and from the Moravian site Mikulčice; Zoll Adamikowa 1998, 94–101, Fig. 3, 8). Due to the very simple shape of this object we may admit that it is a local copy.

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THE BROTHERS FROM THESSALONIKI

CYRIL AND METHODIUS AMONG BYZANTINE MISSIONARIES: COMMON FEATURES AND UNIQUE QUALITY

Sergej A. Ivanov

When speaking of Cyril and Methodius's embassy, one must acknowledge its completely unique place in Byzantine history. Constantine firmly believed that all peoples were worthy of baptism; however, this does not mean that the concept of a "barbarian" had no relevance for him. The work of Methodius and his disciples in Moravia can be evaluated using the "Law for Judging the People". This was especially the case regarding the rules for marriage, and became one of the reasons for the ultimate failure of Cyril and Methodius' entire endeavour. Half a century later, while converting the Alans, the Byzantines used this experience. The Greeks had apparently learned a great deal from their "Latin" rivals in Bulgaria and Moravia.

Key words: Byzantium, Cyril and Methodius, Barbarians, Christian mission, Moravian mission, cultural snobbery, "Law for Judging the People", Christianisation of Alans

Speaking of missionaries, one should distinguish several different kinds of them: voluntary and occasional, state-sponsored and self-proclaimed, foreign and indigenous. If we turn to Byzantium we will see that the majority of those who are commonly labelled as its missionaries had no initial intention to become such. Take Nino the baptiser of the Georgians, or Kupharas who converted Boris of Bulgaria – they did not intend to become missionaries; take the "nine saints" who allegedly baptised Ethiopia – they were religious dissidents who emigrated from the Empire and could not count upon its support. Take Gregory the Illuminator of Armenia or Theophilus the Indian – they were delegated by the Empire, but they originally belonged to the world which they decided to christianise; of course they had problems of an ideological kind, but not of a cultural or civilisational nature. Baptisers like Justinian's general Tzitzas had no scruples of any kind: his threats to the Tzani went along with Christian preaching to them, and the construction of churches in their land – with the cutting down of forests there.¹ He is a highly typical governmental missionary backed by military force.

Of course, it is not appropriate to compare any of the above with Constantine and Methodius. They belong to the relatively small group of state-sponsored Rhomaioi who went to barbarian lands to teach Christianity in vernacular languages, with no political goal in mind. Obvious diplomatic interests, if not imperialist appetites, stood behind the activities of Byzantine missionaries such as Probus, the Christian emissary to the Huns, or Stephen of Surozh, who baptised the Khazars, or Hierotheus, Apostle to the Hungarians, or Euphemius, Apostle to the Pechenegs.

And still, Constantine and Methodius are not the only missionaries who travelled to distant countries. Let us remember Longinus, the Apostle to the Sudan, or two fictitious literary characters who may have had real-life prototypes: I mean St Gregentios, the preacher to Yemen, the hero of a vita, published not long ago,²

or the nameless "philosopher" from the Rus' Primary Chronicle. All three teachers were sent by central authorities and in all cases geopolitics played a minimal role, if at all.

In what language did Byzantine missionaries address their flock? The answer is obvious in those cases when the preachers themselves were of "barbaric" origin, like, say, Wulfilas the Goth. But did the Greek missionaries learn barbarian languages? It is easier to answer these questions in connection with the heretical churches, which actively carried out missions beyond the boundaries of the Empire. Thus we know that the Syrian Simeon of Bet Arsham, the Monophysitic enlightener of the Sarcens, would begin speaking in any language on the third day.³ Ahudemme, the Syrian preacher of Monophysitism, greatly feared the difficulties of the Arabic language.⁴ Western missionaries always tried to learn the local dialect quickly and to preach in it.⁵ The problem of cultural snobbery did not exist for the Copts either. The Vita of Pachomius relates how a monk hesitated to confess to the saint using a translator. He then prayed, and three hours later some sort of "papery missive" flew down from the sky. After reading it, Pachomius immediately began speaking in all languages. Yet the Greek sources are almost completely silent regarding the linguistic skills of Byzantine preachers. Nicephorus, the Metropolitan of Kiev, informed the Kievans that he was not endowed with "the gift of language". The disdain toward barbarian languages had been inherited by the Byzantines from the ancient Romans and Greeks who, as we know, did not consider it necessary to learn them either. Let us not forget that the very word "barbarian" is onomatopoeic, conveying the contempt of a "cultured" person toward foreign speech.

3 JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Life of Simeon the Bishop*, ed. Ernest Walter Brooks, *Patrologia Orientalis* 17.1, Paris 1923, p. 155, cf. Alphonse MINGANA, *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East*, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 9/2, 1925, pp. 363, 365.

4 *Histoire de Mar Ahoudemeh, apôtre des Arabes de Mésopotamie*, ed. François Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis* 3.1, Paris 1909, p. 22.

5 I. auf der MAUR, *Missionarische Tätigkeit der Benediktiner im Frühmittelalter*, *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 92, pp. 121, 123.

1 Procopius, *Bella* I, 15, 24–25 (*Procopii Caesariensis Opera omnia*, 1–2, ed. Jacob Haury, Lipsiae 1963, vol. I, p. 78).

2 *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, *Millennium Studies* 7, ed. Albrecht Berger, Berlin – New York 2006.

So, can we say that Constantine the Philosopher, with his outstanding linguistic curiosity and a rare gift for languages, was an exception? No. We can find a couple of parallels. Theodore of Edessa was also endowed with linguistic capabilities; his *Vita* states that “he conversed fluently in Greek, and in Syrian, and in Ishmaelite, and in Persian as well”.⁶ But he lived outside the Empire and was a subject of the Caliphs. Also worth mentioning is the Bosphoran Bishop Kolymbadios who figured in Epiphanius’ composition about the Apostle Andrew. This hierarch, who lived in the 9th century, knew ten languages.⁷ Whether Kolymbadios truly was a polyglot is not important; what is significant is that he considered it necessary to boast before Epiphanius, and did so in a “missionary” context. Kolymbadios, who lived at the very edge of the Byzantine oikoumene, was clearly proud of the fact that he addressed the barbarians in their own language. Moreover, the hierarch probably mentioned his own multilingualism in answer to the particular interest Epiphanius had demonstrated in Andrew’s “apostolic inheritance”. So, Constantine was not completely alone, but belonged to a tiniest minority among Byzantine imperial missionaries.

Speaking of Cyril and Methodius’ embassy, one must acknowledge its completely unique place in Byzantine history. The brothers can be viewed as representatives of the most “internationalist” wing of the Byzantine cultural elite. Constantine firmly believed that all peoples were worthy of baptism and that all languages were created equal by God; however, this does not mean that the concept of a “barbarian” had no relevance for him. The single text that was clearly composed from the words of Constantine himself, a Latin letter of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (as transmitted by Metrophanes of Smyrna), presents barbarians in an utterly stereotypical way. In the area near Cherson, Constantine attempted to learn where the grave of Clement of Rome was located, “but since all of the residents there were newcomers from various barbarian tribes rather than locals, and in general were cruel robbers (*immo vero saevi latrunculi*), they insisted they did not know what he was talking about”.⁸ To the unbiased eye, there is nothing criminal in the local pagan population (especially since they were newcomers) not knowing about some Christian relics buried nobody knew when or where; in this context the appellation “robbers” has no basis besides general distaste. The fact that Constantine conversed with the barbarians all the same conveniently distinguished the “philosopher” from the Bishop of Cherson, who received him and who, along with the townspeople, “seemed not so much citizens of the city as inmates of a jail, since they did not dare to venture out beyond the walls”.⁹ The humour of the passage quoted clearly conveys the tone of Constantine; he himself was not afraid of barbarians, but he nevertheless shared the common distaste towards them. The “apostle to the Slavs” assumed, as did every Byzantine, an a priori category of “barbarianism”, and all the more so did the Imperial government assume this premise in general.

6 *Žitie iže vo svjatyh otca našeho Feodora*, archiepiskopa Ďdesskogo, ed. Ivan Pomjalovskij, Sankt-Peterburg 1892, p. 84.

7 *Grečeskie predanija o sv. apostole Andree 1*, Žitija, ed. Jurij A. Vinogradov, Sankt-Peterburg 2005, p. 177, 311–312A.

8 Johann FRIEDRICH, *Ein Brief des Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Klasse, Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 3, 1892, p. 441.

9 IDEM, p. 440.

The work of Methodius and his disciples in Moravia can be evaluated using the *Vitae of Constantine-Cyril* and *Vitae of Clement of Ochrid*, as well as the legal document *Law for Judging the People*, which was composed with the Greeks’ assistance. These sources make it clear that the Greeks, despite being in Moravia without particular political support, from the outset presented demands to the barbarians as if addressing subjects of the Empire.

This was the case regarding the rules for marriage. It was forbidden to have more than one wife, forbidden to marry relatives of any degree, including through godparentage, and so on. Being himself a bearer of Byzantine church doctrine, the author of the Extended *Vita of Constantine* accuses “the Franks” of “not prohibiting [...] the creation of innumerable marriages” among the Moravians. And in the Greek-language Extended *Vita of Clement* the “Franks” are accused of indulging Prince “Sviatopolk” in his “abominable couplings”.¹⁰ Byzantine missionaries displayed a worthy admiration of fidelity to principles, making no distinction either between the elite and the common people or between neophytes and Byzantines.

The *Law for Judging the People* set the same penalties for violation of marital norms that existed in long-Christianised Byzantine society. All this could not but frighten the Slav elite away from the Greek clerics. This became one of the reasons for the ultimate failure of Cyril and Methodius’ entire endeavour.¹¹

Was this rigidity a unique feature of Methodius and his disciples? Let us compare it with what we read in the *Vita of Gregentios*. It became clear after its recent full publication that this mysterious document must be dated to the 10th century.¹² It is appropriate in such an instance also to examine the section of the document provisionally known as *The Laws of the Himyarites* with new eyes. This is not an original 6th century document, as many researchers used to believe, but a missionary utopia produced by the pen of a monk who to all appearances never left the boundaries of Constantinople. Nevertheless, this does not free us from the obligation to examine this text as a record of Byzantine missionary thought, albeit from a later date and albeit theoretical. The reader is immediately struck by the fact that the laws prescribe rules for the lives of new Arab converts that are far stricter than those that existed in the long-baptised Empire. Those who engage in premarital relations avoid punishment only by immediately consenting to be married. Prostitution is forbidden, and the keeping of a saloon is severely punished. Someone twice widowed must enter a monastery; even slaves must be married. As a whole the *Laws of the Himyarites* is a utopia, its goal being the creation of an ideal state. Maybe, the author’s ideals were not dissimilar from those of the Byzantine clergy in 9th century Moravia.

Can we say that the mission of Constantine and Methodius, being generally unsuccessful, was completely ignored by subsequent generations of Byzantine missionaries? No. We think that even their failure was of service to their

10 *Grčckite žitija na Kliment Ochridski*, ed. Alexander Milev, Sofija 1966, p. 90.

11 See Boris N. FLORJA, *Prinjatje christianstva v Velikoj Moravii, Čechii i Pol’se*, in: Genadij G. Litavrin (red.), *Prinjatje christianstva narodami Central’noj i Jugo-Vostočnoj Evropy i kreščenie Rusi*, Moskva 1988, p. 128–130.

12 *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios*, ed. A. Berger, p. 100–109.

successors. Half a century later, while converting the Alans, the Byzantines used this experience: Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus himself took several bold steps: he dispatched missionaries to Alania from his inner circle (whereas Cyril and Methodius, for example, had had no church rank), kept watch over them and followed their activities (again in contrast to the indifference displayed by Constantinople toward the brothers from Thessalonica), and, most significantly, the Greeks softened their previous inflexible position regarding polygamy.¹³

The Thessalonian brothers, in spite of everything, remained representatives of their Empire; they may have been among its best, most talented and broad minded, but they were still its representatives, with all the pluses and minuses of this status. Only on his deathbed, taking the monastic habit, did Constantine proclaim that he was not the subject of the Emperor any more. Yet the Empire did not acknowledge the merits of the brothers. Not a single contemporary Greek source mentioned them with a single word.

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¹³ *Nicolai I Constantinopolitani patriarchae Epistolae*, ed. Romilly J. H. Jenkins – Leendert Gerrit Westerink, *CFHB* 6, Washington 1973, pp. 266.21–28; 278.5–11, 13–280.15, 21–25; 284.75–286.98; 314.10–22; 438.18–440.74.

THE ORIGINS OF MORAVIAN RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION AND THE CHARACTER OF METHODIUS' ARCHBISHOPRIC

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The author looks at some important moments in the lives of Constantine and Methodius while in Moravia and Pannonia. He takes the view that the brothers' journey to Rome in 867/868 was planned and was in accordance with the wishes of Prince Rastislav and his desire for an independent religious organisation; though in the first phase success was thwarted by the death of Constantine. It was only in the second and third phases that Methodius managed to acquire the title of Pannonian (arch) Bishop, with reference to ancient Sirmium, which was undoubtedly a move by the Papal Curia to stake its claim on Pannonia in the face of activity from Salzburg and other Bavarian dioceses, including Aquileia in the western part of Illyria, and to counter the Byzantines in the eastern part of the country. The remains of St Clement were also to play an important role, as the brothers took them with them to Moravia, with the intention of then accompanying them to Rome. The title of archbishop gave Methodius the rank of papal legate for the Slavic regions. However, it was not the rank of Archbishop of Pannonia-Moravia, as some of the specialist literature often suggests. Only with the Bull of *Industriae tuae* was there then established a Moravian church province, where Viching became Methodius' first suffragan, while a second was to have been ordained in Rome, though this apparently never happened. Therefore, until 880 Methodius was the *archiepiscopus sancte ecclesie Marabensis*. The Moravian church province then returned to being a papal legate from 899–900, though, naturally, only for a short time. There is no doubt that Methodius also utilised the church hinterland in the centre of Chozil Principality in Blatnograd (Mosapurc), with its beautiful St Hadrian martyrion, built by the Archbishop of Salzburg. However, Blatnograd cannot be considered to be Methodius' stable seat, and the fate of Blatnograd after 876 is unclear. A metropolitan seat more likely arose from 880–885 in the Moravian river basin.

Key words: the Mission of Constantine and Methodius, Great Moravia, establishment of the Moravian Church Province, seat of the Metropolitan

In numerous historical works, whether written in Czech or another language, the following interpretation predominates: in the autumn of 869, Pope Hadrian II established the Pannonian-Moravian Archdiocese with Methodius at the head as its archbishop. According to some historians, although others dispute this, its seat was in old Sirmium, which is known to have been completely destroyed by the Avars in 582. Until that year, however, it was the seat of the (arch)Bishop, who was to be acknowledged as the successor to St Andronicus, a disciple of Jesus Christ himself. Aside from this, Methodius was also supposed to have been granted the powers of an apostolic legate. The idea of using old Sirmium was attributed to both Methodius and the Pannonian Prince Kocel (Chezil, Chozil), a vassal of the East Frankish Empire, while the protector of the two brothers, the Moravian Prince Rastislav, was probably not even aware of this course of action. However, rather than coming under the sovereignty of Kocel, the area was within territory controlled by the Bulgarians. After his capture by the Bavarian episcopate, Methodius did not return to Kocel but to Svatopluk in Moravia, and the Pannonian-Moravian

Archbishopric was somehow *via facti* reborn as the Moravian Archbishopric.¹ Concerning the individual points:

The question of the Sirmium see and the Pannonian bishopric

Information from the legend that Methodius was again sent by Chozil to Rome to be ordained by the Pope "to the bishopric in Pannonia at the see of the Holy Apostle Andronicus, one of the seventy" is behind the construction of a specific renewal of the old archiepiscopal see in Sirmium.² In the first

1 Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Cirkevní misie v dějinách Velké Moravy*, Praha 1963, pp. 122–123, 129–131, 156–157; František DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie u Slovanů*, Praha 1970, pp. 162–163, where he acknowledges Methodius' rank of papal legate and Archbishop of Sirmium, then p. 177, where he shows that through the Bull of *Industriae tuae* Methodius was confirmed with the rank of Moravian (sic) Archbishop, as though it were the same thing; Herwig WOLFRAM, *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung 378–907*, Wien 1987, pp. 296–298; Pavel KOUŘIL, *Velká Morava*, in: Petr Sommer – Dušan Třeštík – Josef Žemlička (ed.), *Přemyslovci. Budování českého státu*, Praha 2009, pp. 115–116; the Pannonian-Moravian Archbishop with his seat in Sirmium, while Zdeněk Měřínský accepts Methodius' role as legate and archbishop missionary from the outset: Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu II*, Praha 2006, pp. 543–550. More recently also Antonij Emilij N. TACHIAOS, *Svatý bratja Kirill i Metodij, prosvětitelji Slavjan*, Sergiev Posad 2005, pp. 140–141, 148–149, where he ignores the constituent character of the Bull of *Industriae tuae*.

2 František PASTRNEK, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů Cyrilla a Methoda s rozбором a otiskem hlavních pramenů*, Praha 1902, p. 230 *Žitje Mefodija*, ed. Radoslav Večerká, MMFH II, Brno 1967, chap. 8, p. 150.

place, during the time that this see was in operation before the end of the 6th century, it was not an archbishopric in the later sense of the word. That particular title was not used at this time, or more precisely was used occasionally but in a different context.³ The bishop there may have used the title *episcopus metropolitanus* as the head of the province of Pannonia Secunda, but in all likelihood he recognised the sovereignty of Aquileia.⁴ Although it is possible to agree with F. Dvorník on the vacillations of papal policy, it is impossible to accept Sirmium as Methodius' seat for the simple reason that it did not exist. Rome would only appoint residential bishops for existing localities, while gradually developing the institute of titular bishops. What is more, between 873 and 879 Methodius is always referred to in passages from papal letters intended for himself and other recipients as *episcopus* or *archiepiscopus Pannoniensis*, but never as *episcopus Sirmiensis*. Pannonia, however, was indeed involved. When Charles the Great defeated the Avars at the start of the 9th century, he entrusted the newly acquired territory of Pannonia to the Archbishop of Salzburg, just as missionary work began to be developed, earlier in some places and later in others and with varying degrees of intensity, by the Passau Bishopric in Moravia and by the Bishopric of Regensburg in Bohemia.⁵ Naturally, Rome clearly recalled the original link with Pannonia,⁶ just as it had not forgotten that the territory of Illyria had been subordinated to Justin's Constantinople patriarchs. That is why the Pope made use of Pannonia's old affiliation with Rome, as well as a rather vague tradition concerning one of Jesus' disciples as the Pannonian bishop (St Andronicus was not supposed to have been the first bishop – the bishopric was supposed to have been set up by St Epänetus, a disciple of St Paul, in the year 50),⁷ and named Methodius Bishop of Pannonia (without emphasising Sirmium). It was directly under the supervision of the Holy See – in this matter too the Curia was already experienced – and the title of archbishop was not connected to old Sirmium (nor could it be) but to Methodius' rank as papal legate for the Slavonic territory and, therefore, a senior missionary who could operate anywhere where Slavs lived. In this respect the author of these

lines agreed with the Slovak researcher Richard Marsina.⁸ In practice the papal office used the title *archiepiscopus Pannoniensis* or just *episcopus Pannoniensis*, there being no actual difference as every *archiepiscopus* is, of course, an *episcopus*, and also spoke of *Pannonica diocesis* or *Pannoniensium episcopatu*.⁹ The extent of this "Pannonian diocese" was rather illusory – on the one hand in a document from Pope John VIII to Svatopluk from 14 June 879 Methodius was "*archiepiscopus vester*", or "your archbishop",¹⁰ which did not necessarily mean the arrangement of a central Moravian territory under this "diocese"; on the other hand, in 873 the Pope incorporated into this diocese the dominion of the Serbian prince Mutimír, which was mostly situated in Slavonia, the areas to the south of Sirmium (this was the territory of the later Serb state known as Rascia).¹¹ In any case it was a very remote territory and it could be said that to a certain extent the short-lived "Pannonian diocese" is identified with Methodius' missionary territory, where he appeared with the authority of a legate. He was directly answerable to the Pope, though he was certainly not the metropolitan bishop. Here we may be reminded of the case of Nin in Croatia, when ostensibly around the year 860 Pope Nicholas I established a local diocese and subordinated it directly to the Holy See. At the beginning of the Piast monarchy there was also the case of Bishop Jordan and his successor Unger, who were subject directly to Rome, at least according to most historians. This was not only another move in the battle to restore Roman sovereignty over those parts of Illyria which were ruled by the Byzantines, but also about restricting the ambitions of Aquileia as it emerged from Frankish domination, as well as the missionary efforts of the Bavarian episcopate.¹²

To conclude: a yes to arguments supporting the older tradition of Sirmium (the Pannonian diocese) and a no to Sirmium as Methodius' seat and the basis for his position as archbishop. Naturally, the main issue was the papal claim to Pannonia.

The issue of Methodius' position as papal legate

Two things unquestionably emerge from the Bull *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (868): that the Pope considered the territory of Pannonia (Kocel's territory and apparently also the Nitra region administered by Svatopluk) as well as Rastislav's territory (Moravia) to be subordinate to the Holy See ("your land belongs to the Holy See"), and that Methodius and his disciples, ordained as priests in Rome, were sent as teachers, or missionaries,

3 Cf. Ignaz ZIBERMAYER, *Noricum, Baiern und Österreich. Lorch als Hauptstadt und die Einführung des Christentums*, Horn 1956, pp. 55–56.

4 *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, IX. Freiburg – Basel – Rom – Wien 2000, col. 632–633; Petar MILOŠEVIĆ, *Archeologija i istorija Sirmijuma*, Novi Sad 2001, pp. 202–203; Cf. also Jacques ZEILLER, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'empire romain*, Paris 1918, and also IDEM, *Sur l'ancien eveche de Sirmium*, *Orientalia Christiana periodica* 13, Paris 1947. According to Arnold ANGENENDT, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaupe. Kaiser, Könige und Päpste als geistliche Patrone in der abendländischen Missionsgeschichte*, *Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung*, Bd. 15, Berlin – New York 1984, p. 241, the Sirmium diocese belonged to the Milanese patriarchy, that is, to the West. H. WOLFRAM, *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas*, p. 296, however, assumes Sirmium's subordination to the Aquileian patriarchy.

5 Cf. footnote 7 and also Egon BOSHOFF, *Das ostfränkische Reich und die Slawenmission im 9. Jahrhundert: die Rolle Passaus*, in: Dieter R. Bauer – Rudolf Hiestand – Brigitte Kasten – Sönke Lorenz (Hrsg.), *Mönchtum – Kirche – Herrschaft 750–1000*, Institut für geschichtliche Landeskunde und Historische Hilfswissenschaften der Universität Tübingen, Sigmaringen 1998, p. 58.

6 Martin Eggers provides a useful overview of the standing of Pannonia in the later Roman administration and its significance in early mediaeval sources in Martin EGGERS: *Die Verwendung und Bedeutung des Begriffes „Pannonien“ in historischen und geographischen Quellen des Frühmittelalters*, *Chronica Annual of the Institute of History University of Szeged* 6, 2006, pp. 6–27. Nevertheless, Rastislav's domain of Moravia is still sited to the east of the Pannonian Danube, to an area without a "unifying ancient nomenclature", while Svatopluk's principality is the territory which could be labelled *Pannonia* or even *Dalmatia* (*ibidem*, p. 18), that is, the territory of today's Croatian Slavonia, Serbian Vojvodina and northern Bosnia (Posavina). For Pannonia see also Maddalena BETTI, *La formazione della sancta Ecclesia Marabensis (858–882)*. *Fonti e Linguaggi di un progetto papale*, Padova – Paris 2008, p. 233.

7 Aleksandra SMIRNOV BRKIĆ, *Pisani izvori o sv. Irineju Sirmijskom u kontekstu najstarije crkvene organizacije Srema*, in: Djura Hardi (red.), *Srednjovekovna naselja na tlu Vojvodine*. Istorijski događaji i procesi..., Sremska Mitrovica 2013, pp. 77–100, here pp. 75–76.

8 Richard MARSINA, *Cirkevná organizácia na Veľkej Morave*, in: Luděk Galuška – P. Kouřil – Z. Měřinský (ed.), *Velká Morava mezi Východem a Západem*. Großmähren zwischen West und Ost. Collection of papers for an international conference, Brno 2001, pp. 291–304. The author published his views in Libor JAN, *Počátky moravského křesťanství a církevní správa do doby husitské*, in: Emil Kordiovský – L. Jan (red.), *Vývoj církevní správy na Moravě*. XXVII. Mikulovské sympozium 9.–10. října 2002, Brno 2003, pp. 7–20; IDEM, *Altmähren zwischen Osten und Westen*, in: P. Sommer (ed.), *Der heilige Prokop, Böhmen und Mitteleuropa*. Internationales Symposium Benešov – Sázava 24.–26. September 2003, *Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia* 4, Praha 2005, pp. 273–288; L. JAN, *Stará Morava mezi Východem a Západem*, in: P. Sommer (ed.), *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a střední Evropa*, Praha 2006, pp. 251–264.

9 *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Bohemiae* (hereafter CDB) I, ed. Gustav Friedrich, Pragae 1904–1907, no. 14, p. 11; no. 16, p. 12; no. 18, p. 13.

10 CDB I, no. 22, p. 17; *Iohannis VIII. papae epistolae*, ed. Erich CASPAR – Gerhard LAEHR, in: MGH Epp. VII, Berlin 1928, no. 200, p. 160; *Epistolae*, ed. L. E. Havlík, in: MMFH III, no. 80, p. 191.

11 CDB I, no. 16, pp. 11–12; *Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII. Papae*, ed. E. Caspar, in: MGH Epp. VII, Berlin 1928, no. 18, p. 282. Viz graphic map in M. BETTI, *La formazione*, p. 46 (according to F. Dvorník); cf. František DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie*, pp. 57–58.

12 František DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie*, pp. 44–47.

back to the lands of Rastislav, Svatopluk and Kocel.¹³ Following in the steps of previous historians, D. Třeštík considered the Bull to have been forged, undoubtedly by Methodius, after 873. Apparently Methodius' claim (through the Pannonian/Sirmium archbishopric) to Moravia was supposed to derive from such machinations.¹⁴ However, all of this is based on strange ideas about the ambiguity of Methodius' position. What is more, in the Bull itself there is nothing to suggest that it is the foundation charter of a "Sirmium Archbishopric":¹⁵ there is no mention of Sirmium, of Pannonia or even of the title of archbishop, but only of the ordination of priests, the role of the missionary and the areas subject to the three rulers, one of whom certainly did not rule in Pannonia. The Bull presents the adoption of Slavonic liturgy and missionary authorisation, nothing else. Apart from the fact that Methodius' missionary vocation emerges from the text of the *Life* itself, in the Pope's letter to the Friesian Bishop Anno he reaffirms his status of legate, with Archbishop Methodius being described midway through 873 as the *legatione apostolice sedis ad gentes fungens*¹⁶ and then on 23 March 881 addressed by John VIII as *Methodio archiepiscopo pro fide*¹⁷ (which can hardly be proof that the Bull *Industriae tuae* set up a new province, as D. Kalhous suggested).¹⁸ To assume from the Pope's first mention of Methodius as a legate in 873 that it was only then, that is not until 874,¹⁹ that the Thessalonian received that accreditation, is based solely on that first reference, although the context whereby he was established as Pannonian bishop and legate with the title of archbishop corresponds to the logic of the matter and to ecclesiastical customs.

The Bull *Industriae tuae* and the establishment of a new ecclesiastical province

The Bishop of Passau undoubtedly considered Moravia to be a missionary territory within his diocese, as can be seen in a letter of complaint from the Bavarian bishops around 900.²⁰ There is no fundamental reason to doubt the later information that the Moravians, by which is probably meant the elite, were christened by the Bishop of Passau in 831.²¹ John VIII's Bull *Industriae tuae* from June 880 can be considered the founding document of the Moravian ecclesiastical province, which was addressed to *Sfentopulchus gloriosus comes*.²² Not only

is Methodius referred to here by the previously unknown and unused title of *reverentissimus archiepiscopus sancte ecclesie Marabensis*, but he is recognised as being entirely orthodox in strict accordance with Roman dogma, and is therefore entrusted with the operation of the *ecclesia dei*. Methodius' title of archbishop is confirmed (*archiepiscopatus*), as is his unique standing (*privilegium*). The priest Viching was ordained as Bishop of the Nitra Church by Svatopluk, and, moreover, with the consent of Methodius, Svatopluk was to send a capable priest or deacon who would be ordained as bishop of another church suitable for elevation to Episcopal status. Then, according to the Pope, the archbishop and the two bishops could set up bishoprics in other suitable areas.

In this way the ecclesiastical province was in fact founded with its metropolitan bishop being Methodius, who, according to canonical regulations, was to be assisted by two suffragan bishops: Viching of Nitra and another to be chosen by Svatopluk. Afterwards, in the territory under Svatopluk's rule, which in the introduction to the Bull received the protection of St Peter, the three bishops could establish new dioceses. Further developments, however, show that this was never accomplished.

During this period it was not unusual for an ecclesiastical province to be founded as a sort of weapon in the enforcement of claims to papal supremacy over new or lost lands in competition with the Byzantines and the Eastern Frankish Empire. On 10 June 879 Pope John VIII wrote to Vitalis of Zadar and Dominic of Absor, as well as to other Dalmatian bishops, the archpriest Jan of Salona and to the people of the apparently vacant Archbishopric of Split, telling them to return to the Holy See (apparently not long before this he had recognised the sovereignty of the Constantinople patriarchy) and to send him a newly chosen archbishop, whom he would ordain and upon whom he would confer the pallium *more pristino*, according to earlier tradition.²³ He also strengthened the standing of Rome through diplomatic negotiations with the anti-Byzantine prince of the inland Croats, Branimir, who shortly beforehand had gained power at the expense of pro-Byzantine forces.²⁴ On 7 June 879 the Pope praised Branimir for his shift of position and submission to Rome, extending to him the grace and blessings of St Peter and St Paul as well as his own, and protection from enemies, both visible and invisible. *Mutatis mutandis* was a similar formulation to that which Svatopluk and his people received a year later.²⁵

The issue of Blatograd (Zalavár) as the seat of Archbishop Methodius

Blatograd, as an area linked with the activities of the two brothers (Archbishop Methodius in particular), has received

13 F. PASTRNEK, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů*, pp. 228–229; CDB I, no. 12, pp. 7–9.

14 D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Od příchodu Slovanů k „řiši“ českých Boleslavů*, in: P. Sommer – D. Třeštík – J. Žemlička (ed.), *Přemyslovci. Budování českého státu*, Praha 2009, p. 589, note no. 94.

15 *Ibidem*.

16 CDB I, no. 21, p. 16; *Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII. papae*, no. 23, p. 286.

17 CDB I, no. 25, p. 21; *Iohannis VIII. papae epistolae*, no. 276, p. 243–244.

18 David KALHOUS, *K významu sirmijské a apoštolské tradice při formování episkopální organizace na Moravě* (The significance of the Sirmian and apostolic tradition in shaping the Moravian episcopal organization), in: *Východní Morava v 10. až 14. století*, Brno: Moravské zemské muzeum, Archeologický ústav AV ČR Brno, 2008, pp. 47–48.

19 Most recently P. SOMMER – D. TŘEŠTÍK – J. ŽEMLIČKA, *Čechy a Morava*, in: Nora Berendová (ed.), *Christianizace a utváření křesťanské monarchie. Skandinávie, střední Evropa a Rus v období 10.–12. století*, Praha 2013, p. 226.

20 CDB I, no. 30, pp. 29–33; *Epistolae*, no. 109, pp. 232–244. On the role of Passau in the Christianisation of the Slavs see in particular Egon BOSHOFF, *Das ostfränkische Reich*, pp. 51–76, here mainly pp. 66–67, where the author notes that during Constantine and Methodius' Moravian mission, the Bishop of Passau was Christianising the Bulgarians.

21 *Notae de episcopis Pataviensibus*, ed. Georg Waitz, in: MGH SS XXV, Hannover 1880, p. 623; "A. D. 831 Regenharius episcopus Matavorum baptizat omnes Moravos; Bernardi Cremifanensis Historie", ed. G. Waitz, in: MGH SS XXV, Hannover 1880, p. 655; cf. I. ZIBERMAYER, *Noricum, Baiern*, p. 355; D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy. Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871*, Praha 2001, p. 117.

22 CDB I, no. 24, pp. 18–21; MMFH III, no. 197–208.

23 *Iohannis VIII. papae epistolae*, no. 196, pp. 156–157. Cf. F. DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie*, pp. 46–47, 239, also Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Církevní misie*, p. 157 (of course, this was not really about the establishment of a new province as stated, but about the renewal of obedience to Rome).

24 František DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie*, p. 46.

25 On the issue of the "protection of St Peter" and its significance at the time of a fluctuating or vacant empire, in detail Lubomír Emil HAVLÍK, *Der päpstliche Schutz und die slavischen Völker. Zur Problematik der den Herrschern in den Ländern Sudost-, Mittel- und Osteuropas gewährten päpstlichen patronatus/protectio*, in: Franz Zagiba (ed.), *Das heidnische und christliche Slaventum*, Acta II. Congressus internationalis historie Slavie Salisburgo-Ratisbonensis anno 1967 celebrati, Annales Instituti Slavici II/2. Das christliche Slaventum. Beiträge zur literarischen Bildung der Slaven zur Zeit ihrer Christianisierung, Wiesbaden 1970, pp. 10–32, for the protection guaranteed by Svatopluk pp. 18–21.

little attention from Czech historians,²⁶ even though its special significance emerges both from the *Life of Methodius* and from the work *Conversio*... and most recently also from ongoing excavations. According to H. Wolfram, at the end of 866 or the start of 867, following three years' work, the two brothers left Rastislav's Moravia and on their return journey they and their pupils stopped in Kocel's Blatnograd, where they stayed for several months, during which time they taught the Slavonic script and acquired 50 new pupils so that they could distribute it further.²⁷ After Constantine's untimely death Methodius left the Eternal City to return to Rastislav (and at the same time to his relative Svatopluk and to Pannonia's Kocel), albeit as a priest (which he certainly was not before) and a papal legate, but without the higher ordination which would have allowed him to act with relative independence in disciplinary matters and especially in the ordination of new clerics. He again visited Kocel in Blatnograd, where from some unknown source of inspiration arose the idea of the old bishopric which had once administered Pannonia from Sirmium, in whose now more loosely envisaged framework Kocel's dependent principality belonged. Accompanied by twenty of Kocel's retinue, Methodius returned to Rome, where this idea was found to be acceptable. Methodius then received ordination as a bishop, the title of archbishop and stipulations for Pannonia,²⁸ while at some point at the turn of 869/870 the Salzburg-installed archpriest Rihpald left Kocel's territory, apparently in protest against the imposed innovations, i.e. the Slavonic liturgy.²⁹ Some have suggested that after Methodius had been released by the Bishops of Bavaria in 873 he travelled once more to Blatnograd, so that he would have returned to Moravia, at this point to see Svatopluk, only after the peace of Forchheim in 874, if not later.³⁰ Nevertheless, Methodius' return was extremely desirable because some time in 870 or 871 Prince Svatopluk ordered the expulsion of the Frankish clergy from his territory (or the Moravians took it upon themselves to rise up against the Frankish occupying forces, as the legend goes).³¹

The involvement of the Archbishop of Salzburg at Pribina's Balaton seat is evident. At the beginning of 850 Archbishop Liupram consecrated his own church there, dedicated to the Mother of God, then from 853–855 he had a church dedicated to St Hadrian built outside the Pribina fortifications, undoubtedly intended as a "grand parochial", i.e. Episcopal, one, and finally a church of St John the Baptist was located in this area, although we know little about its origins, the type of building or the builders. The idea that the *Conversio* said nothing about this church

as it was a venture of the Aquileia patriarchy and not of Salzburg seems improbable.³² In view of the patron, its identification as the spherical construction near the well and the interpretation of the site as a baptistry appears logical.³³ According to the latest excavations, Pribina's Church of the Virgin Mary was also highly decorated, the craftsmen being provided by the Salzburg archbishopric (in the 11th century the church became a place of worship for the newly founded Benedictine monastery). The Basilica of St Hadrian was also his *martyrium*, his burial place and therefore the centre of his cult. It was a large three-nave basilica with a semicircular apse and a vaulted gallery, where divine service could be held at another altar. The church was probably decorated with paintings and glass windows with painted motifs relating to the aforementioned saint or other saints; remnants of these windows were found during an archaeological survey.³⁴ In terms of their size, form of construction and interior decoration both churches, those of the Virgin Mary and St Hadrian, were undoubtedly more advanced than similar buildings in the Morava River basin, specifically the basilicas in Mikulčice and Sady. B. M. Szöke believes that the church of St Hadrian was used by Methodius as "Archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia" until the end of the 870s, when it appears that it was reconstructed, two adjacent palace-type wooden constructions were dismantled and a burial ground was established in their place.³⁵ For that matter, the recent finding of a sherd with three Glagolitic letters³⁶ very eloquently confirms the activities of Methodius and his pupils, when the *Conversio* bitterly reports on his stay in Mosapurc (Blatnograd). This, of course, does not constitute evidence for the 2nd half of the 870s, because at that time the work mentioned had already been written and it did not reflect the events of the time. Furthermore, in all probability Kocel died in 876,³⁷ whereby Methodius, in theory staying in Mosapurc, lost his undoubted protector. What became of Blatnograd after Kocel's death is not clear: the less likely version is that the territory which was originally Pribina's and Kocel's was ruled for a certain time by Moravia's Svatopluk, while it is more likely that Pannonia fell under the administration of Carloman's young son Arnulf, as the *Annals of Fulda* report for the year 883.³⁸ A temporary stay by Methodius in Mosapurc after 876 is therefore unlikely; the administration was undoubtedly once more taken on by clergy from Salzburg. For that matter, Pope John VIII's instruction to Bishop Paul of Ancona from May 873 orders that Methodius, having been freed, should be taken to Prince Svatopluk (*fratrem nostrum Methodium transire ad Pentepulcum*), not to Kocel, and in a letter to Svatopluk from 14 June 879 the Pope refers

26 A rare exception is undoubtedly František DVORNÍK: *Byzantské misie*, pp. 142–143, who reminds us that the *Conversio* mentions some thirty churches in Kocel's principality which were built by his retinue. This represents a system of so-called proprietary churches which were owned by the Frankish empire of the time. It can be assumed that similar conditions also operated in Moravia, which could then have hardly prefigured the anticipated Czech "baptism" churches in the most important fortifications.

27 F. PASTRNEK, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů*, p. 204; H. WOLFRAM (ed.), *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum. Das Weissbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantanien und Pannonien*, Wien – Köln – Graz 1979, pp. 12–14; IDEM, *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas*, pp. 294–295.

28 F. PASTRNEK, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů*, pp. 227–230.

29 *Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg*, ed. F. Lošek, Hannover 1997 (=MGH Studien und Texte 15), pp. 130–131; H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, pp. 56–57; cf. D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy*, p. 192.

30 H. WOLFRAM, *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas*, p. 298; IDEM, *Conversio*, pp. 143–144.

31 F. PASTRNEK, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů*, p. 231; *Žitíje Metodija*, p. 153.

32 Béla Miklós SZÖKE, *Karolingische Kirchenorganisation in Pannonien*, in: Uta von Freeden – Herwig Friesinger – Egon Wamers (Hrsg.), *Glauber, Kult und Herrschaft. Phänomene des Religiösen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*. Akten des 59. Internationalen Sachsensymposiums und der Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im Mitteldonaureaum, Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Bd. 12, Bonn 2009, pp. 403–411.

33 *Ibidem*, p. 405.

34 *Ibidem*, pp. 405–409; IDEM, *New Finding of the excavations in Mosaburg/Zalavár (Western Hungary)*, in: Joachim Henning (ed.), *Post Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*. Vol. 1. The Heirs of the Roman West, Berlin 2007, pp. 411–427.

35 B. M. SZÖKE, *Karolingische Kirchenorganisation*, p. 410.

36 Information from B. M. Szöke at a conference in Břeclav in 2009 supported by photographs of the sherd in question. An image can be seen from 8:35 in this video clip: Ásatás Zalaváron [online]. 8 August 2009 [accessed 18 March 2014]. Available at: <http://videa.hu/video/tudomany-technika/asatas-zalavaron-kozepkor-regeszeti-tortenelem-xPgYYEHBVrapQJwG>.

37 Cf. H. WOLFRAM, *Conversio*, p. 144; František DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie*, pp. 167–168.

38 *Annales Francenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 7. Hannover 1891, p. 112.

to Methodius as Svatopluk's archbishop (*vester archiepiscopus, ab antecessore nostro, Adriano scilicet papa, ordinatus vobisque directus*).³⁹ Methodius' de facto assumption of the leading church position in Svatopluk's domain is also attested to by his *Life*.⁴⁰ Similarly, in the year 888 Arnulf of Bavaria spoke of the Salzburg archbishop Theotmar using the formulation *archiepiscopus noster*, without the seats of these two individuals having been unified.

However, it is definitely necessary to rule out the possibility that Blatnograd became Methodius' permanent archiepiscopal seat, if, of course, he had even had one before the year 880 (by contrast, he did have to choose one in the year 880, when he became the Moravian metropolitan). In the years 888–889 King Arnulf issued three documents in Mosapurc, which means that the Franks had in fact re-established their rule there. This, however, was after the death of Archbishop Methodius. In the years 899–900 it is therefore very likely that the entire site was destroyed together with its previously flourishing places of worship.⁴¹

There are often speculations about where the two brothers actually headed to after just over three years of activity in Moravia; the *Life of Constantine* only says that they set off to ordain their pupils, stopped off to visit Kocel, underwent a disputation in Venice with opponents of Slavonic as a liturgical language and received an invitation from the Pope (although it is not entirely clear when, where and for what reason).⁴² Possible destinations for the journey to be considered are thus: a/ Constantinople, b/ Aquileia, c/ Rome. As for the reason for the Pope's invitation, this could be: 1/ news of their dispute in Venice, 2/ the doctrinal and liturgical activities of their "team" in Moravia and in Pannonia linked with the interests of the Holy See, 3/ the fact that they were bearing the remains of St Clement. The Pope would hardly have summoned them because he wanted to ordain their pupils or the men themselves, which in the end he did not do anyway.

The variant that they wanted to bring about the establishment of a bishopric with the help of the Aquileian patriarch, who was closely related to the Franks, does not appear to be realistic. If they were heading to Constantinople, then this would probably have signalled their intention to bring an end to their period of activity in Moravia. By contrast, there could have been several feasible reasons for a journey to Rome: the brothers more or less knew that the Roman See had a direct claim to at least part of the territory where they had been active, departed with the authorisation of Prince Rastislav to negotiate an independent church organisation,⁴³ and brought to Rome something which

was a powerful "weapon" in ensuring the success of the negotiations. This "something" was the remains of St Clement, the third successor to St Peter in the Roman See, which they had found themselves and in whose authenticity they believed unwaveringly. On the question of priestly ordination and the recognition of the Slavonic liturgy there need be no doubt: for both of these, after all, Rome was the highest authority.

The remains appear to have played a decisive role, which had been determined for them long before the two brothers came to be in Moravia. That is to say, in connection with the mission among the Slavs the idea had probably already arisen in Constantinople of taking along the remains, whose final resting place was not to be the Chapel of the Virgin Mary of Pharos (*Theotokos tou Farou*) in the imperial palace, a known repository for holy relics,⁴⁴ nor any of the smaller, newly established places of worship in distant Moravia, although some of them had certainly already acquired minor relics, but rather the temple dedicated to this early Christian saint in the apostolic city, that is, Rome. Why else would the two brothers have taken the remains with them to Moravia, when they would have to take them back to Byzantium with them again after completing their mission? Perhaps in order for the relics to protect them on the journey and during the mission? Surely for this it would have sufficed to have only some reliquary, not the remains of a whole body, i.e. a skeleton, which the brothers undoubtedly had in their possession. Viewed critically, the claim of the late legend of the *Quemadmodum*, that Constantine foresaw the future devastation of Moravia (*previdens terre Moravie destructionem*) and therefore sent Clement's body away in order to avoid its destruction, does not seem to stand up as a reason for the transfer of the remains to Rome either.⁴⁵

The exceptional value which was attached to Clement's remains in Rome clearly emerges from the letter of the bibliothecarius Anastasius, one of the most powerful men in the Church at that time, to Archbishop Gauderich of Velletri from the year 875 (they were both in communication with the Thessalonians in the years 868 and 869). Anastasius was sending him his Latin translation of Constantine's works relating to the discovery of the remains of St Clement in Chersonésos, the "brief history" (*Brevis historia*) and "declamatory sermon" (*Sermo declamatorius*), by which only a late copy of the Old Church Slavonic translation of the extant *Discourse on the Transfer of the Remains of St Clement* is no doubt meant.⁴⁶ The high esteem which Constantine's scholarship enjoyed also emerges from another two of Anastasius' letters, one from 871 destined for Pope Hadrian II concerning the Synod of Constantinople in 869 and the second to Emperor Charles the Bald regarding the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, on whom Constantine was a special authority, from 875.⁴⁷ In this way he clarifies at least a little for doubters Constantine's reputation

39 *Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII.*, no. 21, p. 285; *Iohannis VIII. papae epistolae*, no. 200, p. 160.

40 F. PASTRNEK, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů*, p. 232; *Žitije Metodija*, chap. 10, p. 154.

41 Cf. *Annales Fuldenses*, pp. 134–135. The archaeological evidence is represented by the typical Hungarian arrowheads found in Zalavár – B. M. SZÓKE, *Karolingische Kirchenorganisation*, p. 410.

42 *Žitije Konstantina*, ed. R. Večerka, MMFH II, Brno 1967, p. 105, 110, in which cf. note XVII, no. 1 and 2.

43 The opinion expressed by D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy*, p. 193, that Rome was the destination of the two brothers' journey from the start, although he did not deal with the reasons for the journey in detail, was recently accepted by Petr ELBEL, *Dějiny neúspěchu aneb úsilí Přemyslovců o zřízení arcibiskupství v českých zemích*, in: *Budování monarchie českých Přemyslovců. Postřehy a úvahy*, in: Martin Wihoda – Lukáš Reitingera a kol., *Proměna středověčného Evropy raného a vrcholného středověku. Mocenské souvislosti a paralely*, Brno 2010.

44 From the literature written in Czech the private imperial chapel is mentioned as a repository for relics by Peter KOVÁČ, *Kristova tmavá koruna. Paříž, Saint-Chapelle a dvorské umění svatého Ludvíka*, Praha 2009, pp. 18–19.

45 *Quemadmodum*, ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, in: MMFH II, 1967, p. 293.

46 *Anastasii Bibliothecarii Epistolae sive Praefationes*, ed. Ernst Perels – G. Laehr, in: MGH Epp. VII, Berlin 1928, no. 15, pp. 435–438; F. PASTRNEK, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů*, pp. 246–249; MMFH III, no. 60, pp. 176–181. Translation of the "declamatory speech" see Josef VAŠICA, *Literární památky epochy velkomoravské 863–885*, Praha 1966, pp. 139–147.

47 MMFH III, no. 59, pp. 175–176; no. 61, pp. 181–182; F. PASTRNEK, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů*, pp. 245–246; *Anastasii Bibliothecarii Epistolae*, no. 5, p. 407; no. 13, p. 433.

as a brilliant scholar of his age. While it is true that not a word can be found about the whole mission in Moravia in the surviving, relatively extensive correspondence of the patriarch Photios,⁴⁸ this is not actually surprising given the absence of accurate reports from Moravia and the internal and external stresses which the Byzantine empire and the Church were undergoing at that time. However, it is certain that Clement's remains were a valuable form of currency which the two brothers undoubtedly counted on within their "Moravian mission" and their lifelong endeavour.

It was undoubtedly Constantine who, because of his renown and apparently also his diplomatic abilities, was predestined to become the head of any new ecclesiastical province; after his untimely death, however, Methodius was unable to make progress to the extent that his brother would surely have been able to. Nevertheless, the fact that Methodius was returning, only as a priest but with papal authorisation, to Moravia shows that he did not intend to cease his efforts. On just his second visit to Rome accompanied by Kocel's men he achieved ordination as a bishop and a still wider authorisation, which of course inevitably brought him up against the Bavarian episcopate.

A specific chapter is represented by the legacy of the two brothers and Methodius in particular in the field of church organisation, although this is not entirely immediate and it is difficult to explain the changes which it underwent. The fact is that the years 899–900 saw the finalisation of the Moravian ecclesiastical province, along with the installation of a new archbishop and three suffragan bishops on the basis of the Pope's intervention and the activities of a special legation.⁴⁹ It is assumed that the seat of the archbishop was located in one of the centres of River Morava Land (Mikulčice, Sady u Uh. Hradiště), with one suffragan bishopric already operating in Nitra and the location of the other two the subject of a dispute which not infrequently takes on an emotive aspect. A useful overview was recently offered by P. Elbel, who also attached his own views.⁵⁰ As he himself points out, it is mostly just a case of logical constructs, in which sources of very uneven quality and age are utilised. Despite this, it is scarcely possible to agree with Marsina's localisation of these suffragan bishoprics in Feldebrő and Veszprém or with Steinhübel's Mautern and Sopron,⁵¹ thoroughly unstable regions during the years in question, where strong arguments are lacking. In a slightly better position there is Cracow, where in the Middle Ages there already appears some kind of tradition evidently reaching back before the Latin bishopric of 1000, and also Olomouc, where the situation is similar and in addition traces of a functioning bishopric in the 10th century can be detected. The question of whether this bishopric

was founded along with the Prague one (Steinhübel), or was a continuation of the Moravian archbishopric (Elbel), or one of the suffragan bishoprics of the years 899–900 (Jan), must for the moment be left open and efforts should be concentrated on a more extensive comparison which would weigh the possibilities and variations on the approach of the Roman Curia, the preconditions of the power situation in the wider region and the results of archaeological research.

* * *

In the first phase of their missionary activities Constantine and Methodius ventured to spread the word of God through the local Slavonic language, i.e. a language which was comprehensible to the people. With this idea they set themselves distinctly apart from the educated persons of the western circle, in which Latin was promoted for the liturgy, whereby the performance of the liturgy was imbued for ordinary folk with a touch of the incomprehensible and mysterious (and, as a consequence of this, knowledge of doctrine was kept in a very primitive form). In this respect the approach of the two brothers was "more progressive", more open, with a clear effort to communicate the words of the Gospel, on which they placed emphasis, directly to the people. There is no doubt that the thorough promotion of Latin in the West was connected to Rome's continually intensifying efforts towards centralisation and supremacy. It was the Reformation which eventually arrived with national languages and to a certain extent turned its back on Latin (at least in popular use), dealing the Latin Church a blow from which it has not recovered to this day. From the point of view of church organisation the two brothers evidently always put their trust in Rome, which they undoubtedly held in great regard, and it is therefore scarcely possible to accuse them of attempting to subordinate the mission area to another centre, i.e. Constantinople. At the time in question this was not even a realistic proposition, even if the Curia was engaged in a similar struggle over Bulgaria. If the general political-power processes in Central Europe had taken a different course, there could have been a powerful Slavonic empire here on the borders of the western empire, from which the faith could have spread through the Slavonic language to the north, east and south. This type of "if" is, of course, unhistorical. However, the situation can be summarised thus: the activities of Constantine and Methodius had a clear purpose; they were a kind of intellectual experiment, and at the same time this is a story of strong will, considerable inventiveness and open-heartedness; it is a story of careful thinking and diplomacy, the art of the possible and positive benefits delivered with the words of Christ on the tongue.

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48 D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Konstantin a Metoděj pod příkrovem cyrilometodějství*, Rozrazil – revue na provázku 07, 2006, p. 30, uses this as an argument for casting doubt on their significance.

49 CDB I, no. 30, pp. 29–33; MMFH III, no. 109, pp. 232–244.

50 Petr ELBEL, *Dějiny neúspěchu*, pp. 253–267.

51 Richard MARSINA, *Církevní organizácia*, pp. 294–295; Ján STEINHÜBEL, *Štyri veľkomoravské biskupstvá*, Slovanské štúdie 1/1994, pp. 21–39; IDEM, *Die grossmährischen Bistümer zur Zeit Mojmir's II.*, Bohemia 37, 1996, pp. 2–22. Cf. more recently the reflections of the same author J. STEINHÜBEL, *Praha, Krakov a Olomouc – tři hrady a tři části říše českých Boleslavov*, in: Martin Wihoda – Lukáš Reiting-er a kol., *Proměna středověké Evropy raného a vrcholného středověku. Mocenské souvislosti a paralely*, Brno 2010, pp. 81–87; TÝŽ, *Kapitoly z nejstarších českých dějin 531–1004*, Kraków 2011, p. 131. His opinion regarding the redundancy of two bishoprics for Moravia, i.e. the archbishopric in central Pomoraví and the suffragan one in Olomouc, and by contrast the possibility of locating two suffragan bishoprics in the northern Danube region and Potisje populated by Hungarian foederati (*ibidem*, p. 128, note 568) proceeds from modern planning ideas and does not correspond to the often asymmetrical solutions of the early Middle Ages.

Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg, ed. Fritz Lošek, Hannover 1997 (=MGH Studien und Texte 15).

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THE FOUNDATION OF SANCTA ECCLESIA MARABENSIS: LETTERS OF POPE JOHN VIII (872–882)

Maddalena Betti

The Sancta Ecclesia Marabensis had a short and unsuccessful life: the Carolingians opposed this independent ecclesiastical organisation on the territories beyond their eastern borderlands. The new archdiocese emerged from a dynamic geo-political context (affected by an instability typical of frontier regions during this period), and disappeared with the fall of the Moravian realm of Svatopluk, whose rule had contributed a brief period of stability to the political formations of central and south-eastern Europe during his cooperation with Archbishop Methodius. This article examines the foundation of the Sancta Ecclesia Marabensis through an analysis of Pope John VIII's letters. These letters, written at different chronological moments, allow us to investigate the stages of a dynamic, flexible, and constantly evolving papal policy. In the letters, the Methodian archdiocese is not pictured as a *fait accompli*, to defend or to challenge. Instead, it is only a project to define and to safeguard against a changeable historical background. Analysis of the language of two letters (Commonitorium, 873 and *Industriae tuae*, 880) can enhance our knowledge of the rhetorical strategies developed by papal diplomacy in the 2nd half of the 9th century.

Key words: archdiocese, papal letters, rhetorical strategies, political legitimisation

Letters of Pope John VIII – missionary politics

The letters of Pope John VIII (872–882) represent an important source for studying events from the 2nd half of the 9th century. These were compiled during the years of his papacy and most of them were preserved in the Montecassino manuscript from the 11th century¹ and partially as fragments contained in collections of canons from the end of the 11th and from the 12th century.² These represent the richest source of papal registers from the 11th century and its quantity could be compared to the registers of Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085). The Montecassino manuscript consists of 314 pages ranging from September 1st 876 to August 882; furthermore, the collections of canons also contained 62 fragments attributed to John VIII. This collection of letters is not only interesting because of its quantity, but also due to the innovations it contained, when compared to the letters of Popes Nicholas I (858–867)³ and Hadrian II (867–872).⁴ Unlike the letters of these popes, we are able to find letters addressed to recipients in the registers of Pope John VIII who did not use to have the privilege of being addressees of papal correspondence. Nicholas I and Hadrian II immediately answered the Bulgarian

Khan Boris, because their intention was to govern the Bulgarian Empire (*regnum Vulgarorum*). Contrariwise, these popes showed little interest in the new political leaders of the Slavs in Pannonia and in the Balkans; this approach could also have been caused by increased wariness of these new geopolitical formations. It is likely that these Slavs, as well as the Bulgarians, tried to contact the Apostolic See in an effort to liberate themselves from the network of hegemonic politics active in the Byzantine and the East Francia Empires. For instance, we know that Rastislav, the Prince of Moravia, approached Pope Nicholas I as early as 862 without receiving any answer.⁵ The registers of John VIII clearly state the new attitude of Rome – the Pope reacts to requests coming from the barbarian worlds of Central and Southeast Europe. John VIII replies not only to Boris but also to the Moravian Prince Svatopluk, the Earl of Lower Pannonia Kocel, Duke Montemar of the Serbs and the first leaders of the Croats Domagoj, Sedesclav and Branimir. These letters clearly outline the structure of Roman ecclesiastical policy for Central and South-east Europe. In them, we can identify projects (among others) for the founding of two new dioceses – the Moravian and Bulgarian Churches – as well as an increasing interest in ecclesiastical questions regarding the Dalmatian coast. The ecclesiastical politics of John VIII impact an extensive geopolitical area; it perceives different historical contexts and is attentive to new Slavic rulers. The Moravian and Bulgarian Churches, as well as the reorganised Dalmatian Church, represent gravitational poles in the Pope's project, capable of bringing together "new" Christians who are also members

1 Manuscript Città del Vaticano, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 1st Issue: *Registrum Iohannis VIII papae*, ed. Erich Caspar, in: MGH Epp. VII, 2nd issue. Berlin 1974, pp. 1–272. See Dietrich LOHRMANN, *Das Register Papst Johannes' VIII (872–882)*. *Neue Studien zur Abschrift Reg. Vat. 1, zum verlorenen Originalregister und zum Diktat der Briefe*, Tübingen 1968.

2 Issue: *Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII papae*, ed. E. Caspar, in: MGH Epp. VII, 2nd Issue Berlin 1974, pp. 273–312. Letters of John VIII see also Detler JASPER – Horst FUHRMANN, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, Washington, D.C. 2001, pp. 127–30. Letters of John VIII in the collections of canons see *Collectio Britannica* (12th century); *Deusdedit card. Collectio canonum* (end of 11th century), *Collectio trium partium*, *Decretum Gratiani*

3 *Nicolai I papae epistolae*, ed. Ernst Perels, in: MGH Epp. VI, Berlin 1925, pp. 259–690.

4 *Hadriani II papae epistolae*, ed. Ernst Perels, in: MGH Epp. VI, Berlin 1925, pp. 691–765.

5 According to the *Life of Methodius*, Rastislav approached the Pope before sending reinforcements to Emperor Michael III. See *Žitije Mefodija*, ed. Radoslav Večerka, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, p. 128: "Thus you [Rastislav, Svatopluk and Kocel] requested teachers from this high priestly See, but also from the religious Emperor Michael, and so he sent you the blissful philosopher Constantine with his brother, whilst we [Pope Nicholas I] were not able."

of new ethnic groups active in the Central and Southeast political areas of Europe.

The Trap of Historical Sources

The letters of John VIII are a fundamental source for reconstructing the history of Central and Southeast Europe in the second half of the 9th century. Historical reconstruction of this territory is not the complex consequence of a lack of historical sources. Modest information originates from Latin and Greek written sources, compiled by outside observers. The letters of John VIII stand out among this collection of sources. Historians who have studied the history of Central and Southeast Europe have dedicated much attention to this source, but have not always used it most suitably. I have noticed that they emphasise those letters in their work that confirm their pre-formulated reconstructions and contrariwise omit or modify the interpretation of such letters that would have been in contradiction to their thesis. I would like to follow with two examples. The first one is the reconstruction of Imre Boba. The goal of Boba was to locate Great Morava in the Balkans and so he relies on the letters of John VIII written before 878, which describe how the Pope ordained Methodius Bishop or Archbishop of Pannonia.⁶ My second example involves that part of Croatian historiography that tries to exaggerate the role of the correspondence between John VIII and Branimir, because it would like to interpret it as the beginning of the national political independence of the Croats.

The Papal letters cannot simply be interpreted as a descriptive source. However, they describe the immediate interaction process between the author of the letter and the listeners; in fact this represents a political tool of the Apostolic See and such a source is very sensitive to any type of interference from the inside or outside. This is why each letter must be characterised by its own rhetoric, revealing the specific strategy of Rome. Thus it is necessary to take into account several constant factors that could influence the form of the Pope's language as well as the contents of his letters. On one hand, the character of the letters depends mostly on who they are addressed to and on the other hand it depends on how the Pope naturally reacts to an event or situation that inspired him.

For instance, the letter of John VIII sent to the Moravian Prince should also be analysed in the context of the entire collection of the Pope's letters to Slavic leaders, but should also be compared with letters addressed to other authorities of the Byzantine and East Francia Empires, which are related to the fates of new territories and the political plans of Rome. On one hand the comparing of letters compiled in various periods of time and addressed to various recipients benefits the reconstruction of the type of language used by the Roman *scrinium*; on the other hand it enables us fully to understand the development of the political strategies of the Apostolic See. These strategies are flexible and easily adaptable and are based on traditions from Late Antiquity, but are also able to recognise and utilise the geopolitical changes of Central and Southeast European territories.

⁶ Imre BOBA, *Moravia's History Reconsidered. A Reinterpretation of Medieval Sources*, The Hague 1971. See also IDEM, *The Episcopacy of St. Methodius*, *Slavic Review* 26, 1967, pp. 85–93.

A Specific Example – the “Moravian” letters

The registers of John VII have preserved a series of letters regarding the question of founding a new archdiocese in Central Europe entrusted to Methodius – ten fragments from 873 and four complete letters written in later years. These letters clearly document just how complicated the genesis of new ecclesiastical provinces was – the papal plan was to be realised in a very unstable and turbulent political context. I think it suffices to remind ourselves that the Principality of Lower Pannonia, the territory where the new ecclesiastical province was supposed to have been founded, disappeared from the geopolitical map in 873. However, the papal plan sparked open hostilities between the Bavarian secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Methodius is judged by Bavarian bishops in the presence of Louis the German and imprisoned for two and a half years in the Reichenau monastery. The letters of John VIII well display the Pope's difficulties. In an attempt to realise his project the Pope understands he must have the political situation in Central Europe under control and that is why he maintains contact with all leaders whose interests meet with Methodius, the Bavarian bishops, the East Francia authorities, Svatopluk and other political rulers who could become involved. The letters of John VIII clearly respond to various kinds of geopolitical situations; the Pope wants to legitimise his intervention in the territory where Bavarian missions have already been active; he is also trying to ensure unlimited support from the new Slavic leaders, which is much needed in order for his plan to succeed.

I would like to illustrate and contrast two important letters showing how pliable the language of John VIII was. Were we not to analyse the variability of the language of these letters, then we would not have a complete reconstruction of political and ecclesiastical events from Central and Southeast Europe.

Dic ergo eis (873) and Industriae tuae (880)

The first letter *Dic ergo eis (So tell them)*⁷ belongs to the year 873, when the Pope intervenes to the benefit of Methodius and sends his papal emissary Paul of Ancona for just this purpose. Paul carried the Pope's critical letters (addressed to the East Francia political authorities and the Bavarian prelates) with him; his task was to have Methodius freed from prison and to return him without harm to the court of the Moravian Svatopluk. Besides other things, Paul the papal emissary brought with him the so-called *commonitorium* – a list of argumentations that he would have used when confronting possible negative reactions towards his request. *Commonitorium* is worthy of mention because its typology is particularly interesting. It was written in order to deal with extraordinary situations and so it contains the brief and logical arguments that Rome had raised against the expansionist claims of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities of the East Francia Empire.

The second letter, known from its incipit as *Industriae tuae*, is dated 880.⁸ This letter responds to a totally different situation from that in 873 which had needed intervention from the papal emissary and the existence of the *commonitorium*; the papal emissary had been forced to resolve a critical situation. However, in 880 Methodius' missionary archdiocese had already

⁷ *Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII papae*, no. 21, pp. 283–285.

⁸ *Registrum Iohannis VIII papae*, no. 255, pp. 222–224.

been consolidated. This is why Pope John VIII decided to take action and to formulate the conditions necessary to transform the missionary archdiocese into a territorial archdiocese, meaning an archdiocese with stationary episcopal residences. The *Industriae tuae* letter is interesting, because it marks the beginning of this important but delicate process, and also because of whom it was addressed to, the Moravian Prince Svatopluk.

It is certain that both letters were written with different contexts in mind and were intended for different recipients. The first was indirectly addressed to Louis the German and the Bavarian prelates; its goal was to protest against their actions and defend the interests of Rome. The second was intended for Svatopluk, and the Pope expresses his thanks to the Moravian Prince as well as his willingness to ensure the territorial development of the new ecclesiastical province. When confronting both papal letters we discover two aspects – firstly, a new diocese has been defined, and secondly, there is a different depiction of Svatopluk and his political dominium in both texts.

In order to justify the foundation of the new archdiocese on Salzburg missionary territory, John VIII provided Paul of Ancona with a collection of arguments to support Rome's position at the court of Louis the German. Similar arguments can be found in the letters to the Slavic leaders; however, they are not so clearly explained. This was not necessary, because these men supported the papal project without it being necessary to justify it. John VIII does not explain the new missionary dispute in regards to its geography, but rather identifies it as the territory of the Roman Pannonian diocese. In a letter addressed to Louis the German, the Pope writes that the war has ended and that it is thus necessary to restore the ecclesiastical rights of the dioceses, established in the period of Late Antiquity.⁹ Old documents prove that Rome acted as the ecclesiastical government for Illyria, to which the territory of the Pannonia diocese belongs.¹⁰ Among other things, the Pope recalls that the claim of Rome's jurisdiction cannot be revoked due to non-existent or inconstant activities during the period of barbarian raids, because this right had been given to the dioceses by God himself and thus such a right is eternal and inalienable.¹¹ The Pope proceeds in such a manner as to be able to identify a diocese that was previously not geographically defined and to identify it as a historical diocese, i.e. a Pannonian diocese that undoubtedly had to be dependent on Rome in the Late Antiquity period. It is necessary to point out that the Pope did not actually territorially identify both dioceses (the new one of Methodius and the old Pannonian); this was simply a rhetorical argumentation directed against the claims of the Bavarian Church, during a period of significantly weakened Roman missionary politics.

In the letter *Industriae tuae* intended for Svatopluk, the connotation of "Pannonian" merges into the definition of an

9 *Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII papae*, no. 21, p. 284: "Verum reddita aecclisiis pace, reddi debuerunt et iura, quae cum pace reddita tyrannicus unicuique furor ademerat, id ipsum sancto papa Leone in decretis canonicis [...] innuente ac dicente: Remotis malis, quae hostilitas intulit, unicuique id, quod legitime habuit, reformatur."

10 *Ibidem*: "Nam non solum intra Italiam ac ceteras Hesperies provincias, verum etiam intra totius Illyrici fines consecrationes ordinationes et dispositiones apostolica sedes patrare antiquitus consuevit [...]."

11 *Ibidem*: "Porro si de annorum numero forte causatur, sciat Ludovicus rex, quia inter Christianos et eos, qui unius fidei sunt, numerus certus affixus est. Ceterum ubi paganorum et incredulorum furor in causa est, quantalibet pretereant tempora, iura non preiudicat ecclesiarum, quae corporalia nescientes arma solum Dominum et propugnatores suos, quando ei placuerit misereri, patienter expectant [...]."

ecclesiastical province that the Pope intends to found. John VIII does not address Methodius with his title *reverentissimus archiepiscopus pannoniensis ecclesiae*, which is connected with the Late Antiquity Pannonian dioceses; Methodius receives the title *reverentissimus archiepiscopus sanctae ecclesiae marabensis* in the Pope's letter. Instead of "Pannonian Church", which Rome perceives as part of Illyria and is governed by Rome, the Pope uses the term "Moravian Church", while more clearly defining the geographical specifications of this new ecclesiastical province, meaning the need for more permanent episcopal residences too. This operation needed a more specific approach from Rome that had not previously been needed; this means a better understanding of the geopolitical and ethnic context. It is necessary to note that the definition of *ecclesia marabensis* was never used in letters intended for the imperial authorities. It is only contained in letters sent to Svatopluk, whose task was to have been the protection of the new archdiocese, and in the letters to Methodius, who was to have cooperated with Svatopluk. In a letter from July 880, the Pope definitely specifies the Moravian Church in terms of its territory, by linking the new archdiocese with Moravia, governed by Svatopluk. He describes it as *terra tua* (Svatopluk's Moravia), an area to found new bishoprics in, and names Svatopluk's subjects *populus* of the new Methodian Church.

A radical change in defining the new dioceses may be registered. Relationships with the East Francia Empire, during this time when the missionary activity of Rome was significantly reduced, show the Pope reviving the term "Pannonian diocese" as a strong argument to support Roman requests. Contrariwise, in his relationships with the Moravians, using the opportunity to transform the missionary diocese into a territorial diocese, the Pope creates an ethnic definition of the new Church and emphasises the territorial congruity of the new diocese with Svatopluk's dominium, who is perceived as the leader of the ethnic group of Moravians.

Even the approach to Svatopluk is significantly different in both letters. John VIII is fully aware that after Methodius is released from the Bavarian prison, he will only be safe at the side of Svatopluk, because Svatopluk was the only ruler in that part of Europe able to withstand the hegemonic pressure from the East. His goal was to relocate Methodius to Svatopluk's court. However, it was certain that the papal emissary Paul would encounter resistance from the imperial authorities; they would surely refuse to send Methodius to Svatopluk and would use the military conflict with Moravia as an argument. This is why John VIII encourages his emissary to convince the imperial authorities that releasing Methodius into the hands of Svatopluk would mean to hand over the Moravians into the guardianship of St Peter and thus make them peace-loving and harmless.¹² Naturally, such argumentation was fabricated only for the East Francia authorities. In letters addressed to the barbarian leaders, John VIII describes the benefits of a privileged relationship with Rome in an entirely different manner.¹³ He assures them

12 *Ibidem*, p. 285: "Ne suscipias occasionem excusationis prohibentem te vel fratrem nostrum Methodium transire ad Pentepulcum, sive bella pretendant sive inimicias congerant. Qui enim sancti Petri sunt, pacifici sunt et, quocumque ierint, bellis a proximorum utilitate minime coercentur."

13 *Registrum Iohannis VIII Papae*, p. 222: "Nam divina gratia inspirante contemptis aliis saeculi huius principibus beatum Petrum apostolici ordinis principem vicariumque illius habere patronum et in omnibus adiutorem ac defensorem pariter cum nobilibus viris fidelibus tuis et cum omni populo terrae tuae amore fidelissimo elegisti et usque ad finem sub ipsius et vicarii eius defensione colla summittens pio affectu cupis auxiliante Domino utpote filius devotissimus permanere."

that Peter the Apostle shall not only be their patron, but shall also make sure they will overcome all hardship in the world, thus promising them victory over their enemies (the East Francia Empire belonged in this group). In letters sent to the East Francia King, the Pope talks about Svatopluk as about any other barbarian that must be neutralised. However, in the *Industriae tuae* letter, the Pope praises the ambitions of Svatopluk when he addresses him with important honourable titles, kinship related (e.g. *dilectus filius, quasi unicus filius*) or institutionally related (e.g. *gloriosus comes*).¹⁴ Among other things, he grants Svatopluk an active role in organising the new diocese together with Methodius.¹⁵ One of the Pope's letters confirms that Svatopluk's candidate, the priest Viching, would be ordained bishop of the first bishopric of the new Church in Nitra.¹⁶ This is not all; the Moravian ruler is tasked to select other episcopal residences relevant to his power politics, including the right to name suitable candidates for the future episcopal see.¹⁷ Svatopluk is also named as guarantor of Methodius' authority (*vester archiepiscopus*). The innovative and brave project of John VIII to support the political authority of the Moravian ruler and to grant him the practical privileges belonging to Francian kings was based on the belief that the existence of a Moravian Church would strengthen the presence of Rome in Francian Europe, and that it depended on the absolute and unconditional support of Svatopluk.

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16 *Registrum Iohannis VIII Papae*, p. 223: “*Ipsum quoque presbiterum nomine Uuichinus, quem nobis direxisti, electum episcopum consecravimus sanctae ecclesiae Nitrensis [...].*”

17 *Ibidem*: “[...] iubemus et volumus, ut pariter cum ipsius archiepiscopi consensus et providentia et alterum nobis apto tempore utilem presbiterum vel diaconem dirigas, quem similiter in alia ecclesia, in qua episcopalem curam noveris esse necessariam, ordinemus episcopum [...].”

THE FIRST ARTICLE OF THE CODE “ZAKON SUDNYJ LJUDEM” AND THE LEGAL LEGACY OF STS CYRIL AND METHODIUS AND THEIR MORAVIAN MISSION

Ivan Biliarsky

In the article, the author proposes a study of one of the most controversial texts of the first Slavic law code – the Law for Judging the People – its article 1. Interpretations of it have been strongly charged, both emotionally and with national feeling. The text generalises the results of the research in three main topics, suggested by the text: What is the so-called “divine law”? Who is the St Constantine cited? Where was the norm about the punishment of pagans adopted from? Proposed answers to these questions are situated in the framework of the juridical legacy of St Methodius.

Key words: Law for Judging the People, Sts Cyril and Methodius, Moravian Mission, Christian Roman Emperors, Pagan, Pagan cult

Zakon sudnyj ljudem (Law for Judging the People), the oldest Slavic legal document, has for a long time been a subject of passionate debate regarding its origins, compiler, the countries in which it was used, the character of the compilation, appendices and many other issues. If I may generalise, the reasons for these disputes concern the claims to the legacy of this work by the first apostles to the Slavs and patrons of Europe, Sts Cyril and Methodius, the brothers from Thessalonica. These claims are raised by virtually all Slavic countries. The issues connected with the primacy of these states in the field of law, in particular the compiling of the *Zakon sudnyj ljudem* (herein after only *ZSL*), must be examined against this background.

The legal text which is the subject of our interest needs to be put in its own historical context. It can be characterised as that of a society in transition, a newly evangelised society in which the state enforces Christianity and, in order to do so, uses all possible means available: from evangelical enlightenment to repression carried out by means of criminal law. This is actually a permanent political line, which is independent of the way in which the country is being Christianised. Without evangelisation, a change of faith cannot be achieved, which is as clear as the fact that in all of the states the instruments of law and power are used for this purpose. The evidence is the imperial constitutions that have been preserved in the *Theodosian Code* and also in the *Code of Justinian*. It is not surprising that it was in the strongly religious court of Theodosius II that the idea of the religious role of imperial power was definitively formed, which in addition to political and governmental tasks was to have an eschatological function too. Law is an instrument for shaping behaviour and thus also identity. In the hands of power, it is one of the most important tools by which it fulfils its mission. In this context, the XVI book of the *Theodosian Code* is of fundamental importance, as it sets itself this very task.¹ The same legislation can be found in the *Code of Justinian*, and in my opinion it can be claimed it is the model for the politics of states in the transition from

pagan to Christian society.² It is also found in *ZSL*, a legal code intended for precisely such a purpose, which introduces to us a society in the same situation. The first of its articles is of particular importance. This article is going to be the focus of this study. My aim is to offer answers to several questions that are connected to many issues of the discussion introduced above. It is the character, origin and the meaning of the regulation that sets punishments for performing pagan rituals. It is known that *ZSL* was compiled from the clauses of the title XVII of the Byzantine *Ecloga*. However, the 1st article is one of the few that do not relate directly to any of the texts in the original. At the same time, there is great interest in this text, since in the discussion on the origin of *ZSL* it is often used as an argument in favour of one or another opinion. Thus several standpoints have been formed, which I will attempt to address below, and which can all be described as strongly ideological and nationalist.

From a purely scientific point of view, the first article of *ZSL* raises two sets of questions: the first is linked to the origin of the text (whether it was taken over from existing imperial decrees, and if so, from which, or whether it was created by the compiler of *ZSL*) and the second is connected to the ideological meaning of the text expressed through the invocation of God’s truth and also the name of St Constantine, whose identification I will attempt to offer. I will try to combine the answers to these questions with the legal side of the work of the brother saints among western Slavs.

Firstly, it is necessary to start with the first article in the shorter redaction of *ZSL*, which does not differ significantly from the same article in the extensive redaction. Here, I quote the text of the *Ustyug transcription* from the early 14th century:

Преже всакога правды. достоино есть о бни правды глаго твмъ же стъзи константинъ. първзи законъ въписавъ преда тако глаго. яко всако село. в немъ же тревзи взивають. или присагы поганьскыи.

¹ Michele Renee SALZMAN, *The Evidence of the Conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity in Book XVI of the “Theodosian Code”*, *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*, Bd. 42, H. 3 (3rd Qtr. 1993), pp. 362–363.

² On paganism in 6th–7th centuries see Demetrios J. CONSTANTELOS, *Paganism and the State in the Age of Justinian*, *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 50, Nr. 3, 1964, p. 372; Kenneth W. HARL, *Sacrifice and Pagan Belief in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Byzantium*, *Past & Present*, Nr. 128, 1990, pp. 7–27.

ДА ѿдаются въ вни храмъ. съ вѣсѣмъ имѣніемъ. ꙗкоже имоуть
 ꙗ та в томъ селѣ. И творить тѣбѣ и присагъи. да продаются
 съ вѣсѣмъ имѣніемъ своимъ. а цѣна ихъ дасться нищимъ :³

Translation of the text by Josef Vašica: "Before the general code, faith in God must be mentioned. This is why St Constantine wrote and said this in the first law: Every estate where pagan rituals and oaths are performed shall be delivered unto the temple of God with all its property those Messrs have in their estate. Those who perform sacrifices and oaths shall be sold with all their property and the price obtained for them shall be given to the poor."⁴

The text remains more or less the same, yet there is a certain difference in understanding and translation, which is reflected in its further interpretation. Current historiography has accepted a translation that is, in its main features, consistent with Vašica's translation. There is, however, a controversial moment in it, which is whether the word *цѣло* should be translated as "settlement" (an inhabited place) or as "estate" (large land property).⁵ In Bulgarian historiography, two versions of the translation have been created: the first, by G. Danailov from 1901, was later also accepted by M. Andreev.⁶ I believe that it prevails. Danailov's reading of the text is older than Vašica's, but is consistent with it. However, it has been strongly disputed by S. S. Bobčev, who was very critical of it and offered his own translation of *ZSL*. Thus was created the second translation and interpretation of the text, which was subsequently accepted by V. Ganjev.⁷ I would like expressly to emphasise that regarding the text of the first article of *ZSL*, which is the subject of our interest, Bobčev refutes Danailov's translation exactly because he does not see in the text the property owner's responsibility. Various translations and interpretations might be imagined based on the question as to whether the text of *ZSL* assumes the greater responsibility of high-ranking people in an inhabited place in which pagan rites were performed compared to that of common people living there. And it is on the greater responsibility of Boyars that Bulgarian historical jurisprudence bases its interpretation of *ZSL*. Such opinions were held not only by S. S. Bobčev, but also by V. Ganjev and M. Andreev (although the latter does not accept the reading of the text that the first two authors build their theories on).⁸ However, this problem is not the focus of this study and I will only point out that the translations by S. S. Bobčev and V. Ganjev have both long been rejected by lawyers, historians and philologists

3 Based on the transcription of the Nomocanon of Ustyug – *Zakon sudnyj ljudem. Kratkaj redakcii*, podg. Michail N. Tichomirov i Leonid V. Milov, red. Michail N. Tichomirov, Moskva 1961, p. 47.

4 *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, ed. Josef Vašica, in: MMFH IV, p. 178.

5 In his translation, J. Vašica uses the term "estate", which contains both these meanings, although he himself prefers the first one. (translator's note)

6 Georgi DANAILOV, *Edin pametnik na staroto b'lgarsko pravo (Zakon sudnyj ljudem)*, otdelen otpečat'k ot Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, nauka i knižnina, t. XVIII, Sofija 1901, p. 42; Michail ANDREEV, *K'de e bil s'zdaden Zakon' soudnyj ljud'm*, Slavjanska filologija, t. V, Sofija 1963, p. 120. Compare with *Zakon sudnyj ljudem. Kratkaj redakcii*, p. 104.

7 Stefan S. BOBČEV, *Edin pametnik na staroto b'lgarsko pravo (Zakon sudnyj ljudem)* ot G. Danailov, Periodičesko spisanie na B'lgarskoto knižovno družestvo v Sofija, kn. LXII 1901, pp. 625–626, 634; S. S. BOBČEV, *Starob'lgarski pravni pametnici*, č. I, Sofija 1903, p. 171; Venelin GANEV, *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, Sofija 1959, p. 163 (Further as: V. GANEV, *ZSL*).

8 S. S. BOBČEV, *Edin pametnik na staroto b'lgarsko pravo (Zakon sudnyj ljudem)* ot G. Danailov, p. 625–626; GANEV, *ZSL*, p. 167; M. Andreev, *K'de e bil s'zdaden Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, Slavjanska filologija, t. V, Sofija 1963, pp. 119–120; M. ANDREEV, *V Makedonija li e bil s'zdaden Zakon sudnyj ljudem i slavjanskijaj p'rvoučitel Metodij li e negov avtor?*, Xiljada i sto godini slavjanska pismenost (863–1963). Sbornik v čest na Kiril i Metodij, Sofija 1963, pp. 335–336; M. ANDREEV, *V Makedonija li e bil s'zdaden Zakon sudnyj ljudem i slavjanskijaj p'rvoučitel Metodij li e negov avtor?*, Xiljada i sto godini slavjanska pismenost (863–1963). Sbornik v čest na Kiril i Metodij, Sofija 1963, pp. 6–8.

alike. The first article of *ZSL* does not contain any evidence of the existence of any stronger repression against the higher classes, on which fact my interpretation is also based. Nevertheless, it would not be appropriate simply to let pass the issue of responsibility graduated according to social status, although it is not directly established by *ZSL*, and even if it was, it would not be decisive evidence of the Bulgarian origin of the Code. In the Christianisation of the individual states we encounter more or less expressed opposition, regardless of whether Christianisation occurred as the result of a mission or a political act. Given that this was a general and great change in the life of a society, such resistance is completely natural. In this case, it is important that the most passionate advocates of the old faith were usually the higher classes and the aristocracy, not the common people. It was so not only in Bulgaria, but in Rome, too.⁹ Evidence of graduated punishment is found in the Roman imperial constitutions, which will be discussed later. Even if the first article of *ZSL* did assume heavier punishment for Boyars performing pagan rites, such information could not be used as a decisive argument in favour of a Bulgarian origin for the *Code*.

The mention of God's truth¹⁰ at the beginning of the text also needs to be interpreted in the context of several identical quotations later in the text of the Code. In the second, fourth and last article (dispute of spouses) of *ZSL*, however, "God's truth" is not spoken of, but the "Law of God", which is, at least from the lexical point of view, a difference that has received several interpretations. Although these quotations do not have the same meaning, they are linked by their direct relation to Holy Scripture. "God's truth" in the first article refers to Faith, as is emphasised by all authors who have written on this topic. The problem is whether it is meant here as faith in Christ's teaching, or a particular normative text, or whether this text is Holy Scripture (let's say the Book of Deuteronomy or other texts of the Pentateuch) or yet another special code. In his studies, J. Vašica expressed the opinion that in *ZSL* we can trace the influence of Old Testament norms from the Torah as well as the compiled texts *Lex Dei quam Deus praecepit ad Moysen* and *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanorum*.¹¹ According to the Czech researcher, the commandments and ideas from these were added to the text taken over from the *Ecloga*, while some structural changes were made in the *Code* in connection with it. In essence, J. Vašica's theory again leads to the argumentation supporting the origin of *ZSL* in the missionary work of Sts Cyril and Methodius in Central Europe, and its coherence with legal opinions and texts widespread mainly in the West. Of course, the opposition completely rejects such a theory.¹² I would like to draw attention to a very audacious statement by M. Andreev that "even J. Vašica's attempt to explain the first and second article of *ZSL* using the Decalogue and the Bible must be considered unsuccessful",¹³ I find this statement exaggerated. Even if specific

9 Karl Leo NOETHLICH, *Die gesetzgeberischen Maßnahmen der christlichen Kaiser des vierten Jahrhunderts gegen Häretiker, Heiden und Juden*, Köln 1971, p. 20; D. J. CONSTANTELOS, *Paganism and the State in the Age of Justinian*, pp. 374–375; K. W. HARL, *Sacrifice and Pagan Belief*, pp. 7–22.

10 Vašica in his translation uses "the faith of God" as he does not accept the wording of the majority of transcriptions of the brief redaction, and on this particular point, he favours the version "o božii věre" in loasafov's transcription of the brief redaction of the Code. See *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, ed. J. Vašica, p. 178. (translator's note)

11 J. VAŠICA, *K otázce původu Zákona sudného ljudem*, *Slavia* 30, 1961/1, p. 12; J. VAŠICA, *Kirillo-Mefodievskie juridičeskie pamjatniki*, *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija*, vyp. 7, Moskva 1963, pp. 32–33.

12 M. Andreev, *K'de e bil s'zdaden Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, p. 128 on.

13 M. Andreev, *K'de e bil s'zdaden Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, pp. 130–131.

borrowings and the direct verbatim influences of a certain normative text on *ZSL* did not exist, the rejection of the Biblical basis of the law contained in the *Code* would be untenable. This is clearly demonstrated in the extensive redaction of the *Code*, compiled from normative Biblical additions to the text. I believe that since the discussion of J. Vašica with M. Andreev, research into *Lex Dei* and the influence of the Old Testament in the sphere of law and the state in general have undergone significant development, even in Bulgarian historical jurisprudence.¹⁴ I am therefore convinced that this question deserves new, special research, which will not be carried out within this study.

It is clear that the first article of *ZSL* is of a strong ideological and religious significance, and in this sense it is undoubtedly related to Holy Scripture, which is, in this area, the main and basic source of ideas and models. This is why the text of this article was given primacy and is emphasised, and it represents the main direction for the *Code*: the evangelisation of a newly Christianised country, in which it was necessary to establish Christian morals and a Christian understanding of the world, even by legal means, and also to uproot the pagan practice that remained among the inhabitants. It has been written many times in Bulgarian science (and not only in historical jurisprudence) that such intervention was necessary only in Bulgaria; nevertheless, in my opinion, this theory has not been proven convincingly. The proclaimed exceptionalism of the situation in Bulgaria is untenable in the context of the epoch in which almost all Slavic states were Christianised. We will return to these issues later in this text. Now, we will consider the individual issues that this study is concerned with.

Let us therefore attempt to determine the identity of the St Constantine quoted in the text, and what the mention of this name means. However, before I can express any standpoint, it is necessary to list the existing hypotheses. In the case of the identification of St Constantine, there are three. It can be said that all three identities of “the creator of the Code” mentioned in the first article are the products of mainly national motives connected with the origin of the oldest Old Slavonic code. The following names have been considered: Constantine the Great, St Cyril (whose secular name was Constantine) and, strange as it may seem, the iconoclast Emperor Constantine V Copronymus. Let us consider the arguments in favour of each of them, and the counter-arguments of their opponents.

Both pre-revolutionary Russian and older Bulgarian historiography saw in “St Constantine” something like a reminder of the Emperor Constantine the Great. Even Baron Gustav Andreevič Rozenkampff wrote that the name mentioned belonged to the Emperor Constantine, but was present only to lend authority to the *Code*.¹⁵ I would like to mention that more recent historiography does hold onto this identification, not on the basis of some concrete research, but in order to have something with which to blunt the arguments of the opposition. This on its own is dictated by the promotion of nationalistic theories, which are incompatible with any other identification of the personality in question.

14 Marija KOSTOVA – Malina NOVKIRIŠKA STOJANOVA – Teodor PIPERKOV, *S’postavka na Mojseevija zakon i rimskite zakoni*, Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum, Sofija 2009, p. 192; Ivan BILIARSKY, *Skazanie na Isajja proroka i formirane na političeskata ideologija na rannosrednovekovna B’lgarija*, Sofija 2011, p. 264; I. BILIARSKY, *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah. The destiny and Meanings of an Apocryphal Text*, Brill – Leiden – Boston 2013.

15 Baron Gustav A. ROZENKAMPFF, *Obozrenie Kormčej knigi v istoričeskom vide*, Moskva 1829, pp. 134–135.

I believe the older historiography is merely preserving a traditional view of this issue, and does not provide any notable arguments. Therefore, it is not the subject of this study. We will study in more detail what was written after World War II and the discussion concerning the origin of *ZSL*. The identification of St Constantine of *ZSL* as Constantine the Great is most actively developed in Bulgarian historical jurisprudence, particularly with the aim of refuting the theory about the creation of *ZSL* during the Great Moravian mission of the sainted brothers of Thessalonica, or even by Methodius himself, still in Macedonia. There are two significant arguments in favour of the identification of the name of St Constantine with the name of the first Christian emperor. The first of them consists of the assertion that the person mentioned in the article must have been someone of power, due to the law being a prerogative of rulers. In this way, the theory identifying the person in question as St Cyril is supposed to be refuted. This statement is correct, but insufficient; we will consider it later. The second argument adverts to the presence of the name **великий царь Константинъ Гретьскый** in some transcriptions of the *Code*.¹⁶ Sometimes Constantine is mentioned even in the title of the *Code*.¹⁷ Although these mentions do not prove the presence of the historical Constantine as Roman emperor at the creation of this legal norm, they raise the question as to whether the image of the first Christian emperor might have been present as an ideological justification of its importance in the minds of some scribes.

The idea that “St Constantine” might have been St Cyril, the brother of Methodius, whose secular name was Constantine, was already being expressed in the 19th century by G. Barac and P. Odžakov, although it remained marginal until the period after World War II.¹⁸ The position of Josef Vašica deserves greater attention. In his study published in 1951 in the magazine *Byzantinoslavica*, which rapidly became a classic for the Great Moravian theory, the author adopted the view that the aim and the meaning of the sainted brothers of Thessalonica among Central European Slavs was not the evangelisation of those countries, enlightenment in faith in Christ and the spreading of the truth in the native language, but the creation of a compilation of laws for the needs of the ruler, while this compilation was to serve to consolidate the statehood and the organisation of the Church in the principality. The author draws this conclusion from an interpretation of several sources – legends and hagiographic and documentary materials – and concludes with the assertion that Constantine the Philosopher was appointed leader of the mission due to his knowledge of law and his diplomatic skills, which would allow him to create a code of law which subsequently materialised in the form of *ZSL*.¹⁹ According to J. Vašica, he is also the creator of *ZSL*, and this conclusion subsequently provides a solution to the question of who the St Constantine in the first article is. It must be pointed out that the Czech canonist is very careful while formulating his conclusions. Here is his opinion on the citation of the name “St Constantine”: “*Dans les plus anciens manuscrits de la rédaction abrégée du ZS, on rencontre le nom de Constantin en tête du manuel. Plus tard, les copistes remplacèrent St. Constantin le Philosophe*

16 M. Andreev, *K’de e bil s’zdaten Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, pp. 14–15, note 4.

17 See for example *Zakon sudnyj ljudem. Kratkaj redakcii*, pp. 21–22, 35, 58.

18 German BARAC, *Kirillo-Mefodievskie voprosy*, Trudy Kievskoj Duxovnoj Akademii, 1891, t. II, pp. 606–680; Peter ODŽAKOV, *Starob’lgarski zakoni, otkriti, s’brani i prevedeni ot Petra V. Odžakov (jurist-kanonist)*, pečatani v I i II kniga na „L. N. S. Trud”, V. T’rnovo 1892, p. 33.

19 Josef VAŠICA, *L’origine cyrillo-méthodienne du plus ancien code slave, dit “Zakon sudnyj ljudem”*, *Byzantinoslavica* 12/1–2, 1951, p. 166.

par l'empereur St. Constantin le Grand à qui le ZS est sou-
vent attribué,²⁰ and later in the study, "Les deux procédées
nous autorisent à dater le ZS de l'époque cyrillo-méthodienne
et à l'attribuer, avec toute la vraisemblance possible, à St. Con-
stantin-Cyrille dont l'admirable activité littéraire acquiert ainsi
un nouveau titre de gloire."²¹ He confirms his standpoint in one
of his later studies dedicated to the legal legacy of Sts Cyril
and Methodius.²² Here also, the main theory of the Czech re-
searcher rests on the strongly expressed religious-legal nature
of the mission of the Thessalonian brothers to Great Moravia.²³
From it, he concludes that the brothers were called and sent
to the Central European principality precisely for the purpose
of creating law, which is supposedly also confirmed by the men-
tion of Constantine's translation of "the law of God and his
truth" in the text of an Old Slavonic liturgical song (stichira)
in one of Spyridon Palauzov's manuscripts.²⁴ J. Vašica interprets
this as an indication of ZSL being compiled by Constantine-Cyril,
who, as the leader of the mission to the Great Moravian Prin-
cipality, accepted the task and compiled the Code before his
departure from Rome, and added several Old Testament com-
mandments of Moses to the 17th title of the Ecloga.²⁵ Con-
cerning the actual citing of "St Constantine" in the text, accord-
ing to the Czech researcher it is Constantine the Philosopher
that is mentioned there due to his authorship of ZSL. Even this
opinion is not expressed and justified categorically, and is more
of a criticism of Bulgarian researchers who see in this name
a reminder of the Emperor Constantine the Great. It is clear that
J. Vašica avoids expressing an uncompromising standpoint re-
garding the question of who the "St Constantine" in the first
article of ZSL is. In his opinion, it is the brother of Methodius,
although in his paper Vašica did not pay special attention to this
question and formulated it very carefully.

Vašica's opponents react to his opinions with the usual ar-
guments. Almost all of them emphasise that even though
Constantine the Philosopher was the leader of the Moravian
mission, he was not a person entitled to create laws. Laws
and legislation are created by authority, which has the exclu-
sive right to it and has the power to enforce it and punish
noncompliance through a repressive apparatus.²⁶ J. Vaši-
ca's theory differs: the Moravian mission was to be invited
to create law in Great Moravia, while it was expected that this
would be promulgated by the act of a ruler. Therefore, we are
not concerned here with a legislative power but with the ex-
pert creation of a normative text. Without taking any stand-
point on the dispute, I believe the given argument of the Bul-
garian researchers is insufficient. S. V. Troicki is very brief
in refuting the identification of "St Constantine" as St Cyril,
while he emphasises the already-known logical arguments: it is
unthinkable that a priest, and a foreigner at that, would create
laws in the country on the punishment of subjects in the land
in which a mission takes place. Something like that can only

be the work of a ruler with legislative power.²⁷ As an addition-
al argument, J. Vašica's opponents emphasise the mention of
"the great emperor St Constantine of Greece" in the first article
of the extensive redaction of ZSL.²⁸ It has already been stat-
ed that a missionary cannot proclaim laws, along with the ar-
guments commented on in connection with what M. Andreev
wrote. Without favouring J. Vašica's theory, it must be said
that the given arguments do not refute it or even challenge it,
as they are directed against different (and actually non-exist-
ent) statements. The same situation exists in the case of citing
"Tzar Constantine of Greece" in later transcriptions. Regarding
those, it is quite clear that they refer to Constantine the Great.
Nevertheless, J. Vašica, who himself points out this "trans-
formation", as he calls it, claims that the original writer had
St Cyril in mind. I think his opponent could also use the refer-
ences to Constantine the Great as the creator of the whole
ZSL in the titles of several recent transcriptions. However, this
could be challenged in the same way, i.e. if we view this desig-
nation as a later, erroneous addition.

I have expressed elsewhere in the text my opinion on the in-
troduction of the Christian faith and its "law", and a particular
meaning of the given term, connected in this special case with
the Moravian mission.²⁹ Yes, the work of the brother saints
in Great Moravia did have a really strong legal aspect and left
a considerable legal legacy, yet the brothers were not sent
with the goal of creating, correcting, systematising or making
"Byzantinised" legislation. The work of Sts Cyril and Metho-
dius is primarily evangelistic and eschatological, and all its other
aspects – legal, liturgical, linguistic, literary and such – are only
secondary. In this sense, I would like to say that, as a whole,
I do not accept this side of Josef Vašica's argument, although
I do think that in other respects it is the best supported the-
ory so far. The clarification of the appearance of the name
"St Constantine" in the first article of ZSL must be viewed
in a similar way. It is entirely subject to the author's theory
that it is St Cyril who is the author of the Code, which was
created before the departure of the brothers from Rome;
it is justified by it and subsequently used for its confirma-
tion. Here, I would like to draw attention to the moment that
might yet contribute to the understanding of the topic, de-
spite not being of a critical character. It is most remarkable
that even the mention of the name "St Constantine" suggests
the existence of a problem. The brother of St Methodius used
his secular name, Constantine. Nevertheless, to the Church,
he remains known as a saint only under the name of St Cyr-
il. This issue has been studied by one of the best experts
on mediaeval Bulgarian and Slavic countries. Stefan Kožu-
charov gave the issue of the name of the Slavic apostle spe-
cial attention, and he came to the conclusion that both names
may be used, as we find the name Constantine throughout his
long life as well as (although rarely) in liturgical texts devoted
to him.³⁰ Tadeusz Wasilewski, too, dedicated a special study
to the double names of "Sveti Sedmochislentsi" (the Holy

20 Josef VAŠICA, *L'origine cyrillo-méthodienne du plus ancien code slave*, p. 170.

21 Josef VAŠICA, *L'origine cyrillo-méthodienne du plus ancien code slave*, p. 173.

22 Josef VAŠICA, *Kirillo-Mefodievskie juridičeskie pamjatniki*, *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija*, vyp. 7, Moskva 1963, p. 27, 32–33.

23 Josef VAŠICA, *Kirillo-Mefodievskie juridičeskie pamjatniki*, p. 12, 22nn., 27nn.

24 Josef VAŠICA, *L'origine cyrillo-méthodienne du plus ancien code slave*, p. 171; Josef VAŠICA, *Kirillo-Mefodievskie juridičeskie pamjatniki*, p. 33.

25 Josef VAŠICA, *Kirillo-Mefodievskie juridičeskie pamjatniki*, p. 27, 32–33.

26 M. ANDREEV, *K'm v'prosa za proizchoda i s'ščnostta na Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, in: *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet Juridičeskija fakultet*, t. 49/1957, Sofija 1958, p. 21.

27 Sergej V. TROICKIJ, *Sv. Mefodij kak slavjanskij zakonodatel'*, *Bogoslovskie trudy*, sb. 2, Moskva 1961, p. 88; Krasimira ILIEVSKA, *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, MANU, Skopje 2004, pp. 158–159.

28 M. ANDREEV, *K'de e bil s'z'daden Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, pp. 114–115, note 4; K. ILIEVSKA, *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, p. 158.

29 I. BILIARSKY, *Word and Power in Mediaeval Bulgaria*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2011, p. 194, 517–521; I. BILIARSKY, *Publično- i kanoničnopravna leksika v b'lgarskoto srednovekovno prostranstvo*, Vama 2011, pp. 189–204, 445–449.

30 S. KOŽUCHAROV, *Imeto na s'zdatelja na slavjanskata pismenost*, B'lgarski ezik 19, 1969, kn. 3, pp. 263–265.

Seven) and the issue of their monastic initiation.³¹ The historical situation is clear: St Cyril took the name Cyril upon becoming a monk, shortly before his death. Throughout his life he was known as Constantine. Nevertheless, for the Church, he remains St Cyril. I cannot see why, if he meant him, the compiler of the *Code* would prefer the name Constantine. It would not be a mistake, but even so, it would be questionable, and could hardly serve as anything more than only indirect evidence of the authorship of the *Code*. In this sense, I believe that the identification of “St Constantine” as St Cyril is difficult to accept and should not be given priority.

The most extravagant interpretation of the name “St Constantine” from the first article of *ZSL* belongs to S. V. Troicki. In his extensive study, he performed a critical analysis of the existing views, refuted them with clear arguments and presented his own: the “St Constantine” of *ZSL* is the Emperor Constantine V Copronymus.³² According to the noted Russian-Yugoslavian canonist, *ZSL* was created by St Methodius based on the adoption of title XVII of *Ecloga*, and it was intended for the Byzantine Strymon, which Methodius governed before becoming a monk. The citing of the name “St Constantine” is allegedly linked to the creation of the *Ecloga* during the rule of Leo III and Constantine V. There are several major arguments in favour of this theory. The first is based on the name itself. By the time of the creation of *ZSL* (presumably in the 9th century) there had been six emperors with the name Constantine and the identification of the name in question as one of these seems to be inevitable. Another element of Troicki’s argument is the theory that, as a punishment for performing pagan rites in a village, its people became church paroikoi, while the system of pronoia was supposed to have been in effect no earlier than the 7th century. This means that the “St Constantine” in question can have lived only within the 6th and the 7th centuries. Within that time, there were the emperors Constantine VI Pogonatos (668–685), Constantine V Copronymus (720/741–755) and Constantine VI (780–797). Although *ZSL* is based on the text of the *Ecloga* and this compilation of Byzantine law was created during the reign of the emperor iconoclasts Leo III and his then infant son Constantine V, the Russian-Yugoslavian canonist concentrated only on the latter as the author of a decree that was to become the basis of the first article of *ZSL*. He supports his theory with further arguments: in this epoch “the Byzantines had to be Christians”; forced conversion to the Christian faith is characteristic of the “image of Copronymus”; the area of eastern Macedonia, where the emperor “with the help of the Church” was combating paganism in order to consolidate imperial power, was then newly conquered territory. S. V. Troicki specifies the period when Constantine V issued the edict against pagans: it was allegedly connected with a successful campaign against Slavians in Macedonia in 758–759. They were to be subjected and, according to Troicki, either handed to the Church or sold.

31 Tadeusz WASILEWSKI, *Dvojinite imena – svetskite (kr’ščelnite) i monašeskite – na slavjanskite apostoli Konstantin-Kiril i Metodij i v’pros’te za identifikacijata na členovete na monastirskoto bratstvo, zatočeni zaedno s Metodij v Rajxenau*, Palaeobulgarica 16, 1992/1, pp. 18–25.

32 S. V. TROICKIJ, *Sv. Mefodij kak slavjanskij zakonodatel’*, Bogoslovskie trudy, sb. 2, Moskva 1961, pp. 87–89; IDEM, *Sv. Mefodij kak avtor „Zakona sudnogo ljudjam”*, Makedonija i makedoncy v prošlom / La Macédoine et les Macédoniens dans le passé, Skop’je 1970, pp. 441–453. M. Andreev also writes that the presence of the name of Constantine V in the preamble to *Ecloga* might have been encouraged by the inclusion of this name in the text: M. ANDREEV, *K’im v’pros’a za proizxoda i s’ščnostta na Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, p. 21.

It is obvious that the whole argument of this well-known canonist is heading towards a predetermined historical interpretation of the provisions of the first article, which is to serve particular political objectives. This is to demonstrate the creation of *ZSL* by St Methodius at the time when he governed the Slavic area in Macedonia, which is to prove the Macedonian origin of *ZSL* and to emphasise the importance of Macedonia for the culture of Slavic countries. S. V. Troicki’s theory is untenable for several reasons, which I will attempt to summarise. Connecting the emperor’s campaign to Macedonia with the first article of *ZSL* is completely arbitrary, as is the explanation of hypothetical events that were allegedly to follow. This ruler was indeed very successful in a military sense, within the so-called “Byzantine reconquista” in the Balkans and Anatolia. Nevertheless, I do not think we have any reason to propose his cooperation with the Church in his fight against pagans, and we certainly cannot assume he would be remembered as a saint. Constantine V was the most passionate opponent of the worship of icons and one of the most cruel Byzantine emperors to have persecuted the Church. After overcoming the iconoclastic crisis, the attitude to him was strongly negative and his inclusion in *damnatio memoriae* is undoubted. The actual view of the *Ecloga* as a legal document created at the time of iconoclasm was very controversial, and some regulations reducing the influence of the Church were later corrected.³³ It is true that S. V. Troicki explains the usage of the epithet “saint” with the name of Constantine V. However, his reasons are quite unconvincing.³⁴ The first of them is that the word “saint” might not have been present in the original text of the first article. Such an explanation is possible; however, it lacks any evidence and therefore is arbitrary and incorrect. The second concerns the institutional sanctity of emperors. This is a disputable and very controversial question.³⁵ In any case, no such thing as the “professional personal sanctity” of an emperor existed, and here “saint” is used in the name of a person without any title. This argument relies on imperial anointment, which was most likely not practised in the empire at the time, and may simply be disregarded. S. V. Troicki’s most peculiar argument is the one supporting his theory that *ZSL* was compiled before the condemnation of iconoclasm, during the rule of the emperor Theophilus, when Methodius was appointed governor of the “Slavic principedom in Macedonia”. A question arises whether it is necessary to examine the assumption that the faith of the brothers from Thessalonica was not Orthodox, and, if not their affiliation, then at least their support for iconoclastic heresy.

Although S. V. Troicki’s theory is not among the most popular, at least with regard to the identification of St Constantine as Constantine Copronymus, Macedonian academe still holds onto the idea that *ZSL* was created in the Slavic Strymon. In her book dedicated to the *Code*, Krasimira Ilievska does not directly express this view, yet it is clearly evident in the text.³⁶ The author sees *ZSL* as the work of St Methodius as a territorial governor in 9th century Byzantium, dealing with heretics and pagans and the fight against them.³⁷

33 See, for example “the provision on the right of asylum”: I. BILIARSKY, *La responsabilité liée au droit d’asile dans la plus ancienne loi slave*, Responsabilité et l’Antiquité, vol. 2, Méditerranées, No 36, 2003, pp. 13–32.

34 S. V. TROICKIJ, *Sv. Mefodij kak slavjanskij zakonodatel’*, p. 89.

35 See Constantin PITSAKIS, *Sainteté et empire. A propos de la sainteté impériale: formes de sainteté “d’office” et de sainteté collective dans l’Empire d’Orient?*, *Bizantinistica*. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi, serie seconda, anno III/2001, pp. 155–227.

36 K. ILIEVSKA, *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, pp. 158–159.

37 *Ibidem*, p. 156.

I must repeat that the theory of S. V. Troicki identifying the "St Constantine" of the first article of *ZSL* as Constantine Copronymus is based on the theory about its Macedonian origin and is entirely subject to it. In this, it does not actually differ from other theories which are also constructed on the basis of nationalistic ideologies, only it seems to be much more fanatical and less substantiated. My view of the identification of the "St Constantine" of the first article of *ZSL* is as follows: this really is Constantine the Great, or more precisely, the use of his name to lend authority to the *Code*. I would like to emphasise that by this statement I do not support the viewpoint of M. Andreev. I only accept the obvious fact that this author and other Bulgarian legal historians do not prove but merely declare this only in order to contradict the statements of their opponents. The citing of the name of Constantine the Great as one of the most popular rulers among the Orthodox nations might have occurred for many reasons, as it is linked with the beginnings of the Christianisation of the empire. This is the traditional image of Constantine, although historically his politics were more towards religious tolerance rather than the enforcement of religious affiliation. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that when creating legislation Constantine followed the Christian line, although in a much softer and less violent way than subsequent emperors (particularly his son Constantinus II). The influence of Christianity and the subsequent Christianisation of the empire on legislation was so great that not one imperial constitution created in the pre-Constantine era made it into the *Theodosian Code*.³⁸ We have no evidence of the persecution of pagans during Constantine's reign, but we find here the beginning of what M. R. Salzman calls carefully stimulated Christianity in the empire and the creation of a new universal imperial identity based on it. This is also reflected in the policy of supporting the (especially higher) clergy and Christians in general, using tax concessions and exemption from angary and other indirect burdens.³⁹ Such a policy also has its origin in some constitutions of Constantine the Great.⁴⁰ It was this emperor who introduced legislative measures enabling the Church and clergy to integrate with the empire and to become an integral part.⁴¹

Of course, we must first examine the data about the legislation of Constantine the Great against pagan cults and sacrifices, at least to the extent that this legislation has survived. Eusebius of Caesarea wrote that Constantine prohibited the performance of sacrifices. He says that citizens and soldiers were prohibited from performing any form of worship and sacrifices (*Vita Constantini IV, 23*). Further on, he states that with other laws and regulations Constantine abolished all sacrifice to idols, the erection of religious statues, the performance of secret rituals, divination and various gladiatorial games (*Vita Constantini IV, 25, 1*).⁴² This only confirms Eusebius' previous words about Constantine prohibiting pagan religious practices and also any sacrifices with two laws (*Vita Constantini II, 45*).⁴³ Unfortunately, the text of these laws has not survived and Eusebius' references are nearly all the remnants that allow us to say that such laws existed at all. The question

is whether the constitution of Constantine the Great of 321 (*Codex Theodosianus XVI, 10, 1*)⁴⁴ can be interpreted as the very abolition of sacrifice cited by Eusebius. It allows and even supports haruspicy and yet, at the same time, prohibits sacrifice in private houses. I will not concern myself with this issue in more detail. I will only mention the view already expressed that this was probably a restriction on the practice of domestic and nocturnal sacrifices, which remained permitted only in the public sphere.⁴⁵ In this sense, the constitution does not confirm Eusebius's words, at least not categorically. This somewhat unclarified text of the imperial biographer has been examined in many studies, but no satisfactory solution has been found.⁴⁶ In my opinion, Eusebius' testimony is contrary to the reports of Constantine's tolerance: for example, pagan authors like Libanios, who praises the emperor and also calls Jovianus the new Constantine for his tolerance.⁴⁷ Regarding the testimony of Eusebius of Caesarea, it is very likely that it is a piece of Christian praise of the pure faith of the emperor-baptist, which is not based on real laws.

However, I would like to point out that the evidence for the Christian policies of Constantine the Great in the legal and historical sphere is not the main argument in favour of the identification presented above. In my opinion, a tradition that undoubtedly sees in him the "baptist of the empire" is far more important, regardless of the evidence about his real actions, the facts of which were hardly widely known in the Middle Ages.

Thus we arrive at another problem that this study is concerned with: the origin of the provisions in the first article of *ZSL*. To be able to solve this problem, we must attempt to determine whether the article is taken directly from a previous legislative text, whatever it may be. However, before that, I would like to pause briefly at the attempts of Bulgarian historians to connect our text with two answers from *Responsa Nicolai PP ad consulta Bulgarorum* (*Responses of Nicolas II to the enquiries of the Bulgarians, hereinafter only Responses*). It can be said straight away that these attempts are futile and their conclusions untenable. *Responses* remain part of the Roman-Catholic canon to this day. They are not mere clarifications of the ideas of the Holy Father. They have the character of pontifical decisions and represent a mandatory interpretation of certain legal situations. However, they bear all the signs of religious law and not secular law, which also determines the character of their provisions to the extent to which the Church as a "divine-human" (divinohumanus) body cares more about the salvation of souls than maintaining order in society. When the relation of *Responses* to *ZSL* is sought, to prove its creation in Bulgaria, usually responses 41 and 102 are cited.⁴⁸

44 *De constitutionibus principum Serdicae datis / Imperatorski konstitucii izdadeni v Serdika*, Sofija 2012, p. 150–153; K. L. NOETHLICH, *Die gesetzgeberischen Maßnahmen der christlichen Kaiser*, p. 19.

45 *Le Code Théodosien, livre XVI et sa réception au Moyen âge*, éd. Elisabeth MAGNOU-NORTIER, Paris 2002, p. 367, note 1.

46 Timothy David BARNES, *Constantine's prohibition of the Pagan Sacrifice*, *American Journal of Philology* 105, 1984, pp. 69–72; M. R. SALZMAN, *Superstition in the Codex Theodosianus and the Persecution of the Pagans*, *Vigiliae Christianae* 41, 1987, pp. 178–180; Robert Malcolm ERRINGTON, *Constantine and the Pagans*, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 29, 1988, pp. 309–318; M. R. SALZMAN, *Evidence for the Conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity*, p. 367 on; Scott BRADBURY, *Constantine and the Problem of Anti-Pagan Legislation in the Fourth Century*, *Classical Philology* 89, 1994, pp. 12–139; EUSEBIUS, *Life of Constantine*, pp. 243–244, 319–320.

47 EUSEBIUS, *Life of Constantine*, p. 319.

48 M. ANDREEV, *K"de e bil s"zdaden Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, s. 131nn.; IDEM, *Jav-ljaetsja li Zakon sudnyj ljudem drevnebolgarskim pamjatnikom?*, pp. 17nn.; IDEM, *V Makedonija li e bil s"zdaden Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, p. 336; V. GANEV, *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, Sofija 1959, pp. 182–183.

38 *Le Code Théodosien, livre XVI et sa réception au Moyen âge*, p. 18.

39 M. R. SALZMAN, *Evidence for the Conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity*, pp. 364–367.

40 *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 2. 1, AD 313; XVI, 2. 3, AD 320/329; XVI, 2. 7, AD 330.

41 *Le Code Théodosien, livre XVI et sa réception au Moyen âge*, pp. 20–22, 25–26.

42 EUSEBIUS, *Life of Constantine*, ed. Averil Cameron – Stuart G. Hall, Oxford 1999, p. 161.

43 EUSEBIUS, *Life of Constantine*, p. 110.

It should be noted that the similarity between the texts in *ZSL* and in *Responses* consists only in the fact that they both talk about pagans and the attitude towards them. The attitude is, however, completely different. Where *ZSL* assumes severe punishment, the Pope's *Responses* explicitly emphasise that pagans should only be persuaded and no kind of violence should be used against them, as the aim is not to punish them but to turn them to the faith and the salvation of their souls. This is the general difference between both the policies and the activities of state and Church, as well as in the objectives and the means by which they achieve them. The state is connected with repression and the Church with enlightenment. This is why I see the comparison of the two texts futile and the conclusions about their relation clearly untenable.

I find it obvious that we can search for the archetype of *ZSL* only in the Roman law of Christian emperors. Several attempts have been made to determine the source of the norm among imperial constitutions, which I would like to deal with separately. The authors look for the roots of the first article of *ZSL* in the *Theodosian* or *Justinian Codes*.

Gustav Andreevič Rozenkampf was the first to point out the fact that the emperor Constantine could not have been the creator of the legal provisions at the beginning of *ZSL*, as his legislation is characterised by religious tolerance rather than the persecution of paganism.⁴⁹ He also gives possible sources for the text: the origin of the first article of *ZSL* is to be found in the *Theodosian Code*, in book XVI, title XII (it should be read title X – author's note) or in book I title XI of the *Justinian Code*.⁵⁰ The author considers it natural to borrow from the legislation of Roman emperors of the 4th–6th centuries in the newly Christianised countries (as such, he cites Bulgaria and Russia). In doing so, he broadly defines the framework within which the ideas from the first article should be sought without specifying an imperial constitution, as some authors do. This is an approach I consider most proper, and I will try to prove it in the subsequent discourse.

Legislation connected with the restriction of pagan cults in Rome can be found in the 4th–6th centuries during the reign of several emperors. They adopt various legal and other measures to contribute to the Christianisation of the global empire. I would like to point out that in its number, the imperial legislation pays more attention to heresies than to pagans, which suggests that dogmatical disputes represented a greater problem for the empire than old cults, as they threatened its political integrity and unity far more.⁵¹ In the context of this paper, we will be interested primarily in the repression that was exercised, although it is not the only tool. There are norms that specify that only orthodox Christians may be appointed to higher administrative and military positions⁵², while in 416, pagans were forbidden to occupy any public office.⁵³ Overall, emperors take great care to Christianise higher Roman society, particularly the sen-

atorial aristocracy.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, for our research, the legislation about pagan cult practice remains the most interesting, as it may be the source of the first article of *ZSL*. As I have already mentioned, the main problem is that we do not know whether sacrifice and pagan cults had already been abolished by Constantine, as we have only a minimum of direct evidence. Yet we cannot ignore the fact that Constantinus II,⁵⁵ who began the real persecution of pagans, claimed to be continuing the policy of his father.⁵⁶ It would be too bold to assume that he did so wilfully. It must be said that according to extant documents, the real persecution of pagans started during the reign of Constantinus II. Practically the whole of title 10 (constitution 2–25, AD 341–435) of book XVI of the *Theodosian Code* is dedicated to the abolition of pagan rituals and cruel punishment for practising them: they set punishments such as fines, confiscation and sometimes even the death penalty.⁵⁷ Finally, according to the constitutions of Arcadius and Honorius, pagan temples were shut and pulled down in 399 AD. Old religious practices were viewed as dirty, cruel, misguided and blasphemous.⁵⁸ As the way for the new faith was opening and on this the foundation of a new identity, pagan cults lost their official status and social prestige.⁵⁹

Now, we will examine specific attempts at the identification of the imperial constitution that was to serve as the basis for the first article of *ZSL*, made in the older literature of historical jurisprudence.

In his study dedicated especially to the Old-Bulgarian origin of *ZSL*, M. Andreev pointed to the constitutions of Arcadius and Honorius from 8 June 426⁶⁰ as the sources of the first article:

Idem aa. Asclepiodoto praefecto praetorio.

Post alia: paganos qui supersunt, si aliquando in execrandis daemonum sacrificiis fuerint comprehensi, quamvis capitali poena subdi debuerint, bonorum proscriptio ac exilium cohercebit.

Dat. VI id. iun. Constantinopoli Asclepiodoto et Mariniano cons.

It is written in the constitution that those who perform pagan sacrifices should be punished by death. However, this punishment is changed to confiscation of property and exile. This provision testifies to the alleviation of the persecution of pagans, especially in comparison with the constitutions of Constantinus II, although the death penalty is still mentioned.

⁴⁹ M. R. SALZMAN, *Evidence for the Conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity*, p. 371nn.

⁵⁰ On legislation of Constantinus II against pagans see K. L. NOETHLICH, *Die gesetzgeberischen Maßnahmen der christlichen Kaiser*, p. 62nn.

⁵¹ *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 10, 2, p. 897 ad a. 341.

⁵² About him *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 10, 4, p. 897 on 1. 12. 346/352/354, or 356; XVI, 10, 6, p. 898 on 19. 2. 356.

⁵³ On the significance of sacrifice in Roman society in late antiquity, see K. W. HARL, *Sacrifice and Pagan Belief*, pp. 7–9 (and the literature cited).

⁵⁴ *Codex Theodosianus* XVI, 10 14, p. 899; M. R. SALZMAN, *Evidence for the Conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity*, p. 368nn.

⁶⁰ *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 10, 23, p. 904. Compare M. ANDREEV, *K'm v'prosa za proichoda i s'ščnostta na Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, p. 10; IDEM, *Javljaetsja li Zakon sudnyj ljudem drevnebolgarskim pamjatnikom?* Slavjanskij archiv, Moskva 1959, pp. 12–13.

⁴⁹ Baron G. A. ROZENKAMPF, *Obozrenie Kormčej knigi v istoričeskom vide*, pp. 136nn.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 140 (text) and 128nn. (notes).

⁵¹ *Le Code Théodosien, livre XVI et sa réception au Moyen âge*, pp. 37–38, 68–71.

⁵² *Codex Theodosianus cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, I.2, ed. Theodor Mommsen – Paul M. Meyer, Berlin 1905, XVI, 5, 42, p. 869.

⁵³ *Codex Theodosianus* XVI, 10, 21, p. 902. Compare M. R. SALZMAN, *Evidence for the Conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity*, pp. 368–369.

It needs to be said that M. Andreev only refers to the text without examining it in its entirety, or even providing any new interpretation, as in reality his main aim is to give reasons why it was necessary for the Bulgarian ruler to turn to older, non-contemporary Roman texts.⁶¹ S. V. Troicki pays more attention to the text in his critique of Andreev's statement.⁶² His arguments are to a great extent formal: The constitution was not by Theodosius II, and not by Constantine (as it is, according to him, claimed in the first article); in it, offenders are punished as individual persons, while in *ZSL*, collective responsibility is assumed; penalties vary (the constitution of 423 specifies collective confiscation of property and exile, while *ZSL* specifies only punishments regarding property and falling into some kind of dependence), and there is also a difference in the way the confiscated property is forfeited: in *ZSL*, it is handed over to the Church, while in the *Theodosian Code* it goes to the exchequer. I would add one more difference: in the imperial constitution of 432, sacrifice is mentioned directly, while in *ZSL* there is the more general term "rites", i.e. religious activity as a whole. It is known that sacrifices were considered a very serious offence against the prohibition of pagan practices.⁶³ Nevertheless, I do not think these differences present an insurmountable problem, as there are similarities, too: I mean punishment for performing pagan rites; the punishment is mitigated and the confiscation of property is set as the punishment rather than the death penalty. Even so, I believe that there are more differences in the two texts: the formulation itself, the definition of a crime, the penalties set. It is not necessary to go into detail to see that the general sense of both regulations is undoubtedly the same; however, in themselves, these texts differ, and personally I would not recommend a definitive conclusion that the first article of *ZSL* is based on this text.

The second proposed solution is found in the study of V. Ganev, which is similar to the theory of Baron G. A. Rozenkamp; he quotes Chenel's opinion (without saying whether he agrees with it or not), according to which the source of the first article is the constitution of the emperor Theodosius I, together with the constitutions of Arcadius and Honorius from 8. 11. 392.⁶⁴ The text itself looks like this:⁶⁵

Imppp. Theodosius, Arcadius et Honorius aaa. ad Rufinum praefectum praetorio.

pr. Nullus omnino ex quolibet genere ordine hominum dignitatum vel in potestate positus vel honore perfunctus, sive potens sorte nascendi seu humilis genere condicione ortuna in nullo penitus loco, in nulla urbe sensu carentibus simulacris vel insontem victimam caedat vel secretiore piaculo larem igne, mero genium, penates odore veneratus accendat lumina, imponat tura, serta suspendat.

61 M. ANDREEV, *Javijaetsja li Zakon sudnyj ljudem drevnebulgarskim pamjatnikom?*, pp. 12–13.

62 S. V. TROICKIJ, *Sv. Mefodij kak slavjanskij zakonodatel'*, p. 87.

63 In this context, see constitution of 24. 2. 391 – *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 10, 10. p. 899.

64 V. GANEV, *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, pp. 181–182. The author points out that all texts of this edition of book XVI of the *Theodosian Code* assume the punishment of pagans, yet differ greatly in the style and subject of content from the first article of *ZSL*.

65 *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 10, 12, pp. 900–901.

Quod si quispiam immolare hostiam sacrificaturus audebit aut spirantia exta consulere, ad exemplum maiestatis reus licita cunctis accusatione delatus excipiat sententiam competentem, etiamsi nihil contra salutem principum aut de salute quaesierit. Sufficit enim ad criminis molem naturae ipsius leges velle rescindere, illicita perscrutari, occulta recludere, interdicta temptare, finem quaerere salutis alienae, spem alieni interitus polliceri.

Si quis vero mortali opere facta et aevum passura simulacra imposito ture venerabitur ac ridiculo exemplo, metuens subito quae ipse simulaverit, vel redimita vittis arbore vel erecta effossis ara cespitibus, vanas imagines, humilior licet muneris praemio, tamen plena religionis iniuria honorare temptaverit, is utpote violatae religionis reus ea domo seu possessione multabitur, in qua eum gentilicia constiterit superstitio famulatum. Namque omnia loca, quae turis constiterit vapore fumasse, si tamen ea in iure fuisse turificantium probabuntur, fisco nostro adsocianda censemus.

Sin vero in templis fanisve publicis aut in aedibus agrisque alienis tale quispiam sacrificandi genus exercere temptaverit, si ignorante domino usurpata constiterit, viginti quinque libras auri multae nomine cogetur inferre, coniventem vero huic sceleri par ac sacrificantem poena retinebit.

Quod quidem ita per iudices ac defensores et curiales singularum urbium volumus custodiri, ut ilico per hos comperita in iudicium deferantur, per illos delata plectantur. Si quid autem ii tegendum gratia aut incuria praetermittendum esse crediderint, commotioni iudiciariae, subiacebunt; illi vero moniti si vindictam dissimulatione distulerint, triginta librarum auri dispendio multabuntur, officiis quoque eorum damno parili subiugandis.

Dat. VI id. nov. Constantinopoli Arcadio a. II et Rufino cons. (392 nov. 8).

The differences between this text and the text of the first article of *ZSL* are evident. The former⁶⁶ is detailed; it describes in detail various kinds of violations of the prohibition of pagan rites and then in detail describes the punishments. In the latter, we find another principle – the collective responsibility of the inhabitants of an estate in which pagan rites are performed, while greater responsibility is assumed by the actual performers. Unlike some older claims, we find no evidence of harder repression against the owners of estates in *ZSL*. Owners of estates are mentioned only to the extent that they bear part of the collective responsibility, as their property is to be handed over to the "temple of God". In the constitution of 392, the assumed guilt of the owner of the estate at which the crime (pagan religious rites) had been committed is examined, i.e. whether he was aware of performances of prohibited religious rituals. Likewise, the guilt of officers in the given area is examined, too, if they do not take action. In the case of the owner's ignorance, the offender is attributed a greater responsibility, while if the owner allows the rites, he bears the same responsibility as the offender. Overall, the relation between the two texts cannot be rejected entirely, although their identity and direct adoption are out of the question. The detailed structure

66 See K. L. NOETHLICH, *Die gesetzgeberischen Maßnahmen der christlichen Kaiser*, p. 177nn.

of the constitution of 392 cannot be found in *ZSL*, and neither can any special provisions regarding the owner of an estate or the local administration. I do not think we should look for direct borrowing from the *Theodosian Code* in *ZSL*, although, undoubtedly, we encounter the same ideas here, associated with wiping out pagan religious practice.

J. Vašica and other researchers following him look for the origin of the first article of *ZPS* more frequently in the constitutions of Leo I and Anthemius (probably from 472), included in the *Justinian Code*⁶⁷, namely in *Codex Iustinianus I*, 11, 8:⁶⁸

Imperatores Leo, Anthemius. Nemo ea, quae saepius paganae superstitionis hominibus interdicta sunt, audeat temptare, sciens, quod crimen publicum committit qui haec ausus fuerit perpetrare.

*1. In tantum autem huiusmodi facinora volumus esse rescanda, ut, etiamsi in alieno praedio vel domo aliquid tale perpetretur, scientibus videlicet dominis, praedium quidem vel domus sacratissimi viribus aerarii addicetur, domini vero pro hoc solo, quod scientes consenserint sua loca talibus contaminari sceleribus, si quidem dignitate vel militia quadam decorantur, amissione militiae vel dignitatis nec non rerum suarum proscriptione plectentur, privatae vero condicionis vel plebeii constituti post cruciatus corporis operibus metallorum perpetuo deputabuntur exilio. * LEO ET ANTHEM. AA. DIOSCORO PP. **

It seems obvious to me that this text is directly connected with the constitution of 392,⁶⁹ which we have already discussed, as it describes the responsibility of the owner of the estate at which pagan religious rites are performed. However, only the possibility that the owner allows the performance of rites is present in this text. Therefore, it is assumed that if he does not know about the rites, he bears no responsibility. The norm concentrates on clarifying the responsibility of the owner and we do not assume that it represents the particular source of our text in *ZSL*. The provisions of the Slavic code are more general and not so clearly aimed. Actually, the two regulations correspond only in the prohibition of pagan practices via legislative means. In the constitution of 472, we find the differentiation of punishment according to the social status of the guilty person – those who occupy a public office or military positions in the army and common people. *ZSL* does not contain anything like this. What both texts do have in common is confiscation of property as a punishment, although we do not find any evidence of the participation of the Church or the transfer of any tangible or intangible property in its favour. On the contrary, in the constitution of Leo I and Anthemius, it is stated explicitly that the property is confiscated in favour of the imperial treasury. There is no evidence of a punished person falling into slavery or any other kind of dependence. I believe that the relation

67 Josef VAŠICA, *Kirillo-Mefodievskie juridičeskie pamjatniki*, p. 28; J. Vašica, *Zakonъ sudnyj ljudъmъ*, ed. J. Vašica, p. 178, note. 3; Kirill MAKSIMOVIČ, *Drevnejšij pamjatnik slavjanskogo prava Zakon sudnyj ljudem: kompozicija, perevodčeskaja tehnika, problema avtorstva*, Vizantijskij vremenik, t. 61 (86), 2002, p. 27; IDEM, *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, Moskva 2004, p. 28. In his edition J. Vašica uses the correspondence between the *ZSL* regulations and the regulations in the imperial constitution in connection with the translation of the word “selo” in *ZSL* as “property” or “settlement” basing his decision on the Latin texts. (Vašica uses the translation “estate” containing both meanings, whether in the literal or abstract sense – translator’s note.)

68 *Codex Iustinianus*, rec. Paul KRUEGER, Berolini 1877, p. 95.

69 *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 10, 12, pp. 900–901.

between the two texts is rather indirect and it consists mostly of the abolition of pagan rites and punishments regarding property for transgressions. The particular purpose of each text differs. In this sense, I believe that this regulation could hardly have served as the source of the first article of *ZSL*.

I would like to draw attention to yet another circumstance that might be of some importance. In the 2nd half of the 9th century, the *Basilica*, a Greek translation and alteration of *Corpus iuris civilis*, was being compiled in Byzantium. Most constitutions in title 11 of book I of the *Justinian Code* are adopted in the text, but this one (found under number 8) is missing.⁷⁰ I am not entirely sure that this absence is of any importance. The *Basilica* was being compiled at the time of the Moravian mission and was finished after it ended. It is clear that the Code is the result of long-term work and reflects legal opinions that were formed earlier. Even so, it is clear that this regulation was not topical for the empire in the 9th century, as paganism in its classic form had already been overtaken by that time. It was not so with the Slavs, whether in Central Europe, the Balkans or the East. In any case, it is evident to me that knowledge of this regulation as well as of any other from the *Theodosian* and *Justinian Codes* required considerable education and exceptional knowledge in the field of law, which could hardly be expected in the Slavic nations of the time.

All these findings lead me to the conclusion that it is not possible to find a particular text from which the norm of the first article of *ZSL* was directly taken over. I believe that, in this case, we do not encounter the direct adoption of text from previous legislation, but rather text following its basic principles. In my opinion, the regulations in this oldest Slavic legal monument stand closest to the constitutions of the emperors Honorius and Theodosius II from 8. 7. 423 (*Codex Theodosianus XVI, 10, 23*), but this is largely due to their more general character, without much specification of criminal (in this case religious) activity or the perpetrator. However, I would not dare to claim that this constitution is the source of our norm. For these reasons, I concur with the almost 200-year-old view of G. A. Rozenkampf that as the source of our text we should investigate the regulations of late Roman codes relating to pagans and the attempts of the state to limit their religious activities using legal repression.

Let us first look at the *Theodosian Code* and its book XVI, title 10. In it, imperial constitutions are compiled concerning pagan cults in the period from the reign of Constantine the Great until the compilation of the *Code*. This is a period of about one hundred years after the promulgation of the *Edict of Milan*, which is characterised by its variety of norms relating to paganism. We know that Constantine was known for his tolerance, while his sons, especially Constantinus II, were among the most aggressive in this respect.⁷¹ The constitution published in 431⁷² prohibits sacrifices to pagan gods, which connects it to another two constitutions that prohibit sacrifice.⁷³ These are more toler-

70 B, I, 1, 13 = C, I, 11, 8. Non exsist. It is quoted in footnotes as “Testimonia” B, I, 1, 13 (Synopsis Basilicorum E, XIX, 1): *Basilicorum libri LX*, ser. A, vol. I, *Textus librorum I–VIII*, ed. Herman Jan Scheltema – Nicolaas Van Der Wal, Groningen – Djakarta – Gravenhage 1955, p. 2.

71 K. L. NOETHLICH, *Die gesetzgeberischen Maßnahmen der christlichen Kaiser*, p. 62nn.

72 *Codex Theodosianus XVI, 10, 2*, p. 897.

73 *Codex Theodosianus IX, 16, 1–2*, p. 897.

ant, calling upon Constantine and not setting any particularly heavy penalties. However, only five years later, in the constitution of 346,⁷⁴ Constantinus II prohibits pagan sacrifice and has temples shut to deny Romans the "right to sin". The punishment for violation of the ruler's regulations is death (beheading by sword) and also confiscation of property. Also punished in this way were provincial administrators who neglected the persecution of paganism and the punishment of performers of pagan religious rites. This is one of the cruelest regulations of the first Christian emperors against pagans, which was then repeated several times. In 356, it was repeatedly confirmed by the emperors Constantinus II and Julian in their constitutions setting capital punishment for sacrifice and also for idolatry.⁷⁵ As far as our topic is concerned, it seems clear to me that we cannot find the origin of the first article of *ZSL* in these regulations. The same can be said about the constitution of 353,⁷⁶ which prohibits nocturnal sacrifice and represents a response to the permission granted by Magnentius. Several other constitutions of title 10 of book XVI of the *Theodosian Code* (apart from the ones mentioned, also numbers 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17) were concerned with the prohibition of sacrifice and other pagan religious practices. However, none of them gives us reason to claim that the text of the first article was taken from them.

Title 11 in the first book of the *Justinian Code*⁷⁷ contains ten imperial constitutions, of which two are written in Greek. The first two constitutions of Constantinus II of 354 and Theodosius I of 385⁷⁸ abolish pagan cults, sacrifice and divination, but their text does not correspond with the first article of *ZSL*. The penalties set out by Constantinus II are both the death penalty and the confiscation of property, which does not give us reason to see it as the origin of the article. The third and the fourth constitutions from 399⁷⁹ are of no interest to us: they abolish pagan religion, but one is directed mostly at the preservation of temple buildings and their decoration while the other allows games but without sacrifice. The fifth constitution of Theodosius II and Honorius, issued in 415 in Ravenna for the citizens of Carthage,⁸⁰ deals with the property of pagan temples and is of little significance for our research. The seventh constitution of Marcianus to the prefect of the pretorium, Paladius, from 451,⁸¹ deals again with the suppression of pagan cults. It prohibits the opening of new pagan temples, and religious practice in such is considered to be a sacrilege. I believe that in this case there is a difference between the hypothesis and the disposition of the norm. As I have already mentioned, the ninth and tenth constitutions were written in Greek. The earlier⁸² regulates forfeiture of all property and things that were donated to benefit or facilitate pagan religious practice in the city, and has not much in common with our *ZSL* regulation. The last constitution of this title again confirms the death penalty for pagans,

but is more detailed in several concrete cases.⁸³ It is not necessary to conduct an analysis of these texts to see that they clearly differ from the first article of *ZSL*, although due to their aim of wiping out paganism, they deal with the same issues. In some of the punishments handed out, we even find similarities. There is a strong emphasis on punishment relating to property, which leaves the impression of an attempt to replace the capital punishment originally meted out. Although it remains, there is a tendency to change it to property punishment, i.e. confiscation or restriction of the nature of property. In these last constitutions, we can see imperial legislation headed in the same direction as the regulations of the first article of *ZSL*.

I think that this overview can convince us that we are not dealing with the adoption of texts from the *Theodosian* and *Justinian Codes*, but also that there is a certain similarity in their parts that deal with the prohibition of pagan cults in the Roman Empire during the centuries of its Christianisation. Together with this statement, I would like to point out several differences between the imperial legislation and the text of *ZSL*. Since the emperors from Constantinus II to Justinian intervene normatively with religion, they do not only deal with issues associated with pagans, but also with Jews and heretics. The last are even given the greatest attention, if we are to judge by the number and broad scope of these texts. On the contrary, *ZSL* only deals with pagans, which should be attributed to the specific circumstances of the society for which the Code was intended. I do not believe that it is necessary to expect that a legal text such as *ZSL* would be taken literally from the text of an imperial constitution or a code, whether a complete one or particular books or titles. As you can see, the historical context differs, and so do the states and the addressees of the norms. This predetermines the differences in norms and punishment, which are somewhat lighter. In my opinion, in the case of regulations in the first article of *ZSL*, we are dealing with a norm which, as a whole, follows the direction of the *Theodosian* and *Justinian Codes* dealing with the repression of the remnants of pagan cults, but which does not copy any particular imperial constitution.

Finally, we can draw several conclusions based on the research into the first article of *ZSL*. Regarding the particular questions that I posed at the beginning of this paper, I will limit myself to summarising what has already been said.

The naming of "St Constantine" in the text is not a reference to the actual person who created the Code, but refers to Constantine the Great, who is venerated, particularly by the orthodox nations, as the first Christian emperor. As such, he had become a model for every Orthodox emperor, and in this sense, citing his name in the first article of *ZSL* is no cause for astonishment. On the other hand, the reference to Constantine the Great and his legacy is therefore entirely arbitrary and of only an ideological significance, and no legislation of his is known to us that would contain harsh punishment for practising the pagan religion. The conclusions of older historiography regarding the citation of the name "Constantine" in the *Code* are entirely dependent on its conclusions regarding the origin of *ZSL* and the identification of its creator.

74 *Codex Theodosianus* XVI, 10, 4, p. 898.

75 *Codex Theodosianus* XVI, 10, 6, p. 898.

76 *Codex Theodosianus* XVI, 10, 5, p. 898.

77 *Codex Iustinianus* I, 11, pp. 93–97.

78 *Codex Iustinianus* I, 11, 1–2, pp. 93–94.

79 *Codex Iustinianus* I, 11, 3–4, p. 94.

80 *Codex Iustinianus* I, 11, 5, p. 94.

81 *Codex Iustinianus* I, 11, 7, p. 95.

82 *Codex Iustinianus* I, 11, 9, pp. 95–96.

83 *Codex Iustinianus* I, 11, 10, pp. 96–97.

The issue of the archetype from which the first article of *ZSL* was taken is something more complex, as its text is not present in the *Ecloga*. Despite their varying conclusions, those who have addressed this issue agree that the source of the regulation must be sought in the late Roman law of the first Christian emperors. In the interpretation itself, I have offered an overview of these viewpoints and come to the conclusion that none of them can be accepted without reservations. In my opinion, the text of the first article of *ZSL* is not directly copied from any particular imperial constitution, but represents a summary of the basic ideas of the Christian emperors in their struggle against paganism, using the tools of criminal law with a remarkable softening of repression and also the exclusion of capital punishment for practitioners of pagan religion.

This legislative element of the text only has an indirect relation to one of the tasks I have set in this study without declaring it at the beginning, and that is whether we can contribute in any way to the clarification of the issue of the origin of *ZSL*. The attempt to determine who the “St Constantine” is in several of its versions arrives at a direct answer and tries to conclude the topic. This is the case of J. Vašica and his attempt to see in “St Constantine” Constantine the Philosopher – St Cyril. Adoptions from Roman law do not direct us straight to an answer, yet lead us to ideas associated with the general character of persons who might have created such a compilation. It seems clear to me that the compilation of the text required great general and legal sophistication from the person who performed it. This sophistication is associated with knowledge of Roman law, which in itself not only requires education as a prerequisite for understanding but also linguistic proficiency to be able to read its texts. Last but not least, the need for the practical accessibility of the texts must be pointed out, i.e. physical books as their media. Taking into account that we are talking about the 9th century, all this could have been possible only in large urban centres such as Rome, Constantinople, Thessalonica or another of the centres of education in Western Europe.

The summary of these factors forces me to express the idea that people with such training and access to texts were not found in Bulgaria or Great Moravia, or in any other Slavic state. It seems to me that in the context of the first steps of Slavonic literature, such qualities might have been found only in the Slav apostles. Their education, erudition and knowledge of culture are indisputable. Undoubtedly, they must have had access to the texts of the late Roman codes, whether in Thessalonica or in Constantinople. To this must be added some of my earlier findings regarding the regulations dealing with the right of asylum in *ZSL*, which suggest that the creator of the *Code* was a cleric and was generally connected with the Church.⁸⁴ Another argument in this direction is the relation between the *Code* and Holy Scripture. The good knowledge of the brother saints from Thessalonica of the Biblical texts is indisputable, and is also mentioned in the literature.⁸⁵ All of these factors support the conclusion favouring the brothers Ss Cyril and Methodius as creators of *ZSL*, as in this way it can be connected with

their mission to the central European Slavs. I say “support” and “lead” to such a conclusion, but do not categorically confirm it. In my opinion, this issue remains open and I suppose that a definite and generally accepted viewpoint will never be reached. This can undoubtedly be put down to insufficient and very ambiguous sources.

I must point out that by research into one article of any code, it is not possible to solve the basic issues connected with the entire normative act and the cultural situation in central Europe and the Balkans in the post-iconoclastic era. This has not been my aim in this study. Rather, I wanted to introduce research into the first article of *ZSL* and place it in its own cultural and historical context. I hope that by doing so, I will contribute at least a tiny grain of sand to the building of our knowledge of the oldest Slavic law.

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84 I. BILIARSKY, *La responsabilité liée au droit d'asile dans la plus ancienne loi slave*, pp. 29–32.

85 It will suffice to remember that according to *Život Metodějův* (the *Life of Methodius*), the saint translated the books of Holy Scripture, with the exception of the Books of the Maccabees. No matter how disputable/debatable this fact, it indicates a very good familiarity on the part of the Slav apostles with the text of the Bible. See also S. V. TROICKIJ, *Sv. Meľodij kak slavjanskij zakonodatel'*, p. 86.

METHODIUS' CONFLICT WITH THE BAVARIAN BISHOPS

Ján Steinhübel

The Moravians wanted to dismiss the claim of the Bishopric of Passau to the Church of Great Moravia, and so began to refer to an earlier baptism of the Moravians from Rome. When the Great Moravian Duke Rastislav sent a letter in 862, first to the Pope and then to the Byzantine Emperor, in which he made the missionaries “iz Vlachъ”, that is from Italy, in the first place, it meant that the idea of a Roman origin for Great Moravian Christianity was already alive at that time. The opinion that Great Moravian Christianity originated “iz Vlachъ” was based on the Pope’s claims to Illyricum, made in 860. The opinion on the Roman origin of Great Moravian Christianity was adopted not only by the Pope and the Moravians but also by Constantine and Methodius who came to Great Moravia. Bishop Hartwig of Passau paid no attention to the work of Constantine and Methodius in Great Moravia because he was ill for several years (860–866), and his successor Hermanrich was entirely occupied with the Bulgarian Mission. Before the Bishops of Passau could notice, Methodius was already archbishop. The Bavarian bishops, and above all Bishop Hermanrich of Passau, who in this way had lost one part of his diocese and was also angry that the recent Bulgarian Mission has failed, did not want to submit to the Pope’s decision. Archbishop Methodius, who was captured during a campaign by Carloman in 870, had to face a trial presided over by the East Frankish King, Louis the German. At the trial, the Bavarian bishops referred to a decree by Charlemagne, who after the fall of the Avar Khaganate had annexed Pannonia to his Empire and divided it among Frankish Marches and bishoprics, and they pointed out that the Moravians had been baptised by missionaries from Passau in 831. Methodius contradicted them with the opinion that the Moravians “received baptism from Saint Peter (that is from Rome)”, and reproached them for crossing the “ancient frontiers” of a territory which is not their own but “belongs to Saint Peter”, that is, to the Pope himself. After some fiery arguments, Archbishop Adalvin of Salzburg together with Bishop Hermanrich of Passau and Bishop Anno of Freising unseated Methodius and put him in a monastery. In 873, after serious intervention by the Pope, Methodius returned to Great Moravia and assumed his archbishopric.

Key words: Great Moravia, Moravians, Rastislav, Methodius, Hermanrich, Bishopric of Passau, Archbishopric of Moravia

Charlemagne, King and Emperor (from 800) of the Franks, brought an end to the Avar Khaganate and moved the borders of his empire up to the central Danubian Lowland. The conquered territories, situated beyond the eastern borders of Bavaria, were afterwards assigned to the frontier marches and bishoprics. At that time the Bishopric of Passau enlarged the territory of its diocese to the downstream of the Rába and it was given the right to send missionaries to both principalities in the Danube region – to the Principality of Nitra and of Moravia.¹ In 831 Reginhar, the Bishop of Passau, “baptised all the Moravians”,² i.e. Prince Mojmir I, his family and retinue. Other Moravians followed suit, voluntarily or not. From that time on the bishop of Passau regarded the Moravians as part of his diocese, and all churches and all priests of Great Moravia

were subordinate to him.³ The Bishopric of Passau became an instrument of power of the neighbouring Frankish Empire and the Great Moravian Prince Rastislav only grudgingly accepted being under its control.

However, an unexpected crack appeared in the diocese system established by Charlemagne. In September 860 Pope Nicholas I asked the Byzantine Emperor Michael III to re-establish the Pope’s administration of Illyricum. That was the impulse for the beginning of a struggle for the religious orientation of the territory between East Francia and the Byzantine Empire. Ages before, that territory had belonged to a Late Roman praetorian prefecture called *Illyricum* with a centre in Sirmium. Illyricum was subordinated directly to the Pope and even though it disintegrated during the Migration Period, the Roman Curia did not forget about it.⁴ Its large territories were divided primarily among Croatia, Bulgaria, and Pannonia, which was split

1 Ján STEINHÜBEL, *Nitríanske kniežatstvo. Počiatky stredovekého Slovenska*, Bratislava 2004, pp. 48–59.

2 *Notae de episcopis Pataviensibus ad a. 831*, ed. Lubomír Emil Havlík, in: MMFH IV, Brno 1971, p. 407; Zdeněk Radšlav DITTRICH, *Christianity in Great Moravia*. Bijdragen van het Instituut voor middeleeuwse Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht 32, Groningen 1962, pp. 62–65; Henrik ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Początki Polski IV*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 312–317; Dušan TREŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy. Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871*, Praha 2001, pp. 117–121, 127–130. The Bavarian bishops had that event in mind when they wrote in 900: “at first they were educated (in religion) and the pagans became Christians.” *Epistolae*, ed. L. E. Havlík, in: MMFH III, Brno 1969, no.109, p. 199; *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (hereafter CDES) 1, ed. Richard MARSINA, Bratislava 1971, no. 39, p. 33.

3 “The Bishop of Passau, in the diocese which the people of that country had lived in... from the beginning of their Christianisation, came there without any obstacle, whenever he wanted or had to, sat on the synod committee with his and the local people; and he did everything necessary whichever way he was able to, and nobody defied him”. *Epistolae*, no. 109, p. 199; CDES 1, no. 39, p. 33.

4 *Epistolae*, no. 15, pp. 110–111; František DVORNÍK, *Metodova diecéza a boj o Illyricum*, in: Ján STANISLAV (ed.), *Riša Veľkomoravská*. Sborník vedeckých prác Praha – Bratislava 1933, pp. 193–195; F. DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie u Slovanů*, Praha 1970, p. 45; Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Cyril a Metoděj mezi Konstantinopolí a Římem*, Praha 2013, pp. 45–46.

into Frankish frontier marches. In the 860s the Roman Pope, the Patriarch of Constantinople, as well as the Bavarian bishops supported by Louis the German, the King of Eastern Francia, set up claims to that great piece of land.⁵

The Pope's restored claims challenged Charlemagne's diocesan establishment of the whole territory along the middle section of the Danube. There the Great Moravian Prince Rastislav saw his chance to evade the supervision of the Bishopric of Passau. He knew how to take from one merely to give to another: if he was forthcoming with the Pope, he would be able to break his principality free from the Diocese of Passau. That is why he also drew the Pope's attention to Great Moravia.⁶ Rastislav thought the whole affair through and he seized the opportunity. In 862 he sent his messengers to Rome.⁷

"Iz Vlachъ i iz Grьkъ i iz Niemьsъ"

In 862 the Great Moravian Prince Rastislav wrote a letter to the Pope and afterwards also to the Byzantine Emperor, pointing out: "Teachers came to us – numerous Christians iz Vlachъ i iz Grьkъ i iz Niemьsъ." By mentioning the missionaries "iz Niemьsъ", or Bavaria,⁸ in last place, he was denying the prime credit for the Bavarian (or Passau) mission for spreading Christianity among the Moravians. Thus he regarded the mission organised by the Bishopric of Passau just as one of many, as the last Christian mission (last in order as well as in significance) to unfold in Moravia. He denied its primary contribution and so pushed its claims aside. It was the missionaries "iz Vlachъ", i.e. from Italy, whom Rastislav put in first place. At that time, in 862, when the above-mentioned letter was written, the opinion about the Roman origins of Great Moravian Christians was already in existence. The Moravians wanted to break the obvious historical and legal claim of the Bishopric of Passau to the Church of Great Moravia, and so they started to refer to some kind of earlier baptisms of the Moravians that had happened in Rome. In 873 the Moravians wrote a letter to the Pope mentioning that "at first our fathers received baptism from St Peter".⁹ In June 879 the Pope emphasised to the Moravians and their Prince Zwentibald, "Our ancestors, or the holy superiors of the Holy See, as you know, from the very beginning taught your parents."¹⁰ The Pope and the Moravians accepted the opinion about

the Roman origin of Great Moravian Christians and they supported each other in that view. The opinion about the origins of Great Moravian Christians "iz Vlachъ" complied with the then Pope's claim to the territory of the vanished Illyricum as well as the territory of Great Moravia.

Croatia

If Rastislav asked (at first the Pope, then the Byzantine Emperor) for "a teacher", or rather "a bishop and a teacher",¹¹ meaning a mission led by a bishop who would be allowed to teach, as well as ordain new priests, he wanted the same as Borna († 821), the Duke of Croatia, who had succeeded in his request long before. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who called Borna "Porinos", wrote, "The Croatians [...] solicited Rome for holy baptism. Thus bishops were sent out who baptised them under Porinos, their ruler."¹² When in September 860 Pope Nicholas I launched a struggle for the whole territory between East Francia and the Byzantine Empire where Illyricum used to extend, Duke Trpimir I of Croatia (845–864) quickly integrated Croatia into the Pope's plans. Pope Nicholas founded a bishopric in Nin, Trpimir's residence, probably already by 860. He subordinated that first Croatian bishopric neither to the nearby Archbishopric of Split nor to any other archbishopric, but to himself. The Bishopric of Nin, which controlled Croatian Dalmatia, was within the Pope's authority.¹³ Trpimir achieved the ecclesiastical and state independence of Croatia, which was crowned with papal patronage. Among all the countries that shared the territory of the former Illyricum, Croatia was situated closest to Rome, and thanks to its location it joined Rome quite comfortably.

Rastislav was probably aware of the baptism of the Croatians and he also found out about the establishment of the independent Croatian bishopric in Nin. As he probably knew about the Croatian example, he started to refer to some kind of earlier baptisms of the Moravians that had happened in Rome. The Great Moravian Prince, Rastislav, wanted to ask the Pope for an independent ecclesiastical organisation of his state, following the pattern of Trpimir I of Croatia. That is why he was looking for the same historical reason to be subordinated directly to the Pope as the Croatians had, thanks to their duke Borna.

5 František DVORNÍK, *Metodova diecéza a boj o Illyricum*, pp. 162–225; Stephan NIKOLOV, *The latin bishops and the Balkan bishoprics*, in: Mary Beth L. Daviss – Marcell Sebök (ed.), *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU 1994–1995*, Budapest 1996, pp. 200–201, 209–217.

6 In 860 the territory of Great Moravia did not belong to the former Illyricum, but just bordered on it. However, in 861 the Moravians attacked neighbouring Pannonia, killed the Pannonian Prince Pribina and seized the north-eastern part of Pannonia bordered by Ráb (Győr), Gran and Veszprém. J. STEINHÜBEL, *Nitrianske kniežatstvo*, s. 121–122. From that time the territory of Great Moravia extended to the southern part of the Danube, which means that it included a small part of the former Illyricum.

7 The proposal put forth by Rastislav's messengers to Pope Nicholas I is mentioned in the document *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, issued by Pope Hadrian II in 869. "Not only before this Holy See did you ask for a teacher, but also before the religious Emperor Michael. So that he sent you a beatific philosopher, Constantine, with his brother, when we were not able to." Žitije *Mefodija*, ed. Radoslav Večerka, in: MMFH II, pp. 134–163, kap. 8, p. 128; *Epistolae*, no. 19, p. 112. At that time Pope Nicholas I needed the support of Louis the German, the King of East Francia, and of the East Frankish bishops. That is why he could not have satisfied Rastislav's request, which was in breach of their interests. Z. R. DITTRICH, *Christianity*, p. 91. Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Cyril a Metoděj*, pp. 114–115.

8 The Germans in the 9th century were the Bavarians. Herwig WOLFRAM, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich. Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 31, Wien – München 1995, pp. 59–61; Dušan TRĚŠTÍK, *Počátky Přemyslovců. Vstup Čechů do dějin (535–935)*, Praha 1997, pp. 66, 302, 358–359, 416.

9 Žitije *Mefodija*, chapter 10, p. 153.

10 *Epistolae*, no. 80, p. 190; CDES 1, no. 28, p. 22.

11 Žitije *Konstantina*, ed. R. Večerka, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, chapter 14, p. 99. Rastislav asked the Pope (and later the Byzantine Emperor) for the same thing as Boris, the Knyaz of Bulgaria, who had asked the King of East Francia and the Pope in 866. *Annales Bertiniani ad a. 866*, ed. L. E. Havlik, in: MMFH I, 2nd ed. Brno 2008, pp. 76–77.

12 *Konstantini Prophyrogeneti De administrando imperio*, ed. L. E. Havlik, in: MMFH III, Brno 1969, chapter 30, p. 347; Nada KLAČIĆ, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb 1971, pp. 203–206; Evgenij P. NAUMOV, *Obščestvenno-političeskie svjgi v serbskich i chorvatskich zemljach i christianskaja missija na Balkanach*, in: Genadij G. Litavrin (red.), *Prinjatije christianstva narodami Centralnoj i Jugo-Vostočnoj Jevropy i krešćenije Rusi*, Moskva 1988, pp. 76–79.

13 František DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie*, pp. 44–46; N. KLAČIĆ, *Povijest Hrvata*, pp. 232–238; E. P. NAUMOV, *Obščestvenno-političeskie svjgi*, s. 86–88; Alexander AVENARIUS, *Byzantská kultura v slovanskem prostredí v VI.–XII. storoč. K problému recepcie a transformácie*, Bratislava 1992, pp. 135–136; IDEM, *Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen. Zum Problem der Rezeption und Transformation (6. bis 12. Jahrhundert)*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Band 35, Wien – München 2000, pp. 145–146; Stephan NIKOLOV, *The latin bishops*, pp. 213–214; Ivica TOMLJENOVIĆ, *Wann begegneten die Kroaten dem Christentum?* in: Przemysław Urbańczyk (ed.), *Early Christianity in Central and East Europe*, Warszawa 1997, p. 46. Before the bishopric was founded, Nin was a residence of the Archpresbyter, mentioned in the Synod of Split held in 926–927. "Nonnensis vero ecclesia non episcopum antiquitus sed archipraesbyterum sub (iuris) dictione episcopi habuisse dignoscitur." *Documenta historiae Croatiae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, ed. Franjo Rački, Zagrabiae 1877, no. 150, p. 195. *Concilium Spalatense*, ed. L. E. Havlik, in: MMFH IV, Brno 1971, p. 126.

From Moravia to Rome

In 860 Hartwig, Bishop of Passau, became seriously ill and the Diocese of Passau started to disintegrate. The infirm Hartwig died in 866 and Hermanrich, the new Bishop of Passau, focused his attention on Bulgaria. In such a situation the Byzantine mission in Great Moravia was able to work in peace.¹⁴

In June 867 Constantine and Methodius and their Moravian disciples set out for Rome. The decision to go to Rome had been made in Moravia.¹⁵ Two years later, Pope Hadrian appropriately highlighted their decision in his letter to three Slavonic princes: "Yet they, hearing that your lands belong to the Holy See, did not do anything outside the bounds of canon law, they came here and brought the remains of St Clement..."¹⁶ Not only the Pope, but also the Great Moravian Prince, held the view that the Moravians "belong to the Holy See". That opinion became established in Rastislav's court in the period between 860, when the Pope announced his claims to the former Illyricum, and 862, when Rastislav turned to the Pope. Constantine and Methodius, on "hearing" the view of the Moravians, adopted it. They were despatched to Rome by Rastislav and, having the same opinion as he did, went there willingly.

Nevertheless, they could not visit the Pope without diplomatic preparation. Rastislav and his court had to arrange all that was necessary. Rastislav sent a delegation to the Pope, as he had done earlier in 862 (and as Chozil did after him twice in 869) and waited for an answer. That came in handy for Pope Nicholas: "When apostolical Nicholas found out about those men, he sent for them, since he wished to see them as God's angels."¹⁷ The Pope, who "found out" about Constantine and Methodius, sent a delighted letter to Moravia: "When the most famous Pope Nicholas heard about it all, he greatly rejoiced at what he was told about it. He ordered them to come to him, even sending them an ecclesiastical letter. When the brothers received that message, they rejoiced at it greatly, giving thanks to God, as they were found worthy of being summoned by the Holy See."¹⁸

Both brothers were leaving Great Moravia convinced that they would return there with their disciples. It can be exemplified by the appeal of the dying Constantine, which is written in his biography. On his deathbed, he implored Methodius not to go back to the "mountain", i.e. to the monastery on Mount Olympus in Bithynia where Methodius had lived before he set out to the Moravians in 863, after Constantine's death. If Constantine asked Methodius, "do not leave your teaching for the mountain",¹⁹ he did so to make sure that Methodius would not be discouraged by his brother's death and that he would

continue in the teaching profession which both brothers had started (but not carried through) in Moravia. We can see that Constantine and Methodius did not intend to board a ship in Venice and go back to the Byzantine Empire, but from the beginning of their journey they were determined to come to Rome and accept holy orders there together with their disciples. After that they wanted to return to Moravia where they had an interrupted task to complete, which they cared about very much.

At first, Constantine and Methodius, together with their retinue, stopped off in Mosapurg, the residence of the Pannonian Prince Chozil; there they taught about fifty students the Slavonic script.²⁰ From Mosapurg they went on to Venice where Constantine defended the Slavonic liturgical language.²¹ Since Pope Nicholas had died on November 13, 867, his successor Hadrian II, who became Pope on December 14, received them in Rome.²² In 868 Pope Hadrian II recognised the results of the activities carried out by the Thessalonian brothers in Great Moravia. He consecrated Slavonic books and he ordained Methodius a priest, while two Italian bishops, Formosus and Gauderich, ordained several disciples of Constantine and Methodius priests and deacons.²³ In Rome Constantine fell ill and entered the monastery where he was given a new name, Cyril. Before long, he died there on February 14, 869.

Archbishop Methodius

After that the Pannonian Prince Chozil fully intervened. "However, Chozil sent a request to the Holy See asking them to let him have Methodius, our beatified teacher."²⁴ The Pope complied with Chozil's request; in 869 he certified the Slavonic liturgy and he sent Methodius as a teacher and the papal legate to Princes Rastislav, Zwentibald, and Chozil, i.e. to Pannonia and Great Moravia, with the letter *Gloria in excelsis Deo*.²⁵ In the summer of 869 Methodius, with his retinue, again stayed in Chozil's residence in Mosapurg where they lasted out the military incidents in Great Moravia. From Mosapurg Methodius went back to Rome at Chozil's request. "Yet Chozil received him with great honour and he sent him again to the Holy See with twenty men, honourable people, so that he was ordained Bishop of Pannonia on the altar of St Andronicus, an apostle of the seventy; and so it came to pass."²⁶

However, the bishopric was not enough to guarantee the ecclesiastical independence of Rastislav's state. The Moravians needed to break out of the Diocese of Passau and the Archdiocese of Salzburg, into which they had been integrated on the basis of the decisions of Charlemagne, of his son Pepin,

14 D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik*, p. 182.

15 V. VAVŘÍNEK, *Velká Morava mezi Byzancí a latinským Západem*, in: Luděk Galuška – Pavel Kouřil – Zdeněk Měřínský (ed.), *Velká Morava mezi východem a západem*. Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní konference Uherské Hradiště – Staré Město 28. 9. – 1. 10. 1999, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 17, 2001, p. 417; D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik*, p. 193; Petr ELBEL, *Dějiny neúspěchu aneb úsilí Přemyslovců o zřízení arabiskeupství v českých zemích*, in: Libor Jan (red.), *Proměna středověké Evropy raného a vrcholného středověku. Mocenské souvislosti a paralely*, Brno 2010, p. 245; L. JAN, *O smyslu příběhu bratří Konstantina a Metoděje*, in: Jiří Hanuš (ed.), *Christianizace českých zemí ve středoevropské perspektivě*, Brno 2011, pp. 111–113.

16 *Žitije Mefodija*, chapter 8, pp. 148–149.

17 *Žitije Mefodija*, chapter 6, p. 146. "When the Roman Pope heard about him, he sent for him." *Žitije Konstantina*, chapter. 17, p. 110.

18 *Vita Constantini-Cyriilli cum translatione s. Clementis*, ed. L. E. Havlík, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, chapter 8, p. 129. *Epistolae*, ed. L. Havlík, 34, p. 152.

19 *Žitije Mefodija*, chapter 7, p. 147.

20 *Žitije Konstantina*, chapter 15, p. 105. To the south of the foundations of St Hadrian's Church in Mosapurg (in the location Zalavár – Vársziget), archaeologists found fragments of a ceramic vessel with Glagolitic letters. Béla Miklós SZÓKE, *Mosaburg/ Zalavár und Pannonien in der Karolingerzeit*, *Antaeus* 31/32, 2010, pp. 48–50.

21 *Žitije Konstantina*, chapter 16, pp. 105–110.

22 *Ibidem*, chapter 17, p. 110; *Vita Constantini-Cyriilicum translationes. Clementis*, chapter 8, p. 129.

23 *Žitije Konstantina*, chapter 17, pp. 110–112.

24 *Žitije Mefodija*, chapter 8, p. 147.

25 *Ibidem*, chapter 8, pp. 147–148; *Epistolae*, no. 39, pp. 154–155.

26 *Žitije Mefodija*, chapter 8, p. 150.

and of the synod held on the Danube in 796,²⁷ as well as on the basis of the baptism of the Moravians in 831. That is why they needed their own archbishopric. To become head of an autocephalous ecclesiastical province, Methodius needed to be ordained archbishop, subordinated directly to the Pope.²⁸ Two letters written by Pope John VIII on June 14, 879 are proof of Methodius holding the office of archbishop. One of the letters was sent directly to “the most reverend Methodius, the Archbishop of the Pannonian Church”.²⁹ In the other letter the Pope reminded the Great Moravian Prince Zwentibald to send “your archbishop Methodius, ordained and assigned to you by our predecessor, Pope Hadrian” to Rome.³⁰ We can see that Methodius was ordained archbishop by the hand of Pope Hadrian as early as the end of 869.³¹

Pope Hadrian gave an archbishop to the Moravians and Pannonians, and he also wanted to give one to the Bulgarians at the same time. The choice of a suitable candidate to be Archbishop of Bulgaria took a long time, but without any success. Boris I, the Knyaz of Bulgaria, was so disgusted by the lengthy delays and complicated negotiations that he rendered the decision about the Bulgarian Church to the church council which took place in Constantinople on October 5, 869. The Pope must have seen that the Council of Constantinople dealing with the future of the Bulgarian Church would not rule in his favour, that he had lost his struggle. And he had. In spite of the protests of papal legates, the Council, which ended on February 28, 870, ruled that the Bulgarian Church would be subordinated to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who would ordain the archbishop of Bulgaria. Latin priests had to leave Bulgaria.³² Pope Hadrian certainly learned a lesson from the loss of Bulgaria, and so as not to lose even more, did not hesitate to ordain Methodius archbishop.

Great Moravia and Pannonia should have been subordinated to Methodius' archbishopric. “The most reverend and pious Methodius was ordained archbishop on the altar of St Andronicus, the apostle of Pannonia, one of the seventy, and he was sent to Slavonic countries to teach in the Slavonic language, and the princes of those countries, Rastislav, Zwentibald,

and Chozil were written this letter: Hadrian, a servant of all God's servants, to Rastislav, Zwentibald, and Chozil, ... we are sending our brother, honourable Methodius, an ordained bishop, to your country, as you have requested us to do.”³³

Nevertheless, neither the Pope nor Methodius were sure at that time where the archbishop's see would be situated, whether in Pannonia or in Moravia. If the Pope “ordained (Methodius) Bishop of Pannonia on the altar of St Andronicus, an apostle of the seventy”³⁴ who had resided in Sirmium, then the new archbishop continued in the tradition of the bishops of Sirmium (from 304–595).³⁵ Since Sirmium, which used to be the capital of the Roman province *Pannonia secunda*, had been destroyed by the Avars in 582³⁶ and the territory belonged to Bulgaria, Methodius could not have settled there. However, he could have settled in Chozil's or Rastislav's residence.

Methodius, who was in Chozil's great graces, settled in his residence in Mosapurc. Rihpald, Archpresbyter of Mosapurc, could not bear it. “A Greek called Methodius, who has recently invented a Slavonic alphabet and is blind to the Latin language and Roman teachings, as well as the authoritative Latin script, has managed in his philosophical way to do discredit to all the people who pray, sing and read Holy Masses, Gospels, and the Liturgy of the Hours in Latin.” At last Rihpald left Mosapurc and came to Salzburg to his archbishop, Adalwin.³⁷ Methodius entered into an open and very sharp conflict with the Bavarian bishops. The Archbishopric of Salzburg defended its diocesan rights in Pannonia in a document called *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, in which it referred to the decision of Frankish King and (from 800) Emperor Charlemagne.³⁸

Methodius captured, judged and kept prisoner

Since the Pope had sent Methodius not only to Chozil's Pannonia, but also to Great Moravia, to Rastislav and Zwentibald, Methodius could not have stayed only in Chozil's residence in Mosapurc. The moment he, together with Chozil, established new conditions in Pannonia after Rihpald, Archpresbyter of Mosapurc, left, Methodius retired to Rastislav, so that he integrated Great Moravia into his new ecclesiastical province. He also wanted to continue in the work that had been interrupted in June 867, to develop “his teaching” again, as the dying Constantine had asked him.

In 870 Zwentibald, the Prince of Nitra, concluded a peace with Carloman, the future King of Bavaria. He did so against his uncle Rastislav's will. An angry Rastislav demanded his nephew be put to death. However, Zwentibald managed to avoid the assassins, trapped Rastislav and handed him over to Carloman. Yet Zwentibald did not gain Rastislav's throne – Carloman was faster. In the summer of 870 he invaded Rastislav's Moravia and subdued his castles. Then he passed Moravia on to Margraves

27 *Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii*, ed. L. E. Havlík, in: MMFH IV, Brno 1971, pp. 18–20; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum. Das Weissbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantanien und Pannonien*, ed. H. Wolfgram, Wien – Köln – Graz 1979, p. 107; H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich. Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 31, Wien – München 1995, pp. 285–287; J. STEINHÜBEL, *Nitrianske kniežatstvo*, pp. 51–53, 79.

28 D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik*, p. 179.

29 *Epistolae*, no. 81, p. 192; CDES 1, no. 29, p. 22.

30 *Epistolae*, no. 80, p. 191; CDES 1, no. 28, p. 22.

31 In 873 Pope John VIII wrote a letter (before May 14) to his legate Paul, Bishop of Ancona, in which he disapproved of the trial of Methodius and his imprisonment in 870. He also wrote that it was “a dispute among the archbishops (*inter archiepiscopos causa versetur*)”. *Epistolae*, no. 49, pp. 165–166; CDES 1, no. 23, pp. 17–19. One of the archbishops mentioned was Adalwin, the Archbishop of Salzburg; the other was Archbishop Methodius. Pope Hadrian promoted Methodius to Archbishop of Sirmium, as Sirmium used to be the metropolis of Western Illyricum.

32 Vasil N. ZLATARSKI, *Istorija na bŭlgarskata dŕžava prez srednite vekove I/2*, Sofija 1971, pp. 507–509; František HÝBL, *Dějiny národa bulharského I*, Praha 1930, pp. 89–90; František DVORNÍK, *Metodova diecéza*, pp. 199–200; L. E. HAVLÍK, *Bulgaria and Moravia between Byzantium, the Franks and Rome*, *Paleobulgarica* 13, 1989, pp. 8–12; G. G. LITAVRIN, *Vvedeniye christianstva v Bolgarii*, pp. 40–56; Bohumila ZÁSTĚROVÁ et al., *Dějiny Byzance*, pp. 146–147; A. AVENARIUS, *Byzantická kultura*, p. 144; IDEM, *Die byzantinische Kultur*, p. 154; F. DVORNÍK, *Fotiova schizma. Historie a legenda*, Olomouc 2008, pp. 106–107, 115–116, 121, 124–131, 134–142, 165–171, 184–187, 192–193, 196, 220–226; S. NIKOLOV, *The latin bishops*, pp. 201–209. *Sobór Konstantynopolitański IV (869–870)*, in: Arkadiusz Baron – Henryk Pietras (ed.), *Dokumenty soborów powszechnych. Tekst grecki, łaciński, polski. Tom II (869–1312)*, Kraków 2007, pp. 23–105; *Concilium Constantinopolitense*, ed. L. E. Havlík, in: MMFH IV, p. 108; Sergej A. IVANOV, *Byzantské misie. Aneb je možné udělat z „barbara“ křesťana?*, Červený Kostelec 2012, pp. 160–161.

33 *Pochvalnoje slovo Kirillu i Mefodiju*, ed. R. Večerka, in: MMFH II, p. 172; *Epistolae*, no. 40, pp. 155–156. *Žitije Mefodija*, chapter 8, pp. 147–149; *Epistolae*, no. 39, pp. 154–155; CDES 1, no. 16, pp. 12–14.

34 *Žitije Mefodija*, chapter 8, p. 150.

35 František DVORNÍK, *Metodova diecéza a boj o Illyricum*, pp. 168–169.

36 Walter POHL, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.*, München 1988, pp. 70–76.

37 *Conversio*, chapter 12, 14, pp. 56–59; MMFH III, pp. 318, 322.

38 *Conversio*, chapter 6, 10, 14, pp. 46–47, 50–51, 56–59; MMFH III, pp. 303–304, 308–309, 322.

Wilhelm II and Engelschalk, who administered the Eastern March.³⁹ Hermanrich, the Bishop of Passau, apparently joined Carloman's campaign, so that he could defend his endangered diocese. It was possibly at that very moment that Hermanrich captured Archbishop Methodius.⁴⁰ The "impudence" with which Hermanrich treated the captured Methodius outraged the Pope, who wrote to him later: "You kept our brother, Bishop Methodius, in prison, you tormented him for a long time under the open sky in the most severe frost and terrible rains, and you deprived him of the administration of the bishopric entrusted to him."⁴¹

Methodius had to be answerable to the court that is certain to have been in session in Regensburg. It was presided over by Louis the German, the King of Eastern Francia.⁴² Methodius was confronted with "the king with all the bishops" i.e. the King of Eastern Francia and the Bavarian bishops. The Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishop of Passau, who considered Chozil's Pannonia and Rastislav's Great Moravia their diocese's territory, accused Methodius, who was "dragged before the committee of bishops"⁴³ with the words, "You're teaching in our territory!" Methodius answered, "If I had known that it was yours, I would have avoided it, but it belongs to St Peter."⁴⁴ Afterwards he added, "For the sake of rivalry and miserliness you are trespassing beyond agelong borders, which is against canon law, and rendering the execution of God's regulations impossible."⁴⁵ The above-mentioned "agelong borders" to which Methodius was vigorously referring were the limits, or borders, of Illyricum which, from the end of 869, had its successor in Methodius' archdiocese.

While King Louis was amiable to Methodius,⁴⁶ the bishops – who launched an argument with Methodius – let themselves be carried away with rage. Hermanrich, the Bishop of Passau, who had recently acted as one of the commanders of the military campaign against the Moravians, took a swipe at Methodius with his riding crop. It was only thanks to the quick reaction

of several (probably the King's) men that he was not hit.⁴⁷ Another such bully was Anno, the Bishop of Freising. His "impudence and wilfulness" outraged the Pope to such an extent that he wrote to him: "But you got hold of the authority of the Holy See and you usurped the right to judge the Archbishop as if you were a Patriarch."⁴⁸ "After many quarrels", when Methodius "got all sweaty, as if he were near an oven", the last quarrel broke out. The attending Bavarian bishops took offence when Methodius compared them to a "crude lot" in a parable, with which he had turned to the person of King Louis. They threatened Methodius with "coming off badly" and they did fulfil their threat. Adalwin, the Archbishop of Salzburg, "was the initiator of his overthrow",⁴⁹ i.e. it was he who pronounced Methodius deposed. However, he did not want to pronounce it alone, only together with the other bishops. Since the Archbishop and two more bishops were allowed to elect and consecrate a new bishop, Adalwin with Hermanrich and Anno, forming exactly such a unit, probably agreed on the overthrow of the defenceless Methodius, under the pretext it would be done in a canonical way. Anno, the Bishop of Freising, arranged for Methodius to be imprisoned; soon after that, however, the Pope rebuked him for it in an outraged manner. "You treated your fellow brother, Archbishop Methodius, who was sent as the legate of the Holy See to pagans, in a tyrannical way rather than according to the canon... you and your supporters and companions pronounced a kind of verdict against him and, depriving him of conducting church services, you threw him into prison."⁵⁰ Methodius was imprisoned in the Monastery of St Pirmin, located on Reichenau Island in Swabia.⁵¹

Methodius back in Moravia

In 871 even Zwentibald ended up in a Bavarian prison, as he was accused of treason by Wilhelm and Engelschalk.⁵² However, the domination of both Margraves over the Moravians was very unstable. They faced a rebellion that they were not able to suppress. Carloman came to believe Zwentibald, who promised to help him. He discharged Zwentibald and sent him to Moravia with a numerous Bavarian army. However, the moment that Zwentibald "entered the old castle of Rastislav's" (probably Mikulčice), he ganged up secretly with the rebels and destroyed Carloman's army, which he had brought there himself. Both Margraves died and Zwentibald became the Prince of the Moravians (871–894).⁵³ Immediately after his victory the Moravians got even with the Bavarian priests. "When the Moravians found out that the German priests who lived with them did not side with them but intrigued against them, they expelled them all."⁵⁴ The Moravians expelled only the "German", or rather, foreign priests; the Moravian priests stayed at home.

39 *Annales Fuldenses ad a. 870–871*, ed. L.E. Havlík, in: MMFH1, 2nd ed., pp. 101–105; *Annales Bertiniani ad a. 870*, pp. 77–78.

40 František DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie*, pp. 163–164.

41 *Epistolae*, no. 50, pp. 167–168.

42 František DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie*, pp. 163–164.

43 *Epistolae*, no. 50, pp. 167–168.

44 *Žitíje Mefodija*, chapter 9, pp. 151–152.

45 *Ibidem*, chapter 9, pp. 151–152.

46 At the end of the dispute, King Louis the German stood up for Methodius, telling his bishops, "Do not torment my Methodius, as he has got all sweaty, as if he were near an oven." *Žitíje Mefodija*, chapter 9, pp. 131–132. The King's words show clearly that Methodius managed to gain his sympathy. In the *Life of Methodius* "the King of Hungary" was mentioned, who "came to the territory of the Danube" and "wanted to see" Archbishop Methodius. Later he received him in a Christian way. "As it behoves the ruler, he received him with respect, glory, and joy. And having talked to him as it behoves such men, having grown fond of him, he dismissed him with kisses and many gifts. He told him: Remember me, honourable Father, always in your holy prayers." *Ibid.*, chapter 16, pp. 138–139. The title "king", mentioned several times in the *Life of Methodius*, only belonged to the Frankish ruler. That is why the "Hungarian king", who treated Archbishop Methodius in a Christian way, was in fact the Frankish king, or rather King and Emperor Charles III, the Fat. Not only did that king meet Prince Zwentibald, but also Archbishop Methodius in 884, by the Vienna Woods near the Danube. The term "Hungarian" is a mistake of a later woodscraper. V. VAVŘÍNEK, *Ugrský král v životě starých slavů*, Byzantinoslavica 25, 1964, pp. 361–369; IDEM, *Cyril a Metoděj*, pp. 164–166; František DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie*, pp. 194–196; H. ŁOWMIANŃSKI, *Początki Polski IV*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 371–373; D. TRĚŠTÍK, *Pád Velké Moravy. Exkurs I. Metoděj a "uherský král"*, in: *Typologie raně feudálních slovanských států*, Praha 1987, pp. 63–67; Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu II*, Praha 2006, pp. 731–733. We can see that Methodius managed to gain the sympathy of Louis the German and Charles the Fat, despite his interests being contrary to the interests of both those kings and their bishops, and all the more so of high-ranking people whose interests were not contrary but in harmony with the interests of Great Moravia and its Church (and of Methodius).

47 *Epistolae*, no. 50, pp. 167–168.

48 *Ibidem*, no. 51, pp. 169–170.

49 *Ibidem*, no. 48, p. 162.

50 *Ibidem*, no. 51, pp. 169–170.

51 *Žitíje Mefodija*, chapter 9, p. 152; František DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie*, p. 165; Alfons ZETTLER, *Der Heilige Methodios auf der Insel Reichenau*, in: *Evangelos Konstantinou (Hrsg.), Methodios und Kyrillos in ihrer europäischen Dimension*, Philhellenische Studien, Band 10, Frankfurt am Main 2005, pp. 261–269.

52 *Annales Fuldenses ad a. 869*, pp. 101–105; *Annales Bertiniani ad a. 870*, pp. 77–78.

53 *Annales Fuldenses ad a. 869*, pp. 104–105; *Annales Bertiniani ad a. 870*, p. 78.

54 *Žitíje Mefodija*, chapter 10, p. 153.

After the expulsion of the Bavarian priests, the Moravians reported to Rome and they pleaded to the Pope for the following: "Because our fathers once accepted baptism from the hands of St Peter, then give us Methodius, the archbishop and teacher."⁵⁵ In the spring of 873 Pope John VIII took strict measures against the Bavarian bishops who had judged Methodius and held him prisoner, chiefly against Hermanrich, the Bishop of Passau,⁵⁶ and Anno, the Bishop of Freising,⁵⁷ who had committed violence against Methodius, and he summoned them to Rome. The Pope gave orders to Adalwin, the Archbishop of Salzburg. "By your own efforts, our brother Methodius is to take the archbishop's see again, as it is certainly appropriate that you, the initiator of his overthrow, initiate his re-acceptance of his former position."⁵⁸ The Pope imposed anathema on the Bavarian bishops: "He imposed anathema on them so that all the King's bishops would not sing the Holy Mass, or church services, while they were holding him."⁵⁹ The Pope's anathema which "all the King's bishops", i.e. the bishops of King Louis the German, experienced, could not have been removed without obeying the Pope. Methodius was released, returned to the Moravians and took charge of his archbishopric. "When Zwentibold, together with all the Moravians, received him, he handed over all churches and clergymen in all castles to him."⁶⁰ Probably from that time Methodius used the title "Most Reverend Archbishop of the Holy Church of Moravia".⁶¹ With that title Methodius visited the Pope in June 880 and the Pope confirmed it in his Roman privilege *Industriae tuae*. He did not give him a new title; he just confirmed the title Methodius had used.

In 873 Chozil, in collaboration with the Pope, tried for the last time to set Pannonia free from the authority of the Archbishopric of Salzburg. Pope John VIII turned to both of Chozil's superiors. He notified Louis the German, the King of East Francia, of the fact that "the Diocese of Pannonia had been numbered among the privileges of the Holy See since a long time ago".⁶² As to Carloman, the future King of Bavaria, who was Chozil's immediate superior, the Pope asked him, "Thus, now that our Bishopric of Pannonia has been restored and re-established, let our brother Methodius, appointed there by the Holy See, act freely as bishop according to age-long custom."⁶³

The Pope did his best to make the new ecclesiastical province as large as possible. That is why he wrote to Mutimir, the Prince of Serbia, residing in Raška: "Therefore we remind you to keep the custom of your predecessors and to strive for your return to the Diocese of Pannonia as hard as possible."⁶⁴ In 873 the Bavarian bishops had to release Methodius from prison; however,

they threatened Chozil with the following words: "If you have him with you, you will not get rid of us amicably."⁶⁵ In spite of Chozil's great efforts, Pannonia continued to be part of the Diocese of Salzburg and out of reach of Archbishop Methodius.

The ecclesiastical independence of Great Moravia was crowned in 880 with the Roman privilege *Industriae tuae*, in which the Pope recognised Methodius' orthodoxy as well as the Slavonic liturgy, and he confirmed Methodius' title of Archbishop of Moravia. Besides, at the request of Prince Zwentibold, he took Great Moravia under his protection.⁶⁶ Papal auspices crowned the independence and legitimacy of the Great Moravian state.⁶⁷ In 906 Great Moravia ceased to exist; nevertheless, a precedent remained in existence which became the legitimisation base for the formation of new independent states in Central Europe: the Czech State, the Polish State and the Hungarian State.

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55 *Ibidem*, chapter 10, pp. 153–154.

56 *Epistolae*, no. 50, pp. 167–168.

57 *Ibidem*, no. 51, pp. 169–170.

58 *Ibidem*, no. 48, p. 162.

59 *Žitije Mefodija*, chapter 10, p. 153.

60 *Ibidem*, chapter 10, pp. 153–154.

61 *Epistolae*, no. 90, pp. 197–208; CDES 1, no. 30, pp. 23–25. On June 14, 879 the Pope addressed his letter to "the most reverend Methodius, Archbishop of the Pannonian Church". *Epistolae*, no. 81, p. 192; CDES 1, no. 29, p. 22. In Great Moravia Methodius certainly did not use the title of Archbishop of Pannonia, as he was surely the Archbishop of Moravia for the Moravians. Moreover, the Pannonia that had been Chozil's did not belong to his archdiocese. When Methodius visited Rome in June 880 the whole matter became clear and Methodius' title of Archbishop of Moravia was written into the Roman privilege *Industriae tuae*.

62 *Epistolae*, no. 46, pp. 159–160.

63 *Ibidem*, no. 47, p. 161.

64 *Epistolae*, no. 55, p. 173.

65 *Žitije Mefodija*, chapter 10, p. 153; *Epistolae*, no. 55, pp. 173–174; František DVORNÍK, *Byzantské misie*, pp. 57–58, 168.

66 *Epistolae*, no. 90, pp. 197–208; CDES 1, no. 30, pp. 23–25.

67 Lubomír Emil HAVLÍK, *Morava v 9.–10. století*, pp. 34–35.

A MONTIBUS USQUE AD MARE: MORAVIA AND VENICE IN THE 9TH CENTURY

Petr Charvát

This is a contribution on relations between the early state of Moravia and the Italian city of Venice in the 9th century. The author presents an overview of the historical, philological and archaeological evidence which is currently at our disposal. Both regions had apparently been in contact at least since the 850s. The Thessalonian brothers themselves passed through Venice at least upon one occasion. We know of an important personage, priest John of Venice, who served Svatopluk, ruler of Moravia, in diplomatic missions. Some loanwords in Old Church Slavonic imply a considerable significance in the contacts between old Moravia and, most probably, the Friuli-Veneto ecclesiastical centres (Old Church Slavonic uses a term of Latin origin for Holy Communion). Archaeological finds bear out contacts in the sphere of church architecture, as well as in that of the minor arts.

Key words: mediaeval history, mediaeval Moravia, Venice

The theme with which I am humbly contributing to this collection thanks to the kind invitation of its publishers has already been touched upon in the literature.¹ However, a lot of time has passed since then, and the time has come to have a look at this issue from new points of view, in order to find out if new information has surfaced in relation to the contacts between the headquarters of early Moravian statehood, and one of the most important European hubs of early mediaeval long-distance trade.

In the supporting written evidence, contact between Moravia and the Republic located on the Adriatic lagoons appears in three places. According to the *Life of Constantine*, the envoy of the Papal Curia caught up with the two brothers in 867 in Venice, while they were returning from Moravia back to Byzantium, in order to pass on the Pontiff's invitation to join him for a debate on the nature of their Moravian mission directly in Rome.²

The second case concerns Svatopluk's court member and cleric called John of Venice (Johannes de Venetiis). Written resources from 874 describe him as a member of the company of Moravian ruler Svatopluk, namely as the leader of his envoys to Louis the German, the monarch with whom he negotiated the Forchheim peace treaty.³ In 879, Svatopluk put him in charge of a significant mission to Rome: his task was to refute accusations

towards Archbishop Methodius at the Holy See in Rome, namely accusations related to the spreading of untruths. His task was to assure the Pontiff that Moravian religious life did not deviate from the principles of ecumenical Christianity. It is clear that this skilful diplomat succeeded in his task; the following year he brought the Papal bull called *Industriae tuae* from Rome to Moravia.⁴ Roman sources, however, mention a person of the same name, referred to as *fidelis familiaris noster* or *venerabilis presbyter* in the environment of the Papal Curia under John VIII (872–882). This John, however, resided in Rome, and then took part in a mission to Croatian Dalmatia almost at the same time as the Forchheim peace talks were being held, which indicates that it could hardly be one and the same person.⁵ Martin Eggers clearly did not take this fact into account in his newest study, regarding the identity of both Johns as proven.⁶

In the well-known gospel – Evangelium de Cividale – one of our protagonists is mentioned as *prb Johannes de Venetiis*.⁷ The manuscript probably originated at the turn of the 6th century in one of the major Friuli monasteries, located on the pilgrim route into the Italian interior; it might have been San Giovanni Al Timaro near the town of Duino, or even closer in an unknown religious chapter, maybe even the one of Aquileia.⁸ Later, it became the property of the Aquileian patriarchs, and from there, it was passed to Cividale in 1409. Starting from the late 8th century, the names of all visitors to this religious institution were written on the first pages of this manuscript (*venerunt in isto monasterio*); it also included the names of those who explicitly requested that their name be included in the manuscript (*nomina sua scribere rogaverunt*). Personal names listed here come from

1 Oldřich TŮMA, *Great Moravia's Trade Contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean and the Mediating Role of Venice*, Byzantinoslavica 46, 1985, pp. 67–77. See also Lech LECIEJEWICZ, *Great Moravia and Venice in the 9th century*, in: Dušan Čaplovič – Ján Dorula (ed.), *Central Europe in 8th–10th Centuries*, International Scientific Conference, Bratislava, October 2–4, 1995, Bratislava 1997, pp. 115–120.

2 O. TŮMA, *Trade Contacts* p. 76. see *Žitije Konstantina*, ed. Radoslav Večeřka, in: MMFH II, p. 85. In the 9th century Venice was (at least nominally) subordinate to the Byzantine empire, see Antonio CARILE, *La Romània dalla Venetiarum provincia alla signoria di Venezia*, *Porphyra*, year 5, no 11, 2008 ("Venezia e Bisanzio"), pp. 18–45; Giorgio RAVEGNANI, *Venezia Bizantina*, *Porphyra*, year 5, no 11, 2008 ("Venezia e Bisanzio"), pp. 5–17, [online]. The two texts available from: <http://www.porphyra.it/Porphyra11.pdf>, [accessed 18 March 2014]. However, it seems that, in their case, one can expect a relatively high degree of integration into Byzantine culture: Michael McCORMICK, *The Imperial Edge: Italo-Byzantine Identity, Movement and Integration, A.D. 650–950*, in Helene Ahrweiler – Angeliki E. Laiou (ed.), *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, Washington, D. C. 1998, p. 17–52, [online]. Available from: <http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic450602.files/McCormick%201998%20Edge.pdf>, [accessed 18 March 2014].

3 Marie BLÁHOVÁ, *Italiener in den böhmischen Ländern der altmährischen und frühpfemysylidischen Zeit*, CIVIS – Studi e testi, year. 19, no. 56, 1995, pp. 101–116, on p. 104.

4 M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Italiener*, p. 105.

5 Zdeněk MĚŘÍNSKÝ, *České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu II*, Praha 2006, pp. 696–697.

6 Martin EGGERS, *Die Flussfahrt ostfränkischer Gesandter von Sisica nach Bulgarien (892) in weiterem historischem Kontext*, *Südost-Forschungen* 63/64, 2004–2005, pp. 1–17, p. 11.

7 Udo LUDWIG, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung* (MGH Studien und Texte Bd. 25), Hannover 1999, p. 233–234, and O. TŮMA, *Trade Contacts*, pp. 75–76.

8 U. LUDWIG, *Beziehungen*, p. 178.

the Germanic, as well as Lombardic, Slavic⁹ and Bulgarian linguistic areas. Perhaps around the year 866 even Tsar Michael-Boris¹⁰ was registered here, and the name of the Croatian leader Trpimir too.¹¹ These entries gradually ceased towards the end of the 9th century. From the persons from the Pribina and Kočela areas¹², we can find names such as *Szuentepulk*, *Rastislaus*, *Szuentezizna* and *Predezlau*.¹³ The name of the well-known and famous Wiching is not missing either.¹⁴ The name of *Santpuc* might be a mention of Svatopluk II.¹⁵

This manuscript, however, is not very helpful with answering the question of the existence of one or two Johns, since an honourable ecclesiastical leader would venture to Moravia or Croatia through the Venetian region in either case. Also, the similarity of one of these Johns to the papal legate who was instructed by his Roman superiors in 879 to travel to Bulgaria through Croatia remains unsolved.¹⁶

We should also mention another source of information which might shed light on questions related to the mission of a Venetian cleric or clerics in Rome. On the relief located today on the portico of the Roman temple Santa Maria in Cosmedin, which is decorated with evangelist symbols and other motifs, one can read the following inscription: JOANNES DE VENETIA ME FECIT.¹⁷ The inscription dates back to the period of the middle 9th century.¹⁸ John of Venice seems to have served at Santa Maria in Cosmedin at the time of the pontificate of Nicholas I (858–867).¹⁹

The simplest solution to the whole situation would naturally lie in considering the last John of Santa Maria in Cosmedin to be a person completely unrelated to the Moravian diplomat, which is of course possible. However, it is very interesting that during the period of dramatic changes in Moravia, there were two persons of the same name present in Rome with obvious connection to the north of Italy (sculptural style). The hypothesis about two (or three?) Johns would then gain some supporting evidence. What the correct solution is, is difficult to say.

9 *Ibidem*, pp. 178nn.

10 *Ibidem*, pp. 178nn.

11 *Ibidem*, pp. 222–224.

12 *Ibidem*, pp. 226–230.

13 *Ibidem*, pp. 230–235.

14 *Ibidem*, pp. 232–234.

15 *Ibidem*, pp. 216–217.

16 Florin CURTA, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages 500–1250*, Cambridge medieval textbooks, Cambridge 2006, p. 173.

17 Its original appearance was of course modified by the cutting off of the original construction for the purposes of the insertion of a younger portal from the 11th century. I focused on this particular issue in: Petr CHARVÁT, *Presbyter Johannes de Venetiis*, in: Šimon UNGERMANN – Renata PŘÍCHYSTALOVÁ – Michal ŠULC – Jana KREJSOVÁ (ed.), *Zaměřeno na středověk – Zdeňkovi Měřínskému k 60. narozeninám*, Praha 2010, pp. 566–568.

18 Nicolette GRAY, *The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions in the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Centuries in Italy*, in: Papers of the British School at Rome vol. XVI (New Series vol. III), 1948, pp. 38–163, such as no. 109, p. 119. The plastic decorations of this monument are connected to another Roman inscription, which probably originates in the middle of the 9th century and records the depositing of the reliquaries of the listed saints (St Sabinus of Spoleto, St Caesar., St Sebastian, St Abundius Quadrag[?]) in the temple of the Virgin Mary on the Aventine in Rome: N. GRAY, *Palaeography*, no 108, pp. 118–119. The iconography of the plastic decorations on both monuments is of Lombard character, in its content rather than technique. From an epigraphic point of view, these are typical examples of the “popular style”, which reflected connections with Carolingian inscription culture and “Lombard” plastic art, i.e. works of art which were not of Roman origin.

19 N. GRAY, *Palaeography*, p. 107, note. 41.

The third written record of the connection of Moravia to the main Adriatic port is related to the infamous fate of Methodius’ pupils after the Master’s death in 885. They were sold into slavery to Venice, and only after the merciful intervention of a Byzantine dignitary, who was present in this lagoon city at the time, were they able to regain their freedom.²⁰ It is possible that the path that these unfortunate fellows had to take was designated by specific toponyms.²¹

High-quality information about the situation in Moravia and Bohemia in 900 is provided by a Hebrew chronicle called *Josifon*, probably written in Italy soon after 953. The circumstances under which the writer of this chronicle obtained such information unfortunately remain unknown.²²

Philological research has uncovered some traces of the relations of the Slavic environment of Moravia with the Friuli, Romansh or Alpine Romanesque environment, in the form of language borrowings. This applies not only to the word “steel”, which was taken from there some time around the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century,²³ but surprisingly also relates to the old Slavic term used for the Eucharist, *vsqdъ*, borrowed from Latin *usandum*.²⁴

Even in the early Middle Ages, and specifically in the 9th century, Venice undoubtedly represented a long-distance trade centre of unique size, making use of both its protected location and its open access to the Mediterranean Sea for intensive commercial business activities; it connected centres of advanced manufacture and trade, in particular on the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, with the areas along the northern shore,²⁵ thus embracing the role of an intermediary between consumers looking for prestigious luxury goods processed with strong added value, and those trying to get access to raw materials and half-finished products, which were either unavailable or hardly accessible in their motherland.

20 L. LECIEJEWICZ, *Great Moravia and Venice*.

21 Rudolf PLASCHKA – Anna DRABEK, *Österreich im Hochmittelalter (907 bis 1246)*, Wien 1991, pp. 479–480.

22 Most recent publication dealing with this chronicle Dariusz A. SIKORSKI, *Początki Kościoła w Polsce – Wybrane problemy*, Poznań 2012, p. 49 with literature.

23 František V. MAREŠ, *Die Metalle bei den alten Slawen im Lichte des Wortschatzes*, Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 113/11, 1976, pp. 247–256; reprinted F. V. MAREŠ, *Cytilometodějská tradice a slavistika*, Praha 2000, pp. 583–589.

24 F. V. MAREŠ, *Das altkirchenslawische vsqdъ, “communio, eucharistia”*, in: D. Messner (Hrsg.), *Das romanische in den Ostalpen*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historischen Klasse, Bd. 442, Wien 1984, p. 125–131; reprinted F. V. MAREŠ, *Tradice*, pp. 578–581. On Christian missions to the western Slavs D. SIKORSKI, *Początki*, pp. 194–207.

25 History of Venice in the early Middle Ages see Andrea DA MOSTO, *I dogi di Venezia*, Firenze – Milano 2003. As for the latest archaeological work in the area please see Sauro GELICHI, *Flourishing Places in Northeastern Italy. Towns and Emporia between Late Antiquity and the Carolingian age*, in: Joachim Henning (ed.), *Post-Roman Towns and Trade in Europe, Byzantium and the Near East*, vol. 1: The Heirs of Roman West (Millennium-Studien 5/1), Berlin – New York 2007, s. 77–104, text available on <http://www.mgh-bibliothek.de/dokumente/a/a150503+0001.pdf>, [accessed 18 March 2014]; Sauro GELICHI, *The rise of an early medieval emporium and the economy of Italy in the late Longobard age*, *Annales – Series Historia et Sociologia* 18/2, 2008, pp. 319–336, [online]. available from: http://www.google.cz/url?sa=t&rc=t&eq=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CC4QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.dlib.si%2Fstream%2FURN%3ANBN%3ASI%3ADOC-SXWOPMKH%2F5088d8f8-a4ff6-4c9d-bf40-de0a37642306%2FPDF&ei=hu_JUb_-O4rQsgb8gIGQCg&usq=AFQjCNEpdA96aEX-6M13g6DWeNZ8E1Ditw&sig2=1T9J0ka2b2jwy55k4VHKRQ&bv=48293060,bs.1,d.ZWU [accessed 18 March 2014]; and Richard HODGES, *Aistulf and the Adriatic Sea*, *Acta Archaeologica* 79, København 2008, s. 274–281 (collection of the latest research in the Adriatic sea area, among others, fieldwork in Comacchio – older than Venice i.e. 8th–9th century). See also Michael MCCORMICK, *Where the trading towns come from? Early medieval Venice and the northern emporia*, in: J. Henning (ed.), *Post-Roman Towns and Trade in Europe, Byzantium and the Near East*, vol. 1: The Heirs of Roman West (Millennium-Studien 5/1), Berlin – New York 2007, s. 41–68, [online]. Available from: <http://www.mgh-bibliothek.de/dokumente/a/a150503+0001.pdf> [accessed 18 March 2014].

One of the main articles of Venetian trade of that time was undoubtedly represented by male and female slaves, especially those from Slavic speaking areas, whose exploitation was not viewed as morally, ethically or catechetically wrong by Venetian slavers and their suppliers.²⁶ Venice became a popular destination for suppliers of such “goods”, and the prohibition of this kind of trade had to be repeated several times until it was finally terminated in around the 960s. The sale of Slavic slaves to Italy and beyond was documented in written sources from the 9th century.²⁷

Let us then state a concrete example, which is exceptional for the detailed information it provides. It is a letter dated from 906, written by Mrs Berta, “The Queen of all the Franks”, the wife of the Margrave of Tuscany – Adalberto II il Ricco, addressed to the Caliph of Baghdad – Al-Muktafi. In this letter, Mrs Berta informs the Caliph that she has learnt of his fame and power from the Moslem captives taken prisoner in the naval war with the states of the Moslem Maghreb in Pisa, and that she has decided to enter into an alliance with him. As a gesture of goodwill, Berta’s envoys delivered honourable gifts to the Caliph: fifty swords, fifty shields, fifty spears, twenty golden robes, twenty Slavic eunuchs and twenty graceful and well-built Slavic slave girls. Further on, the Margrave presented the Caliph with ten large dogs, seven hawks, sparrow-hawks, a silk tent with all accessories, and twenty woollen clothing robes dyed in a mysterious way with a colour extracted from marine bivalve molluscs, so that the substance changed the colour of the robe every hour of the day. She also added three more birds from the Frankish Kingdom, who gave a horrifying cry and started beating their wings if poisoned food or drink was presented to them, as well as glass beads, allowing one painlessly to remove arrowheads and spearheads from the body.²⁸ There are more similarly written records available at hand.²⁹

Where did the Slavic slaves in Tuscany come from? Were they either part of one of the Venetian exports, or did they come from other parts of the world, such as Moslem Spain or North Africa? The City on the Lagoons used to be visited by traders from all over

26 Slavery in the early Middle Ages was documented in detail by Nicolas CARRIER, *Les usages de la servitude – Seigneurs et paysans dans le royaume de Bourgogne (VI^e–XV^e siècle)*, Paris 2012, pp. 41–96, 97–132, 133–194. Written sources even depict the release of a priest from slavery at the moment when secular dignitaries give him over to religious dignitaries, who intend to appoint him parish priest of a certain church (the same source p. 167–168). “Slaves” were bound to the land, which they were not permitted to leave, but it was also not allowed to take the land from them (same source p. 182). Before 850 in Burgundy, the position of the servant staff used to be recorded in detail (same p. 184); between 850 and 1150, however, these people, including their property, wives and children, became part of one’s property, under the collective term of *servi* or *mancipia* (same sources p. 181), *servus* = general expression for one’s subject (same source p. 184); interpretation of the term used for “Slave-holding society” (Carl HAMMER, *A Large-Scale Slave Society of the Early Middle Ages – Slaves and their families in early medieval Bavaria*, Aldershot – Burlington 2002) therefore depends on what exactly the term *servus* means, the meaning of which clearly changes over time; see also J. HENNING, *Strong Rulers – Weak Economy? Rome, the Carolingians and the Archaeology of Slavery in the First Millennium AD*, in: Jennifer Davis – M. McCormick (ed.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe – New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, Aldershot and Burlington 2008, pp. 33–54, [online], available from: http://books.google.cz/books?id=e7b_LPPpL88C&pg=PA1&lpg=PA1&dq=the+long+morning+of+medieval+europe&source=bl&ots=JXt809Kfq9&sig=55MVIDgnPz4MqTKGTa17_qVkg5g&hl=cs&sa=X&ei=7ebJUan-hO8P308-pgcAl&sqi=2&ved=0CDkQ6AEwAQ [accessed 18 March 2014].

27 O. TŮMA, *Trade Contacts*, p. 67–68. On that note L. LECIEJEWICZ, *Great Moravia*, p. 115–120; on that note Catia Renzi RIZZO, *Pisa e il mare nell’Alto Medioevo*, in: Marco Tangheroni (ed.), *Pisa e il Mediterraneo – Uomini, merci, idee dagli Etruschi ai Medici*, Pisa – Milano 2003, p. 121–125; and Khalil ‘ATHAMINA, *How did Islam contribute to change the legal status of women: The case of the jawārī, or the female slaves*, in: *Esclavitud e islam*, Sección monográfica de Al-Qantara, Revista de estudios árabes XXVIII/1–2, 2007, p. 383–408. The finding of possible slave shackles from Chotěbuz – Podobora settlement: Pavel KOUŘIL, *Slovanské osídlení českého Slezska*, Brno – Český Těšín 1994, s. 156, tab. XIII: 1 on p. 217.

28 C. R. RIZZO, *Pisa e il mare*, pp. 123–124.

29 K. ‘ATHAMINA, *How did Islam*, p. 389. In 886, another “Queen of all the Franks” sent the Caliph a group of 20 male and 20 female Slavic slaves.

Europe, especially the Mediterranean, and their significant relations connected them with the areas subordinate to the Moslem Caliphate.³⁰ In that respect, it is necessary to remind ourselves of a recent finding which could shed light on information which is still unresolved by modern science, no matter how long it has been available to us already. In the 840s, the Caliph’s Minister of Post and Communications – Ibn Churdasbih – in his book called *The Book of Roads and Kingdoms*, described the business activities of a trading group called *Rādhānīja*.³¹ These wholesalers, from their bases in Moslem Spain, used to develop far-reaching commercial and business activities across the countries of the Franks and Slavs, and from Central Asia to China. They allegedly also used sea routes, across the Mediterranean Sea and the Suez straits, into the Indian Ocean and all the way to China. Churdasbih’s information on *Rādhānīja* has evoked rather contradictory and sceptical feelings in some researchers. Nowadays, new information has been uncovered from written Indian records, regarding a trading company of *Añjuvaṇṇam*, a company of businessmen of mainly western Asian origin, who were active in the 9th century on a continental scale from Arabia to Indonesia.³² The sea route on which the trading company called *Añjuvaṇṇam* was active most certainly makes up more than half the distance which had to be overcome on the seas of the southern hemisphere by the ships of *Rādhānīja*. Therefore, the existence of the *Añjuvaṇṇam* trading group evidences the extraordinary “action radius” of early Mediaeval wholesalers, and so if not proving the existence of *Rādhānīja*, then at least making the possibility easier to acknowledge.

As for the archaeological evidence, one should first note the items which have to be excluded from our considerations. This applies in particular to Moravian – or, to be more precise, Mikulčice – findings, in the form of Italian coins from the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, obtained in all likelihood during the Hungarian raids on northern Italy. However, how they appeared in Mikulčice and what they can tell us about the Moravian connection to these Hungarian raids remains a mystery.³³ An ancient jasper gem found in Mikulčice in one of the main graves, which represents a cluster of a divine head (?), human head, and the head of a bird (*gryllos*), very likely comes from somewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean, and could have arrived in Moravia by any possible means.³⁴ A bone or antler target from Mikulčice, showing a quadruped with a long nose and horns attacking

30 On this topic: I Dietrich CLAUDE, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des frühen Mittelalters*, Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr im Mittel- und Nord-europa II. Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nord-europas 1980, Göttingen 1985, p. 241; and Stefano CARBONI, *Moments of Vision: Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797*, in: St. Carboni (ed.), *Venice and the Islamic World 828–1797*, New York – New Haven – London 2007, pp. 12–35.

31 On that topic Petr CHARVÁT, *Slyšte volání muezzinova – Česká země a arabský svět ve starším středověku (do roku 1300)*, Plzeň 2010, pp. 30–33.

32 Yellava SUBBARAYALU, *Añjuvaṇṇam: A Maritime Trade Guild of Medieval Times*, in: Y. Subbarayalu, *South India under the Cholas*, New Delhi 2012, p. 176–187. This was a merchant’s guild of Western Asian marine traders (Arabs, Persians, Jews, Syrians, Christians). The inscriptions from the mid-9th century mention locations from Arabia to Java. After 1000 the members of *Añjuvaṇṇam* were mostly Muslims; references to them in India appear in inscriptions located on the sea shore. The *Añjuvaṇṇam* company functioned until the end of the 13th century, then gradually disappeared from written records (here on pp. 185–187).

33 As for the finding of coins – Marian MAZUCH, *Výzkumy severního podhradí hradiště Vally u Mikulčic: k otázce násilného zániku velkomoravských centrálních na počátku 10. věku*, in: Jiří Doležel – Martin Wihoda (ed.), *Mezi raným a vrcholným středověkem*, Pavlu Kouřilovi k šedesátým narozeninám přátelé, kolegové a žáci, Brno 2012, pp. 137–159, on p. 150 (coins issued in Pavia and in Milan during 894–895 or 896–898 come from the layer above the graves). Most recent publication on Mikulčice Lumír POLÁČEK – Petra MARÍKOVÁ VLČKOVÁ, *The archaeology of Mikulčice 1*, 1st edition., Brno 2008.

34 P. CHARVÁT, *Fliege hoch, du stolzer Adler: Eine orientalische Gemme aus frühmittelalterlichen Mähren*, CIVIS – studi e testi, year. 29, no. 86, 2005, pp. 105–114, [online]. Available from: <http://web.ff.cuni.cz/ustavy/uvprv/pages/publikace/charvat.deutsch.doc> [accessed 18 March 2014].

an enemy represented by a great reptile (crocodile?), most likely represents a piece of late-ancient art, and therefore does not belong to the mediaeval era. Similar analogies show a similar mystic figure only during the 7th century³⁵, then the originally unified icon falls apart into two mutually completing elements, which together form the animal sign of Capricorn (and possibly also Sagittarius), to which the original image was most probably related.³⁶

It would be appropriate to draw attention to the fact that the 9th century Moravian jewel, according to the judgement of experts, has nothing to do either with Byzantium³⁷ or with the Islamic Orient.³⁸ The problem with finds of Byzantine origin is the fact that they could have been brought to Moravian territory from practically anywhere, including the “middle stations” in Western Europe. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to take into account only those objects in whose case it could be inferred that they were brought through northern Italy, based on their appearance and relevant contextual information.³⁹ One of the pieces of information that sheds light on the logistics of the contacts between Moravia and the Mediterranean areas in the early Middle Ages is represented by donkey bones, pointing to the Mediterranean origin of the animal.⁴⁰ Archaeological evidence related to contact routes in Italy and the Danubian areas was collected by Dietrich Claude.⁴¹

The small reliquary of Mikulčice with a double lens of high quality red glass, decorated with genuine pearls on a silver wire and containing the blood of the Lord, might have been brought to Moravia from Reichenau, but it might also have been brought directly from Rome.⁴² In that case, transport through Venice would have represented a possible and feasible alternative.

The equipment and appearance of some Great Moravian architecture evidently attained some Mediterranean quality as well.⁴³

The third stage of the temple in “Sady” near Uherské Hradiště is an example of an imported form of a double church, which often occurs on the northern side of the Mediterranean, especially in northern Italy.⁴⁴

Direct evidence of the contacts between Moravia and the areas of the Adriatic and Mediterranean is represented by the presence of a certain kind of marine shell, namely the purple dye murex, originating, according to scientific analyses, exactly from these areas.⁴⁵ In the case of the genuine pearls on earrings from grave no. 209/59 uncovered in Uherské Hradiště – Sady, a route through Venice is very likely, given the fact that genuine pearls in early mediaeval Europe were mainly imported from the Gulf region.⁴⁶

Personal contact of some Moravians with the Mediterranean area also cannot be entirely ruled out, as well as the possibility of the arrival of some people of Mediterranean origin in Moravia. The authors of anthropological research in Mikulčice confirmed the presence of unspecified discrepancies in one of the dead, buried at the burial ground of the first church in Mikulčice, whose origin might be traced to the Mediterranean.⁴⁷ In view of the fact that the burial ground might represent a burial temple of the monastery or of some religious faction, the dead person might really be somebody from the south.⁴⁸

A serious problem, however, is represented by noble minerals of Greek origin, which were used in some complex Great Moravian works of architecture (*porfido Verde Antico*).⁴⁹ They may represent spolia from Roman buildings, no matter how sceptical modern researchers are about the question of obtaining greater volumes of complex materials from the ruins of ancient architecture.⁵⁰ If, however, we take into account the distribution of minerals for aesthetic purposes, which were extracted (not only) on the Peloponnese, and used in a variety of significant architectural works of art of early mediaeval Europe and the Mediterranean (Jerusalem, Cordoba, Bavaria, Aachen, Hedeba/Haithaba [*porfido rosso*], Kiev),⁵¹ their transportation through the Venetian area is certainly an alternative worth considering.⁵²

The symbolism of precious and semi-precious stones also deserves attention. They were worn as part of the personal

35 P. CHARVÁT, *Velká Morava a koptský Egypt*, Památky archeologické 77, 1986, s. 5–17; IDEM, *Die Langobarden und Böhmen*, CIVIS – Studi e testi, year. 19, no. 55, 1995, pp. 7–14, 9–11. On that note – Claudio FRANZONI – Enrica PAGELLA, *Arte in Piemonte – Antichità e Medioevo*, Ivrea (To) 2002, p. 48, Fig. 50 – *Orafo lombardo*, reliquary with remains of Santa Presepe, Santo Sepolcro, stone with which St Eusebius was stoned to death, and reliquaries of other martyrs, second half of the 7th century to the beginning of the 8th century, today deposited at Vercelli, Museo del Tesoro della cattedrale. The pouch-shaped early mediaeval reliquary, a rectangular double field on its bottom lower part, depicting animals with opened mouths, showing their tongues, while facing one another, on the circular medallions an animal with plaited body and antlers, similar to the creatures depicted on discs in Mikulčice.

36 Such decoration also appears on an ivory comb, which might have been made in the court of the King of the Western Franks – Charles the Bold (840–877): Michael PETER, *Elfenbeinkamm aus Pavia*, in: Matthias Puhle – Gabriele Köster (ed.), *Otto der Grosse und das römische Reich*, Kaisertum von der Antike zum Mittelalter, Regensburg – Magdeburg 2012, pp. 495–496.

37 Hanna KŮČKA KRENZ, *Bizuteria północno-zachodnio-słowiańska we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Poznań 1993, pp. 152–153.

38 Jennifer K. ZIMMER, *Early Islamic Bead Earrings*, in: Na'ama Brosh (ed.), *Jewellery and Goldsmithing in the Islamic World*, International Symposium, The Israel Museum 1987, Jerusalem 1991, pp. 39–53, on pp. 47–50. For this quotation I have to express my gratitude to my learned colleague and friend Ludvík Kalus (université de Paris IV – panthéon – Sorbonne).

39 A similar hypothesis was formed by Naďa PROFANTOVÁ, *Byzantské nálezy v 6.–11. století v Čechách a na Moravě*, in: P. Charvát – P. Maříková Vlčková (ed.), *Země Koruny české a východní Středomoří ve středověku a raném novověku*, Praha 2008, pp. 73–120, on pp. 85–93.

40 N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Byzantské nálezy*, p. 99.

41 D. CLAUDE, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer*, p. 138, note 60; also the findings of Arab coins on this route, see P. CHARVÁT, *On Slavs, silk and the early state: The town of Čáslav in the pristine Middle Ages*, Památky archeologické 85/1, 1994, pp. 108–153, on p. 114.

42 Ivan MRÁZEK, *Drahé kameny ve středověku Moravy a Slezska*, Brno 2000, p. 39; P. CHARVÁT, *Kult krve Páně na Velké Moravě*, Marginalia Historica IV, Praha – Litomyšl 2001, pp. 63–72.

43 Jana MAŘÍKOVÁ KUBKOVÁ, *Interiérová výzdoba raně středověkých církevních staveb*, in: P. Charvát – P. Maříková Vlčková (ed.), *Země Koruny české a východní Středomoří ve středověku a raném novověku*, Praha 2008, pp. 125–129.

44 P. CHARVÁT, *Eine frühmittelalterliche Doppelkirche in Mähren: Ihr Ursprung, Charakter und Deutung*, CIVIS – studi e testi, year 25, no. 74, 2001, pp. 79–90.

45 N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Byzantské nálezy*, p. 98; I. MRÁZEK, *Drahé kameny*, pp. 35–37.

46 I. MRÁZEK, *Drahé kameny*, p. 34–35, pict. 19, pp. 35, 44. The case of the genuine pearls from the Mikulčice reliquary with the blood of the Lord might be similar (see above); I. MRÁZEK, *Drahé kameny*, pp. 39, 44.

47 Milan STLOUKAL – Luboš VYHNÁNEK, *Slované z velkomoravských Mikulčic*, Praha 1976, pp. 146–147.

48 M. STLOUKAL – L. VYHNÁNEK, *Slované*, p. 38.

49 I. MRÁZEK, *Drahé kameny*, pp. 29–30.

50 Jiří MUSIL, *Römische Ziegel*, in: L. Poláček (ed.), *Studien zum Burgwall von Mikulčice sv. 2*, Brno 1997, pp. 311–339.

51 Vasilios MELFOS, *Green Thessalian stone. The Byzantine quarries and the use of a unique architectural material from the Larissa area, Greece, Petroglyphic and geochemical characterization*, Oxford Journal of Archaeology 27/4, 2008, p. 387–405. Regarding the import of valuable minerals into early mediaeval Europe see also H. DANNHEIMER, *Porfido rosso, Porfido verde und Verde antico. Exotische Steine aus dem frühmittelalterlichen Bayern*, Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 71, 2006, pp. 283–291.

52 See the findings of the seal of a Byzantine dignitary called Theodosios Baboutzikos, who was authorised by the emperor in Venice to reside in Riba, Haithaba/Hedeba and Tissø in the Baltic States during 840–841 in order to obtain the assistance of the Western sovereigns against the Muslims. M. MCCORMICK, *Where do trading towns*, p. 52.

jewellery and decoration of the Great Moravian elites, and had Christian connotations.⁵³ The so-called Zelnitius' belt buckle from grave no. 96/A from the burial ground in the Old Town in Uherské Hradiště⁵⁴ bears two red colour pads in the centre of the fields on its front side, in two square-shaped fields with rounded corners. In the corners of both fields, the artist inserted pairs of red and green pads facing one another diagonally, whereas the triangular areas dividing the middle part of the buckle between the two fields bear two pads of yellowish colour. The colours are created by inserted glass; genuine almandine only appears in the upper corners of both fields. The symbolism of the set of red and green colours refers to mediaeval ecclesiastical authorities from St Bede the Venerable, to the power of the Lord, exercised through the Creation, and the idea of Paradise (green), as well as the earthly life of Jesus Christ and his suffering, through which Man was redeemed (red).⁵⁵ The belt buckle set was also decorated with a yellowish, most likely golden colour, symbolising wisdom.⁵⁶ The person wearing this buckle, accompanied by wisdom, should therefore during their earthly life have their attention drawn constantly to the Christian promise of paradise. The fact that the buckle contains only two genuine precious stones, while the others were made of glass, suggests that a significant artistic feature was the colour, not the material. The author, or better the inspiration, of such a style of the "Zelnitius' belt buckle" was most likely a Christian cleric; however, we do not have the opportunity to decide if he was active in one of the Bavarian headquarters (Regensburg? Passau?) or even in the areas of northern Italy, Rome or Byzantium.

To sum up, we can conclude that we may garner some information about the contacts between Moravia of the 9th century with Venice, primarily from written and philological sources. These are supported by archaeological evidence, which, no matter how vague and indefinite, gives valuable testimony to the economic, religious and spiritual aspects of mutual interaction between the Moravian elites and the foremost dignitary circles of the city located over the Adriatic lagoons, for which we would be looking in vain in the texts of the written sources of that time.

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Žitije Konstantina, ed. R. Večerka, in: MMFH II, p. 57–115.

53 K tomu I. MRÁZEK, *Drahé kameny*; Hana ŠEDINOVÁ, *Symbolika drahých kamenů v kapli sv. Václava*, *Umění* 45, 1997, pp. 32–48.

54 I. MRÁZEK, *Drahé kameny*, pp. 33–34, fig. 18.

55 H. ŠEDINOVÁ, *Symbolika*, p. 43.

56 *Ibidem*, p. 42.

THE LETTER OF PATRIARCH PHOTIOS TO THE CATHOLICOS ZECHARIAH, CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE PROTOTYPE OF MISSIONARY LANGUAGE IN THE PERIOD 860–863

Christo Trendafilov

The present work discusses The Letter of Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Catholicos of Armenia Zachary in the discourse of Byzantine church politics during the 2nd half of the 9th century. It provides an analysis of the apology of Greek culture which Photios makes in his Letter and its next appearances in the Vita Constantini. The analysis proceeds with a discussion that aims to shed new light on connotations in the works of Photios, Constantine the Philosopher and in some Slavic and Latin texts connected with them. The conclusion is reached that the texts mentioned above form a paradigmatic language-standard (язык-эталон) the representation of which was ongoing in the countries that were objects of Byzantine missionary activity. We accept the fact that this missionary language-standard was compiled around the year 860–863 in the circle of Photios' graduates under the supervision of Constantine the Philosopher.

Key words: Photios, circle, Byzantine church, apology, Constantine, language-standard

One of the results of the intense religious-political activity of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Photios in the period of his first rule (858–867) was renewed contact with the Armenian Church. The preconditions for such relations appeared in the middle of the 9th century when Armenia was on the political and spiritual rise. The Shahinshah (later Emperor) Ashot I Bagratuni ascended the throne and the land experienced a period of relative peace and prosperity. In 854, the Catholicos Zechariah Dzageci became Patriarch of Armenia. A learned and honourable man, his initiation ritual was nevertheless rather hectic as he was consecrated to the office of deacon, priest, bishop and catholicos in one single day (for comparison, the cheirotony of Patriarch Photios in December 858 took six days). It was at this time that negotiations between the Armenian and Greek Church began, accompanied by a correspondence, of which two letters from Patriarch Photios to Catholicos Zechariah and King Ashot (as well as Ashot's replies) have survived. The initiator of the negotiations and correspondence was Zechariah, who led the Armenian Church until 876. In a now lost letter, by which he addressed the Constantinopolitan Patriarch suggesting the renewal of friendly contacts, he also expressed his doubts regarding the correctness of the conclusions of the Council of Chalcedon and denied all accusations that the Armenian Church would have confessed to any heretical teachings (*Rossetkin 1915, 239–240*).

In 861, Photios answered the Catholicos with a long letter, the so-called *Photios' letter to Zechariah*, which has been preserved for us only in an Armenian translation. It was also translated into Russian by P. S. Destunis and by the excellent linguist, N. J. Marr, with a prologue by A. I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus. In the 1980s–1990s several scholars expressed serious doubts about the authenticity of *Photios' letter to Zechariah* as well

as of the whole of the above Greek-Armenian correspondence. Foremost among these sceptics is certainly V. A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan (*1994, 1996, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010*).

Her complaints and conclusions indicate that *Photios' Letter to Zechariah* (its author is sometimes called Pseudo-Photios) contains numerous mistakes and interpolations (produced not only by the scribes) and thus could not have been written by Patriarch Photios and his co-workers from the patriarchal office, but is the work of pro-Chalcedonian Armenians. These Armenians not only respected the decisions of the Chalcedon Council but also considered their country part of the Byzantine Empire. They were tolerant in respect to religion, often held high offices in the capital and attempted to mediate in conflicts between the Armenian and the Byzantine Church. While Arutjunova-Fidanjan believed that *Photios' letter* was a rather successful epistolary mystification created by Constantinopolitan Armenians of the Chalcedon confession, other scholars assumed that among the authors of *Photios' Letter to Catholicos Zechariah* were Armenians of the Chalcedon confession who belonged to Photios' diplomatic core. In their opinion Patriarch Photios was the author of the *Letter* (cf. *Juzbašjan 1988*).

In the present contribution, I will attempt to re-analyse this letter from the missionary and diplomatic perspective of Photios and the circle of his co-workers among whom Constantine the Philosopher played an important role.

The paradigm of topicality of Byzantine epistolography has been repeatedly studied (*Carlsson 1962; Darouzes 1960*). Our analysis of *Photios' letter* is, however, based rather on an imminent approach to the text than on general theoretical schemes. From a compositional-semantic point of view, the letter may be divided into six parts with the following content:

1. The introductory part – salutation of the receiver by the sender

This passage takes up no meagre part of the letter; the style is rich in laudatory epithets, which do not at all reflect Byzantine epistolary tradition. The introduction rather resembles the *Praise of Tsar Symeon in the Collection from 1073*. It is possible that, later, this address was polished in a ceremonial “pro-Zechariah” style. The Patriarch of Constantinople is on the other hand presented rather modestly and officially (*Fotij 1892, 228*).

2. A brief summary of the content of Photios’ letter to Catholicos Zechariah

Photios confesses his pleasure that the Armenians, despite a certain hesitation, do not consider themselves Jacobites, that is, disciples of Julian of Halikarnassos, Peter of Antioch or Eutychos, but follow St Gregory the Enlightener, a martyr and spiritual leader for all northern nations. As they obey this excellent teacher they must interpret Holy Scripture in an orthodox and not in an independent and incorrect way.

3. A succinct history of Greek-Armenian ecclesiastical relations

In this part, the Patriarch of Constantinople describes the confessional position of the Armenian Church from the Chalcedon Council until the rule of the son of Emperor Heraclius, Constantine III. Photios stresses the inconstancy, ideological vacillations and turnings of the Armenian clergy away from the true faith. As one of the causes of the above, he considers the translations of the Biblical books into Armenian performed by the so-called “younger translators”, who by their work attacked the conclusions of the Chalcedon Council and mixed the divine and the human nature of Christ in one.

4. The causes of Greek cultural-religious sovereignty

This global title in reality contains four different topics: a) an apology of Greek pagan wisdom, philosophy, grammar and rhetoric; these fields are key to understanding divine revelation; b) the fall of Israel; c) the spread of Christianity and the building of the Christian Church by the apostles and evangelists; the importance of Greeks and the Greek language for the translation and interpretation of Holy Scripture; d) a repudiation of the Jews and the raising of the Greeks to the office of servants of the Gospel.

5. The ecclesiastical councils, heresies and the most famous heresiarchs

6. The language (confession) of the Greek (Nicene) Bishop Oski-Vaan

This is the longest part of *Photios’ letter*. This speech, delivered at the Council of the Armenian Church in Širakavan, which took place from April 25, 862 to April 24, 863, contains various different ecclesiastical agreements and anathemas. In respect to genre, the speech presents a typical example of a hyper-rhetorical “text in text” (*Lotman 1992, 148–161*).

The fourth part of *Photios’ letter* is especially interesting for the purposes of the present study, containing an apology for Greek wisdom and its importance for a profound understanding of Holy Scripture. Compare the passage: “Further we can see that God, already in early times, showed his mercy to our Greek land and that the Holy Spirit, already among the first holy teachers, remained primarily among the Greeks, so that it was they who before the coming of Christ formed another (external) wisdom – an excellent philosophy; they primarily discovered

that there were eight grammatical categories of words and ten different genders with subdivision into various aspects and discovered fourteen categories of the art of rhetoric, by which they (fascinated and) amazed the readers. Thus also today, aiming to better understand the God-inspired books, we are taking over the scholarly writings of the external (non-Christian) Greek sages similar to a blacksmith who takes material from iron ore and a carpenter [who takes his] from a tree [...]” (*Fotij 1892, 232*).

The apology for Ancient Greek culture and secular disciplines clearly does not surprise us in the era of the *Macedonian Renaissance* or *First Byzantine Humanism*, as Paul Lemerle calls it. A similar interest may also be found in the rather conservative hagiographic works of the time, including the *Life of St Theodore the Stoudite*, the *Life of Patriarch Tarasios* or the *Life of Patriarch Nikephoros* (cf. *Lemerle 1971*). The admiration for Greek philosophy and principles goes back to the period of Christian apologists of the 2nd and 3rd century. It is true that the discourse of this apologetic thinking is very ambivalent and closely connected with a strong criticism of Hellenistic seductions and various other Greek sins but it nevertheless forms the basis of the main thought patterns used by Patriarch Photios in his *Letter to Catholicos Zechariah*.

The work of one of the most important representatives of Greek apologetics, Clement of Alexandria (ca. 155–215; *Mejendorf 1985, 79–88; Byčkov 1981, 45–46, 115–120, 136–137, 173–175, 236–242, 271–273; Afonasin 2003*), is characteristic in this respect. His most important work *Stromata* is diverse, covering a number of areas and written in a high though sometimes allegorical artistic style. In his famous work *Bibliotheca*, Photios mentions the inconsistent evaluation of the idea and peculiarities of style in Clement’s writings (*Fotius 2002*). According to Photios, in his work *Protrepitkos (To the Hellenes)* Clement laughs at God and says “incredible stupidities”, in *Paidagogos (Teacher)* he sees on the contrary the expression of a refined and adequately noble style, while in *Stromata* he stresses the anti-pagan and anti-heretic pathos of the author, but along with it the chaos, lack of system and comprehensibility in explaining the material.

In *Stromata* and especially in the first part, Clement of Alexandria several times elaborates on philosophy and generally on the spiritual heritage of the Hellenes. In the second paragraph of the treatise *On the Usefulness of Greek Philosophy* the author replies to his opponents and explains his predilection for the Greeks. His main arguments are: 1) That the Greeks should not be groundlessly condemned, because it is only based on a deep knowledge of the ideas of an opponent that it is possible to build a convincing case against him. 2) The knowledge of some (probably artistic) skills of the Greeks, even though it does not have a practical use, still has a value for the author; here Clement stresses the aesthetic aura of Greek culture. 3) Knowledge of the main pillars of Greek philosophy brings out trust in the reader and a friendly relationship to real teaching.

Clement of Alexandria further mentions a brief historical description of the development of Greek philosophy and its main schools and representatives. At the same time he names two examples from Paul’s letter, in which the Apostle quotes poems by the Ancient Greek poets (*Afonasin 2003, 59; Biblija 1989; Mareš 1958*). In order critically to balance the superlatives connected with Hellenistic philosophy, he also turns to the history

of the barbarian nations and proves that, by scholarly and artistic inventions, these nations managed greatly to outdo the Greeks and that almost all scholarly disciplines originate with them and not with the Hellenes. The barbarians invented philosophy and other sciences and arts; the Chaldeans and Egyptians developed astrology, while the creator of the Greek letters was the Phoenician Kadm; the Etruscans and the Franks designed various types of arms and musical instruments, as was the case with law and literary genres, and even hair dye was first used by a woman from Colchis named Medeia (Afonasin 2003, 66–80).

A similar apologetic-critical ambivalence in the relationship to the input of the Greeks into culture and science, their *charme discret*, also appears in other early Patristic works especially by Tatian of Syria († 175) – in his most important work, the aggressive *Speech to the Greeks* (Tatian 1999).

An analogical ambiguity of the interpretation of the Hellenistic philosophical heritage and the Greek idea in general is also characteristic of Photios' worldview. His correspondence offers sufficient evidence that the patriarch preferred Christian writers to the Ancient Greek authors. Photios' correspondence, however, is certainly voluminous: his *Answers to Amphilochos*, the Metropolitan of Kyzikos in Asia Minor, alone contain answers to 329 questions from all areas of religious and secular fields. In one of these letters, written in the course of the first exile (868–872) and included in the *Answers*, Photios contends with the famous scholar Leo the Mathematician about the quality of Biblical style and about the rhetorical qualities of the Apostle Paul and the Greek rhetoricians. While Leo criticises Biblical style because of frequent pleonasm and considers Paul's rhetoric inferior to that of the Antique authors, Photios zealously defends the stylistic qualities of Scripture and of Paul's letters. A very strong defence of the Epistles of the Apostle Paul, their content, sentiments and forms appears in another letter by Photios addressed to the Metropolitan Gregory of Nikomedia, in which Photios warns Gregory not to overindulge in the style and philosophy of Plato. His main aim was nevertheless to introduce and praise the iconic image of the preacher Paul. A good example is the following passage: "[...] to attempt to describe in thoughts Paul's wisdom is like trying to measure the depth of the sea drop by drop – he (Paul) was not focused on creating beautiful language [...] but rather sought to divest the speech, rid it of all artificiality, in which it was dressed by others, and show it in its natural simplicity, which must have surprised his audience. Thus he brought his readers to such an amazement that they came to consider his speech the rule and model of real art [...] What magnificent ingenuity marks the organisation of many of his chapters! How cleverly he can prepare his readers by his introductions! [...] How skilful are his expressions! How strong his arguments, fruitful his similes, enthymemes and other rhetorical figures [...]" (Fotij 1845); on the conflict of Photios and Leo the Mathematician see Rossejkin (1915, 18).

This letter (in reality this encomium *sui generis* on the Apostle Paul's rhetoric) creates a paradigm for the further spreading of ideas, the prophetic and missionary stereotypes of the behaviour of the Apostle Paul. This "epitome of apostolic features" achieved its greatest heyday in the course of the mission of Constantine the Philosopher and Methodius to Great Moravia witnessed by numerous "Pauline" connotations in the Old Church Slavonic texts and especially in the *Life of Constantine-Cyril* (VC; Velkovska 1981; Picchio 1982). An interesting textological

parallel appears between Photios' apology for Greek pagan wisdom in his *Letter to Catholicos Zechariah* and the quotation from Matthew's Gospel in VC 16 (Mt 5,45)¹, by which Constantine, in the Venetian speech against the Trilingualists, begins his answer to the attack by the opponents of the Slavic script and books at the ecclesiastical council in Venice:

<p>VC 16 Не идеть ли дъжь ѿ ба вѣсе равноИли слнце также не сияет ли на вѣсеИ (Ochridski 1973, 106)</p>	<p><i>Photios' Letter to Zechariah</i> [...] God who commands the sun to shine on the evil and the good and makes the rain fall on the orthodox and sinners. (Fotij 1845, 232)</p>
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In the Russian translation by Florja (1981, 89) this passage runs, "Не идет ли дождь от бога равно на всех, не сияет ли для всех солнце?" It is similarly translated by Josef Vašica (1966) into Czech: "Does not God's rain fall upon all equally? And does not the sun shine also upon all?" The corresponding passage of the oldest Glagolitic Gospel translations says,

ASS.: [...] ѿкоже и слнце свое съветъ на зълъина. и дъждитъ на праведнъина и на неправеднъина; MAR.: [...] ѿкоже слнце свое съветъ на зълъи и благъи и дъждитъ на праведнъи и на неправеднъи; ZOGR.: [...] ѿкоже слнце свое съветъ на зълъи и благъи.

Translated into modern language: "[...] because He causes his sun to rise on the evil and the good and sends rain on the righteous and the unrighteous" (Bible 2008, 1122).

Constantine thus borrowed part of the canonical quotation of the New Testament and transformed it into a shortened syllogism or, in the language of Aristotle's rhetorical theory, in an enthymeme (Aristotel' 1978, 20; Sivriev 2012, 9–10).

The use of the same quotation in *Photios' Letter to Zechariah* and in the *Venetian speech* in VC 16 may reflect the existence of a common source. The ideological focus of the quotation is connected with God's greatness – if the patriarch wished to show that the Greeks quickly and willingly gave up their pagan errors and began to worship the Holy Trinity, Constantine the Philosopher on the other hand celebrates the righteous relationship of God to all people. Similarly the Creator gives naturally to all people the life-giving strength of nature, and also enables the nations without a script to celebrate the Lord in their native language. A similar presupposition rests on a number of places in VC, in which the author or, more probably, Constantine himself clearly expresses the idea of Byzantine imperial hegemony. This hegemony is in full agreement with the apotheosis of Greek cultural superiority expressed in the introduction of *Photios' Letter to Catholicos Zechariah* and with the ideas of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and Byzantine political theory as a whole. Let us remember how the VC formulates these ideas:

In VC 2² Constantine's father, on his deathbed, comforts his wife who is worried about the fate of their son, by pointing

1 *Žitje Konstantina*, ed. Radoslav Večerka, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, p. 106. The translation of passages from Boris N. FLORJA 1981 are published in accordance with relevant passages in the MMFH corpus (translator's note).

2 *Ibidem*, p. 62.

to the Byzantine emperor: "Believe me, my wife, I trust in God that He will give him such a father and protector who takes care of all Christians [...]" (*Florja 1981, 71*).

VC 6³ contains two examples of Greek-Byzantine hegemony:

a) In the first, Constantine counters the accusation of the Arabs that while Jesus paid a tax to the Roman emperor, contemporary Christians pay the tax to the successor of the Roman ruler, the Byzantine emperor, "[...] for we all pay the tax to the Romans." (*Florja 1981, 76*);

b) In the second passage Constantine compares the level of scholarly knowledge of the Arabs with the knowledge of the Greeks and infallibly concludes, "For all arts originate with us." (*Florja 1981, 76*).⁴ It is this claim by Constantine the Philosopher that makes apparent the influence of the above quotation on Photios' apology for Greek culture and learning in his *Letter to Zechariah*.

In VC 8, the Khazar legates come out with the following flowery recognitions of Byzantine sovereignty, "[...] therefore we send to you (ambassadors loyal to) an old friendship and love because you are a great nation and have a realm given to you by God." (*Florja 1981, 177*).⁵

In VC 10, in the course of a discussion with the Jewish scholars in the Khazar Khaganate, Constantine offers in comparison with VC 6 another interpretation of the ideological concept of the "Roman kingdom": the Christian (that is Byzantine) kingdom is not a successor of the Roman kingdom but it is the kingdom of Christ: "(the Roman kingdom) no longer reigns because it passed away like all the others [...]. Is not the Christian kingdom called by the name of Christ while the Romans were devoted to idols?" (*Florja 1981, 81–82*).⁶

The end of VC 11 mentions two statements by highly-placed Khazars which summarise the conclusions of the discussion of Constantine with the Jewish scholars and the Muslims. They celebrate the power of the Byzantine emperor and relay the readiness of the Khazar nobles loyally to serve him:

"Their first counsellor then said [...] to all people: As God gave sovereign wisdom above all nations to the Christian emperor so He also gave faith among them. Outside of it no one can enter eternal life."⁷

And "The khan then wrote the emperor the following letter: You sent to me, O ruler, a man who explained to us the Christian faith with words and facts [...] We are all allies and friends of your empire and are ready to serve you wherever you want." (*Florja 1981, 84–85*)⁸

In these alleged proclamations of the Khazars about their loyalty and subjection to the Byzantine emperor we must see

the proper view of Constantine himself, his teacher Photios and in a wider sense also an expression of Byzantine imperialism. It is interesting that the Byzantine political doctrine that *Byzantium* is the "New Israel", the first formulation of which is ascribed to *Photios' Letter to Zechariah*, does not come up in the VC (for details see *Božilov 1983, 22–24; Rossejkin 1915, 240–250*). At the same time the anti-Jewish polemic mentioned in the chapters of the VC is clearly favourable to this global geopolitical doctrine. This fact therefore leads us to consider the origin of the political theory "Byzantium = New Israel" only based on some parts of *Photios' Letter to Zechariah*. It is interesting that such a first class historical-literary document on the life of the Byzantine Empire as the VC (cf. *Dvorník 1933*) does not contain a mere suggestion of this theory, which is also practically missing in the *Amphilochia*, a work allegedly also prepared by Photios, as well as in the wide correspondence of Photios' faithful student, Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos.

In VC 14, the legates of Moravian Prince Rastislav give Michael III in Constantinople a message ending in words of praise, "For from you always comes the good law into all lands."⁹ In the *Life of Methodius* (VM 5) the Moravian embassy is introduced slightly differently – Rastislav's legates suggest that a number of missionaries from various lands explain to the Moravians the Christian faith in different ways and they cannot put all these interpretations together and therefore ask the emperor, "Therefore, oh good ruler, send us such a man, who will order for us all law" (*Florja 1981, 87, 96*);¹⁰ on the idea of Byzantine hegemony in VC and VM see (*Anastos 1954; 1979, chpt. V*).

Photios' apology for Greek culture in his *Letter to Zechariah* thus found its continuity and political re-incarnation in VC. It is probable that shortly prior to the dispatching of the Thesalonian mission to Moravia, a group of Photios' "missionary workers" turned their intellectual activity into a political one, responding to increasing demands for ecclesiastical-political activity by the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, following political events in central and eastern Europe, in the Caucasus and also in the very capital of the empire.

In the development of the missionary intentions of Patriarch Photios and Constantine the Philosopher, the main creators of this "Slavic" programme, the year 862 was an important one. Several significant events took place, the most significant of them being the dispatching of *Photios' letter to Zechariah*. Probably already then, in connection with the expected arrival of the Great Moravian embassy to Constantinople, preparations began for the sending of a mission to Moravia including precursory works on the Slavic alphabet. After his return from the journey to the Khazars (861), Constantine took up residence in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. Why he did not return along with his brother Methodius to the monastery on Olympus but came to the Holy Apostles remains unclear.¹¹ This church, or more precisely the institutions connected with it, was the residence

3 *Žitije Konstantina*, chap. 6, s. 73.

4 *Ibidem*, p. 74.

5 *Ibidem*, p. 76.

6 *Ibidem*, p. 86–87.

7 *Ibidem*, p. 93.

8 *Ibidem*, p. 94.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 99.

10 *Žitije Mefodija*, ed. R. Večerka, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, p. 144.

11 Scholarly opinions on this question vary. For more details see for example DVORNÍK 1931, pp. 64–65; DVORNÍK 1933, pp. 80–81; DVORNÍK 1950, pp. 108–125; TRENDAFILOV 2010, pp. 32–33; on the other side there are the opinions of LEMERLE 1971, pp. 95–96; OXRIDSKI 1973, p. 153; also FLORJA 1981, p. 123.

In this connection, I would like to point out once more the long quotation from *First Corinthians* (1 Cor 14:5–40) in VC 16²² – specifically its place in the whole collection of Moravian texts (cf. *Daniel-Rops 1982*, 379–380). I will show several similar quotations found in other works from the era of Constantine and Methodius.

Thus for example in the bull of John VIII *Industriae tuae* from June 880, there is also the quotation from 1 Cor 14:4,²³ which is apparently inspired by quotations 14:5–40 from the *Venetian speech*. In the short Apostle (*aprokos*) appear two short quotations from the same chapter in Paul's letter (20–25 and 1–5) and the quotation from chapter 13:11–13. Besides this passage, the passage from the letter mentioned before (1 Cor 14:6–19) was also included in the Old Church Slavonic mass Apostle and was read on the Thursday after the Feast of Pentecost (cf. *Penev 1989*, 315; *Christova Šomova 2004*, 236–237).

All quotations from the group of texts noted above turn around the Apostle, especially verses 14:5–40 of 1 Cor mentioned in VC 16. The first verse (though not all of it) from the thirteenth chapter of this letter by Paul is called the Hymn to Love (verses 1–13); the first verse also appears in the famous *Proglas* (Prologue to the Holy Gospel) by Constantine the Philosopher:²⁴ *ѡко мѣдѣна зѡна гласъ слышите. Proglas* also contains other places which are identical with VC. Let us compare the verses quoted from 1 Cor (14–19: 54) *ѡко словесъ пѣть хошѣтъ издрештѣи да и братѣи въсѣ разумѣютъ, неже тѣмъ словесъ неразумнѣтъ* with the quotation in the *Venetian speech* in VC 16: *нѣ въ цркви ѣ словесъ хошюу змѣи монимъ глѣти, да ины навчю, нежели тѣми словесъ языкомъ*; [...] *but in church I would rather speak five intelligible words to instruct others than ten thousand words in a tongue*. In the *Stěpčany Apostle*, a manuscript from the 12th c., this quotation is closer to *Proglas*: *нѣ въ цркви хошѣтъ пѣть словесъ озмомъ глѣти да инѣтъ навч нежели тѣмъ словесъ жъзыкомъ* (*Penev 1989*, 279).

VC 15²⁵ contains another two quotations which are, in their enthusiastic missionary pathos, almost identical with the quotations from the Prophet Isaiah in 1 Cor: *И ѡбръзаше се, по пррчьскомоу словеси, шшеса глѣхѣи* (Isa 35:5) and *и языкъ ѡсень въ гвгннѣи* (Isa 32:4). The same quotation also appears in the *Praise of Cyril and Methodius* by Clement of Ochrid: *изъяснитѣ пророческы языка гжгннѣа* (*Ochridski 1973*, 426) and the quotation from Isa 29:18 in *Proglas* (*Jakobson 2000*, 110) sounds similar.

All the texts analysed thus confirm that in the period 861–863, a group of texts was being prepared in Constantinople for the use of ecclesiastical-political missions to neighbouring pagan lands or to countries which did not confess Byzantine orthodoxy, focusing on several themes. These missionary texts may have originated among members of the intellectual circle around Patriarch Photios, which included the best pupils of the patriarchal “study group” (ὁ σοφός ἐκεῖνος χορός, literally *our scholarly group*), which met in his house. Photios writes about this group with sincere joy and satisfaction (but also with sadness

over its loss) to Pope Nicholas I in his lengthy letter brought to Rome by the head of the imperial chancellery Leo by the end of summer 861. It is interesting that the teacher devotes much attention not only to the learning of individual members but also to their moral purity:

“When I was at home, it was the greatest joy for me to watch the interest in learning of my pupils, the zeal with which they posed questions, their exercises in rhetoric, by which they learned how to formulate their ideas easily. I was overjoyed to have seen the successes of those who improved their ability to solve mathematical problems, those who perfected their thinking by logical methods and those who by means of theology uplifted their mind into a spiritual state, which is the crown of all knowledge. Such was my permanent home circle. When I left for the imperial court, which was quite often, they followed me with requests that I would not stay there long (I had the privilege to myself decide the time spent at court). On my return, our scholarly circle welcomed me at the gate. Those who, thanks to their exceptional talent, enjoyed my great trust and freedom reproached me for being late; others were content to welcome me and others then deemed it sufficient to express that they were happy to have me come back. Such was the group, the mutual relationships within which were not damaged by defiance, destroyed by envy or dulled by contempt.” (*Rossejkin 1915*, 152–153)

In the period when the letter was written, the members of Photios' former circle were probably already ecclesiastical or secular officials of the state apparatus. Among them, with respect to his diplomatic and scholarly authority, Constantine the Philosopher held an important place, having earlier fulfilled the role of librarian (*chartofylakos*) in the Church of Hagia Sophia, where he took care of the patriarchal archive (*Dvornik 1933*, 49–56). Later he also taught philosophy at the university in the capital and gained no meagre missionary and diplomatic experience.

In respect to the quotations and connected texts introduced above, we may say the following. Said complex of liturgical and educational texts created by the group of scholars around Photios emerged apparently as a specific “language prototype”, which was then adjusted to particular environmental and time conditions, in which it was then used (cf. a basic theoretical treatise about *language prototype* by Uspenskij published in 1965). This “ideal language” was already being utilised in Photios' missionary school and then gradually acquired its final form in Armenia, Russia, Great Moravia, Pannonia, Rome and Venice, not to mention the superlative Slavic-Byzantine synthesis in Bulgaria in the time of King Boris-Michael and Tsar Symeon. The same quotations were used in various texts – for example the quotation from the Matthew Gospel 5:45 was employed by Photios in his *Letter to Catholicos Zechariah*, then Constantine used it in the polemic with the Trilingualists in Venice. Also the author of the VC used an important part of the passage from this polemic in new hagiographical discourse; the hagiographical polemic against the Trilingualists has been preserved in 16 manuscripts after the 16th century (alone or as part of various compilations) as part of the (Old) Russian manuscript tradition (*Ochridski 1973*, 50–57).²⁶ Using the terminology of contemporary epistemology, we can talk about

22 *Žitije Konstantina*, pp. 107–108.

23 *Epistolae*, no. 90, p. 207.

24 The quotes from *Proglas* are taken from the reconstruction by Roman Jakobson (JAKOBSON 2000, p. 111); on the structure and literary specificities of *Proglas* see TOPOROV 1995, p. 19–66.

25 *Žitije Konstantina*, p. 102.

26 Cf. The longest of Constantine's polemics in the VC, the Khazar polemic, was preserved only in 13 copies.

the model and the representation (Vartofskij 1988): “the model alphabet” had already been created and taught in Photios’ “circle” and its mostly literary-book representation was then realised in missionary activity.²⁷

What facts do then witness Photios’ participation in the preparation of texts for future missionaries and diplomats? As testimony we may mention some of Photios’ statements. It is not without interest that they all appear in a work usually called *Amphilochia* written by Photios after he was deprived of the patriarchal seat. The work contains a (perhaps fictitious) dialogue of 329 of Photios’ answers to the questions of Metropolitan Amphilochios from the city of Kyzikos in Asia Minor, which are not systematically ordered in the work. Content-wise they discuss a rather wide circle of problems but three quarters of them are devoted to Biblical exegesis. For our purposes we have selected two of these questions and answers – one of the most difficult questions debated in the iconoclast struggles – that is, which depiction of Christ reflects reality when Greek, Latin, Egyptian and Indian painters paint him in various ways. Photios answers “that the Gospel also exists in various languages, the cross is depicted differently and the feasts are also celebrated in different ways but all this does not preclude their worship”. (Rossejkin 1915, 227).

Photios’ claim that the Gospel exists in various languages is also repeated by Constantine in his polemic against the Trilingualists in Venice (VC 16). The Philosopher enumerates the nations which have a script of their own and celebrate God in their mother tongue – the Armenians, Persians, Abkhazians, Georgians, Sogdians, Goths, Avars, Turses, Khazars, Arabs, Egyptians, Syrians and many others (Florja 1981, 89). It is possible that Photios learned about the existence of Gospel translations made by these nations from a report and narrative of Constantine after his return from the Khazar mission. Constantine’s list has Egypt but not India and we may thus presume that the VC included it among the unspecified “many other nations.” It seems that both Photios and Constantine in this respect built on an older patristic tradition, preserved for example in the homiletic work of the most important eastern Church Father, John Chrysostom:

In the 35th homily dedicated to the *First Letter of Apostle Paul to the Corinthians* (14:15) John Chrysostom writes, “how many different languages are there in the world and none of them is dumb,²⁸ that is many different languages, many dialects of the Scythians, Thracians, Romans, Persians, Maurs, Indians, Egyptians and many other nations [...] (Zlatoust 2005, XII, 1).

In the speech on the homily of John Chrysostom, delivered to the Orthodox Goths in 399 several days after Easter in the Church of the Apostle Paul in Constantinople (following the preaching of a Gothic priest in Gothic). In it, the patriarch claims, “Where is now the teaching of the fishermen and the tent builders? Not only in Judea but also in a foreign language, as we could hear today. It shines brighter than the sun. The Scythians, Thracians, Sauromats (Sarmats), Maurs, Indians, and even the inhabitants of the most distant parts of the world – all those

²⁷ Cf. Constantine’s appellation in Proglas: *присно славите бога прѣвѣмлюстна, кѣнижънами вѣсерадъ писньми...* (JAKOBSON 2000, p. 113)

²⁸ “When I do not know the meaning of the sound (of his speech), I will, for the one speaking, be a foreigner (barbarian) [...] And he will say, Everyone is a barbarian to me and I am to him. – but (he will say it) not because of the nature of his language, but because of our lack of knowledge.”

in the love of wisdom translated into their language the same holy thoughts – the Word of God [...]” (Zlatoust 2005, XII, 1; Kuev 1967, 72, fn. 2).²⁹

Another explanation reflects the deep participation of Photios in the intense missionary activity of the Byzantine Empire, which became known only recently thanks to the study by Alexejev, who in manuscript RNB, Fl.461 with a variant reading in manuscript RGB, col. Rumjanceva, № 28 (both manuscripts come from the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th c.) identified and reprinted the Slavic translation of the 152nd answer of the *Amphilochia* (Aleksseev 2004, 374–378). In it, Photios mentions ten reasons for which the Biblical books contain passages with unclear meaning. According to him, all of these originate in the peculiarity of the Jewish language, which caused a lack of clarity and understanding in the Greek translators. Here are some of them: 1) any language in translation loses its specific likeness; 2) the translators did not discriminate between the synonyms of the Jewish language; 3) some Jewish words in Greek remained untranslated; 4) the orthography of a dot or comma; 5) the differences between the written form and the accent; 6) a lack of distinguishing between the singular and plural form; 7) connecting persons; 8) the disagreement of gender categories; 9) metaphorical use of language as a barrier preventing understanding of Holy Scripture; 10) the Jewish text is written using symbols not understandable to foreigners; it is interesting that the last point only appears in the published Old Church Slavonic translation of the manuscript, not in Photios’ Greek original of the *Amphilochia* (Aleksseev 2004, 375–377).

Questions of the translation methodology of Biblical texts apparently played a great role in the translation work of Photios’ circle and it is probable that this answer from the *Amphilochia* reflects his observation while working with the Jewish-Greek translations of Holy Scripture, as well as discussions he had with his pupils. These then appear in the views of the first Slavic theoreticians of translation. According to Vaillant (1948), *Hilferding’s Macedonian Cyrillic Letter* (dated to the 10th–12th c.), part of a tract by Constantine-Cyril, was preserved depicting the art of translation, which indicates that the Philosopher knew the Syrian Nestorian translation of the Gospels. Constantine’s views and examples used in the *Hilferding Letter* obviously influenced the theory of translation of John Exarches, which the Bulgarian formulated in his prologue to the translation of the *Theology* by John of Damascus (Matchauzerova 1976, 29–37; Dobrev 1981). In it, John pays much attention to the disagreement of gender categories in translations between different languages and cites the examples he needs to make his point. The primary impulse for the formulation of the grammatical opinions of this Old Bulgarian scholar may have been the identical passage in Photios’ work (Aleksseev 2004, 377). By further comparison of the passage by Photios with other Cyrillo-Methodian and Preslav texts (especially the tract of Gregory Choiboskos *On Poetic Figures* included in the collection from 1073) would certainly shed further light on the grammatical and translatorial concepts of the first Slavic literary scholars.

The above analysis thus shows that both *Photios’ letter to the Catholicos of Great Armenia Zechariah* and the

²⁹ These examples, along with others, less particular ones, were gathered by J. VELIKOV (2010, pp. 202–204).

missionary work of Constantine the Philosopher resulted from the work of a team of scholars around the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Photios. This group, however, was in reality only continuing in the tradition of the original Photian “educational circle”, which not only had an educational function but also created a united prototypical language for the political or missionary needs of the Byzantine Empire. Part of the concept of this language prototype was also the alphabet, Glagolitic, which 1,150 years ago was created and brought along to Great Moravia by the Thessalonian brothers, Constantine-Cyril and Methodius.

Abbreviations

ASS: *Evangeliarum Assemani. Codex Vaticanus. 3 slavicus glagoliticus*, Tomus II, ed. J. VAJS – J. KURZ, Pragae 1955.

MAR: *Pamjatnik glagoličeskoj pis'mennosti, Mariinskoe evangelie, s primečanjami i priloženijam*, ed. I. JAGIČ, Graz 1960.

ZOGR: *Quattour Evangeliorum Codex Glagoliticus*, ed. V. JAGIČ, Graz 1954.

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SLAVIC LITURGY IN GREAT MORAVIA AND ITS HYMNOGRAPHIC COMPONENTS

Marija Jovčeva

Matters concerning the use of hymnography in the practice during the Moravian Mission are discussed in the context of more general problems regarding the Slavonic liturgy performed by Cyril and Methodius and their disciples. Apart from data from the literary and documentary sources, a number of general philological, literary and liturgical considerations are also reviewed. In this report, I concur with the opinion expressed mainly by liturgists that the cultural, historical and liturgical situation in the Western Slavonic lands does not suggest the presence of hymnographic offices in Slavonic. In the light of this concept, the report discusses the origin of a number of non-translated hymnographic works (mainly offices, celebrating Slavonic or more rarely Western saints), which, in various publications, refer to the Moravian period of the activities of Cyril and Methodius and their disciples.

Key words: Great Moravian Mission of Cyril and Methodius, Slavonic liturgy in Great Moravia, Byzantine and Slavonic hymnography, cult of Sts Cyril and Methodius

Slavic Liturgy in the period of the Great Moravian mission in the light of Cyrillo-Methodian sources

Issues related to the use of hymnography in the period of the Great Moravian mission are connected primarily with the explanation of the use of the liturgy practised in the West by Constantine, Methodius and their disciples. The dilemma concerns not only the question of whether the ritual was of Byzantine or Latin origin; other particular questions emerge, such as, "If the Thessalonian brothers followed the Byzantine liturgical tradition, which form of celebration did they practise – the monastic, in which hymnography plays the central role, or the cathedral?"¹ The same question comes up in connection with the Latin ritual, which also had a number of local variations. A century of research tradition accumulated a solid amount of literature, which, however, contains diverse and sometimes contrasting views or evaluations.² The researchers' argumentation stands on the following sources: information known from the Cyrillo-Methodian documents, textological evidence (the use of specific expressions and western Slavic elements of lexical and other linguistic kinds in some liturgical texts), and finally indirect data and ideas of cultural-historical, canonical and liturgical character. In respect to the vastness of the topic and the diversity of relevant data, the present contribution focuses only on selected aspects of the chosen theme related to liturgy and the specificities of hymnography, as areas which have so far been bypassed by previous studies on the liturgy introduced by the Thessalonian brothers in Great Moravia. The present article, on the other hand, ignores questions connected with the linguistic specificities of the vocabulary and phraseology of the oldest hymnic texts, because the sporadic appearance of "Moravisms", or better "Pannonisms", is also typical

of a number of original or translated works of the pupils of Cyril and Methodius, while the location of many lexemes of this group is even today subject to discussion.³ Modern scholarship interprets the presence of the above elements in both the translated and original texts, which appeared in Bulgaria after 886, as a heritage of the Moravian-Pannonian period of the development of the Medieval Slavic literary language (*Dobrev 1993*, 108–109).⁴ This interpretation seems the more probable because the rare occurrences of western Slavic dialect are typical especially of Biblical, hymnic and homiletic texts and their use here may be considered a stylistic element of the language of the representatives of the "high genres" of mediaeval literature. The only hymnographic text considered of western Slavic origin, the *Prague Glagolitic Fragments*, contains (in comparison with the archaic Bulgarian copies of the same text) later innovations, and it is therefore problematic to connect it directly with the Great Moravian Cyrillo-Methodian tradition (*Jovčeva 2001a*, 51–72).

In respect to the topic in hand, the most valuable sources are the works devoted to the Slavic apostles, Cyril and Methodius, along with documents produced by the Papal chancery. Even here, however, scholars struggle with significant problems, mainly due to the unclear dating of some important texts, their

³ See J. RUSEK 1969, pp. 150–156; G. POPOV 1985, p. 144; I. DOBREV 1993, pp. 108–111; R. STANKOV 2006a, pp. 29–52; R. STANKOV 2006b, pp. 261–287; R. STANKOV 2008, pp. 40–70 and others.

⁴ These elements include for example the double use of the adjective *КРИЖИНА* in the great acrostic from the cycle of Bishop Constantine of Preslav for the days of the Great Fast, or the western form of the word *розьство* in the acrostic from the cycle of the six triodia for the pre-feast of Christmas by Clement of Ochrid (cf. G. POPOV 1985, 144). There are also the examples from the texts, the translation of which can hardly be connected with the translation efforts of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, including the cycle of their western Slavic followers such as *АВУЮТЬ* of the translation canon for St Barbara (December 4), *НАРАЛО А ВРАТРИНЕ* in the translation *troparia* of the *Oktoechos*. Reminders about the adherents of trilingual dogma, the scattering of the herd by the heretics, persecution by their opponents and others also appear in the texts created in Bulgaria soon after the arrival of the Slavic apostles' pupils, when memories of the Great Moravian mission were still fresh. According to the opinion of others they reflect the situation in Bulgaria under Prince Vladimir-Rasate (889–893). Some of these reflections of a general character (depicting the hardships and persecution of the author or authors) represent a stable *topos* of the language of Byzantine hymnic texts written by the iconodules in the iconoclast period (cf. For example K. NICHORITIS 2003, pp. 36–45).

¹ On two basic types of the Byzantine liturgy see M. SKABALLANOVIČ 1995, pp. 372–410; R. TAFT 2003; A. PENTKOVSKIJ 2004, pp. 380–386 I use the term "Slavic liturgy" conditionally, as from the perspective of historical liturgy such a type does not exist; for the purposes of the present study it denotes liturgy celebrated in Old Church Slavonic.

² For a bibliographic overview see A. PENTKOVSKIJ 1998, pp. 36–39; S. TEMČIN 2004, pp. 19–20; G. POPOV 2003, pp. 401–403; K. STANČEV 2008, pp. 89–94.

presupposed mutual influence, the late production of the oldest manuscripts of the two basic hagiographic works, the *Vita Cyrilli* (hereafter *VC*) and the *Vita Methodii* (hereafter *VM*),⁵ or the double meaning and diplomatic character of the vocabulary, to name a few. Further complications stem from the difference between the western and eastern liturgical tradition and the relevant terminology as well as the multiple meanings of the word *service* (служба): Greek ἀκολουθία; Old Church Slavonic послѣдование, служба. In customary eastern Orthodox Old Church Slavonic or Church Slavonic practice this word depicts, in a narrow sense, hymnographic service, as well as euchological order of the sacraments and rituals, but also the Eucharistic liturgy (Λειτουργία, Θεία; *Eyaggelos* 1966, 179–195), which is, unlike the hymnic service, also possible outside the church and the daily liturgical cycle.⁶ In a wider sense the term *service* is applied to liturgy in general, describing the systematic order of all texts of the daily liturgical cycle (*Mpekatwros* 1962, 1217–1221; *Jovčeva* 2003, 671–676).

Interpretations of the hagiographic testimonies in the volume of the translations of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius produced in the course of their mission to the western Slavs best demonstrate the variety of perspectives on the topic under discussion: въскорѣ же възъ црѣквными чини прѣемъ (in other transcriptions прѣложъ, прѣдложи, приложъ) и науучи къ зѣрнници, и часовнымъ (in other copies годинамъ), обѣднѣи. и вѣрнни. и павѣрнници, и таниги службу (VC, chpt. XV); да възъ оучити, ѡкоже есте просили, съказаа кзники възъ ѡзъикъ вашъ по въсеому црѣквному чину испълнъ, и съ сѣго мзшею, рекъше съ службою, и крщениемъ (*VM*, chpt. VIII), cf. also избранными службами црѣквными съ философъ прѣложи прѣвѣе (*VM*, chpt. XV); и науучыша оученики црѣквному чину испълнъ (*ECM*)⁸. Gošev, Kujev, and Temčín propose a literal explanation of the passages quoted, particularly of the phrases “selected church services” as well as the mention of the translation of “the whole ecclesiastical order” (the whole complex of liturgical books). They, however, disagree on the amount of Slavic hymns used by Constantine-Cyril and Methodius in the Liturgy in Old Church Slavonic. Gošev presents the most embracing view, according to which the translations of three basic hymnic collections, the *Menaion*, *Triodion* and *Oktoechos*, were translated in Great Moravia. At the same time he adds that, due to the sporadic preservation of Byzantine liturgical books from this period, it is difficult to be exact about their content (*Gošev* 1937–1938, 56–77)⁹. Temčín formulates

about the existing of missionary Slavic Orthodox liturgy during the Mediaeval ages, with the reservation that in Byzantine studies that type of liturgical rite has not been defined and researched yet. In connection with the inauguration of liturgical practice by Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, a general liturgical collection was compiled in Great Moravia, which contained according to Temčín’s reconstruction selected services from the *Pentecostarion*, *Oktoechos* and the *Feast Menaion* (*Temčín* 2004, 20–39). In contrast, Christian Hannick clarifies the connection *избранные церковные службы* as a reference to the translation of *Heirmologion*, or collections of hymns, which served as models for the canon *troparia*, described in the Byzantine sources also as ἀκολουθία (*Hannick* 2006, 405–413).¹⁰

In respect to the use of the Slavic version of the hymnic book complex in Great Moravia, most scholars have come up with different explanations.¹¹ Kodov purposely focuses on enumerating “all the ecclesiastical order” in *VC* (chpt. XV), because it is the only one from among the quotes mentioned with a direct connection to the wider monastic liturgy. In his commentaries on the publication of this text (*VC*), he expresses doubt as to the authenticity of the given quote and stresses that it is equivocal. Simultaneously he adds that the same passage *избранные церковные службы* in *VM* (chpt. XV) is more comprehensible in respect to meaning. According to the interpretation of the Bulgarian scientist the question is about different elements of the Euchologion – a basic book for Byzantine empire at the time discussed, containing the Eucharist, the sacraments and other liturgical rituals and prayers.¹² He is joined in his opinion by Stančev, who in support of this hypothesis mentions as a parallel to this text *весь церковный чин*, a testimony of the order of the order of the daily cycle services from the newly discovered part of the *Sinai Glagolitic Euchologium* (*Stančev* 2008, 88–91). He also includes arguments for another possible interpretation of the quote from *VC*: Constantine-Cyril translated neither the ecclesiastical order nor the whole collection of liturgical books (including the hymnography) but only explained the liturgical order to his Moravian pupils in Slavic; such explanations were based on the Gospels, Apostle, the Psalter, several basic prayers and others. The interpretation that the quoted text depicts not a translation of liturgical books but an explanation of liturgy is further supported by Stančev’s analysis of lexical variations in the excerpt *всем церковном чине* (*VC*, chpt. XV) (see above), and also by the analysis of the letters of Pope Hadrian II (*VM*, chpt. VIII) from the perspective of verb semantics, describing the purpose of Methodius’ journey to the western Slavs.¹³

The arguments for a considered hypothesis on a translation of the order of the euchological rituals by Constantine-Cyril and Methodius may also be complemented by the liturgical terms used in *VC* and *VM*, which characterise the activity of Slav missionaries in the course of the Great Moravian mission. It is symptomatic that in the *VM* the word *служба* appears, beside

5 Abbreviations: *VM* = *Vita Methodii*; *VC* = *Vita Cyrilli*; *ECM* = *Eulogy of Sts Cyril and Methodius*; see *Kliment Ochridski. S’brani s’činenija*, 1, ed. B. Angelov – K. Kuev – Ch. Kodov, Sofija 1970, pp. 468–475, 485–491; *Kliment Ochridski. S’brani s’činenija*, 3, ed. B. Angelov – Ch. Kodov, Sofija 1973, 89–119, 185–195.

6 Cf. The title *Liturgy of St Basil* in the Euchologium RNB, Sof. 525 (13th cent.): служба сѣго вачинна (according to *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského [Dictionary of the Old Church Slavonic Language]*, 2006, p. 120); cf. also the traditional book title containing euchological, that is, prayer services: *Ευχολόγιον το μέγα, περιέχον τας των επτά μυστηρίων ακολουθίας, τας των χειροτονιών τάξεις, κατά την εν το αρχιερατικώ ερμηνείαν την τε των εκκαινίων του ναού ακολουθίαν, και τας τε άλλας ακολουθίας και ευχάς ...* (Venice 1869) / *Ευχολογιον, αλλο μωλιτвословъ или тревникъ, нмѣа в себѣ церковнаа разлнчнаа послѣдованіа, теренима подовающаа ...* (Kiev 1646).

7 Cf. The traditional name for a book including instructions on all texts from the daily liturgical service: *Ωρολόγιον το μέγα, περιέχον άπασαν την ανήκουσαν αυτώ Ακολουθία, κατά την τάξιν της Ανατολικής του Χριστού Εκκλησίας ...* (Venice 1832) / *Удословъ съ вѣмъ сѣмъ, вѣдѣржаи послѣдованіе по чини свѣтлхъ іерархичхъ и чєстнхъ монастырей ...* (Moscow 2001).

8 B. ANGELOV – K. KUEV – Ch. KODOV 1970, p. 472; B. ANGELOV – Ch. KODOV 1973, pp. 105, 189, 191. On the interpretation of the given passages see the notes by Kodov (B. ANGELOV – Ch. KODOV 1973, pp. 155–156), Florja (B. FLORJA 1981, pp. 129–130, 152–154), and also the bibliography quoted by them.

9 On this period of the development of Byzantine liturgical books see VELKOVSKA 2002, pp. 232–233, R. TAFT 2003, pp. 74–75; A. PENTKOVSKIJ 2006, pp. 493–494; A. NIKIFOROVA 2012, pp. 17–138.

10 A.M. Bruni shares the view that Constantine-Cyril and Methodius translated various Greek *akoluŕje* (collections of imoses), A. M. BRUNI 2008, pp. 310–311.

11 For an overview of the most important hypotheses regarding the number of hymnic books translated by Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, including a bibliography, see ČIFLJANOV 1972–1973, pp. 228–245; G. POPOV, 2003, pp. 401–403; K. STANČEV 2008, pp. 89–94.

12 Cf. the notes of Kodov in B. ANGELOV – Ch. KODOV 1973, pp. 155–156; for more details on this book see B. ČIFLJANOV 1985, pp. 646–647; M. ŽELTOV 2008, pp. 699–700.

13 See especially the passage: *ДА ВЪЗ ОУЧИТЬ ... СЪКАЗАА КЪНИЖИ ВЪ ѡЗЪИКЪ ВАШЪ* (*VM*, chpt. VIII), see K. STANČEV 2008, pp. 89–94.

the passage “on selected church services” (chpt. XV) another four times, in three cases only in the collocation *съ стѣю мѣшю, рекъше съ службуоу* (chpt. VIII), *да не поють мѣша, рекъше службуи* (chpt. X); *стѣо петра мѣши приближающе са, рекъше службуѣ* (chpt. XI; *Angelov – Kodov 1973*, 189). Although the last example from chpt. XI may be convincingly explained as using the expression *мѣша* in the general sense of “feast, commemoration of the saints”,¹⁴ the passage in the above document seems to suggest an equivalence in meaning of the expression *служба* with the term *liturgy* (in the sense of eucharistic order).¹⁵ In place of this contextually-limited lexeme *служба*, the Latinism *мѣша* (that is, liturgy) also describes the liturgical practice enacted by Methodius: *да на мѣши първѣне ѹтѣють апъ лъ и евангѣлие* (*VM*, chpt. VIII).¹⁶ This line of argument includes the appearance of the word *служба* in the phrase describing the burial rite of Methodius: *службою црѣвнуюю ... сътврѣниша* (*VM*, chpt. XVII),¹⁷ which clearly suggests one of the rites is present also as part of the *Euchologion*. The same situation appears in *VC*, the anonymous author of which nevertheless used the Eastern Orthodox term, which witnesses not the performance of any liturgical ritual but precisely of the Liturgy of the Eucharist. For example the kind of liturgy performed by the Slavic delegation in various Rome cathedrals (*VC*, chpt. XVII) is hinted at by the triple appearance of the phrase (свѣтоую) литургию, while the term *служба* is in this document used in a stable collocation, the meaning of which is obvious: *танѣи службуѣ* (*VC*, chpt. XV).¹⁸ The depiction of how Methodius, on completion of the translation of the Biblical books, celebrated the Feast of St Demetrios may be interpreted in a similar way: *стѣе възношение танѣе съ клиросъмъ своимъ възнесъ* (*VM* chpt. XV).¹⁹ Clearly, the given text reflects the central Eucharistic prayer of the liturgy (Greek ἀναφορά; OCS *възношение*).²⁰ In the bulls of Popes John VIII and Steven V the terms describing Methodius’ liturgical practice performed in the Slavic language use the lexemes connected with reading and preaching the texts of the Scripture or depicting various rites (cf.: „*missas cantes in barbara [...] sacra missarum sollempnia celebrares, predicare vero aut sermonem in populo facere [...] et in eadem lingua Christi domini nostri preconia et opera enarrantur; [...] sive missas in eadem Sclavinica lingua canere sive sacrum evangelium vel lectiones divinas novi et veteris testamenti bene translatas et interpretatas legere aut alia horarum officia omnia psallere [...] Missas et sacratissima illa ministeria [...] Divina autem officia et sacra mysteria ac missarum sollempnia*”) with the exception of the passage *alia horarum officia omnia* in the letter

of Pope John VIII to Svatopluk (880).²¹ The last passage reflects at first sight the phrase *весь церковный чин* in *VC* but if we consider the presupposition of Vajs that in his final years Methodius apparently turned to the Latin or better to the Roman rite (*Vajs 1913*, 483–496),²² the passage mentioned rather witnesses his use of the Breviary (the Book of hours).²³ These observations may be accompanied by the question of the context of the six appearances with the verb *пѣти* registered in the hagiographic texts under scrutiny. Besides denoting the psalmody, this verb described the genre characteristic of hymnography. Four examples depict the Divine Liturgy (three of which appear in the text describing the liturgical order performed by the Slavic delegation in Rome): *пѣше ... стѣоу литургиѣ* / *пѣше литургию* / *пѣше ...* (*VC*, chpt. XVII), *да не поють мѣша* (*VM*, chpt. X), one is found in the burial ceremony of Constantine-Cyril: *пѣти на нѣмъ и сътворити пробождѣние емѣ* (*VC*, chpt. XVIII), and one, with an obscure interpretation since the depiction of the place is a common cliché of psalmody (the singing of Psalms in recitative form or melodic declamation), was registered in the text describing the service of the Slavic apostles and their pupils in the Rome cathedral of the Apostle Paul: *въсоу нѣщѣ пѣше, славословеце словенскы* (*VC*, chpt. XVII).²⁴

Besides the above opinions of Kodov and Stančev and the information of the source quoted, the interpretation of both places from *VC*, chpt. XV and *VM*, chpt. XV finds confirmation in the character of the structure and the text of a number of sacraments and rituals from archaic Old Church Slavonic manuscripts (e.g. burial and confessional rites, the collection of prayers), in which scholars perceive the influence of the Western Church tradition.²⁵ However, the generally rather complicated question of the translation of the *Euchologion* is not related to the chosen topic because euchological rituals of the mid-9th century usually did not include hymnography,²⁶ also absent in the Divine Liturgy in its proper sense.²⁷

The idea of Kodov is further modified by the works of Čifljanov (*Čifljanov 1972–1973*, 224–385), who comments on the role of hymnography as an important part of the Byzantine monastic rite. Čifljanov enquires into the acceptability of its practice in the lands under Papal jurisdiction and notes the Western Church’s negative view of the use of non-Biblical poetic texts set to music in liturgy (*Čifljanov 1972–1973*, 245).²⁸ Čifljanov

14 According to the commentary of Florja (B. FLORJA 1981, p. 162).

15 See the translation into present-day standard Bulgarian: “*мѣса, сиреч литургия*”, “*цѣомъ наблѣжи мѣсата, сиреч служба на св. Петър*” (B. ANGELOV – Ch. KODOV 1973, p. 201). Besides others, it is also worth noting that these explanations of the glossary character mention the appearance of *VM* in the Orthodox environment; the western Slavs were well acquainted with the word *мѣша*.

16 B. ANGELOV – Ch. KODOV 1973, p. 189; in translation into the present-day standard Bulgarian language: “*на литургията апостолът и евангелието да се четат първои...*” (*Ibidem*, p. 200).

17 B. ANGELOV – Ch. KODOV 1973, p. 192; in translation into the present-day standard Bulgarian language: “*отслужиха погребална служба*” (*Ibidem*, p. 203).

18 B. ANGELOV – Ch. KODOV 1973, pp. 105, 108.

19 B. ANGELOV – Ch. KODOV 1973, p. 191.

20 Such semantics of the word in the same context appear also in Josef KURZ – Zoe HAUPTOVÁ (red.), *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského – Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae* [Dictionary of the Old Church Slavonic Language], vol. 1, p. 293; cf. also the appearances of this Old Church Slavonic term in the oldest *euchologia* of *Ibidem*, vol. 1, pp. 293–294; Emilie BLÁHOVÁ, *Recko-staroslověnský index* [The Greek-Old Church Slavonic Index], vol. 1/6, p. 339.

21 J. DUJČEV 1960, pp. 168–169, 175–176 (from the letters of John VIII), pp. 291–292 (from the letters of Stephen V).

22 Stančev complements the ideas of F. Dvorník and admits that Constantine-Cyril and Methodius had to take into account the liturgical practice of the western rite and also taught it in Old Church Slavonic to their pupils (K. STANČEV 2008, pp. 93–94).

23 See A. TKAČENKO 2003, pp. 223–229; cf. the name of the book: *Liturgia horarum iuxta ritum romanum. Officium divinum ex decreto Sacrosancti Oecumenici Concilii Vaticani II instauratum auctoritate Pauli papae VI promulgatum*. Vaticana 1971–1972.

24 B. ANGELOV – Ch. KODOV 1973, pp. 108–109, 190; in translation into present-day standard Bulgarian: “*да не служат литургия / отслужиха ... литургия*”, “*да пѣят над него и да му направят погребение*”, “*и пяха цѣла ноц, като славословеха [Бога]*” (*Ibidem*, pp. 140, 141, 201).

25 On archaic elements and traces of the influence of the Western Church tradition in the euchological rituals see the summary and bibliography in B. PENKOVA – M. CIBRANSKA 2003, pp. 604–616; M. JOVČEVA – M. DIMITROVA 2009, pp. 160–170.

26 Cf. for example one of the oldest Greek copies *Vat. Barb.* 336, end of the 8th c. (S. PARENTI – E. VELKOVSKA 1995).

27 According to Strunk the specific hymns of the cherubim song type cannot be added to *trparia*, that is, hymnography in the proper sense (O. STRUNK 1977b, p. 268); on the character and musical interpretation of the individual components of the Asmatic liturgy see O. STRUNK 1977a, pp. 112–150.

28 See M. SKABALLANOVIČ 1910, p. 338; G. POPOV 2012, pp. 103–104.

therefore explains the phrase *весь церковный чин* as a reference to a specific liturgy of the Great Constantinopolitan Church of St Sophia, the so-called Cathedral (*Asmatic*) liturgy (Čiřljanov 1972–1973, 243–245). Based on the above arguments, hymnography could be excluded from Old Church Slavonic texts of the Moravian period because the *Asmatic* (or Cathedral) liturgy has a limited number of hymnic genres and as the “*Synaxarion* (*Typikon*) of the Great Church”²⁹ witnesses, in the period of post-iconoclast hymnography they disappear altogether (Pentkovskij 2006, 492–493). Even though singing has an important place in this liturgical practice, it includes in particular the poetry of Biblical character especially the antiphons (from the Psalter), the Psalms and other Old Testament texts accompanied by special short refrains, which may conditionally be called proto-hymnography because they have no function of their own. The opinion of Čiřljanov is also shared by Christova-Šomova, who also considers the information from the manuscript calendars of the south-Slavic apostles of the 11th–14th centuries, in which many of the local Constantinopolitan feasts are often bound with a layer of unique western commemorations inherited from the period of the Thessalonian brothers’ mission among the western Slavs (Christova-Šomova 2012, 54–59). The argument against the introduction of the above *Asmatic* liturgy may nevertheless be criticised in the following way. As such a liturgy is emblematic for the metropolis of the Empire, creating an image of the splendour and power of the imperial city, its elites and Church,³⁰ we may enquire how well such a liturgy could be practised in the specific circumstances of Great Moravia at the time of the mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius.

This line of consideration of the liturgical books translated by the Thessalonian brothers is complemented by the interpretation of the relevant passages of papal correspondence from the perspective of the diplomatic etiquette by Peri (Peri 1988, 9–69). The author notes that the idea of the possible use of the Slavic language in the liturgy included in the letter of Pope John VIII to Svatopluk does not depict any permission of such a practice. A careful reading of these notes most probably reveals only an authorisation of Biblical readings in Slavic (Peri 1988, 45–51, 56–69). Besides, as the documents indicate, Cyril and Methodius had neither the necessary permissions nor did they have the holy order enabling them to initiate the Byzantine rite into practice (Peri 1988, 49). The line of Peri’s thought is further pursued by Pentkovskij, who studied the practice of so-called double readings (in Latin or Greek and in Slavic) tolerated by the Latin and the Byzantine Churches, and concluded that the liturgy was delivered either in Latin according to the Latin rite (or the rite of the Roman Church), or, with certain reservations, in Greek according to the Byzantine rite, while only the Gospel and Apostle lectionary and sermons could be read in Slavic (Pentkovskij 1998, 37–39). The circle of hypotheses on the idea that the hagiographic sources do not contain unassailable proofs of translation of the hymnic services also fits the new interpretation of the “selected church services” (*VM*, chpt. XV) suggested by Stančev. Based on the use of the term *service* in its wider meaning of “liturgy”,

Stančev considers the text of the passage as an explanation of the preceding note about the translation of the Gospel with the Apostle: *ЕВАНГЕЛІЕ СЪ АПЪЛЪМЪ И ИЗВЪРАНЪИМИ СЛОУЖЬБАМИ ЦРЪВЪИИМИ СЪ ФИЛОСОФЪМЪ ПРЪБЛОЖИЪ ПРЪВЪИЕ*. With respect to this explanation, Stančev does not exclude the possibility that the expression may have been used by the author of the *Vita* to mark notified calendar rubrics about the Gospel and Apostle lectionaries for the immovable feasts.³¹

The argumentation for the absence of hymnography in Great Moravia is broadened by arguments of an Church law and liturgical character offered by Pentkovskij. The Russian scholar analyses the question in hand in the context of the systematic study of Slavic liturgical tradition. Firstly, as Pentkovskij highlights, if we consider the Byzantine liturgy as an organised system of varied texts, in which the individual elements of the hymnic service have their own constant place, it is evident that the practice of the hymnic liturgical part requires a regular performing of monastic ritual in Slavic, that is, a Slavic version of the complex texts of the daily, weekly and yearly cycle is necessary (Pentkovskij 2007, 16). Secondly, the performance of the Byzantine monastic liturgy requires an independent state possessing an independent ecclesiastic structure and also a Slavic ecclesiastic hierarchy (Pentkovskij 2007, 20). The presupposition of the existence of a limited number of hymnic texts in the period of the Great Moravian mission is also shared by Bulgarian scholars Popov and Jovčeva (Popov 2012, 103–104; Jovčeva 2009, 103–105).

In wider context, M. Spasova focuses on the volume and character of the corpus of Slavic liturgical texts created in Great Moravia. In respect to the cultural and historical context and specificity of literary and manuscript production as a result of intellectual activity, Spasova considers the existence of more important translation activity in the western Slavic territory as disputable. In her opinion, a number of elements are missing which are necessary to create the conditions for intense translation activity in the mediaeval period such as, for example, the financial and official protection offered by the ruler and the state, who would also secure the organisation of literacy-fostering schools, the foundation and functioning of the scriptoria, the existence of Greek books to be translated, satisfy the necessity of enough highly educated and excellently trained interpreters (Spasova 2005, 110–114).

Original Slavic hymnography in Great Moravia

The second large group of questions related to the topic under discussion are those connected with the genesis of the individual original (not translated) Slavic (hymnic) services. Most scholarly opinions speak for a Moravian origin of the *Service in honour of Constantine-Cyril*, (with a canon for the fourth mode), *Service in honour of St Methodius* (with the *Canon of Clement of Ochrid*), *Methodius’ Canon for St Demetrius of Thessalonike* and also the common *Canon for Sts Cyril and Methodius*.³² There are also other opinions presupposing a wider circle of texts created in Great Moravia, among which for example Kožuxarov also adds the *Canon for the Apostle Andrew* called *Protokletes* by Naum of Ochrid,

29 Besides short hagiographic texts for immovable feasts, the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* also contains a lectionary index of New and Old Testament readings for the yearly movable and immovable cycle of liturgy, and also some other typicon rubrics.

30 Cf. M. SKABALLANOVIČ 1910, pp. 373–374; TAFT 2003, pp. 31–48, 62–93.

31 Cf. K. STANČEV 2008, pp. 88–89. As parallels, the author mentions identical captions from the oldest Gospel manuscripts.

32 Summary and bibliography see G. POPOV 2003, pp. 401–403.

the composition of which Kožucharov connects with the stay of Constantine-Cyril, Methodius and their pupils in Rome in 868 and with the preformed service by themselves in the church dedicated to the said apostle (cf. VC, chpt. XVII; *Kožucharov 1984*, 3–19).

A study by Turilov introduces the largest number of hymnic works of West Slavic origin. The scholar claims that Slavic hymnic production in Great Moravia was of occasional character and places in this era a number of untranslated services dedicated to the patrons of the mission and the ecclesiastical diocese of Archbishop Methodius (St Demetrius of Thessalonike; the Finding of the Relics of St Clement, Pope of Rome), to the western saints (St Apollinarius of Ravenna; the Translation of the Relics of St Stephen, and St. Stephen I, Pope of Rome; St Alexios, the Man of God; St Vitus), for the Slavic apostles (St Cyril, two anonymous canons, and St Methodius, two canons; *Turilov 2006*, 495). The Moravian attribution of many of the above services mentioned by the author, however, does not take into account the opinion of the discoverers of these services, who place their origin in the period of the work of the pupils of Cyril and Methodius in Bulgaria.³³

In order to shed light on the period and place of composition of the services for Sts Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, it is necessary to consider first the liturgical situation in Great Moravia and, secondly, the questions connected with the form and period of canonisation of the Slavic apostles, more particularly with the emergence of the texts aimed at church celebration of them, because the performing the service in the temple is in essence a realisation of the canonisation itself. Most publications give priority to arguments of the second group and perceive the composition of the hymnic texts for Sts Cyril the Philosopher and Methodius mainly in the context of the emergence of the cult of these saints.³⁴ Although overall knowledge of the possibility of a later dating of the Service for St Cyril has been in existence since the earliest era of research in mediaeval Slavic studies, most scholars insist that the saint's name had already been introduced into the liturgical calendar in the Moravian-Pannonian period, on which occasion the relevant hymnic texts were composed too.³⁵ Considering the specificity of the liturgical poetry, it is necessary to make clear that even if the Slavic apostle Cyril was canonised (or beatified)³⁶ shortly after his death, it does not follow that his memory would have been celebrated by a hymnic service in public liturgy. In this

33 See for example: M. JOVČEVA 2001b, pp. 21–44 (on the Service for the Translation of the Relics of St. Stephen, the First Martyr, and St. Stephen I, Pope of Rome); M. JOVČEVA 2002, pp. 17–32 (on the Service for St. Apollinarius of Ravenna); F. SAVOVA 2003, pp. 3–12 (on the Service for St. Alexios, Man of God); for arguments on the origin of other services see: G. POPOV 2001, pp. 15–24 (on the Service for St Andrew of Naum of Ohrid); M. JOVČEVA 2011, pp. 159–174 (on the Service for Sts Vitus, Modestos, and Criscentia) and others.

34 For the summary and bibliography see K. NICHORITIS 1990, pp. 39–48; B. MIRČEVA 2001, pp. 28–38; G. POPOV 2003, pp. 652–666.

35 On the canonisation of Constantine-Cyril see R. POPTODOROV 1995, pp. 220–221. The opinion of a western Slavic origin of the service with some minimal differences is upheld by A. Gorskiĭ, A. Sobolevskij, I. Gošev, Ch. Kodov, R. Poptodorov, V. Georgijev, B. Rajkov, A. Turilov, K. Nixoritĭs and other scholars; a Bulgarian attribution is on the other hand proclaimed in the works of V. Grigoroviĭ, A. Teodorov-Balan, D. Kostić, P. Syrku; see the bibliography overview in fn. 34.

36 Concerning the nomination of St. Constantine the Philosopher *БЛАЖЕНЪ/БЛАЖЕНЪВЪЗНЪ*, definitely it hardly can mean the process of his beatification, how, for example considers B. Rajkov (see B. RAJKOV 1993, p. 10); in the Orthodox tradition (including hymnography), this adjective is very commonly used with the meaning "a person, obtained the Gospel beatitudes; a person, living according to the order of Gospel beatitudes"; it is used for both the saint and for a non-canonized devout, never mind of the type of his sanctity and the kind of his efforts towards sanctity, that is it is not loaded with limited terminological meaning (see A. TRUBAČEV 2002, p. 352).

respect the possible Moravian origin of the *Life of Constantine* cannot be considered a strong argument,³⁷ because the vita represents a classic genre in mediaeval Europe, also common in the practice of the Western Church. Besides, the hagiographic text has a wider use – it may be employed on various occasions outside the liturgical performance, while hymnography does not possess such functional independence as it is created explicitly, with exceptions, for use in the public service and therefore cannot exist outside its framework.³⁸

Disregarding the above facts, several hypotheses may be made in respect to the practising of hymnography. If the *Service of St Constantine-Cyril* was at all composed in a West Slavic environment, we could with great reservations consider the possibility that it emerged in the circle around Methodius and his pupils as a private liturgy. Unfortunately, there are not sufficient testimonies about the order of this type of services in early Christian practice even though the so-called *moleben (paraklis)* provides a general idea. It was served according to the needs of particular adepts and could be performed both in the temple as well as in other places and appears in the *menaia*, the *trebniks* (euchologia), and even in monastic florilegia. Though the *moleben* began to spread within Byzantine practice in the 13th and in the Slavic environment in the 14th century, liturgy specialists point to testimonies of the antiquity of this practice.³⁹ With such a scenario, however, the composition of the *Service in honour of St Constantine-Cyril* would not be the result of a public need for leading the liturgy in Slavic in Great Moravia but because of the great authority of the Slavic apostle in the circle of his helpers. We must thus ask, if his "comrades in faith" produced a service destined for such a narrow circle of people, in what language would they rather have written it – Slavic or Greek?

Studies on the origin and authorship of the *Service in honour of St Constantine-Cyril* also usually stress its textological and language specificity. One of the most important testimonies for an early western Slavic attribution of the document deserves further attention. It is the text of the *troparion* of the 9th ode of the canon of the fourth mode, where there is a prayer addressed to the saint to remember his pupils, who "stand around his grave singing over him in faith". Recalling this passage, some scholars claim that the hymn was composed at the time when the pupils of Constantine-Cyril could freely return to Rome and, over his holy relics, celebrate his service in the Basilica of San Clemente.⁴⁰ Independent of the fact whether the given *troparion* was or was not part of the original core of the service or whether it is only a later interpolation as Nixoritĭs believes,⁴¹ we may, for a counter-argument, use examples which reflect the use of similar expressions such as *topos*. In the Eastern Orthodox tradition, which is very clearly mirrored especially in hymnography, *рака, гроб, могила*

37 For the overview of the ideas of the often-discussed problem of the localisation, dating, and authorship of the VC see M. IVANOVA 2003, pp. 365–366.

38 It is only after the 13th century that the practice of also using hymnography in individual reading as a prayer becomes stable.

39 For a general overview see N. TWADAKĀS 1966, pp. 38–39.

40 Cf. A. GORSKIJ 1856, pp. 33–48; I. GOŠEV 1937–1938, pp. 119–120; B. RAJKOV 1993, pp. 9–11 and others. Even Gošev has many doubts in respect to the historical reliability of the given place, because it is not clear whether the pupils of Constantine-Cyril were able to meet and sing this canon around his grave.

41 Nixoritĭs (K. NICHORITIS 1990, p. 103) expresses his doubts over the presence of the given passage in the original structure of the canon because this part does not appear in all copies of the text.

express the spiritual *topos* and are a common textual element. In the 9th century, probably on the grounds of the variety of the holy relics preserved in the Constantinopolitan churches, the most fruitful Byzantine hymnographer, Joseph the Hymnographer, even included similar expressions among the constant part of the content scheme of his canons (*Rybakov 2002*, 357–358; *Nikiforova 2012*, 133–134); however, in some cases there is no testimony of the presence of the celebrated saint's relics in the Byzantine metropolis.⁴² The absence of the perception of the tomb or reliquary of the saint as a definite place in a definite time brings insecurity for the value of such notions for the localisation of the origin of the hymnic texts.

In respect to the *Service for St Methodius*, the situation around the ecclesiastical celebration of the saint is very different and the writing of the *Vita* as well as the service of this Slavic apostle is connected by scholars with the activities of the pupils of Cyril and Methodius in Bulgaria (*Ivanova 2003*, 365–366; *Popov 1985*, 660–661; *Ivanova 2008*, 299). The historical circumstances after the death of the Moravian archbishop as well as the short period of time before the final destruction of Slavic literature and the expulsion of the pupils of the Thessalonian brothers from Great Moravia (autumn 885) were not certainly favourable to establishing the cult of Archbishop Methodius in Moravia and Pannonia.⁴³ Even though notions of canonisation processes in the Middle Ages are very rare and in the Orthodox practice canonisation was not as precisely determined by rules as in the Roman Church, we know that according to ecclesiastical tradition a certain time is needed for the canonisation of a saintly person so that particular conditions may be fulfilled (*Tkačev 2012*, 269–278, 329–337), including in the first place the acquisition of a firm and irreversible testimony of miracles taking place at the tomb of the saint and his uncorrupted relics. Even though a study of the origin of saints' cults reveals certain unique cases in which Christians celebrated the memory of still un-canonised local saints with a special service (*Tkačev 2012*, 270), in the present case there is no reason to believe that the *Service in honour of St Methodius* was created in a similar way. In the case of a canonisation of a person bearing as high a religious order as that of archbishop, the sanction of a highly-placed cleric is absolutely necessary (*Poptodorov 1995*, 220) and it is thus difficult to admit that the reason for canonisation would be merely a widespread celebration by the Moravian people. In respect to Slavic clerics and co-workers from the Methodian circle, it would be quite a paradox if Methodius's successor, the German bishop Wiching, allowed an official subscribing of his old opponent among the saints. The opinion that Methodius' canonisation and the composition of a service dedicated to him by Clement of Ochrid took place even before the eviction

of the pupils of the Thessalonian brothers from Great Moravia⁴⁴ is clearly not based on serious fact.

A strong argument for a later than Great Moravian origin of the *Services* dedicated to the Slavic apostles is mentioned by Popov, who turns his attention to the fact that both canons of the *Service in honour of St Constantine the Philosopher* and both canons of the *Service in honour of St Methodius* are written in authentic and plagal (derived) mode (the first canon of St Cyril in the 4th mode, the second in the 8th mode, the first canon of St Methodius, by Constantine of Preslav, in the 2nd mode and the second canon, by Clement of Ochrid, in the 6th mode). As witnessed by the oldest development of Byzantine hymnography, a similar practice reveals the fact that the works were composed at the same time and within a narrow circle of people (*Popov 2001*, 14–20). In this way, Popov opposes the attempts of some researchers to place one of the canons of St Constantine-Cyril (in the 4th mode) and one of the canons of St Methodius (in the 6th mode) in the period of the Great Moravian mission, and to ascribe others to the work of their pupils in the Bulgarian territories.⁴⁵ Based on the above, the Bulgarian scholar deduces that the majority of the chants (at least both canons) of each service for the Slavic apostles were probably created at the same time and the changing of the musical modes speaks for a later dating of both hymnic compositions.

The works of A. Pentkovskij, G. Popov and M. Jovceva illustrate a different tendency in interpretation of the non-translated hymnography. They consider the appearing of original Slavic services according with the special features of Byzantine hymnographic tradition, and also not separately, but in one process of composing of the Slavic versions of the hymnographic books in Bulgaria after the arrival of the disciples of St. Cyril and Method. These scholars then perceive the creation of these books as one joint process. According to the opinion of Pentkovskij, the creation of the original (non-translated) calendar texts (especially services) has a secondary character in respect to the group of translated works with an analogical content and it is always accompanied by the formation of collections, which also include original texts besides the translated ones (*Pentkovskij 2007*, 23–24). This idea may be complemented by other observations connected with the character of hymnography. If we should accept the view of Turilov regarding the occasional appearance of the original Great Moravian composition of hymnography, it is necessary to ask how the original texts were introduced into public liturgy in Great Moravia, in what liturgical sphere they were performed, and which hymnographic books they became part of. For example, the performing of separate service requires a basic hymnographic corpus for both the movable and the immovable yearly festive cycle (the services for the so-called great feasts or the most important saints), and on the other hand other changeable and unchangeable texts necessary for the daily liturgical cycle (for example psalms, prayers, proclamations, Old Testament readings,

42 For example in the *troparion* of the 9th ode in the *Canon of St Eutychios*, the Bishop of Mitylene (May 28), by Joseph the Hymnographer: Оутвърждение, върнѣнѣ иси похвала и радость, цѣлоушѣннѣ бо мѡудре мѡѣ. бжѣтвѣннѣа моцѣи и праздноушѣннѣа вьсегдѣ бжѣтѣ вьноушѣк пѣтѣ твою (Putjatina mineja, Russkaja nacional'naja biblioteka, Sofijskoe sobranie, 202, l. 124v10–13; edition: V. BARANOV – V. MARKOV 2003, p. 434). Citing the above canon of Joseph the Hymnographer, Archbishop Sergij believes that the relics of the early Christian martyr were kept in Constantinople in the 9th century (A. SERGIJ 1901, p. 201). This information is, however, not corroborated by other sources. Doubt about the reliability of the note is provoked not only by the absence of memory of the saint's relics in the Constantinopolitan *synaxaria* but also by the absence of a prologue reading dedicated to him. The martyr's memory is then only a question of the late tradition of the *Synaxarian* (Prologue) reflected in the printed edition of the *Menaion for May* (see DELEHAYE 1902, pp. 714–716); cf. Also P. LEBEDEV – E. MAKAROV, *Evtichij*, 2008, p. 343.

43 On this question see the opinions of Popov (G. POPOV 2001, pp. 15–17).

44 Moškovová and Turilov share this view (L. MOŠKOVA – A. TURILOV 1998, pp. 3–23).

45 In order to circumvent the argumentation of Popov regarding the original pair character of the *Service for St Methodius* and its later origin, Turilov presupposes that also "Methodius' canon in the 2nd mode written by Constantine of Preslav was composed in a western Slavic territory". The contradicting to his hypothesis mentioning of Mysia along with Moravia and Pannonia in the text of the above mentioned canon Turilov considers a later interpolation. (see A. TURILOV 2012, p. 102). Nevertheless it is necessary to remind that interpolation is a textological term. Under the condition that the given place appears in both preserved manuscripts of this hymnographic text while we have no Greek parallels, such claims may be considered unfounded.

New Testament pericopes, *prokeimena*, Biblical canticles, homilies etc.). It is also difficult to imagine in what ways those original services, which presuppose an early dating, would be preserved in the decades preceding their adoption by southern and eastern Slavic literature. Mediaeval manuscript tradition offers more than a few testimonies of the fact that whether a hymnic service is preserved or not depends on its use in liturgical practice.⁴⁶ For example, it remains unclear how the *Service for St. Cyril*, which according to some scientists was created soon after his death, was preserved for about 15 years in Great Moravia, before it was accepted and spread throughout in Bulgaria, Serbia and Russia.

In connection with the services of the Slavic apostles I will also consider one further aspect conditioned by the specificity of the hymnic texts. The basic principle in the build-up of a hymnic text is poetic and melodic imitation. Every text follows a certain melodic, rhythmic and syntactic model, the so-called self-similar (idiomela) chants (for example the *stichera*, *troparia*) and *heirmoi*, which create a limited collection and in Slavic practice only appear in translations. Composing an original hymnography presupposed the presence of an Old Church Slavonic version of these chants as models for the composition and singing of the nontranslated works. Thus the problem of the systematic and mutual interweaving of ecclesiastical liturgical texts re-emerges. The hymnic text is usually composed as a combination of language patterns with a certain melodic value and for this reason writing original hymnic works requires the existence of a certain inventory of language and stylistic means created in the process of a widespread translation of Greek texts, when the Slavic version of the imagery of Byzantine poetry was formed. The skilful use of specific means of Byzantine hymnography in the original services and canons studied (for St Constantine-Cyril, St Methodius, St Demetrius of Thessalonike and others) indicates a stage of development of Slavic hymnography and poetic style of the literary language, in which the Slavic authors already possessed a rich Slavic language inventory. This they apparently actively created by means of intense translation of Greek liturgical texts. If we consider the historical and liturgical situation in Great Moravia, it is difficult to imagine that Slavic hymnic poetry would achieve such a developed stage in the course of the mission of the Slavic apostles Constantine-Cyril and Methodius and their pupils.

The present article only focuses on several aspects of the complicated issue of the emergence of Slavic hymnography. Unfortunately, the longer I work on these problems, the more I realise that, based on present testimonies and knowledge, finding a satisfactory solution to these serious questions regarding the character and extent of the liturgical activity of the Slavic apostles Constantine-Cyril and Methodius and their disciples in Great Moravia is difficult.

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⁴⁶ The most graphic example in this respect is the *Service in honour of St Methodius* itself (April 6th), which even in the environment of eastern Orthodoxy was only preserved in three manuscripts. It disappeared from liturgical practice and was forgotten, pushed out by the liturgy of the Lenten Triodion.

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CONSTANTINE-CYRIL, METHODIUS AND PHILOLOGY

Giorgio Ziffer

The author stresses the importance of philological investigations for understanding and reconstructing several facts regarding the Cyrillo-Methodian mission and the literary results of that mission. The examples selected – namely: 1) the “strokes and incisions” evoked by Monk Hrabar; 2) the toponym “Влатъньскъ костель” cited by Monk Hrabar as well as by the author of the Life of Constantine; 3) the question of the exact meaning of another toponym of the latter text (usually interpreted as “Venice”); and 4) the discovery of a mediaeval edition of the Life of Constantine prepared in Novgorod and from which the largest group of manuscripts derives – all point to the advantages of, if not the need for, not only an intense philological interest in the Cyrillo-Methodian sources but also the research possibilities that philology can still open up for us.

Key words: Life of Constantine, Monk Hrabar, Margrave Kocel, Venetian dispute, Novgorod

The ongoing increase of literature in the two hundred years of Cyrillo-Methodian studies, together with our findings and assumptions about the history of the Constantine-Cyril and Methodius missions, proves the significant advancements in this area of research. These last years have brought us new texts, e.g. the new Service to Methodius *Moravskye zemle velej graždanin* from the end of the 9th century, discovered exactly fifteen years ago by Anatolj Turilov and Ljudmila Moškova in manuscript Chludov 156 in the State Historical Museum in Moscow;¹ however, the most important Slavonic sources are those discovered during the 19th century. Some questions regarding Slavonic sources have still not been answered. I would like to give some examples to emphasise the importance of studying the texts attentively; I will partially reference already known facts and partially present yet unknown conclusions. This also explains why the word “philology” is mentioned in the title of my paper; my intention is to prove that philology may help us to a deeper understanding of Slavonic sources, mainly those regarding Constantine-Cyril and the following which I will now focus on: *The Life of Constantine*, the opusculum by Hrabar the monk called *An account on letters*, and *Praise to St Cyril*.

In the past, much was written about the “dashes and notches” which, according to Hrabar the monk, were used by pagan Slavs before turning to Christianity and beginning to use the Greek and Latin alphabet in expectation of Constantine-Cyril’s invention, i.e. the creation of the Glagolitic script. The following passage cites the translation of Josef Vašica, “Slavs, earlier when they were pagans, did not have writing, but counted and made prophesies using dashes and notches. After being baptised, they tried writing the Slavonic language in Roman numerals and in Greek letters without any adjustments.”² What are these “dashes and notches”? Many attempts have been made to interpret their meaning: from writing, historically widespread

in the south-east area of Europe and known as *rovás*, *rabosh*, *rovasiras* etc. as well as Runic script, extending into the Proto-Bulgarian period; or from a set of pictographic writing (this has never been proven to have been used by the Slavs) to symbols visible on some ceramic structures and the walls of buildings excavated in the area of the first Bulgarian Kingdom or even wall paintings discovered in north Dobruža: however, none of these have been accepted by the scientific community as sufficient proof. The answer lies in the source the author uses, specifically in the *Téchnē grammatikē* by Dionysios Thrax.³ In the sixth paragraph – referred to by the scholia on the Greek alphabet, based on which the author composed his text (as we have known since the times of Vatroslav Jagić) – Dionysios deals with the dashes (*gramma*) and notches (*xusma*). He mentions this when interpreting the Greek word *grámmata* (letters). Dionysios writes, “Letters are created with dashes and notches: because for the old nations writing meant the same as carving [...]” The monk Hrabar adopted this mention of the dashes and notches from this passage in a changed and suitable form for his compositional needs. What in Dionysios represented a simple, initially etymological and later historical explanation became a historical and cultural overview in the hands of Hrabar and in my opinion has little to do with various modern interpretations; in contrast, I regard the importance to lie in Hrabar’s link to the Greek source.

The location of the Cyril-Methodius mission contains many unsolved mysteries – from the location of Methodius’ last resting place to a series of other Cyril-Methodius locations that we are not able geographically to pinpoint. Fortunately, this is not the case with the political centre of Kocel’s margraviate that was located on the west bank of Lake Balaton and is mentioned in Cyril-Methodius studies mainly as *Mosapurc* or *castrum Chezilonis*, and also *urbs paludarum* (the name of this location in today’s Hungary is Zalavár where, and as you surely know, the first discoveries evidencing the Glagolitic script there were made two years ago – obvious proof of the historical credibility of Slavic and Latin sources). As discovered by R. Nahtigal,

1 Anatolij A. TURILOV – Ljudmila V. MOŠKOVA, *Moravskye zemle velej graždanin. Neizvestnaja drevnjaja služba pervoučitelju Mefodiju*, *Slavjanovedenie* 4, 1998, pp. 3–23, and again by A. A. TURILOV, *Mežslavjanske kulturne svjazi epochi Srednevek’ja i istočnikovedenie istorii i kulturny slavian. Etjudy i charakteristiki*, Moscow 2012, pp. 47–72.

2 Mnich CHRABR, *O písmenech*, in: Josef VAŠICA, *Literární památky epochy velkomoravské*, Praha, 2nd ed. 1996, pp. 24–29, especially 24.

3 Giorgio ZIFFER, *Ancora intorno alle fonti chrabriane*, in: Zorica Vitić – Tomislav Jovanović – Irena Špadijer, *Slovensko srednjovekovno nasleđe*, Beograd 2001, pp. 707–710.

the opusculum of monk Hrabar also proves the Slavonic form of the toponym “*Влатьльскъ kostelъ*”; this form is contained in only one Hilandar manuscript (specifically the manuscript Hilandar 481) which is probably of Moldavian origin and was created earlier than the 16th century;⁴ it is one of the most beautiful proofs that an ancient reading may be preserved in much younger manuscripts. It is also necessary to add that the term “younger manuscript” is generally in Slavic philology, let alone in Cyril-Methodius philology, a very relative term as Hrabar’s manuscripts do not reach beyond the 14th century and the *Life of Constantine* manuscript has some fragments reaching to the 15th century.

We are now able to prove that this local name was mentioned in the same form in the text of the *Life of Constantine*, because Kocel was also explicitly introduced as the Margrave of “*Влатьльскъ kostelъ*”. However, we do not have any manuscript that would have preserved the original readings as the above-mentioned Hilandar manuscript has. We may claim with high probability that the original readings, preserved partially only in the second Novgorod group (in the group of collections) read *Косель князь Влатьльска kostelъ*.⁵

The second Novgorod group preserved the name of the location and scene of disputation as mentioned in chapter XVI and where Constantine-Cyril had a fiery discussion with the objectors to the new alphabet and Slavonic (Biblical and liturgical) language. However, why should such a discussion take place specifically in Venice – *Вьлѣтъльськъ*, as mentioned in the Barsov 619 manuscript (also from the State Historical Museum in Moscow)⁶ which in the 860s was not an important political or religious centre and where the Slavic world did not attract any special interest? Does an alternative explanation exist, opposed to the traditional one? I believe it would be relevant to question whether the toponym, whose antiquity has been undoubtedly proven by the sameness of its older form proven in the *Life of Naum* and its Slavonic and Czech versions (Benetka and Benátky), could not and should not be interpreted differently than it has been up to now. My suggestion is simple: why not, instead of Venice, associate it with the Venetian region, i.e. the region of Venice (in Italian: *della Venezia, delle Venezie*), that is, the oldest toponym describing the city of Venice (doesn’t today’s region north of Venice [Veneto] still carry the name Friuli Venezia Giulia?). Instead of the city of Venice, the writer of the legend had in mind the area governed by the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, maybe even by Aquileia itself.

It is obvious that sources provide only part of the historical truths, whereas many facts remain hidden. However, the deeper study of sources also serves us as preparation for publishing well-researched critical editions which are not very common and have an indisputable meaning for the adequate reconstruction of the Cyril-Methodius mission history; they also help us to understand how these Slavonic texts, preserved in codices

and originating mostly earlier than the 15th century, got to us. In the case of the *Life of Constantine*, the study of manuscripts enables us to discover the authentic mediaeval issue from Novgorod from the 13th or 14th century, containing readings of cardinal importance to us. This is an actual (critical) edition with tens, maybe even hundreds, of variations noted in the margins by the scribe who had at his disposal three different copies of the *Life of Constantine*.⁷ Similar to today’s researchers, he thoroughly compared the copies with each other and recorded the large amount of variations; he accompanied some of the less understandable terms with explanatory glosses. Besides this, he divided the text into five chapters, several hundred years before Pavel J. Šafařík suggested dividing it into eighteen chapters,⁸ as we do today; after the *Life of Constantine* he added the *Praise to St Cyril*, which has been attributed to Clement of Ohrid. All this witnesses the significant philological endeavour of mediaeval scribes as well as the considerable interest in this text during the Middle Ages. The discovery of this edition has far-reaching consequences for forming stemmas and even greater influence on future critical editions of this text. I have not yet mentioned that this mediaeval Novgorod edition has two copies belonging to a (by us) well-known hand-written tradition and a third copy belonging to a branch that would later be lost. This fact makes the study of the twenty-two manuscripts of this edition – which we do not have and which we must try to reconstruct using the tools of textual criticism – very interesting but also extraordinarily complex. This would be another and very technical story that would lead us far in another direction and which would need a considerable amount of time for an understandable and convincing interpretation.

Nevertheless, one thing is sure – as I have hopefully clarified – namely, that philological studies (especially Old Slavic philology) of Cyril-Methodius sources have not nearly answered all the questions that the sources throw up; besides this, new discoveries force us to ask further questions regarding our old texts; new questions, because they are partially different from the ones researchers asked in the past. I believe I am not far from the truth when I say that philological studies are probably predestined to enrich our knowledge about Constantine and Methodius in the future; I think we should not forget about this during this year’s anniversary.

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5 G. ZIFFER, *Il margravio Kocel’ e la Vita Constantini*, in I. Podtergera (Hrsg.), *Schnittpunkt Slavistik. Ost und West im wissenschaftlichen Dialog*, Festgabe für Helmut Keipert zum 70. Geburtstag, Bd. 2, Einflussforschung, Göttingen 2012, pp. 145–155.

6 *Žitija Kirilla i Mefodija*, ed. Ivan S. Dujčev et al., Moscow 1986, 158 (l. 263’); Cristiano DIDDÌ, *Materiali e ricerche per l’edizione critica di Vita Constantini*, VII. Edizione del gruppo C, *Ricerche slavistiche* 7 (53), 2009, pp. 225–280, especially 271.

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THE KIEV FRAGMENTS AND GREAT MORAVIA

Radoslav Večerka

The Kiev Fragments are a 13-page manuscript written in the Glagolitic script by two writers. They contain 38 mass prayers translated from Latin, the first of which celebrates St Clement. The archaicism of the language is witnessed by the precise preservation and distinction of the Ancient Slavic jers in almost all of the 721 places in which it would be expected. The codex otherwise contains a mixture of classic Old Church Slavonic and Czech (“Moravian”) elements and is mostly considered a Cyrillo-Methodian composition preserved in a later Czech copy from the 10th century. Lately, nevertheless, the manuscript has come to be considered a Cyrillo-Methodian original from the year 868 (or 869?). Different Glagolitic letters are suspended from the upper line and reach various vertical depths. The codex was produced in the Cyrillo-Methodian environment, which was primarily Greek-Byzantine, but also contains a testimony about the Latin aspect of Great Moravian culture in the Cyrillo-Methodian period, being an expression of an intentionally promoted Greek-Latin (Byzantine-Western) unionism.

Key words: Glagolitic, the uncial script, libelli missae, orationes cottidianae, Moravisms, is (= isus), majuscule script, written in-one-move, “drawing” Glagolitic letters, rovanije – arvani, Latin, devanagari, lingua quarta, penitentiary, St Emmeram Prayer, Liturgy of St Peter, the Three-Language Doctrine, Prayer against the Devil, Industriae tuae

In 1872, Antonín Kapustin (also known as Archimandrite Antonín) donated a Glagolitic manuscript to the Spiritual Academy in Kiev, of which he was an alumnus. At that time he was the director of the Russian Orthodox mission in Jerusalem and probably acquired the manuscript in the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai.

In 1873, a congress of Slavic archaeologists took place in Kiev. The organisers prepared an exhibition of old manuscripts, including this newly-acquired Glagolitic document, which immediately received much attention. The members of the congress labelled it the oldest Slavic manuscript containing a continuous text, which has mostly held up to today. They also recognised its Czech linguistic elements, and the fact that it had been translated from Latin, even though the corresponding Latin version was not yet known. This was discovered and published only later (1928) though it is certainly not an immediate model for the Old Church Slavonic text, which in comparison with the Latin original is a rather loose translation and in some places only a creative paraphrase.

The document was first published as early as in 1876, followed by a critical edition by Jagić (1890)¹ and then by other editors, more recently especially Nimčuk (1983)² accompanied by a phototype. Since the beginning it has been called *Kyjevské listy* or *Hlaholské listy Kyjevské* and, in foreign languages, *Folia Kioviensia*, *The Kiev Manuscripts*, *Kiev Fragments* etc. This title is in fact confusing for it is not a collection of discontinuous “folios” unconnected by content, but a united codex of small format and matter-of-fact extent, due to which the document also acquired the name *Kiev Sacramentary*. The text presents 38 mass prayers, the variable

parts of the ceremony, without the so-called mass canon which forms its basis. Complete ancient liturgical books were, in standard cases, codices of large format and matter-of-fact content written in uncial letters, frequently festive and ornate with other graphic artistic elements. The *Kiev Fragments* (hereafter *KF*) have a different, simpler, form. Their title page originally remained empty and was written on only 2–3 centuries later in a more recent, Croatian Glagolitic script. The pagination of the *KF* was created by folding whole folios into pages of an octavo format and ordered into a codicological whole. The *KF* are written on 13 pages of small format with, as some scholars believe, one quarto missing from the original whole.

The notably small format and also the limited, matter-of-fact content of the document as a sacramentary has, in the first half of the first millennium, a parallel in several similar Greek and Latin ministry codices known as *libelli missae* or “mass booklets/notebooks”. They were designed for travelling priests, to enable them to celebrate the Divine Liturgy in a time-constrained or content-specific scope. At present, the *KF* is the only known Old Slavic *libellus missae*.

At the same time, their dating and content destination fit the circumstances following the arrival of the Cyrillo-Methodian retinue in Rome around the end of 868.³ The Slavic group originally came at the invitation of Pope Nicholas, who, however, had died in the meantime. Hadrian II renewed the invitation at the instigation of Constantine’s friend and colleague, the Vatican bibliothecary Anastasios. Constantine, Methodius and their companions hoped to make up for their former failure to have their Slavic books approved and their pupils ordained by the ecclesiastically responsible Patriarch of Aquileia then residing in Venice.

¹ Vatroslav JAGIĆ, *Glagolitica*. 2. *Würdigung neuentdeckter Fragmente*, mit 10 Taf., Wien 1890.

² Vasyľ Vasylyovyč NIMČUK, *Kyjivski hlaholyčni lystky*, Kyjiv 1983.

³ Antonij Emilij N. TACHIAOS, *Cyril and Methodius’ Visit to Rome in 868*, *Paleoslavica* 10/2, 2002, pp. 210–221.

The Old Church Slavonic *Life of Constantine* describes the negotiations in Rome in the following way: "Having learned (about him, Constantine) the Roman Pope sent for him. And when he arrived in Rome, Pope Hadrian himself along with all the inhabitants of the city went to meet him carrying candles because they learned that he was bringing the relics of St Clement, martyr and Roman Pope. The Pope then accepted the Slavic books, sanctified them and placed them in the Cathedral of St Mary known as Fatne. Then they sang liturgy over them. Consequently, the Pope ordered two bishops, Formosus and Gauderic, to ordain the Slavic pupils. When they consecrated them, they sang liturgy in the Cathedral of St Peter in the Slavic language. On the following day they sang in the Cathedral of St Petronilla and on the third day in St Andrew's. Finally, they also sang the Holy Liturgy in Slavic at the tomb of the great teacher of the nations, Apostle Paul, at night."⁴

The passing of the relics of St Clement to the Pope, the clerics and the Roman people in front of the city gates must have been accompanied by a festive celebration. It is thus hardly an accident that the *KF* open with mass prayers celebrating St Clement, whose feast fell on the same day (November 23rd). This was the practical purpose for the creation of the *libellus missae*, containing the beginning of the necessary liturgical text. The rest of the *KF* (written in another hand) ideally fits the situation described; it contains the so-called *orationes cottidianae*, which are not connected with a particular saint, date or cathedral, for these were details which may not have been known in advance to Slavic disciples called as early as on the first day to sing the mass in Slavic in various cathedrals. For these cultural-historical reasons, I therefore consider the *KF* an original Cyrillo-Methodian manuscript written in Rome at the end of 868 or eventually completed at the beginning of 869. This dating of the *KF* manuscript is further supported by some ancient language markers and also by elements of Czech called "Moravisms".

The *KF* reflect unique ancient linguistic features in their precise preservation and distinction of jers in the ancient Slavic form and position in the word. They contain 721 jers used consistently in all words, roots, suffixes and endings. Only in two cases is the etymologically expected soft jer replaced by a hard jer, not perhaps a consequence of a real linguistic substitution but only a technical graphical occurrence related to the wetting of the pen in the course of writing letters only slightly different in form:

Ѡ = Ѣ Ѡ̣ = Ѣ

The historical-comparative consistence of the *KF* in preserving all original jers has no equal even among the oldest so-called canonical Old Church Slavonic manuscripts of the 10th century. All of these contain at least some developmental changes or mutual substitutions, elision of the weak and vocalisation of the strong jers, such as *дѣнь – дѣнь – дѣнь* etc. Moreover, detailed knowledge of the origin and development of the jer in Slavic languages has not been available for long. Havlík's famous discovery of the disappearance and vocalisation of jers in Czech known as "Havlík's Rule" was only published in 1885 and only afterwards did other Slavic languages receive

similar attention. The historical correctness of jers in the *KF* for each individual word could only be confirmed after the publication of Slavic etymological dictionaries in the 20th century, dependable only since the 2nd half of the century.

In the *KF* consistently Moravian proto-Czech replacements are represented by the phonemic replacements *c, z* for Ancient Slavonic *tj, kt* and *dj* (compare with the canonical Old Church Slavonic / Bulgarian *št, žd*), for example *prosjeće, рѡтѡсь, дѡзь* (imperative) and in forms such as the instrumental sg. of o-stems in *-ьмь*, for example *образьмь*. In the *KF*, the rare syntactic, phraseological and lexical Moravisms/Bohemisms stand outside of the spectrum of consistence-inconsistence. A special mixture of normative linguistic means typical of Old Church Slavonic (of Bulgarian-Macedonian origin), such as the *l*-epenthetic, single *l* instead of *dl, tl*, sharp sibilant in the palatalisation of *ch* (for example *вѡсь, избавленіе, молитѡ*), and on the other hand the consistent Czech local marker in a common text, seemed to many Slavists, beginning with Miklosic, philologically impossible. If classic Old Church Slavonic texts encountered another local language environment, as for example in Old Russia, the linguistic consequence was inconsistent textual promiscuity of the genetically different elements. They therefore suggested that the language of the *KF* emerged as a precise and complete reflection of a south Slavic (Pannonian?) dialect, which contained genetically diverse elements represented in a synchronic state organically together. However, no such dialect has so far been discovered or described. The specificity of the *KF*'s linguistic elements was however feasibly described by František V. Mareš⁵ who claimed that it resulted from personal contact by the Thessalonian and Moravian co-workers of Constantine and Methodius who were aiming to establish a new norm of written language introduced into practice only in Moravia, and for Moravia, and moulded there by their own literary activity.

Besides the prevailing opinion that Constantine created Glagolitic as the first original Slavic alphabet, a number of hypotheses continued to appear regarding other alphabets which may have served as its model, both as a general graphic source or at least pertaining to individual graphemes. In this respect, written systems including Coptic, Ethiopian, Arabic, Hebrew, Samaritan, Phoenician, Old Persian, Latin, Albanian, Armenian and Georgian have been considered. In 1941, Černočvostov⁶ came up with the unique hypothesis that the Glagolitic letters had a symbolic character based on the typical graphic elements of Christian ecclesiastical mysticism – the cross, circle and triangle. The validity of this hypothesis for the whole of Glagolitic is, however, too artificial and I do not find it persuasive. For three letters, I nevertheless find the symbolic shape motivation acceptable:

† = A Ѡ = I Ѡ̣ = S

The Glagolitic "A" is the cross itself. Since Late Antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages, the first letter of the alphabet was believed to possess the magic power to hold the alphabet together.

⁵ František Václav MAREŠ, *Cyrlometodějská tradice a slavistika [The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition and Slavic Studies]*, Prague 2010.

⁶ See Valentin KIPARSKY, *Tschernochvostoffs Theorie über den Ursprung des glagolitischen Alphabets, Cyrillomethodiana*, Köln – Graz 1964.

⁴ *Žitije Konstantina*, ed. Radoslav Večerka, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, pp. 90–91.

“I” and “S” are written by connecting a circle and a triangle as graphic messengers which carry magical contents (the triangle stood for the Holy Trinity, the circle for infinity and the almightiness of God). Both letters contain these graphic elements, symmetrical but turned 180° (upside down, and in general expressing the meaning of “from the beginning to the end”). This of course cannot be a coincidence. In Old Church Slavonic and Church Slavonic manuscripts the sequence “IS” as a standard abbreviation represents the word *isus*, Jesus. Moreover, they were the first letters used by Constantine when he began to write, still in Byzantium, the *Gospel of John* in Old Church Slavonic as an introduction to the *aparakos* Gospel: *iskoni bēaše slovo*. The mystical understanding of writing, its metaphoricality and eventually its hidden magic, was nothing unusual though in contemporary philosophical-theological literature and could hardly have remained hidden from the educated Constantine.

Despite various ideas about the origin of or models for Glagolitic and the *KF*, it is generally believed that the text of the *KF* was written in Cyrillo-Methodian Moravia, while the manuscript is mostly considered a copy made in a Czech-speaking environment in the 10th century. The possibility of the manuscript being a protograph written in the Cyrillo-Methodian school in Great Moravia has for a long time, in fact until today, been rejected based on the opposition of Jagić. His opinion was based on the fact that one word in the *KF*, *rovanije* (translating Latin *munera*, gifts), was an unprecedented *hapax legomenon* for the period of Old Slavonic and Church Slavonic documents – that is, a word that is somehow uncertain and suspicious. Jagić understood it as a mistake of the copyist; in his opinion it replaced the appropriate *darovanije* after readers’ fingers wiped its first syllable *da-* into illegibility (it being perhaps originally at the beginning of the line). In the second half of the 20th century the same word and meaning was found in another text, the Czech Church Slavonic *Canon in Honour of St Wenceslas* in a Russian manuscript from the end of the 11th century, and was etymologically explained as a probable borrowing from the semantically equal Old High German *arvani*. Thus the earlier complaint against the recognition of the *KF* as a possible Cyrillo-Methodian protograph in fact lost its validity. This consequence, however, has not been sufficiently taken into consideration and the *KF* have continued to be perceived as a copy from an older original.

Among theories of a possible model for Glagolitic writing, the so-called “Taylor and Jagić theory”, that Glagolitic as a whole was derived from the Greek minuscule, has survived the longest, since the 1880s. More than by the shapes of the letters themselves, the authors of this hypothesis were guided by an *a priori* assumption that since Cyrillic takes over the majority of letters from Greek majuscule graphemes, it seemed only logical to suppose that Glagolitic was modelled on the Greek minuscule. Opposition to this proposal appeared early on in the scholarly literature but only since the mid-20th century has the Taylor – Jagić hypothesis begun to lose its momentum. Many textbooks nevertheless automatically though incorrectly reiterate it.

Old Glagolitic, even one in size as small as the one in the *KF*, has nevertheless the duct and graphic structure of majuscule writing. Even in the middle of words following immediately one after another in the text, each individual Glagolitic letter stands separate, divided one from the other. This complete absence of effort to write individual words or at least their parts “in one move” is characteristic

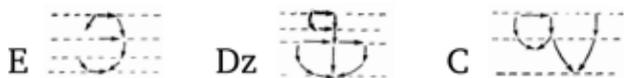
of majuscule writing. In a Greek text written in small letters (minuscule or cursive), the graphic continuity and connectivity of letters appears in a series of words following one another regularly enough, although not in a completely consistent manner. In Old Church Slavonic Glagolitic texts we find nothing of this kind.

The fact that its individual letters were not really written but rather drawn further confirms the uncial character of Glagolitic. It is proved by the persuasive so-called kinematic characteristic of Glagolitic graphemes⁷, which shows the movement of the writer’s hand visually too: the placement of the pen, direction of writing, spacing and eventually new placement and new writing movement. It is symptomatic that each individual grapheme always maintains the same kinematic structure.

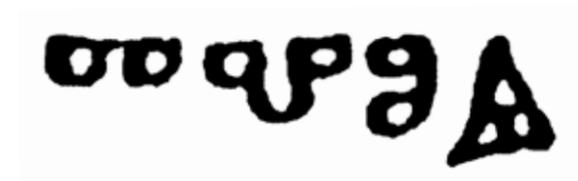
The most common upper eido-kinematic figure of Glagolitic letters is this:



Compare with kinematic images of some of the whole Glagolitic letters:



Some more recent palaeographic theories perceived the placement of letters between two lines, as in the case of the Greek or Latin script, as marking the unciality of the writing. Old Glagolitic writing does not comply with this requirement for, not only in canonic copies of classic Old Church Slavonic but especially in the *KF*, various letters hang on the upper line (though imaginary and in reality perhaps not drawn) and reach various vertical depths. Compare with the word *tvōē*:



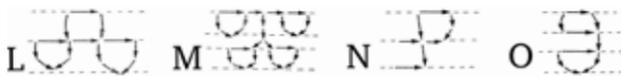
The calligrapher O. Menhart⁸ says about this way of writing that the writing “is hung on a single upper line; written signs of unequal length have no focal point and hang freely in the upper part of the writing field in a grape-like fashion.” He is further persuaded that this writing fits the construction of Glagolitic “much better” than the double-line outline of Cyrillic. The hanging of Glagolitic graphemes from the upper line is also widely preserved in the Glagolitic manuscripts of the Old Church Slavonic canon. For example in the Cloz edition, its editor Antonín Dostál mentions the lining produced with the aid of an engraving tool for 40 lines on each page and claims that “the Glagolitic script was hung there similar to ancient manuscripts and in a rather regular fashion.”⁹

⁷ Ivan DOBREV, *Glagoličeskija tekst na Bojanskija palimpsest*, Sofija 1972.

⁸ Oldřich MENHART, *Kaligraf o hlaholici* [A Calligrapher on Glagolitic], Slovenské studie [Slavic Studies], Praha 1948, pp. 58–59

⁹ Antonín DOSTÁL, *Clozianus. Staroslověnský hlaholský sborník tridentský a innsbrucký* [Clozianus. The Old Church Slavonic Glagolitic Collection of Trent and Innsbruck], Praha 1959.

The principle of suspending letters from the upper line is otherwise present in some non-European writing systems, for example in the so-called *devanagari* used for various languages of south and south-eastern Asia. I nevertheless do not consider *devanagari* a direct genetic model of Glagolitic script, but only a typological characteristic that nowadays facilitates the comprehension of this style of writing. The upper part of the kinematic figure's basis normally preserves the original relationship to Glagolitic letters, usually being drawn from left to right as a kind of memory of the old upper line, which earlier represented the initial element of the whole grapheme:



Another culturally historical peculiarity of the *KF* is the fact they were translated from Latin, since in the Cyrillo-Methodian literature translation from Greek represented the norm. The majority of observers justly consider this Byzantine-Old Church Slavonic literature and its language in respect to Great Moravia a phenomenon of exceptional importance and long-term European impact. Nevertheless, the Latin aspect of Great Moravian culture throughout the 9th century somehow remains in the background. From the beginning, Latin was present there in the concept of the three-language doctrine as one of the acceptable liturgical languages. Next to it, the vernacular of the people about to be converted to Christianity was also used as a so-called *lingua quarta*, though in limited measure. In it, the newly baptised received an intelligible catechetical explanation of the principles of the new faith, direction for performing confession and baptism and the basic prayers (*Credo* and *Our Father*). It was, nevertheless, not even in eventual personal inscriptions (in Latin letters), a real standard or literary language but only an individual catechetical and pastoral aid.¹⁰

Some Old Church Slavonic and Ecclesiastic Slavonic texts reflect the specific traits of Latin or “western” orientation. The penitentiary or “the regulation about penitence” for priest-confessors which forms part of the Old Church Slavonic canon codex *Euchologium sinaiticum* known as *Zapovědi svętych otъcъ* was translated directly from Latin. Part of the same codex is also the penitentiary known as *Činъ nadъ ispovědajęštiumъ se*, which also includes the so-called *St Emmeram Prayer* translated from Old High German.

Another aspect of the same Great Moravian sacramentary, which is represented by the *KF*, is the Church Slavonic Croatian-Glagolitic one-page manuscript from 11th–12th centuries known as the *Vienna Glagolitic Fragment* (Weingart 1938)¹¹. The 14th century Croatian-Glagolitic manuscripts preserve other fragments of a sacramentary of the same kind (J. Vajs 1939)¹². Along with the *KF*, these Croatian-Glagolitic texts are sometimes considered part of the *Liturgy of St Peter* already used, or at least introduced, in Great Moravia where it represented

10 Franc ZAGIBA, *Das Slavische als Missionssprache (lingua quarta) und das Alt-kirchenslavische als Lingua liturgica im 9.–10. Jhd.*, *Studia Palaeoslovenica*, Festschrift J. Kurz, Praha 1971, pp. 401–414.

11 Miloš WEINGART, *Hlaholské listy Videňské: k dějinám staroslověnského misálu [Vienna Glagolitic Fragments: on the history of an Old Church Slavonic missal]*, Vienna 1938.

12 Josef VAJS, *Kánon charvátsko-hlaholského misálu vatikánského Illir. 4 [The canon of the Croatian-Glagolitic missal of the Vatican Illir. 4]*, *Časopis pro moderní filologii [Journal of Modern Philology]* 25, 1939, pp. 113–134.

a local, “western”, counterpart to the “eastern” liturgy of John Chrysostom. The liturgy had not yet been so strictly normalised in respect to both language and content in every European ecclesiastical organisation, as it was to be after the Great Schism in the 1050s.

More recently, the Great Moravian origin of the paraliturgical poetic composition *Prayer against the Devil* (preserved only in a later Church Slavonic copy) was also discovered¹³. It contains 22 invocations, of which 21 are directed to “heavenly intercessors” from the East but also frequently from the West. The author must have had an excellent philological and theological education (was it perhaps Methodius himself? It has not been proved!). The composition reflects the mixed Byzantine-Latin liturgical situation of 870–873, which was an expression of intentionally promoted Unionism.

Old Church Slavonic legal texts translated from Greek also preserve traits of Latin education in Great Moravia. *Zakon sudnyj ljudem (Law for Judging the People)* for example replaces the drastic punishments of the Byzantine model (including selling into slavery, beheading or burning at the stake) with more moderate measures, such as prayer or fasting, common in the western environment.

Various compositions of Great Moravian origin mention triads of sins in a mixed fashion, in the eastern liturgical order (*glagolъ – dělo pomýšlenie*), or in the western way (*mysli – besędy – děteli*). The texts of Great Moravian provenance also translate the name of the Mother of God in the Byzantine fashion as *vľadyčica*, besides using the western *svętaja Marija* or *gospoža*.

The most important testimony of the presence of a Latin element within Great Moravian Cyrillo-Methodian culture is the Latin bull of Pope John VIII from 880, *Industriae tuae*, which confirms the orthodoxy of Archbishop Methodius to Prince Svatopluk and Old Church Slavonic as the ecclesiastical language of Great Moravia. The bull simultaneously orders the reading from the New Testament during mass to be first performed in Latin and only then in Old Church Slavonic. It is thus not surprising that according to the *Life of Methodius*, the Moravian archbishop chose Gorazd as his successor for being, among other things, “well acquainted with Latin books”.

Here I would like to conclude my contribution regarding the place of the *KF* in the cultural-historical environment of Cyrillo-Methodian Moravia. In summary, I would like to highlight the information regarding the ritually mixed, Unitarian environment of Great Moravia, along with the theory that the *KF* manuscript is an old protograph created in the group around the two brothers in Rome at the end of 868 (or beginning of 869).

Archival sources

Žitije Konstantina, ed. Radoslav Večerka, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, pp. 57–115.

13 Václav KONZAL, *Staroslověnská. Modlitba proti ďáblu [The Old Church Slavonic Prayer against the Devil]*, *Europa Orientalis* 11, 1992, pp. 171–230. IDEM, *Staroslavjanskaja molitva protiv d'javola*, Moscow 2002.

THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN TRANSLATION OF THE APOSTLE AND ITS FURTHER DEVELOPMENT IN THE SLAVIC MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

Štefan Pilát

The article evaluates the present state of research into the emergence of the Cyrillo-Methodian translation and further textological development of the Apostle, focusing especially on complete texts of it which have not so far been sufficiently studied. Based on a comparison of the material of about 50 Old Church Slavonic and Church Slavonic manuscripts from the 11th–15th century the study clarifies the division of the preserved Apostle manuscripts into textological versions, while within the framework of complete texts of the archaic version it newly distinguishes the Ochrid and the proto-Prslav subtypes. It further evaluates the relationship of the individual textological groups of the Apostle towards the unpreserved Cyrillo-Methodian original on one hand and the character of later revisions of the translation on the other.

Key words: Old Church Slavonic, Church Slavonic, Cyril and Methodius, textology, Biblical Studies, Apostle

Compared with the present state of research into the emergence and further development of the Old Church Slavonic Gospel translation, contemporary study of the Apostle is still quite incomplete, despite the fact that, since the beginning of scholarly involvement, at least the core of this part of the New Testament translation was attributed directly to Constantine's pen. The main cause of this problem is certainly the much less frequent preservation of old copies of the Apostle.¹ Another reason for which it has long eluded the wider interest of scholars is the fact that, until relatively recently, no copies which could be dated to the Old Church Slavonic period (end of the 11th century) were available. Thus the relatively apparent contrast re-emerges with the preserved Gospel manuscripts, of which the two oldest Glagolitic *Tetraevangelia*, *Zographos* (*Zogr*) and *Marian* (*Mar*), and the Glagolitic *Assemani Gospel Book* (*As*) may perhaps be placed already at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries. The situation of the Psalter, one of the oldest Cyrillo-Methodian translations, is also much better than that of the Apostle, as two Glagolitic transcriptions from the 2nd half of the 11th century (the *Sinai Psalter* and the recently published *Demetrios Psalter*²) and several other fragments have been preserved.

On the other hand, until the 2nd half of the 20th century, no manuscripts from the Old Church Slavonic period containing the text of the Apostle, except for citations and allusions in texts such as the old part of the *Glagolitic Sinai Euchologium* (*Euch*), the *Cloze Collection* and the *Cyrillic Suprasl Collection* (*Supr*), were known. Fragments of the *Enin Apostle* (*En*), a brief Cyrillic aprakos of eastern Bulgarian origin found only in 1960 and dated by its editors to the second half of the 11th century³

(that is, to the period of classic Old Church Slavonic), widely revived interest in the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Apostle. It only contains 39 seriously damaged folios with often a very fragmentary text. Altogether 13 Apostolic pericopes (from the Acts), presumably taken over from a contemporary brief aprakos, also appear in the Glagolitic text from the 11th century, the so-called *Sinai Euchologium*, more specifically in the part of it found in 1975.⁴ In 1986, the text of the *Crkolez Apostle* (*Crk*)⁵ appeared and in the same year an expensive edition of the complete *Hval Collection* (*Hval*)⁶ was published in Sarajevo. The edition of the *Crkolez Apostle* from the 2nd half of the 13th century marks a significant turning-point in research into the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Apostle, being probably the oldest fully preserved Bulgarian transcription of the whole text of the archaic version of the Apostle. In 1991, the *Venetian Collection* (*Ven*),⁷ another collection of Bosnian origin, appeared containing the complete Apostle text. This edition, however, was not available to me and therefore I based my research on the variations included in the *Hval* edition.

Textological versions of the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Apostle

In his work, G. Voskresenskij⁸ divided the Old Church Slavonic and Ecclesiastic Slavonic transcriptions of the Gospels and

1 For example vol. I of the so-called *Summarising Catalogue* includes in its index 19 entries on Apostle books of different kinds, 52 on various Gospel books and 5 on the so-called Apostle-Gospel books. It is, however, necessary to note that 12 out of these 19 Apostle entries, that is, a significant majority, represent mere fragments and 3 Apostle-Gospel books are also mere minor fragments. *Svodnyj katalog slavjano-russkich rukopisnykh knig, chranjaščichsja v SSSR XI–XIII vv.*, Moskva 1984.

2 *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici. Monasterii sanctae Catharinae codex slav. 3/N adiectis foliis medicinalibus*, ed. Heinz Miklas et al., Wien 2012.

3 Kiril MIRČEV – Christo KODOV, *Eninski apostol, staroblgarski pametnik ot XI v.*, Sofija 1965, p.188.

4 The new part is, even today, available only in photographs: Ioannis TARNANIDIS, *the Slavonic Manuscripts discovered in 1975 at St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai*, Thessaloniki 1988, pp. 219–247.

5 Dimitrije BOGDANOVIĆ – Borjana VELČEVA – Alexander NAUMOV, *Bolgarskij apostol XIII veka: rukopis' Dečani-Crkolez 2*, Sofija 1986.

6 *The Codex of Hval Krstjanin*, Zbornik Hvala Krstjanina, ed. Nevenka Gošić – Biserka Grabar – Vjera Jerković – Herta Kuna – Anica Nazor, Sarajevo 1986.

7 *Novum Testamentum Bosniacum Marcianum: [Biblioteca nazionale Marciana] Cod. Or. 227 (=168)*, ed. Simonetta Pelusi, Helios, Padova 1991.

8 Grigorij VOSKRESENSKIJ, *Charakterističeskija čerty četyrech" redakcij slavjanskago perevoda Evangelija ot" Marka po sto dvěnadcati rukopisjam" evangelija XI–XVI vv.*, Moskva 1896; TÝŽ, *Drevnij slavjanskij perevod" Apostola i ego sud'by do XV v. Opyt" izslědovanija jazyka i teksta slavjanskago perevoda Apostola po rukopisjam" XII–XV vv.*, Moskva 1879; IDEM, *Drevnij slavjanskij Apostol*, vyp. 1–5., Sergiev Posad 1892–1908.

Apostles into four basic versions. In respect to the Apostles, in his first version he generally included all manuscripts with ancient features, choosing as foundational the *Russian Commented Apostle* from 1220 (*Mosk^a*), a text somewhere between an archaic translation and a Preslav version containing some other specificities similar to the *Apostle of Christinople (Christ)*. As a representative of the second version he chose the *Tolstov Apostle (Tolst)*, a complete Russian text from the 14th century, which has been recognised in this position up to now. Voskresenskij believed that the second version (like all the others) had already been produced on Russian soil. Penev,⁹ Dobrev¹⁰ and other scholars, however, persuasively argued that it is in fact the so-called Preslav version, a result of a revision of the Scriptural texts performed in the literary centre in Preslav probably in the course of the 10th century. The so-called third revision of Voskresenskij, basically an isolated group of texts including the *Čudov New Testament (Čud)*, original lost in 1918) and four other copies, was identified as later than the so-called fourth version, on which the text of *Čud* significantly depends.¹¹ It is therefore more appropriate to speak about a specific adaptation of the fourth version than about a version as such. Voskresenskij's fourth and final version was identified as Athonian¹² including a number of manuscripts of different provenance dated to the 14th century, in the course of which it achieved a general authority and became the basis of printed books.

In respect to the Gospels, the Voskresenskij division was definitively discarded only by the new classification scheme introduced in the preface of the critical edition of the Old Church Slavonic translation of the *Gospel*, produced under the direction of Alexejev,¹³ which is now accepted as authoritative. As for the Apostles, no such new generally accepted classification has yet been created and therefore the Voskresenskij scheme, though outdated and obsolete, remains in use. In her analysis of the Apostle text, Christova-Šomova¹⁴ followed this system of four versions, even though she recognised the need for revising it (vol. I, pp. 738–740). She realised the need for further precise distinction, especially for the so-called first version, but also found a certain discrepancy in the variations reflecting the Preslav version.¹⁵ In her work, Christova-Šomova carefully defined the lexical and grammatical specificities that distinguish the Preslav and the Athonite version from the archaic translation, leaving a closer classification of the so-called first (archaic) version and the description of its gradual development under the influence of the Preslav version towards the Athonite to further research. In respect to material, Christova-Šomova worked

with the manuscripts of the *Apostle* preserved in the National Library of Cyril and Methodius in Sofia (NBKM)¹⁶ and the available editions. For this reason, however, her research did not include many other old manuscripts of complete texts of the archaic group, primarily the *Crk* (though edited by then), which are of key importance for a more detailed classification of the so-called first version.

The archaic translation

The text with relatively the most archaic features was preserved in two, or rather in three, basic variations. The first of them appears in the archaic group of complete texts, the second in the old-fashioned *aprakoi*. These two groups apparently have a genetic connection, being therefore most probably based on the same protograph, which, however, most likely cannot be identified with a Cyrillo-Methodian original but rather with an early south-Slavic adaptation of it. It is perhaps best preserved in the *aprakoi* and complete texts originating in Macedonia. We will therefore call it the Ochrid version, though it did not necessarily originate directly in Ochrid, but was certainly taken up and further developed by the Ochrid literary school and subsequently spread west into Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia and to other territories.

The presupposed third variation of the archaic translation adaptation is apparently not directly preserved among extant manuscripts, though it was probably used in the course of compiling the text with commentaries, which was immediately contaminated by other "Preslavisms"; Voskresenskij¹⁷ had already realised that the oldest translation of the *Apostle* commentary (only made for the Apostles) resembles the second version in character. That led to the presupposition that this translation had already been made in the time of the first Bulgarian Empire.¹⁸ The most recent research, however, has confirmed the closeness of this translation to that of the commentaries to the Gospels by Theophylact the Bulgarian and also of some other texts which probably originated in the same Russian translation centre at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries.¹⁹ But also in this case, the commentaries would be attached to an older text of a complete text of the *Apostle*, based apparently on a south Slavic model close to the Preslav School. *Christ* and *Mosk^a* are of the same character. *Christ*, moreover, also contains the *Book of Acts*, for which the commentaries are missing, despite the fact that this part of the manuscript also has wide margins intended perhaps for future inscriptions. The *Book of Acts* in *Christ* has textologically the same character as the text of the Apostles (*Mosk^a* does not contain *Acts*), which suggests that this variation was not primarily purposed only for commented Apostles. We may thus presuppose the existence of a specific variation

9 Pen'o PENEV, *K'm istorijata na Kirilo-Metodievija starob'lgarski prevod na apostola*, in: Kirilo-Metodievski studii, kniga 6, Sofija 1989, pp. 246–317.

10 Ivan DOBREV, *Apostolskite citati v Besedata na Prezviter Kozma i preslavskata redakcija na Kirilo-Metodievija prevod na Apostola*, in: Kirilo-Metodievski studii, kniga 1, Sofija 1984, pp. 44–62.

11 Anatolij ALEKSEEV, et al., *Evangelie ot Ioanna v slavjanskoj tradicii*, Sankt-Peterburg 1998, p. 16. O apoštolu v této památce: Iskra CHRISTOVA ŠOMOVA, *Služebnijat Apostol v slavjanskata r'kopisna tradicija, Tom I, Izsledvane na biblejskija testk*, Sofija 2004, pp. 785–798.

12 I. CHRISTOVA ŠOMOVA, *Kirillo-Mefodievskij prevod Apostola i ego redakcii*, Slavia 68, 1999, booklet 2, pp. 11–36; IDEM, *Atonskata redakcija na apostola*, Pa-laeobulgarica 27, 2003, 1, pp. 11–36.

13 A. ALEKSEEV, et al., *Evangelie ot Ioanna*, p. 8–16.

14 I. CHRISTOVA ŠOMOVA, *Služebnijat Apostol v slavjanskata r'kopisna tradicija, Tom I, Izsledvane na biblejskija testk*, Sofija 2004; *Tom II, Izsledvane na sinaksarite (Christijanskite praznici v slavjanskite apostoli)*, Sofija 2012.

15 Voskresenskij's classification has been similarly criticised already by Miloš WEINGART in his review: *Vatroslav Jagić: Zum altkirchenslawischen Apostolus I–III. Wien 1919–1920*, Slavia 1, 1922–1923, pp. 411–420.

16 Digital copies of most of these manuscripts are nowadays freely available, due to the praiseworthy effort of the NBKM, on the internet: Nacionalna Biblioteka „Sv. Kiril i Metodij“, [accessed 27 March 2014], available at: <http://www.nationallibrary.bg>.

17 G. VOSKRESENSKIJ, *Drevnij slavjanskij prevod' Apostola*, p. 30.

18 Anisava MILTENOVA, et al., *Istorija na b'lgarskata srednovekovna literatura*, Sofija 2008, p. 101.

19 Cf. Tatjana V. PENTKOVSKAJA – Artom A. INDYČENKO – Elena V. FEDOROVA, *K izučeniju tolkovoj tradicii domonga'lskogo perioda: Apostol i Evangelie s tolkovanimjami*, in: *Lingvističeskoe istočnikovedenie i istorija ruskogo jazyka 2010–2011*, Moskva 2011, pp. 30–51; Marina A. BOBRIK, *Tolkovoj Apostol v Velikich Čet'ich Minejach: dva spiska – dve redakcii*, in: *Lingvističeskoe istočnikovedenie i istorija ruskogo jazyka 2010–2011*, Moskva 2011, pp. 52–102; Anna A. PIČHADZE, *Lingvističeskije osobennosti slavjanskich tolkovych perevodov XI–XII vv.*, in: *Pis'mennost', literatura, fol'klor slavjanskich narodov. Istorija slavistiki. XV Meždunarodnyj s'ezd slavistov*, Minsk 20–27 avgusta 2013 g, Doklady rossijskoj delegacii, Moskva 2013, pp. 246–265.

of the Preslav adaptation of the Cyrillo-Methodian archetype, in some features different from the Ochrid adaptation, which did not yet contain many of the changes included some time later by the Preslav revision itself. In order to distinguish these two types, we will call the older Preslav adaptation of the archaic text the proto-Preslav variation. The manuscripts, which reflect the same variations as *Christ* and *Mosk*²⁰ without commentaries, are an important testimony that such a variation of the archaic text indeed existed in the south Slavic environment. The oldest manuscript of this kind is probably the *Karakal Apostle (Kar)* from the 13th century discovered by Bakker in Karakal Monastery on Athos,²⁰ which I, however, was not able to consult. Variations of this kind also appear in some complete texts from the 13th century onwards, primarily in the *Matice Apostle (Mat)*.

1. The Ochrid version

a. Complete texts

- complete texts:²¹
 - The Gršković Fragment (*Grš*, non-nasal,²² 12th–13th c.) Chil-52 (non-nasal, 13th c., Chilandar Monastery, Athos, microfilm in NBS)
 - The Crkolez Apostle (*Crk*, nasal,²³ 2nd half of the 13th c.)
 - The Pirdop Apostle (*Pird*, nasal, 2nd half of the 13th c., NBKM, № 497)
 - Chil-47 (non-nasal, 1312–16, Chilandar Monastery, Athos, microfilm in NBS)
 - Chlud-36 (non-nasal, beginning of the 14th c., GIM)
 - The Hilferding Apostle (*Hilf*, non-nasal, 1st half of the 14th c., RNB, *Hilf* 14)
 - S-502 (nasal, 1350s–1360s, NBKM)
 - The Hval Collection (*Hval*, non-nasal, 1404)
 - The Venetian Collection (*Ven*, non-nasal, beginning of the 15th c.)
- brief aprakos:
 - S-883 (non-nasal, beginning of the 14th c., NBKM)

The list of manuscripts of this group is not necessarily complete. I include *Chlud-36* only based on the passage published by Jagić in the *Grš* edition, and the *Apostle* text of the *Venetian Collection* only based on the variation mentioned in the *Hval* edition. I had the opportunity to see manuscripts *Chil-47* and *Chil-52* on microfilms in the Serbian National Library (NBS) in Belgrade. I consider manuscript *Chil-52* textually the oldest and best preserved of this whole group. However, since I still do not have a copy of it, I take as basic the text *Crk*, a manuscript that is also very old and preserved though corrupted by a somewhat higher number of mistakes and individual deviations. *Crk* also more strongly reflects the influence of the aprakoi. The second complete Bulgarian text *S-502* likewise has a strong tendency

toward rapprochement with the aprakoi texts. The Serbian *S-89* reflects, beside the aprakos influence, in some places the Preslav impact too. The Bosnian manuscripts *Hilf Hval Ven* are also rather conservative, even though this does not pertain to all cases.²⁴ The odd man out in this group is the short aprakos *S-883*, evidently compiled based on a complete text,²⁵ but with a number of corrupted words and individual deviations.

In general, the group of complete archaic texts of the Ochrid type may be defined as homogeneous and stable, with deviation in individual manuscripts not being of such kind and frequency as to exclude the possibility of a united protograph of all these manuscripts. Until the publication of *Crk*, texts of this kind were known mostly only in the Serbian environment (until then only the incomplete Bulgarian *Pird* was known, a manuscript also very archaic and close to *Crk*, which was, however, neither published nor properly studied from a textological perspective²⁶), though Jagić already considered *Grš* a copy from a Glagolitic model of Macedonian type based on the sporadic appearance of nasals – јус (ΓΛΩΗ ΧΟΥΛΩΗΖΗΝΑ 3:26 /-Ѣ, отъ землѣ халѣдѣицикиа 4:17 /-Ѣ) and also on a proof of the substitution of nasals (err. ΙΒΒΑΛΒΕ ΙΑ 6:2 for ΙΒΒΑΛΒΙΩ ΙΑ).²⁷ Bulgarian *Crk* and *Pird* are representatives of the same version of the text as *Grš* and some younger Serbian manuscripts of this group; today we also know about the Bulgarian manuscript from the 14th century denoted as *S-502*, which is, too, an example of this version. This allows us to search for the archetype origin of this version in 11th century Macedonia at the latest.

In her edition of it, Velčeva mentions an interesting proof of the archaicness of the text preserved in *Crk* and related manuscripts.²⁸ It concerns a detailed quotation from 1C14: 5–40 in the *Life of Constantine (VC)*, copying the full version from *Crk* and in parallel also from *Mat*. Penev apparently intensely studied this quotation,²⁹ distinguishing the layer of Preslav innovations, randomly imported especially into the Russian transcriptions, from an older version that was well preserved especially in the south Slavic transcriptions. Comparison indicates that this archaic quotation practically literally agrees with the version preserved in *Crk*. The author of *VC* thus apparently took over this quotation from the same kind of text as that preserved in *Crk* and related manuscripts. It is also important to realise that only verses 5 and 20–25 in this quotation fall within the aprakos pericopes. That proves that at the time when the *VC* was produced, a translation of the complete text of the *Apostle* must already

24 An example of such an innovation could be the introduction of the verb ΓΩΗΣΗΚΤΗ for the Greek ἀφῆσθαί instead of the older εβλασθη σα in A27:20 (*S-502 Hilf Hval Ven Jaz Šiš*) and A27:31 (*Hilf Hval Ven Jaz Man*). It is clearly a "Preslavism" (see I. CHRISTOVA ŠOMOVA, *Služebnjat Apostol*, Tom I, p. 436); however, Tolst too has εβλασθη σα as an archaic translation. There may be some influence from the presupposed Preslav variation of the *Apostle*, which in some cases passed through Serbian mediation (these variations also appear in *Jaz Šiš*) into Bosnian copies.

25 See I. CHRISTOVA ŠOMOVA, *Služebnjat Apostol*, Tom I, pp. 35–36. This aprakos very often wrongly determines the ends of the pericopes. The compiler apparently overlooked them in the complete text with which he was working and continued copying until the beginning of the next pericope.

26 The basic description of this text comes from: Manol IVANOV, *Paleografski, gramatički i kritički osobnosti na Pirdopskija apostol*, Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija, nauka i knižnina 6, 1891, pp. 83–112.

27 Vatroslav JAGIĆ, *Glagolitica II. Grškovičev odlomak glagolskog apostola*, in: Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, knjiga XXVI, Zagreb, 1893, p. 41.

28 D. BOGDANOVIĆ – B. VELČEVA – A. NAUMOV, *Bolgarskij apostol XIII veka*, pp. 71–74.

29 P. PENEV, *K'm istorijata*, pp. 246–317.

20 Michael BAKKER, *Discovered on Mount Athos: the Karakalski apostol*, *Paleobulgarica* 14, 1990/4, pp. 61–67. I know the text of the manuscript only from a photograph of the first page of the Epistle of James published by Bakker and from the variant reading included by Johannes VAN DER TAK v studii *the Apostolus Christianopolitanus and the Text of the Old Slavic Apostolus. The Lessons for Saturday and Sunday of Weeks 10–20 after Pentecost*, in: *Polata k'nigopis'naja* 29–30, 1996, pp. 4–49.

21 Editions of the published manuscripts are mentioned in the list of abbreviations of the manuscripts included at the end of the present study.

22 Non-nasal texts are those with the signs of Zeta-Chlum, Raska, Resava and Bosnia orthography, Glagolitic and Cyrillic but not the typically Croatian-Glagolitic texts.

23 Nasal texts are those with the nasal orthography of Bulgarian and Macedonian origin.

have existed and it is best preserved in manuscripts such as *Crk*, *Pird*, *Grš*, *Hilf* and *Hval*.

Even though the 13th–15th century manuscripts of the Serbian and Bulgarian version represent complete texts of the Ochrid kind, a strong conservatism in the verbal system typical of all of them suggests that their protograph probably did not know the later sigmatic aorist and the later forms of the particium praeteriti ending in *-ивъ*, in which it did not practically differ from Old Church Slavonic texts such as the *Marian Tetraevangelium*, the *Sinai Psalter* or the *Cloze Collection*, which, except for one-off cases, did not yet use these later forms.³⁰ These forms clearly penetrated individual transcriptions of this group of the Apostles, even though in the whole *Apostle* text there is probably not one place in which the earlier forms would not be preserved at least in some manuscripts.

From a lexical perspective this group of texts represents a more or less neutral Old Church Slavonic of the South Slavic kind. The archaic features include, for example, the very strict preservation of the neuter pronoun *ѣтеръ*, which in other old-style *Apostle* collections was often removed in favour of *ѣдинъ*. Where the Old Church Slavonic texts carry pre-Preoslav lexical variations, the complete texts of the *Apostle* of the Ochrid type usually contain only the progressive forms. Thus for example the Greek *ἄφεσις* translates to *отъзданиѣ*, instead of the archaic *отъпощениѣ*, which still prevails in the Old Church Slavonic *tetraevangelia Zogr Mar*, even though in Mt 26:28 *Mar*, like the Gospel books *Sav* and *Vat*, has *отъзданиѣ*.³¹ Apostles and the complete version of the *Apostle* text of the Preoslav edition, on the other hand, prefer the expression *оставаѣниѣ* – similar to the Gospel books *As* and *Ostr*. The *Apostle* includes the archaism *отъпощениѣ* with one exception (Hb 10:18 *S-89*) only in *Acts* in the manuscripts, implying influences of the supposed proto-Preoslav version: *šiš* (A2:38 A5:31 A10:43), *Christ* (A10:43 A13:38) and *Jaz* (A5:31). In the *Apostles*, the expression *отъзданиѣ* clearly prevails in all old manuscripts.

The interesting expression *рѣшотъ*,³² usually considered a “Moravism” or “Pannonism” and the adjectives derived from it (*рѣшотивъ*, *рѣшотивьнъ*), is (from the complete *Apostle* texts) only preserved in *Hval* and, from the complete *aparakoi*, only in *Slepč*. With one exception (*рѣшотивъ* A14:19 *Hval*) these expressions appear in both manuscripts only in the *Apostles*. There are other testimonies to a certain dichotomy between the vocabulary of the *Acts* and the *Apostles*.³³ From other Biblical texts this expression only appears in the *Sinai Psalter* from the 11th century and then also in the *Karpin Gospel* from the 13th century (an incomplete *aparakos* in one codex with the *Karpin Apostle*);³⁴

in the books of the Old Testament Prophets it appears in Os 4:1 in Croatian-Glagolitic breviaries.³⁵ Otherwise the Biblical text commonly uses the expressions *истина*, *истиньнъ*.

Another archaism is the expression *балии* as an equivalent of the Greek *ιατρός*, already replaced in Old Church Slavonic texts by the synonymous *врачъ*. From the Old Church Slavonic *tetraevangelia*, the expression *балии* appears only in *Mar* and from later texts also only partly in the *Karpin Gospel*; in *Zogr* and the Gospel books it has already been replaced by *врачъ*.³⁶ The earlier *балии* is also preserved in the *Psalter* Ps 87:11 *Sin Pog Lob Par* (only *Bon* uses *врачъ*). In the *Apostle* the expression *ιατρός* appears in one single place, C4:14. From incomplete texts, the expression *балии* appears in the Bulgarian *Pird* from the 13th century and the Bosnian *Hval* from 1404, from the *aparakoi* only in *Ochr* from the 12th century; otherwise there is everywhere only *врачъ*. That may suggest that both complete texts of the Ochrid kind, as well as the *Apostle* collections, developed from the same protograph, which had the archaic expression *балии*. In the course of copying, it was, however, gradually replaced by the progressive synonym *врачъ*, until the expression *балии* only remained in several copies.

Among other lexical innovations of complete texts of the Ochrid kind we may also mention for example translations of the verb *παραγγέλλειν*. The *aparakoi* mostly preserve the old equivalents *рѣстити/запрѣстити/запрѣщати*, which are, however, in complete texts of the Ochrid type replaced by the verb *повелѣвати* (A1:4 A16:18 1C11:17) or *заповѣдати* (A4:18 A17:30), with the Preoslav version preferring the second. The change to *повелѣвати* appears in the Gospels in *Nik^b* L8:29, and to *заповѣдати* in *Nik^b* L5:14, which illustrates the analogical development of the complete texts of the *Apostle* and the later *tetraevangelia*, revisions of which reflect those of the Gospel books.³⁷ A similar parallel also appears in the case of the *Apostles* in exchanging the expression *кѣнигы* *γραφή* for *писаниѣ* (A1:16) in the complete texts of the Ochrid type. This replacement has an analogy in the Gospel books in *As* 110c29/J19:37 and *Ostr* L24:32.45. The expression *писаниѣ* also significantly prevails in the eastern Bulgarian *Supr*.

Complete texts of the Ochrid kind also probably appear more innovative in the translation of the Greek words *πλοῖον* and *ναῦς*, for which they only have the word *кораблъ*. The synonymous *ладни* is preserved only in certain brief *aparakoi* in A27:31 (*πλοῖον*) and A27:41 (*ναῦς*). In the brief Russian *aparakos Ar1307* it is even written without the metathesis, *ладни* (A27:31). This form had certainly been carried over from an archaic model, which witnesses the originality of this translation. The appearance of the expression *ладни/ладни* exactly in the pericope of the brief *Apostle* *aparakos* contrasts with the opinion of Horálek,³⁸ who believed that it was typical of the complementary text of the *tetraevangelia*, even though he admitted it was original even in the pericope in place J16:7, where it is widely preserved. The situation in the *Apostles*, however, rather witnesses the fact that *ладни/ладни* was typical of the archaic translation of the Gospels and the *Apostle*, while later, with different persistence, it was replaced in individual texts in favour of *кораблъ*.

30 Nikolaj VAN VEJK, *Istorija staroslavjanskogo jazyka*, Moskva 1957, pp. 313, 325.

31 K. Horálek considers *отъзданиѣ* in this place original: Karel HORÁLEK, *Evangeljáre a čtveroevangelia. Příspěvek k textové kritice a k dějinám staroslověnského překladu evangelia [Gospel books and tetraevangelia. A contribution to textual criticism and the history of the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Gospel]*, Praha 1954, pp. 60–61.

32 In connection with the *Apostles* also see I. CHRISTOVA ŠOMOVA, *Služebnijat Apostol*, Tom I., p. 488–489, 742–746 and Zoe HAUPTOVÁ, *Vývoj textu staroslověnského apoštola z hlediska lexikální analýzy [The textual development of the Old Church Slavonic Apostle from the perspective of lexical analysis]*, *Slavia* 47, 1978, pp. 25–26.

33 Also see Z. HAUPTOVÁ, *K otázce vztahu perikopního a doplňkového textu staroslověnského apoštola [On the question of the relationship of the pericope and complementary text of the Old Church Slavonic Apostle]*, *Palaeoslovenica*, Praha 1971, p. 47.

34 K. Horálek even considers the expression *рѣшотъ* in the original of the Gospels: K. HORÁLEK, *Evangeljáre a čtveroevangelia [Gospel books and tetraevangelia]*, p. 41.

35 J. VAJS, *Propheta Oseas*, Veglae, 1910.

36 K. HORÁLEK, *Evangeljáre a čtveroevangelia [Gospel books and tetraevangelia]*, p. 41.

37 *Ibidem*, pp. 286–287.

38 *Ibidem*, p. 116.

The innovation of the complete texts of the Apostle of the Ochrid kind is not confined to the lexical area but reaches over into syntax, in an intense effort to imitate the sentence structure of the Greek model. Not even in this respect do they avoid the tendencies also recognised in the Old Church Slavonic Gospel books and in later tetraevangelia.³⁹ An example of such a change is verse A1:21 *ꙗко добаєть Ѹбо ꙗ съшедъшиꙗ сѧ с нами мѡжємъ* (sic *Crk S-502* for *мѡжъ*) *δεῖ* (var. *ἔδει*) οὖν τῶν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν *Crk S-502 Hilf Hval Jaz Šiš Mis Brev* × *съшедшимъ сѧ с нами : мажемъ Vran Rs-643 Tolst Mak Drag Skop Tom Belč S-883 Sanu-2 Ap1307 Pskov Karp*. A more liberal (and for Slavic syntax, more natural) translation with a dative appears in the aprakoi and the texts of the Preslav version. Complete texts of the Ochrid type including the Croatian-Glagolitic texts, however, following the Greek model, introduce a literal translation with the genitive construction. For the fact that this version is the product of secondary revision, witness *Crk* and *S-502*, in which the writer forgot to replace the dat. pl. *мѡжємъ* divided from the rest of the syntagma by *съ нами* with the genitive *мѡжъ*. It simultaneously proves that complete texts of the Ochrid type are based, like the aprakoi, on a protograph, which had a more liberal translation with the dative.

The archaic text of the Ochrid type also appears from the 13th century in a line of complete texts of Serbian origin strongly intertwined with the translation solutions of the Preslav version. We may thus perceive this group as inter-edition compilations. Nevertheless, in places following the Preslav version, these manuscripts often vary. These texts could thus hardly have a common protograph, but were rather produced repeatedly and independently of one another based on the same tendency, a certain desire to reconcile the archaic translation with the Preslav version and create a neutral text in respect to edition affiliation. These efforts were, however, not guided by any systematic principles, but had a rather accidental character. In the case of some manuscripts, especially *Mat* and in smaller measure also *Jaz Šiš*, we may also expect changes according to the text of the presupposed proto-Preslav version, perhaps in the form of a commented text. In my research I included the following texts:

- complete texts:
The Matice Apostle (*Mat*, non-nasal, 2nd half of the 13th c.)
Rs-643 (non-nasal, beginning of the 14th c., NBS)
The Jazac Apostle (*Jaz*, non-nasal, 1541, BMS, PP III 38)⁴⁰
- complete aprakos:
The Šišatovac Apostle (*Šiš*, non-nasal, 1324)

The list is far from complete. According to the information of Voskresenskij, the manuscripts of the *Hilferding Collection* № 13 and 15 (nowadays preserved in RNB) also belong to this group and there are certainly other such manuscripts. An interesting find is the exceptional closeness of *Jaz* and *Šiš*, connected by a whole line of unique variations. This closeness cannot be explained except by reference to a common protograph

³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 268–269.

⁴⁰ Photos of the manuscript are available on the Internet: *Jazački apostol*, godina 1541 [online]. Digitalna biblioteka Matice srpske [accessed 28 March 2014]. Available at: <http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/1411>.

of these two manuscripts.⁴¹ Even though *Jaz* is a copy from as late as 1541, its general character otherwise does not contradict the possibility that it is in fact a copy of an original no later than *Šiš*. Interestingly enough, it is a complete text analogical to the so-called new liturgical tetraevangelia (EJST 1998, 13–14), the liturgical markers of which also contain the pericope incipits. This kind of complete text had the advantage that it allowed for compilation of aprakoi of various lengths according to need. *Šiš* was probably produced exactly in this way. The emergence of the Athonite version is a culmination of this attempt to create a neutral text using both the archaic translation as well as the innovation of the Preslav version. The Athonite authors, however, highly outdid the preceding compilation efforts with their learning, precision and system.

The majority of Apostle pericopes in Croatian-Glagolitic missals and the corresponding pericopes in Croatian-Glagolitic breviaries are likewise based on a complete archaic text of the Ochrid type, even though their text has been specifically revised according to the Latin models. Since in all places where the complete text of the Ochrid type has innovations in comparison with the aprakoi, whether lexical or syntactic, the Croatian-Glagolitic texts bear the same innovations, unless these places were newly revised according to Latin or influenced by the Preslav version. The Apostle pericopes, which have more breviaries than missals, are completely taken over from the text of the Preslav version. Apostle pericopes in the missals also show, in various codices, a greater or lesser amount of influence of the Preslav version as already stated by I. Christova-Šomova.⁴² The most recent study by Petra Staňkovská revealed an analogical situation in the Gospel pericopes.⁴³ The goal of further research will be to compare the situation in these pericopes with that in the above-mentioned Serbian texts of the 13th–14th centuries, which similarly mix the archaic translation with the Preslav version. Previous research, however, does not exclude importation into the Croatian-Glagolitic missals and breviaries from very old originals. On the contrary, by their character they well reflect the preserved South Slavic (especially Serbian) complete texts of the 13th century. Evidently, these pericopes in the preserved Croatian-Glagolitic missals and breviaries may have been taken over precisely from them in the period following the official corroboration of the Slavic liturgy in part of the Croatian territory in 1248. My research was based on the edition of the *Hrvaj Missal (MHR)*⁴⁴ from 1404–1407 containing the variations from the *Vatican Missal (MVat)*, beginning of the 14th c.),

⁴¹ Only the first chapter of *Acts* offers these agreements of *Jaz* and *Šiš*, which have no equals in other manuscripts (the testimonies are orthographically normalised; the archaic translation is represented by *Crk*, or possibly the aprakoi *Mak* and the Preslav version *Tolst*): *заповѣдалъ євтеїламеѡс ... избѣралъ єже єлєѡто* A1:2 (*заповѣдалъ ... избѣра Crk*), *крѣстѣмъ єстѣ євѣлѣїєѡс* A1:5 (*крѣстѣ Crk*), *не вѣмъ єстѣ оуѡ ѡмѡн єстѣ ... євѣ своєн вѣлѣстѣ єн єтѣ їдїѡ єѡсїѡ* A1:7 (*нєєтѣ вѣмъ Crk ... своєнѡ єлѣстѣ Crk*, *євѣ своєн вѣлѣстѣ Tolst*), *нѣмъ же євѣлѣмъ єн трѡпѡн* A1:11 (*євѣ Crk*), *єдїнѡмѣлѣнѡ ѡмѡнѣмѡдѡн* A1:14 (*нѣнѡмѡнѣнѡ Crk*, *єдїнѡмѡнѣнѡ Mak*). — in all these cases there are apparent innovations, although we cannot exclude possible connections between these variations and the presupposed proto-Preslav version, and such a possibility is perhaps witnessed by the testimony *євѣ же нѣрѡдѡ ѡчлѡмъ євѡкѡѡтѣ єѡко • ꙗ и є • ѡн те ѡчлѡс ѡнѡмѡтѡн* (var. *євѣлѣнѡн*) *єпї тѡ євѣлѣ єѡтѡн єїкоєтѣ* A1:15 (*євѣлѣ Crk*, *нѣнѣмъ Mak Tolst*) with the variation *ѡчлѡмъ* and also in the short Russian aprakos from the beginning of the 14th c. *Pskov*.

⁴² I. CHRISTOVA ŠOMOVA, *Preslavizmite v apostolskite četiva v ch'rvatskite glagolicheski misali i breviarii*, in: *Preslavska knižovna škola*, T. 7, Šumen 2004, pp. 42–56.

⁴³ Petra STAŇKOVSKÁ, *Odkaz Preslavské školy v chorvatskokirkevněslavovských liturgických památkách [The legacy of the Preslav School in Croatian-Glagolitic Church Slavonic liturgical texts]*, in: *Preslavska knižovna škola*, T. 12, Šumen 2012, pp. 76–89.

⁴⁴ *Hrvatskaglagoljski misal Hrvaja Vukčića Hrvatinića. Transkripcija i komentar*, ed. Vjekoslav ŠTEFANIĆ – B. GRABAR – A. NAZOR – Maria PANTELIĆ, Zagreb – Ljubljana – Graz 1973.

the *Missal of Knez Novak* (*MNov*, 1368), the *Roč Missal* (*MRoč*, 1420), the photo-typical edition of the *Novljansky Breviary n. II* (*BNovII*, 1495)⁴⁵ and the *Printed Breviary from 1491* (*B1491*).⁴⁶ in respect to contemporary scholarly methods, I consider the Berčić⁴⁷ edition of the Croatian-Glagolitic Biblical texts old-fashioned and outdated.

b. *Aprakoi*

- brief aprakoi:
 - The Enin Apostle (*En*, nasal, 2nd half of the 11th c.)
 - The Ochrid Apostle (*Ochr*, RGB, Grig. 13 (M. 1695), nasal, 2nd half of the 12th c.)
 - The Dragotin Apostle (*Drag*, NBKM, № 882, nasal, end of the 12th c.)
 - The Mihanović Fragment (*Mih*, non-nasal, turn of the 12th–13th c.)
 - The Zographos Apostle (*ZogrAp*, the Zographos Monastery, № 53, nasal, 13th c.)
 - The Macedonian (Strumica) Apostle (*Mak*, nasal, 2nd half of the 13th c.)
 - The Belčina Lectionary (*Belč*, NBKM, № 508, nasal, turn of the 13th–14th c.)
 - The Skopje Apostle (*Skop*, Monastery of St Panteleimon, № 4, nasal, 1313)
 - The Tomić Apostle (*Tom*, GIM, Muz 2838, nasal, 1st half of the 14th c.)
 - S-882 (NBKM, № 882, nasal, beginning of the 14th c.)
 - The Verković Apostle (*Verk*, RNB Q. p. I. 46, nasal, 14th c.)
 - Crk-3 (NBS, Dečani-Crkolez 3, nasal, 14th c.)
 - Sanu-2 (SANU, № 2, non-nasal, 1366–71)
- abbreviated aprakoi:
 - Deč-4 (NBS, Dečani № 4, non-nasal, 2nd quarter of the 13th c.)
 - Rs-27 (NBS, Rs-27, nasal, 3rd quarter of the 15th c.)
- pericopal part of complete texts:
 - Vran (*Vran*, nasal, 2nd half of the 13th c.)
 - S-509 (NBKM, № 509, nasal, the 1340s–1350s)

The list is far from complete, with many fragments of later short aprakoi, preserved in libraries around the world, missing. With the exception of the *Mih* fragment, they are all Cyrillic aprakoi but at least *En*, *Ochr*, *Mak* may be considered copies from Glagolitic models. The *Mihanović Fragment* (*Mih*)⁴⁸ is a fragment of a brief aprakos of two folios apparently stemming from the (south) western part of the Serbian-Croatian language environment, and thus may be claimed by both the Croatian-Glagolitic and the Serbian literary tradition. From a textological perspective the pericopes preserved in it fully concur with the text preserved in the oldest short aprakoi, with which it has a common origin as far as we may deduce from its rather meagre length. At the same time, *Mih* is the only old testimony to the use of the brief praxapostle on Serbian-Croatian territory,

where the brief aprakos was apparently rather early on replaced by other kinds of liturgical books.

This whole group is thus very heterogeneous with almost all the aprakoi, including a number of individual variations, bearing numerous corrupted words and textual defects. The reason is certainly the fact that these were the most frequently copied texts purposed for practical use in liturgy. That allowed their scribes to adjust them according to their customs and local traditions, which led to their rather dynamic and complicated development. On one hand they acquired a great number of grammatical and lexical innovations (including “Preslavisms”) and various individual idiosyncrasies, while on the other hand some archaisms remained unnoticed in some places, and would have been carefully removed during the editing of complete texts. The Apostle pericopes of the Old Church Slavonic *EuchN*⁴⁹ as well as the oldest preserved fragment of a brief aprakos *En*⁵⁰ were already strongly impacted by this development. Despite the variety of all the aprakoi of the archaic group, it is possible to assume a common protograph (or a group of very similar protographs), which did not significantly differ from a protograph of complete texts of the Ochrid type. Textological differences between the archaic aprakoi and complete texts perhaps have the nature of later innovations, whether on one or the other side, certainly under the influence of later changes of the aprakoi according to Greek lectionaries and complete texts based on the complete (liturgical) Greek texts. Despite this divergent development, however, the aprakos and the complete text in the course of the whole time of their development mutually impacted one another and innovations were variously carried from one group to the next.

Two Glagolitic fragments of old missals have a special position among texts of the aprakos type: the *Vienna Fragments* (*Vind*) and the first later folio of the *Kiev Fragments* (*Kijp*), which contain fragments of Apostle pericopes of limited volume. Both fragments may be dated to the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century. *Vind* is considered an Old Croatian text written in a similar kind of Glagolitic as *Grš* or *Mih*, and an Old Croatian origin is sometimes also sought in *Kijp*⁵¹, despite the fact that it is written using the nasal orthography fully reflecting the Bulgarian-Macedonian texts, from which it does not otherwise deviate phonetically. According to the incipits in both fragments we may assume that the Apostle pericopes were taken over into these missals from an old brief aprakos. Both fragments also correspond textologically, without more serious deviations, with the archaic aprakoi. For the minimal length of these fragments it is, however, practically impossible to establish the origin of this transfer.

As for the abbreviated Apostles-Gospel books of type *Deč-4*, they are also much more numerous than those offered by the above list, the oldest of them, *Deč-4*, being chosen as representative

45 *II. Novljanski brevijar. Hrvatskoglagoljski rukopis iz 1495*, ed. A. Nazor – M. Pantelić, Zagreb 1977.

46 *Brevijar po zakonu rimskog dvora* [1491], ed. Ivan Bakmaz – A. Nazor – Josip Tandarić, Zagreb 1991.

47 *Ulomci Svetoga pisma obojega uvjeta staroslavenskim jezikom. Peti dio*, ed. Ivan Berčić, Praha 1866.

48 The fragment was published by V. JAGIĆ, *Mihanovićev odlomak apostolara glagolskoga; rukopis roda hrvatskoga*, *Gradja za glagoljsku paleografiju*, Zagreb 1868, pp. 1–35.

49 Valerija EFIMOVA, *Ob apostol'skich čtenijach v sostave Sinajskogo evchologija (v svjazi s poslednimi otkrytijami v monastyre sv. Ekateriny na Sinae)*, in: *Meždunarodnaja asociacija po izučeniju i rasprostranjeniju slavjanskih kul'tur. Informacionnyj bjulleten'*, vypusk 26, Moskva 1992.

50 Z. HAUPTOVÁ, *Lexikální rozbor apoštola Eninského. Příspěvek k analýze nejstaršího textu staroslavenského apoštoláře [Lexical analysis of the Enin Apostle A contribution to analysis of the oldest text of the Old Church Slavonic Apostle collection]*, in: *Studia palaeoslovenica*, Praha, 1971, pp. 105–121.

51 The *SJS [Dictionary of the Old Church Slavonic Language]* (I., p. 62) also classifies *Kijp* as a Croatian text. *Kijp* also appears among the sources of the *Rječnik crkvenoslavenskoga jezika hrvatske redakcije* (I., p. 31).

of this group of texts. Manuscript *Rs-27* uses the nasal orthography and is probably of Macedonian origin. Even though an abbreviated (*праздничный, сверхкраткий*) aprakos, it does not contain any Gospel pericopes. It was probably created by the reduction of some older short aprakos only for Saturday and Sunday readings. Textologically the abbreviated aprakoi do not significantly differ from the brief aprakoi, from which they apparently originate. Their heterogeneity also testifies to the fact that they were compiled repeatedly and independently of one another. Their variations mostly have parallels in the brief aprakoi of the 13th–14th century and the date of their production thus cannot be much later. It is probable that they appeared in the period of the reforms inaugurated by Sava the Serbian (1174/1175–1236) along with a new type of complete liturgical text. Their use gradually spread to Bulgaria and Russia too. Also codices with the length of brief aprakos appeared in the form of Apostle-Gospel books. As in the previous case, they do not form a specific textological group, but are merely mechanically connected brief Apostles and Gospels without a common protograph. For this reason, I mention these texts directly among the short aprakoi. Possibly the oldest of them is the nasal *Belč* from the turn of the 13th–14th centuries, to which the nasal *Crk-3* from the 14th century bears many similarities. Manuscript *Sanu-2* is an Apostle-Gospel book from 1366–71 written in Serbian orthography but certainly with a Macedonian model from the same group as *Skop Tom S-882*; it was therefore clearly compiled independently of *Belč* and *Crk-3*.

The complete texts constitute a special group, produced by expanding the brief aprakos. Among these texts there is the *Vranešnice Apostle (Vran)* from the 13th century, the basis of which is formed by a brief aprakos close to *Ochr* or *Mak*, including complementary readings of the Preslav version and at times revised (mainly in the pericope parts) also according to the complete text of the Ochrid type. A second manuscript, presumably compiled in this fashion, is the late *S-509* from the mid-14th century. Its origin in a short aprakos is reliably witnessed by specific aprakos incipits in some places mechanically carried over into the text. The complementary readings, however, contrast with *Vran* being taken over from an old-style complete text of the Ochrid type. It is an interesting paradox that the pericope parts of the manuscript contain the text of the aprakos type in a significantly old character much better preserved than in any other, though the much older brief aprakos are almost free of corrupted words or individual deviations. Where the aprakoi waver between an earlier and later variation, *S-509* usually holds on to the older form. Establishing a more certain conclusion will, however, require further study of this unique manuscript, which Christova-Šomova did not even include in her analysis, perhaps due to its late origin.

The short Russian aprakoi form a special group of the aprakos text, characterised by wavering between the archaic translation of the aprakos type and the Preslav version. The present research includes two such manuscripts:

- The Apostle from 1307 (*Ap1307*, GIM, Sin. 722, Russian, 1307)
- The Pskov Apostle (*Pskov*, GIM, Sin. 14, Russian, 1309–1311)

The places in which the archaic translation in the short Russian aprakoi intertwines with the Preslav version are not always identical with similarly composed texts of another type (complete aprakoi, commented texts and later Serbian complete

texts), implying that the changes made according to the Preslav revision took place repeatedly and independently. The aprakoi *Ap1307* and *Pskov* are basically rather close; *Pskov* was, moreover, apparently revised again according to a complete text of the Ochrid type, which is evident especially in those places where it differs from *Ap1307*⁵² perhaps due to so-called secondary South Slavic influence.

A specific group of aprakos texts is formed by the complete aprakoi. As in the example of the complete Gospel aprakos, complete Apostle aprakoi are of two main typological kinds. So-called south-Slavonic manuscripts form the first group. Despite their variety, these texts waver between an archaic translation and the Preslav revision. Their Gospel parallel is, for example, the *Miroslav Gospel*, a complete Serbian aprakos from the 12th century, or the *Karpin Gospel*, a complete nasal aprakos from the 13th century bound in one codex with the *Karpin Apostle*, also a complete aprakos. The second group consists of complete aprakoi fully following the Preslav revision (see below). The complete Apostle aprakoi that combine the archaic translation with the Preslav revision include:

- The Slepčen Apostle (*Slepč*, nasal, end of the 12th c.)
- The Manujlov Apostle (*Man*, nasal, 2nd half of the 13th c.)
- The Karpin Apostle (*Karp*, nasal, turn of the 13th–14th c.)
- The Šišatovac Apostle (*Šiš*, non-nasal, 1324)

These manuscripts certainly do not have a common protograph; the praxapostle was certainly compiled repeatedly and independently. *Slepč* and *Man* are relatively close to each other, both of which simultaneously use “Preslavisms” as well as in other places archaic vocabulary, though these places do not always agree.⁵³ It is thus not probable that these manuscripts would be based on the same protograph; they were probably compiled independently of each other but based on similar models using an analogous method. The reason for compiling complete aprakoi emerged only with the development of monastic life and it is therefore not probable that such a type of text could already have been in existence in Moravia. A complete aprakos may have been produced in two ways, either from a brief aprakos enriched by the missing pericopes from the complete text (*Slepč*, *Man*, *Karp* were apparently produced in this way), or by a choice of pericopes from a complete text according to liturgical markers and tables (this is clearly how *Šiš* was compiled). It is certainly not by accident that in the case of the short aprakos the missing part in the first group was taken from the Preslav revision. As an example we can quote verses A17: 8–9, which are not part of a brief aprakos and in which *Slepč* literally follows the Preslav version, *ВЪЗМАТОШЪ ЖЕ СЯ ЛЪДНЕ И СТАРЪБИШИНЪ ГРАДА : СЛЪШАВЪШЕ СЕ : И ВЪЗЕМЪШЕ МНОГО Ѡ НАСОНА И ОТЪ ПРОЧИХЪ ПУСТИШЪ Ѡ*, cf. the identical wording of *Tolst*: *ВЪЗМАТОША ЖЕ СЯ ЛЮДИ И СТАРЪБИШИНЪ ГРАДА СЛЪШАВЪШЕ СЕ • И ВЪЗЕМЪШЕ МНОГО Ѡ НАСОНА (sic!) • И Ѡ ПРОЧИХЪ ПУСТИША Я* compared with the archaic translation preserved in *Crk* and other complete texts of the Ochrid

52 For example *ве же народа числомъ • ѣ • и • к • ѡвомаѣтѡв (var. ѡвоѣтѡв) A1:15 Pskov Jaz Šiš × именемъ Ap1307; взици в доуму иудѡвѣ саугла • родомъ тарсанина ѡвомаѣ (var. add. ѡ ѣнеѣ) A9:11 Pskov Crk Grš × именемъ Ap1307; въ ноппи же съ нѣскаѣ ѡученица именемъ тавита маѣѣтѣра A9:36 Pskov Crk Hilf × вдовица Ap1307*

53 On the orthography and phonetics of *Man* see Grigorij IL'INSKIJ, *Manujlovskij Apostol" XIII vѣka*, in: *Izvēstija otdѣlenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti imperatorskoj Akademii nauk*. T. XIII, Sanktpeterburg' 1909, pp. 366–379. A detailed analysis including a lexical analysis of this text was recently offered by Margaret DIMITROVA – Elisaveta MUSAKOVA – Andrej BOJADŽIEV, *Manujlovijat apostol*, in: *Starob'lgarska literatura*, Kniga 33–34. Filologičeski izsledvanija v čest na Klimentina Ivanova za nejnata 65-godišnica, Sofija 2005, pp. 356–379.

туре, Слѣдѣше же съ народи и граждѣне слышѣше се • и приемѣше мѣто ѿ Исхона • и прочѣше и поустише ж. *Karp* is especially strongly impacted by the Preslav revision, but it is quite certainly based on different models than *Slepč* or *Man*. Under the Preslav layer, we can detect a short aprakos, which is very close to a family of north-Macedonian aprakoi from the beginning of the 14th century represented by *Skop Tom S-882 Sanu-2*, and partly also by *Verk*.⁵⁴ As has been said, *Šiš* was compiled based on a complete text of which *Jaz* is a late copy, and therefore its archaic layer does not follow the aprakos subtype of the text but a subtype of the complete text. In some places, *Šiš* was revised according to the aprakos text, which is especially evident in spots where it differs from *Jaz* and agrees with the aprakoi. Such examples, however, are rare.⁵⁵

The proto-Preslav type

- complete texts:
The Karakal Apostle (*Kar*, nasal, 13th c.)
- commented texts:
The Christinople Apostle (*Christ*, Russian, mid-12th c.)
The Commented Apostle from 1220 (*Mosk^a*, Russian, 1220)

The *Karakal Apostle*, probably the basis for establishing the character of this group, is still not available to me, which complicates a more precise definition of this specific variation of the archaic translation. The connection of *Kar* and *Mat*⁵⁶ is therefore based only on very limited material, less so with *Jaz*, *Šiš* and the commented texts *Christ*, *Mosk^a*.⁵⁷ All of these texts are typified by the appearance of certain “Preslavisms”, sometimes different from those of the Preslav revision represented by *Tolst* and related texts.

An example is the collocation ἀνάθεμα εἶναι 1C16: 22, in place of which the archaic text (and also in this case *Kar*) has the un-translated АНАДЕМА БЪИТИ, while the looser translation ПРОКЛАТЪ БЪИТИ appears in manuscripts reflecting the supposed proto-Preslav revision of *Christ Moska Mat*; the more literal calque СТЪЛЪЧЕНЪ БЪИТИ comes up in *Tolst*, which represents its own Preslav revision. It is not without interest that the translation ПРОКЛАТЪ БЪИТИ also commonly appears in the *Nomokanon*. In certain examples the archaic translation and the Preslav revision agree and manuscripts reflecting the supposed proto-Preslav revision contrast with them. It is so in 1C2: 8, where the archaic translation and the Preslav revision of the Old Church Slavonic commonly translate the Greek ἄρχων as КЪНАСЪ, while in the manuscripts *Kar Christ Mosk^a* there is ВЛАДЪИКА. Again, out of all Old Church Slavonic texts only *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*

(*Law for Judging the People*), a text also ascribed to Methodius, knows such an equivalent (59a12). Based on these two examples, I do not, however, want to make any definite conclusions. In the manuscripts of the proto-Preslav group there are also some archaisms of Cyrillo-Methodian origin which were replaced in the Preslav version itself. Here, for example, we can note the above-mentioned expression СТЪЛЪЧЕНИЕ for the Greek ἄφεσις in the *Book of Acts* preserved only in *Šiš*, *Christ* and *Jaz*. A more precise establishment of the character of the presupposed proto-Preslav revision will require an even more detailed study of some presently unavailable manuscripts, primarily *Kar*.

The Preslav revision

The origin of the Preslav revision, that is, the so-called second revision of Voskresenskij, is found in the widespread and systematic changes to Biblical books made in the Preslav literary circle under the rule of Tsar Symeon I (893–927), or possibly his successor Peter I (927–969). These changes were also applied to the text of the Gospel, Psalter and other Old Testament books, if some of these texts are not completely new translations.⁵⁸ Until now the most inclusive overview of the Preslav textual changes to the Apostle was made by Christova-Šomova,⁵⁹ even though she could not include in her research any complete text purely representing the Preslav revision. The texts of the Preslav literary circle are preserved mainly in Russian copies; a fact which also applies to the Apostles. The Preslav revision is represented for example by these texts:

- complete texts:
The Tolstov Apostle (*Tolst*, RNB, Q. p. l. 5, Russian, 14th c.)
- complete aprakoi:
F. p. l. 22 (RNB, Russian, turn of the 13th–14th c.)
Chlud. 33 (GIM, Russian, 14th c.)
Chlud. 37 (GIM, Russian, 1389–1425)
- brief aprakoi:
f. 381 (Sin. tip), № 31 (RGADA, Russian, 14th c.)

This list is again far from complete. At the moment I am only able to access the *Tolst* text, naming other texts according to Voskresenskij. The passage from *Chlud. 33*, in extent reflecting *Grš*, was published by Jagić in an edition of this fragment. Similar to the Preslav revision of the Gospel and also to the Preslav revision of the Apostle, the complete aprakoi prevail. In the case of the Gospel, this fact also led to the thesis that the Preslav revision did not concern the whole Gospel text but appeared only in the course of compilation of the complete aprakos, while the tetraevangelia (including primarily the Bulgarian *Trnov Gospel* from the 13th century) which show similar features, only with somewhat lesser force, were only influenced secondarily by these complete aprakoi.⁶⁰

In the case of the Preslav revision of the Apostle, only one complete text, *Tolst*, is known. The appearance of the Preslav elements is, however, quite consistent, both in the pericopal

54 For example *чрѣва Karp Skop* × *чрѣва Мак*, ὄσφιος (var. καρδίας) A2:30; err. τὸν βολιτὴ Karp, err. τὸν βολιτὴ • се во мѣлѣтъ съ Skop × recte се во мѣлѣтъ съ Ochr ἰδοῦ γὰρ προσεύχεται A9:11; err. дръжанъ бѣ Karp, err. дръжнмъ бѣкътъ Skop, err. дрѣжаше S-882 × recte дрѣжаше Ochr, ἐπαρρησιάσατο A9:27; глѣще Karp Skop Tom × мѣлаца Ochr, παρακαλοῦντες A9:38; страхъ Skop Tom S-882 × страхъ и ѡжась Karp Verk × оужась Ochr, ἔκστασις A10:10; придоства Karp Skop Tom S-882 Verk Sanu-2 × привъдоства Ochr, κατέφυγον A14:6 etc.

55 For example они же мышлявахъ бѣити (и) Crk Ven Jaz × они же начинахъ оубити (и) Ochr Mak Šiš, ἐπεχείρουν (var. ἐπετήρουν) A9:29; се же творѣаше въ дѣни многы Crk Hilf Hval Jaz × се же творѣше по всѣ дѣни Ochr Mak Slepč Šiš ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας (var. ἡμέρας ἱκαναῖς) A16:18 etc.

56 In her review of the edition of *Mat*, Emílie Bláhová recognised the closeness of *Mat* and *Christ*. See Emílie BLÁHOVÁ, *Matični apostol*, *Slavia* 52, 1983/2, p. 201. The agreements between *Mat* and the brief aprakos *Mak* discovered by her still await an explanation.

57 J. VAN DER TAK, *the Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, p. 11, also includes in this group the commented Apostles RNB, Pogod. 30 from the end of the 14th c. and RNB, F. p. l. 24, from the turn of the 15th–16th c.

58 For more: Anatolij ALEKSEEV, *Tekstologija slavjanskaj biblii*. Sankt-Peterburg 1999, pp. 163–172.

59 I. CHRISTOVA ŠOMOVA, *Služebnjat Apostol*, Tom I, pp. 761–766.

60 K. HORÁLEK, *Evangelijaře a čtveroangeliia [Gospel books and tetraevangelia]*, pp. 281–282.

and complementary parts. Nothing suggests that the “Preslavisms” in the complementary parts would have been imported secondarily. We may thus with sufficient security state that the Preslav revision was applied to the whole text of the Apostle, not only to a complete *aparakos*. Reliable proof of this claim is certainly *Vran*, for its complementary parts were exactly complemented by a text of Preslav revision and this text well corresponds with *Tolst*. Another testimony is offered by those readings of Croatian-Glagolitic breviaries which are not included in missals nor form part of the *aparakoi*. In these cases the breviary compilers took the text over directly from a complete text of the Preslav revision. As an example we may mention verse A2:13, which appears only in the complementary text. The archaic translation preserved in *Crk* and other complete texts of the Ochrid type looks like this, *Дивѣвахъ же са вѣси • и стазавахъ са кѣ себѣ глаголохъце • что Ѹбо хощеть се възити? Ини же рѣгахъце са глаголохъ • тако мѣстом испльнени сѣхъ*. The Preslav revisers changed this text into the form preserved by *Tolst*, *Оужасяху же са вси • и недоумѣваху другъ къ другу глаголохъце что се хоще(ть) възити? Другъни же ругахъце са глаголохъ • тако мѣста наполенни сѣхъ*. We may observe the lexical changes typical of the Preslav revision *ἐξιστάναи* *дивити са* → *оужасити са* (*Tolst Vran Brev*); *ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον* (*var. πρὸς ἀλλήλους*) *къ себѣ* → *другъ къ другъ* (*Tolst Vran Rs-643 Brev*); *ἕτερος инъ* → *другъ* (*Tolst Vran Brev*) and also the syntactic calque *γλεύκος μεμεστωμένος εἶναι μѣстомъ испльненъ възити* → *мѣста наполенъ възити* (*Tolst Brev*, but freely *пианъ възити* in *Vran*). The lack of unity becomes evident especially in the case of changes of the verb *διαπορεῖν* in A2:12 *сѣтасати са* → *недоумѣти* (*Tolst*), *недомѣслити* (*Vran*), *чорудити са* (*Jaz*), *дивити са* (*Brev*). The majority of the variations, however, also reflect an effort in the text impacted by the Preslav revision to change the translation of this verb. Already this small excerpt, despite a certain wavering in individual cases, which is generally typical of all manuscript traditions, clearly shows the significant unity of the text of the Preslav revision in the complementary parts of the Apostle. If, however, the Preslav revision had been applied to the whole text of the Apostle, it would be illogical if the same had not been done with the Gospel text.

Quotations in certain contemporaneous texts offer an important source, reflecting the existence of the Apostle according to the Preslav revision by southern Slavs in the 10th–11th centuries. The Apostle quotations of the Preslav revision in the anti-Bogomil tract of *Presbyter Kozma* have already been mentioned.⁶¹ Some quotations in the *Suprasl Collection* also reflect the Preslav revision including for example 363:29–364:1/A8: 20: *сѣребро твоѣ сѣ товоѣ бѣди въ пагоубѣ • тако даръ божи мнѣ имѣннемъ [имѣннемъ] притажати*, cf. *Tolst*: *серебро (твоѣ) с товою [да] буди въ пагубѣ • тако даръ бѣи • мнѣши имѣннемъ притажати* in contrast to the archaic translation in *S-502*: *сребро твоѣ с товоа да бѣдетъ въ погубѣль • тако даръ бѣи сребромъ непѣчева стажати*, including again the lexical changes typical of Preslav Biblical texts such as *ἡ ἀπόλεια πογυβѣль* → *пагоубѣ*, *νομίσειν непѣчевасти* → *мнѣти*, *τὸ χρῆμα сребро* → *имѣние* (*сребро* in the beginning replaces *τὸ ἀργύριον*). Among frequent Preslav changes there are also those at word-formation level, which in the above quotation is the change of prefix in the verb *κτᾶσθαι притажати* → *сѣтажати*. Another particularity of the Preslav texts, this time rather a grammatical archaism, is the fairly common use of the imperative of the 3rd person, which consisted

of a composite form in Cyrillo-Methodian texts. In this verse, the Greek optative *εἴη* is translated by the archaic construction *да бѣдетъ*, in the Preslav revision by the synthetic form *бѣди*, but in *Tolst* it is corrupted by the secondary addition of the particle *да*. It is nevertheless apparent that this quotation in *Supr* is based on the same change to the Apostle text as *Tolst*. It is thus evident that the Preslav revision of the Apostle was well known and used both among Bulgarian scholars of the 10th–11th century, such as *Presbyter Kozma*, and translators and revisers of the texts in *Supr*.

It is an interesting realisation that the influences of the Preslav revision are also reflected in some of the Apostle quotations in the *Homilies of Gregory the Great on the Gospels (Bes)*, a Czech Church Slavonic translation from Latin from the 11th century probably produced in *Sázava*.⁶² For example the quotation from A1:4: *ѲДЗИИ ЗАПОВѢДА ИМЪ • Ѡ Иероусалима • да не Ѡходѣтъ* *BesPogod 187bα14–16* (не Ѡходити *BesUvar*) with the “Preslavism” *заповѣда парѣггелен*, *var. парѣггеллен* (= *Tolst Rs-643 Pskov Karp*) instead of *прѣцааше* and *не стѣхидити* *μη χωρίζεσθαι* (= *Rs-643 Tolst*) instead of *не лѣхити са* in the archaic translation. On the other hand, the quotation in *Bes* preserves the expression *ѲДЗИИ συναλιζόμενος*, while the Preslav revision innovates to *сѣвѣкоупашиа са* (*Tolst Ap1307 Pskov Karp*). It remains an open question whether these Preslav influences in the Apostle quotations in *Bes* were already part of the primary translation or whether only the Russian reviser imported them later on.

In my study I focused on the problem of mutual relations between the preserved Apostle manuscripts and their different relationship to the unpreserved Cyrillo-Methodian archetype. The manuscripts of the pre-Athonite period may be divided into two main revisions, the archaic translation and the Preslav revision. The revision of the archaic translation divides into other subgroups based on text type. We distinguish the group of brief *aparakoi* with the oldest manuscripts from the 11th century, a group of complete texts of the Ochrid type which appear in preserved manuscripts only at the turn of the 12th–13th centuries, and the proto-Preslav subtype that we have been considering, which comes up in commented texts from the 12th century and in non-commented texts from the 13th century. All these groups of texts are based on an identical Cyrillo-Methodian original; each of them, however, revised this original in both the lexical and the grammatical aspect, and further revisions were made based on the Greek models. At the same time, in each of these groups various archaic features remained, proceeding from the Cyrillo-Methodian original. In order to understand the character of the original it is necessary to compare the manuscript versions of all three groups, all being possible aims of future research. At present, the need to create a new critical edition of the complete text of the Apostle remains, because manuscripts of this type are often, despite their importance, neither known nor studied. That concerns in the first place the oldest and best-preserved manuscript of the complete text of the Apostle of the Ochrid type *Chil-52*, the edition of which should be amended with variations. Closer research is also necessary for the recently discovered *Karakal Apostle*, reflecting perhaps a proto-Preslav variation. A new edition would be desirable also for the *Christinople Apostle*, this time including

61 I. DOBREV, *Apostolskite citati*, pp. 44–62.

62 Čtyřicet homilií Řehoře Velikého na evangelia v českocirkevněslovenském překladu. I–II. [Forty homilies of Gregory the Great on the Gospels in the Czech Ecclesiastical Slavonic translation], ed. Václav Konzal, Praha 2005–2006.

the commentaries and variations from *Mosk^a*, possibly another commented Apostle of this type. A complete edition is also missing for the only known complete text of the Preslav revision, the *Tolstov Apostle*. Only the availability and detailed scholarly study of these texts will allow for a formulation of more certain conclusions on the primary shape of the Cyrillo-Methodian translation of the Apostle and its further development in the Slavic manuscript tradition.

List of abbreviations

I use the abbreviations of Biblical books according to the usage of the *Dictionary of Old Church Slavonic*. According to the same dictionary I also use the abbreviations of Old Church Slavonic manuscripts. Therefore in this place I only mention the abbreviation of manuscripts containing the Apostle texts.

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|--------------------|--|-------------------------|--|
| <i>Ap1307</i> | Apostle from 1307 (a brief aprakos, Russian, 1307, GIM, Sin. 722) | <i>Chil-52</i> | (complete text, Serbian, 13th c., Chilandar Monastery, Athos, № 52) |
| <i>B1491</i> | Printed breviary from 1491 (Croatian, 1491, photo-type edition: Ivan BAKMAZ – Anica NAZOR – Josip TANDARIĆ, <i>Brevijar po zakonu rimskog dvora [1491], Zagreb 1991.</i>) | <i>Chil-47</i> | (complete text, Serbian, 1312–1316, Chilandar Monastery, Athos, № 47) |
| <i>Belč</i> | Belčin Lectionary (a brief Apostle-Gospel book, Bulgarian, turn of the 13th/14th c., NBKM, № 508) | <i>Chlud-33</i> | (complete aprakos, Russian, beginning of the 14th c., GIM, Chlud. 33) |
| <i>BNovII</i> | Novljan Breviary n. II (Croatian, 1495, photo-type edition: Anica NAZOR – Marija PANTELIĆ, <i>II. Novljanski brevijar. Hrvatskoglagoljski rukopis iz 1495, Zagreb 1977</i>) | <i>Chlud-36</i> | (complete text, Serbian, beginning of the 14th c., GIM, Chlud. 36) |
| <i>Crk</i> | Crkolez Apostle (complete text, Bulgarian, 13th c., photography on microfiches: Dimitrije BOGDANOVIĆ – Borjana VELČEVA – Aleksander NAUMOV, <i>Bolgarskij apostol XIII veka: rukopis' Dečani-Crkolez 2</i> , Sofija 1986.) | <i>Chlud-37</i> | (complete aprakos, Russian, 1389–1425, GIM, Chlud. 37) |
| <i>Crk-3</i> | (brief Apostle-Gospel book, Bulgarian, 14th c., NBS, Dečani-Crkolez 3) | <i>Christ</i> | Christinople Apostle (complete text with commentaries, Russian, 12th c., edition of the main part: Aemilianus KAŁUŹNIACKI, <i>Actus epistolaque apostolorum palaeoslovenice ad fidem codicis Christinopolitani saeculo Xllo scripti</i> , Vindobonae 1846; the universal fragment was published by: S. I. MASLOV, <i>Otryvok Christinopol'skogo apostola, prinadležaščij biblioteke Universiteta sv. Vladimira</i> , in: <i>Izvestija Otdelenija ruskogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk</i> , SPb. 1910, T. XV. kn. 4, pp. 229–269.) |
| <i>Čud</i> | ČudovNewTestament(completetext,Russian,1355, newest edition: Werner LEHFELDT, <i>Neues Testament des Čudov-Klosters. Eine Arbeit des Bischofs Aleksij, des Metropoliten von Moskau und ganz Rußland</i> , Köln 1989.) | <i>Jaz</i> | Jazac Apostle (complete text, Serbian, 1541, BMS, PP III 38) |
| <i>Deč-4</i> | (abbreviated Apostle-Gospel books, Serbian, 2nd quarter of the 13th c., NBS, Dečani № 4) | <i>Kar</i> | Karakal Apostle (complete text, Bulgarian, 13th c., Karakal Monastery, Slav. 1) |
| <i>Drag</i> | Dragotin Apostle (brief aprakos, Bulgarian, 12th c., NBKM, № 880) | <i>Karp</i> | Karpin Apostle (complete aprakos, Bulgarian, turn of the 13th–14th c., edition: AMFILOCHIJ, <i>Drevne-slavjanskij Karpinskij apostol XIII v. s grečeskim tekstom 1072 goda. Tom I–III</i> , Moskva 1885–1886.) |
| <i>En</i> | Eninský Apostle (brief aprakos, Bulgarian, 11th c., edice: Kiril MIRČEV – Christo KODOV, <i>Eninski apostol, starob'lgarski pametnik ot XI v.</i> , Sofija 1965, p. 188.) | <i>Mak</i> | Macedonian (Strumica) Apostle (brief aprakos, Bulgarian, 2nd half of the 13th c., edition: Emilie BLÁHOVÁ – Zoe HAUPTOVA, <i>Strumički (Makedonski) apostol. Kirilski spomenik ot XIII vek</i> , Skopje 1990.) |
| <i>f. 381</i> | (brief aprakos, Russian, 14th c., RGADA, f. 381 (Sin. tip), № 31) | <i>Man</i> | Manujlov Apostle (complete aprakos, 2nd half of the 13th c., NBKM, № 499, № 500; RGB, Grig.15.III; BAN, Syrku 15, Syrku 16, Срезн. 54) |
| <i>F. n. I. 22</i> | (complete aprakos, turn of the 13th/14th c., RNB, F. n. I. 22) | <i>Mat</i> | Matice Apostle (complete text, Serbian, 13th c., edition: Radmila KOVAČEVIĆ – Dimitrije STEFANOVIĆ, <i>Matičin apostol (XIII vek)</i> , Beograd 1979; phototype: Dimitrije BOGDANOVIĆ, <i>Matičin apostol</i> , Beograd 1981.) |
| <i>Grš</i> | Gršković Fragment (complete text, Serbian, turn of the 12th/13th c., edition: Vatroslav JAGIĆ, <i>Glagolitica II. Grškovičev odlomak glagolskog apostola</i> , in: <i>Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, kniga XXVI</i> , Zagreb, 1893, p. 46–63.) | <i>MHR</i> | Hrvoj Missal (Croatian, 1404, edition: Vjekoslav ŠTEFANIĆ – Biserka GRABAR – Anica NAZOR – Marija PANTELIĆ, <i>Hrvatskoglagoljski missal Hrvoja Vukčića Hrvatinića. Transkripcija i komentar</i> . Zagreb – Ljubljana – Graz 1973.) |
| <i>Hilf</i> | Hilferding Apostle (complete text, Serbian, 1st half of the 14th c., RNB, Hilf. 14, partly complements the <i>Christ</i> edition too) | <i>Mih</i> | Mihanović Fragment (brief aprakos, Serbian, turn of the 12th–13th c., edition: Vatroslav JAGIĆ, <i>Mihanovičev odlomak apostolara glagolskoga; rukopis roda hrvatskoga</i> , in: <i>Gradja za glagoljsku paleografiju</i> , Zagreb 1868, pp. 1–35.) |
| <i>Hval</i> | Hval Collection (complete text, Serbian, 1404, edition: Nevenka GOŠIĆ – Biserka GRABAR – Vera JERKOVIĆ – Herta KUNA – Anica NAZOR, <i>The Codex of Hval Krstjanin = Zbornik Hvala Krstjanina</i> , Sarajevo 1986.) | <i>MNov</i> | Missal Kneza Novaka (Croatian, 1368, ÖNB, Cod. slav. 8; variations in edition <i>MHR</i>) |
| | | <i>Mosk^a</i> | Commented Apostle from 1220 (complete text with commentaries, Russian, 1220, GIM, Sin. 7, partly edited: Grigorij VOSKRESENSKIJ, <i>Drevne-slavjanskij apostol, vypusk 1–5, Sergiev Posad</i> 1892–1908; in several places used to complement the edition <i>Christ</i>) |
| | | <i>MRoč</i> | Roč Missal (Croatian, 1420, ÖNB, Cod. slav. 4; variations in the edition <i>MHR</i>) |
| | | <i>MVat</i> | Vatican Missal (Croatian, beginning of the 14th c., BAV, Borg. illir. 4; variations in the edition <i>MHR</i>) |

<i>Ochr</i>	Ochrid Apostle (short aprakos, Bulgarian, 2nd half of the 12th c., edition: Stepan KUL"BAKIN, <i>Ochridskaja rukopis' Apostola konca XII veka. B"lgarski starini 3</i> , Sofija 1907)
<i>Pird</i>	Pirdop Apostle (complete text, Bulgarian, 2nd half of the 13th c., NBKM, № 497)
<i>Pskov</i>	Pskov Apostle (short aprakos, Russian, 1309–11, GIM, Sin. 14)
<i>Rs-27</i>	(abbreviated Apostle-Gospel book, Bulgarian, 3rd quarter of the 15th c., NBS, RS-27)
<i>Rs-643</i>	(complete text, Serbian, beginning of the 14th c., NBS, RS-643)
<i>S-502</i>	(complete text, Bulgarian, 1350s–1360s, NBKM, № 502)
<i>S-509</i>	(complete text, Bulgarian, 1340s–1350s, NBKM, № 509)
<i>S-882</i>	(brief aprakos, Bulgarian, beginning of the 14th c., NBKM, № 882)
<i>S-883</i>	(brief aprakos, Serbian, beginning of the 14th c., NBKM, № 883)
<i>Sanu-2</i>	(brief Apostle-Gospel book, Serbian, 1366–71, SANU, № 2)
<i>Skop</i>	Skopje Apostle (brief aprakos, Bulgarian, 1313, St Pantelejmon Monastery, № 4)
<i>Slepč</i>	Slepčen Apostle (complete aprakos, Bulgarian, end of the 12th c., edition: Grigorij IL"INSKIJ, <i>Slepčenskij apostol XII v.</i> , Moskva 1911.
<i>Šiš</i>	Šišatovac Apostle (complete aprakos, Serbian, 1324, newest edition: Dimitrije STEFANOVIĆ, <i>Apostolus Šišatovacensis: anni 1324</i> , Wien 1989)
<i>Tolst</i>	Tolstov Apostle (complete text, Russian, 14th c., RNB, Q. p. I. 5, partly published: Grigorij VOSKRESENSKIJ, <i>Drevne-slavjanskij apostol</i> , "vypusk" 1–5, Sergiev" Posad" 1892–1908.)
<i>Tom</i>	Tomič Apostle (short aprakos, Bulgarian, 1st half of the 14th c., GIM, Muz. 2838)
<i>Ven</i>	Venetian Collection (complete text, Serbian, 15th c., edition: Simonetta PELUSI, <i>Novum Testamentum Bosniacum Marcianum: [Biblioteca nazionale Marciana] Cod. Or. 227 (=168)</i> , Helios, Padova 1991)
<i>Verk</i>	Verkovic Apostle (brief aprakos, Bulgarian, 1st half of the 14th c., RNB, Q. p. I. 46)
<i>Vran</i>	Vranešnice Apostle (complete text, Bulgarian, 2nd half of the 13th c., edition: Blaže KONESKI, <i>Vranešnički apostol</i> , Skopje 1956.)
<i>ZogrAp</i>	Zographos Apostle (brief aprakos, Bulgarian, 13th c., Zographos Monastery, № 53, microfilm also in NBKM.)

Library Abbreviations

BAN	Knihovna Akademije věd / Biblioteka Akademii nauk (Petrohrad, Rusko)
BAV	Vatikánská apoštolská knihovna / Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (Civitas Vaticana, Vatikán)
GIM	Vědecká knihovna Státního historického muzea / Naučnaja biblioteka – Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej (Moskva, Rusko)
BMS	Knihovna Matice Srbské / Biblioteka Matice srpske (Novi Sad, Srbsko)
NBKM	Národní knihovna Cyrila a Metoděje / Nacionalna Biblioteka „Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodij“ (Sofie, Bulharsko)

NBS	Srbská národní knihovna / Narodna biblioteka Srbije (Bělehrad, Srbsko)
ÖNB	Rakouská národní knihovna / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Viedeň, Rakousko)
RGADA	Ruský státní archiv starých dokumentů / Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj archiv drevnich aktov (Moskva, Rusko)
RGB	Ruská státní knihovna / Rossijskaja gosudarstvennaja biblioteka (Moskva, Rusko)
RNB	Ruská národní knihovna / Rossijskaja nacional'naja biblioteka (Petrohrad, Rusko)
SANU	Knihovna Srbské akademie věd a umění / Biblioteka Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti (Bělehrad, Srbsko)

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OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC PARALITURGICAL DOCUMENTS OF GREAT MORAVIAN AND CZECH ORIGIN

Miroslav Vepřek

Paraliturgical, or in most cases euchological, texts appear in Old Church Slavonic literature from its Great Moravian beginnings. They witness the missionary focus within a wider spectrum of society. In the Czech Church Slavonic period (10th–11th century) this genre represents a peculiar phenomenon, which may be connected with the context of contemporary Latin literature of the early mediaeval period. Among these documents there are the Prayer of St Gregory and the Prayer of Confession of Sins, which may have been produced outside the narrow circle of the monastic community of Sázava Monastery.

Key words: Old Church Slavonic, Church Slavonic, paraliturgical texts, prayers

The high cultural level of the Cyrillo-Methodian work, its extent and excellent literary quality have been deservedly recognised. These characteristics are nevertheless complemented by another, no less important aspect of literary and liturgical activity by the Slavic apostles: the use of Old Church Slavonic in a wider spectrum of contemporaneous society. The intention to ingrain Christianity more deeply in the Moravian population by means of the vernacular is sufficiently witnessed by the primary sources, as, for example, this quotation from the fifth chapter of the *Life of Methodius* implies: “Many Christian teachers from Flanders, Greece and Germany came, teaching us differently. We Slavs are, however, a simple people and have no one to lead us to the truth and explain its meaning to us.”¹

A group of paraliturgical texts found within the framework of Old Church Slavonic literature well reflects the focus of the Christian mission of Constantine and Methodius on wider circles of inhabitants. In the present study I use the term “paraliturgical” in the traditional way as indicating texts which do not form part of official liturgy, e.g. mass celebrations or church hours, even though I am aware that this connection is somewhat problematic in that it can create the false view that these texts were used for purposes of communal devotion, while it turns out that in fact they rather served for private worship. The prayers included in ritual (in Byzantine tradition *euchologion*, *trebnik*) present a special case. With some of them their possible preservation in a liturgical manuscript does not preclude their use as paraliturgical texts, since in later tradition they crop up in another, primarily non-liturgical, type of codex. Unclear boundaries also exist between liturgical and paraliturgical works in texts designed for ritual and the bestowing of sacraments and sacramental gifts, in later periods precisely defined but in the early Middle Ages not yet firmly stabilised. Finally, present theology perceives the very term “paraliturgij” as problematic and old-fashioned.²

Within the reconstructed framework of Great Moravian literature paraliturgical texts do not represent a clearly identifiable group of documents. Their existence nevertheless apparently stretches into the pre-Cyrillo-Methodian period. The first Christian texts translated by early missionaries among the Slavs in Great Moravian and adjoining territory were most probably basic prayers, confessional rules and similar compositions. These hypotheses fit in with the missionary practice of the western Church too, which was otherwise much less tolerant of spreading Christianity in national languages. These basic formulas were nevertheless translated into local languages, which then served as the so-called *lingua quarta*. An example of a text bordering on both liturgy and paraliturgij in the above sense is for example the so-called *St Emmeram Prayer*, which forms part of the confessional rule (already official) in the *Euchologium sinaiticum* and of the *Freising Fragments*. In both instances the translation was made from an Old High German (Old Bavarian) source, but, according to prevailing opinion, both translations were independent of each other as a certain fluctuation in confessional forms indicates.

Paraliturgical texts (both original and translations) were also produced in the Cyrillo-Methodian period. A unique example is the *Prayer against the Devil* preserved in the only known Russian Church Slavonic copy, the *Yaroslavl Prayer Collection* from the second half of the 13th century. As argued especially by Václav Konzal, it is probably an original composition, distinguished by its stylistic, literary and theological quality.

The dating of its composition is based mainly on its catalogue of saints (the “youngest” being St Walburga, whose veneration appears after 870) and textual parallels, which Konzal correctly located to the Great Moravian period. The same scholar considers St Methodius the author of this text, composed perhaps in the course of his imprisonment in the German monasteries in 870–873.³

¹ Josef VAŠICA, *Literární památky epochy velkomoravské* [Literary documents of the Great Moravian era], Praha 1996, p. 281.

² Rupert BERGER, *Liturgický slovník* [Liturgical Dictionary], Praha 2008, p. 350.

³ Václav KONZAL, *Staroslověnská Modlitba proti ďáblu* [The Old Church Slavonic Prayer against the Devil], *Europa Orientalis* 11/2, 1992, pp. 171–231; IDEM, *Staroslavjanskaja molitva protiv d'javola*, Moskva 2002.

Part of the texts of Great-Moravian origin, which may be placed into the problematic group we are focusing on, was written into a *trebnik* representing part of the *Sinai Euchologium*. Among them, two texts are especially worth mentioning: prayers called **СЛОВО БОЛАЦИИХЪ РАДИ А МОЛИТВА О ИЗБАВЛЕНИИ ОУГЪ БЛАЖДА**. These prayers, for which we do not know either a Greek or a Latin model (and thus nothing excludes the possibility of their being original texts), maintain a distinct connection with the Czech ecclesiastic-Slavonic environment. They were preserved, among others, as a fixed supplement to the *Homilies of Gregory the Great*, a text of Russian ecclesiastic-Slavonic manuscript background, although its Czech origin, from the perspective of numerous Bohemisms (including phonological and morphological), is, however, almost indisputable. I believe that both prayers of Great Moravian origin were known and also copied in Přemyslid Bohemia in the 10th and 11th centuries, which further proves the continuity of Great Moravian Old Church Slavonic and Czech Church Slavonic.⁴ The frequent denial of this continuity nevertheless survives in the works of certain scholars to this day.⁵ At the same time, these prayers did not come down to us in a liturgical manuscript, but as a supplement to a homiletic text reflecting a similar practice common in contemporaneous Latin Church literature, which shall be discussed later on.

Compared to Great Moravian literature, the paraliturgical texts, whose production may be connected with Přemyslid Bohemia of the 10th–11th centuries, represent a unique and, in a way, outstanding group of documents. Outnumbered only by hagiographical texts, which are the most frequent genre, they constitute the second most numerous group. Though only a torso of texts of Czech origin has been preserved (with exceptions) via copies made in other Slavic environments, and despite the fact that these texts are shorter in extent, they deserve more than a little attention, both in detailed analysis of them and in the interpretation of their origin.

The song *Hospodine, pomiluj ny* is an exclusive Czech Church Slavonic composition representing perhaps the most outstanding connection between Church Slavonic and Old Czech literature and offering a unique example of the natural transformation of the ecclesiastic-Slavonic tradition in the Old Czech literary tradition.⁶ A recently published monograph by František V. Mareš confirms that the text of the song was written in Church Slavonic in Bohemia in the 2nd half of the 10th century (the period of the life and ministry of St Vojtěch (Adalbert), to whom tradition ascribes authorship of the song, even though it cannot be established or even hypothetically trusted). As for the text emendations which do not represent an essential or systematic deviation from the ecclesiastic-Slavonic language, these were only made in a later period.⁷

4 In the light of the newly discovered Russian Ecclesiastic Slavonic versions of the said prayers (especially the *Molitva o izbavlenii ot bluda*) this hypothesis has recently been confirmed by František ČAJKA, *Molitva o izbavlenii ot bluda v cirkevňšlovanských rukopisech Trojicko-sergijevské lávry* [*Molitva o izbavlenii ot bluda in the Ecclesiastic Slavonic manuscripts of the Trinity – Sergijev Lavra*], *Slavia* 82, 2013, pp. 43–52.

5 Compare more recently with for example M. VEPŘEK, *Filologický pohled na problém kontinuity cyrilometodějské kulturní tradice v Čechách 10.–11. století* [*Philological insight into the problem of the continuity of the Cyrillo-Methodian cultural tradition in Bohemia in the 10th–11th centuries*], *Konštantínove listy* 3/2010, pp. 39–48, which also mentions further literature on the topic.

6 Compare with V. KONZAL, *Cirkevňšlovanská literatura – slepá ulička na prahu české kultury?* [*Church Slavonic literature: a dead end road at the threshold of Czech culture?*], in: V. Jirousová (ed.) *Speculum mediae aevi*, Praha 1998, p. 157.

7 František Václav MAREŠ, *Hospodine, pomiluj ny*, in: Emilie Bláhová – Josef Vintr (vyd.), *Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika* [*The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition and Slavistics*], Praha 2000, pp. 403–460.

The *Prayer to the Holy Trinity* holds an important place within the framework of Czech Church Slavonic literature. It represents a litany intended for the hour of death, which is, from a liturgical perspective, eminent in its mixed character (the prayer contains both elements, typical of the West as well as those common in the Christian East). Even though its Czech origin is sometimes doubted, Václav Konzal⁸ has persuasively argued that it was composed in Bohemia at the end of the 11th century.

The remaining paraliturgical texts of Czech Church Slavonic origin contain prayers usually placed within the Slavistic field in a single group known as the eight prayers of the *Yaroslav Collection*. These prayers are usually mentioned as one entity but in reality they must be considered individually. They do not form a firmly bound unit or follow one after the other in the *Collection* and they differ both thematically and by extent. Let us first focus on six prayers, which have so far been only moderately studied.

The *Prayer of St Ambrosius* – **МО СГО АМБРОСИА** – with the subtitle **ЧТА ДШИ. И ТЪЛОУ** (the adjective **ЧИСТЪ** according to Sobolevsky may perhaps be translated as *полезный*,⁹ that is, “useful or beneficial”) probably has no connection with a particular liturgical or extra-liturgical event. Its basic aim is to perform humble supplication to God for help and protection. Also worth consideration is its poetic style, which may correspond with that of the Ambrosian hymns. In the Church Slavonic text, I could not identify the verse structure. Compared with the hymns, this prayer represents extent-wise a rather larger text.

The prayer also contains certain lexical specificities, such as for example the word **ХОУДОСТЬ**, which in the entries of the academic *Dictionary of the Old Church Slavonic Language* (hereafter *DOCSL*)¹⁰ appears only once in the *Supraslky Codex* and once in *Besědy sv. Řehoře Velikého*. It also contains the noun **ЦЕДРОСТЬ**, which according to *DOCSL* crops up only in *Besědy sv. Řehoře Velikého* and the *Pseudo-Gospel of Nicodemus*, thus perhaps pointing to a closer connection with the *Prayer of St Ambrosius* and other Church Slavonic documents.

The *Prayer in distress and suffering* is a rather short supplication thematically well characterised by its title. Despite its limited scope, it contains some lexical parallels with Church Slavonic documents of Czech origin. A. I. Sobolevskij stresses the noun **БОЖЕСТВО**, which he connects with its synonymous expression **БОЖЕСТВИЕ** frequently appearing in *Besědy sv. Řehoře Velikého* and translated into Latin as *divinitas*.¹¹ František V. Mareš, in one unclear passage of this prayer, reconstructs the noun **СКРЬБЬ**, repeatedly present in *Besědy sv. Řehoře Velikého* too.¹² Another example is the noun **МИЛОСТИВЪНЪ**, which the *DOCSL* considers a *hapax legomenon* found in the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend of St Wenceslas*.

8 V. KONZAL, *Otazníky kolem cirkevňšlovanské modlitby k sv. Trojici a českých vlivů na literaturu Kyjevské Rusi* [*Question marks surrounding the Church Slavonic Prayer to the Trinity and the Czech influences on the literature of Kievan Rus*], *Slavia* 60, 1991, n. 3 – Palaeoslovenica, pp. 8–23.

9 Alexej Ivanovič SOBOLEVSKIJ, *Neskal'ko redkich molitv iz russkago sbornika XIII veka*, *Izvestija otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti imperatorskoj akademii nauk* 10/4, 1905, p. 72.

10 Josef KURZ – Zoe HAUPTOVÁ (vyd.), *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského I–IV* [*Dictionary of the Old Church Slavonic Language / DOCSL*], Praha 1958–1997.

11 Alexej I. SOBOLEVSKIJ, *Neskal'ko redkich molitv*, p. 76.

12 F. V. MAREŠ, *An Anthology of Church Slavonic Texts of Western (Czech) Origin*, München 1979, p. 78.

The *Prayer to the Mother of God* is an interesting text from a theological perspective too. Though a Marian prayer, some passages seem to have been “grafted” on from an original prayer to Christ. Thematically it may be characterised as a penitential prayer requesting forgiveness and grace. It is also written in a poetic style, as the following passages indicate – ПРИЗРИ НА МОЮ ДІЛЮ УДЕРЖИМОЮ ТЛАГОТОЮ ГРѢХОВНОЮ; ПОМОЛОУИ МА ... ПРИНОСАЩАГО ТИ ВЪЗДЪХАНІЕ ѿ СРДЦА СКРОУШЕНА. While František V. Mareš highlights its similarity with the Latin prayer *Salve Regina*,¹³ A. I. Sobolevskij, discussing the noun *вѣщъ*, points out the parallel appearance of the same lexeme with the probably similar meaning “person, woman” in the legend *The Martyrdom of Sts Anastasia and Chrysogon*.¹⁴ This correlation has recently been discussed by Frantisek Čajka, who noted the etymological and semantic interpretation of this lexeme and its connection to Old Czech vocabulary, since there is a justified presupposition that this word could be classified as a lexical Bohemism.¹⁵ There is also an interesting parallel with the noun *ходатаица*, which appears according to *DOCSL* beside the *Prayer to the Mother of God* only in the *Canon in Honour of St Wenceslas*, but the probability of direct connection is somewhat weakened by the fact that it is a feminine form derived from the more frequently preserved masculine *ХОДАТАИ*.¹⁶

The remaining three prayers are also represented by very short texts. The *Prayer accompanying ringing or knocking* is probably connected with monastic life and may have been recited while gathering the community for mass by ringing or knocking. The formulation *КЪДА ЗВОНАТЬ* (literally “while ringing”) in the title of the prayer may have been the original form, while the complement *ЛИ КЛАПЮТЬ* (“while they knock”) – knocking – typical of the ecclesiastical East – may have been a later addition after the poem’s transfer to Russia.¹⁷

The *Prayer “after the Kissing of the Gospel”* and the *Prayer “while the Gospel is being read”* were probably individual prayers pronounced in the course of the liturgy. František V. Mareš stressed the similarity of the beginning of the *Prayer “while the Gospel is being read”* and the Latin mass *Prayer “after the Gospel”* (*Per evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta*).¹⁸ In another study, František V. Mareš develops this connection when comparing the Church Slavonic text with the Latin mass prayer from the perspective of syllabic structure, where he does not exclude the possibility that the ecclesiastic-Slavonic prayer may have been rhymed.

With the remaining two prayers, the *Prayer of St Gregory* and the *Prayer of Confession of Sins*, my research has so far progressed the furthest. In both cases, the Latin parallels (though not direct models) have been identified and thus they may be considered translations from Latin. The *Prayer of St Gregory*

is preserved in the *Yaroslav Collection*, two Russian Church Slavonic manuscripts and one Serbian Church Slavonic text (recently identified by František Čajka).¹⁹ The *Prayer of Confession of Sins* is only known from the *Yaroslav Collection*.

Not only the fact that they were translated from Latin, but also a detailed textual and linguistic analysis, apparently proves that the Slavonic text of both prayers originated in Bohemia in the 10th or rather the 11th century. As I considered this issue in detail in my earlier work, I will not return to it here.²⁰ I nevertheless want to inquire into the purposes for which the translation of the above prayers was produced, their place in the context of mediaeval literature and what may be deduced from their existence.

In the first place, the manuscript tradition of the prayers reflects certain specificities of Old Church Slavonic and Church Slavonic literature. Czech-Russian cultural contacts also played an important role; supposing a Czech origin of the prayers I deduce that these texts came to Russia before the end of the 11th century. The fate of Slavic liturgy and literature in Bohemia is very moving after the decline of Slavic Sázava, and without the Czech-Russian contacts many texts of Czech origin would have been lost. Both prayers (including the six above) have been preserved in the same manuscript including the already-mentioned *Prayer against the Devil*, which in my opinion was composed in Great Moravia. The *Yaroslav Collection* was compiled in a south Russian environment, probably in the Galicia-Volhynia region, and its content was only completed in Russia. We may ask from what sources the prayers of western (Czech or Moravian) origin included in the prayer book (or its model) were copied. I believe that the *Prayer against the Devil* and the eight remaining prayers arrived in the Russian environment by the same route and perhaps even in the same manuscript tradition. This fact could then be another proof confirming the presupposition that texts of Great Moravian origin were still known, used and copied in the Přemyslid Bohemia of the 10th and 11th centuries. The *Prayer against the Devil* may have come to Russia from Great Moravia via a south Slavic (most probably Bulgarian-Macedonian) mediation but as far as we know this prayer does not appear in south Slavic literatures.

The spreading and popularity of paraliturgical texts in Bohemia of the 10th and 11th centuries well corresponds with the wider context of western ecclesiastical literature. In the early Middle Ages, and especially since the missionary outreach of monks and priests from the British Isles, the popularity of private prayers and various penitentiary texts significantly increased. Prayers were part of another kind of codex, for example Gospel books and Psalters, but separate prayer manuscripts also survived. Their tradition spread first in a monastic environment but gradually codices, which may be described as private, appeared destined for the private use of the laity from the world of secular rulers

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 78.

¹⁴ A. I. SOBOLEVSKIJ, *Neskol'ko redkich molitv*, p. 77. František ČAJKA, *Čirkevně-slovanská legenda*, p. 77.

¹⁵ F. ČAJKA, *Čirkevně-slovanská legenda o svatě Anastázii [The Church Slavonic Legend of St Anastasia]*, Praha 2011, p. 167n.

¹⁶ According to the oral information of my colleague, Kliment Mikulka, who is preparing a detailed study of this prayer, the Church Slavonic text apparently has a Greek but not a Latin parallel.

¹⁷ According to the oral information of K. Komárek the knocking could also reflect ecclesiastical practice in the western Church in the period of the Easter Triduum.

¹⁸ F. V. MAREŠ, *An Anthology*, p. 27.

¹⁹ At present František Čajka is preparing a study of the Serbian Church Slavonic version but according to his information its textual analysis does not significantly correct our conclusion about the Czech origin of the translation of *Prayer of St Gregory*.

²⁰ For a general overview see M. VEPŘEK, *Modlitba sv. Řehoře a Modlitba vyznání hříchů v čirkevně-slovanské a latinské tradici [The Prayer of St Gregory and the Prayer of Confession of Sins in Church Slavonic and Latin tradition]*, Olomouc, 2013.

and nobility.²¹ In individual prayers, certain consecrations and promises appear. The *Prayer of St Gregory*, inscribed in the *Yaroslav Collection*, includes this promise: *иже колиждо творять сию мѣтвѣю • на всакъ днь • ни зъльз ѹльзъ • ни дываволъ никогъдаже ни единою же льстнию съблазунити можеть • ни на тѣло • и аще ѿ сего житиѣа преставитъ са адъ тоѹ дѣла не приметъ • ꙗкоже стѣзи григори ре.*

According to František V. Mareš, one of the editors of the prayer, this formulation (bordering on superstition) implies a person somewhat ignorant of theology.²² Similar expressions, however, also appear in the Latin versions of the prayer, of which the closest to the Slavic reading are the versions from the *Krumau Collection* (Bohemia, 2nd half of the 14th century) and from the *Portiforium of St Wulfstan* (Great Britain, 11th century). Worth mentioning is also the dedication of the prayer in the *Prayer Book of Otto III* from the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries, which contains the promise *Quicumque hac oratione oraverit cottidie tormenta inferni in aeternum non sentiet* ("will not experience the eternal tortures of hell").

The *Prayer of Confession of Sins* also has its specific context. In the *Yaroslav Collection* it is part of a wider group of prayers ("Чин вечерни, петъ предъ церковною вечернею"),²³ but it seems that it was put into this collection only in the Russian environment, because other prayers do not indicate a connection with the western environment. The Latin parallels of the manuscript give the prayer various titles. In one of the oldest known versions it bears the name *Confessio sancti Patricii* though the authorship of St Patrick cannot be proved. It nevertheless indicates the Irish-Scottish origin of the prayer. A connection with the British Isles may similarly be devised from the title *Confessio sancti Augustini* in one of the codices of the so-called *Harleian Collection* of the British National Library (*codex n. 3016*) from the 12th century, if it indeed is aimed at St Augustine of Canterbury. I rather believe that the text has been ascribed to the wrong author. Worth mentioning is also the title of the Latin prayer in the Basel Greek-Latin Psalter from the 2nd half of the 9th century, where it is described as *De conscientiae reatu ante altarem*, which connects the use of the prayer with the sacred space and thus also perhaps with a certain (para-)liturgical celebration.

The Irish-Scottish origin of the *Prayer of Confession of Sins* also brings up another stimulating question. It is generally known that the phenomenon of an "ear" or personal confession began to spread in connection with the missionary activity of the Celtic monks on the European continent. Though the prayer in question may seem to have been one of the forms of confession, I find this hypothesis improbable. Textual and linguistic analysis proves that the prayer was translated in the 11th century and thus without direct connection to the Irish-Scottish

missions. The closest version of a Latin parallel, moreover, appears in codices which do not contain confessional rules. I therefore believe that by that time the prayer had already been transmitted as a paraliturgical text, while its penitential character agrees with the contemporary understanding of prayers within the sphere of the western Church.

Finally, I will focus on what may be deduced from the existence of these prayers. We assume that every text is bound to have its *raison d'être* and its target reader; in this sense we consider the testimony of paraliturgical texts very important. Even though the prayers may have been used in a very specific and, in its own way, very narrow circle within the monastic environment (especially the historically verified Sázava Monastery) these texts were doubtlessly destined for a wider circle of clerics and perhaps also lay persons. This statement corresponds with some theologically disputed passages of the prayers and with the fact that they reflect the contemporary practice of the western Church. As stated above, Latin codices, especially prayer manuscripts and works purposed for private devotions of lay people, flourish in this period (even though we know, or rather are able to identify, the ones written for members of the social elites). If these conclusions are true, they represent another proof of the deep embedding of Church Slavonic learning in the environment of Přemyslid Bohemia of the 10th and 11th centuries.

21 An excellent example is the prayer book of Otto III produced at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries and preserved at present in the manuscript collection of the Bavarian State Library in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, signature Clm 30111). This richly decorated manuscript, written in gold ink on a red background with numerous miniatures, was apparently made directly for Emperor Otto III and contains among others one of the many Latin parallels of the *Prayer of St Gregory* (fol. 31a–34b). This rare codex has been analysed by Sara HAMILTON, "Most illustrious king of kings." Evidence for Ottonian kingship in the Otto III prayerbook (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 30111), *Journal of Medieval History* 27, 2001, pp. 257–288.

22 See F. V. MAREŠ, *An Anthology*, p. 71.

23 See Sigurd Ottovič ŠMIDT (ed.), *Svodnyj katalog slavjano-russkich rukopisnykh knig chranjaščichsja v SSSR. X–XIII vv.*, Moskva 1984, p. 321.

FOR RESEARCH INTO THE GREAT MORAVIAN LITERARY HERITAGE: PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS, DISPUTABLE QUESTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

Anatolij A. Turilov

The paper summarises preliminary conclusions and further perspectives of the research into the literary legacy of Great Moravia within the time span between two Cyrillo-Methodian anniversaries – the 1100th anniversary of the death of Archbishop Methodius celebrated in 1985 and the current 1150th anniversary of the beginning of the Great Moravian Mission. The above time span was extraordinarily rich in finds in the field of the earliest Old Slavic ecclesiastical hymnography – that is, in literary works created by the pupils of Cyril and Methodius: Constantine of Preslav, and Clement and Naum of Ohrid. In this paper we try to distinguish from this complex of literary relics those works which were written directly in Great Moravia; we also deal with the question of manuscripts which were first written in the Greek language and we bring arguments for dating the two earlier known ecclesiastical rhetorical works to or before the year 885.

Key words: Great Moravia, literary output by pupils of Cyril and Methodius, translations and original (untranslated) works, acrostics, hymnography, homiletics

In the nearly thirty years that passed from the 1100th anniversary of the death of Archbishop Methodius (1985), knowledge in the field of research into the Great Moravian literary heritage (863–885) has undergone significant changes; however, these changes cannot be considered revolutionary (possibly with the exception of hymnography; see below). In the past, research into Great Moravian texts, besides rare exceptions, was based on a limited number of relics that were introduced to the scientific community by researchers in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. This corpus of texts was significantly “canonised” with two, fundamentally Czech, pieces of research: the monographic series from 1966–1971 (incidentally this series was recently published with new bibliographical additions /a significant section, mainly in the first part, is dedicated to non-Slavic relics – comp. MMFH 1966–1971/), and further, the publication by J. Vašica, first published in 1966 and then again in 1996 (*Vašica 1966*).

In order to show the changes that occurred in the corpus of the Great Moravian literacy heritage, it will be easier to begin with a negative specification: based on research and the publication by K. Diddi (*Diddi 2001*), we cannot talk about a Great Moravian origin of the ancient translation of the *Roman Patericum* (*Dialogues about the lives and miracles of Italian fathers and the immortality of the spirit* between Gregory and archdeacon Peter) which was identified with the “book of fathers” (отъчьскыя књигы) – brought up in chapter 15 in the *Life of Methodius*¹ by a number of researchers, mainly F. V. Mareš (*Mareš 1974*). Also the oldest Old Slavonic translation, the *Liturgy of St Peter*, preserved only as fragments, was discovered only about 20 years ago by S. Parentim as a section of a newly discovered part of the so-called *Sinai Glagolitic missal*,² and reflects the specific language

of the 10th century (*Parenti 1994*). It is necessary to mention that this fact does not fully eliminate the possibility of the existence of an older Great Moravian translation which was presumed by the above-mentioned F. V. Mareš (*Mareš 1981*).

The next case is also somewhat problematic to classify definitely as within, or eliminate from, the group of literary relics with Great Moravian origin. These are the Old Slavonic translations of the *Synagogue* by Jan Scholastik (Methodius’ *Nomocanon*), analysed by B. N. Benešević (1874–1938) in the 1930s, although Benešević’s analysis was not recognised by the scientific public until 1985 by J. N. Ščapov, who supplemented it with the results of his own research (*Benešević 1985*; *Ščapov 1985*). Both Russian historians of ecclesiastical law came to a convincing conclusion, based on researching Slavic (including Old Russian) manuscript traditions of translators of Byzantine canon relics, that both manuscripts through which the *Nomocanon* survived – *Ustuzsky* (probably end of the 13th century – beginning of the 14th century) and *Joasafovsky* (2nd quarter of the 16th century) – reflect the text archetype,³ which was, however, shortened by the Russians⁴ and not during the translation from Greek, as was supposed by J. Vašica.⁵ Thus it is necessary to say that the translation of the collection of ecclesiastical law created by Methodius has not survived in its entirety to this day.

³ This archetype may be, in all probability, considered unofficial, i.e. without a relationship to the metropolitan or episcopal cathedra.

⁴ J. N. Ščapov supplemented and expanded the argumentation of V. N. Benešević with his discovery that the same situation (i.e. the creation of a shortened redaction) is visible in Russia in the case of *Collection 14 provisions without interpretation – Sobranie v 14 titulach bez tolkovanij* (ŠČAPOV 1985). The latest mention is about the analogical situation of the *Nomocanon* of Serbian redaction (*Kormčaja sv. Savvy*), documented in early Serbian manuscripts (first third of the 14th century), J. V. Beljakova (BELJAKOVA 2007) and A. A. Turilov (TURILOV 2013).

⁵ The work and results of the research of V. N. Benešević and J. N. Ščapov are unfortunately not well known among Czech researchers. For example V. Vavřínek, in his newest work, refers without reservations to the work of J. Vašica (VAVŘÍNEK 2013, 263–264) and does not take into account the latest research results of the historians dealing with ecclesiastical law.

¹ Overview of opinions on the specific meaning of the cited phrase in Old Slavonic literature by S. Nikolova (NIKOLOVA 1995).

² Sinai, library of the St Catherine monastery, Slav. 5/H.

Visible changes occurred in the evaluation of a number of texts connected with Great Moravia, specifically with their classification as authentic texts, i.e. original (incl. compilations) or translations. It has also been convincingly proven that *Records of real faith (Napisanije o pravei věřě)*, carrying the name of Constantine in its title, and possibly even created by this apostle, is the translation of part of *The Great Apologetics* written by the Patriarch Methodius (*Vereščagin – Jurčenko 1989; Jurčenko 1990; Kuev 1995, 793*). Based on detailed research done by L. Matejko and then S. J. Temčín, the translation character of the so-called “Methodian” *Canon praising Dimitri of Salonica* (*Matejko 2004; Temčín 2009*), which was preserved in a large number of transcripts, seems more than probable. The newest findings from the papers of S. J. Temčín and mainly V. B. Kryš'ko illustrate that the *Canon praising St Cyril the Philosopher 4th voice*, which is a Church Slavonic manuscript tradition from the 11th–17th century, was very popular (we have records of at least 25 manuscripts) and was originally in Greek (*Kryš'ko 2005; 2007; 2008; 2009a, b, c, d; 2010a, b; 2011; 2013a, b, c; Temčín 2007a, b*). When translating it back to Greek, it is possible to reconstruct (even though not completely) the Greek acrostic (*Kryš'ko 2009a, 16; Temčín 2007a, 225–338*)⁶ with the authors name – “Vasilij” (*Kryš'ko 2009a, 16; 2013c, 10–11*). It has also been proven that what was originally the second song was part of the text (as is known, this is an archaic element of Slavic hymnography), and was probably later removed on Slavic soil. This also confirmed the assumption (besides the dating) of A. D. Voronov (*Voronov 1877, 157–160*) regarding the origin of this relic and was first announced half a century ago, but was the only one of such assumptions in scientific literature for a long time. The name of the translator of the *canon* in these sources, describing the history of the Great Moravian mission, is not known – it could have been one of the contemporaries, even a pupil of the Thessalonian brothers, but also a resident of the Greek colony in Rome (*Temčín 2007a, 337–338*). Currently the second canon is awaiting detailed analogical analysis and a critical edition – the *Canon praising St Cyril the Philosopher 8th voice*, beginning with the words, “He learned divine teachings and wisdom [...]”,⁷ in which the second song was preserved. This canon has a substantially less widespread manuscript tradition – we do not know it at all from East Slavonic literature and in South Slavonic literature we know it only from two manuscripts – *Holiday mineys* – Central Bulgarian and Serbian. The first is written on a parchment and its origin is estimated around the year 1339⁸ (*Ivanova 1991; Stojkova 2000*), and the second is assumed to originate from the beginning of the 15th century and is written on paper.⁹ Its text was published 55 years ago, according to the younger of the manuscripts mentioned, by B. S. Angelov (*Angelov 1957*) and subjected to further studies by Angelov himself, and also by B. N. Rajkov and A. Stojkova (*Rajkov 1969; Stojkova 2000*). These researchers discovered that, from a textological point of view, this canon does not contain parts of the better known *Canon of the 4th voice*. In regard to the discovery of the second

ancient canon of Archbishop Methodius in 1998 (see below), recently it has been possible to discover similarities between both mentioned *Canons praising St Cyril the Philosopher*. This also proves the antiquity of the *Canon of the 8th voice (Popov 2003a, 653–654, 656–658)* which could have been a relic of the Great Moravian period, the same as the *Canon of the 4th voice*.

Of course the *Service to Constantine-Cyrl* was originally written in Greek, but this does not, in any way, disprove its early translation into Old Slavonic, but even presumes it, because due to the cultural-historical situation in Great Moravia, only one early translation could have created the conditions to strengthen and spread the cult of this apostle.

Only very little doubt exists too regarding the opinion that during the first years of the Great Moravian mission (maybe even before the departure of the Thessalonian brothers and their pupils to Rome) that the early composition of Constantine's was translated into Old Slavonic – *Prayers* (“The Hymn Scroll”) *for recovering and moving the remains of Pope Clement*. This apostle's hymnal piece, which is also remembered by the bibliothecary Anastasius in a letter to Bishop Gauderich,¹⁰ was published in 1931 by J. Ivanov (*Ivanov 1931, 387–391*)¹¹ and its individual songs (mainly sticheras) were published even earlier and according to another manuscript by P. A. Lavrov (*Ivanov 1931, 391*). In its time, this literary relic was overlooked by researchers who were more interested in another text from the same manuscript source – *Service for the Bulgarian Tsar Peter*. More complete, even though still not fully complete, the text of Constantine's *Service* was discovered less than 25 years ago (*Mur'janov 1991, 79–84, 129–143*) in an Old Russian *Holiday mineys*¹² from the turn of the 12th century, and has been published according to this manuscript several times (*Mur'janov 1991, 103–108; 2008, 162–167; Vereščagin 1993, 34–45; 1994*). Even though both text transcripts, i.e. “*Dragan's*” and “*mineys*” do not contain the author in their title (which is a nearly standard fact for the oldest Slavonic of Old Slavonic literacy), arguments for assigning the authorship to Constantine-Cyrl (and so dating their origin to the beginning of the 860s) are very convincing. For the sake of completeness, we should add that other opinions exist regarding the dating and the origin of the text. J. V. Uchanova, in a number of her papers, tried to prove the original Old Russian origin of this relic and pinpointed the time of origin to the 10th century. The reason for creating this relic was the moving of the skull of St Clement of Chersonesus into Kiev during the reign of Prince Vladimir (*Uchanova 1997–1998; 1998; 2000; Tolstaja – Uchanova 2002, 149*). As to what we know, this theory did not receive notable support from the scientific community (not even the Russian community), despite the indisputable patriotism and above-standard erudition of the author. This opinion was convincingly disproven in regard to linguistics and textology by M. Jovčeva (*Jovčeva 2005*), who, based on lexical analysis of the relic, presents strong doubts that the translated text could belong in the Great Moravian period. According to Jovčeva, this text should rather be considered from the post-Cyrl and Methodius period, and thus is of Bulgarian

6 In regard to this, it is useless to try and read the Slavonic acrostics in the canon; such attempts have been made since the 1930s (KOSTIČ 1937–1938) until the present, mainly by Bulgarian researchers. (KR'STANOV 2000, 2002; MIRČEVA 2001, 2010).

7 “Вышнему научися учению и премудрости[...]”

8 Sinai, Slav. 25.

9 Sophie, Library of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, № 23. For more information about the script see the manuscript of Ch. Kodov (KODOV 1969). Recently, previously unknown fragments of this very interesting sacral collection were discovered in this same archive and described (IVANOVA 2011).

10 *Epistolae*, ed. Lubomir Emil Havlik, in MMFH III, Brno 1969, no. 60, page 181.

11 As discovered at the beginning of the 1990s by J. M. Vereščagin (VEREŠČAGIN 1993, 10–13; 2001, 146–148; 2003), Ivanov published the relic according to an incomplete (defective and shortened by at least a third) manuscript – the so-called *Draganov's mineys*.

12 *Prazdničnaja mineja* (Moscow, Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents, fund 381, № 98).

origin (Jovčeva 2005, 72). Jovčeva's analysis surely deserves careful attention, although it must be stated that her results cannot be accepted without reservations. After all, besides texts dedicated to this topic, the moving of the remains of St Clement has mostly been connected with the activities and personalities of both Thessalonian brothers (mainly Constantine-Cyri). This is the reason why it is not very probable that the hymn celebrating Clement's relic, which became one of the symbols and even the guarantee of success of the Great Moravian mission, was created with more than a twenty-year delay. In Bulgaria, this text gradually lost its topicality, because it was not supported by the physical presence of the remains of this first Roman martyr. It is also possible to accept a significant redaction of the text in Bulgaria, e.g. in connection with the revision of "hymnal scrolls" into the form corresponding with church customs (services) of that period.

Let us move from translated hymnal relics to originals, i.e. untranslated Old Slavonic literature of this genre. During the 2nd half of the 1970s, after the truly epochal discoveries of the oldest Old Slavonic hymnal pieces containing acrostics with the names Constantine of Preslav and Naum of Ohrid by researchers S. Kožucharov and G. Popov (Jovčeva 2003a, b; 2008; Popov 2003b, 400–414; 2003c, 30–55; Turilov 2000; Turilov – Moškova 2006, 495–497, 507–508), this topic rightly became the centre of all Cyril and Methodius research. To this day, the corpus of untranslated Old Slavonic relics (texts more or less complete and containing a Slavonic acrostic) may be considered practically complete; since 2003, the discovery of only three texts has been published (comp. citations of above mentioned). But what is directly related to the Great Moravian period is the topic of untranslated relics, which is not well researched, and this is due to several reasons. The first and possibly the main cause is the non-existence of specific criteria according to which Great Moravian texts (assuming the author is identical) can be distinguished from texts already created in Bulgaria. The second cause is directly linked to the nationalities of the researchers – the majority are Bulgarian, and most of them, with very few exceptions, tend to marginalise the Great Moravian period and origin of the oldest Old Slavonic literature (sometimes not even consciously). Finally, the last cause, which is of speculative character, is the recently widespread theory that services in the eparchy of Archbishop Methodius were carried out according to Latin ceremonies (for literature see section about M. Jovčeva in this collection). The main reason is the undisputable fact that Methodius' Sirmian cathedral was subordinate to the Papal throne.

Such an approach can only be described as selective, and ignores the general cultural-historical situation and missionary programme of the apostles. After all, Archbishop Methodius has a split personality in such a scenario, because as a canonist and lawyer he consistently promotes Byzantine regulations (compare the translation *Synagogues in 50 provisions* by Jan Scholastik, as I have already mentioned earlier, or the creation of court law *Zakon sudnyj ljudem* (*Law for Judging the People*), based on the Byzantine *Ekloga*), but in his services he is orientated strictly to Rome.

Regarding the possible origin in Great Moravia, we can divide the oldest relics of Old Slavonic hymnography, created by the pupils of the Slavic apostles, into two hardly comparable groups: the first, the incomparably larger one, is a group represented

by texts created in a frame of systematic creation (unparalleled in the following mediaeval period of Slavonic literature for its systematic nature) of hymnographic corpuses (*Florja – Turilov – Ivanov 2000*, 153; *Stančev 2003*, 18); the second group consists of texts created outside this process (occasionally). The first group contains the religious-poetic texts *Lenten and Floral triodes*, *Holiday mineys* (containing services for the main holidays, including the 12 most important)¹³ and *General mineys*, *Oktoih* and *Trebnik* (intended for at least part of the ceremonies contained; *Turilov 2006*). This systematic nature of these liturgical poetic texts can be compared with analogous Greek texts, which means this group of relics could not have been created elsewhere than in Bulgaria, where Slavonic services had the unreserved support of the highest temporal power.

We encounter a totally different situation with the second group of relics. This group contains services in honour of selected saints that are not a standard part of the *Holiday mineys*: St Alexius, the man of God (*Sapova 2003*), St Apollinaris, the Ravenna bishop (*Jovčeva 2003b*, 111), the apostle Andrew the Cursed (*Jovčeva 2003b*, 110), the martyr St Vitus,¹⁴ Euthymia the Great (*Jovčeva 2003b*, 110), Archbishop Methodius (*Jovčeva 2003b*, 110), services for the movement of the remains of John Golden Mouth (*Jovčeva 2003b*, 110), for the movement of the first martyr St Stephen and in honour of Pope Stephen (*Jovčeva 2003b*, 111). In these cases, it is necessary to approach the question differently, separately for each work.

The youngest hymnal written in Old Slavonic in Great Moravia by the pupils of the Thessalonian brothers and dated within the narrow period of spring 885 is the *Service for Methodius*. From the beginning this service was specific, thanks to its ceremonial nature, and contained two canons written by Constantine of Preslav (2nd voice) and Clement of Ohrid (6th voice). Not later than the 13th century was this service divided into two separate services (*Popov 2001*, 19–20; *2003a*, 659–664); the first (with Constantine's canon) was preserved in two well-known *Holiday mineys* from the turn of the 13th century – *Dobrianov* and *Draganov* (*Popov 2003a*, 665–666); the second (with Clement's canon) is known from one Serbian manuscript¹⁵ with the same dating. The service text with Clement's canon was discovered and published in 1998 (*Moškova – Turilov 1998*; *Turilov 2012*, 47–72) and currently represents the last found relic created by the apostles' pupils and dedicated to the Great Moravian mission. Clement's canon was significantly shortened in the only preserved manuscript (the second song was removed as well as a number of troparions), which led to significant damage to the acrostic and to a very complicated reconstruction (*Moškova – Turilov 1998*, 11–13; *Turilov 2012*, 55–57). The service with Clement's canon was published as a text of Great Moravian origin (which was represented in the name of the publication, which consists of a citation of the third stichera before the canon), because it does not contain any elements that would point to the relic originating from the Bulgarian environment (*Moškova – Turilov 1998*, 13–15; *Turilov 2012*, 57–60). Not long after publication, this text was analysed by hymnist G. Popov (*Popov 2001*, 3–20) who

¹³ The *Canon of Archangel Michael* by Constantine of Preslav and the *Canon to praise the prophet Simeon* by Clement of Ohrid must be considered part of this collection. The last-mentioned is most probably a fragment of the Sretensky series (Holiday of the presentation of Jesus at the Temple) *Holiday mineys*.

¹⁴ This canon does not contain acrostics, but regarding its authorship M. Jovčeva (Jovčeva 2011) offers an interesting hypothesis.

¹⁵ Stored in Moscow (National History Museum, collection of A. I. Chludov, № 156).

presented a new variant (and also a much more probable version when compared to the previous interpretation given by the publisher¹⁶) of the reading of the acrostic; at the beginning of the canon (the end of the first and beginning of the third song) Popov reconstructed a shortened form of the name Clement of Ohrid (*KLIM*), who is well known from other works by this important hymnist too (Popov 2001, 10–11; 2003c, 43–46).¹⁷ However, the assumption of the authorship that was mentioned upon publication was proved. Especially important is the further observation of Popov, stating that said relic is very closely connected with the earlier known canon of Constantine of Preslav and that the two texts have the nature of a pair (Constantine's canon is written as the 2nd voice; Clement's canon is written as the 6th voice; see Popov 2001, 17). However, it is hard to agree with the location of the creation of these two canons in the Bulgarian period – April 6th 886, i.e. the first anniversary of Methodius' death (Popov 2001, 17–18), because the creation of the service in his honour was an inseparable part of his canonisation and began immediately after his death on April 6th 885. In addition, the canonisation of the archbishop should have served as one way of protecting his life-long work and could not be postponed, not even for a short period of time¹⁸ (the fact that the canonisation was not carried out does not play the slightest role for the purpose of dating works). Besides this, Moravian topics were heavily represented and emphasised in many songs and could not have been relevant in the Bulgarian lands. The possibility that the *Service to Methodius* could have originated from Great Moravia does not in any way contradict the presence of Constantine during its creation (and due to the voice of the canon, maybe even him having a leading role). The fact that the future Preslav bishop did not come to Bulgaria together with Clement's group does not in any way contradict the possibility of his presence in Moravia after the death of Methodius, because Constantine could have been e.g. one of the young priests or deacons who were sold into slavery in Venice by the persecutors of Slavonic liturgy and literature and later freed by order of the Byzantine emperor. (Graševa 1995, 427–428).

A Moravian (or pre-Bulgarian) origin of the relics surely seems more probable (simply because of the difference in ecclesiastical and cultural-historical contacts) also in the case of *Services to Apollinaris of Ravenna, Martyr Vitus*¹⁹ as well as *General Services* ("общая служба") for *Stephen, the first Martyr*, and the service for the Roman Pope of the same name.²⁰ The question of where the *Services to Alexius, the Man of God* were written by Clement of Ohrid remains unsolved, because

the worshipping of this saint, whose remains were discovered in Rome, was spread throughout the entire Catholic world. In regard to *The Canon to Andrew the Cursed*, created by Naum of Ohrid, the discoverer expressed a daring but elegant assumption that the hymn was written in connection with the masses held in the temple of this apostle in Rome in 868, as we are reminded in the *Life of Constantine* (ch. 17; Kožucharov 1988, 427–428). G. Popov later raised justifiable doubts about such specific dating of the origin of this relic (Popov 1994, 22; 2006, 31–44), but did not list any strong arguments against this possibility, i.e. the origin of the *Canon* in Great Moravia after the return of Methodius from his journey to Rome (comp. also the opinion of Ch. Trendafilov in this collection).

Regarding other (non-hymnal) genres we come to a totally different situation. Here we have two important texts of liturgical rhetorical art, in the case of which we are not dealing with new discoveries but rather with specifying attributes and giving more accurate dating (after all, science has known these texts for more than a century). The first of them is the relatively small and anonymous *Words to the memory of the tortured Archbishop Irenaeus*²¹ published by A. I. Sobolevskij based on the August volume of the *Uspensky manuscript collection*²² of Great Mineys (*Velikije Četij Miněji*, further referred to as *VČM*) of the Makarija Metropolitan (Sobolevskij 1903, 59–60, 63–66). Based on stylistic characterisation, Sobolevskij definitively assigned this text to Clement of Ohrid. His opinion was supported by N. L. Tunickij (*Tunickij 1913*, 552) and later by B. S. Angelov, who, when preparing to publish the complete works of Clement of Ohrid, created a new edition of this important text (*Kliment Ochridski 1977*, 440–442). In later periods, this relic was considered to have been written by the "Slavic Golden Mouth" or as a text of unknown origin (Svane 1974, 435–436; Stančev – Popov 1988, 77, 109–110). In our case, the author of the text is not as important as this following issue: all the named researchers – Angelov, Sobolevskij, Svane, Stančev, Popov and Tunickij (*Kliment Ochridski 1977*; *Sobolevskij 1903*; *Svane 1974*; *Stančev – Popov 1988*; *Tunickij 1913*) – agree on the opinion that these *words of praise* contain the biographical elements of two saints with the same name – the Bishop of Lugdunum (Lyon) and the Bishop of Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica); however, they do not agree on who this homily is specifically dedicated to. Another source of confusion is the date under which the *VČM*²³ is listed – August 24th or 30th (the Feast Day of Irenaeus of Sirmium is celebrated on March 25th or 26th and [in the *Prolog*] on August 23rd [*Archiep. Sergij 1997*, vol. 2, 255; vol. 3, 116, 597]; the Feast Day of Irenaeus of Lugdunum is celebrated on August 23rd [*Archiep. Sergij 1997*, vol. 2, 86; vol. 3, 597]). It seems that nobody has noticed the testimony from the second charientism (greeting) of the homily, "Rejoice, fellow ruler of the apostle throne"²⁴ (*Kliment Ochridski 1977*, 449–450). These words can only be connected with an archbishop from one of the apostle's papal thrones. This characteristic is applicable to the case of Sirmium, as the line of bishops

16 The publishers employed a hypothesis that the original song in the 1st canon was created by combining the troparions of the original songs 1 and 2. Contrary to this, G. Popov uses preserved troparions in direct sequence as the basis of his reconstruction.

17 It is necessary to note that the assumption of the absence of the second song in the original texts, as described by Popov, has not been proven. It is probable that the song was contained in the text – in such case a completely different author would be read in the acrostic – *KLIMENT*. It is well possible that the beginning of the first troparion of the third song did have a different word order – not "Prayers of thee..." (Molitvy tvoe), but "Your prayers..." (Tvoe molitvy).

18 Comp. B. N. FLORJA 2002, 85–86, 92. However, in relation to the origin of the service with the canon of Constantine of Preslav, B. Florja keeps to the traditional opinion that this work belongs to the early Bulgarian period (FLORJA 2002, 100).

19 This saint is praised in the Great Moravian period and probably in connection with praising the work of Archbishop Methodius, see V. KONZAL 2002, 67 (contains older bibliography). Critical edition and text analysis according to Serbian manuscripts 13th–14th century. Currently being prepared by T. Subotin-Golubovič (Belgrade).

20 If we further take into account the origin of both apostles and their programme, based on the corpus of Moravian texts it is not possible to exclude the services of Byzantine holidays and Byzantine saints with certainty.

21 *Слово на память священномученика "архиепера Иринея"*.

22 Stored in Moscow (National History Museum, Sinodal collection, № 997, l. 1142). We have determined that the given volume belongs to the *Uspensky collection* (this is not explicitly mentioned by the author of the edition) by pagination of the pages with texts (arxim. IOSIF 1892, 441) – August volumes of other manuscript collections of *VČM* cover a much smaller extent.

23 All currently known manuscripts are of East Slavic origin and are dated to the 16th century at the earliest (KLIMENT OCHRIDSKI 1977, 442–443).

24 "Радуйся, сопрестольниче апостольскому престолу".

begins from apostle Paul Andronicus (“the apostle from the seventy”);²⁵ however, it does not apply to Lyon. This is why it is clearly visible in the *Words to the memory of the tortured Archbishop Irenaeus* – the programme to spread the cult of the heavenly patrons of the Sirmium eparchy, renewed in 870. Another part of this programme could be the *Praise to Dimitri of Thessalonica*, created by Clement of Ohrid, and the above-mentioned *Canon to the honour of Dimitri of Salonica*, originally written in Greek (see, *Matejko 2004; Temčín 2009*). I think it is not necessary to discuss the spreading of the cult of Dimitri of Thessalonica in Sirmium, which in the literature is considered one of the possible places of his martyrdom (*Ivanova 2007*, 156–157). Slavonic literature did not preserve any traces of the significant popularity of the cult of the founder of the Sirmium bishop’s throne, the apostle Andronicus (which, however, does not mean we have to deny that the literature may originally have contained such traces in the past). Not even the separate *Services to the honour of Irenaeus of Sirmium* are known from the ancient (i.e. dated before the first half of the 14th century, before the period of the spread of the *Jerusalem constitution* (Typicon) in Bulgarian and Serbian literature) Old Slavonic service (liturgical) mineys. However, it is not impossible that it was part of it, although removed in the early period (i.e. during the redaction of service mineys in Bulgaria during the 2nd quarter of the 10th century), due to the loss of relevance of the topic and a non-existent Greek original text (*Temčín 2004*, 65–66, 70–71). This scenario is even more probable, when considering that the March date is the same as the holiday of the Annunciation and the August date is near the holiday of the Death of the Virgin Mary.

The second text of Great Moravian Slavonic rhetoric is the *Words* dedicated to the *Mother of God*,²⁶ beginning with the words “Every person wanting to praise what is good, gather with other good people”.²⁷ One of its earlier redactions, which is part of a series of miney torzestvenniks from the 16th–17th century, was published by M. P. Petrovskij one year before Sobolevskij published the *Words to the memory of the tortured Archbishop Irenaeus* (*Petrovskij 1902*, 118–126). Even earlier – approximately 30 years before Sobolevskij’s publication – in regard to the *VČM* compilation, another redaction of this relic was issued (without a historical introduction; *mitr. Makarij 1866*, 417–422). The oldest (but definitely not original) redaction of this homily was introduced to the scientific community in the middle of the 1980s, by the author of this paper. This redaction made it possible definitively to attribute the origin of the given text to the Great Moravian period (*Turilov 1985*, 253–269). Up to now, this redaction has been published twice, according to the only known manuscript from the end of the 15th century,²⁸ containing the name of Cyril (Constantine) the Philosopher (*Turilov 2011*, 31–36; *2012*, 36–40) in its title. Significant Moravian elements are scarcely represented in the text (*Turilov 1985*, 256), although reliable proof for assigning these *words of praise* to the corpus of Great Moravian texts is represented by a combination of two arguments: the first is an extensive list of nations and countries

(including the Moravians – мравлене – and the citizens of the Blaten empire of Kocel – блатане) praising the Mother of God (*Turilov 1985*, 257); despite it not being completely identical, it is very close to the list²⁹ of nations praising God in their native tongue from chap. 16 of the *Life of Constantine* (*Lichačev – Dmitriev – Alekseev – Ponyrko 1999*, 56). Specifically conclusive is the fact that in the list of the *words of praise* we can find such ethnonyms and toponyms that are typical for relics from the Cyrillo-Methodian period, whereas the forms of these names have a similar structure to what appears in Cyrillo-Methodian texts – compare съпроуци which denotes the Franks (*Turilov 1985*, 256, 266–267), внятъци (Venice, Venetian), introducing chapter 16 of the *Life of Constantine* (*Lichačev – Dmitriev – Alekseev – Ponyrko 1999*, 56), фили (a nation inhabiting the Crimea, mentioned in chap. 12 of the *Life of Constantine* (в Фульсте язьце; *Lichačev – Dmitriev – Alekseev – Ponyrko 1999*, 50) as well as in the first troparion of the sixth song of the *Canon to the honour of St Methodius* by Clement of Ohrid (*Moškova – Turilov 1998*, 13–14). Besides this, the “languages of the Scriptures”, which open the aforementioned list, are in an order suggesting that this text was written in an area governed by the Roman curia – comp. “Великий Рим, грецы, Палестина и Иерусалим” (*Turilov 1985*, 257–258).

The narrative part of the *words* is based on the apocryphal *Protoevangelium of James* (chap. 1–8), as discovered by A. V. Gorskij and K. I. Nevostruev thanks to an analysis of the *VČM* redaction (*Gorskij – Nevostruev 1884*, 5), whereas the text of our *words* is not identical with any known or published redaction of the complete translation of this Gospel (*Speranskij 1895*, 7–9, 13–36, 118–127; *Lavrov 1901*, 9–31; *Xristova 1992*, 72–76, 111–116). This allows us to claim with sufficient certainty that the *Protoevangelium of James* was, at least partially, translated in Great Moravia.

Even though the main redaction of the *words* was published (srov. *Petrovskij 1902*, 118–126 *mitr. Makarij 1866*, 417–422; *Turilov 2011*, 31–36; *Turilov 2012*, 36–40) and its manuscript tradition is relatively well researched (*Turilov 2011*, 11–13, 24–25, 37–38; *2012*, 21–22, 31–32, 40–41), a new critical edition of this relic with all the preserved manuscripts is without doubt necessary for further research (including linguistic research).

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25 In this context, it is necessary to consider that the condition mentioned is accepted in the *Recounting the translation of books into the Slavonic language* (*Skazanie o preloženii knig na slavjanskij jazyk*), assigning it to Nestor’s *Recounting of times past* (*Pověst’ vremenich let*) not later than 896, and originating from older sources from the end of the 11th century and created at Sázava monastery (FLORJA 1985, 121–130).

26 *Slovo o pochvale Bohorodice / Слово о похвале Богородицы*.

27 “Всяк человек, хотя похвалити что любо, ином добрейшим прилагает”.

28 Stored in Moscow (National History Museum, Museum collection, № 1779, l. 104 ob. – 113 ob.).

29 Specific listings of contents of the *Words of praise of the Mother of God* do not mention the Avars (“Giants”), Turks and Khazars that are mentioned in the *Life of Constantine* (possible causes listed in A. TURILOV 1985, 262). On the other hand, in chap. 16 of *The Life of Constantine* Moravians and Blatans are not mentioned.

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MEMORY

THE CONTINUITY OF SLAVIC LITURGY IN PŘEMYSLID BOHEMIA

Václav Konzal

It is common knowledge that after Archbishop Methodius' death in 885 the Old Slavonic liturgy was stifled in favour of the Latin liturgy. Methodius' disciples and collaborators found refuge in particular in the Slavonic South; however, they gradually succeeded in extending the Old Slavonic tradition throughout almost the whole territory inhabited by the Slavs. It is assumed that a part of the exiles found refuge also in the neighbouring territory of Přemyslid Bohemia, where the Old Slavonic tradition had likely already penetrated earlier.

It is generally accepted that the oldest evidence of the use of the Slavonic liturgy in Přemyslid Bohemia is the foundation of the monastery in Sázava by Prince Oldřich in 1032. But how can we describe the Slavonic liturgy in this territory between the years 863 and 1032? In this paper, we will attempt to review all the testimonies presented by historical sources on this issue and specify the validity of the use of the term "continuity" for the case of the Slavonic liturgy in the period between Great Moravia and early Přemyslid Bohemia.

Key words: Slavic liturgy, Přemyslid Bohemia, Sázava Monastery, Old Church Slavonic, Old Church Slavonic literature, Church Slavonic literature, Cosmas' Bohemian chronicle, St Ludmila, St Wenceslas

Unlike other areas of Christian life, liturgy is not subject to excessive laws and rules. As the old Christian *Didache* verse 10:7 says, τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε ἐνχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν (*prophetis autem permittite ut gratias agant quomodo velint*). Gregory the Great similarly claims, *In una fide nil officit consuetudo diversa*.¹ It was only the Council of Trent and the following reforms which curbed the variety of liturgy in the western, Latin Church. Speaking about Slavic liturgy (in Great Moravia and consequently in early Přemyslid Bohemia) we realise that despite a different national context (Mojmír's Moravia × Přemyslid Bohemia) the liturgical applicability remains the same – Bořivoj's baptism performed by Methodius was further promoted by the dispatch of Priest Kaich and his colleagues to Bořivoj's Bohemia and Bořivoj's wife Ludmila subsequently became the symbol of Slavism of the first Přemyslids. As we read in the *First Slavic Legend of St Wenceslas*, "his grandmother Ludmila had him educated in Slavic learning [literally: books] according to the priest's instruction".²

Preserved Old Church Slavonic liturgical documents exhibit great variety. While members of the Byzantine mission originally celebrated exclusively according to the Byzantine rite, the earliest Old Church Slavonic manuscript, the *Kiev Fragments* (9th–10th centuries), is a manual of Roman liturgy. Also the *Vienese Fragments* (11th–12th cent.) exemplify the Roman office whereas the *Canon on St Demetrius of Thessalonica*, the *Canon on St Wenceslas* (10th–11th cent.) as well as the later *Prague Glagolitic Fragments* (11th cent.) belong to the Byzantine rite and reflect the continuity of the oldest Great Moravian tradition. Already this brief account sufficiently witnesses *consuetudinem diversam* relevant to the situation of a missionary land ("many

Christian teachers came from Flanders, Greece and Germany" as we read in the *Life of Methodius*³). The limited agreement of Pope John XIII with the foundation of the Prague bishopric in the 10th century, as Cosmas put it: "*non secundum ritum aut sectam Bulgariae gentis [...] aut slavonicae linguae*"⁴ was the first effort for a unification of some sort. This decision naturally strengthened the Latin and weakened the Slavic element within Bohemian culture and society, though the Slavic language was probably definitively excluded from liturgy only with the decline of Slavic Sázava at the end of the 11th century. Slavic speech was thus heard in the liturgy of Czech churches for two whole centuries. It is nevertheless interesting to hear the voice of the adversary of the Slavic liturgy, the well-known Prague deacon Cosmas, describing this time, "*Qualiter autem [...] dux Borivoy adeptus sit sacramentum baptismi, aut quomodo per eius successores his in partibus de die in diem sancta processerit religio catholicae fidei, vel qui dux quas aut quot primitus ecclesias credulus erexit ad laudem dei, maluimus praetermittere [quam fastidium legentibus ingerere, quia iam ab aliis scripta legimus: quaedam in privilegio Moraviensis ecclesiae, quaedam in epilogo eiusdem terrae atque Boemiae, quaedam in vita vel passione sanctissimi nostri et martiris Wencezlai]*"⁵.

It is, however, also necessary to deal with the information inscribed in the *Annals of Fulda* for the year 845, according to which the East Frankish King Louis the German, on January 13 (in the octave of the Feast of Epiphany) baptised 14 Czech noblemen along with their retinues. Study of the further fate of this Christianisation is difficult – society certainly still remembered the bloody baptisms of thousands of Saxons in the second half of the 8th century performed under the motto "baptism

1 *Sancti Gregorii Papae I. Cognomento magni, Opera omnia*, ed. Jean Paul Migne, Patrologia latina 77, Paris 1896, p. 497.

2 Emilie BLÁHOVÁ – Václav KONZAL – Alexandr Ivanovič ROGOV, *Staroslavěnské legendy českého původu. Nejstarší kapitoly z dějin česko-ruských kulturních vztahů [Old Church Slavonic legends of Czech origin. Oldest chapters from the history of Czech-Russian cultural relations]*, Praha 1976, p. 69.

3 *Život sv. Metoděje*, transl. Josef VAŠICA, in: *Idem, Literární památky epochy velkomoravské 863–885 [Literary monuments of the Great Moravian period, 863–885]*, Praha 1996, p. 281.

4 *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boehmarum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz, MGH SRG N. S. 2, Berlin 1923, chap. 22, p. 44.

5 *Ibidem*, I. 15, p. 35.

or death”.⁶ The baptism of 845 thus seems to have been motivated by political reasons. Carolingian or Frankish missions were similarly accompanied by power claims. The “teachers from Flanders, Greece and Germany”⁷ mentioned in the *Life of Methodius* did not only bring the Gospel message, and the Czechs thus may have attempted to avoid the sad fate of their previously forcefully Christianised neighbours.

Rostislav’s and Svatopluk’s Moravian embassy to Emperor Michael in Constantinople certainly also aimed to free their territory from Frankish political influence and create a basis for the foundation of an independent Moravian church province. Even though Constantine-Cyril died shortly afterwards, Methodius, with the prince’s support, succeeded in creating the Moravian metropolis, which blossomed under his care. By baptising Bořivoj, Methodius also managed to spread Slavic Christianity beyond the boundaries of Mojmir’s Moravia to Bohemia.

A great historical advantage the Slavic missionaries had was the cultural dimension of their activity. In the 14th and 15th chapter of the *Life of Constantine* we read that Constantine-Cyril conditioned his willingness to take on the Moravian mission by his request that the Moravians would have “writing for their language” and the first action after his arrival in Moravia was the gathering of pupils and translation of the necessary liturgical books⁸. Thus the broadly-founded mission naturally offered plausible conditions not only for rather fast, but especially for successful development. While the success of the Moravian mission was conditioned by Rostislav’s and Svatopluk’s support, the decisive impulse for Bohemian Christianity was Methodius’ baptism of Prince Bořivoj and the ensuing baptism of Bořivoj’s wife, Princess Ludmila. It was Ludmila who then, together with a Slavic priest, supervised the Christian education of the future Czech Prince, Wenceslas. At a time when most European rulers were illiterate or semi-literate, the level of the Czech prince’s education was extraordinary. His father Vratislav passed on to Wenceslas the Latin learning he had acquired from the priest Učen in Budeč.⁹ We must not forget that the “study texts” of Slavic and Latin education consisted mainly of the Psalms and other Biblical books. From the beginning of ecclesiastical history in our territories, the parallel existence of the Latin and Slavic Divine Office was nothing unusual and its spread depended primarily on the immediate favour of the ruler (at the end of the 9th century Bořivoj and Vratislav versus Spytihněv, later Wenceslas versus the Boleslavs) and on the personal favour of the Popes who then headed the Church (in the 9th century, the positive bull *Industriae tuae* (880) addressed to Svatopluk by John VIII¹⁰ versus the negative *Quia te zelo* (885–6) sent by Stephen V/VI to the same ruler¹¹). If we now focus on the Slavic stream of early Přemyslid culture, we necessarily realise the prevalence of the Slavic element during the rule of the oldest historical Přemyslids; the churches at Levý Hradec, in Prague, at Tetín and in Old Boleslav were mainly Slavic with only the one

at Budeč being Latin (it was symptomatic that Vratislav sent Prince Wenceslas for education not to Prague but to Budeč). The Přemyslid princes clearly held the key position as it was they who selected the priests for individual churches. If the requirement that the foundation of a diocese should be preconditioned by its Latin character was still being stressed in the 10th century, it paradoxically bears witness to the strength of the Slavic element – both in the Church and in society – which was supposed to be forced into the background in the new diocese. The Slavic element, however, proved very persistent and the famous Slavic monastery of St Prokop was founded as late as the 11th century. By the end of the same century it had nevertheless been Latinised, the Slavic monks expelled by Prince Břetislav II; the Slavic liturgy thus came to an end.

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6 Hubert JEDIN (ed.), *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Band III/1, Die mittelalterliche Kirche – Vom kirchlichen Mittelalter zur gregorianischen Reform*, Freiburg 1966, p. 73–74.

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9 E. BLÁHOVÁ – V. KONZAL – A. I. ROGOV, *Staroslověnské legendy [Old Church Slavonic legends]*, p. 158.

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11 *Ibidem*, no. 101, pp. 215–225.

SAINT PROCOPIUS AND SÁZAVA MONASTERY

Petr Sommer

In Czech as well as Central European historiography, the topic of the beginning of the Christianisation of Bohemia has been connected for a long time with discussions about the so-called Old Church Slavonic liturgy, and generally about the presence of the Eastern Church in Central Europe in the Early Middle Ages. If we consider what is at stake in the given context, it is clear that the scope of the problem is delimited by three most important topics.

The first of them comprises the already-mentioned Old Church Slavonic liturgy and the collection of Old Church Slavonic written sources. Historians are willing to see the Old Church Slavonic liturgy as a legacy of Great Moravia, but only based on the utilisation of Old Church Slavonic as the language of religious services. The dispute is conducted further on the meaning of the written monuments created in Old Church Slavonic of which a part were unquestionably of Bohemian origin. They believe that they are evidence of a rather closed literary culture, which did not in any significant way mark the period of the tenth and eleventh centuries in Bohemia. Linguists on the other hand believe that these monuments were created within an extensive cultural exchange, whose results are preserved in a number of Old Church Slavonic manuscripts conserved in the Russian and Croatian milieu, in which the influence of Czech can be observed. According to them, such an extensive culture must have emerged within an abundant class of Old Church Slavonic clergy. It is likely that these and other monuments were created among the class of priests educated in Latin as well as Old Church Slavonic, and for the needs of this class, who can be generally characterised as the spiritual element in early mediaeval Bohemia.

This class of priests is the second key to the Old Church Slavonic issue in Bohemia. It is rather anticipated than proved; there is only one piece of direct evidence. It is the mention of a priest of Slavonic education by the name of Procopius, who first served as a secular priest, later entered the Benedictine Order and founded the monastery at Sázava. The third key is the monastery at Sázava itself. It is often interpreted as a unique offshoot of Bohemian ecclesiastical culture. It was created as a typical component of Bohemian ecclesiastical and monastic culture. Neither the architecture here nor the related material culture testifies to a massive influence from the culture of the Eastern Church. It is, however, evident that the monastery here was in contact with Kievan Rus' until 1096, but that in no way excludes it from the framework of the domestic power, cultural and ecclesiastical situations.

In the framework of a revision thus conceived of the testimony of the written and archaeological sources, it is possible to state that Old Church Slavonic ecclesiastical culture is a logical component of the Bohemian Early Middle Ages.

Key words: monastery, Old Church Slavonic, liturgy, written monuments, literary culture, clergy, pastoral language, mediaeval church, priest, Benedictines

Central Europe lived through a period of turbulent growth during the 10th century; this gave rise to the Czech, Polish and Hungarian states with their early Christian societies standing in-between paganism and Christianity.¹ It is beyond any doubt that the form into which those societies evolved was a synergic result of many events, which had an impact not only on their thinking but also their religious ideology.² This was co-influenced by political and religious forces coming from both the European West and East, bringing about an exceptional multicultural character in the world of Central Europe. This holds especially true for the society of the emerging Czech state, whose Christianity was rooted in the milieu of Great Moravia, although the form

of ritual and related culture is connected with imperial Christianity.³ This fact, politicised heavily during the modern stabilisation and emancipation of the Czech nation, played a very important part in interpreting the relationship between the early Czech State, the Empire and the Slavic East, particularly in the context of evidence documenting the religious culture of Old Church Slavonic. It is beyond any doubt that the culture existed, but interpretation of it still remains an issue subject to discussion. The question of the Old Church Slavonic origins of the Czech Church and culture is related, in particular, to the existence of various religious Old Church Slavonic manuscripts preserved in the Russian and Croatian area in which Czech influence can be observed. In sum, it is beyond any doubt that since a great number of such documents and monuments were created

¹ Petr SOMMER – Dušan TŘEŠTÍK – Josef ŽEMLIČKA, *Přemyslovci. Budování českého státu*, Praha 2009.

² P. SOMMER, *Heidnische und christliche Normen im Konflikt-Die Vorstellungswelt der böhmischen Gesellschaft im frühen Mittelalter*, in: Doris Ruhe – Karl-Heinz Spieß (ed.), *Prozesse der Normbildung und Veränderung im mittelalterlichen Europa*, pp. 161–186.

³ P. SOMMER, *Böhmen als Kultlandschaft, Besonderheiten, Importe, Exporte*, in: Ivan Hlaváček – Alexander Patschovsky (ed.), *Böhmen und seine Nachbarn in der Přemyslidenzeit, Vorträge und Forschungen LXXIV, Ostfildern 2010*, pp. 289–315.

in the Czech lands, there must have been a specialised class of educated authors and copyists; the clergy who had a good command of and who used Old Church Slavonic is the only social class to be taken into consideration.⁴

Contemporary historiography's attitude towards the idea of an important and independent Czech Church orientated eastwards and towards Slavonic culture is predominantly a very sceptical one,⁵ though philology is much more willing to accept it.⁶ However, comparison of the historiographical and philological view of the so-called Old Church Slavonic component of Czech Christianity shows that they differ in how they evaluate individual components, in particular in listing literary documents of Czech and early mediaeval origin, but there is no great difference in the conclusions arrived at in their evaluations. The conclusion, approved of by both parties, can be formulated as follows.

The 10th and 11th centuries in the Czech lands gave rise to literary documents which testify to Slavonic elements within the overall religious culture. An important role was played by Sázava Monastery during the 11th century, when many such literary documents were created. Nevertheless, Old Church Slavonic documents had been created as early as during the 10th century; undoubtedly as a certain, not exactly clearly observable continuation of Great Moravia's religious culture. Therefore, it is obvious that they were also connected with a milieu other than Sázava Monastery, though certainly a clerical one.⁷ G. Labuda's hypothesis provides a good explanation of the situation, maintaining that application of Old Church Slavonic during pastoral work and, above all, during Christianisation of the society, was real, very desirable and acceptable from a religious perspective, although there are no reasons to assume that a special Old Church Slavonic liturgy existed.⁸ This is in line with the official curial tolerance of that time towards a tool such as a comprehensible pastoral language. When we summarise the problem in such a way, the only controversial point which remains to be discussed between historiography and philology is the extent to and form in which Old Church Slavonic was applied in Czech religious practice. Potential answers are again linked to a set of Old Church Slavonic literary documents, to the expected centres where the culture was cultivated, and to specialised priests who would cultivate, use and enjoy the culture.

Texts written in Old Church Slavonic stand as the most prominent proof of a special religious culture. In pursuing the importance and meaning of this culture it is important not to monitor just Eastern and Western religious impacts that are embedded within it but, in particular, to follow suggestions of links to the environment such impacts arose from and were interrelated with. Parallel existence of elements present in both Western and Eastern liturgy in the early Czech State does not testify to anything

other than a mixture of peripheral liturgy used at the outskirts of the Christianised world.⁹ However, proofs showing links between Old Church Slavonic texts and the clergy represent important evidence of the origin and use of such texts among priests in general. There are, in particular, only few clear proofs of such a type from the era of the beginnings of the Czech state, but they do exist. Above all, it is the *First Old Church Slavonic St Wenceslas Legend*,¹⁰ the testimony of St Procopius legendry,¹¹ a legendist called Christian (Kristián)¹², the so-called *Kiev Missal – libellus missae* of Italian origin, probably translated by Archbishop Methodius.¹³ It is the linguists, in particular, who stress the existence of further texts such as the *Prague Glagolitic Fragments* and the Cyrillic Gospel-book of South-Russian type called the *Rheims Gospel*. These are texts which are connected with Sázava Monastery as the crucial centre of Old Church Slavonic culture in Bohemia in the 11th century. Sázava products of that time are said to include a number of further works such as the *Legend of Saint Benedict*, the *Prayer to the Holy Trinity*, the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend of St Wenceslas* and *St Gregory's Homilies (Besědy sv. Řehoře)*.¹⁴ As it was the extensive production of Sázava Monastery that was often stressed, it gradually created the impression that practically nothing important originated outside the monastery.¹⁵ But this is a mistake. For instance, the *Prague Fragments* mentioned above were found inside the binding of *St Vitus' Apocalypse* of 1059–1085,¹⁶ and therefore we cannot rule out that they had not been kept in Sázava as is traditionally supposed but at St Vitus in Prague. The penitential collection *Někatoraja zapověď* leads us directly to ordinary everyday clerical practice, outside the monastic milieu. *The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus* has been preserved in two manuscripts older than the 13th century in St George's Library in Prague, i.e. in the milieu of a Latin Benedictine convent (although we must naturally admit that we cannot be one hundred percent sure about how the manuscripts arrived there).¹⁷ It is thus very probable that even Latin monasteries used to preserve and use Old Church Slavonic manuscripts.¹⁸ This assumption is further corroborated

9 The idea of peripheral liturgy in a newly Christianised country was formulated by Ladislav POKORNÝ, *Liturgie píše staroslověnsky*, in: Václav Bartůněk (ed.), *Solušní bratři*, Praha 1962, pp. 160–193; IDEM, *Liturgická tvář mladé diecéze*, in: Jaroslav Kadlec (ed.), *Tisíc let pražského biskupství*, Praha 1973, pp. 45–54.

10 Alexander Ivanovič ROGOV – E. BLÁHOVÁ – Václav KONZAL, *Staroslověnské legendy českého původu*, Praha 1976, pp. 107–140.

11 Václav CHALOUPECKÝ – Bohumil RYBA, *Středověké legendy prokopské*, Praha 1953.

12 Josef PEKAŘ, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmila-Legenden und die Echtheit Christians*, Prague 1906.

13 Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Kiever Blätter*, in: Alfred Wiczorek – Hans Martin Hinz (ed.), *Europas Mitte* um 1000, Katalog, Stuttgart 2000, p. 238.

14 E. BLÁHOVÁ, *Staroslověnské písemnictví v Čechách 10. století*, in: Květa Reichertová et al., *Sázava, památník staroslověnské kultury v Čechách*, Prague 1988, pp. 63–65. From the wide literature on the topic, compare the following recent texts, in particular: *Čtyřicet homilii Řehoře Velikého na evangelia I–II*, Práce Slovanského ústavu, New Edition Series 20/I–II, ed. V. KONZAL, Praha 2005. Another important Old Church Slavonic source text (with assumed monastic relations) associated with the Czech lands of 10th and 11th centuries was published by František ČAJKA, *Církevněslovanská legenda o svatě Anastázii*, Práce Slovanského ústavu, New Edition Series 34, Prague 2011; V. VAVŘÍNEK, *Cyril a Metoděj, mezi Konstantinopolí a Římem*, Prague 2013, in particular see pp. 323–329, sums up the whole issue.

15 E. BLÁHOVÁ, *Staroslověnská literární činnost Sázavského kláštera*, in: K. Reichertová & col., *Sázava, Museum of Old Church Slavonic Culture in Bohemia*, Praha 1988, pp. 104–115.

16 Marie KOSTÍLKOVÁ, *Pražské hláolské zlomky*, in: M. Kostilková, *Rukopisy knihovny Metropolitní kapituly sv. Vítava*, Praha 1995, pp. 7–8.

17 Zoe HAUPTOVÁ, *Církevněslovanské písemnictví v přemyslovských Čechách*, in: *Jazyk a literatura v historické perspektivě*, Ústí nad Labem 1998, pp. 5–43.

18 Václav HUŇÁČEK, *Ostrov zwischen Břevnov und Sázava*, in: P. Sommer (ed.), *Boleslav II. Der Tschechische Staat um das Jahr 1000, Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 2*, Prague 2001, pp. 463–480.

4 P. SOMMER, *Svatý Prokop. Z počátků českého státu a církve*, Praha 2007, pp. 95–102.

5 D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Slovanská liturgie a písemnictví v Čechách 10. století. Představy a skutečnost*, in: P. Sommer (ed.), *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a střední Evropa*, Praha, pp. 189–218.

6 Emilie BLÁHOVÁ, *Literární vztahy Sázavy a Kyjevské Rusi*, in: P. Sommer (ed.), *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a střední Evropa*, Praha 2006, pp. 219–234.

7 P. SOMMER, *Svatý Prokop*, pp. 99–100.

8 Gerard LABUDA, *Ze spuścizny kulturowej misji arcybiskupa Metodego na pograniczu slowiańsko-germańskim*, in: Irena Kwilecka (ed.), *Etnolingwistyczne i kulturowe związki Słowian s Germanami*. Prace Slawistyczne, Wrocław 1987, pp. 83–90.

by the Cyrillic notes in the *Martyrologium Adonis* that comes from the Benedictine Břevnov Monastery and was later kept in Rajhrad Monastery. *The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus* makes us focus on one more important direction of thinking. Philologists have discovered that the text was translated from Latin, strongly influenced by German – just as the German environment had an impact on the character of the Lord's Prayer in the era before Cyril and Methodius' missions, as it was preserved in *Milič's collection*.¹⁹ All this leads us towards a view of clerical culture in the Czech lands in the 10th and 11th centuries which is rather different from the traditional one. Clerical culture of that time was probably quite motley; it had several different epicentres and it absorbed mission influences of various orientations, but Old Church Slavonic was its common denominator. This is a much more likely picture of the early Czech Church than the one which sees Sázava Monastery as the only island of Old Church Slavonic culture amidst a Latin cultural sea. Naturally, this idea assumes the fact that Sázava Monastery understood and used Latin as a part of the Czech Church and not only as a kind of foreign body in it.

Sázava Monastery constitutes another topic of importance connected with Old Church Slavonic culture in the Czech lands. Its Old Church Slavonic era, comprising the period from its foundation in the 1030s until the expulsion of the Slavonic convent in 1096, constitutes an exceptionally important period of history for the Czech Church and culture, while its blurred contours have raised many different interpretations, coloured according to the author's political or civil opinions and beliefs. In particular, links between Sázava and the Eastern monkhood and Eastern Church used to be accentuated very strongly. It is beyond any doubt that such links existed. It is proved, for instance, by a report by a domestic chronicler describing the consecration of a new church in 1095, when the relics of Saints Boris and Gleb were deposited in one of the altars.²⁰ The nature of written texts connected with Sázava makes us assume that Eastern monks – authors – used to be present in the convent. This was supposed to be the case with the *Rheims Gospel*. The *Prague Fragments*, written in Glagolitic, are usually considered another proof of the relationship between Sázava and Kievan Rus' as they form part of a liturgical book of Eastern rite, copied in Sázava, which was supposed to prove the form of Sázava liturgy.²¹ Despite that, we must say that the crucial role in all this was played by information which had accompanied the Procopian legendry from its very beginning, i.e. that when the convent was founded, a Benedictine community, observing the rule of St Benedict, was formed.²² Thanks to archaeological research which took place in Sázava

over several decades, the Benedictine character of Sázava Monastery can be corroborated beyond any doubt.²³ The monastery was built as a group of wooden structures that were in operation from the 1030s to the 1150s. Near the church, forming the ideological centre of the monastery, a group of buildings was formed, arranged into the typical configuration of a Benedictine enclosure. To the west of the church, another wooden structure was identified; most likely, this may be explained as a prelature which, by itself, including the location of the structure within the arrangement of the buildings, again testifies to the Benedictine scheme of the monastery.²⁴ Material pieces of culture, obtained by archaeological research, give evidence of the Benedictine orientation of the community, too. Direct analogies to the wooden Sázava Monastery can be found among monasteries in Bavaria of the 9th century; in particular Herrenchiemsee.²⁵ This corroborates very clearly František Graus's conclusion from the 1960s, when he maintained that if a Church of the Eastern type had existed in early mediaeval Bohemia, this would have to be manifested in material culture, either in the construction of sacral buildings or in sets of articles of everyday use.²⁶

And, naturally, the clergy is the third topic associated with the Old Church Slavonic culture of early mediaeval Bohemia. There are many historiographical speculations concerning the clergy as well and they are based, in particular, on interpretation of legendary reports of Russian origin. Duke Wenceslas is reported to have had knowledge of Old Church Slavonic and its alphabet. Duchess Ludmila's personal priest Pavel is reported to have been a priest of the Slavonic rite who taught Wenceslas (though this is a combination arrived at by modern historiography), etc. Nevertheless, if we look for clear reports, we find that information is very scarce. Practically, we can only find a clear statement concerning a priest of the Old Church Slavonic rite in the text of the Procopian *Vita minor*, which tells that Procopius, the founder of Sázava Monastery, was a lay priest at first, trained in the alphabet compiled by Saint Cyril.²⁷ In view of the context mentioned above, it is naturally clear that Procopius was no exception in the Czech lands when Christianity started striking roots. However, it is just as obvious that František Graus was right again when he stated that two different Churches – Latin and Slavonic – could not have existed when the official structures of the Church were evidently Latin and westwards orientated, to Regensburg at first and, after the Prague episcopate was founded, to Mainz.²⁸ Within this context, how are we to answer the question of how Procopius and other priests could have been trained in the Slavic alphabet in the Czech lands of the 11th century if a clerical base for the relevant official Slavic training did not exist. The answer may be found in *Opatovice Homiliarium*, a source from the mid-12th century, which sheds some important light on the beginnings of the Czech Church. It shows that junior

19 Josef CIBULKA, 'Επιούσιος – παροῦστος – quotidianus – vezdejší, *Slavia* 25, 1956, pp. 406–415, arrived at the conclusion that the nature of Lord's Prayer as passed on by Milič testifies to Christianisation influences before the arrival of Cyril and Methodius.

20 *Mnich sázavský*, ed. Josef Emler, in: FRB II, Praha 1874, pp. 252: "Deinde tertia die, quod est XVII. Kal. Novembris, consecrata sunt duo altaria, unum a dextris, in quo continentur reliquiae sancti Martini, sanctorum Johannis et Pauli, sancti Tiburtii martyris, sancti Glebii et socii eius, sanctorum Benedicti, Johannis, Ysaac, Mathaei, Christiani, sancti Nicolai, sancti Jeronimi, sancti Uodalrici, sancti Fortunati, sancti Adolphii, sancti Lazari." As for interpretation of this report, compare P. SOMMER, *Sázavský klášterní chrám na konci 11. století (pokus o novou interpretaci textu tzv. Mnicha sázavského k roku 1095)*, in: Jiří Doležel – Martin Wihoda (ed.), *Mezi raným a vrcholným středověkem*. Pavlu Kouřilovi k šedesátým narozeninám přátelé, kolegové a žáci, Brno 2012, pp. 253–259.

21 E. BLÁHOVÁ, *Literární vztahy Sázavy a Kyjevské Rusi*, in: P. Sommer (ed.), *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a střední Evropa*, Praha 2006, pp. 219–234.

22 [*Sancti Prokopij*] *Vita minor*, ed. V. Chaloupecký – B. Ryba, in: Václav Chaloupecký – Bohumil Ryba, *Středověké legendy prokopské: Jejich historický rozbor a texty*, Prague 1953, p. 135: "[...] quibus spiritaliter concordantibus unanimes caritate monastica fieri moderamina et misteria divina iuxta exemplar almfici patris Benedicti constituit [...]"

23 P. SOMMER, *Svatý Prokop*, pp. 122–137.

24 Jan ROYT – P. SOMMER – Martin STECKER, *Sázavský klášter*, Praha 2013, pp. 14–16.

25 Hermann DANNHEIMER, *Die agilolfingerzeitlichen Klöster, 2. Archäologische Spuren*, in: H. Dannheimer – Heinz Dopsch (ed.), *Die Bajuwaren. Von Severin bis Tassilo 488–788, Gemeinsame Landesausstellung des Freistaates Bayern und des Landes Salzburg, München – Salzburg 1988*, pp. 311–317.

26 František GRAUS, *Slovanská liturgie a písemnictví v přemyslovských Čechách 10. století*, *Československý časopis historický* 14, 1966, pp. 473–495.

27 [*Sancti Prokopij*] *Vita minor*, p. 132: "[...] beatus abbas Procopius [...] Sclavorum apicibus, a sanctissimo Quirillo, episcopo, quondam inventis et statutis canonice, admodum imbutus, in seculo presbiter eximius [...]"

28 F. GRAUS, *Slovanská liturgie a písemnictví v přemyslovských Čechách 10. století*.

priests were trained by practising priests themselves,²⁹ who were obviously both Latin priests and priests of Slavic tradition in the Czech lands during the 10th and 11th centuries, unquestionably of one rite and liturgy. In such an environment, Procopius could naturally become a priest who possessed knowledge of Old Church Slavonic and its alphabet. There must have been many such priests and they were the priests who were using literature such as the *First Old Church Slavonic St Wenceslas Legend* or the penitential *Někatoraja zapověď*.³⁰

This picture of early Czech Christianity and its Church has so far been the most reliable explanation of the testimony given by texts describing the Old Church Slavonic origin of Czech Christianity. Procopius was a priest who was most likely connected with the first Czech religious organisation, interconnected with the so-called castle system of state administration.³¹ As a priest, he served at Kouřim Castle in central Bohemia and it is obvious that his Old Church Slavonic training presented no obstacle for him; he was thus a typical clergyman of his time. When he decided to leave the secular world and enter the order, he did so most probably in Bohemia. During the first half of the 11th century, this could only happen in Břevnov, a Benedictine monastery founded by Bishop Adalbert and Duke Boleslaus II towards the end of the 10th century.³² The monastery was connected with St Boniface and Alexius' convent in Rome's Aventine, which had long been considered to be a certain mission base orientated towards Slavonic central Europe. Nowadays, when opinion has returned to Zakrzewsky's³³ sober assessment from the beginning of the 20th century, we may still see that it was a convent following both Latin and Greek tradition, thanks to which Procopius was able to obtain his unusual religious name as well as affiliation to the Eastern priesthood. Moreover, we are talking about an era before the schism when the difference between the Eastern and Western Church had not been perceived as so fatally radical.³⁴

The view offered by this article puts Procopius, domestic priests and the character of the Czech Church and its culture in harmony with the situation of the emerging state and its organisation, as well as the construction of the Church and its culture. Old Church Slavonic literature and Sázava Monastery thus become a logical part of Czech history instead of a hard-to-understand exclusivity.³⁵

29 "Omnis presbyter clericum habeat scolarem, qui epistolam vel lectionem legat, et ad missam respondeat, et cum ipso psalmos cantet." Ferdinand HECHT, *Das Homiliar des Bischofs von Prag*, Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens, Abt. I, Quellensammlung Band I., Prague 1863, p. 21.

30 Such a perception of the clerical environment of early mediaeval Bohemia was even close to F. KADLEC, *Svatý Prokop*, Praha 2000, e.g. pp. 29, 35, etc.

31 On the first Přemyslid state compare the latest text by P. SOMMER – D. TŘEŠTÍK – J. ŽEMLIČKA, *Přemyslovci*, passim.

32 P. SOMMER, *Svatý Prokop*, pp. 102–110.

33 Stanisław ZAKRZEWSKI, *Opactwo benedyktyńskie św. Bonifacego i Aleksego na Awentynie w latach 977–1085*, in: G. Labuda (ed.), *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 59–126.

34 F. KADLEC, *Svatý Prokop*, p. 69, noted that year 1054 had not been understood as a milestone in the Western Church at first. The fatal split, though certainly not the first split, was started by Cardinal Humbert by his excommunicating not the Byzantine Church but Patriarch Michael Kerullarios. He did so in the name of Pope Leo IX on 16 July 1054, but the act was void because Pope Leo IX had been dead for three months.

35 This text is a version of study by P. SOMMER, *Der Heilige Prokop, das Kloster Sázava und die sogenannte altkirchenslawische Liturgie in Böhmen*, in: Maciej Salamon – Marcin Wotoszyn – Alexander Musin – Perica Špehar – Matthias Hardt – Mirosław P. Kruk – Aleksandra Sulikowska Gańska (ed.), *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence, U źródeł Europy Środkowo-wschodniej/Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 1/1*, Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa 2012, vol. I, pp. 161–168.

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THE SERBIAN CHURCH SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPT OF THE PRAYER OF ST GREGORY

František Čajka

This paper deals with the Serbian manuscript of the Prayer of St Gregory, which is part of the Psalter codex Rs 30. The manuscript, written using the Serbian spelling of the Resava School (the crucial part of which comes from 1573), is stored in the National Library of Serbia in Belgrade. The paper sets the discovery of the manuscript in the context of the history of research on the relic and provides a basic description of the manuscript. This edition of the textual relic offers material which is considered complementary to the recent 2013 critical edition of the Prayer of St Gregory by M. Vepřek. The uniqueness of manuscript Rs 30 can be seen in the fact that it extends the number of previously known handwritten Russian variants of the Prayer of St Gregory with a different (Serbian) edition of the text.

Key words: Prayer of St Gregory, Church Slavonic, Bohemian Church Slavonic literature, Serbia, Latin, prayers, mediaeval literature

State of research

The connection between the west-Slavic environment and the *Church Slavonic Prayer of St Gregory* has been known since 1905, when its text was published by Alexej Ivanovich Sobolevskij as part of a group of eight prayers of the so-called *Yaroslav Collection*.¹ The manuscript collection known as *molitvennik* (čínovník), dating to the 2nd half of the 13th century, belonged to Spaso-Preobražensky Monastery in Yaroslav.² Sobolevskij believed that the prayers had been translated from Latin in a western European environment and pointed to lexical similarities with the *Forty Homilies on the Gospels by Pope Gregory the Great*.³

František Václav Mareš,⁴ who published the aforesaid group of texts in a Czech Church Slavonic anthology based on Sobolevskij's edition,⁵ adopted the hypothesis that the prayers had been translated in an early mediaeval Czech environment. Since Latin versions were not known and no-one paid attention to the prayers, their inclusion among Czech Church Slavonic texts was only tentative.⁶ Miroslav

Vepřek has recently studied the above texts, publishing his research both in scholarly journals⁷ and in a separate monograph.⁸

As the present text depicts the Serbian manuscript of the *Prayer of St Gregory*, we are going to summarise Vepřek's conclusions regarding this prayer. The author confirmed the hypothesis that it was translated from Latin. In his study, he also highlighted the hitherto unknown Latin parallels which he found, while the popularity of the Latin text *Oratio sancti Gregorii (papa)* is witnessed by almost 30 manuscripts from the 9th–16th century. The oldest inscription of a Latin text of the prayer appears in the manuscript of the monastery in Teplá from the 9th century (sign. b9) currently preserved in the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague. According to Vepřek the closest Latin version of the Slavic text is the *Latin Darmstadt Manuscript D1* (sign. D1), which proceeds from the period around the year 1040, from the Rhine region. He also mentions Old Czech versions of the Prayer of St Gregory, which he considers translations from Latin models. However, based on textual differences and the general language character of the Church Slavonic and the Old Czech versions he concludes that they were translated separately.

Language analysis indicates similarities between the *Prayer of St Gregory* and the Czech Church Slavonic texts translated from Latin (such as the *Second Old Church Slavonic Legend of St Wenceslas* and *Besědy na evangelije*) especially in the area

1 Alexej I. SOBOLEVSKIJ, *Neskol'ko redkich molitv iz ruskago sbornika XIII veka*, *Izvestija otdelenija ruskago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk* 10/4, 1905, pp. 66–78; published under the same title as a separate edition in St Petersburg in 1906, pp. 1–13.

2 The *Yaroslav Collection* also includes the so-called *Prayer against the Devil*, which modern researchers believe to have originated in Great Moravia. Václav KONZAL, *Staroslavěnská modlitba proti ďáblu* [*The Old Church Slavonic Prayer against the Devil*], *Europa orientalis* 2, 1992, pp. 131–196 and IDEM, *Staroslavjanskaja molitva protiv d'javala*, Moskva 2002.

3 *Čtyřicet homilii papeže Řehoře Velikého na evangelia* [*Forty Homilies of Pope Gregory the Great on the Gospels*] (in Slavic tradition also known as *Besědy na evangelije*) is the largest Czech Church Slavonic text. In 2005 and 2006, Václav Konzal published it in two volumes due to the large amount of text. See *Čtyřicet homilii Řehoře Velikého na evangelia v českocírkevněslavanském překladu*. Díl I. *Homilie I–XXIV*. [*Forty homilies on the Gospels in Czech Church Slavonic translation. Part 1. Homilies I–XXIV*], edited by V. Konzal, Praha 2005 and *Čtyřicet homilii Řehoře Velikého na evangelia v českocírkevněslavanském překladu*. Díl II. *Homilie XXV–XL*. [*Forty homilies on the Gospels in Czech Church Slavonic translation. Part 2. Homilies XXV–XL*], edited by V. Konzal – F. Čajka, Praha 2006.

4 František V. MAREŠ, *Církevněslavonské písemnictví v Čechách* [*Church Slavonic literature in Bohemia*], in: *Cyrlometodějská tradice a slavistika* [The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition and Slavistics], Praha 2000, p. 277.

5 F. V. MAREŠ, *An Anthology of Church Slavonic Texts of Western (Czech) Origin*, München 1979, pp. 71–80.

6 For said reasons these prayers were not included in the excerpt pool of *Slovník jazyka staroslavěnského* [*Dictionary of the Old Church Slavonic Language*], vols. I–IV., Praha 1996–1997, also see for example Emilie BLÁHOVÁ, *Ke klasifikaci českocírkevněslavonických památek* [*On the classification of the Czech Church Slavonic texts*], *Slavia* 62, 1993, p. 439.

7 Miroslav VEPŘEK, *Církevněslavonská Modlitba sv. Řehoře a její původ v komparaci s latinskou předlohou* [*The Church Slavonic Prayer of St Gregory and its origin in comparison with the Latin model*], *Slavia* 76, 2007, pp. 1–11; IDEM *Církevněslavonské modlitby českého původu* [*Church Slavonic prayers of Czech origin*], in: *Česká slavistika. Příspěvky k XIV. mezinárodnímu sjezdu slavistů*, Ochrid 10.–16. 9. 2008 [Czech Slavistics. Contributions presented at the 14th International Slavistic Congress in Ochrid], *Slavia* 77, 2008, pp. 221–230; IDEM *Církevněslavonské památky českého původu s latinskou předlohou* [*The Church Slavonic texts of Czech origin based on a Latin model*], *Slavia* 82, 2013, pp. 240–250; IDEM, *Modlitba vyznání hříchů z Jaroslavského sborníku* [*The Prayer of Confession of Sins in the Yaroslav Collection*], *Slavia* 78, 2009, pp. 481–490; Karel KOMÁREK – M. VEPŘEK, *Modlitba sv. Řehoře v církevněslavonském a staročeském překladu* [*The Prayer of St Gregory in the Church Slavonic and Old Czech translation*], in: *Jazyk a jeho proměny* [Language and its metamorphoses], Brno 2008, pp. 133–144.

8 M. VEPŘEK, *Modlitba sv. Řehoře a Modlitba vyznání hříchů v církevněslavonské a latinské tradici* [*The Prayer of St Gregory and Prayer of Confession of Sins in Church Slavonic and Latin tradition*], Olomouc 2013. Beside the analytical part, the publication also contains a critical edition of the Slavic and Latin texts, index verborum and the Latin-Old Church Slavonic index of both prayers.

of lexis. The characteristic features of the translation technique (for example the translation of Latin subordinate clauses of the *ut* + subjunctive type or the use of a specific translation technique called hendiadys, which is the translation of one original word usually by a pair of synonyms) connect the text of the prayer with other Slavic documents translated from Latin (the *Kiev Fragments* and the Czech Church Slavonic texts). Based on a detailed textual and linguistic analysis and also considering the cultural-historical context, Vepřek places the translation of the prayer in the Central European (Czech) environment of the 11th century.

Known Church Slavonic versions of the Prayer of St Gregory

The *Prayer of St Gregory* is preserved in three known manuscripts.⁹ The oldest version was inscribed in a manuscript of Russian origin, the so-called Yaroslav Collection from the second part of the 13th century (sign. JaMZ № 15481, fol. 73b–78b, Jaroslavskij gosudarstvennyj istoriko-architekturnyj i chudožestvennyj muzej-zapovednik). The another text of the prayer covers folios 227a–229a in a Psalter manuscript from the 15th century found in the State Historical Museum in Moscow (Gosudarstvennyj istoričeskij muzej) under the signature Und 1274.¹⁰ Sobolevskij also mentions the third manuscript from a Psalter from 1538–1539 (sobr. kn. Obolenskago № 90) presently preserved in the Russian State Archive RGADA (Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj archiv drevnich aktov).¹¹

The Prayer of St Gregory in the Serbian manuscript Rs 30

The Serbian Church Slavonic manuscript of the Psalter of 354 folios comprises two parts. The first of these (fols. 1–225) was produced as a whole in 1573. The second (fols. 226–354) was apparently added four decades later. The manuscript is written in poluustav (semi-cursive script) on 27–28 lines (1st part) and on 29 lines (2nd part) in the Serbian orthography of the Resava School. The codex is preserved in the National Library (Narodna biblioteka Srbije) in Belgrade under the signature Rs 30.¹²

The manuscript version of the *Prayer of St Gregory* is written on folios 349b/1–350b/22 with the incipit: *Мѡлѡитѡвѡи сѡвѡтѡго грегѡрѡа двѡеслѡвѡ ѡ иже то колиждѡ сѡе молѡитѡвѡи творѡитѡвѡи на дѡвѡнь или на нѡщѡи.*

The text of the *Prayer of St Gregory* is part of the molitvoslov (euchologium), inscribed in the manuscript on folios 318–354. This part of the manuscript begins with the prayer following Saturday Vespers: *Мѡлѡитѡвѡа въ сѡубѡтѡу по вечерньи. Господѡи Исѡусѡе Христе сыне вѡожѡи многомѡлѡитѡвѡе и ѡлѡвѡбѡколюбѡе, не хотѡвѡи*

сѡмрѡти намѡ грѡшникѡмѡвѡи. The prayers are read on Saturday after Vespers, on Sunday morning and on Sunday after Hours and Compline, on Monday morning after Hours and Compline, and on all days usually in a certain order according to the theme of a given day. After folio 341, the text of the prayers follows, continuing until folio 345, which originally did not belong to the manuscript. The added part contains prayers which must be read on Saturday following Matins (reading from the Prophets) and after Hours (3rd, 6th, 9th hour). The first prayer remembers Father Theodosius of Kiev and John of Rila. The following folios, 346–347, include prayers read before the night rest, the Prayer of St Antiochius, Prayer of John Chrysostomos (ѡислѡмѡвѡвѡи кѡа), Father Pajsij the Hermit for each day, and the Prayer of St Peter Černorizec (monk), the Prayer to the Most Holy Theotokos, the prayers of Gregory the Great and confession prayers addressed to Jesus Christ. Molitvoslov, as well as the whole manuscript, closes on folio 354 with a tyikon containing a text for a nightly vigil, grand doxology and dismissal.

Manuscript Rs 30 is peculiar in that folio 341 is followed by a later written text with various prayers. The collection begins with a prayer celebrating Father Theodosij of Kiev. In this prayer, his name is followed by the attribute “цѡле Русиѡе светилник”.¹³ Presupposing that the inscription was transcribed from another manuscript, it is also possible to surmise the possible transfer of the text of the *Prayer of St Gregory* from a Russian environment. As only a fragment of the manuscript was available and the description contained in it did not offer a detailed characteristic of this part of the codex, such a solution remains a hypothetical one.

Within the framework of inter-Slavic cultural relations, the Serbian environment received a literary heritage from various Slavic backgrounds.¹⁴ Thanks to the Serbian scriptoria a number of texts have been fully or partially preserved, placed within the group of Czech Old Church Slavonic literature (*The Legend of St Anastasia, The Life of Benedict, The Gospel of Nicodemus*). The Serbian manuscript of the *Prayer of St Gregory* is part of this heritage.

Edition

An edited text of manuscript Rs 30 has been published as a supplement to the new edition of the *Prayer of St Gregory* from 2013.¹⁵ For this reason the text is not accompanied by a parallel Latin translation.

349b

МЛѢИ, СТѢ ГРЕГОРІА ДВОЕСЛОВА • И ТѢ КОЛИЖѢ
 СІЕ МЛѢИ ТВОРИ, НА ДНѢ ИЛИ НА НОЩѢ • НЕ ИМАѢ НИ
 НИ ЗЛѢ ЧЛѢКѢ • НИ ДІАВОЛЬ ОЗЛОБИТИ ДШѢ ЕГО • НИ ТЪ-
 5 ЧІЮ ОУБО, НЪ АЩЕ Ѡ ЖИТІА ПРѢИДЕ • ТѢ АДѢ ДШѢ
 ТѢ НЕПРІЕМЛѢ • ЯКО РЕ СТЫИ ГРЕГОРІЕ ПАПА • МѢ СТѢ ГРЕГОРІА • ~

9 For a description of the manuscripts and their characteristics see M. VEPŘEK, *Modlitba sv. Řehoře a Modlitba vyznání hříchů v církevněslavanské a latinské tradici [The Prayer of St Gregory and the Prayer of the Confession of Sins in the Church Slavonic and Latin tradition]*, Olomouc 2013, pp. 8–9 and 13–14.

10 Based on linguistic features, F. V. MAREŠ categorised it as the text of a Moldavian redaction of Church Slavonic. See F. V. MAREŠ, *An Anthology of Church Slavonic Texts of Western (Czech) Origin*, München 1979, p. 73.

11 The text in question was not available to Vepřek. For this reason he does not mention further details of the manuscript. M. VEPŘEK, *Modlitba sv. Řehoře a Modlitba vyznání hříchů v církevněslavanské a latinské tradici [The Prayer of St Gregory and the Prayer of the Confession of Sins in the Church Slavonic and Latin tradition]*, Olomouc 2013, p. 18, compare A. I. SOBOLEVSKIJ, *Neskol'ko redkich molitv iz russkago sbornika XIII veka*, *Izvestija otdelenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk* 10/4, 1905, p. 68.

12 For a description of manuscript Rs 30 see Dimitrij BOGDANOVIĆ – Irena GRICKAT (red.), *Opis ćirilskih rukopisa Narodne biblioteke Srbije. Knjiga prva*, Beograd 1986, pp. 56–60. On this occasion, I would like to thank dr. Štefan Pilát for making photocopies of the prayer.

13 D. BOGDANOVIĆ – I. GRICKAT (red.), *Opis ćirilskih rukopisa Narodne biblioteke Srbije. Knjiga prva*, Beograd 1986, p. 59.

14 Anatolij A. TURILOV, *Rol' serbskoj tradicii v sochraneni drevnejših pamjatnikov slavjanskoj literatury*, in: *Mežslavjanske kulturne svjazi i istočnikovedenie istorii i kul'tury slavjan*. Etjudy i karakteristiki, Moskva 2012, pp. 182–191.

15 See M. VEPŘEK, *Modlitba sv. Řehoře a Modlitba vyznání hříchů v církevněslavanské a latinské tradici [The Prayer of St Gregory and the Prayer of Confession of Sins in the Church Slavonic and Latin tradition]*, Olomouc 2013, pp. 108–131.

Гѣ ѡслыши мѣтѣвъ мою . ꙗко азъ знаю вѣрѣме близъ
сѣе . подаждь ми гѣ прѣмощности разоумь . и
просвѣти срѣце мое да знаю те все дѣни живота
10 моего . ꙗко тѣи еси бѣ мон , и нѣ инога развѣ тебе .
нъ тзкъмо тѣи еси бѣ мон , и нѣ инога развѣ тебе .
нъ тзкъмо тѣи единъ сзшѣ съ нѣсе . и просвѣтивѣи
марію дхѣмъ стѣымъ . тебе млю гѣ . да просвѣтиш
срѣце мое . ꙗко грѣсы мои бесчислзныи соу . по-
15 даждь ми гѣ да ѡ възмогъ очистити вѣрою исти-
нною , и именемъ твоимъ истиннымъ . възшоути
оуслышати ме , ꙗко оуслышаль еси тавѣтѣвъ и сарѣрѣвъ .
излѣи ѡ ѡчѣю моею слъзы , ꙗко излѣаль еси земли
даждь . ꙗко ѡжестило се ѣ срѣце мое ꙗко камень .
20 Сзгрѣши гѣ сзгрѣши сѣло въ животѣ моемъ . и вса
беззаконїа моя азъ знаю . тебе се млю гѣ и тебе
въспію . простри рѣкъ твою деснѣвъ . и избави ме соу-
противника моего , ꙗко избавилъ еси трѣи ѡ-
25 трокы¹⁶ ѡ печи огньныи , седрѣха и мисѣха и авѣде-
ннаго . ѡ гѣ цроу нѣныи . подаждь ми трзепенїе
и възрѣжанїе и любовь . вѣрѣ и смѣренїе и истинѣ .
да възмогъ прѣбывати въ добродѣтели сътвори срѣце мое
въсхотѣти да ѡвѣрѣгъ зль мой . ѣ глѣ и сътвори и
помысли

350a

Въ юности моеи ꙗ не оугоднаа соу тебе . прошъ и млю
тебе гѣ , и тебе выпію выплѣмъ великъмъ всѣмъ срѣцѣмъ
моимъ . и тебе хвалю и тебе величаю стю мтерію
твою . и всѣми стѣными твоими . да мы послѣиш
5 стѣе твое агглы и архангглы , патрїахы (sic!) прѣрѣкы и аплн .
и дѣ , еѣлїсты , и мнкъ и исповѣдникъ , и дѣвы . млю
и прошъ . гѣ іѣ хѣ вси стѣи твои избраннѣи . да ме
ѡслышѣ и подадѣтѣ ми на поу истиннымъ прїити .
Сзгрѣши сѣло сзгрѣши не члкъ нъ паче тебе гѣ бѣ мѣ .
10 ꙗко нѣ числа дѣлѣмъ мой зльмъ . ѣ не сътвори ѡ юно-
сти моеи . и тѣи гѣ бѣ мон црѣвъ вѣчныи жыны . искоу-
пи ни стю крѣвїю твою . и пригвѣдѣныи се на дрѣ-
вѣ крѣпѣмъ за миръ , и за мене недоннаго (sic!) раба своего ,
имѣ , не за мое дѣнство (sic!) , нъ за мѣтѣ твою великъ . да
15 избавити ме възшоуши . да не вънидѣ въ мѣсто ,
оно пагѣвное ѣ іѣ прѣно безъ покоа и безъ свѣта не имѣ вла-
сти , и не имы конѣца . ꙗ въ адѣ кто исповѣсть ти се
гѣ . ѡ въ мртвѣи ктѣ възхвалитѣ те помлзи ме гѣ
и ѡслыши раба твоего , имѣ , оуповающаго на те ѡслы-
20 ши ме . ꙗко ѡслышаль еси марѣтѣвъ и марію млещѣю
тебе , да би пришль къ гробѣвъ въскрѣсити лазара ,
и въскрси его . тако и азъ млю те гѣ да въскрѣси
мене ѡ сзмерти моеи . и да постигнѣ стати о дѣ-
снѣю тебе гѣ . и оуслышати глѣ стѣи твои . прїи-
25 дѣте блѣвеннымъ ѡца моего . вѣди ми кроткъ , ꙗко
былъ еси блѣвѣнници въ двѣмъ сѣмѣна прокаженнаго .
излѣи ѡ ѡчѣю¹⁷ моею слъзы , ꙗко излѣаль еси тое ,
ꙗко
ѡми нѡсѣ твои , и власы своими ѡтрѣ . и ѡпѣ-
стїю сз мирѣмъ . тебе млю іѣ хѣ вседржителю .

350b

да ѡпѣстиши мнѣ все грѣхы мое , прѣждѣ да не ѡмрѣ .
да непорѣютъ ми се вразы мои ѡ мнѣ . и тебе млю
стѣи петре , ѡ дрѣжиши ключе црѣтѣи нѣнаго .

¹⁶ Or, perhaps, = ѡтрѣкы .

¹⁷ The so called оѡное .

да рѣзрѣшиши грѣхы мое ѡ на земли . и даждь ми гѣ
5 іѣ хѣ крѣпость и силъ съ нѣсе , да повѣждѣ дїавола вѣде-
щаа и борещааго съ мною . млю стѣю мтерѣ гѣ
нашего іѣ хѣ . млю стѣе агглы , млю стѣе прѣрѣкы ,
и все стѣе патрїарѣхы , и все стѣе мнкъ и исповѣд-
10 никы и дѣвы . млю и призываю , гѣ іѣ хѣ все стѣе
твое избраннѣе . да млет се за ме ѡкааннаго .
и тѣ млю ѡ непрѣстанно прѣждѣ бгомъ възпїютъ .
сѣ сѣ сѣ гѣ саваѡѣ , да млет се за мене грѣшнаго . да
възмогъ одолѣти беззаконїемъ моимъ . ѣ есмь
сзтворилъ ѡ юности моеи , и до ннѣшнаго дѣне .
15 и тебе млю гѣ іѣ хѣ ꙗко еси ѡцѣдрѣ и мѣтивѣ .
Всѣмъ призывающимъ имѣ твое истинное .
и тебе млю гѣ и тебе се мли дѣю , да подаси ми ѡ-
ставленїе грѣхѣмъ . и да ѡслышиши мѣтѣвъ сїю . ꙗко
тѣи еси жыны црѣтѣи сз ѡцѣмъ и стѣымъ дхѣмъ .
20 и ннѣ и прѣно и въ вѣкы вѣкомъ амѣн : ~
и поклонѣ , гѣ до земли . глѣ сице . гѣ сзгрѣши про-
сти ме : ~

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CHURCH SLAVONIC LITERATURE OF THE SLAVIC MONASTERY IN PRAGUE

Václav Čermák

The paper summarises current knowledge of the history of Glagolitic literature written in Church Slavonic and Old Czech which has been associated with the literary activity of the Slavic (Emmaus) Monastery in Prague, where Roman liturgy in Church Slavonic, written in the Glagolitic alphabet, was used from the foundation of the monastery in the mid-14th century until as late as the Hussite Wars. Attention is mainly paid to analysis and evaluation of preserved Glagolitic Church Slavonic fragments of liturgical books, such as the psalter, missal, breviary and gradual. The author also draws attention to literary connections between the Slavic Monastery and the Croatian environment.

Key words: Slavonic (Emmaus) Monastery in Prague, Church Slavonic, Old Czech Glagolitic texts, Slavonic manuscripts, Glagolitic alphabet, Slavonic liturgy, Czech-Croatian cultural relations

It is difficult to determine from historical sources all the motives that led Charles IV to establish the Prague Slavonic Monastery (monasterium Slavorum), which is also known as "Na Slovanech" and, in a more recent tradition dating back to the 17th century, Emmaus. The history of the Slavonic Monastery has aroused the attention of historians, art historians and philologists (Old Czech and Old Church Slavonic language specialists) for a number of reasons. Historical research has focused mainly on the question of whether the founding of the monastery was a manifestation of the ambition of Charles IV to strengthen his political power in central and southeastern Europe.¹ Further research has attempted to assess the part this cultural institution played in restoring the cult of Cyril and Methodius in the Czech lands in the second half of the 14th century, concerning which the effect of even older local tradition has not been ruled out.² The attention of philologists has focused both on literary texts written in Glagolitic script in Church Slavonic, which was used as the liturgical language in this monastery until the Hussite Wars, and on the monastery's contact with the Bohemian cultural and literary environment. The following lines will attempt to summarise the results of recent studies of Slavonic manuscripts associated with the activities of the Slavonic Monastery from its foundation in 1347 to approximately the beginning of the 1520s, whether these are literary relics created in the Emmaus scriptorium, or manuscripts that were stored in the monastic library.

The Slavonic Monastery was founded by Charles IV with the prior consent of Pope Clement VI. The monastery acquired exceptional status, one of the reasons being that it was the only monastery in the Czech lands where the Catholic liturgy was allowed to be performed in Church Slavonic, rather than in Latin. To be more precise, it was the Croatian redaction of Church

Slavonic. Papal permission required that liturgical books must be written in special "Slavonic" script, i.e. the angular Glagolitic, which developed on Croatian territory under the influence of the Latin script Beneventana, from the earlier rounded Glagolitic script, originally developed by Constantine-Cyril for the purposes of the Great Moravian Mission. As it was no longer possible to build on the local tradition of Church Slavonic language and liturgy, monks of the Benedictine order from Croatia were invited to Bohemia. In Croatia, this type of Roman liturgy was officially used in Primorje and in Northern Dalmatia and was approved by the papacy in the mid-13th century for the bishoprics of Krk and Senj. Historical sources show that Charles IV encountered the Slavonic liturgy when still a Moravian Margrave, in the town of Senj³ in 1337, at the time when the Slavonic liturgy was at its peak in these regions of Croatia.⁴ Unfortunately, the sources are not clear about which Croatian monastery or region of the Croatian coast the Benedictine Glagolites came to Prague from. The only more precise information appears in Bohuslav Bílejevský's *Chronicle of the Church* (1537). In Chapter 14 Bílejevský actually writes, in connection with the foundation of the monastery, that Charles IV "secured the knowledge of the Seneža (Senj) monks".⁵ This information might also be supported by the fact that in the 1450s, Charles VI appointed his chaplain and mentor, the Dominican Jan Protiva of Dlouhá Ves, to the vacant episcopal seat.⁶ In the past, it was suggested that the Croatian monks might have come from the Monastery of Ss Cosmas and Damian on Pashman Island near Zadar;⁷ however,

1 Overview of older literature given by Lubomír Emil HAVLÍK, *Češi a Jihoslované v minulosti*, Praha 1975, pp. 68–70. More recent summary of the issue in publications by Hans ROTHE, *Das Slavenkloster in der Prager Neustadt bis zum Jahre 1419*, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 40, 1992, pp. 1–26, 161–177; Klára Benešová – Kateřina Kubínová (ed.), *Emmauzy. Benediktinský klášter Na Slovanech v srdci Prahy*, Praha 2007; K. KUBÍNOVÁ, *Emmauzský cyklus. Ikonografie středověkých nástěnných maleb v ambitu kláštera Na Slovanech*, Praha 2012.

2 Zdeněk KALISTA, *Cyrlometodějský motiv u Karla IV.*, in: Karel IV. a Itálie, Praha 2004, pp. 280–305.

3 On the stay in Senj see, for example, the Autobiography of Charles IV, or the Chronicle of Beneš Krabic of Weitmil. See *Kroniky doby Karla IV.*, transl. Marie BLÁHOVÁ, Praha 1987, pp. 20, 128.

4 Cf. e.g. Josef VAJS, *Nejstarší breviář chrvatsko-hlaholský. První breviář Vrbnický*, Praha 1910, p. 8.

5 *Bohuslava Bílejevského Kronika česká (Bohuslav Bílejevský's Bohemian Chronicle)*, ed. Ota HALAMA, Acta reformationem Bohemicam illustranta VII. Studijní text ETF v Praze, Praha 2011, p. 43.

6 Jiří FAJT (ed.), *Karel IV. Císař z Boží milosti. Kultura a umění za vlády Lucemburků 1310–1437*, Praha 2006, p. 43, note. 21; Vladimír KOUDELKA, *Biskup Protiva*, in: *Se znamením kříže*, Řím 1967, pp. 141–143; Mile BOGOVIĆ, *Senjsko-madruška ili Krbavska biskupija*, Zagreb 2001, pp. 49, 88, 89.

7 A conclusion of František PECHUŠKA, *Benediktinské opatství rogovské v Dalmácii*. *Magazine of Catholic clergy* 80, 1940, pp. 14–54, 108–131, 192–208; the idea published here is often adopted by Czech and Croatian philologists and some historians.

this notion has been refuted by the latest historical research into this monastery.⁸ Similarly, the information on the number of Croatian Benedictines who founded the community of monks in Emmaus Monastery is missing, too. We only know that the first two monastery abbots (Paulus Ursinus – Nedvied and Ivan Charvát) were of Croatian origin, although there is no doubt that the Croatian community was more numerous, particularly in the early years. Although monks of Czech origin gradually joined the monastery too, it is not impossible that several Croatian monks remained, possibly until the beginning of the Hussite Wars, as there is mention of a monk named Franjo even at the turn of the 15th century.⁹ However, so far it has not been determined whether the Slavonic Monastery had any direct contact with any of the Benedictine Glagolitic monasteries on the Croatian coast or whether they were under the care of, for example, the Bishop of Senj. The reason for considering the presence of Croatian monks as late as the first two decades of the 15th century is the Church Slavonic texts translated from Old Czech, which have survived in 15th century Croatian Glagolitic codices. These include not only a Slavonic translation of the Old Czech *Elucidarium*, *Passionale* and the *Mirror of Human Salvation* (*Zrcadlo člověčího spasenie*), but also translations of theological treatises of Czech provenance, of which, for example, the fragments of a Slavonic translation of the interpretation of the Decalogue by Tomáš Štítný and of three writings by Jan Hus have been preserved.¹⁰

Unfortunately, up to now it has not been found in which part of the monastery the scriptorium and the library were located. There is no information at all about the functioning of the scriptorium, so we can only infer what scribing was done here in the pre-Hussite period, based on two preserved Glagolitic codices and several dozen fragments of manuscripts. There is reason to believe that besides Glagolitic manuscripts, Latin texts were also transcribed in the monastery, possibly also manuscripts in Old Czech written in Roman script. Usage of Latin in the Slavonic Monastery is documented by an extant cartulary of important monastic documents known under the modern name *Registrum Slavorum*,¹¹ and containing, among other things, copies of documents in Old Czech, which start to appear in the cartulary from the 1490s. This cartulary mentions Glagolitic manuscripts in the document from 1356, by which Charles IV granted the scribe Johannes an annual payment of ten marks for transcriptions of Slavonic books for the Slavonic Monastery.¹² This scribe might not necessarily have been a member of the monastic community and he may have been

a secular, craftsman scribe.¹³ Further information on the usage of Glagolitic script in the Emmaus scriptorium has been preserved in two colophons written in the Glagolitic script. The Old Czech colophon in the *Evangelium of Rheims*, not only exactly dates the creation of the later, Glagolitic part of the codex, which was finished in 1395 in the Slavonic Monastery, but also gives the information that the Glagolitic text is written in the Slavonic language. The second, Old Czech colophon from the extant volume of the *Czech Glagolitic Bible* not only dates the creation of the manuscript to 1416 but also proves that scribes of Czech origin worked in the scriptorium, “*psana tato bible ot bratrzí klasterskich, ale ně ot pisarzov’ charvatskich*” [This Bible was written by the monastery brothers, but not Croatian scribes].¹⁴ Together with the Glagolitic codices stored in it, the library of the Slavonic Monastery survived, without major losses, into the early 17th century, although from the beginning of the Hussite Wars neither the Glagolitic script nor the Slavonic service were used in the monastery. The existence of Glagolitic books was documented in the above-mentioned *Bilejovský’s Chronicle* and in the *Diadochos* of Bartholomeus Paprocky of Hloholy of 1602. Glagolitic manuscripts from the monastic library were most probably used in the second half of the 16th century by Řehoř Hrubý of Jelení and Matouš Benešovský-Philonomus for their linguistic work.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the library ceased to exist in 1611 due to the damage the monastery suffered when Prague was overrun by the Passau army. Manuscripts which were saved were subsequently used for bookbinding; therefore only fragments have been preserved from a relatively large collection of Old Czech and Glagolitic Church Slavonic manuscripts.

So far the best researched parts of the Glagolitic literature of the Slavonic Monastery are the texts in Old Czech, which have recently been made available in full, thanks to the editorial efforts of Ludmila Pacnerová. From Czech Glagolitic historical documents, passages from translations of the Bible (*Czech Glagolitic Bible*)¹⁶, *Comestor* (*Historia scholastica* by Petr de Troyes)¹⁷ and the *Passional*,¹⁸ and a fragment of *The Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine, survive.¹⁹ The most extensive relic of Czech Emmaus Glagolism is the *Czech Glagolitic Bible*, one of the most important sources for the second redaction of the Old Czech translation of the Bible. From the whole set, originally containing a complete translation of the Old and New Testaments, only the second part has survived in its entirety, containing the readings from the Books of Paralipomenon to the Psalter. Of the other parts, only fragments have survived, confirming that the set of three or four codices contained all the books of the Bible and was acquired for the purposes of education, not to be used for liturgy. For this reason, it is not necessary to assume that in the pre-Hussite period, Church

8 Rejected without further argument as historically unfounded information on the arrival of Croatian Glagolites from the Monastery of Ss Cosmas and Damian by, for example, L. E. HAVLÍK, *Češi a Jihoslované v minulosti*, Praha 1975, p. 72. The exact reasoning for why Glagolitic Benedictines could not have come to Prague from this particular monastery was provided by T. Galović, who proved that Glagolitic script and Slavonic liturgy were not used there until the end of the 14th century; cf. Tomislav GALOVIĆ, *Libellus Policorion – Rogovski kartular (diplomatičko-povijesna analiza)*, volume I, Zagreb, 2010 (PhD. thesis manuscript), pp. 394–398.

9 H. ROTHE, *Das Slavenkloster*, p. 163.

10 Out of the large amount of literature on this issue, I refer to the summary of the latest issues in the article by M. Kramarič, cf. Martina KRAMARIČ, *Interpretacije emauske epizode u češkim i hrvatskim povijestima jezika i književnosti*, in: Marcel Černý – Kateřina Kedron – Marek Příhoda (ed.), *Prolínání slovanského prostředí, Červený Kostelec – Praha 2012*, pp. 97–107. The discovery of Croatian-Glagolitic translations from Old Czech is credited to S. Ivšić and recently also to J. Reinhart.

11 *Das vollständige Registrum Slavorum*, ed. Leander Helmling – Adalbert Horcicka, Prag 1904.

12 Ferdinand TADRA, *Kanceláře a písaři v zemích českých za králů z rodu Lucemburského Jana, Karla IV. a Václava IV. (1310–1420)*, Praha 1892, p. 213.

13 Ivan Hlaváček, *Z knižní kultury doby Karla IV. a Václava IV. v českých zemích*, in: Idem, *Knihy a knihovny v českém středověku*, Praha 2005, p. 270.

14 *Česká bible Hlaholská (bible Vyšebrodská)*, ed. Ludmila Pacnerová, Praha 2000, p. 517.

15 *Matouš Benešovský zvaný Philonomus, Grammatika Bohemica / Grammatika česká & knížka slov českých vložných*, ed. Ondřej Koupil, Praha 2003, p. 15.

16 L. PACNEROVÁ, *Staročeské hlaholské zlomky (kritické vydání)*, Rozpravy ČSAV, řada společenských věd, 96/4, Praha 1986; *Česká bible Hlaholská (bible Vyšebrodská)*, ed. L. Pacnerová, Praha 2000.

17 *Staročeský Hlaholský Comestor*, ed. L. Pacnerová, Praha 2002.

18 L. PACNEROVÁ, *Staročeský hlaholský zlomek Pasionálu sign. 1 Dc 1/17 z knihovny Národního muzea v Praze*, Listy filologické 113, 1990, pp. 293–302.

19 L. PACNEROVÁ, *Staročeský hlaholský zlomek Zlaté legendy sign. 1 Dc 1/20 z knihovny Národního muzea v Praze*, Listy filologické 113, 1990, pp. 303–313.

Slavonic was replaced by Czech in the services of the Slavonic Monastery. The Czech Glagolitic translation of *Comestor*, extant only in fragments originating from a single codex, also served for educational purposes. Given that the Glagolitic text is more precise than the manuscripts written in Latin, L. Pacnerová hypothesised that the Old Czech translation of *Comestor* may have been made directly for the purposes of the Slavonic monastery as early as the late 14th century. Besides the introduction of a ligature for the “ř” sound, one of the spelling innovations of the later Czech Glagolitic texts is the usage of the Cyrillic Г grapheme for the Czech sound *h* instead of the original Glagolitic grapheme for the sound *g*, which appears in the earlier Czech Glagolitic texts and which is regularly used in the Church Slavonic liturgical codices. Among the Czech Glagolitic relics were the *Emmaus Glagolitic inscription* from the former chapterhouse, with a fragment of the Decalogue²⁰ in Old Czech, and the now lost Old Czech Glagolitic dedicatory inscription from the 14th century, which was made by Bartholomeus Paprocky of Hloholy²¹. Of non-literary relics which penetrated into the Czech cultural environment under the direct influence of the Slavonic Monastery there are, most importantly, four Glagolitic abecedaria which we find in Latin codices of Czech origin in the 14th and 15th centuries. The oldest of them is the so-called Divish abecedarium attached to the end-sheet of the Codex Gigas. Its scribe was well versed in Glagolitic book script and possibly came either directly from the Slavonic Monastery or from its locality. The other three abecedaria were written by scribes who had no command of Glagolitic script and literally copied the characters from a template. This applies not only to Hrnčír’s and the Chapter abecedaria, but also to the Glagolitic alphabet inscribed additionally in the manuscript of the *Czech Glagolitic Bible*.²²

Unlike the Czech Glagolitic relics of Emmaus origin, Glagolitic texts in Church Slavonic remained outside professional interest for an entire century. This group includes codices brought from Croatia and also manuscripts that were transcribed from older original documents or were newly created in the monastery for local purposes. The first liturgical books that were needed to perform liturgies in Church Slavonic must have been brought by the Croatian monks from their homeland at the very beginning of their work in Prague, i.e. in 1348 or 1349. These were mainly the breviary, the missal and the psalter. These books have survived in quite a large number in Croatian Glagolitic literature. Unfortunately, there are no reports of how and from where the Slavonic Monastery got its Croatian codices in the later years. Starting with the observation that Old Croatian translations of the writings of Jan Hus penetrated Croatian-Glagolitic literature, we can quite rightly assume that, at least in the second half of the 14th century, the Slavonic Monastery may have obtained the Slavonic liturgical books it needed from the Senj or Krk dioceses. In this context, it is worth noting that in Croatian Glagolitic literature, a Church Slavonic translation of the Rule of Saint Benedict, originating most likely from the 12th century, survives in a single manuscript from the last quarter of the 14th century. Therefore, the question arises whether the Prague Slavonic Monastery owned a Slavonic translation of the Rule

and followed it too, or whether, as it was subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Prague, it kept to the Latin version. The second possibility seems more logical to us; therefore it is probably not necessary to assume that the monastery needed a Slavonic translation for its work. Quite the opposite situation occurs concerning the books of plainsong. Throughout the Croatian-Glagolitic manuscript tradition, there are no surviving books of this kind from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period, despite the fact that Glagolitic chant is well documented in the modern period and is still being collected. However, according to the research carried out so far, these are of a later origin. In contrast, in the Slavonic literature of Emmaus, a fragment of a notated gradual has survived (2nd half of the 14th century; sign. Tres. I – 7m; No. 290 zl. stored in Strahov Monastery), which was apparently intended for users unfamiliar with Glagolitic script, as under the notation there is a text written in Glagolitic and its transcription into the Latin script. Moreover, analysis of the notation has concluded that these are tunes that were used in the Prague diocese in the 14th century²³; therefore, in this case, there is no doubt about the Czech origin of this historical document.

Of the Church Slavonic manuscripts which were created as a product of literary and scribing activities in the Slavonic Monastery, the Glagolitic part of the *Evangelary of Rheims* must be mentioned first of all.²⁴ This codex includes a long fragment (a total of 30 folia) of the Cyrillic manuscript of an evangelary of Russian origin from the second half of the 11th century, containing evangelical pericopes arranged according to the calendar of the Eastern Rite. This Cyrillic part was presented to the Slavonic Monastery by Charles IV under the then-prevailing belief that the manuscript had been written by the founder of Sázava Monastery himself, St Procopius, as evidenced also by a Czech-Glagolitic colophon in the *Evangelary of Rheims*. It is not known how and when the Cyrillic manuscript was brought to Bohemia, or where from, but it is not entirely impossible that it was at the time when there were Slavonic monks residing in Sázava Monastery. Therefore, the Cyrillic evangelary could represent a link between the Slavonic literary tradition of 11th century Premyslid Bohemia and the Church Slavonic literature of the second half of the 14th century in the Slavonic Monastery, for whose needs the later, Glagolitic part of the document was put together and written down. The Glagolitic manuscript contains lessons from the Epistles and the Gospels (with exceptions) which were read at Pontifical masses at the monastery church. The Glagolitic text starts with pericopes for Palm Sunday and continues through the major religious holidays throughout the year to March. For Easter Monday, the festival of the consecration of Emmaus Monastery is mentioned here, which was held on 29 March 1372. Among other holidays, there are, for example, the Commemorations of St Procopius (4 July), St Wenceslaus (28 September), St Jerome (30 September), Ss Cyril and Methodius (14 February) and St Benedict (21 March). From a liturgical point of view, the Glagolitic part is identical with the pericopes of the Roman missal and, concerning the “local” saints, it corresponds to the structure of the lessons

20 Václav ČERMÁK, *Emmauzský hlaholský nápis – příspěvek k hlaholské epigrafice*, *Slavia* 74, 2005, pp. 343–358.

21 V. ČERMÁK, *Hlaholice v Diadochu Bartoloměje Paprockého z Hloholy*, *Slavia* 78, 2009, pp. 247–258.

22 V. ČERMÁK, *Hlaholská abecedaria v českém prostředí*. in: Petr Nejedlý – Miloslava Vajdlová (ed.), *Cesty slov*, Praha 2012, pp. 36–42.

23 J. VAJS, *Etwas über den liturgischen Gesang der Glagoliten der vor- und nachchristlichen Epoche*, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 30, 1909, pp. 227–233.

24 *L’Évangélique slavon de Reims Dit: Texte du sacre*, ed. Louis Leger, Reims – Prague 1899.

in the Prague Proprium.²⁵ From a linguistic point of view, the Glagolitic part of the codex corresponds to the Church Slavonic of Croatian redaction, without overt linguistic and lexical Bohemisms. Similarly, the Glagolitic script does not show any deviations from Croatian-Glagolitic manuscripts. After the completion of the Glagolitic manuscript, both parts were bound together as a single codex and the volume was given decorative binding, richly inlaid with precious stones. The manuscript survived the Hussite Wars in the monastery, but in the 1540s it was taken by the Hussites to Constantinople from where, after the fall of Constantinople, it was taken to France and deposited in Notre-Dame Cathedral in Rheims. Only after a long time was it identified here by the Russian Tsar Peter I.²⁶

Other Glagolitic manuscripts in Church Slavonic that belonged to the Slavonic Monastery have survived only as fragments of individual liturgical books (the breviary, missal, psalter, gradual and possibly also the ritual). So far, around thirty fragments of various extent have been identified in Czech libraries. Nevertheless, this allows us to get at least a partial idea of the original volume of Slavonic literature in the monastery. The majority of fragments which can be placed in the library of the Slavonic Monastery have been discovered only gradually since the 18th century. So far, the last known fragment was discovered in 1999 by Dr. Karel Dolista in the binding of a book from the library in the Premonstratensian monastery in Milevsko. Most finds have gradually been collected in the department of manuscripts at the National Museum Library in Prague, where the largest collection of Old Czech and Church Slavonic Glagolitic fragments in the Czech Republic was created, comprising 29 fragments of various sizes.²⁷ Some Church Slavonic fragments are also stored in the manuscript archives of the National Library in Prague, Strahov Monastery, the Provincial Archives in Brno and in the Premonstratensian Monastery in Milevsko. The so-called *Emmaus fragment of the Croatian-Glagolitic psalter* (sing. 1 Dc 1/22)²⁸ from the first half of the 14th century holds a special position in the whole collection. It was discovered directly in Emmaus Monastery in the backfill in the vault during construction work in 1952. A fragment of a smaller size, with psalms without liturgical notes, originates from a manuscript which contained the psalter, perhaps accompanied by songs, in a similar fashion to the Croatian Glagolitic *Lobkowitz Psalter* of 1359²⁹, for example. The manuscript of the psalter that this fragment originates from was brought to Bohemia from Croatia by the Benedictines, and thus represents a link between Croatian-Glagolitic literature and the activities of the Slavonic Monastery,³⁰ as it is the oldest extant Glagolitic manuscript from the researched set of texts. All the other Glagolitic fragments can be dated to the second half of the 14th century, without it being

possible to determine whether these are imports of Croatian origin or texts transcribed in the scriptorium of the Slavonic Monastery, as no influence of Czech can be detected in their language. Similarly, the Glagolitic script in these documents shows no deviations from manuscripts created in Croatia at that time, which actually applies to the Czech Glagolitic manuscripts, too. For this reason, while deciding whether to include this fragment in the set of Slavonic Monastery manuscripts, it is an important factor that this Glagolitic fragment was found affixed to a manuscript of Czech provenance, because these fragments were found in book bindings that were created in the first half of the 17th century. So far the oldest binding that contained a fragment of a Glagolitic parchment originates from 1618, which means shortly after the destruction of the library in the Slavonic Monastery. Study of the fragments has also revealed that a certain group of fragments appeared in various types of books in Prague and parishes in its wider surroundings, which were at that time administered by the Knights of the Cross (e.g. Slivenec, Dobřichovice, Tursko, Praskolesy near Hořovice, Borotice near Dobříš). Czech-Glagolitic fragments have been found in similar places too. The *Cracow Glagolitic fragment* originating from the mid-14th century was very closely connected with the activities of the Slavonic Monastery, too. It was most likely brought from Prague to the newly-established Slavonic monastery in Kleparz near Cracow (1390), since the Prague Glagolites participated in the establishment of that monastery.³¹ The *Kassel-Hessen* and the *Wertheim fragments* of the missal have been thought of in a similar way. While with the *Wertheim fragment* this may be the case,³² for the *Kassel-Hessen fragment*, this possibility is disputable and so far insufficiently clarified.³³ The only certain fact is that the fragments do not originate from the same manuscript. Although several Czech-Glagolitic fragments of the Bible and the *Comestorum* were discovered in book bindings³⁴ in Slovakia, we believe that three of these Glagolitic fragments in Church Slavonic found in the Slovak collection cannot be regarded as historical documents related to the Slavonic Monastery in Prague, since according to the information available, these Croatian-Glagolitic fragments were found in book bindings brought to Slovakia by Franciscans from the southern part of Hungary or Croatia.³⁵

A relatively clear situation is encountered in the case of Church Slavonic texts from the psalter, of which six various fragments survive. The aforementioned *Emmaus psalter fragment* represents a separate case, as it originates from a manuscript that was created in Croatia at the time before the foundation of the Slavonic Monastery. Another fragment of the psalter (sign. 1 Dc 1/9) originates from the second half of the 14th century. The fragment contains the beginning of the psalter and is written on special parchment and in larger letters than other codices. The other four fragments from the psalter (*Tursko fragments*, sign. 1 Dc 1/4; *Karlín fragment*, sign. 1 Dc 1/10; *Dobřichovice fragments*, sign. 1 Dc 1/12; *Borotice*

25 Arnošt VYKOUKAL, *Remešský staroslovanský Evangeliář, zvaný "Texte du sacre", s liturgického hlediska*, in: Josef Kurz – Matias Murko – Josef Vašica (ed.), *Slovenské studie. Sbírká statí, věnovaných prelátu univ. prof. dr. Josefu Vajsovi k učení jeho životního díla*, Praha 1948, p. 205.

26 Entry *Rejmskoe evangelie*, in: Kirilo-Methodievska enciklopedija III, Sofija 2003, pp. 456–459.

27 J. VAŠICA – J. VAJS, *Soupis staroslovanských rukopisů Národního musea v Praze*, Praha 1957, pp. 399–438.

28 All manuscripts cited using a signature no. belong to the manuscript collection of the National Museum Library in Prague.

29 The Lobkowitz Psalter (manuscript sign. XXIII G 67 National Library in Prague) does not belong to the collection of manuscripts of the Slavonic Monastery, as it was brought to Bohemia in the 17th century, see V. ČERMÁK, *Emauzský*, p. 342.

30 J. KURZ, *O nově nalezeném emauzském charvátskohlaholském zlomku žaltáře*, *Slavia* 22, 1953, pp. 81–104.

31 J. VAŠICA, *Krakovské zlomky hlaholské*, *Slavia* 18, 1947–1948, pp. 111–137.

32 Hans BÖHM, *Das Wertheimer glagolitische Fragment*, Meisenheim am Glan 1959.

33 Jochen BECKER, *Das glagolitische Fragment der Landesbibliothek und Murhard-schen Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel*, in: Hans Bernd Harder (ed.), *Studia Slavica. Beiträge zum 8. Internationalen Slavistenkongress in Zagreb, Giessen 1981*, pp. 1–30.

34 L. PACNEROVÁ, *Staročeské literární památky a charvátská hranatá hlaholice*, *Slovo* 56–57, 2008, p. 412, 413.

35 Ľubor MATEJKO, *Hlaholské rukopisy na Slovensku*, in: Emil Horák (ed.), *Slovensko-chorvátske jazykové a literárne vzťahy*, Bratislava 1999, pp. 149–153.

fragments, sign. 1 Dc 1/13) originate from a single manuscript, as evidenced not only by a codicological and paleographic correspondence, but also by the fact that various parts of these fragments follow each other immediately. Another thing these fragments have in common is the fact that they were affixed to covers of funerary books in parish offices at various locations around Prague administered by the Monastery of the Knights of the Cross. Altogether 10 folia of this psalter are extant and, as the texts of the psalms are accompanied by liturgical parts and the paschal table, we may assume that this psalter was part of the breviary. In one of the *Tursko fragments* the only illumination of Czech origin survived, which suggests that the manuscript of the breviary with the psalter was created in the Slavonic Monastery.³⁶ Nevertheless, it cannot be ruled out unequivocally that the illumination was made for a codex brought from Croatia. The discovery of the *Dobřichovice psalter fragment* is significant for our research as, together with it, fragments of the *Czech Glagolitic Bible* (sign. 1 Dc 1/1) were discovered in parish books in the nearby villages.

In the Czech collections of manuscripts, eight fragments of Glagolitic breviaries have survived. The fragment of the breviary sign. 1 Dc 1/26 can be excluded from the set of manuscripts of the Slavonic Monastery in Prague as it is of Croatian origin, because P. J. Šafařík removed it from a printed copy of a Croatian-Glagolitic missal from 1483. We are also lacking more accurate information about the origin of the now missing *Olomouc fragment*, which contained lessons from the Book of Wisdom read in September as a part of Proprium de tempore.³⁷ The inclusion of *Vusín's fragment* (sign. 1 Dc 1/24) containing pericopes from the First Book of Maccabees in the set of the Emmaus manuscripts is also doubtful, as the fragment was discovered in a binding acquired in Vienna. The other extant fragments (*Trutnov fragment*, sign. 1 Dc 1/6; the fragment sign. 1 Dc 1/8; the fragment sign. 1 Dc 1/11; *St Thomas fragment*, 1 Dc 1/14; the fragment sign. 1 Dc 1/26) were a part of the Commune Sanctorum. We cannot exclude the possibility that these originate from one or even two Glagolitic codices. *The St Thomas breviary fragment* deserves special attention. In the opinion of Moscow Slavist A. A. Turilov, the text of this fragment is continued in the fragment of the breviary which is in the collection of the Russian National Library in Moscow (museum collection, fund no. 178, file. 8, no. 11247).³⁸

An equally difficult situation occurs in research into the fragments of Glagolitic missals. Fragment sign. 1 Dc 1/25, found by P. J. Šafařík affixed to the binding of a Croatian print from 1660, can certainly be excluded from the set of manuscripts from the Slavonic Monastery. The *Pest missal fragment* (sign. 1 Dc 1/23) discovered in the binding of an unknown book in Pest also raises doubts. V. Hanka considered it to be of Emmaus origin, believing that it came from the same manuscript as the *Trutnov fragment*.³⁹ In accordance with the criteria established to identify manuscripts of the Slavonic Monastery,

36 Karel STEJSKAL, *Kláster Na Slovanech*, Praha 1974, p. 88.

37 The fragment originally belonged to the "Vlastenecké" museum in Olomouc, whose funds were taken over by "Vlastivědné muzeum Olomouc" (the Ethnographic Museum of Olomouc). Unfortunately, this fragment would never be found again in the archives. Fortunately, the text in this manuscript was published in: František PAS-TRNEK, *Chrvatsko-hlaholské zlomky Vlasteneckého muzea Olomouckého*, *Časopis Matice moravské* 19, 1895, pp. 3–10; 117–123, 223–231.

38 Anatolij A. TURILOV, *Moskovskij otryvok Svyatotomaševskago breviarija*, *Slavia* 61, 1992, pp. 409–418.

39 Václav HANKA, *O ostatcích slovanského bohoslužení v Čechách*, Praha 1859.

the *Fragment of the missal from Praskolesy* (sign. 1 Dc 1/5), fragment sign. 1 Dc 1/28, *Pyšeli's fragment* from the National Library in Prague (sign. XVII A 20) and the newly-discovered *Milevsko fragment* (without sign.) can certainly all be included in the set of manuscripts of the Slavonic Monastery. Whether these fragments were parts of a single or of two Glagolitic manuscripts is currently unclear. A more precise character of *Cerroni's fragment of the martyrologium* (sign. Cerr II, č. 159) from the Provincial Archive in Brno cannot be determined either at present.

However, the literary activities of the Slavonic Monastery were not confined to transcribing Church Slavonic manuscripts and putting together codices using finished models. It is assumed that the monastery also played an active part in creating new Church Slavonic texts. According to some researchers, the *St Vitus Officium*,⁴⁰ extant in the *St Thomas missal fragment*, and the *Sts Cyril and Methodius Officium*, which is a part of Croatian-Glagolitic missals, can be classified among the later-created Church Slavonic compositions that used earlier hagiographies as templates.⁴¹ In the future, this research (such as into Croatian-Glagolitic texts that entered Croatian literature from Bohemia through this monastery) may also bring some interesting results.

If, based on extant Church Slavonic fragments, we attempt to determine the number of individual manuscripts, we will arrive at the conclusion that the original library of the Slavonic Monastery must have contained at least one psalter of non-liturgical origin. This is a document that was created in Croatia and probably came to Prague in the first few years after the arrival of the Croatian Benedictines. The majority of psalter fragments were part of the liturgical psalter, which was part of a breviary, as is the case in Croat-Glagolitic literature. In the cases of missals and breviaries, the existence of at least two manuscripts may be assumed, too. It would be equally interesting to find out from which kind of historical document the scribe of the *Evangelary of Rheims* transcribed the Biblical lesson contained in it. Nevertheless, only a careful linguistic, textological and codicological analysis of these documents and their creation may bring more detailed knowledge.

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40 J. VAŠICA, *Staroslovanská legenda o sv. Vitu*, in: J. Kurz – M. Murko – J. Vašica (ed.), *Slovanské studie*. Sběrka statí, věnovaných prelátu univ. prof. dr. Josefu Vajsovi k uctění jeho životního díla, Praha 1948, p. 160.

41 Vojtěch TKADLČÍK, *K datování hlaholských služeb o sv. Cyrilu a Metoději*, *Slovo* 27, 1977, pp. 85–128.

*Matouš Benešovský zvaný Philonomus, Grammatika Bohe-
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THE TRADITION OF SAINTS CYRIL AND METHODIUS IN THE MEMORY OF THE PŘEMYSLID ERA

Martin Wihoda

This contribution deals with the changing role of the tradition of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the memory of the hereditary Přemyslid domains and reveals that around the year 1000 the heritage of the Moimirid dynasty was revered, while at the beginning of the 12th century the commemoration of Saints Cyril and Methodius was negligible, and under Přemysl Otakar II, King of Bohemia (1253–1278), this tradition again became part of the official monarchic ideology. It seems that the initial admiration can be linked to the founding activities of Duke Bořivoj, who was baptised from the hands of Bishop Methodius in Moravia; after the Great Church Schism in 1054 the Moimirid story turned into a reminder of the fate of renegades, while in the second half of the 13th century the very same tradition became proof of the right of the Bohemian lands to their own archbishop.

Key words: Middle Ages, Moravia, Memory, Monarchic ideology

Although the internal power organisation and the rhythm of political life in hereditary Přemyslid dependencies was particularly determined by the tradition of Stadice, around the year 1000 happy memories of Great Moravia still survived in Bohemian society. It can be proved by a document that is both rich in ideas and stylistically cultivated and that is usually connected with Kristian¹, a brother of Boleslaus II, Duke of Bohemia. He considered it necessary to supply his text with an extensive introduction in which he mentioned that the Moravians had accepted the faith in the days of the famous Augustine. After that, they invited a native-born Greek, Cyril, who “invented” new letters (*apices vel caracteres novas comperit*), translated the Old and New Testament from Greek and Latin into the Slavonic language (*Sclavonicam in linguam transtulit*) and determined that the Holy Mass and the Liturgy of the Hours should be sung in the common language (*publica voce*). Yet after a time he was summoned to Rome where the Pope accused him of breaking the canonical rules; it was only Cyril’s humble wisdom that convinced the people present that the usual customs were not appropriate for the illiterate and rebellious Slavs.² He was granted a curial agreement confirmed both in writing and verbally (*auctoritate sua statuunt et firmant superscripto*) and since Cyril decided to enter a monastery, his brother Methodius went on with the task in hand and, with the support of the Moravian prince, he was appointed Archbishop with seven suffragan bishops. However, the fortunate years did not last long. When Zwentibald, a nephew of a noble prince or king (*nepos principis vel regis religiosi*), got hold of power, he let his people (*plebem populumaque suum*) decide whether they would serve both Christ and the Devil. Thus he brought about a curse on the country and its population (*pagus eis cum habitantibus incolis*); that curse led to catastrophes from which Moravia had suffered “up to now” (*usque in hodiernum diem*).³

This sorrowful sigh turned our narrator’s attention to the Moldau Basin where the ancestors of the Bohemians devoted themselves to idols and lived “without laws, a prince or a lord and without settlement” (*sine lege, sine ullo principe vel rectore vel urbe*). It was only when they were devastated by plague that they saw the light. In distress they turned to a soothsayer and asked her for good advice and prophecy. In the spirit of her prediction they founded Prague Castle. They also found a far-sighted and judicious man called Přemysl, who cultivated the soil, and they made him their prince, administrator, and the soothsayer’s husband. Thus they got rid of the plague and they began to be headed by the Přemyslid rulers. However, they went on serving various minor gods until Bořivoj visited his prince or king (*ducum suum vel regem*) Zwentibald. In spite of a kind welcome, he was not allowed to eat sumptuously at the table among the Christians. Being a pagan, he was to sit on the floor. Nevertheless, Bishop Methodius lifted him up and promised him that if he abjured evil spirits, he would one day become the master of his masters (*dominus dominorum tuorum efficieris*).⁴

Kristian’s story headed towards a clear conclusion: it was firmness of faith that turned the Bohemian princes into the Moimirid dukes’ heirs, whereas the Moravians, addicted to idol-worship, would not extricate themselves from their decline, which should have been an adequate warning for all hesitating Bohemians (*quorum exempla nos quoque videntur respicere*).⁵ And that is it from the writer who, with the ingeniously elaborated motive of a power transfer (*translatio regni*), intertwined the Bohemian and Moravian past into a common history and set the tradition of Saints Cyril and Methodius into the foundations of Bohemian statehood.⁶

⁴ *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 2, p. 16, 18.

⁵ *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, p. 16.

⁶ David KALHOUS, *Christian und Großmähren*, in: Pavel Kouřil (ed.), *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas. Mit einem speziellen Blick auf die großmährische Problematik. Materialien der internationalen Fachkonferenz Mikulčice 25.–26. 5. 2004, Brno 2005, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 25*, pp. 25–33; IDEM, *Anatomy of a Duchy. The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures of Early Přemyslid Bohemia, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages 450–1450* 19, Leiden – Boston 2012, pp. 193–208.

¹ Dušan TŘEŠTÍK, *Přemyslovec Kristián*, *Archeologické rozhledy* 51, 1999, pp. 602–612.

² *Legenda Christiani (Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmille ave eius)*, ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Praha 1978, chap. 1, p. 12, 14.

³ *Legenda Christiani*, chap. 1, p. 14, 16.

Yet his interpretation failed to take root and during the 11th century it receded into the background as the *Chronicle of the Bohemians* appeared, written by Cosmas, Dean of St Vitus Cathedral.⁷

The rhythm of Cosmas' work was not defined by his devotion to the teachings of Jesus Christ any more, but proceeded from ancient Bohemian legends. According to them the first Bohemians lived in salutary poverty, but when they started to desire property, the blissful days were over and the days of the judges arrived. Krok was superior to the judges; he arbitrated arguments and dispensed justice with such wisdom that after his death people gladly entrusted themselves to his daughter Libuše, who had the gift of divination. It was then that an argument took place between two men who surpassed others in wealth, family and administration. In line with etiquette they turned to Libuše; nevertheless, after the verdict was delivered the loser complained painfully that every nation was ruled by a man, but only the Bohemians had to obey a woman. Libuše, offended, let the people find themselves a suitable duke and herself a husband; however, she warned the people present that the new master would rule "with an iron fist". Yet the Bohemians "foolishly" pressed their point and the following day, led by Libuše's white horse, they found a ploughman near the village of Stadice to whom they handed over the insignia of the duke. Thus the country was bound by law and the people were led into servitude; at the same time Libuše, in prophetic ardour and at "the dawning of law" (*primordia legum quadam die*), commanded her people to found the city of Prague.⁸

Disregarding the internal contradictions, in his text from around 1119 Cosmas regarded the rule of a duke as misfortune and the manifestation of human imperfection and pride. From the period's notions of society, he chose St Augustine's, who understood power as a punishment for original sin. Yet a mere look in the chronicle reveals that the Dean of St Vitus Cathedral did not share Augustine's notions completely and that he did not regard the duke merely as a necessary evil but also as a guarantor of social order.⁹ Let us remember that the chronicle opens with the sacral contract between the community of Bohemians and Přemysl the Ploughman, which is restored by the election of a duke. Let us also remember that Cosmas, by means of Princess Libuše, emphasised that in the days of fabled freedom the Bohemians themselves carelessly asked for a ruler who, still on Stadice's ploughed field, made the representatives of the still free Bohemians swear that they would voluntarily entrust themselves to Přemysl the Ploughman, the sovereign prince, judge, administrator and protector.¹⁰ And what position in his chronicle did he reserve for the Moravians?

The Dean of St Vitus Cathedral recognised the status of Moravia as a fixed constituent of the Přemyslid dependencies, but in an effort to emphasise the constitutional significance of the charismatic convention he sidelined both Kristian and the transfer of power from the Moravians to the Bohemians. It was

no different from the Moimirid heritage, from which Cosmas did not choose much more than a handful of notes, scattered here and there at the margin. Above all he could not or did not want to conceal the fact that Bořivoj received baptism at the hand of the "venerable" Bishop Methodius (*baptizatus est a venerabili episcopo*) and that it happened in Moravia in the days of Emperor Arnulf and during King Zwentibald's reign.¹¹ As for 894, he dated the betrayal of King Zwentibald to that year, who unlawfully (*iniuste*) denied obedience to Emperor Arnulf and some time later, full of remorse and sorrow, took shelter in a hermitage on Mount Zobor. Unknown, he spent the rest of his life there, while his country was being ruined by the Hungarians, eastern Germans and Poles.¹² In any case, Cosmas' knowledge was much more profound, which is indicated by a note for the year 968 when Duke Boleslaus asked Pope John XIII to elevate Prague to become the bishop's residence. Our informant added that the envoys received a kindly answer and that the Pope's only concern was to prevent the Bohemians from holding the sectarian rituals of the Bulgarian and Russian nation or using the Slavonic language (*non secundum ritus aut sectam Bulgarie gentis vel Ruzie, aut Sclavonice lingue*).¹³

It is not known whether Duke Boleslaus held by the Slavonic liturgy, but he might very well have covered his back with the tradition of Saints Cyril and Methodius, in which he probably saw proof that his dependencies had had their "own" bishop and that he was asking the Pope for nothing more than the establishment of a new administrator.¹⁴ After the Great Church Schism in 1054, however, his request, justified in this way, must have sounded presumptuous, and so Cosmas cannot be blamed for having found Slavonic church services good for a sect only. But that was not all. He also saw an example which could act as a deterrent in the fate of the Moimirid Empire and he connected its downfall with the perfidy of King Zwentibald who forgat about the acts of kindness rendered to him (*in memor beneficii*) and who drew his weapon against his master (*contra dominum suum*), Emperor Arnulf.

There is probably no doubt that the Dean of St Vitus Cathedral was addressing the Bohemian dukes, to whom Zwentibald's Moravia was supposed to be a reminder of the fidelity that chiefly adorns a vassal. And since at the beginning of the 12th century the fight for the "Christian faith" had turned into a distant memory, he did not hesitate to lead his readers into a completely different story, where Bořivoj's baptism and the transfer of the Moravian crown to the Přemyslid family had no better than a marginal position. He found perceptive listeners and successors both within the walls of the St Vitus chapter and, surprisingly, among the Sázava Benedictines whose monastery had resonated with Slavonic prayers for many years. At that moment a simple note sufficed that the first abbot Procopius had been educated in the Slavonic alphabet (*Sclavonicis litteris*) invented and canonically established (*inventis et statutis canonicis*) by the holy bishop Cyril.¹⁵ Nothing more.

7 D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Kosmova kronika. Studie k počátkům českého dějepisectví a politického myšlení*, Praha 1968.

8 *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum I/3–I/9*, ed. Bertold Bretholz – Wilhelm Weinberger, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series (= MGH SRG NS) II, Berlin 1923, pp. 7–21.

9 D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Kosmovo pojetí přemyslovské pověsti*, Český lid 52, 1965, pp. 305–314.

10 D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Mýty kmene Čechů (7.–10. století). Tři studie ke „starým pověstem českým“*, Praha 2003, pp. 101–167.

11 *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum I/10*, p. 22.

12 *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum I/14*, pp. 32–34.

13 *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum I/22*, p. 44.

14 D. TŘEŠTÍK, *K založení pražského biskupství v letech 968–976: pražská a řezenská tradice*, in: Jaroslav Pánek (ed.), *Vlast a rodný kraj v díle historika. Sborník prací Josefu Petráňovi*, Praha 2004, pp. 179–196.

15 *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, MGH SRG NS II, pp. 242–251 (Anhang I. Gründung des Klosters Sazawa), p. 242.

Moimirid heritage suffered a similar fate in Moravia, where Cosmas's work was chiefly read – his interpretation was accepted with great seriousness as it opened the way to the Prague throne for the “junior” dukes of Olomouc, Brno and Znojmo.¹⁶ That is why the Přemyslid myth could appear on the walls of the Ducal Rotunda of the Virgin Mary and St Catherine in Znojmo. Its decoration was ordered in 1142 on the eve of the campaign against Prague by Duke Conrad, who in this way claimed his successor rights, guaranteed by the seniorate and by the sacral contract from Stadice.¹⁷ A rather cool relationship to the tradition of Saints Cyril and Methodius was also declared in Olomouc. It seems that the bishopric and two local chapters made do with the subtly annotated enumeration of the administrators of the Moravian diocese throughout the whole of the Middle Ages.¹⁸ We can exclude the very popular “losses” – they are obliquely denied by the contents of the chronicle written shortly before 1150 in Klášterní Hradisko.¹⁹ The original design and arrangement of the chronicle was changed by later revisions, although the marginal notes show that the Benedictines fully shared the interests of the Přemyslid dukes, their protectors and benefactors, which of course in no way contradicted the story of the Bohemian tribe as it was retold by Cosmas, Dean of St Vitus Cathedral. From this source they borrowed the baptism of Bořivoj, although without adding that the duke had accepted the faith in Moravia. In a similarly reduced way they also described the downfall of Great Moravia, such that they did not connect it with Zwentibald, but with the death of Emperor Arnulf. Yet that confusedly-arranged flow of events included a note mentioning that Cyril and Methodius had created the Bulgarian alphabet (*invenit Bulgarorum litteris*) and that they had preached the Lord's Word to the Moravians (*verbum dei predicaverunt Moravicis*) at that time.²⁰

The lukewarm attitude of the Olomouc scholars to the Moimirid heritage cannot be confused with ignorance, as the simple fact that in 1063 the Moravian throne was taken by the “third” bishop John turned both the intentional and unintentional attention of commentators to the years preceding the year 1000. However, the canons tried to organise the disorganised beginnings of the Moravian Church as late as the beginning of the 15th century and although they did not manage to put together the history of the Moravian bishopric without gaps and seams, they regarded Great Moravia as a natural part of the country's history.²¹ Constituent notes start in the year 886 when the beatified Cyril was supposed to have baptised the Moravian King Zwentibald I (*Swatopluk senior rex Moravie*); the following year he was supposed to have been promoted to be Archbishop of Velehrad (*archiepiscopum Welegradensem*). In 891 Cyril transferred St Clement's remains from his

church in Velehrad (*de ecclesia sua Welegradensi*) to Rome, where he resigned from his post a year later (*resignavit archiepiscopatum Welegradensem*); the beatified Methodius took charge of that post with Cyril's blessing.²² Methodius baptised Bořivoj, the Duke of Bohemia, but after King Zwentibald's death he had a quarrel with the king's successor, his namesake. He imposed anathema on him and left the country. Methodius came back to the Velehrad church (*ad ecclesiam suam Welegradensem*) in 901; however, after six years and after the devastation of Moravia by King Arnulf's armies, he left for Rome where he died in 912.²³ The Moravian kingdom was restored in 916 when John/Jan was installed in Velehrad (*aput Welegrad*). He was the first Moravian bishop “after Methodius”, who held masses in St Peter's Church, the former metropolitan centre (*quondam sedem metropolitanam in ecclesia sancti Petri*), for no less than twenty-five years.²⁴ In case of any doubt regarding where the centre of the Moravian diocese was located, a note added to the year 1091 says that King Vratislaus promoted St Peter's Church in Olomouc to the status of an episcopal church, even though the Moravian bishops preached in Velehrad – and in the epoch of the dukes they had preached in Polešovice or “in the opinion of others” in Kunovice.²⁵

A cautious postscript saying that Moravian ecclesiastical issues were administered from Kunovice suggests that the canons must have sensed a rather different direction in the bygone events. They adopted an entirely different – clearly respectful – approach to the tradition of Velehrad – which brings us to the question of how and why it was set into the Moimirid story. We are given food for thought by the *Old Bohemian Rhymed Chronicle*, written at the beginning of the 14th century by an unknown author who was later, by mistake, called Dalimil.²⁶ According to him, the Rusyn Archbishop Methodius settled in Velehrad, held masses in Slavonic, and in his church he baptised Duke Bořivoj (*u Velehradě krstil Čecha prvního Bořivojě*).²⁷ Přibík Pulkava, the court chronicler of Charles IV, was of the same opinion as he declared Velehrad the ecclesiastical metropolis and the residence of Moravian King Zwentibald (*caput regni Moravie civitas Welegradensis*). From there the king ruled Moravia, Bohemia, Poland and Russia,²⁸ until another ruler of the same name had a quarrel with Methodius and after his excommunication the country was divided among the Hungarians, Austrians and Poles. Velehrad was shaken to the very foundations (*civitas Welegradensis diruta funditus*).²⁹ It was Duke Vratislaus II who restored the kingdom and transferred it memorably to Bohemia in 1086.³⁰ Also an unknown author who, probably at the same time – around the middle of the 14th century, wrote a legend called *Quemadmodum ex historiis*, was fond

16 *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum* II/13, p. 102; III/13, p. 176.

17 Martin WIHODA, *Morava v době knížecí 906–1197*, Praha 2010, pp. 186–196, 278–282.

18 D. KALHOUS, *Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae jako pramen k dějinám Moravy v 10. století?*, *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* (hereafter MHB) 11, 2007, pp. 23–37.

19 M. WIHODA, *Anály hradištsko-opatovické nebo První moravská kronika? Po stopách nekosmovského pjetí českých dějin*, in: Jiří Malíř – Radomír Vlček (ed.), *Morava a české národní vědomí od středověku po dnešek. Sborník příspěvků z konference Češi nebo Moravané? K vývoji národního vědomí na Moravě, konané dne 28. 2. 2001 v Brně*, Brno 2001, *Disputationes Moraviae* 2, pp. 25–31; IDEM, *Morava v době knížecí*, pp. 71–75.

20 *Annales Gradicenses et Opatowicenses*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum* (= MGH SS) XVII, Hannover 1861, pp. 644–645.

21 *Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae*, ed. Joseph Loserth, *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* (hereafter AÖG) 78, 1892, pp. 41–97.

22 *Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae*, p. 63.

23 *Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae*, p. 64.

24 *Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae*, p. 65.

25 *Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae*, p. 68.

26 Marie BLÁHOVÁ, *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila v kontextu středověké historiografie latinského kulturního okruhu a její pramenná hodnota. 3. Historický komentář*, Praha 1995, pp. 280–301.

27 *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila 1/25*, ed. Jiří Daňhelka – Karel Hádek – Bohuslav Havránek – Naděžda Kvitková, Praha 1988, pp. 308.

28 *Przibiconis de Radenin dicti Pulkavae Chronicon Bohemie*, ed. Josef Emler – Jan Gebauer, FRB V, Praha 1893, pp. 15–16.

29 *Przibiconis de Radenin dicti Pulkavae Chronicon Bohemie*, p. 17.

30 M. BLÁHOVÁ, *...Kako jest koruna z Moravy vyšla... „Translatio regni“ ve Staročeské kronice tzv. Dalimila*, MHB 3, 1993, pp. 165–175.

of the Velehrad motive.³¹ He had the Moravian King Zwentibald baptised in Velehrad, promoted the local church to an episcopal one and, according to his text, seven bishops in Moravia, Poland and Hungaria were subordinated to Velehrad.³²

Both Dalimil's verses and the related works of the Luxembourg era are divided from the final redaction of the Catalogue of Moravian Bishops by whole decades. Nevertheless we cannot fail to notice that not a single text extends beyond the cultural horizon of the late Middle Ages and that all our informants are connected with one story supplemented with additional tendentious comments.³³ Thus the arrival of the Cistercians who reached the place called Velehrad around the end of 1205 is just one link in a chain of speculations.³⁴ Their modest monastery dowry included at that time the fields on the banks of the River Salaška and the derelict Church of St John, later identified as a Great Moravian building in Modrá.³⁵ The founding privilege³⁶ adjusted around 1257 declared that the property of the monastery bordered the "rampart of the old settlement" (*ad vallum antique civitatis*)³⁷ which could have encouraged the Cistercians' interest in the distant past. Yet it did not happen because the Legend of St Wenceslaus ascribed to Charles IV located Duke Bořivoj's baptism in St Vitus Church in Velehrad (*in civitate metropolitana Moravie Wellegradensi in ecclesia beati Viti*).³⁸ The reserved attitude of the Velehrad Cistercians to the Moimirid tradition may be surprising; however, let us once more remember that the cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius was not followed even in Přemyslid Olomouc, although the local bishopric had been restored on Great Moravian foundations.³⁹ Everything changed during the reign of the first Luxembourgs when a whole compilation of remarkable commentaries and reflective essays was created. The *Old Bohemian rhymed chronicle* (Dalimil's) returned to the Great Moravian heritage, as well as *Legenda Moravica*,⁴⁰ followed by the *legend of the beatified Cyril*, which admitted the relation of Moravian Christianity to the Byzantine Empire, although it still neglected the Slavonic liturgy⁴¹ which is, on the other hand, mentioned in the legend called *Diffundente sole*.⁴² We should ask why.

A promising trail is offered by the old Legend of St Procopius, or rather an Olomouc transcription of it from the 3rd quarter of the 13th century in which we can read that Abbot Procopius

was excellently educated in the alphabet of St Cyril, Bishop of Velehrad (*slavonicis apicibus a sancto Cyrillo, episcopo Wellegradensi, quondam inventis et statutis canonice*).⁴³ This, in a way a "redundant postscript", reveals that Velehrad had been fixed as the ecclesiastical metropolis no later than during the reign of Přemysl Otakar II. Taking that into account, it is possible to read the correspondence exchanged on the eve of the second campaign to Prussia between the Prague court and the Roman Curia.⁴⁴ In 1267 the advisors of the Bohemian King submitted a proposal saying that the campaign might strengthen Přemysl's influence among the dukes of the empire, even in East-Central Europe. The glory of the Prague court was not to be spread by weapons and diplomats anymore, but by the archbishopric located in Olomouc because a metropolis used to "exist" in Moravia long ago (*licet antiquitus in Moravia sedes huiusmodi fuisse*).⁴⁵ And those were no empty proclamations. Before his departure to Prussia, Přemysl Otakar II sent a legation to Rome equipped with supporting evidence, probably including the legends of Saints Cyril and Methodius.⁴⁶

The Prague court, probably by means of Bruno, Bishop of Olomouc, prudently suppressed the role of the Slavonic liturgy and quite loudly appealed to the founders' merit of the Moravian archbishops Cyril and Methodius. The interests of the Bohemian ruler at the time required that Methodius became a Rusyn and that Moravian King Zwentibald had to exercise power not only over Moravia and Bohemia, but also over Poland and particularly Russia. And why Velehrad? Possibly because Bishop Bruno led the arbitral proceedings in newly-built Uherské Hradiště, and during the investigations he might have noticed the old ramparts and the name of Velehrad.⁴⁷ This name was, in the 13th century, connected with the Cistercian monastery whose influence and untarnished reputation suggested that the Holy See would speak out in favour of the Bohemian king.⁴⁸

However, Přemysl's plan fell through due to the pragmatism of Pope Clement IV who did not want to interfere in local interests and irritate the Archbishop of Mainz, the Metropolitan Archbishop of Gniezno, or the Teutonic Order. Therefore, on 20th January 1268 he drew the Bohemian king's attention to the fact that he could not ignore the Bishop of Olomouc's subordination to Mainz. In that way the Pope kept the whole issue within limits, although he sweetened his negative answer with the promise that if suitable territories were conquered, he would personally see to the proper settlement of the whole problem.⁴⁹ On the same day he assured Přemysl Otakar II of his

31 J. LUDVÍKOVSKÝ, *Latinské legendy českého středověku*, Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity E18/19, 1973/1974, pp. 275–276.

32 *Quemadmodum ex historiis*, ed. J. Ludvíkovský, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, pp. 262–268.

33 M. WIHODA, *Morava v době knížecí*, pp. 75–78.

34 Jaroslav ČECHURA, *Příspěvek k dějinám velehradského kláštera v éře přemyslovské*, Časopis Matice moravské 100, 1981, pp. 127–141.

35 CDB II, ed. Gustav Friedrich, Praha 1912, pp. 370–372, no. 355.

36 Jindřich ŠEBÁNEK, *Notář Otakar 5 a nejstarší listiny oslavanské a velehradské*, Časopis Matice moravské 67, 1947, pp. 263–279.

37 CDB II, pp. 370–372, no. 355.

38 *Vita sancti Wenceslai auctore Carolo IV.*, ed. Lubomír Emil Havlík, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, pp. 269–270.

39 Libor JAN, *Stará Morava mezi Východem a Západem*, in: Petr Sommer (ed.), *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a střední Evropa*, Praha 2006, pp. 251–264; M. WIHODA, *Morava v době knížecí*, pp. 127–138.

40 *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris (Legenda Moravica)*, ed. J. Ludvíkovský, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, pp. 229–241.

41 *Beatus Cyrillus*, ed. J. Ludvíkovský, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, pp. 271–275; J. LUDVÍKOVSKÝ, *Legenda Beatus Cyrillus*, Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity C8, 1961, pp. 94–103.

42 *Diffundente sole*, ed. Lubomír Emil Havlík, MMFH II, Brno 1967, pp. 249–256.

43 *Vita antiqua (Vita sancti Procopii antiqua)*, in: Václav Chaloupecký, *Středověké legendy prokopské. Jejich historický rozbor a texty*. Vydání textů dokončil, z dalších rukopisů rozmnožil a kritickým aparátem opatřil Bohumil Ryba, Praha 1953, p. 112; *Vita sancti Procopii*, ed. L. E. HAVLÍK, in: MMFH II, Brno 1967, pp. 210–214.

44 Václav NOVOTNÝ, *České dějiny I/4. Rozmach české moci za Přemysla II. Otakara (1253–1278)*, Praha 1937, pp. 155–162.

45 CDB V/2, ed. J. Šebánek – S. Dušková, Praha 1981, pp. 98–99, no. 539.

46 M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Cyrlometodějská tradice v českých zemích ve středověku*, in: Antoni Barciak (ed.), *Środkowoeuropejskie dziedzictwo Cyrylo-Methodiańskie*, Katowice 1999, pp. 135–148.

47 Miloslav POJSL, *Proměna Veligradu ve Staré Město*, in: Luděk Galuška – P. Kouřil – Zdeněk Měřínský (ed.), *Velká Morava mezi Východem a Západem*. Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní vědecké konference, Brno 2001, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR 17, pp. 305–312; Robert SNÁŠIL, *Grad Morava*, in: L. Galuška – P. Kouřil – Z. Měřínský (ed.), *Velká Morava mezi Východem a Západem*. Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní vědecké konference, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR 17, Brno 2001, pp. 355–364.

48 D. TRĚŠTÍK, *Vynalezení tradice aneb Velehrad*, in: IDEM, *Mysliť dějiny*, Praha – Litomyšl 1999, pp. 153–157.

49 CDB V/2, pp. 98–99, no. 539.

having no objections to the restoration of the Christian kingdom in Lithuania providing that no injustice would happen to the Teutonic Order and that he would yield the throne to a person loyal to the Roman Church.⁵⁰ Yet the Pope expressed himself a little differently on 26th January when he granted the king free tenure of the territories gained in the future, emphasising however that the rights of the friars of St Mary Spital must not be affected.⁵¹ At the same time he announced to Bishop Bruno that he was allowed to administer the Prussian provinces in spiritual issues,⁵² and even though Přemysl Otakar II tried to negotiate with the Teutonic Order,⁵³ he achieved one single goal – he guaranteed Velehrad top position in the historical memory of the Bohemian lands.⁵⁴

Across the abyss of time we must appreciate the inventiveness with which Přemysl's advisors connected the Velehrad monastery with the Moravian ecclesiastical metropolis and which they turned into the backdrop for a plot dealing with the transfer of the crown from Moravia to Bohemia. The constantly repeated memory revived by Dalimil's rhymes, completed with Charles IV's state formation, and codified on the millennium of Saints Cyril and Methodius in 1863 and 1885, gained the character of almost conclusive certainty that was given a "tight contour" by the discovery of the sacral area in Uherské Hradiště – Sady. Yes, the St Clement's anchored cross on Duke Břetislav I's denarii indicates that the Přemyslids, in the middle of the 11th century, were still familiar with the story of the Moirid Empire and that they considered it to be part of the dynastic heritage;⁵⁵ however, neither the impressive settlement continuity nor the churches in Staré Město and its close surroundings⁵⁶ that were still in existence in the 12th century can prove the existence of firmly and exactly anchored Moravian memories (or a non-committal "notion") of the Thessalonian brothers' founding work.⁵⁷ Because, as Pierre Nora pointed out, memory and history are not synonyms. While history is always considered an incomplete and problematic reconstruction of facts that do not exist any more, memory changes permanently. It is open to both memories and oblivion and it may be abused. It places memories within the context of holiness; it may be collective, multiple, or, at the other extreme, individualised.⁵⁸ And it is the same with the tradition of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Around 1000 it was supposed to warn the Bohemians about the fate of unbelievers and renegades; a hundred years later, the downfall of the Moravian kingdom would

50 CDB V/2, pp. 96–98, no. 538.

51 CDB V/2, pp. 100–101, no. 541.

52 CDB V/2, pp. 99–100, no. 540.

53 CDB V/2, pp. 60–61, no. 514; pp. 102–103, no. 542.

54 M. WIHODA, *Velehradská tradice*, in: L. Galuška – P. Kouřil – Jiří Mitáček (ed.), *Východní Morava v 10. až 14. století*, Brno 2008, pp. 129–136; IDEM, *Morava v době knížecí*, pp. 75–81.

55 M. WIHODA, *Morava v době knížecí*, pp. 116–127.

56 L. GALUŠKA, *Staré Město – Veligrad v období od mezi zánikem Velké Moravy a založením Nového Velehradu – Uherského Hradiště*, in: L. Galuška – P. Kouřil – J. Mitáček (ed.), *Východní Morava v 10. až 14. století*, Brno 2008, p. 95–115; IDEM, *Kirchliche Architektur des großmährischen Veligrad und die Besiedlung des Machtzentrum. Funktion und Lage einzelner Bauten im Rahmen der Siedlungsstruktur der frühmittelalterlichen Agglomeration Staré Město-Uherské Hradiště*, in: Lumír Poláček – Jana Maříková Kubková (ed.), *Frühmittelalterliche Kirchen als archäologische und historische Quelle*, Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice 8, Brno 2010, pp. 161–185.

57 L. GALUŠKA, *Bylo povědomí o Svatoplukově Moravě, Veligradu a Metodějově arcibiskupství na Moravě 10.–12. století skutečně věcí neznámou?*, in: Eva Doležalová – Robert Šimůnek (ed.), *Od knížat ke králům. Sborník u příležitosti 60. narozenin Josefa Žemličky*, Praha 2007, pp. 50–62.

58 Pierre NORA, *Entre mémoire et histoire*, in: Idem (ed.) *Les Lieux de mémoire I*, Paris 1984, pp. 17–42.

be connected with the breach of feudal oath, and at the end of the Přemyslid age the same tradition served as proof that the Bohemian lands had the right to have their own archbishop.

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THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN TRADITION IN BOHEMIA UNDER THE LUXEMBURGS

Eva Doležalová

It seems that, throughout their entire history, the Czech lands were continuously aware of Sts Cyril and Methodius' mission to Great Moravia and its meaning for the Christianisation of the Czech Přemyslid state. The reign of Charles IV, King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, was a period when the cult of these two saints experienced considerable support. It was probably then that the religious holiday of Sts Cyril and Methodius was established, and the first provable centres of their reverence appeared in the dioceses of Olomouc and Prague. The foundation of Emmaus ("Na Slovanech") Monastery with the privilege of Old Slavonic liturgy belongs to this period. By his support of Great Moravian traditions, Charles IV claimed allegiance to his Přemyslid roots and to the memory of the adoption of Christianity from the hands of Archbishop Methodius, perhaps also to the memory of the transfer of rule over the Czech state from Great Moravia to Bohemia. Traces of Charles' effort are also detectable in Bohemian chronicles of the 14th century.

Key words: St Cyril, St Methodius, Charles IV, Emmaus Monastery "Na Slovanech", chronicles, Great Moravia, High Middle Ages

It seems that the Czech lands were continuously aware of Saints Cyril and Methodius' mission to Great Moravia and its meaning for the Christianisation of the Czech Přemyslid state.¹ However, the intensity of their cult was not invariable as it changed both in time and place. The original tradition of Great Moravia weakened due to new influences and it was replaced by the general awareness of the Thessalonian brothers' missionary activities and of the Christianisation of Moravian and Bohemian society which they themselves had organised. That awareness was naturally much stronger in Moravia than in Bohemia. The support of traditions and knowledge of the Great Moravian mission and of the archdiocese was connected particularly with the activities of the Bishopric of Olomouc which directly drew on the tradition of the Archdiocese of Great Moravia.

Information on the lives and work of Saints Cyril and Methodius remained in existence for the whole historical period particularly thanks to legends² which became part of the Přemyslid tradition about the first Christian rulers on the Prague throne. After the extinction of the Přemyslid dynasty it was not certain for some time whether the Přemyslid tradition would survive for the next generations. Neither the short confused period after 1306 nor the reign of John the Blind continued much in the old domestic traditions. In this respect the actions of Charles IV appear extraordinarily dynamic. He is generally ascribed the greatest

share in preserving the Cyrillo-Methodian cult. Yet we can also find marks of the influence of the milieu and of Charles' more important advisors, especially the bishops and archbishops.

The first question that must be asked is whether Charles IV really perceived the cult of Cyril and Methodius as part of the history of the Bohemian Kingdom and as an important component of the Přemyslid tradition in which he wanted to continue purposefully. Was it just an attempt to emphasise the famous beginnings of the Přemyslid and Luxembourg mediaeval state – accepting Christianity from the territory of Great Moravia – or was it an intentional attempt to continue directly in the tradition of the Great Moravian state? Who were those that influenced the personality of the future King and Emperor Charles and that were able to instil in Charles the meaning of the Přemyslid story, including the episode of the beginnings of Christianity in Moravia and Bohemia? There are no simple and unambiguous answers to these questions. At first sight it seems that pointing to Charles' education and diplomatic abilities would do. Soon he understood that if he wanted to be successful in his country, he would have to claim allegiance to the previous dynasty – not only through his Přemyslid lineage (his mother was a Přemyslid princess), but also by accepting domestic tradition and connecting it with the dynasty of the Luxembourgs.³ It was obvious, especially in the case of the cult of the land's main patron saint, St Wenceslas. In this case Charles achieved the greatest success and thanks to his effort St Wenceslas started to be regarded as the patron saint not only of the Kingdom of Bohemia but also of the whole empire.

However, at the beginning of Charles' rule the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was concentrated primarily in the Diocese of Olomouc which was, as we suppose, the centre of original activity of the mission to Great Moravia and the core of the Great Moravian state. The Bishops of Olomouc made a significant

1 There is an extensive literature on this topic, e.g. Jaroslav BÖHM et al., *Velká Morava. Tisíciletá tradice státu a kultury*, Praha 1963; Luděk Galuška – Pavel Kouřil – Zdeněk Měřinský (ed.), *Velká Morava mezi východem a západem / Grossmähren zwischen West und Ost*, Brno 2001, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 17, Brno 2001; Dušan TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy. Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871*, Praha 2001; IDEM, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, Praha 1997; Petr SOMMER – D. TŘEŠTÍK – Josef ŽEMLIČKA, *Přemyslovci – budování českého státu*, Praha 2009; D. TŘEŠTÍK – J. ŽEMLIČKA – Zoe OPAČÍČ, *Bohemia and Moravia*, in: Nora Berend (ed.), *Christianization and the rise of Christian monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, Cambridge 2007.

2 There is also an extensive literature on hagiographic texts about Saints Cyril and Methodius, e.g. Dagmar Bartoňková – Radoslav Večeřka (ed.), *Prameny k dějinám Velké Moravy II. Texty biografické, hagiografické, liturgické*, 2nd ed., Praha 2010. Another important source is a text from the 10th century, the so-called *Legenda Christiani about the life of St Wenceslas*, including an important paragraph about the Great Moravian Duke Bořivoj and his accepting Christianity from the hands of Archbishop Methodius, see *Legenda Christiani. Passio sancti Wenceslai et sanctae Ludmilae, avae eius*, ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Praha 1978.

3 Eva DOLEŽALOVÁ, *Přemyslovská tradice v lucemburské době*, in: P. Sommer – D. Třeštk – J. Žemlička (ed.), *Přemyslovci. Budování českého státu*, Praha 2009, pp. 530–540.

contribution to that tradition; they recognised the tradition of the Great Moravian archbishopric if only because of their office. In the later period it was naturally Velehrad with the Cistercians that became the centre of the cult. The question remains whether, during the High Middle Ages before the rule of Charles IV, this tradition was still alive beyond Velehrad and the Bishopric of Olomouc as the veneration of saints, for example in the form of wakes or a cult in towns, or whether it existed only at the level of referring to the legendary ancestors. While in Moravia, or rather in the Diocese of Olomouc, the Cyrillo-Methodian cult can be expected, it is more difficult to give evidence of that cult in the Diocese of Prague during the High and Late Middle Ages. I do not want to cast any doubt upon the direct awareness of the Christianisation of Bohemia that had come from the territory of Great Moravia, such awareness existing throughout the course of the whole Middle Ages. Most legends of Bohemian saints, particularly of St Ludmila and St Wenceslas, included a text about the baptism of Bořivoj and Ludmila at the hand of Archbishop Methodius in Great Moravia. The texts of those legends were often borrowed by later authors of chronicles and other texts.⁴

Let us get back to Charles IV. We do not know exactly the origin of his interest in Great Moravia. There is an opinion, also shared by Dušan Třeštík, that the young Bohemian Prince and Moravian Margrave Charles met the veneration of Cyril and Methodius and references to the Great Moravian tradition during his visits to Moravia at the beginning of his political career, i.e. in 1333–1346. However, we have no first-hand documents. There are some circumstantial documents such as Charles' request for permission from Pope Clement VI to found a convent with Slavonic liturgy; the Pope granted that request in May 1346 and a year later, in November 1347, he gave his consent for the foundation of a monastery near the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Podskalí, Prague.⁵ Up to now, we have not managed to clarify why Charles, in his first request, argued for the need for having the liturgy in the Slavonic language so as to convert the schismatics and pagans that were not able to follow the prayers in Latin.⁶ In his second request Charles says that the monks would hold liturgy in the Slavonic language in the convent in honour of St Jerome. The mention of the need to use the Slavonic language to convert pagans might be just a carry-over from the legends about the lives of Saints Constantine and Methodius which include a defence of the use of the Slavonic language in Great Moravian liturgy before the then Pope. However, this argument did not appear anywhere in Charles' later diplomatic correspondence. As Vladimír Cinke says, "Charles IV cannot be ascribed the intention to make use of the Slavonic liturgy for external missionary activities [...] The reason was... rather the needs of the domestic

policy of the ruler who [...] recognised in this way his Bohemian origin, inherited from his mother [...]."⁷

The foundation of Emmaus Monastery, home to monks from Dalmatia, was only the beginning of Charles' recognition of the Great Moravian legacy. In the same Emmaus an impressive convent church was later built which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St Jerome, Cyril, Methodius, Adalbert and Procopius. It was ceremonially consecrated by Jan Očko of Vlašim, the Archbishop of Prague, at Easter on the 29th of March 1372. A whole range of essays has been written on the activities of the Emmaus scriptorium, which is why I do not want to analyse them here in greater detail.⁸

However, the foundation of the spectacular Benedictine convent in Emmaus was not the only result of Charles' interest in the Great Moravian saints. A significant piece of evidence of his interest is the record of the establishment of the both apostles' feast day written in synod statutes. In the Diocese of Olomouc the feast day might have been codified as early as 1349. Local synod statutes issued under Jan VII Volek and dated 1349 mentioned Cyril and Methodius in the same section with those whose remains were to be venerated; moreover, they were described as the patron saints of "our" (i.e. Olomouc) diocese.⁹ Sixty years later, in 1413, under Bishop Václav Králík of Buřnice, the record in the Olomouc synod statutes was specified in the following way: all feast days introduced by Arnošt of Pardubice for the Archdiocese of Prague were amended (the Feast of the Visitation and the Feast of Patron Saints Cyril and Methodius were added) that were supposed to be celebrated both by the clergymen and the common people in the Diocese of Olomouc.¹⁰ Those were the Feast Day of the Visitation and of the patron saints Cyril and Methodius. The statutes of the Archdiocese of Prague had not established the feast day of Saints Cyril and Methodius until the rule of Wenceslas IV, the third Bohemian monarch of the Luxembourg dynasty.¹¹ These statutes date from 1393–1394 and the relevant record says that the feast day should be celebrated four days before St Gregory's Feast Day (i.e. on the 9th of March).¹² Yet it is necessary to add that the establishment of new cults, for example the acceptance of St Sigismund or St Procopius as the land's patron saints, was not at once evident in the Church administration documents. There is just a single manuscript from all the preserved synod statutes of the Diocese of Olomouc ordering the veneration

7 V. CINKE, *Slovanské prvky*, p. 136.

8 See the compilations J. Petr – Sáva Šabouk (edd.), *Z tradic slovanské kultury v Čechách*, Praha 1975; Klára Benešková – Kateřina Kubínová (ed.), *Emmauz. Benediktinský klášter Na Slovanech v srdci Prahy*, Sborník statí věnovaných znovuotevření chrámu Panny Marie a sv. Jeronýma benediktinského kláštera Na Slovanech. Opatství Emmauz 21 April 2003, Praha 2007. Other sources are quoted there.

9 Pavel KRAFL, *Synody a statuta olomoucké diecéze období středověku*, Práce Historického ústavu AV ČR, Editiones, vol. 2, Praha 2003, pp. 145–172, here pp. 153 and 159. However, the assumption that the Moravian apostles' feast day was established as early as 1349 has been relativised, since their feast day is mentioned only in one statute manuscript, or rather a transcription of it from the end of the 14th century. The veneration of the apostles' remains and the acceptance of the apostles as the patron saints of the diocese can be found in several statute manuscripts, yet even these documents date from later than the 1350s. According to P. Krafl, the oldest manuscripts come from the 2nd half of the 14th century.

10 P. KRAFL, *Synody a statuta olomoucké diecéze*, "De celebratione festivitatum", p. 180.

11 Jaroslav V. POLC – Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ, *Pražské synody a koncily předhusitské doby*, Praha 2002, p. 262.

12 "Item Cirilli et Metudii festum quarta die ante festum Gregorii semper est celebrandum cum IX leccionibus." See note no. 5. The reason for the feast day's establishment on March 9 is not clear. The date corresponds with the death of neither of the saints, nor does it correspond with any other historical event connected with the Great Moravian missions.

4 František GRAUS, *Velkomoravská říše v české středověké tradici*, Československý časopis historický 11/3, 1963, pp. 289–305; David KALHOUS, *Vrcholně středověká tradice o Velké Moravě. K instrumentalizaci historické tradice* [online], Studia mediaevalia Pragensia [accessed 18 March 2014]. Available at: <http://praha5.ff.cuni.cz/smp/?q=node/136>.

5 *Monumenta vaticana res gestas bohemicas illustrantia. Tomus I, Acta Clementis VI. Pontificis romani. 1342–1352*, ed. Ladislav Klicman, Praha 1903, no. 653, pp. 389–390 (9 May 1346); *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae. Pars 5 (1346–1355), Fasciculus 2 (1346–1350)*, ed. Jiří Spěváček, Praha 1960, no. 257, pp. 135–136 (21 November 1347).

6 The document from May 9, 1345 literally says, "[...] Cum autem sicut huiusmodi insinuatio subiungebat, in confinibus et circa partes regni Boemie, que de eadem lingua et vulgari existunt, sint multi scismatici et infideles, qui cum eis sacra scriptura latine dicitur, exponitur vel predicatur, nec intelligere volunt nec commode ad fidem christianam possunt converti [...]." On this topic also see Vladimír CINKE, *Slovanské prvky v kronice Marignolově*, in: Jan Petr – Sáva Šabouk (ed.), *Z tradic slovanské kultury v Čechách*, Praha 1975, pp. 135–136.

of St Procopius; the cult of St Sigismund was not explicitly mentioned in Olomouc documents at all.¹³ It also seems that the newly established or re-established cults of the saints were not accepted within the Archdiocese of Prague with equal ardour. It is true that in some areas the new cult was familiar; nevertheless, it was not widespread. The independent political administration of the Diocese of Olomouc, whose borders basically overlapped with the Margraviate of Moravia, might also have played an important role.

Considering the preserved written and material sources, it seems that the development of the cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius reached its highest intensity as late as the 2nd half of the 14th century or rather the second half of the 1360s. Charles' tactics in filling the posts of bishop and archbishop might have played a role there. Jan Očko of Vlašim, the second Archbishop of Prague, acted as Bishop of Olomouc until 1364 and, when arriving in Prague, might have brought Moravian influence into the Prague centre. Probably at that time the feast day of the apostles first appeared in Olomouc missals.¹⁴ As to the Prague liturgical papers, the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius was first mentioned in a manuscript dated as late as the last fifth of the 14th century, which would chronologically fall in the period of Jan of Jenštejn, the third Archbishop of Prague, and the rule of Wenceslas IV, the third monarch of the Luxembourg dynasty.¹⁵ From the beginning of the 15th century the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius existed continuously even in Prague missals. In the 1st third of the 15th century their feast day was added into calendars of various ecclesiastic institutions (primarily the religious orders) and the names of Saints Cyril and Methodius appeared in litanies among the Bohemian saints. Records of the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius appear most frequently in liturgical books of the Premonstratensian and Cistercian order. As for the Cistercian order, the frequency of records might be connected with the increasing veneration of both saints that spread from the Velehrad convent. The feast day of the Moravian apostles was often inscribed in older manuscripts.¹⁶ Various references to preachings for their feast day have also been preserved. Their legends were included in the Czech translation of the *Golden legend*.¹⁷ A manuscript coming supposedly from the Augustinian monastery in Roudnice and dealing with the feast days

of the saints has also been preserved, the title page of which states it is the work of Bernard Gui. This manuscript includes a text meant for the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius, with the inscription "*beatus Cyrillus et Metudius, fratres germani de Alexandria Grece et sclavonice lingve venerunt ad terram Moravie*".¹⁸ The feast day of the Moravian apostles went on to be added into liturgical literature with greater intensity even in the later centuries, as indicated by the inscription in *St George's breviary* from the 17th century; the breviary itself dates from the 13th century.¹⁹ In fact, the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius was mentioned among the feast days of the land's patron saints, or, more frequently, "only" in the enumeration of the ecclesiastical March feast days among other important feast days of the land, including for example the translation of St Wenceslas. Many of these documents also come from the Premonstratensian or Cistercian milieu, which might be caused by the fact that the documents of those religious orders have been preserved in a more complete state than the Prague capitular documents.

The Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius (March 9) was even celebrated by the University of Prague, as well as the feast days of all the land's patron saints and other important saints. On those days no disputations took place at the University. A record of the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius has been preserved in the calendar included in the Dean's book of the Faculty of Arts, although we can suppose that the feast day went for the whole University. The oldest records in that manuscript come from 1367.²⁰ The university assigned the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius to three more important March feast days, i.e. the translation of St Wenceslas, the Feast Day of St Thomas Aquinas, and the Annunciation of Our Lady. In agreement with the policy of Charles IV and possibly also of his chancellor Jan Očko of Vlašim, Archbishop of Prague, the University put Saints Cyril and Methodius on a par with the land's patron saints. No lessons took place even on the Feast Days of St Sigismund, St Procopius and St Ludmila.

The end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century was also the period of building altars dedicated to the Thessalonian brothers. In Prague's St Vitus Cathedral, such an altar was documented in 1404²¹, although the first altars were probably built as early as the episcopate of Jan Očko of Vlašim both in Olomouc and in Prague, i.e. in the 1360s. Probably on that occasion a reliquary was made for the Prague church. Let us remember again that the year 1372 is the date of consecration of the Emmaus convent church.

13 P. KRAFL, *Synody a statuta olomoucké diecéze*, p. 153, note "of-of". According to P. Krafl's findings, the feast day of the Bohemian patron saint St Procopius was mentioned in a single statute manuscript from 1349, preserved in a transcription from the end of the 14th century. Besides St Procopius, the Feast Day of St Ludmila was also mentioned in that manuscript; the Feast Day of St Wenceslas was specified there ("*translatio sancti Wenceslai*"). On the basis of these findings we might speculate about the more significant influence of the Prague Archdiocese on the creation of this manuscript the origin of which cannot be otherwise ascertained with certainty.

14 *Missale Olomucense scriptoris Stephani notis musicis instructum*, sign. M III 6, Research Library in Olomouc, fol. 308v–319v (De patronis). In fol. 309r, St Wenceslas, Procopius, Cyril and Methodius, and Ludmila are mentioned as the patron saints. The manuscript dates from the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries.

15 These are the manuscripts *Missale dioecesis Pragensis*, sign. XIV B 8, National Library of the Czech Republic, fol. 180v–181r (the manuscript dates from the end of the 14th century) and *Missale Pragensis dioecesis*, sign. I a 46, National Library of the Czech Republic, fol. 146r–146v (the manuscript was written approximately in the middle of the 15th century). Unlike the Olomouc missal, both Prague missals include the Feast Day of St Sigismund.

16 We can mention e.g. *Graduale cisterciense*, sign. M II 87, Research Library in Olomouc, fol. 128v. In Bohemia it is e.g. *Missale monasterii Chotěšoviensis*, sign. XIV C 3, National Library of the Czech Republic, fol. 203r. The manuscript belonged to the Premonstratensian convent in Chotěšov and it was written around the middle of the 14th century; the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius was again added later.

17 *Legenda aurea sanctorum*, sign. 42 D 36, National Library of the Czech Republic, fol. 92v–93r. This version of the legend was printed in 1495. The story about the apostles is called *Zywot swatych Crhy a Strachoty*.

18 *De festivitibus ecclesiasticis (praecipue vitae sanctorum)*, sign. XV a 12 National Library of the Czech Republic, fol. 129r. The manuscript dates from the beginning of the 15th century. It was probably written in Roudnice nad Labem and the folio quoted includes the lives of both saints. Besides this, the manuscript includes a calendar where Cyril and Methodius are among the Bohemian land's patron saints (March 9).

19 *Breviarium monasterii s. Georgii in castro Pragensi*, sign. XIII B 9, National Library of the Czech Republic, fol. 260v.

20 *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae universitatis Pragensis, ab anno Christi 1367. usque ad annum 1585. e codice membranaceo illius aetatis nunc primum luce donatus*, Monumenta historica Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis I, Prague 1830–1832, Martius (without pagination). The feast day of the apostles was written in the calendar probably at the beginning of the 15th century. It is interesting that an older calendar from the 2nd half of the 14th century, included in the University statutes, does not mention the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius at all. See also *Statuta Universitatis Pragensis nunc primum publici juris facta*, ed. Antonín Dittrich – Antonín Ferdinand Špírk, Monumenta historica universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis III, Prague [1848].

21 Wácslaw Wladiwoj TOMEK, *Základy starého mistopisu pražského*, Praha 1872, pp. 112–119. According to Tomek's identification, the altar was situated in the presbytery beside the altar of St Clement.

Let us stop and think about the veneration of the “physical” remains of the saints. Unfortunately, as a result of the dramatic course of events in Bohemia in the 15th century and the following centuries, very little material evidence has been preserved. Although the grave of St Methodius, as far as I know, is still being searched for, there are several proofs of existence of his mediaeval relics.²² A document directly referring to the Luxembourg era or, more precisely, to Charles IV, dates from 1368.²³ At that time a monstrance with the remains of saint apostles Cyril and Methodius was first mentioned in the inventory of the St Vitus treasure. This monstrance was made of gold-plated silver and crystal; it was decorated with twelve cameos on its stand and with six more cameos and an angel statuette on its top part. The same monstrance was mentioned again in the inventory from 1387²⁴; however, there are no later records of it. Another Cyrillo-Methodian object that belonged to the St Vitus temple treasure was a silver bust of St Cyril made at the very end of the 17th century (1698–1699). It was funded by Jan Josef Breuner, the Archbishop of Prague.²⁵ The bust is not a relic but one of a set of four statues of the land’s patron saints – St Wenceslas, Adalbert, Vitus and Cyril – that were made at the archbishop’s request. The Great Moravian missionary was included probably because the archbishop used to act as the Bishop of Olomouc before his arrival in Prague. Yet his donation had a piquant background – for making those statues he provided old silver objects and fractions that belonged to the chapter; moreover, a silver crosier was stolen from Cyril’s statue in 1707. Since then the statues were supposed to be well guarded.

Let us get back to the idea Charles IV had. Some present-day historians emphasise and document that the Přemyslid dynasty considered themselves political heirs of the Great Moravian Empire. Nevertheless, Charles, who had continued in the Přemyslid tradition, considered the Christian missionary activities of Cyril and Methodius more important, as he regarded them as the beginnings of Christianity in Moravia and Bohemia. That is why the establishment of the feast days of the Thessalonian brothers might have been part of Charles’ concept of both domestic and foreign policy. Documents supporting this statement can also be found in chronicles and legends from Charles’ period. Charles’ relation to the Slavonic language in the liturgy is much more complicated and difficult to explain. The tradition of using Old Slavonic in the liturgy was mentioned two more times in the literature of Charles’ period. The first mention was in the chronicle of Přebík Pulkava of Radení from the third quarter of the 14th century. In his narration he told a story about Cyril visiting the Pope in Rome and requesting he grant Slavonic the status of a liturgical language.²⁶ It must have been Přebík’s chronicle that was most inspired by Charles’ personal plans to create a consistent picture of Bohemian history and traditions. It is said that Charles took part in choosing information

and sources for the chronicle; he might even have become involved in the writing. It was similar with the second mention in the chronicle of Italian traveller Giovanni di Marignolli.²⁷ Since the chronicle was created at the Emperor’s request, it is possible that the ruler chose certain sources and topics for Marignolli as well. Other chroniclers too of Charles’ period were to some degree aware of Moravian tradition and of how Christianity had been accepted from the hands of Archbishop Methodius, for example Neplach, Abbot of Opatovice; however, he only described the baptism of Duke Bořivoj.²⁸

Both Přebík and Marignolli made use of older Bohemian chronicles, and also legends, for their work. Přebík was apparently inspired by the legend of St Wenceslas *Diffundente sole* and probably with *Crescente religione christiana*, another legend of St Wenceslas that was written later and attributed to Charles IV himself. The latter legend dates approximately from 1358.²⁹ The most important point that Charles wanted to emphasise might have been St Wenceslas’ connection with Great Moravia. Even the grandparents of St Wenceslas, the Bohemian land’s patron saint and distant ancestor of Charles IV, accepted Christianity from the hands of the Great Moravian Archbishop Methodius himself. Thus Charles recognised Methodius together with Cyril as the initiators of a Christian principality and kingdom on Bohemian territory. Charles also used such motives of legends as the depiction of Duke Bořivoj meeting Archbishop Methodius or the baptism of St Ludmila in his concept of painting the walls at the Big Tower’s staircase leading to the Chapel of the Holy Cross in Karlštejn Castle so as to complete the legendary cycles of St Ludmila and St Wenceslas.³⁰ Those frescos were created at the beginning of the 1360s when interest in both the Thessalonian brothers increased under Archbishop Očko of Vlašim.

Unfortunately we have not been able to prove that the revived cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the 14th and 15th century had significant influence on the religiousness of wider sections of society. Unlike e.g. the cult of St Sigismund, to which Charles paid intensive personal attention and which soon gained acceptance, however short-lived it was, Cyril and Methodius received nothing like a warm reception, whether in a city milieu or in Bohemia or Moravia. Nor did their names appeal to parents for use at their children’s baptism. In fact, in the ordination lists of the Diocese of Prague from 1396–1415, which was probably the most extensive set of male names in the then Diocese of Prague, a single Methodius (Metudius Georgii) of Maleč and a single Constantine (Constantinus Jaxini) of Pilsen were registered.³¹ There is no similar set of names that were used in the Diocese of Olomouc.³²

27 *Johannis de Marignolla Chronicon*, ed. J. Emler, in: FRB III, Praha 1882, pp. 528–529.

28 *Johannis Neplachonis, abbatis Opatovicensis Chronicon*, ed. J. Emler, FRB III, pp. 461–462.

29 *Die St. Wenzelslegende Kaiser Karel IV. Einleitung / Texte / Kommentar*, ed. Anton Blaschka, Praha 1934 (= Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte 14).

30 Group of authors, *Karlštejn a jeho význam v dějinách a kultuře*, Praha 2010.

31 Eva DOLEŽALOVÁ, *Světcenci pražské diecéze 1395–1416*, Praha 2010, including the database on a CD.

32 The names Cyril and Methodius appear very sporadically in sources such as university registers or documents of ecclesiastic administration. In Prague documents there are no students or university masters with these names. However, in the register of Cracow University three Cyrils have been found. See Izabela SKIERSKA – Antoni GASIOROWSKI – Tomasz JUREK, *Metryka czyli album Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1509–1551*, Warszawa 2010. I would like to thank Prof Zdeněk Měřínský for this information.

22 Vojtěch SAMEC, *Ostatky svatých Cyrila a Metoděje nalézající se v Československu*, Sborník velehradský 1992, pp. 49–59. The remains of St Cyril (Constantine) came to Bohemia from Rome, probably thanks to Charles IV. Apart from the reliquary, the remains of Cyril are specified in the inventory of the St Vitus treasure (see below); the remains of St Methodius are not mentioned separately. Usually a reliquary of both the saints is mentioned while it is not clear whether it contains the remains of both of them.

23 Antonín PODLAHA – Eduard ŠTTLER, *Chrámový poklad u sv. Víta v Praze. Jeho dějiny a popis*, Praha 1903, p. 27. The monstrance is first mentioned in the list from 1368; the purchase of the monstrance is usually dated to 1365.

24 *Ibidem*, p. 32.

25 *Ibidem*, p. 212.

26 *Przibiconis de Radenin dicti Pulkavae Chronicon Bohemiae*, ed. Josef Emler – Jan Gebauer, in: FRB V, Praha 1893, pp. 16–17.

In closing we can say, with slight exaggeration, that the tradition and the cult of the Moravian apostles was rediscovered in the middle of the 14th century. The intensity increased even more after the 1360s. We cannot claim that the missionary activities of Cyril and Methodius were unknown until then, as the whole range of legends of St Wenceslaus and St Ludmila, including relevant parts of the *Old Bohemian (Dalimil's) rhymed chronicle*, mention the Přemyslid Duke Bořivoj and his adoption of Christianity at the hands of Methodius. The question is whether the cult of both saints would have developed to the same degree without the participation of Charles IV, i.e. whether the role of the Bishops of Olomouc itself would have been sufficient. Probably not. If we accept the theory that the young Moravian Margrave was significantly influenced by the Great Moravian legacy at the beginning of his rule, then his subsequent steps in that direction were logical and easy to understand. The first step was the above-mentioned founding of the monastery "Na Slovanech". However, the actual cult of both saints in the whole area of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown dates from the last third of the 14th century. It is probable that Charles educated his sons to recognise the traditions of their country, so that the cults of the land's patron saints and of other saints were obligatory for both Wenceslas and Sigismund. Wenceslas IV continued in his father's effort, while Sigismund was not allowed to do such activities. Yet at the Čáslav Assembly in 1421 he referred to the old traditions of the Bohemian kingdom and the land's saints, although he had in mind particularly St Wenceslaus. The question of whether Cyril and Methodius were recognised as the land's patron saints as early as the 14th century is obvious. The answer is not clear. While the Diocese of Olomouc recognised them as the patron saints of the diocese probably as early as 1349, it might have not happened explicitly in the Diocese of Prague. Charles IV and his successors from the Luxembourg dynasty regarded Cyril and Methodius as important personalities and saints, although they did not manage to integrate them into the "Bohemian heaven". Thus their position came to a standstill half-way through. That is why in many depictions and enumerations of the land's patron saints of the time, Bohemia was still represented just by the famous group of six: Saints Vitus, Adalbert, Wenceslas, Ludmila, Procopius and Sigismund.

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THE TRADITION OF SAINTS CYRIL AND METHODIUS IN THE LATE MEDIAEVAL BOHEMIAN LANDS

Antonín Kalous

The article maps the uses of the two saints in the later Middle Ages in a Czech context. The main topics are historiography, liturgy and patron saints. In historiography, the story of Saints Cyril and Methodius was narrated by both Utraquist and Catholic authors, who usually tried to support their cause with them. In liturgical practice the gradual introduction of the feast day of the saints may be observed: in calendars of various liturgical books, in liturgy itself (with a special divine office for the saint's day), as dedications of altarpieces and individual chapels, and outside of liturgical use in dating (feast days). The two saints started to be used as patron saints of the Olomouc bishopric and as patron saints of Moravia in general – from the second half of the fourteenth century. A part of the article, then, is an edition of a Latin poem to Saints Cyril and Methodius as patrons of Moravia, which comes from the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

Key words: Sts. Cyril and Methodius, later Middle Ages, historiography, liturgy, Latin poetry

The tradition of Saints Cyril and Methodius did not begin to develop in the Bohemian lands until the Late Middle Ages. In view of the fact that there was no evident ruler's interest in those two saints and that they were not connected with any evident ruler's project, it is clear that their role must have been different. Neither George of Poděbrady, the Jagiellonian kings or Matthias Corvinus propagated them as saints. Who could have taken charge of their propagation then? The answer to this question should be looked for in various late mediaeval manuscripts and in several areas of human activity. In this respect we are speaking primarily of historiography and liturgy and of other areas associated with liturgy, such as hagiography, the veneration of saints and so on.

As for historiography, texts from the 15th century necessarily continued in the previous historiographical tradition of the Bohemian environment. Although Josef Emler wrote in his introduction to the edition of *Pulkava's chronicle* from 1893 that "everybody does better if they do not use it as a source at all", we can say that *Pulkava's chronicle*, written in the 1370s, is a text that takes into consideration the tradition of Great Moravia and Saints Cyril and Methodius to the greatest extent of all chronicles from the 14th century. Přebík Pulkava of Radeníň probably drew inspiration from sources dealing with early Moravian history that have not been preserved; his source of inspiration was also Charles IV's concept of Bohemian history.¹ In spite of Emler's disapproving criticism this chronicle was quite popular in the Late Middle Ages; the text was preserved in many mediaeval manuscripts and other historians made use of it.

The chronicle of Přebík Pulkava of Radeníň became the source of information for other historical texts, primarily for *Historia Bohemica* by Enea Silvio Piccolomini that was later very popular.²

¹ *Przibiconis de Radenin dicti Pulkavae Chronicon Bohemiae*, ed. Josef Emler – Jan Gebauer, in: FRB V, Praha 1893, corresponding part in the Latin version pp. 15–17, Czech version 220–222, Emler's quotation p. 13; cf. also MMFH I, pp. 307–311. As to Charles' use of the tradition of Saints Cyril and Methodius see Eva Doležalová in this volume.

² Marie BLÁHOVÁ, *Staročeská Kronika tak řečeného Dalimila v kontextu středověké historiografie latinského kulturního okruhu a její pramenná hodnota. Historický komentář, rejstřík*, Praha 1995, p. 150; Josef HEJNIC – Hans ROTHE, *Einführung*, in: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Historia Bohemica*, Bd. 1, Historisch-kritische Ausgabe des lateinischen Textes, ed. Josef Hejnic – Hans Rothe, Köln 2005, p. 0124.

Although Enea Silvio cannot be called a Bohemian historian, his contribution is significant, since his work became the basic reference book for Bohemian historical studies and was used for a long time both in Europe and in Bohemia, as documented by various translations and printings from the 15th and 16th century. Thus this work popularised the Bohemian tradition of Great Moravia and St Methodius' involvement in Moravian ecclesiastical development, and Enea did not forget about St Cyril either. He naturally mentioned the well-known story about the baptism of Bořivoj, Duke of Bohemia, for which St Methodius, Archbishop of Moravia, was the prime motivator. This event is well known from legends and it has been generally described in historiographical papers, although Enea dated it to no earlier than 995 (although some manuscripts corrected the dating to 895). Just as Pulkava did, Enea recorded the quarrel between King Zwentibald and the Archbishop, after which Methodius excommunicated Zwentibald and placed the kingdom under interdict. Following Pulkava, this Italian humanist also recorded St Cyril's activities, his involvement in the Christianisation of Moravia, his stay in Rome, and the role he played in the introduction of Slavonic liturgy, even though he left out Pulkava's information about the transfer of St Clement's remains.³

During the Hussite era, mainly annalist records were created that not only set down topical issues but also expressed the political opinions of their authors. There was no room for a more extensive historical interpretation of the beginnings of Bohemian and Moravian history; the contemporary requirements for historiographical texts were different. The beginnings of Bohemian history were not in the spotlight until the 1st half of the 16th century, when humanist historians commented on them. Moreover, historiography was also divided according to its confessional specification into Utraquist historiography and Catholic historiography. However, both branches definitely referred to the beginnings of the Bohemian state and, primarily, of the Bohemian Church within the Church established

³ A. S. PICCOLOMINI, *Historia Bohemica*, Bd. 1, pp. 91–100; *Eneae Silvii, Historia Bohemica. Historie Česká*, ed. Dana Martínková – Alena Hadravová – Jiří Mantl, Praha 1998, pp. 38–42.

by Cyril and Methodius. On the Utraquist side it was Bohuslav Bilejovský that very briefly mentioned both apostles' activities in Moravia; at the same time the continuity with Bohemian history and the Pope and cardinals permitting the Slavonic liturgical language were significant for him.⁴

On the Catholic side we should primarily mention the works of Wenceslaus Hajek of Libočany and Jan Dubravius. Hajek's chronicle, *Annales Boemorum* from 1541, nowadays very negatively judged by critical historiography, was in those days a widespread and popular text. Moreover, Hajek was familiar with credible sources that have been accepted even by modern historians. Yet, according to Flajšhans, the legends of Saints Cyril and Methodius did not belong to those sources. Hajek's presentation of the Greek brothers was based primarily on the Bohemian chronicle tradition, so that it was not extraordinary in any way. Unlike Bilejovský, however, Hajek integrated a whole range of legends not even supported by sources into the oldest Bohemian history. Thus the story of Cyril and Methodius was shifted beyond the beginnings of the Bohemian state; frequent conflicts between the Bohemians and Moravians culminated in the narration about the baptism of Bořivoj I and Ludmila of Bohemia (for this story Hajek drew information from *Legenda Christiani – The Legend of Kristian*).⁵ Hajek continued with the arrival of Crha, Bishop of Velehrad (i.e. Cyril, although it should have been Methodius) in Prague and his preachings in the Church of Our Lady before Týn. After that Cyril left for Rome where he found his brother Methodius (the confusion continued). Together they achieved recognition of the Slavonic liturgy. Bishop Methodius returned to Moravia after Cyril's death in Rome. The conflict between the "King of the Moravians" and the Bishop is then attributed to Zwentibald II, son of Zwentibald I.⁶ Thus Hajek began the history of the Bohemian Church with the baptism of Bořivoj; nevertheless, he regarded the transfer of the kingdom from Moravia to Bohemia as much more important. As we can see, Hajek saw the beginnings of the Church and of the kingdom with the Moravians; however, if we stand back and look at this information from the perspective of a global explanation of the legend, there is still no special emphasis put on it.

Another text dealing with the whole of Bohemian history from its beginnings to 1526 was the *History of the Bohemian Kingdom (Historia regni Bohemiae)* by Jan Dubravius from 1552. Even though Dubravius has been criticised for the fact that his work is based primarily on Enea Silvio and Hajek, his text embraces a much wider area than those of both his predecessors. He was concerned with the history of Bohemia as well as the history of the whole kingdom, and besides Bohemia, he dealt for the most part with Moravia. He also mentioned Silesia and made comparisons with Hungary, with which the Bohemian kingdom shared a ruler several times. Thus he interconnected the history of the lands of central Europe, which may be caused by the fact that he dedicated his text to the young future king Maximilian.⁷ Even though Dubravius did not open the history of Bohemia

with the mission of Cyril and Methodius as Bilejovský had done, he did not place such emphasis on the legendary beginnings as Hajek had done either. Unlike Hajek, Dubravius did not divide his text clearly into chapters that would tally with individual years; the text includes no datings and it is segmented into 33 books. The situation in Moravia, Zwentibald, the apostles, and Bořivoj's relations with Moravia are described in the final parts of the third and fourth book.⁸ Here Dubravius presented Cyril and Methodius as the first superiors of the Moravian Church (*Moraviae & primi antistites*). The reason for the emphasis that was put on the beginnings of the Moravian Church might be Dubravius' post of Canon at Olomouc Cathedral, or his later post of Bishop of Olomouc. He used his presentation of Zwentibald as the opportunity to add a geographical description of contemporary Moravia. However, the main narration is set in the context of Bohemian history, which is why the author concluded the description of Moravia with the statement that the Moravians and the Bohemians were of equal language, customs and rituals, after which he went back to writing about Bořivoj.⁹ After a time Bořivoj brought Methodius to Bohemia where he became the founder of the Bohemian Church (he consecrated churches, administered baptisms, founded schools etc.) and at the request of the Bohemians he used Czech instead of Latin in liturgy (*ne sermone latino, quem non intelligenter, sed Boiemo sibi usitato, sacra et sacramenta perageret*). Just as his brother had, he died in Rome. Dubravius' greater emphasis placed on Moravia can also be seen in his interest in the Moravian Bishopric. According to his text, Methodius' successor Jan was elected in Moravia five years after his departure.¹⁰

In the emphasis on the situation of the Moravian Church Dubravius certainly continued in the historical tradition of Olomouc and in the history of Moravian bishops or of the Church of Olomouc. There might have been some Olomouc annals, whose notes were used in a roll from the beginning of the 15th century named *Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae*.¹¹ That roll became the source of information for a humanist text by Augustin Käsensbrot (Augustinus Olomucensis) named *Olomucensium episcoporum series*.¹² Being the Canon of Olomouc and later Bishop, Dubravius was certainly familiar with those texts that – unlike Hajek's – proceeded from knowledge of the legends of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Saints Cyril and Methodius were put at the beginning of the list of Olomouc bishops in the Olomouc tradition; the Velehrad tradition was also added. In that list, Jan is mentioned as the next bishop (Dubravius found his name in this source) who, according to Augustinus, transferred the episcopal see to St Peter and Paul's Church in Polešovice (and, as Augustinus Olomucensis added, some authors supposed that the bishopric was located in Kunovice). The Olomouc tradition also gave information about the transfer

8 *Historiae regni Boemiae... libri XXXIII*, Prostanavae 1552, fol. XVIIr–XXIIIV.

9 *Historiae regni Boemiae*, fol. XXv, "De caetero Moravi sermone, ritibus, moribusque perinde morati ut Boiemi sunt. Nunc ad Borivorium in Boemiam redeamus..."

10 *Historiae regni Boemiae*, fol. XXIIr, "Interim in Moravia, annis quinque, interponitio durante. Tandem Ioannes Moravus in locum Methodii cooptatus est."

11 *Das Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae*, ed. Joseph Loserth, in: Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 78, 1892, pp. 41–97; newest information David KALHOUS, *Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae jako pramen k dějinám Moravy v 10. století?*, *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 11, 2007, pp. 23–38.

12 *Augustini Olomucensis Episcoporum Olomucensium series*, ed. František Xaver Richter, Olomouc 1831; as to this text see Eduard Petrů in Eduard PETRŮ – Ivo HLOBIL, *Humanism and the early Renaissance in Moravia*, Olomouc 1999, pp. 50–52; Miloš KOUŘIL, *Augustin Olomoucký*, in: Ivo Barteček (ed.), *Historiografie Moravy a Slezska*, vol. 1, Olomouc 2001, pp. 15–18.

4 *Bohuslava Bilejovského Kronika česká*, ed. Ota Halama, Praha 2011, p. 31. Further information Pavel Kúrka in this volume.

5 *Václava Hájka z Libočan Kronika česká*, part 1, *Úvod. R. 644–904. Doba pohanská*, ed. Václav Flajšhans, Praha 1918, pp. 346–350.

6 *Václava Hájka z Libočan Kronika*, part 1, pp. 360–368.

7 Libuše HRABOVÁ, *Jan Dubravius, 1486–1553*, in: Ivo Barteček (ed.), *Historiografie Moravy a Slezska*, vol. 1, Olomouc 2001, pp. 21–32, at least partly revised historical work of Jan Dubravius.

of the bishopric from Polešovice to Olomouc, guaranteed by the first Bohemian king, Vratislaus.¹³ This tradition was restored at the beginning of the 15th century and it continued in the works of one of the most important Olomouc humanists, which was in harmony with other trends of contemporary society that was, in the first place, connected with liturgy and the veneration of both saints.

The veneration of Saints Cyril and Methodius developed primarily during the rule of Charles IV thanks to a restored interest in the Slavonic liturgy and missions to the Slavs in Great Moravia. Virtually all Latin legends that originated and spread in the Bohemian lands were created at that time and immediately before that time: these are *Tempore Michaelis imperatore*, *Diffundente sole*, *Quemadmodum*, and *Beatus Cyrillus*, all of them named according to their incipits.¹⁴ Those legends spread in many manuscripts, which cleared the way for changes within the liturgical year of the Diocese of Prague and Olomouc. Synod statutes of the Diocese of Olomouc, issued by Bishop Jan Volek in 1349, in the fourth article, *de festis celebrandis*, listed the whole order of the liturgical year with all feast days that should be celebrated in the diocese. Apart from feast days that were a reminder of events in the lives of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, there were the feast days of important Christian saints, together with the feast days that recalled saints significant for the diocese. The Feast Day of St Wenceslas was naturally of capital importance, yet the statutes also remembered St Christinus, one of the patron saints of St Wenceslas Cathedral in Olomouc; also the Feast Day of St Maurice, patron saint of the main parish church of both Olomouc and Kroměříž, was mentioned in two manuscripts. The Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius appeared in a single manuscript. According to the publisher of its modern edition this manuscript comes from the end of the 14th century, and the only part of the 1349 statutes it contains is the paragraph on feast days.¹⁵ However, the statutes included article no. 11, which was fully concerned with the celebration of new feast days: the text dealt with the veneration of Saints Cyril and Methodius, St Christinus and St Cordula.¹⁶ Other statutes that commented on these feast days, mentioning the feast day of Saints Cyril and Methodius, come from the synod by Václav Králík of Buřnice from 1413. Here the author referred to the provincial statutes of the Prague Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice from 1349 for the list of feast days; in the 55th article the obligatory feasts of the liturgical year were enumerated, together with the feast days of local provincial saints Vitus, Wenceslaus, Adalbert, the Five Holy Martyrs, and St Ludmila.¹⁷ This reference was amended by the feast day of both apostles in the statutes from 1413.¹⁸ For the Archdiocese of Prague the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius was mentioned in synod statutes

from the end of the 14th century, probably from 1392–1393. The third article informs us that the feast day should be celebrated four days before St Gregory's Feast Day (i.e. on the 9th of March, as mentioned in all liturgical manuscripts), and that nine Scripture readings should be given.¹⁹

The dates of the feast days were recorded in the synod statutes of the dioceses of Prague and of Olomouc in the 2nd half of the 14th century. Due to their inclusion in the list of official feast days of both dioceses, both saints found themselves in the group of the most important intercessors of the province of the Bohemian Church. The feast day had been celebrated even before; and during the 2nd half of the 14th century and for the whole of the 15th century Saints Cyril and Methodius were becoming saints important for both dioceses. This statement may be supported by the altars that were built in the most significant churches of both dioceses. In St Wenceslas Cathedral in Olomouc such an altar was built in 1360, in St Vitus Cathedral in Prague in 1367;²⁰ another altar of Saints Cyril and Methodius was in St Peter's Collegiate Church in Brno no later than the 1480s.²¹ Moreover, the above-mentioned Augustinus Olomucensis donated the remains of St Cyril to that church in Brno in 1508.²² In Olomouc, a Chapel of Saints Cyril and Methodius (that was at first called Moravian or Bohemian²³) was founded in the cemetery by St Maurice parish church probably in the 14th century; later, at the end of the 15th century, the patrocinium of Saints Cyril and Methodius was explicitly mentioned.²⁴ The cemetery chapel of Saints Cyril and Methodius was called Moravian or Bohemian because it was a place used for Bohemian preaching in the town; such places appeared in all towns with a multilingual population. According to Bohumil Zlámál, Bohemian prayers were documented there as early as 1516, although the term "Moravian" is older. Liturgical activities in the chapel changed gradually over several centuries of the chapel's existence until 1784 when the chapel was closed by Joseph II; it was finally demolished in 1833.²⁵ The fact that it was the chapel of Saints Cyril and Methodius that played the role of the Moravian (or Bohemian) chapel in the town centre is very expressive. The tradition known from the Latin legends that were parts of the Divine Office naturally connected Saints Cyril and Methodius with the Slavonic language used in the prayers. Naturally it is not sure when the chapel was given that patrocinium – whether it was before or after the chapel was reserved for Bohemian preaching is not clear. In Brno there was also a Chapel of Saints Cyril and Methodius which, however, did not belong to the town but to the Cistercian nuns of Staré Brno. Its

13 Augustini Olomucensis Episcoporum Olomucensium series, pp. 5, 14.

14 As to this topic cf. the overview of research on individual legends, including a discussion about dating in MMFH II, 2. ed., Praha 2011, pp. 229–275.

15 Pavel KRAFL, *Synody a statuta olomoucké diecéze období středověku*, Praha 2003, pp. 89, 115, 153, cf. also the table in p. 91.

16 P. KRAFL, *Synody*, pp. 159–161.

17 J. V. POLC – Z. HLEDÍKOVÁ, *Pražské synody a koncily předhusitské doby*, Praha 2002, pp. 143–144.

18 P. KRAFL, *Synody*, p. 180. In the literature, synod statutes are mentioned from the synod of Jan Mráz, Bishop of Olomouc, from 1400, where the feast day of the both saints is supposed to have been mentioned in detail. However, P. Krafl rejects this synod, pointing to the fact that it was mentioned because of the incorrect dating of a later synod of Jan Volek. Cf. P. KRAFL, *Synody*, p. 71; CDM XII, ed. Vincenc Brandl, Brno 1890, no. 11, pp. 11–21; Václav MEDEK, *Osudy Moravské církve do konce 14. věku. I. díl dějin olomoucké arcidiecéze*, Praha 1971, pp. 176–177; cf. also Oldřich KRÁLÍK, *K historii svátku Cyrila a Metoděje na Moravě ve 14. století*, in: Příspěvky ke starší literatuře na Moravě III, Blansko 1967–1968, pp. 3–9.

19 J. V. POLC – Z. HLEDÍKOVÁ, *Pražské synody*, p. 262.

20 Bohumil ZLÁMAL, *Die Entwicklung der kyrillo-methodianischen Tradition in der tschechoslowakischen Geschichte*, in: Antonín Salajka (ed.), *Das östliche Christentum, neue Folge*, H. 22, Konstantin-Kyrrill aus Thessalonike, Würzburg 1969, p. 103; J. V. POLC – Z. HLEDÍKOVÁ, *Pražské synody*, p. 51.

21 Zemský archiv Opava, subsidiary Olomouc, fond Arcibiskupství Olomouc, sign. a I a 19, 26. 5. 1483.

22 Vojtěch SAMEC, *Ostatky svatých Cyrila a Metoděje nalézající se v Československu*, Sborník velehradský III, series 1, 1992, p. 50.

23 *Pamětná kniha olomoucká (kodex Václava z Jihlavy) z let 1430–1492, 1528*, ed. Libuše Spáčilová – Vladimír Spáčil, Olomouc 2004, p. 407, no. 569, 26 September 1452.

24 B. ZLÁMAL, *Kostelík sv. Cyrila a Metoděje v Olomouci. Doplněné zlomky ze svatořečnického archivu, Apoštolát sv. Cyrila a Metoděje pod ochranou Panny Marie 28, 1937*, pp. 136–137; cf. for ex. Státní okresní archiv Olomouc, fond Archiv města Olomouce, Listiny, inv. no. 515, 5 April 1520.

25 B. ZLÁMAL, *Dějiny kostela svatého Mořice v Olomouci*, Olomouc 1939, pp. 18–19.

patrocinium was changed from a dedication to the Virgin Mary and St Wenceslas some time during the 15th or 16th century.

Other evidence of the veneration of Saints Cyril and Methodius in both dioceses is liturgical manuscripts. There are many liturgical manuscripts from the 14th and 15th century that might be used in this context. That is why I will focus only on the typology of these manuscripts. I will mention some of them which could indicate that the cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius spread gradually. Liturgical manuscripts include typologically different texts that can be considered individual parts of these manuscripts. Then it is important to follow what time the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius began to appear in these individual parts. In this respect it is possible to analyse calendars and litanies where we can only find brief notes and where new feast days could be easily added. There are also martyrologies, missals and breviaries in which we can follow how the texts about the Moravian apostles were gradually added. Finally, in these manuscripts we can also follow the standardised Divine Office that paid homage to Saints Cyril and Methodius.²⁶ As to sermons, we can regard them as attached to the liturgy; however, in this case I have not managed to find such sermons that would definitely refer to these saints and that would take their lives as an example.

In the calendars it is relatively easy to follow the adding of the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius. The name of the feast day was often added to the calendar some time after the manuscript was written. That points not only to the gradual establishment of the feast day but also to the long-term use of the liturgical manuscripts. The breviary used by the nuns of the Convent of St George, located in Prague Castle, dates back to the middle of the 14th century.²⁷ In its introduction, as is common, the names of important feast days including the feast days of the order's and land's patron saints are integrated into the calendar. A younger hand later completed some more feast days including the March Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius, as well as the Feast Day of St Longinus that is celebrated on 15 March (fol. 6r). Besides, the Feast Day of St Mary of Egypt is written into the text in black ink (unlike both feast days mentioned above that are written in red) with the date of 9 April (fol. 6v). Also, this feast day was mentioned in the synod statutes of the Archdiocese of Prague tardily, as late as 1401.²⁸ It is possible that this feast day was added at the same time, although I believe, having compared both texts, that the scribe was not the same (however, such a comparison is not necessarily trustworthy in very short texts). This could mean that the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius was added no later than the end of the 14th century, while the Feast Day of St Mary of Egypt could have been added at the very beginning of the following century. The Convent of St George was situated close to the centre of the diocese, and it could also have played a role in this respect. Another fact supporting the thesis that the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius must have

been added later is the absence of this feast day in any further texts of this manuscript.

The gradual appearance of the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the liturgical manuscripts can be illustrated for instance by another breviary that comes from the Archdiocese of Prague as well. It is a manuscript that dates from the 14th century, although it includes a whole range of parts that might be datable to a later period.²⁹ In the introduction of the manuscript there is a calendar in which the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius is put into the main text. However, the origin of the calendar itself dates from the first decades of the 15th century (1410–1430). At that time the feast day was already fully established and it was an evident part of the liturgical year. In another part of the manuscript, where the litanies are written, the names of both saints are missing. They can be found neither in their usual position between St Hilarion and St Procopius, nor anywhere else in the list of saints (fol. 64r–65v).³⁰ Moreover, the manuscript includes an extensive part of a sanctorale where the Divine Offices for individual saints, including the land's patron saints, are presented. The newer part at the end of the manuscript includes lessons *de patronis*. Yet none of these parts contains the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius. The feast day appeared as far as in fol. 514r–515r, in the part introduced by words *Sequuntur novitates etc.* – i.e. news or innovations follow – in fol. 505r. Also in this part of the manuscript, which comes probably from the 1st half of the 15th century, marginal notes are found at the Divine Office for the Feast of Saints Cyril and Methodius, pointing to a certain instability of the text that was supposed to be used for the Divine Office.

In this respect, Michal Dragoun conducted a detailed analysis of fifty manuscripts. On the basis of the information he gained, he came to the conclusion that the introduction of the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the Archdiocese of Prague can be located in the period around 1385, that is, several years before the oldest of the preserved Prague synod statutes mentioned it.³¹ In general we can say that calendars certainly included the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the original layer of the document as late as the beginning of the 15th century.

In the same spirit we can talk about martyrologies, missals and breviaries in which information on the new feast days was also gradually added, for example in the form of marginal notes that were used in the martyrology of Doksany from 1373. On the corresponding folio dated *VII Idibus Marcii* (9 March), where St Gregory of Nyssa's deposition from his see is recalled, a marginal note says *Ipsa die sanctorum confessorum Cirilli et Metudii*. As to the missals themselves, one of the examples that can be given is the missal from Chotěšov from the middle of the 14th century. The appendices of the new feast days are presented as more extensive marginal notes. It is clearly noticeable that the Feast Day of St Sigismund which, according to the synod statutes, was supposed to be introduced in the Archdiocese

26 In a similar but not completely well-arranged way, liturgical manuscripts in connection with the cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius were analysed by Dušan ŘEZANIČKA, *K problematice kultu sv. Cyrila a Metoděje v období Lucemburků*, 10 vols., Praha 1983–1986.

27 *Breviarium in usum monialium s. Georgii in castro Pragensi conscriptum. Pars hiemalis* [online]. Národní knihovna Praha (hereafter NK Praha), Manuscriptorium. Digital library, manuscript XXIII D 155. Last change 23 January 2012 [accessed 18 April 2014]. Available at: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&mode=&client.

28 J. V. POLC – Z. HLEDÍKOVÁ, *Pražské synody*, p. 266.

29 *Breviarium* [online]. NK Praha, Manuscriptorium. Digital library, manuscript VI F 12a. Last change 20 September 2010 [accessed 18 April 2014]. Available at: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&mode=&client.

30 Cf. for example the manuscript of NK Praha, manuscript XII F 29, fol. 309r, probably from Přelouč, 1415, and mentioning both saints in the litanies here.

31 Michal DRAGOUN, *Neznámé články synodálních statut pražské arcidiecéze?*, in: Ivan Hlaváček – Jan Hrdina (ed.), *Facta probant homines. Sborník příspěvků k životnímu jubileu prof. dr. Zdeňky Hledíkové*, Praha 1998, p. 158.

of Prague in 1365,³² was added in the 14th century (fol. 208r), much earlier than the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius (fol. 203r), added some time in the first half of the 15th century. In these manuscripts the Divine Offices for the celebration of the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius are recorded. The most widespread and standard is the Divine Office *Adest dies gloriosa* that appears in many manuscripts. These manuscripts drew their lessons (*lectiones*) primarily from the legend *Quemadmodum* but also from other popular legends of Saints Cyril and Methodius such as *Beatus Cyrillus*, sometimes even from the legend *Tempore Michaelis* or from *Legenda Christiani*.³³ Another source was the Divine Office *Gaudet plebs Christianorum*, written in verse, which is preserved for example in the Třeboň manuscript from the 15th century.³⁴ Among the liturgical manuscripts one of the missals of the Olomouc Chapter Library from 1466 stands out, which was created at the behest of Johaneček of Bludov, Canon of Olomouc. Beside the text of the proper, both saints are portrayed in a lavishly adorned initial “S” which was probably the first depiction of them in a book illumination.³⁵

We could keep on enumerating manuscripts for a very long time.³⁶ However, what is important for analysis of the spread of the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius is its use beyond liturgy. We can see this in the use of the feast day for dating. In the case of this feast day, such datings are not very common, although it is possible to find them. That kind of analysis may be conducted thanks to the dates that are included in some large digitalisation projects, such as *Manuscriptorium* or *Monasterium*. Nevertheless, it is not even possible to struggle for completeness or perfection. In the case of the manuscripts, we are able to find the oldest record from 1412 in the colophon of the first book of the Holy Bible.³⁷ In another manuscript the dating of the colophon is related to the year 1478. This dating is not absolutely accurate; the feast day of Saints Cyril and Methodius is one of the dating formulas.³⁸ Datings based on this feast day in diplomatic materials may be of higher information value. The authors of the manuscripts were mostly educated clergymen who might have been familiar with the liturgical manuscripts. On the other hand, the members of offices were more distant from the liturgy, but we can still

find several examples of such dating there in the 15th century. However, a much more widespread feast day used for dating that falls around the 9th of March is the Feast Day of St Gregory (12 March) or the Feast Day of the Transfer of the Relics of St Wenceslaus (4 March), even in cases when the documents were published exactly on the 9th of March. As an example of dating based on the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius we can mention a document from 1458 certifying the sale of a *Meierhof* in Olšany. The literal dating is, “Which is given in Prostějov on Thursday, the day of Saint Crha and Saint Strachota, in the year since the Birth of the Son of God one thousand four hundred and fifty-eight.”³⁹ There are more examples like that, yet similar datings appeared more often in the 16th century. Nevertheless, datings coming from about 1400 can be found.⁴⁰

Other non-liturgical use of the cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius can be followed in sermons or indulgences. Sermons are connected with an adaptation of the legend for passionals, or for the manuscripts of the *Golden Legend* that may have been used by preachers seeking inspiration for their preachings. In several manuscripts the complete texts of legends are recorded, but they mostly appear in liturgical manuscripts where they are divided into individual lessons. In this respect we can encounter the Bohemian translation of legends of Saints Cyril and Methodius in an Old Bohemian passionals both in manuscripts and in its incunables. These translations, naturally, were not used in liturgical manuscripts because of their language. The basis for the Bohemian translation was the legend *Diffundente sole* and later also the legend *Quemadmodum*.⁴¹ However, I have not been able to find any examples of sermons from the Late Middle Ages that would obviously document the widespread veneration of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Even manuscripts described as “*sermones*” do not include sermons related to the Moravian apostles but only transcriptions of legends. Such transcriptions can be read for example in a manuscript of Wenceslaus of Dráčov from the middle of the 15th century; a manuscript containing preachings based on the collection of Antonio de Azaro of Parma, supplemented with the Bohemian patron saints from the 1470s; a manuscript containing several sermons of Jan Hus from the first half of the 15th century; or another manuscript from the 15th century containing a collection of sermons.⁴²

32 J. V. POLC – Z. HLEDÍKOVÁ, *Pražské synody*, p. 192.

33 Cf. *Adest dies gloriosa*, ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, in: MMFH II, 2. ed., pp. 308–315.

34 *Postilae pars hiemalis* [online]. NK Praha, Manuscriptorium. Digital library, manuscript I E 5, fol. 156r–157v. Last change 1 June 1998 [accessed 18 April 2014]. Available at: [35 ZA Opava, subsidiary Olomouc, Kapitální knihovna, manuscript CO. 45, fol. 244v; cf. also Štěpán KOHOUT, *Kde voni pergamen. Čtrnáctero návštěv rukopisné knihovny olomoucké kapituly*, Olomouc 2009, pp. 68–69; here the initial is depicted.](http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&mode=&client=; see also Liturgische Reimofficien des Mittelalters, Erste Folge (Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi V), ed. Guido Maria Drevers, Leipzig 1889, pp. 160–162; Czech translation D. ŘEZANINA <i>Bohu i lidem milí</i>, Olomouc 1970, pp. 15–17.</p>
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36 See D. ŘEZANINA, *K problematice*.

37 *Explicit liber Genesis finitus per manus Johannis Lessk in die sanctorum Cyrilli et Metudii quarta anno domini MCCCC 12 vacante sede per mortem domini Sbynconis archiepiscopi Pragensis de Hamsburg, Biblia, Vetus testamentum (Genesis-Psalms)* [online]. NK Praha, Manuscriptorium. Digital library, manuscript I A 29a, fol. 42v. Last change 20 September 2010 [accessed 18 April 2014]. Available at: [http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&mode=&client=.](http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&mode=&client=;)

38 *Explicit Antigameratus per me Crucem de Telcz in Sobieslavia predicatorem anno 1478 feria III post Cirilli et Metudii, ante Judica quando inter Ladislaum et Mathiam in Brunna tractatum pro pace fuit, Textus varii* [online]. NK Praha, Manuscriptorium. Digital library, manuscript XI C 1, fol. 189r. Last change 19 March 2012 [accessed 18 April 2014]. Available at: [http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&mode=&client=.](http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&mode=&client=;) The first dating refers to the 10th of March, although the Sunday of Judica was on the 8th of March.

39 MZA Brno, fond E55 – Premonstrátní Klášterní Hradisko, sign. 84, 9 March 1458 [online]. Monasterium.Net [accessed 18 April 2014]. Available at: <http://www.momca.uni-koeln.de/mom/CZ-MZA/E55/84/charter?q=84>.

40 O. KRÁLÍK, *K historii svátku*, p. 5, he gives examples of such datings in 1401 and 1420.

41 *Staročeské zpracování legendy Diffundente sole*, ed. J. Ludvíkovský, in: MMFH II, 2nd ed. Praha 2011, pp. 257–261; *Život svatých Crha a Strachoty. Z druhého prvotisku Passiánalu (1495)*, ed. J. Ludvíkovský, in: MMFH II, 2. vyd. Praha 2011, p. 285–287.

42 *Sermones de sanctis bohemicis interpolati, partim Wenceslai de Drachow* [online]. NK Praha, Manuscriptorium. Digital library, manuscript IV F 24. Last change 4 May 2003 [accessed 18 April 2014]. Available at: [http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&client=&ats=1397134495&mode=&testMode=&sf_queryLine=IV+F+24&qs_field=6; Sermones, vitae sanctorum](http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&client=&ats=1397134495&mode=&testMode=&sf_queryLine=IV+F+24&qs_field=6; Sermones et alia opera minora) [online]. NK Praha, Manuscriptorium. Digital library, manuscript I C 14. Last change 20 September 2010 [accessed 18 April 2014]. Available at: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&client=&ats=1397134741&mode=&testMode=&sf_queryLine=VII+E+10&qs_field=6; Sermones varii [online]. NK Praha, Manuscriptorium. Digital library, manuscript VI F 6. Last change 23 January 2012 [accessed 18 April 2014]. Available at: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&client=&ats=1397134807&mode=&testMode=&sf_queryLine=VI+F+6&qs_field=6. Cf. also the overview of manuscripts based on either preservation of a continuous text or a text in lessons in MMFH II, p. 263.

As for the indulgences, no extensive research has been done, but we can for example point to a document mentioned by Oldřich Králík containing forty-day indulgences for those who make a contribution to the building of the church in Olomouc or in honour of the Virgin Mary, Saints Peter and Paul, Wenceslas and Christinus, Cyril and Methodius, and Cordula, all of them addressed as patron saints.⁴³

The spread of the veneration of Saints Cyril and Methodius must also have resulted in their integration into the group of intercessors in the Bohemian-Moravian heaven. In both liturgical and non-liturgical manuscripts they are called patron saints,⁴⁴ or else our patron saints,⁴⁵ patron saints of Moravia, or patron saints of Bohemia and Moravia.⁴⁶ It is difficult to decide whether they were general patron saints of the whole Kingdom of Bohemia or just Moravian patron saints. In this respect it is possible to find sources containing arguments both for and against. Jaroslav Mezník⁴⁷ regarded them as distinctively Moravian patron saints, in opposition to St Wenceslas, the patron saint of both Bohemia and Moravia. On the contrary the editors of the divine office *Adest dies gloriosa* considered the author certainly a “Bohemian from the kingdom”.⁴⁸ Although it is certain that the texts were created both in Moravia and in Bohemia, the Diocese of Olomouc was connected with the cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius much more closely, especially thanks to the reference to Moravia as the centre of their activities and thanks to the interconnection of the Velehrad tradition and the Olomouc bishopric. This connection is also visible in a manuscript that probably belonged to Tas (Prothasius) of Boskovice, Bishop of Olomouc. It contains a whole range of texts that come from the days of his Italian studies, from his communication with his schoolmates at that time, but also from the days of his later activity in Olomouc.⁴⁹

The manuscript from the Research Library in Olomouc, containing primarily the text of *Thebaid* by Statius (whose owner used it for learning Latin, as is shown in interlinear glosses), is in fact a bundle of short – mostly poetical – texts. Apart from several elegies by Janus Pannonius,⁵⁰ these are various epigrams and epic poems by both Roman and contemporary Italian authors. The final part is introduced by the title *Sequun-*

tur epygramata quedam cuiusdam and it contains short poems that do not correspond with the genre of epigrams, either in content or form. These poems relate to various liturgical issues, describe miracles taking place in the (Olomouc) church during various feasts, or scenes from the life of Christ; they also describe the liturgy itself. The final poems are focused on individual saints including both the patron saints of the land and dioceses. The saints are arranged according to their importance beginning with the Virgin Mary, followed by the apostles and the local saints. Among the patron saints we can read about St Vitus, Wenceslas, Adalbert, Christinus and the Five Holy Martyrs, and Maurice. The whole pantheon is concluded by Saints Cyril and Methodius, which are rather distant from the other patron saints in the manuscript. They are followed by the female saints, among whom we can find St Cordula and St Ludmila.

The text of the poem about Saints Cyril and Methodius⁵¹ expresses several main ideas related to these saints. Primarily, they are the patron saints of the Moravians that brought the Moravian people to the faith. There are many of the activities of these saints mentioned in the poem, for example the transfer of St Clement's remains to Rome, the baptism of Zwentibold and his people, the education of the Moravian people and their being brought to St Peter's laws, as well as the introduction of the Latin cult. It is interesting that the Slavonic language is not mentioned at all. Instead, emphasis is placed on the Roman rite and the apostles' connection with Rome by means of St Clement. Could the Hussite revolution have played part here? This is naturally a question that cannot be answered. Nevertheless, this noticeable omission of the Slavonic language is surprising.

Saints Cyril and Methodius did not become the main saints in the programme of the Bohemian rulers in the 15th century, yet their cult in the Bohemian lands had effectively been stabilised. Although the “Slavonic” saints would have been ideal for the ideology of the Jagiellonian rulers who interconnected other Slavonic countries, Saints Cyril and Methodius were never connected with Poland, even though there are some breviaries of Polish origin from the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century mentioning their feast day.⁵² Moreover, after nearly twenty years Vladislaus II Jagiellonian moved to Hungary where the saint kings Stephen, Emeric and Ladislaus were among the most important local saints. That might be the reason why the cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius did not develop into the imperial cult but remained territorial: they became part of both the Bohemian and even more Moravian pantheon of intercessors in heaven and their cult developed more in the Baroque period as well as in the 19th century. In the 15th century, celebration of their feast day became more widespread; the liturgy developed as well and we can also observe emphasis placed on the Slavonic or Bohemian language; not only Jan Dubravius but also the “Moravian” chapel in Olomouc connected the language with the Moravian apostles. Thus the development of liturgy and the veneration of those saints became the principal result of the spiritual development of the Bohemian lands in that period.

43 O. KRÁLÍK, *K historii svátků*, p. 5 (document from 1392).

44 For ex. Vědecká knihovna Olomouc (hereafter VKOL), manuscript M III 6 (around 1400), fol. 308v–309r.

45 For ex. P. KRAFL, *Synody*, p. 159 (1349), [...] *beatissimi et gloriosissimi confessores et episcopi Cyrillus et Metudius et patres et apostoli et patroni nostri precipui* [...]; *Missale* [online]. NK Praha, Manuscriptorium. Digitální knihovna, manuscript XXIII F 56 (the last third of the 15th cent.), fol. 151v–152r. Last change 19 March 2012 [accessed 2 June 2014]: [...] *per beatos pontifices ac confessores tuos nostrosque apostolos et patronos Cirillum ac Metudium* [...] Available at: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_tei_digidoc&virtnum=0&client.

46 For ex. *Sermones varii* [online]. NK Praha, Manuscriptorium. Digital library, manuscript VI F 6 (15th cent.), fol. 222v. Last change 23 January 2012 [accessed 2 June 2014]: *Vita sanctorum confessorum et patronorum Moravie* [...] *sanctorum confessorum et patronorum nec non apostolorum terre Moravie et Bohemie Cirilli et Metudii* [...] Available at: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_record_num¶m=0&mode=&client.

47 Jaroslav MEZNIK, *Národní vědomí na Moravě ve 14. a na počátku 15. století*, in: Jiří Malíř – Radomír Vlček (ed.), *Morava a české národní vědomí od středověku po dnešek*, Brno 2001, p. 43.

48 *Adest dies gloriosa*, p. 309.

49 VKOL, manuscript M I 167.

50 That is why Hungarian researchers were interested in the manuscript as well; see Adrienne J. FODOR, *Az olmtői Janus-kódex*, in: László N. Szelestei (ed.), *Tanulmányok a középkori magyarországi könyvkultúráról*, Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban 1986, február 13–14-én rendezett konferencia előadásai, Budapest 1989, pp. 327–343.

51 VKOL, manuscript M I 167, fol. 265r. Text attached; thanks to Lubor Kysučan for his help with the Latin version and the Czech translation.

52 B. ZLÁMAL, *Die Entwicklung*, p. 105.

Appendix

Research Library in Olomouc, manuscript M I 167, fol. 265r.

Ad sanctissimos patronos Moravorum Cirillum et Metudium

*Salviferum fidei lumen radiando Moravum
transmeat in populum per vos, Cyrille Metudi,
ex Grecis genitos. Datur et (mirabile) sedi
Romane corpus Clementis ab equore vulsum.
Nostis item Petri normis subducere nostram
barbariem, cultu primum redimire latino.
Excultis, quibus in nobis fidei solidastis
radicem, date fructificet, nec abiicite curam
..., sed egemus opem, plantis conferte, coloni.*

*Octingenti simul octoginta sex quando notantur,
tunc Swatoplug baptismate rex cum gente novatur.*

*Nostra Moravorum, sanctique Cirille Metudi,
gens primum per vos iniciata fide.*

*Genti, quam plantat doctrina sacrata Cirilli,
Metudiusque rogat deus incrementa fer illi.*

*Ecce Moravorum magna virtute patroni,
fratres Cirillus Metudiusque pii.*

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INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN TRADITION IN THE CZECH REFORMATION

Pavel Kůrka

Even though the origins of the Czech Reformation were not directly influenced by the Orthodox East, several interesting contacts took place. Among them were the journey of Hieronymus of Prague to Lithuania in 1413, the relationships between the Slavonic Monastery and the reform movement at Prague University and its subsequent transfer to the Utraquist party in 1419, and finally the relations between the Utraquist Church and Constantinople. Direct contacts were interrupted after the fall of Constantinople. The development of humanistic historiography woke an interest in the historical circumstances of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission. In their historical interpretations, the Utraquists (Bohuslav Bílejovský and Martin Kuthen) and the Bohemian Brethren (Pavel Stránský of Zápiská Stránka and Jan Ámos Komenský) accentuated subjects that were close to their opinions and attitudes and emphasised in this way their authenticity and the originality of their faith. Utraquism and the independence of Cyril and Methodius from Rome were paramount among such themes

Key words: Sts Cyril and Methodius, Utraquism, Slavonic Monastery, Unity of the Brethren, historiography

By way of introduction, before we move on to the theme of this contribution itself – to interpretations of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in the Bohemian Reformation, it would be appropriate to consider the question of the relationship between the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition and the influence of the Eastern Christian Churches. Even though this contribution will give great attention to the relationship between the Bohemian Reformation and Eastern Christianity, it is not possible to say that the Cyrillo-Methodian mission and the Eastern Orthodox Church are one and the same. The significance of this difference at the time of Great Moravia itself, and the degree to which Eastern and Western influences were connected in Moravia, must surely have already been dealt with in sufficient detail in previous contributions. Of course, even for the time of the Bohemian Reformation, particularly during Hussitism, one should consider and distinguish between the relationship of the Bohemian Reformation to the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition and its relationship to Eastern Orthodox Christianity at that time.

If one were to look at the interpretation of key moments in Czech spiritual history from the viewpoint of the modern Orthodox Church, this distinction would not be needed. According to this interpretation the brothers from Thessalonica brought orthodox Christianity to our country; it also developed here during the times of Saints Wenceslas and Adalbert, and only after the East-West Schism of 1054 was it abandoned. In this version of events, Hussitism is characterised as a movement which strove for the abandonment of non-orthodox Western Christianity, intending through unity with the Orthodox Churches to achieve a renewal of faith, to create a kind of “western-rite Orthodox Church”. What is more, this version considers the contacts between the Czech religious environment and the Orthodox East to have had significant influence during the formation of Hussite reform demands.¹

Even though such interpretations are not accepted outside the Orthodox environment, it is necessary to acknowledge the importance of the influences of the Eastern Churches on the roots of the Bohemian Reformation and on the beginnings of the reform movements that preceded the Bohemian Reformation. I would mention, for example, the activities of Prague’s Emmaus Monastery, which from its very foundation in 1347 primarily promoted South Slavic cultural influences in Bohemia, and which seemingly was in rather close contact with the reform environment at Prague University.² One of its contributions was the dissemination of knowledge concerning Slavic literature, including Glagolitic works, and the linguistic interests connected with it.³ According to some authors, it had at least an indirect influence on Hus’ idea of reforming the orthography of the Czech language; his work *De ortographia bohémica* was to have appeared as a Czech language textbook for South Slavs.⁴

Emmaus Monastery was also one of the few places in Bohemia where the Cyrillo-Methodian cult was nurtured; the two saints were joint patrons of the monastery church. St Jerome, translator of the Bible into Latin (and also into a Slavic language, according to a tradition of that time), also appears with them within the patrocinium of the church. The cult of this Church Father was more widespread under the Luxembourgs than the cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius.

Another factor of importance at the dawn of Hussitism was the great journey made by Jerome of Prague to Poland and Lithuania

² Jan PETR – Sáva ŠABOUK (ed.), *Z tradic slovanské kultury v Čechách*, Praha 1975; Klára BENEŠOVSKÁ – Kateřina KUBÍNOVÁ (ed.), *Emauzy. Benediktinský klášter na Slovanech v srdci Prahy*, Praha 2007.

³ Bohuslav HAVRÁNEK, *Vztahy kláštera Na Slovanech k jazyku a literatuře charvátskohlaholské*, in: J. Petr – S. Šabouk, *Z tradic*, pp. 145–148.

⁴ František Václav MAREŠ, *Emauzské prameny českého diakritického pravopisu*, in: J. Petr – S. Šabouk, *Z tradic*, pp. 169–172.

¹ Compare e.g. *Husitská stánka* [online]. Christian Orthodoxy [accessed 18 March 2014]. Available at: <http://www.orthodoxia.cz/hus.htm>.

in 1413.⁵ In the eastern parts of the Polish-Lithuanian union Jerome encountered Eastern liturgy and local church practices. It is possible that both key Hussite liturgical innovations – lay communion under both kinds, and communion of “all christened”, i.e. even infants receive it – were brought back by Jerome from that journey. However, one should also not forget those opinions which seek the origins of both liturgical changes within the Bohemian environment, in the internal reasoning of theologians headed by Matthew of Janow and Jacob of Mies.⁶

Also, one post-Hussite event is connected with Emmaus Monastery, which became an Utraquist institution in 1419. While it is true that the monastery could not have had any other option, being surrounded as it was by the radical inhabitants of Prague’s New Town district, there was no doubt a certain amount of sympathy with the Hussite cause within the monastery.⁷ In the 1440s the Utraquist mission to Constantinople took along a gospel manuscript from Emmaus Monastery; this text is now known as the *Reims Gospel*. The aim of this mission was to establish mutual contact and break the isolation of Utraquist Bohemia; it was not to subordinate the Utraquists to Constantinople. In any case, under immediate threat from the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople was willing to subordinate itself to the Western Church at the Council of Florence. In the case of the contact between the Utraquists and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople it was not a drive to obtain apostolic succession (unlike in the case of the contacts with the Armenian Church in Lviv, which had the aim of ordaining priests for the Utraquist Church).

The fall of Constantinople caused all such contact to end, and it was not until the development of humanistic historiography in the 16th century that interest awakened in the historical contexts of the beginnings of Christianity in the Bohemian lands. Bohuslav Bilejovský’s *Bohemian Chronicle* is considered the most striking expression of the Utraquist position with regard to older history of Bohemia. In the chronicle, Bohuslav Bilejovský formulates the belief that communion under both kinds was practised continuously from the beginnings of Christianity in the Bohemian lands and was only stopped during the reign of Charles IV. The circumstances surrounding the Cyrillo-Methodian mission are described very briefly in the chronicle: “That the loyal Czechs should be generally acquainted with the glory of Christianity in the faith of the Holy Church, chronicles and legends verily do report that two brothers named Cirilius and Metudius, whom we call in the Czech language Crha and Strachota, speaking the Slavic tongue, of a priestly order, came to Moravia, and there through God’s mercy converted the king named Svatopluk, and with him the Moravian people, to the Christian faith, and established religious services in the Slavonic tongue. Even from the Pope and cardinals did they gain permission for this act. In particular Saint Crha,

who became Archbishop of Velehrad. and this did so happen in the year of our Lord 844.”⁸

The comment on receiving permission from the Pope and cardinals can be interpreted as emphasising that the Bohemian lands were supposed to have been part of the Western Church from the beginning, and that the Cyrillo-Methodian mission was not an isolated act from the East. It is of course just one sentence, but a crucial one. From the perspective of Bilejovský’s programme this stressed the distinctiveness and autonomy of the Czech Church within Western Christianity. His narrative continues with the christening of Duke Bořivoj: when Bishop Strachota saw the Duke eating on the floor, he invited him to the table; afterwards, Bořivoj allowed himself to be christened. Strachota then travelled with him to Bohemia, where he christened the Duchess, Ludmila, and many other people.

Martin Kuthen of Krynšperk recorded an interesting apocryphal anecdote: Svatopluk went hunting, telling Methodius to wait for him to return before starting Mass. As midday approached, Methodius was afraid “to neglect God’s service” and began to conduct Mass.

“And then the Duke returned, and thinking that the Archbishop had done this to humiliate him, he entered God’s house and ordered the release of a lot of dogs and greyhounds and the blowing of horns; then, he himself came to the altar and uttered many blasphemous words without showing proper respect, and almost failed to restrain himself from touching the priest and beating him.” Methodius then left for Bohemia and excommunicated Svatopluk. “When it happened, not only was it the end of the Episcopal See in Moravia, but also the kingdom itself did die and fall into ruin.”

He also mentions Methodius’ stay in Bohemia before meeting his brother Cyril in Rome: “[...] he allowed them to perform God’s service in a language which is natural to them. When this matter was discussed in the spiritual council, many spoke against this, but he said that it was heard as a voice from heaven: Every soul praise the Lord and worship him. and it was after this that Cyril’s request was approved.”⁹

Let us now jump ahead by several decades to look at the manuscript by Pavel Stránský of Zápaská Stránka entitled *Respublica bojema. O státě českém (The Bohemian Republic: On the Czech State)*; the parts of it cited here are from the translation by Bohumil Ryba.¹⁰

At the beginning, this work expresses a lack of clarity regarding the issue of whether the origins of Christianity in Bohemia should be sought at the christening of 14 noblemen in the year 845, or at Bořivoj’s christening at Velehrad in 894, but then the work turns to focus on the Great Moravian tradition and formulates the idea that there was significant influence from the Eastern Church on the beginnings of the Bohemian Church. It is interesting that while the old Utraquist Bilejovský stressed the western influence, Stránský, and after him also Comenius,

5 František ŠMAHEL, *Život a dílo Jeronýma Pražského. Zpráva o výzkumu*, Praha 2010, pp. 64–67.

6 E.g. Helena KRMÍČKOVÁ, *Studie a texty k počátkům kalicha v Čechách*, Brno 1997, pp. 14–15, IDEM, *Vliv Matěje z Janova na utrakvismus Jakoubka ze Stříbra a Mikuláše z Drážďan*, in: Jan B. Lášek – Karel Skalický (ed.), *Mistr Matěj z Janova ve své a v naší době*, Brno 2002, pp. 78–87.

7 Pavel KŮRKA, *Slovanský klášter mezi husitstvím a katolicismem. Dějiny klášterní komunity v letech 1419–1592*, in: K. Benešová – K. Kubínová (ed.), *Emauzy*, pp. 107–124.

8 *Bohuslava Bilejovského Kronika česká*, ed. Ota Halama, Praha 2011, p. 31.

9 *Kroniky dvě o založení země české a prvních obyvatelích jejích*, Praha 1817, pp. 180–182.

10 *Pavla Stránského O státě českém*, trans. Bohumil RYBA, 3rd issue Praha 1946 (= Sůl země 1), pp. 149–151.

to whom we will progress shortly, emphasised that the first to arrive was the purer, eastern, non-Roman (in their words “Greek”) form of Christianity; only later was it polluted by the influence of Rome. That these stern Protestants idealised Eastern Christianity in this way can be explained by the fact that they had never seen a single Orthodox Church service or church interior; what they liked was the rigid stance of that church against Rome.

Also according to Stránský’s text, Bořivoj took Methodius with him to Bohemia, where he then preached in church, “which is now called before Týn even now [...] went to Rome more merely to look than for edification. In religious matters he actually followed the provisions of the Greeks, and the Church which he had bred in the Bohemian lands he arranged not according to the Roman rite but according to the Greek, which was a lot purer at that time in many respects.”

The beginnings of Latin Christianity in the Bohemian lands is ascribed to Mlada, the sister of Duke Boleslav, the founder of St George’s Convent, who “left [...] (and it is not certain upon whose advice) for Rome; she took to the ceremonies of the Latin Church there, came back to the Bohemian lands, and to her brother the Duke she gave the Bull of the Pope of Rome, John XIII, which concerned the abolition of Greek religious rites and the introduction of the Latin (in 987)”. This supposedly met with resistance back home – as described by this citation (which is extremely sexist by today’s standards): “others rejected her feminine judgement and loudly objected that what had been so well arranged by Cyril and Methodius must not be disturbed by any novelties.”

From the work of John Amos Comenius we shall take a look at two historical treatises. *The History of the Bohemian Persecution* begins with Bořivoj’s christening, and so is similar to the previously-cited chronicle in its bohemocentrism. It then repeats the report on Methodius’ departure for Bohemia. “The Czechs, a Slavic nation, drowning in idolatry until the year 894, were without the true God or religion. But in this year, their duke, Bořivoj, who was a guest of Svatopluk, the Moravian king, received the knowledge of Christ through God’s mysterious dealings and immediately there, at Velehrad, on 23rd June, received the holy christening with thirty dukes (or squires); he returned home joyously and brought Strachota (otherwise Methodius), the Moravian bishop, with him to become a Czech apostle.”¹¹

Another of Comenius’ historical works, the *Ecclesiae slavonicae brevis historiola*, published in Amsterdam in 1660, was intended for the western European public, to whom it was meant to present the history and independence of the Slavic Churches. The section that will be cited is taken from Josef Hendrich’s 1941 translation.¹² In this extensive work, Comenius searched for the origin of Czech Christianity as far back as in the time of the apostles, taking the mention in the New Testament of the activities of apostles in Illyria and Dalmatia to mean that their mission also involved the Slavs, who were already living in the region at that time (in his opinion). He also accepts the conjecture regarding the translation of the Bible into a Slavonic language by St Jerome on the very basis of his Illyrian

origin. “The Illyrians, just like the Dalmatians, still belong among the Slavic peoples even today. and we have proof that the first planting was not without fruit – Jerome, born in the town of Stridon in Illyria, translated the books of the holy word into his mother tongue in order to aid the growth of belief among his people. and so it was the Slavs that were the first of the European peoples to whom the Gospel was delivered in their mother tongue. These tribes still take pride in this translation and do not use any other, even though the language of the nations has now changed and people do not fully understand the old speech. and therefore their priests (Russians and Muscovites) still teach this old language in schools, as we teach Latin.”

Another of Comenius’ ideas concerns the absence of Slavs at the Third Council of Constantinople in 680: “From this it is also obvious that the Slavs, if they were Christian at that time, did not like the worship of images; they hesitated to come close to this council because it was in favour of pictures!”

Comenius places the origin of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in the year 845, when the Bulgars converted to Christianity. The brothers from Thessalonica then wandered through various Slavic states until they arrived in Moravia and there christened Duke Bořivoj. “Only in the second century after this did God open the gate of the Gospel to all Slavic peoples, and on this occasion: the Bulgars, a Slavic nation, were concerned by the long-lasting wars conducted by the neighbouring Byzantine Empire until Emperor Michael III finally made peace with them in 845, returning to them the Bulgarian king’s sister, who had been captured in war by the Greeks. She had become acquainted with Christian teachings while in captivity and therefore persuaded her brother to abandon paganism and become Christian; the serfs also followed his example and accepted the same belief. and thus the Bulgarians became the first fruit for Christ among the Slavic nations; soon other nations followed that shared the same tongue in those regions (between the Danube, Greece and Italy), namely the Morsané, Rasčané, Serbs, Bosnians, Croats, etc. This most glorious work was done by Cyril and Methodius (Greek bishops who also knew the language of the Slavs). These got as far as Moravia around 861 (it was then called Markomansk by the Germans) and there they also gained King Svatopluk for Christ, and shortly afterwards also the Bohemian Duke Bořivoj. From there, the light of the Gospel spread also to Poland, in 965, in the seventy-first year after the conversion of the Czechs, and the hundred and fourth after the conversion of the Moravians, and the hundred and twentieth after the conversion of the Bulgars. Both the Russians and then also the Muscovites (these are also Slavic peoples) converted to Christianity en masse (in the year 980) when the sister of Basilus, Anna, was given to Vladimír, the Duke of Kiev, as a wife. [...] It is clear from all this that all these nations were converted through the intervention of the Eastern Church, and that they were brought into the Greek form of Christianity, as was the Czech nation. But the Pope was already showing interest in the churches of the whole world, and never stopped waiting for the opportunity to bring them under his power.”

The final paragraph cited is Comenius’ own evaluation, which is identical to that put forward by Pavel Stránský. They interpreted the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition primarily in connection with its relationship to the Roman papacy, which for them was a contemporary issue. On the other hand, they did not concern

11 Věra PETRÁČKOVÁ – Martin STEINER (ed.), *Dílo Jana Amose Komenského*, Praha 1989, p. 61.

12 Jan Amos KOMENSKÝ, *Stručná historie církve slovanské*, Praha 1941, pp. 23–24.

themselves with expressing a stance on Eastern Christianity (just like the older historiography): it was too exotic for them.

If one compares the approaches of the Utraquists and the Brethren to the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy one can see that while both creeds differ in the individual themes they consider, and the emphasis they place upon them, their approach is identical when it comes to the main issues. Aside from humanistic interest in the antiquity of their own faith, they shaped history to suit the current state of the Church in their time, its problems and its self-definition with regard to other creeds.

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THE LEGACY OF STS CYRIL AND METHODIUS IN THE PLANS FOR THE RECATHOLISATION OF MORAVIA

Tomáš Parma

The paper deals with the bonds between the Cyrillo-Methodian idea and the Recatholisation effort in the Olomouc Diocese in the 16th–18th centuries. In the time of relative religious tolerance, the Cyrillo-Methodian idea was used differently or even contradictorily by Catholics and non-Catholics: while the non-Catholics used the reference to the primary evangelisation of the Bohemian lands in the Great Moravian period to defend some fundamental elements of their identity (e.g. the communion under both kinds), the Olomouc Bishops during this period used the same idea to point out the continuity of the content of faith and religious identity, which leads to a denial of the legitimacy of non-Catholic confessions. This argumentation, at the time of state Recatholisation after the defeat of the Revolt of the Estates, was evidently maintained by Ferdinand II in some of his Recatholisation decrees and it was also interpreted in this way by the chief representative of ruling power in the land, that is, by the Bishop of Olomouc, Cardinal Francis of Dietrichstein. Also based on this argumentation of continuity after the Thirty Years' War are the concepts of Baroque historiography (Středovský, Hirschmentzel and others) applied to the representation of literary, visual and musical art, which are at least briefly summarised and outlined at the end of the paper.

Key words: Veneration of Sts Cyril and Methodius, Baroque, Counter-Reformation, Moravia, Cardinal Francis of Dietrichstein

The legacy of Sts Cyril and Methodius is a phenomenon that was much easier to grasp in the Early Modern Period than in the Middle Ages. To understand how the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius was used during the period of Recatholisation which followed the Battle of White Mountain, it is first necessary to characterise its use in the previous period in both Catholic and non-Catholic environments.

The legacy of Sts Cyril and Methodius among non-Catholics in the 16th century

The various uses of the doctrine of Sts Cyril and Methodius by Roman Catholics and other Christian groups of various denominations can be compared in the period before the Battle of White Mountain. Although here we cannot provide a detailed explication of the issue concerning the legacy of Sts Cyril and Methodius in the non-Catholic environment,¹ we will attempt at least to summarise the main points and implications in order to be able to compare it with the approach of the main

actors in the Catholic restoration in Moravia in the period before the Battle of Bílá Hora – the Bishops of Olomouc.

We have documented references to the use of the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius by the Hussites and the Utraquists from as early as 1419, when the anonymous treatise *De cantu vulgari*, containing hymns in the Czech language, was published,² through Rokycan's defence of the Chalice at the Council of Basel,² to Bilejovský's *Chronicle* and Stránský's *De respublica Bohemia*.³ In the struggle for the independence of Czech Utraquism and its recognition by Rome, two basic elements in this Czech religious particularity, communion under both kinds and the right to perform the liturgy in the Czech language, were being advocated with reference to the tradition established by Sts Cyril and Methodius. Bilejovský writes about the tradition of Great Moravia, when "not only in the Czech lands were the body and blood of our Lord received under both kinds, but all over the world all Christians received it, and no-one under one kind."⁴ About the liturgy, he writes that "at the time of our ancestors, in those churches from the very beginning of our Faith, the mass was served and sung in the Czech language. As Crha and Strachota, our beloved apostles, established"⁵ In the meeting with the papal legate Lorenzo Campeggio in Buda in May 1525, the Emmaus utraquist abbot Master Matěj Korambus even argued that from a religious and legal point of view it is

¹ Concerning more general issues, we refer primarily to: Albert PRAŽÁK, *Cyrlometodějské a velkomoravské prvky v české slovesnosti*, in: Josef Kurz – Matyáš Murko – Josef Vašica (red.), *Slovanské studie. Sbírnka statí, věnovaných prelátu universitnímu profesorovi doktoru Josefu Vajsovi k uctění jeho životního díla*, Prague 1948, pp. 232–254; Ján TIBENSKÝ, *Velkomoravská a cyrlometodějská tradícia v živote slovenskej feudálnej národnosti*, in: Jozef Butvin and coll. (ed.), *Veľká Morava a naša doba*, Bratislava 1963, pp. 58–64; Milan KOPECKÝ, *Cyrlometodějská tradice v starší české literatuře*, in: Josef Macůrek (ed.), *Magna Moravia. Anthology on the occasion of the 1,100th anniversary of the arrival of the Byzantine mission in Moravia*, Prague 1965, pp. 567–587; Bohumil ZLÁMAL, *Cyrlometodějská tradice od kompaktát po Komenského*, *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 19, 1967, pp. 175–186; Francis J. THOMSON, *The Legacy of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in the Counter-Reformation: the Council of Trent and the Question of Scripture and Liturgy in the Vernacular, together with an Account of the Subsequent Consequences for the Slavo-Latin (Glagolitic) Rite and the Bible in Croatian Translation*, in: Evangelos Konstantinou (ed.), *Methodios und Kyrillos in ihrer europäischen Dimension*, Frankfurt am Main 2005, pp. 87–246; Eliška BAŤOVÁ, *O zpívaní a čtení českém tractat [A Treatise on Reading and Singing in Czech]* by Václav Koranda the Younger: A Contribution to the History of Czech Liturgical Language, the Bohemian Reformation and religious practice 8 (Philosophical magazine, Special Issue Number 3), Prague 2011, pp. 145–161 and Pavel Kůrka's contribution in this issue.

² Bohuslav Havránek – Josef Hrabák – Jiří Daňhelka (ed.), *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské I*, Prague 1963, pp. 220–221. cf. František SVEJKOVSKÝ, *Dvě varianty husitského traktátu De cantu vulgari*, *Miscellanea musicologica*, 20 (1967), pp. 49–62.

³ Cf. also Zdeněk V. DAVID, *Nalezení střední cesty. Liberální výzva utrakvistů Římu a Lutherovi*, Praha 2012, pp. 183–191.

⁴ *Bohuslava Bilejovského kronika česká [Bohuslav's Bilejovský, the Bohemian Chronicle]*, Ota Halama (ed.), Praha 2011, p. 34.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 42.

not necessary to derive the usage of *sub utraque* communion in Bohemia from Christ's commandment, but that it is a papal privilege granted to the apostles Cyril and Methodius.⁶

The notion that the legacy of Cyril and Methodius is one of the roots of Czech identity on which the Hussite movement was built is also found among the Czech Brethren. At the beginning of the 17th century, Czech Brethren priest Jan Jafet⁷ wrote his *Historie o původu Jednoty bratrské* (*History of the origin of the Unity of the Brethren*), printed in 1614, which explained the origin of the Unity in the domestic religious movement, the Utraquism of Cyril and Methodius, which was further developed by Jan Hus; the Unity was thus preserved as "a sprig from the stump of Hus". In terms of the influence of the legacy of Cyril and Methodius, J. A. Komenský's work *Ecclesiae Slavonicae ab ipsis Apostolis fundatae, ab Hieronymo, Cyrillo, Methodio, propagatae, Bohemia in gente potissimum radicatae et in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum fastigiatae, brevis Historiola*, published in 1660, is of particular significance in this historiographic line. Its voluminous title itself helps us to understand the content of the work, which, although beyond the selected time frame, is significant for its interpretation: this is a history of the Slavonic Church, founded by the apostles, as is also testified to by Church Father Jerome, who, as tradition says, was the first to translate the Scriptures into the Slavonic language. His work was followed by Cyril and Methodius, "bishops of Greece, yet knowledgeable in the Slavonic language," who spread the faith in Moravia and Bohemia, from where the light of the Gospel passed to Poland and Russia. "But even then, the Pope was making attempts on Churches over the whole world and had not ceased to lie in wait to bring them under his jurisdiction", and he managed to subjugate the Czech nation, too. Despite this, Hus and his successors managed to lead the Church to the pure Truth, and the Unity of the Brethren is the true successor of the Hussite movement, in which Komenský sees "the most beautiful and the most precious legacy of the Czech nation".⁸

Although not so striking, references to the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius are found in the Moravian Lutheran Church. In 1606, the Dean of Doubravník, Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský,⁹ completed his extensive Lutheran Hymnal called *Písně chval Božských* (*Songs of Praise to God*) with the following dateable sentence: "Date at the parish of Doubravice, in the year of 1606, on 16 May, the day on which, seven hundred and four years ago, Sts Cyrillus and Methodius were granted by the Pope and the consistorium that all Czechs and everyone of that language may use their natural language during the service of God

and perform all masses in it." It seems the Lutheran clergyman does not in the least mind the pro-Roman formulation, taken almost word-for-word from Bilejovský.

It is apparent that, among various Czech and Moravian non-Catholic groups and denominations during the 16th and 17th centuries, an argument emerged that referred to the tradition of Cyril and Methodius with the purpose of showing that at least two distinct elements of Czech Christianity – the Communion under both kinds and liturgy in the Czech language – had been characteristic of Czech Christianity since its beginnings and represented Czech Christian continuity. Moreover, a reference to the recognition of this independence by popes since the very beginning appears, whether this argument comports with a particular author and suits them or is merely adopted as a given.

Veneration of the Apostles to the Slavs in the 16th century Catholic environment

It is interesting that at the time of the revival of the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius, references to it appear also on the Catholic side. These are not only historiographic works that continue the tradition established during the reign of Charles IV and that are often historically inaccurate. The work of Eneas Silvio Piccolomini was continued by Václav Hájek of Libočany, his Latin version being the *Historia Regni Bohemiae* of Dubravius, which Bartoloměj Paprocký of Hloholy draws on in his *Zrcadlo* (*Mirror*).

Although we do not want to deny the "great importance of chronicles written after the Battle of Bílá Hora for studying the tradition of Cyril and Methodius",¹⁰ our main objective is to study the employment of this tradition in the ideas of Recatholisation in the late 16th and the 17th centuries. In Moravia, its leading protagonists were the Bishops of Olomouc, and their ideas become demonstrable for the first time with Stanislav Pavlovský of Pavlovice.¹¹ His predecessors were evidently aware of their being successors to the Slavic apostles, as by the provision of the diocesan Synod held in 1349¹², the Feast of Sts Cyril and Methodius was held in the Olomouc Diocese, and around this time one of the chapels of St Wenceslaus Cathedral was dedicated to them.¹³ Probably in the 13th century, a small church or a chapel dedicated to Sts Cyril and Methodius was built in Olomouc in the St Maurice cemetery, which makes it probably the earliest Cyril and Methodius patrocinium

10 M. KOPECKÝ, *Cyrlometodějská tradice*, p. 576.

11 For a more detailed analysis, I would like to refer to my own study: Tomáš PARMA, *Cyrlometodějský kult v prostředí olomouckých biskupů raného novověku*, in: Simona Jemelková (ed.), *Mezi Východem a Západem, Svatí Cyril a Metoděj v kultuře českých zemí*, Olomouc 2013, pp. 48–53.

12 A modern edition of synodal statutes erroneously attributed to a non-existent synod from 1400: Pavel KRAFL, *Synody a statuta olomoucké diecéze období středověku*, Praha 2003, a passage on celebrations of the Feast of Sts Cyril and Methodius on pp. 159–161. On the non-existent synod in 1400: P. KRAFL, *K údajné synodě olomoucké diecéze z roku 1400*, *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 47, 1995, pp. 277–283. Gelasius Dobner put the date of the feast (9 March) in connection with an alleged Roman mention of St Cyril's death – cf. Václav RYNEŠ, *Z dějin úcty slovanských apoštolů*, *Duchovní pastýř* 13, 1963, pp. 27, 47–49, 65–67.

13 The existence of the altar consecrated to the brothers from Thessalonica is evidenced by the document by Zdeňek of Domažlice of 16 March 1360, which also gives the dedication *Domino Johanni ministro altaris sanctorum Cirilli et Metudii confessorum – Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae IX*, ed. Vincenc Brandl, Brunn 1875, no. 158, pp. 122–123.

6 Corresponding passage of Bartoš' chronicle (*Kronika pražská Bartoše Písaře [Prague Chronicle of Bartoš the Scribe]*, ed. Josef V. Šimák, in: FRB 6, Praha 1907, pp. 1–296) quoted in extenso by B. ZLÁMAL, *Cyrlometodějská tradice*, p. 179. On the meeting itself Antonín KALOUS, *The Politics of Church Unification: Efforts to Reunify Utraquists and Rome in the 1520s*, in: Jaroslav Miller – László Kontler (ed.), *Friars, Nobles and Burghers – Sermons, Images and Prints. Studies of Culture and Society in Early-Modern Europe*. In *Memoria István György Tóth*, Budapest 2010, pp. 179–197.

7 For more information about J. Jafet – Kamil KROFTA, *O bratrském dějepisectví*, Praha 1946, p. 146–156.

8 *Ibidem*, p. 195.

9 For further information about Z. Lipenský see Ludmila BREZANYOVÁ, *Das Kantional Písně chval božských von Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský*. Anthology of works from the Philosophical Faculty of Brno University H 7, 1972, p. 7–11; Martin HORYNA (ed.), *Wenceslai Philomathis Musicorum libri quattuor*, Praha 2003; Hana NAVRÁTILOVÁ, *Knihovny obyvatel městeček na jižní a západní Moravě ve druhé polovině 16. a v 17. století*, *Z Kralické tvrže* 23, 2006, pp. 28–51.

in Moravia.¹⁴ However, in the Olomouc Diocese other “lieux de mémoire” must have existed, even though they are documented only in 17th century sources: these were in the main Tuřany, maybe also Rajhrad, Křtiny and also Velehrad, although due to the seclusion of the Cistercian cloister, this place could not be used for holding demonstrative expressions of Catholic veneration for these Slavic apostles, and particularly for pilgrimages. Certainly the cult of Sts Cyril and Methodius was nurtured in Brno, too. The provost of the Petrov collegiate, Augustin Käsenbrod, presented his church with the relic of St Cyril’s right hand in 1508, obtained probably from the reliquary of Prague Cathedral.¹⁵ Moreover, in the same year, Käsenbrod published his *Series episcoporum Olomucensium*, in which he starts his list of bishops with the Archbishops of Velehrad, Cyril and Methodius. Possibly also in connection with this gift and the publishing of the *Series*, the patronage of the so-called royal chapel by the Brno Dominican Monastery at Rybí trh was changed: the Marian chapel and later the Chapel of St Wenceslaus became Sts Cyril and Methodius Chapel.¹⁶

Despite this knowledge of the existence and activities of the Slav apostles, and of the fact that the Bishops of Olomouc were their successors, which undoubtedly represented a strong motivation for maintaining the cult of these Saints, the Recatholisation attempts connected with this idea can be documented starting only with Bishop Stanislav Pavlovský. It was Pavlovský who, shortly after his accession, attempted to acquire the relics of the apostles from Rome, being convinced that “St Cyril is buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles, St Methodius in the building of the St Clement Basilica near the Colosseum”. Although Rudolph II himself joined Pavlovský in his request, Pope Gregory XIII praised it yet refused to send the remains of the saints from Rome, pointing out that the relics might be profane or destroyed in a non-Catholic environment.¹⁷ Pavlovský also built another chapel dedicated to the Moravian apostles in the episcopal town of Přebor, for which he cradled “special love and affection”.¹⁸

However, probably the most interesting evidence regarding our subject is Pavlovský’s dispute with the citizens of the episcopal town of Mohelnice, which started in 1590.¹⁹ Threatening them with seigniorial penalties, the bishop demanded his sub-

14 Archeological research by Josef Bláha determined the origin of the chapel in the 13th century, but in written sources, it is first documented as a “Moravian Chapel” in 1452. Its Cyril and Methodius patronage is first mentioned in 1520. B. ZLÁMAL, *Kostelík sv. Cyrila a Metoděje v Olomouci. Doplněné zlomky ze svatořečnického archivu*, Apoštolát sv. Cyrila a Metoda pod ochranou bl. Panny Marie [further quoted as ACM] 28, 1937, pp. 134–139, 169–171, 212–215, 245–248, 275–278, 313–318, 348–351, 376–382. Also special print Olomouc 1937, p. 32. Last in S. JEMELKOVÁ, *Kaple svatých Cyrila a Metoděje v Olomouci*, in: S. Jemelková (ed.), *Mezi Východem a Západem*, pp. 62–64.

15 Cf. Vojtěch SAMEC, *Ostatky svatých Cyrila a Metoděje nalézající se v Československu*, Sborník Velehradský III/1, 1992, pp. 49–59.

16 Petr JOKEŠ, *Soupis patrocinií na jižní Moravě*, Časopis Matice moravské 132, 2013, pp. 113–149; although it does mention the description of the diocese according to general visitation in 1771–1772 as the first documented dedication to Sts Cyril and Methodius, it is expected that further research will move the patronage to an earlier period.

17 Pavlovský requested the remains in his letter to the Cardinal – state secretary Tolomeus Gallimus, of 1. 10. 1580; Rudolf II asks the Pope on 12. 11. 1580; the Pope answers Pavlovský on 11. 2. 1581 and the Emperor on 14. 3. 1581. – on the sources in more detail see T. PARMA, *Cyriometodějský kult*, p. 49 with archival references and editions.

18 On the foundation of a chapel with the later patronage of St Anthony of Padua, see B. ZLÁMAL, *Blahoslavený Jan Sarkander*, Rome, Christian Academy 1969 and reprint Prague, Zvon 1990, pp. 20–21 (according to Wolny).

19 On that, briefly: F. KAMENÍČEK, *Zemské sněmy a sjezdy moravské III*, Brno 1905, pp. 419–420.

jects adopt the Catholic faith and cease receiving communion under both kinds. The citizens of Mohelnice, who refused to conform, fled to nearby Litovel, which was under the dominion of the Lords of Boskovice and entirely Lutheran. The Bishop ordered the Mírov officer, his brother Hanuš, to pass any possible requests for release from servitude by the Litovel lords solely to him, and reprimanded the runaway Mohelnice commoners and warned that if they did not return, their property would be passed to the Catholics.²⁰ Mohelnice citizen Jiřík Birsaker complained to the provincial captain of Moravia, Hynek the Elder of Vrbno, that the bishop was forbidding his subjects to receive communion under both kinds. The captain of Province criticised the bishop’s decision with reference to the Last Supper, when Christ himself had presented both kinds to the disciples. Bishop Stanislav responded to this with a lengthy defence of communion under one kind, to which he attached a recent translation of a Latin treatise. Further, the bishop explained that he wanted his subjects to be Catholics, and that the conditions set for permitting the laity to receive communion from the chalice say that the person must believe that Christ is completely present under either kind, and therefore a Catholic who wished to receive under both kinds should not find it hard to receive under one. He concludes his lengthy letter, which in its form is more of a treatise, with a reference to the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius: “Therefore, everyone who cares for his soul must avoid and ward off all heretical and false teaching et cum timore ac tremore operetur salutem suam, with discipline and trembling think of his redemption, and also of the redemption of others who are in his care, and he shall remember, as we do, that it is our duty to ourselves, our subjects and to others belonging to our diocese (as stated above) to avoid any ulterior, new and sectarian teaching, to stand in unity and obedience to the Holy Roman Catholic Church and not to limp on both legs, to warn, without leading them or forcing upon them something new or another faith but the one Sts Cyrillus et Methodius taught, those very first Moravian bishops, the ancestors of our holy remembrance and patrons of this land, by the Holy See of Rome sent to us 700 years ago, who preached to this nation and taught it.” “Therefore the faith must be embraced by commoners, all the Lords of estates and all inhabitants of the Margraviate alike, so that they forget all their tribulations and follow in the footsteps of our ancestors in humility. There, faith is like a fountain of living water that God Almighty accepts in grace through the Holy Spirit. and we in the present can await with joy our salvation eternal in our prayers in the honour and glory of our Lord. Amen. Amen.”²¹ Precisely this reasoning is interesting for us: it points to the fact that both non-Catholics and Catholics invoked the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius to use it for entirely different understandings of religious practice, in this case in defence or denial of communion under both kinds.

We can find some evidence of the veneration of Sts Cyril and Methodius among the bishop’s colleagues, too, although

20 “[...] necht ještě v tej věci nikdo z měšťanov mohelnických jich jako sám od sebe napomene, aby se v tom napravili a s jinými poddanými našimi a věrnými křesťany srovnali, pakli by předece na svém státi a pryč se odebrati chtěli, tehdy at nám grunty lidmi hodnými katolickými osadí, neb bez toho že prapuščení bejti nemohou a k statkuom jich jakožto k odběžným podle pořádku Margkrabství tohoto právo bychom měli. [...]” – Pavlovský to the officer of Mírov, Brno 27. 9. 1590 – Provincial Archive in Olomouc, Opava branch (hereinafter only: ZAOpO), Archbishopric of Olomouc Fund (hereinafter only: AO), Books, i.no. 103, sign. 28 (Cartulary of Czech correspondence 1590–1591), f. 198v–199v.

21 S. Pavlovský to Hynek the elder of Vrbno, Kroměříž 17. 10. 1590 – ibidem, f. 219v–223v (the quoted passage at f. 223rv).

somewhat indistinctly. Bohumil Zlámal speaks of the bishop's chancellor, Ekkardus of Schwoben, who became Abbot of Velehrad and who reformed the monastery. He also quotes the arguments of the bishop's official Theodor Engels, who finds a parallel for Pavlovský's attempt to revindicate jurisdiction in Methodius' defence of the clergy against Svatopluk.²² the pinnacle of Bishop Pavlovský's Recatholisation efforts was the organisation of the reform Synod of the Moravian Church, which took place in Olomouc in November 1591. The bishop's opening speech was followed by a sermon from Dean Melchior Pirnesius of Pirn, in which this prelate argued in favour of the adoption of the conclusions of the Council of Trent with these words: "for this Moravian province which, thanks to its founders, the apostles Sts Cyril and Methodius, has been a teacher and educator (institutrix et informatrix) in faith and in religion for the surrounding lands and provinces for over seven hundred years, to adopt and approve this sacred Council of Trent, if not as the first, then at least not as the last."²³ Pirnesius uses the reference to Cyril and Methodius to support not only the official acceptance of the council decrees by the Moravian Church but also the absolute independence of the Moravian Church, which he declares to be an independent province. Although the claim of Prof. Zlámal about Pirnesius "being an important link and a carrier of the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius to the new period of Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein",²⁴ might be rather exaggerated, it certainly deserves a mention. Bishop Pavlovský inspired the creation of the well-known "*Zrcadlo slavného markrabství moravského*" (*Mirror of the Famous Margraviate of Moravia*), published by Bartoloměj Paprocký of Hloholy in Olomouc, shortly after the end of the bishop's reformation synod in 1593. A first glance at the title page of the second book of the Mirror, decorated with the figures of four saints (Wenceslaus, Stanislaus, Cyril and Methodius), a portrait of Bishop Pavlovský and his coat-of-arms, and also the symbolic figures of Faith and Love, a pelican and a phoenix, reveals the close connection the author and his patron saw between the doctrine of Sts Cyril and Methodius and the efforts to restore Catholicism, rising like a phoenix from the ashes of the bishop's activities. Moreover, the *series episcoporum* in the second part of Paprocký's work begins with a mention of the Moravian apostles, whose portraits are elaborated in Willenberger's woodcut together with the Olomouc bishop's coat of arms. The text of a short entry on the saints emphasises that "a well-founded archbishopric (and not bishopric, as some say) was here", and that only after Methodius' death, "did the Moravian land lose the title of archbishopric and kingdom and that only as a punishment for that rebellious king [Svatopluk]".²⁵ Lastly, we must also mention Pavlovský's political partner Vratislav "the Beautiful" of Pernstein, who in 1571 had an altar to Sts Cyril and Methodius raised in the Pernstein chapel of the Prague Cathedral, possibly at the instigation of Pavlovský or Ekkard of Schwoben, previously a preceptor to his children.

22 Cf. Antonín BREITENBACHER, *Spor biskupa Pavlovského s moravským soudem zemským o soudnictví nad kněžstvem*, Časopis Matice moravské 30, 1906, pp. 97–135, 228–270, 349–373; quoted documents on p. 371.

23 For the Latin version see *Acta et constitutiones synodi Olomucensis anno Domini MDLXXXI die XII. Novembris habitae et celebratae*, Olomouc 1592, D III (nepag.), also reprinted in: *Collectio Synodorum et statutorum almae dioecesis Olomucenae*, ed. Arsenius Theodor Fasseau, Rezií 1766, p. 73.

24 B. ZLÁMAL, *Blahoslavený Jan*, p. 26.

25 Bartoloměj PAPROCKÝ of HLOHOLY, *Zrcadlo slavného markrabství moravského, v kterémž jeden každý stav dávnost, vzácnost i povinnost svou vhlédá*, Olomouc 1593: fol. CLXI^r (title page), CLXVIII^v (entry on Sts Cyril and Methodius), CCIII^v – CCXIII^v (description of Synod).

Franz von Dietrichstein

The peak of the veneration of Sts Cyril and Methodius in the period preceding the Battle of Bílá Hora, which was clearly connected to the push for Recatholisation, comes with the activities of Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein, a bishop of Olomouc. Pavlovský's clear Recatholisation programme linked to the Cyril and Methodius legacy gave direction and guidance to the young bishop, who acceded to the episcopal seat in 1599 and took it over in practice a year later. The programme was based on a reformed clergy, who were to be formed at the Jesuit Academy in Olomouc, which had been, moreover, exceeding the scope of the Moravian region due to the papal Collegium Nordicum. In this respect, Dietrichstein is a successor and completer of his predecessor's work. As with Pavlovský, the emphasis on the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius is clearly connected with the ambition of the bishops of Olomouc to gain de facto independence from the Prague metropolis, to regain the right of coinage for bishops in 1608, and to have the title of prince-bishop recognised by the Moravian estates, which Dietrichstein achieved in 1612. A reference to the beginnings of the Olomouc bishopric in the period of the Great Moravian Empire offered effective support to these efforts to increase the prestige of the office, just as in the 18th century it would serve to support efforts to gain the position of ecclesiastical metropolis.

Although it was not connected directly to the doctrine of Cyril and Methodius, chronologically the first reference to the princely prestige of Olomouc was the construction of the marble mausoleum for the Olomouc Přemyslids in St Wenceslaus Cathedral.²⁶ Possibly the most important physical artefact related to Sts Cyril and Methodius is the chancel of Olomouc Cathedral, which Dietrichstein began to build before the Battle of Bílá Hora. One of the first proto-Baroque buildings in central Europe, unfortunately this building was rebuilt in the Neo-Gothic style in the 19th century. Nevertheless, its structure has been preserved. It contains the chancel and the lower chapel, which was intended by Dietrichstein to be an analogy of *confessio* in Roman basilicas and to be the place of rest for the remains of Sts Cyril and Methodius. At least this is indicated in the Cardinal's *ad limina* report, submitted in 1617. During the visit made in Dietrichstein's name by his procurator, the canon Ludovico Ridolfi, a request was submitted for "the most desired treasure... the bodies and bones of Sts Cyril and Methodius, the patrons and apostles of Moravia". Dietrichstein was repeating the request of his predecessor, Pavlovský, and at the same time promising a glorious place of rest for the remains, which would possibly complete his reconstruction of the Cathedral chancel, as well as of his episcopate, as the same procurator was bringing the Pope the cardinal's written resignation from his bishophood in Olomouc. Neither the resignation nor the request were accepted. Possibly for that reason, and not only because of the troubled times of the Thirty Years' War, Dietrichstein did not finish his reconstruction. Completion came only in 1661, thanks to his legacy.

If we go back to the beginning of Dietrichstein's episcopate, we encounter the edition of Rozenplut's Hymnal of 1601, which

26 On this building, see T. PARMA, *Dietrichsteinská přestavba olomoucké katedrály*, in: Martin Elbel – Ondřej Jakubec (ed.), *Olomoucké baroko 1. Proměny ambic jednoho města*, Olomouc 2010, p. 64; and newly Miloslav POJSL, *Olomoučtí biskupové a arcibiskupové a jejich pohřební místa*, Uherské Hradiště 2013, pp. 147–148.

was dedicated to the cardinal. The Šternberk provost, Jan Rozenplut of Schwanzenbach, who Vilém Bitnar places in the Jesuit “Šturm circle”, furnished his work with a lengthy dedicatory preface in which we can also find a defence of both Latin and Czech plainsong with reference to the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius. “In whatever way the matter is spoken about with sober reasoning, let us be sure that the Universal Church does not use Latin songs in the temples of God to prevent songs and prayers in natural languages: as only six hundred years ago, Sts Cyril and Methodius told the Moravians to sing in their own language, and for this they requested indulgences from the Apostolic See.”²⁷ Undoubtedly, the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius was also strengthened by the fact that March 9 – the feast day of the Slavic apostles celebrated in Bohemia since the time of Charles IV – was proclaimed by Dietrichstein among the holy days of obligation of the diocese (*festas solemnias fore*). The figures of Cyril and Methodius also appear on the title pages of breviary propria published by Dietrichstein between 1626 and 1630. The scene of the Moravian apostles baptising Bořivoj or Svatopluk is found in the fragment of Dietrichstein’s liturgical wall calendar from 1621, which became a model for other calendars published up to the beginning of the 19th century.²⁸ Therefore, we are here witnessing a clear emphasis on the cult of Sts Cyril and Methodius, and it is interesting that the Cathedral’s patron, St Wenceslaus, is somewhat in their shadow. His feast is celebrated as *festum fore* only in the town of Olomouc, and his figure does not appear on the title page of the propers from 1626 at all.

And here, we are slowly getting to the period after the Battle of Bílá Hora, when the cardinal’s concept of Recatholisation linked to the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius is at its plainest. The very first large votive pilgrimage the cardinal would lead after the defeat of the Bohemian Revolt – due to various urgent matters, only on the second Sunday after Easter, i.e. on 15 April 1621 – headed to the place connected with the tradition of the Moravian apostles, the Marian church in Křtiny. The anonymous author of the pilgrimage pamphlet *Audolj Křtinské Neysvětěgssy Rodičky Božj Panny Marye*, published in 1665, describes the event as follows: “...from the royal town of Brno, on the second Sunday after the great night (for happy deliverance of Catholics from heretics’ oppression), holy pilgrimage was made by the clergy and both common people and the foremost of the gentry (Cardinal Franz of Dietrichstein, Bishop of Olomouc, walking all the way to our monastery and leading the multitudes of Marian souls and pilgrims of Křtiny) with the grace of God and his mother, to be spared from intrigues and violence at the hands of heretics and enemies – the nearer and more cunning, the worse – and offering gifts on the altar of the Mother of God.”²⁹ the characteristic spectacular pilgrimage procession is a typical manifestation

of the cardinal’s concept of the Catholic liturgy, evidently inspired by the piety of Mannerist Aldobrandinian Rome.

The destination of the following great pilgrimage, which took place on 2 July 1622, was again a Marian sanctuary traditionally connected with the presence of Cyril and Methodius. The choice fell on Tuřany, whose Marian statue was said to have been brought to Moravia by Sts Cyril and Methodius. This location was Dietrichstein’s favourite place of pilgrimage in Moravia. Around 1610, the Cardinal tasked the Tuřany parson, George Pistorius, to concern himself with the history of the Tuřany church. Based on his reports, the Cardinal “called this singular shrine the oldest church in Moravia”, and promoted the Marian statuette as a physical remnant of the mission of Cyril and Methodius.³⁰ the pilgrimage to Tuřany of 1622 was remarkable for its progress, which was described by Balbín with a clear reference to the gospel accounts of Christ’s feasts.³¹ Already on the eve of the Feast, the Cardinal led a crowd of pilgrims from Mikulov; others joined on the way, “and all that day and night, priests he had called upon were available to the people as confessors”. The cardinal celebrated a pontifical mass, which was accompanied by his own choir. “After thousands of people had taken the heavenly bread, the prince-bishop descended from the altar to the people and surpassed himself in his fervour and the eloquence of his preaching. After the ceremonies, people went out in front of the church and Dietrichstein scattered silver coins among them, and after that he personally served food to the pilgrims”. He knew that, on 5 July 1622, he would have to pass death sentences on the Moravian rebels, even though these would be commuted to other punishments, and he well knew that due to pronouncing capital punishment he would be placed under ecclesiastical sanctions and therefore would not be able to exercise his episcopal powers.³²

Other clear evidence of the Olomouc Bishop Dietrichstein combining Recatholisation with the doctrine of Sts Cyril and Methodius is found in one of the decisive moments of Recatholisation, which was the issuing of a patent for the Recatholisation of the Moravian nobility. This patent was issued “on Thursday, the Feast Day of Sts Crha and Strachota, the advocates, first bishops and apostles of the Moravian Margraviate, in the year of our Lord 1628”,³³ and the dating is certainly not coincidental. Although, in its text, the period of the reign of Charles IV³⁴ is evoked as the epitome of the Christian organisation of Moravia, Cardinal Dietrichstein gave a clear “Cyrillo-Methodian” interpretation of this decree while announcing this patent on the Feast of the Annunciation, 25 March 1628, when he was preaching a solemn sermon in the Jesuit church in Brno, the contents of which have

27 Jan ROZENPLUT ze ŠVARCENBACHU, *Kancionál, to jest sebrání zpěvův pobožných, kterých k duchovnímu potěšení každý veřejný křesťan na veřejné svátky i jiných svatých památky i časy užívati může*, Olomouc 1601, Dedicatory introduction, p. 7.; quote: Vilém BITNAR, *Postavy a problémy českého baroku literárního*, Praha 1939, p. 141.

28 Viz Dušan ŘEZANINA, *Nástěnné církevní kalendáře olomoucké z let 1716–1827*, purpose print, not for sale [1970], pp. 3–4.

29 *Audolj Křtinské Neysvětěgssy Rodičky Božj Panny Marye*, Litomyšl 1665, pp. 39–43. A similar recount can be found in a document two years older: Martinus Alexander VIGSIUS, *Vallis Baptismi, Alias Kyrteinensis Sev Divesdorii...*, Olomouc 1663, pp. 47–48. Both sources refer to testimonies of surviving witnesses; Vigsius names the conversus from Zábrdovice, Leonard Hallebach and the priest Norbert Credelius, *Audolj* only Credelius.

30 Cf. Bohuslav BALBÍN, *Diva Turzanensis, sev Historia Originis et Miraculorum Magnae Dei Hominiūque Matris Mariae: Cujus venerabilis statua, prope Brvnam indicio coelestis lucis In Rubis Inventa, Magno Populorum accursu honoratur, Nunc primum a R. P. Bohuslav Aloysio Balbino e Societate Iesv conscripta*, Olomviti 1658, chapter VIII, pp. 40–49. Dietrichstein’s pious reverence towards Tuřany is further described chapter XXX, pp. 145–154.

31 *Ibidem*, pp. 149–153.

32 For more detail see T. PARMA, *František kardinál Dietrichstein a jeho vztahy k římské kurii. Prostředky a metody politické komunikace ve službách moravské církve*, Brno 2011, pp. 396–400.

33 Ferdinand II., patent of 9. 3. 1628, last published in: František HRUBÝ, *Moravské korespondence a akta z let 1620–1636, 2. 1625–1636 (Listy Karla St. z Žerotína 1628–36)*, Brno 1937, no. 53, pp. 87–92.

34 Cf. text of the patent in Tomáš KNOZ, *Pobělohorské konfiskace. Moravský průběh, středoevropské souvislosti, obecné aspekty*, Brno 2006, p. 267–268.

been preserved in print.³⁵ On this occasion, the Moravian nobility were called upon. Moreover, this was a traditional time for the provincial court in Brno.³⁶ the Cardinal used the story of the Feast of the Annunciation in the Gospel and compared the situation of the Virgin Mary, who took fright when visited by an angel with an unusual and ominous-sounding message, to the situation of the Moravian nobility, to whom the Cardinal, as a messenger from the Emperor, was passing on a call that also sounded menacing. This call urged them to return to the faith of their ancestors, to the faith professed by Sts Cyril and Methodius. "To what feast, to what faith is our pious Emperor Ferdinand inviting you? To none other than that our ancestors were called to from paganism in the year of 887 after the birth of Christ, exactly 741 years ago. To the same faith that Sts Cyril and Methodius were sent to preach, at the request of the Moravian King Svatopluk, by the Roman Pope Nicolas I and the Byzantine Emperor Michal. To the same faith in which these two holy bishops christened King Svatopluk, to the same faith the entire country confessed to, to the same faith every person lived by. To the same faith which venerates the holy relics, with the same reverence with which those two holy bishops transferred the body of Pope St Clement from Greece and from Moravia to the city of Rome. To the same faith that gives miraculous signs, as those two holy men performed miraculous deeds with the remains of St Clement. To the same faith by which the ceremony of the Holy Mass is highly revered and maintained, and by which these two bishops obtained from the Pope that the Slavs should hear the rite of the Holy Mass in their mother tongue. ... To the same faith in which churches were consecrated to the glory of God, as these two holy bishops dedicated and consecrated the Velehrad church, which can be seen up to this day. To the same faith in which 46 bishops became their successors in Olomouc, including three cardinals – Cardinal John of Prague, Cardinal Allerensis and the Cardinal of Montereale, and one Patriarch of Antioch, Wenceslaus. I am their successor, forty-seventh on this episcopal seat and in this place, and in their office it is vested in me to preach their faith to you, to care for you conscientiously and to bring you to the faith and invite you to this feast." the Moravian answered the messenger of God and the example of the Virgin Mary, "Be it unto me according to thy word". The emphasis on the idea of continuity since the beginnings of Christianity in Moravia leads us to believe that the Cardinal himself was again behind the dating of the Recatholisation decree. This date is again recalled by Ferdinand II in his prerogation patent of 2 September 1628, and he also speaks of "the true Roman-Catholic faith... to which this Moravian Margraviate and your ancestors were converted from paganism".³⁷

35 *Zwo Predigen, Deren Eine am hochheyligen Fest unser lieben Frawen Verkündigung, uber gleich damals in der Marggraffthumb Mähren wegen der Religions Reformation Herr- und Ritterstands publicierte Patenten des Allerdurchleuchtigst-Großmächtigsten Fürstens und Herrns, Herrns Ferdinandi des Andern Erwöhlten Römischen Kayzers, zu Hungarn und Böhaimb etc. Königs etc. Erczhertzogens zu Oesterreich etc. unsers allergnädigsten Kayzers, Königs und Landfürstens etc. Die Ander am Sonntag Laetare von der Communion under Einerley gestalt. Gehalten zu Brünn in Mähren in der Societet Iesu Kirchen von Ihr Hochfürstl. Gnaden Herrn, Herrn Cardinaln unnd Fürsten von Dietrichstain etc. als Bischoffen zu Olmütz etc. Erdruckt zu OBlowan im 1628, Oslavany 1628, without pagination.*

36 In the text preserved under the name *Memoria piarum rerum gestarum et dilatatae religionis catholicae in Moravia ab anno Christi MDCXXI*, which was finished sometime after 17. 12. 1628 (the date of the last preserved document) – Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereinafter only BAV), Ott. lat. 827 (a transcript in the National Archive in Prague, collection of transcripts, 174–14), says "duas conciones ... ad confertam nobilitatem multitudinem" (f. 103r). The second sermon concerned communion under one kind and it was preached in the same church only a few days later, on Sunday Laetare, i.e. 2 April 1628.

37 Ferdinand II., patent z 2. 9. 1628, *Moravská korespondence a akta z let 1620–1636*, I, ed. F. Hrubý, Brno 1934, No. 90, pp. 148–152.

With Cardinal Dietrichstein, we can see clearly how for the purposes of Recatholisation the doctrine of Sts Cyril and Methodius was interpreted in the way typical for Catholicism, as the continuity of tradition; and this stands in contrast with the non-Catholic interpretation, the idea of purification. Just before his death in 1636, the Cardinal attempted again to obtain the remains of Cyril and Methodius from Rome. He justifies this request in his *ad limina* report by saying that the presence of the bodies of the first apostles of Bohemia and Moravia in Olomouc Cathedral "would not only convince each and every soul still contaminated with heresy, but for Catholics themselves this would mean the inspiration for a life more innocent, leading to bliss eternal".³⁸ Nevertheless, Pope Urban VIII did not release the remains, and a year later, on behalf of the Bohemian estates, Cardinal Harrach asked for them during his stay in Rome.³⁹ the reason for the Pope's blunt refusal was probably the Roman legend describing how, immediately after Cyril's death, the Pope of Rome and the clergy opposed Methodius' attempt to take the remains from Rome.

Development of the doctrine of Sts Cyril and Methodius in the Recatholisation of Moravia after the Thirty Years' War

After the Cardinal's death in Brno on 19th September 1636, the Olomouc episcopal seat remained practically vacant for almost 30 years. The holders of the Olomouc bishopric did not exercise their episcopal powers, as often they were not even ordained priests, and they were not much interested in their diocese. The country was troubled by the prolonged end of the Thirty Years' War, which in reality ended only with the departure of the Swedes in 1650. This situation was not very favourable to Recatholisation connected with the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius. In addition, there were the problems of a shortage of priests and the collapse of the system of parish administration.

The situation only changed with the election of Bishop Charles II of Liechtenstein-Castelcorno in 1664. Shortly after the election of the relatively young, forty-year-old bishop, the well-known visitation guide *Monitorium sive instructio brevis*,⁴⁰ elaborated by the bishops' consistorium under the leadership of the Vicar General John Peter Petrucci, was published.⁴¹ It prescribes that besides the Roman breviary, parish priests must own the newly-issued *Officia propria* of the Olomouc Diocese "to strengthen the pious legacy of the holy protectors and patrons of our diocese and following the example of our ancestors, to honour and worship them as they deserve."⁴² Yet the feast of the Slavic apostles was not celebrated in the Silesian parts of the diocese

38 For text in modern edition see T. PARMA, "Moderna Olomucensis dioecesis meae status". *Le visite ad limina del Francesco cardinale Dietrichstein, vescovo di Olomouc (1570–1636) e le sue relazioni sullo stato della diocesi*, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 50, 2008, pp. 335–382, relevant passus on pp. 377–378.

39 Alessandro CATALANO, *La Bohemia e la riconquista delle coscienze. Ernest Adalbert von Harrach e la controriforma in Europa centrale*, Roma 2005, pp. 168, 292

40 *Monitorium sive Instructio brevis pro Decanis ruralibus ac Parochis Dioecesis Olomucensis*, Olomouc 1666.

41 Jan Josef Breuner, later Archbishop of Prague, was not yet a Vicar General for this area at this time, as suggested by Alois KUBÍČEK, *Monitorium sive instructio brevis*, *Časopis katolického duchovenstva* 44, 1903, p. 349–353, 463–466. *The Monitorium* was further studied by: Kateřina VÁLOVÁ, *De vita et honestate clericorum na Moravě v raném novověku*, *Střední Morava* 17, 2003, pp. 83–88 and Pavel PUMPR, *Nižší klérus na Moravě mezi normou a realitou*, *Časopis Matice moravské* 131, 2012, pp. 311–340.

42 *Monitorium*, p. 69. This is a reissue of Dietrichstein's *Officium proprium* from 1654.

(Opava and Krnov regions). Therefore, the Velehrad Cistercian Christian Gottfried Hirschmentzel informed the Olomouc consistorium of this failure at the very beginning of 1676.⁴³ The 2nd half of the 17th century is connected with a great development in the Baroque hagiographic and homiletic literature devoted to Cyril and Methodius, which will be briefly mentioned in the conclusion, because it puts the lives of Cyril and Methodius into the overall context of the Catholic understanding of Czech historiography, created mostly by Jesuit authors. The subject of Sts Cyril and Methodius is strongly represented in the works of the Moravian historiographer Tomáš Pešina of Čechorod⁴⁴ and his contemporary Bohuslav Balbín. Pešina's pupil, Christian Gottfried Hirschmentzel (1638–1703), became the first significant biographer of the Slavic apostles and also the builder of the first sacral building in Silesia dedicated to the Slavic apostles.⁴⁵ Their efforts are continued by the "Moravian Livius" Jan Jiří Ignác Středovský (1679–1713), a vicar of Pavlovice in Moravia,⁴⁶ the author of the extensive document *Sacra Moraviae historia*, published also thanks to the agreement and contribution of Charles Joseph of Lorraine, the Bishop of Olomouc and Trier.⁴⁷ Although, concerning their historical veracity, his conclusions must be relegated to the realm of fable and legend, we cannot agree with the trenchant condemnation by Arne Novák, who characterises him with these words, "avid collector and heaper of historical material, uncritical fabling originator of reports on the distant past of Czech and Moravia and a mechanical compiler".⁴⁸ According to Schlözer, in comparison to the volume *Act sanctorum* of 1668, in which the Jesuit Godefroid Henschen writes about the apostles in the sober language of historical criticism, Středovský's work feels like a novel, but he was aware of the shortcomings of his work and did not insist on his erroneous conclusions. The true value of Středovský lies in his manuscripts, which are stored in Kroměříž in the library of the Archbishop's Palace under the names *Apographa Moravica* and *Caementa historica*.⁴⁹ His work offered a great incentive for the development of patriotism in Baroque times, based on the veneration of Sts Cyril and Methodius, personifying the roots of Moravian Christianity. This patriotism found its promoters in Baroque preachers in Moravia, among whom we must mention Václav Bohumír Štyrcenvager, Valentin Bernard Jestřábský, Bohumír Hynek Bilovský, Chrysostom Xaver Ignác Táborský and the Velehrad Cistercian Matěj Bartys.⁵⁰ The theme of Cyril and Methodius started to appear more frequently in fine

43 Hirschmentzel's letter to the Olomouc consistorium dated 18 January 1676 in Bolatice is quoted by Jan Jiří Ignác STŘEDOVSKÝ, *Sacra Moraviae historia sive vita ss. Cyrilli et Methodii*, Solisbaci 1710, pp. 454–455. Hirschmentzel also had a chapel of Sts Cyril and Methodius built in Bolatice.

44 Jan STRAKOŠ, *Pešinův zájem o Moravu a její dějiny*, in: Sborník Moravana k pětadvacátému výročí jeho trvání, Brno, Moravan 1931, pp. 131–140.

45 On Hirschmentzel, cf. B. ZLÁMAL, *Cyriometodějství Kristiána Bohumíra Hirschmentzla*, Slezský sborník 48, 1950, pp. 57–67.

46 For further information cf. Miroslav HÝSEK, *Jan Jiří Středovský*, in: M. Hýsek – J. Jakubec (ed.), *Z dějin české literatury*. Sborník statí, věnovaný Jaroslavu Vělkovi k šedesátinám od jeho spolupracovníků a žáků, Prague 1920, pp. 115–126; František SÁBA (ed.), *650 let farnosti brumovské 1342–1990. Sborník věnovaný na věčnou památku Jana Jiřího Ignáce Středovského*, Brumov-Bylnice, Farní úřad 1992; M. POJSL, *K počátkům soupisu sepulkrálních památek na Moravě*, Epigraphica & Sepulcralia 2005, no. 1, pp. 147–155.

47 Cf. J. J. I. STŘEDOVSKÝ, *Sacra Moraviae*, p. 450.

48 Arne NOVÁK – Jan V. NOVÁK, *Přehledné dějiny literatury české od nejstarších dob až po naše dny*, Brno 1995 (reprint), p. 153.

49 J. VAŠICA, *Jan Jiří Středovský*, in: Idem, *Eseje a studie ze starší české literatury*, Opava 2001, pp. 246–249.

50 For comprehensive summary see M. KOPECKÝ, *Cyriometodějská tradice*; and B. ZLÁMAL, *Die Entwicklung der Kyriilo-Methodianischen Tradition in der tschechoslowakischen Geschichte*, in: Hermenegild Biedermann (Hrsg.), *Konstantin-Kyriil aus Thessalonike*, Würzburg 1969, pp. 77–157, particularly pp. 122–127.

art, too.⁵¹ In connection with this issue, we must mention the emergence of the celebrations of the moravian fest in St Michael's Church in Vienna, of which we have reports from 1708.⁵² However, the 18th century represents another chapter in the history of the cult of Sts Cyril and Methodius, triggered by, among other things, the efforts of the Bishops of Olomouc to acquire metropolitan rights and the rank of archbishop. In the 18th century, we also witness the emergence of an enlightened approach to history, which marks the first steps towards the clarification of the historical truth about the Slavic apostles.⁵³

Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to highlight the major characteristics of the usage of the tradition of Cyril and Methodius in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. The revival of this tradition during the reign of Charles IV took place in the environment of the court and mostly concerned high society, especially the clergy, who used it to promote their power and political interests. In the society of the 16th and 17th centuries, which was divided into various denominations, this tradition was used by different sides as a supporting argument to justify their own orthodoxy or possibly orthodoxy. The Catholic Church never used it in connection with the attempt to maintain or restore the liturgy performed in national languages, as we witness in the Slavonic Catholic Church in the Adriatic region.⁵⁴ From the late 16th century, the Bishops of Olomouc used the tradition to support their efforts to gain independence from the Prague metropolis, restored between 1562 and 1563, but it clearly played its part in their Recatholisation strategies, too. This is probably why, in the period before the Battle of Bílá Hora, it was tied to the earlier pilgrimage tradition (Křtiny, Tuřany) and also to places inaccessible at the time (Velehrad). The tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius served to justify the attempts to create an identity within various denominations and Christian communities of Early Modern societies in the Czech lands. This tradition was utilised in the same way even in the period of Recatholisation, when it became an important component in the newly-created view of Czech history in the spirit of Baroque Catholic culture. Only then did it penetrate more strongly into popular piety, mainly due to the hymnal and homiletic catechetical works of the 2nd half of the 17th century.

The veneration of Sts Cyril and Methodius during the Baroque period, purified in the flames of the Enlightenment critique of the 19th century, was able to become a popular matter among the masses. Only then do we witness a great advance of the doctrine of Sts Cyril and Methodius, which became

51 Helena ZÁPALKOVÁ – S. JEMELKOVÁ, *Svatí Cyril a Metoděj v umění baroka na Moravě*, in: S. Jemelková (ed.), *Mezi Východem a Západem*, pp. 54–61.

52 B. ŠIDA [= František ŠIGUT], *Kult cyriometodějský – a česká Vídeň*, ACM 23, 1932, pp. 163–164; B. ZLÁMAL, *Barokní chvála sv. Cyrila a Metoděje*. (Collection of 29 German sermons on Sts Cyril and Methodius from 1708–1744), ACM 29, 1938, p. 193–197, 242–247, 276–281. Also special print, Olomouc 1938; Adolf MAIS, *Das mährische Nationsfest in Wien*, Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien 13, 1957/1958, pp. 93–122. Vladimír MAŇAS, *Cyriometodějské oslavy ve Vídni (1708–1783): pozapomenutá reprezentace Moravy v sídelním městě monarchie*, Vlastivědný věstník moravský 2013. Cf. the contribution by Michaela Soleiman pour Hashemi in this volume.

53 Cf. Jan STRAKOŠ, *Význam cyriometodějského kultu pro ideu slovanské vzájemnosti*, Akord 3, 1930, pp. 141–157; Oldřich KRÁLÍK, *Josef Dobrovský a cyriometodějská tradice*, *Práce z dějin slavistiky* 2, Praha, 1975, pp. 70–77; Zoe HAUPTOVÁ, *Otázka pokřtění Velké Moravy z pohledu osvícenské a obrozené slavistiky*, in: Jan Blahoslav Lásek – Hana Tonzarová (ed.), *I oni jsou otcové naši... Cyriometodějský sborník*, Brno 2005, pp. 91–99.

54 For further information see F. J. THOMSON, *the Legacy*.

connected with the fame of the great Velehrad pilgrimages (enabled by the cessation of the Cistercian monastery with its strict seclusion) and with the origins of Unionism in our lands.

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Jan Jiří Ignác STŘEDOVSKÝ, *Sacra Moraviae historia sive vita ss. Cyrilli et Methodii*, Solisbaci 1710.

Martinus Alexander Vigsius, *Vallis Baptismi, Alias Kyrteinensis Sev Divesdorii...*, Olomouc 1663.

Zwo Predigen, Deren Eine am hochheyligen Fest unser lieben Frawen Verkündigung, uber gleich damahls in der Marggraffthumb Mähren wegen der Religions Reformation Herr- und Ritterstands publicierte Patenten des Allerdurchleuchtigst- Großmüchtigsten Fürstens und Herrns, Herrns Ferdinandi des Andern Erwöhltten Römischen Kaysers, zu Hungarn und Böhaimb etc. Königs etc. Erczhertzogens zu Oesterreich etc. unsers allergnädigsten Kaysers, Königs und Landsfürstens etc. Die Ander am Sontag Laetare von der Communion under Einerley gestalt. Gehalten zu Brünn in Mähren in der Societet Iesu Kirchen von Ihr Hochfürstl. Gnaden Herrn, Herrn Cardinaln unnd Fürsten von Dietrichstain etc. als Bischoffen zu Olmütz etc. Erdruckt zu OBlowan im 1628, Oslavany 1628.

THE TRADITION OF STS CYRIL AND METHODIUS IN BAROQUE BOHEMIA

Jiří Mikulec

The paper is focused on the development of the Cyrillo-Methodian cult in the Catholic religious life of the early modern Bohemian Kingdom. This veneration had already penetrated Czech Catholic tradition in the time before the Battle of Bílá Hora (White Mountain) but its focal point lies in the period after this battle, at the time of extensive Recatholisation. The view of the Cyrillo-Methodian cult in Baroque Bohemia is based on the analysis of historical, historical-hagiographic and homiletic literature, whose authors were Catholic intellectuals, natives of Bohemia and active in the same land as well.

The author mainly points out the use of Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in historical argumentation of the Catholic environment. References to the ancientness of Catholicism helped ecclesiastic and worldly intellectuals to legitimise both the claims of the Catholic Church to confessional predominance in the time before Bílá Hora and the extensive conversion of the population to Catholicism after the defeat of the Uprising of the Estates in 1620. From the Legend of Sts Cyril and Methodius they mainly used the baptism of the Bohemian Duke Bořivoj at the end of the 9th century, but also other motifs from the missionary activities of both apostles in the territory of Bohemia. Another significant motif was the link between the Cyrillo-Methodian cult and the Marian image (Palladium of Stará Boleslav), whose veneration was introduced from the beginning of the 17th century as the main protective Marian cult for the Bohemian Kingdom. The above constitutive and historical functions of the Baroque veneration of Sts Cyril and Methodius were also accompanied by the problem of church services in the Slavic language, which had been permitted by the Pope thanks to the efforts of Sts Cyril and Methodius. Such reminiscences were not very welcome to the Catholic Church with its Latin rite, but from the point of view of Baroque patriots, who emphasised the importance of the Czech language in the time of its stagnation, it was an important motif.

Key words: Baroque historiography, hagiography, veneration of the saints, land patrons, Bohemian Kingdom, Palladium of Stará Boleslav

To a certain extent, the cult of the Moravian apostles Sts Cyril and Methodius had some influence in the Catholic environment of the Kingdom of Bohemia, where in the period after the Battle of Bílá Hora it played a role similar to the one known in Moravia. In Bohemia after 1620 it also represented one of the most important links between Catholicism and the distant past, and here, too, attempts to connect it to the Marian cult appeared. However, besides these similarities, there are also rather considerable differences between the ways this form of worship developed in Bohemia and Moravia. In the Kingdom of Bohemia, this cult was somewhat less intense than in Moravia. Moreover, it did not become a direct bringer of Recatholisation (in Moravia, for example, this potential was outwardly manifested by the issuance of a Recatholisation patent for the nobility on the feast day of both apostles on 9 March, 1628).¹ Nevertheless, even in Bohemia this cult had a large Recatholisation potential.

Quite a significant part of the way the Catholic faith again became widespread after 1620 was a newly-created view of the history of the Bohemian state. It put the major emphasis

on those religious traditions that could be understood and interpreted as Catholic traditions. Along with the idealised period of the reign of Charles IV (the contrived role of this ruling persecutor of heretics created the core of the historical argument in the patent issued by Ferdinand II in 1627, in which Recatholisation of the Bohemian nobility was ordered),² the early history of the Přemyslids lent itself easily to the promotion of Catholicism, including its oldest roots, connected with the patrons of the Czech lands, in particular St Wenceslaus and St Ludmila. Those early days offered a chance to link the cult of Sts Cyril and Methodius to the tradition of the Bohemian state.

If we are to grasp the Baroque veneration of Sts Cyril and Methodius in its major contours, we must begin in the period before the Battle of Bílá Hora. *Hájek's Chronicle*, which became the starting point for Bohemian historiography in the early modern period and which, due to its Catholic focus, was also an ideal source of information for Baroque historiography and propaganda, contains several references to Cyril and Methodius in descriptions of late 9th and early

1 In modern historiography, the Recatholisation aspects of the cult of Sts Cyril and Methodius have been systematically researched by Tomáš PARMA, *Cyrlometodějský kult v prostředí olomouckých biskupů raného novověku*, in: Simona Jemelková (ed.), *Mezi Východem a Západem*, p. Svatí Cyril a Metoděj v kultuře českých zemí, Olomouc 2013, pp. 48–53.

2 Cf. Jiří MIKULEC, *Historische Argumentation im konfessionellen Zeitalter. Kaiser Karl IV. und die Rekatholisierung Böhmens im 17. Jahrhundert*, in: Joachim Bahlcke – Karen Lambrecht – Hans Christian Maner (Hrsg.), *Konfessionelle Pluralität als Herausforderung. Koexistenz und Konflikt im Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Winfried Eberhard zum 65. Geburtstag, Leipzig 2006, pp. 477–487.

10th century events touching the history of the Přemyslid Dynasty and the Bohemian state. It mainly focuses on one of the key moments of Bohemian statehood – it describes the legend of the baptism of the Bohemian Prince Bořivoj by Sts Cyril and Methodius at Velehrad. Of course, the famous “motivation” story of Bořivoj visiting the Moravian King Svatopluk is not omitted, in which the pagan Bořivoj is not allowed to sit among Christian rulers at the royal feast, and is relegated by them to sitting on the ground. This ignominy (along with Cyril’s promise of God’s support for him and his family) brings him to Christianity.³ The legend of the baptism of Princess Ludmila by St Methodius in Mělník is also incorporated, which, according to Hájek, took place four years later.⁴ Another motif that Hájek mentions with regard to the issue of Cyril and Methodius and their connection with Bohemia was Cyril’s missionary work here, characterised by the promotion of the cult of St Clement, whose remains Cyril allegedly possessed.⁵ Also, a Chapel of the Virgin Mary before Týn was apparently built and consecrated (“Cyril, the bishop of Velehrad, consecrated it with great religion”). This festival, which *Hájek’s Chronicle* dates to 901, resulted in the baptism of large numbers of pagans, and in that same Týn chapel Cyril was to preach his famous sermon before departing for Rome.⁶ According to Hájek, the unspecified time of the sacerdotal work of Methodius after his expulsion from Moravia also concerned Bohemia.⁷ *Hájek’s Chronicle* contains a kind of epilogue on the topic of Sts Cyril and Methodius, in the form of a report on the construction of a church that was to be dedicated to the saints. Allegedly, it took place in 915 on the order of Vratislav, Prince of Bohemia, who was divinely inspired, in the place where the town of Stará Boleslav was being founded.⁸

These events from *Hájek’s Chronicle* became an easily available basis for the future historical and hagiographic inclusion of the Moravian apostles in Bohemian statehood. Cyril and Methodius represented an integral part of Bohemian statehood viewed from the Catholic perspective. Moreover, Bořivoj’s baptism was of such importance that it could not be left out of any overview of Czech history. In the period before the Battle of Bílá Hora, the Olomouc Bishop Jan Dubravius writes about it in his overview of Bohemian history,⁹ and Daniel Adam of Velešlavín includes it in his *Historical Calendar*.¹⁰ However, in both cases, Methodius was the archbishop that baptised the Prince – in this regard, they differ in their narrative from Hájek.

Besides historical treatises, the topic of Sts Cyril and Methodius appeared in the religious literature of 16th and early 17th century Bohemia. A significant role in the integration of the cult of the Moravian apostles in the religious context of Catholic Bohemia is played by texts of the provost of the Metropolitan

Chapter in Prague, Jiří Barthold of Braitenberg,¹¹ called Pontanus after his native town of Most in North Bohemia. The subject of Sts Cyril and Methodius is found repeatedly in his work; for example, in his book of songs dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the patron saints of Bohemia, in which he included a Latin composition dedicated to both saints.¹² In it, he outlined this legend; and of course, he did not leave out Bořivoj’s baptism, either.

Another of Barthold’s texts on the theme of Sts Cyril and Methodius is a sermon he published in his postil *Bibliotheca sive theatrum concionum*.¹³ This is the first known printed sermon about the Moravian apostles,¹⁴ and in it the author emphasised the importance of Cyril and Methodius for Christianity in the Czech lands by outlining the almost catastrophic vision of Moravia and Bohemia which showed what would have happened (or rather would not have happened) if the two apostles had not come. The Moravian King Svatopluk would not have converted to Christianity; Prince Bořivoj would not have been baptised and neither would St Ludmila; St Wenceslaus would not have been a Christian either (and, of course, they would not have become saints); there would be no Christian faith in the land or Christian houses of worship, and people would not have known God or the grace of God.¹⁵

Possibly the most important of Barthold’s literary promotions of the cult of Sts Cyril and Methodius are contained in his pioneering hagiographic and historical work, *Bohaemia pia*.¹⁶ In the fourth chapter (*Liber IV De sanctis patronis*) of this treatise there is a paragraph about the apostles, in which he again emphasises their role in the baptism of the Bohemian Prince (here – in accordance with Hájek’s Chronicle – he is baptised by St Cyril).¹⁷ A more detailed passage is dedicated to this event in the second chapter of the book (*Liber II. De ducibus et regibus Bohaemiae*), which contains a treatise on Prince Bořivoj. Here, we can read in its entirety Hájek’s version of the legend about the motives that led the Bohemian Prince to his baptism, although interestingly here he is baptised by Methodius.¹⁸

11 On the person and work of this Catholic prelate see J. MIKULEC, *Katolický zemský patriotismus Harantovy doby*, Historie – otázky – problémy 1/2009: Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezdružic and the intellectual life in his time, p. 57–67, particularly pp. 58–59, 61–64.

12 Georgius BARTHOLDUS PONTANUS A BRAITENBERG, *Hymnarum sacrarum de Beatissima Virgine Maria et Sanctis Patronis Regni Bohemiae libri tres*, Pragae 1602, pp. 179–184 (the hymn is called *De sanctis Cyrillo et Methodio*).

13 G. BARTHOLDUS PONTANUS A BRAITENBERG, *Bibliotheca sive theatrum concionum*, tomus I., Coloniae Agrippinae 1625 (2nd edition, first published in 1608), pp. 521–527.

14 T. PARMA, *Cyrlometodějský kult*, p. 53.

15 *Nam si isti* [Sts Cyril and Methodius, note – J. M.] *non fuissent a Deo missi, nec conuersus fuisset Svatoplucus rex Morauiae, nec Borsiuuioius dux Bohemiae baptizatus, nec sancta Ludiuilla, (!) nec S. Wenceslaus fuisset factus christianus, nec sanctos illos quos iam colimus, nec fidem nec templa, nec cognitionem Dei, imo nec Deum haberemus, necessemus in hanc luce, gratia et gloria, in qua Deus nos voluit esse positos.* G. BARTHOLDUS PONTANUS, *Bibliotheca*, p. 521.

16 G. BARTHOLDUS PONTANUS A BRAITENBERG, *Bohaemia pia, hoc est historia brevis pietatem avitam Bohemiae e miraculis, ducibus et regibus, sanctisquoque, episcopis et archiepiscopis et ex aliis ostendens, quinque libris comprehensa*, Francofurti 1608.

17 *“Sancta Ludmilla [...] post maritum Boriuorium in Moravia a sancto Cyrillo episcopo baptisatum, [...] septem ecclesias condidit [...]”* – *ibidem*, p. 50; *“Idem Cyrillus a rege ad se invitatum ducem Bohaemiae gentilem adhuc catechisauit et baptizauit [...]”* – *ibidem*, p. 51.

18 *“Rex illico misit pro episcopo suo Methodio, vt illum [Prince Bořivoj] – note – J. M.] catechisaret. [...] Sequenti die, quae fuit vigilia S. Ioannis Baptistae, existente rege compatre a Methodio cum triginta famulis baptizatus est [...]”*; *ibidem*, p. 12.

3 Václav Hájek z Libočan, *Kronika česká*, ed. J. Linka, Praha 2013, pp. 166–167.

4 *Ibidem*, p. 170.

5 *Ibidem*, pp. 170, 172.

6 *Ibidem*, p. 171.

7 *Ibidem*, p. 173.

8 *Ibidem*, pp. 180–181.

9 Ioannes DUBRAVIUS, *Historia Boiematica*, Basileae 1575, pp. 26, 30.

10 Daniel Adam z VELESLAVÍNA, *Kalendář historický*, Praha 1578, p. 179.

Pontan's attempt to integrate the lives of the Moravian apostles into Bohemian history was significant not only for the renewal of their cult in the multi-confessional environment of 17th century Bohemia, but also because it was an important historical and hagiographic topic for the near future. This is mostly because in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the prelate was among those intellectuals who were spreading Catholic patriotism, which was further enriched and spread in the period after the Battle of Bílá Hora by the Baroque patriots.

The defeat of the Uprising of the Estates provided favourable conditions for the development of the cult of Sts Cyril and Methodius. The new religious situation in the country provided good conditions – the general Recatholisation and its emphasis on the cult, and at the same time the significant role played by the above-mentioned motives of the newly promoted and historical traditions of the Bohemian state based on Catholic orthodoxy. A significant fact that strengthened the position of the Moravian apostles in Bohemia was their incorporation into the legend of the Palladium of Stará Boleslav. The cult of Marian patronage of the Kingdom of Bohemia was created in the late 16th to early 17th centuries, and among its advocates was the Canon and Dean of the Metropolitan Chapter, Kašpar Arsenius of Radbuza.¹⁹ Before the Battle of Bílá Hora, in 1613, he published a brief but important treatise on Our Lady of Stará Boleslav, which was published again in an edited version in 1629.²⁰ In the second version, in which Arsenius specified the information from the first version, he connected the Palladium with the main patron of the country, St Wenceslaus, saying it had originally been owned by him. Jan Royt has shown that in the texts of the later Baroque authors, the story of the Palladium was gradually being expanded and other Bohemian patron saints were being included in it – Wenceslaus received the relief from his grandmother, St Ludmila; St Adalbert of Prague and St Procopius of Sázava were included in the Palladium story due to the veneration of Sts Cyril and Methodius; and pilgrimage to the Palladium in Stará Boleslav became a significant motif in the legend of St John of Nepomuk.²¹

Sts Cyril and Methodius were also included in the company of patron saints connected with Our Lady of Stará Boleslav. Their authority as disseminators of Christianity lent the Palladium more weight, and showed it to be of greater age and tradition. Their incorporation in the cult of this Marian relief probably originated in the Jesuit environment. In their book *Život a sláva sv. Václava (The Life and Glory of St Wenceslaus)* from 1669,²² the Jesuits Jan Tanner and Felix Kadlinský write that the Palladium might have been brought to Bohemia by Cyril and Methodius.²³ This idea also

19 For further information about his person and work see J. MIKULEC, *Katolický zemský patriotismus*, pp. 60, 64–65.

20 Kašpar ARSENIUS Z RADBUZY, *O Blahoslovené Panně Marii přečistě rodičce Syna Božího a o divích, kteříž se dějí před jejím obrazem v Staré Boleslavi. Knižka nábožným poutníkům i jiným křesťanům velmi užitečná*, Praha 1613; the second edited version was published under the name *Pobožná knížka o blahoslovené Panně Marii a přečistě rodičce Syna Božího a o divích, kteříž se dějí před jejím obrazem v Staré Boleslavi, nábožným poutníkům i jiným křesťanům velmi užitečná*, Prague 1629.

21 Jan ROYT, *Obraz a kult v Čechách 17. a 18. století*, Prague 1999, pp. 75–80.

22 The book was published as a work of Jan Tanner in 1661; a Czech translation by Felix Kadlinský was published eight years later. An edited version was published by Zdeněk Kalista (ed.), *Jan Tanner a Felix Kadlinský, Život a sláva sv. Václava, mučedlníka, knížete, krále a patrona českého*, Prague 1941.

23 *Ibidem*, p. 73 “Nad jiné svatě a svěřice zvláštním způsobem svou pobožnost k Panně Marii, Matce boží, zjevoval; odtud pošlo, že jest její obraz (od svatého Cyrila aneb Strachoty aneb snad od svaté Lidmily, své milé báby, sobě darovaný) z neznámého jakéhos kovu udělaný při sobě nosival [...]” [More than any other saints, he showed his devotion to the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, and thus it was that he always carried on him her picture made of some unknown metal, given to him by St Cyril or St Methodius, or maybe by his beloved grandmother, St Ludmila].



Fig. 1. Painted decoration of the first alcove chapel at the start of the “Sacred Path” from Prague to Stará Boleslav, which stood behind the Poříčská gate in present-day Karlín.

At the top, Sts Cyril and Methodius are depicted with the Palladium of Stará Boleslav, being crowned by angels; at the bottom stand the figures of St Wenceslaus and St Ludmila; kneeling next to them is Wenceslaus's servant, Podiven, and the priest Paul; in the background are depictions of the place of pilgrimage, the Basilica of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, where the Palladium was kept. Engraving from J. Tanner's book *Svatá cesta z Prahy do Staré Boleslavě (Sacred Path from Prague to Mladá Boleslav)*, Prague 1691.

appeared in the calendar-structured work of the Jesuit Jiří Kruger in the March issue of *Svatých prachů (Sacred Dust)*.²⁴ The author challenged an idea widely held in his time that the Palladium had been created by order of St Ludmila from the metal of the Krosina idol,²⁵ which the Princess had had made when she was still a pagan.²⁶ He reasoned, using the conviction of unspecified

24 Georgius CRUGERIUS, *Sacri pulveres. Sacerrimae memoriae incliti regni Bohemiae coronae et nobilium eiusdem pertinentiarum Moraviae et Silesiae*, tomus III, Litomysslii 1668, p. 80.

25 The same treatise was quoted by, for example, Atlas Marianus W. Gumpfenberg, 1657 – see J. ROYT, *Obraz a kult*, p. 78.

26 G. CRUGERIUS, *Sacri pulveres* III, p. 80.

historians,²⁷ that as the idol was allegedly made of gold, the Palladium could not have been made from it, as the Palladium was known to have been made of an unidentified kind of metal (the idea of the “mysterious” material of which the Palladium was made was also expressed by Arsenius of Radbuza,²⁸ and the majority of Baroque authors happily repeated it). Kruger did not find a foreign origin for the Palladium unlikely; he wrote that it was made out of material that Bohemian mines had not produced yet, and therefore he was inclined to believe that it could have been brought from abroad by the apostles.²⁹

Other Baroque authors also influenced contemplation of the connection between the story of Sts Cyril and Methodius and that of the Palladium of Stará Boleslav. Most importantly, of course, there was Bohuslav Balbín, who in his treatise *Epitome* used the history of the Palladium and Stará Boleslav as the framework for his description of Czech history. Using his thorough knowledge of earlier literature, this Jesuit historian attempted to bring order to these issues, and to organise the existing range of disparate views on the origin of the Palladium.³⁰ He too pleaded the share of Cyril and Methodius in the creation of this Marian relief and offered two hypotheses. In each of them, he assigned a significant role to the apostles. In the first theory, he writes about the possibility that Sts Cyril and Methodius brought the holy Marian relief from the east, from Constantinople. He finds support for this idea in the similarities between the depictions of the Virgin Mary and the Holy Child in the relief from Stará Boleslav and those in Byzantine icons. The second theory, for which Balbín finds a basis in the work of Pontan and Arsenius, is that the Palladium was created in Bohemia under the direct influence of St Methodius, who baptised St Ludmila, and that it was made from the metal of a pagan Krosina idol. In his words, the authors are here mostly referring to an ancient tradition. Balbín points out the unlikelihood of the metal coming from this idol as, according to Hájek, the idol was made of gold. However, he offers a solution, saying that it might have been a different pagan idol. The conclusion of the Baroque Jesuit historian is that both theories allow for the great antiquity of the Palladium and its close connection with the beginnings of Christianity in Bohemia.

In iconography, the connection between the Moravian apostles and this protective Marian artefact was shown in the decorations of the first two alcove chapels on the so-called Sacred Path, the path of pilgrimage from Prague to Poříčská gate in Stará Boleslav. Forty-four chapels were built at the expense of various donors in the 2nd half of the 17th century, and their pictorial decoration is known to us only thanks to the illustrations in the book *Via sancta* by Jan Tanner, which was published

after 1679 in Czech, German and Latin.³¹ In the first chapel (**Fig. 1**) there is a depiction of St Wenceslaus and St Ludmila with the Palladium, with the Moravian apostles hovering over them. Tanner’s book includes a prayer to St Wenceslaus for this chapel, starting with the words, “St Wenceslaus who, being taught by your grandmother St Ludmila, worshipped the Virgin Mary in the image of her from Stará Boleslav brought by Sts Cyril and Methodius [...]”.³² In the next chapel (**Fig. 2**), there was a depiction of St Ludmila with a newly created Palladium, to which the text of a prayer referred, talking at its beginning about the creation of the Palladium out of not only the Krosina idol but also other idols of silver

31 Anonymous [Joannes TANNER], *Svatá cesta z Prahy do Staré Boleslavě k nej-důstojnější rodičce Boží Panně Marii*, Prague 1679 (2nd edition 1692); IDEM, *Heiliger Weeg von Prag nach Alt-Buntzel zu der allerehrwürdigsten Jungfrauen Maria*, Prag 1680; IDEM, *Via sancta Praga Vetero-Boleslaviam ad Dei Genitricem omni honore dignissimam Virginem Mariam deducens*, Pragae 1690.

32 [J. TANNER], *Svatá cesta* (publ. 1692), p. 1.



Fig. 2. Decoration of the second chapel of the “Sacred Path”. Depicts St Ludmila in the presence of Sts Cyril and Methodius (depicted in episcopal mitres) accepting the metal relief of Mary and her Child (the Palladium of Stará Boleslav), cast from pagan idols. Engraving from J. Tanner’s book *Svatá cesta z Prahy do Staré Boleslavě* (*Sacred path from Prague to Stará Boleslav*), Prague 1691.

27 Information about the creation of the golden idol in the shape of a female figure, larger than a man, was given in 891 by Hájek, see J. Linka (ed.), *Václav Hájek z Libočan*, p. 165.

28 “The image belonged to St Wenceslaus, and that is the reason why, in the church in Stará Boleslav, a cup of St Wenceslaus can be seen to this day, made out of a similar metal (that none of the examiners knew and could recognise) to that of which the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary was made [...]”. K. ARSENIUS, *Pobožná knížka*, no page numbers (chapter 12).

29 “Illud porro assertum, quo illatam fuisse Bohemiae a DD. Cyrillo et Methodio affirmatur, non multum oppugnaverim, et quia Graecismum ac Ruthenismum, unde hi apostoli venerunt, sapit, et e materia confecta est, cui similem Bohemae praecipue fodinae hactenus non ediderunt. G. CRUGERIUS, *Sacri pulveres III*, p. 80.

30 Bohuslav BALBINUS, *Epitomes rerum Bohemicarum, seu historiae Boleslavien-sis libri duo: VI. et VII.*, Pragae 1673, Liber VII., pp. 4–7 (*Caput II. Disceptatur de prima Sacrae Imaginis Origine; res tota denique traditione Majorum, et sensu totius antiquitatis nostrae definitur*).

and copper³³ (in this way, the author avoided the objection that the idol was made of gold, which does not correspond to the metal of the sacred relief). The depictions in the chapels on the popular pilgrimage path and the prayers in the book of pilgrimages, which was published several times, give inadvertent testimony to the fact that the connection of the cult of Cyril and Methodius with the Palladium did not remain a question pondered by only a few Latin-speaking scholars. In the 2nd half of the 17th century, it became a popular issue and a commonplace.

While studying the relation between the cult of the apostles and Our Lady of Stará Boleslav, we have left out other references to Sts Cyril and Methodius in Czech historical and hagiographic literature in the period after the Battle of Bílá Hora. In a large number of works from the 2nd half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century, there appear a majority of topics that can be found as early as in Hájek's work, while at the same time we can see how the number of such topics grew over time.

If we proceed chronologically, we must first mention a thin book by the Jesuit Albrecht Chanovského called *Vestigium Boemiae piae*,³⁴ which was published posthumously by Jan Tanner in 1659, when he extended the original text considerably.³⁵ It is in this work where brief information from Tanner's pen appears about the contribution of the Moravian apostles to the introduction of Christianity in Bohemia (he calls them *praecipui primique Boemiae apostoli*), in the chapter dedicated to these patrons of the Czech lands who came from abroad (*Sancti patroni Boemiae externi*).³⁶ In the work of the aforementioned Jiří Kruger, the same volume of his calendarium *Sacri Pulveres* in which we found the essay on the origin of the Palladium, there is a text dedicated to the apostles for the day of their feast on 9 March.³⁷

Given that in this study we are dealing with the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius in Bohemia, it is not our task to follow in detail a separate account of the history of Moravia, although one by the Dean of St Vitus chapter, Tomáš Pešina of Čechorod, was created in Bohemia. Of course, he did not leave out the Bohemia-related topics of the apostles; for example, in his *Předchůdce Moravopisu (Predecessors of Moravian writing)*, he mentions Bořivoj's baptism by Velehrad Archbishop Strachota (Methodius).³⁸ However, he brings up Cyril and Methodius in another work too – his voluminous *Phosphorus septicornis*, dedicated to St Vitus Cathedral and its chapter. In the third "ray" of this book, concentrating on the glory

and loyalty of the metropolitan chapter, the author describes Bořivoj's baptism and other events connecting both Moravian saints with Bohemia (Cyril's journey with the body of St Clement, Christian churches founded by him, Methodius' stay in Prague and the baptism of St Ludmila).³⁹ A good example of how the subject of Sts Cyril and Methodius was expanding is Pešina's narrative of the baptism of St Wenceslaus, already described by Hájek. However, the latter did not know what Pešina knew – that the child received his baptism from the hands of St Methodius.⁴⁰

Cyril and Methodius were an important topic for Bohuslav Balbín, too. Besides the aforementioned contemplations on the creation of the Palladium, they play a major role in his *Epitome* as propagators of Christianity in the Czech lands.⁴¹ Balbín devoted a rather large section to the saints here. For example, he explained the name Strachota, by which Methodius was referred to in some Czech texts of the time (it was supposed to be a Slavonic translation of the name Methodius, which includes the Latin word *metus* – fear).⁴² Both apostles appear in Balbín's most extensive work, the *Miscellanea*. Of course, they are written about in most detail in the hagiographic historical book *Bohemia sancta*, in which, due to the chronological organisation of the text, there is an entry dedicated to them at the beginning of part one.⁴³ Balbín also mentions both apostles in the description of Bořivoj's and Ludmila's baptism in the relevant section of "*Sacred Bohemia*" dedicated to these personalities.⁴⁴ In the seventh part of the first decade of the *Miscellanea*, which is dedicated to Bohemian rulers (*Liber regalis*), the Jesuit historian briefly mentions their part in the introduction of Christianity to the Bohemian ruling dynasty and subsequently to the whole country.⁴⁵

Balbín's texts on Sts Cyril and Methodius are created with the knowledge of many older historical and hagiographic works. This historian, who was quite critical for his time, was aware of discrepancies in some statements in the older literature, and therefore he proceeded carefully. He also rejected the traditional idea of the beginnings of Christianity at the time of Cyril and Methodius (he quotes the report on the baptism of fourteen Czech princes in 845 in the *Annals of Fulda*).⁴⁶ He tried to make some of Hájek's statements more accurate and correct (for example, with regard to the chronological order of Cyril's life, Balbín excluded Cyril from the consecration of the chapel that used to stand in the place of the later

33 "St Wenceslaus, whose grandmother, St Ludmila, being by Sts Cyril and Methodius converted to Christian faith, out of the golden idol of Goddess Krosina and out of other silver and copper idols had an image of Our Lady of Boleslav made [...];" *ibidem*, p. 2.

34 Albertus CHANOVSKÝ, *Vestigium Boemiae Piae, seu res quaedam memoratu dignae, quae in Boemia praesertim in districtu Pragensi et Pilsnensi, vel ab hominibus sunt pie erga Deum gestae, vel a Deo hominibus singulari favore, aut etiam in poenam acciderunt*, Coloniae 1659 (2nd revised edition, Prague 1689 – below, I quote the second edition).

35 J. MIKULEC, *Vestigium Boemiae Piae Albrechta Chanovského – krajina zázraků z časů pobělohorské rekatolizace*, in: Jaroslav Pánek – Miloslav Polívka – Noemi Rejchrtová (ed.), *Husitství – Reformace – Renesance (Anthology on the occasion of František Šmahel's 60th birthday)* II, Prague 1994, pp. 767–779.

36 A. CHANOVSKÝ, *Vestigium*, p. 88.

37 G. CRUGERIUS, *Sacri pulveres* III, pp. 59–61.

38 Tomáš Jan PEŠINA Z ČECHORODU, *Prodromus Moravographiae, to jest předchůdce Moravopisu*, Litomyšl 1663, book I, chapter IV (no p. numbers), o Cyrilovi a Metodějovi (a opět o křtu Boleslava) kniha III, chap. II.

39 Thomas Joannes PESSINA DE CECHOROD, *Phosphorus septicornis, stella alias matutina, hoc est: Sanctae metropolitanae Divi Viti ecclesiae pragensis majestas et gloria*, Pragae 1673, s. 119–126.

40 "[...] anno 908 natus est Wenceslaus, quem Metudius in ecclesia s. Clementis in arce Wissehradensi sacro baptisate abluit.;" *ibidem*, s. 124.

41 B. BALBINUS, *Epitome historica rerum Bohemicarum, quam ob veneratim christianae antiquitatis, et primae in Bohemia collegialis ecclesiae honorem, Boleslaviensem historiam placuit appellare*, Pragae 1677, particularis p. 5 (baptism of Prince Bořivoj), p. 80 (baptism of Princess Ludmila), p. 6–11 (virtues of both apostles).

42 "[...] Methodius seu Methudius, aut etiam, si nomen ei a Slavis inductum in argumentum trahimus, Metudius (nam id Strachotae nomen a metu deductum significat) [...]" – *ibidem*, p. 6.

43 B. BALBINUS, *Miscellanea historica regni Bohemiae, decadis I. liber IV. hagiographicus, seu Bohemia sancta*, Pragae 1682, p. 1–6 (hereinafter cited as *Bohemia sancta*).

44 *Ibidem*, pp. 7–8 (Bořivoj), pp. 11–13 (Ludmila).

45 B. BALBINUS, *Miscellaneorum historicorum regni Bohemiae decadis I. liber VII. regalis, seu de ducibus ac regibus Bohemiae*, Pragae 1687, pp. 51–52.

46 B. BALBINUS, *Epitome* I, pp. 11–13 (*Notae in caput III. – Quando Bohemi et Moravi primum ad Christum conversi*).

Church of Our Lady before Týn in Prague, and he ascribed it to Methodius).⁴⁷ He was restrained on disputable issues; for example, on the question of whether the apostles were real siblings he wrote that it was believed they were brothers, yet it was not certain whether this meant they were true siblings or just brothers in the sense of their status and occupation.⁴⁸ Regarding the baptism of Bořivoj, he first wrote (in the *Epitome*) that it was performed by Methodius,⁴⁹ but in his later texts in the *Miscellanea* he wrote about this matter only in general terms, just mentioning the apostles.⁵⁰ He also tended to avoid the incident of the humiliation experienced at a feast by the Bohemian Prince that was to motivate him to adopt the Christian faith.

Of course, the subject of Sts Cyril and Methodius appeared in the works of the following generations of historians (in the period after the Battle of Bílá Hora) who were concerned with the history of the Czech lands. In his work on the history of Prague and Prague's churches (*Prodromus gloriae Pragenae*), Jan Florián Hammerschmidt makes a number of references to the apostles – naturally, Bořivoj's baptism by St Methodius at Velehrad,⁵¹ Methodius' stay in Bohemia after his departure from Moravia,⁵² the christening of the new-born St Wenceslaus by Methodius,⁵³ the consecration of Týn Chapel by St Cyril (here the author does not reflect Balbín's opposing view), who ordained vicars and gave the first sermon⁵⁴, and the consecration of two other chapels in Prague, also by Cyril (these were allegedly St Clement's Chapel at Vyšehrad and All Saints Chapel at Prague Castle).⁵⁵ Based on Hájek, Hammerschmidt also mentioned the report on the founding of a church in Stará Boleslav dedicated to the apostles.⁵⁶

We could continue for a long time in the enumeration of topics in Baroque literature associated with Bohemia, but we will give only two more examples of works published in Czech. Many of these topics are contained in *Poselkyně starých přiběhův českých* by the Knight of the Cross Jan František Beckovský, who worked with the topics from Hájek's *Chronicle*, although with the knowledge of works by his predecessors.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, he mostly adhered to Hájek; for example, he had Bořivoj baptised at Velehrad by Cyril, after his humiliation by King Svatopluk.⁵⁸ However, this was not due to the author's ignorance. It was more of an attempt not to complicate matters too much for the reader, although in the end, his honesty made Beckovský mention that, according to Přibík

Pulkava, it was Methodius who baptised Bořivoj.⁵⁹ Otherwise, the author of *Poselkyně* understood the brotherhood of Sts Cyril and Methodius in the traditional way;⁶⁰ he also adhered to Hájek's report on the consecration of the Týn chapel by Cyril. Like many authors before him, he emphasised the beneficial influence of St Methodius in Bohemia after his expulsion from Moravia. He described Methodius' foundation of a Latin school in Budeč (this topic appears in the works of earlier authors, too, e.g. Jiří Kruger and Bohuslav Balbín).⁶¹

Beckovský's *Poselkyně*, written in Czech, became popular reading in the 18th century. Thus the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius was spread among the wider population, and in the 1st half of the 18th century it also became the major source for an anonymous compilation of Bohemian history published under the title *Země dobrá, to jest země česká*.⁶² At its very beginning, in the emotional invocation of the Bohemian patron saints, Sts "Crha" and "Strachota" are called upon.⁶³ Compared to most of the aforementioned works, and naturally compared to *Poselkyně*, this is, of course, a relatively brief compilation, whose author needed to explain the history of Bohemia in a clear and simple way. This affects the view of the Moravian apostles, and debatable issues are solved unequivocally and in the traditional way: St Cyril had the Palladium of Stará Boleslav made out of the metal of the idol of Krosina,⁶⁴ baptised Bořivoj,⁶⁵ consecrated Týn Chapel in Prague,⁶⁶ was a true brother of Methodius⁶⁷ etc.

Besides hagiographic and historical Baroque literature, which was primarily directed at the literate (of course, thanks to the public readings common at the time, it had a broader reach), other media existed too, which were able to address believers in large numbers. One of them was hymns. Naturally, the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius penetrated Baroque hymnals. The song by Adam Michna of Otradovice about Sts Cyril and Methodius is contained, for example, in his *Svatočinná muzika (Holy Year Music)* from 1661 (*O svatých Crhovi a Strachotovi, biskupích a patronech českých i moravských – Of Sts Cyril and Methodius, bishops and patrons of Bohemia and Moravia*).⁶⁸ This is a text which probably gained certain popularity; an edited and abbreviated version of it can be found, for example, in *Kancionál český (Czech Hymnal)*, put together by Matěj Václav Šteyer (first published in 1683 and republished many times in the late 17th and early 18th centuries),⁶⁹ in the book of songs by Václav Holan Rovenský, *Capella*

47 B. BALBINUS, *Bohemia sancta*, p. 7.

48 "Fratres fuisse traduntur, sed an sanguine, an isstitutione et professione vitae tantum, incertum est. B. BALBINUS, *Epitome* I, p. 6.

49 *Ibidem*, p. 5.

50 "[...] bona fortuna apud regem [Moravian "king" Svatopluk – note. J. M.] SS. Cyrillum et Methodium invenit, a quibus christianis institutus, et pridie S. Joannis Baptistae initiatus est cum suis [...]"; B. BALBINUS, *Bohemia sancta*, p. 7.

51 Joannes Florianus HAMMERSCHMID, *Prodromus gloriae Pragenae*, Prague 1723, pp. 13, 23.

52 *Ibidem*, p. 14.

53 *Ibidem*, p. 363.

54 *Ibidem*, p. 24.

55 *Ibidem*, pp. 374, p. 389.

56 *Ibidem*, p. 14–15.

57 Jan BECKOVSKÝ, *Poselkyně starých přiběhův českých*, Prague 1700, pp. 123–132.

58 *Ibidem*, p. 123–124.

59 *Tamtéž*, p. 124. Beckovský was well aware of the inaccuracies in literature; he mentioned these in general words, "I must state here that the authors of the chronicles correspond with each other neither in years, nor in deeds of the two brothers; what some ascribe to Cyril, others ascribe to Methodius [...]"; *ibidem*, p. 132.

60 *Ibidem*, p. 130.

61 G. CRUGERIUS, *Sacri pulveres* III, p. 61; B. BALBINUS, *Epitome* I, p. 8.

62 A modern edition of this document is published by Ivana Kučerová – Lucie Medová (ed.), *Země dobrá, to jest země česká*, Brno 1998.

63 *Ibidem*, pp. 9–10.

64 *Ibidem*, p. 10.

65 *Ibidem*, pp. 29–30.

66 *Ibidem*, p. 33.

67 *Ibidem*, p. 33.

68 Antonín Škarka (ed.), *Adam Michna z Otradovic, Básnické dílo*, Prague 1985, p. 182.

69 ANONYM [Matěj Václav ŠTEYER], *Kancionál český, více než osm set a padesáté písní na všechny přes celý rok slavností, neděle a zasvěcené svátky [...] v sobě obsahující*, Prague 1683, p. 690.

regia musicalis, from 1693,⁷⁰ and in the hymnal *Slaviček rájský* by Josef Božan from 1719.⁷¹ Other hymns to both apostles also appear in Baroque hymnals; two such songs are found, for example, in Božan's works (*Ej naše kněžská knížata, svatý Crha a Strachota; Slávo margrabství tohoto*).⁷² Those songs do not say much about the cult and legends of Sts Cyril and Methodius; that was not their purpose, anyway. They do, however, identify the apostles as patrons of Bohemia and Moravia and talk about their significant part in the Christianisation of both lands.

The second Baroque medium allowing the rather effective promotion of the cult of Sts Cyril and Methodius was the pulpit. Although the words that sounded from the pulpits of the 17th and 18th centuries remain mostly unknown to us, we do have the homiletic literature at our disposal. When postils were published in folk languages, they also served as educational religious literature. However, most sets of printed sermons also recorded period trends and topical utterances which people could hear in churches, too.

If postils at least partially reflected the feasts of the individual saints, Sts Cyril and Methodius appear in them. For example, in Steyer's postil published in 1691⁷³ and in the historical and hagiographic literature studied, topics connecting the two saints with the history of Bohemia appear frequently, i.e. Bořivoj's baptism, including the story of the humiliation of the Bohemian Prince at Svatopluk's court. The author of this postil outlines the story of their Moravian mission, but any reference to the introduction of the liturgy performed in the Slavonic language is missing. Some Baroque authors did include this detail (of course, Bohuslav Balbín⁷⁴ was very thorough, but also, for example, writing in Czech, Jan Beckovský⁷⁵). The story emphasised by Hájek⁷⁶ in which the apostles obtained a special privilege for Slavonic liturgies during their papal audience undoubtedly strengthened the importance of both apostles and gained respect for them. From the perspective of the emerging Baroque patriotism of the 2nd half of the 17th century, which included the issue of language and a certain antipathy towards the predominance of German, this incident was of great importance – the Slavic language used by the apostles thus reached the same status as Latin, Greek and Hebrew, which in the eyes of the Baroque patriots increased the prestige of the Czech language. In his private essay, not intended for publishing (published a century later under the title *Obrana jazyka slovanského, zvláště pak českého*), Bohuslav Balbín understands and describes the importance of the apostles in the same way.⁷⁷

70 Václav Karel HOLAN ROVENSKÝ, *Capella regia musicalis. Kaple královská zpěvní a muzikální v řeči a v jazyku českém [...] držaná*, Prague 1693, p. 165

71 Jan Josef BOŽAN, *Slaviček rájský na stromě života slávu tvorci svému prospěvující, to jest Kancionál anebo kniha písební rozličné nábožné písně s mnohým spásitelným přemyšlováním obsahující*, Hradec Králové 1719, p. 617.

72 J. J. BOŽAN, *Slaviček rájský*, p. 616–617, modern versions of these two songs in: Jan Malura – Pavel Kosek (ed.), *Jan Josef Božan, Slaviček rájský*, Brno 1999, pp. 240–244.

73 Matěj Václav ŠTEYER, *Postilla katolická na dvě částky rozdělená nedělní i sváteční, aneb Vejkladové na evangelia*, Prague 1691, pp. 739–750 (*Na den svatých Cyrilla a Metodía, apoštolů moravských a českých*).

74 B. BALBINUS, *Epitome* I, pp. 9–10.

75 J. BECKOVSKÝ, *Poselkyně*, pp. 131–132.

76 J. LINKA (ed.), *Václav Hájek z Libočan*, pp. 172–173.

77 Milan Kopecký (ed.), *Bohuslav Balbín, Rozprava krátká, ale pravdivá*, Prague 1988, p. 91.

However, the subject of Slavonic liturgy was clearly not convenient for Šteyer's postil. In this text, aimed at the wider circle of the faithful of the Catholic Church, with its Latin rites (in which it differed in the Early Modern Period from opposing denominations), information about the Slavonic liturgy would have sounded inappropriate, to say the least. Božan's above-mentioned book of songs *Slaviček rájský*, which contains, besides songs, explanatory passages on religious realia and some contemplations, includes an essay explaining and justifying the usage of Latin in the liturgy. Cyril and Methodius are not directly mentioned here, but it is written that seven hundred years ago, "Moravians were allowed to perform the liturgy in the Slavic language, so why not now?"⁷⁸ The author explains this conflict by the lack of Latin among the educated clergy of the time. He also emphasises that now the condition had ceased to exist, the Slavic language in the liturgy had to be abandoned (the explanation gives several reasons why the non-Latin liturgy is contemptible).

Naturally, the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius in Baroque Bohemia, which we have tried to approach here, did not find its expression only in a variety of literary texts. The process of adopting the Moravian apostles for patrons of the country and protectors of the Kingdom of Bohemia played out on several levels. We have followed only one of them. At another level – concerning the Church and the liturgy – this process reached a significant point at the moment when the position of the Moravian apostles in Bohemia was strengthened and, in a way, made more formal. In 1667, on the initiative of Baroque patriots, the names of both apostles were included among the protectors of the land in an old liturgical form – a votive mass – and even in first place.⁷⁹

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78 J. J. BOŽAN, *Slaviček rájský*, pp. 389–390.

79 Bohumil ZLÁMAL, *Slovanští apoštolové svatí Konstantin – Cyril a Metoděj*, in: Jaroslav Kadlec (ed.), *Bohemia sancta. Životopisy českých světců a přátel Božích*, 2nd edition Prague 1990, pp. 7–28, on p. 25.

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Jan Josef BOŽAN, *Slaviček rájský*, ed. Jan Malura – Pavel Kosek, Brno 1999.

Ioannes DUBRAVIUS, *Historia Boiémica*, Basileae 1575.

Daniel Adam z VELESLAVÍNA, *Kalendář historický*, Praha 1578.

THE HERITAGE OF GREAT MORAVIA IN SOUTH SLAVONIC LITERATURE

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Great Moravia, which was situated on the territory of what is now Moravia and West Slovakia, has been considered the homeland of the earliest Slavic literary language – the Old Church Slavonic and the Old Church Slavonic literature. On this territory, however, no 10th century manuscripts have survived. All texts of the earliest period of Slavonic literature are known only from South Slavic and East Slavic copies. The subject of this paper are in Great Moravian texts, which were brought into Croatian Glagolitic and Serbian Church Slavonic literature without Bulgarian contribution.

Based on historical, linguistic and material criteria we come to the conclusion that the Croatian Glagolitic Vienna Folia (11th–12th cent.), as well as the Old Testament Books of Proverbs (Proverbia) and Ruth in breviaries may come directly from Great Moravia.

The Analysis of Old Serbian literature did not reveal any works, which would with certainty descend from Great Moravia. This also applies to archaic Old Serbian hymnographic works, which were discovered during the past years. The Old Slovenian Freising manuscripts, on the other hand, can most probably be considered originating directly from Great Moravia.

Key words: Great Moravian texts in Old Slavonic language, Croatian Glagolitic literature, Serbian Church Slavonic literature, Freising manuscripts

The name Great Moravia as term for the Slavic Empire of Mojmir in Moravia and West Slovakia in the 2nd half of the 9th century was first used by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus VI (905–959). He writes in the 13th chapter of his work *De administrando imperio*: “Ὅτι τοῖς Τούρκοις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔθνη παράκεινται ... καὶ πρὸς τὸ μεσημβρινὸν μέρος ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία, ...”¹ and in two other places (38.58 and 40.33), he also talks about μεγάλη Μοραβία,² whereas in chapters 41 and 42 he only mentions Μοραβία without the adjective “great”.³ Describing a country with the attribute “great” was used by Byzantine historians for lands lying outside of the Byzantine Empire. This is why it is missing in other sources, either in Latin (*Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum, Annals of Fulda*) or Old Slavonic ones (*The Life of Constantine – Cyril and Methodius*). Attempts by some historians (Boba, Bowlus) to localise the Great Moravian Empire in the South Slavic area may today be regarded as outdated.

The majority opinion is that Great Moravia was home to the first Slavic literary language, Old Slavonic and Old Slavonic literature. However, no proof has been preserved to this day in this area. All texts from the first period of Slavic literature are, without exception, known to originate from South Slavic and East Slavic transcripts. A certain exception are the *Kiev Fragments* that would linguistically have been very close to Great Moravian Old Slavonic, but were found in Palestine. The subject of this article is the Great Moravian works that ended up in Croatian Glagolitic literature and Serbian Church Slavonic literature directly and not indirectly via Bulgaria or Macedonia. The Old Bulgarian tradition, being undoubtedly the most important one in terms of quantity and contents, will be mentioned only in the case

when Great Moravian texts reach Croatia and Serbia through Bulgaria.

Croatian and Serbian texts of Great Moravian origin are traceable directly to Great Moravia or were brought there indirectly via Bulgaria; or their Great Moravian origin is only supposed. When connecting these texts to the Great Moravian period of Old Slavonic literacy, we may distinguish historical, factual and linguistic arguments and in some cases arguments based on the original language of the translated texts.

Scholars have more or less justified opinions that Constantine – Cyril or Methodius were the authors of the following writings. Constantine is supposed to have written the Gospel book (aparakos), the Psalter, the *Alphabet Prayer, Napisanje o pravěi věřě*, Preface to the Gospel (*Proglas*), *Sermon on the Translation of the relics of Clement or the Chersonesus Legend, Zakon sudnyj ljudem* (some researches think this was the work of his brother Methodius).⁴ The four Gospels are attributed to Methodius, along with several books of the Old Testament, *Nomocanon* (the Synagoge in 50 titles by John Scholasticus),⁵ *Anonymous Homily* from the Cloz manuscript,⁶ a *Canon about the holy martyr Demetrius of Thessalonike* and possibly the *Macedonian Cyrillic folio* and the *Scete Patericon*.⁷

We may disregard some of these writings, because they are not attested in Croatian Glagolitic literature or Serbian Church Slavonic literature: *Napisanje o pravěi věřě*, *Sermon on the Translation of the relics of Clement*, *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, *Nomocanon* and the *Macedonian Cyrillic folio*. Croatian Glagolitic literature

1 Constantine Porphyrogenitus. *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsik – Romilly James Heald Jenkins, Washington, D. C., 1967, p. 64, 13.3–5.

2 *Ibidem*, pp. 172, 176.

3 *Ibidem*, pp. 180, 182.

4 Alexander M. SCHENKER 1995, p. 232 (3.51.1).

5 František V. MAREŠ 1994, p. 44; A. M. SCHENKER 1995, p. 232 (3.51.1).

6 A. M. SCHENKER 1995, p. 212 (3.44).

7 Compare Nicolaas VAN WIJK 1975.

is also missing the *Alphabet Prayer*,⁸ Preface to the Gospel (*Proglas*), *Canon about the holy martyr Demetrius of Thessalonike* and the *Scete Patericon*.

Let us have a look at texts that, according to the aforementioned criteria, may have been inherited directly from Great Moravia without a Bulgarian intermediate stage. These are the following Croatian texts: *Vienna Folia* (11th–12th century), completed parts of the Old Testament in breviary pericopes⁹ (mainly the *breviary of Vid of Omišalj* from 1396), ritual texts (various benedictions in missals and breviaries), Order of the Mass (in missals from the 14th–15th century) and the *Life of Cyril*.

The *Vienna Folia* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex slavicus Nr. 136) contain two folia that are part of a sacramentary with Masses for the holidays of one or two apostles.¹⁰ The fragments contain part of pericope 1 Cor 4, 9–14 (f. Ba17–Bb11). The sacramentary is translated from Latin and shows lexical correspondences with the *Kiev letters* (*тъша* “Mass”, *въсудъ* “communion, Eucharist”), or also with other Cyrillo-Methodian texts (*брашьнсе* “communion, Eucharist”). The pericope is basically identical with Church Slavonic Apostles (manuscripts from Ohrid, Slepče, Christinopol, Strumica, Šišatovac and Matiča Srpska). Verse 1 Cor 4, 9 contains *buichъ radi*, a corrupt reading of the regularly used *bui ch(rist)a radi*. Verse 1 Cor 4, 11 from the Vienna letters contains a unique reading *дъньсьнъ* instead of *пунѣсьнъ* (Greek ἄρτι, Latin hanc).¹¹ The phrasing of the pericope does not allow us to deduce whether it originates directly from Great Moravia or reached Croatia through the south-east Balkans (i.e. the *južni put*). The original of the Vienna letters may originate, as is most often expected, from Great Moravia; however, it is not impossible for the text to have been translated and compiled in Croatia (the words *брашьнсе*, *тъша* and *въсудъ* are also documented in other Croatian Church Slavonic¹²).

Since the period of Josef Vajs, the Croatian Church Slavonic pericopes from the Old Testament that were translated into Greek but are missing in the Old Slavonic parimejnik are perceived as an important argument benefiting a Cyril – Methodius origin for them.¹³ These are mostly contained in the manuscripts of breviaries, mainly the *breviaries of Vit from Omišlej* from 1396. The situation with Croatian Old Testament texts can certainly not be described in such an undifferentiated manner as was done by the Russian researcher B.N. Florja, more than ten years ago: “Есть основания полагать, что очень рано, вероятно еще в IX в. славянская письменность из Великой Моравии проникли в Хорватию. Исследование текстов из Писания в хорватских глаголических миссалах и breviариях XIV–XV вв. показало наличие среди

8 *The Alphabet Prayer (Azbučna molitva)* is contained only in East Slavonic manuscripts; however, originally it existed in Serbian transcripts that were burnt in 1941 in the Serbian National Library. Compare Kujo KUEV 1974, p. 141; Svetozar MATIĆ 1952, p. 239 (No. 135/293; Svátečný minej, 14th century); Dimitrije BOGDANOVIĆ 1982, p. 205 (R 357).

9 This means such parts that are not documented in the parimejniks.

10 Klaus GAMBER 1968, p. 406, č. 898.

11 This version is also contained in Serbian Church Slavonic (or Bosnian Church Slavonic) manuscripts from Hvalov 1404 (my colleague Štefan Pilát from Prague was so kind to point this out during a discussion over my paper).

12 Compare. RCJHR 2000, p. 237, compare *брашьнсе*; RCJHR 11, p. 64, compare *vsudъ*.

13 Josef VAJS 1913, IDEM 1914.

них фрагментов древних переводов, выполненных еще в эпоху деятельности Кирилла и Мефодия, и отсутствие новых переводов, выполненных в Первом Болгарском царстве.”¹⁴ Vajs drew attention to various Croatian Old Testament texts related to the first Bulgarian Empire, when analysing e.g. pericopes from the Book of Daniel. The number of Preslav texts which passed to Croatian Glagolitic literature has risen recently. This includes apocryphal, hagiographical, homiletic and several other texts, e.g. extracts from *Physiolog* (Reinhart 2004, 72; Štefanić 1969, 342–344). It is in the *breviaries of Vit from Omišlej* and the second *Vrbnice breviary* where we can find texts that were adopted from Bulgaria, e.g. parts of stories about Joseph of Egypt, interpolated into the Book of Genesis, or the commentary on the prophet Hosea. Still, the Croatian Glagolitic manuscript breviaries contain a number of texts from Holy Scripture that came to Croatia from Great Moravia, e.g. The Book of Ruth,¹⁵ the Minor Prophets and the Book of Proverbs.¹⁶ A large number of Old Testament pericopes can be found in the Croatian Church Slavonic missal. A number of them were translated into Latin; also, those pericopes of Old Slavic origin were – probably as early as the 12th century – redacted according to the texts of Latin missals. Nevertheless, all the pericopes have smaller or larger traces of these Old Slavonic texts in common when compared to their counterparts in the Old Slavonic parimejnik. Only in the few passages in the pericope that do not have a parallel in the parimejnik text can we see similarities with the Greek text, e.g. Jer 17, 8 *v’vrēme bezdъžbno* – ἐν ἐναντιῷ ἄβροχίας in tempore (vl.: anno) siccitatis; Os 6, 3 *i ēko oblak’ jutrn’ni* – καὶ ... ὡς ἕτερος ... πρόμιος lat.: Ø. These few passages currently have no satisfactory explanation and are too scarce in order to come to a conclusion. On the other hand, rare Central Bulgarian language features have been proven in Old Testament pericopes of missals, mainly proof of swapped nasals:

Is 49, 9 (5th Saturday of Lent): Vat4 uznikom’] = Nov Lj164 Novlj Vat8 1Vrb Oxf373 Oxf349 Hrv Kph Pt 1483] Roč žzikomъ] = Lj162 2Vrb Berl NY] Grig ęzykomъ] Zach Perf užьnikomъ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς *qui vinciti sunt*

Exod 14, 24 (White Saturday): Vat4 v stražju jutrnъ] = 2Vrb Novlj Kph Brib] Roč jutrnъju] = Nov (-nju) Vat8 Oxf349 Berl Pt1483 (-nju] Grig въ страžъ utrъničnъ – ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τῇ ἑωθινῇ *vigilia matutina*

It seems we may deduce that all paroimia texts were adopted from Bulgaria or Macedonia; however, even though this is debatable, we may not rule out this option.

New Testament pericopes in Croatian missals display a great number of Bulgarian phonetic features. The textological argument further questions the direct adoption from Great Moravia. These pericopes contain variations corresponding to a short Aprakos, to the four Gospels as well as to a long Aprakos.¹⁷ Because the long Aprakos most probably originates from

14 Boris N. FLORJA 2000, p. 7.

15 *Liber Ruth. Ex codice Bibl. Palatinae Vindobonen. transcriptum notis bibliographicis in eundem codicem ornavit*, ed. J. Vajs, Veglae (Krk) 1905; Alexandr MIČAJLOV 1908. The critique of Francis J. Thomson against the origin of the Book of Ruth is not justified (Francis J. THOMSON 1998, p. 751). Neither the Greek original nor the lexicon (no citation of any lexeme!) proves “an early pre-Symeonic translation”.

16 Compare Václav ČERMÁK 1999.

17 Johannes REINHART 1990, p. 196.

10th century East Bulgaria, a direct Great Moravian origin for these texts is practically eliminated.

Josef Vajs and Josef Vašica believe that the Mass order and especially the Canon of the Mass in Croatian Glagolitic missals are of Great Moravian origin. Their argument is chiefly based on the archaic vocabulary¹⁸ – compare the words *krovъ* “roof”, *blagootvētělъ* “rationabilis” (// Greek. εὐαπολόγητος), *hvali vsilati* “gratias agere” (// Greek εὐχαριστίας ἀναπέμειν) – the mention of the Archangel Michael and the relation to the Greek liturgy of Saint Peter.¹⁹ It is not impossible that individual words of the Mass Order and of the Canon of the Mass are reminiscences of an older original, but generally the lexicon of these texts is rather neutral and, interestingly, contains several lexemes which are of a rather new, Croatian origin, such as *biskupъ* “bishop”, *katoličьskъ* “Catholic”, *pačetovati* “memor esse”, *ředovъnikъ* “friar” (in the place of the Latin word *orthodoxus!*), *sъdružьba* “consortium”, *vedrъnъ* “servus”. Regarding the liturgy of Saint Peter, the situation considerably changed after the find of new Sinai manuscripts, especially manuscript Sin. glag. 5/N. This manuscript proves Peter’s liturgy originated from a Greek original from the 10th century, eliminating the possibility of Slavonic translations in the 9th century.²⁰

Services for Saint Cyril and Methodius can be found in several Croatian Glagolitic breviaries,²¹ which as is known contain extracts from the *Life of Cyril*. The Croatian researcher Marija Pantelićová (1965) found the breviary of priest Mavra from 1460 to contain extracts from the *Hymn to Saint Cyril (The Praise)*, which was written by Clement of Ohrid.²² Bohemia or Great Moravia are generally perceived as the place of origin of these services; there are many opinions in Slavonic Studies regarding the period of origin: the 9th century (Ivan Berčić, 10th–11th century (Lavrov, Vajs, Vašica, Hrabák, Večerka) and 14th century (Voronov, Snopek, Ohijenko, Graus). Vojtěch Tkadlčík (1977) convincingly specified the period of origin to be the 14th century, based on textological and linguistic analysis. He assumes from the *Life of Cyril* and the *Praise* that both texts were available in 14th century Bohemia (Tkadlčík 1977, 87). Following these findings, the Italian Slavist Giorgio Ziffer recently presented his theory that Croatian Glagolitic extracts from the *Life of Cyril* belong to the Russian branch of the legend that had to be known in 14th century Prague.²³ Be it as it may, it is sure that the *Life of Cyril* could not have reached Croatia directly from Great Moravia.

Croatian liturgy missals and breviary books preserved several ritual texts, i.e. blessings.²⁴ Some originate from Old Slavonic originals and have their counterparts in *Euchologium Sinaiticum*. This e.g. concerns a prayer during tonsure (compare

Roc’s missal, f. 222ra = Euch 7a) or the blessing of lamb meat during Easter (compare Novak’s missal, f. 90vb = Euch 16b). Redaction changes in Croatian texts are quite extensive (e.g. Old Slavonic *postrěšti* – Croatian Church Slavonic *podьstriči, mysľ – milostь*; Old Slavonic *prizьrěti* – Croatian Church Slavonic *posěti-ti, vsъsasъžagajemaja – olokavta*). Based on a different reading of *olokavta – vsъsasъžagajemaja* Tandarić presumed that Croatian texts originated from a more archaic version than the *Euchologium sinaiticum* (Tandarić 1980, 58). However, he also doubts the existence of these texts during the Great Moravian period.²⁵ If it is so, then these texts had to reach Croatia in a different way than through Great Moravia.

Before I make an interim conclusion, I would like briefly to mention texts which in my opinion do not belong among Croatian Glagolitic or West South Slavonic literature. Marija Pantelićová (Pantelić 1985) claimed that the first page of the *Kiev letters* originated from around Dubrovnik. Based on the linguistic features of the text, recognising the transformation of the front yer into an *e* (*denъ, temъnaě*) and the Central Bulgarian swap of nasals (*urъva*ēštęę), this is hardly possible, as has justifiably already been proven.²⁶ Another example of a hardly acceptable theory is the presumption that Methodius’ *Nomocanon* was known in Croatia and Serbia. Besides one message in the *Chronicle of Priest Dukljan*²⁷, there is no other proof of it.

Extracts from the *Life of Cyril* may safely, and the ceremonial texts and Mass order or Canon of the Mass may with high probability, be excluded from Croatian candidates for direct adoption from Great Moravia – the *Vienna letters*, the Old Testament breviary texts missing in the parimejnk, the *Life of Cyril*, ceremonial texts and the Mass order. Direct adoption of the *Vienna letters* from the North is probable for chronological and textological reasons (translation from Latin, Western rite), whereas the pericope from the Apostle could eventually be based on a later entry. Old Testament breviary pericopes suggest the same direct adoption, but are not proven outside Croatia.

The probability of Great Moravian direct adoption into Serbian Church Slavonic texts is significantly higher than in the case of Croatia. The reasons are the larger geographical distances, the closeness of Serbia and Bulgaria to Macedonia, the later proof of texts (heuristically important!), as well as the lack of definite contacts between Bohemia and Serbia during the post-Cyril and Methodius period. I would like briefly to mention two possible candidates for such contact: the *Life of Benedict* (the second chapter of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great) was translated from Latin into Church Slavonic and is contained in the only Serbian Church Slavonic manuscript (Russkaja Nacional’naja Biblioteka, Hilf. 90; 14th century). Some researchers have noted that the *Life* of the Přemyslids may have been translated in the Czech lands: linguistic arguments support this opinion, but are not conclusive.²⁸ the argument for an Athos translation

18 J. VAJS 1948, pp. 103nn.

19 J. VAJS 1948, p. 118; Josef VAŠICA 1996, pp. 47nn.

20 Compare Stefano PARENTI 1994, 14 “the Greek model behind the Slavonic redaction is related ... to 10th century Italo-Greek witnesses from Campania and Calabria.” Besides this the manuscript mentions the abbot from Montecassino, Aligern († 986).

21 Compare Krasimir STANČEV 2003.

22 Compare Liliana GRAŠEVA 2003. Issued by two printing houses: Bonju St. Angelov – K. Kuev – Christo Kodov 1970, pp. 415–442.

23 in his presentation “La tradizione glagolitica croata della *Vita Constantini*” during the symposium “Hrvatsko glagoljaštvo u europskom okruđu” (Krk, 5–6th October 2012). Compare with new ZIFFER 2013.

24 Compare Josip TANDARIĆ 1980.

25 J. TANDARIĆ 1980, p. 58: “Ipak, koliko je danas poznato, ritualni tekstovi eu-hologija istočne Crkve ne pripadaju među priručne knjige spomenute među knjigama priređenim za potrebe moravske misije, niti pak među knjigama koje je kasnije Metodije uredio za svoje učenike u Moravskoj.”

26 Borjana VELČEVA 1999, pp. 107nn.

27 (Svatopluk) “multas leges et bonos mores instituit, quos qui velit agnoscere, librum sclavorum qui dicitur Methodius legat” (Nomokanonъ – Nomokanon, ed. J. Vašica, in: MMFH IV, Brno 1971, p. 236).

28 Compare Marie BLÁHOVÁ 1992 (bohemisms: zakonъ “monastic order”, istota “veritas”, uluštiti se “peel off, hollow out”). F. J. THOMSON 1983, p. 337 agrees with a translation from Greek.

is rather hypothetical. This makes locating the translation in Serbia, specifically the West Adriatic areas, much more tempting, because the translation of *the Trojan Legends* and the Serbian *Alexandreis* (with the use of Latin texts) originate from here, as was convincingly proven by Radmila Marinkovićová.²⁹ Several years ago, the Bulgarian researcher Desislava Atanasová (2006) was able to identify the Latin original of *the Life of Saint Anastasia* (BHL 1796) in the Serbian Church Slavonic hagiographical Zagreb collection HAZU IIIc24. František Čajka is of the fully justifiable opinion that the translation originated in 11th century Bohemia (Čajka 2011, 188–195). However, this proof is too isolated in order to make complex conclusions.

As has been known for some time, the originals of many Serbian Church Slavonic texts originate from Macedonia, e.g. the two oldest Gospel texts *the Gospel of Miroslav* and *the Gospel of Vukan*. Some texts originating from Bulgaria are only documented in Serbian copies, some besides that also in East Slavonic copies, e.g. the works of Clement of Ohrid (*Hymn to the 40 Martyrs of Sevastij / Praise to the 40 Martyrs of Sevastij*), *Zlatostruj*, *Šestodnev Jan Exarchy Bulharsky*, *Pandekta Antiochova* or *Učitelni evangelium* by Konstantin Preslavsky.

The following paragraph will review the possible direct Great Moravian origin of four Serbian Church Slavonic texts: *Proglas* (prelude to the four Gospels) Constantine-Cyril, two hymnological works (*Canon of Apostle Andrew* by Naum of Ohrid and a newly discovered *liturgy about Saint Methodius*) and extracts from the work *Zapovědi svętyichъ oъsъ*.

Proglas has been preserved in three Serbian manuscripts from the 13th–14th century and in one Russian Church Slavonic manuscript from the 16th century. It is the broad geographical coverage that leads us to the conclusion about Bulgarian mediation. This speculation regarding this linguistic question is solely based on the scarce occurrence of Central Bulgarian, i.e. Late Slavonic swapping of nasals in the Hilandar manuscript No. 23: глѣцѣ (Z. 94; instead of Old Slavonic. *glagoljъšte*).³⁰

The *Canon of Apostle Andrew* by Naum of Ohrid was discovered by Stefan Kožucharov in a Serbian manuscript from the 13th century (Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Chlud. No. 166).³¹ the discovery of another, East Slavonic copy by Anatolij A. Turilov (Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Muz. sobr., No. 3473) disputes the presumption about the direct Great Moravian adoption – Kožucharov believed the origin of the text to be 868, because the letters, documented in Serbian and East Slavonic manuscripts, contain mostly Bulgarian archetypes. Only one Serbian Church Slavonic manuscript documents the liturgy about St Methodius (*Moravskye zemle velei graždanin*; Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Chlud. No. 156). The text had to be created shortly after the death of Methodius and the author was one of his students.³² the question of whether it was written while still in Moravia or after the escape from Moravia to the Slavic South will probably remain unanswered. However, the answer to the question

is important in resolving the mediation issue. If we accept the opinion of Georgij Popov, a Bulgarian scientist who believes no hymnographic works originated in Great Moravia,³³ then direct mediation is impossible. It is my belief that this question has not yet been definitively answered.

The last text we shall have a short look at contains extracts from the Old Slavonic text *Zapovědi svętyichъ oъsъ*. These are the *Pravila s(ve)tychъ o(ť)sъ po zapovědi s(ve)t(a)go i velikago Vasilija* and have been preserved in these and a few other manuscripts: the Berlin collection from the 14th century (BAN No. 48, HAZU No. 707, HAZU No. 709).³⁴ Maksimovič considers the text a Serbian redaction. Since the Berlin collection is written as a Bulgarian–Serbian mixed redaction and East Slavonic manuscripts exist, an origin for this compilation from the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century directly from a Great Moravian manuscript, with Bulgarian hyparchetypes, is unrealistic.

Reviewing the Serbian candidates for direct Great Moravian adoption has led to a not-so-unexpected negative result.

Let us have a final look at the South Slavonic text – the Old Slavonic *Freising manuscripts* from the years 972–1037. We are able to differentiate two “schools” in regard to their history: one rejects a connection with Old Slavonic and the other accepts it. A significant role is played by lexical calques from Greek, pointed out in 1865 by Sreznevský, who, however, overestimated them. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the *Freising manuscripts* contain a number of expressions derived from Eastern Church Fathers which may only be explained by the use of Old Slavonic,³⁵ as well as several calques originating from Greek originals that the *Freising manuscripts* share with Old Slavonic texts. The *Freising manuscripts* contain these documented calques: *ispovědēti* “confess” (Greek calque. ἐξομολογεῖσθαι³⁶), *ispovědъ* “confession”, *srъrъnīkъ* “devil” (Greek calque. ἀντίδικος³⁷), *zъlodēi* “devil” (imitation of the Greek κακοῦργος or κακοποιός). Even though it is not possible to attribute the archetype of *Freising manuscripts* to Great Moravia in the strict sense, one may be sure that this archetype was influenced by Great Moravian Old Slavonic, or as Václav Vondrák would say, “Yes, let us admit that the *Freising manuscripts* originated from a base of Church Slavonic and that without Church Slavonic literature, we would not have any *Freising manuscripts*.”

The result of this review is the discovery that the following Croatian Glagolitic works of literature were, with more or less certainty, imported from Great Moravia: the *Vienna letters* and several other Old Testament breviary readings translated from Greek, but without counterparts in the Old Testament Parimejnik. Texts with a similar history have not yet been discovered in Old Serbian literature. Finally, even the Old Slavonic *Freising manuscripts* show connections to the language and literature of the Slavic apostles and their students from the Great

29 Radmila MARINKOVIĆ 1962, IDEM 1969.

30 Rajko NAHTIGAL 1943, p. 85.

31 Stefano KOŽUCHAROV 1984.

32 Anatolij A. TURILOV 2012, p. 59.

33 Georgi POPOV 2003, p. 175; Compare also Marija JOVČEVA 2008, p. 106.

34 *Zapovědi svętyichъ oъsъ*. *Latinskij penitencial VIII veka v cerkovnoslavjanskom perevode. Issledovanie i tekst*, ed. Kiril A. Maksimovič, Moskva 2008, p. 114.

35 J. VAŠICA 1996, p. 61.

36 Roberto GUSMANI, *Zwischen Lehnbildung und Lehnbedeutung: die altkirchenslavische Terminologie der Beichte*, Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 45 (Festgabe für Karl Hoffmann, Teil II), 1985, p. 72.

37 See also Rudolf KOLARIČ, in: *Freisinger Denkmäler Brižinski spomeniki Monumenta Frisingensia*, München 1968, p. 99.

Moravian period. The oldest known layers of Cyrillo-Methodian texts in the west part of South Slavonic literature are not very large. Most works from this period arrived indirectly through Bulgaria and Macedonia.

Once more, let us clarify the importance of the criteria for a positive or negative answer. In order positively to determine the direct Great Moravian adoption of texts, the chronology and location of occurrence is very important. The *Vienna letters* and the *Freising manuscripts* originate from a region (Croatia and Slovenia/Carinthia) not too far from the Great Moravian Empire. The chronological difference – the years 972 to 1037 and 11th to 12th century – is not so great. Here an important role is played by the language of the original (Old High German and Latin), and – in the case of the *Vienna letters* – also by the genre (Western sacramentary). The Old Testament books in Croatian Glagolitic breviaries are a special case. These were translated from Greek and are not documented in any other Slavonic literature, whereas it is necessary to point out that translations from Greek did not exist in Croatia (I know of only two possible exceptions – the *Life of Paul of Thebes*, BHG 1466, and fragments of the translation *Homily for the Annunciation* Ps. Řehoř Thaumaturg, BHG 1092w/CPG 1776). The criteria to determine the negative direct Great Moravian adoption of texts are represented by texts preserved in manuscripts in distant territories and by linguistic reasons (Bulgarian phonetic features and earlier lexemes). An extremely important part of evaluating Cyrillo-Methodian literature in the last decades has been the increased interest in hymnographic relics, even though this has not led to any new discoveries of new texts of Croatian and Serbian literature that were imported directly from Great Moravia.

A task for the future will be the analysis of known Old Slavonic and Church Slavonic relics, mainly Croatian Glagolitic texts of Holy Scripture, and further, the search for new texts – a task reserved mostly for Russian colleagues who have access to vast manuscript collections in Russia, and finally the attempt to find the Greek originals of Old Slavonic and Church Slavonic texts. All of this will provide a better understanding of magnificent Cyrillo-Methodian Great Moravian literature.

Abbreviations

BHL:	Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, Turnhout 1992.
HAZU:	Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti (Zagreb)
BAN:	Biblioteka Akademii Nauk (St Petersburg)
BHG:	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, Troisième édition mise à jour et considérablement augmentée par François Halkin, Bruxelles 1957.
CPG:	Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Cura et studio Mauriti Geerard, I (Patres antenicaeni [s. I-III]), Turnhout 1983.
RCJHR 2000:	Rječnik crkvenoslavenskoga jezika hrvatske redakcije, I. svezak (a ¹ – vrěďbъ). Zagreb 2000.
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CYRILLO-METHODIAN TRADITIONS IN POLAND: THE LEGEND OF CHRISTIAN IN THE SERVICE OF JAGIELLONIAN AMBITIONS

Marek Stawski

The first source trace of the tradition of Cyril and Methodius in Poland is a legend preserved in a Cracow manuscript from the mid-fourteenth century; closer analysis of the text indicates a relationship with the famous Legend of Christian. However, by the end of this century, the Feast of Sts Cyril and Methodius had already entered into liturgical books of Cracow provenance. This can be tied in with the period of political rapprochement between Polish and Czech culture, starting as early as the end of the thirteenth century. In 1436, Cardinal Zbigniew Olesnicki made Saints Cyril and Methodius patrons of the Polish Kingdom, which extended their worship throughout the whole of Poland. This, in turn, was associated with a period of rapprochement between the two countries during the reign of Jagiello, who consequently took the Czech throne. The tradition of Cyril and Methodius in mediaeval Poland therefore has clear political implications.

Key words: Church organisation, Piast monarchy, the tradition of Sts Cyril and Methodius, Legend of Christian, Ottokar II, Cracow liturgy books, Ladislaus Jagiello, Slavic liturgy, Queen Hedvig, Slavic solidarity, Hussite mottos, Slavic Benedictine Monastery, language similarity, Charles IV

The issue of the Cyril-Methodius mission on Polish territory and the related question of the Slavic rite during the Piast monarchy has been given great attention in Polish literature since the 19th century. An excellent expert on ecclesiastical issues in Poland, Władysław Abraham, expressed it in this way, "To the unconfirmed hypotheses about our oldest history, it is necessary to add the one regarding the existence of a Church organisation with Slavic liturgy on the territory of the then Poland, which involved the conflict between this liturgy and Latin liturgy after the death of Boleslaw the Brave, which has been evaluated in more recent literature in such a manner that it is not necessary to research it again".¹ In spite of the factual conclusions of such an important researcher, Polish historiography and even he himself have repeatedly returned to research Slavic liturgy in Piast Poland and to search for "proof" of its existence. Theories about whether the Cyrillo-Methodian mission included the territory of Poland has its supporters and opponents. What one considers proof of the existence of the Slavic rite, others disprove.² One of the most serious arguments is the mention in *The Life of Saint Methodius* of a Vislan Prince who was supposed to have been baptised by Saint Methodius himself. This has gone on to be used for many overcomplicated hypotheses connecting the Cyrillo-Methodian mission with the political expansion of the Moravian state during the reign of Svatopluk.³ However, this hypothesis "as well as the subjection of the land

of Vislan by the Moravians, stands on shallow foundations", as summarised by Gerard Labuda.⁴ Stanisław Szczur⁵ also agreed with this opinion in his critical study. Another "crowning" argument that is supposed to prove the existence of the Slavic liturgy in Lesser Poland is the names of Cracow Bishops Prochor and Prokulf in the *Catalogue of Cracow Bishops* from the 13th century, who were said to hold the position of bishop after being appointed by Methodius and Svatopluk.⁶ From the series of other "proofs" confirming the practising of Slavic liturgy in Poland, there is, besides others, the information from the letter of Matilda of Swabia to Mieszko II about such ceremonies, and furthermore an entry in the Galla Anonyma chronicle about Poles mourning for Boleslaw the Brave, the dedication of a Cracow church to Saint Salvator and the occurrence of Czech words in Polish ecclesiastical terminology.⁷ This compilation of arguments was later expanded with a hypothesis connecting the Wawel rotunda of Saint Felix and Aduactus with Great Moravia and Slavic liturgies.⁸ Another extraordinary idea

4 G. LABUDA, *Kraków biskupi przed rokiem 1000. Przyczynek do dyskusji nad dziejami misji metodiańskiej w Polsce*, *Studia Historyczne* 27, 1984/ 3, pp. 371–411; IDEM, *Szkice historyczne z X–XI wieku*, Poznań 2004, pp. 53–59.

5 Stanisław SZCZUR, *Misja cyrylo- metodiańska w świetle najnowszych badań*, *Chryścianizacja Polski południowej. Materiały z sesji naukowej odbytej 26 czerwca 1993 roku*, Kraków 1994, pp. 7–23; compare also Jerzy WYROZUMSKI, *Dzieje Krakowa*, t. I: *Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich*, Kraków 1992, pp. 70–76.

6 Józef WIDAJEWICZ, *Prchor i Prokulf, najdawniejsi biskupi krakowscy*, *Nasza Przeszość* 4, 1948, pp. 17–32; this thesis of Widajewicz was discussed by Jan DĄBROWSKI, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, *Rocznik Krakowski* 34, 1958/1, pp. 3–4; Widajewicz returns to the argumentation of Tadeusz LEHR SPŁAWIŃSKI, *Pierwszy chrzest Polski*, *Slavia* 19, 1960, pp. 342–343. It was also supported by Józef UMIŃSKI, *Obrządek słowiański w Polsce IX–XI w. i zagadnienie drugiej metropolii w czasach Bolesława Chrobrego*, *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 4, 1957/1, pp. 3nn. His arguments were critiqued by G. LABUDA, *Zagadka drugiej metropolii w Polsce za czasów Bolesława Chrobrego*, *Nasza Przeszość* 62, 1984, pp. 11–12.

7 The first critical review of documents proving the presence of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in Poland was by W. ABRAHAM, *Organizacja Kościoła*, pp. 156–161; overview of opinions supporting this hypothesis, see also G. LABUDA, *Kraków biskupi przed rokiem 1000. Przyczynek do dyskusji nad dziejami misji metodiańskiej w Polsce*, in: IDEM, *Szkice historyczne X–XI wieku*, Poznań 2004, pp. 49–85.

8 Adolf SZYSZKO BOHUSZ, *Rotunda świętych Feliksa i Adauka (N. P. Maryi) na Wawelu*, *Rocznik Krakowski* 18, 1918, pp. 29–30.

1 Władysław ABRAHAM, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy wieku XII*, 3rd issue, Poznań 1962, p. 157.

2 Gerard LABUDA, *Jakimi drogami przyszło do Polski chrześcijaństwo?*, *Nasza Przeszość* 69, 1988, p. 32.

3 The point of reference is the theses by Karolem Potkańský, see Karol POTKAŃSKI, *Kraków przed Piastami*, *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, *Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 35, 1898, pp. 61–62; IDEM, *Lehici – Polanie – Polska. Wybór pism*, Warszawa 1965, pp. 266–267.; this thesis is later supported by Henryk ŁOWMIANŃSKI, *Początki Polski*, t. IV, Warszawa 1973, p. 325, 472–476. Regarding the topic of the expansion of Great Moravia into Lesser Poland, in Czech literature, see Lubomír Emil HAVLÍK, *Uzemní rozsah Velkomoravské říše v době posledních let vlády krále Svatopluka*, *Slavic studies* 3, 1960, pp. 43nn.; IDEM, *Velká Morava a stře-doevropská Slované*, Praha 1964, pp. 228–229.

proving the influence of the Cyril-Methodius mission on Polish territory is the denarius of Boleslaw the Brave with alleged Slavonic inscriptions.⁹ Existing opinions were expanded with a no less fantastic theory by Karolina Lanckorońska, who argued (using a mention of Saint Gorazd in the Vislik calendar from the 14th century or an entry in the *Roczniku kapituły krakowské* for the years 1027–1028) regarding two alleged metropolitans in Poland.¹⁰ All these considerations resemble “mixing a pot full of well-known hypotheses” but not having any justifiable support in the sources. The lengthy discussion was last summarised by Józef Dobosz, who said that historiographical structures built to support theories about the existence of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in Piast Poland are a “dead end”, and he further considered the Slavic rite to be a historical myth.¹¹ An overview of historiographies regarding this issue reveals a series of unjustified hypotheses that ignore the scientific fields that would enable us to discover the historical sources, causing history to become an item of faith rather than an actual science.¹² The myth about Slavic liturgy in Poland in the 10th and 11th centuries appeared again and again as the “Phoenix rising from the ashes” and goes on to appear as needed.¹³ The meaningfulness of the divagations of Polish historiography regarding the existence of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition on our territory may be concluded with Aristotle’s sentence, “there is a difference between a historian and a poet [...] – the difference lies in one talking about what really happened and the second about what could have happened.”¹⁴

When dealing with the issues of Cyrillo-Methodian traditions in Poland, it is always necessary to remember that historiography is mainly about researching sources and only a correct time-classification can determine the age of the relic, not the chronology contained in historiographical essays.¹⁵

A substantial development of the Saint Cyril and Methodius cult in Poland can be seen in written sources dated to the 14th century. The first display of the traditions of the Slavic Apostles is the legend contained in the Cracow *Passional* which originates in the 2nd half of the 14th century.¹⁶ Hagiographical motives used in this legend may have been used by priests during sermons and liturgies, thus raising the awareness of a significant portion of society, pervading the imaginations

of worshippers and helping to create a religious group mentality.¹⁷ Including the legend of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the collection of hagiographical texts used at Cracow Cathedral could not have been a mere coincidence. It is possible to assume that this was done with the intention of promoting the cult of the saints, and the legend itself became the propelling force for later development.

The birth of the Saint Cyril and Methodius legend is, as it seems, despite the similarity to the Moravian version¹⁸, a certain amplification of the Legend of Christian; this is no surprise, especially when the latter describes the torturing of Saint Wenceslas.¹⁹ This was the first patron saint of Cracow Cathedral and so it is not impossible that the local priests became familiar with Saints Cyril and Methodius through the person of Saint Wenceslas. On the other hand, the reviving of the tradition of the Czech saints in the Cracow *Passional* should be connected to the period of significant Czech-Polish rapprochement. This lies in the period of Ottokar II and mostly Wenceslas II and the period of his Polish reign which was supported by a large portion of nobility and clergy.²⁰ The most important element of rapprochement regarding the personal union of Polish and Czech lands during the last period of the Premyslids was the constantly repeating rhetoric of the *Manifesto* by Ottokar II on the cultural and ecclesiastical similarity of both nations.²¹ The feeling of mutual togetherness can be seen in Polish and Czech historiographical sources from the middle of the 14th century in Pulkařa’s *Czech Chronicle* and the *Greater Poland Chronicle*, where the legend about the two brothers was first mentioned, about Lech and Czech. Even though each of them stresses different passages, the basic idea about the unity and affinity of both nations stays the same in both texts.²²

17 Teresa MICHAŁOWSKA, *Średniowiecze*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 182–183; compare Marek STAWSKI, *Od Patrocinium do Złotej legendy. Przyczynek do kultu świętych w czerwińskim opactwie kanoników regularnych w świetle wezwań kościelnych, in print*; see also M. Stawski, *Kult św. Cyryla i Metodego w Czechach i Polsce w świetle średniowiecznych ksiąg liturgicznych*, in print.

18 Compare Ignacy POLKOWSKI, *Cześć św. Cyryla i Metodego w Polsce*, Kraków 1885, pp. 16–19; he was the first to publish the Cracow legend. He completely connected it with the Moravian version and with the *Vita et translatio sancti Clementis*; compare *Vita Constantini – Cyrilli cum translatione S. Clementis. Italská legenda*, ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, in: MMFH II, pp. 122–133.

19 The Legend of Christian is connected to the Cracow legend about Saints Cyril and Methodius mainly through its similar historical narration, i.e. the mentioning of the Byzantine origin of both brothers, arrival in Moravia, creation of the Slavic rite, the defence of it in Rome and the baptism of the Czechs Bořivoj, Ludmila and Václav; compare *Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et Sancte Ludmille ave eius*, ed. J. Ludvíkovský, 2nd issue Praha 2012 (Latin text and Czech translation); see also J. Ludvíkovský, *Latinské legendy českého středověku*, Collection of Works of the Philosophical Faculty of Brno University E 18–19, 1973–1974, pp. 267–287.

20 Jan BASZKIEWICZ, *Powstanie zjednoczonego państwa polskiego na przełomie XIII i XIV w.*, Warszawa 1954, pp. 211–212.; Roman HECK, *Poczucie wspólnoty słowiańskiej w czesko-polskich stosunkach politycznych w średniowieczu*, in: G. Labuda – Juliusz Bardach (red.), *Historia. Prace na VI Międzynarodowy Kongres Sławistów w Pradze 1968*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 69–70; Antoni BARCIAK, *Czechy oraz ziemię południowej Polski w XIII oraz w początkach XIV wieku. Polityczno-ideologiczne problemy ekspansji czeskiej na ziemię południowej Polski*, Katowice 1992, passim; IDEM, *Ideologia polityczna monarchii Przemysła Otakara II. Studium z dziejów czeskiej polityki zagranicznej w drugiej połowie XIII wieku*, Katowice 1982, passim; IDEM, *Między Polską a Czechami. Śląsk i jego mieszkańcy w źródłach czeskich doby średniowiecza*, Wrocław 2012; Maciej MACIEJOWSKI, *Orientacje polityczne biskupów metropolii gnieźnieńskiej 1283–1320*, Kraków 2007, pp. 166–170, 225–238; from Czech literature it is necessary to mention the work of Kateřina CHARVÁTOVÁ, *Václav II. Král český a polský*, Vyšehrad 2007, passim; Robert ANTONÍN, *Čech a Lech. Poláci ve světě českých kronik 13. a 14. století*, in: T. Borovský – L. Jan – M. Wihoda (ed.), *Ad vitam et honorem. Profesoru Jaroslavu Mezníkovi přítel a žáci k 75. narozeninám*, Brno 2003, s. 293–297; IDEM, *Zahraniční politika krále Václava II. v letech 1283–1300*, Brno 2009, passim; J. ŽEMLIČKA, *Přemysl Otakar II.*, Praha 2011, pp. 98–104.

21 Robert ANTONÍN, *Čech a Lech. Poláci ve světě českých kronik 13 a 14 století*, in: T. Borovský – L. Jan – M. Wihoda (Ed.), *Ad vitam et honorem. Profesoru Jaroslavu Mezníkovi přítel a žáci k 75. narozeninám*, Brno 2003, s. 293–297; IDEM, *Zahraniční politika krále Václava II. v letech 1283–1300*, Brno 2009, passim; J. ŽEMLIČKA, *Přemysl Otakar II.*, Praha 2011, pp. 98–104.

22 R. HECK, *Poczucie wspólnoty*, pp. 72–73.

9 Marian GUMOWSKI, *Obrządek słowiański*, in: IDEM, *Szkice numizmatyczno-historyczne z XI wieku*, Poznań 1924, pp. 81–108.

10 Karolina LANCKOROŃSKA, *Studies on the Roman Slavonic rite in Poland*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 16, 1961, pp. 19–113; podobnie Henryk PASZKIEWICZ, *Początki Rusi*, Kraków 1996, pp. 417–445.

11 Józef DOBOSZ, *Monarchia i moiżni wobec Kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Poznań 2002, pp. 17–24; extensive overview of literature and existing opinions, latest and very critical review D. A. SIKORSKI, *Kościół w Polsce za Mieszka I i Bolesława Chrobrego*, Poznań 2013, pp. 276–296.

12 Marek CETWIŃSKI, *Historia i polityka. Teoria i praktyka mediewistyki na przykładzie dziejów Śląska*, Kraków 2008, pp. 14nn.

13 See Zbigniew DOBRZYŃSKI, *Obrządek słowiański w Polsce*, cz. 1–3, Warszawa 1989, passim. This author claims traces of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in Poland persisted until the reign of Boleslaw III Wrymouth; a similar opinion is held by Abp. SAWA (HRYCUNIAK), *Ślady działalności misyjnej św. Metodego na ziemiach polskich*, in: Jan Sergiusz Gajek – Leonard Górka (red.), *Cyryl i Metody apostołowie i nauczyciele Słowian. Studies and documents*, part 1, Lublin 1991, pp. 133–143.

14 Compare ARISTOTELES, *Poetyka*, in: Tadeusz Sinko (transl.), *Trzy poetyki klasyczne*, transl. T. SINKO, Wrocław 1951, p. 19; see also M. CETWIŃSKI, *Historia i polityka*, p. 31.

15 Ibidem, *Historia i polityka*, pp. 50–51; D. A. SIKORSKI, *Kościół w Polsce*, passim.

16 Biblioteka Kapituła w Krakowie (from hereon in BKapKr), manuscript 147. Further see M. STAWSKI, *Między Krakowem a Pragą. Idea cyrylo-metodiańska w świetle średniowiecznych legend hagiograficznych Polski i Czech*, in print.

This gradually forming feeling of cultural and political unity was probably responsible for creating the fertile ground for the adaptation and development of the Cyrillo-Methodian cult in Poland. The first stage was the aforementioned Cracow version of the legend of the saintly brothers from Thessalonica; however, the most important aspect of the cult formation was the entering of the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius into the liturgical books in Cracow. The first occurrence of the s. *Cirulli et Metudii* holiday was mentioned for March 9th²³ in a Cracow breviary calendar from the second half of the 14th century,²⁴ followed by a breviary from the end of the 14th century, dated *ante 1394*.²⁵ The occurrence of this holiday in two successive breviaries may lead to the conclusion that this was a newly-created liturgical form and an evident attempt to establish it. It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the above-mentioned martyrology, originating at the end of the 14th century, contains a series of distinctive features of so-called "Polish-Czech calendar universalism", which means the intermingling of individual local cults. According to Henryk Wąsowicz the latter calendar was created according to the typical martyrology of the Prague Diocese.²⁶ This explains the occurrence of the Saint Procopius holiday (4. 7.) or the translation of Saint Ludmila (10. 9.), characteristic only for the Czech lands, in the Cracow calendars. The significant importance of Saint Stanislas, the patron saint of Cracow and Saint Hedwige of Slezia, is mentioned in the Prague martyrologies.²⁷ The worshipping of Saints Cyril and Methodius was very quickly and directly adopted from the Czech lands, although the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was under development and its liturgical cult did not begin until the 14th century in the Czech lands.²⁸ It has even been admitted that the beginning of the liturgical feast of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the Czech Church should be dated to the 1350s; this is supported by Olomouc synod statutes, preserved calendars and liturgical texts.²⁹

It seems that the centre which, at the end of the 14th century, promoted the Slavic tradition in Poland could be the royal court of Vladislaus II Jagiello and his wife Hedwig, as can be proven

by two facts. The idea of Slavic unity and mutuality, forming in the Czech lands and finding fertile ground in Poland, was closely connected to the summoning of Benedictines who were able to hold liturgies in Slavonic. The monks summoned to Prague thanks to the effort of Charles IV in 1347 appeared shortly after in Poland. The monastery in Oleśnice was the first they founded. However, in 1390, King Vladislaus II Jagiello founded a monastery by the Holy Cross Church in the Kleparz district of Cracow for the convention of Benedictines who held liturgy in Slavonic.³⁰ A key role was probably played by Hedwig, who may have encountered the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in her childhood through her mother Elizabeth who was from Bosnia. It was the Balkan, especially Dalmatian, coast where the tradition of the Slavic Apostles lived on continuously from the 11th century through Benedictine monasteries, from which the Benedictines came to Cracow.³¹ Besides this, we may find the Czech Cistercian monk Jan Stekna as one of the Queen's confessors. Jan Stekna left behind, among other things, a collection of sermons about saints (*Sermones de sanctis*), one of them being a sermon about Saints Cyril and Methodius.³²

Ecclesiastical rapprochement went hand-in-hand with political partnerships confirmed with contracts between Vladislaus II Jagiello and the Czech King Wenceslas IV in 1395. This alliance was directed against a mutual enemy, Sigismund of Luxemburg and his ally, The Teutonic Knights. Vladislaus II wanted to strengthen the position of Poland against its largest enemy and to weaken the alliance of the Crusaders with the Luxemburghs.³³

It is possible to trace back to a number of cultural and political events that stood at the creation of the Saint Cyril and Methodius cult in Poland; the question being whether they should be researched as the cause of the cult's later reception. This area remains unsolved and requires detailed research.

The cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius was born in the period around the end of the 14th century and spread through the following centuries, finding a permanent home in liturgy books; the oldest is a missal dated somewhere between 1410–1420.³⁴ It contains a full sermon about Saints Cyril and Methodius adopted from Czech missals. The following text of the ceremonial prayer is worthy of attention, "*Omnipotens piissime Deus qui nos per beatos pontices et confessores tuos nostroque apostolo et patronos Ciruli et Methodi ad credulitatem fidei christiane vocare dignatus es [...]*".³⁵

23 The 9th of March was designated as the liturgical holiday of the brothers and was adopted quickly from the Czech lands, even though it is not known why this date was chosen, because we cannot find any connection to the biography of the two brothers. Marie Bláhová believes that an error was made when identifying Saint Cyril with other holidays. Compare Marie BLÁHOVÁ, *Cyriometodějská tradice v českých zemích ve středověku*, in: A. Barciak (ed.), *Srodkowo-europejskie dziedzictwo Cyrylo-Methodiańskie*, Katowice 1999, pp. 135–148; František GRAUS, *Die Entwicklung der Legenden der sogenannten Slavenapostol Konstantin und Method in Böhmen uns Mähren*, Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas 19, 1971, pp. 161–211.

24 BKapKr, manuscript 26, *Breviarium*, 2nd half of 14th century; compare H. WĄSOWICZ, *Kalendarze ksiąg liturgicznych Krakowa do połowy XVI wieku. Studium chronologiczno-typologiczne*, Lublin 1995, p. 366; compare Waclaw SCHENK, *Kult liturgiczny świętych Cyryla i Metodego w Polsce*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, *Slawistyka* 3, 1982, pp. 58–61.

25 BKapKr, manuscript 32, *Breviarium ante 1394*.

26 Henryk WĄSOWICZ, *Kalendarze*, p. 244.

27 A. BARCIAK, *Czechy oraz ziemie*, passim; IDEM, *Ideologia polityczna monarchii*, passim. See KNMP, XIII. B 8, *Missale Pragensis dioecesis (1370–1380)*, f. 5r – „Stanislai mr”, 7v – „Hedvigis vd”; VKO, M III 6, *Missale Olomucense (1395–1410)*, f. 221v, 273r; NKCR, XIII. E. 14a, *Breviarium (1350–1358)*, f. 4r, 6v; NKCR, XIII B 9, *Breviarium (1405–1415)*, f. 2v; on this topic see M. STAWSKI, *Kult św. Stanisława w Czechach i na Morawach w świetle średniowiecznych kodeksów liturgicznych*, in print.

28 F. GRAUS, *Die Entwicklung*, pp. 161–211; M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Cyriometodějská tradice*, pp. 135–148.

29 P. KRAFL, *Synody a statuta olomoucké diecéze období středověku*, Praha 2003, p. 85; see also M. STAWSKI, *Kult liturgiczny św. Cyryla i Metodego*, in print; another idea on this problem had see Dušan ŘEZANINA, *K problematice kultu sv. Cyryla a Metoděje v období Lucemburků*, part I, Overview. Informational periodical of the Czech association of Catholic clerics in Terris 3, 1982, pp. 38–66; *ibidem* part II, Overview 1, 1983, pp. 47–92; Jaroslav V. POLC, *Kapitoly z církevního života Čech podle předhusitského zákonodárství*, in: Zdeňka Hledíková – J. V. Polc (ed.), *Prague archbishopric 1344–1994. Collection of articles on its influence on the Czech lands*, Praha 1994, p. 34; M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Cyriometodějská tradice*, pp. 146–147.

30 J. WYROZUMSKI, *Benedyktyni słowiańscy w Oleśnicy i Krakowie*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, *Slawistyka* 3, 1982, pp. 114–123.

31 Barbara OCZKOWA, *Tradycje cyrylo-metodiańskiej w Chorwacji i Bośni*, in: J. S. Gajek – L. Górka (red.), *Cyryl i Metody apostołowie i nauczyciele Słowian*. Studia i dokumenty, część 1, Lublin 1991, pp. 169–171.

32 Jerzy WOLNY – Mieczysław MARKOWSKI – Zdzisław KULEWICZ, *Polonica w średniowiecznych rękopisach bibliotek monachijskich*, Wrocław 1969, p. 119; W. SCHENK, *Kult liturgiczny*, p. 58.

33 S. SZCZUR, *Historia Polski*, pp. 482–483; Wojciech IWANCZAK, *Bitwa pod Grunwaldem z perspektywy czeskiej*, in: Jacek Banaszkiewicz – Andrzej Pleszczyński et al. (ed.), *Historia narrat. Studia mediewistyczne ofiarowane profesorowi Jackowi Banaszkiewiczowi*, Lublin 2012, pp. 177–188.

34 *Missale* BKapKr, manuscript 2; these calculations have been made based on the collection of calendars, collected and calculated by Henryk Wąsowicz, compare H. WĄSOWICZ, *Kalendarze*, pp. 291, 320.

35 *Missale Cracoviense 1410–1420*, BKapKr. 2. Further see M. STAWSKI, *Między Krakowem a Pragą*, in print.

It documents that the newly-spread cult rapidly became popular when Cyril and Methodius went from being apostles to patron saints. This is connected to the next Polish-Czech phase of rapprochement in the spirit of Slavic unity that was most intensive at the beginning of the 15th century, during the reign of Vladislaus II Jagiello.³⁶ The Czechs joined the Polish knights at the Battle of Grunwald and helped to defeat the German forces, the mutual enemy. This idea had been strongly accentuated in Czech historiography since the end of the 13th century.³⁷ It is not a long way from this joint effort in an important battle to the naming of Czech patrons as Polish patrons. In the same spirit of Slavic solidarity, the Czech Calixtines offered Vladislaus II Jagiello the royal crown; despite his refusal, he speaks of "love for your kingdom and its renowned Slavic nationality that we carry in our chest".³⁸

Of decisive importance for the development of the Cyril and Methodius cult in Poland was the synod statute of the royal Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki from 1436.

The Cracow Ordinary, during amendment and regulation of the liturgical order of his diocese, mentioned that the Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius was one of the few that could be celebrated during Lent because this was an important liturgical holiday, described as a double holiday,³⁹ "[...] *ideo presenti constitutione statuimus, ne aliquis in quaedragesima alia festa sub duplici festo sibi adinveniat, aut teneat, nisi hec: [...] Ciruli et Methudi confessorum patronorum et apostolorum huius regni.*"⁴⁰

When Cardinal Oleśnicki, the most important person in the monarchy in terms of setting the direction of state and ecclesiastical politics,⁴¹ officially announced that the saintly brothers were now patrons and apostles of the Polish Kingdom, an important event had occurred. It is worth mentioning the political context of this period, which can be assessed on two levels. The Hussite movement had become very popular in Poland, mainly around the court, but also among the lower gentry, many of whom fought beside the Czechs, although remaining Catholic. Oleśnicki did not share the fondness for the Hussites; however, his decision to make Cyril and Methodius the patrons of the Polish kingdom may be perceived as an attempt to weaken the Hussite

ideals in Polish society. However, one of the most important persons in the state, closely connected to the royal court, could not openly argue against an ideology that had obviously gained the heart of society. It is possible that naming Cyril and Methodius as patron and apostles of Poland was the Church's way of expressing Slavic unity and solidarity with the Czechs.

Mottos concerning Slavic unity appeared again in 1438, when the Czechs offered the Jagiellonians the royal crown. King Vladislaus III of Varna is supposed to have told the messengers of Albrecht Habsburg, who was trying to avert this possibility, that his brother Casimir could not surrender the Czech crown, because "the Czechs and the Polish have one language and both nations are of the same origin".⁴² It is necessary to mention that Cardinal Oleśnicki encouraged the Jagiellonians to take the Czech throne.

Cardinal Oleśnicki's way of thinking was not unlike another legend about Saints Cyril and Methodius, written in the Czech lands around the 14th century⁴³ and which can later be found in the officium of the Cracow breviary from 1443.⁴⁴ It contains information connecting the foundation of the ecclesiastical organisation in Poland with the metropolis founded by Svatopluk in Velehrad, with Saint Cyril himself as its leader, "*Qui Swantoplug rex procuravit pro augmento fidei christiane sedem archiepiscopalem in Welehrad ecclesia, quam romanae fidei ordinaverat, septemque sufraganei episcopo ex hinc sub ipsa sede ordinate in Polonia et Ungeria fuerunt [...]*".⁴⁵ If we ignore the fact that such information is completely unsupported, it is necessary to think about the idea of connecting Polish ecclesiastical organisation with the Moravian archbishopric. The intention of the author of the breviary was to show the current political ideology of the reigning Jagiellonians by "jumping" back in time; especially if, besides Poland, Hungary was mentioned as well (and which was taken over by the Jagiellonians at roughly the same time).

The logical sequence of events in the development of the Cyrillo-Methodian cult in Poland is perfectly completed with the *Chronicles of the Famous Polish Kingdom* by Jan Dluhoš, who was tutor and educator to the young Jagiellonians. This important chronicler, working around the year 1465 on his *Chronicles of the Famous Polish Kingdom*, included in them a story about the mission of the Slavic Apostles that would come to be known throughout the entire "Slavic world". In the 15th century, it was not unusual that this phrase was used to denote both Poland and the Czech lands – it was connected with the gradual formation of national consciousness. The most important factors in this process were the relationship to a specific territory, a shared language and, last but not least, a shared origin. Something "Slavonic" could be found about each of these factors, which brought the nations closer together and helped to form the feeling of Slavic unity that led to the occasional use of the term *natio Sclavonica*.⁴⁶ These linguistic and territorial

36 Compare František ŠMAHEL, *Husyckie pojęcie wzajemności słowiańskiej i czesko-polskiej*, in: Stanisław Bylina – Ryszard Gładkiewicz (red.), *Polskie echa husytyzmu*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 9–19; Jadwiga KRZYŻANIAKOWA, *Stanowisko polskiej elity intelektualnej wobec Jana Husa i husytyzmu – do roku 1420*, in: *Ibidem*, pp. 32–61; Jan DRABINA, *Episkopat polski wobec husytyzmu*, in: *Ibidem*, pp. 62–81.

37 W. IWAŃCZAK, *Bitwa pod Grunwaldem*, pp. 177–188, contains older literature. See also A. SKYBOVA, *Češi a bitva u Grunwaldu*, in: W. Iwańczak – R. Gładkiewicz (red.), *Polaków i Czechów wizerunek wzajemny (X–XVII w.)*, Wrocław 2004, pp. 57–64; R. FUKALA, *Velká válka s křižáky 1409–1411. Světla a stíny grunwaldského vítězství*, Praha 2011.

38 Extensive for this topic, see Ewa MALECZYŃSKA, *Ruch husycki w Czechach i w Polsce*, Warszawa 1959, pp. 401–408; R. HECK, *Poczucie wspólnoty*, pp. 73–75.

39 The statute that defined the Cyril and Methodius holiday is usually compliant with records from liturgical calendars where it holds a high position, i.e. second in the list of the complicated mediaeval *sanctorale* as *festum rubrum duplex*, i.e. a double holiday of the 2nd class. The same liturgy of this holiday, in the same period, was also anticipated by liturgical books in the Czech lands and Moravia, which meant the liturgies were delivered as their own officium and with a double antiphony of psalms; compare John HARPER, *Formy i układ liturgii zachodniej od X do XVIII wieku*, Kraków 1997, pp. 71–72; D. ŘEZANINA, *K problematice*, III, p. 70; compare. H. WAŚOWICZ, *Kalendarze*, p. 321.

40 Stanisław ZACHOROWSKI, *Statuty synodalne krakowskie Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego (1436, 1446)*, Kraków 1915, p. 50.

41 On the topic of Cardinal Oleśnicki, compare Maria KOCZERSKA, *Zbigniew Oleśnicki i Kościół krakowski w czasach jego pontyfikatu 1423–1455*, Warszawa 2004.

42 Šířejí R. HECK, *Tabor a kandydatura jagielloňská v Czechach*, Wrocław 1964. See last Martin ŠANDERA, *Hynce Ptáček z Pirkštejna. Opomíjený vítěz husitské revoluce*, Praha 2011, p. 56nn.

43 M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Cyrilometodějska*, p. 147; M. STAWSKI, *Między Pragą a Krakowem. Idea cyryla – metodiańska w legendach hagiograficznych w Polsce i Czechach*, in print.

44 *Breviarium Cracoviense*, BKapKr, manuscript 30.

45 I. POLKOWSKI, *Cześć św. Cyryla i Metodego*, pp. 22–24.

46 R. HECK, *Problem słowiański*, pp. 281–304; IDEM, *Poczucie wspólnoty*, pp. 75–77.

arguments were joined by religious elements as also mentioned by Jan Dluhoš in his work *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis* from 1470. In a part dedicated to monasteries, he proudly describes the foundation of them and the intention to bring Slavic Benedictines to Poland, “*Sempiternum memoriale, quo clementia Redemptoris genus Sclavonicum extulit, et mirifice honoravit, donando illi gratiam specialem, ut omnia sacra officia et res divinae, tam nocturnae quam diurnae, ipsa quoque sacrarum missarum arcana idiomate illo possent celebrari, quod nemini alterio praeterquam graeco – latino et hebraeo videmus contingisse, quorum excellentiae etiam bonitas divina Sclavonicum aequavit [...]*.”⁴⁷ This student of Oleśnicki, as well as the tutor of the Jagiellonians, accepted that Slavic nations may praise the Lord in their own tongue thanks to the will of God, thus bringing the Slavonic language to the level of the Greek, Hebrew and Latin languages. The words of Jan Dluhoš fully reflect the motives of Charles IV, the founder of Emmaus Monastery for Slavic Benedictines, as well as capturing the rhetoric we encounter in historiography in the 14th century.⁴⁸

The specific political situation must be described again. This was the time when the idea that the Jagiellonians should sit on the Czech throne was realised. Arguments about Slavic unity, love and friendship were used on both sides of the Czech-Polish project during the reign of George of Podebrady. This resulted in the election of Vladislaus Jagiello as Czech King by the Czech and Moravian nobility during the Kutna Hora council in 1471. The session of the council was initiated by the Lubel castellan Doběslav from Kurozvěk, who pointed out former Czech-Polish friendship and the similarity between the languages and traditions of both nations.⁴⁹

Thus it is possible to claim that the development of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in Poland probably had a state-national implication, strongly conditioned by the mix of cultural and political events. Liturgical texts became some kind of an indicator of the political doctrine of the Cracow court of the Jagiellonians, which was maintained by Jan Dluhoš. It was Cracow that gradually became the centre of the cult, which then spread to other Polish dioceses that later implemented the idea promoted by the royal court. However, it is not hard to observe that the liturgical calendars of other dioceses incorporated the Cyril and Methodius holiday in the second half of the 15th century. It is also possible to observe a type of geographical dependence in the reception of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition that developed in the areas exactly delimited by the term *Corona Regni Poloniae*, i.e. areas with a majority of Polish citizens and where the Polish language predominated. Areas outside this political and language unit stayed out of the reach of the cult; their importance started growing at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries – even though they were governed from the Gniezno metropolis. The development of the liturgical cult and its differentiation from the point of view of Church provinces is in itself an interesting question and requires further research.

47 Joanni Długosz *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, t. III, in: Joanni Długosz *Opera omnia* IX, ed. A. PRZEZDZIECKI, Kraków 1864, p. 227.

48 Compare R. HECK, *Problem słowiański*, pp. 281–304; A. F. GRABSKI, *Poczucie jedności słowiańskiej a świadomość narodowościowa w Polsce średniowiecznej*, in: G. Labuda – J. Bardach (red.), *Historia. Prace na VI Międzynarodowy Kongres Słowistów w Pradze 1968, Warszawa 1968*, pp. 79–89.

49 Compare Joanni Długosz *Historiae Polonicae Libri XII*, IV, in: Joanni Długosz *Opera omnia* XIV, ed. Aleksander Przezdziecki, Kraków 1878, p. 467; R. HECK, *Poczucie*, pp. 76–77.

Nonetheless, the importance of Saints Cyril and Methodius as the apostles and patrons of the kingdom persisted for a very long time. The Poznań missal oration from 1505⁵⁰ mentions them as apostles and patrons, as well as the officium of the Wrocław breviary from 1543.⁵¹ Besides this, the antiphons in the officium in the Plock breviary mention them as *apostoli Moravorum atque patroni Bohemorum*⁵². The liturgical reform of the Council of Trent unified calendars and liturgical texts and did not degrade Cyril and Methodius as the patrons of Poland. In 1628, Pope Urban VIII confirmed the amendment of the Roman missal *Missae proprie patronorum*, which contained its own service forms for the saintly Slavic Apostles, and which was not changed until 1880.⁵³

It should be mentioned that the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in Poland was revived in the 19th century as an echo of the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII *Grande mundus* from 1880 which was related to the general atmosphere of Pan-Slavism. Polish delegations, mostly from Greater Poland and Galicia, took part in the 1885 feast to praise Cyril and Methodius in Rome as well as in Velehrad.⁵⁴ Manifestations of the Slavic Apostle cult are observable in Silesia, connected with nearby Moravia and tight relations to the local Catholic community. There were even attempts to credit Methodius with a visit to Silesia and to connect this visit with the funding of the many local churches; however, this is a story for another time.

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CYRILLO-METHODIAN TRADITION IN OLDER HUNGARIAN AND SLOVAK HISTORIOGRAPHY UNTIL THE END OF THE 16TH CENTURY

Martin Homza

The Hungarian Kingdom, before the end of the 16th century, had not been a homogenous ethnical and religious political body; quite the contrary. Its borders hosted the cohabitation of many different peoples, cultures and religions. So, alongside the idea of the old Hungarian saintly apostolic kings – St Stephen and St Ladislav, imposed by the royal dynasty as well as the old Hungarian Church, as the axis of the kingdom's ideology, there lived, side by side, also other, much older traditions of different ethnic groups occupying this territory. The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition is, beyond any doubt, one of the most important of them. It had been adopted by several different Christian traditions, especially by the Orthodox, or Byzantine, and the Latin Catholic. This paper maps the evolution of the Cyrillo-Methodian idea by the Slovaks who, as *Slavi Hungari*, represented a significant part of the old Hungarian Kingdom's population. Through various examples, substantiated by written historical sources, it demonstrates the function of the Cyrillo-Methodian idea within Slovak society from the Middle Ages until the Reformation period.

Key words: memory, tradition, continuity and discontinuity, St Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius, Carpathian Basin, Great Moravia, The Kingdom of Hungary

The starting point of my text would be the question of the continuity or discontinuity of this tradition in Slovak (Hungarian) cultural memory.

"The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was not hereditary, purely and simply because there was nobody to hand it over to younger generations. It did not appear until the period of national awareness. At that time arguments were searched for in historical documents against Hungarian nationalism. Juraj Papánek (1738–1802) was probably the first to incorporate the term *Cyrillo-Methodian 'tradition'* into Slovak history. Nevertheless, he did not proceed from the historical awareness of the Slovaks. On the contrary, it was a structure without real content."¹

"The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition started to spread to Slovakia quite late: in the 14th–15th centuries from neighbouring Moravia, later systematically from the 17th century, but chiefly as late as the 19th century."²

The Great Moravian tradition in the Hungarian Kingdom (at its maximum expanse) both in the course of the Middle Ages and at the beginning of modern times (and even later) consisted of two parts: the tradition of Zwentibold, the King of the Slavs and Moravians, and the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition which was composed of Orthodox and Roman-Catholic constituents. As for the Orthodox heirs of this cultural paradigm, those were the Orthodox Slavs of the Hungarian kingdom (the Serbs, eastern Slavs within the kingdom) and the Romanic-speaking ancestors of today's Romanians (Wallachians and Moldavians). The Catholics included primarily the Croatians, but also the Slavs from

the Slavonic territory, and the Pannonian Slavs. For the Orthodox tradition it is typical that in some cases it also blended with the Byzantine tradition; sometimes it is quite difficult to separate them from each other. Regarding the Catholic tradition, especially in the first stage, it is difficult to separate the originally bilingual (Slavonic-Latin) Benedictines from the purely Latin ones. Not everywhere, however, might those monks be called "glagolashes" (*glagoláši*) except for Croatia and later Prague, Olešnice, and Cracow.

At the beginning it is also necessary to make clear what we mean by the term "Cyrillo-Methodian tradition". In general, it would be every use of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic script as well as any occurrence of the Old Slavonic language and all its later derivations. More precisely, it was the direct following of the ideas included in the basic works of Moravian-Pannonian literature *The Life of St Cyril* and *The Life of St Methodius*, primarily the direct and explicit referring to the importance of both Thessalonian brothers.

However, let us get back to the question of the continuity or discontinuity of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in the Carpathian Basin. This question is impossible to solve without defining the "memory bearers" of these two brothers and, more importantly, of their work. The more general spread of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in the geopolitical area under discussion is shown by a fact accentuated during the popular uprising in 1046 in Tisza Lowland. Its bearers were followers of Methodius' teachings or, from the point of view of the then Catholic church, heretics.³ It means that the bearers of the tradition were also part of the general populace of the rising Hungarian Kingdom, especially those of Slavonic origin. The reason

¹ Vladimír TURČAN, *Cyrl a Metod – trvalé dedičstvo?*, in: Eduard Krekovič – Elena Mannová – Eva Krekovičová (ed.), *Mýty naše slovenské*, Bratislava 2005, p. 41.

² Matúš KUČERA, *Veľká Morava a slovenské dejiny*, in: *Štúdie a state k slovenskému stredoveku*, Bratislava 2012, p. 110.

³ Imre TÓTH, *Malaizvestnyj latinskij istočnik o dejatelnosti učeníkov Mefodija v Vengrii v načale X. veka*, in: *Kirilometodijevski studii* 3, Sofia 1986, p. 50.

was simple: the continuity of the west-Slavonic population between today's territory of Slovakia and Slavonic-Croatian territory or the area of the Tisza Lowland was not nearly as definite as it is today. Based on these facts, we cannot simplify even the view of the bearers of the cultural tradition of the saintly Slavonic apostles, ahistorically on the territory of today's Slovak Republic, which did not break free from the body of the Hungarian Kingdom until 1918, in the form of the eastern part of the first Czechoslovak Republic. Thus, if we perceive the historical and culture-forming processes (transfers of memory tradition) in their complexity, then we also have to look differently at the question of the continuity or discontinuity of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in the history of the contemporary Slovaks.⁴

In fact it seems that the bearers and creators of active Cyrillo-Methodian cultural memory were primarily the monastic or conventual communities that, in their everyday lives, used the Glagolitic (or Cyrillic) script and Old Slavonic liturgical language. Present-day historians admit the existence of several such interactive Slavonic monastic/conventual compounds on the territory of Transdanubia (today's Hungary and Vojvodina in Serbia)⁵ – one of the centres of the former Hungarian Kingdom. The bilingual Benedictine monasteries Visegrád, Tihany, and the Basilian women's convent Beszprém, and especially Sremska Mitrovica (St Demetrius of Thessalonica, the patron saint of the city, died there) were certainly the most important of them. Some Byzantine elements arranged in the Cyrillo-Methodian milieu can also be identified in the *Legend of Saints Benedict and Andrew Zorard*, the oldest hagiographical work from the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom as well as from the Principality of Nitra (approximately the territory of present-day Slovakia), for example the habit of St Andrew Zorard who observed the fast in the same way as the "desert saint" St Zosima of Palestine.⁶

Thanks to textual and linguistic analysis and criticism, at present we are even able to identify the transfer of the actual canon law tradition of St Methodius from Pannonia to Kievan Rus without the mediation of a Bulgarian cultural background. Let us mention for example an excerpt from the *Primary Chronicle*: "[...] по семь же Коцель князь постави Мефедиа еписпа въ Пании. на мѣстѣ сѣго апсѣла Андроника [...] оучника сѣго апсѣла Павла."⁷ ("Chozil established Methodius as Bishop of Pannonia in the see of the saintly apostle Andronicus"), or the compilation

of the oldest West-Slavonic prayers known as the *Kiev Missal*.⁸ In this context let us mention the ecclesiastical structure of the Pannonian principality established by Priwina and Chozil which, according to the results of research in Mosapurc (Zalavár, Mosapurk), remained in existence continuously until the 12th century.

Thus, if we are able to give evidence of the existence of such centres, we must also assume the uninterrupted continuity of the tradition of Saints Constantine-Cyril and Methodius. The fact that before 1056, or more precisely 1204, Christianity was not viewed as split into two camps (Orthodox and Latin) certainly played its role there. In this context, the Hungarian Kingdom can hardly be regarded as a purely Catholic country. It was certainly no coincidence that Pope Honorius III drew the attention of King Emerich of Hungary to that specific aspect of the Hungarian Church, admonishing him for building only Greek Orthodox monasteries and disregarding the Latin Catholic ones.⁹

However, the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition could not have been unknown to the highest Hungarian ruling class, especially if we refer to the Slavonic wives of the Hungarian kings of the Árpád dynasty. For the sake of statistics let us mention that 7 out of 24 kings of Árpád blood (including Álmos, Duke of Croatia, and Coloman, the crowned king of Galicia-Lodomeria) had Slavonic wives and 6 of those kings had Orthodox wives (Russian, Serbian or Greek). Statistics say that 3 of them were Russian, 3 Polish, 2 Greek and 1 Serbian. It is difficult to say which of the ladies could ultimately have been the most influential regarding the programme of Saints Cyril and Methodius. We suppose that it was Anastasia, the daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, who participated in the foundation of two Hungarian monasteries.¹⁰ They were probably the Monastery of Visegrád, which is generally regarded as the asylum of Slavonic monks expelled from Sázava, and certainly the Monastery of Tihany. Its foundation charter was written in Latin, but the whole tradition of that area around Lake Balaton was imbued with an older cultural, political, as well as ecclesiastical background, as shown by the *Primary Chronicle* and the existence of a great Pre-Hungarian centre around Balaton (Blatnohrad, Mosaburg, Zalavár). In fact, Anastasia mastered the Cyrillic script, as did her sister Anne of Kiev, who signed her personally issued documents in Cyrillic.¹¹

Thanks to the above-mentioned reasons we suppose that, in the 11th and the following centuries, the recently growing Hungarian Kingdom continued substantially in the traditions of the Great Moravian Empire. Among other titles the Hungarian kings started to use the west-Slavonic title *král* that they had inherited and adopted from Zwentibald I. In Byzantine historical sources from the 10th century onwards, Hungarian rulers used that exact title instead of the usual title *archont*

4 As this is one of the main constructive ideas of the modern Slovak nation which, moreover, became part of the Constitution of Slovakia, it is understandable that Slovak historiography has preserved plenty of thematic secondary literature. As for study of the older period of Slovak history, virtually no significant Slovak medievalist or historian dealing with modern times has bypassed the topic. See Pavel HORVÁTH, *Slovenská národnosť v 16. a 17. storočí*, Historický časopis 28/3, 1980, pp. 364–379; M. KUČERA, *O historickom vedomí Slovákov v stredoveku*, Historický časopis 25, 1977, pp. 217–238; Richard MARSINA, *Metodov boj*, 3th issue Bratislava 2012; Daniel RAPANT, *Vývin slovenského národného povedomia*, Historický zborník, časopis Historického odboru Matice Slovenskej 5/1, 1947, pp. 1–16; Peter RATKÓŠ, *Otázky vývoja slovenskej národnosti do začiatku 17. storočia*, Historický časopis 20/1, 1972, pp. 19–64; Anton BAGIN, *Apoštoli Slovanov: Cyril a Metod a Veľká Morava*, Bratislava 1987; IDEM, *Cyrlometodská tradícia u Slovákov*, Bratislava, 1993; Ján TIBENSKÝ, *Funkcia cyrlometodskej a veľkomoravskej tradície v ideológii slovenskej národnosti*, Historický časopis 40/5, 1992, especially pp. 579–585; IDEM, *Formovanie sa ideológie slovenskej feudálnej národnosti a buržoázneho národa*, Historický časopis 19/4, 1971, pp. 575–590; IDEM, *Chvály a obrany slovenského národa*, Bratislava, 1965; IDEM, *Problémy výskumu, vzniku a vývoja slovenskej feudálnej národnosti*, Historický časopis 9/3, 1961, pp. 397–419 etc.

5 Alexander AVENARIUS, *Byzantská kultúra v slovanskom prostredí v VI.–XII. storočí. K problematike recepcie a transformácie*, Bratislava 1992, pp. 113–132.

6 *Ibidem*, p. 119.

7 *Povešť vremennych let: Lavrentievskaja letopis*, in: *Polnoje sobranije Russkich letopisej* 1. 1, Moskva, ed. Evfimij Fedorovič Karskij et al., Leningrad 1926, p. 28.

8 Šimon ONDRUŠ, *Z lexiky Kyjevských listov*, Slavica Slovaca 19, 1984, pp. 34–42.

9 A. AVENARIUS, *Byzantská kultúra*, p. 131; according to *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, 2, ed. György Fejér, Budae 1829–1844, s. 447. Avenarius incorrectly ascribed the letter to Andrew II who, however, succeeded to the throne in 1205, not in 1204.

10 *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima* (hereafter DHA), 1, ed. Georgius Györfy. Budapestini 1992, pp. 149–156, no. 43.

11 Anna reina Franciae see E. D. SOKOL, *Anna of Rus: Queen of France*, The New Review. A Journal of East European History 13, 1973, pp. 3–13 or Wladimir V. BOGOMOLETZ, *Anna of Kiev. An Enigmatic Capetian Queen of the Eleventh Century*, Oxford, 2005, p. 25 (www.fh.oxfordjournals.org).

(in the foundation charter of the Veszprém monastery;¹² in the inscription on the Hungarian coronation crown incorrectly assigned to Stephen I – *Geovistas pistos krales Tourkias*). Last but not least there is a pouch of St Stephen of Hungary which, according to Gyula Moravcsik, is said to have a Cyrillic text on the inside.¹³

On the basis of these facts, speaking about any discontinuity in the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in the Hungarian Kingdom as well as in Slovakia in the Early Middle Ages is not and cannot be appropriate. The number of verifiable (direct) pieces of information that would prove it for the 11th and 12th century (especially as to the central territory of the Hungarian Kingdom – Transdanubia and the Principality of Nitra) is certainly minimal. On the other hand, even in the Bohemian lands as well as in the Kingdom of Croatia, Catholic devotees of Saints Cyril-Constantine and Methodius ran into serious problems while spreading the cult of those two saints, mainly during the pontificate of the great saint Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085). Methodius was certainly less “problematic”, as his ordination as a Roman archbishop and his following in the tradition of saint apostle Andronicus, “one of the seventy”, in Sremska Mitrovica, guaranteed the more straightforward development of his cult. Conversely, Constantine and his works (which often lacked clarity and were not so easy to understand) must have raised many doubts among Roman theologians. See for example the teachings about the feminine principle of Sophia (Wisdom, Logos?), the dream bride of St Constantine; or the Photian conception of the Holy Trinity; or generally the justification of Old Slavonic as the language of the Slavonic liturgy. Even on the basis of these facts, dissociating themselves in a certain way from Saints Constantine and Methodius was important for all who wanted, one way or another, to preserve and develop their tradition. It is most evident in the way their names were made taboo in the Bohemian cultural background: the names were changed to Cyrha (Cyril) and Strachota (Methodius), whereas the Croats simply substituted Saint Jerome, who is best known for his translation of the Bible from Greek into Latin (*The Vulgate*), for Constantine. Even though the Catholic Slavs’ dealing with the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in such a way was not in accord with historical truth, it at least helped the tradition to remain in existence. However, that “pia fraus” undoubtedly achieved the most important goal – it helped to transfer the historical, literary, and theological heritage in the Catholic countries of East-Central Europe in the course of the whole of the 12th century, and even later, especially in the decades at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, in the period of “strong Popes” who made no secret of their desire to solve the question of the schism between eastern and western Christians by force. In that task, the Hungarian kings were supposed to – and able to – help them; and they did, because their ideological doctrine – mainly from the days

of Bela III of Hungary (1172–1196) who had been raised in the Byzantine environment – was more and more inclined to the East. Yet it became obvious only after the conquest of Constantinople (1204) when, under Andrew II, the Hungarian Kingdom started, using military means, to spread Roman-Catholic Christianity to the north-east (to Galicia-Lodomeria), to the south (to Bosnia), and south-east (to the territories of the Romanian principalities on the Danube). Andrew II was not quite the ideal instrument in that case (see the Cyrillic inscription with the name of his son Coloman,¹⁴ King of Galicia-Lodomeria for instance; the non-transparent position of Prince Royal Andrew in Galicia – it is even unclear whether he, after his wedding with the daughter of Mstislav Mstislavich the Bold, became Orthodox or not; the expulsion of the Teutonic order from the country in 1225, etc.). However, the pro-Roman policy found a much more vigorous instrument – his sons, especially Coloman of Galicia-Lodomeria who conquered the heretical Bosnia in 1235 (which practised the tradition of Saints Constantine and Methodius in the script and liturgy), and Bela IV, who not only became the successor of Andrew II of Hungary but also an uncompromising Catholic, and apparently also the Hungarian king who contributed to the ultimate Catholicisation of the major part of the Hungarian Kingdom. He did so even in spite of the fact that his wife Maria was originally Orthodox, as she came from the imperial Byzantine dynasty of the Laskarids. It was Bela and his wife Maria who contributed significantly to the end of the Veszprém Basilian monastery. At first the monastery was supposed to be Cistercian,¹⁵ but it was soon occupied by Dominicans loyal to Bela. A women’s convent was established there, to which Bela (just in case?) sent his daughter Margaret of Hungary (later beatified).¹⁶ Also Slavonic Visegrád and later the monastery in Tihány seem to have suffered a similar fate under Bela’s rule. At present we are able neither to determine nor specify the extent of the general Catholicisation campaign of Bela IV. We think it certain that he particularly affected the central areas of the Hungarian Kingdom. Undoubtedly, the fashionable Latin orders (Cistercians, Dominicans and Franciscans) played their role in it, as well as *hospites* who spoke western languages (especially German) and who, thanks to their Catholic exclusiveness in the surroundings of a different (mostly Orthodox) religion, gained not only political but also economic exclusiveness (especially in Slavonic countries, in Transylvania etc.). The paradox of the whole situation was the fact that Bela IV had at least two of his daughters married to “schismatics” – Anne married Rastislav Černigovský, and Constance married Lev Danylovič, the son of Galician-Lodomerian ruler Daniel Romanovič. In the Banat of Mačva, i.e. in the area that he administered, Rastislav Černigovský remained Orthodox together with his court.

12 Only a later transcription from the reign of King Coloman the Book-Lover (* 1116) has been preserved. The document cannot be dated precisely. Although it has been generally concluded that it was issued by Stephen I of Hungary, it might have been issued earlier, under the reign of his father Géza, Grand Prince of the Hungarians (* 997), whose baptismal name was Stephen as well. See DHA 1, pp. 81–85, no. 13. In English: “In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, I, Stephen, a Christian and King of the whole of Hungaria, order [...]”

13 Gyula MORAVCSIK, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, Budapest 1970, p. 126. Trans. Samuel R. Rosenbaum: “King István’s purse shows a similar eastern religious influence. On one of its sides the Greek initials and the figure of Christ have been embroidered. Christ is sitting on his throne surrounded by angels; on the other side there are inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic.”

14 V. VUJČIK, *Grafići XII–XIV stoljta cerkvi svjatogo Pantalejmona v Galiči*, Zápiski NTŠ–T. 231: Praci komisii specialnih (dopomožnih) istoričeskich disciplin. Lsviv 1996, pp. 189–194.

15 *Statuta Capitulum Generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786* (SC), 2, ed. J. M. CANIVEZ, Louvain 1934, p. 228, no. 62: “*Inspectio abbatiæ monialium quæ vocatur Vespremium quam rex Ungariæ postulavit Ordini nostro incorporari, de Sancto Gothardo et de Sancta Cruce in Ungaria abbatibus committitur, ut ad locum personaliter accedentes pensatis omnibus, etc., et sit filia de Cypris, et quid inde, etc.*”

16 *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricæ*, 3, ed. F. A. Gombos, Budapestini 1938, pp. 2009–2029, 2481–2545, 2545–2551. See also *Život blahoslavennej Margity Uhorskej*, transl. O. Vaneková, in: R. Marsina (ed.), *Legény stredovekého Slovenska*, Nitra – Budmerice 1997, pp. 231–318.

Here we open another, not completely researched chapter of the continuity of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition against the Catholic background of East-Central Europe. That is, we will deal with the rule of Ottokar II of Bohemia, “the Iron and Golden King”, for whom the potential of the revitalisation of the Thesalonian brothers’ legacy probably did not go unnoticed, especially if he was interested in its “universalistic” Slavonic aspect. It is certainly no coincidence that it was under his rule that two canon-law Slavonic provinces – Franciscan and Dominican – were established. Their centre was Prague and they extended up to Kiev. Here the question is whether or not they included the territory of present-day Slovakia. On the other side of the Hungarian Kingdom it is necessary to point out the establishment of the Franciscan province (the Observants) in Bosnia, which proved to be an important link in the continuity of the Old Slavonic (Illyrian) language in west-Balkan Slavonic territory.

On November 27, 1228 Ottokar I, King of Bohemia, restored and specified the rights and properties of the Cistercian Abbey of the Virgin Mary in Velehrad, which he had founded with his brother, the Moravian Margrave Vladislaus,¹⁷ some time before. It is worth mentioning that this monastery is situated not far from the Great Moravian sites Modrá, Uherské Hradiště and “Sady” in Moravia. Besides, we find it unusual that Jakub, the Bishop of Nitra, acted in that affair as the prime witness. Also Constance of Hungary, wife of Ottokar I of Bohemia, daughter of Bela III of Hungary and sister of Andrew II of Hungary, participated in the consecration of the Basilica of the Assumption of Mary in Velehrad. We know that it was she who supplied Vladislaus’ line of Přemyslid descent with royal blood. It also seems, at least according to the choice of names for their children (for example Wenceslaus) that it was she who, following the pattern of her father Bela III, proceeded to an updating of the older ideological heritage of the Přemyslids. That heritage included St Wenceslaus, his grandmother St Ludmila, and St Adalbert. Last but not least it appears that, thanks to her connection with Moravia (Robert?, the Bishop of Olomouc), we can look right here for the first traces of the cult restoration of Saints Constantine-Cyril and Methodius in Bohemia, who at that time acted as the land’s patron saints.

Nevertheless, we cannot be certain of it until the times of Bohemian chronicler Dalimil (14th century). Right there, in the first Czech chronicle he wrote, Velehrad was remembered as the chief Archbishop’s See of St Methodius. It was mainly the Bishops and later Archbishops of Olomouc who came up with – or continued in – the tradition of St Methodius. Some time later Hungarian scholars updated it too for the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom. For instance, St Methodius was first mentioned as the first Hungarian archbishop by the Jesuit Melchior Inchofer in 1644.

A new qualitative and quantitative stage of the spread of the cult of Saints Constantine and Methodius started after 1347 when Charles IV († 1378), King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, founded the Monastery of Emmaus (Prague) and invited up to 80 Slavonic monks there (probably from the island of Pašman in Croatia). Apart from the aim of ending the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, he did so for his own political reasons. Přibík Pulkava of Radeníň revealed them in his chronicle.

At first, through his chronicler Pulkava, Charles IV highlighted a return to the Moravian King Zwentibald, “At that time, countries like Poland or Russia were subordinated to Zwentibald and Velehrad was the capital of the kingdom. [...] And later this Moravian kingdom was, 192 years later – that is, in 1086, restored by Emperor Henry III with the consent of the dukes and transferred to Bohemia. As the Emperor promoted the Bohemian Duke Vratislaus to be king and raised Bohemia to a kingdom, he turned the Moravian kingdom into the margraviate. Then he (the Emperor) subordinated that margraviate, as well as the principalities and territories formerly annexed to the Moravian kingdom (i.e. Poland, Russia and many other principalities and territories) by Zwentibald, the last Moravian king, to the Crown and to the Bohemian Kingdom.”

The instrument that should have guaranteed it was a return to the Slavonic liturgy: “This beatific Cyril, seeing the stubbornness and unbelief of the Moravians and Slavs, asked the Pope to give his kind consent to the celebration of the Holy Mass and other divine services in the Slavonic language, since he did not believe that he would be able to confirm them in the faith in any other way. However, the Pope regarded that request as a joke, and when he ruminated on it and debated it with a group of cardinals and many bishops, a voice sounded from heaven at once saying, ‘Let everything that has breath praise the Lord and let every tongue acknowledge Him.’ Then the Pope, hearing the miracle, gave his permanent consent that the Holy Masses and other divine services might be celebrated in the Slavonic language.”¹⁸

From that time, an obvious and direct revitalisation of Saint Constantine and Methodius’ cult started, not only in Bohemia but also in various Catholic areas of the Hungarian Kingdom, as well as on the territory of today’s Slovakia. The last-mentioned area provided us with two calendars contained in missals from the 14th century. Those were the *Spiš Calendar* and *Bratislava Calendar*.¹⁹ It is typical for both texts that we can see their origins in the *Olomouc Calendar*, from which they borrowed Saints Constantine and Methodius, as well as a whole range of Bohemian saints (Wenceslaus, Ludmila, Adalbert, Procopius and others). Moreover, as for the *Spiš Calendar*, certain local influences cannot be excluded (October 13 – the Feast Day of St Coloman, a martyr – the above-mentioned Coloman of Galicia-Lodomeria who suffered 1241 wounds in the Battle of Mohi and died of his injuries some time later). On the other hand, the *Spiš Calendar* also includes the Feast Day of St Simon, the patron saint of Elizabeth of Bosnia, the Hungarian queen from the Kotromanić dynasty with its centre in the Dalmatian town of Zadar.²⁰

The sentences above might also underline the fact that, at that time, even the House of Anjou became well aware of the importance of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. The programme of Charles IV, however idealistic, must have been a real help to it. Through the establishment of the Prague monastery

18 *Přibík z Radeníň, řečeného Pulkava Kronika česká*, in: *Kroniky doby Karla IV.*, red. M. Blahová; trans. Jana Zachová, Praha 1987, pp. 280–281 and 306–307.

19 *Missale capituli Scepusiensis*, ed. Lubomír Emil Havlík, in: MMFH III, p. 442; *Missale Pasoniense*, ed. Lubomír Emil Havlík, in: MMFH III, p. 442.

20 *Spišské kalendárium Pori Libri liturgici manuscripti Bibliothecarum Hungariae. Libri liturgici manuscripti ad missam pertinentes*, 1, ed. P. Rado, Budapestini 1947, pp. 69–72. Manuscript Missale pro Eccles. Hungar. Codex memb. MM. SS. Autog. Sec. XIII. Tom. I.

17 *Codex diplomaticus et epistolarius Bohemiae*, 2, ed. Gustav Friedrich, Prague 1912, no. 321, pp. 319–323.

of the “glagolashes”, Charles IV wanted to eliminate the schism between the West and East. Nevertheless, it was the rulers of the House of Anjou who were experienced in penetrating the reality of the Orthodox world. In the days of Louis I of Hungary, they continued in the older policy of the kings of the Árpád dynasty in the west of the Balkans, in the Romanian principalities on the Danube, and primarily in western Russia which had once been annexed to the Hungarian Kingdom by Andrew II of Hungary and later similarly by Louis I of Hungary. Charles IV’s idea, expressed above, of eliminating the east-west schism could and should have been of some assistance in such a Hungarian-Orthodox context. Being an integral idea of the newly developing Catholic-Orthodox society, his idea could and should have functioned as the common starting point, or common denominator, for a possible dialogue between both religions. Thus it is no surprise that Jadwiga of Poland (canonised in 1997), the daughter of Louis I, the King of Hungary and Poland, founded a similar Benedictine-Slavonic monastery in Kleparz (part of today’s Cracow) in 1390 and that she probably possessed her own Slavonic Gospel book. That is why the *Missal of Spiš* and its distinctive calendar was not just a simple transfer of the updated Bohemian-Moravian ideological concepts into the Hungarian Kingdom (especially on the territory of present-day Slovakia). It also reflected the experience of the older Árpáadian policy in Galicia-Lodomeria indicated earlier. “St Coloman, king and martyr” mentioned in the *Spiš Calendar* was not just a distinctive Spiš saint connected with Spiš through his own history, but was also the first (Latin) King of Galicia (*rex Galiciae*, sometimes *Rex Russiae*). St Jadwiga declared March 9 the particular Feast Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius, following the Bohemian-Moravian and Hungarian pattern, even in Poland. As ruler of Poland, “*rex Poloniae*”, she later made use of it for the definitive annexation of Western Russia, which she had inherited from her father Louis I of Hungary, to the Kingdom of Poland. Even the Jagellonians later followed that course. The Hungarian Kingdom also updated mainly the Wallacho-Romanian and west-Balkan dimensions of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition that became part of the *Missal of Spiš* through the Slavonic liturgical practice of the Kotromanić dynasty of Bosnia, home of Elizabeth, mother of St Jadwiga of Poland. Individual liturgical or paraliturgical texts in tribute to the Thessalonian brothers have been found in that Latin setting less frequently. The exception is an antiphon in tribute to both brothers – *Incipit historia Cyrili et Metudii* included in the *Codex of Kremnica* from the 15th century.²¹

Nevertheless, despite the good will of its great participants and propagators, understanding between the West and East by means of the legacy of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Great Moravia was achieved neither in the 14th nor in the 15th century. Even the first Slavonic Cyrillic prints from Cracow (1491), made by Svajpolt Fiol and probably paid for by Ján Turzo of Betlanovce in the Spiš county, were of no assistance.

The significance of the question of Great Moravian and especially Cyrillo-Methodian tradition between the East and West

21 *Ad vespas antiphona. Adest dies gloriosa pontificum beatorum Cyrili et metudii germanorum, de Alexandria Grece genitorum [...] Quemadmodum ex historiis plurimorum sanctorum et ex cronocis diversis colligitur beatus Cirillus et Metudius, fratres germani, de Alexandria, Grece et Sclavonicae lingue, venerunt ad terram Moravia [...] qui sub se septem suffraganeos episcopos habuerunt sedemque suam in Moravia Wylherad salubriter ornaverunt apostolique et converse gentis ilius et nostre fuerunt...* in: *Vitae sanctorum hymnis auctae*, in: *Kremnický kódex* (Farská knižnica Kremnica), CX V, 119v–121. According to Július SOPKO: *Stredoveké latinské kódexy k slovenských knižniciach*, vol. 1, Martin 1981, p. 187.

was revitalised and re-evaluated in the days of Recatholisation, specifically in the days of the arrival of the Jesuits at the end of the 16th century. In fact, a less well-known (at least in Slovak historiography) Jesuit attempt to establish a higher Jesuit school with Slavonic as an educational language appeared at that time. The goal of establishing such an institution, apart from the Recatholisation of the Hungarian Kingdom, may well also have been missions to the eastern Slavs. In view of the fact that the authors of that concept were not quite sure of what language should be the language of the missions and what script should be used, Claudio Acquaviva, the Superior General of the Jesuits, around 1599 assigned Alfonso Carillo,²² the Hungarian Provincial Superior of the Jesuits, to undertake an extensive inquiry among the individual monks asking them the questions indicated above. From the resulting correspondence two letters of Teofil Kristek, a Silesian Jesuit from Kláštor pod Znievom, stand out. He answered the questions in the following way: in his opinion the language of education and communication should be the Illyrian language, that is, a Croatian variant of the Old Slavonic language, and the Cyrillic script should be used for writing. Teofil Kristek supplemented his answers with his own philological-historical arguments, and – importantly – he completed his second letter with a list of currently extant texts (both written and printed) in the Cyrillic and Glagolitic script that were, in those days, stored in the Jesuit monastery in Kláštor pod Znievom (of which now, unfortunately, no trace remains). Nevertheless, preparations were interrupted by the revolt of Stephen Bocskay, after which the Jesuits withdrew from the Kingdom of Hungary (strictly speaking from Slovakia). Thereafter in 1635, a Jesuit University, founded by Peter Pázmaň (Pázmány), was established in Trnava. Although the original plan – to teach in Illyrian – was abandoned, the spread of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition remained a significant part of the university timetable (history, hagiography, as well as propaganda). In that way, as well as through its further thematisation against an Evangelical-Protestant background, the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition has become an integral part of Slovak ideology since the 17th century.

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22 Nada RÁCOVÁ, *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky v 17. storočí*, in: M. Homza – N. Ráčová, *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia. Kapitoly k základom slovenskej historiografie*, Bratislava 2010, pp. 125–134.

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THE IMAGE OF SAINTS CONSTANTINE AND METHODIUS IN SLOVAK LITERATURE OF THE 17TH–18TH CENTURY

Nada Labancová

Since the Late Middle Ages at the latest, the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition has formed an integral and important part of the concept of Slovak national consciousness. Its form and function have changed, depending on the state of historical knowledge, but also on topical socio-political needs. The aim of this paper is therefore to follow up the development of the image of Saints Constantine and Methodius through an analysis of the Slovak concept of thought, as it has been presented in works by Slovak Evangelical as well as Catholic intellectuals of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. Focus is mainly laid on the ideological line of Jesuit fathers Melchior Inchofer, Benedikt Sölöši, Martin Sentiváni and Samuel Timon. Besides mutual comparison of theories by individual scholars, the author also pays attention to differences springing from their confessional membership, especially concerning their attitude to using vernacular Slovak as well as to dominant individual topics in contemporaneous historical literature, but first of all to the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy.

Key words: Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, Great Moravian tradition, Daniel Sinapius-Horčička, Matej Bel, Benedikt Sölöši, Martin Sentiváni, Ján Baltazár Magin, Samuel Timon

Cyrillo-Methodian tradition has been part of Slovak national awareness since the Late Middle Ages. We can polemise over whether it had uninterrupted continuity on the territory of Slovakia or whether it was repeatedly introduced in the Slovak cultural sphere by means of other Slavonic (primarily Bohemian and South Slavonic) literatures; however, we cannot doubt the important role that the tradition, together with other elements, played while building our national identity in the course of the past centuries. Many authors have been concerned with the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy in historical literature,¹ although most of them have focused only on the period of the so-called National Revival, or there were only brief papers and overviews. The aim of this paper is not to reveal the image of the real saints Constantine and Methodius, as it was familiar to those authors or familiar generally during the period of time under analysis (approximately a hundred-year period between the middle of the 17th century and the middle of the 18th century), but to point out the instrumentation of their persons and the use of this tradition and legacy within the bounds of thought concepts of period literature, primarily by Slovak intellectuals.

In the course of several decades beginning in the middle of the 17th century, Slovak cognoscenti created an elaborated argumentation basis from which their successors proceeded, in which they were grounded and which they expanded until the 19th century. From the very beginnings of that process certain confessionally-motivated dissimilarities between the two concepts – evangelical and Catholic – might be defined. The line that runs through the works of Slovak Evangelicals was

primarily care for the language, its refinement, cultivation, development, as well as theoretical preparation for its future codification. To reveal its extraordinary significance, it was often identified with the language of (all) Slavs; also its antiquity as well as the extensiveness of the territory over which it was used (in various “forms”, or “dialects”, as the languages of individual Slavonic nations were presented there) were highlighted. If they reached out to history in their argumentation, they almost always did so to find some evidence there supporting the antique origin of the language. In this respect they also used the mission of Thessalonian brothers Constantine and Methodius as an argument (conversely, the evangelical intellectuals kept avoiding e.g. Zwentibald).

One of such works was the collection of proverbs *Neo-forum Latino-Slavonicum*² from 1678 by Daniel Sinapius-Horčička (1640–1688), primarily its extensive historical linguistic introduction. The author presented a pantheon of famous men of Slavonic origin in his work as evidence of the importance of the Slavonic nation. Among other men he mentioned Cyril and Methodius, the apostles of all Slavs; John Huss, the apostle of the Bohemians; or Vavrinec Benedikt of Nedožery, the author of *Czech Grammar*. The choice of the self-same sequence might be clarified by the words of Jozef Miloslav Hurban, a representative of a generation which two hundred years later drew both inspiration and knowledge from the works of the 17th-century intellectuals. In his historiographical excursion included in *Slovenskije pohľad*³ he emphasised the fact that the Slovaks had the translation of Holy Scripture even

1 See e.g. Richard MARSINA, *Cyrlometodská tradícia na Slovensku*, in: *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia* V., Trnava 2004, pp. 25–36. Anton BAGIN, *Cyrlometodská tradícia u Slovákov*, Bratislava 1993, p. 66. Rudo BRTÁŇ, *Barokový slavizmus: Porovnávacie štúdiá z dejín slovenskej slovesnosti*, Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš 1939, p.293. Ján TIBENSKÝ, *Formovanie sa ideológie slovenskej feudálnej národnosti a buržoázneho národa*, *Historický časopis* 19/4, 1971, pp. 575–590; IDEM, *Chvály a obrany slovenského národa*, Bratislava 1965, p. 408. IDEM, *Predstavy o slovanstve na Slovensku v 17.–18. Storočí*, *Historický časopis* 8/2, pp. 198–224.

2 *Neo-forum Latino-Slavonicum: Nowy Trh Latinsko-Slowensky, na kteremž se nekeré do Hospodarstwy Slowenskeho potrebne towary prodayne nachazegj: Wistaweny a Ustanoweny od Daniele Sinapiuse, někdy Sprawcze Cyrkwe Radwanske*. Roku Paňe 1678. See also critical edition: *Danieli Sinapiae-Horčička st. Neo-forum Latino-Slavonicum. Nový trh latinsko-slovenský*, ed. et transl. Jozef MINÁRIK, Bratislava 1988, p.265.

3 Jozef Miloslav HURBAN, *Slovensko a jeho život literárni*, *Slovenskije pohľadi na vedy, umeňja a literatúru* 1/1, vol. 2, 1846/47 pp. 6–7.

in the times when no other European nation could have read the Scripture in their mother tongue. In this context he was primarily referring to St Methodius, the “archbishop of the Slovak kingdom” nominated by the Pope, who was instrumental in spreading the faith in a “living manner” by preaching the Gospel in the vernacular language. From the times of Martin Luther, reformed Churches kept trying to achieve that proposition. Therefore we can rightfully suppose that Slovak Evangelicals regarded Saints Constantine and Methodius in their concept as their predecessors and patrons and that they regarded themselves as the only real successors to the two saints.

The Cyrillo-Methodian mission is also mentioned in Matthias Bel’s (Belius, Funtík; 1684–1749) preface to Pavel Doležal’s work *Grammatica Slavico-Bohemica*.⁴ Apparently, because of the topic of the text – which was praise of the Bohemian language – the author set the mission in the Bohemian milieu. Inspired by Bohuslav Balbín, he highlighted the teaching activities of Methodius among the Bohemians, thanks to which Bohemian literature underwent extraordinary development. In his opinion Methodius founded schools in many places; one of them was entrusted to Christian teachers in the town of Budeč to the north of Prague. According to tradition, even the king’s sons Wencelas and Boleslaus, as well as other Bohemian aristocrats, might have been educated at that very place.⁵ Bel was probably the first in our cultural sphere to relay the information (however brief) that Methodius, together with St Cyril, invented the Slavonic alphabet. Earlier tradition had ascribed the achievement to St Jerome, out of fear of a possible accusation of heresy. As well as his predecessors, Bel emphasised that, with the consent of the Pope, the Slavonic language became liturgical and that God’s mysteries were celebrated in churches in that language. “Thus the connection between religion and this perfect language proved successful. What a harmful effect, however, it would have on religion if it was deprived of this perfect language.”⁶ Bel’s setting (which does not seem random in such a context any more) of the apostolic mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the Bohemian milieu was obviously supposed to imply that the perfect Slavonic language was Czech. Thus by the liturgical use of Czech in church services the Evangelicals *de facto* continued in that ideal situation and it was (only) they who became the bearers of the true Cyrillo-Methodian tradition.

Contrariwise, the Catholics (at that time mostly Jesuit Fathers) built on the historicity of the Slovak nation. They grounded their arguments in the old Slavs populating the territory of the Carpathian Basin and in the person of King Zwentibald who hospitably offered the Hungarians the chance to stay in his territory. From the middle of the 17th century they accepted and also highlighted Saints Constantine and Methodius as the local saints from whom the Hungarian Slavs (Slovaks) had accepted Christianity with the consent of the Holy See in Rome.

A Hungarian Jesuit, Melchior Inchofer, was the first of them to inform Hungarian historiographers about a finding based on his

research in the Vatican archive. In his document *Annales Ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae*⁷ from 1644 he stated that St Cyril was an apostle of the Moravians, while St Methodius was an apostle of the Hungarians, or rather the first Hungarian archbishop.

Another Jesuit, Benedikt Sölöši (Szöllösi, pseudonym Rybnický; 1609–1656), continued Inchofer’s train of thought. In the introduction to his Catholic hymn book *Cantus Catholicus*⁸ from 1655 Sölöši repeatedly claimed allegiance to the Cyrillo-Methodian and overall Great Moravian tradition. Since the author of the collection was working at the time of its publication in the Spiš Chapter House, the hymn book was released at the well-known Master Brewers printing house in Levoča (although the printing house of the Jesuit University of Trnava had started its activities at that time). Sölöši wrote, “Famous for being eulogised and for much evidence of its antiquity is our Pannonian nation. When under King Zwentibald, who had his residence in Belehhrad, the apostles Cyril and Methodius preached here the faith in Jesus, we (our nation) became attached to Christ. [...] Unifying the Pannonians with Christ by means of the holy baptism of King Zwentibald and certainly also of the Bulgarians, Moravians, and the Bohemian Duke Bořivoj, the above-mentioned holy men made arrangements with the Roman Pope Nicholas I so that the nations baptised by them were allowed to use their own language in the liturgy.”⁹

There are more interesting statements in the text; however, the author did not mention the source of his information. He described the Slovaks as a Pannonian nation, or rather the inhabitants of Pannonia. Such a connection was nothing new, since a similar conception of the Hungarian Slavs could have been found in older mediaeval texts mostly of Polish origin.¹⁰ The theory of the Pannonians as the first inhabitants of the Carpathian Basin and of their Slavonic origin was worked out fifty years later by the most significant intellectual of (not only) Slovak life at end of the 17th century, a Jesuit, Martin Szentiványi.

In his short introduction, Benedikt Sölöši described Zwentibald as the first king (of the Pannonians) and at the same time the one who had accepted Christianity from Saints Constantine and Methodius. He situated the whole story in Zwentibald’s residence in Belehhrad, which could be interpreted in two ways – either, due to a confusion in the initial letter, the residence could be identified with Velehrad (as also Rudo

7 Melchior INCHOFER, *Annales Ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae*, Romae 1644, p. 300.

8 Benedikt SÖLÖŠI, *Cantus Catholicus: Pysne Katholické. Latinské y Slowenské: Nowé y Starodawné. Z kterými Krestiané w Pannaňygi Na Wyročné Swátky, Slawnosti, pry Službe Boží, a w ginem obwzlasstnem času, z pobožnosti swé Krestianské ožýwagi. Nasledugý po tem, Pysne na Katechismus: O Swátostech Nowého Zákona. Letaňye rozlične na Wýchodi Cyrkewne, a neb Processyge, a Putowaňy. Z mnohú pilnosti ku potesseňy Lidu Krestianskému, znou w zbrané, a wúbec widané. S. Pawel k Epheským Cap. 5 v. 19. Naplňeny budte Duchem Swatým, mluwýce samy sobe w Žalmých, a w Chwalách, a w Pýsnickach duchowných spýwagýce, a chwálu wzdáwagýce w srdých swých Panu. Cum facultate Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi Domini, Domini Georgii Lippai Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis. Regni Ungariae Primatis. A. M. D. G. B. V. M. & O. SS. H. A. P. R., Leutschowiae 1655, p.320.*

9 B. SÖLÖŠI, *Cantus Catholicus*, Predhovor: “Gens nostra Pannona, multis antiquarum encamiis, & monumentis celebrata. Postquam sub Suatoplogo Rege, Belgradi sedem habente, Viris Apostolicis Cyrillo, & Methodio Christi fidem annuntiantibus, Christo adhaesisset [...] Adunatis Christo per Sacrum baptisma cum Rege Suatoplogo Pannoniis, nec non Bulgaris, Moravis, & Borivojo Bohemiae Duce, a Romano Pontifice, Nicolao Primo praefati viri Sancti impetrant, ut gentibus a se baptizatis, lingua vernacula obire Sacra liceret.”

10 Probably the most significant one is in *Velkopolská kronika* from the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century, where Pán, or Panón, is considered a distant ancestor and Pannonia the cradle of all the Slavs. See *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, ed. Brygida Kürbis, Monumenta Poloniae Historica Nova Series 8, Warszawa 1970, pp. 4–6.

4 Paullus DOLESCHALIUS, *Grammatica Slavico-Bohemica, in qua praeter alia, ratio accuratae scriptionis & flexionis, quae in hac lingua magnis difficultatibus laborat, ex genuinis fundamentis demonstratur, ut et discrimen inter dialectum Bohemorum & cultiorum Slavorum in Hungaria insinuatur*, Posonii 1746, p. 323.

5 P. DOLESCHALIUS, *Grammatica Slavico-Bohemica*, Praefatio, § 11.

6 P. DOLESCHALIUS, *Grammatica Slavico-Bohemica*, Praefatio, § 11: “Tantum est, meliores litteras, in religionis admisisse societatem! quantum ergo fuerit damnum, religionem, bonis litteris orbauisse?” Translated according to Matej Bel, trans.: Juraj Pavelek, *Slovenská reč*, 49/3, 1984, p. 146.

Brtáň did in his analysis of the displays of Slavism¹¹), or, more likely, it really was a Belehrad, strictly speaking Stoličný Belehrad (Alba Regia, Székesfehérvár), the town where Hungarian rulers were traditionally crowned. Thus Benedikt Sölöši made use of the Cyrillo-Methodian and Great Moravian tradition to repudiate official Hungarian historiography. Between the lines, he was indicating that the first ruler to be crowned in the place of investiture of Hungarian kings was not Stephen but Zwentibald, and that Christianity had been accepted in Hungaria before the rule of the first-mentioned king. Thus the person of Zwentibald became the basis on which state traditions as well as the Christian traditions of the Hungarian kingdom grew. The Slovaks themselves became the foundation of the Hungarian kingdom as the first Christians to accept Christianity from the hands of Saints Constantine and Methodius, who were moreover accepted by the Pope himself.

An important message of Sölöši's text is also a reference to the approval of celebrating the liturgy in the mother tongue – a Slavonic language,¹² which later (when Catholics took the initiative for some time in the language sphere too) became the theoretical basis for the connection of Recatholisation with the living, vernacular language, in our case with Slovakisation.¹³

Another one of the Jesuit intellectuals who, mostly in the milieu of the University of Trnava, brought Hungarian critical historiography into being, was its professor and top official, a book censor, and administrator of the university printing office Martin Szentiványi (Sentiváni, Svätójanský, Szentivanius; 1633–1705). His work is extraordinary not only for its extent and the exceptional amount of the topics covered, but also for the extent of its reach at the University of Trnava. Most notions reflecting Martin Szentiványi's understanding of the concept of the Slovak idea can be found on the pages of his monumental encyclopaedic work *Curiosa et Selectiora variarum Scientiarum Miscellanea* which was published in the printing office of the University of Trnava from 1689 to 1702. Martin Szentiványi provided far more information on Saints Cyril and Methodius than his predecessors. He described them as the apostles of the Moravians and Pannonians. In a list of papal decrees, which concerned Hungaria in a certain way, Szentiványi stated that it was Pope Adrian II who had sent Cyril and Methodius, monks of the order of St Basil, to Moravia and Pannonia in 862 to preach the Gospel.¹⁴ Already at that

time Harderic, the Archbishop of Lorch,¹⁵ was working in that territory as a legate of the Holy See for Moravia and Pannonia (until 866 when he died). It is hard to say whether the persistent emphasising of the role of Rome was the result of insufficient knowledge, or whether it was an intentional claiming of allegiance to Roman tradition. In Szentiványi's chronology of Hungarian history, Methodius appeared (alone) in 879. That year Pope John had accused Methodius that the way he was holding church services sung in the Slavonic language was not in accordance with the Roman rite. After Methodius' audience in Rome, which took place the following year, John consented to Slavonic prayers; moreover, he ordained Methodius as archbishop (however, Szentiványi did not mention the exact place). The wider context implies that the Pope sent Methodius with great approval to Zwentibald in Moravia; at the same time he sent Wiching there and he established him as the Bishop of Nitra, subordinated to Methodius.¹⁶ It is interesting that the author had not mentioned the Bishopric of Nitra anywhere in the preceding pages of his text and that he did not write anything about the circumstances of its founding, as if the bishopric was a functioning and well-established institution for the administration of ecclesiastic issues in that part of Pannonia as early as 880. According to the liturgical calendar, the Commemoration of Saints Cyril and Methodius should be celebrated on the 9th of March.

As for the development of the Great Moravian tradition in a broad sense, Martin Szentiványi provided significant benefit in his presentation of the historical figure of Zwentibald. Compared to Benedikt Sölöši, his interpretation is apparently more comprehensive; at the same time it offers more versions of the so-called Legend of Zwentibald. Since that motive was never mentioned by the evangelical intellectuals of the 17th and 18th century, it seems that the topic of Zwentibald, whether Prince or King of the Moravians, Pannonians, or simply Slavs, or Slovaks, became part of some kind of concept of Slovak history promoted by the then Slovak Catholics by means of Jesuit historiography.

Martin Szentiványi's work in a way symbolically foreshadowed the arrival of other Catholic intellectuals (among others Alexander Máčaj, Ján Baltazár Magin and Samuel Timon). From the beginning of the 18th century, certainly in connection with the Recatholising tendencies of the Viennese court, they increasingly took over the activity of further formulating the thought concepts of the Slovak nation.

The Cyrillo-Methodian legacy also appeared in the pages of the treatise *Apologia pro inclyto Comitatu Trenchiniensi*,¹⁷ the authorship of which has nowadays been credibly ascribed to a native of Vrbové, the parish priest of Dubnica nad Váhom Ján Baltazár Magin (1681–1735). The whole work, completed (according to the dating of prefaces and dedication) no later than the beginning of 1724, was constructed as a conversation

11 Rudo BRTÁŇ, *Barokový slavizmus*, p. 45.

12 Liturgical use of the Slavonic language was permitted by the bull *Gloria in excelsis* of Pope Hadrian II in 869 (*Epistulae*, ed. Lubomír Emil Havlík, in: MMFH III, č. 39, pp. 154–155), after the audience with Cyril and Methodius in Rome (where they had been invited by the former pope Nicholas I), on condition that the epistles and Gospel first be read in Latin, however. If anybody had intended to defame the Slavonic liturgical books, they would have been excommunicated. The Slavonic liturgy was also approved by Pope John VIII in his bull *Industriae tuae* from June 880 (*Epistulae*, č. 90, s. 197–208).

13 The best attempts proceeding from the milieu of the (Jesuit) University of Trnava are expressed in the recommendation of Archbishop Petr Pázmaň, according to which Recatholisation was intended to spread in the living vernacular language. This recommendation apparently followed the (unfortunately undated in the available literature) order of the Vatican *Congregation for Propagating the Faith*, which said that the local language was intended to be used for the use of Catholic reformation. István KÁFER, *K dejinám slovenskej predbernalákovskej literatúry a jazyka*, Philologica. Zborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského 14, 1962, pp. 56–58. Viera MORIŠOVÁ, *Z prameňov Kongregácie pre šírenie viery v Ríme a dejinám rekatolizácie na Slovensku v 17. a 18. storočí*, Slovenská archivistika 34/2, 1999, p. 93.

14 Martin SZENTIVÁNYI, *Miscellanea*. Decadis tertiae pars prima, dissertatio prima, s. 152: "S. Cyrillus, qui Pannonijs, sed praesertim Istri accolis praedicavit. Methodius ejusdem S. Cyrilli in praedicando Evangelio per Pannoniam socius." Decadis tertiae pars prima, dissertatio prima, p. 178: "Anno Christi 862. Hadrianus II. Papa Cyrillum, atque Methodium Monachos S Basilij misit, ad praedicandum Evangelium Moravis, & Pannonijs."

15 M. SZENTIVÁNYI, *Miscellanea*. Decadis secundae pars tertia, VII. synopsis, p. 276.

16 M. SZENTIVÁNYI, *Miscellanea*. Decadis secundae pars tertia, VII. synopsis, s. 277. See also Decadis tertiae pars prima, dissertatio prima, p. 178.

17 Ján Baltazár MAGIN, *Murices Nobilissimae et Novissimae Diaetae Poseniensis Scriptori Sparsi sive Apologia pro inclyto Comitatu Trenchiniensi ejusdemque Nominis Civitate conscripta adversus calumnias, quibus Cervus & Agnus per summam injuriam ab eodem Scriptore sunt onerati*, Puchovii 1728, p. 114. A Slovak translation of the whole work as well as the introduction studies can be seen in Ján Baltazár MAGIN, *Obrana slávnej župy Trenčianskej a mesta tohože mena*, ed. Vincent Sedlák – Gašpar Sedlák, Martin 2002, Martin 2002, p.193.

between three friends (the author himself was concealed there under the pseudonym Gnorimednopoliprostatus) who created what was thus far the most complex system of Slovak national argumentation. The literature used by J.B. Magin for this purpose shows his extensive knowledge. Although, according to the customs of that period, he considered Holy Scripture the highest authority, he supported most of his opinions with the works of ancient writers, mediaeval chroniclers, Humanist writers, as well as of his direct predecessors and contemporaries. Conversely Ján Baltazár Magin, while constructing his argumentation (unlike the new critical-historical school, represented for example by the Jesuit Samuel Timon), remained traditionalist and counted himself rather among the older historical writers.

Magin connected the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy primarily with the topic of the antiquity and extensiveness of the Slavonic language. The language was most renowned and appreciated after the Pope's official approval when it started to be used, like Latin and Greek, for holy purposes, i.e. for holding Masses. That supposedly happened in the days of Saints Cyril and Methodius, whom Magin named (similar to Michael Bonbardí, the author of *Topographia Magni Regni Hungariae*) as the Slavonic apostles. On the question of the defining aspects of Slovak national awareness (in literature they were dealt with one way or the other from the middle of the 17th century) Ján Baltazár Magin followed the interpretations outlined by the Jesuits. He departed from them only on the question of the approach to the person of Zwentibald. In fact, while Benedikt Sölöši quite explicitly, and Martin Szentiványi at least elliptically, connected the mission of the Thessalonian brothers, the acceptance of Christianity, and the promotion of the Slavonic language to a liturgical one with the activity of King Zwentibald, J. B. Magin did not mention him in that context at all. The events set in Pannonia (in the sense of the Slovak context) by Benedikt Sölöši, were in almost the same way set in Bohemia by Ján Baltazár Magin, apparently under the influence of the oft-quoted Bartosz Paprocki. In his opinion (possibly formed on reflection about the Slovak Evangelicals' situation at that time), even the Slavonic liturgical language should have been Czech. "And certainly not without a miracle did the Bohemians secure the use of their language in the liturgy. Paprocki writes that it happened like this: 'When Ludmila, a very religious woman, gave Bořivoj, an equally religious Bohemian duke, their third son, who was sprinkled with the water of holy baptism by St Methodius, the Archbishop of Moravia, and was named Boleslaus, some Bohemians approached the holy bishop with a plea for permission to be allowed to celebrate the Holy Mass in their native language (as recent converts, they had not acquired a more profound knowledge of Latin). Methodius, intending to satisfy this novel idea, sent a letter post-haste about this issue to Rome, to the hands of Pope Nicholas who was certainly alive around the year 858 (and died in 868). When Cyril, who shared the idea, most eagerly urged not only the Pope but also the whole council to allow the Bohemians to celebrate the liturgy in the Slavonic language, the idea seemed novel to practically all of them, as the Bohemians were asking for something which no other Christianised country had asked for before. Then there was a great muttering among the prelates (as the council documents say, there were 113 bishops among other prelates at that council which took place in the city of Rome in 865 A.D.), but while counter-arguments were being expressed, everybody could hear a voice from heaven saying, "Let everybody praise the Lord (...) and every tongue shall give praise to God". While they were all

silent, in awe of that voice, the holiest Pope gave immediate consent to Cyril, and so the Bohemians were allowed to use the Slavonic language in the liturgy.¹⁸

Ján Baltazár Magin seems to have perceived the legacy of Cyril and Methodius and of Zwentibald to be more separate. While he proudly recognised the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy (he called Methodius the Archbishop of Moravia and he even highlighted him and his brother Constantine as the apostles of all Slavs), at first sight he assumed an ambivalent attitude to the person of King Zwentibald. The reason might be similar to Martin Szentiványi's – the pressure of official Hungarian historicism continuing in the local patriotism of the Slovak aristocracy. J. B. Magin considered it certain that Zwentibald's royal residence was Velehrad and that he ruled the territories of Sarmatia, Pannonia, Moravia, Bohemia, and other northern countries (here it is not clear which countries he had in mind). At the same time he pointed to the differing opinions of historians both on the question of Zwentibald's origin and on the description of his life (and more often, death). We do not know what version was truthful, or at least probable, for him, as he was not inclined to any of them, true to his "correctness".¹⁹ In this context, however, he was the first to analyse systematically and to construct a new argument-based theory, called by later historiographers a "theory of hospitable acceptance of the Hungarians". He did not cast any doubt on the fact that Zwentibald gave his country to the Hungarians; nevertheless, he newly interpreted that fact in the way that Zwentibald accepted the Hungarians (foreigners) as honoured guests in his country as a token of his mercy. In Magin's opinion it was a show of Zwentibald's nobility and magnanimity to have accepted such an unworthy gift as a horse with saddle and bridle, and moreover, to have repaid the Hungarians with the most precious gift he had – his own country.²⁰ This theory would also become an important part of the argumentation skills of future Slovak intellectuals.

In this context a leitmotif should be remembered that penetrates the whole work of Ján Baltazár Magin, namely the equality of nations in Hungaria. We could rightly suppose that he was primarily concerned about the equality of Slovaks and Hungarians. In fact he presented a surprisingly civil principle in his work – the equality of individuals, nationals, citizens of *natio Hungarica* within the Hungarian kingdom, regardless of citizenship of this or that nation. The most significant expression of that idea, continuously pervading the whole text, is one of the monologues

18 Jána Baltazára Magina Obrana, pp. 99–100.

19 There were various views of the person of Zwentibald as J.B. Magin worked out, based on the literature available to him. See Jána Baltazára Magina Obrana, pp. 112–114.

20 Jána Baltazára Magina Obrana, p. 118, "However, I say that Zwentibald should be smothered with the utmost praise for it. To invite unknown foreigners, in most cases suspicious to us, under one's roof, is a rare act of mercy. Zwentibald kindly accepted Kusid and his company, foreign people, into his house, although they were not in the least familiar to him. To trust sincerely the words of a person whom one has neither ever seen, nor examined by means of a lengthy dialogue, is a shining feature of a noble spirit without intrigue. [...] Your not spurning a gift that is under your dignity, but on the contrary repaying for it as generously as possible, points to the generosity of Xerxes who looked with a kind face on a peasant who served him water in his hand, or to the sincere kindness of that Gaelic ruler that paid richly a villager for a beet. Zwentibald gave the Hungarians the best and most fertile fields and the most favourable settlements for one horse decorated with a bridle and a saddle. To treat a messenger more than worthily and, what is more, to smother him with gifts, is a feature of royal dignity. Zwentibald dismissed Kusid, smothered with gifts, as honourably as possible. Then what should cover Zwentibald's or our face with shame? Only if he, this exceptionally amiable, polite and kind king, was blamed for being deceived by the guile of the Hungarians, then robbed of his kingdom by the violent attack of enemies despite rightful agreements and provisions. Thus we might also praise Judas Iscariot, who with his treacherous kiss sold Christ to the Jews, and castigate our Saviour himself [...]."

of a friend called Polyphius.²¹ Part of Polyphius' consideration strikingly resembles the speech of Constantine the Philosopher given in Venice before the Latin bishops and priests as he was giving justifications for the Old Slavonic liturgy in the following words, "Does the rain not fall from God equally upon everybody? Does the sun not shine upon everybody as well? Or do we not breathe the air equally? and are you not ashamed of admitting only three languages and of commanding the other nations and tribes to be blind and deaf?"²² Magin probably found inspiration here for promoting the equality of Slovaks and Hungarians within the Hungarian nation, the Hungarian kingdom.

Jesuit Samuel Timon (1675–1736) was a historian who is, in a way, the last representative of the previously-discussed c. hundred-year period, but also the one that opened the subsequent period that was built on a brand new approach to the resources. He has also been called the founder of modern critical Hungarian historiography. A new element in Timon's approach to history writing, which he had already employed in his work *Imago antiquae Hungariae*²³ from 1733, was his extraordinary knowledge of the original written sources – both chroniclers' and diplomatic source material, as well as his critical view of documents and secondary literature as a source of information.

Timon dedicated a whole individual chapter of his book to Saints Cyril and Methodius. He called them the apostles of the Slavs (*Sclavorum Apostolis*) and he had relatively accurate information about them. According to his text they were of Greek nationality, graduates of the imperial school. The Byzantine Emperor Michael sent them to Moravian Prince Rastislav (Rastislav), who wished to have such men in his court. At first they started to teach the Christian commandments to the Slavs in Moravia and later in Pannonia; after 866 they also started to establish places of worship and sacred institutions there²⁴. In a similar way and in a different part of his text he considerably extended the territorial activities of Cyril and Methodius not only in Moravia and Bohemia, but also in Pannonia and Illyria. Thus he also included the Nitra Slovaks in the sphere of the saints' influence (this inclusion must have been on purpose), "But those men were not the teachers of just the Moravians and Bohemians, as some people suppose, but also of the Pannonians and Illyrians."²⁵ In the same manner when, influenced by Pope John VIII's letter to Carloman, he called Methodius archbishop (sometimes he mentioned him as the Archbishop of Moravia, but more often of Pannonia), he located the jurisdiction of Methodius, saying that he was supposed to administer the ecclesiastic issues

of both the Moravians and the neighbouring Slovaks²⁶. Timon primarily connected the establishment of Slavonic liturgy requested by the people with Saints Cyril and Methodius (cf. the text of Ján Baltazár Magin who, however, located that event in the territory of Bohemia); the impulse to its establishment was then to come "from below". "The people, who preferred the use of their own language to Latin or German in the holy services, immediately claimed allegiance to the Slavonic teachers."²⁷ S. Timon dealt quite extensively with the defence of the Slavonic liturgy before the Pope in Rome, and the conflicts with the Salzburg priests who, protecting the area that had long been under their jurisdiction, accused Cyril and Methodius of blasphemy. A significant part of this passage was built on his knowledge of Papal correspondence with the Great Moravian rulers. In that period Matthias Bel also mentioned St Constantine-Cyril as the inventor of the Old Slavonic alphabet; however, Samuel Timon extended that information, on the one hand with characteristics of the Slavonic language, as it was that language of which the alphabet is an expression and which was used for the translation of liturgical books and gospels, and on the other hand with a list of nations that allegedly used the language in the Greek Orthodox liturgy up to Timon's times, "Cyril, or Constantine, as Pope John VIII named him, invented the alphabet called the Glagolitic script. This alphabet is used in the liturgy of Slavonic nations, namely the Muscovites, Italians, Russians, Serbians (Rascii), and other peoples worshipping God according to the Greek rite. However, the language in which Cyril translated the holy books from Greek is so puzzling and unusual that today no Slovak is able to understand it completely, because some words sometimes sound Greek. That is why those who want to interpret the meaning of the words of this language to the people have to learn Latin or Greek as we do."²⁸ Thus he probably pointed to the fact that celebrating divine services in Slavonic continued from the 9th century until his time and that the Slavonic language (including Slovak) was suitable not only for such a purpose but also as the intermediary of the mystery of Holy Scripture. It is interesting that in spite of his religious vocation he cast doubt upon the idea that the reason for the approval might have been the mysterious voice from heaven declaiming the words of the last psalm *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum*, as he could have read in the work of Moravian historian Jan Jiří Středovský. His predecessors gratefully quoted that story in various modifications and various settings; thus they pointed to the divine dimensions of the whole event. We can only suppose that by that questioning, Samuel Timon wanted to point out the natural use and need for the Slovak language (the successor of an undefined Slavonic language from the days of Constantine and Methodius) both in the ecclesiastical and liturgical sphere. Samuel Timon concludes his work by simply adding a quotation from the Roman calendar. According to this calendar, March 9 was "in Moravia the Feast Day of Saint Bishops Cyril and Methodius, who brought many nations of that territory, as well as their kings, to faith in Christ."²⁹

In 1744 the lives of the saint apostles also appeared in the collection *Acta Sanctorum Hungariae*, through which the rendering

21 Jána Baltazára Magina Obrana, pp. 110–112: „[...] kto by uprel našim Slovanom, ak mu len rozum slúži, meno uhorského národa? Či sa okrem toho nerodí uhorský Slovan a Maďar u nás pod tým istým nebom? Iste. A nebude ten i onen príslušníkom toho istého národa? Ak je národ podľa Festa Gramatika druh ľudí, ktorí sa narodili na spoločnej zemi: Ako sa nemajú nazývať naši Slovania, narodení v Uhorsku, Uhrami? [...] A preto, keďže novovekí Slovania, bývajúcí v Uhorsku, sa tam nielen narodili, ale naozaj tam žijú ako jeho praobyvatelia, nemohol by nikto Slovanom upierať meno Uhrov, iba ak by nemal rozum.”

22 Žitije Konstantina, ed. Radoslav Večerka, in: MMFH II, chap. 16, pp. 105–110.

23 Samuel TIMON, *Imago antiquae Hungariae repraesentans terras, adventus & res gestas gentis Hunnicae. Cassoviae 1733*, p.409. Several selected chapters were also published in Slovak translation: *Samuela Timona Obraz starého Uhorska. Imago antique Hungariae: výber*, ed. Jozef Šimončíč – Ján Milan Dubovský, Cambridge (Ontario) 1991, p. 74.

24 *Samuela Timona Obraz*, p. 288.

25 *Ibidem*, p. 290: "Atque hi viri doctores fuerunt non modo Moravorum & Bohemorum, ut nonnulli existimant, sed Pannoniorum atque Illyricorum."

26 *Ibidem*, p. 294: "Fuit igitur Methodius primo Pannoniae Archiepiscopus declaratus, ita tamen, ut etiam apud Moravos, eisque vicinos Sclavos sacra curaret."

27 *Ibidem*, p. 288: "Subinde plebs, quam in divinis rebus magis delectabat vernacula, quam Latina, aut Germanica lingua, Sclavis praeceptoribus se addixit."

28 *Ibidem*, p. 290.

29 *Ibidem*, p. 303.

of their tradition arrived at a new, all-Hungarian level. Even in the following centuries, awareness of the tradition was still much more bound to the Slovak and generally Slavonic parts of the Hungarian kingdom, until the establishment of the independent Slovak Republic, after which it became one of its state-forming ideas.

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VIENNA CYRILLO-METHODIAN HOMILIES FROM THE 18TH CENTURY

Michaela Soleiman pour Hashemi

The article deals with the topic of Viennese preachings on Sts Cyril and Methodius written in German (see studies and articles by B. Zlámal, 1938, A. Mais, 1957/58, M. Kopecký, 1965, M. Hashemi, 2010 and V. Mañas, 2013). These preachings were devoted to Moravians living in Vienna on the occasion of the Feast of Sts Cyril and Methodius in St Michael's Church in Vienna, which took place in 1708–1783.

Upon describing the topic, the author presents the recent discovery of 70 above mentioned (printed) preachings on Cyril and Methodius: B. Zlámal and M. Kopecký knew 29 texts from the 1st half of the 18th century available in the Czech Nákel Collection; A. Mais worked with 58 texts from various funds in Vienna, V. Mañas described the nine homilies in the Moravian Library in Brno from the 18th century (four remaining texts are still missing – from 1709, 1711, 1713 and 1714). The greatest collection of homilies (60) was found (by the author of the present study) in the monastic library of Klosterneuburg. In respect to Czech funds, the monastic library in Rajhrad is a significant fund of rare texts, which may also be found in the collections of the Capuchin Order in Prague.

The author briefly specifies the inter-textual connections among texts (based on comparison with previous research). Various historiographic sources quoted in the preachings are partly false; in fact those quotations are mostly taken from *Sacra Moraviae historia sive Vita SS. Cyrilli et Methodii* (1710, written by a Czech Catholic priest, Jan Jiří Středovský), including the historical and pseudo-historical motives of Cyril and Methodius' lives, and the type of Baroque Slavism (taken from Středovský's *Mercurius Moraviae memorabilis*, 1705).

In their texts, the authors of the homilies (mostly preachers originally from Moravia) defended the Slavic nation using, for example, the etymology of the word "Slava" (glory), and promoted re-Catholicisation (using mostly the three works by Středovský). The author also further develops and specifies the differences among various texts, based on previous research.

Key words: Viennese preachings on SS. Cyril and Methodius written in German (printed 1708–1783), the collection in the Klosterneuburg monastic library, Jan Jiří Středovský, *Sacra Moraviae historia sive Vita Sts. Cyrilli et Methodii*, *Mercurius Moraviae memorabilis*, *Rubinus Moraviae*, Baroque Slavism

In my contribution I would like to focus on the phenomenon of Viennese Cyrillo-Methodian preachings written in German. I believe that the use of the word phenomenon (in the sense of a unique occurrence) is justified because the Cyrillo-Methodian preachings were delivered in Vienna in the course of spring festivities seventy-five times¹, every year from 1708² until 1783. So far, I have found the texts of about seventy homilies in various library collections. It is, however, necessary to start at the beginning – with the literature available on the subject.

The state of research

In his study from the end of the 1930s, theologian Bohumil Zlámal (1919–1984), a professor in Olomouc, was

the first to discuss the German Cyrillo-Methodian preachings in the Czech environment.³ He analysed them based on the so-called *Náklo Collection* (relating to the church library in Náklo near Olomouc), which among others contained a collection of 29 Cyrillo-Methodian panegyric texts from 1708–1744.⁴ Bohumil Zlámal also depicted the wider cultural context of the Cyrillo-Methodian celebrations and in this connection also established that the preachings were addressed to the Moravians gathered in St Michael's Church in Vienna.

Another Czech scholar to mention the Cyrillo-Methodian homilies was the (later) professor at Masaryk University in Brno, Milan Kopecký (1925–2006). He did so once again based on the *Náklo Collection*, which Bohumil Zlámal had lent him in the 1960s. He included a short (two-page) description of the homilies in his wider study of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in older Czech literature based on a rich

1 Adolf MAIS, *Das mährische Nationalfest in Wien*, Wien 1957/1958, pp. 93–122. I would like to thank Mgr. Tomáš Parma, Ph.D., from Olomouc University for sending this text. I am therefore going to clarify here my presupposition about the at least 74 Cyrillo-Methodian preachings delivered in Vienna, which I published in the *Budweis Journal* in 2010 (see bibliography).

2 The hypothesis about the initiation of these celebrations by Olomouc (and Triers) Bishop Karl Josef of Lorraine was offered by Tomáš PARMA, *Cyrlometodějský kult v prostředí olomouckých biskupů raného novověku [The Cyrillo-Methodian cult in the environment of the Olomouc bishops of the Early Modern Period]*, Olomouc 2013, p. 53.

3 Bohumil ZLÁMAL, *Barokní chvála sv. Cyrila a Metoděje [Baroque praise of Sts Cyril and Methodius]*, Olomouc 1938.

4 The preachings mentioned in this text did not follow, number-wise, a chronological line.

material basis.⁵ In said work Kopecký – following Zlámál (with a reference to the works from the 1930s by the historian B. Šidu⁶) – mentioned that the Cyrillo-Methodian celebrations continued in Vienna until 1782⁷, and therefore claimed that these preachings could certainly be attested for the 2nd half of the 18th century, though he did not mention their bibliographies or other characteristics.

I attempted to continue the work of the above researchers by probes into the material of the homiletic texts mostly from the 2nd half of the 18th century, which neither of the above researchers had known. This study was published in the *Budweis journal* in 2010⁸ (however, I then only had access to slightly more than half of the homiletic material mentioned, precisely to 37 preachings).

In respect to foreign Slav research, namely Bulgarian (which I consider prestigious due to its long research tradition in registering foreign Cyrillo-Methodian entries in this area), I believe that already the Cyrillo-Methodian bibliography of G. A. Ilinský from 1934 cites several German Cyrillo-Methodian homilies.⁹ Ilinský in particular mentions five homilies from 1708–1744.

In respect to other foreign research into the Cyrillo-Methodian texts, from among the Austrians, Adolf Mais produced an important study in 1958. Until now (2013) Czech and Austrian research has not been properly merged. In my above-mentioned research (with the result from 2010) I built on the studies of Zlámál and Kopecký, without having known Mais's Viennese lecture (Kopecký likewise did not know of it when writing his contribution).¹⁰ (Mais, on the other hand, had no idea about Zlámál's study building on earlier Austrian, and mainly his own, research.)

Mais at the same time described the character of the Cyrillo-Methodian festivities in detail (including their musical, artistic and economic aspects) and also comprehensively, but his discovery of the Viennese preachings must be completed, refined and corrected. In connection with

said celebrations, based on the study of the Viennese diaria, Mais not only proved that they took place before 1783, but also created a list of these festivities (including the celebrants of the masses and the authors of homilies). He had 58 homilies at his disposal¹¹ (from a total of 75) and from various Viennese monastic collections. It is evident that Mais¹² did not know the monastic libraries of Klosterneuburg, which offer a very rich collection (in various funds) of Cyrillo-Methodian texts.

In respect to other Austrian source research I also stress that the so-called *Welzig Catalogue* contains only an incomplete bibliography of the preachings mentioned.¹³

For these reasons I attempted to find the remaining German Cyrillo-Methodian texts from the 18th century (published in Vienna) and gather if possible all of the primary sources, in order to work with the entire available material. The loss of the *Náklo Collection* in the course of the totalitarian era¹⁴ led to heuristics in various local¹⁵ and Austrian funds, finally also in the above-mentioned monastic library of Klosterneuburg near Vienna. The material result of this research is what is probably most complete list of Cyrillo-Methodian texts, the largest part of which, from the perspective of representation in the library collections – altogether 60 texts beside those repeatedly inscribed in the various convolutes (bundles) – are preserved in the above-mentioned Austrian monastic library.¹⁶

The majority of these homilies were delivered in the Viennese Church of St Michael and addressed to an audience connected

11 Above Mais' list (that is, homilies which he mentioned in full based on his research on pp. 111–122) I also found the homilies from 1712 (by Antonius Magerl), 1718 (by Carl Jung), 1719 (by Antonius Kramer), 1722 (by Johanna Sartori), 1723 (by Dominicus Seelhammer), 1732 (by Sigismund Jurmanowitz), 1744 (by Maximilian Weld), 1745 (by Franciscus Holtzer) and 1752 (by Engelbert a Matre Dei). – (Only the last-mentioned text was not part of the *Náklo Collection*.)

12 As for the differences between the information by Mais and Zlámál I mention here the preaching from 1712. The title page (preaching from the Klosterneuburg funds sign. K, Bk II, 633.67) confirms that the preacher in 1712 was A. Magerl. B. ZLÁMAL, *Barokní chvála sv. Cyrila a Metoděje, [Baroque praise of Cyril and Methodius]*, for example p. 11, also worked with this preaching (from the *Náklo Collection*); the Viennese diaria, however, register August Radelmaier as the preacher of 1712, compare A. MAIS, *Das mährische Nationalfest in Wien*, p. 106; such a preaching, however, was not found by any of the researchers and moreover the Cyrillo-Methodian festivities only took place once a year. It remains for further research to find the preacher of, among others, the year 1713 (also this preaching was not discovered by any of the above-mentioned scholars); the Viennese diaria (A. MAIS, *Das mährische Nationalfest in Wien*, p. 107) do not contain the name of the preacher (nor of the celebrant) of this year.

13 Werner WELZIG, *Lobrede*, Wien 1989, p. 665 (index). The Welzig team does not mention in the catalogue references to the homilies of the years 1709, 1710, 1711–1712, 1714, and the texts from 1769, 1771, 1777, 1778; 1780–1782 (the catalogue in fact ends with the year 1780); also, the catalogue does not contain all the signatures of appearance (in the Czech environment, the signatures of ÖNB, or the variety of signatures of the monastic library of Klosterneuburg).

14 This fact was communicated to me by a direct witness, a former member of the ecclesiastical government in the original place of preservation of the collection (*Náklo u Olomouce*). – I requested the search for the collection from my colleagues in Olomouc in various research institutes but despite their effort (more particularly Mgr. H. Suchánková from the Olomouc Aletti Center and Mgr. Š. Kohout from the State Regional Archive in Olomouc, who among others prepared the archiving of the Zlámál Estate), the file has so far not been found.

15 From the perspective of local funds, the majority of the Viennese Cyrillo-Methodian homilies are (naturally) found in Moravia. (The Strahov Library preserves 6 Viennese Cyrillo-Methodian preachings; from the perspective of the so-called absolute appearance in the local environment the most valuable so far seems the preaching by A. STROBL from 1769, kept in the Prague Capuchin Provincial Library; in Austrian funds this preaching appears in the Barnabite fund: see the bibliography.)

16 I make the hypothesis here that the gathering of such a collection was initiated probably by Bertold (the contemporary prior of the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg), who celebrated the festive mass in the course of the Viennese celebrations in 1752, or perhaps P. Baumgartner, the author of the homily of 1762 (a member of the choir of the same Augustinian monastery), or R. Parth, author of the Cyrillo-Methodian text from 1767 (and a preacher in Klosterneuburg).

5 Milan KOPECKÝ, *Cyrlometodějská tradice v starší české literatuře [The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in older Czech literature]*, in: Magna Moravia. Sborník k 1100. výročí příchodu byzantské mise na Moravu [Collection on the occasion of 1,100th anniversary of the arrival of the Byzantine mission in Moravia], Praha 1965, pp. 567–586 (on Cyrillo-Methodian preachings see pp. 580–581). Later analogically IDEM, *Literatura v době baroka [Literature in the Baroque period]*, in: Tomáš Kubiček (ed.), *Literární Morava [Literary Moravia]*, Brno 2002, pp. 69–71.

6 M. KOPECKÝ, *Cyrlometodějská tradice v starší české literatuře [The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in older Czech literature]*, p. 585 (fn. 50).

7 In reality the spring Cyrillo-Methodian festivities lasted according to Adolf MAIS, *Das mährische Nationalfest in Wien*, for example p. 122, based on his study of the Vienna documents, a year longer (until 1783), while for the year 1783 we know the name of the preacher (not the celebrant), the Brno parson P. J. Seyffert (this homily exists for example in the *Rajhrad Collection*). In 1784, the Cyrillo-Methodian feast was celebrated after the festivities (on Dec. 26); compare with A. MAIS, *Das mährische Nationalfest in Wien*, p. 111.

8 Michaela SOLEIMAN POUR HASHEMI, *Sondy do cyrlometodějské německy psané barokní homiletiky [Probes into the Cyrillo-Methodian Baroque homiletics written in German]*, in: Marie Janečková – Jarmila Alexová – Věra Pospíšilová and col. (eds.), *Slovesné baroko ve středoevropském prostoru [Literary Baroque in the Area of Central Europe]*, Praha 2010, pp. 217–227.

9 Compare with B. ZLÁMAL, *Barokní chvála sv. Cyrila a Metoděje [Baroque praise of Sts Cyril and Methodius]*, p. 3.

10 A. Mais (as well as B. Zlámál and M. Kopecký, 1965 and 2002) is cited by Vladimír MAŇAS, *Cyrlometodějské oslavy ve Vídni (1708–1783): pozapomenutá reprezentace Moravy v sídelním městě monarchie [The Cyrillo-Methodian festivities in Vienna (1708–1783): the semi-forgotten representation of Moravia in the capital of the monarchy]*, *Vlastivědný věstník moravský*, Brno 2013, pp. 132–139, which by its complexity reflects Mais' contribution. I would like to thank the author for sending me a copy of his article.

with Moravia (whether by origin or by residence) by prestigious preachers¹⁷ from various monastic orders, mostly the Barnabites to whom the Church of St Michael, from the perspective of the first mass homilies, belonged.

The basic characteristic of the texts

The Cyrillo-Methodian mission is naturally the basic theme of the texts under discussion, which is witnessed by their titles, frequently used in the meritory text as well as in the conclusive prayer (reflecting the poetics of the homiletic text) and by the information on the so-called content title page. In it, the two missionaries are most often called apostles, angels, shepherds and patrons.¹⁸ The meritory text usually contains, in respect to them, some aspect of the Biblical metaphor of the light of Christianisation, but also with the symbolics of clouds and fertile rain (Christian faith – presented by the preachers as ahistorically Catholic – brought by the missionaries and the fruitful, moisturising rain of the faith).¹⁹

The intertextual links of the homilies form another possible approach to the topic. The major source of the Cyrillo-Methodian theme is the work *Sacra Moraviae historia sive Vita SS. Cyrilli et Methodii* (1710)²⁰ written by the Catholic priest Jan Jiří Středovský (1679–1713), with the main idea of transferring the continuity of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission from Velehrad to Prague.²¹ The link to Středovský's work cannot for chronological reasons appear in preachings preceding the year 1710, and in the material produced after the 1750s we generally find fewer references to Středovský's work.²²

As I have mentioned in my earlier study, the Cyrillo-Methodian homilies written in German also cite different sources of mainly

historiographic focus,²³ mostly in connection with Moravian history, which is presented there as culturally significant (even the most significant – as suggested by the homiletic hyperboles – thanks to the result of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission). From among the works of the Baroque period let us mention especially Bohuslav Balbín and his *Epitome historica rerum Bohemiarum* (1677) and *Miscellanea historica Regni Bohemiae*; Tomáš Pešina of Čechorod and his *Mars Moravicus* (1677), quoted usually in connection with the valour of the Moravians; *Prodrum Moravographiae* (1663), used (similar to the passages from the *Miscellanea* by Bohuslav Balbín) in connection with the Biblical *topos* of a blessed, sweet country;²⁴ also Středovský's work *Rubinus Moraviae* (1712), and in respect to the topic of Jan Sarkander sacrificing himself for the Catholic faith (depicted symbolically as a bloody carbuncle). Sarkander is at the same time described almost as a saint and his theme frequently appears in connection with the anti-reformation idea.²⁵ From older historiographical works we find among the texts analysed, naturally, the most frequent references to the Hájek Chronicle too.²⁶

The information on the large number of references²⁷ probably needs to be made more specific, in the sense that their variety is to a certain degree only apparent because the writers cite these texts based on Středovský's text – and in line with the then notion of quoting they rarely provide a reference.²⁸

So-called Baroque Slavism and nationalism

In respect to Středovský's work I would like to narrow down my definition of so-called Baroque Slavism and nationalism.²⁹ The motives of Baroque Slavism in the Cyrillo-Methodian texts clearly offered themselves (in contrast to other texts on saints from the Czech environment) in accordance with historical realia, reflecting the fact that the Cyrillo-Methodian mission meant the Christianisation not only of Moravia but also of other – mainly Slavic – lands. The study of even a minor part of the texts which have been found has led me to the conclusion that, stressing the importance of the Christianisation themes of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, the preachers mainly enumerate the Slavic lands – sometimes selectively – with the greater or lesser support of Středovský's text

17 The careful selection is stressed by M. KOPECKÝ, *Literatura v době baroka [Literature in the Baroque period]*, p. 69, with a reference to the notes of Jan František Josef Rivola, prior of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star at Pöltzenberg by Znaim (now Znojmo – Hradiště), known as the author of the *Czech Wordbook*. Rivola founded the monastic library of said institution.

18 For example the saint apostles (Pius Manzador, 1750, Nicolaus Spenger, 1761, Adelbert Strobl, 1765, Arnoldus Zailenthal, 1766); the Moravian apostles (Carolus Fridrich, 1760); the good shepherds (e.g. Adelbert Strobl, 1769, Augustus Kameniczky, 1770); the land patrons (Jacobus Mazzioli, 1764). The title page already carries several titles: for example already by the above-mentioned Zailenthal: the saint apostles and the patrons of the land.

19 Compare with C. Fridrich, 1760 (the last but one folio of his homily).

20 This study is often mentioned by all the scholars cited. The Bollandist text (*Acta sanctorum*, 1668, on March 9) is cited by the preachers (of the Viennese Cyrillo-Methodian texts) only rarely (the Bollandists did not offer as rich a thematic “supply” for the Cyrillo-Methodian theme as did the text by Středovský, which, however, refers to *Acta Sanctorum*).

21 Also see B. ZLÁMAL, *J. J. Středovský, strojopisný sborník (připravovaný) ke 260. výročí Středovského úmrtí [J. J. Středovský, a typed collection (prepared) for the 260th anniversary of Středovský's death]*, 1973, in: *Zemský archiv Opava, pobočka Olomouc, Zlámalaova pozůstalost* [Opava Land Archive, Olomouc branch, Zlámala Estate] pp. 54–57, n. 762. The same carton contains Zlámala's concept of a monograph on J. J. Středovský.

22 Středovský's text appears in the marginal notes of the authors mainly in connection with the idea of Christian victory over paganism symbolised by pagan gods (certain chapters of the 1st book of Středovský's work *Sacra Moraviae historia...*); the reference is, however, frequently missing in the homilies. The one most notably named is Perun (in Brno at Špilberk; see chapter 5 of Středovský's 1st book); Radegast (in various forms of the name, also for example known as Radigost; at Radhošť, chapter 6 of the above work); Vitislav (at Velehrad; chapter 7 by Středovský) and Krásopani (the Slavic pagan Venus, chapter 8). (Středovský took this theme over from the work of Hirschmentzel according to his own reference.) Said theme finally became the subject of the artistic aspect of the texts as the homilies from 1773, 1779 and 1780 witness, see A. MAIS, *Das mährische Nationalfest in Wien*, p. 100. The second illustration of the Cyrillo-Methodian homilies is connected with the Marian theme. Local Cyrillo-Methodian literature is not mentioned (known? certainly not cited) not only by preachers until 1710, but also for example by preachers from the last years 1782 and 1783 (Karl Teigel and Prosper Seyfferd).

23 Compare with M. KOPECKÝ, *Cyrlometodějská tradice v starší české literatuře [The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in older Czech literature]*, mainly p. 576.

24 Compare M. SOLEIMAN POUR HASHEMI, *On the Concept of Homeland in Older, particularly Baroque Literature*, Praha 2008, p. 136 (without connection to the Cyrillo-Methodian preachings).

25 Typical for example of preachers Gregor Fritz (1720), Antoniul a Resurrectione (1728), Anton Schmidt (1748), August Kameniczky (1770; who also places Sarkander next to Nepomuk). On the personality of G. FRITZ and his two preachings see also V. MAŇAS, *Cyrlometodějské oslavy ve Vídni [The Cyrillo-Methodian celebrations in Vienna]*, p. 135.

26 See for example the homily of M. Wadl (1744) quoting Hájek in connection with the years 868 and 908. The mention of Ludmila (for the year 868), however, does not correspond with Hájek's text, as opposed to the motive of the personality of St Wenceslas in Hájek's Chronicle (for the year 908).

27 Compare M. SOLEIMAN POUR HASHEMI, *Sondy do cyrlometodějské německy psané barokní homiletiky [Probes into German Cyrillo-Methodian Baroque Homiletics]*, p. 219.

28 An exception to this rule is the repeatedly mentioned preacher G. Fritz, who refers (in connection with the defeat of the pagan gods thanks to the Cyrillo-Methodian mission) both to Balbín and Středovský.

29 Compare also M. SOLEIMAN POUR HASHEMI, *Sondy do cyrlometodějské německy psané barokní homiletiky [Probes into German Cyrillo-Methodian Baroque Homiletics]*, p. 220; baroque Slavism and Nationalism were earlier reflected both by B. ZLÁMAL, *Barokní chvála sv. Cyrila a Metoděje [Baroque praise of Sts Cyril and Methodius]*, p. 3, in the terminology “the nation-awareness elements”; also M. KOPECKÝ, *Cyrlometodějská tradice v starší české literatuře, [Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in older Czech literature]*, p. 580, similarly, as “the conscientious and defensive character of the preaching”.

(eventually even without knowledge of it). It must be added that the motives of Slavic lands impacted by the Cyrillo-Methodian mission are frequency-wise sufficiently represented in a number of texts. The accounts almost always include the Lands of the Bohemian Crown (with the stress on Moravia), Bulgaria and Croatia; larger lists specify other South Slavic lands too (Istria, Dalmatia, Slovenia, Serbia and Bosnia),³⁰ and that once again is most probably due to Středovský, as we find it already on the title page of his work *Sacra Moraviae Historia*.³¹

After other probes into the material, this time into the poetries of the texts, I discovered, coming to the theme of so-called Baroque Nationalism, that the theme of Moravia profiles as one of the basic themes (not only in connection with the Cyrillo-Methodian mission). For there are texts beginning with the apotheosis of Moravia (for example by Antonius a Resurrectione, 1728, and A. Ziegler, 1730) or ending with a prayer to it (for example the homily by Zangerl, 1754). Love for Moravia was perhaps most expressly confessed by an author from a Praemonstrate monastery in Louč, Sebastian Felsecker (referring to Středovský's work *Sacra Moraviae historia...*, chapter 1, 1st book), who as it seems, differs most significantly from other preachers, also in the naming of the Moravian nation (*Nation*) already on the title page while other authors mostly turn to the land community (*Landgenossenschaft*) and naturally postulate the prosperity of Moravia "within the framework of the hereditary lands of the Austrian house".

The theme of a cordial relationship with Moravia also appears in the work of preacher Carl Fridrich, also by linking it to the motives of the importance of the cities of Brno and Olomouc. The Brno motive is often connected (also in other Cyrillo-Methodian homilies) with the heroic defence of the city against the Swedes (1645), and so in connection with the theme of Marian piety.³²

Baroque nationalism and Slavism are also connected with the repeated motive of contemporary etymological interpretation of the word "Slovan" (*Slaw*) such as "honour"³³ or "fame"³⁴ (*Ehre; Gloria*) in the highlighted theme formulated polemically in respect to *Sclav*, a slave.³⁵ As a small contribution to the problem, I would like to stress that the idea appears not only in connection with Středovský's work *Sacra Moraviae historia*, but also with *Mercurius Moraviae memorabilis*.³⁶ This work by Středovský rather contained, in respect to the Slavic nation and its language, some motives analogical to Balbín's so-called *Defence*³⁷, appearing also in other (printed) works by Balbín. The Cyrillo-Methodian preachings studied witness the little known fact that Středovský's *Mercurius* was a stronger defence of the language than Balbín's text³⁸, or more precisely – it certainly had a wider spectrum of influence until the publication of Balbín's *Defence* (1775).

The above-mentioned motives have a defensive tendency and fulfil the role of so-called Baroque nationalism and Slavism. Such deliberation leads us to the question of the authorship of texts connected with the previous topic.

Authorship

In this context, I would like to summarise briefly that, while some of the preachers claimed to be Moravians in their homilies, others mention their Moravian workplace within the framework parts of their preachings (particularly on the title page). If we consider such recognised adherence to Moravia from the perspective of the printed homilies in their chronological order, after those already mentioned – S. Felsecker from Znaim (1715) and K. Fridrich from Brno (1760), the following would also belong: Nepomucenus Dupení also from Brno (1768, from the monastery in Zábřovice, the German Obrowitz), Bernardus

30 So far I have found the most numerous list of lands impacted by the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in the homily by Donatus Uberlaker, 1726. It seems that Uberlaker cites the greatest number of historiographical works of both Czech (and Moravian) provenance (beside the previously mentioned and so-called *Legend of Christian*, and Pontanus and Crugerius).

31 Středovský's enumeration is exhaustive; an even wider list in respect to contemporary land names impacted allegedly by the Cyrillo-Methodian mission (the missionaries allegedly became their patrons) included for example Pomerania, Carinthia, Moldavia, Latvia, Livonia, Siberia, the Novgorod region, the Ukraine, Ruthenia and Cherkesia in Středovský's work *Mercurius Moraviae memorabilis* (print 1705, here chapter 2). This work has been closely described in the typed collection in honour of Středovský (1972) by P. K. GOLDMANN, Land Archive Opava, Olomouc branch, Zlámal Estate, pp. 50–54, n. 762. In order to identify the contemporary geographical terms I note at least those nowadays less common: Mingrelia: a region in contemporary western Georgia and south-eastern Abkhazia named after the Mengrel; Circassia: Cherkesia; Triballia: the territory on the border of Serbia and Bulgaria (according to the Thracian tribe of the Triballs). I would like to express my thanks to doc. Lubor Kysučan, PhD from Palacký University in Olomouc for his assistance.

32 On the theme of the Marian (Mikulov) image see A. MAIS, *Das mährische Nationalfest in Wien*, p. 103 on the preaching of 1728 (Antonius, a Resurrectione); V. MAŇAS, *Cyrlometodějské oslavy ve Vídni [The Cyrillo-Methodian festivities in Vienna]*, p. 136, in greater detail and about the homily of 1717 (A. Magerl), which apparently mentions the greatest number of places of Marian piety. The theme of the miraculous Marian image is frequent in the homilies, for example by A. Kamenický (who mentions in this respect Brno, Olomouc and its university and his Praemonstrate monastery in Hradisko u Olomouce), which literally points to the pilgrim Marian image of Brno in a motivic connection with Luke the Evangelist, to whom the tradition ascribed the painting of the original as a depiction of the Virgin Mary. In the course of the Brno anniversary celebrations (also in connection with the Marian image) compare with Miloš SLÁDEK, *Svět je podvodný verbíř aneb výbor z českých jednotlivě vydaných svátečních a příležitostných kázání konce 17. a prvních dvou třetin 18. století [The world is a deceitful recruitment officer]*, Praha 2005, pp. 368–372, mainly in respect to Dubravios' preaching (but not the Cyrillo-Methodian) delivered in Brno (besides, among others, the German text by C. Fridrich, see M. SLÁDEK, *Svět je podvodný verbíř [The world is a deceitful recruitment officer]*, p. 370; an author also known from the Viennese festivities).

33 For example by the preacher Clement Fischer (1724), again in connection with Středovský's work „[...] Marcomanen [...] oder sogenannten Slawen, sage Slawen, nicht Sclaven [...]“, dann das Wort Slawen denen mähren zur grössen Ehre gereicht“. Compare with B. ZLÁMAL, *Barokní chvála sv. Cyrila a Metoděje [Baroque praise of Sts Cyril and Methodius]*, p. 16; M. KOPECKÝ, *Cyrlometodějská tradice v starší české literatuře [The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in older Czech literature]*, p. 580 (taken over).

34 On the theme the Slave = glory, compare Albert PRAŽÁK, *Národ se bránil [The nation defended itself]*, Praha 1945, p. 95, and that beside the so-called Viennese homilies but in connection with Středovský's defence of language and his work *Mercurius*, for details see below. A. Pražák simultaneously mentions another 9 authors, whose texts contain the etymology of the words *Slavus – sláva – slava*. In connection with the Cyrillo-Methodian preachings this concept has been stressed in the work of Adalbert Ziegler (1730; the preacher does not make reference to Středovský's work in this place) by B. ZLÁMAL, *Barokní chvála sv. Cyrila a Metoděje [Baroque praise of Sts Cyril and Methodius]*, p. 15; M. KOPECKÝ, *Cyrlometodějská tradice v starší české literatuře [The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in older Czech literature]*, p. 580 (taken over). According to contemporary etymological interpretation the word "sláva" (glory) is connected with the Old Slavic verb "slout" (to be called); the etymology of the word "Slovan" has not yet been clearly established; hypothetically it may have been connected to the word "freedom". Compare with Ivan LUTTERER, *Stručný etymologický slovník jazyka českého [The concise etymological dictionary of the Czech language]*, Praha 1968, pp. 441, 442. Compare with M. SOLEIMAN POUR HASHEMI, *Barokní slavismus v německy psaných cyrlometodějských textech [Baroque Slavism in Cyrillo-Methodian texts written in German]*, A collection in honour of Paisij of Chilandar, Plovdiv 2013, in print.

35 The form "Sclavini" is, according to the Czech etymological dictionary of Jiří REJZEK 2001, *Český etymologický slovník*, 2001, p. 583, preserved in 6th century Medieval Latin. From this perspective Baroque etymology (using the words "Slav" and "Sclaw") reflected the *de facto* dichotomy of the possibilities to speak freely (gloriously, honestly) and not be allowed to discuss. Compare also M. SOLEIMAN POUR HASHEMI, *Barokní slavismus [Baroque Slavism]*, Plovdiv 2013, in print.

36 The study cites for example P. Manzador in the preaching from 1742 (on the last-but-one page) in connection with the burning of the Velehrad monastery by the Hussites led by Žižka (in reality these were Hussites from Moravia).

37 Under the title *The short but true discourse*, published most recently by M. KOPECKÝ, Praha 1988.

38 Compare with Josef HRABÁK et al., *Dějiny české literatury I [History of Czech literature I]*, Praha 1959, p. 465.

Kameniczky (1770) from Hradiště and Prosper Seyfferdt from Brno (1783, belonging by virtue of his work in St Thomas parish), which, however, does not mean that other authors of the texts analysed were not connected to Moravia at various phases of their activity.³⁹

Let us note in this context that, at the time he delivered his homily, Franciscus Böhm (1721) of Prague had also come from the Bohemian environment. The celebrants offer a more varied territorial image of the workplaces in the Moravian and Bohemian environment – including for example Louka u Znojma (the Præmonstrate monastery, 1715), Litoměřice (1740), Brno (1747, St Peter and Paul's Cathedral), Hlučín (1749), Oldříš (Ullersdorf, 1775) and the Prague personality of Count Althan⁴⁰ (1718–1720), who celebrated the Cyrillo-Methodian festivities fully three times.

Especially in respect to the above authors we may further follow the theme of Baroque patriotism. It is natural that we characterise it territorially, as the authors came from Moravia and those working there were mostly German preachers whose authorial context seems to have been purely German (and exceptionally also Latin). Moravian nationalism and its existence (or non-existence) is naturally connected with the difference between native Austrians working in Austria and authors connected with Moravia either by birth or long-term residence.

In respect to the aspect of monastic order, we have already mentioned the Barnabites, noted also in previous research.⁴¹ Zlámál stressed the connection to the Cistercians of Velehrad (who cultivated the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition)⁴² by stating that they promoted the consecration of the Feast of Cyril and Methodius all over Moravia and Silesia on March 9, especially Kristián Hirschmentzel (author of *Manuscripti Velehradensis*, 1667).⁴³

The most important author of many Cyrillo-Methodian preachings was certainly Pius Manzador (who wrote fully three Cyrillo-Methodian homilies and also, for example, a homily on Nepomuk),⁴⁴ mentioned on the title pages of the preachings also as a member of the Barnabite Order (*Congr. Cler. Reg. S. Pauli*).⁴⁵ Further texts were produced by prestigious preachers of other orders,

39 The information also fits the preacher J. Levin, who was by then working in Velký Hlohov, compare with V. MAŇAS, *Cyrlometodějské oslavy ve Vídni [The Cyrillo-Methodian festivities in Vienna]*, p. 135.

40 Count Michal Fridrich Althan (by 1720 already described as cardinal and later Viceroy of Naples) was among other things better known for his support of the sanctification of Jan Nepomucký. Compare Vit VLNAŠ, *Jan Nepomucký, česká legenda [Jan Nepomucký, the Czech legend]*, Praha 1993, p. 111. The personality of Count Althan as *de facto* possible "career rival" of Cardinal Schratzenbach is mentioned in connection with the study of M. Zemek (1987, Estate MA) V. MAŇAS, *Cyrlometodějské oslavy ve Vídni [The Cyrillo-Methodian festivities in Vienna]*, p. 138.

41 Compare with B. ZLÁMÁL, *Barokní chvála sv. Cyrila a Metoděje [Baroque praise of Sts Cyril and Methodius]*, for example, p. 4 (note 5). Zlámál, however, uses the term *pavláni* (instead of the more precise Barnabites, compare below fn 45). A. MAIS, *Das mährische Nationalfest in Wien*, for example p. 96, describes in greater detail the participation of the Barnabites in the Cyrillo-Methodian festivities and includes the initiative of the choral director of the Church of St Michael, M. Spatzierer (or Prochaska).

42 The importance of the Cistercians in respect to the Cyrillo-Methodian honour is mentioned for example by M. Wadl (1744), referring to Středovský's work *Mercurius*.

43 K. Hirschmentzel appears in the homilies in the so-called false etymology of the origin of the name Brno connected with the name Perun (for example by A. Magerl, 1717).

44 The authors of the Nepomuk homilies also include for example J. Mazzoli (1777) and I. Wurz (1778), as the preserved text witnesses: see *Katalog der Barnabiten, Gesammte Predigten*, An. 7745, pp. 361–380 and 399–424.

45 The texts on the terminology of the monastic orders connect Barnabite = pavlín or paulán = pavlín. In reality, there are three orders: the Barnabites (Canon. Cler. Reg. S. Pauli), pauláni (Ordo minorum) and pavlíni (Ordo fratrum S. Pauli Primi Eremitae).

for example by the Jesuit Franz Brean. It is surprising that within the framework of the authorial context, for example, there is mention of a certain Liborius from St Barbara, in connection with his translations of homiletic texts from French.⁴⁶

The influence of individual orders could certainly become another possible approach to the topic. The Viennese homilies under discussion have a great material potential, not only for a theologian but also for an art historian and literary historian, as they often help us to understand very complex and interesting affiliations of the models (intertextual connections),⁴⁷ for example Středovský's texts on individual works by Balbín or Pešina. A detailed description of individual authors' poetics and the specificities of the Cyrillo-Methodian Viennese preachings become more obvious in comparison with the context of the Cyrillo-Methodian texts preserved mainly (in contrast with the German written texts) in postilographic files.

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46 For an interesting authorial context of Ignáz Wurz (author of the Cyrillo-Methodian preaching of 1772) compare M. SOLEIMAN POUR HASHEMI, *Sondy do cyrlometodějské německy psané barokní homiletiky [Probes into the Cyrillo-Methodian Baroque homiletics written in German]*, pp. 221, 227 (note 40).

47 The last author of Cyrillo-Methodian texts of 1783, P. Seyfferdt from Brno, does not refer to Středovský's work in respect to the Cyrillo-Methodian realia but to *Calendaria ecclesiae universiae* by Joseph Assemani (1755), more particularly as Jos. Assemani in *Calend. Univer.* (3 t., p. 40), which contains the Cyrillo-Methodian subject over 422 pages. In this work J. Assemani also cites the work of J. J. Středovský (*Sacra Moraviae historia*) also quoting for example S. Pavlovský (who supported the growth of the Cyrillo-Methodian cult in Olomouc), B. Balbín and T. Pešina. The differences between the Cyrillo-Methodian theme of Assemani and Středovský certainly deserves an individual study.

48 The abbreviations mark the location of the prints with which I worked (the parentheses offer other possible locations): K – Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg (Austria); MZK – Moravská zemská knihovna, Brno, MZK R – fondy rajhradského benediktinského kláštera [The collections of the Benedictine monastery in Rajhrad]; SK – Strahovská knihovna [Strahov Library]; ÖNB – Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; VK – Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci [The Scientific Library in Olomouc]; S – Bibliothek des Schottenstiftes Wien. I cite the following catalogues in full: *Katalog der Barnabiten, Gesammte Predigten* and *Kapucinská provinční knihovna v Praze* [The Capuchin Provincial Library in Prague].

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THE VITA OF METHODIUS AND CYRIL IN THE MENOLOGIUM COMPILED BY DEMETRIUS TUPTALO

Together with a Few Comments on His Vita of Pope Clement of Rome

Francis J. Thomson

The first published Orthodox menologium is that which appeared at Kiev in four volumes between 1689 and 1705. It was compiled by Demetrius Tuptalo (1651–1709), a Ukrainian abbot who in 1701 was appointed metropolitan of Rostov. Demetrius, who had been tonsured at the age of seventeen, was renowned for his piety and in 1757 Empress Elizabeth authorised his canonisation; indeed, he was the sole East Slav to be canonised in the eighteenth century.

His menologium does not contain traditional vitae but new texts compiled by him on the basis of many sources, not only vitae but also secular works, and it is hardly coincidental that he did not give it the traditional title of “Menologium” but simply “Book of Lives of Saints”. His account of the two brothers is one of the entries for 11 March and is entitled “The Life and Labours of Our Blessed Fathers Methodius and Constantine, Called Cyril, Bishops of Moravia, Teachers of the Slavs”. The very title indicates that his account is not entirely historically correct since Cyril was never a bishop. Beside the title is the gloss “abridged from various parchment menologia” and the principal source of his account is the Slavonic vita of Cyril, a copy of which was in a manuscript in his own collection. The manuscript also contains the vita of Methodius, which he consulted for details. Amongst his other Slavonic sources were the vitae of Cyril and Methodius found in printed editions of the synaxarium and his own vita of Pope Clement of Rome in his menologium for 25 November. He also consulted two Latin sources published by the Bollandists in their *Acta Sanctorum* under 9 March in 1668, viz. the *Translatio corporis S. Clementis martyris* by Leo of Ostia and the *Legenda moravica*.

In the original vita of Cyril just over 60% of the text consists of accounts of three debates on the faith which the saint had with Moslem Arabs, Jewish Khazars and Latin “trilingual heretics”, approximately 11%, 37% and 14% of the text. In Demetrius’ version the percentage is approximately the same but the distribution very different, viz. 18%, 42% and 1.3% respectively. It has often been remarked upon that Demetrius devotes remarkably little attention to Methodius’ missionary activity after Cyril’s death, which is clearly revealed by the fact that it only constitutes 1.2% of the text. If the beginning of the vita prior to the first debate with the Arabs is considered separately these results are confirmed: common to both brothers 7.5%, Methodius 12% and Cyril 80.5%. Thus Demetrius merely records that Methodius joined the army, was sent as an officer to a region near the Slavs, where he learned Slavonic, and after ten years retired to a monastery when the iconoclastic Emperor Theophilus began his persecution. On the other hand, he describes in detail how Cyril after a dream chose wisdom as his bride, went on to pursue his studies (enumerated in detail), became head of the household of a logothete, had access to the imperial palace but fled to a monastery when the logothete wanted him to marry his daughter.

It is clear that Demetrius’ principal aim was not so much to give a historical account of the missionary work of the two brothers as, firstly, to provide a simple yet edifying defence of the Christian faith with respect to Islam and Judaism which the average reader could understand and, secondly, to give a picture of a truly Christian vocation, which was in many respects very similar to his own.

Key words: Cyril and Methodius, Demetrius (Dmitry) Tuptalo, 17–18th-century Slav hagiography

Demetrius Daniel Tuptalo (1651–1709), in religion Demetrius, was educated at the College in Kiev and his subsequent literary works provide ample evidence that he had enjoyed a good education. In addition to his native Ukrainian and, of course, Church Slavonic he knew Latin, Polish, German and perhaps also some French, although he did not know Greek except,

possibly, the alphabet.¹ In 1684 Demetrius, who was by then famous as a preacher and writer, was appointed official preacher of the Dormition Monastery of the Caves at Kiev and, within a fortnight of his entering the monastery on 23 April, the task

¹ Ludmila JANKOVSKA (sic), *Literaturno-bogoslovskoe nasledie svjatelja Dimitrija Rostovskogo: vosprijatie iezuitskoj nauki XVI–XVII vv.*, Moskva 1994, pp. 25–32; IDEM, *Maloizvestnye fakty pastyrskoj i literaturnoj dejatel'nosti svjatelja Dimitrija Rostovskogo, K 1000-letiju Rostovskogo Uspenskogo sobora*. Naučnaja konferencija “Istorija i kul'tura Rostovskoj zemli”, Rostov 1991, pp. 39.

of compiling a collection of saints' lives was imposed upon him on 6 May as a matter of obedience: Врѣчено мнѣ послѣшаніе писати жити стѣхъ мая. ² The first volume of his collection with the months of September to November was published by the monastery's printing press five and a half years later in September 1689 under the title: Книга Житій Стѣхъ Въ славу Стѣхъ Въ славу Стѣхъ Животвораціи Трѣцы Бга Хвалнамагчъ въ Стѣхъ свой. На три Мѣцы Первыа, септѣврїи октѣврїи и новѣврїи. [...].

In addition to *Vitae*, which make up the vast majority of the entries, the collection also contains some homilies for specific feasts, tales of miracles wrought by saints, narratives involving miraculous icons, accounts of both Biblical events, e.g. the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt, and hagiographic events, e.g. translations of saints' relics, as well as various pious tales. At the end of most days the names of other saints also celebrated on that day are given in smaller print often with a summary, usually brief but sometimes more detailed, of the main events described in their vitae.

Three and a half years later in Lent 1693 Demetrius took reception of a major Western source, the nineteen volumes containing the first five months, January to May, of the *Acta Sanctorum* published by the Bollandists at Antwerp between 1643 and 1688. The printing of Demetrius' second volume with December to February began four months later on 10 July but it only appeared in February 1695, so that it is clear that Demetrius had been revising his texts on the basis of the *Acta Sanctorum*. The third volume with March to May only appeared in January 1700, five years after the second, although this time the delay was largely due to the fact that he had been transferred no less than three times to different monasteries as abbot.³ The final fourth volume with June to August, published five years later at Kiev in September 1705, must be viewed against the background of what has been called "the third South Slav influence" on Russia. In view of the ignorance of the vast majority of the Russian clergy, Peter the Great had initiated a policy of appointing clergy from those parts of Belorussia and Ukraine which had in 1667 been incorporated into Muscovy as bishops in Russian dioceses, since they were far better educated. As a result Demetrius became metropolitan of Rostov in 1701 and it was there that on 9 February 1705 he finished his labours on the *Vitae*, noting in his short diary: Февр. ѿ житїа стѣхъ августоу мѣоу написаса довершенїа. Аминь. Слава Богу,⁴ viz. twenty years and nine months and three days after he had begun on 6 May 1684. It was in fact not only the first Slavonic menologium ever to have entries for every day of the year, but it also remains until now the sole one, and for its day it was an astounding achievement.⁵

² See the short version of his diary, Ilja Šljapkin (ed.), *Sv. Dimitrij Rostovskij i ego vremja (1651–1709 g.)*, Zapiski Istoriko-filologičeskogo fakul'teta Imperatorskogo Sankt-Peterburskogo universiteta 24, Priloženija, Sankt-Peterburg 1891, p. 8.

³ By the time the final volume with June to August appeared at Kiev in 1705 the Bollandists had published the first three volumes of June (1–6, 7–15, 16–19) at Antwerp between 1665 and 1701 but no evidence that Demetrius also used them has been adduced.

⁴ I. ŠLJAPKIN (vyd.), *Sv. Dimitrij Rostovskij i ego vremja*, p. 11.

⁵ As the eminent Russian literary historian Aleksandr Pypin (1833–1904) put it: "Для своего времени это был труд единственный в своем роде, каково, без сомнения, не мог бы совершить никто из московских книжников [...]", Aleksandr PYPIN, *Istorija russkoj literatury*, sv. I–IV, 2nd ed. S.-Peterburg 1902, see vol. II, p. 390. The Macarian "menologium", of course, contains entries for every day but it is not a menologium in the true sense of the word, as Russia's greatest hagiologist Ivan, in religion Sergius, Spassky (1830–1904) put it: „Макарий взял на себя труд под именем миней собрать всю духовную литературу своего времени [...]”; viz SERGIJ, *Polnyj mesjaceslov Vostoka*, vols. I, 2, Vladimir 1901, see vol. I, p. 264.

The most detailed study of Demetrius' collection ever made is that by Archpriest Aleksandr Derzhavin (1871–1963), who in 1915, after having completed his studies at the Kievan Theological Academy, received a research grant in order to study it and thirty-nine years later, on 4 March 1954, he submitted the result to the Theological Academy at Moscow for a master's degree in theology. Unfortunately, only two abridged versions of his dissertation, which consists of five volumes, two of text and three containing appendices, have been published, the first at Moscow in 1976 and the second under the same title at Kiev in 2007. At first sight it might appear that the two editions contain the same text, but not only are there some passages in one which are missing in the other, there are also textual differences between the two editions so that it remains uncertain which version contains the original text and both must thus be used with caution.⁶

The first volume of Demetrius' collection contains a list of names of sixty-five authors consulted (DT, f. 4^v), fifty-five of them Greek, eight Western, viz. Ambrose of Milan, Clement of Rome, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Tours, Jerome, Leo of Rome, Paulinus of Milan and Rufinus, one Bulgarian, Euthymius, bishop (not patriarch!) of Târnovo, Сѣпѣ Терновскїи, and one Russian, Macarius, metropolitan of Moscow, which can only refer to his menologium. It also contains a list of works consulted (f. 5^v), which includes the Bible, synaxarium, menaea, early martyriologia and paterica, but noticeably in neither list is any mention made of the many later Western authors and works consulted. In addition to Slavonic sources, viz. the Macarian menologium, Russian and Ukrainian chronicles, including the *Book of Degrees*, *Степенная книга*, and the *Chronicle of the Trinity monastery on Gustyn' Island*,⁷ the printed synaxarium and the second (Kiev, 1678) edition of the *Caves Patericon*, the principal Western source which Demetrius had used for the first volume before he received the *Acta Sanctorum* was the first menologium ever published, namely that compiled by the Carthusian monk Laurentius Surius (Lorenz Sauer, 1523–1580), which first appeared under a lengthy title beginning *De probatis Sanctorum historiis* at Cologne in six volumes between 1570 and 1575, the principal aim of which was not to provide critical editions but revised Latin texts in which fabulous and obviously unhistorical elements had been omitted, and as such it must be viewed in the context of the Counter-Reformation.⁸ Among the other Western sources Demetrius consulted were the *Annales*

⁶ Both editions have the same title: Aleksandr DERŽAVIN, *Četii-Minei Svjatitelja Dimitrija, mitropolita Rostovskogo, kak cerkovnoistoričeskij i literaturnyj pamjatnik*, Bogoslovskie trudy 15, pp. 61–145; 16, pp. 46–141, 1976 (1st ed.), and Kiev 2007 (2nd ed.), pp. 3–233. The Dissertation is now in the Russian State Library, Moscow, fond 218, the collection of the Manuscript Section, №№ 1401–1402; on it see Antonio ČIVARDI, *Vlijanie Životov Svjatykh na Čet'i-Minei: kratkij obzor voprosa v naučnoj literature (1849–1994 gg.)*, Germenevtika drevnerusskoj literatury 11, 2004, pp. 380–392, see pp. 384–386 and 390–391, who is apparently the sole Western scholar to have had access to it; see also Giovanna BROGI BERCOFF, *A proposito di Dimitrij Tuptalo, metropolita di Rostov*, Europa Orientalis, 12, 1993, pp. 49–65, see pp. 49–51, and Andrije KRUMING, *Čet'i Minei svjatogo Dimitrija Rostovskogo: očerk istorii izdanija*, in: L. Jankovska (red.), *Svjatog Dimitrija, mitropolita Rostovskij. Issledovanija i materialy*, Filèvskie čtenija 9, Moskva 1994, pp. 5–52, see p. 42.

⁷ The Trinity chronicle *Gustynskaja letopis'*, Jurij V. Anchimjuk – S. V. Zavadskaja – Olga V. Novochatko – Andrej I. Pliguzov (ed.), in: *Polnoe sobranie russkich letopisej* 40, Sankt-Peterburg 2003, pp. 7–152, which covers the period from the Flood to 1597, takes its name from the monastery at which hieromonk Michael Losytsky copied the earliest manuscript in 1670. Since that was the monastery where Demetrius was ordained on 23 May 1675, his use of it is perhaps not surprising. On Demetrius' use of Slav chronicles see D. ABRAMOVIČ, *Litopisni džerela Čet'ich Minej Dmitra Rostovskogo*, Naukovij zbirnik istoričnoi sekcij Vseukrains'koj Akademij Nauk za rik 1929, 32, 1929, pp. 32–61.

⁸ On Demetrius' use of Surius' collection see A. DERŽAVIN, *Četii-Minei Svjatitelja Dimitrija*, 16, pp. 66–70.

ecclesiastici compiled by Caesar Baronius (1538–1607), first published at Rome in twelve volumes in 1588–1607, the critical edition of the *Martyrium Romanum* prepared by him, which first appeared at Rome in 1586, and the *Żywoty Świętych* first published at Cracow in 1579 by the Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), who, incidentally, had also based his versions on Surius.⁹ Indeed, Aleksandr Derzhavin concluded not only that Demetrius had learned and borrowed a lot from Skarga but also that he owed his very method of compiling *The Vitae* based on various sources to him and, because of his literary talent, Demetrius had made it his own:

“Он многому научился у знаменитого польского агиографа, многое у него заимствовал, что и сделало его Четы-Минеи так мало похожими на древнеславянские и московские сборники житий. Но эти уроки и заимствования он претворил в свои личные качества и окрасил чертами своего природного ума и писательского таланта. [...] Он дал не переводы, а пересказы житий и причем не по одному источнику, а по нескольким. Этим способом работы Святитель, полагаем, обязан Скарге, который также, после внимательного изучения источников, дал в своей книге пересказы житий, полные индивидуального почина.”¹⁰

There can be no doubt, however, but that Demetrius' most important source was the gigantic Macarian menologium with hundreds of Slav *Vitae* and Slavonic translations of Greek *Vitae*, in two of whose three versions the vita of Cyril is found twice for both 14 October and 14 February, see the Dormition and Tsar's versions,¹¹ while the *Vita of Methodius* is found only once for 6 April in the Dormition version.¹²

At first the Kiev ecclesiastical authorities had encountered considerable difficulties in obtaining a version of the Macarian menologium for Demetrius, which that required the permission of Patriarch Joachim Savelov of Moscow (1674–1690), a fanatical opponent of all foreign influences who was very suspicious of the Orthodoxy of any works printed at Kiev, where scholars were well acquainted with contemporary Western

ideas.¹³ Eventually on 4 March 1686, two years after Demetrius had begun work on his menologium, Ivan Samoylovich, Hetman of Ukraine (1672–1687), had to write to Prince Vasily Golitsyn (1640s–1714), who was in charge of state affairs during the regency of Princess Sophia (1682–1689, † 1704), to ask for the loan of at least the months of September to December of the version kept in the Church of the Dormition in the Kremlin at Moscow.¹⁴ Since Demetrius' account of the two brothers was published in 1700 in the third volume of his collection, it is most unlikely that he consulted the October or February text of *Cyril's Vita* since he cannot have received the first six volumes sent before, at the very earliest, late March 1686, and his letter of 15 March 1688 to Patriarch Joachim reveals that he had already had to send back September to November before then and December to February in that month.¹⁵ After Joachim's death in 1690 relations with Moscow were greatly improved and his successor, Patriarch Adrian (1690–1700), encouraged Demetrius and had the February to March months sent again in late 1690 or early 1691. The latter may have consulted the February text, although it is unlikely that he was then working on an entry for 11 May, which only appeared in 1700.

Amongst Demetrius' manuscripts was a codex of the second half of the seventeenth century entitled *Календарь или житія свѣтыхъ*, which contains on ff. 182'–198' the *Vita of Cyril* copied by an East Slav scribe from a Hilandar manuscript,¹⁶ which must mean codex 444, viz. the February to April volume of the Hilandar menologium copied in 1626 by the scribe Abercius, since that is the sole manuscript in the Hilandar collection to contain *The Vita*.¹⁷ This suggests that, in view of the difficulties with Moscow, Demetrius had begun to seek elsewhere. The *Календарь*

9 On Demetrius' use of Skarga see T. PAČOVSKIJ, *Vidguki "Żywotów świętych" P. Skargi v "Čet'ich-Minejach" Dmitra Tuptalenka*, *Zapiski Naukovogo tovaristva imeni T. G. Ševčenka* 155, 1937, 1937, pp. 191–202; Libor JANKOWSKA, *Recepcja twórczości ks. Piotra Skargi SJ na Rusi – w spuściznie św. Dymitra z Rostowa i innych*, in: Ludwik Grzebień a Stanisław Obirek (Red.), *Jezuici a kultura polska. Materiały sympozjum z okazji Jubileuszu 500-lecia urodzin Ignacego Loyoli (1491–1991) i 450-lecia powstania Towarzystwa Jezusowego (1540–1990)*, Kraków, 15–17 lutego 1991 r., Kraków 1993, pp. 93–111, and A. ČIVARDI, *Vlijanie Životov Świętych na Čet'i-Minei*, pp. 380–392.

10 It is significant that neither of the two published abridged versions of Derzhavin's dissertation contains this passage, which is quoted here from A. ČIVARDI, *Vlijanie Životov Świętych na Čet'i-Minei*, p. 387.

11 The October text of the *Vita of Cyril* in the Dormition version has been edited twice, first in Kirill i Mefodij. *Sobranie pamjatnikov, do dejatel'nosti svjatykh pervoučitel'j i prosvetitel'j slavjanskich plemen otosjaščichsja*, sv. I–III, Čtenija v Imperatorskom Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskich pri Moskovskom Universitecie 1863–1873 (hereafter BKM), Osip Bodjanskij (ed.), vol. I, 1863, pp. 130–156, and later in *Velikie Minei Četii, sobrannye vserossijskim mitropolitom Makariem*, Sanktpeterburg – Moskva 1868–1916 (hereafter VMČ), *Oktjabr' dni 4–18*, 1874, cols. 976–1010; its February text has also been edited in BKM, vol. I, 1863, pp. 97–123. It is found for the same two days in the Tsar's version, of which only that for February has been edited, BKM, vol. I, 1864, pp. 328–355, but in the Sophia version it is found only once for 14 October, ed. BKM, vol. I, 1864, pp. 225–251. These versions of the Macarian menologium are frequently, but erroneously, referred to as “copies” since none was copied from another and there are considerable differences in their contents. Although Constantine only took the name of Cyril when tonsured on his deathbed, it seems to this author somewhat artificial to use the name Constantine consistently for all references to him prior to his final fifty days.

12 The text of the *Vita of Methodius* in the Dormition version for 6 April has also been edited twice, first in BKM, vol. II, 1865, pp. 15–24, and later in VMČ, *April' dni 1–8*, 1910, cols. 268–282. Whether it was also in the Sophia and Tsar's versions for that date is uncertain as their April volumes have not been traced.

13 On the difficulties that the Caves monastery had encountered with the patriarch concerning the publications of its printing press at Kiev see Fedor TITOV, *Tipografija Kievo-Pečerskoj Lavry. Istoričeskij očerk*, vol. I. (1606–1616–1916 r.r.), Kiem 1916, pp. 374–379. For a brief and balanced account of Joachim see Viktor ZIBOROV, *Ioakim*, in: Dmitrij Bulanin et al. (red.), *Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti Drevnej Rusi*, sv. I–III, 4, Leningrad – S. Peterburg 1987–2012 (hereafter SKDR), vol. III, 2, 1993, pp. 53–57. The old idea that he studied at the Kievan College, see Nikolaj PETROV, *Kievskaja Akademija vo vtoroj polovine XVII veka*, *Trudy Kievskoj Duchovnoj Akademii* vol. 2, pp. 582–622; vol. 3, pp. 36–56, 201–256 and 574–632, 1895, see vol. 2, p. 602, is still sometimes repeated, e.g. Zoja CHIŽNJAK, *Savelov*, in: Z. Chižnjak (red.), *Kievo-Mogiljans'ka Akademija v imenach XVII–XVIII st. Enciklopedične vidannja*, Kijiv 2001, p. 469, but has – in view of Joachim's hostility to Western ideas, which he had clearly never studied and hence did not comprehend – rightly been dismissed as a legend by V. ZIBOROV, *Ioakim*, p. 54.

14 The hetman's letter *Sv. Dimitrij Rostovskij i ego vremja*, pp. 46–47, no. 5.

15 See his letter *Epistoljarnoe nasledie Dimitrija Rostovskogo*, ed. Marina Fedotova, Moskva 2005, pp. 121–123, see p. 122. That the volumes sent were indeed those of the Dormition version is known not merely because that version was specified by Samoylovich in his letter of 4 March 1686 but also because in January 1706 in connection with a proposed second revised edition of the months of September to November, Demetrius wrote in a letter to a friend, the monk Theologus: “И паки триехъ Великихъ Minei Четий отъ Соборной Московской Патриаршей церкви дадутъ ли?” see *Epistoljarnoe nasledie*, pp. 82–83, p. 83. The claim, thus Andrej P. BOGDANOV, *Russkie patriarchy 1589–1700*, vols I–II, Moskva 1999, see vol. II, pp. 276–277, that it was the Tsar's version which was sent is wrong, while his innuendo that it was somehow in connection with this that its volumes of March and April were lost is beneath contempt, see p. 277, no. 3: “Никоим образом не подозревая св. Димитрия со товарищами, должен отметить, что два тома Царского ВМЧ (за март и апрель) отсутствуют.”

16 The manuscript was found by Osip Bodyansky (1803–1877), who edited its text of *Cyril's Vita*: BKM, vol. III, 1873, pp. 498–523. Its variants are listed in the *apparatus criticus* of his edition of the *Vita of Cyril* by Petr LAVROV, *Materialy po istorii vazniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti*, *Trudy slavjanskoj komissii Akademii Nauk SSSR* 1, MS 16, Leningrad 1930, pp. 1–36, who also edits separately some interpolations which the copyist made, see *ibidem*, pp. 23–27. There is at least one later copy of the text, see the first appendix to this article.

17 This text see *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicensis. Fontes*, ed. František Grivec – France Tomšič, Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta 4, Zagreb 1960, pp. 95–142; for a facsimile edition see Č. RADOJIČIĆ, *Chilandarski rukopisi o postanku slovanske pismenosti*, Novi Sad 1963, pp. 6–73. There is a considerable literature on the MS, see more recently Francis J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Manuscripts on Mount Athos. Some Remarks about a Recent Catalogue*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 119, 2001, pp. 126–143, see pp. 140–143; Klimentina IVANOVA, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*, Sofija 2008, pp. 144–145. Incidentally, no manuscript in the Hilandar collection contains a copy of the *Vita of Methodius*.

also contains the vita of Methodius on ff. 249^v–262^r, which must have been copied from the text in the Dormition version of the Macarian menologium for 6 April since a note in cursive script over the title reads: *из великои минени четѣъ прѣписано*,¹⁸ which implies that the text had been copied for him when the month of April was available to him. The many glosses and notes in Demetrius' hand on *Cyril's vita* in the *Календарь* prove that he consulted it,¹⁹ so that it is intrinsically most likely that he compiled his account of the two brothers between 1695, when the volume with December to February appeared, and 1700, when the volume with his account of the two brothers was published.²⁰

Demetrius was a hagiologist who studied the sources and then as a hagiographer wrote his own versions, and his menologium will ever remain a monument to his immense industry, his mastery of Church Slavonic and his literary talent. It is not, however, a scholarly work but a religious and literary one in so far as his aim, like that of Surius and Skarga, was to edify and strengthen the faithful and not, as the Bollandists', to produce critical editions, with the result that his versions contain much apocryphal material. A good example is his account of the Beheading of John the Baptist for 29 August (DT, ff. 582^v–584^r): when the still bleeding head of John the Baptist is brought to Herod on a platter, John, *ѣкоже нѣцѣзъ зъвѣствовуютъ*, denounces Herod for marrying Herodias, his brother's wife, beside which is the gloss: *Четѣа. Прологъ. (f. 583^v)*, and this is indeed taken from Metropolitan Gregory Tsamblak of Kiev's homily for the feast of the Beheading of John the Baptist, which is found both in the Macarian menologium and the synaxarium for 29 August.²¹ Demetrius then goes on to describe how Salome, Herodias' daughter, who had asked for John's head, died while crossing a river in winter over the ice: it broke and she sank up to her neck and danced in the water as she had danced before on land until the ice closed and cut her head off, beside which is the gloss *Никифоръ, книга ѡ, глава кѣ (DT, f. 584^r)*, a clear reference to Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos' *Ecclesiasticae historiae libri xviii*.²²

His *Vitae* clearly have no independent value as historical sources, although in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they were sometimes quoted for their historical

information, to take his account of Methodius and Cyril as an example. In 1817 the famous Russian historian Nikolay Karamzin (1766–1826) in his account of Cyril and Methodius refers to it as the source for the information that they converted many Khazars, Emperor Michael III sent them to Moravia, Constantine began his translation of St John's Gospel while he was still at Constantinople, Rostislav welcomed the two brothers to Moravia, where they translated parts of the Bible and the liturgy, Pope Nicholas IX summoned them to Rome but died before they arrived and their work was approved by Hadrian II, they celebrated the Slavonic liturgy in Rome, where Constantine fell ill and took the schema with the name of Cyril, died and was buried in the church of St Clement, while Methodius stayed for a long time in Pannonia and made many translations from Greek.²³

Demetrius' joint account of the two brothers, published in 1700 in the third volume of his collection as the second entry for 11 May, is in fact the first lengthy account of the brothers to appear in print (DT, ff. 409^v–419^r) and is entitled:

*Житѣе и тѣоуды прѣвѣныхъ оцѣъ нашихъ, Мефодѣа и Кѣнстантина, нареченнаго Кѣрѣлла, еѣкѣпѣвъ Моравскихъ, зѣчителей славенскихъ.*²⁴

It is followed by five appendices in small script, the first three of which have titles. The first and longest, *Ѡ Козарѣхъ (DT, f. 419^v)*, gives an outline of the history of the Khazars and other steppe peoples, which is clearly primarily based on East Slav chronicles including the above-mentioned Chronicle of the Trinity monastery on Gustyn' Island, cf:

*Обычай ихъ бѣахоу ѣкоже зъ нынѣшнихъ Татаръ неотмененно. Бѣе въ полѣхъ живѣахоу кромѣ храмовъ.*²⁵

Обычай зъ нихъ бѣе, ѣкоже нынѣ зъ татаръ неѣнѣннѣ, множае ихъ въ полѣхъ неже во градѣхъ жителствѣахоу, безъ храмѣнъ (DT, f. 419^r).

However, it is possible that the appendix was inspired by the fact that in the entry on Cyril and Methodius compiled by the Bollandists Godfried Henschen (1601–1681) and Daniel Papebroch (1628–1714) for 9 May in the second volume of May of the *Acta Sanctorum* published in 1668 there is an account of the Khazars, in which they come to the conclusion that the sources show that the Khazars and Bulgars both spoke a common Slav language: *Ex dictis videtur, Chazaris ac Bulgaris commune fuisse slaviam linguam*.²⁶ It is striking that Demetrius' account of the Khazars begins with the statement that the Khazars' language was Slavonic:

18 It cannot have been copied from either of the other two Macarian versions since their April volumes have not been traced. Its text of *Methodius' Vita* has not been edited but a comparison of the facsimile of folio 249^v of it in *Kliment Ochridski. S'brani s'činenija*, III, ed. Bonju Stojanov Angelov – Christo Kodov, Sofija 1973, p. 257, with the same passage in *VMČ, Aprel' dni 1–8*, 1910, cols 268–269, reveals that the copyist made five deliberate alterations, the first two stylistic, the third grammatical, while the fourth and fifth are corrections of scribal errors: 1. the incipit *Бѣ блгын и всемогѣи > Бѣ всемогѣи и блгын*; 2. *помалуу > и помалуу*; 3. *агглы третынѣмъ гласомъ > агглы третынѣми гласы*; 4. *сѣпѣтаѣ > иносѣтаѣхъ*; 5. *цѣ > ѣцѣ*. В *Календарь или житѣа свѣтыхъ*, now codex 420 (earlier call numbers 57 [1603] and 472) in the collection of the Synodal Typography in the Russian State Archives of Early Acts at Moscow, see I. ŠLJAPKIN (ed.), *Sv. Dimitrij Rostovskij i ego vremja*, p. 288, n. 2, and Libor JANKOVSKA, „Žitie i trudy“ sv. Mefodija i sv. Konstantina-Kirilla v Čet'ich-Minejach sv. Dimitrija Rostovskogo, *Slavia Orientalis* 37, 1988, pp. 179–221, see pp. 181–183.

19 For editions of some of his glosses see BKM, vol. III, 1873, p. 534, P. LAVROV, *Материалы*, pp. 24–25, and Libor JANKOVSKA, „Žitie i trudy“ sv. Mefodija, p. 182.

20 As both Libor JANKOVSKA, „Žitie i trudy“ sv. Mefodija, p. 180nn., and Nikolaj DILEVSKI, *Dimitrij Rostovski*, in: Peter Dinekov (ed. vol. I–II) – Liliana Graševa (ed. vol. III–IV), *Kirilo-Metodievska enciklopedija*, vols. I–IV, Sofija 1985–2003 (hereafter KME), vol. IV, 2003, s. 677, have pointed out.

21 Gregory's homily is in all editions of the synaxarium, e.g. Moscow 1774, vol. II, ff. 653^v–658^r, see f. 656^v; the Macarian text has not yet been edited.

22 See Nicephorus' account in his history *Nicephori Callisti Xanthopuli Ecclesiasticae Historiae libri XVIII*, ed. Jean Paul MIGNÉ, *Patrologia Graeca* 145, 2nd ed. Paris 1904, cols. 691–694. For some more examples of Demetrius' use of apocrypha see Mychajl VOZNJAK, *Istorija ukrain's'koj literatury*, sv. II., Zagajna biblioteka prosviti 4, L'viv 1921, pp. 348–350.

23 See Nikolaj KARAMZIN, *Istorija gosudarstva rossijskogo*, sv. I, Sanktpeterburg 1842, Primečanja, pp. 66–67, no. 261.

24 On the reason for Demetrius' choice of 11 May for the commemoration of the two brothers see the second appendix to this article. The first entry for 11 May in Demetrius' collection is the *Vita of Mocius of Byzantium* (DT, ff. 407^v–409^r). In addition to being in the many reprints of Demetrius' collection, most of the text of his account of Methodius and Cyril, with the exception of the appendices and two other passages, was also published by Neophytus Benin of Rila (c.1790/3–1881), *Νεόφυτος Ριλλιώτης, Χριστομαθία славянскагѣ ѣзѣыка. Χριστομαθία τѣς славѣνικѣς γλѣσσѣς ερανѣσѣα μѣν ѣπο Νεοφѣτου Ριλλιѣτου καθѣρητѣο τѣς γλѣσσѣς ѣν τѣ κατѣ Χѣλκѣν θεολογικѣ σχολѣ τѣς τѣο Χριστѣο Μεγѣλης Ἐκκλѣσιας [...]. Ἐν Κѣνσταντινουπѣλει 1852*, pp. 269–299.

25 *Gustynskaja letapis'*, s. 22.

26 Ed. *Acta Sanctorum* [...], 83 vols + 5 *Propylaea*. Antwerp 1643–1770; Brussels 1780–1940 (hereafter ASS), pp. 12–25, see p. 13. Beside this is the marginal gloss: *dubium an idem qui Cyrilli frater*. The official date of the commemoration of Cyril and Methodius in the West at that time was 9 May, see below note 63.

Козары, ихже Грецы Хазарами, Римляне же Газарами нарицаюу, баше народъ Скѣнскій, языка славенскагѡ или Рѡссійскагѡ (DT, f. 419r).

The second appendix, *W Meфодїи* (DT, f. 420'), begins with Demetrius' statement that it has been taken from the Greek historian John Scylitzes and that he is uncertain whether it refers to this Methodius or a homonym:

Пишетъ древній исторїографъ греческій Иванны Кѡрополатїецъ, ѡ нѣкоемъ Мефодїи, ѡ семъ ли, или ѡ иномъ не вѣдомо.

It is an account of how Prince Boris of the Bulgarians built a new palace and, wishing to have its walls decorated with frescoes, summoned an iconographer, the monk Methodius, to paint hunting scenes both frightening and horrible that would induce fear in people. Methodius, however, painted a gigantic picture of the Last Judgment and the torments of the damned and, when he told Boris that those on the right were the righteous who would receive crowns and that those on the left were the damned who would be tormented by devils in hell, the prince became fearful and sent to Constantinople for a bishop to baptise him, и бысть такъ.²⁷ Once again Demetrius' initial statement in the appendix mirrors a conclusion which the Bollandists had reached. They also relate the story of Boris and Methodius' picture and admit that the sources do not enable them to establish whether or not the iconographer was Cyril's brother: "[...] neque nunc extricare sat quimus, fuerit nē ille Methodius idem, qui Slavorum cum Cyrillo Apostolus."²⁸

The third appendix, *W Кѡрїллѣ фїлософѣ* (DT, f. 420'), is in two parts, the first of which begins with the statement that it is written in certain chronicles, *Въ лѣтописцахъ нѣкихъ пишеться*, that in the reign of Emperors Basil and Constantine a philosopher called Cyril was sent to Vladimir of Kiev with great gifts, one of which was a canvas depicting the Last Judgment, and Vladimir remarked that it was better for those on the right than for those on the left. Demetrius goes on to warn that nobody should identify this Cyril with Constantine the Philosopher, in religion Cyril, who lived over one hundred years before Vladimir, and that this Cyril is called by some not Cyril but Cyrus, while Nestor the chronicler states that a philosopher was sent but does not name him.²⁹ Among the sources for this information which Demetrius was consulting is again the *Trinity Chronicle of Gustyn'*, which claims that in the reign of Basil and Constantine, Patriarch Nicholas Chrysoberges sent Cyril the philosopher to Vladimir with great gifts including the canvas, beside which passage there is the marginal gloss: Strii. kn 4. list 137, and it is in the *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Zmudzka*

27 Cf. *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum. Editio princeps*, ed. Ioannes Thurn, Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae 5, Berlin 1973, p. 91. It is also related by other Byzantine historians, e.g. *Georgii Kedreni Compendium historiarum*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia Graeca 121, 2nd ed. Paris 1894, col. 1037.

28 Ed. ASS, *Martii tomus ii*, Antwerp 1668, p. 13.

29 The Book of Degrees, which Demetrius also consulted, has a slightly revised text of the original version, which does not give the philosopher's name, see *1-ja polovina. Kniga Stepennaja carskogo rodoslovija*, 1, ed. Platon Grigorievič Vasenko, PSRL 21, Sankt-Peterburg 1908, pp. 76–88; for the earliest version see *Povest' vremennyh let*, ed. Evfimij Fedorovič Karskij, PSRL I. 1, Sankt-Peterburg 1926, cols 86–106. The suggestion that the speech is the sermon delivered by Cyril when he converted Prince Askold of Kiev, thus L. LEBEDEV, *K voprosu o proisxoždenii "Poučenija filosafoa knjazju Vladimiru" v tekste "Povesti vremennyh let"*, *Germenevika drevnerusskoj literatury* 3, 1992, pp. 104–122, is not so much a *curiosum* as an *absurdum*.

y wszystkich Rusi of Maciej Strykowski (1547 – after 1586) that the name of Cyrus, a distortion of Cyrillus, is found.³⁰

The fourth and fifth appendices (f. 420') are two notes, the first to the effect that 11 May is the *Natalis Urbis Constantinopolitanae*,³¹ while in the second Demetrius states that although the commemoration of St Theodosia the martyr is in the synaxarium for both the 11 and 18 of May, since her passion is in the Great (viz. Macarian) Menologium for 29 May, he has included her vita under that date (DT, ff. 913'–919').³²

Two articles have been devoted to Demetrius' account of the brothers, in the first of which the author states that it is necessary to analyse the text and to establish the sources but makes remarkably little effort to do so.³³ The second contains some valuable information on the sources but misleadingly claims that there are no literal similarities in the narratives and no identical textual coincidences between Demetrius' account and the *Vita of Cyril*, which is proof of his great creative and scholarly work.³⁴ On the other hand, the virtually opposite claim by the eminent Czech scholar Josef Vajs (1865–1959) that it is only an abridgment of the *Vitae* of both of the brothers,³⁵ a claim which may well have been inspired by the fact that, beside the incipit of his account of Methodius and Cyril, Demetrius indicates in a marginal gloss that it is an abridgment of what is found in various manuscript menologia: *ѡ разнѣныхъ харатейныхъ четїи сокращенїе* (DT, ff. 409'), is equally misleading as it ignores the fact that almost none of the information contained only in the *Vita of Methodius* is to be found in Demetrius' vita. The entire account of Methodius after Cyril's death reads:

По скончанїи же сѣаго Кѡрїлла, прїбвнїи Мефодїи поставленъ бысть епїскопъ Моравїи, и шедъ в' ню, имѣ престолъ свой въ Паннонїи градѣ, на мѣстѣ сѣагѡ апѣла Андроника, Дѣченика и сродника

30 See *Gustynskaja letopis'* [Trinity Chronicle of Gustyn'], p. 42; cf. Strykowski's *Kronika polska, litewska, zmudzka i wszystkich Rusi Macieja Strykowskiego. Wydanie nowe, będące dokładnym powtórzeniem wydania pierwotnego Królewieckiego z roku 1582, poprzedzone wiadomością o życiu i pismach Strykowskiego*, ed. Mikolaj Malinowski, Warszawa 1846, p. 128. In addition to the Trinity Chronicle of Gustyn' the name of Cyril is found in many later Russian Chronicles, e.g. *First Sofijskaja pervaja letopis' staršego izvoda*, ed. Sergej N. Kisterev – Ljudmila A. Timošinova, PSRL VI. 1, Sankt-Peterburg 2000, cols 73–74, for Vladimir, for the canvas see cols 92–93; *Letopis' po Voskresenskomu spisku* [Resurrection Chronicle], ed. Jakov I. Berednikov – Afanazij F. Byčkov, PSRL vol. VII, Sankt-Peterburg 1856, pp. 297 and 306, and *Letopisnyj sbornik, imenuemyj Tverskoj letopis'ju* [Tver Chronicle], ed. A. F. Byčkov, PSRL XV, Sankt-Peterburg 1863, cols 79 and 99. On Strykowski's account of the history of Kievan Rus' see Alexandr I. ROGOV, *Rusko-pol'skie kul'turnye svjazi v epochu Vozroždenija. Strykovskij i ego Chronika*, Moskva 1966, pp. 35–122, for Cyrus see p. 59. For the theory that the curtain symbolizes the Veil of the Temple see Vladimir PETRUCHIN, *Zapona s „sudiščem Gospodnim“: k interpretacii teksta Načalnoj letopisi*, in: Marija Orlova (red.), *Vizantijskij mir: isskustvo Konstantinopolja i nacional'nye tradicii. K 2000-letiju christianstva. Pamjati Ol'gi Il'iničny Podobedovoj (1912–1999)*, Moskva 2005, pp. 133–138.

31 On the feast of the *Natalis Urbis*, see the renaming of Byzantium as Constantinople in 324, see SERGIJ, *Polnyj mesjaceslov Vostoka*, vol. II, 1, p. 139 and vol. II, 2, pp. 177–178, and Hyppolite DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, adiectis synaxariis selectis. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, 2nd ed. Brussels 1954, cols 673–674.

32 The vita in the Macarian menologium is a premetaphrastic vita, the Greek original of which has not survived. The earliest codex of the translation is the Dormition florilegium of the late twelfth century, ff. 143'–146', whose text has been edited, most recently by Albert ALBERTI, *Obliate iconodule. Una Vita Sanctae Theodosiae nel codice Uspenskij*, *Bizantinistica* 7, 2005, pp. 98–108.

33 See N. DYLEVSKIJ, *Žitie slavjanskich pervoučitelj Meфodija i Kirilla v obrabotke Dimitrija Rostovskogo*, *Études balcaniques* 1, 1986, p. 111.

34 See Libor JANKOVSKA, *„Žitie i trudy“ sv. Meфodija*, pp. 185–186: „Знаменательно, что у св. Димитрия не обнаруживается при этом дословного сходства в повествовании [...]. Отсутствие буквальных текстовых совпадений свидетельствует о большой творческой и, можно даже сказать, научной работе св. Димитрия Ростовского.“

35 The claim was made by him in Josef DOBROVSKÝ, *Cyril a Metod, apoštolové Slovanští. Poznámkami opatřil Dr. Josef Vajs, profesor University Karlovy, Spisy a projevy Josefa Dobrovského* 12, Praha 1948, p. 102.

Павлова, тамъ иногда епискпствовавшаму, егоже подражаа сей сѣнитель и Учитель Меѳодїи, многѣа показа подвиги и труды, въроу стѣую разшираа, съ жидь; и съ еретїки препирааа, словеса же и ѳоудодѣйстви повѣждаа противныа, бѣды же и изгнанїа претерпѣваа, еще же и книгъ множество съ Греческаго языка на славенскїи преведе, и добръ паствою многими лѣты Управивъ, пређе ко Гдѣ (DT, f. 419^v).

This brief account of Methodius' missionary activities after his brother's death is short to the point of being trite. For instance, the fact that in 870, very shortly after his return from Rome, Methodius was seized and after a farcical trial before King Louis the German of Bavaria (817–876), who was holding a diet at Regensburg that November, was incarcerated and only released early in 873 after Pope John VIII (872–882) heard what had happened, is not mentioned but merely hinted at in the short phrase *бѣды же и изгнанїа претерпѣваа*. The two main questions which must be addressed here are thus, firstly, is Demetrius' account biased in favour of Cyril rather than a balanced account of the two brothers and, secondly, is it true that there are no literal similarities or identical textual coincidences between Demetrius' account and the vita of Cyril?

Despite the fact that Demetrius was obviously well acquainted with the contents of the *Vitae* of both Cyril and Methodius, his joint version might indeed at first sight appear to be biased in favour of Cyril. Already in 1855 it was pointed out that Demetrius' account contained remarkably little about Methodius.³⁶ In the original *Vita of Cyril* about 65 % of the text consists of accounts of four disputations on the faith which the saint had, the first with the iconoclast John Grammaticus, the second with Moslem Arabs, the third with Jewish Khazars and the fourth with Latin "trilingual heretics", approximately 3 %, 11 %, 37 % and 14 % of the text respectively. In Demetrius' version the percentage devoted to the disputations is slightly smaller, viz. c. 61.3 %, since he omits the disputation with Patriarch John VIII Grammaticus, but the distribution between the other three is very different, viz. 18 %, 42 % and 1.3 % respectively. However, of the remaining 38.7 % of the text approximately 37.5 % is devoted to the brothers until the death of Cyril on 14 February 6377 (869) and his subsequent burial at Rome, but only 1.2 % of the entire vita is devoted to Methodius' subsequent missionary activities in Moravia until his death sixteen years later on 6 April 6393 (885).³⁷ Moreover, if the beginning of Demetrius' vita prior to the first disputation with the Arabs is considered separately these results are confirmed: approximately 7.5 % of it is devoted to events concerning both of the brothers such as their parents' circumstances, while 80.5 % is devoted to Cyril and only 12 % to Methodius. Thus Demetrius merely records that Methodius joined the army, was sent as governor to a region near the Slavs, where he learned Slavonic, and after ten years retired to a monastery when the iconoclastic Emperor Theophilus (829–842) began his persecution. On the other hand, he describes in detail how Cyril after a dream chose wisdom as his bride, went on to pursue his studies, which are enumerated in detail, became head

36 Osip BODJANSKIĪ, *O vremeni proischozhenija slavjanskich pis'men*, Moskva 1855, p. 73: „[...]весьма мало, по крайности, в сокращении [...]“

37 These figures have been calculated on the basis of the number of lines devoted to each subject as a percentage of the overall total number of lines; in the case of Demetrius' text, which is eight hundred and forty lines in length in the 1764 Kiev edition, only eleven lines are devoted to Methodius' activities after his brother's death.

of the household of a logothete and had access to the imperial palace but fled to a monastery when the logothete wanted him to marry his daughter.

However, a close examination of his treatment of the two brothers clearly reveals Demetrius' attitude towards Methodius is most definitely not biased. He stresses from the very beginning that Methodius was the elder brother: *Первѣе Швѣ Меѳодїи, ѣко старѣйшїи рожденїемъ въ возрастъ приде* (DT, f. 409^v), and his attitude towards him is revealed by the fact that the very title of his account is *The Life and Labours of Methodius and Cyril* and not "*The Life and Labours of Cyril and Methodius*" as would normally be expected. In the account of the embassy to the Khazars to debate religious matters, nothing is said in the *Vita of Cyril* about Methodius' accompanying his brother, although the description of Cyril's return journey from Khazaria makes it quite clear that Methodius had done so (VC, p. 58),³⁸ whereas according to the *Vita of Methodius* Cyril took his brother with him for help and Methodius did not disobey but served his younger brother like a slave and, he by prayer and the philosopher by his words, overcame their opponents in the disputations:

и не ослѣшася, нъ шедъ слѣжи ѣко равъ мьньшѣ гратѣ, повинѣюса немѣ, съ же млѣвою, а философъ словеса прѣвозмоеть ѣа (VM, p. 71).

Demetrius, however, says nothing to imply that Methodius was receiving orders from his younger brother but repeats the statement of the synaxarium *Vita of Methodius* which says that Cyril invited him to accompany him as he knew Slavonic:

Шмоли грата своего Меѳодїа ити съ собою, ѣко Шмѣваше ѣзыкъ словѣньскъ (SVM, p. 103).

молихъ брата своего Меѳодїа блженнаго, ѣко Шмѣваша ѣчасти ѣзыкъ славенскїи, да идетъ съ нимъ (DT, f. 413^v).

In the vita of Methodius the same is the case with regard to the Moravian mission: the emperor tells Cyril to undertake the mission and once again the latter takes his obedient brother with him:

пѣти са ѣатъ моравьскааго, поимъ Меѳодїа, наратъ же пакы съ покоръмъ повинѣаса, слѣжити философѣ (VM, p. 72).

In the case of the Khazar disputation, the first one which Methodius attended with his brother, Demetrius not only states that Cyril requested his brother come with him but also adds his own fairly lengthy passage, not found in either of the vitae, explaining why Methodius did not participate in the disputation with the Khazars:

и многое тамъ въ прѣнїе блженномуу Квнстантїноу съ Козары, и со Юудей, и съ Сарацины: нево Квнстантїнъ множайшаго бѣ Шченїа пате Меѳодїа: понеже Меѳодїи младыа лѣта своа въ воинствованїи, а не въ книжномъ Шченїи иждиве, и на воеводствѣи власти емоу бѣвшоу, въ народныхъ вещьхъ пате, неже въ книжномъ Шченїи бѣ Шпраженїе егво. а Квнстантїнъ ѣ юности бо Шченїи книжномъ и въ исканїи любовоудрїа быеть воспитанъ, и въ Бжественномъ

38 It is true that after the second day of the disputations the author states that anyone who wishes to learn more can do so from the translation that Methodius had made and divided into eight homilies (VC, p. 56), but that could in theory have been done after their return.

писаніи сѣлау искоушенъ, и въ словесѣхъ силенъ, готовъ сый противуоу всакагѡ вопроса ѡвѣстѣ дати. Кѡнстантинъ же въ ѡ всемъ прашеса съ невѣрными, а Меѡдїи молитвоу своею Бѡгоугодноу Кѡнстантину поспѣшествоваше (DT, f. 414^v).

Vita of Cyril at the end of the disputation, the Khazar khagan addresses only Cyril and offers him gifts, about which the *Vita of Methodius* says nothing (VC, p. 58, cf. VM, p. 71). However, in Demetrius' version the khagan addresses both brothers:

ѡпоускаа же Каганъ блженныхъ тѣхъ ѡчтелей Кѡнстантина и Меѡдїа, дааше имъ дары многи (DT, f. 417^v).

In other small ways in Demetrius' account the proprieties are observed. Thus in the *Vita of Cyril* after the disputation with the Saracens an attempt is made to poison Cyril, but God protects him and the episode ends:

бгъ...сзхрани того невѣрженна ѡ парѡбнѣ онѡ напоенїа и на свою землю жрѡва възврати и пакы (VC, p. 47).

However, Demetrius adds something more:

Гдѣ...собаюде раба своего цѣла и невредима, и възврати того здрава, съ честїю и дарами ѡ княза Сарацынскагѡ ѡпоушена. Возвративса въ Царьградъ, и похвалоу ѡ цара и ѡ сѣвѣйшаго патрїарха за Бѡгоугодный тroudъ свой прїемь (DT, f. 413^v).

Another example: in the *Vita of Cyril* the second day of the disputation with the Khazars begins with a question being put to Cyril, whereas in Demetrius' account the khagan first tells both brothers to be seated:

Съравше же се въ дрѡгын днѣ, рекоше емѡ гл҃оже: Покажи намъ чзстныи мѡжю (VC, p. 56).

И пришедшюу дню томуу, собравшаса, и сѣде Каганъ на мѣстѣ своемъ, повелѣ же и хр҃тїанскимъ ѡчителемъ Кѡнстантинуу съ Меѡдїемъ сести (DT, f. 415^v).

In the *Vita of Cyril*, *Methodius* is not mentioned in connection with the dispatch of the mission to Moravia, whereas for Demetrius it is a joint undertaking:

Съравъ же съборъ цр҃ь, и призва Кѡнстантина фїлософа, и сътвори слышати рѣчь сїю, и рече: вѣмѣ те трѡдна сѡжа, фїлософе, нъ потрѣба ѣ тебѣ тамо ити (VC, p. 60).

Царь же съ патрїархомъ и со всемъ ѡжженнымъ соборомъ совѣтовавъ, пакы блженнаго Кѡнстантина съ Меѡдїемъ призвавше, молнша да идоутъ въ славенскїа страны на ѡчителство, ѡкоже и въ Козары ходнша (DT, f. 418^v).

According to both the *vita* of Cyril and the *vita* of Methodius it was Cyril who, at the request of the emperor, prayed to God with unspecified other persons, and with divine assistance invented the new script and began translating the Bible, whereas according to Demetrius it was also with the aid of Methodius:

ѡъ же фїлософъ, по прѣвомуу ѡбычаю на млѣтвѣ се вдасть и съ инѣми поспѣшникии, възскорѣ же бѣ емѡ яви, послѡдша млѣтвы свой рабъ, и абїе сложи писмена, и начеть всеѣдѣ писати ѣвл҃скѡ, еже: искони бѣ слѡво (VC, p. 60).

на молитвѣ наложиста и съ инѣми, иже бахѡ того же дѣа, неже и си, да тѡ яви бѣ фїлософѡ словѣнскы книги, и абїе ѡстроивъ писмена и всеѣдѣ съставль (VM, p. 72).

онъ же первѣ постиса четыредесать дней, и споспѣшествоующей емоу гл҃годати сѣаго дѣа, изѡбрѣте азѡвоукоу славенскоую нмоуюуюу въ себѣ тридесать и осмь писменъ, во еже бы преложити на ѣзыкѣ славенскїи, въ чесомъ съ помощїю Бж҃їею помогаше емоу и гл҃женный Меѡдїи, и въ началѣ прелагати наѡаша сѣоу ѣвл҃їе ѡ Іѡанна: въ началѣ бѣ слѡво (DT, f. 418^v).

Beside this passage Demetrius has added a marginal gloss naming the source from which he has taken some of his information: прологъ фѣвѣ дї., viz. the synaxarium *Vita of Cyril*, which specifies both that Cyril fasted for forty days and that the alphabet had thirty-eight letters:

ѡнже постивса мѣ днии, к богу моласа, и написа имъ л. слѡвъ и й. и наоученїа тако словѣнскимъ ѣзыкамъ книгамъ (SVC, p. 102).

Similarly, on hearing of the mission in Moravia the *Vita of Cyril* states that the pope sent for him, viz. Cyril, whereas Demetrius states that he politely summoned them:

ѡвѣдѣвъ о немъ римскыи папа, посла за него (VC, p. 64).

Слышавъ же ѡ нихъ и папа Рима старатѡ, Николай, писа къ нимъ, любезнѡу призываюци ихъ (DT, f. 418^v).

It is also striking that whereas the *Vita of Methodius* simply states that Kotsel sent him to the Pope to be consecrated to the bishopric of Pannonia, the throne of St Andronicus, one of the seventy apostles, да и емоу сѣтитъ на еїпѣство въ Панинии, на столъ сѣго Андроника дїла ѡ о (VM, p. 74), in the few lines devoted to his activity in Moravia Demetrius states not only that Methodius was consecrated to Andronicus' see but also that he followed the latter's example: егоже подражаа сей сѣтитель и ѡчитель Меѡдїи (DT, f. 419^v).

With regard to the *Vita of Cyril* the attention given to the disputations with the iconoclast John VIII Grammaticus, the Moslem Saracens and the Jewish Khazars must be seen not merely in the light of Byzantine polemical works, including *Vitae*, dealing with such disputations, many of which were translated into Slavonic,³⁹ but principally as a prelude to the fourth and last disputation concerning Cyril's life's work: whether it was licit or illicit to introduce the use of Slavonic in a newly invented

39 On Byzantine polemics against Islam see Adel Théodore KHOURY, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIII-XIII s.)*, Leiden 1972, passim. The sole orientalist to have dealt with Cyril's disputation with the Arabs in detail in the context of Byzantine and Islamic polemics concluded that the arguments were fully in keeping with those used at the time, see Cornelis VERSTEEGH, *Die Mission des Kyrillos im Lichte der arabo-byzantinischen Beziehungen*, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 129, 1979, pp. 242–257, especially his conclusion on p. 257: "[...]wir glauben, daß sich die in der Diskussion zwischen Konstantinos und den Agarenem hervorgebrachten Argumente als authentisch und zu dieser Periode der Beziehungen gehörend erwiesen haben." For brief surveys in connection with the disputation in the *vita* see also František DVORNÍK, *Les légendes de Constantin et Méthode vues de Byzance*, Byzantinoslavica. Supplementa 1, Prague 1933, pp. 104–108; J. John MEYENDORFF, *Byzantine Views of Islam*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18, 1964, pp. 130–131, and Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *A Byzantine Polemic against Islam in Old Slavonic Hagiography*, in: V. Christides – Th. Papadopoulos (ed.), *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Graeco-Oriental and African Studies*. Nicosia 30 April – 5 May 1996, Graeco-Arabica 7–8, Nicosia 2000, pp. 536–537. There does not appear to be a study devoted to Slavonic translations of disputations with Moslems; for a survey of Slavonic translations of disputations with Jews see Alexander PERESWETOFF MORATH, *A Glin without a Cat*, vols. I–II, *Lund Slavonic Monographs* 4–5, Lund 2002, see vol. I, pp. 113–198, for the *Vita of Cyril* see the index on p. 313.

script as a liturgical language.⁴⁰ It is thus hardly surprising that the disputation at Venice on the trilinguist heresy, *триязычная ересь*, is dealt with in some detail (VC, pp. 62–64). On the other hand, Demetrius elaborates on the disputations with the Saracens and Khazars, but omits that on iconoclasm with John, and only briefly describes the disputation on “trilinguism”, although here as elsewhere he involves both brothers in the defence of the use of Slavonic:

Слышавше же в томъ мнози архіереи и ерети, а наипаче западнии Римскаго языка начаше негодовати, такъ страннымъ языкомъ новопросвѣщеннымъ літоургию совершаютъ. глаголаху бо: какъ тремя токми языками, и ниже тѣла крѣтнаа написана бѣ, подобаетъ Бжтвенной літоургии совершатиса: Еврейски, Гречески, Римски. но стїи учители славенскїи ѿвѣщаваху такъвымъ: равно бгѣ дождитъ на всѣхъ, и возсїаваетъ свѣтъ снечный: глѣтъ же и дѣдъ всакое дыханїе да хвалитъ гдѣ. и пакы: Воскликните гдѣви вса земля, воспоѣте гдѣви псень нову: понеже вса языки гдѣ спасти прїнде, вси ѡбъ языцы своими гласы да славословатъ гдѣ (DT, f. 418^v).

This defence of Slavonic is mainly based on phrases taken from the *Vita of Cyril*, cf.:

1. не идетъ ли дъжъ ѿ бѣ на всѣе равно, или снѣце такоже не сілетъ ли на всѣе... 2. дѣвъ бв възпѣтъ, глѣ: поите гдѣ вса земля, поите гдѣи псень новѣ. и пакы: възкликните гдѣ вса земля... 3. всако дыханїе да хвалитъ гдѣ (VC, p. 62).

On the other hand the notion of the three languages of the inscription on the Cross comes from the *Vita of Methodius*, which in contrast to the *Vita of Cyril* does not mention the disputation at Venice and deals only briefly with the controversy after the brothers' arrival at Rome, adding that the pope condemned it:

баахѣ же етера многа ѣадъ, яже гѣжахѣ словѣньскыа книги, глѣюще, яко не достоинъ никоторомъже языкѣ имѣти ѡбсѣвъ своихъ, развѣ Еврей и Гъркъ и Латинъ, по Пилатовѣ писанаю, еже на кръстѣ гдѣи написа, еже апостоликъ пилатъны и трыязычѣники нарекаъ проклаатъ (VM, p. 72).

Demetrius himself nowhere calls the idea of three liturgical languages a heresy nor does he use either of the terms used for its adherents in the *Vita of Methodius*, *пилатъны* и *трыязычѣники*, but restricts his remarks to stating that the pope anathematised those who dared to deny or slander the use of Slavonic:

Положи анафѣмоу на противныхъ, иже бы дерзнуоули чтѣнїю, и пснїю, и літоургїснїю славенскому; прекословити или хоулити (DT, f. 418^v).⁴¹

The answer to the first question whether Demetrius' *Vita of Methodius* and *Cyril* is biased in favour of the latter is quite clear: he treats the two brothers as equals who combine their different talents to achieve their common aims and is thus

in no way biased in favour of Cyril. It celebrates both of them, whose main achievement was most certainly not the conversion of the Slavs in Moravia to Christianity but the invention of a new script for the language of the Slavs and the introduction of Slavonic as a liturgical and literary language on a par with all other languages, thus laying the foundations of what is now often referred to, not entirely appropriately, as *Slavia orthodoxa*.⁴²

The second question as to how close Demetrius' text is to that of the *Vita of Cyril* can only be revealed by comparisons of passages. Since Demetrius was compiling vitae which could be read at one sitting, he could scarcely include the information contained in both of *The Vitae* without producing an account much larger than either of them, and he thus had to omit some of the text of *Cyril's Vita* in order to compensate for the addition of material from *Methodius' Vita*. Both *Vitae* begin with a pious prologue extolling the mercy and grace of God towards mankind and it is thus hardly surprising that his version has no prologue but begins with an incipit similar to those in many *Vitae*: Въ лѣта кннворныхъ царей Греческихъ: Льва Арменина и по немъ Мїханаа Трапалаагъ... In addition to the omission of a prologue he also omitted nine episodes of *Cyril's Vita*: 1. his falcon hunt when a child;⁴³ 2. the scholar who refused to teach him grammar; 3. the dispute with Patriarch John VIII Grammaticus about iconoclasm;⁴⁴ 4. the discovery of a Gospel and a Psalter in Syriac (Russian?) letters at Kherson; 5. the Hungarian attack on the way to Khazaria; 6. the third day of the disputations with the Khazars; 7. the felling of the sacred tree called Alexander at Phullae; 8. the interpretation of the inscription on the chalice in St Sophia's; 9. the list of alleged Latin beliefs in a. antipodes, b. the killing of a snake, a creature of the devil, as the means of obtaining forgiveness for nine sins, c. drinking out of a wooden goblet instead of a glass for three months after murder; d. innumerable (in some MSS: dishonourable) marriages.⁴⁵ Despite this, Demetrius' text follows the sequence of events related in the *Vita of Cyril* fairly closely and there are very many passages that are in fact only slightly revised versions of passages taken from the vita with minor additions and omissions, to give but a few examples from the various parts of *The Vita*, the first being the young Cyril's dream about Sophia:

Седмымъ же лѣтомъ сын отрокъ видѣ снъ, и повѣда ѿцѣ и мѣтери, рече, яко стратигъ собра всѣе дѣце нашего града, и рече мнѣ: извери себѣ ѿ нихъ, юже хоушеши, подрѣже и на помощь съзреть себѣ. азъ же, съгледавъ и съмотривъ въсѣхъ, видѣхъ единѣ краснѣишѣ

42 See the remarks of Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Polemic*, p. 542. Although the idea that a Latin “heresy” called trilinguism ever existed is incorrect, see Francis J. THOMSON, *SS. Cyril and Methodius and a Mythical Western Heresy: Trilinguism. A Contribution to the Study of Patristic and Mediaeval Theories of Sacred Languages*, Analecta Bollandiana 120, Bruxelles 1992, pp. 67–122, there was often considerable Western opposition to the liturgical use of Slavonic and it was only the Council of Trent which finally put an end to such opposition. The term *Slavia orthodoxa* is not entirely appropriate as it ignores the existence of the Catholic Glagolitic rite, especially the important role that it played in the decision of the Council of Trent with regard to the question of liturgical languages, on which see Francis J. THOMSON, *The Legacy of SS. Cyril and Methodius in the Counter-Reformation*, in: Evangelis Konstantinou (ed.), *Methodius and Kyrillos in ihrer europäischen Dimension*, Philhellenische Studien 10, Frankfurt am Main 2005, pp. 87–246.

43 On the anagogical significance of the episode see Valentin VULCHANOV, *The Conversion of the Soul – a Traditional Hagiographic Element in the Structure of the Life of Saint Constantine-Cyril*, Kirilo-Methodievski studii 18, Sofija 2007, pp. 148–152.

44 Disputations with John had in fact become a hagiographic topos, see Hans Georg THÜMMEL, *Die Disputation über die Bilder in der Vita des Konstantin*, Byzantinoslavica 17, 1985, 1985, pp. 19–24; see also František DVORNÍK, *Légendes*, pp. 73–77.

45 See VC, pp. 41, 41–42, 43–44, 49, 49, 56–58, 58–59, 59 and 61.

40 As has correctly been pointed out by Vladimír VAVŘÍNEK, *Polemic*, p. 542.

41 Demetrius must have been acquainted with Pope John VIII's epistle to Svatopluk of June 880, *Industriae tuae*, authorising the use of Slavonic in the liturgy, since he was using Caesar Baronius' *Annales ecclesiastici*, which contain an edition of its text sub 880: Caesar BARONIUS, *Annales ecclesiastici*, vols I–XII, Rome 1588–1609, see vol. X, 1603, pp. 576–577. The catalogue of Demetrius' library reveals that he had all 12 volumes; *Sv. Dimitrij, Priloženija*, pp. 54–58, see p. 56. He was also using the *Acta Sanctorum*, which in the section on Cyril and Methodius sub 9 May contain a long quotation of the relevant passage of the epistle, see ASS, *Martii tomus ii*, 1668, pp. *12–25, see p. *17.

взѣѣ, лицемъ свѣтѣющоу се и Украшеноу велми монѣсти златими и бирнѣмъ взсено стварію, ейже въ имѣ софіа (VC, pp. 40–41).

Егда же въ отрокѣ седмолѣтенѣ, и начинаше Ѹчитиса грамматѣ, цонѣ ѹодный видѣ, и сказа той оцѹ и матери, глаголющи: воевода нѣкїи соба вса дѣвицы града нашегѹ, и рече ко мнѣ: избери себѣ ѿ нихъ, юже хоцѣши въ сожитѣ, да боудетъ ти помощница во вса дни житїа твоегѹ: азъ же согладавѣ, избрахъ единою гл҃гольпнїишоу паче всѣхъ лицемъ свѣтащоуся, и всакими драгоцѣнными оутварми, ейже има въ Софіа (DT, ff. 409^v–410^r).

Another example at the beginning of *The Vita* is Cyril's admiration of Gregory the Theologian:

Сѣдѣше въ домоу своемъ, Ѹчесе изъ Ѹсты книгамъ ст҃го Григорїа б҃гослова. знаменїе кр҃ное створи въ на ст҃нѣ, и похвалоу ст҃тому Григорїю написа въ сицевоу: ѿ Григорїе, тѣлѹ чл҃чѣ, а, д҃шено аггеле, ты тѣлѹ чл҃къ сын, аггелъ явнсе: Ѹста бо твоа тако единъ ѿ серафїмъ б҃а прославляю и вселенною просвѣщаютъ правые вѣры сказанїемъ. тѣмже и мене, припадающа к тебѣ любовїю и вѣроу, прїими, и боуди ми оучитель и просвѣтитель (VC, p. 41).

Имѣваше любовь велїю къ ст҃тому Григорїю б҃гословоу, егоже и книги всегда ч҃таше, и многѹа ѿ тѣхъ реченїа и сказанїа изоучаше изъ Ѹсты, написа же и похвалоу ст҃тому сице: на ст҃нѣ кр҃тѣ изъобразивѣ, под҃ кр҃томъ сїа начерта словеса: ѿ ст҃ителю б҃жїи Григорїе, ты тѣломъ чл҃вѣкъ былъ еси, житїемъ же агл҃ъ явилася еси: Ѹста бо твоа тако серафїмъ хвалени б҃га прославиша, правовѣрна же твоа Ѹченїа вселенною просвѣтиша: молю Ѹбо та, прїими и мене припадающа къ тебѣ съ вѣроу и любовїю, и боуди ми оучитель и просвѣтитель (DT, f. 410^v).

To take an example from Cyril's disputation with the Arabs:

Видиши ли, фїлософе, дивное ч҃удо, какоже прр҃окъ Мах҃мѣ принесе намъ бл҃гѹю вѣсть ѿ б҃а и обрати многы люди, и вси дръжимсе по законѣ, ничесоже прѣвѣпающе, а вы, хѣвъ законъ дръжете, овъ сице, овъ знакоу, такоже годѣ ѿ комоуждо васъ, тако дръжите и творите (VC, p.45).

Видиши ли фїлософе, дивное сїе дѣло, тако пророкѣ Моухаммедъ принесе намъ доброе Ѹченїе ѿ бога, и вбрати многихъ людей, вси держимса закона егѹ кр҃впкѹ, ничтоже пресоупающе: вы же хрїстїане законъ хрїтовъ держате, овъ сице, овъ инакѹ вѣроуетъ, и творитъ, такоже комоуждо в' васъ есть Ѹбодно (DT, f. 411^v).

Incidentally, his quotation of surah XIX, 17, in the Koran is clearly based on that in *The Vita*, cf.:

Мах҃мѣ вашъ прр҃къ свѣтел'ствѣ, написа въ сице: послахѹ дх҃ъ нашъ къ дѣви, изволаше да родить (VC, p. 46).

Свидѣтелствоуетъ ѿ томъ и вашъ пророкѣ Моухаммедъ написа въ сице: посланъ дх҃ъ ст҃їи къ дѣвѣ ет҃їи, такѹ да соизволивши емоу родитъ сїа (DT, f. 412^v).

After the disputation Cyril returns to Constantinople:

Единоу же на ст҃їи нѣкоторыи же днѣ слѣзѣ емѣ тѣжецоу, тако ничесоже не имамы на сзи днѣ ч҃тныи, онъ же рече емѣ: прѣпитавыи иногда ил҃т҃вни въ пѣстыни, тѣ имѣ и намъ зде дати пицоу, нъ ѿъ призови понѣ петъ ницїи мѣжъ, чакѣ бж҃їе помощи. и тако бы обѣдныи

ѣа, абїе принесе мѣжъ нѣкыи вѣрѣме въсакоѣ яды и десѣтъ златискъ, и бѣ хвалоу въззастъ (VC, p. 48).

Единоу же празникоу нѣкоемоу пригѣвшоу, слоуга егѹ скорбаше, такѹ ничесоже имоутъ на ч҃стный день той: бл҃женный же Квинстантинъ рече къ немоу препитавыи иногда ил҃т҃аны въ поустыни лѣта многѹ, той не иматъ ли насъ съ сей день препитати: но шедъ призови несоумнѣннѹ къ намъ на трапезоу понѣ патъ ницїихъ, и чамѣз бж҃їа мл҃ти, такѹ не вставитъ насъ. Бывшоу же вѣбднемоу часоу, принесе къ немоу нѣкїи моужъ врема всакїа снѣди, и десѣтъ златницъ: онъ же та прїемъ, хвалоу воздаде б҃гоу (DT, f. 413^v).

The first day of the disputation with the Khazars contains many such passages, e.g.:

Онъ же рече пакы: вы Ѹбо книги дръжете въ рѣкоу, ѿ нихъ взсе прит҃чѣ гл҃ете, мы же не тако, нъ ѿтъ пр҃зсен взсе мѣдрѹсти, такѹ поглыщыше износимъ не, не грьдѣесе о писанїи, такѹ же вы. рече же фїлософъ къ немоу: ѿвѣщаю ти къ семѣ: аще срѣщѣши мѣжа нага и гл҃ѣ, такѹ многы ризы и злато имамъ, имѣши ли емоу вѣрѣ, виде его нага; и рече: ни (VC, p. 50).

По семъ пакы Козаринъ рече: вы книги держате въ роукахъ, сказоуете ѿ нихъ прит҃чи: мы же не тако, но ѿ персеї нашихъ вса моудрости износимъ, не гордащтиса ѿ писанїахъ, такѹ же вы горднтиса: иво вноутрѣ имамы такѹ поглощенною въ насъ моудрость. Глагола Квинстантинъ: аще срѣщѣши моужа нага, глаголюща: многи одежды, и злато имамъ: имѣши ли емоу вѣроу, нага его и ничтоже въ роукахъ имоуща видаци; ѿвѣща Козаринъ: ни (DT, f. 414^{r-v}).

The second day has just as many, e.g.:

фїлософъ же рече: аще хоцете прѣвыи законъ дръжати, тѹ ѿ обрѣзанїа Ѹклонитесе ст҃тно. рекоше же они: ч҃есо ради сице гл҃ѣши; фїлософъ же рече: скажите ми истинно, въ обрѣзанїи ли ѿ прѣвыи законъ данъ, или въ необрѣзанїи; ѿвѣщаше они: мнимъ, такѹ въ обрѣзанїи. онъ же рече къ нимъ: не Ноѣви ли бѣ законъ дастъ прѣвѣ по заповѣданїи и ѿпаданїи Адамовѣ (VC, pp. 51–52).

Глагола фїлософъ: аще прѣвыи законъ держати хоцете, то Ѹклонитесе ѿ соуетнагѹ вѣрѣзанїа. Рекоша Иоудей: ч҃есѹ ради глаголеши такѹ; рече фїлософъ: скажите поистинѣ, во вѣрѣзанїи ли прѣвыи законъ данъ есть, или въ невѣрѣзанїи; ѿвѣщаша Иоудей: мнимъ, такѹ во вѣрѣзанїи. Глагола фїлософъ: не Ною ли прѣвѣ бг҃ъ прѣжде вѣрѣзанїа даде законъ по заповѣданїи бывшемъ въ рани Адамоу и ѿпаденїи тогѹ; (DT, f. 415^v).

However, the disputation on the third day is omitted and Demetrius merely states:

Не точїю же со Иоудей, но и съ Сарацины не малѹ препирашеса, и всѣхъ ѹдолѣвше бл҃годатїю г҃да нашегѹ вѣщавшагѹ рабѹмъ своимъ дати Ѹста, и премоудрость ейже не возмогоутъ противитиса или ѿвѣщати вси противляющїиса вамъ (DT, f. 417^v).

One of the reasons for this omission may have been the fact that the question of Mohammed's status as a prophet was raised by one of the Khazars who was well acquainted with the Saracens' wickedness, единъ же ѿ нихъ, сарацин'скѣю зловѣ добрѣ вѣдыи (VC, p. 57), and Demetrius may have considered that the manner in which the Khazars all dismissed Mohammed

as a liar who vomited out his deceitful teachings was too vulgar to be included in an edifying vita:

Махѣмета же вѣси вѣмы, іако лъжь іѣ и пагѣбники сѣсенію вѣсѣхъ, иже іѣ доврѣшише блѣди свое на зловѣ и стѣдодѣбаніе изблѣль (VC, p. 57).

However, the khagan's letter to the emperor at the end of the disputations and the description of the brothers' departure from Khazaria are both typical of the way in which Demetrius was involving both brothers, not only Cyril, in the events and at the same time adapting the text of *The Vita* to suit his audience:

Послалъ ны еси, вѣикъ, моужа таковаго, иже ни сказа хрѣстіанскоую вѣроу, савѣо и вѣцѣми сѣдѣ сѣцоу, и извѣщывшесе, іако тѣ іѣ истинна вѣра повелѣхѣмъ крѣтитисе вѣсѣмъ своею волею, надѣвошесе и мы доспѣти тогоже. есмы же вѣси мы приателе твоемѣ црѣтвѣ и готови на слѣжбоу твою, іакоже потребуеши. Проваждае же фѣлософа, каганъ дааше емоу даръ много, нъ не прийти и гліе: дажь ми, елико имаши плѣнники Грьскъ зде, сѣ ми іѣ болшее вѣсѣхъ даровѣ. съграбѣ же ихъ до двою стѣ и вѣдаше емѣ, и иде радѣесе въ пѣтъ свои (VC, p. 58).

Таковыхъ намъ вѣко прислалъ еси дѣтелныхъ моужей, иже іаснѣ хрѣстіанскоую вѣроу быти истинноюу извѣстиша, и той насъ наоучиша: просвѣтитишеса ѣвѣмы крѣщеніемъ сѣимъ, повелѣхомъ въ державѣ нашей всакомоу произволающеу крѣтитиса, и надѣвемса, іакѣмы и вса земля наша въ хрѣстіанское прѣидетъ совершенство, и есмы прѣлазныи твоемоу царствоу, и готовы на службу твою, аможе возтребуеши. Ѡпоускаа же Каганъ вѣженныхъ тѣхъ дѣтелей Квѣнтантѣна и Мефодѣа, дааше имъ дары много, но они не прѣлаша даровѣ, гліюще: даждь намъ елико имаши зде плѣнниковъ Греческихъ, то бо намъ ест болшее вѣсѣхъ даровѣ. и собралша до двою сотъ, и даша имъ, и идоша въ поуть свой радоующеса и блѣгодаряще бѣга (DT, f. 417^v).

The short section of Demetrius' account dealing with the joint mission of Cyril and Methodius to Moravia (DT, ff. 418r–419^v) begins: По сѣмъ проучіи іазыка славенскагоу княз, Ростиславъ и Свѣтополкъ Моравскій and this close combination of the names of the two princes only occurs in the *Vita of Methodius*: Ростиславъ князь словѣнскъ съ стѣпзакъмъ (VM, p. 71) but their request to the emperor is clearly based on that in the *Vita of Cyril*:

Посла къ црѣю Михаилоу гліе: людемъ нашимъ, поганѣства се ѡвергѣшимъ, и по хрѣстіанскыи се законъ дръжещѣимъ, дѣчителѣ не имамы таковаго, иже би ны въ свои езыкѣ истинноюу вѣроу хрѣстіанскоую сказааль (VC, p. 60).

Послаша въ Квѣнтантѣнополъ къ царю Михаилоу, гліюще: народъ нашъ ідоѡлоклонѣна ѡверцѣса, и хрѣстіанскій законъ держати желаетъ, но не имамы таковагоу дѣтѣла, иже би насъ совершеннѣи той сѣой вѣрѣ наоучилъ, и нашимъ іазыкомъ на законъ блѣгочестивый наставилъ (DT, f. 418^r).

The account of the brothers' mission and subsequent journey to Rome contains a few phrases taken from the *Vita of Cyril*, but the only other short borrowing is the paraphrase of the first verse of Psalm 121 (Mas. 122) with which Cyril, having fallen ill, expresses his joy at the prospect of soon entering the kingdom of God:

начѣтъ пѣти сице: о рекшіихъ мнѣ, въ домъ Гнѣ възидемъ, възвеселѣсе дхъ мой, и срѣце възрадовасе (VC, p. 65).

поа сѣе: Ѡ рекшіихъ мнѣ, възидемъ во дворы Гдѣни, възвеселѣсе мой дхъ, срадоуетса сердце (DT, f. 418^r).

These few examples – and many more could be given but would not make any significant contribution to the obvious conclusion – clearly show that in many passages Demetrius was keeping closely to the text of the *Vita of Cyril* and retaining much of its terminology, while at the same time employing his undoubted literary talent to rewrite the text in more comprehensible Church Slavonic, in a style more appealing to his contemporaries and, not least of all, in a manner so as to adapt the original to the standards of the social behaviour of his day in order to achieve his primary aim of edifying his readers and strengthening their faith. Thus the answer to the second question is that there are some phrases which correspond to those in the *Vita of Cyril* but that the number of them is irrelevant, as it is perfectly obvious that he is basically following the narrative of the *Vita of Cyril* while making minor alterations, additions and omissions in view of his primary aim.

Whereas Demetrius' account follows the text of the *Vita of Cyril* closely, by contrast he only very occasionally uses the *Vita of Methodius* for details, e.g. the above mention of the names of Rostislav and Svyatopolk and the fact that on the brothers' return from Khazaria Methodius was persuaded to become abbot at Polychron, ѡвѣдиша быти игѣуменомъ въ монастырѣ нарицаемомъ Полихронъ (DT, f. 418^v), an otherwise unknown Greek monastery mentioned only in the *Vita of Methodius*, according to which he was not persuaded but obliged to become abbot: ѡнѣдиша и и поставиша и игѣмена въ монастыри иже нарицаетса Полихронъ (VM, p. 71), the alteration being one of the innumerable small changes which Demetrius made.⁴⁶ A similar minor change is the fact that according to Demetrius Cyril was persuaded, ѡвѣдиша, to be ordained priest when he returned to Constantinople from the monastery to which he had secretly, таи, gone (DT, f. 410^v), whereas according to the *Vita of Cyril* he was ordained at Constantinople before he hid, съкрисе, in the monastery (VC, p. 43).

As has been seen, Demetrius also used the synaxarium *Vitae* of the two brothers, Cyril's for 14 February and Methodius' for 11 March. To give but a few more examples of his borrowing of individual phrases and facts: in his description of their father the phrase моужъ доврѣроденъ и богатъ, именовъ Левъ (DT, f. 409^v) is taken from the full *Vita of Cyril* (VC, p. 40) but the phrase саномъ сотникъ (DT, f. 409^v) is taken from Cyril's synaxarium vita (SVC, p. 101); the statement that Methodius stayed ten years among the Slavs (DT, p. 409^v) is taken from his synaxarium vita (SVM, p. 103) since his full *Vita* simply states many years (VM, p. 71); the phrase concerning Methodius' withdrawal to a monastery, шедъ во лѣмпейскоую гороу (DT, f. 409^v), is taken from Methodius' synaxarium vita (SVM, p. 103), while the reference to молвы житѣйскѣа (DT, f. 409^v) as a reason for his withdrawal reflects the мзл'вы вѣциньны; въ жити сѣмъ in his full *Vita* (VC, p. 71). The short passage quoted above, with Demetrius' description of Methodius' activities after Cyril's death, includes an oblique reference to one episode that is in fact not found in *Methodius' Vita*, viz. that in Moravia he debated with Jews and heretics: съ жиды и съ еретѣки препирааса (DT, f. 419^v). This is based

⁴⁶ The claim that there is nothing at all in Demetrius' account which was taken from *Methodius' Vita*, thus P. LAVROV, *Materialy*, p. 4, is incorrect, although it must be admitted that it was used only for a few details. For the fact that no Greek monastery called Polychron actually existed see Francis J. THOMSON, *The Name of the Monastery Where Theophanes the Confessor Became a Monk: Polichnion or Polychronion*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 25, Bruxelles 2007, pp. 120–138.

on his synaxarium vita which contains an account of a disputation in Moravia with Zambri, a Khazarian Jew, which ends with Zambri exploding and another opponent, Sedislav, being swallowed up by the ground, while a sudden fire causes the others to flee (*SVM*, p. 103), and Demetrius' phrase **сѣ жиѣды и сѣ еретѣки** is clearly inspired by **на жиѣды же и на еретѣки** in the synaxarium vita. The synaxarium *Vita of Cyril* also mentions a disputation in Moravia with Zambri but this time with Cyril, not Methodius. Zambri urges that Cyril be killed, instead of which it is the latter who kills Zambri by prayer (*SVC*, p. 102). In fact these episodes were inspired by the mythical disputation between Pope Sylvester I (314–335) and Zambres, which is recorded by several Greek historians including George Hamartolus.⁴⁷ Demetrius gives the name of the brothers' mother as Maria and it has been suggested that it was taken from the short *Vita of Cyril* known as the *Dormitio S. Cyrilli*,⁴⁸ which is, however, more than unlikely since the name is found in some manuscript copies as well as in printed editions of Methodius' synaxarium *Vita*, whereas only one East Slav manuscript of the *Dormitio* has been traced.⁴⁹

In 1805 Athanasius of Paros (1721–1813) published his work *Ὀὐρανοῦ κρίσις* which contains an account of the mission to Moravia, for which he obtained information from the *Χιλανταρινῆ διήγησις*, which he had been given by a Bulgarian monk, Daniel, skeuophalax of Hilandar.⁵⁰ Since some of the details agree with Demetrius' account of Cyril and Methodius, it has been suggested that Demetrius also used the *Χιλανταρινῆ διήγησις*⁵¹; indeed, it has even been claimed that the *Χιλανταρινῆ διήγησις* reflects a Greek source earlier even than the *Vitae of Cyril and Methodius*.⁵² In fact Daniel of Hilandar had not used some early Greek source no trace of which has since been found, he had merely used Demetrius Tupalo's account as one of his sources for his *Χιλανταρινῆ διήγησις*,⁵³

47 For the Slavonic version see the translation of George's *Chronicon breve, Knigy vremen'nyy i vbraznyy Gewrgijy mnicha. Chronika Georgija Amartola v drevnem slavjanorusskom perevode. Tekst, issledovanie i slovar'*, vols I–III, ed. Vasilij Istrin, Petrograd-Leningrad 1920–1930, vol. I, pp. 335–338. For an exhaustive study of the various Slavonic versions of the Sylvester myth see S. TEMČIN, *Prenie rimsko-gopy Sil'vestra I s ravninom Zambriem i kirillo-mefodievskaja tradicija*, Palaeoslavica 10, 2002, pp. 229–247; see also A. PERESWETOFF MORATH, *Grin*, vol. I, 2002, pp. 122–124, 153 and 197.

48 Libor JANKOVSKA, „Žitie i trudy“ sv. Mefodija, p. 193.

49 The synaxaria with the *Vita of Methodius* which give her name as Maria include the Priluki or Theodotus MS, codex A I, 264 of the late 14th or early 15th century in the collection of St Petersburg Theological Academy, see Kujo KUJEV, *Priloženie žitija za Kiril i Metodij v leningradskite knigochranilišča*, Starob'garistika 9, 1985, pp. 8–36, ed. 32–34, see p. 32; for a printed edition of the synaxarium see that at Moscow in 1774, vol. II, f. 273^v; see f. 273. The *Dormitio* is a Bulgarian work probably of the fourteenth century and has been edited at least fourteen times, see that on the basis of a Serbian florilegium of the early 16th century, codex 58 in the collection of Aleksandr Hilferding, ff. 220^v–222^v, by P. LAVROV, *Materialy*, pp. 154–157, for the name of Maria see p. 154. The East Slav manuscript of the *Dormitio* is codex 35 in the collection of Ivan Vakhrameyev, a florilegium of the 17th century, ff. 157^v–159^v, see Andrej TITOV, *Rukopisi slavjanskje i russkie, prinadležajšče Dejstvitel'nomu Členu Imperatorskogo Russkogo Archeologičeskogo Obščestva I. A. Vachrameevu*, sv. I, Moskva 1888, p. 21.

50 See the *Ὀὐρανοῦ κρίσις* [...], Leipzig, 1805, pp. 87–88. A second edition appeared at Athens in 1850. Its inordinately long title (a hundred and thirty words) cannot be reproduced here. It is basically an expanded revision of his modern Greek version of Archbishop Theophylact of Ohrid's *Vita of Clement of Ohrid* published at Leipzig in 1784 with additional material taken from elsewhere.

51 Thus Nestor PETROVSKIJ, *K istorii skazanij o svv. Kirille i Mefodij*, Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvveščeniya 9, 1907, pp. 138–158, see p. 154, with a juxtaposition of the texts, *ibidem*, pp. 145–153.

52 See Nikolaj TUNICKIJ, *Svjatoy Kliment, episkop slovenskij. Ego žizn' i prosvetitel'naja dejatel'nost'*, Sergiev Posad 1913, pp. 29–39, who reproduces the full title of Athanasius' 1805 edition, see *ibidem*, p. 21, no. 1.

53 J. IVANOV, *Gr'cko-b'lgarski otnošenija predi c'rkovnata borba*, in: *Sbornik v čest na profesor L. Miletič po slučaj na 25-godišninata mu knižovna dejnost (1886–1911)*, Sofija 1912, pp. 158–186, for a juxtaposition of the two texts see pp. 175–179. For another instance see L. JANKOVSKA, „Žitie i trudy“ sv. Mefodija, pp. 183–184, who quite rightly rejects the idea of Demetrius' use of some lost early source. This conclusion has been ignored even by eminent scholars, who have continued to accept the existence of an early Greek source, see, for instance, Franz GRIVEC – F. TOMŠIČ, *Constantinus*, pp. 34–36, and Ivan DUJČEV, *Le testimonianze byzantine sui ss. Cirillo e Metodio*, *Miscellanea francescana* 63, 1963, pp. 7–8.

although it is an oversimplification to claim that this latter work is merely a free translation of Demetrius' account since it contains more than just the information in the latter.⁵⁴

One other source that Demetrius quoted at length is his own menologium. While Cyril and Methodius are sojourning at Cherson so that they can learn the Khazar language well and improve their Hebrew, they learn that the relics of Pope Clement I of Rome are lying in the sea off the coast and they urge Bishop George of Cherson to find them, beside which Demetrius has put the marginal gloss: **ПАМАТЬ ЕГО НОЕМВРІА КЕ** (*DT*, f. 413^v). There then follows an account of the martyrdom of Clement, whose disciples tell the citizens of Cherson that they need not seek his body as the sea will retreat for seven days every year until the reign of Emperor Nicephorus:

Λεβήδιανз игемвнз, повелѣнїемз кесара Траїана, потопи его въ мори, котвонъ на выю навазавши, іакъ да не вбратиоуѣтъ хрїтїане тѣла его..... бываше такъ ережъ лѣта мнѣга, ѿ царства Траїанова, даже до царства Нікѣфора цара Греескаго (*DT*, f. 413^v).

This passage is taken from Demetrius' *Vita* of the pope for 25 November in the first volume of his collection, *Житїе и страданїе сѣгавъ смѣнноиѣнка Клемента папы Римскаго* (*DT*, Clement, ff. 463^v–469^v; see 468^v). Since at the time of the brothers' stay at Cherson over fifty years had elapsed since the reign of Nicephorus, the relics had remained submerged as the sea had not retreated. In response to the brothers' urging, Bishop George goes to Constantinople to obtain permission from Michael III and his mother Theodora and Patriarch Ignatius to discover the relics and returns with all the clergy of St Sophia's and the relics are recovered. It is scarcely surprising that part of the account of the discovery of the relics in Demetrius' *Vita of Clement* is also found in his version of the same event in his account of Cyril and Methodius, cf.:

Царь же и патриархъ послава сѣ нимъ мощы нарочитыя и весь клиросъ сѣгя Софин, и пришедше въ Херсонъ, собраша коупннъ сѣ Меоодїемъ и Квнстантиномъ весь глговѣрннй народъ, и идоша со фалмы и пѣсми на край мора, хотаще полуочити желамое: но не разстоуписа вода. Зашедшоу же сннцоу, вседоша въ корабль, и въ полунощи свѣтъ возсѣа ѿ мора, и явсиса перѣѣ глава, потомже и вси мощы Климента сѣгавъ ѿ воды изшедшыя, и вземше а сѣгители, вложиша въ корабль, и во градъ неше честнв, в' цркви дїтлетствїи положиша (*DT*, Clement, f. 469^v).

И поатъ ѿтоль весь клиръ сѣгя Софеи: таже дошедши до Херсона, иде сѣ блженными сими сѣгителами Меоодїемъ и Квнстантиномъ, и со всеъмъ народомъ, со фалмы и пѣсми на край мора, хотаще полуочити желамое, но не разстоуписа вода. Зашедшоу же солницюу, вседоша въ корабль, и въ полунощи свѣтъ возсѣа ѿ мора, и явсиса перѣѣ глава, потомъ же и вси сѣгавъ Климента мощы, изъ воды изшедшыя, и вземше оныя вложиша въ корабль, и во градъ неше честнв, въ цркви дїтлетствїи положиша (*DT*, Methodius and Cyril, f. 414^v).

Demetrius had in fact based his account of the recovery of Clement's relics on the brief synaxarium version of it found in the Macarian menologium for 25 November:

54 The claim was made by Naděžda DRAGOVA, *Theophylact of Ohrid's Old Bulgarian Sources on Cyril and Methodius*, *Études balkaniques*, 3–4, 1992, p. 110.

И той послѣ съ нимъ весь клиросъ сѣѣа Софїа, и придоша въ Корѣѣ. И тѣ совравъзшеса, людїе идоша на краи моря съ фѣлмы и пѣмн полочугити желамое сокровище. И не разстѣписа нимъ вода. Зашѣшоу же сѣнцоу, всѣдоша въ корабль. И въ полунощи возсѣа свѣтъ ѿ моря: и гавѣ первое глава, потѣже и всѣ мощи сѣго Климента. И вземѣше сѣли вложиша а в корабль, и привезше въ гра, вложше в ракъ, и положиша и въ цркви аплѣстїи.⁵⁵

Demetrius' *Vita of Clement* also contains the episode of the young child who is accidentally left behind in Clement's watery grave for a year until the water retreated again, and who is then found alive and well, which is also based on the same source:

Нѣкогда по обычаю въ память сѣгашу ѿстоупившоу морю, и множествоу народа вѣрныхъ изъ свѣтымъ моцїемъ пришедшоу, прилоучиса отрочати малоу тамо встатиса, родители бо егво забывше... Въ градуцѣе же лѣто паки морю ѿстоупившоу, прїдоша родители егво по обычаю на поклоненїе сѣмоу, вшедше же въ црковъ, вврѣтоша отроча живо и здраво, присѣдацѣе ѿ ковчегѣ сѣгашу, и вземше ѣ съ неизглаголанною радостїю, вопрошахоу, какв живо сохраниса (*DT, Clement, f. 468*)

Нѣкогда ѿвм по обычаю морю ѿстоупившоу, и людѣмъ ко сѣмоу вшедшимъ, прилоучиса отрочати малоу тамо встатиса, родителямъ бо егво забывшимъ... Въ настоящее же лѣто паки морю ѿстоупашоу, прїдоша родители егво по обычаю на поклоненїе сѣмоу, и вшедше вврѣтоша отроча живо и здраво, присѣдацо ѿ ковчегѣ сѣгашу, и съ радостїю прѣимше вопрошахоу, какв баше,⁵⁶

Demetrius must also have seen the homily on the translation of the relics of Clement ascribed by many scholars to Cyril himself, but since the homily is anonymous and is found in the Macarian menologium for 23 January, the feast of St Clement of Ancyra, as the result of the confusion of the two Clements, it is hardly surprising that he made no use of it.⁵⁷ However, a reflection of this confusion is also found in one of the texts in the Macarian menologium for the correct date, 25 November, viz. the synaxarium vita of the "menologium" of Basil, in which it is stated that Domitian exiled Clement of Rome to Ancyra before having him transferred to Kherson for drowning, a version which Demetrius quite rightly ignored.⁵⁸

As in the case of his account of Cyril and Methodius, Demetrius based his vita of Clement on more than one source, the principal one being indicated in a marginal gloss beside the title:

Ѿ посланїа Климѣ ко іерїнскомуу патрїархоу еже вврѣтаецѣа в четїей блѣннагѣ Макаріа митрополїта Московскагѣ ѿ негѣ же но братцѣ.

55 Ed. VMČ, *Nojabr'dni 23–25*, 1917, col. 3311.

56 The text in the Macarian menologium has not yet been edited but the *Vita* is found in all printed editions of the synaxarium for 25 November, e.g. that at Moscow in 1774, vol. I, f. 348^v.

57 The Macarian text has been edited on the basis of the Tsar's version, codex 178 in the collection of the Russian Synod, with the variants of the Dormition version, codex 990 in the same collection, by Pavel SAVVAITOV (=Anonim), *Slovo o pere-nesenii mošcej sv. Klimenta Rimskogo (iz Mak. Čet'-Minej)*, in: Michail Pogodin (ed.), *Kirillo-Mefodievskij sbornik v pamjat' soveršivšegosja tysjačletija slavjanskoi pis'mennosti i christianstva v Rossii*, Moskva 1865, pp. 319–326. [The title is only in the index on p. 556]. The question of the ascription of the homily to Cyril cannot be addressed here.

58 Ed. VMČ, *Nojabr'dni 23–25*, 1917, cols 3309–3310; the translation must have been made from one of the Greek manuscripts in which the name of Domitian had been substituted for the usual Trajan, e.g. *codex Sinaiticus graecus 548* of the 11th century, ff.52v–53r; the latter's name is that found in the edition of the Greek original in PG, vol. CXVII, 1894, col. 177.

This is a clear reference to the *Clementis praedicationum, quas Petrus inter periginandum habuit, epitome* (CPG 1021; BHG 342–343), which is found in the Macarian menologium for 25 November, on which Demetrius based no less than the first 60 % of his text (*DT, Clement, ff. 463–467*). He not merely abridged it, as he states in the gloss, which he did mainly by omitting the lengthy discussions on religious matters, but he also considerably revised and altered the order of the episodes,⁵⁹ to give but one brief example, the dream in which Clement's mother is told:

ацѣ близнецоу вѣою сїоу своєю ацѣ поимши не изыдеши въ ѿшествїе ѿ рїскаго града на т лѣтъ, то пагоубною смертїю кѣпно с нимѣ ѿмрѣти имамъ.⁶⁰

ты и два чада твоѣа близнецы, ацѣ не изыдете изъ Рима на десять лѣтъ, то пагоубною смертїю коупннъ съ нимѣ ѿмреши (*DT, Clement, f. 464*).

On f. 467^r is the marginal gloss: ѿстоуу начинаецѣа списанїе ѿ Метафраста, which refers to his second source, another entry in the Macarian menologium for 25 November, *Martyrium S. Clementis papae Romani* (BHG 349), the text of which Demetrius follows closely, while revising its language as in his account of Cyril and Methodius (*DT, Clement, ff. 467–468*),⁶¹ once again to give but one brief example:

Тогда Маментїанъ, граднїе епархъ, не терпѣа молитвѣе, повелѣ привести к себѣ Климента. Егѣ видѣвъ, нача глѣати: не корени ѿбо блага рода ншелъ еси, еже в вѣсѣ римское множество свидѣтельствѣе.⁶²

Тогда мамертїнъ епархъ градскїи не терпѣа молвы и матежа людскагѣ, повелѣ привести къ себѣ сѣго Климента, и нача глѣати къ нему: изъ корене блѣгодна изшелъ еси, также свидѣтельствуетъ в тебѣ все Римское множество (*DT, Clement, f. 467^v*).

Demetrius' joint account of Methodius and Cyril illustrates the fact that he was not compiling historical accounts but edifying religious accounts in which his literary talent as a writer and his gift of eloquence as a preacher come to the fore. That it is not an accurate historical account is already clear from the title in which Cyril is incorrectly called a bishop. In his description of Cyril's fatal illness Demetrius repeats this error by stating that he entrusted his see to his brother: вроучивши епїкпетѣе свое старѣйшемуу братоу своему Методїю, предаде доухъ свой Гдѣоу (*DT, f. 419^v*). He was, however, expressing the commonly held opinion in his day: two of the major Western sources of great authority which he was using also call them bishops, the first being the *Martyrologium Romanum*, first published at Rome in 1584, which lists among the saints commemorated on 9 May:

59 The edition of the Macarian text breaks off in the first section of homily xiv, see VMČ, *Nojabr'dni 23–25*, 1917 [the title page gives 1916 but the cover has 1917], cols 3356–3428, for the part used by Demetrius see cols 3405–3428; the sole complete edition of the translation is that on the basis of a collection of *Vitae*, codex 682 of the 15th century in the collection of the Trinity Laura of St Sergius, ff. 59v–168r, by P. LAVROV, *Žitija chersonskih svjatyh v greko-slavjanskoi pis'mennosti*, Pamjatniki chersonskogo Chersonesa 2, Moskva 1911, pp. 77–103.

60 Ed. VMČ, *Nojabr'dni 23–25*, 1917, col. 3406.

61 The *Martyrium* ed. VMČ, *Nojabr'dni 23–25*, 1917, cols 3317–3327; for the part used by Demetrius see cols 3322–3327.

62 Ed. VMČ, *Nojabr'dni 23–25*, 1917, col. 3323.

and 1913.⁷⁵ However, what they produced is, as the title correctly indicates, not so much a Russian translation of Demetrius' *Книга Житий Святыхъ* as a collection of saints' lives in Russian using his menologium as a guide:

Житія Святыхъ, на русскомъ языкѣ изложенныя по руководству Четыхъ-Миней св. Димитрія Ростовскаго съ дополненіями, объяснительными примѣчаніями и изображеніями святыхъ.

This is aptly illustrated by their treatment of Demetrius' account of Methodius and Cyril. It is perhaps not surprising that they deal in far more detail with the disputation at Venice about the "трехъязыческая ересь" (*DTR*, pp. 366–367), although it is surprising that the episode of the conversion of Boris of Bulgaria by the painting of the Last Judgment by the monk Methodius has been inserted into the *Vita* and the monk is erroneously – and most oddly – identified as the saint (*DTR*, p. 361). The major difference is, however, the detailed account of Methodius' missionary activity in Moravia after his brother's death, which has been appended. It begins with Hadrian's letter *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (*DTR*, pp. 370–371) and, as only to be expected, it contains accounts of his trial and incarceration (*DTR*, p. 372) and his final visit to Constantinople (*DTR*, p. 375). It has been claimed that by this addition of an account of Methodius' work after Cyril's death they corrected a defect of Demetrius' account.⁷⁶ In fact it merely reveals that the Commission's aims in compiling their account varied from Demetrius' aims in compiling his. One definite improvement which the editors of the Russian collection did make, however, was the inclusion of a *Vita of Demetrius* himself, who was indeed a saintly man and who, incidentally, was the sole East Slav to be canonised in the eighteenth century.⁷⁷

Appendix 1: The Copy of the Vita of Cyril in Demetrius' Календарь или житія святыхъ

There is at least one later copy of the *Vita of Cyril* that goes back to the text on ff. 182^r–198^r of Demetrius' *Календарь или житія святыхъ*, now codex 420 in the collection of the Synodal Typography, viz. codex 9 of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (watermark of 1697) in the collection of Canon Antin Petrushevych (1821–1913), now in the collection of the Ukrainian Academy at Lviv, which has thirty-eight folia with *The Vita* on ff. 1^r–34^r. It is followed on ff. 34^v–38^v by the ending of the eulogy of Cyril and Methodius, beginning: *Потомже осваѣаше пречестьнаго и богоноснаго Мефодіа на архиепископство...*, in which the work of Methodius as archbishop in Pannonia is praised, which is in turn followed on f. 38^v by a brief note on whether Cyril compiled his alphabet in Constantinople or somewhere else, which is also found in the *Календарь*.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ There are in fact thirteen volumes as January was divided into two parts, with the entries for the 1st to the 14th in the first and those for the 15th to the 31st in the second. In addition two supplementary volumes were published containing the vitae of Russian saints either not included by Demetrius or who lived after him, Moscow 1908–1909.

⁷⁶ Thus Libor JANKOVSKA, „*Žitie i trudy*“ sv. Mefodija, p. 192, n. 54.

⁷⁷ It was included under 21 September, the date of the commemoration of the invention of his incorrupt remains in 1752, see *Kniga pervaja. Žitija Svjatych. Mesjac Sentjabr*, Moskva 1902, pp. 402–430.

⁷⁸ The ending of the eulogy has been edited thrice: Pavel Josef ŠAFARĚK, *Památky dĕvního písemnictví Jihoslavanů*, Praha 1851, fasc. I, pp. 25–27; Illarion SVEČICKIJ, *Opis rukopisiv Narodnogo Domu z kolekcii Ant. Petruševiča*, vol. I, Ukrain'sko-rus'kij archiv I, L'viv 1906, pp. 72–74, and P. LAVROV, *Materialy*, pp. 37–39, who also edits the note; *ibidem*, p. 24. On the manuscript see also O. BODJANSKIJ, *O vremeni proischozdenija slavjanskich pis'men*, Primečanija, p. 72; B. Angelov – Ch. Kodov (ed.), *Kliment Ochridski*, vol. III, pp. 44–45, with an edition of the note, *ibidem*, p. 45; see also B. Angelov – X. Kodov – K. Kuev (ed.), *Kliment Ochridski*, vol. I, p. 456.

As Osip Bodyansky pointed out in 1855, the scribe probably added the ending of the eulogy because Demetrius had devoted minimal space to Methodius' activities in Pannonia.⁷⁹ Codex IX.e.31 in the National Museum at Prague, copied in 1837 by the Rusyn priest Ivan Vahylevich, has twenty-four pages to which three folia of a late fifteenth-century Serb manuscript with excerpts of unrelated texts have been appended, but whether its copy of the vita of Cyril on pages 3–21 goes albeit indirectly back to Demetrius' *Календарь* remains to be established.⁸⁰

Appendix 2: The Date of 11 May for the Feast of St Methodius

Demetrius was, of course, fully aware that Cyril died on 14 February 6377 (869) and Methodius on 6 April 6393 (885) and that their *Vitae* are found in the Macarian menologium on those days,⁸¹ indeed among the commemorations mentioned in his notes appended to the entries in his own menologium for 14 February is: *И прѣвнагоу Кѣррѣлла Фѣлософа, оучитѣла Цлѣвенскагоу* (*DT*, II, f. 519^r).⁸² The reason for Demetrius' choice of 11 May for the commemoration of the two brothers is clear: his readers must have been fully aware of the fact that Methodius was commemorated on that day since his synaxarium *Vita* is found in all printed synaxaria under that date ever since the *editio princeps* of the March half of the synaxarium at Moscow in 1643. However, as yet no convincing explanation for the original choice of that date for the commemoration of Methodius has been given, although many hypotheses have been aired. In a letter to Mikhail Pogodin (1800–1875) the celebrated scholar Aleksandr Gorsky (1812–1875) noted that it was the feast of the *Natalis Urbis*, the renaming of Byzantium as Constantinople in 324, and wondered whether there was a political reason:

*Или церковь русская, за долго до настоящего времени, хотела заменить утраченную славу столицы Православия другим воспоминанием, более обещающим впереди?*⁸³

Russia's greatest hagiologist, Sergius Spassky, noted that many commemorations had been transferred from one date to another and considered that one of the reasons was that since Lent and Easter fell in March and April commemorations in those months had been transferred to May, a suggestion which has often been cited as the reason for 11 May.⁸⁴ However, had those who refer to Spassky actually paid closer attention to what he wrote they would have noted that he was writing

⁷⁹ O. BODJANSKIJ, *O vremeni proischozdenija slavjanskich pis'men*, Primečanija, p. 25.

⁸⁰ On the codex see A. JACIMIRSKIJ, *Opisanie južno-slavjanskich i russkich rukopisej zagraničnyh bibliotek*, vol. I, Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Rossijskoj Akademii nauk 98, Petrograd 1921, pp. 742–744; Josef Vašica – Josef Vajs, *Soupis staroslavjanských rukopisů Národního Musea v Praze*, Prague 1957, pp. 162–163.

⁸¹ On the two *Vitae* in the Macarian menologium see above note 11.

⁸² There is, however, no equivalent mention of Methodius among his appended notes for 6 April (*DT*, III, f. 221^r), presumably because he had chosen another of the days on which Methodius is commemorated for his account of the brothers.

⁸³ See M. POGODIN, *Reč', proiznesennaja v zasedanii Moskovskogo obščestva ljubitelej rossijskoj slovesnosti predsedatelem, M. P. Pogodinym, 11 maja, 1863 goda, v pamjat' o sv. Kirille i Mefodie (sic)*, in: M. Pogodin (ed.), *Kirillo-Mefodievskij sbornik v pamjat' soveršivšegosja tysjačletija slavjanskoi pis'mennosti i christianstva v Rossii*, Moskva 1865, pp. 81–144, see pp. 94–95.

⁸⁴ To give but two examples: Alexandar TEODOROV BALAN, *Kiril i Metodi*, tom II, Universitetska biblioteka 146, Sofija 1934, p. 12, and D. ČEŠMEDŽIEV, *Za pojavata na 11 maj kao pomenalna data za Kiril i Metodij*, in: Georgi Bakalov (red.), *Obščoto i specifičnoto v balkanskite kulturi do kraja na XIX vek*. Sbornik v čest na prof. Vasilka T'pkova-Zaimova, Sofija 1999, p. 93; for the suggestion see SERGIJ, *Polnyj mesjaceslov Vostoka*, vol. II, 1, p. IX.

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