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WAS THE IDENTITY OF THE PRAGUE CHURCH IN THE TENTH CENTURY IMPOSED FROM WITHOUT OR DEVELOPED FROM WITHIN?

There are certain subjects which, although one may not study them professionally oneself one nevertheless admires the interest and brilliance with which others do so. For me one of those subjects is the origins and identities of peoples. I take encouragement, however, from the words of Walter Pohl in his prospectus for this symposium:¹ “Dazu (i.e. besides identities of peoples) kamen andere folgenreiche Identitäten, etwa im kirchlichen Bereich: das katholische Kirchenvolk, monastische Gemeinschaften oder Diözesen, eine ausdehnte Topographie des Heiligen, etc.”

Hence it may be possible for my contribution to be at once relevant to the symposium, and to the theme “Die Geburt Mitteleuropas” in the century following those covered by Herwig Wolfram’s delightful and distinguished book of that title, and its transmogrification into “Österreichische Geschichte”, volume one.²

Two themes are of the greatest importance for our present purposes – the Cyrillic-Methodian origins of Bohemian Christianity, with their Slav linguistic culture, and the tension between Bavarian and Saxon influence on it. This means – in a short paper – omitting other very relevant themes such as the Poles and Bohemia, or the Přemyslids and Slavniks, or the possible influence of Moravian clergy. My two themes themselves are to some extent part and parcel of each other, first because much of the early Slav para-liturgical material at Prague is likely to have been transported there directly from Bavaria;³ second, and above all because the Latin *Legenda Christiani* (which was probably written by a son of Boleslav I. who became a monk of St Emmeram, Regensburg, and which represents the fullest tenth-century Bavarian/Bohemian point of view)⁴ stresses the Cyrillic-Methodian origins of Bohemian Christianity, even more strongly than Cosmas of Prague would

¹ This paper is largely as I delivered it to the Symposium in honour of Herwig Wolfram. I have not followed up certain important points made in the discussion which I would like to mention in this note: Christian Lübke on the importance of the Poles for the development of Bohemia; Ian Wood on my omission of Adalbert and Bruno of Querfurt and the Five Brothers; and Herwig Wolfram on the question of why Gnesen rather than Prague became a metropolitan see. These would all have been very relevant in the working up of the paper into something bigger. I am further grateful to Mary Garrison, Peter Johanek, Hagen Keller and Bernd Schneidmüller for their comments.

² Herwig Wolfram, *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung, 378–907* (Wien/Berlin 1987); and id., *Grenzen und Räume. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung (Österreichische Geschichte 378–907, Wien 1995)*.

³ E.g. Alexis P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge 1970) 89f.

⁴ *Legenda Christiani: Vita et Passio Sancti Wenceslai et Sancte Ludmille ave eius* (ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Prague 1978).

do in the twelfth century.⁵ In the story that the *Legenda Christiani* tells, the linguistic point comes through very sharply. Bořivoy, the first 'historical' Přemyslid, was converted to Christianity at Svatopluk's Cyrillic-Methodian court in Moravia, Cyril and Methodius being famed for their translations of biblical and liturgical texts into Slavonic. On his return home Bořivoy faced a so-called pagan reaction, a rebellion from a Duke Ztroymir, who, says Christian, was supported by the *Teutonici*, among whom he had been in exile so long that he had forgotten his own (Slav) *Muttersprache*.⁶ The principal difference between the *Legenda Christiani* (probably 990s) and Gumpold of Mantua's *Life of Wenceslas* (probably early 980s), which represents the Saxon story, is that Gumpold completely ignores the Cyrillic-Methodian origins, and attributes the origins of Bohemian Christianity to Bořivoy's son and Wenceslas's elder brother Svytišev.⁷

The original political/Christian orientation of Bohemia, after Bořivoy's conversion, was to Bavaria.⁸ The Saxons came onto the Bohemian scene essentially with Henry I in the late 920s. Widukind tells how Henry made the Bohemians tributary, Christian how Wenceslas became Henry's friend.⁹ It is unnecessary to say that, in tenth-century conditions, both could be accurate at the same time! Wenceslas had entered into his relationship to Henry with full co-operation from Duke Arnulf of Bavaria,¹⁰ but there are signs that he had to perform a delicate balancing act between the Saxons and the Bavarians. He moved his ecclesiastical centre from Budeč to Prague. Prague was already becoming a place rich in silver and rich from trade, as Ibn Jakub, and excavations in the Burg and its suburbium, show.¹¹ One cannot help wondering whether part of this move to a place with such easy river access from Saxony had to do with the tributary character, in all friendship, of Saxon/Bohemian relations. Gumpold reports baldly that Bishop Tuto of Regensburg gave his permission for the building of St Vitus's church; likewise Christian who reveals, however, that Tuto was distinctly edgy about the translation of Ludmila to Prague.¹² It may be remembered that Ludmila's family seat had been at Melnik, which commands the entry to the Vltava from the Elbe. Above all, one of the early Wenceslas legends implies that the church of St Vitus (the great Corvey/Saxon cult) was originally to be dedicated to St Emmeram, the prime saint of Bavaria

⁵ Christian, *Vita Wenceslai* 1, 2, ed. Ludvikovsky 12–23; compare Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Boemorum* (ed. Bertold Bretholz, MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. NS 2, Berlin 1955) I, 14–25, 32–47.

⁶ Christian, *Vita Wenceslai* 2, ed. Ludvikovsky 25.

⁷ Gumpold, *Vita Vencezlavi Ducis* 2–3 (ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS 4, Hannover 1841) 211–223, here 214.

⁸ Vlasto, *Entry of the Slavs* 88–90. The archaeology of the early Christian period of Bohemia of course shows a dependence of Bohemian material culture on Moravia: František Graus, *Böhmen im 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert. Von der "Stammesgesellschaft" zum "mittelalterlichen Staat"*, in: *Gli slavi occidentali e meridionali nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 30 (Spoleto 1983) 169–199, here 171 f.

⁹ Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum Gestarum Saxoniarum Libri Tres* I, 35 (ed. Paul Hirsch/Hans-Eberhard Lohmann, MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. [60], Hannover 1935) 50 f.; cf. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Böhmen und das deutsche Reich im hohen Mittelalter*, in: *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 18 (1969) 20–25; Christian, *Vita Wenceslai* 7, ed. Ludvikovsky 64.

¹⁰ This is anyhow implicit from Duke Arnulf's participation in Henry I's campaign which led to Wenceslas's submission to the king; Robert Holtzmann, *Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit, 900–1024* (München 1955) 91.

¹¹ Ladislav Hrdlička, *Prag*, in: *Europas Mitte um 1000, 1: Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, ed. Alfried Wiczorek/Hans-Martin Hinz (Stuttgart 2000) 373–375; Jan Frohlik/Milena Bravermanova, *Die Prager Burg*, in: *Europas Mitte um 1000, 1: Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, ed. Alfried Wiczorek/Hans-Martin Hinz (Stuttgart 2000) 376–378, and *ibid.* 3: *Katalog* 255–260.

¹² Gumpold, *Vita Vencezlavi Ducis* 15, ed. Pertz 219; Christian, *Vita Wenceslai* 60–62, ed. Ludvikovsky 52.

and of its ecclesiastical centre of Regensburg. This cannot be nonsense, for when relics of St Vitus were translated to the Prague church in 932, it was on 22 September, the feast of St Emmeram!¹³

Gumpold represented Wenceslas as a Saxon ally, therein by implication a motivation for building St Vitus;¹⁴ but we may forget any idea that there was a significant pro-Saxon versus pro-Bavarian element in the motive for Boleslav's murder of Wenceslas. It is important to remember that the *Legenda Christiani* is a Life of both Wenceslas and his murdered grandmother Ludmila, and in neither is there any suggestion other than of family feud such as was the common currency of the time. That is not to deny that Boleslav, Wenceslas's successor as duke, whom Cosmas knew as Boleslav the Cruel, was anti-Saxon; Widukind knew that until at least 950 he was.¹⁵ Boleslav's attitude to the Bavarians was more ambivalent. There is a suggestion that the Hungarian successes against the Bavarians in the 940s were due, if not to his aid, at least to his neutrality. But Bohemians were, along with Bavarians, a contingent of the host at Lechfeld (955); Boleslav's coinage was modelled on the Bavarian; and as we have said, he sent his son, perhaps Strachkva (but anyhow alias Christian), to St Emmeram of Regensburg.¹⁶

It seems that well before Otto I's death Boleslav I., who died in 972, had mooted the plan for Prague to be a bishopric, presumably hoping, like Khan Boris of the Bulgarians in the 860s, to have an independent metropolitan see – independent of the Germans that is.¹⁷ Much has been made of how this plan became reality, as a see under Mainz, only after the powerful Willigis had become Archbishop of Mainz in 975, and by way of compensating Mainz for its loss of metropolitan jurisdiction at the erection of the province of Magdeburg.¹⁸ What mattered most to Otto I and Otto II, however, was the attitude of the diocesan at Regensburg, where Bishop Michael had early opposed the plan; just as what had mattered to Otto I most over the foundation of Magdeburg from 961 on was the obstruction of Bishop Bernhard of Halberstadt, its diocesan. As it had been important for Otto I to take special steps to square Hildward over Magdeburg when he succeeded Bernhard at Halberstadt in 968, so the place where he needed most to forestall trouble over Prague was its diocesan centre of Regensburg. This he did by appointing the low-born Wolfgang there with an unusually strong royal intervention in 972.¹⁹ Wolfgang, whose appointment was not to everyone's taste in the diocese, had studied at Einsiedeln, whose close connection to the Saxon house was long ago demonstrated by Hagen Keller. What is more he had been a protégé of Henry of Trier, a *propinquus* of

¹³ Vlasto, *Entry of the Slavs* 94; Cosmas, *Chronica*, ed. Bretholz 37, note 1, and 38; Francis Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (London 1949) 25.

¹⁴ Gumpold, *Vita Vencezlavi Ducis* 15, ed. Pertz 219.

¹⁵ Cosmas, *Chronica* 38, 1, 29 (ed. Bertold Bretholz, *MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol.* NS 2, Berlin 1955) 38f.; Widukind, *Res gestae* II, 3, ed. Lohmann/Hirsch 68f. and *ibid.* III, 8, ed. Lohmann/Hirsch 108f.

¹⁶ Widukind, *Res gestae* III, 44, ed. Lohmann/Hirsch 125; *Europas Mitte um 1000*, 3. Katalog, ed. Alfried Wieczorek/Hans-Martin Hinz (Stuttgart 2000) 290; Josef Žemlička, *Die Přemysliden und Böhmen*, in: *ibid.* 1, 431.

¹⁷ Cosmas, *Chronica* I, 22, ed. Bretholz 43. Given this, the plan for a bishopric was presumably mooted at Otto I's great Hoftag at Quedlinburg in March 972, at which Boleslav II was present (Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* II, 31 [ed. Friedrich Kurze, *MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol.* NS 9, Hannover 1889] 76). For Boris of Bulgaria in the ninth-century, see, e.g. Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge 1948) 112f.

¹⁸ E.g. Ernst-Dieter Hehl, *Die heiligen Mauritius, Laurentius, Ulrich und Veit*, in: *Europas Mitte um 1000*, 2: *Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, ed. Alfried Wieczorek/Hans-Martin Hinz (Stuttgart 2000) 896; Johannes Laudage, *Otto der Große: eine Biographie* (Regensburg 2001) 214.

¹⁹ Othloh of St Emmeram, *Vita Sancti Wolfgangi Episcopi* IV, 14 (ed. Georg Waitz, *MGH SS* 4, Hannover 1841) 521–542, here 531 and *ibid.* IV, 21, 535.

Otto.²⁰ None of this meant, of course, that Regensburg's cultural influence on Prague was stopped up.

My conclusion so far is that the tensions which existed between the Saxons and the Bavarians over the domination of Bohemia, not constantly but significantly, during much of the tenth century, gave space to the church of Prague to develop its own identity, at least to some extent.

One fact above all might at first sight suggest that amidst these tensions, the Saxon bid for domination over the church of Prague was the more successful one. It involved a characteristic expression of domination in that time – the successful establishing of a saint's cult of particularist importance in a subordinate church. Prague cathedral was, and is, dedicated not to the Slav, Wenceslas, but to the Roman boy martyr, Vitus. The cult of St Vitus was big in Saxony, where its pre-eminent Saxon centre was the monastery of Corvey. The Saxon historian, Widukind, a monk of Corvey, wrote of the translation of the relics of St Vitus from Corbie to Corvey in the ninth century: From that time, he said, the fortunes of the West Frankish kingdom had waned and those of the East Frankish (later German) kingdom had waxed.²¹ It is as if he thought that political *virtus* had passed with St Vitus from West to East. So why not try the same thing again, not by abandoning the cult in Saxony, but by extending it, with a portion of the relics, from Corvey to Prague? Yet what appears at first sight like an outright politico-cultic victory for the Saxons, was not at all outright. The cult of St Vitus, though not so concentrated at one important centre in Bavaria as it was in Saxony, became widespread amongst the Bavarians during the ninth and tenth centuries.²² This means that Vitus was in no sense a foreigner to the Bavarians, and that there was a wide base for his acceptance in Prague which by no means excluded these.²³

Indeed we can become altogether too political about ecclesiastical politics. I blush for shame now to have written of the translation of St Vitus's relics from Corvey to Prague that it was 'a point scored by the Saxons', as if one had only to get the relics, like a football, through the defence of the opposition into the goal and a political point was automatically scored. This is to leave out the whole consensual or reciprocal character of such a translation if a new cult were to work out, the whole idea of a translation being as much the result of a dialogue or a community of interest as of an imposition. Patrick Geary has pointed out that in the case of relic thefts, one common kind of justification for theft was appealing to the good of the community to which the relic was translated.²⁴ Then how could the same appeal have been absent from the discussion of a non-thieving translation? So the question was what good would St Vitus do Prague?

We catch a glimpse of the reciprocity between Corvey and Prague in how Thietmar, the first bishop of Prague and almost certainly a monk of Corvey, was perceived in the traditions handed down to Cosmas. Thietmar, a man of learning and eloquence had previously come to Prague to pray; he had come to the notice of Duke Boleslav II and ac-

²⁰ Hagen Keller, *Kloster Einsiedeln im ottonischen Schwaben*, in: *Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte* 13 (Freiburg im Breisgau 1964) 16–45, and on Otto I. esp. 37–45.

²¹ Widukind, *Res gestae* I, 34, ed. Lohmann/Hirsch 48. For the wider context, Helmut Beumann, *Die Bedeutung Lotharingens für die ottonische Missionspolitik im Osten*, in: id., *Wissenschaft vom Mittelalter* (Köln 1972) 377–409.

²² Romuald Bauerreiss, *Kirchengeschichte Bayerns* 1 (St. Ottilien 1949) 102, 142–144; cf. 138, note 2.

²³ Bernd Schneidmüller has pointed out to me that the Hemma, wife of Boleslav II, depicted in the frontispiece of the Wolfenbüttel Life of Wenceslas, was the daughter of Lothar, king of the Regnum Italicum, and of Adelheid who subsequently married Otto I, which again in another way widens the perspective in which Bohemia and its participation in the imperial world can be seen. For this theme, subtly discussed, Graus, *Böhmen* 169–196, esp. 176f.

²⁴ Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton 1978) 139f.

quired quickly his great favour and friendship; he knew the Slav language perfectly; hence Boleslav secured with the Emperor his election to the episcopate.²⁵ We have here, therefore, three elements of reciprocity in the cult – unity in prayer, in friendship, and in language. Incidentally knowledge of the Slavonic language is not seen here as a Bavarian monopoly.²⁶ Another element of the reciprocity is observable in Gumpold. Gumpold's merit is that he sought to validate Saxon authority in Bohemia not by projecting the cult of St Vitus onto it, but by intertwining the cults of Vitus and Wenceslas. Moreover, the relics of Vitus appear to have travelled not just as an agent or a symbol of Saxon power, but also as the remains of an early Roman boy who stood up for the worship of Christ rather than idols. And when one thinks of Spytiñev's church of St Peter at Budeč, Wenceslas's intention to journey to Rome and have himself made a monk and priest by the pope, and even Boleslav's church of Sts Cosmas and Damian,²⁷ one sees that devotion to Rome was a feature of early Bohemian as of early Polish Christianity independently of any Saxon influence. There was a Latin *Vita*, or *Passio*, of St Vitus already when Abbot Fulrad brought the relics of the saint to St Denis in the eighth century.²⁸ This was in line with Charlemagne's canon at the later Synod of Frankfurt (794) which forbade the cults of saints except those "deservedly chosen on the basis of their lives or passions."²⁹ In other words, moral example, not superstitious magic was supposed to be the substratum of cults. This Life of St Vitus had been translated into Slavonic, probably at Prague itself (or in Saxony or Bavaria for Prague) – we have only a *terminus ad quem* – by the third quarter of the eleventh century.³⁰

My final point concerns the earliest surviving manuscript of Gumpold, now in Wolfenbüttel. It contains three lively illustrations: first a bearded Christ in bust crowns Wenceslas while Hemma, widow of Boleslav II., prostrates herself at the feet of the saint (Fig. 1). Hemma died in 1006, which gives us the latest date for the manuscript, since there is an inscription which shows her still alive. Next Wenceslas feasts with his brother on the occasion of the latter's abortive assassination attempt. Finally Wenceslas is ambushed by Boleslav on his way to church, in the doorway of which stands a perfidious priest about to close the door (Fig. 2).

There is no doubt that this booklet was commissioned from Prague. But where was it made? Previously Prague was considered the answer.³¹ But Gerd Bauer, followed by Ulrich Kuder, has argued for Hildesheim.³² The trouble here is that Bauer would like

²⁵ Cosmas, *Chronica* I, 23, ed. Bretholz 44f.

²⁶ Christian Lübke, *Die Erweiterung des östlichen Horizonts: Der Eintritt der Slawen in der europäischen Geschichte im 10. Jahrhundert*, in: *Ottonische Neuanfänge*, ed. Bernd Schneidmüller/Stefan Weinfurter (Mainz 2001) 113–126, on the connections of Bohemia with Poland; and František Graus, *Böhmen 176*, on the Poles and Czechs hardly being separated from each other by language, help to make this intelligible.

²⁷ Christian, *Vita Wenceslai*, ed. Ludvikovsky 28–30; Gumpold, *Vita Vencezlavi Ducis* 16, ed. Pertz 219; Christian, *Vita Wenceslai*, ed. Ludvikovsky 68–70.

²⁸ Widukind, *Res gestae* I, 34, ed. Lohmann/Hirsch 48: *Roman veniens quidam Fulradus nomine, et ibi gesta legens, preciosi martyris notavit locum sepulcri*.

²⁹ Synod of Frankfurt (794) 42 (ed. Alfred Boretius, *MGH Capitularia regum Francorum* I, Hannover 1883) 73–78, here 77.

³⁰ Vlasto, *Entry of the Slavs* 291.

³¹ The manuscript is Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Guelph 11, 2 Aug. 4. The inscription on the frontispiece, fol. 18v, shows that it was commissioned from Prague: *Hunc libellum Hemma Venerabilis principissa pro remedio anime sue in honorem beati Wenzeslavi fieri iussit*. Ascription to Prague, e.g. Wolfgang Milde, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel* (Frankfurt 1972) 64.

³² Gerd Bauer, 'Neue' Bernward-Handschriften, in: *Bernwardinische Kunst*, ed. Martin Gosebruch/Frank Steigerwald (Göttingen 1988) 211–235; Ulrich Kuder, in: *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen 2* (Mainz 1993) 417–418. These are followed by Martina Pippal, *Ausstrahlung süddeutscher Skriptorien in die östlich und nördlich benachbarten Skriptorien*, in: *Europas Mitte um 1000*, ed. Alfred Wicz-

everything possible to be Hildesheim; while Kuder would like everything possible to be different from what it was before. I have studied Bauer's arguments and have been more interested than convinced by them. One difficulty with them is that the more striking Hildesheim 'symptoms' (mostly derived from Regensburg), which are said to be in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, appear at Hildesheim only a decade after that manuscript was made.³³ Another is that the ornamental features said to be found in North Germany by c. 1000 could easily be explained as Corvey influence rather than as Hildesheim location.³⁴ The more I look at this manuscript, the more primarily Regensburg it looks. At this time, the bearded Christ most likely will have come from a Regensburg exemplar. The tiled backgrounds are a Regensburg feature, though by c. 1000 they are also featured in Corvey art (Fig. 2).³⁵ The figural style does not remind me particularly of Hildesheim for the most part;³⁶ and the foliate initials are closer to Corvey than anything at Regensburg (Bauer's own opinion).³⁷ One telling point for Prague is that the perfidious priest does not figure in the narrative of Gumpold, which is supposedly being illustrated, but only in the Regensburger Christian.³⁸

When Thieddag became the third bishop of Prague in 997, Corvey art was still clearly superior to anything known at Hildesheim. And as Thieddag had certainly been a monk of Corvey,³⁹ he might well have brought with him a Corvey artist (some Ottonian artists are known to have been peripatetic) and very probably a text of Gumpold. The likeliest scenario to explain our manuscript, therefore, is either that a Regensburg and a Corvey artist worked collaboratively on a Corvey text, or that a Regensburg artist worked on it also using Corvey motifs. The likeliest place, though admittedly not the only possible place, for this would have been Prague. In any case the book, commissioned by Hemma, represents a fine synthesis of Bavarian and Saxon culture, and a seamless synthesis at that. Such is the nearest we can get to the early identity of the Prague Church in book art.

rek/Hans-Martin Hinz (Stuttgart 2000) 849–850. Franz and Margarita Machilek are more wary and suggest an artist schooled in Hildesheim working in Prague, *ibid.* 890; to me, this seems to be a much stronger line of argument. Marie Kostilkova does not follow Bauer and Kuder in the *Katalog of Europas Mitte* (see below) 280f.

³³ E.g. the Wellenranke of the first two Zierseiten of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, fol. 19r and 20v, illustrated in Marlis Stähli/Helmar Härtel, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz zu Hildesheim* (Wiesbaden 1984) 66 (from Sacramentary of 1014) and 84, 92 (Guntbald-Evangeliar of 1011). The scribes of both these manuscripts were Regensburg-trained, see Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich* (MGH Schriften 30, 1, Stuttgart 1986) 285–289.

³⁴ Blattranken similar to Corvey e.g. Pierpont Morgan Library 755, fol. 17v; and comparison with gold letters made to Helmstedt 426, though this is certainly Corvey (Hoffmann, *Buchkunst* 129).

³⁵ E.g. Bamberg, Dombibliothek Ms. Lit. 142, fol. 58v: Book of Monastic Rules from Niedermünster, Regensburg, c. 990, see Florentine Mutherich/Karl Dachs, *Regensburger Buchmalerei von frühkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. Ausstellung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (München 1987) 31 and Tafel 3.

³⁶ In fact it most reminds me of a ninth-century Epistolary, Clm 14345, made in Rheinhessen, which came at some stage to Regensburg. Compare Fig. 3 with Figs. 1 and 2.

³⁷ See note 34 above.

³⁸ Christian, *Vita Wenceslai* 7, ed. Ludikovsky 68–70. This is a reason why the Machileks (see note 32 above) would, very reasonably, prefer to think of the artist, even if schooled in Hildesheim (where I do not follow Bauer), working in Prague. Marie Kostilkova, as in note 32 above, points out that the manuscript is linked to Slav circles by the phonetic transcription of the personal names.

³⁹ Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* VI, 12, ed. Kurze 291; *ibid.* VII, 56, ed. Kurze 468. Thieddag spoke Slav perfectly according to Cosmas, *Chronica* I, 31, ed. Bretholz 56.

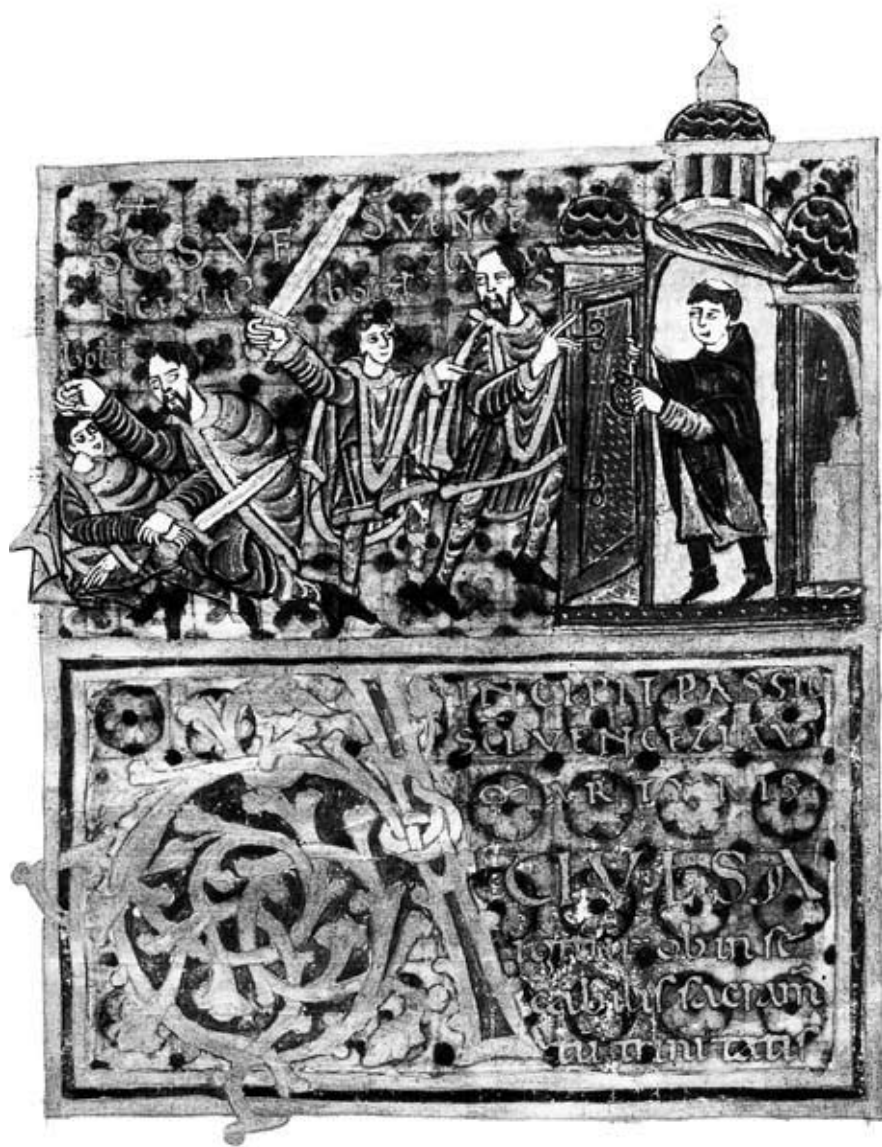


Fig. 2: Wenceslas is ambushed by Boleslav I on his way to church
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., Hs 11.2.Aug.4^{to}, fol. 21r
 Probably Prague before 1006

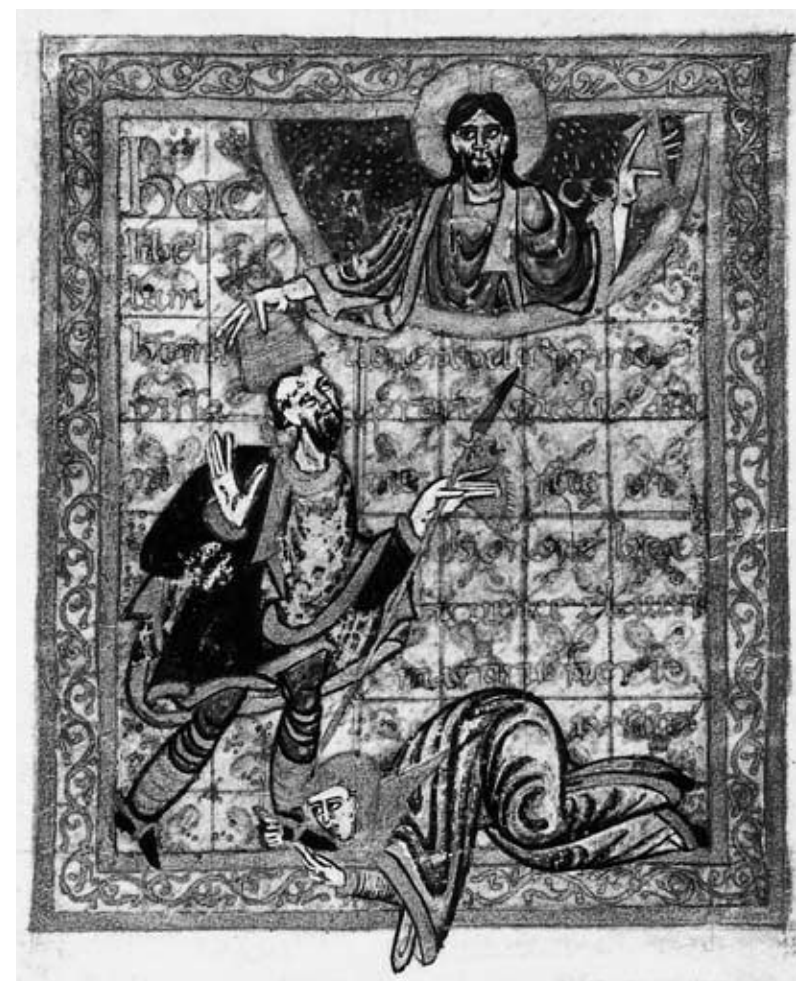


Fig. 1: Christ crowns Wenceslas while Hemma, widow of Boleslav II of
 Bohemia, prostrates herself at Wenceslas's feet
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., Hs 11.2.Aug.4^{to}, fol. 18v
 Probably Prague before 1006

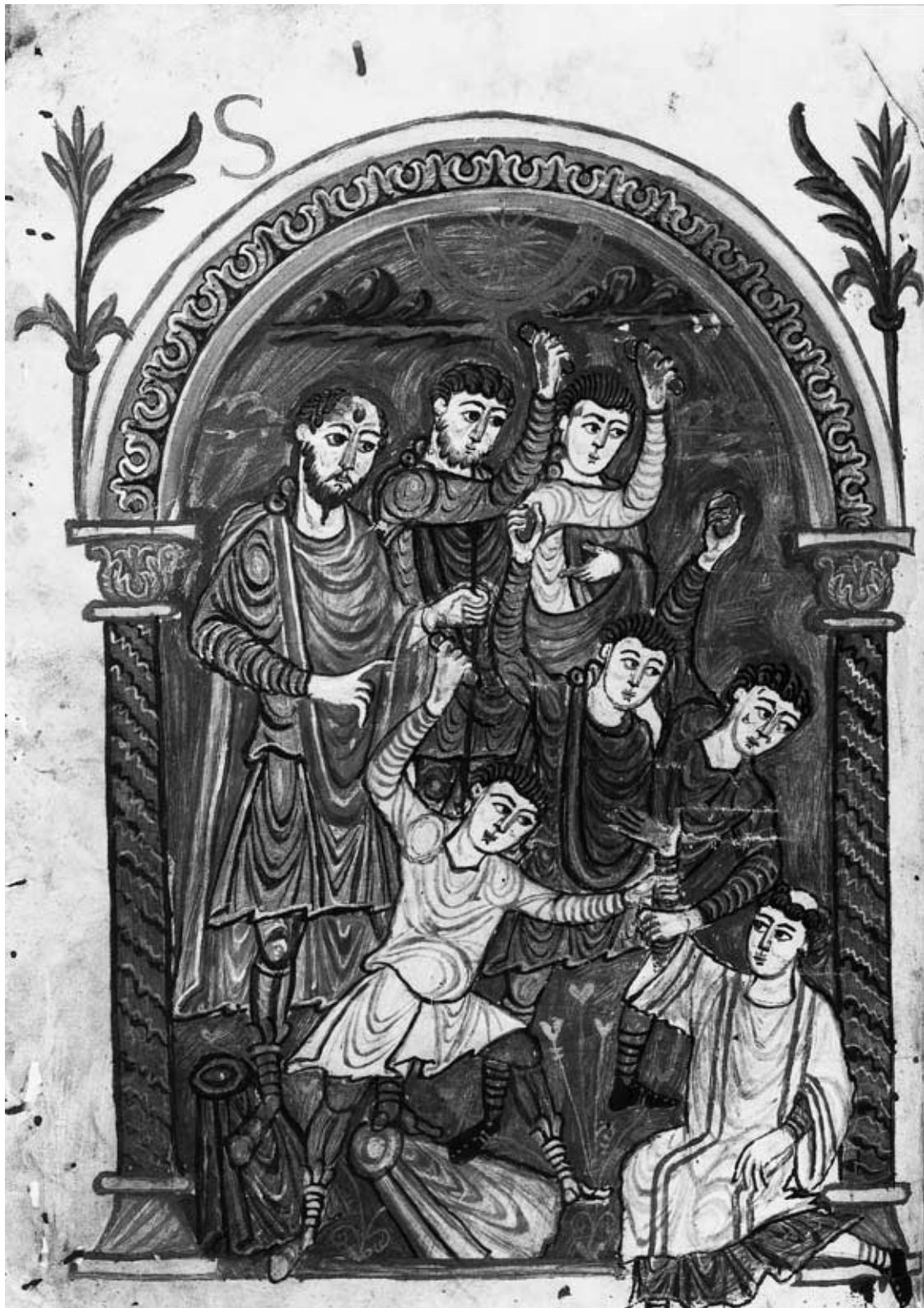


Fig. 3: Martyrdom of Stephen
München, BSB, Clm 14345, fol. 1v
Rheinhausen (provenance Regensburg), ninth century