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KOSMAS900

THE
CHRONICLE
IN TIME

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MEDIEVAL LEARNING

The medieval system of education formally professed continuity with the traditions of Late Antiquity, but it was based on different methods of teaching and on a different content of the main subjects. a change in writing material was also of great importance. Papyrus scrolls were replaced by costly yet practically indestructible parchment codices, which allowed texts to be handled and commented on over longer periods of time.

It must also be noted that the school curriculum became dominated by memorisation of quotations. Vocabulary and style were valued more highly than the substance of the message. Education followed the encyclopaedia of Martianus Capella, which from the 5th century onwards defined the seven liberal arts (*septem artes liberales*). At its foundation was grammar, in which pupils were taught how to speak and write correctly. Together with rhetoric, where the composition of documents and letters was studied, and dialectic, the teaching of the formal procedures of thought and argumentation, this formed the

trivium. The remaining disciplines – arithmetic, geometry, astronomy (much favoured among scholars), and music – were taught in the quadrivium.

Knowledge was passed on from the simple to the more complex. In grammar the teaching began with the alphabet, then continued with exercises in pronunciation, and commentary on proverbs, quotations from Scripture, extracts from the lives of the Church Fathers, psalms, and the works of the ancient classics. All this was bound together by the emphasis placed on eloquence. Schools therefore began to compile aids (*florilegia*). One of them, a handbook entitled *Fecunda ratis* (“The Richly Laden Ship”), could also have been encountered by Cosmas in Liège. It is not impossible that it was precisely from here that he drew the quotations with which he enlivened and embellished his chronicle.

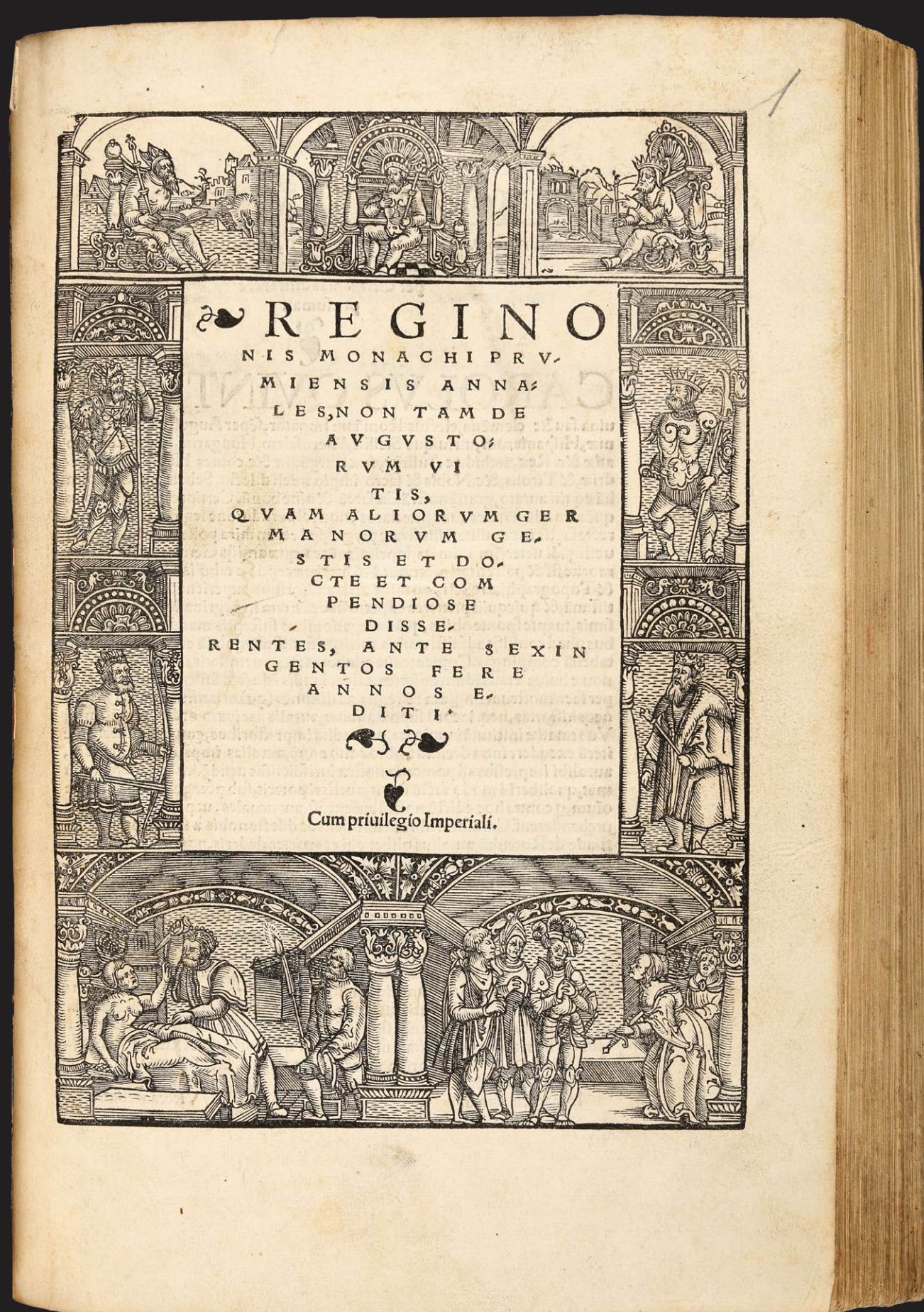
Cathedral schools soon began to specialise: while teaching in Paris concentrated on philosophical and theological thought, the school of St Lambert in Liège, which maintained friendly ties with the chapter of St Vitus at Prague Castle, developed literary education

instead. To study in Liège, however, was not easy. Pupils had to be recommended and provided with money.



An excerpt from the most famous work of the early Middle Ages, allegorically presenting the encyclopaedic compendium of knowledge of the time.

Martianus Capella, *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, Italy (?), 10th century. BnF, Manuscripts, Latin 7900 A, fol. 127v. Source: Wikipedia.org.



Cosmas' greatest model when writing the *Chronicle of the Czechs* was Regino of Prüm, an East Frankish chronicler of the second half of the ninth and early tenth century. He most probably first encountered his text during his studies in Liège.

Regino of Prüm, *Annales...*, Mainz: Ioannis Schoeffer, 1521. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 14 a 62/ad1.1.

HISTORICAL WRITING

Historical works in the Middle Ages were created in the effort to understand chains of causes and effects and to approach the essence of God's plan. At the same time, however, they also served the pragmatic need to determine the date of Easter and to keep record of the pious donations of benefactors and patrons. History was not considered an independent discipline and was taught in the framework of other subjects. Particularly widespread were simple annalistic records arranged year by year, intended to recall the deeds of the mighty. Greatest popularity, however, was enjoyed by chronicles, by which were understood treatises divided into chapters and books. Their thematic range extended from the universal history of Christendom, through the stories of nations, to the fortunes of ecclesiastical institutions, monasteries, and bishoprics.

The historiography of the medieval West followed the customs of Late Antiquity, from which it adopted the chronological scheme and the division of history into six ages of

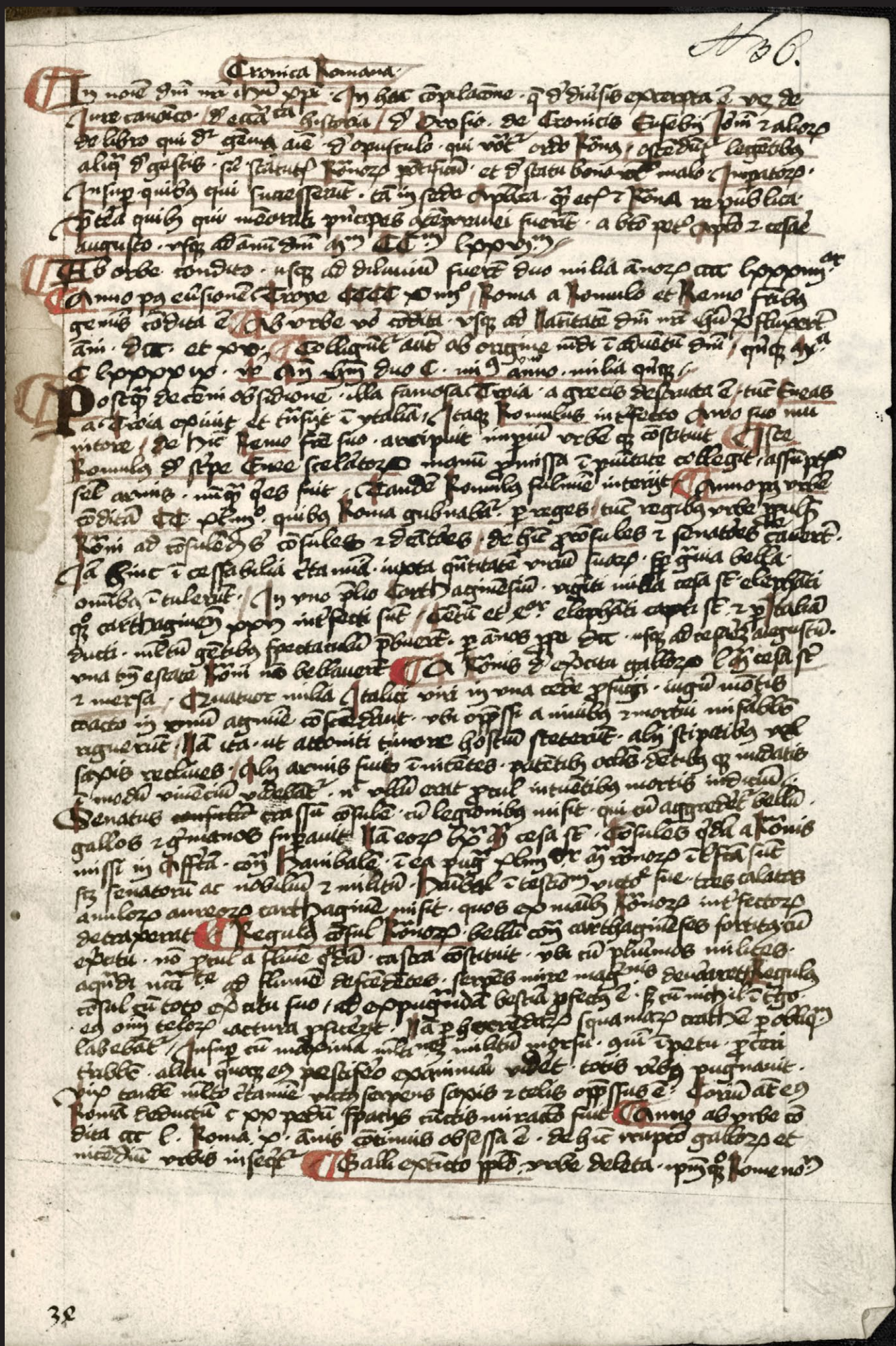
the world, or according to four successive empires. The teaching of six epochs ending with the Apocalypse and of four empires had its model in Scripture. Only the definition of the individual ages and the sequence of the empires changed. The biblical four – the Assyrian, Median, Persian, and Macedonian empires – were gradually replaced by powers of contemporary relevance. Otto of Freising (†1158), a younger contemporary of Cosmas, dean of St Vitus (†1125), began his reckoning with the Persian Empire, after which came the fall of the Greeks and Romans; by the beginning of the twelfth century, in Otto's view, the time of the Franks had begun to be fulfilled.

The boundaries between genres were regularly blurred. Cosmas could copy from the world chronicle of Regino of Prüm (†915), even though he himself narrated the story of the nation, the political community of the Czechs (*gens Bohemavorum*), in which, in the spirit of contemporary rules, he placed the beauty of words above the accuracy of the account.



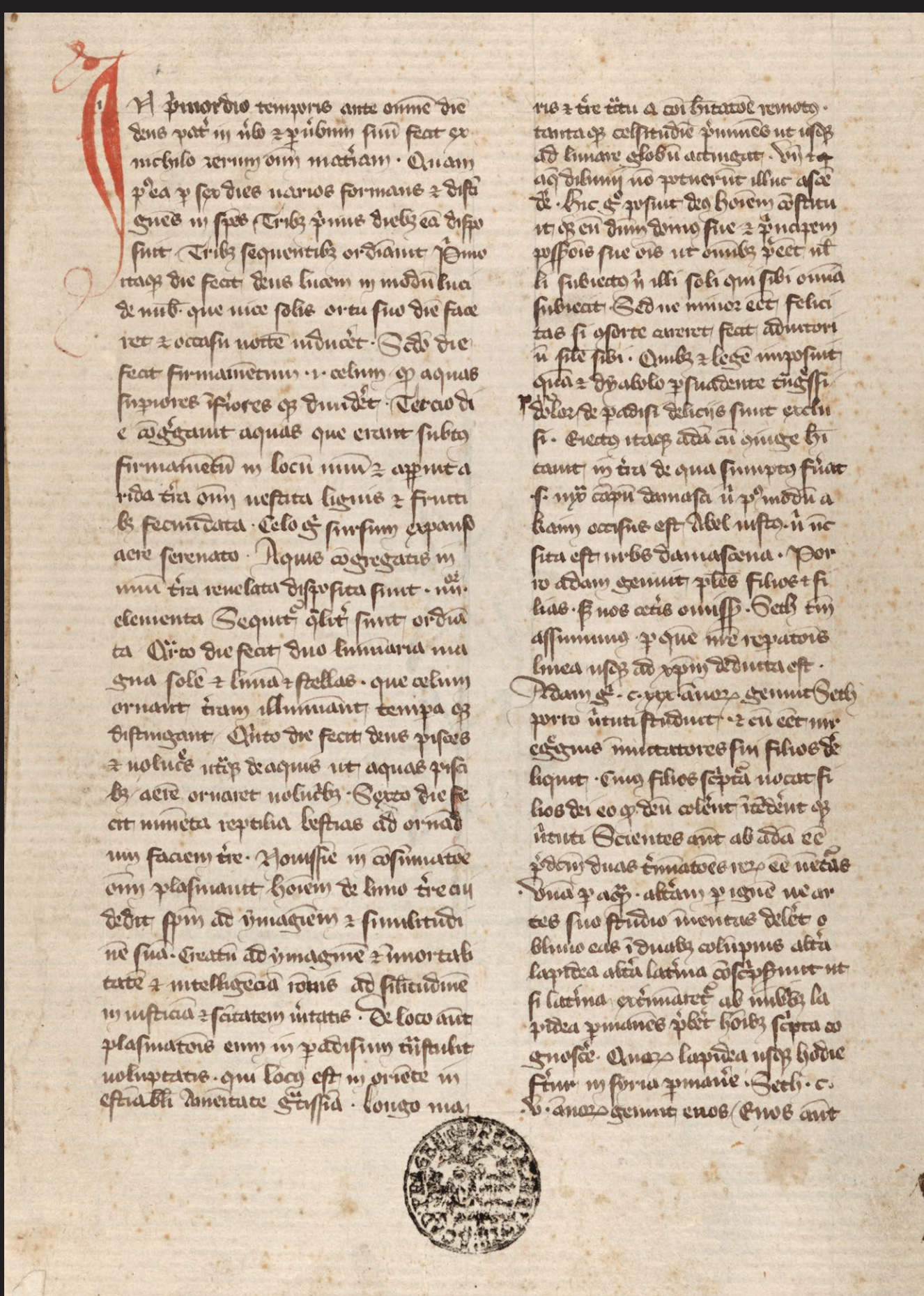
Cosmas' Chronicle describes the Czech land as "a country encircled by mountains, which in a marvellous way extend around the whole land, so that at first sight it appears as though a single continuous mountain range surrounded and protected the whole country." The land is shown in this way also in early modern maps.

Claudius Ptolemy, *Geographia Universalis*, Basel 1542. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 5 H 31, pp. 288–289.



Chronicles remained an immensely popular genre throughout the Middle Ages. The so-called Little Chronicle of the Erfurt Minorite is an anonymous world chronicle of the second half of the thirteenth century. It is not a very original compilation, taking the story from the Creation of the World to the year 1265.

Chronica minoritae Erfordensis, Silesia + Bohemia, 15th century. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark XI C 1, fol. 363r.



The chronicle of Martin of Opava (+1279), Dominican friar and papal confessor, is probably the most widely disseminated historiographical text of the Middle Ages. It presents parallel histories of ecclesiastical and secular power from Jesus Christ and the Emperor Augustus onwards.

Martin of Opava, Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum, Bohemia?, mid-14th century. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark VIII E 18, fol. 3r.

THE CHAPTER OF PRAGUE

Let us begin with Cosmas himself. He was born in 1045 and most likely grew up in the community of canons of the chapter of St Vitus at Prague Castle. This community consisted of priests gathered around the church, under the leadership of a dean or provost. It was a closely knit and friendly circle, perhaps bound also by family ties. Cosmas himself had a companion, Božetěcha, and at least one child, a son named Henry.

Under Bishop Jaromír/Gebhard of Prague (1068–1090) the chapter underwent a significant transformation. Through the efforts of Provost Mark, who had come to Prague from the Empire and was reputed for his learning, the canons gained permanent income and dignified vestments. At the beginning of the 11th century the chapter had twenty-five canons and ranked among the foremost centres of education in the land. The knowledge gained there moreover enabled Cosmas

to travel to Liège, where he was to practise grammar and dialectic.

Cosmas' fellow canons did not find a place in the story of the Czechs, and so we know little about them. The chronicler considered it appropriate to mention only Gervasius, his predecessor as dean, Provost Mark, and the ill-famed canon Osel, called Asinus (Ozzel qie et Asinus), who stood surety for the false bishop Robert. There is no indication, however, that Cosmas looked down on his brethren or that he lacked good standing among the canons. In the spring of 1110 Cosmas succeeded in persuading Otto II, the Olomouc appanage prince, to grant the chapter the right to a tithe from the market in the village of Sekyřkostel, and towards the close of his life he was elected head of the chapter.



A depiction of Liège, where Cosmas studied, from the work of Georg Braun. The engraving is by Joris Hoefnagel.

Georg Braun, *Civitates orbis terrarum*. Liber primus. Cologne: Gottfried Kempfen, 1593. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 19 a 13/T1.

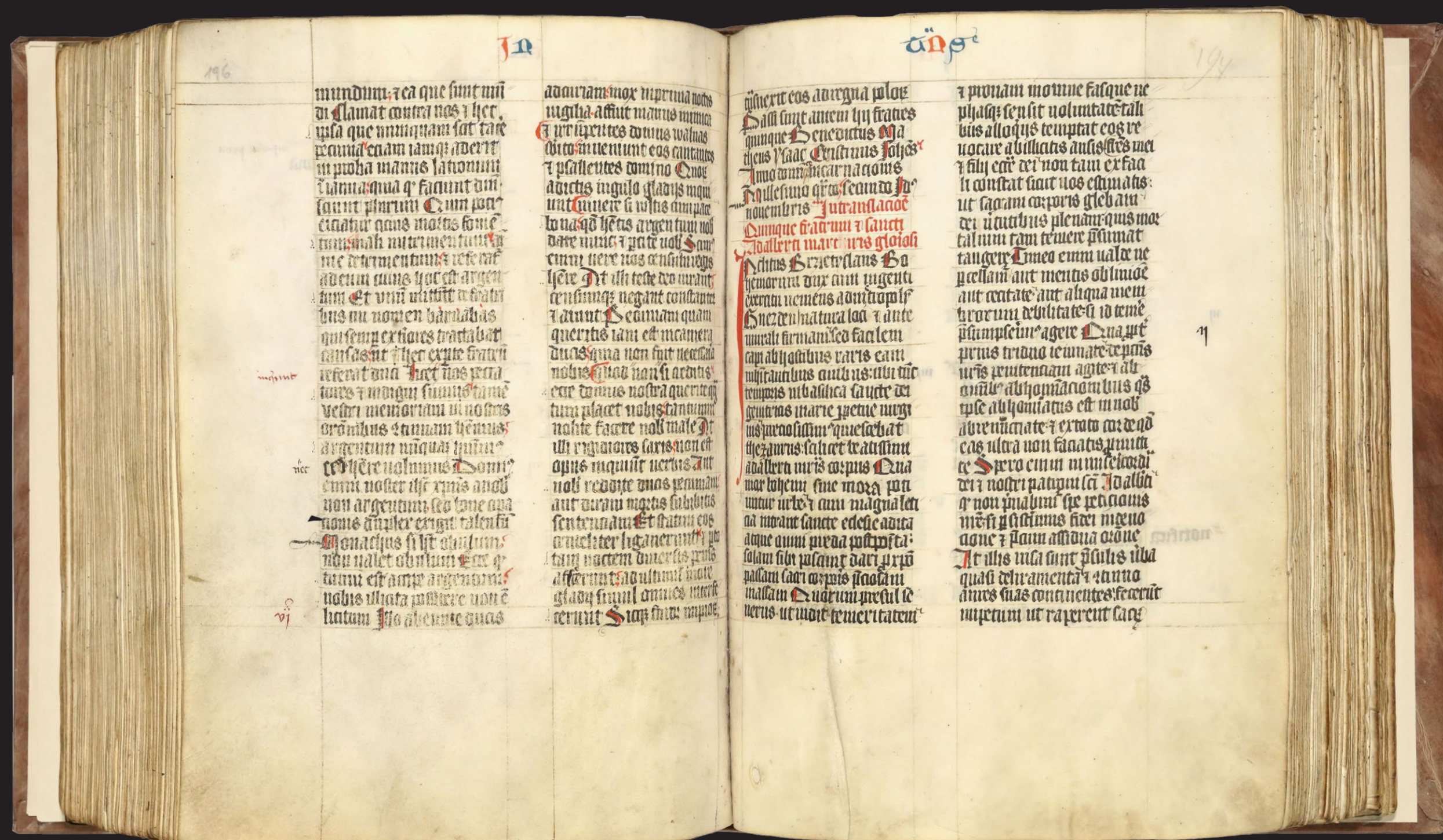
THE LIBRARY OF THE CHRONICLER

Cosmas prided himself on refinement of style, and in a moving recollection at the end of the third book he hinted to his readers that he owed much to Liège, where the famous master Frank was active and where Cosmas perfected his grammar and dialectic. The scope of his knowledge, however, has not yet been satisfactorily defined. It is assumed that Cosmas helped himself with skilful borrowings from simplified handbooks, perhaps the florilegium *Fecunda ratis* (“The Richly Laden Ship”), compiled for the teaching of the trivium by the Liège master Egbert. This possibility remains conjecture, unlike the world chronicle of Regino of Prüm (†915), which Cosmas consulted with such regularity that 19th-century historians declared him a plagiarist. It should be said at once that this was unfounded: Cosmas treated his sources fully in accordance with the rules of his time.

Cosmas described St Adalbert as his co-author, and into his chronicle he also incorporated Adalbertine legends. He was likewise well

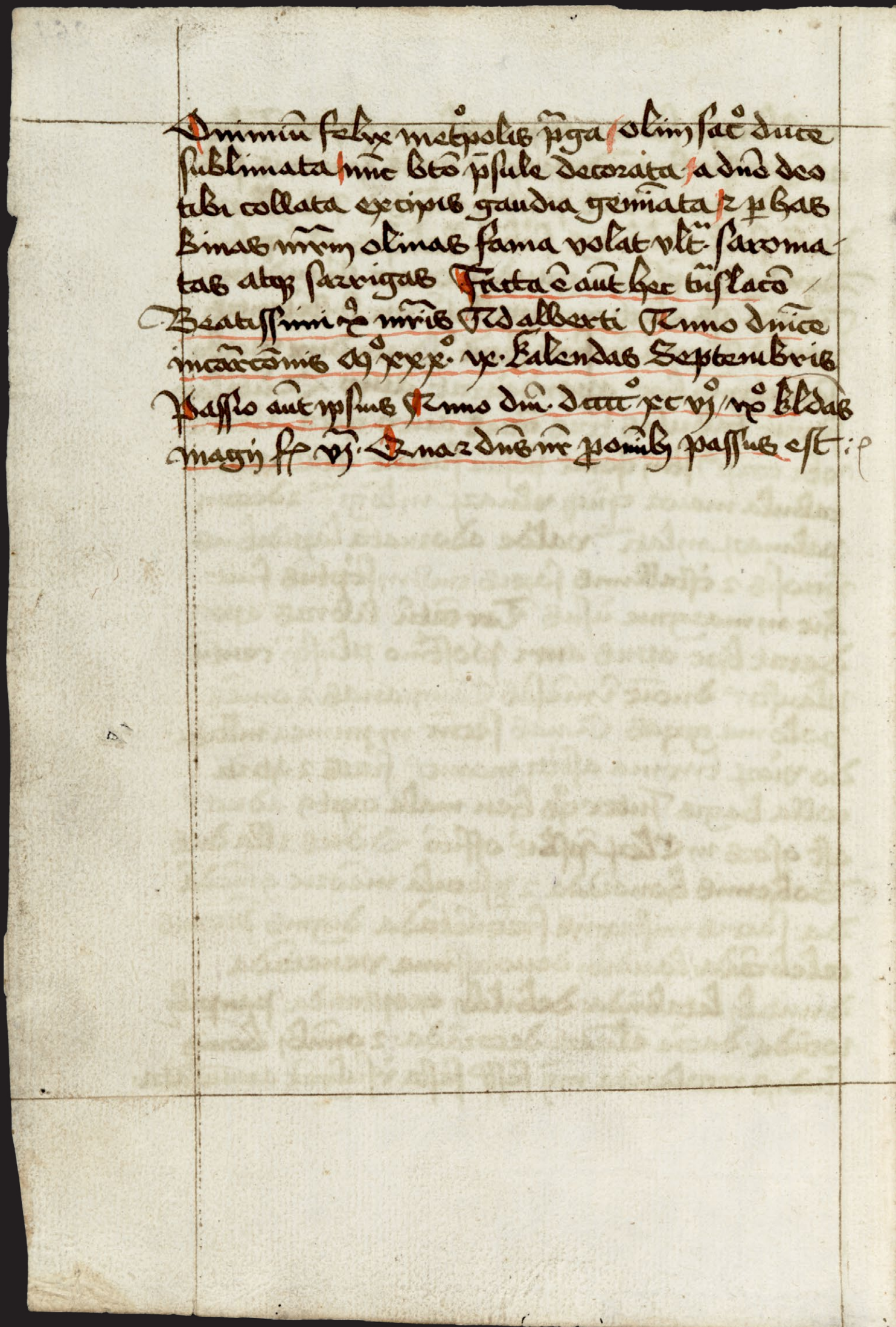
acquainted with the Life of St Lambert and probably with a number of other works, but of his textual sources he explicitly mentioned only the privilege of the Moravian Church, the “epilogue of that same land and of Bohemia”, and the Life and Passion of St Wenceslas.

By the “privilege of the Moravian Church” (*privilegium Moraviensis ecclesie*) Cosmas may have meant one of the papal letters regulating the relationship between the Latin and Slavonic liturgies. The “epilogue of Moravia and Bohemia” (*epilogus eiusdem terre atque Boemie*) may have been an excerpt from the Life of St Wenceslas, perhaps the opening chapters of *Legenda Christiani*. The subsequent work mentioned by Cosmas (*vita vel passione sanctissimi nostri patroni et martyris Wencezlai*) must then have referred to another legend, possibly the *Crescente fide* or the work of Gumpold, bishop of Mantua, given the stylistic and factual parallels.



Stories reworked by Cosmas, which many later medieval authors adopted without further context, include above all the *legend* of the Holy Five Brothers and Cosmas' account of the translation of the body of St Adalbert. On the folios shown here we see the close of the first and the beginning of the second legend.

Vitae sanctorum, Bohemia, late 14th century. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark XIII D 20, fols. 196v–197r.



An example of the use of Cosmas' version of the story of the translation of the body of St Adalbert. To Cosmas' text is here added an inaccurate dating of Adalbert's martyrdom.

[Collection of legends – Sermones, opera polemica, legendae], Silesia + Bohemia, mid-15th century. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelf-mark XIX C 49, fol. 259v.

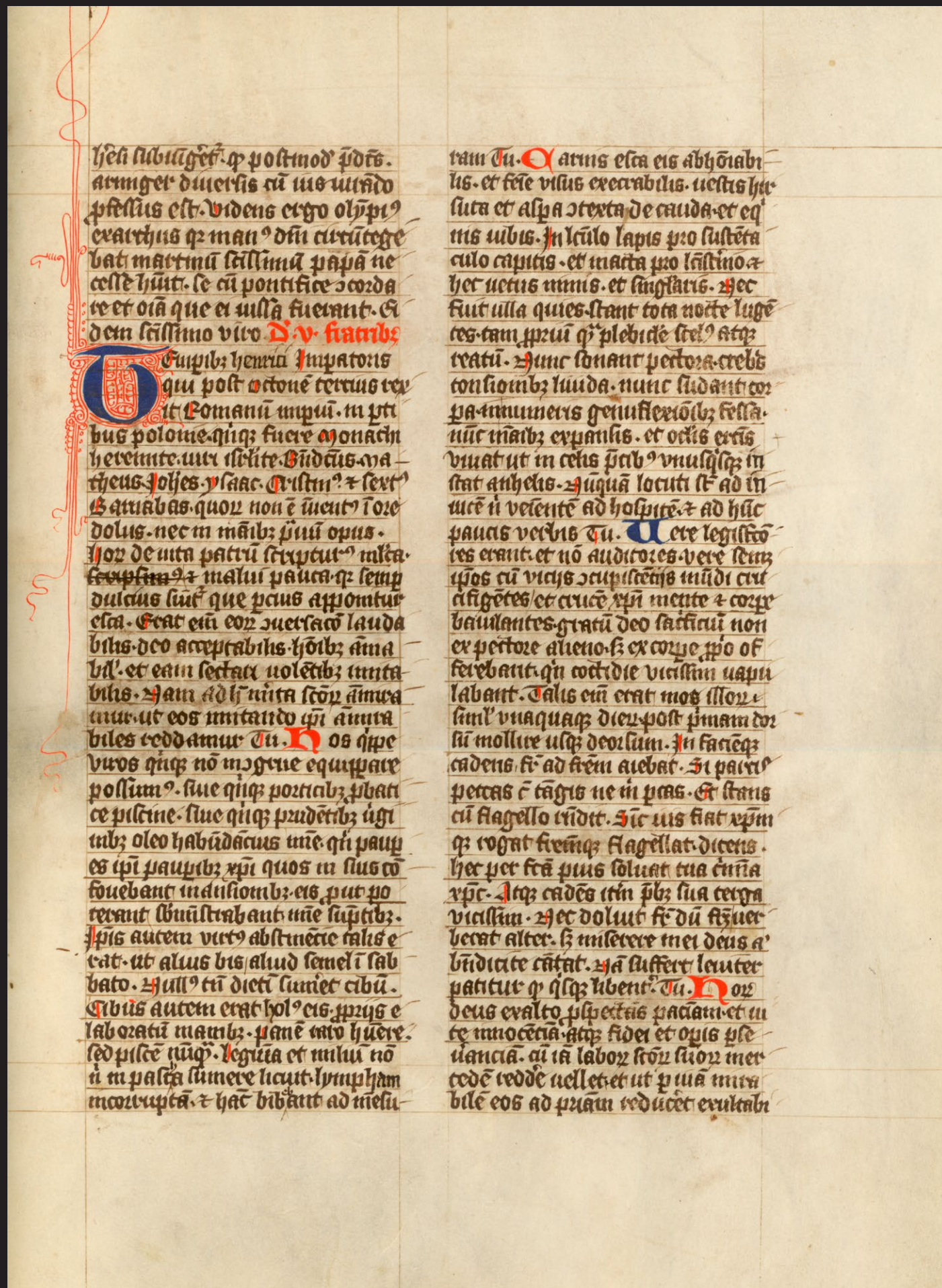
THE GENESIS OF THE CHRONICLE

Cosmas does not state directly when he began to write, but the origin of his chronicle can be dated by a letter he addressed to his friend, Master Gervasius. In it he noted, among other things, that he worked on the first book during the reign of Emperor Henry IV and the pontificate of Pope Calixtus II, at the time of Duke Vladislav I and Bishop Hermann of Prague. Since Calixtus was elected pope in 1119 and Bishop Hermann died in 1122, Cosmas must have taken up the pen between 1119 and 1122.

More complex than dating the text is the question of whether Cosmas' Chronicle should be approached as an ideologically unified whole. This is connected with the question of its structure, for the original manuscript has not survived. The extant manuscripts are only later copies, and their content differs in places. Most copies contain three books, which would suggest that the author's design was defined in this way. Yet Cosmas closed the

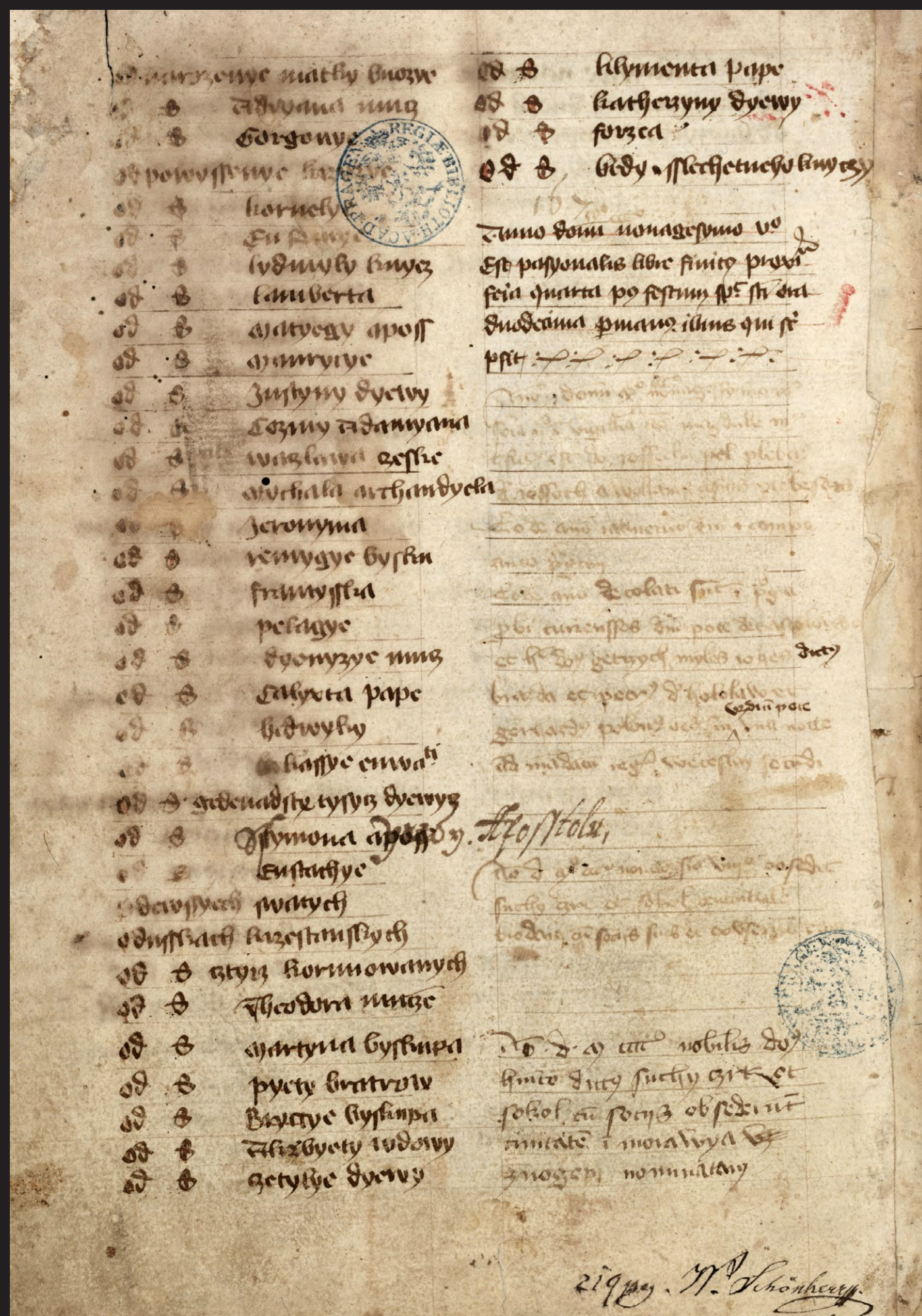
second book with a prayer and a distich bidding farewell to the reader (*lector amice, valet* – “Farewell, dear reader!”). In the preface to the third book he confessed that he had considered his work completed. Both of these facts admit the possibility that the chronicle was originally to consist of two books, and that the third was an enforced addition, perhaps at the urging of his friends. Today Cosmas’ Chronicle is regarded as a unified work consisting of three books.

The first book recounts the story of the Czechs from the Flood and the Confusion of Tongues, through the emergence of a politically active community (*gens*), down to the election of Duke Břetislav I in 1038 – correctly, 1035. The second was devoted to the rule of Duke Břetislav and his sons, and closed with the elevation of Břetislav II in 1092. Finally, in the third book Cosmas followed the deeds of the duke’s sons, from Vratislav’s accession as king in 1085/1086 through the years 1092–1125.



In a vast hagiographical compilation, based among other things on Jacobus de Voragine's Golden Legend, we also find Cosmas' version of the Legend of the Holy Five Brothers – Polish hermits who were martyred.

Vitae sanctorum, Bohemia, late 14th century. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark XIV a 7, fol. 349r.



One of the oldest manuscripts of the Czech translation of the Golden Legend (Legenda aurea), a landmark of medieval Czech literature. It is a Bohemian collection of saints' lives translated in the late 1350s–1360s into Old Czech. On the folio shown here, fourth from the bottom in the first column, Cosmas' Legend of the Holy Five Brothers is recorded.

Klementinum Passionary (older), Bohemia, 1395. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark XVII C 52, fol. 267v.

THE MEANING OF CZECH HISTORY

Although the Chronicle of the Czechs consists of three books, attention should be drawn to the fact that at the close of the second book Cosmas referred back to an exposition placed at the beginning of the first. There he traced the story of the Czechs from the Flood and their arrival in an uninhabited land, through a golden age without property or judges, down to the election of the first duke, the legendary ploughman Přemysl.

According to Cosmas, the first Czechs lived in poverty, but in time they began to desire property, whereupon the age of blessedness came to an end and the time of judges began. After the death of the judge Krok, the people entrusted themselves to the protection of his daughter Libuše, gifted with prophetic powers. When a dispute broke out between two wealthy and influential men, the loser objected that all other nations had a lord, while the Czechs alone listened to a woman. The princess warned against the rule of men,

but the people stubbornly insisted, and their envoys, guided by Libuše's white horse, found Přemysl at Stadice and there proclaimed him their lord, duke, judge, administrator, and protector. The sacred oaths sworn in the field at Stadice were renewed at the enthronement of each new duke – descendant of the mythical Přemysl the Ploughman – in a ritual that included the very act of election.

Libuše's speech was borrowed by Cosmas from the Old Testament, more precisely from the First Book of Kings, which rejected the institution of monarchy. Yet Cosmas' concern was not kingship in general, but the reign of Vratislav II. By accepting the crown in 1085/1086, Vratislav gained a sacral legitimacy that was at odds with the traditions of ducal Bohemia, thereby calling into question the significance of election and with it the social contract from the mythical beginnings of Czech history. In Cosmas' account, the crown was rejected not only by the land's elders and representatives of the people, but also by the patrons of the land, Saints Wenceslas and Adalbert; and after the rebellion of the first-born son of Břetislav, even King Vratislav himself renounced the hereditary crown.

Anno Dominice Incarnationis M. C. LIX. Dominus Imperator solenne curiam suis principibus in Natali domini Magdenburg indixit, ubi fortalis regalibus, et sollemnitate foeliciter peracta, ut Regi sanguinis sui memores ad contra-
endam Mediolanensium superbiam, ei suum prestant auxilium, eos commonet et exorat. Quod principes eius unanimi voce voto ei fideliter promittunt.
Ladislavus quogue Dux Bohemie tantos et tot principes contra Mediolanum in arma iam paratos glorie considerans, in persona sua cum sua militia ei in adiutorium se venire premitit. Dominus quoque Daniel Pragensis episcopus cum suo Duce hunc laborem contra Mediolanum suscipere non recusavit. Ob tantum laborem Imperator Ladislavum Ducem Bohemie Regio exornat Diademate, de Duce Regem constituit. Frederici Imperialis smitur curia, contra Mediolanum arma parantur. Vidua Mediolani sonat obsequio. In condito tempore ad obsidendum Mediolanum de duobus partibus mundi moventur exercitus.
Fredericus Imperator et sui Duces, Marchiones et alii principes contra Mediolanum proficiuntur. Ladislavus Rex Bohemie, prior alpes superat, et Veronam foeliciter transiens ante Brixiam Civitatem Regiam suas venit exercitus. Brixienfes contra eos exire nec tante militie se committere presumunt, solummodo viros suos custodiunt. A Bohemis tota Brixienfis deindatur provincia. Post pauca tempore Imperiales exercitus adven-
iunt. Pro Adventu Imperatoris omnes exercitus tripudiant gaudio. Super oleam flumen Regum Imperiales perveniunt exercitus. Ad Adna flumen vehementer in-
mam multitudinem hominum ager eis proidentium supra ripam praeistum pontem. Imperatoria ponuntur tentoria, quibus vindex, replentur campi. Infra autem has stationes fert per militare homini Vladislavus Regis Bohemie, et duo
danielis Pragensis episcopi, et aliorum principum Bohemie ponuntur tentoria. Post tot labores dulces capiuntur cibi. Interea Odolen filius Suisse, miles strenuus cum duobus militibus vadum invenire prestatat. Quod non inveniens medius fluctibus se committit vno tantum scio se sequente, quas medius fluctibus se rotari vidimus, quod nunc ipse super egros, nunc equi super eas rotari videbantur. Tandem deo eos adiu-
vante incolumiter flumen transiunt. Tertius vero eorum socius vel quia egredi, vel quia cor debile habebat, ad ripam reuertitur. Haec dum Regi Bohemie referuntur videlicet duos milites vadum invenisse, aliiuntur tabula, et tympanum signum bellum percutitur. Armantur milites, ipso Vladislavo Rege Bohemie strenuo et illustri milite eos praecedente inter medios praecipites fluctus suos impellunt dextrarios, et sic divina pietate eos conservante, tam duos, tam praecipites fluctus superant, plurimis ibi militibus naufragio perditis. Sic Rex Bohemie superatis

fluctibus sua forti armata militia suos irrui in hostes, eos ex omni parte armata militia circumdant. Cesuntur, ligantur, capiuntur plurimi. Ex utraque parte ad caelum levanitur clamores Bohemorum laeti de Victoria Mediolanensium iuncti de inguinata miseria. Imperatoris autem Exercitus prima Mediolanenses putant suis in adiutorium venisse. Verum tamen Bohemos cum suis Adversarios viriliter colore considerant, laeti de tanta Victoria, letos ad caelum clamores levanter, quomodo vel qua arte tam praecipites fluctus superaverint, mirantur. Bohemi sic eis su-
peratis. Castella, Villas, praedam capientes plurimam, quas possunt committunt igni. Rex interea ad portem Imperatoris se transfert properando, pro reparando ponte sollicitus. Ex utraque parte tam Imperatoris, quam Regis trabes comportan-
tur ponti utiles. Interea laborem tantum nox dirimit. Summo diluculo nunciis venit, Mediolanenses ad defendendum vadum suis in auxilium venisse. Non fit mora, armatur militia, pugnat acriter. Mediolanenses vici jugam-
inierunt. Nec mirum: mors eternum in tali re vel ferro vel peribis vitanda est. Bohemi ex eis plurimis interfectis LXXX nobiliores de militia Mediolanensi-
um capiunt, et eos Regia tradunt potestati, quas Rex Bohemie Imperatori ad eius honorem tradidit mancipati. Dominus Imperator per reparatos pontes cum suis exercitibus flumen Adnam foeliciter transit. Tre firmisimum castrum Media-
lanensium obsedit quod in ore coxit. Inde venit ad Laudam Civitatem quandam valde nobilem, quam Mediolanenses funditus destruxerant. In medio civitatis destructae, Imperialia ponuntur tentoria, cuius Imperator destructionem conside-
rans, magis ad destructionem laborat Mediolani. Dum haec geruntur, Media-
nenses ad curiam Domini Imperatoris cum eius conductu veniunt, de suis exci-
bus condignam satisfactionem Domino Imperatori offerentes. Principes hoc audien-
tes, ut Dominus Imperator ad gratiam suam recipiat eos consilium. Surgant autem
Anselmus Ravennacensis Ecclesiae Archiepiscopus contra haec respondit. Nere
et magniens, vobis nota adstantia Mediolanensium: Eulera quidem vobis verba et
summa offerunt, sed astutiam vulpem sub dextera servant. Mesura qua alijs
mensi sunt remittitur eis, Ecclesias Dei, Civitates Liberas Imperatoris de Brachum,
et eorum destruat Mediolanum. Nullam in eis fecerunt misericordiam nec eam
consequantur. Haec dicens Imperator cum suis principibus audiens eius acquirat
consilio, et per suam abiectionem Civitatem, ex more antiquarum Imperatorum, eos pub-
lice in eorum damnum mittit, per hoc eos ostendens esse manifestos hostes Imperij.
Haec considerans leta iuvenit, fremit in arma, nec us Mediolanum armata pro-

A collection of German doc-
umentary texts of an official
nature. At the end of the man-
uscript are several Latin texts,
among them an excerpt from
Cosmas' Chronicle. The passage
describes the double coronation
of Vratislav II as the first Czech
king, followed by an extract from
the second continuation of
Cosmas (on the folios shown).

Sammlung verschiedener
Urkunden (Osek excerpt), Lower
Austria + Bohemia?, second half of
the 16th century. National Library
of the Czech Republic, shelfmark
Osek 73, fols. 216v–217r.

List:



Práva Cestě Těb mnohá Práva odměho a od Libusse zřizena a Lidu Cestěmu vydana / zůstá-
 Zemie. wagij w této Zemi/některá až do této chvíle: Přemysl a Libusse spolu w dobré lá-
 sce obyvatelce/niz gneho nehledali/než počke a rozdělání Lidu svého.

Leta Sedmístého Dvadcatého Zřetih:

Praha založe-
 na: Správořanij Přemysla Knížete leta druhého /časú Lctního wyslla Libusse
 z Libinu / a na gedné wysoké a ssyroké skale při přítomnosti Přemysla / a geho Slu-
 žebníkům a svých služebníkům / své wěšty oznamowala / říkucy: Widijm mje-
 sto gehožto porwief nebe dosaha / ale hyn mýsto patnact /somow w Lesě při té ma-
 liké Wěste / k kteréž Wleawa blízko přichodij a tu Druslý potok má své stončení
 tu su byli někdy welké Město stawieti počali a Kasurka genu gmeno dali / a ohled-
 sly se na služebníky Přemyslowy řekla: Rychle pospiešste a těch (které ani mjece diela-
 gi nabyde) co by dělali optayte se / ztoho což wam bude za odpověd dano / gmeno
 Městu nazwano bude: Služebníky poslušný bezmestkání s chwatáním sly / a neda-
 leko od Kasurgi se zastawili: Toť dwa mužij gdu Sekery nesúce / a dřív než do té Wě-
 sty wessli / dřewo porawisse geho tefati počali: Služebníky kním přistupiwisse / gich se
 co by dělali otazali / kteréž Prah tesse odpowiedieli. Tefarz ten byl gest Klen syn Zde-
 smelnow / ze Wsy Radice s Synem svým Sudirohem: Služebníky nawratiwisse se
 oznamili to wšecko Libussy a Přemyslowi / Libusse odpowiedila: Dobře gest tak /
 a te bezmestkání / a každé jim tu Město založiti / a od Prahu dayte genu Gmeno
 ha: Wmžkych dwerých lidé obyčej magi před Prahem sklánieti hlavu / též budú
 o ctiwui poklonu Městu tomu. Těb wtom Měste budú postaweny dwie O-
 chyto wuonie Sedme promítne Těbe a gich slawnij skutore / gednat budú
 znamení Swietu. Tyť budú ctiti wšyckni Cestěho Razyku lidé / Sedna z
 sláti bude wicessy Slawa / a druha Bogowné potiesnění / totij Wacław a
 Mnohém wíce bylaby oznamowala budúcyho Libusse / By byl odmij-
 uj ne odstupil: Tu hned sly su dielnicy / a stawili Město Prahem neb Pra-
 wigice.

A woodcut depicting the arrival in Prague of Přemysl the Ploughman, founder of the ruling Přemyslid dynasty. a group of women goes out to meet the duke's retinue before the gates of the city.

Václav Hájek of Libočany, Kronyka Czeská, Prague: Jan Severýn, Ondřej Kubeš of Žípy, 1541. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 54 C 1.

THE OLDEST BOOKS IN BOHEMIA

An important question concerns the sources of information from which Cosmas drew. Let us begin with the texts. Did Cosmas in his native Bohemia have access to other works than those he himself cites in his chronicle?

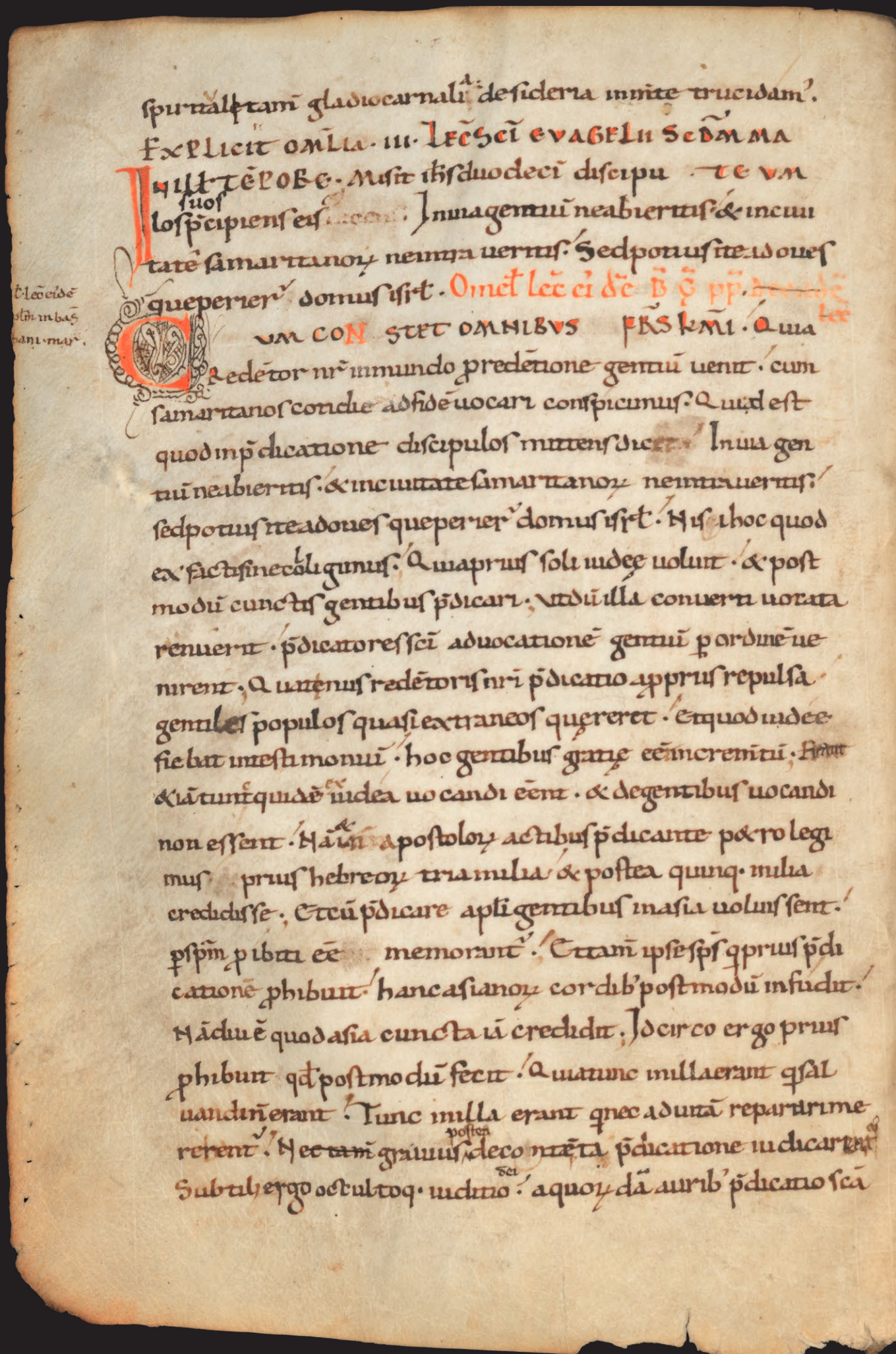
The spread of writing and written culture was linked to the development of Christianity. The earliest and most important libraries arose in the first Benedictine monasteries. These contained biblical and liturgical manuscripts (that is, texts relating to the conduct of worship).

Other genres gradually established themselves: hagiography (accounts of the lives and deeds of saints, or legends) and annalistic writing (succinct lists of dated events). These newer kinds of text already took account of Czech realities. The same applies to the content and structure of homiletics (the art of preaching). Calendars were compiled (with references to local figures), as well as the first lyric compositions (sometimes even in the vernacular). Some of the oldest charters, i.e., legal

documents, were also used by Cosmas in his chronicle.

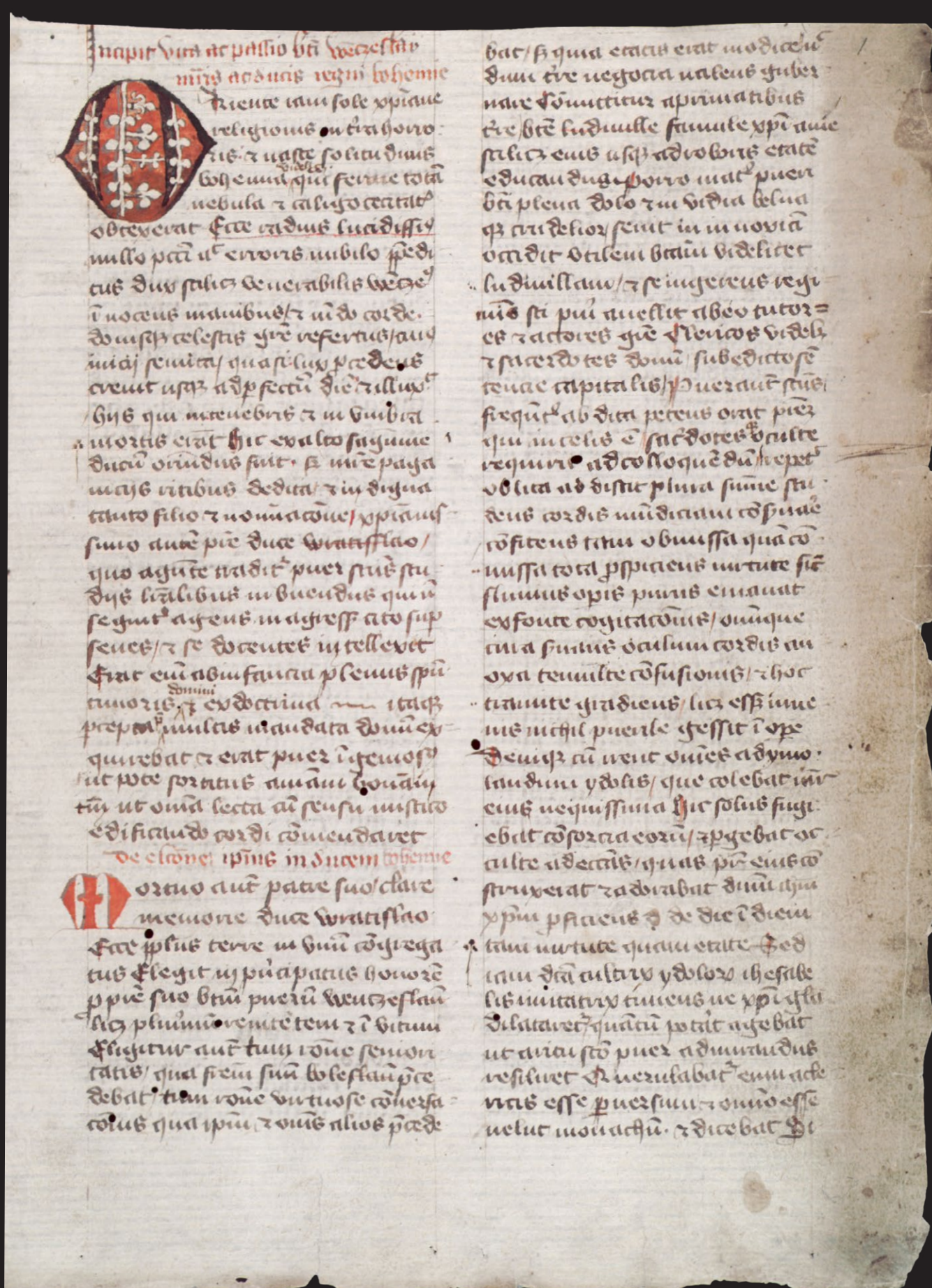
Newly available, too, were general reference works (such as the great medieval encyclopaedia *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Seville), school texts (for example in rhetoric or arithmetic), and specialised treatises (on medicine, law, agriculture, warfare, or construction). Cosmas could draw above all on the (by Czech standards) relatively large library of the Benedictine monastery of Břevnov, which at that time is thought to have held more than one hundred volumes. Indeed, Cosmas dedicated the second book of his chronicle to Clement, abbot of this, the oldest Czech monastery. a library almost certainly also existed at the chapter of St Vitus at Prague Castle, where Cosmas served.

Book culture thus gradually made its way into Czech society. Nevertheless, it remained true that outside the narrow circle of the learned, texts were received mainly in mediated form – through sermons, or visually through illuminations. Even at the end of Cosmas' life, the number of books and readers in the Czech lands numbered at most in the hundreds.



An example of a manuscript available in Bohemia in Cosmas' time. Produced around the mid-11th century in the scriptorium of the monastery of Břevnov in Prague. On the folio shown is Lectio s. Evangelii secundum Mattheum, X, 5–10. Homiliae quadraginta.

National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark IV D 7, fol. 10v.



An example of the reworking of early medieval Czech hagiography – the opening of the St Wenceslas legend *Oriente iam sole*, probably composed at the end of the 13th century as a reworking of the so-called *Legenda Christiani*. This is a Bohemian copy from the second half of the 14th century.

National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark I C 25, fol. 1r.

OLD CZECH LEGENDS

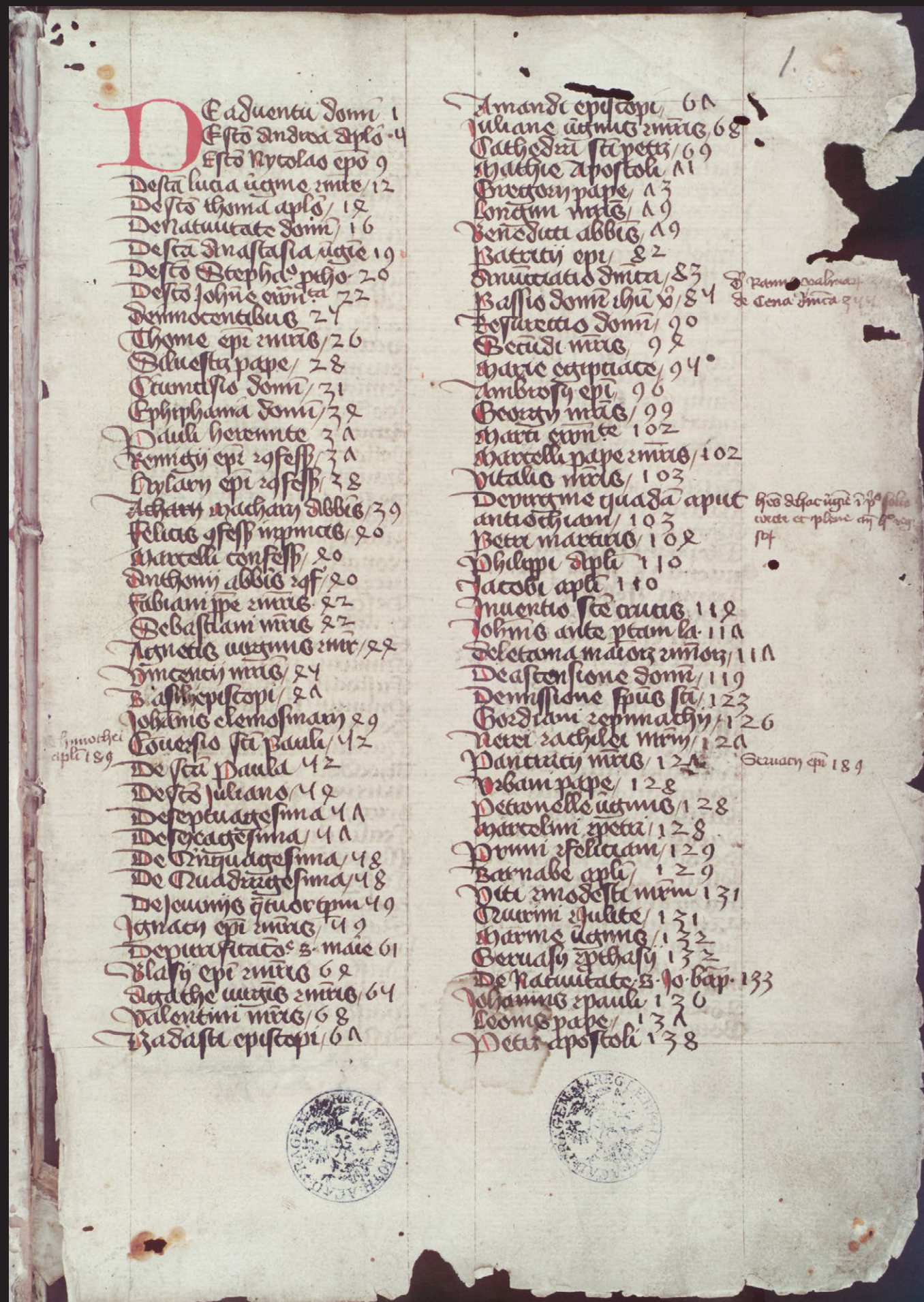
Cosmas' world was not yet a world of texts, but of the spoken word. He surely witnessed theatrical and musical performances at Prague Castle inspired by mythical tales, and he also listened to storytellers recounting ancient traditions.

In the preface to his chronicle, addressed to Gervasius, dean of the chapter of St Vitus, Cosmas admitted that he "... began [his] narration from the first inhabitants of the land of Bohemia, and set down only a little of what He has learnt from the fabulous tales of the elders." Cosmas always took the content of oral tradition and skilfully inserted it into the main thread of his exposition, so that the result corresponded to the concept and purpose of the chronicle.

Particularly fascinating are the stories of the Lučané and their struggle against the Czechs. Cosmas did not hesitate to make use of the many pagan and magical elements of the old tales. In the story appear soothsayers, witches, and monsters; magic and magical rituals play a role, including the cutting of the

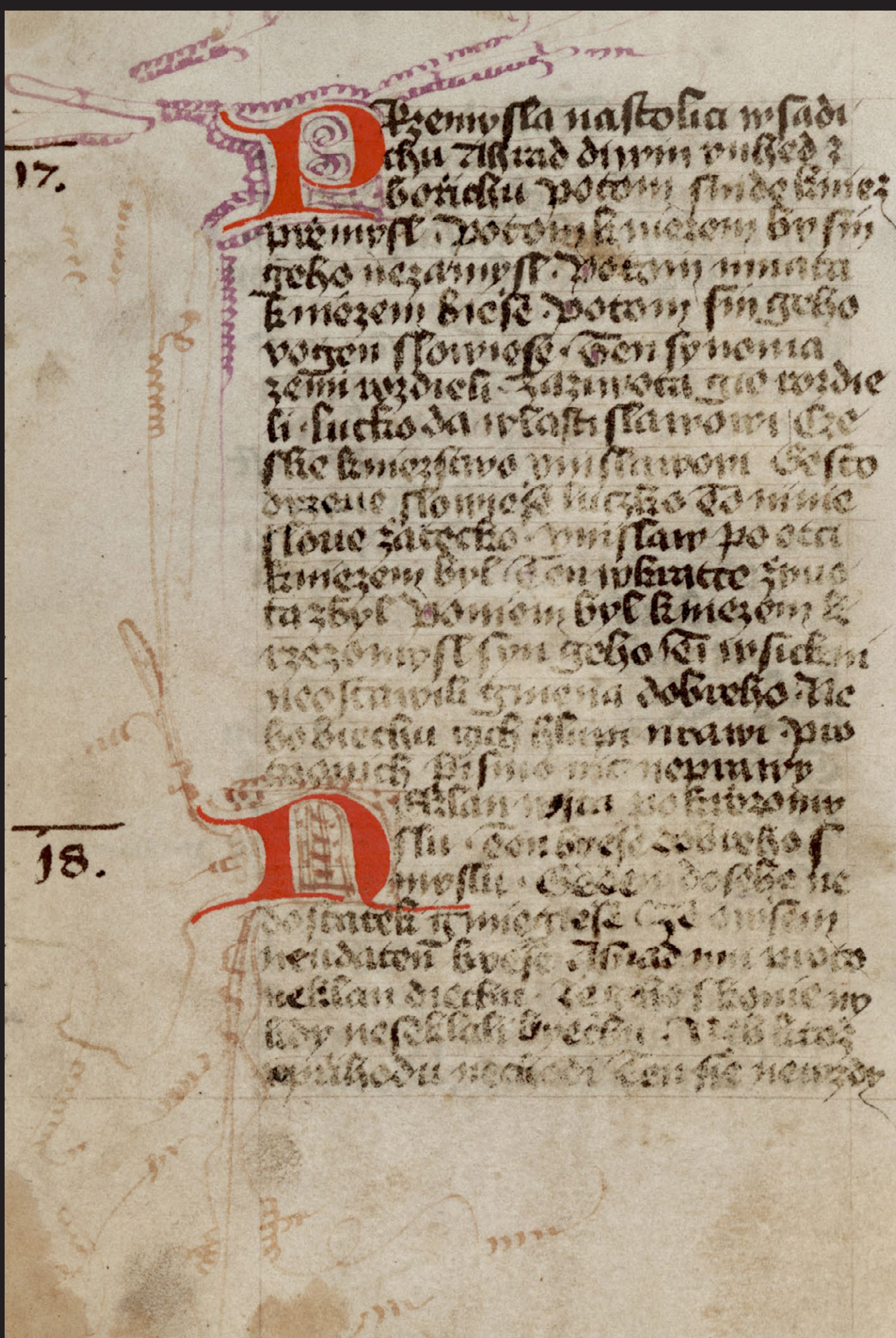
sign of the cross into the earth with a sword. “You must first carry out the commands of the gods... Sacrifice, then, to your gods a donkey,” says the soothsayer, in Cosmas’ account, to the Lučan army, “so that their protection may rest upon you. This sacrifice is commanded by the supreme god Jupiter, by Mars himself and his sister Bellona, and by Ceres’ son-in-law.”

The sign of the cross and the names of Roman gods symbolising paganism are perhaps the only changes the chronicler made to the core of the pagan tale. Cosmas observes that it is “as though invented;” yet he nonetheless included the legends of the Lučané in his work. More than that: he supplemented them with a series of references to known localities, thereby strengthening their plausibility. At the beginning he describes the situation of the five regions of the Lučan territory; he attributes to the Lučané the fortress of Vlastislav between the hills Medvězí and Připek, and Drahúš on the bank of the Ohře near Postoloprty; he refers to Tyro’s barrow, “called to this day the grave of the valiant Tyro”, and even to Durynk’s alder tree, which “until it was cut down stood beside the road.”



The contents of the Legenda aurea by Jacobus de Voragine, the most famous medieval collection of saints' legends, are here supplemented by marginal notes, partly replacing missing stories and at the same time bearing witness to the intense use of this extremely popular work. The codex originates from Bohemia and is dated to the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries.

National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark VIII a 28, fol. 1r.



The fifteenth (here seventeenth) and beginning of the sixteenth (here eighteenth) chapters of the Chronicle of Dalimil, listing the names of mythical princes – Přemysl, Nezamysl, Mnata, Vojen, Křesomysl, and Neklan. These mythical stories were still alive in the early 14th century, when the so-called Dalimil wrote.

National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark XXIII G 87, fol. 14v.



25
5
10
15
D
Po Grezomyslowi syn geho Neklan Sseste
Knize sprawu zeme Czeskenu se priyal. muz nad oby
cey strassliwy. Kdez Wratislaw Strayc geho kte
ryz nad Srby / a w Slazy ch panowal wida geho
byti takowe ho. mnohe gemu natisky ciml. az pak na
posledy do zeme Czeske welmi sylne wtrhw / Soko
ly / Karohy / a gine ptactwo k kratochwilem prislusse
gicy dworanum swym na potupu Neklanowi s
sebau nesti rozkazal. prawe ze nepřatelstym mas
sam ge chce wytrmiti. V takowemu geho před se
wzetu Neklan welmi strassliwy nesmiege odepřiti /
a s nym se potkati. Sstera Rytire welmi vdatne
ho / a k sobe twari y zrostem podobneho s lidem swy
proti Wratislawowi wyprawil. Kteryz to swi
mužnostu na poli řecenem Tursto s nepřately se set
kaw Boy obdržal. a Wratislawa zabiw sam tu ta

A depiction of Neklan in the Chronicle of the Founding of the Land of Bohemia and of its First Inhabitants (1539), by the Utraquist burgher Martin Kuthen (+1564), who is often regarded as the forerunner of Václav Hájek of Libočany.

National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark I 068833, fol. 29.

THE SPREAD OF INFORMATION

In the absence of printed books, radio, television, and the internet, people of the “world of the spoken word” demanded engaging stories told aloud. These were passed on above all in traditional places of gathering – at markets, in taverns, by river crossings, at crossroads, and in inns. Opportunities for conversation also arose from the fact that life was lived more often outdoors than indoors, and travel required long hours and frequent pauses.

The influence of oral tradition in Cosmas' Chronicle by no means ends with the earliest period: “Now we wish to sharpen our pen, blunt though it be, yet pious, in order to set down those memorable events vouched for by the truthful report of trustworthy men,” he writes. By this he meant both eyewitnesses of the events described and people “of commendable life”, whom he could trust “as himself”. Reliable witnesses thus replace the anonymous elders' tales, or the theatrical and

musical performances inspired by mythical stories, which he had employed for the earliest ages.

What modern historiography calls critical analysis of sources appears in Cosmas as an evaluation of the trustworthiness of those whose testimony he used as a source of information. The chronicler was well aware of the many motives that might lead witnesses of events to conceal or distort the truth. We can only guess to what extent he may have been able to choose among several versions of a tale in order to select the one that best fitted the concept of his Chronicle.

The Latin text was comprehensible only to a narrow circle of rulers, clergy, and the educated elite. Learned men, however, mediated the further dissemination of the content of the Chronicle and its individual stories – in the form of retellings, conversations, or sermons. The Chronicle can thus be seen as a tool for preserving memory and for placing individual themes and stories within the “correct” interpretative framework.



The so-called Little Chronicle of Riechental depicts in numerous illustrations not only the events of the Council of Constance (1414–1418) but also scenes of everyday life in the city on Lake Constance. The image shows a market (here selling game), a busy environment full of people selecting goods, bargaining over prices, and discussing various matters.

Chronicon Concilii Constantiensis, c. 1470. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark VII a 18, fol. 28r.

ATTRACTIVE THEMES

For Cosmas, oral tradition relating to Czech history was to some extent an obstacle, since he had to weave it into his narrative. Yet, as Vladislav Vančura aptly wrote, “nothing human was alien to him.” He did not hesitate, therefore, to seize every opportunity to share his colourful stories.

If we set aside the overall framework of the work and its, to us, unusually dense form, we find themes corresponding to the genres of modern literature: detective story, horror, adventure tale, humorous sketch, and even erotic narrative. Considering that the first text we might call a detective story appeared in our lands only in the early 17th century (the German-language book by Mikuláš Ulenhart, 1617), that horror elements are found in legends but not usually developed in detail, and that romances of chivalry filled with adventurous tales did not fully flourish until the 15th century, it is clear that the Chronicle offered its readers and listeners something later taken up by those literary genres sometimes labelled “popular” or “lowbrow”.

In his text Cosmas grappled with the balance between telling engaging stories and providing a “serious” conceptual explanation of history. He understood that stories are the examples that capture the imagination, as the Latin proverb tells us. Through stories people perceive history and are inspired to pious deeds. In detective tales, horror, and adventure narratives we encounter caricature and analogy. For such devices to have their intended effect, at least some aspects of the stories must correspond to the reality described. In literary fiction these are above all the setting, the modes of behaviour, and recognisable human types, even if depicted with exaggeration. For Cosmas the requirement was the same, but he at the same time aimed to recount real events and to explain their meaning.

rursus tantum dicitur mundum et cetera
 pugnare sic deo placere vitam
 eternam possidere. Sed apostolus prout
 in mitem per quod cor mundum
 in tollere mandatum prout
 per me quod nobis via pnie
 ostendit in caute. Et ego affu sc
 huius. Et quam sua ut firmus
 de voti plenitudine et quod omnia per
 ta que suam etiam deum delecta
 de lere ut vitam eterna habea
 mus. Quod nobis prout et al
 zelando impatore et filio qui de
 floruit regnum. *xxxviii. c.*
Regert valens quod zelatus
 impator statuit plege
 ut si quis virginem de floraret
 ut aq oculo suaderet. Accidit
 quod filius suus filia aridam
 vidue de floraret et me vedqm
 patris occidens aut oduele
 quod fecit implei facias dei amo
 re. Et ego filius tuus filia mea
 rapuit et ea offit. Rex hoc au
 diens prout ut duo odo filij
 eruent. Dixerunt satrape ad
 regem. O dicit tantum vnicum filium
 habes qui heres noster est. Viam
 et sapientem tibi timo. quod impato
 rem post discessum dui huius
 ait ille. Nunc vobis constet.

legit pnie qua tunc

quod ego legem istam edidi ob
 probum noster est. quod lege istam
 no teneant. Hec quo filius
 est primus qui etiam legem
 facit. Infirmum legem proutabo
 Sapientes dixerunt. Roga
 mus vos una voce prout
 filium vrm talem no faciat.
 Rex vobis proutus cor victus.
 ait illis. Eam quod ita
 est. audite me. odo sui sunt
 mei ergo odo dicitur michi
 eruat. et filio meo sim. Itaque
 et hic lex est impleta et sic
 factum est. Unde omnes lauda
 bant. Regem quod tam in suis *audore*
 in omnibus in vobis *in sua*
Iste impator est dux m
 ihus prout qui tale
 rem edidit ut quicumque
 de floraret virginem. et animam
 in bays latam. Quos odo
 amitte debabat. Et visione
 dei et omni scilicet. Postquam
 ita legem fecit. est qui prout
 animam suam de floravit sed
 prout qui est prout noster omnes
 tam vnu odo in caute amittit.
 prout sua prout proutores et deo
 optet. ut vnu odo tam. et omnes
 dampnificas tuas et animas

One of the most popular works, the *Gesta Romanorum* (“Deeds of the Romans”), which contains a wealth of exempla. On the folio is the beginning of chapter 50 (145), “On the Praise of Just Judges” (*De laude recte judicantium*). The story tells of the consul Zelon, who issued an edict that anyone guilty of rape should be punished by blinding – yet the first to commit the crime was none other than his only son.

National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark I a 41, fol. 12v.

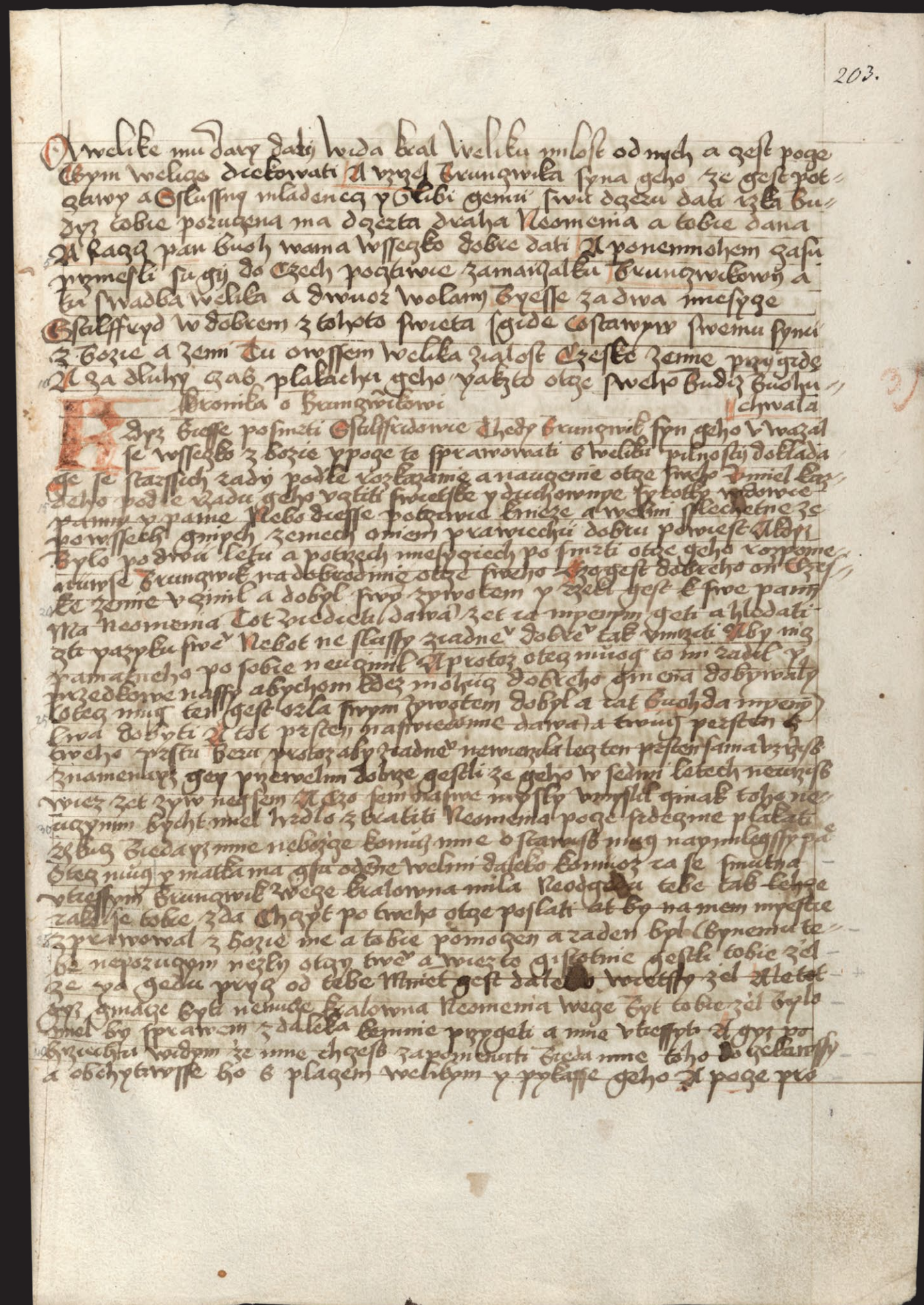
niewiadzi ten buoły gehożto mo bra
był przinesen do kościoła wspaneły gi
ne bohy porazil a zborzil plusne
gefe aby kóte przigody sluta latwie
katgerina quity uniwersalis ruina
Czesky gmielachy sluti wspaneły ze
by wspaneły modly zborzil atak ad
mocy vlgizowaneho gmeno gny da
no od vlgizowaneho vprossena vlgiz
vwanemu z swe mlatostil bddana
a za lssafft vlgizowaneho od atge
wzala lssafft gmeno baha nasmieta
uagmiela atak wulozeme gmena
gnyho wspaneły gme panny przemy
sly

Kdybyste pal wleli ze by smad
mletera plemegsi a krasmeg
si naticke byla wprosto ze by
ste opustili tuto zisse se wlozase gny

Ze byla kraspa wleli a nemiwmlume
ne plemegsi a kraspa nepodobne ozi
ma wspaneły ludi diwna se zdala palaly
wspaneły byla ze nemuze wspaneły wspane
weno byh kraspa ge byla plemegsi aby
pal mohe to wspaneły wspaneły toge
by Odroge nemoglo wspaneły atak gny
gefe nemiwmlumneho a kraspa nepo
dobneho to gt ladem wspaneły a
protop mwozi nemiwmlumneho ludi
kadasu gny kmanegsi a kmaneg
slamu slamu a nemiwmlumneho toge
sary mwozientus mlatu prziginy wspane
proti swe mmanegsi wspaneły gny dsa
dil nasmieta a kraspa gi zagnulati a
patom sluteknie se mlek slamu aby
prota katgerina gmeno przimolila
kmanegsi a gned po nemiwmlumne
kdyz geho wlozela wspaneły feby diab

The Praise of St Catherine.
a work from the end of the first
third of the 16th century repre-
senting a new reworking of the
theme. The description of the
saint's suffering and martyrdom
in the original legend is striking
for its detail and naturalism –
qualities which today might place
the text among sensational or
“popular” genres attracting wide
readership. In the passage be-
ginning with the initial K we find
a description of the beauty of the
Alexandrian saint.

Works of Jan Vodňanský, barefoot
friar, 16th century. National Library
of the Czech Republic, shelfmark
XVII E 19, fols. 44v–45r.



A manuscript that at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries belonged to the Benedictine monastery of Svatý Jan pod Skalou. It contains three texts belonging to the realm of entertainment literature, among them the popular Old Czech Chronicle of Bruncvík, the tale of how a valiant knight brought a lion to Bohemia, which later entered the national coat of arms. (“When Štilfríd died, his son Bruncvík inherited all the property and began to administer it with great diligence...”)

National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark XI B 4, fol. 203r.



EDITORS AND TRANSLATORS

The so-called “Second Life” of Cosmas’ Chronicle followed two distinct paths from the very beginning. On the one hand, the Chronicle and its parts were published and copied; on the other, they became an inspiration for new historical writing.

The Chronicle of the Czechs, long available only in manuscript copies, was first printed — twice in quick succession (1602 and 1607) — by Marquard Freher (1565–1614), a court official and diplomat in the service of Elector Palatine Frederick IV. Greater significance is now attached to the earlier 1602 edition, prepared from an incomplete Strasbourg manuscript which was later destroyed during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

The first domestic and, at the same time, first critical edition of Cosmas’ Chronicle was produced in 1783 by František Martin Pelcl (1734–1801) and Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829). Exemplary for its time, this edition served historians until 1851, when it was



replaced by Rudolf Köpke (1813–1870). His edition was incorporated into the prestigious series *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, devoted to the medieval history of the Holy Roman Empire in its broadest sense. Köpke's work in turn became the basis for the 1874 edition in the Czech series *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, dedicated to narrative texts of medieval Bohemian history. This was edited by Josef Emler (1836–1899) and Václav Vladivoj Tomek (1818–1905).

Newly discovered copies of the Chronicle of the Czechs and advances in editorial methodology soon made clear, however, that access to Cosmas' work no longer met the needs of modern scholarship. Once again, the demand for a more rigorous edition was answered by the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. After more than twenty years of preparation, Bertold Bretholz (1862–1937) and Wilhelm Weinberger (1866–1932) published their edition in 1923.



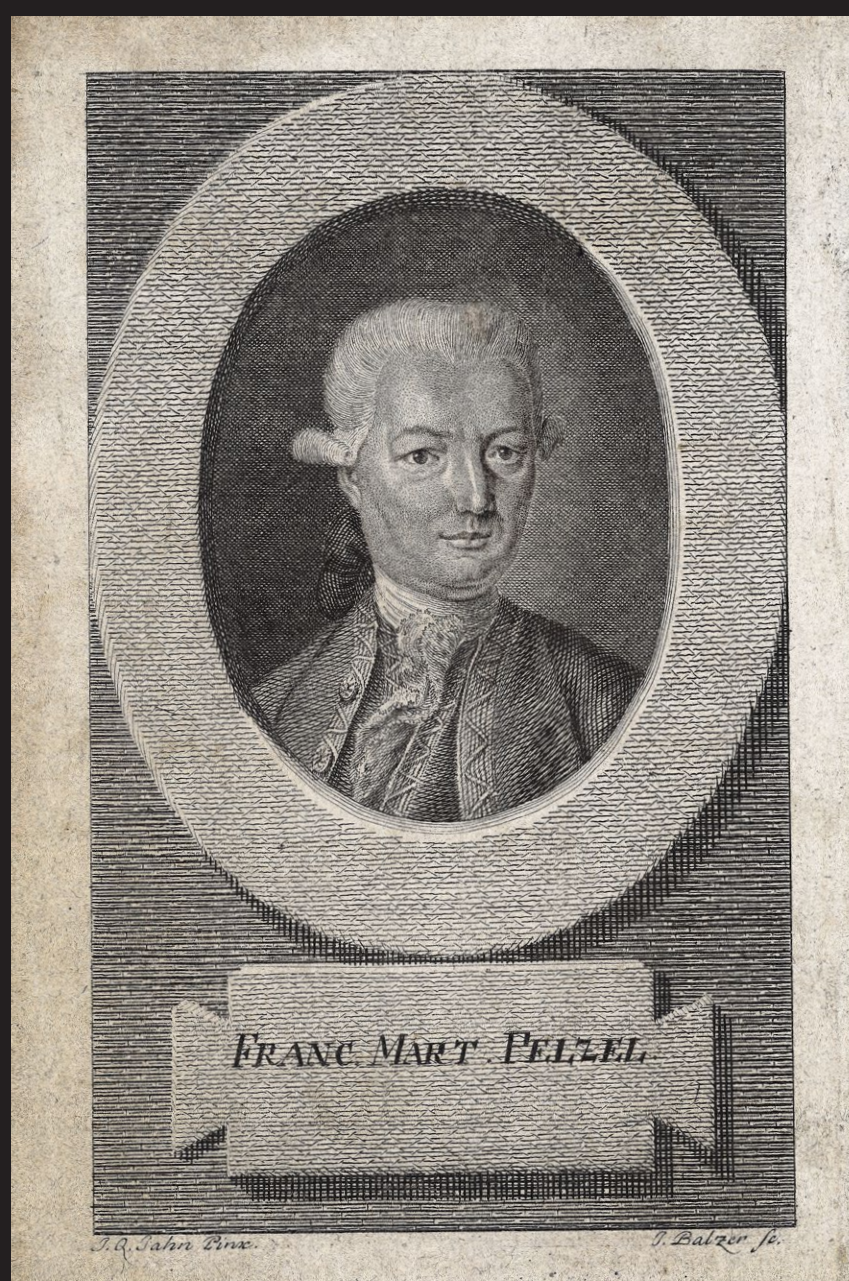
Marquard Freher (1565–1614). Author of the first printed edition of Cosmas' text in 1602. His transcription was based on a single medieval manuscript (Strasbourg), which has not survived.

Marquard Freher, *Origines Palatinae...*, Heidelberg: Johann Michael Rudiger, 1686. Moravian Library, Brno, shelfmark ST2-0168.535.



Johann Burkhard Mencke (1674–1732). Rector of Leipzig University, who in 1728 initiated a new edition of Freher's first printing, thus contributing to its wider dissemination in the Czech lands.

Johann Burkhard Mencke, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum praecipue Saxonicarum...*, Leipzig: Johann Christian Martini, 1728. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 65 B 319/T.1.



František Martin Pelcl (1734–1801). a key figure of the Czech National Revival, Pelcl worked as a librarian for the Nostitz family and is best known for his diplomatarium, a collection of medieval charters. Together with Josef Dobrovský, he was responsible for the first domestic critical edition of Cosmas' Chronicle.

František Martin Pelcl, *Geschichte der Böhmen von den ältesten bis auf die neuesten Zeiten...*, Erste Abtheilung, Prague; Vienna: Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, 1782. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 50 D 3/1.



THE FIRST CONTINUATORS

After Cosmas' death, his Chronicle was not only read and copied, in whole or in part, but soon also inspired the first attempts at continuation. The Chronicle of the Czechs had found its audience already during Cosmas' lifetime. After his death in October 1125, members of the chapter of St Vitus attempted to carry on his narrative. None of them, however, succeeded in sustaining the intellectual vision of the Chronicle's first two books. The First Continuator limited himself to a brief annalistic record of events appended to Book Three. His approach became a model both for the scriptorium of St Vitus and for Benedictine centres at Sázava and Třebíč. For generations, the Chronicle of the Czechs was regarded as exemplary.

For entire generations, the Chronicle of the Czechs was regarded as a model. The continuators and opponents alike were certainly not lacking in ideas, yet the attempt of the canons of Vyšehrad sank into helplessness;



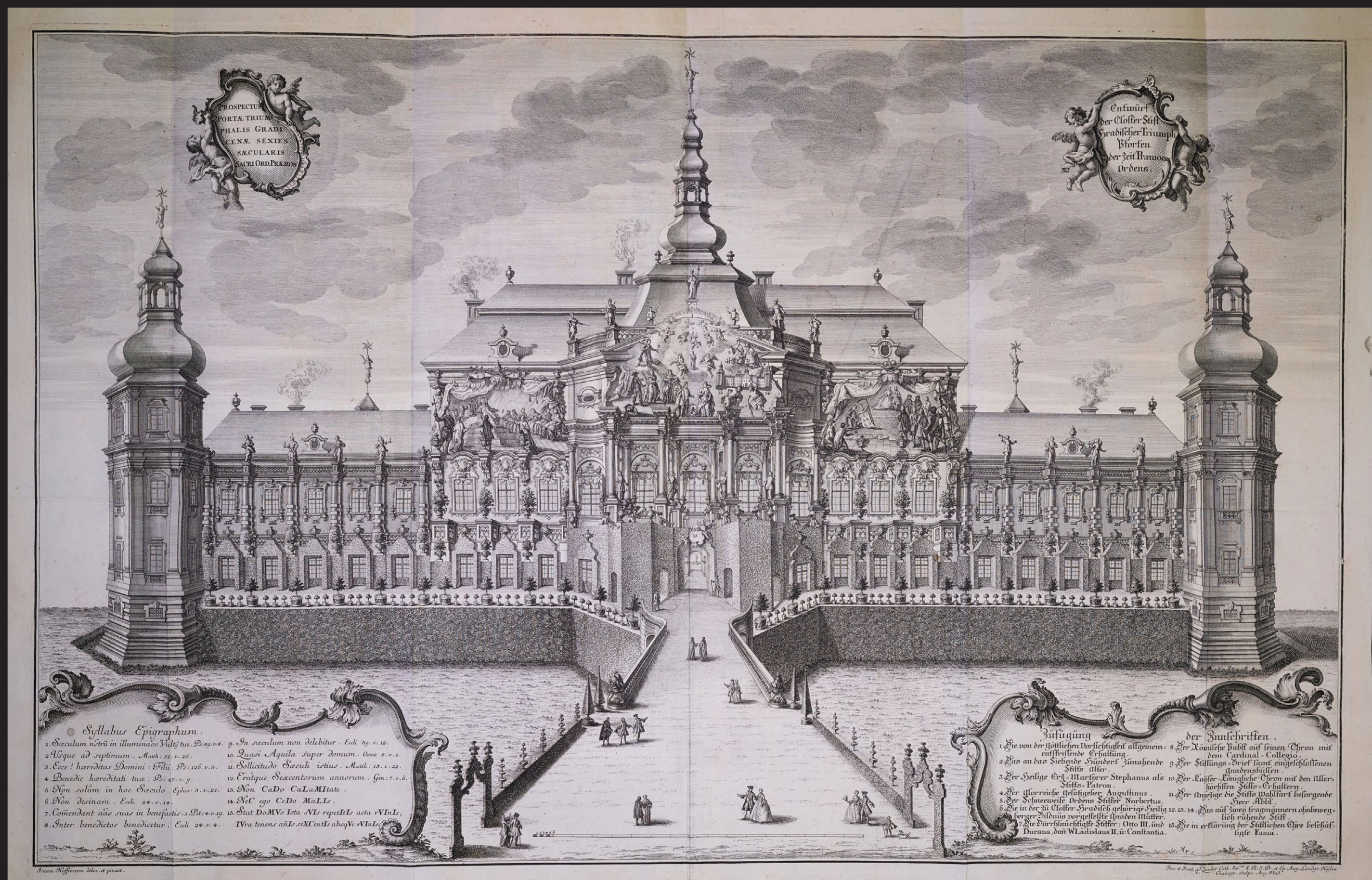
Vincencius allowed himself to be carried away by memories of Bishop Henry Zdík of Olomouc and of Frederick Barbarossa's campaign into Lombardy; and the historical horizon of the Benedictines of Hradisko near Olomouc was constrained by anxieties about the monastery's future.

Thus, Cosmas' narrative could shape the interpretation of Czech history well into the thirteenth century. At the very least, it was still respected under the reign of King Wenceslas II (1283–1305). After the year 1300, however, society demanded other stories; and although Cosmas' Chronicle did not fall into oblivion, it was reduced by the court historiography of Charles IV to a reservoir of engaging and edifying tales from times long past.



A vivid episode from Vincentius' continuation of Cosmas' Chronicle describes the siege of Milan in 1158, where Czech warriors distinguished themselves by boldly plunging into the raging River Adda.

Germanus Adlerhold, Das Neu-geharnischte Meyland..., Nuremberg: Johann Leonhard Buggel, 1702. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 19 J 159.



One of the most important continuations of Cosmas' Chronicle is the so-called Annals of Hradisko–Opatovice. This work, produced by an anonymous Benedictine of Opatovice Monastery on the Elbe, drew upon a now-lost twelfth-century text from Hradisko Monastery (today part of Olomouc), from which the monks of Opatovice had originally come.

Evermond Tadeáš Růžička –
Pius Manzador – Maximus a s.
Procopio – František Svoboda
– Antonius Ferchl – Franz Walter,
Prototypon Apparatus Jubilaei,
Olomouc: František Antonín Hirnle,
[1751]. National Library of the Czech
Republic, shelfmark 65 C 764.



DALIMIL AND THE NEED FOR NEW INTERPRETATIONS

Later historians no longer merely reproduced extracts from Cosmas' Chronicle but worked with it as a source of information to be set within new conceptual frameworks.

Cosmas' Chronicle was such a foundational work that, for almost two hundred years, no one—so far as we know—attempted a new interpretation of the early history of the Czechs. The first author to try was Dalimil, at the beginning of the second decade of the fourteenth century. The identity of the chronicler of this Old Czech verse chronicle—the earliest chronicle written in Czech—cannot be established with certainty on the basis of present knowledge. What we do know is that he was a man of extraordinary learning, well acquainted with the political situation as well as with the milieu and mindset of the Czech nobility, whose role in Czech history he strongly emphasised. His attacks on the Germans and his nationally Czech



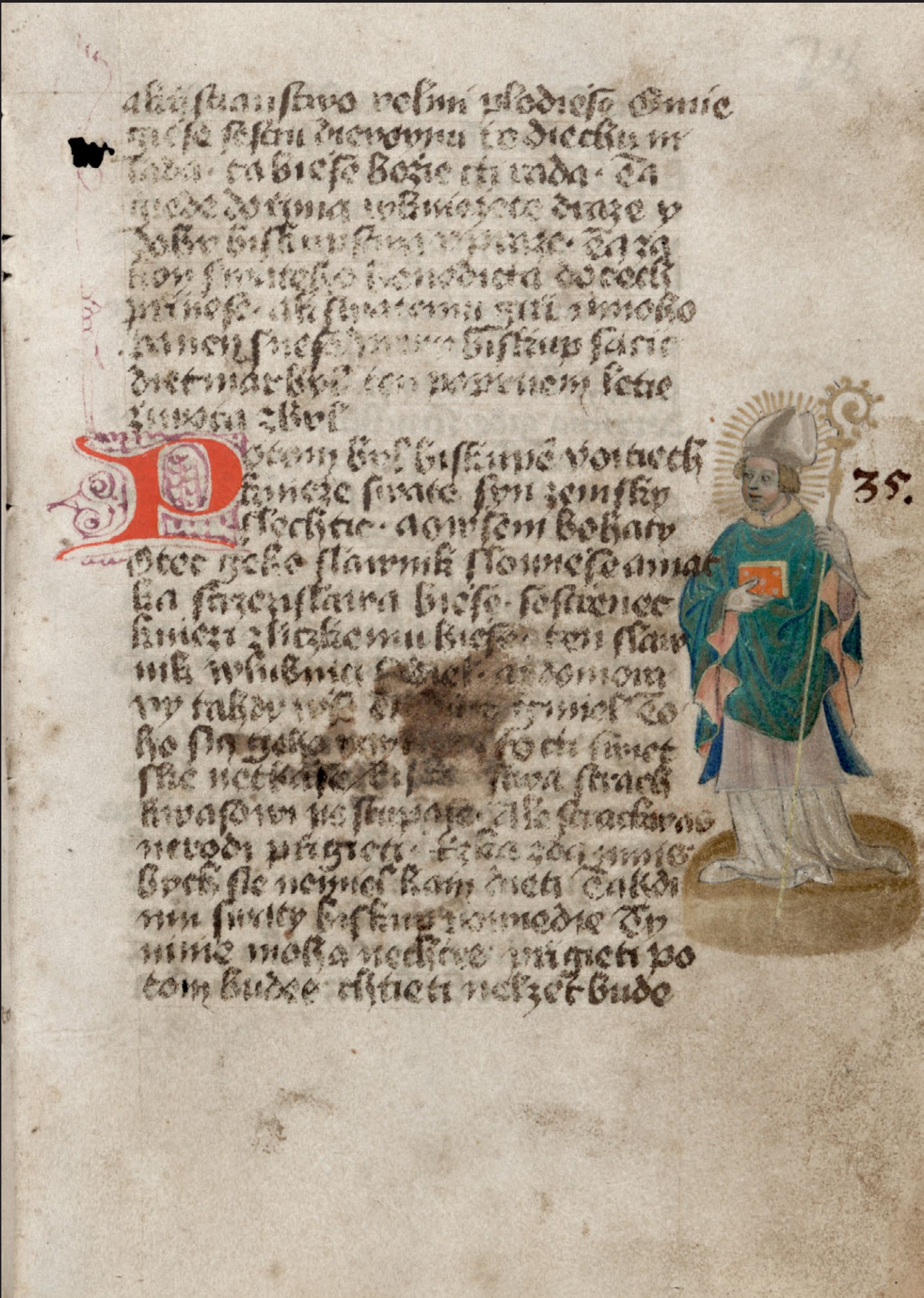
perspective are also well known.

The need to revise older historical interpretations became particularly pressing in the second half of the fourteenth century, in connection with the growing importance of the Czech state under Charles IV. Charles was fully aware of the significance of historiography, and even attempted to set out his own concept of rule and the formative events of his youth as a future monarch in the celebrated work *Vita Caroli*.

Above all, however, the emperor sought someone who could reshape the material in line with his intentions and great ambitions. It was for this reason that he welcomed at his court the Florentine nobleman, papal legate and traveller to Asia John of Marignola († 1359). In his work, Marignola sought to define the place and significance of the Czechs within world history, beginning with Old Testament times and the creation of the world. For the Czech material he drew on Cosmas' Chronicle, which he did not simply copy. Yet, owing to his inadequate knowledge of local circumstances, he did not venture any substantial changes to its content,

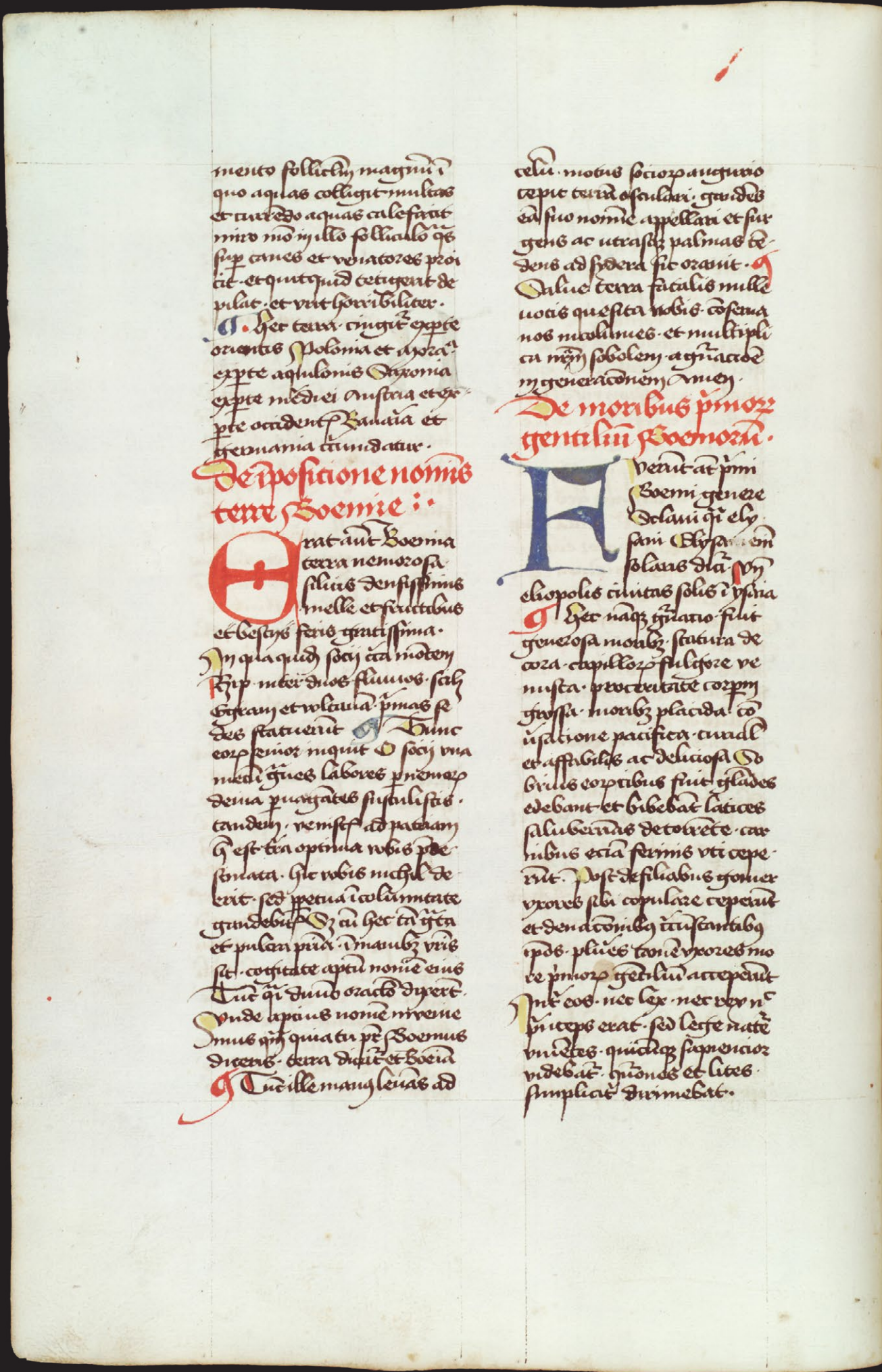


confining himself to minor stylistic adjustments. The result, overall, was rather peculiar.



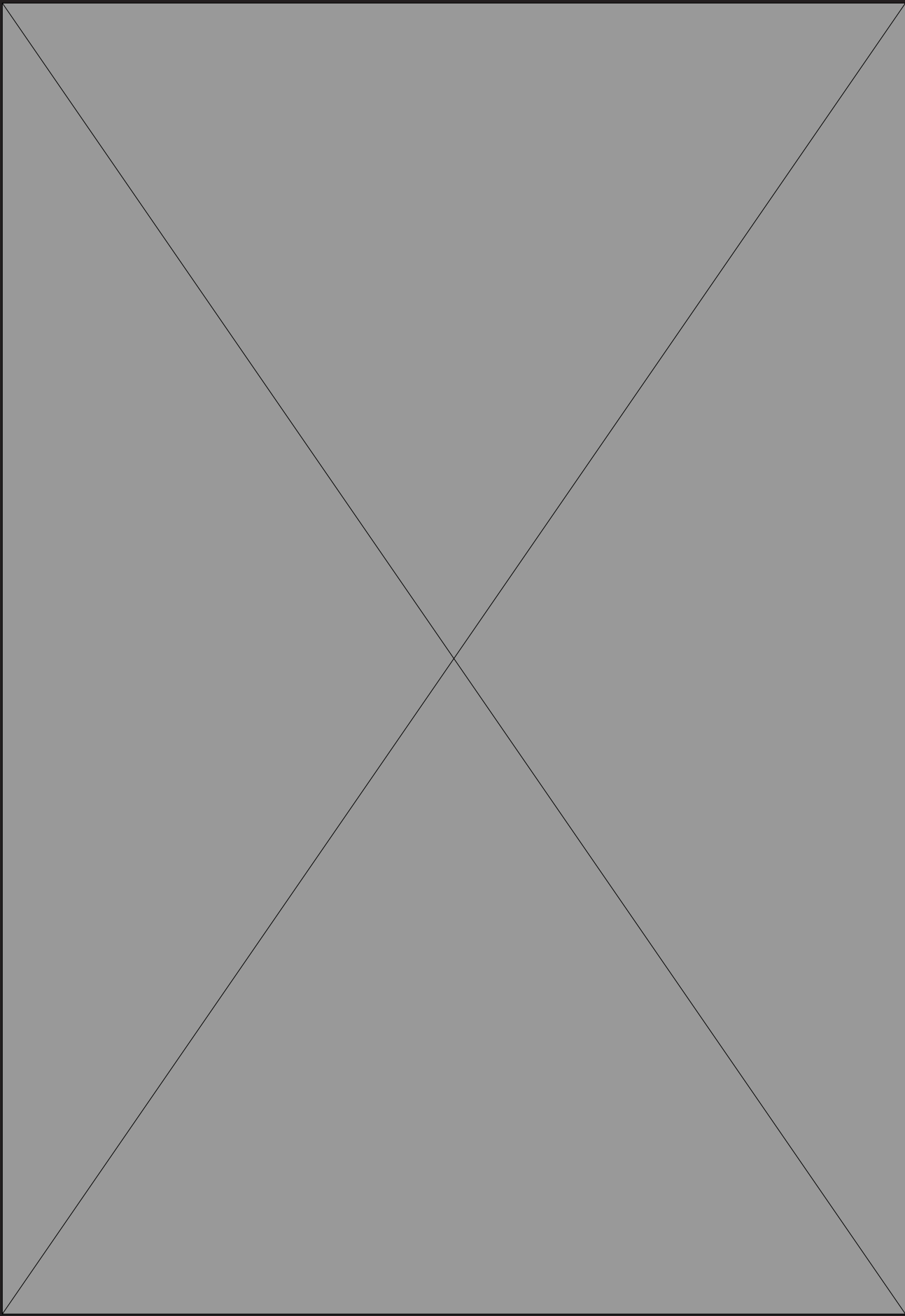
The Lobkowitz manuscript of the Chronicle of Dalimil is an exceptionally important textual witness forming a transitional stage between its first and second redactions. The figure depicted in the margin of the folio is St Adalbert.

The Lobkowitz manuscript of the Chronicle of Dalimil, Bohemia, second quarter of the fifteenth century. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark XXIII G 87, fol. 28r.



The manuscript on fols. 216r–238v contains, after the chronicles of Marignola and Pulkava, the famous autobiography of their patron, Charles IV.

Charles IV, Vita Caroli, Bohemia, second half of the fifteenth century. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark I D 10, fol. 216r. §



The only surviving manuscript of another, not very successful attempt to integrate Czech history into the world context: the Chronicle by Neplach († 1371), abbot of the monastery at Opatovice. Although Neplach intended his account to continue down to the late 1350s, when he was writing the text, in the preserved form the chronicle ends with the death of John of Luxembourg (misdated to 1347).

Neplach, Summula chronicae tam Romanae quam Bohemicae, Bohemia, turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark XXIII F 195, fol. 25r.



HISTORIOGRAPHY UNDER THE LUXEMBOURGS AND THE HUSSITES

The Chronicle of Přebík Pulkava of Radenín († 1380) was the only historiographical text of the second half of the fourteenth century to gain wider popularity and even a certain resonance with Emperor Charles IV. Its frequent use, but at the same time his evident dissatisfaction with its tenor and his efforts at correction, are well attested by the six preserved versions—revisions.

In the chronicle, in accordance with the orientation of Charles's policy, the important concept is the antiquity of the ruling Přemyslid dynasty and their significance for history. For this reason, unlike his contemporaries Francis of Prague and Beneš Krabice of Weitmile, Přebík Pulkava attempted to provide systematic information even about the earliest period of Czech history. Given the purpose of the chronicle, it is logical that



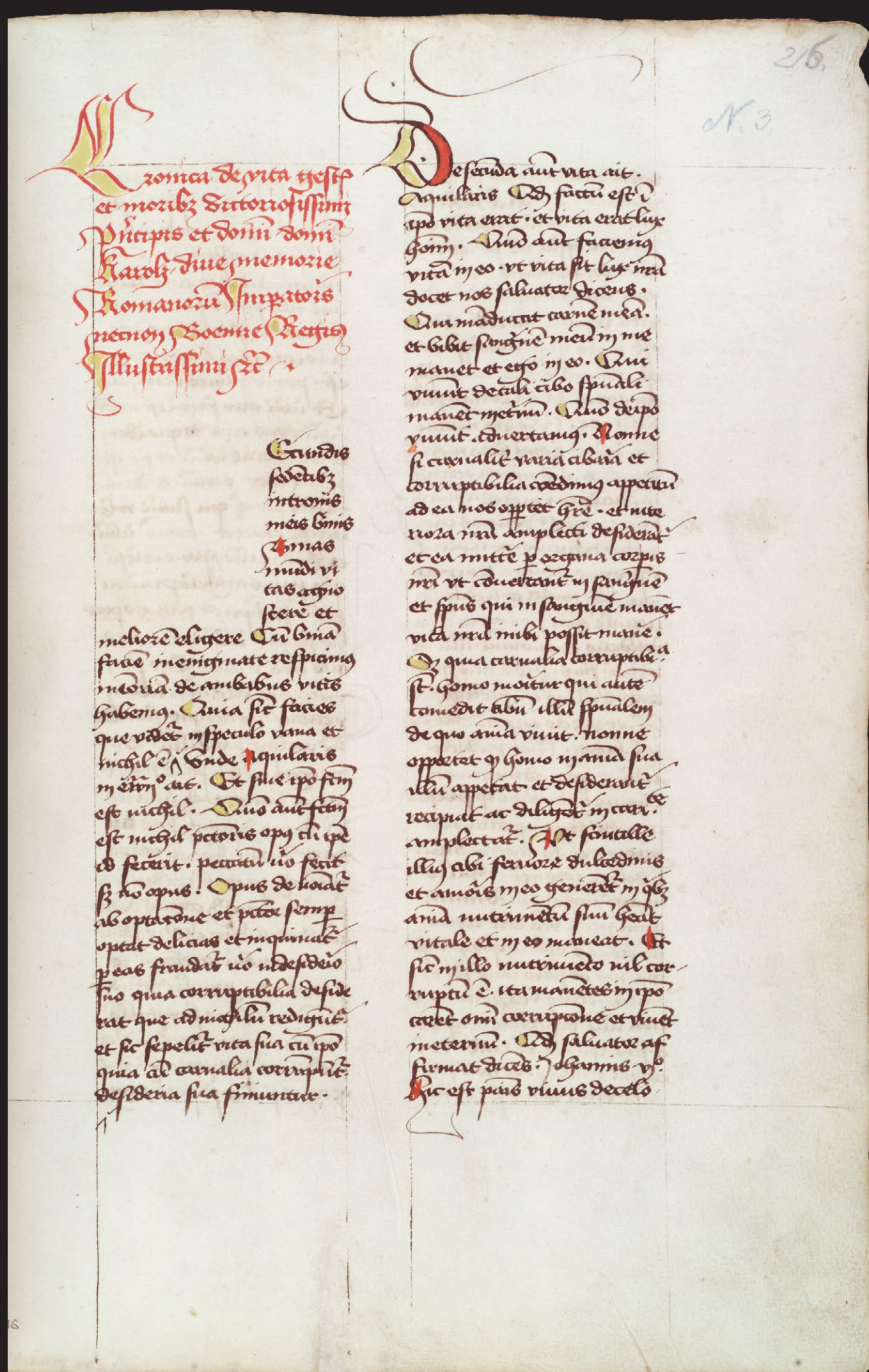
the negative portrayal of one of the two rival lineages—the Vršovci—is emphasised: they are described as “treacherous and wicked traitors” who “tried deceitfully to seize power in the Czech principality against the agreement and knowledge of the magnates, lords, and faithful people.”

Another chronicle of the time of Charles IV was written by Neplach, abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Opatovice. His account, beginning already with the birth of Christ, is only a compilation containing brief annalistic notes, that is, short entries for individual dates. The sole exception is the description of Charles’s journey to Arles in 1365. Neplach also offers remarkable information about superstitions, especially about revenants—that is, reanimated corpses. The text survives in a single manuscript, and contemporary notes point to it having been read.

The most important historiographical work of the Hussite period is the Chronicle of Laurence of Březová († c. 1437), an invaluable source for understanding the first turbulent years of the Hussite epoch. Laurence, however, after a brief introduction, begins his

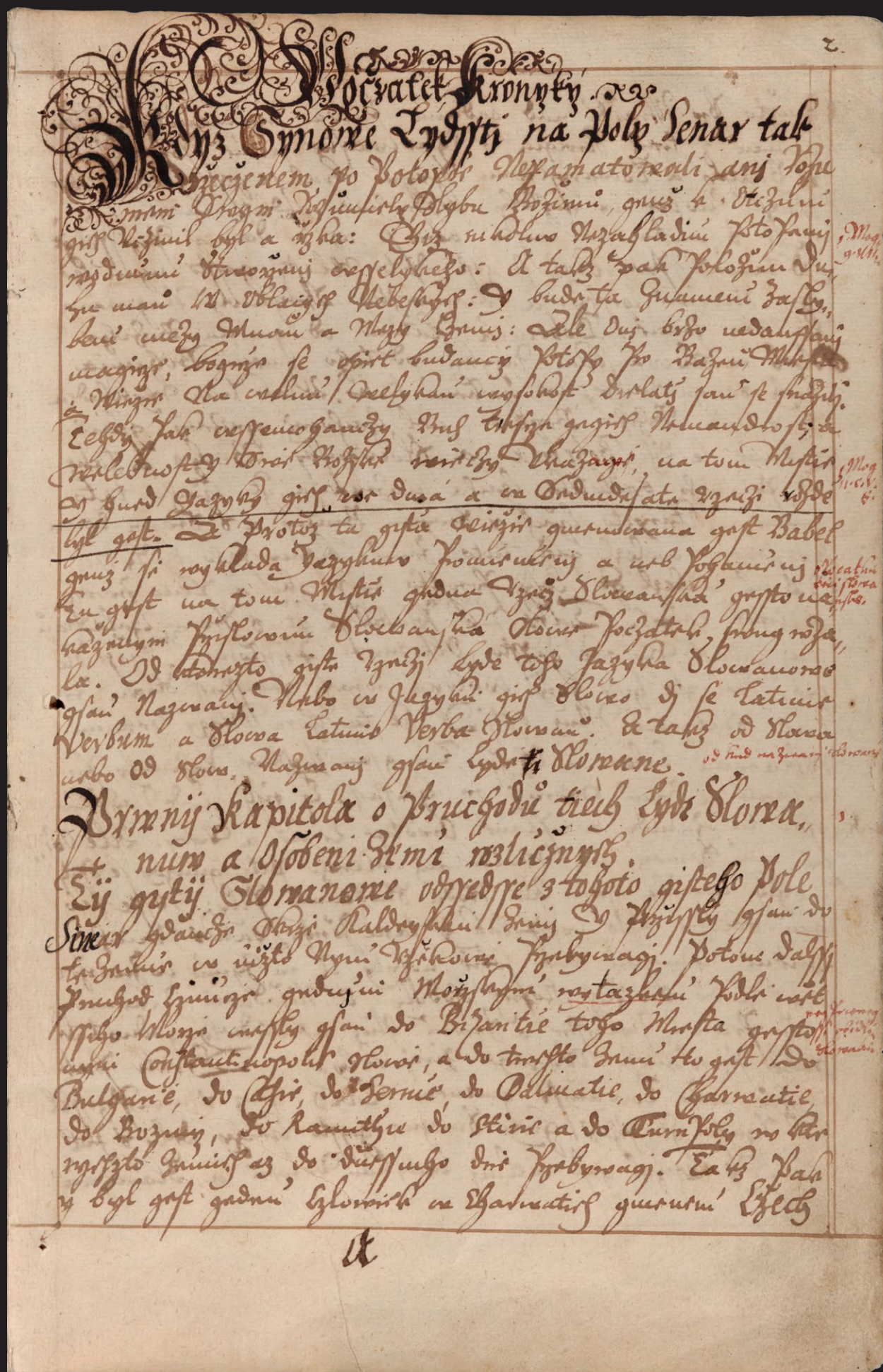


unfinished work straight away with an account of the beginnings of communion *sub utraque specie* and the events of 1414, when the Council of Constance opened. The Hussite Chronicle is thus an example of chronicle writing focused solely on contemporary events.



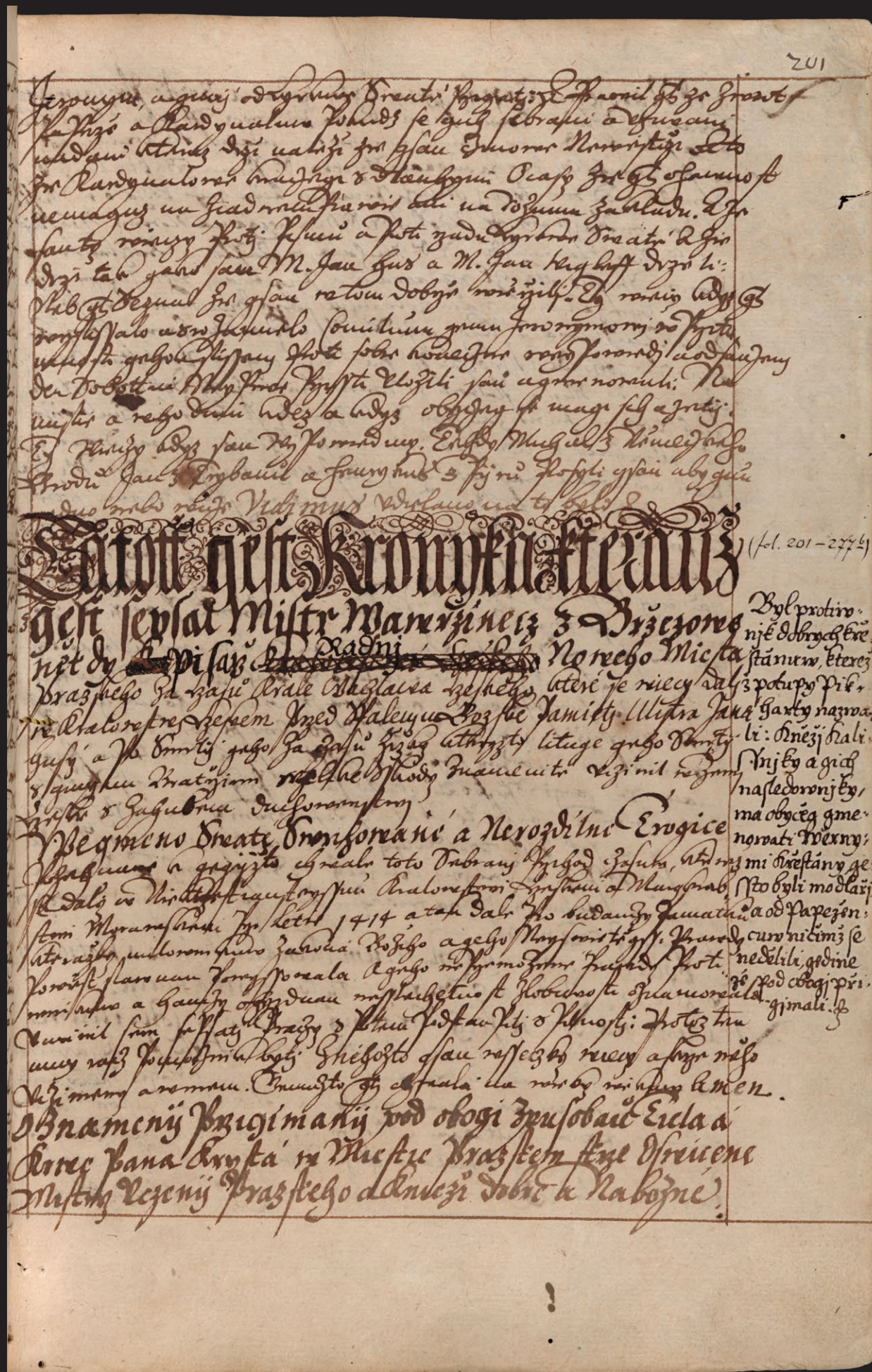
The manuscript on fols. 216r–238v contains, after Marignola's and Pulkava's chronicles, the famous autobiography of their patron Charles IV.

Charles IV, *Vita Caroli*, Bohemia, second half of the fifteenth century. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark I D 10, fol. 216r.



A rare testimony to the manuscript transmission of medieval historiography in the Baroque period, in the form of an extensive collection of Czech-language works compiled, and for the most part copied in 1619, by the citizen of Kutná Hora Jakub Brázda. On fols. 1r–134v there is the Old Czech translation of the final redaction of the Chronicle of Pribík Pulkava of Radenín († 1380), the only successful work among the historiographical texts produced at the initiative of Charles IV.

Přibík Pulkava of Radenín, Chronicle, Bohemia, early 17th century. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark XIX a 50, fol. 2r.



The manuscript uniquely preserves on fols. 201r–277v the Old Czech translation of the Chronicle of Laurence of Březová († c. 1437), with an account of the beginnings of communion under both kinds, as the first rubric testifies: “The Announcement of Communion under Both Kinds of the Body and Blood of the Lord Christ in the City of Prague through the Enlightened Masters of the University of Prague and Good and Devout Priests.”

Laurence of Březová, Chronicle, Bohemia, early seventeenth century. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark XIX a 50, fol. 201r.



HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE AGE OF PRINT

Although the immediate influence of Cosmas' Chronicle ended in the fourteenth century, it continued to represent the most important source for knowledge of the Czech early Middle Ages. Chroniclers of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries repeatedly returned to it—referring to it, quoting it, and taking information from it, either directly or through later chronicles that drew on its tradition, above all the work of Přebík Pulkava of Radenín.

During the fifteenth century, society underwent a major transformation and many changes that were also reflected in literary and historical writing. After the Middle Ages, when historiography had been closely tied to the ecclesiastical milieu and the princely court, early modern historiography began to flourish. Authors of historical and literary works were now also laymen, who wrote not only on commission but also out of their own interest in history and contemporary events.



The invention of printing played a key role in the development of historiography, making information accessible to broader social groups. Books ceased to be a rarity and became a normal part of life, which deepened knowledge and increased readership among both nobles and townspeople. Historical literature became a popular genre and enjoyed great success, as attested by the numerous works published on Czech and European history, cosmography, travel writing and historical calendars.

Alongside the variety of genres and the integration of history into everyday life, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also brought a change of approach to historical sources: their quantity increased and they became more accessible. Modern chroniclers thus had the opportunity to draw on various sources, to evaluate them critically, and to compare them.

One of the first works to describe Czech history systematically in the context of European history was the *Historia Bohemica*. Its author was the Italian humanist, politician and later pope Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405–1464).

In writing the chronicle he drew on available sources, especially works created under the reign of Charles IV, such as the Chronicle of Přebík Pulkava of Radenín, the text of Giovanni Marignola, or excerpts from the Chronicle of the so-called Dalimil. Piccolomini did not simply reproduce the information, however—he approached it critically, added his own comments, and pointed out doubts he had about the account of certain events, particularly those that in Cosmas are associated with the legendary tales of the elders.



Schedel's chronicle, printed in 1493 in both German and Latin versions, became one of the greatest bestsellers of its time. It was the first printed "world history" with extensive illustrations, which also depict regional history—including that of the Czechs. Cosmas is represented here indirectly through chroniclers of the time of Charles IV, especially Přebík Pulkava of Radenín.

Hartmann Schedel, Liber chronicarum. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 42 B 26, fol. 177v.



The view of Prague from Schedel's chronicle shows the city dominated by Prague Castle, raised as the central point of the landscape. In this context it becomes a visual symbol of statehood, historical continuity, and the centre of princely power.

Hartmann Schedel, Liber
chronicarum. Nuremberg: Anton
Koberger, 1493. National Library of
the Czech Republic, shelfmark 42
B 26, fol. 230.



Veleslavín's *Kalendář historický* "Historical Calendar" is one of the most important works of Czech humanist historiography. In a clear format it presents a summary of historical, religious and cultural events, arranged by the days of the year—from the creation of the world to the author's own time. In its second edition, on 21 October, it records Cosmas' death.

Daniel Adam of Veleslavín, *Kalendář Hystorycky*. Prague: Daniel Adam of Veleslavín, 1590. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 54 S 911.



CZECH HUMANIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the sixteenth century a number of historical works were produced in Bohemia reflecting the humanist thought of the time. Besides manuscript texts, four authorial chronicles published in print between the 1530s and 1550s achieved particular success.

The first chronicle written in Czech and intended directly for print was *The Chronicle of the Foundation of the Land of Bohemia...* by Martin Kuthen of Šprinsberk (c. 1510–1564). Its aim was to present Czech history from the beginnings down to 1527 in a concise and accessible way. Although it was not an extensive work, the illustrations with portrait medallions of Czech rulers played a significant role. These not only helped structure the narrative and make it more accessible to readers, but also became a model for depictions of rulers for centuries to come.

The foundations of a new image of Czech history, different from the medieval one, were laid by Václav Hájek's *Bohemian Chronicle*.



His chronicle offers a chronological account of the Czech past, where real and fictional events are interwoven in broader contexts. In addition to the history of Czech rulers, it also pays attention to nobles and townsmen, which makes it unique. Thanks to its clear narrative and rich illustrations, Hájek's Chronicle met with great success and for centuries ranked among the most popular books on Czech history.

Even contemporaries, however, were aware that many of Hájek's data were inaccurate or entirely fictitious. Nevertheless, his chronicle overshadowed Cosmas' Chronicle, influenced the perception of Czech history and the development of historiography, and played an important role in the growth of Czech culture and learning until the eighteenth century.

Latin-written *Historiae Regni Bohemiae* by Jan Dubravius († 1553), bishop of Olomouc, was one of the first humanist attempts at a comprehensive treatment of Czech history. The work took the form of a so-called "mirror for princes": the account of the deeds of Czech rulers was meant as instruction and

a moral example for the young Habsburg Maximilian II, to whom the book was dedicated.



I Léta od Narození syna Božího Svesti Stě-
ho / Třidcátého Dewatého / za Constantyna Cysa-
ře Římského syna Herakleova / muž něvatý z Illy-
rii: to gest z Charwat possly: gmenem Čech. vraž-
du mezy swými s pachaw / a strz to pomsty se oba-
wage s Bratrem genuž Lech říkali / y sewostí Čele-
dij swau do země této gest přissel. a wida Kraginu
odewssech wěcy hoynau / a na obilij vrodnu / tu gse
gest osadil. a s obywateli. kteříž na ten čas byli. se
s přiznaw w bezkém času Zemi tuto lidem rozmnožil
Kterijž to pro geho rozssassnost / a dobrotiwošt pá-
nem worchným nad sebau ho učinili.

E A tak hned tehdáž dwogij národ spolu se s mý-
sly. Geden Česky od Čecha / a z Charwat přicho-
zý. Druhý Německý tu přijedúcy / z něhož gsau
Srbipossli. A ti obogij potom časem swým od se

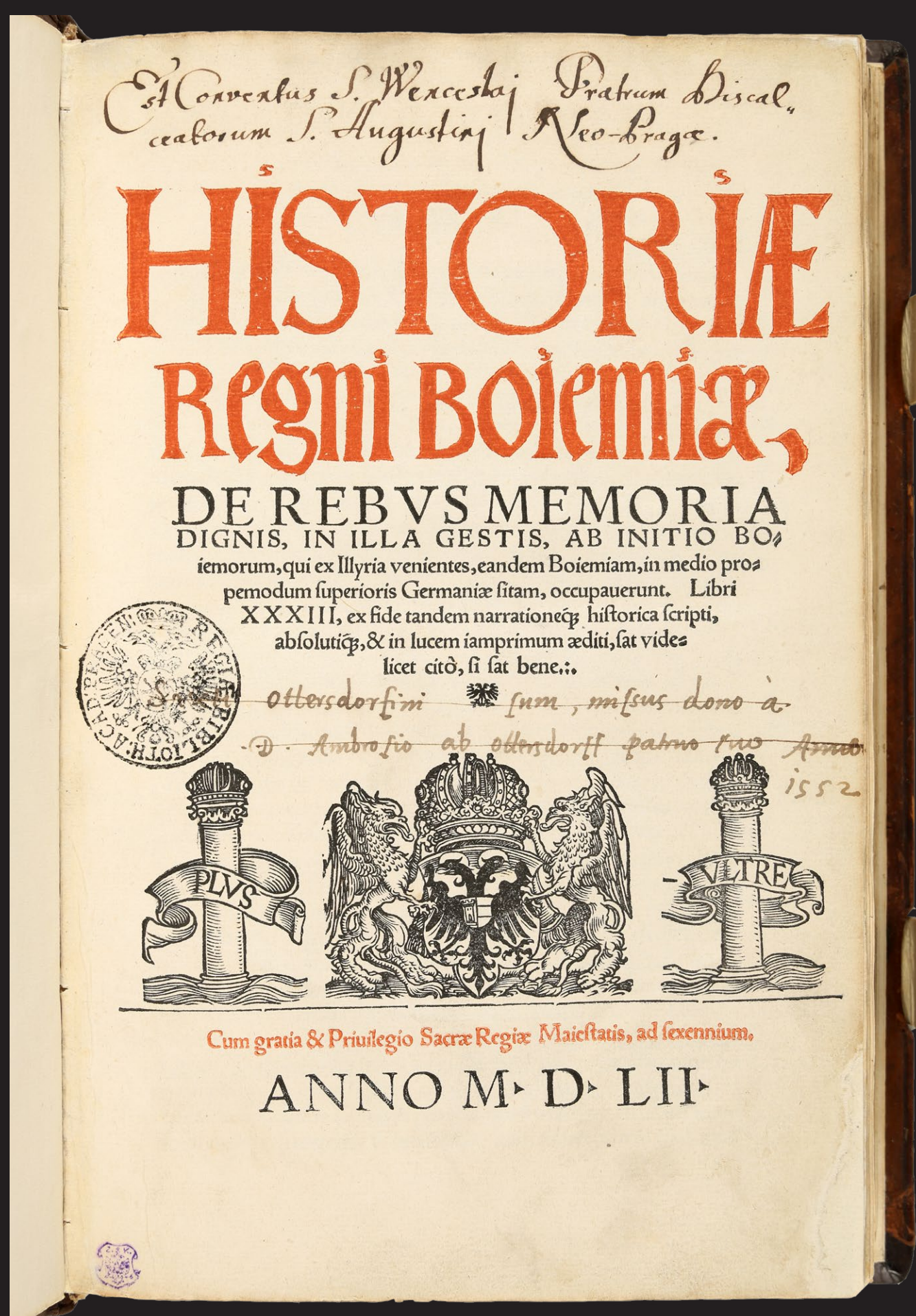
Forefather Čech.

Martin Kuthen of Šprinsberk, The Chronicle of the Foundation of the Land of Bohemia, and of its First Inhabitants, as well as of the Princes and Kings and their Deeds and Stories, briefly compiled from many Chroniclers. Prague: [Pavel Severýn of Kapí Hora], 1539. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark I 68833.



Title page of Hájek's Chronicle, which influenced the interpretation of Czech history and the development of Czech historiography from the sixteenth century onwards.

Václav Hájek of Libočany, *Kronyka Česká*. Prague: Jan Severýn, Ondřej Kubeš of Žípy, 1541. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 54 a 70.



The Latin *Historiae regni Bohemiae* by Jan Dubravius († 1553), bishop of Olomouc, is one of the first humanist attempts at a comprehensive treatment of Czech history. The work takes the form of a so-called “mirror for princes” – a narrative of the deeds of Czech rulers intended as instruction and a moral example for the young Habsburg Maximilian II, to whom the book is dedicated.

Jan Dubravius, *Historiae Regni Boemiae...* Prostějov: Jan Günther, 1552. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 50 B 3.



HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE BAROQUE ERA

The chronicles of the mid-sixteenth century temporarily satisfied the demand for a comprehensive account of Czech history, and later authors therefore focused rather on more specific themes, such as genealogy. In the seventeenth century, history became part of general education and a popular subject of literature and drama. Baroque historiography built on earlier traditions but placed greater emphasis on the critique and publication of sources.

The task of historians was now not only to describe history or to verify the credibility and authenticity of sources, but also to make them available, often in the form of editorial series. After the Battle of White Mountain, Czech historiography divided into exile and domestic strands. Exile authors, such as Pavel Stránský (1583–1657), defended Czech state liberties in the European context. His *Respublica Bohemiae* celebrated Czech history and constitutional tradition.

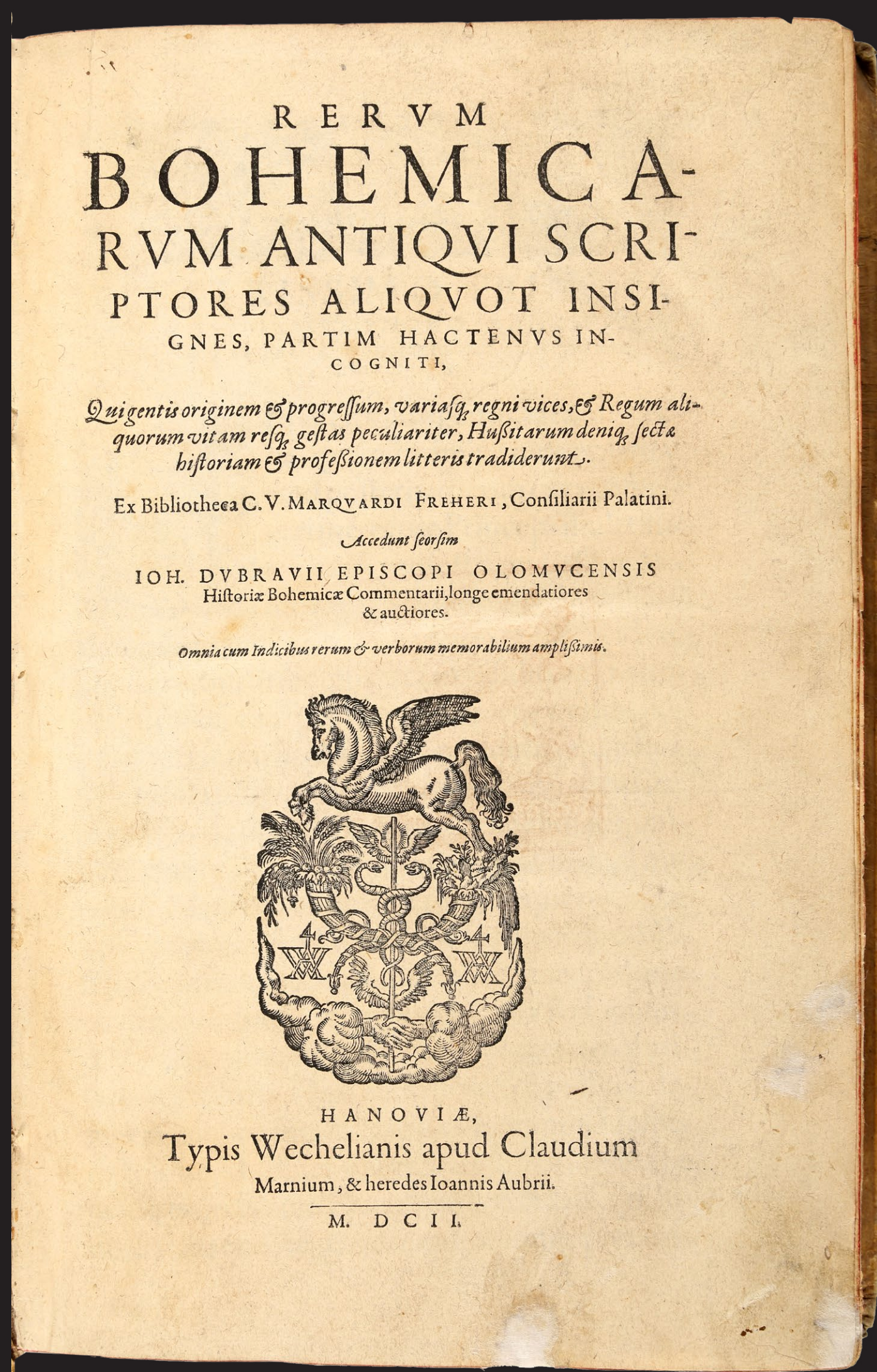


Domestic historiography, influenced by re-Catholicisation, was also characterised by a strongly patriotic tone; compared with the exile tradition, however, it placed greater emphasis on tradition and religious themes. History became an integral part of social life, was taught at Jesuit grammar schools and universities, and was a frequent subject of disputations and academic theses.

An important representative of domestic historiography was the Jesuit Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688), who engaged in a comprehensive treatment of Czech history. His historical-hagiographical work *Epitome historica rerum Bohemicarum* was intended as the foundation for a synthetic history of the Czech lands, *Historia Bohemica universalis*, which in the end he did not complete. In preparing this work, Balbín studied most of the narrative sources, both Czech and foreign, supplementing them with diplomatic material, which he considered more reliable. His conception of Czech history is imbued with religion and strong patriotism, and is framed as a celebration of Catholic Bohemia.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century,

a younger generation of historians came to the fore, among them Jan František Beckovský (1658–1725), a Knight of the Cross with the Red Star. The author of numerous hagiographical and religious works, he is also known as the creator of another important national chronicle, published under the title *The Messenger of Old Czech Stories*, which made Czech history accessible to the broader public.



The first edition of Cosmas' Chronicle published by Marquard Freher in 1602, based on the now-lost Strasbourg manuscript.

Marquard Freher, *Rervm Bohemicarvm Antiqvi Scriptores Aliqvot Insignes...* Hanau: Typis Wecheliani, Johann Aubry, 1602. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark Sb 337.



The expanded and revised version of Pavel Stránský's *Respublica Bojema* represents one of the most important exile texts of the seventeenth century. In it Stránský defends the historical individuality of the Czech state and its legal and cultural traditions. Intended for the educated public of Europe, the *Respublica Bojema* became one of the most widely disseminated Bohemian printed works of the early modern period.

Pavel Stránský, *RESPUBLICA BOJEMA*. Leiden: Officina Elzeviriana, 1643. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 19 K 73.



An allegorical depiction of Bohemia as a rose surrounded by thorns symbolises both the beauty of the land and its suffering through history.

Bohuslav Balbín, *Epitome historica rerum Bohemicarum...* Prague: Typis Universitatis Caroli-Ferdinandae, 1677. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 50 a 21.



THE BEGINNINGS OF CRITICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the eighteenth century historical knowledge was greatly deepened and made more scholarly. Historians sought to stimulate intellectual activity not only by publishing academic works but also by making sources and diplomatic material available. Towards the end of the eighteenth century their study became more systematic, and increasing emphasis was placed on their critical evaluation.

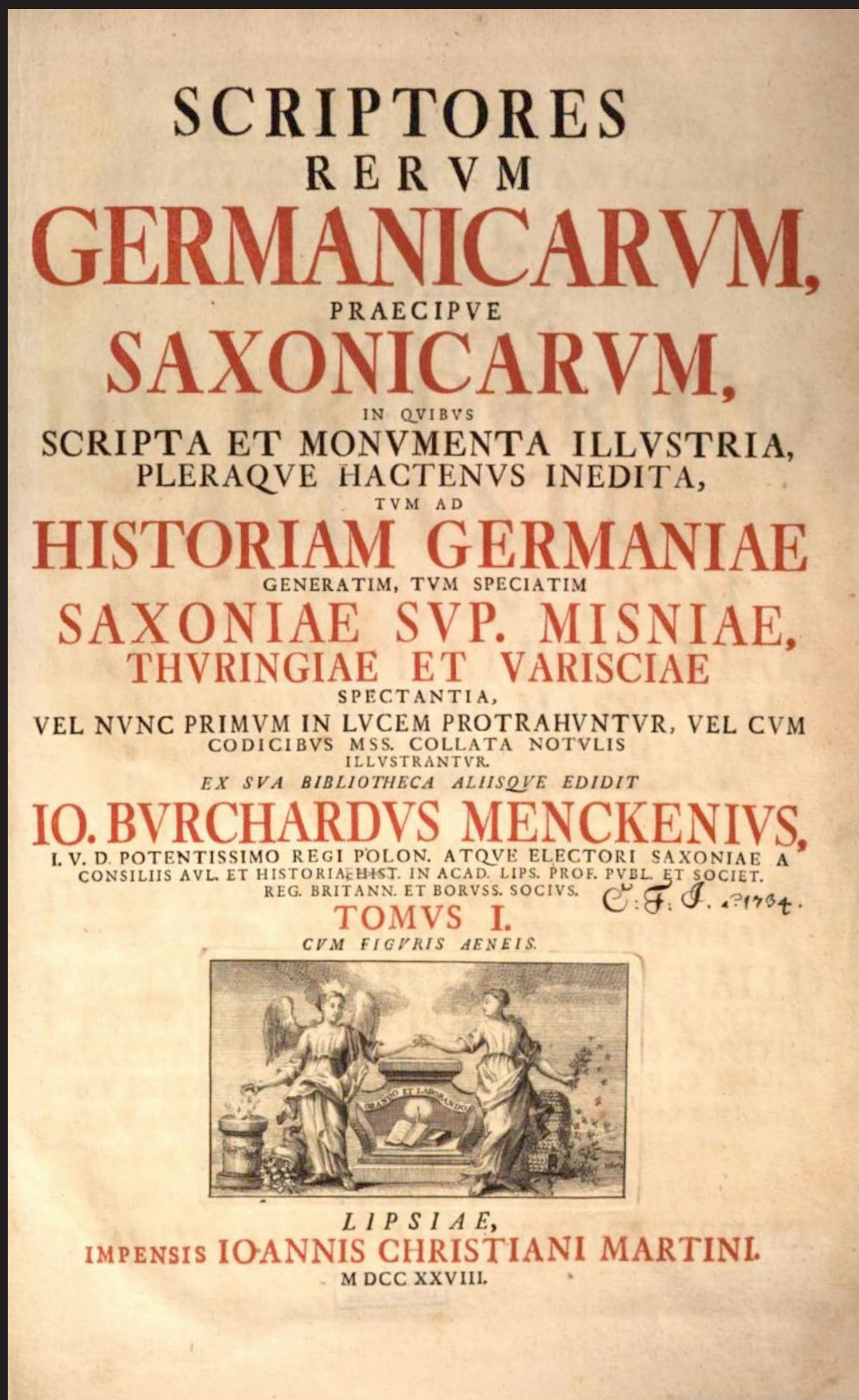
The importance of working with sources was recognised by the representative of Enlightenment historiography Gelasius Dobner (1719–1790), who stressed objective criticism of sources and a more systematic study of narrative as well as diplomatic material. He became the founder of modern historical criticism in Czech historiography and, as editor of the first Czech source edition, *Monumenta historica Bohemiae*, made available previously unpublished Latin sources for Czech history. In preparing a planned Latin



translation of Hájek's Chronicle he composed a critical commentary, in which he pointed out its unreliability.

František Martin Pelcl also highlighted the importance of editing and publishing sources. In his synthetic histories he described the Czech past and at the same time provided information on the available sources. In *Abbildungen böhmischer und mährischer Gelehrten und Künstler* he presented leading figures of Czech and Moravian history, including Cosmas. Together with Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829) he took part in producing the two-volume critical edition *Scriptores rerum Bohemicarum, e bibliotheca ecclesiae metropolitanae Pragensis*, in which Cosmas' Chronicle and the works of its continuators were first published in Bohemia.

The close of the eighteenth century thus marked a deeper and more scholarly approach to history. The editorial work of Dobner and Pelcl profoundly influenced subsequent generations of historians and laid the foundations of modern Czech historiography.



Johann Burkhard Mencke included Cosmas' Chronicle in the first volume of his extensive editorial series *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum praecipue Saxonicarum* (1728). The aim of this project was to make important historical sources available for the history of medieval Germany and Central Europe.

Johann Burkhard Mencke, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum Praecipue Saxonicarum... TOMVS I.* Leipzig: Johann Christian Martini, 1728. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 65 B 319/T.1.



The work of František Martin Pelcl presents 87 major figures of Czech and Moravian history, science and culture. Among them is the chronicler Cosmas, one of the most significant authors of the Czech Middle Ages.

František Martin Pelcl, *Abbildungen Böhmischer und Mährischer Gelehrten und Künstler... Erster Theil.* Prague: Wolfgang Gerle, 1773. National Library of the Czech Republic, shelfmark 45 E 78/T.1.



Francisci Pubitscha
Prieſters von der Geſellſchaft Jeſu

485

Chronologiſche Geſchichte Böhmens

unter den Slaven.

Erſter Theil,
welcher das heidniſche Böhmen enthält.



Mit Kupfern.

Leipzig und Prag,
bey Franz Auguſtin Höchenberg und Compagnie. 1770.

František Pubička's
Chronologische Geschichte
Böhmens unter den Slaven pre-
sents a systematic chronological
overview of Czech history from
its Slavic beginnings. The work
was written at a time when the
eighteenth century brought
a significant deepening of histor-
ical research and an emphasis
on critical engagement with
sources. Pubička continued the
Enlightenment tradition strongly
shaped by historians such as
Gelasius Dobner and František
Martin Pelcl.

František Pubička, Chronologische
Geschichte Böhmens unter
den Slaven... Erster Theil.
Leipzig; Prague: Franz Augustin
Höchenberg, 1770. National Library
of the Czech Republic, shelfmark
Cheb 9/2.

COSMAS' CHRONICLE IN CZECH MUSIC OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Dating only fifteen years apart, two monumental musical works in which the text of Cosmas' Chronicle is encountered differ greatly from one another, although both employ the means of the musical-dramatic genre and both are non-scenic.

Whereas Jindřich Feld composed the Czech–Latin *Cosmae Chronica Boemorum* / *Kosmova Kronika česká*: oratorium–kantáta for soloists, choir and symphony orchestra (1988) using traditional resources of the vocal–instrumental ensemble, in Miloslav Kabeláč's *E fontibus Bohemicis* (a composition existing in two versions: a Czech one, subtitled *Šest obrazů z českých letopisů*, and a Latin one, subtitled *Visiones sex*) these resources serve merely as preparatory sound material for the composer's work in the sound laboratory. Kabeláč realised the work in the former Electronic Studio of Czechoslovak Radio in Plzeň.

In Kabeláč's electroacoustic composition, described as “concrete music created from speech and song, from the sound of the organ and from the sound of the Zikmund bell” (completed with a radio announcement in 1973), we find not only selected passages from Cosmas' Chronicle but also from the speech of the Prague scholastic Vojtěch Raňkov of Ježov at the funeral of Charles IV (1378) and from a university disputation – a quodlibet (1411) – by Master Jan Hus; all are presented here in recitation.

Equally important are the historical musical elements: to the vocal choir (the Plzeň choir Česká píseň recorded the song for subsequent electroacoustic processing) is assigned the oldest known Czech musical monument, the hymn *Hospodine, pomiluj ny* (first attested, incidentally, by Cosmas himself); to the organ the Hussite song *Povstaň, povstaň, veliké město pražské* (the base recording was made in Plzeň's Cathedral of St Bartholomew by Václav Rabas). The central musical element of the composition is the sound of the St Vitus Cathedral bell Zikmund (for permission to record its sound, Kabeláč applied to the presidential office and the

St Vitus chapter – the recorded material was subsequently processed in the former Research Institute of Radio and Television in Prague, originally intended for his unfinished cycle *Hradčanské vigilie*).



Composer Jindřich Feld (1925–2007). In the twelve-part structure of Feld's *Cosmae Chronica Boemorum* (1. Prologue, 2. Forefather Čech, 3. Krok's Daughters, 4. Libuše's Judgement, 5. Přemysl, 6. Libuše's Prophecy, 7. St Wenceslas, 8. Boleslav II, 9. St Adalbert, 10. Invocation of the Muse, 11. The Furious Priest, 12. Epilogue) the entire Chronicle is thematically surveyed.

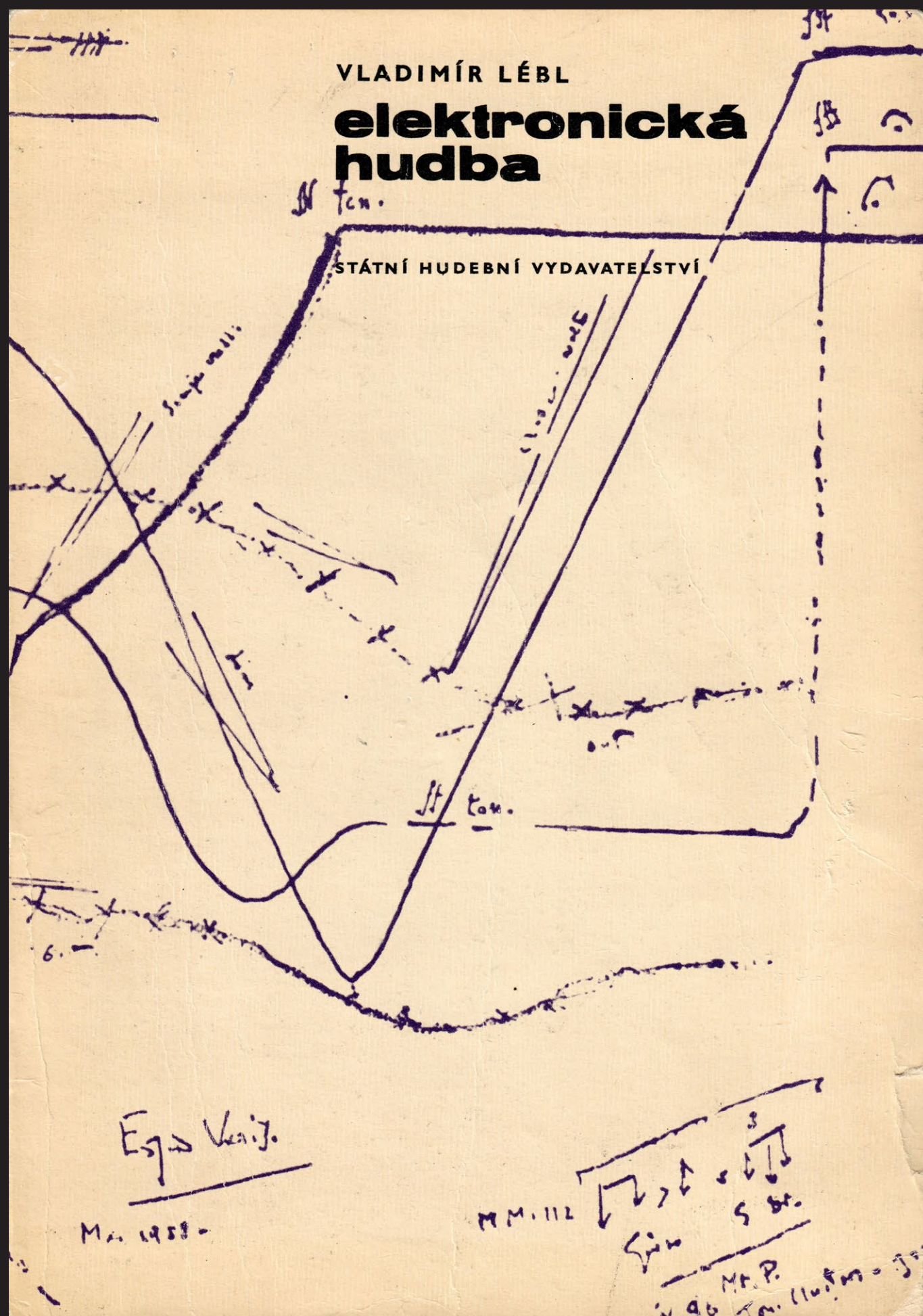
National Museum – Czech Museum of Music, inventory no. 3/2001. Photo: Josef Molín.



Composer Miloslav Kabeláč (1908–1979). Composer Otmar Mácha compared *E fontibus Bohemicis* to Smetana's best-known cycle: "I am convinced that this is a work of the significance of *Má vlast* in the 20th century [...]; I am so firmly convinced of this that I cannot keep it to myself (and I have already said so in some places without your consent)." O. Mácha in a letter to M. Kabeláč (30 July 1973; published in *Hudební věda*, 1999).

Photo: Private archive of PhDr. Zdeněk Nouza.

Cover of Vladimír Lébl's book



Elektronická hudba (Prague: Státní hudební vydavatelství, 1966), the first comprehensive domestic publication on electroacoustic (electronic in the broad sense) music intended for a wider public. “In connection with electronic music one often speaks of the dehumanisation of music by machines [...]. Personally, in contact with these devices and especially in working with them, I feel the dehumanisation of myself and of my work in submitting to their possibilities and limitations. [...] But this is a necessary stage of preparation for a counterattack, for mastering the machines. And the more perfect my dehumanisation by the machines, the more perfect will be their humanisation by me.”

M. Kabeláč in the lecture The Composer in the Sound Laboratory, delivered at the first domestic seminar on electroacoustic music, in: Sborník přednášek o problémech elektronické hudby. Book II, Prague – Bratislava: Panton, 1964.

THE COMPOSITIONS OF MILOSLAV KABELÁČ

Concrete music “can [...] analyse sounds which we do not count among tones. By such analysis we discover the inner musical life of complex sounds, one that the normal ear is not capable of perceiving. If you were, for example, to hear the analysed elements of the sound of a great bell, you would certainly agree with me that in some temporal and frequency sections an autonomous music arises.” (Miloslav Kabeláč in an interview for the journal *Hudební rozhledy*, 1969).

Composer Miloslav Kabeláč, who followed with keen interest the work of his contemporaries and who displayed a deep attachment to the Czech and European musical tradition, was above all drawn in the realm of electroacoustic music to so-called *musique concrète*, associated with the pioneering figure Pierre Schaeffer. Its point of departure lay in already existing sounds and tones, although *E fontibus Bohemicis* also includes elements of music in the stricter sense of the electronic,

built upon the synthesis of electronically generated sound waves (at the time when electroacoustic music was beginning to develop in Czechoslovakia, these two areas were not yet strictly separated).

In a letter to conductor Karel Ančerl, Kabeláč wrote of *E fontibus Bohemicis*: “It could also be a symphony (the ninth!) given its cyclic nature and its thematic and sonic interconnectedness...” (12 December 1972; published in *Hudební věda*, 1999).

Whereas for his Seventh and Eighth Symphonies Kabeláč selected and adapted biblical texts directly, in *E fontibus Bohemicis* the biblical word resonates differently – as a word transmitted, nurturing, carried forward by tradition. In the fourth tableau it is mediated by the speech of Vojtěch Raňkov of Ježov at the funeral of Charles IV, rich in direct biblical quotations; in the sixth tableau it appears in Hus’ quodlibet, which views Prague through the imagery of the personified city-as-woman, familiar for example from the biblical Lamentations. The work opens with Cosmas’ text recalling the biblical Flood and the Confusion of Tongues, conceptually

linking the national chronicle with the universal history of salvation. Any interpretation of E fontibus Bohemicis as a patriotic work in the sense of a mere attachment to local realities would represent a fundamental distortion of the composer's artistic intent.

POZNÁMKY O ELEKTRONICKÉ A KONKRETNÍ HUDBĚ

Dr. JAN MATĚJČEK

Naše hudební veřejnost není, až snad na několik výjimek, dostatečně informována o nových «objevech» na poli hudební tvorby, totiž o hudbě elektronické a konkrétní.¹⁾ Přinášíme proto několik poznámek o tomto «epochálním vynálezu» úpadkové buržoazní kultury, které čerpáme z článků a informací těch «šťastlivců», kteří už mohli tuto «novou hudbu» slyšet.

Abychom mohli plně zhodnotit dosah a význam těchto experimentů, je třeba se zmínit též o předchůdcích zvláště elektronické hudby, která je proti hudbě konkrétní postavena na matematicko-fyzický přesně odůvodněný základ. Tím ovšem není ještě řečeno, jak uvidíme později, že elektronická hudba je opravdu hudbou v našem smyslu.

U kolébky elektronické hudby nestojí ani tak Arnold Schönberg, jenž se snažil zbavit tóny jejich funkčnosti a který uvolnil chromatikou a vykořeněné tóny vřadil v abstraktní řád, jako spíše Anton Webern, jenž proces Schönbergem počatý, dovršil. Webern jednotlivé tóny zbavuje jejich efektu, odebrá jim vyjadřovací možnosti, vytváří pro ně novou «strukturu» dvou- až třítonovou a dochází tak až k jednotlivému, osamocnému tónu, který je určen již jen intervalovým poměrem. Tento jednotlivý tón je v elektronické hudbě podroben dalšímu «očistění». Skladatel, který až doposud skládal obvyklou hudbu v našem slova smyslu, nemůže — podle slov jednoho z předních zapadoněmeckých odborníků na elektronickou hudbu Herberta Eimerta — komponovat ihned elektronicky, protože tento způsob mu nedává naprosto žádné možnosti vyjadřovat elektronicky tradiční harmonické, melodické ba ani tónové skladné komponenty.

Podle Herberta Eimerta²⁾ je Webernův osamocný tón zvukové odbořán (klanglich abgebart). To co zbude, tvoří základ prostého, čistého tónu, který již nemá alikvotní tóny a je proto označován jako sinusový tón.³⁾ Tento sinusový tón je podle názoru zastánců elektronické hudby základem všech zvukových jevů, které vůbec existují. Tento tón je podle jejich názoru posledním bodem hudby, právě oním bodem, za kterým již začíná mlčení, jestliže pokládáme Weberna za jakéhosi dověřitele procesu uvolňování melodie a harmonie. A jakkoliv to je podivné, má právě u tohoto «mlčení» začátek elektronická hudba.

Terminologie elektronické hudby je rovněž sverážná. Tónem je pro elektronického skladatele vždy sinusový tón, který se v tradiční hudbě — a je to zvláštní pocit hovořit o tradiční hudbě, jakoby tu byla ještě nějaká jiná hudba, netradiční, v přímém protikladu k ní — vůbec nevyskytuje. Podle názoru elektroniků je to, co jsme zvyklí pokládat za tón houslí nebo klarinetu ve skutečnosti zvukem složeným z kmitů alikvotních tónů. Jestliže je nyní tento «zvuk» budován skladné mimo rámec přirozených, stupnic, hovoří se o «směsici tónů» (Tongemisch). Tato «směsice tónů» se v instrumentální hudbě vyskytuje podle elektronické terminologie jen u zvonů, kovových desek, tyčí a napnutých kůží, kdy zvuková existence počíná úderem a končí dozněním. «Přínosem» elektronické hudby však je,

že může takový zvuk (napnuté kůže, zvonu atp.) vyvolat pomocí elektronického přístroje, dát mu libovolnou sílu, délku a intenzitu.⁴⁾ Sinusový tón a «směsice tónů» je pro elektronické «skladatele» nová skladbná dimenze. Tím však terminologie elektroniků nekončí. Přistupuje další pojem, s nímž se musíme obeznámit, totiž pojem «hřmotu» (Geräusch). V této souvislosti je pak důležité poznamenat, že tvůrci elektronické techniky v hudbě pokládají za zvlášť významný přínos svého učení, že objevili akustické úkazy hudby, a že jich též mohou využít. Herbert Eimert dokonce soudí, že tento objev není o nic méně důležitý významem pro dnešní hudbu jako Rameauův



Ukázka „partitury“ elektronické hudby. Začátek „dla“ „Komposition 1953 Nr. 2“ od Karlheinz Stockhausena

«Centre Harmonique» pro starší hudbu, tonální a harmonické funkce hudby 19. století. Budeme-li dále hovořit o elektronické hudbě, musíme si uvědomit, že jejím základem není ani melodie, ani harmonie, ale abstraktní, «komponovaný zvuk», který s naším tónem nemá nic společného. Tento komponovaný zvuk však není v elektronické hudbě izolován, ale tvoří součást struktury elektronické hudby, která se zásadně liší od tradičních hudebních forem. Tato struktura se neopírá o plastické střídání A-B-A, ale o statické pořadí podle hustoty a řídkosti, kvantitativní shromažďování a rozptylování hudebních prvků. «Elektronická zvuková skladba předpokládá hudební myšlení v řadách, seriích, řádech a poměrech, je prostě součástí tohoto statisticko-seriového myšlení», praví H. Eimert v již citovaném článku. Tolik o některých základních pojmech, jimiž se řídí představitelé elektronické hudby při svých

experimentech. A nyní obraťme svou pozornost k elektronickým nástrojům.⁵⁾

Předpokladem pro elektronickou hudbu je elektroakustický nástroj s elektroakustickými lampami, jejichž kmity jsou v reproduktoru slyšitelné jako zvuky nebo hřmot (Klänge oder Geräusche).⁶⁾ Tyto zvuky nebo hřmoty jsou okamžitě zachycovány na magnetofonový pásek nebo na jiné kondensátory zvuku a je možno je reprodukovat libovolně často. Tóny, které vydává elektroakustický nástroj použitý pro tuto elektronickou hudbu, se v principu naprosto neliší od tónů, které vydává jiný elektroakustický nástroj, na příklad trautonium. Při elektronické hudbě je však novinkou to, že elektroakustické nástroje, jichž se používá k její výrobě — a je opravdu možno použít tohoto slova v pravém slova smyslu — nemohou sloužit k přímému provozování hudby, ale vyrobené zvuky či hřmoty jsou zásadně nahrávány na zvukové pásy. Při zvukovém sestavování elektronického díla používá elektronický skladatel, lépe řečeno zvukový montér, kromě elektroakustického nástroje nebo několika takových nástrojů, které jsou obsluhovány normálními klávesami nebo též knoflíky, ještě přijímacího přístroje, reprodukcího přístroje a dvou kontrolních reproduktorů.

Přijímací aparatura nahrává «skladatele» vymyšlené elektrické kmity, a první kontrolní reproduktor dává možnost kontrolovat, zda vyrobené zvuky odpovídají «skladatelovým» představám. Zde je důležité poznamenat, že k nahrávání zvuku dochází bez mikrofonu, tudíž že «skladatel» nemá možnost vzít svůj vyrobený zvuk na vědomí (akusticky). S přijímacím přístrojem je možno zvukový pás položit na reprodukcího přístroj, který je spojen s přijímacím přístrojem a s druhým kontrolním reproduktorem. Tím je umožněno «přikomponovat» ke zvukovému jevu, který se odehrává na reprodukcího přístroji (slyšitelnému prostřednictvím druhého kontrolního přijímače), druhý hlas, nebo jakkoliv již chceme označit druhý zvukový záznam slyšitelný reproduktorem č. 1. Tento proces můžeme libovolně dlouho opakovat. Je možno jej však též provést obráceně.⁷⁾ Kromě této fixace zvuků existuje ještě celá řada sverážných zákonitostí elektronické hudby. Je možno na příklad pustit pásek na reprodukcího přístroji jinou rychlostí než na nahrávacím, otočný směr pásku může být méně, pásek může být libovolně střídán a skládán atd. Jsou to opravdu již jen bezduché zvukové kombinace, které postřádají jakéhokoli nápadu, neomezují se již na náš hudební systém, ba dokonce jej plně opouštějí. Zvukový záznam, skladbu elektronických skladatelů již není možno zachycovat normálním způsobem, k tomu slouží pouze graf kmitočtů, frekvencí atd. (Viz obrázek.)

Zbývá dodat ještě jedno, jak tato hudba zní. Protože jsme sami ještě neměli možnost poslechnout si některé «dílo» elektronické hudby, jsme odkázáni na svědectví jiných. Podle článku Wernera Wolfa v cit. článku z «Musik und Gesellschaft» by nám naslouchání elektronické hudbě jistě připravilo mnohou nepříjem-

¹⁾ Podrobný článek o elektronických nástrojích přinesl německý hudební časopis Musik und Gesellschaft v čísle 12/1954, z něhož Werner Wolf, z něhož některé části uvádíme v přímém překladu.

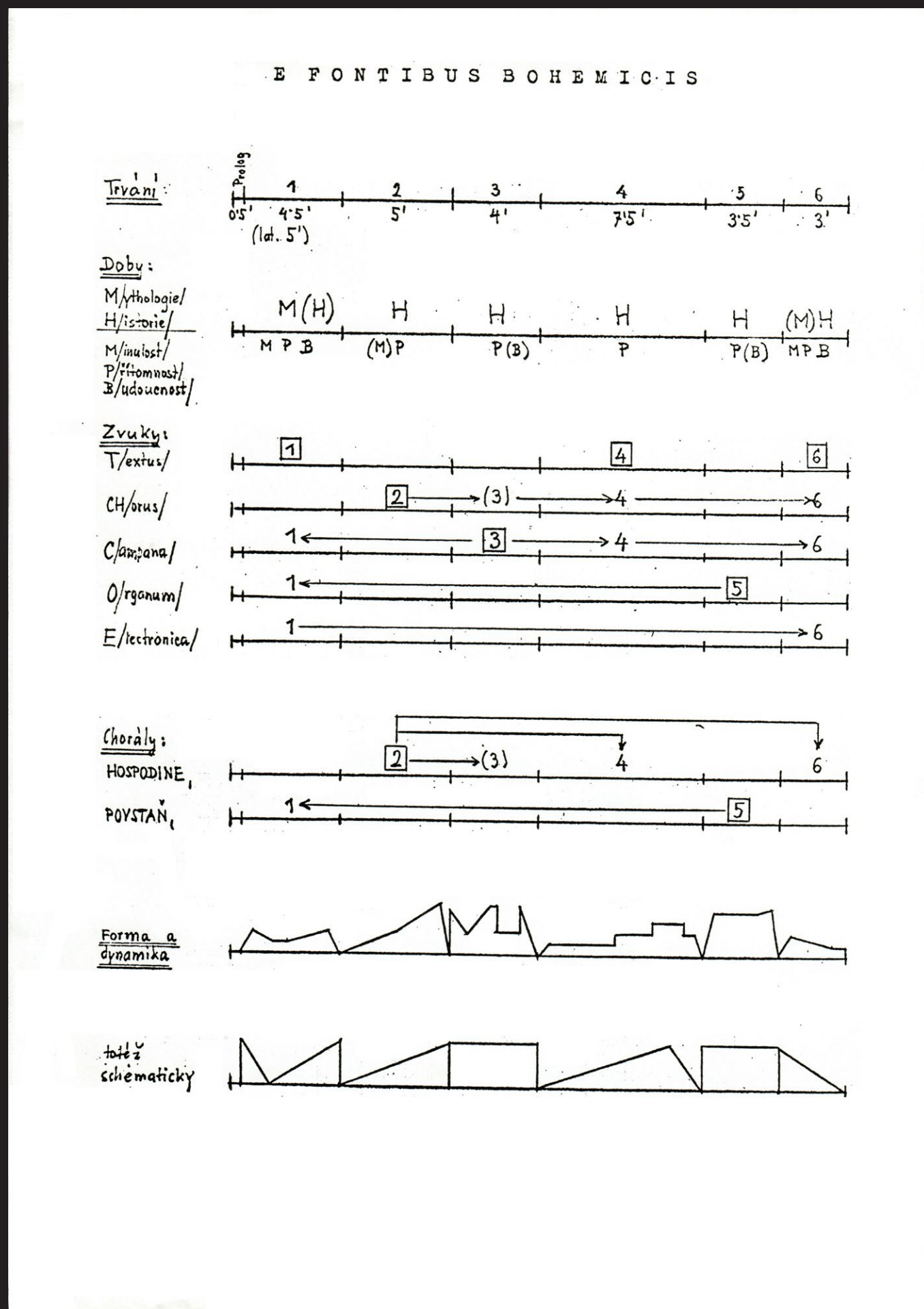
²⁾ Samozřejmě odvozeno od kmitání elektronů v elektronické lampě.

³⁾ Werner Meyer-Eppler: Elektronische Kompositionstechnik - Melos, sešit 1/1954 podle Musik und Gesellschaft 12/1954 - str. 22 a n.

⁴⁾ Z francouzského «musique concrète».

⁵⁾ Das Musikleben - 7/8 - 1954, str. 249 «Der Komponist und die elektronischen Klangmittel».

⁶⁾ Sinusovým tónem se nazývá proto, že grafickým znázorněním jeho kmitání je «sinusoid».



Kabeláč's diagram of the structure of *E fontibus Bohemicis*, which the composer presented when handing over the work to Czechoslovak Radio in Plzeň on 20 January 1973 during its non-public playback in the listening hall.

Tableau: Cosmas (The Chronicle of the Czechs begins)

Tableau: *Hospodine, pomiluj ny* (Fantasy on the oldest Czech sacred song)

Tableau: St Vitus Cathedral (Fantasy on the sound of the Zikmund bell)

Tableau: The Funeral of Charles IV (Sermon of Vojtěch Raňkov of Ježov)

Tableau: Hussite Prague (Fantasy on the song *Povstaň, povstaň, veliké město pražské*)

Tableau: Hus's Praise of Prague

The contribution of the individual components to the composition of each tableau is indicated in the diagram by the presence of the tableau's ordinal number. a framed ordinal number denotes the dominant component of that tableau.

Private archive of PhDr. Zdeněk Nouza.

COSMAS AROUND US

The “second life” of *Cosmas’ Chronicle*, as well as the remnants of his own time, are reflected in the buildings and works of art that we encounter every day.



From Cosmas’ time very little has survived at Prague Castle. The oldest masonry sacral building is the Church of the Virgin Mary, founded by Duke Bořivoj around the year 885.

Photo: Zdeněk Rerych.



The same church represented in an archaeological model.

© Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.



The oldest standing structure at Prague Castle is the Basilica of St George, founded by Vratislav I before 921. Although it has a Baroque façade, its two Romanesque towers still rise majestically above the capital.

Photo: Zdeněk Rerych.



The world around us changes, but the seat of the Vyšehrad canons still dominates the southern edge of Prague's centre.

Photo: Zdeněk Rerych.



A sculptural group by Radomír Dvořák, installed by the roadside between Dobřichovice and Karlík, depicts two mythical figures from Czech legend, the sisters Kazi and Teta. Created in 2015 from Kanfanar marble from Istria, the work illustrates the vitality of Czech mythical traditions today.

Photo: Zdeněk Rerych.



Kazín – a prehistoric stronghold closely linked with the story of the earliest mythical history of the Czechs. According to tradition, the legendary Kazi, famed for her knowledge of herbs and healing, was buried here in a mound.

Photo: Zdeněk Rerych.



Tetín – a stronghold on a rock above the River Berounka where, according to Cosmas, one of Duke Krok’s legendary daughters, Teta, resided; in reality, the scene of one of the major events of early Czech history – the murder of St Ludmila, grandmother of St Wenceslas.

Photo: Zdeněk Rerych.



Libušín – one of the Přemyslid strongholds closely associated with the account of the earliest mythical history of the Czechs. Here Libuše is said to have delivered her judgment, and from here she sent messengers to summon the new ruler Přemysl from Stadice.

Photo: Zdeněk Rerych.

REFLECTIONS IN THE VISUAL ARTS

In the nineteenth century, Cosmas' Chronicle became not only a symbol of Czech historiography and part of the debates on the origins of the Czech nation, but also a source of inspiration for artists who engaged in these discussions through their work. Its stories inspired both writers and prominent painters such as Václav Brožík and František Ženíšek. Scenes from the “beginnings of the Czech nation” thus naturally entered the public sphere.

In 1881 a public competition was announced for the decoration of Palacký Bridge. The sculptor Josef Václav Myslbek submitted designs depicting mythological figures from the early history of the Czechs. Four sculptural groups were eventually installed on the bridge, inspired not only by medieval sources but also by the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové: Ctirad and Šárka, Libuše and Přemysl, Lumír and Song, and Záboj and Slavoj.

During an air raid in February 1945 the works

were badly damaged and later moved to Vyšehrad. On display here is a terracotta model for the group Libuše and Přemysl.

EXHIBITED SCULPTURE

Josef Václav Myslbek

Libuše and Přemysl (competition model),
1881–1882, Fired clay, green patina

Height 83 cm, P 1117,
National Gallery Prague