

Some Remarks on the Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice's Foreign Sources

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Introduction

Written in the late 1140s in the Benedictine abbey of Hradisko in Olomouc and continued after the monks moved to Opatovice in Eastern Bohemia,¹ the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* are the oldest surviving historiographical work made in Moravia.² Although they offer precious information about the history of that region as well as about the beginnings of the monastery of Hradisko,³ they also contain a great deal of information about the history of Bohemia as well as a lengthy discussion dedicated to universal history, which is placed at the beginning of the work. The diversity of information provided in those annals results of course from the variety of sources used by its authors, since this work shows a likely influence from lost Moravian historical texts,⁴ large borrowings from the Bohemian historiographical production, especially from the *Chronicle of the Czechs* written by Cosmas of Prague, and considerable use of foreign sources. The main foreign source which the annalist had at their disposal was a “universal chronicle” which he used to relate information concerning general history up until the end of the tenth century, but two entries of the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* also show the influence of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and its continuation. The presence of these sources and the fact that the place they occupy in the annals differs greatly raises the questions of their function in this work. In order to try to answer to this interrogation, we will first study the case of the universal chronicle before fo-

¹ Josef Šrámek, “Zamyšlení nad stránkami analů hradištsko-opatovických Poznámka na okraj jedné středověké památky ve světle současného bádání,” *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 63, no. 4 (2011): 305.

² Martin Wihoda, “Analý hradištsko-opatovické nebo První moravská kronika? Po stopách nekosmického pojetí českých dějin,” in *Morava a české národní vědomí od středověku po dnešek*, ed. Jiří Malíř and Radomír Vlček (Brno: Matice moravská, 2002), 25–32.

³ See for instance Lukáš Reitinger, *Vratislav. První Král Čechů* (Prague: Aorg, 2017), 132.

⁴ Šrámek, “Zamyšlení nad stránkami analů hradištsko-opatovických,” 308. The use of lost Moravian sources, for instance, lost Medieval annals written in Olomouc, in the fifteenth century *Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae* has been demonstrated by David Kalhous: David Kalhous, “*Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae jako pramen k dějinám Moravy v 10. století?*,” *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica*, no. 11 (2007): 23–37.

ocusing on the question of the entries coming from Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and its continuation.

The "Universal Chronicle" in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice*

The analysis of the universal chronicle used in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* shows that this work must be identified with the *Chronicon Universale* of Frutholf of Michelsberg, which was continued by Ekkehard of Aura in the first quarter of the twelfth century.⁵ Most specialists agree that the information coming from this source was added to the annals during the first phase of their editing in the late 1140s. According to some scholars, the copy of the chronicle used by the annalist of Hradisko could have come from the library of the Olomouc cathedral chapter, which might have obtained it from the abbey of Corvey, since the Bishop of this time, Henry Zdík, had strong links with the monastery on the Weser river.⁶

The information borrowed from the *Chronicon Universale* forms the first part of the annals since its beginning with an entry concerning the birth of Christ up until the end of the ninth century. From this date, the information from the chronicle is intertwined with elements coming from the Bohemian historiographical production until the mention of the death of Conrad I of Swabia in 997, which is the last entry in the annals which was borrowed from the *Chronicon Universale*. The presence of this lengthy excerpt from the *Chronicon Universale* in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* plays an important role in their composition, and Josef Šrámek states that the annals themselves belongs to the genre of "World Chronicles".⁷ For this Czech scholar, a "World chronicle" is "a chronicle which endeavours to insert the described local events, which are the main center of interest of the chronicle's author, in the context of general events":⁸ the examination of the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* confirms that the annals match this description.

This attempt to inscribe past events of a local nature in a broader scope is not specific, however, to the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice*, as this ten-

⁵ Šrámek, "Zamyšlení nad stránkami análů hradíškovo-opatovických," 305. On this topic, see also Thomas J. H. Mc Carthy, *The Continuations of Frutolf of Michelsberg's Chronicle* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2018).

⁶ Ibid, 308.

⁷ Ibid, 305.

⁸ Šrámek, "Zamyšlení nad stránkami análů hradíškovo-opatovických," 305.

gency can also be observed in the *Chronicle of the Czechs* written by Cosmas of Prague as well as in the continuation of this work by the monk of Sázava. In Cosmas' case, the entries concerning foreign history come chiefly from the continuation of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* (about 20 entries), although some manuscripts of this chronicle also contain some notes borrowed from an annalistic work related to the lost *Annals of Hersfeld*. It is worth noting that all the foreign entries in the chronicle concern the tenth century and are preceded by a short mention of the Flood and the episode of the Tower of Babel (book I, chapter 1),⁹ by a brief geographical description to locate Bohemia (book I, chapters 1–2),¹⁰ by an account of the oldest past of the Bohemians (book I, chapters 2–18)¹¹ as well as by a reference to the baptism of Bořivoj in 894 (book I, chapter 14),¹² which is the first dated event in Cosmas' work. The foreign information, which concerned chiefly the history of the Ottonians, appear therefore not as a prologue to the national past but as intertwined with it. In the work of the monk of Sázava, the foreign entries concerned chiefly the history of the German lands in the tenth century and come from the *Annals of Quedlinburg*. They form the main part of the group notes dating from the period 932–1001 and preceding the reference to the foundation of the monastery of Sázava, as only four references concerning Bohemian history are recorded in this part of the work, the oldest of them concerning the year 990.¹³ This list of annalistic entries follows a short prologue which sums up the division of the ages of the world according to Saint Jerome,¹⁴ and the association of those two elements enhances the universal character of the first part of the work of the monk of Sázava. The annalistic notes recorded after the account

⁹ *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum-Cosmas Of Prague Chronicle of the Czechs*, ed. János M. Bák and Pavlína Rychterová (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2020), 8–9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10–11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 12–71.

¹² *Ibid.*, 60–61.

¹³ “Mnich sázawský” (Continuation of Cosmas of Prague) by the monk of Sázava, year 990: “Eodem anno sanctus Adalbertus, episcopus Pragensis ecclesiae sanctae, Romae ad sanctum Alexium confessorem et ad sanctum Bonifacium inscio abbate, quis esset, factus est monachus. Item eodem anno Nemci perdita est,” in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum, volume II*, ed. Josef Emler, trans. Václav Vladivoj Tomek (Prague: Museum království České, 1874), 240.

¹⁴ “Mnich sázawský”, *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, 238: “De chronica sancti Hieronymi et compositione annorum. Beatus Hieronimus in chronica, quam propriis manibus contextuit, ita commemorat: Ab Adam usque ad diluvium anni 2242. A diluvio usque ad Abraham anni 942. Ab Abraham usque ad nativitatem Domini anni 2015. In quorum summa inveniuntur quinque milia et insuper centum nonaginta novem.”

of the monastery's foundation concern exclusively Bohemian and Moravian history, with a focus on the past of the monastery.

The examples of the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice*, of Cosmas' *Chronicle* and of its continuation by the monk of Sázava show clearly that attempting to insert a national or even a local past in a broader context was not an uncommon practice in twelfth century Bohemian and Moravian historiography, although this tendency is chiefly present in the works which propose an extensive narrative of Bohemian and Moravian history and does not usually appear in the works which are a continuation of Cosmas' *Chronicle*, the only exception being the continuation by the monk of Sázava. The extensive use of the *Chronicon Universale* in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* is thus clearly connected with this "metanational" vision of the past.

Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and its Continuation in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice*

The function of the *Chronicle Universale* in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* being established, it is now time to turn our attention to the use of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and of its continuation. As stated above, the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* contain only one entry from both works. The entry from Regino's text relates the beginning of Svatopluk's rule in Bohemia in 890; according to the abbot of Prüm, the right to rule in this land would have been granted to the Moravian ruler by Arnulf of Carinthia. Svatopluk's rule in Bohemia is mentioned in four Bohemian and Moravian sources:

Table 1: Svatopluk's rule in Bohemia in Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and in Bohemian and Moravian narrative sources

<i>Reginonis Abbatis Prumensis Chronicon cum Continuatione Trevirensi</i> , ed. Friedrich Kurze (éd.) Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 50, Hannover, 1890, 134:	<i>Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum</i> , 60 and 62:	“Letopisy hradištsko- opatovické”, Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum, Volume II, ed. Josef Emler, transl. by V. V. Tomek, Prague, 1874, 386:	“Letopisy české”, <i>Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum</i> , Volume II, ed. Josef Emler, transl. V. V. Tomek, Prague, 1874, 380:	“Auctarium Mellicense”, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores in folio, IX, Georg Heinrich Pertz (red.), Hannover, 1851, 536:
<i>Anno dominicae incarnationis DCCCXXC. Arnulfus rex concessit Zuendibolch, Marahaensium Sclavorum regi ducatum Behemensium...</i>	<i>Eodem anno Zuatapoluch, rex Moraviae [...] cum recognovisset quod contra dominum suum et compatrem Arnolphum iniuste et quasi immemor beneficii arma movisset – qui sibi non solum Boemiam sed alias regiones [...] subiugarat.</i>	<i>Ante cuius tempora Arnolfus Zuatopluk, filio suo, Moraviensium et Boemiensium a. d. 890 concessit ducatum.</i>	<i>DCCCLXXXVII Arnolfus, filii Karolomanni, rex Romanorum, concessit Zuatopluc regi Morauiiae, compatri suo, ducatum Boemie.</i>	890. <i>Arnolfus rex concessit Zuatopluk regi Moraviae compatri suo ducatum Boemie.</i>

The analysis of the entries concerning the beginning of Svatopluk's reign in Bohemia in the Czech sources shows clearly that the entries contained in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice*, in the *Annales Bohemici* and in the notes concerning Bohemia and Moravia added to the *Annales Mellicenses* are very similar to each other as well as to Regino's text. Cosmas' relation is, in contrast, very different from the other Bohemian and Moravian sources as well as from the work of the abbot of Prüm and Trier. The similarities between

the entries in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice*, in the *Annales Bohemici* and in the notes of the *Annales Mellicenses* indicate that the three works must have known the entry of Regino's *Chronicle* through a common source, but the differences between those works and Cosmas' text exclude the possibility that the work of the Prague chronicler could have been this source. This conclusion was already drawn by Dušan Třeštík, who stated that the source of the diffusion of this entry in the Bohemian historiography was a lost redaction of the *Annals of Prague*.¹⁵

The entry of the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice*, which was borrowed from the continuation of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle*, relates a conflict between the Duke of Bohemia, Boleslav I the Cruel and Otto I in 950. According to the continuation of Regino's work, the Duke revolted against Otto, which led this ruler to lead an expedition against Bohemia and make Boleslav submit. The conflict between Boleslav and Otto appears in three Bohemian and Moravian sources:

Table 2: Otto I's expedition in Bohemia against Boleslav I in the continuation of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and in Bohemian and Moravian narrative sources

<i>Reginonis Abbatis Prumensis Chronicon cum Continuatione Trevirensi</i> , 164:	<i>Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum</i> , 78:	"Letopisy hradištsko-opatovické", 387:	"Auctarium Mellicense", 536:
<i>Eodem anno Boemorum princeps Bolizlao rebellat; quem rex validissima manu adibat suaeque per omnia dicioni subdebat.</i>	<i>Anno dominice incarnationis DCCCCL. Dux Boemorum Bolezlaus regi rebellabat, quem rex Otto valida manu adiit, suaeque dicioni per omnia subdidit.</i>	<i>A. d. 950. Boleslaus, dux Boemorum, frater beati Wencezlavi, Ottoni regi rebellavit, quem rex Otto valida manu adiit, sueque ditioni per omnia subdidit.</i>	<i>950. Boleslaus dux Boemorum rebelavit contra regem Ottonem, quem rex debellavit, et per omnia subegit.</i>

The comparative analysis of the entries concerning Otto I's expedition in Bohemia against Boleslav I in 950 in the continuation of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and in the Bohemian and Moravian narrative sources shows that the entries contained in Cosmas' *Chronicle*, in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice*, and in the notes added to the *Annales Mellicenses* are very similar to each other as well as to the text of the continuation of Regino's *Chronicle*. The existence of those analogies suggests the use of a common source and it

¹⁵ Dušan Třeštík, "Kosmas a Regino. Ke kritice Kosmovy kroniky," *Československý časopis historický* 8, no. 4 (1960): 584, note 88.

is likely that this source was once more the lost *Annals of Prague*, as the notes added to the *Annales Mellicenses* do not seem to be directly related to Cosmas' *Chronicle*.¹⁶

The analysis of the circulation of the entries from Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and from this chronicle's continuation which appear in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* shows thus clearly that those entries were borrowed from a Bohemian or Moravian source, and their presence in different Bohemian and Moravian historiographical works proves that they were integrated into the Bohemian and Moravian historiographical production already at the time of the redaction of Cosmas' *Chronicle*, i.e. in 1125, which suggests that they were probably incorporated into the Bohemian tradition in the eleventh century, or perhaps even at the very end of the tenth century. The fact that Cosmas' *Chronicle* is the only work to contain other notes from the continuation of Regino's *Chronicle* than the entry of 950 and the extensive use of Regino's work by the Prague chronicler suggests that he had access to a manuscript containing both works whereas the lost *Annals of Prague* contained in all likelihood only the entries for the years 890 and 950.

The question of the transfer of Regino's *Chronicle* and its continuation is more difficult to answer, although it is very likely that these two works were contained and transmitted by the same manuscript, which gives the beginnings of the 970s as a *terminus post quem*. We can observe, however, that in his attempt to retrace the itinerary followed by those works from the German Lands to Hungary, Lajos J. Csóka considers that these text must have come from the Benedictine monastery of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg.¹⁷ The Hungarian scholar adds that Regino's *Chronicle* and its continuation were brought by Ramwold, monk of Saint Maximin of Trier and Abbot of Saint Emmeram from 975 to 1000, since he considers that the *Liber Chronicorum* mentioned in the inventory of the abbey's books written at the time of Ramwold refers to the works of Regino and its continuator.¹⁸ If Csóka's hypothesis is correct, the abbey of Saint Emmeram could also have played a role in the transmission of those works to Bohemia, since the Bavarian abbey had strong

¹⁶ See for instance the stemma contained in Dušan Treštík, "Anfänge der Böhmisches Geschichtsschreibung. Die ältesten Prager Annalen," *Studia Žródloznawcze* 23, no. 23 (1978): 33.

¹⁷ Lajos J. Csóka, *A latin nyelvű történeti irodalom kialakulása Magyarországon a XI–XIV században* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1967), 338.

¹⁸ Ibid, 338. The list of books was edited in "Annales et Notae Sancti Emmerami Ratisponenses et Weltenburgenses," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores in folio*, XVII, ed. Philipp Jaffé (Hannover: Impensis bibliopoli aulici Hahniani, 1861), 567–568, note 1.

relations with two Prague churches, namely Saint Georges and Saint Vitus, in the tenth century.¹⁹

The integration of the note of Regino's *Chronicle* concerning Svatopluk's rule in Bohemia in 890 and of the entry of the chronicle's continuation mentioning Otto I's expedition against Boleslav I in the earliest phases of Bohemian historical production is of course due to the fact that they relate events directly concerning Bohemia. The entry for the year 890 contributes to shedding some light on the relationship between this country and Great Moravia. It indicates that Bohemia's dependence on this realm was rather short and due to the decision of other powers and it also gives an explanation to the account of the baptism of Bořivoj by Saint Methodius, which was dated erroneously from 894, i.e. almost a decade after Methodius' death. The presence of the entry for the year 950 is rather surprising, as it mentions the defeat of a Bohemian ruler. One should keep in mind that Boleslav I, the ruler submitted by Otto I, is depicted in a very negative manner in the Bohemian and Moravian historical tradition - as proved by his nickname of 'cruel', since he was above all seen as the murder of his brother, Saint Wenceslas. In this context, the news of his defeat after his revolt against Otto could be seen as a kind of punishment for his behaviour.

Conclusion

The analysis of the use of the *Chronicon Universale* as well as of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and its continuation in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* shows clearly a quantitative difference in their use, as the annals do possess numerous borrowings from the *Chronicon Universale*, whereas they contain only one entry from Regino's work and one from its continuation. The foreign sources whose influence can be spotted in the annals also have different functions. The extensive use of the *Chronicon Universale* in the first part of the annals attempts to place the events concerning Bohemia and Moravia in a broader perspective while the entries of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and its continuation, which the author borrowed from a Bohemian annalistic work, owe their integration to the national historiography to their contribution to the narrative of Bohemia's past.

¹⁹ David Kalhous, *Bohemi: Prozesse der Identitätsbildung in frühpřemyslidischen Ländern (bis 1200)* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2018), 186; Wojciech Jasiński, *Legenda Krystiana – autentyk czy mistyfikacja? Żywot i męczeństwo św. Wacława i św. Ludmiły w świetle analizy historycznej i filologicznej. Studium źródłoznawcze* (Poznań: Wydział Historii Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 2020), 150.

The case of the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* shows thus the presence of two different types of use of foreign sources in Bohemian and Moravian historiography. The coexistence of those two uses, which can be respectively described as 'metanational/universal' and 'national', is not, however, specific to these annals, since it can also be spotted in Cosmas' *Chronicle*, which makes extensive use of Regino's work and of its continuation for both purposes, as well as, to a lesser extent, in the *Annales Bohemici* and in the notes of the *Annales Mellicenses*. It should be mentioned, however, that among Central European Medieval historiography, the coexistence of the 'universal' and 'national' uses of foreign High Medieval narrative sources seems to be rather specific to the Bohemian and Moravian historical production, as the Hungarian historiographical works display only cases of 'national' use of those sources, whereas the Polish historiography integrates them chiefly for 'universal purposes', with the possible exception of three entries whose provenance is still disputed by scholars.²⁰ The existence of these discrepancies in the use of foreign High Medieval historical writings in Central European historiographical productions constitutes an interesting phenomenon, but the establishment of its causes would require further investigation.

Abstract

Written in the middle of the twelfth century, the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* show an extensive use of Bohemian and Moravian sources, but also of foreign works. The main foreign source which the annalist had at disposal was a 'universal chronicle' which he used to relate information concerning general history until the end of the tenth century, but two entries of the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* also show influence of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and its continuation. The analysis of the use of the *Chronicon Universale* as well as of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and its continuation in the *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* shows that these sources have a different function. The extensive use of the *Chronicon Universale* in the first part of the annals aims indeed to put the events concerning Bohemia and Moravia in a broader perspective whereas the entries of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and its continuation, which the author borrowed from a Bohemian annalistic work, owe their

²⁰ See for instance Adrien Quéret-Podesta, *Annales Magdeburgenses Brevissimi. The Short Annals of Magdeburg and their Signification in the Discussion on the Genesis of Czech and Polish Annalistic Productions* (Olomouc: Vydavatelství Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci, 2016), 39–42.

integration to the national historiography to their contribution to the narrative of Bohemia's past. The coexistence of those two uses, which can be respectively described as "metanational/universal" and "national" is however not specific to these annals, since it can also be spotted in other twelfth century Bohemian historiographical writings.

Keywords: Middle Ages; Bohemian lands; Historiography; Annals; Chronicles

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