Univerzita Karlova

Filozofická fakulta

Ústav řeckých a latinských studií

Bakalářská práce

Jakub Kozák

Reception of Classical Antiquity in Short School Writings from the Late Middle Ages – Edition and Introduction

Ohlasy klasické antiky v kratších školních textech pozdního středověku – edice a úvodní studie

Praha 2023   Vedoucí práce: prof. Mgr. Lucie Doležalová, M.A., Ph.D.

Prohlášení

Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci vypracoval samostatně, že jsem řádně citoval všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

Ve Freiburgu im Breisgau, dne 13. května 2023

Jakub Kozák

Abstrakt

Předkládaná bakalářská práce obsahuje *editio princeps* a anglický překlad čtyř krátkých bohemikálních latinských textů z poloviny 15. století, opsaných písařem Křížem z Telče, jež se vztahují ke klasické mytologii a antice obecně. Edice je opatřena kritickým aparátem a podrobným aparátem *fontium*, který mapuje textovou tradici editovaných dílek, a úvodní studií, jež zasazuje texty do základního kontextu recepce antického dědictví ve středověku – především s poukazem na užití antických látek ve školním prostředí, kam i editované texty náleží. Cílem práce je – vedle zpřístupnění samotných textů ve formě edice – osvětlit skrze drobné případové studie k jednotlivým textům způsob, jakým byly antické kulturní skutečnosti a literatura ve středověku nazírány a jaké rozličné formy „druhého života" vedly.

Klíčová slova: středověká latina, recepce klasiků, středověké rukopisy, gramatika ve středověku, středověká literatura, edice, překlad

Abstract

The following bachelor thesis is the *editio princeps* and English translation of four short Latin pieces of writing of Czech origin which were copied by the scribe Crux of Telč in the mid-15th century and which deal with antiquity and classical mythology. The edition is supplied with critical apparatus and *apparatus fontium* that points out the textual tradition of the edited opuscules. The thesis is opened with an introductory study setting the texts into the general context of the reception of antiquity in the Middle Ages; especially highlighted is the use of themes of classical antiquity within the school education, where the edited texts belong as well. Besides the edition itself, the goal of the thesis is to illustrate in form of short case studies on the particular texts how the ancient culture and literature was reflected in the Middle Ages and the variety of "afterlife" it had.

Key words: medieval Latin, reception of classics, medieval manuscripts, grammar in the Middle Ages, medieval literature, edition, translation

List of abbreviations

DMLBS   "Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (DMLBS),"
         BREPOLiS, accessed May 9, http://www.brepolis.net/.

NK   Národní knihovna České republiky [National Library of the Czech
         Republic]

SOA T   Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni [State Regional Archives in
         Třeboň]

SSL   "Slovník středověké latiny v českých zemích: elektronická verze
         2.2 [The Dictionary of Medieval Latin in the Czech Lands: digital
         version 2.2]," Filosofický ústav AV ČR, accessed May 9, 2023,
         http://lb.ics.cas.cz.

Table of contents

1 Introduction

1.1 Aim of the thesis

The intended goal of the thesis is to present an *editio princeps* and English translation of four short texts copied by the scribe Crux of Telč (1434–1504) in the mid-15th century which are interconnected by employing motifs of classical mythology or ancient history. Edition of each text is based on the sole known surviving manuscript witness[1] and accompanied by an introduction putting the texts into the general context of the reception of antiquity in the Middle Ages, chiefly within the medieval grammar education. Therefore, the thesis is not meant as a comprehensive study of the "afterlife" of classical antiquity in the Middle Ages, which is a topic that received extensive scholarly attention in the last decades and exceeds the scope of this study.

The general introduction is followed by short studies on the particular texts which scrutinize their selected aspects. Especially highlighted is their literary context within both Latin and vernacular literature and the "migration" of selected motifs.

As indicated above, the texts are – apart from the topic of antiquity – interconnected by their copyist. Crux of Telč was one of the most prolific scribes in Bohemia in the Late Middle Ages[2] and he copied these texts while active at the lower schools in Central and Northern Bohemia.[3] The texts are written in Gothic cursive in perfunctory or even "slapdash" way and may give the impression of rather ephemeral notes. Thus, they can be called *opuscula*, that is "short pieces of work". It is useful to apply this term to the plethora of texts on various subjects: notes, summaries, lists etc. which were being created during the information boom in the Late Middle Ages. Besides their shortness, these texts are characterized by conciseness, great number of scribal mistakes, unfinishedness, unclear borders of individual texts, their interconnection, obscurity or sometimes ever unintelligibility. This is the reason why these texts have not been receiving attention of researchers

---

[1] Praha, NK, I F 25, Praha, NK, XIII G 18 and Třeboň, SOA T, A 7 (containing two of the texts).

[2] For detailed information on him, see Lucie Doležalová and Michal Dragoun, eds., *Kříž z Telče (1434–1504): písař, sběratel a autor [Crux of Telč (1434–1504): Scribe, Collector and Author]* (Praha: Scriptorium, 2020), and Lucie Doležalová, Michal Dragoun and Kimberly Rivers, *Passionate copying in late medieval Bohemia: the case of Crux de Telcz (1434–1504)* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2021).

[3] Cf. Doležalová, *Kříž z Telče*, 24–26.

they would deserve. Their evaluation, however, can substantially contribute to our knowledge about the textual culture in the Late Middle Ages and about the changes it underwent in this period.[4]

Given the shortness of the texts, it is almost impossible to find the direct models Crux based his copies on (were there any) and to ascertain the authorship. This task is made even more difficult due to the unsatisfactory present state of cataloguing especially of the late medieval manuscripts in Central Europe since the older catalogues very often omit such short pieces of writing. However, it is possible to link the texts to their distant "belles-lettres" parallels they are indirectly related to. I would like to emphasize this connection by employing the *apparatus fontium* within the edition hoping some noteworthy motif transformation shall be shown this way.

Therefore, one of the points of the thesis is to show how the "highbrow" literary tradition and motifs of classical antiquity were received within the milieu of late medieval lower schools and among the people who attained Latin education. Manuscript collection of Crux of Telč gives a unique opportunity to do so.

I have already published the edition with the Czech translation and Czech version of this introductory study as a chapter of collective monograph *Opuscula : neznámá dílka z rukopisů Kříže z Telče* [Opuscula : Unknown Short Pieces of Writing from the Manuscripts of Crux of Telč].[5] There is also a digital edition using the standard TEI XML[6] available within the digital corpus of Latin texts *Opuscula*.[7]

1.2 Principles of the edition and translation

The edition follows the principles as defined in the above-mentioned book *Opuscula*;[8] the transcription rules are based on those in Bohumil Ryba's *Pravidla*

---

[4] More detailed on this umbrella term in Lucie Doležalová, "Opuscula," in *Opuscula: neznámá dílka z rukopisů Kříže z Telče [Opuscula : Unknown Short Pieces of Writing from the Manuscripts of Crux of Telč]*, eds. Lucie Doležalová and Magda Králová (Praha: Scriptorium, 2022).
[5] Jakub Kozák, "Ohlasy klasické antiky ve výuce gramatiky [Echoes of Classical Antiquity in the Grammar Education]," in *Opuscula: neznámá dílka z rukopisů Kříže z Telče*, eds. Lucie Doležalová and Magda Králová (Praha: Scriptorium, 2022).
[6] "Text Encoding Initiative," TEI Text Encoding Initiative, accessed April 20, 2023, https://tei-c.org/.
[7] "OPUSCULA : Korpus latinských textů z rukopisů Kříže z Telče [OPUSCULA: Corpus of Latin Texts from the Manuscripts of Crux of Telč]," Opuscula, accessed April 20, 2023, https://opuscula.ff.cuni.cz/.
[8] Magda Králová and Lucie Doležalová, "Ediční poznámka: text a překlad [Note to the Edition: Text and Translation]," in *Opuscula: neznámá dílka z rukopisů Kříže z Telče*, eds. Lucie Doležalová and Magda Králová (Praha: Scriptorium, 2022).

pro transkripci latinských rukopisných textů [Rules of the Transcription of Latin Manuscript Texts].[9] This transcription standard is followed by most editions of the medieval Latin texts of Czech origin. The medieval orthography is therefore not classicized, the common scribal abbreviations are resolved without notice and the upper-case letters as well as punctuation are added irrespective of the manuscript in order to facilitate the reader's orientation in the text.

Besides minor amendments, this edition differs from that in the book *Opuscula* merely in the punctuation, which is adjusted to the standards of Anglophone setting.

The translation is meant to be as faithful to the Latin original as possible, including all its stylistic, syntactic and semantic idiosyncrasies.

---

[9] Published, for instance, in Dalibor Havel and Helena Krmíčková, *Paleografická čítanka: Literární texty [Palaeographical Reader: Literary Texts]* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2014), 89–93.

2 Reception of antiquity in the Middle Ages

2.1 Concepts of the "Middle Ages" and "classical antiquity"

Every time the terms "Middle Ages" and "antiquity", which imply the idea of a certain – even if false – dichotomy, are used, it is to be taken into account that they are modern constructs and actually anachronistic in relation to the periods they describe. It is the very 15th century, the time of the origin of the manuscripts presented in this edition, when the term *media aetas*, *medium tempus* or *media tempestas* describing the era between idealized Greco-Roman antiquity and the new "redivivus" time is being used more and more often owing to the confident generation of renaissance humanists.[10] In the following centuries, this term is to become an expression both of contempt for the time of seeming decline and of almost unlimited admiration for the romanticized image of this period.[11]

Concerning the term "antiquity": the medieval periodization of history distinguished the time of paganism as a counterpart of the present days of the Christian era – since the 6th century, the landmark has been the calculated year of the birth of Christ; the proponent of this successful concept of *anno Domini* was Dionysius Exiguus.[12] In spite of the Christian perspective on the history as a teleological process (in contrast to ideas of descent which were common among some of the ancient philosophical traditions),[13] the bygone era of ancient ancestors was subject to fascination and cultural *imitatio*.[14] The Christians' right to appropriate the pagan cultural properties is already defended by Augustine of Hippo; he says that they "should not cause alarm, but be claimed for our own use, as it were from owners

---

[10] Jacques Le Goff, *Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches ?* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2016), 32–33. Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, eds., *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 790–91. The first one who held this idea was Francesco Petrarca. As a chronological unit, the term "Middle Ages" was used for the first time by Giovanni Andrea Bussi. Cf. Le Goff, *Faut-il vraiment découper*, 33, 61.

[11] See Rémi Brague, "Deux légendes contraires," in *Au moyen du Moyen Âge. Philosophies médiévales en chrétienté, judaïsme et islam* (Chatou: La Transparence, 2006). Cf. Le Goff and Schmitt, eds., *Dictionnaire raisonné*, 792–94.

[12] Le Goff, *Faut-il vraiment découper*, 23–24, 31.

[13] See e.g., Ludwig Edelstein, *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967), p. xix. However, there was also an opposite idea expressed by the words "mundus senescit". Both these ideas and the concept of "modernity" in the Middle Ages are dealt with in Le Goff, *Faut-il vraiment découper*, 112–17. In antiquity, also a cyclical concept was known.

[14] Le Goff, *Faut-il vraiment découper*, 38–39, 105–106.

who have no right to them" (*non solum formidanda non sunt sed ab eis etiam tamquam ab iniustis possessoribus in usum nostrum vindicanda*).[15]

It is also to be kept in mind that the whole corpus of classical literature has been extant up to the present time and available for us (as well as for the 18th century Enlightenment admirers of antiquity and contemptors of the Middle Ages) just thanks to the medieval scriptoria and to the fact that selected classical authors became "school authors" during the Early Middle Ages and that their texts played a crucial role in the Latin grammar education.[16] It is the very grammar which makes up the basis of the liberal arts (*artes liberales*), a concept closely related to the literary production; the adoption of it is another example of reception of the ancient heritage in the Middle Ages.[17] Similarly, the Latin language was accepted as a "Vatersprache" of the medieval intellectuals.[18]

The various ways of approaching the classical ancient literature in the Late Middle Ages are illustrated also by the manuscripts of Crux of Telč, where the "ancient echoes" are clearly audible: e.g., in the manuscript Třeboň, SOA T, A 4, excerpted verses of Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Lucan, Statius or Persius are to be found.[19] However, the classical texts and topics were approached also in much more subtle and complicated way than the mere excerpts from the authors show; such approaches and their variety will be hopefully illustrated in the next chapters of the thesis which are to be understood as sort of case studies offering an insight into the modes of the reception of classical antiquity via the very texts the classical motives

---

[15] Aug. *doctr. christ.* 2,40,60 according to the edition and translation Augustinus Hipponensis, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 124–25. The abbreviations of names and works of ancient Latin authors are used according to the Thesaurus linguae Latinae: "Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur," Thesaurus linguae Latinae (TLL), accessed May 8, 2023, https://thesaurus.badw.de/en/tll-digital/index.

[16] For completeness' sake, it is also necessary to mention the role of palimpsests and fortunate discoveries of papyri. For details on the process of transmission of the classical works both in Late Antiquity, in Irish monastic communities, during the Carolingian Renaissance, the Renaissance of the 12th century, among the scholastic milieu and in the Late Middle Ages, see Leighton Durham Reynolds and Nigel Guy Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars. A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

[17] For details on the ancient concept of *artes liberales* and its medieval adaptation, see Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 11th ed. (Tübingen – Basel: Francke, 1993), 46–52.

[18] Cf. Anežka Vidmanová, "Středověká latinská literatura [Medieval Latin Literature]," in *Laborintus. Latinská literatura středověkých Čech [Laborintus. Latin Literature of medieval Bohemia]*, ed. Anežka Vidmanová (Praha: Koniasch Latin Press, 1994), 81.

[19] Michal Dragoun, Adéla Ebersonová, and Lucie Doležalová, *Středověké knihovny augustiniánských kanonií v Třeboni a Borovanech. II. Rukopisy Kříže z Telče, [Medieval Libraries of Augustine Canonries in Třeboň and Borovany. II. Manuscripts of Crux of Telč]* (Praha: Scriptorium, 2021), 1152–56.

are to be found in. Although Crux's texts are rather summaries and abridged versions of longer works, the literary tradition they refer to clearly illustrates the functions of classical ancient topics in the Middle Ages.

2.2   Classical myth in antiquity and the Middle Ages

Although, it is not possible to expound on the function of myth within the ancient society here, it is, however, necessary to point out several crucial differences in how the mythological tradition was understood by people in the ancient times and in the Middle Ages.

The ancient myths could be generally characterized by plurality of their versions and by lack of canonical narrative.[20] In their original context, the myths are embedded in the oral tradition and tightly connected to religion (after all, one is always a *homo religiosus* in the ancient times).[21] In literary texts, the myths are usually present only implicitly: the authors expect familiarity with the myths from their readers – narrating a complete story, therefore, is usually not the goal of theirs.[22] Another approach to the "inherited conglomerate"[23] of myths is held by the ancient mythographers: they write entire collections of separated mythological narrations and try to impress on them a particular canonical form; among these authors, there is for example Pseudo-Apollodorus[24] in Greece or Ovid in Rome.

There are numerous definitions of the function of myths within the society: for instance, according to the influential theory of Claude Lévi-Strauss, "the purpose of myth is to provide a logical model capable of overcoming a contradiction."[25] In the Middle Ages, however, the ancient myths were not "animate" any more – they did not serve as this original tool of the society as they had used to in antiquity. The stories of Greek and Roman heroes and heroines were to have a different task. They could have, for instance, become a basis for a grammar explanation; they

---

[20] Cf. Geoffrey Stephen Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), 29. This may be the very nature of the myth as such; cf. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, vol. 1 (New York: Basic Books, 1963) 215–16: "On the contrary, we define the myth as consisting of all its versions."

[21] However, as early as in antiquity, there is also a systematic approach to the mythology (see below on the mythographers). Important was also the philosophical explanation of myths, allegoresis and euhemerism.

[22] Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths*, 14.

[23] E. R. Dodds ascribes this term to G. Murray. Eric Robertson Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), passim, e.g. p. 179.

[24] Author of the work *Bibliothēkē*, formerly attributed to 2nd century BCE author Apollodorus of Athens.

[25] Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, 228.

could have been subject to allegorical interpretation[26] and serve thus as moral exempla or they could have been a source of inspiration for vernacular novels.

The ancient stories of gods and heroes were mere *fabulae*, that is, fictitious stories, fictions or inventions for medieval readers.[27] The word *fabula* itself was also written down by Crux on the margin of the text about the witch Medea (see below in the edition).[28] Such narrations were perceived as false – the Christian readers were warned of their unreliability: the pagan authors narrate, indeed, events contradicting the Divine order of universe! It is appositely illustrated by an extract from *Historia destructionis Troiae* (History of the Destruction of Troy) by Guido de Columnis, which was an indirect model for Crux's notes about Jason and Medea (see below):

Sed ille fabularis Sulmonensis Ouidius sic de Medea, Oetis regis filia, de ipsa fabulose commentans, tradidit esse credendum (quod absit a catholicis Cristi fidelibus credi debere nisi quatenus ab Ouidio fabulose narratur).

"But the story-teller Ovid from Sulmo teaches this is to be believed about Medea, daughter of king Aeëtes, about whom he tells lies (which is no to be believed by faithful Christians, but as stories made up by Ovid)."[29]

The miracles Medea performs in Ovid's story (e.g., the solar eclipse) can be done only by Christian God indeed:

Hinc est quod solis eclipsis contra naturalium instituta numquam legitur accidisse nisi cum incarnatus Dei Filius seipsum pro nobis humiliter exposuit passioni.

"We therefore read that the solar eclipse never happened against the natural law, but when the incarnated Son of God humbly exposed himself to suffering for our sake."[30]

---

[26] Nevertheless, allegorical interpretation of myths and a specific use of mythology within the school education existed in antiquity as well.
[27] See SSL, s. v. *fabula 1*; DMLBS, s. v. *fābula*.
[28] Třeboň, SOA T, A 7, f. 179v.
[29] Guido de Columnis, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin (Cambridge MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936), p. 16, f. 8r. If not stated otherwise, the translations are mine.
[30] Guido de Columnis, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, p. 16, f. 8v. Cf. Mt 27:45; Mc 15:33; Lc 23:44–45.

Contrary to the concept of *fabula*, there were terms *historia*, *res gestae* or *gesta*, which describe "true" events that are to be believed by the reader to "really" have happened.[31] These terms would probably have been used by the medievals for the text describing Alexander the Great (edited here), a historical figure whose biographical tradition, however, is full of fictional elements.

2.3 Classical texts in medieval education

The pivotal role literature played within medieval education is another example of the cultural heritage of antiquity.[32] As it has been pointed out, the grammar education was based on the reading of so-called school authors (*auctores*). Besides Christian authors of Late Antiquity, many whose work falls into the classical canon of ancient (Roman) literature as it is defined nowadays: e.g., Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Terence or – chiefly since the High Middle Ages – Ovid also belong to this group. The selection of school authors was of course not closed and underwent changes during the Middle Ages.[33] Despite the fact that the exclusive position of *auctores* within the school curricula was questioned by the bloom of scholasticism and the universities in the 13th century and that besides them, contemporary works and compendia began to be studied, the influence of the classical ancient authors remained substantial throughout the whole Middle Ages.[34]

Besides the Christians, preference for whom is understandable, the label of "school author" was attainable for those from the pagans in whose work the moralizing tendencies corresponding to the Christian ethics or an implicit or even absolutely open criticism of morals and manners of the ancient world were being found – or at least, whose pieces of work did not contain motifs unsuitable for the education of young Christian intellectuals. As an example, the preference for Terence's dramas over the Plautus' ones, which do not hesitate to walk the tightrope when it comes to obscenity and caricature, could be mentioned. Other *auctores* were the ones whose work could easily be subject to the exposition in the spirit of Christian doctrine – an apt example of this trend is the well-known Christian (as early as

---

[31] The word *historia* was also a common part of the titles of historiographical works. For more connotations, cf. SSL, s. v. *historia*; DMLBS, s. v. *historia*.

[32] E. R. Curtius traces the use of literature within the education to as early as the 6th century BCE when Homer's epic should have been read at schools. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur*, 46.

[33] For various contemporary lists of the school authors, see Curtius, *Europäische Literatur*, 58–61. On the changes connected to the transformation of the educational system and of the society in the 12th century, see Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 112ff.

[34] Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 114–15. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur*, 66–67.

ancient however) interpretation of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue as a prediction of the birth of Christ.

However, the Middle Ages managed to find use even for those classical authors who did not belong to the shortlist of school reading. As well as in the case of *auctores*, collections of excerpts and *sententiae* from their works, so-called *florilegia* were copied;[35] an ancient model text was reshaped by the selection of medieval compiler according to their conception of the "practical" function of literature: the Roman classical writers were thus often subjected to moralizing or allegorical interpretation.

The edition also presents texts which were excerpted from longer works and probably meant for school education. They clearly reveal both their ancient roots and place among the literary tradition and their further formation by the medieval educational system (e.g., the focus on grammatical phenomena). In the following, the texts will be introduced individually.

---

[35] Curtius, *Europäische Literatur*, 61.

3 Golden Fleece and the witch: two notes on Jason and Medea

Crux copied short notes concerning the story of the Argonauts and their journey to Colchis for the Golden Fleece into two of his codices (Praha, NK, I F 25 and Třeboň, SOA T, A 7). The myth of Jason, who set out with retinue of Greek heroes for the very *eschatiai*, boundaries of the Greek *oikumene* to get the fleece of the golden ram which had saved Phrixus from a cruel sacrifice, belongs undoubtedly to the most well-known stories of classical mythology even nowadays.[36] Likewise, the image of the tragic end of Jason and his witch wife, who slayed their two sons as a cruel revenge for Jason's perfidy, is still living in the general cultural imagination.[37] However, what is the origin of this story?

References to this myth could be found as early as in Homer's epics and in the work of Hesiod; later, after the mid-5th century BCE, the story is narrated in Pindar's Fourth Pythian Ode and is to become a source for rich drama production – here, it suffices to mention the most well-known one, Euripides' tragedy *Medea*. This story was also the theme for the Hellenistic epos by Apollonius of Rhodes; in Rome, the myth was adapted, for instance, in the seventh book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, his lost tragedy *Medea*, in Seneca's tragedy of the same name or in the unfinished epos *Argonautica* by Valerius Flaccus.

In the Middle Ages, the popularity of the Argonautic myth was connected to the popularity of Ovid. In the Late Middle Ages, however, there is an apparent increase of interest in the topic related to the Golden Fleece after 1416, when the Italian humanist Poggio Bracciolini discovered a manuscript containing the above-mentioned *Argonautica*, the piece of work the Middle Age had not seem to be interested in.[38] In the 15th century, many vernacular adaptations of the story were created as well. The establishment of the Order of the Golden Fleece by Philip III, Duke of Burgundy in 1430 is also related to this increase of popularity: Jason was now to become a paradigm of a valiant Christian knight.

---

[36] This is indicated also by numerous film adaptations emerging in the last 50 years.

[37] Cf. Karl Kerényi, *Die Mythologie Der Griechen – 2: Die Heroen-Geschichten* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), 196–218.

[38] Andrew Zissos, "Reception of Valerius Flaccus' "Argonautica"," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 13, no. 2 (2006): 170, 173.

However, Crux's text is rooted in another literary tradition: its model is the already mentioned work *Historia destructionis Troiae* by Guido de Columnis, an author connected to the Sicilian School. It is a Latin prosaic text dealing with the Greek conquest and destruction of Ilion. As the author himself informs us, the text was written in 1287.

In antiquity, the most well-known and influential narrations of the matters of Troy were two Homer's epic poems; in the Middle Ages, however, it is different. The tradition of medieval adaptations of the matter of Troy was established by two works from Late Antiquity: *Ephemeris belli Troiani* (Chronicle of Trojan War) by Dictys Cretensis and *De excidio Troiae* (On the Destruction of Troy) by Dares Phrygius. The authors were claimed to have been – unlike Homer – the very eye-witnesses of the Trojan events; Dictys should have fought on the side of the Greeks and Dares is mentioned also by Homer as a priest of Hephaestus in Troy. Both works should have been written in Greek, but they are preserved only in Latin translations (regarding *Ephemeris belli Troiani*, there are some Greek fragments). The Greek versions are most likely to be dated as early as the 2nd century CE;[39] the Latin translation of Dictys' work dates apparently back to the second half of the 4th century and the one of Dares' book to the early 6th century.[40]

The works of Dictys and Dares were popular in the Middle Ages not only because they were written by alleged eyewitnesses, but also because they were available in the easily accessible Latin language; the knowledge of Greek was very limited in the West during the whole Middle Ages. On the other hand, Homer was considered a liar.[41] It is clearly shown by the following extract from the prologue of Guido's text:

[39] In the case the Greek version of Dares' text really existed – it is not completely clear whether this is not a mere literary stylization; cf. Solveig Kristina Malatrait, *„Si fier tornei". Benoîts ‚Roman de Troie' und die höfische Kultur des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Hamburg University Press, 2011), 22.

[40] Cf. Jon Solomon, "The Vacillations of the Trojan Myth. Popularization & Classicization, Variation & Codification," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 14, no. 3–4 (2007): 504–5. Cf. Malatrait, *„Si fier tornei"*, 19–24.

[41] On the view on Homer as a "liar" in antiquity, see Sylva Fischerová, "Odysseia jako ustavující dílo evropské kulturní tradice [Odyssey as Founding Work of the European Cultural Tradition]," in *Odysseia*, Homér, trans. Vladimír Šrámek (Praha: Academia, 2012), 459–61. In the Middle Ages, Homer's Iliad was also viewed through substantially abridged (1070 hexameters) text known as *Ilias Latina*.

Inter quos suis diebus maxime auctoritatis Homerus apud Grecos eius ystorie puram et simplicem ueritatem in uersuta uestigia uariauit, fingens multa que non fuerunt et que fuerunt aliter transformando.

"Among whom [scil. the poets] Homer, who had been held in great esteem among the Greeks during his lifetime, transformed the pure and simple truth of this event into deceitful trails having made up many things which had not happened and transforming the ones which had."[42]

During the Middle Ages, the works of Dictys and Dares inspired many adaptations in vernacular languages;[43] the one most important for the genesis of Crux's text is the Old French epic poem (consisting of more lines than both Homer's epics together!) *Le Roman de Troie* (The Romance of Troy) by Benoît de Sainte-Maure written after the mid-12th century. Benoît's epic influenced – among others[44] – the above-mentioned Guido de Columnis who composed his Latin prose adaptation of it about a century later. This textual tradition is a good example of the complex interconnections and mutual influencing of Latin and vernacular literatures.

Guido's work was translated into many languages too. There is a Czech translation entitled *Kronika trojánská* (Trojan Chronicle); it is "one of the first works of Czech entertaining prose writings"[45] and also one of the first incunabula printed in Bohemia.[46]

As early as Dares' text begins with the episode of Argonauts; as an introduction to the Trojan story, the myth is used also in Benoît's and Guido's works while the latter grants it the first three books from the total number of thirty-five. Crux's text *De Iasone*[47] is a digest from these three books; however, it is focused

---

[42] Guido de Columnis, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, p. 4, f. 1r. After the criticism of Homer, the author takes aim at Ovid and Virgil.
[43] Their list in Solomon, "The Vacillations of the Trojan Myth," 508–12.
[44] Solomon, "The Vacillations of the Trojan Myth," 512.
[45] Anežka Vidmanová-Schmidtová, "Rukopisné zachování Kroniky Trojánské [Manuscript Preservation of Kronika Trojánská]," *Listy filologické – Folia philologica* 85, no. 2 (1962): 237: "[…] Kronika Trojánská je jedním z prvních děl české zábavné prózy […]"
[46] Formerly, it was supposed to be the first printed book in Bohemia and thus older than Latin incunabula; this view, greatly influenced by nationalist discourse, has been being revised by the contemporary research. However, the discussion is still going on; cf. Petr Voit, "Kronika trojánská," Encyklopedie knihy [Encyclopaedia of Book], accessed April 29, 2023, https://www.encyklopedieknihy.cz/index.php/Kronika_troj%C3%A1nsk%C3%A1. Most recently on the topic Kamil Boldan, *Počátek českého knihtisku [Beginning of the Czech Letterpress Printing]* (Praha: Scriptorium, 2018).
[47] The title of the text is taken over from the catalogue (Dragoun, Ebersonová, and Doležalová, *Středověké knihovny augustiniánských kanonií*) and it is not to be found in the manuscript itself. In

only on the character of Jason, the way how he got the Golden Fleece and on Medea's role in the story. Crux (or the author of his direct model text) totally omits, for instance, the conflict between the Argonauts and the Trojan king Laomedon (the father of Priamos) which is the main topic of the second book of Guido's work being the trigger of the Trojan story. Concerning the concrete composition, about half of it are paraphrases, one sixth specific quotations with the identical lexicon, syntactical constructions and idioms as in the model text while the rest are summaries.

The second short text, *De Medea*, mere eight lines in the manuscript, has its origin in the second book of Guido's *Historia destructionis Troiae* – it is a brief list of magical skills of the Colchian princess. The text ends with the grammatical note on patronymics (names originating from the given name of father),[48] which is the topic further elaborated in the text *De Tereo, Prokne et Philomela* that follows in the manuscript and is also edited within this thesis. Curiously, in his 1958 catalogue of the Třeboň manuscripts, Jaroslav Kadlec[49] divides the texts differently: he considers the first sentence of the text about Procne as edited here[50] to be the explicit of the text about Medea.[51]

---

the edition, such titles are put into square brackets. Here, the brackets are not used for readability's sake.

[48] Or rather what Crux calls so, even though they are not patronymics *stricto sensu*. See below.

[49] Behind the pseudonym Jaroslav Weber.

[50] "Similiter Progwe… sicut patet inferius" (see below in the edition).

[51] Jaroslav Weber [Kadlec], Josef Tříška, and Pavel Spunar, *Soupis rukopisů v Třeboni a v Českém Krumlově [List of the Manuscripts in Třeboň and Český Krumlov]* (Praha: ČSAV, 1958) 1229.

4 Cut-out tongue, cooked son and the third declension

The next text concerning classical mythology is the story about Tereus, Procne and Philomela, which – as mentioned above – immediately follows the note on Medea in the manuscript.[52] Nevertheless, the genesis of this text is slightly different from the one of the adaptation of Guido's Trojan history: Crux's text does not make up a distinct medieval tradition, albeit rooted in the texts of Late Antiquity (as was the case of the previous example), but relates to one of canonical ancient writers, or rather to a medieval allegorical moralizing interpretation of his work. Its model text is a prose writing of French Benedictine Pierre Bersuire created before the mid-14th century, *Ovidius moralizatus* (Moralized Ovid).

Ovid, an Augustan poet, was popular as early as throughout his lifetime; in spite of the withdrawal of his works from public libraries after his relegation, they remained popular even after his death. Although overshadowed by his older contemporaries Virgil and Horace in the Early Middle Ages, he had never entirely disappeared from the view of medieval scholars.[53] The turning point is the end of the 11th century when a steep increase of Ovid's popularity is evident.[54] The following 12th and 13th centuries were called *aetas Ovidiana* by Ludwig Traube;[55] yet as Jeremy Dimmick points out, "however culturally central he [i.e., Ovid] becomes, he is never fully restored from his Augustan exile…"[56]

One of medieval approaches to Ovid's work is allegorical and moralizing interpretation.[57] After all, the allegory is a fundamental concept which shaped the general attitude towards the universe as viewed by the medievals.[58] The first

---

[52] Třeboň, SOA T, A 7, ff. 179v–180r.

[53] Cf. William Donald Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius. An Introduction and Translation" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971), 3.

[54] Simultaneously with the decrease of popularity of Virgil, the number of copies of Ovid's work should have been tripled as advocated by Amanda J. Gerber, *Medieval Ovid. Frame Narrative and Political Allegory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 12.

[55] It should have followed the *aetas Vergiliana* and *aetas Horatiana*. Ludwig Traube, *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*, ed. Paul Joachim Georg Lehmann (München: C.H. Beck, 1911), 113.

[56] Jeremy Dimmick, "Ovid in the Middle Ages. Authority and Poetry," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, ed. Philip Hardie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 264.

[57] Which is somewhat paradoxical given the certain "l'art pour l'art" tendencies of Ovid and his autotelic conception of literature. Cf. Jiří Šubrt, *Římská literatura [Roman Literature]* (Praha: Oikoymenh, 2005), e.g. p. 189. Jamie C. Fumo makes a remark about this, that it is "a stunning transformation indeed for the poet of transformation himself". Jamie C. Fumo, "Commentary and Collaboration in the Medieval Allegorical Tradition," in *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, ed. John F. Miller and Carole E. Newlands (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 114.

[58] Cf. H. David Brumble, *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), p. xviii.

writings interpreting Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the spirit of Christian allegory appeared as early as the 12th century. Afterwards, there was to be a great number of them,[59] among which the most influential one is probably the Old French composition in verse *Ovide moralisé* (Moralized Ovid) from the beginning of the 14th century. It was these very moralizing commentaries which facilitated the reception of the pagan poet in the Middle Ages.[60] "[T]he culmination of the medieval moralizations of Ovid"[61] is the aforementioned *Ovidius moralizatus*[62] which is the fifteenth book of Bersuire's chef-d'œuvre, a "moral encyclopaedia" *Reductorium morale* (Moral Abridgment). The subsequent textual tradition of *Ovidius moralizatus* is, however, independent of *Reductorium* and the text occurs separately in manuscripts.[63]

Bersuire retells the mythological stories from fifteen books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in fifteen chapters (however, including some "non-Ovidian" myths and, on the contrary, omitting some from the *Metamorphoses*)[64] – these are accompanied by an allegorical exposition and, in most cases, by a reference to the supposedly corresponding passage in the Bible. According to the researchers, this compendium of exempla was meant for clergymen searching for inspiration for their sermons.[65] Another noticeable difference between Ovid and Bersuire is the way the stories are interconnected: whilst Ovid writes his *perpetuum carmen* as he used to call his book,[66] his medieval interpreter does not join the stories with each other – each one of these distinct "metamorphoses" is a closed and complete unit.

Bersuire makes use of the Ovid story for his moral allegory; Crux – or rather the author of the direct model text Crux might have worked with – uses the retold myth as a background for the explanation of grammar. Crux did not copy at all the interpretation suggested by Bersuire that those who commit incest are similar to who has eaten his cooked son (Tereus), because they "delight in they own flesh" (*in*

---

[59] Cf. Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius," 9. Their overview in Gerber, *Medieval Ovid*, 25–30 and Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius," 9–13.

[60] Cf. Gerber, *Medieval Ovid*, 25.

[61] Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius," 13.

[62] The first redaction of this work was created in the late 1330s; the second one, apparently influenced by *Ovide moralisé* is from the early 1360s. Cf. Gerber, *Medieval Ovid*, 29–30.

[63] Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius," 17.

[64] Reynolds, "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius," 16, 21.

[65] Dimmick, "Ovid in the Middle Ages," 278. Gerber, *Medieval Ovid*, 29.

[66] Ov. *met.* 1, v. 4 according to Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*, ed. William S. Anderson (Berlin – New York: Teubner, 2008).

carne propria delectant),[67] nor did he copy the reference to the Book of Hosea[68] where Bersuire had found motifs similar to the ancient story, but he focused merely on the narrative itself. In some details, however, his text differs from its model: in already quite cruel story as narrated by Bersuire, the little Itys is boiled and eaten, yet in Crux's text, he is half boiled, half roasted – this is identical to the version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[69] Another change intensifying the cruelty of the myth of Crux's version is the reason why Tereus asks for his son at the bloody banquet: neither Ovid nor Bersuire mentions the king's reason behind this; Crux says the king wanted to "share bites with him" (*frustum sibi volens impartiri*), because he was "moved by the delicious meat" of his own son (*dulcedine motus carnium*).

Yet the actual reason why Crux copied this text is that it employs a grammatical phenomenon the scribe was interested in: the feminine patronymics ending in -*is* of Greek origin and their flection. The patronymic used in the text to denote the queen Procne is *Actis* (for its origin and meaning see footnotes to the translation below), which is a third declension noun with the stem *Actid-*. Also the grammarians were of course interested in this particular kind of nouns and elaborated on it in their writings. *Institutiones Grammaticae* (Institutes of Grammar) by Priscian, the probably most influential grammarian of Late Antiquity, state as follows:

> *Feminina vero patronymica vel in "is" vel in "as" desinunt vel in "ne" productam. Fiunt autem a masculinis subtracta "de" in "is" vel in "as" desinentia, ut "Priamides Priamis", "Dardanides Dardanis", "Peliades Pelias".*

---

[67] *Ovidius moralizatus* 6, f. 52v, f\<abul\>a 17 cited according to the old print *Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter a magistro Thoma Walleys Anglico de professione predicatorum sub sanctissimo patre Dominico explanata* (Parisiis: Josse Bade, 1509).

[68] Bersuire has in mind Os 4:2: "maledictum et mendacium et homicidium et furtum et adulterium inundaverunt et sanguis sanguinem tetigit"; cited according to *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, eds. Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007); "By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood." in the King James Version cited according to *The Bible. Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). *Ovidius moralizatus* 6, f. 53r, fa 17.

[69] Crux (see below in the edition): "Irim… medium coxit et medium assavit"; *Ovidius moralizatus* 6, f. 52v, fa 17: "ytim… coxit"; Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 645–46: "…pars inde cavis exsultat aenis, / pars veribus stridunt".

"The feminine patronymics end either in -*is* or in -*as* or in long -*nē*. They are formed from masculines by removing -*de* and by ending -*is* or -*as*, like 'Priamides Priamis', 'Dardanides Dardanis', 'Peliades Pelias'."[70]

The flection of patronymics is also dealt with by Alexander of Villedieu in his grammar in verse *Doctrinale*, which replaced Priscian's *Institutiones* at the Latin classes in the 13th century and which was being extensively used in Bohemia in the Late Middle Ages.[71] Alexander says on feminine patronymics (ending in -*as*):

as brevis in recto dat adis vel ados genetivo;
em vel a dat quartus; in e fit tantummodo sextus.

"Short -*as* in the direct [case, i.e. nominative] gives -*adis* or -*ados* in the genitive;
-*em* or -*a* make the fourth [case, i.e. accusative]; in -*e*, only the sixth [case, i.e. ablative] is formed."[72]

A similar passage is to be found, for instance, also in another popular 13th century grammar called *Graecismus* written by Eberhard of Béthune.[73]

In connection with these grammar issues, Crux is also interested in another phenomenon, namely the fact that a single noun could bear the meaning of both patronymic and proper noun and its flection is varied accordingly. This is also addressed by Priscian, even though in a different context: he states that masculine patronymics of Greek origin ending in -*des* are inflected as the first declension nouns, but homonymous proper nouns are very often inflected according to the third declension.[74]

However, what Crux calls a patronymic (*nomen patronymicum*) here does actually not fit the definition of this language phenomenon neither according to modern view nor according to ancient or medieval grammars. The alleged patronymics "Colchis" and "Actis" are derived from toponyms as Crux himself is aware

---

[70] Prisc. *gramm.* 2,38, l. 14–17 cited according to *Prisciani Grammatici Caesariensis Institvtionvm Grammaticarvm Libri XVIII*, ed. Martin Hertz (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1855–59).

[71] Jana Nechutová, "Jak jsme se učili latinsky s Alexandrem de Villa Dei [How We Learned Latin with Alexander of Villedieu]," *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 14, no. 1–2 (2009): 158–60.

[72] *Das Doctrinale Des Alexander de Villa-Dei*, ed. Dietrich Reichling (Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1893), vv. 333–34.

[73] See *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus*, ed. Johann Wrobel (Vratislaviae: Koebner, 1887), cap. 25, vv. 238–43.

[74] Prisc. *gramm.* 6,62.

of: "she is called by patronymic after this island" (*dicta est… nomine patronomico a tali insula*) and "she is called… after the city" (*Dicta est… a tali civitate*). The proper term would therefore be "toponymic names" – names which are derived from placenames. Priscian is quite clear about this: "patronymic is which is derived only from proper names of fathers" (*patronymicum est, quod a propriis tantummodo deriuatur patrum nominibus*).[75] A similar definition is to be found in *Graecismus*: "say that patronymics derive from fathers or grandfathers" (*A patribus vel avis fieri patronomica dicas*).[76]

Priscian concedes that the term is used incorrectly (*abusive*) also for names derived from the name of a mother, king, founder (of the city) or brother;[77] the name of an island, a city or any other toponym is, however, never mentioned as a source for patronymics.

In later grammars, the similarity of patronymics and these "toponymic names" is, however, pointed out. For instance, the grammar of Jesuit Manuel Álvares from the mid-16th century states as follows:

Patronymicis affinia sunt multa eodem modo a nominibus regionum, montium, fontium, fluviorum, aliarumque rerum deducta;

"Related to the patronymics are many [names] derived in the same way from the names of regions, mountains, streams, rivers and other things."[78]

Crux's terminological confusion is thus not surprising.

---

[75] Prisc. *gramm.* 2,32.

[76] *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus*, cap. 25, v. 32.

[77] Prisc. *gramm.* 2,34.

[78] So explicitly in its 19th century issue *De institutione grammatica ad normam Emmanuelis Alvari libri duo posteriores* (Fribourg: Antonius Labastrou, 1830), lib. 2, cap. 11, p. 240. The original print states "quae formam quidem patronymicam habent". *Emmanuelis Alvari e Societate Iesu, De institutione grammatica libri tres* (Venetiis: Iacobus Vitalis, 1575), 514.

5 *Totus Alexandro famuletur subditus orbis*[79]

The last text edited here is to be found in a school manuscript as well: Praha, NK, XIII G 18, f. 42r. Unlike the preceding texts, this one does not refer to the classical mythology, but its connection to antiquity is different: it deals with the deeds of Alexander the Great and briefly summarizes his life. Nevertheless, it cannot be said it is a "biographical" text as we understand it nowadays; the whole tradition of Alexander's life stories is fictional to a large extent and even its factual parts have undergone radical changes during the transmission as it is obvious from the *apparatus fontium* of the edition.

All treatises on Alexander's expedition by his contemporaries were lost early on and perhaps as early as Alexander's lifetime, a legendary tradition was being formed. A crucial piece of literature which was to influence the view on the conqueror Alexander in the following centuries was a Greek prose writing from the 3rd century CE,[80] whose author is traditionally referred to as Pseudo-Callisthenes.[81] This work combines various literary forms: the main part consists of novel-like narrative about Alexander's life and deeds (as mentioned, with many fictitious elements),[82] which is accompanied by numerous letters.[83] The version closest to the original text preserved in one manuscript is called *recension α*; there are another five recensions stemming from it, which are usually called by other letters of the Greek alphabet as well. Concerning Crux's text, a hypothetical[84] *recension δ* is important. In the 10th century during his diplomatic mission in Constantinople, Leo called Archipresbyter came by a manuscript of Alexandre Romance which belonged to this recension; he copied it and translated into Latin. His translation, which was to be denounced by David J. A. Ross as a "wretched little book" and "very mediocre

---

[79] I borrowed this apt verse from the speech of dying Darius in *Alexandreis* by Walter of Châtillon, a work which is, however, not related to Crux's text. *Galteri de Castellione Alexandreis*, ed. Marvin L. Colker (Padua: Antenore, 1978) book 7, v. 296.

[80] An alternative dating (of the core of the text) as early as to the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (308–246 BCE) is advocated, for instance, by Richard Stoneman, "Primary Sources from the Classical and Early Medieval Periods," in *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Zuwiyya (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011), 2–3.

[81] Some manuscripts attribute the work to Callisthenes of Olynthus, a "court" historian of Alexander's campaign, who, however, died earlier (327 BCE) than the events he was supposed to write about took place (e.g., Alexander's death). Thus, Callisthenes' authorship is ruled out.

[82] Including some very bizarre motifs, like a flying machine, diving bell or an encounter with the *gymnosofistai*, naked philosophers from India.

[83] Cf. Stoneman, "Primary Sources," 1–3.

[84] There are no extant manuscripts of this recension; it is, however, attested by a 7th century Syriac version, an Ethiopian version or the below mentioned Latin tradition all resulting from this recension.

Latin prose",[85] became "the foundation stone of the whole medieval European [Alexander] tradition".[86]

Leo's text was transmitted in three interpolated versions called J[1], which is dated as early as the 11th century, and J[2] and J[3] stemming from it from the 12th or early 13th century;[87] together, these versions are referred to as *Historia de preliis* (The History of Battles). Their popularity is attested by numerous vernacular translations (including a Czech one of J[3] probably from the turn of the 14th century, Crux could have been familiar with) both of the version J[2] and – primarily – J[3].[88] Crux's copy originates from the version J[2], namely from the 130th chapter from the very end of the text which briefly summarizes Alexander's life, his exploits and heritage he bequeathed. Whilst the novel-like narrative, which was the model for Crux, contains a depiction of whole Alexander's life from his miraculous birth until his death accompanied, as mentioned, by the extensive fictitious correspondence, Crux's version is an "opuscule" in the very sense of the word indeed – a mere synopsis of Alexander's life milestones and conquest exploits.

Here it is necessary to mention a "rival" Alexander literary tradition independent of Leo, which is represented by the well-known *Alexandreis*, a Latin epic poem by Gautier de Châtillon from the 12th century. It is based mainly on the work of Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus, which is several centuries older than Pseudo-Callisthenes' one.[89] Also, Gautier's poem inspired many vernacular rewritings – among them an important Middle High German version by Ulrich von Etzenbach and Old Czech *Alexandreida* from the second half of the 13th century, which has become much more deeply rooted in the general awareness than the prose Alexander.

---

[85] David J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus. A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1988), 47.

[86] Stoneman, "Primary Sources," 18.

[87] Stoneman, "Primary Sources," 18. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, 53.

[88] For an overview of derivative versions and translations of J[2], see Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, 54–59; for a diagram of J[3] derivatives, see Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, 60. To the Old Czech translation, cf. Jaroslav Kolár, "Román o Alexandru Velikém v souvislostech české středověké prózy [Alexander Romance in Relation to the Czech Medieval Prose]," *Listy filologické – Folia philologica* 105, no. 4 (1982). To the manuscripts of *Historia de preliis* of Czech provenance, cf. Anežka Vidmanová, "Latinská historie o Alexandru Velikém v našich rukopisech [Latin History of Alexander the Great in Our Manuscripts]," *Listy filologické – Folia philologica* 86, no. 2 (1963), and Anežka Vidmanová, "Znovu k Alexandrovi Velikému v Čechách [On Alexander the Great in Bohemia Once Again]," *Studie o Rukopisech [Manuscript Studies]* 27 (1989 [publ. 1990]).

[89] Stoneman, "Primary Sources," 11. The dating of Q. Curtius Rufus and his work is problematic; most of the researchers, however, adhere to the first half of the 1st century CE.

Especially in the case of this text, it is not easy to ascertain whether it is an abridged summary of the end of the version J^2 or whether it is a mere fragment or quotation from it. The variation of the J^2 among its manuscript readings is considerable as the comparison in the *apparatus fontium* of the edition shows. The differences between the text and the edition of J^2 therefore do not necessarily mean they are innovations of the scribe who summarized the text; they could also have resulted from manuscripts not belonging to the main tradition and Crux's text might have been a direct quotation of them.[90] This problem is, however, not unique, but can be seen as the very feature of *opuscula* as such.[91]

---

[90] The closest one to Crux's text seems to be the manuscript P^5 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 14169, ff. 80r–193r), followed by B (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 555, ff. 12r–75r), P^1 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 2477, ff. 30r–67v), Bx^1 (Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 1663, ff. 1r–46r) and the destroyed manuscript Br^4 (formerly Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, R 58, ff. 85r–128r). Detailed in the edition.
[91] Doležalová, "Opuscula," 12.

6 Edition

6.1 Conspectus siglorum

add.	=	addidit
cod.	=	codex
codd.	=	codices
del.	=	delevit
dub.	=	dubitanter
in marg.	=	in margine
om.	=	omisit
superscr.	=	superscriptum
v. l.	=	varia lectio

6.2 [De Iasone]

6.2.1 Note

The *apparatus fontium* offers a comparison with textual parallels of Crux's text, namely the works of Dares Phrygius, Benoît de Sainte-Maure and Guido de Columnis as they are listed below. The verbatim agreement is marked by underlining in the apparatus (so in the following texts as well). The following sigla are used:

ms.   Praha, NK, I F 25, f. 225r.

Dares   *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia*, ed. Ferdinand Meister, 2nd ed. (Stutgardiae – Lipsiae: Teubner, 1991).

HDT   Guido de Columnis, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin (Cambridge MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936).

RT   Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. Léopold Constans (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1904).

6.2.2 [De Iasone]

Iason fuit quidam pulcer iuvenis, filius Eson, fratris Pelii, regis Tessalie. Quem cum Tessalie optimates honestum modestumque viderunt, eum dileccionis affectu amplexi sunt. Qua propter ipsum Yasonem Pellinus habens odio quamvis fingeret se eum amare querens occasionem mortis Yasonis, audivit cuiusdam arietis aureum vellus esse in quadam insula Colchos ultra regni Troyani confinea ubi regnabat rex nomine Oethes cuius erat filia nomine Medea.

5

□ **2** filius … Tessalie] *cf.* Dares 1, p. 2, ll. 1–2; *cf.* HDT 1, ff. 2r–2v (I follow the foliation of Griffin's edition); *cf.* RT, vv. 715ff | **2–3** Iason … modestumque] *cf.* Dares 1, p. 2, l. 2: *virtute praestans*; *cf.* HDT 1, f. 2v: *[…] vir fortis et strenuus et <u>iuuenis</u>, nimium speciosus, <u>modestus</u>, largus, affabilis, tractabilis, pius, et omni morum uenustate corruscus*; *cf.* RT, vv. 729–31 | **3–4** eum … sunt] *cf.* Dares 1, p. 2, ll. 3–4; *cf.* HDT 1, f. 2v: *Hunc Thesalie primates et nobiles, hunc plebei tenere <u>dilectionis affectu</u> pro suarum uirtutum excellentia <u>sunt amplexi</u>, [...]*; *cf.* RT, vv. 732–40 | **4–5** Qua … Yasonis] *cf.* Dares 1, p. 2, ll. 4–6; *cf.* HDT 1, f. 2v: *[...] signis extrinsecis eum sibi carum esse monstraret, [...] Quare disquisiuit in corde suo uiarum ymaginata proposita quibus posset Iasonem perdere absque sui sugillatione pudoris*; *cf.* RT, vv. 741–62 | **5–7** audivit … Medea] *cf.* HDT 1, f. 2v: *[...] loquax fama auribus plurimorum intonuit quod in <u>quadam insula</u> dicta <u>Colcos ultra regni Troyani confinia</u> uersus orientalem plagam quidam aries habebatur, cuius vellus erat aureum, ut fame preconiumperhibebat. In hac igitur insula regnare dicebatur rex quidam Oetes nomine, vir potens et diues sed etate prouectus*; *cf.* RT, vv. 763–68

Ad quod quidem vellus habendum primo necesse erat domare boves ferocissimos emittentes flammas ab ore ipsum vellus custodientes et consequenter ipsos compellere ad arandum terram in qua erant. Quo facto, necesse erat iterum occidere quendam draconem squamis horridis flammas emittentem qui predictum vellus sub tutela Martis servabat et seminare dentes eius in terram aratam, a quibus exirent homines se ipsos interficientes.

Pellius itaque, credens ibidem Iasonem moriturum, ipsum ad huiusmodi vellus consequendum transmisit. Quo facto, ipse Iason ingrediens insulam Colchos regem Oethes allocutus finaliter licenciam obtinuit ut huiusmodi aureum vellus, si posset, acciperet.

Medea autem in amorem ipsius Yasonis fortiter exarsit. Quare dedit Yasoni quandam ymaginem argenteam, contra omnes incantaciones valentem. Secundo dedit ei quoddam ungentum odoriferum valens contra inflammaciones huiusmodi serpentis et boum, precipiens ut se illo ungeret. Deinde sibi tradidit annulum in quo

---

■ **10** erant] erant *dub. add. del. ms.* | **12** exirent] exierent *ms.* | **15** ipse Iason] Iason ipse *add. siglum pro vocibus invertendis ms.*

□ **8–10** Ad quod … erant] *cf.* HDT 1, ff. 2v–3r: *[…] cum in eius* [scil. uelleris] *custodia deputati fuissent quidam boues urentes flammas ex ore uomentes. Si quis igitur hunc aurei uelleris arietem optaret habere, cum hiis bobus necesse habebat inire certamen et si eorum uictoria potiretur, opportebat eum boues ipsos deuictos iugo subicere et eos* <u>compellere</u> *aratro* <u>terram</u> *uertere* <u>in qua erant</u> | **10–13** necesse … interficientes] *cf. ibid.*, f. 3r: *[…] iterum necesse habebat in quendam dracounem squamis orridum et flammas igneas exalantem irruere, ipsumque, bello cum ipso commisso, perimere et, eo perempto, dentes a faucibus eius euellere et euulsos serere in predictam terram a bobus aratam. […] Nam ex satis dentibus statim quidam armati milites nascebantur, fraternum bellum inter se illico committentes, qui se per mutua vulnera perimebant* | **14–15** Pellius … transmisit] *cf. ibid.*, ff. 3r–4r: *[…] quod tutiori uia et sine pudoris labe sui non posset tradere Iasonem facilius ad perdendum. […]*; *cf.* RT, vv. 781–98 | **16–17** finaliter … acciperet] *cf.* HDT 2, f. 7v: *Eius autem rex benigne petitis obtemperans se impleturum uota Iasonis non negauit* | **18** Medea … exarsit] *cf. ibid.*, f. 9r: *[…] quod repente in concupiscentia eius exarsit et feruentis amoris in animo cecum concepit ardorem*; *cf.* RT, vv. 1277–79 | **18–19** Quare … valentem] *cf.* HDT 3, f. 13v: *Inprimis tradidit ei ymaginem argenteam quandam, […] que aduersus incantationes iam factas est ualde potissima, cassans uidelicet que facta iam sunt et eorum nociua expulsione finali repellens. […]*; *cf.* RT, vv. 1663–70 (v. 1665: *une figure*) | **19–21** Secundo … ungeret] *cf.* HDT 3, f. 13v: *Secundo sibi tradidit cuiusdam unguenti odoriferi medicamen, quo ipsum linire suasit, asserens in eo uirtutem inesse ut aduersus flamas ualde preualeat, extinguat incendia, et omne quod habet potentiam comburrendi in cassa fumositate resoluat; cf.* RT, vv. 1671–76 (v. 1671: *un oignement*)

erat lapis omne venenum repellens. Denique dedit ei quandam fiollam mirabilem liquore repletam, quem cum perveniret ad boves, in ora boum infunderet.

Quo humore ora boum constricta sunt simul non valencia flammas emittere.

25 Et sic vellus aureum Yason auxilio Medee obtinuit.

□ **21–22** Deinde … repellens] *cf.* HDT 3, ff. 13v–14r: *Deinde quendam annullum sibi dedit, in quo talis uirtutis lapis erat inclusus ut, quecumque uenena corriperet, eorum nocumenta repelleret et, quem ueneni rabies infusa forsan inficeret, uelut ab a quis infusum innocuum sua uirtute saluaret. [...]*; *cf.* RT, vv. 1677–1702 (v. 1677: *un anel*) | **22–23** Denique … infunderet] *cf.* HDT 3, f. 14r: *Postremo et ultimo quandam fiolam liquore mirabili tradidit sibi plenam, de qua illum instruxit vt quam primum perueniret ad boues, liquore illo eorum [h]ora perfunderet et crebris aspersionibus irroraret*; *cf.* RT, vv. 1716–21 (v. 1716: *gluz*) | **24** Quo humore … emittere] *cf.* HDT 3, f. 14r: *In liquore enim illo hanc inesse uirtutem asseruit vt quam primum ora boum infunderentur ex illo, uelut quodam uiscoso glutino sic compacta constringerentur in unum quod eorum apertura non tam difficilis quam impossibilis esset in illis*; *cf.* RT, vv. 1722–24 | **25** Et sic … obtinuit] *cf.* HDT 3, f. 14r: *Et sic de singulis successiue Medea Iasonem diligenter instruxit quibus processibus siue modis possit ad optate uictorie gloriam peruenire*

6.3 [De Medea]

6.3.1 Note

In the *apparatus fontium*, the text is compared with its indirect model texts by Benoît de Sainte-Maure and Guido de Columnis. The following sigla are used:

ms. Třeboň, SOA T, A 7, f. 179v.

Kadlec Jaroslav Weber [Kadlec], Josef Tříška, and Pavel Spunar, *Soupis rukopisů v Třeboni a v Českém Krumlově [List of the Manuscripts in Třeboň and Český Krumlov]* (Praha: ČSAV, 1958).

HDT Guido de Columnis, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*.

RT Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*.

6.3.2 [De Medea]

Fabula: Medea regina, filia regis, actis[92] mirabilis incantatrix: ipsa enim lucem in tenebras subito vertebat, ventos inducebat et pluvias et coruscaciones, grandines terreque motus. Et flumina retro faciebat fluere, arbores tempore hiemis florere. Senes eciam ad iuventutem solebat revocare etc.

5

■ **2** Fabula] *in marg. ms.* | Medea] filia *add. del. ms.* | incantatrix] sucantatrix *Kadlec*

□ **2–3** lucem … vertebat] *cf.* RT, v. 1224: *De cler jor feist nuit oscure* | **2–4** lucem … motus] *cf.* HDT 2, f. 8r: *[...] lucem uertebat in tenebras, subito uentos inducebat et pluuias, corruscationes et grandines, et timidos terremotus* | **4** flumina … fluere] *cf. ibid.*: *Fluuiorum autem decursus per decliuia loca labentes ad superiores partes influere et redundare cogebat*; *cf.* RT, v. 1227: *Les eves faiseit corre ariere*

---

[92] The manuscript reading *actis* as ablative plural of *actum* meaning "act, deed" (DMLBS, s. v. *agere*; cf. SSL, s. v. *ago 1*) is convincing palaeographically, but somewhat odd when syntax and stylistics are concerned. In the direct model text, there could have been the name of the king Aeëtes in genitive case: *Oetis*, which is very similar to the word *actis* when handwritten. "Regina, filia regis Oetis" would be a plausible reading since the double mention about Medea's royal origin is omitted here – unlike the manuscript reading: "regina, filia regis". However, the scribe did most likely not understand the word as a name because there is no rubric here in the manuscript. Cf. "Oetis regis filia" in HDT 2, ff. 7v; 8r. This assumption is also supported by the fact that at the end of the text, there is another word used in the same meaning: *actus*, a fourth declension noun. Another option would be to suppose the original reading *artis mirabilis*. This is less convincing and in HDT, there are just indirect pieces of evidence: "se totam exhibuit [scil. Medea] liberalium *artium* studiose doctrinis" or "Set eius margarite scientia ex qua potius prepollebat erat illa *ars* mathematica…" (HDT 2, f. 8r; italics is mine). The last option would be the factual error of the scribe if he had meant the word *Actis* and used it to denote Medea. (For its meaning see the notes to the translation of the text *On Tereus, Procne, and Philomela* below.) This interpretation, however, seems to be quite unlikely as Medea is called *Colchis* both at another point of the text and in the text following in the manuscript while the name *Actis* is reserved for Procne. Because the scribe's intention remains unclear and the manuscript reading is acceptable, I do not take the liberty of suggesting a conjecture that would be unequivocally satisfactory.

Colchis est quedam insula, et sic Medea dicta est Colchis nomine patrono-
mico a tali insula propter illos actus quos ibi exercuit.

□ **4–5** arbores … florere] *cf.* HDT 2, f. 8r: *<H>yemali etiam impugnatione frondibus arbores*
spoliatas compellebat in ipsa turbinis tempestate florescere | **5** Senes … etc.] *cf. ibid.*: *iuuenes*
faciendo senescere et senes ad iuuentutis gloriam prouocando

6.4   [De Tereo, Prokne et Philomela cum notis grammaticis]

6.4.1   Note

Apparatus fontium points out similarities of the text with corresponding passages of its indirect models, *Metamorphoses* by Ovid and its moralizing rewriting by Pierre Bersuire. The references to the medieval and humanist grammars (from the early 16th century, thus not written so much later than the edited text) mentioned in the introduction are quoted in the footnotes to the translation below. The following sigla are used:

ms.   Třeboň, SOA T, A 7, ff. 179v–180r.

Kadlec   Jaroslav Weber [Kadlec], Josef Tříška, and Pavel Spunar, *Soupis rukopisů.*

OM   *Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter a magistro Thoma Walleys Anglico de professione predicatorum sub sanctissimo patre Dominico explanata* (Parisiis: Josse Bade, 1509), book 6, f. 52v, fa 17.

Ov. *met.*   Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*, ed. William S. Anderson (Berlin – New York: Teubner, 2008).

6.4.2   [De Tereo, Prokne et Philomela cum notis grammaticis]

Similiter Progwe dicta est Actis a tali civitate, que fabulose legitur in yrundinem fuisse mutata sicut patet inferius. Nota ibi actis, yrundo:

Sicut refert Ovidius in libro Methamorphoseos quod Chereus erat quidam rex Crethensis qui filiam Pandionis, regis Athenarum, nomine Progwe in uxorem duxit. Uxor vero vice quadam desiderio videndi sororem suam dictam Filomena affecta rogavit Chereum ut pro ipsa nuncios dirigeret. Ipse vero uxori assenciens pro Filomena sorore uxoris sue solus processit.

5

■ **3** inferius] *non legitur add. superscr. ms. (forte* hic*)* | ibi] *om. Kadlec* | **6** videndi] *fol. 180r ms.* | **8** sorore uxoris] uxore sororis *ms.*

□ **4–6** Chereus … duxit] *cf.* OM: *Tereus rex thracum prognen <u>filiam pandionis regis athenarum</u> habuit uxorem*; *cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 426–28 | **6** sororem … Filomena] *cf.* OM: *quae habuit sororem pulcherrimam dictam philomenam* | **7** rogavit … dirigeret] *cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 440–44 | **8** processit] *cf. ibid.*, vv. 444–46

Cumque recepta ea domum rediret, in vie procinctu in amore eius exarsit et
in antro cuiusdam nemoris ipsam oppressit; et quia incestum repudiabat, sibi plect-
rum lingwe abscidens eam eodem antro custodiendam reclusit. Et Progwe regine
quod soror esset mortua affirmavit, que tamen telam recepit in qua filis nigris exuens
se violatam misit sorori.

Soror vero hoc nephas cognoscens finxit se Bachi solempnia celebrare et
accepta licencia a viro suo more Bachancium ad sacra Bachi se ituram simulavit,
que statim cucurrit sororem videre eligwem, ipsam secrete in palacium sui[93] domus
reducens. Irim, filium suum et Cherei, occidens, medium coxit et medium assavit
in ulcionem sororis sue et patri comedendum presentavit. Rex vero dulcedine motus
carnium interrogavit de filio frustum sibi volens impartiri. Uxor vero respondens
dixit: "Quod petis, intus habes." Et statim Filomena affuit, que caput pueri in synum
patris proiecit.

Chereus vero videns scelus scelere vindicatum sorores gladio vibrato inse-
quens voluit occidere; sed ipse[94] fugientes, deorum miseracione Progwe in hyrun-
dinem est mutata. Chereus vero in upupam, Filomena vero in avem sui nominis est

---

■ **24** mutata] Eh *add. del. ms.*

□ **9** Cumque … exarsit] *cf.* OM: *Et cum Tereus athenis veniens ipsam videret: in ipsius exarsit amorem*; *cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, v. 455 | **10** in antro … oppressit] *cf.* OM: *quam [...] ad videndum sororem ducens ipsam oppressit*; *cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 519–26 | **10–11** et quia … reclusit] *cf.* OM: *Et quia incestui repugnabat linguam ipsi praescidit: & in quadam sylua in domo in qua erant stabula sua eam custodiendam inclusit* | plectrum lingwe abscidens] *cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 555–60 | **11–12** Et Progwe … affirmavit] *cf.* OM: *& progne regine quod soror sua erat mortua affirmauit*; *cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 564–65 | **12–13** telam … sorori] *cf.* OM: *telam texuit in qua totius facti seriem imaginibus purpureis depinxit & ad sororem per famulam seu famulum destinauit*; *cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 576–80 | **14** Soror … cognoscens] *cf. ibid.*, vv. 581–82 | **14–16** Soror … eligwem] *cf.* OM: *Soror autem visa tela & comperto negocio finxit se bacchi solennia velle celebrare: & accepta lictenia* [sic] *a viro suo more bacchantium ad sacra bacchi se simulauit ire: que statim cucurrit sororem elinguem videre* | **16–17** ipsam … reducens] *cf. ibid.*: *quam ad proprium palatium secrete ducens*; *cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 587–600 | **17–18** Irim … presentavit] *cf.* OM: *ytim quendam filium suum & therei coxit & in ultionem sororis patri redeunti comedendum dedit*; *cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 636–51 | **19–21** interrogavit … proiecit] *cf.* OM: *Qui filium ytim petens: ytim huc accersite dixit: cui cum progne responderet: quem petis intus habes: statim philomena affuit: que caput pueri in patris faciem proiecit*; *cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 652–59, especially v. 655: *"intus habes, quem* [*quod* v. l.] *poscis" ait. circumspicit ille*

---

[93] *sui* is modifier to *domus* (genitive) – although it is feminine normally (and the form *suae* would therefore be expected), it also appears as masculine in the medieval Latin works of Czech origin probably due to its Czech cognate *dům* (Old Czech *dóm*) which is masculine. Cf. SSL, s. v. *domus.*
[94] I.e., *ipsae* (nominative plural feminine).

25 mutata. Pandion vero pre filiarum dolore mortuus est. Et hoc est quod dicit littera qua Progwe mutata refertur.

Dicta est autem Actis a tali civitate iuxta montem Acte denominatum situm prope Athenas, in qua civitate genita et educata extitit. Et sic quia ista duo nomina Colchis et Actis ex secundario sermone translata sunt in nomina patronomica, ergo

30 declinantur sicut nomina patronomica sic: Colchis, -dis; Actis, -dis[95] etc. Sic declinatur Priamis, -dis. Sed prout sunt propria nomina, tunc declinantur hec Colchis, huius Colchis; hec Actis, huius Actis etc.

■ **29** secundario] secundaria *ms.* | **30** Colchis, -dis; Actis, -dis] colchis dis actis dis *ms.*

□ **22–25** Chereus … mutata] *cf.* OM: *Tereus igitur videns scelus scelere vindicatum sorores voluit occidere: sed fugientes progne in hirundinem: philomena vero in lusciniam sunt mutate. Thereus vero in hupupam est mutatus; cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 666–74 | **25** Pandion … mortuus est] *cf.* OM: *Pandion autem pre filiarum dolore est mortuus; cf.* Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 675–76

---

[95] *Dis* is written using scribal abbreviation both here and below. It could be also resolved as *dos*, which is, however, quite improbable: in such a case, the scribe would probably copy the word not using an abbreviation; the genitive case would read "Colchidos" according to the Greek declension as both medieval and humanist grammars state. Cf. *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei*, vv. 327–28: "is recto praebens genetivus erit tibi credens, / isque vel os faciet; a vel m quartus tibi praebet". Cf. *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus*, cap. 25, v. 239: "Aeneis est rectus, dis uel dos sit genitiuus". Cf. *Grammatica Jacobi Henrichman* ([Pforzheim]: Thomas Anshelm, 1506): "hec priamis. huius priamidis uel dos". Cf. *Joannis Brassicani Tubingensis Paedotribae Institutiones grammaticae elimatissimae* (Tübingen: Thomas Anshelm, 1516): "Haec priamis. huius priamidis & priamidos".

6.5   Descripcio stature et vite Allexandri

6.5.1   Note

In the *apparatus fontium*, Crux's text is compared with the corresponding passages from its model texts in the "direct lineage": the recension α of Pseudo-Callisthenes, Leo's translation and the interpolated version J^2. In the case of the J^2, I cite the readings of respective manuscripts if they evince more considerable similarity to Crux; they are taken over from Hilka's edition (as well as their sigla) for I could not work directly with them. Further, the similarities to the version J^3 are pointed out and comparisons to the translations stemming from J^2 are included: the Old French *Roman d'Alexandre en prose*, Middle High German *Seifrits Alexander*, Italian *I nobili fatti di Alessandro Magno* and one of the Hebrew versions *Sefer Toledot Alexandros ha-Makdoni*. For clarity's sake, they are diagrammed as follows:
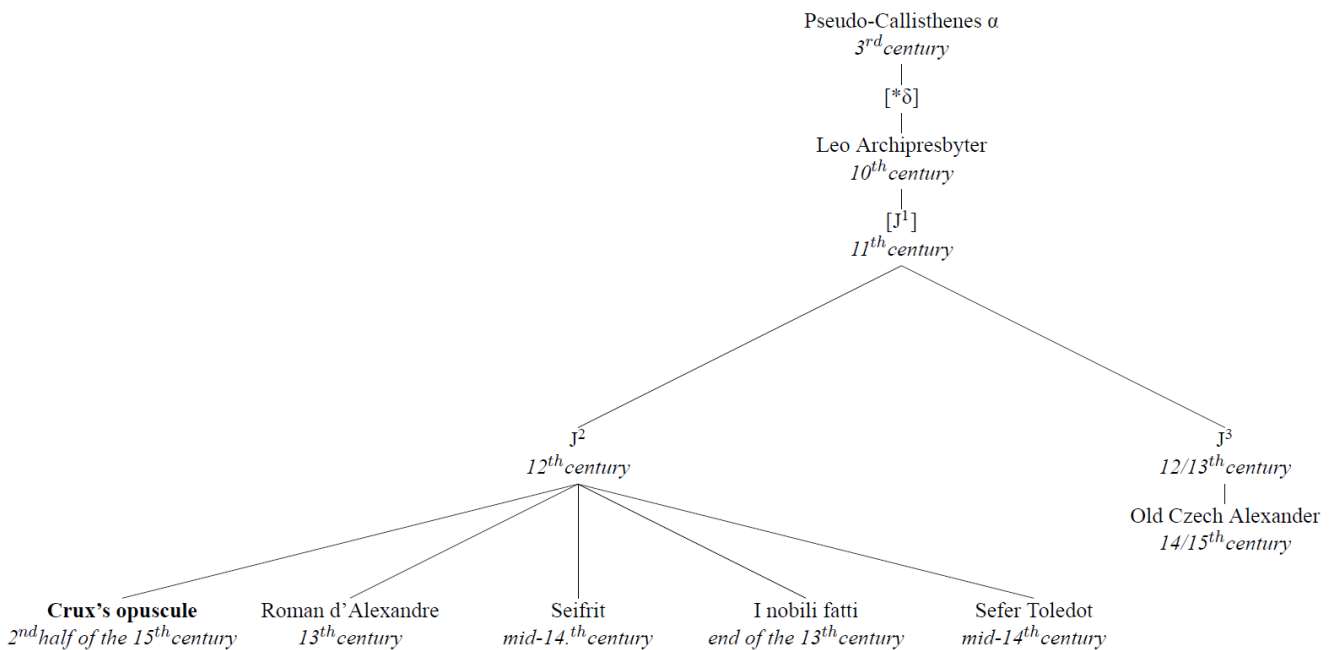
The following sigla are used:

ms.	Praha, NK, XIII G 18, f. 42r.
Ps.-Callisth.	Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni. 1. Recensio vetusta*, ed. Wilhelm Kroll (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926).
Leo	*Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*, ed. Friedrich Pfister (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1913).

Historia de preliis:

J[1]	Leo Archipresbyter, *Historia Alexandri Magni Regis Macedonie de preliis* (Argentinae: [Georg Husner], 1494).
J[2]	*Historia Alexandri Magni (Historia de Preliis). Rezension J2 (Orosius-Rezension)*, ed. Alfons Hilka (Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain, 1976).

B   Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preusischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4° 555, ff. 12r–75r.

Br[2]   Wrocław, Biblioteka uniwersytecka, IV F 33, ff. 1r–27v.

Br[4]   originally Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, R 58, ff. 85r–128r.[96]

Bx[1]   Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 1663, ff. 1r–46r.

M[2]   München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 21665, ff. 1r–33r.

Mo   Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.W.8.14, ff. 97r–131v.

N   Napoli, Biblioteca nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III", V. F. 27, ff. 1r–119r.

O[5]   Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 3. 3, ff. 130r–153r.

P[1]   Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 2477, ff. 30r–67v.

P[2]   Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 6041, ff. 200r–209r.

P[3]   Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 8503, ff. 7v–26v.

P[4]   Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 13710, ff. 1r–75v.

P[5]   Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 14169, ff. 80r–193r.

P[7]   Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, latin 780, ff. 115r–151r.

Po   Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein, 2855, ff. 109r–147r.

Pg   Praha, Archiv pražského hradu, Knihovna metropolitní kapituly, G XXIX, ff. 98r–122r.

---

[96] Manuscript destroyed during World War II.

S   Cambridge (USA), Harvard University, Houghton Library, lat. 121F, ff. 103r–150v.

V^2 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. Z 406, ff. 1r–58v.

W^1 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3247, ff. 6r–53v.

W^2 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3412, ff. 157r–185r.

Wo   Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmst. 622, ff. 182r–234r.

J^3 *Die Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni, Rezension J3*, ed. Karl Steffens (Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain, 1975).

R. d'Alex.   *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman nach der Berliner Bilderhandschrift nebst dem lateinischen Original der Historia de preliis (Rezension J2)*, ed. Alfons Hilka (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1920).

Seifrit   *Seifrits Alexander aus der Straßburger Handschrift*, ed. Paul Gereke (Berlin: Weidmann, 1932) cited according to "The Middle High German Books on The Great Alexander," Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien TITUS, accessed May 7, 2023, https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/germ/mhd/a_seifr/a_seilex.htm.

NF   *I nobili fatti di Alessandro Magno*, ed. Giusto Grion (Bologna: Presso Gaetano Romagnoli, 1872).

ST   *The Book of the Gests of Alexander of Macedon*, ed. Israel Joseph Kazis (Cambridge MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1962), p. צג.

OC Al.   "Alexander", in *Próza českého středověku [Prose of the Czech Middle Ages]*, eds. Jaroslav Kolár and Milada Nedvědová (Praha: Odeon, 1983), 138.

6.5.2 Descripcio stature et vite Allexandri

Allexander fuit statura brevis, cervice longa, letus oculis, decorus, magna-
nimus, rubens membris, sermone facundissimus, victor omnium, occisus veneno
fraudulenter. Vixit triginta duobus annis. Ab octavo decimo anno nativitatis sue ing-
rediente cepit comittere prelium et septem annis acriter pugnavit. Et octo annis

5

■ **2** Allexander] *manicula add. in marg. ms.* | **4** triginta duobus] XXXII^bus *ms.* | anno] sue *add. del. ms.* | **5** septem] VII^em *ms.*

□ **2** Allexander … brevis] *cf.* J²: *Fuit autem Alexander statura brevi* (*brevis* codd. B Br⁴ Bx¹ M² Mo O⁵ P¹ P⁵ Po); *cf.* J¹ J³: *Fuit autem Alexander stature mediocris*; *cf.* Seifrit, vv. 8962–63.: *Allexander (gelaubt das!) / zu massen ain chuerczer man was*; *cf.* NF, p. 178: *Alessandro fu di mezzana forma* (*mezza statura* v. l.); cf. OC Al., l. 3: *Bieše Alexander postavy střiedmé* | cervice longa] *cf.* J²: *cervice longa*; *cf.* J¹ J³: *cervicis longe*, cf. OC Al., l. 3: *dlúhé šíje* | letus oculis] *cf.* J²: *letis oculis malis ad gratiam rubescentibus*; *cf.* J¹: *oculorum illustrium, genarum ad gratiam erubescentium*; *cf.* J³: *letorum oculorum, illustrium genarum ad gratiam rubescentium*; *cf.* Seifrit, v. 8966: *sein augen warn frolich*; *cf.* NF, p. 178: *li occhi allegri*; cf. OC Al., ll. 3–5: *oči nerovných, neb jedno bieše črné a druhé bieše rozličné barvy* (note completely different information on Alexander's appearance in the Old Czech version based on J³) | **2–3** decorus … facundissimus] *cf.* J² codd. B Br⁴ Bx¹ P¹ P⁵: *reliquis membris magnanimus et decorus in sermone facundissimus*; *cf.* J3: *Reliqua membra non sine quadam erant maiestate decoris*; *cf.* Seifrit, vv. 8968–69.: *er was wiczig und charckh / manhaft, mild und starckh*; cf. OC Al., l. 5: *…hlaholu jasného* | **3** rubens membris] *cf.* Seifrit, vv. 8964–65.: *er was zu allen zeitten gar / gar rosalat und wol gevar*; cf. OC Al., l. 5: *líce jměješe ušlechtilé a zardělé* | victor omnium] *cf.* J²: *victor omnium videbatur* (*videbatur* om. codd. N P³ S W¹); *cf.* J³: *victor omnium*; *cf.* Seifrit, vv. 8970–73: *zu aller mēndlichen tat / er czwayer mann sterckh hat. / was er hat gestritten ie, / man chund in uber winden nye*; *cf.* NF, p. 178: *e fue vincitore, […] e gia mai non fu vinto da niuno*, cf. OC Al., l. 7: *Vítěz nepřemožený* | **3–4** occisus … fraudulenter] *cf.* J²: *sed vino et ira victus est*, codd. Br² P⁷: *sed ira et veneno victus est*, cod. W²: *sed ipse veneno victus*, codd. B Br⁴ Bx¹ P⁵: *veneno fraudulenter occisus est*; *cf.* R. d'Alex., p. 260, ll. 16–18: *qui* [scil. Alixandres] *par fer ne pot estre vaincus, mais l'ochist le venim…*; *cf.* NF, p. 180: *ma l'uccise un poco di veleno mischiato con vino*; cf. OC Al., l. 7: *ale zahuben od jedu lstivě* | **4** Vixit … annis] *cf.* J² Leo: *Fuerunt anni vite illius triginta tres.* (*triginta duo* codd. B Br⁴ Bx¹ M² N P¹ P² P⁴ P⁵ P⁷ Pg V² W² Wo); *cf.* J¹: *Fuerunt autem anni vite Alexandri triginta duo et menses septem*; *cf.* J³: *Fuerunt anni vite illius XXXII et menses VII*; *cf.* Ps.-Callisth.: ἐβίωσε μὲν οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη λ′; *cf.* Seifrit, vv. 8978–79.: *er was elter nit furbar / zwayer mer dann dreissig jar*; *cf.* NF, p. 179: *Alessandro vinse 32 reami* (see a noteworthy, but palaeographically well understandable, textual variation: *vinse* – passato remoto of *vincere*, to win, *cf. visse* of *vivere*, to live; p. 178: *E gli anni della sua vita furono 32 e 7 mesi* v. l.); *cf.* ST, l. 14: ושני חייו היו שלשים ושתים שנה; cf. OC Al., ll. 8–9: *A biechu léta Alexandrova dvě a třidceti let a sedm měsiecuov* | **4–5** Ab octavo … prelium] *cf.* J²: *Ab octavo decimo anno nativitatis sue cepit committere bellum* (*nativitatis sue ingrediente* codd. B Br⁴ Bx¹ N P¹ P² P⁴ P⁵ S V² W¹ W², *prelia* cod. Pg); *cf.* J¹: *Ab octavo decimo anno nativitatis sue incepit committere bellum*; *cf.* J³: *A vicesimo anno nativitatis sue cepit committere bellum* (*ab octavo decimo* v. l.); *cf.* Leo: *ac decem et octo annis cepit committere bellum*; *cf.* Ps.-Callisth.: ἀπὸ ιε′ ἐτῶν ἀρξάμενος πολεμεῖν; *cf.* Seifrit, vv. 8980–83: *da er in das achzehent jar gie / alczu hant er an vie / und rait aus nach gelingen / und begund die landt betwingen*; *cf.* NF, p. 179: *e in diciotto anni imprese far battaglie*; *cf.* ST, ll. 14–15: ובהיותו בן שמונה עשרה החל להלחם עם אויביו; cf. OC Al., ll. 9–10: *V desieti letech počal jest bojovati*

quievit in leticia et iocunditate. Et subiugavit viginti quatuor gentes barbarorum. Et natus est quinta die instante mense Marcio. Et fabricavit duodecim civitates que adhuc habitantur.

■ **6** viginti quatuor] XXIIII^or *ms.* | **7** duodecim] XII *ms.*

□ **5** et septem … pugnavit] *cf.* J²: *et septem annis pugnavit acriter*; *cf.* J¹: *Et in duodecimo acriter pugnavit*; *cf.* J³: *XII annis acriter pugnavit*; *cf.* Leo: *Septem itaque annos pugnavit acriter*; *cf.* Ps.-Callisth.: ἐπολέμησεν ἔτη ζ΄, μέχρι κ΄ ἐτῶν γεγένηται; *cf.* Seifrit, vv. 8984–85.: *das traib er ganczer suben jar / ee er die land betwang gar*; *cf.* NF, p. 179: *e in 7 anni ch'elli ando combattendo vinse tutto 'l mondo e sottomisse alla sua signoria.* (p. 178: *e ne' 20 anni combatte* v. l.); *cf.* ST, ll. 15–16: ועד בן עשרים וְשש שנה לא שקט להלחם עם עממי הארץ; cf. OC Al., ll. 9–10: *a jedenmezcietma let bojoval* | **5–6** Et octo … iocunditate] *cf.* J²: *et octo annis quievit et vixit in letitia et iocunditate*; *cf.* J³: *VII mensibus quievit* (*octo annis et septem mensibus* v. l.); *cf.* Leo: *octo annos quievit et in hilaritate et iocunditate vixit*; *cf.* Ps.-Callisth.: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λ΄ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ καὶ εὐφροσύνῃ ἔζησεν; *cf.* Seifrit, vv. 8994–95: *volliklich acht jar / in wunn und in frowden gar*; *cf.* NF, p. 178 v. l.: *e 7 mesi poso*; *cf.* ST, ll. 17–18.: וששה שנים שקט עד יום מותו; cf. OC Al., ll. 9–10: *a sedm měsiecuov odpočíval* | **6** Et subiugavit … barbarorum] *cf.* J²: *Subiugavitque sibi gentes barbarorum viginti septem.* (*sibi viginti quatuor gentes barbarorum* codd. B Br² Br⁴ Bx¹ P¹ P⁵ P⁷); *cf.* J¹: *In septem siquidem annis subiugavit sibi omnes barbaros*; *cf.* J³: *Subiugavit sibi omnes barbaras nationes*; *cf.* Leo: *subiugans sibi gentes barbarorum viginti septem*; *cf.* Ps.-Callisth.: ὑπέταξεν ἔθνη βαρβάρων κβ΄, Ἑλλήνων ι΄; *cf.* NF, p. 178 l. l.: *sotto se sottomise li barbari*; cf. OC Al., ll. 10–11: *Podrobil jest sobě všecky barbarské rodiny* | **6–7** Et natus … Marcio] *cf.* J²: *Natus est quinto die stante mensis Decembris et defunctus est secunda die stante mensis Martii.*, cod. B: *Natus est autem quinta die stante menso Marcio*, codd. Br² P⁷: *Natus die quinta mensis Marcii*, cod. P¹: *Natus est quinta die instante mense Marcii*, cod. P⁵: *Natus est quinta die instante mense Marcio*, codd. Br⁴ Bx¹: *Natus est quinto die mensis Marcii…*; *cf.* J¹: *Natus VIII Kalendas Ianuarii…*; *cf.* J³: *Natus est VI Kal. Ianuarii…*; *cf.* Leo: *Natus est mense Tinbia primus, obiit mense Farmuthi ingrediente die quarta*; *cf.* Ps.-Callisth.: Ἐγγεννήθη μὲν οὖν Τύβι τῇ νεομηνίᾳ ἀνατολῆς οὔσης, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Φαρμοῦθι τετράδι δύσεως; *cf.* Seifrit, vv. 8996–99: *es wart Allexander / in dem mened december / an dem funfczehenten tag / geporn nach des puechs sag*; *cf.* NF, p. 178 l. l.: *E nacque VII calendas ienarii…*; *cf.* ST, l. 19: ויום מולדו היה כודח השמש; cf. OC Al., ll. 11–12: *Den narozenie jeho sedmmezcietmý den prosincový…* | **7–8** Et fabricavit … habitantur] *cf.* J² J³: *Fabricavit civitates duodecim que hactenus habitantur* (*que adhuc habitantur* codd. B P¹ P⁵); *cf.* J¹: *Fabricavit autem Alexander civitates duodecim, que omnes fuerunt hactenus habitate etc.*; *cf.* Leo: *Fabricavit civitates duodecim, quae usque hactenus habitantur*; *cf.* Ps.-Callisth.: ἔκτισε δὲ πόλεις ιγ΄, αἵτινες μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατοικοῦνται καὶ εἰρηνεύονται; *cf.* NF, p. 179: *E fece fare 14 citta, e le nomoe tutte del suo nome.* (p. 178: *Nella sua vita fè 12 città* v. l.); *cf.* ST, l. 21: ובימיו בנה שלש עשרה ערים גדולים מאד

7 Translation

7.1 On Jason

Jason was a handsome youth, son of Aeson who was a brother of Thessalian king Pelias. As the noblemen of Thessaly saw he was honest and modest, they embraced him with loving emotions. Because of that Pelias hated Jason and was seeking an opportunity to do away with him, although he pretended he was fond of him; he heard there was a golden fleece of a ram on a certain island, Colchis, beyond the borders of Trojan kingdom where a king named Aeëtes was reigning, who had a daughter named Medea.

To gain the Golden Fleece, it was necessary firstly to tame the ferocious bulls guarding the Fleece which breathed fire from their mouths and afterwards to force them to plough the ground they were standing on. When done, it was necessary to slay a flame-breathing dragon with bristling scales, which watched over the aforementioned Fleece that was under Mars' protection, and to sow his teeth in the ploughed ground. Men would grow up from them and would be killing each other.

Believing Jason would die there, Pelias sent him to obtain the Fleece. When done, Jason set out for the island of Colchis, addressed the king Aeëtes and finally, he was granted permission to get the Golden Fleece if he could.

However, Medea was inflamed with love for Jason. Because of that, she gave Jason a silver image potent against every spell. Secondly, she gave him a fragrant ointment potent against flames of the dragon and the bulls and instructed him to smear himself with it. Then, she gave him a ring in which a stone was set driving out every poison. Finally, she gave him a miraculous vessel full of a fluid which he was to pour in the mouths of the bulls when he came to them.

The mouths of the bulls were glued together by the liquid and thus not able to breathe fire. And this is how Jason gained the Golden Fleece with the help of Medea.

7.2 On Medea

Story: princess Medea, daughter of the king, witch remarkable for these deeds: she used to turn the light into darkness at once, bring in the winds, rains,

lightning, hailstorms and earthquakes. She used to make rivers flow backwards and trees bloom in winter. She also used to restore old people to youth etc.

Colchis is an island and Medea is thus called by patronymic "Colchis"[97] after this island, because of the deeds she performed there.

7.3 On Tereus, Procne, and Philomela with grammatical notes

In the same way, Procne is called "Actis" after the city; we read about her that she was transformed into a swallow as it is shown below. See here "Actis" and swallow:

As Ovid reports in the book *Metamorphoses*, Tereus was a king of Crete,[98] who married the daughter of Pandion, the king of Athens, named Procne. Once, overwhelmed by a desire to see her sister called Philomela, the wife asked Tereus to send messengers to her. Consenting to his wife, he nevertheless set out for Philomela, the sister of his wife, himself.

As he took her with him and was returning home, he fell in love with her during the journey and violated her in a forest cave; because she tried to resist the incest, he cut off her tongue, imprisoned her in the cave and had her watched. He assured the queen Procne that her sister had died. She, however, got a cloth, [embroidered] it with black thread and thus uncovered that she had been molested and sent it to her sister.

When the sister learnt of this crime, she feigned she would celebrate the rites of Bacchus and as she was given permission from her husband, she pretended she was going to Bacchus' ceremonies as was the habit of maenads. She, however, ran to see her tongueless sister and brought her secretly to the house. She killed Itys, son of herself and Tereus; she cooked one half of him and roasted the other half as a revenge for her sister and served it up to Tereus. The king, moved by the delicious

---

[97] Which means "from Colchis", Colchian.

[98] According to both Ovid (e.g., Ov. *met.* 6, v. 424: "Threicius Tereus") and Bersuire (*Ovidius moralizatus* 6, f. 52v, fa 17: "Tereus rex thracum"), Tereus was king of Thrace, not of Crete. See Kerényi, *Die Mythologie der Griechen – 2*, 225ff. The cult of Dionysus and maenadism, important motifs of the story about Procne and Tereus (see Ov. *met.* 6, v. 596: "Bacche, tuas simulat…") are connected to Thrace and to the non-Greek, barbarian world in general both as it is popularly held and within the religious studies of the last century. See Walter Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011). See Ov. *met.* 6, vv. 587–88.: "Tempus erat, quo sacra solent trieterica Bacchi / Sithoniae [it is the middle one of the three peninsulas making up the peninsula Chalkidiki or maybe a synecdoche for whole Thrace here] celebrare nurus: nox conscia sacris." Palaeographically, the shift Thrace–Crete is easily explainable.

meat, asked for his son because he wanted to share bites with him. But his wife answered him: "What you are asking for, you have inside of yourself." And suddenly, there was Philomela and threw the boy's head into the lap of his father.

When Tereus saw the crime had been punished by crime, he pursued the sisters with trembling sword and wanted to kill them. But as they were running away, Procne was transformed into a swallow by the mercy of the gods; Tereus was transformed into a hoopoe and Philomela into a bird of her name.[99] Pandion died of sorrow for his daughters. This is what the text dealing with the transformation of Procne states.

She [i.e., Procne] is called "Actis"[100] after the city near the mountain named "Acte"[101] located not far from Athens where she was born and brought up. And because these two names, "Colchis" and "Actis", were transferred from the secondary language [use] to patronymics, they are declined as patronymics this way: „Colchis, -dis" and "Actis, -dis" etc. This is how "Priamis, -dis"[102] is declined. But as

---

[99] Which is nightingale (*philomela*).

[100] Which means "from Actaea" or "from Attica", Attic. It could either refer to the old name of Attica – *Actaea*, or it could be a variant of *Atthis* itself. Cf. Egidio Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon, 1* (Prati: Typis Aldinianis, 1859), 557, s. v. *ATTHIS*: "Hoc nomen in antiquis MSS. et editis libris varie scribitur, sive potius cum aliis confusum fuit…" *Atthis* is also name of Procne or Philomela, metonymically also of nightingale (*luscinia*) and swallow (*hirundo*; the word *philomela* could also be used to refer to swallow besides nightingale – the ancient versions of the myth are not unanimous which sister was transformed into which bird; cf. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), s. v. *Philomela*). Cf. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon*, 557, s. v. *ATTHIS*. Cf. Egidio Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon, 1* (Prati: Typis Aldinianis, 1858), 464, s. v. *ATTHIS*.

[101] The Greek word ἀκτή means headland, foreland or rugged banks. Cf. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), s. v. *ἀκτή (A)*. According to Bailly's dictionary, it could also mean elevation, hill or mountain. Cf. Anatole Bailly et al., "Dictionnaire grec-français," accessed May 5, 2023, http://gerardgreco.free.fr/spip. php?article52, s. v. *ἀκτή 2*. As a toponym, Ἀκτή denotes "diverse maritime regions or peninsulas". Bailly, "Dictionnaire grec-français," s. v. *Ἀκτή*. As well as *Aktaia* (see in footnote above), it is an older name of Attica. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Georg Wissowa (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlerscher Verlag, 1894–), col. 1209, cols. 1212–13. It is not attested it would also be name of a mountain; besides the Attic Peninsula, it also denotes the easternmost one of the three peninsulas of Chalkidiki where the Mount Athos is located. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ed. William Smith (Boston: Little, Brown, 1870), 23, s. v. *ACTÉ*. It is possible, but quite unlikely this mountain is meant here; Athos is, however, not situated near Athens and any other link with Thrace is missing in the version of the text edited here (see in footnote above).

[102] Which means daughter of Priamos, e.g., Cassandra or Polyxena. *Priamis* often serves as declension paradigm for feminine patronymics in -*is* in the humanist grammars. Cf. *Grammatica Jacobi Henrichman* (Pforzheim: Thomas Anshelm, 1506). Cf. *Joannis Brassicani Tubingensis Paedotribae Institutiones Grammaticae Elimatissimae* (Tübingen: Thomas Anshelm, 1516).

long as they are proper names, then they are inflected "hec Colchis, huius Colchis" and "hec Actis, huius Actis" etc.[103]

7.4 Description of bearing and life of Alexandre

Alexander had a short stature, long neck and cheerful eyes; he was handsome, great-souled and of ruddy complexion; he was very eloquent, the victor over everyone, but he was treacherously murdered by poison. He lived thirty-two years. From his eighteenth year on, he started to fight and was fiercely fighting for seven years. For eight years, he was resting happily and pleasurably. He subjected twenty-four barbarian peoples. He was born on the fifth of March. He built twelve cities which are still inhabited.

---

[103] Nominative and genitive case of the nouns accompanied by respective forms of demonstrative pronoun; part of the declension paradigm.

8 Conclusion

The output of the thesis is an edition and translation of four short texts, which up to now, have not been made accessible. In the introductory study and the philological apparatus, I have examined the literary context of them whilst the stress has been laid on rather distant parallels and indirect models for it was made impossible to find the direct model texts the copyist could have worked with due to the shortness of the texts and present state of cataloguing. This approach, however, enables us to observe genesis, migration and transformation of selected motifs appearing here within a broader time span.

The edited texts are embedded in school context, their exact function within the medieval education remains, nevertheless, unclear both owing to their brevity and because they appear in mixed or even "chaotic" manuscript context. The texts *De Iasone* and *Descripcio stature et vite Allexandri* are mere retellings of known myths as they were presented in medieval literary works. It is, however, possible to observe certain selection of motifs the scribe was interested in: the former text is thus focused merely on the character of Jason omitting or significantly abridging all other details of the story the model text dealt with. In case of one text, *De Tereo, Prokne et Philomela*, I have been more successful to ascertain its educational purpose: the mythological story is used as background for explanation of grammatical phenomenon which the scribe calls "patronymics" (they are, however, not patronymics *sensu stricto*). It has been possible to link this explanation to the grammar books used in the Middle Ages and thus to make the grammatical note, which seems otherwise rather obscure in the substantially abbreviated version of Crux, clearer.

The opening study introduces the general context of reception of antiquity in the Middle Ages and the following case studies concerning literary tradition of the texts and observing their genesis point out how the themes of ancient mythology were being recontextualized and which secondary functions they might have received in the Middle Ages: each of the texts results from a slightly different dealing with the ancient tradition. The texts *De Iasone* and *De Medea* are an example of distinct medieval literary tradition with the roots in Late Antiquity, the text *De Tereo, Prokne et Philomela* is related to a medieval allegorical rewriting of a classical work and *Descripcio stature et vite Allexandri* is indirectly based on a medieval Latin translation of a Greek text.

Besides the Latin textual parallels, the vernacular ones (or Greek ones) are included in the *apparatus fontium* as well, which emphasizes the interconnection between the Latin and the vernacular literature in the High and Late Middle Ages that is sometimes very complicated. I considered this approach useful as the society and literary production of the Late Middle Ages was multilingual indeed and Crux himself did not copy only Latin texts, but also a considerable number of Czech ones.

The comparison with distant literary tradition has revealed some noteworthy transformation of motifs of these mythological stories. For instance, in case of the text about Alexander the Great which is a rather short summary of his biography, we can observe how the Italian version (cited in the apparatus) creatively solved the ambiguity of the other versions about the death of Alexander. The Latin and vernacular versions state that Alexander was killed either by wine (*vino*) or by poison (*veneno*). The Italian version combines these causes of death and reads that "some poison mixed with wine killed him" (*l'uccise un poco di veleno mischiato con vino*). It is not the only peculiarity of the Italian version. Interesting here is also the transformation of the length of Alexander's life into the information of how many realms he conquered – this change could be, however, explained palaeographically rather than by the creativity of the translator, as I have pointed out in the apparatus.

The desideratum and task which is beyond the scope of this thesis is to find closer textual parallels and direct model texts or the copies based on the copy of Crux. This shall enable future researchers to better understand the position of the texts within the medieval grammar education (provided that other copies or similar texts are to be found in the manuscript context of "school" writings as well). Likewise, other "traces" of classical antiquity within the manuscript collection of Crux of Telč are to be scrutinized, be it "opuscula", as it is the case of the texts of the present edition, or copies of canonical pieces of literature. To know which particular part of the ancient heritage Crux of Telč was familiar with can be especially noteworthy within the context of the second half of the 15th century when the aroused interest in antiquity nourished by humanism spreads even in Central Europe.

9 Bibliography

9.1 Primary sources

9.1.1 Manuscripts

— Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky [National Library of the Czech Republic], I F 25.

— Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, XIII G 18.

— Třeboň, Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni [State Regional Archives in Třeboň], A 7.

9.1.2 Old prints

— *De institutione grammatica ad normam Emmanuelis Alvari libri duo posteriores*. Fribourg: Antonius Labastrou, 1830.

— *Emmanuelis Alvari e Societate Iesu, De institutione grammatica libri tres*. Venetiis: Iacobus Vitalis, 1575.

— *Grammatica Jacobi Henrichman*. [Pforzheim]: Thomas Anshelm, 1506.

— *Joannis Brassicani Tubingensis Paedotribae Institutiones grammaticae elimatissimae*. Tübingen: Thomas Anshelm, 1516.

— Leo Archipresbyter. *Historia Alexandri Magni Regis Macedonie de preliis*. Argentinae: [Georg Husner], 1494.

— *Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter a magistro Thoma Walleys Anglico de professione predicatorum sub sanctissimo patre Dominico explanata*. Parisiis: Josse Bade, 1509.

9.1.3 Editions

— "Alexander." In *Próza českého středověku [Prose of the Czech Middle Ages]*. Edited by Jaroslav Kolár and Milada Nedvědová, 21–147. Praha: Odeon, 1983.

— Augustinus Hipponensis. *De doctrina christiana*. Edited and translated by R. P. H. Green. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

— Benoît de Sainte-Maure. *Le roman de Troie*. Edited by Léopold Constans. Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1904.

— *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Edited by Robert Weber and Roger Gryson. 5th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007.

— *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae historia*. Edited by Ferdinand Meister. 2nd ed. Stutgardiae – Lipsiae: Teubner, 1991.

— *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei*. Edited by Dietrich Reichling. Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1893.

— *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*. Edited by Friedrich Pfister. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1913.

— *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman nach der Berliner Bilderhandschrift nebst dem lateinischen Original der Historia de preliis (Rezension J2)*. Edited by Alfons Hilka. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1920.

— *Die Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni, Rezension J3*. Edited by Karl Steffens. Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain, 1975.

— *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus*. Edited by Johann Wrobel. Vratislaviae: Koebner, 1887.

— *Galteri de Castellione Alexandreis*. Edited by Marvin L. Colker. Padua: Antenore, 1978.

— Guido de Columnis. *Historia Destructionis Troiae*. Edited by Nathaniel Edward Griffin. Cambridge MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936.

— *Historia Alexandri Magni (Historia de preliis). Rezension J2 (Orosius-Rezension)*. Edited by Alfons Hilka Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain, 1976.

— *I nobili fatti di Alessandro Magno*. Edited by Giusto Grion. Bologna: Presso Gaetano Romagnoli, 1872.

— Ovidius. *Metamorphoses*. Edited by William S. Anderson. Berlin – New York: Teubner, 2008.

— *Prisciani Grammatici Caesariensis Institvtionvm grammaticarvm libri XVIII*. Edited by Martin Hertz. Lipsiae: Teubner, 1855.

— Pseudo-Callisthenes. *Historia Alexandri Magni. 1. Recensio vetusta*. Edited by Wilhelm Kroll. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926.

— *Seifrits Alexander aus der Straßburger Handschrift*. Edited by Paul Gereke. Berlin: Weidmann, 1932.

— *The Bible. Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

— *The Book of the Gests of Alexander of Macedon*. Edited by Israel Joseph Kazis. Cambridge MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1962.

9.2 Secondary sources

—— Boldan, Kamil. *Počátek českého knihtisku [Beginning of the Czech Letterpress Printing]*. Praha: Scriptorium, 2018.

—— Brague, Rémi. "Deux légendes contraires." In *Au moyen du Moyen Âge. Philosophies médiévales en chrétienté, judaïsme et islam*, 39–45. Chatou: La Transparence, 2006.

—— Brumble, H. David. *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings*. London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998.

—— Burkert, Walter. *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011.

—— C. Fumo, Jamie. "Commentary and Collaboration in the Medieval Allegorical Tradition." In *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, edited by John F. Miller and Carole E. Newlands, 114–28. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014.

—— Curtius, Ernst Robert. *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*. 11th ed. Tübingen – Basel: Francke, 1993.

—— Dimmick, Jeremy. "Ovid in the Middle Ages. Authority and Poetry." In *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, edited by Philip Hardie, 264–87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

—— Dodds, Eric Robertson. *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951.

—— Doležalová, Lucie. "Opuscula." In *Opuscula: Neznámá dílka z rukopisů Kříže z Telče [Opuscula : Unknown Short Pieces of Writing from the Manuscripts of Crux of Telč]*, edited by Lucie Doležalová and Magda Králová, 11–18. Praha: Scriptorium, 2022.

—— Doležalová, Lucie, and Michal Dragoun, eds. *Kříž z Telče (1434-1504): Písař, sběratel a autor [Crux of Telč (1434–1504): Scribe, Collector and Author]*. Praha: Scriptorium, 2020.

—— Doležalová, Lucie, Michal Dragoun, and Rivers Kimberly. *Passionate Copying in Late Medieval Bohemia: The Case of Crux de Telcz (1434-1504)*. Prague: Karolinum Press, 2021.

—— Dragoun, Michal, Adéla Ebersonová, and Lucie Doležalová. *Středověké knihovny augustiniánských kanonií v Třeboni a Borovanech. I. Rukopisy a*

inkunábule, II. Rukopisy Kříže z Telče, III. Rejstříky [Medieval Libraries of Augustine Canonries in Třeboň and Borovany. I. Manuscripts and incunabula, II. Manuscripts of Crux of Telč, III. Indices]. Praha: Scriptorium, 2021.

— Edelstein, Ludwig. *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967.

— Fischerová, Sylva. "Odysseia jako ustavující dílo evropské kulturní tradice [Odyssey as Founding Work of the European Cultural Tradition]." In *Odysseia*, by Homér, translated by Vladimír Šrámek, 425–79. Praha: Academia, 2012.

— Gerber, Amanda J. *Medieval Ovid. Frame Narrative and Political Allegory*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

— Havel, Dalibor, and Helena Krmíčková. *Paleografická čítanka: literární texty [Palaeographical Reader: Literary Texts]*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2014.

— Kerényi, Karl. *Die Mythologie der Griechen – 2: Die Heroen-Geschichten*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997.

— Kirk, Geoffrey Stephen. *The Nature of Greek Myths*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974.

— Kolár, Jaroslav. "Román o Alexandru Velikém v souvislostech české středověké prózy [Alexander Romance in Relation to the Czech Medieval Prose]." *Listy filologické – Folia philologica* 105, no. 4 (1982): 209–15.

— Kozák, Jakub. "Ohlasy klasické antiky ve výuce gramatiky [Echoes of Classical Antiquity in the Grammar Education]." In *Opuscula: Neznámá dílka z rukopisů Kříže z Telče*, edited by Lucie Doležalová and Magda Králová, 25–53. Praha: Scriptorium, 2022.

— Králová, Magda, and Lucie Doležalová. "Ediční poznámka: text a překlad [Note to the Edition: Text and Translation]." In *Opuscula: Neznámá dílka z rukopisů Kříže z Telče*, edited by Lucie Doležalová and Magda Králová, 22. Praha: Scriptorium, 2022.

— Le Goff, Jacques. *Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches ?* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2016.

— Le Goff, Jacques, and Jean-Claude Schmitt, eds. *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Fayard, 1999.

— Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Structural Anthropology, Vol. 1*. New York: Basic Books, 1963.

— Malatrait, Solveig Kristina. *„Si fier tornei". Benoîts ‚Roman de Troie' und die höfische Kultur des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Hamburg: Hamburg University Press, 2011.

— Nechutová, Jana. "Jak jsme se učili latinsky s Alexandrem de Villa Dei [How We Learned Latin with Alexander of Villedieu]." *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 14, no. 1–2 (2009): 157–68.

— Reynolds, Leighton Durham, and Nigel Guy Wilson. *Scribes and Scholars. A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

— Reynolds, William Donald. "The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius. An Introduction and Translation." PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971.

— Ross, David J. A. *Alexander Historiatus. A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*. 2nd ed. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1988.

— Smith, William, ed. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1870.

— Solomon, Jon. "The Vacillations of the Trojan Myth. Popularization & Classicization, Variation & Codification." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 14, no. 3–4 (2007): 482–534.

— Stoneman, Richard. "Primary Sources from the Classical and Early Medieval Periods." In *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, edited by David Zuwiyya, 1–20. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011.

— Šubrt, Jiří. *Římská literatura [Roman Literature]*. Praha: Oikoymenh, 2005.

— Traube, Ludwig. *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*. Edited by Paul Joachim Georg Lehmann. München: C.H. Beck, 1911.

— Vidmanová, Anežka. "Latinská historie o Alexandru Velikém v našich rukopisech [Latin History of Alexander the Great in Our Manuscripts]." *Listy filologické – Folia philologica* 86, no. 2 (1963): 263–67.

— Vidmanová, Anežka. "Středověká latinská literatura [Medieval Latin Literature]." In *Laborintus. Latinská literatura středověkých Čech*

[Laborintus. Latin Literature of medieval Bohemia], edited by Anežka Vidmanová, 78–94. Praha: Koniasch Latin Press, 1994.

— Vidmanová, Anežka. "Znovu k Alexandrovi Velikému v Čechách [On Alexander the Great in Bohemia Once Again]." *Studie o rukopisech [Manuscript Studies]* 27 (1989): 15–30.

— Vidmanová-Schmidtová, Anežka. "Rukopisné zachování Kroniky Trojánské [Manuscript Preservation of Kronika Trojánská]." *Listy filologické – Folia philologica* 85, no. 2 (1962): 237–55.

— Weber [Kadlec], Jaroslav, Josef Tříška, and Pavel Spunar. *Soupis rukopisů v Třeboni a v Českém Krumlově [List of the Manuscripts in Třeboň and Český Krumlov]*. Praha: ČSAV, 1958.

— Wissowa, Georg, ed. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlerscher Verlag, 1894–.

— Zissos, Andrew. "Reception of Valerius Flaccus' "Argonautica"." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 13, no. 2 (2006): 165–85.

9.2.1 Dictionaries

— Forcellini, Egidio. *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon, 1*. Prati: Typis Aldinianis, 1858.

— Forcellini, Egidio. *Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon, 1*. Prati: Typis Aldinianis, 1859.

— Lewis, Charlton T., and Charles Short. *A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.

— Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

9.2.2 Electronic sources

— Bailly, Anatole, Gérard Gréco, André Charbonnet, Mark De Wilde, and Bernard Maréchal. "Dictionnaire grec-français." Accessed May 5, 2023. http://gerardgreco.free.fr/spip. php?article52.

— BREPOLiS. "Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (DMLBS)." Accessed May 9. http://www.brepolis.net/.

— Filosofický ústav AV ČR. "Slovník středověké latiny v českých zemích: elektronická verze 2.2 [The Dictionary of Medieval Latin in the Czech Lands: digital version 2.2]." Accessed May 9, 2023. http://lb.ics.cas.cz.

— Opuscula. "OPUSCULA : Korpus latinských textů z rukopisů Kříže z Telče [OPUSCULA: Corpus of Latin Texts from the Manuscripts of Crux of Telč]." Accessed April 20, 2023. https://opuscula.ff.cuni.cz/.

— TEI Text Encoding Initiative. "Text Encoding Initiative." Accessed April 20, 2023. https://tei-c.org/.

— Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien TITUS. "The Middle High German Books on The Great Alexander." Accessed May 7, 2023. https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm.

— Thesaurus linguae Latinae (TLL). "Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur." Accessed May 8, 2023. https://thesaurus.badw.de/en/tll-digital/index.

— Voit, Petr. "Kronika trojánská." Encyklopedie knihy [Encyclopaedia of Book]. Accessed April 29, 2023. https://www.encyklopedieknihy.cz/index.php/Kronika_troj%C3%A1nsk%C3%A1.