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Disertační práce:

Italian Rhetoric and Courtly Love in the Formulary of Queen Kunhuta. A Critical Edition of the Letter Collection of Magister Bohuslav with an English Introduction (Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 526)

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V Praze, dne

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	5
Abstract	6
Abstrakt	6
List of Abbreviations.....	9

INTRODUCTION

I. Recovering Queen Kunhuta (ca. 1244/1245 - 9 Sept. 1285): Image, Power and Memory	
I.a. A Biographical Sketch	13
I.b. Scandal and Rumours at the Přemyslid Court: Queen Kunhuta and the Chronicles.....	8
I.c. The Queen's Court	23
II. A Queenly Letter Collection	
II.a. Palacký vs Novák, from Real to Fictional Letters	39
II.b. Methodological Problems in the Past Scholarship Tendencies and the Proposal of a New Approach	43
II.c. On the Traces of Magister Bohuslav	47
II.d. Critical Evaluation of the Letter Collection	52
II.d.1 Dating	52
II.d.2 Goal, Arrangement and Gendered Voice	54
II.d.3 Content.....	56
III. The Queen's Letters. A Rhetorical and Socio-Cultural Historical Source	
III.a. Kunhuta Uherská (Hungarian): a Queen Intercessor.....	70
III.a.1 The Case of Hungary	70
III.a.2 <i>De treguis</i> . The Issue of the Truce between Přemysl Otakar II – István V and the Rhetoric of Henricus de Isernia	71
III.b. Queen Kunhuta: a Nouvelle Heroine? Love, Letters, Frauenklage and the Trope of the Female Suffering.....	76

IV. A Dictaminal Manuscript at Queen Kunhuta's Court..... 94

CRITICAL EDITION

Editorial Principles 130

Sigla codicum, Abbreviations 132

The So-Called Formulary of Queen Kunhuta (The Letter Collection of Magister
Bohuslav) 134

Indexes 231

Bibliography..... 249

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Abstract

In Czech historiography Queen Kunhuta has been quite neglected. Her figure has not been investigated in monographs or specific studies. She can be somehow included within the group of defamed queens, which is especially rich in the Middle Ages. This negative image of the queen finds its origin in medieval chronicles, which blamed Kunhuta for her love affair with Závěš of Falkenštejn, who was accused of being one of the promoters of the defeat of Otakar II. Kunhuta's negative portrayal has been very stable and despite its rehabilitation in the most recent studies, it probably influenced scholars' disinterest in the part she performed as a political agent. The documentary material preserved shows that her active role in Bohemian society of the thirteenth century deserves more attention. She was involved in various administrative and political tasks. The first chapter of the thesis should provide an approach to the study of the queen, which mediates between a partial point of view and Kunhuta's multi-faceted image. It should introduce a figure to whom is linked a letter collection, which represents the main theme of the present dissertation (i.e. the letter collection of master Bohuslav, probably a chaplain and notary of the queen). The analysis and the critical edition of the source can be found in chapter II-III and in the second section of the present work (i. e. Critical Edition). The letter collection, which came down to us through a single manuscript (ONB, sign. 526) was published almost entirely by František Palacký under the title *Formelbuch der Königin Kunigunde* (Formulary of Queen Kunhuta). Palacký published it with another collection of privileges as a whole. Furthermore, he did not edit some of the texts. He noticed their peculiarity and implicitly declared their inappropriate positioning into the collection. The apparent irregularity in pattern of these letters, which was noticed by the Czech scholar is linked to old criteria of historical authenticity, which have been discussed, questioned and rejected in sections II.a, II.b, and II.d.3 (The Erratic Letters). Furthermore, the previous editors, especially Palacký, normalized the text according to classical norms. On the contrary, in the present critical edition the orthography of the codex has been generally preserved since the edition is based on only one manuscript. Besides, the letters have been edited following the order they have in the manuscript.

The interpretation of this letter collection was in the past a matter of dispute among scholars (chapter II). Palacký considered the epistles as documents based on real letters. Jan B. Novák had a different opinion. He defined this source as a compilation of fictive letters ("fingované dopisy"). The past research of letter collections was used to distinguish these sources rigidly into real and fictional. Conversely, the most recent studies stress the "variation in the material" (Ysaerbert) and the complex character of this kind of epistolary work. The letter collection compiled allegedly by magister Bohuslav should be studied taking into consideration this new outlined approach method. The letters investigated are precious historical sources, both from the dictaminal and socio-cultural points of views. They are beyond the brute facts and raise questions about identities and mentalities of the time. From them we learn how relevant contemporaneous events were read at the queen's court. Besides, the letters bring light on the way in which conjugal affection and emotions were expressed at the royal court. Furthermore, they inform us about the development of a

rhetoric tradition established in Bohemia from 13th century through the mediation of Henricus de Isernia. Last but not least, the image of the queen portrayed by these letters adds new information about the contemporaneous understanding of Kunhuta's life. A relevant fact is that this epistolary work is preserved in a manuscript, which was held by Queen Kunhuta's court in Opava in the years 1279-1281 (chapter IV). This draws the attention at least to three relevant points: 1) the court of the queen continued to be active after the death of her husband; 2) her notaries perfected their knowledge in the art of letter writing by using the practical model letters contained in the manuscript; 3) the chancery of the queen applied the method of learning the letter composition, which is usually adopted in the main European chanceries.

In conclusion, the collection of master Bohuslav can be considered a meaningful historical source from the socio-cultural and rhetorical point of view. Its historical value was already noticed by the historians of 19th century, who included part of the letters in their editions of documents. This study does not want to be exhaustive. Many aspects should be perfected and more deeply investigated. Its goal is to draw the attention to a queen and a queenly letter collection so far neglected.

Key words: epistles, *dictamina*, rethoric, Queen Kunhuta, magister Bohuslav

Abstrakt

V české historiografii byla královna Kunhuta dosud víceméně opomíjena, její postavou se nezabývaly žádné monografie ani zvláštní studie. Můžeme ji zařadit do skupiny očeňovaných královen, která byla ve středověku obzvláště početná. Toto negativní hodnocení královny má své kořeny ve středověkých kronikách, které Kunhutu vinily z milostného poměru se Závišem z Falkenštejna, jenž byl považován za jednoho ze strůjců porážky Přemysla Otakara II. Negativní vnímání královny Kunhuty se postupně ustálilo a navzdory snahám o její rehabilitaci v nedávných studiích pravděpodobně vyústilo v nezájem badatelů o její úlohu politickou. Dochované prameny ukazují, že její aktivní role v české společnosti třináctého století si zaslouží více pozornosti. Týkaly se jí různé administrativní a politické úkony. První kapitola dizertační práce by měla nastínit přístup ke studiu postavy této královny, který zprostředkovává spojení mezi zaujatým pohledem na tuto postavu a jejím obrazem zahrnujícím mnoho aspektů. Měla by představit postavu, se kterou je spojována sbírka listů, která je hlavním tématem této dizertační práce (tj. sbírka listů mistra Bohuslava, pravděpodobně královnina kaplana a notáře). Rozbor a kritické vydání tohoto pramene se nachází v kapitolách II-III a ve druhé části práce (viz Critical Edition). Tato sbírka listů, která se nám dochovala v jediném rukopisu (ONB, sign. 526), byla téměř celá publikována Františkem Palackým pod názvem *Formelbuch der Königin Kunigunde* (Formulář královny Kunhuty). Palacký ji vydal jako celek společně se sbírkou privilegií. Navíc některé z textů obsažených ve sbírce nevydal, neboť si povšiml jejich specifčnosti a

implicitně tak poukázal na jejich nepatřičné zařazení do sbírky. Zjevná nepravidelnost schématu těchto listů, které si český badatel povšiml, je spojena se starými kritérii pro historickou autentičnost, která jsou probrána, zpochybněna a odmítnuta v oddílech II.a, II.b a II.d.3 (Erratic Letters). Předchozí editoři, zejména Palacký, navíc standardizovali text podle klasických norem. V této kritické edici je naopak ortografie kodexu povětšinou zachována, neboť edice vychází z jediného rukopisu. Listy v tomto vydání dále zachovávají pořadí, ve kterém se objevují v rukopisu.

Interpretace této sbírky listů byla v minulosti předmětem sporů mezi badateli (kapitola II). Palacký tyto listy považoval za dokumenty založené na listech skutečných. Jiného názoru byl Jan B. Novák, který označil tento pramen za sbírku „fingovaných dopisů“. Dříve badatelé zabývající se sbírkami listů tyto prameny striktně rozlišovali na skutečné a fiktivní. Nejnovější studie naopak zdůrazňují různorodost materiálu (Ysaerbert) a komplexní povahu tohoto druhu epistolárních děl. Při studiu sbírky listů kompilované údajně mistrem Bohuslavem bychom měli vzít v úvahu tento nový přístup. Zkoumané listy jsou cennými historickými prameny, jak z pohledu ars dictaminis, tak z pohledu společensko-kulturního. Přesahují základní fakta a kladou před nás otázky týkající se identity a mentality tehdejší doby. Můžeme se z nich dozvědět, jakým způsobem byly u královna dvora vnímány významné soudobé události. Kromě toho tyto listy osvětlují, jakým způsobem byla na královském dvoře vyjadřována manželská láska a city. Také nám podávají zprávu o vývoji rétorické tradice, zavedené v Čechách od 13. století prostřednictvím Jindřicha z Isernie. V neposlední řadě nám obraz královny vykreslený v těchto listech přináší nové informace o soudobém chápání Kunhutina života. Významnou skutečností je, že tato epistolární sbírka se dochovala v rukopisu, který v letech 1279-1281 patřil Kunhutinu dvoru v Opavě (kapitola IV). Z toho vyplývají minimálně tři významné skutečnosti: 1) královnin dvůr nadále fungoval i po smrti jejího manžela; 2) její notáři zdokonalovali svou znalost epistolografického umění užíváním vzorových listů obsažených v tomto rukopisu; 3) královnina kancelář užívala metodu osvojení si ars dictaminis, která je běžná u hlavních evropských kancelářů.

Závěrem můžeme konstatovat, že sbírka mistra Bohuslava může být považována za významný historický pramen, jak ze společensko-kulturního tak z rétorického hlediska. Její historické hodnoty si povšimli již historikové 19. století, kteří zahrnuli část z jejích dopisů do svých edic dokumentů. Tato studie si neklade za cíl být vyčerpávající, mnoho aspektů je třeba prozkoumat obšírněji. Jejím účelem je obrátit pozornost ke královně a sbírce jejích dopisů dosud opomíjené.

Klíčová slova: epištoly, *dictamina*, rétorika, Královna Kunhuta, magister Bohuslav

List of Abbreviations

used in the Introduction and in the Critical edition

ACRB I = Hrubý, Václav ed. *Archivum Coronae regni Bohemiae*, I. Praha: sumptibus ministerii scholarum et instructionis publicae, 1928-1935.

CDA = Wenzel, Gusztáv ed. *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus = Árpádkori új okmánytár*, 1261-1272, vol. VIII. Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd Akademiai, 1867.

CDB IV/1 = Šebánek, Jindřich, Dušková Sáša eds. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae IV/1*, 1241-1253. Praeae: sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Bohemoslovacae, 1962.

CDB V/1 = Šebánek, Jindřich, Dušková Sáša eds. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae V/1*, 1253-1266. Praeae: sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Bohemoslovacae, 1974.

CDB V/2 = Šebánek, Jindřich, Dušková Sáša eds. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae V/2*, 1267-1278. Praeae: sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Bohemoslovacae, 1981.

CDB VI/1 = Sviták, Zbyněk, Helena Krmíčková, Jarmila Krejčíková and Jana Nechutová eds. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae VI/1*, 1278-1283. Praeae: Sumptibus Academiae scientiarum Rei publicae Bohemicae, 2006.

CDBR = Riedel, Adolph Friedrich ed. *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis: Sammlung der Urkunden, Chroniken und sonstigen Quellenschriften für die Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg und ihrer Regenten*, vol. 26. Berlin: F.H. Morin, 1843.

CDH = Fejér, Georgius ed. *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus et civilis*, tomus IV, III. Budae: Typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1829.

CDLS I = Kölher, Gustav ed. *Codex diplomaticus Lusatiae Superioris I: Sammlung der Urkunden für das Markgrafthum Oberlausitz*. Görlitz: Oberlausitzische gesellschaft der Wiss., 1851-1854.

CDM IV = Boczek, Antonius ed. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae IV*, 1268-1293. Olomucii: Ex typographia A. Skarnitzl, 1845.

CDM VII = Bretholz, Berthold, Vincenz Brandl and Peter von Chlumecky eds. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae VII*, 1334-1349. Brünn: der Landesausschuss: Nitsch, 1858-1903.

Dobner = Dobner, Gelasius ed. "Diplomatarium Bohemico-Hungaricum," in *Monumenta Historica Boemiae nusquam antehac edita*, vol. II. Pragae: Clauser, 1768.

Doehler = Doehler, Richard ed. "Diplomatarium Vallis S. Mariae monasterii sanctimonialium ordinis cist. Die Urkunden des Königlichen Jungfrauenstifts und Klosters Cistercienser-Ordens zu St. Marienthal in der kgl. sächs. Oberlausitz nach den sämtlichen Originalen des Archivs in ausführlichen Regesten," *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 78 (1902): 1-138.

Hansiz = Hansiz, Marcus. *Germaniae Sacrae Tomus II., Archiepiscopatus Salisburgensis Chronologice Propositus*. Augustae Vindelicorum: Sumptibus Martini Happach & Franc. Xav. Schlüter, 1729.

Meinert = Meinert, Joseph Georg. "Beitrag zur Geschichte König Ottokar II." *Jahrbücher der Literatur* 22 (1823): 34-51.

Pal. = Palacký, František. *Über Formelbücher zunächst in Bezug auf böhmische Geschichte. Nebst Beilagen. Ein Quellenbeitrag zur Geschichte Böhmens und der Nachbarländer im XIII, XIV und XV Jahrhundert*, tomus II. Prag: Bei Kronberger und Řiwnač, 1842.

RBM II = Emler, Josef ed. *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae*, II, 1253-1310. Pragae: Typis Gregerianis, 1882.

RI V, 2, 4 = Böhmer, Johann Friedrich ed. *Regesta Imperii, Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs, unter Philipp, Otto IV, Friedrich II, Heinrich (VII), Conrad IV, Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard, 1198-1272. Päpste und Reichssachen*. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1901.

INTRODUCTION

I. Recovering Queen Kunhuta (ca. 1244/1245 - 9 Sept. 1285): Image, Power and Memory*

In Czech historiography Queen Kunhuta (Cunegunde) has been quite neglected. Her figure has not been investigated in monographs or specific studies.¹ Furthermore, in the past scholarship she was considered primarily in her role of a wife, a (good and bad) mother and a lover. She is also depicted as a bad counselor of her husband, King Přemysl Otakar II, whom she is supposed to have partly driven towards his fatal destiny in the battle against Rudolf of Habsburg at Dürnkrut (1278). This negative image of the queen finds its origin in medieval chronicles, which blamed Kunhuta for her love affair with Závíš of Falkenštejn, who was accused to be one of the promoters of the defeat of Otakar II. Kunhuta's negative portrayal has been very stable and despite its rehabilitation in the most recent studies, it probably influenced scholars' disinterest in the part she performed as a political agent. The documentary material preserved shows that her active role in Bohemian society of the thirteenth century deserves more attention. It shows that her court was active during her entire life, from 1262 till her stay in Opava (1279-1281). This chapter should provide an approach to the study of the queen, which mediates between a partial point of view and Kunhuta's multi-faceted image. It should introduce a figure to whom is linked a letter collection, which represents the main theme of the present dissertation (i.e the letter collection of master Bohuslav). This epistolary work and the manuscript which preserves it, as it will be shown in the following three chapters, confirm the relevance of the queen's agency and political power.

* For the naming conventions (capitalization) see the "Editorial Principles," 130.

¹ Apart from an unpublished bachelor thesis: Ondřej Šretr, *Kunhuta Uherská. Královna česká, asi 1245/1246-9.9.1285* [Kunhuta Hungarian. Czech Queen, ca. 1245/1246-9.9.1285] (Prague: Charles University, 2008).

I.a. A Biographical Sketch

Before 1261: Youth and Family

Known in Czech historiography as Haličská (of Halič) or Uherská (Hungarian),² Kunhuta gathers in her half-breed origin. Daughter of Rostislav Mikhailovich³ and Anna of Hungary⁴ appears perfectly integrated in the group of the royal women in the Přemyslid period that apparently came from Polish, Hungarian, Russian, German or Serbian areas.⁵

Information about Kunhuta's early years and in general the period which precedes her marriage with Přemysl Otakar II (1261) is scarce. The date and place of her birth are uncertain. She was presumably born around 1244 because she was roughly fifteen when she became spouse in 1261.⁶ She had two brothers and two sisters: Michael, Béla Mačevský (Béla of Mačva), Elisabeth and Grifyna.

Most likely her childhood was partly spent at the Hungarian court of her grandfather Béla IV, where probably Rostislav married Anna, Kunhuta's mother, the Árpád king's daughter. Not surprisingly, the chronicles establish Kunhuta's genealogy neglecting her maternal side.⁷ Anyway, Anna recovers her voice in charters. She is recorded in Kunhuta's

² Sometimes also Ruská (Russian), Černigovská and Mačevská gm(Serbian).

³ Michael Vsevolodovich's son, ruler of Černigov and grand prince of Kiev. Michael's attendance to the ceremonial "cutting hair" (*postrig*) of his son is recorded in 1229. The initiation ceremony officiated by the Archbishop Spiridon in the cathedral of St. Sofia gave to Rostislav the legal status of prince of Novgorod. If at that time Rostislav was seven (Tatishchev) or three-four years old (Palacký) he might have been born after 1220. See Martin Dimnik, *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev, 1224-1246* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), 38. A study on the Rus origin of the family of Queen Kunhuta is provided by Palacký; František Palacký, "O ruském knížeti Rostislavovi, otci královny české Kunhuty a rodu jeho rozbor kritický," [About the Russian Prince Rostislav, the father of the Czech Queen Kunhuta and a critical analysis of his family] *Časopis Českého musea* 16 (1842): 23-41.

⁴ Her parents are Béla IV King of Hungary and Maria Laskarina.

⁵ Přemyslid dynasty married abroad and its nuptial court of fathers and brothers found in the wedding a good way for building new international relationships; Žemlička, *Přemyslovci: jak žili, vládli, umírali*, 111. From a general point of view, as stated by János Mihály Bak, if rulers of medieval Europe married foreigners, this might be considered almost a rule in Central Europe; János Mihály Bak, "Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary," in *Studying Medieval Rulers and their Subjects: Central Europe and Beyond*, edited by Balázs Nagy, Gábor Klaniczay (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 228.

⁶ Novotný guesses that she was around seventeen-twenty years old; Vaníček around seventeen years old. Probably, Žemlička is closer to the truth. He assumes that Kunhuta was roughly fifteen years old. See Václav Novotný, *České dějiny. Dílu I., část 4., Rozmach české moci za Přemysla II. Otakara: (1253-1271)* [Czech history. vol. I, part 4, Expansion of the Czech power of Přemysl II. Otakar: (1253-1271)] (Praha: Jan Laichter, 1937), 106; Vratislav Vaníček, *Velké dějiny země Koruny České, 3, 1250-1310* [The great history of the Czech Crown, 3, 1250-1310] (Litomyšl: Paseka, 2002), 93; Josef Žemlička, *Přemyslovci: jak žili, vládli, umírali* [The dynasty of the Přemyslid: how they lived, ruled, died] (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2005), 120.

⁷ See Petrus Zittaviensis, [Otto, abbas], "Chronicon Aulae Regiae," in *FRB IV*, edited by Josef Emler (Prague: Nadání Františka Palackého, 1882), 12: *Fuit enim in Matschovia re quidam generosus et nobilis, qui filiam*

documents issued in Prague.⁸ Furthermore, we know that at the time of the Czech-Hungarian struggle in 1271, she seemingly took the part of her brother-in law, namely Přemysl Otakar II against István (Stephen) V, her son, by bringing the treasury of the Hungarian royal crown to Bohemia. Hence, Anna was a political agent likewise her daughter will be when crowned as Queen consort of Bohemia. The exact date of her union with Rostislav is unknown. Probably it occurred around 1242 when his husband moved to Béla's household after the Mongol invasion. Kiev was destructed by Tartars in December 1240 and in 1241 Mongols drove their armies against Hungary. After the Hungarian defeat at Muhi on 11 April 1241, Kunhuta's father apparently became an instrumental aid for Hungary in preventing further Batu Khan invasions⁹ and protecting Béla's interests in the Balkans. He was appointed as Duke of Bosnia and Mačva and as lieutenant in the principality of Galicia.¹⁰ Supposedly, Rostislav helped Béla IV to establish the Árpád influence in the area from Bosnia to Braničevo. When died in 1262, his sons inherited his lands and continued to rule as vassals of Hungary.¹¹ The name of Kunhuta's elder brother Michael is attested in documents till around 1268¹² and that of the younger one, Béla Mačevský was probably killed in 1272.¹³ As for her sisters it is known that Elisabeth married the Bulgar prince Michael I Asên and Grifyna, after the death of her husband the Polish prince Leszek Czarny-Leszek II the Black (d. 30 September 1288) moved to the court of her nephew King Václav II and his spouse Eliška Rejčka (Elisabeth Richenza).¹⁴

bonis moribus insignitam nomine Chinigundam habuit ... rex autem Stephanus dive memorie eiusdem virginis avunculus secundum carnem existit [...].

⁸ See below.

⁹ A second Mongol invasion took place in 1285, only after Béla IV's death. Anyway, it did not cause the same devastation of the that of 1241. For the Mongol first invasion and Béla's reaction and new policy adopted see László Kontler, *A History of Hungary: Millennium in Central Europe* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 78-84.

¹⁰ See Dimnik, *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev*, 122-123.

¹¹ He also invaded Bulgaria and in 1257 took the title of tsar. Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 106.

¹² See chapter III, 69.

¹³ He inherited from his father Rostislav the administration of Mačva area, including Beograd, and the province of Braničevo (cf. John Van Antwerp Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* [Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1987], 175). After the death of István V (6 August 1272), his widow Erzsébet (Elisabeth) became regent during László's minority. According to Vaníček, under the influence of Queen Kunhuta, probably Prague court was considering the possibility to ascribe to Béla Mačevský the role of protector of the Hungary (Vaníček, *Velké dějiny zemí koruny české. 3, 1250-1310*, 96 and 144).

¹⁴ Since she was only twelve-years old when she was sent to Prague (1300), she probably was placed under the care of Grifyna before to marry Václav II (Vaníček, *Velké dějiny zemí koruny české. 3, 1250-1310*, 451).

1261- 1277: Queen Consort of Bohemia

Conformingly to the normal custom of the time Kunhuta married for diplomatic reasons. After the union between Rostislav and Anna, Béla's policy in arranging weddings as part of his alliance strategy was repeated also when he married his granddaughter to Přemysl Otakar II. After being defeated by Bohemian armies (Kroissenbrunn, 1260) the Hungarians signed the peace with the Czech king. They sealed this precarious friendship giving the Czech king, Kunhuta, as a spouse. However, this marriage was apparently not a simple and standard way to conclude a peace. It also provided a solution to the thorny problem of the lack of a future heir to the Bohemian throne.

In 1252 Otakar had married Margarete of Babenberg, who inherited the Duchy of Austria and Styria after the death of his brother Duke Friedrich II (d. 1246).¹⁵ Margarete was around 41 years old and perhaps because of her age she did not bore to the Czech king any child.¹⁶ Furthermore, Otakar's request of the recognition of his bastard son Mikuláš (Nicholas)¹⁷ as heir to the crown was rejected by the pope.¹⁸ Hence, this situation urged a second marriage and this time the spouse had Rus origins.

Kunhuta as wife of the king had to fulfill the essential task to give birth to a male offspring.¹⁹ Her union with Otakar generated five children, two daughters (Kunhuta²⁰ and

¹⁵ Through this union, Otakar legitimized his control on the Babenberg provinces that in 1254 after four years of struggles were divided with Béla. The Hungarian King got the southern part of Styria, which in 1258 granted to his son István V. Anyway, in 1260 Styrian lords revolted and asked for help to Otakar. This situation led to the battle of Kroissenbrunn (Kontler, *A History of Hungary*, 81-82; Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 106).

¹⁶ Czech chronicles ascribe the reason of Otakar and Margarete divorce to the queen's infertility. See Petrus Zittaviensis, [Otto, abbas], "Chronicon Aulae Regiae," 11: *Nichil denique de contingentibus ab utroque obmittitur, sed regina, ut dictum est, omnino sterilis invenitur*. When Margarete married P. Otakar II probably she was nearing menopause and entering in a period of her life that did not facilitate pregnancy.

¹⁷ A child that Otakar had with Agnes of Kuenring, one of Margarete's court ladies-in waiting.

¹⁸ From the fourth Lateran Council (1215) the legal norms concerning the marriage were precisely defined. Within this context the church accepted as the heir to the throne only the King's legitimate son. For this reason the pope Alexander IV rejected Otakar's request about the nomination of his bastard son as successor to the throne. See CDB V/1 n. 239, 370-371; n. 244, 376.

¹⁹ Thought relevant her pregnancy, as it will be shown later, Kunhuta's queenship will not be based exclusively on her role of matrix of the future king. Furthermore, if the past scholarship tended to individuate in the royal maternity a *conditio sine qua non* a queen could not continue to be a queen, recently scholars have driven the attention to the many childless queens that were not rejected by their husbands. This is especially shown by the database on paternity and maternity among the royal families of medieval Europe that Theresa Earenfight is preparing. On the topics of pregnancy, motherhood and queenship see among others: John Carmi Parsons, "The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor and the Medieval Construction of Motherhood," in *Medieval Mothering*, edited by John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland Pub., 1996), 39-61; Bethany Aram, "Authority and Maternity in Late-Medieval Castile: Four Queens Regnant," in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, edited by Brenda Bolton, Christine Meek (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 121-29; Lisa Benz St. John, *Three Medieval Queens. Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Anežka-Agnes) and three sons, whose two died in infancy.²¹ In 1271, the future Bohemian King Václav II²² was born.

The male son arrived in the eleventh year of her marriage. She married Otakar on 25th October 1261 in the castle of Prešporok, today Bratislava. Afterwards, the royal couple fled to Vienna waiting for the ceremony of the coronation, which took place after two months from their wedding.²³ Indeed, this rite of marking the formal investiture of the queen of royal power through the placement of the crown on her head, which was a typical tradition of German countries, required time for its preparation.

Two days before being crowned Kunhuta reached Prague and the chronicles describe her entrance in the city with the great exultation of the people.²⁴ On the Christmas day, which indicated the beginning of the New Year according to the calendar of St. Vitus cathedral, Kunhuta with her husband was crowned by the hand of Werner of Eppenstein, archbishop of Mainz. Other six bishops, the Margrave Otto III of Brandenburg and various representatives of the nobility (Czech, Silesian, German) were present to the ceremony. On 27th of December, the celebration of the coronation continued in Letenská pláň (Letna Plain), a large empty plain appositely settled to guest the Czech citizenship that wanted to acclaim the new married royal couple.²⁵ According to the tradition the rite concluded by posing a stone in the royal burial ground located in the convent of the Clarisses Na Františku.

On 20th April 1262 the nullification of Otakar's wedding with Margarete was officially approved by the new pope Urban IV. This confirmed to Kunhuta her title of queen consort of Bohemia. The first document attesting the existence of her court's chancery dates back to the same year. The queen's court, involved in various administrative and political tasks, is active for Kunhuta's entire life and its functioning is the subject of a specific section.²⁶

1278-1285: Widow, Lordess of Opava and again Spouse

The defeat and death of Přemysl Otakar II at the battle of Dürnkrut against Rudolf I of Habsburg (26 August 1278) had relevant consequences on Kunhuta's life. As widow of the

²⁰ She was born in 1265. Anyway, it is not sure if she was the first child to be born or the first to survive to the critical neonatal age.

²¹ Petrus Zittaviensis, [Otto, abbas], "Chronicon Aulae Regiae," 12.

²² Ivi, 12, 14.

²³ Kunhuta stayed in Vienna and Otakar went to Prague to arrange the rite of the coronation (Vaníček, *Velké dějiny země koruny české*. 3, 1250-1310, 93).

²⁴ Petrus Zittaviensis, [Otto, abbas], "Chronicon Aulae Regiae," 12: *Cunegunda autem dum ad partes venit Bohemie, Letantur cives, gaudet cum paupere dives, Juxta suas metas exultat quelibet etas; Que Margaretha perierunt gaudia spreta, hec cum Cunegunda redeunt consorte secunda.*

²⁵ "Annales Bohemiae 1196-1278 = Letopisy české 1196-1278," in *FRB II*, edited by František Palacký (Praha: nákladem Musea Království Českého, 1874), 297.

²⁶ See "The Queen's court."

Czech king she had to face the end of the dream of a great Czech realm, the sudden lack of a ruler and the blow of the anarchy in Bohemia. After his victory in the Marchfeld, Rudolf continued an offensive in direction of Moravia and Bohemia. He took the control on the first and granted the second to Václav II the legitimate heir and his son in law.²⁷ Anyway, Václav was too young (7 years old) to rule. Due to the minority of her son, Kunhuta had to become the regent for him. She shows to be a relevant political actor. Her acquisition of the dowager queen status occurs within the context of a critical conjecture. After P. Otakar II's death the Czech nobility erupted in revolt. They took advantage of Václav's minority and his impossibility to ascend to the Bohemian throne. First the monastery of Zlatá Koruna was razed to the ground, subsequently despoiled also the royal city of České Budějovice. Apparently, Queen Kunhuta required support from Otto V of Brandenburg, who arrived in Bohemia with his troops under her request.²⁸ Yet, she probably entered in contrast with him²⁹ and referred to Henryk IV of Wraclaw called the *Probus*.³⁰ The struggle between the two rival aspirants to the guardianship of Václav II concluded when Otto was declared the winner.³¹

Kunhuta signed a compromise with Rudolf in order to gain his protection over her children and normalize the political situation in Bohemia. According to some documents, Kunhuta with her children met the King of the Romans in the monastery of Sedlec with the pretext to require the body of his husband.³² The compromise with Rudolf was signed before the

²⁷ Jutta (Judith), Rudolf's daughter, had to become Václav II's spouse. This agreement was made in conformity to the peace treaty signed by Otakar II with Rudolf on 26th November 1276, in which the Czech king was invested with the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margrave of Moravia. Anyway, the compromise was not followed by Otakar that finally met his fatal defeat at the battle of Dürnkrut in 1278.

²⁸ Apparently Otto V of Brandenburg, Otakar's nephew, Beatrix's son, was nominated as *tutor* of Václav II by King P. Otakar II himself during his last expedition against Rudolf of Habsburg. This information is based on a form document (Sept. 1278?) by Kunhuta to Beatrix, Otakar's sister, contained in the Formulary of Petrus de Hallis (RBM II n. 1144, 491). In the letter we read: *Si ipsum decedere contigeret, vobis et filio vestro karissimo, domino O. inclito marchioni Brandenburg, nos et pueros nostros ac terras suas et suam anima specialiter remisit...*A letter by Kunhuta to Otto, included in the same formulary, repeats the above information (RBM II n. 1145, 492).

²⁹ Kunhuta complains about the crimes accomplished by Otto, who brought under his power the castle and the city of Prague without her approval and that of the nobles. He violated the treaty of peace signed with Rudolf of Habsburg and took the treasury of the Bohemian kingdom (RBM II n. 1200, 520).

³⁰ Marie Bláhová, "Böhmen in der Politik Rudolfs von Habsburg," in *Rudolf von Habsburg, 1273-1291: eine Königsherrschaft zwischen Tradition und Wandel*, edited by Egon Boshof, Franz-Reiner Erkens (Köln: Böhlau, 1993), 59-78; Josef Žemlička, *Století posledních Přemyslovců: český stát a společnost ve 13. století* [Last century of the Přemyslid: Czech state and society in the 13th century] (Praha: Panorama, 1986), 156-157.

³¹ Bohemia had two potential regents. Both were claiming their rights to take the temporary control over the Czech lands. Finally, Otto reached the castle of Prague. He apparently was helped by the city, which opened its doors without previous consultation with Czech nobility and the queen herself (*Decem registra censuum Bohemica compilata aetate bellum husiticum praecedente = Deset urbářů českých z doby před válkami husitskými*, edited by Josef Emler (Praha: Nákladem Král. české společnosti nauk, 1881), 8-9.

³² Kateřina Charvátová, *Václav II.: král český a polský* [Václav II: the Czech and Polish King] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 2007), 47. The reference to the request of the body of the death husband is contained in RBM II n. 1146, 492-493.

bishop Heinrich of Isny on October 1278.³³ It was appointed a commission made of five members, which included the bishop Bruno of Olomouc and Mehart of Tirol. As stated in the agreement, Otto was confirmed as Václav's tutor and administrator of Bohemia (*capitaneus regni Bohemiae et tutor*) for five years;³⁴ Henryk IV of Wraclaw was temporarily granted of the administration of Kłodzko; Queen Kunhuta got a monthly income at her residence of Opava and assured for his son the throne after the minority age. In 1279 Kunhuta fled to the castle in Hradec nad Moravicí. As dowager, she had at her disposal estates and could count on a fixed income. Furthermore, the queen had her own court, which progressively expanded including new members and people of the Moravian nobility, such as Závíš of Falkenštejn (1280), who became her husband between 1283-1285. Kunhuta also gave him a son (Jan). Their relationship was condemned by the contemporaneous. It gave rise to a fictional story that negatively influenced the image of the queen until modern times (see below).

In 1281 Mikuláš, Otakar's bastard son and legitimate Duke of Opava³⁵ claimed his right to govern in Moravia. As a result Kunhuta moved away from her residence in Hradec nad Moravicí. In 1283 her son Václav II ascended to the throne. In the same year the queen settled with Závíš of Falkenštejn at the royal court in Prague. She died on 9th September 1285 and was buried in the royal grave in the monastery of St. Anežka (Agnes) in Prague.

I.b. Scandal and Rumours at the Přemyslid Court: Queen Kunhuta and the Chronicles

“In huius absencia miles quidam Zawissius nomine [...] Kunegudem, reginam Boemie, domini Ottokari sive Przemisl relictam, illicito amore adamavit et ex ea filium

³³ RBM II nos. 1153, 1154, 495-496.

³⁴ The years 1279-1281 were quite critical in Bohemian lands apparently partly because of the bad administration of Otto V of Brandenburg. In 1279 the margrave appointed on his behalf the bishop Gerard as administrator of the Czech territory. Gerard entered in contrast with Tobiáš z Bechyně (z Benešova), bishop of the chapter of St. Vitus. Generally speaking, the actions of the Brandenburg created a general discontent. Before a new agreement was signed with the margrave, it is possible to assume that existed several political factions: Gerard's administration people, the group of Tobiáš, Kunhuta's circle of followers in Opava and the entourage of Rudolf I. Apparently, the situation was solved again through the mediation of Rudolf in 1280. Otto signed an agreement with the Czech nobles and the bishop of Prague in 1280-1281. See Dana Dvořáčková-Malá, “Braniboři v Čechách a zajetí Václava II. Česko-braniborské vztahy ve 13. století” [Brandenburgs in Bohemia and the captivity of Václav II. Czech-Brandenburg relationships in the 13th century.] in *Korunní země v dějinách českého státu II: společné a rozdílné. Česká koruna v životě a vědomí jejích obyvatel ve 14.-16. století*, edited by Jana Konvičná, Lenka Bobková (Ústí nad Labem: Albis International, 2005), 139; Jan Libor, *Vznik zemského soudu a správa středověké Moravy* [The development of provincial courts and the administration of the medieval Moravia] (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2000), 239-242. As for the restoration of the peace in Bohemia (1280) through the action of the King of Germany, Rudolf of Habsburg see RBM n. 1215, 526. The *compromissum* between Kunhuta and Otto V of Brandenburg and the renovation of the peace signed in 1280 before the bishop of Prague Tobiáš is included in the edition of the present study (Ed. Appendix n. 1).

³⁵ This title was assigned to him by his father in 1269.

Johannem, qui postea factus est crucifer, genuit in grave scandalum omnibus honestis feminabus seu dominabus.”[In his absence a certain nobleman called Závíš, [...] illicitly loved Kunhuta, the Queen of Bohemia, the widow of King Otakar or Přemysl, and from her begot a son named Johannes, who later became a knight of the Cross, which was a great scandal among all the honourable women and ladies].³⁶

In comparison to other Bohemian royal female figures, Queen Kunhuta occupies a valuable space in chronicles. Yet, her image is portrayed in a negative light and associated with scandal as shown by the excerpt quoted from the work written around 1365 by Beneš Krabice of Weitmile, a chronicler of Prague cathedral. Most likely, the way in which she has been discredited in the words of the reporters of the time had been influenced by her assumed relation with Závíš of Falkenštejn, accused of having betrayed Kunhuta’s husband, the Czech King Přemysl Otakar II. In some sources it is said that from their union Jan was born and that he was especially favored by Kunhuta at the expenses of her legitimate son.³⁷ As a result, the queen is blamed in Bohemian chronicles. She is accused of abandoning her son, young Václav II (Wenceslaus II), the future heir to the Czech throne in a state of captivity in the castle of Bezděz during the guardianship of Margrave Otto V of Brandenburg.³⁸ She is also accused of infidelity to her death husband (see below).

³⁶ “Kronika Beneš Krabice z Weitmile = Cronica ecclesiae Pragensis Benessii Krabice de Weitmile,” in *FRB IV*, edited by Josef Emler (Nákladem Nadání Františka Palackého: Prague, 1884), 459.

³⁷ About Johannes see Jan Libor, “In Ordine Cruciferorum Christo militant. K osudům Ješka, syna Závíše z Falkenštejna a královny Kunhuty,” [In Ordine Cruciferorum Christo militant. About the destiny of Jan, son of syna Závíš z Falkenštejna and queen Kunhuta] *Český časopis historický* 98 (2000): 453-475.

³⁸ In some sources it is said that after the death of his father, Václav was entrusted to the care of Kunhuta’s court chamberlain Gregorius de Drazic (Řehoř, or Řehník z Litovic, Řehoř z Dražic). He became Václav II’s preceptor and in order to take away him from his influence, Václav was brought in the castle of Bezděz. See “Kronika Františka Pražského = Chronicon Francisci Pragensis,” edited by Jana Zachová (Praha: Nadace Patriae, Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1998), 15: *Wencezslaus vero, filius regis, predicto domino Gregorio de Drazicz fuit commendatus; tandem marchio, puerum de manibus ipsius accipiens, ipsum in castro Bezdyez pro tempore collocavit.* According to one of Kosmas’ continuators, also Kunhuta with the royal family was moved there. The queen was allowed to leave Bezděz several times: on 24 April 1279 visited the church of St. George in Freistadt; in the second trip she went to the Cistercian monastery in Hradiště, afterwards to the dowry Mělník where she stayed three days. The fourth journey was towards the Clarisse monastery of St. Anežka in Prague. She did not return to Bezděz and went directly to Opava. This imaginary escape of Kunhuta gave birth to the image of an heartless mother that abandoned her son to save her own life. (“Annales de rebus gestis post mortem Przem. Ottakari regis = Vypravování o zlých létech po smrti krále Přemysla,” in *FRB II*, edited by Josef Emler (Nákladem Nadání Františka Palackého: Prague, 1884), 348: *Coepit itaque domina regina per intervalla temporum petere licentias a purcravio Hermanno, qui praeerat eidem castro in Bezdyez, quatenus posset visitare civitatem Vristad, in qua est ecclesia sita in honore sancti Georgii martyris, causa orationis. Occurrerat enim ipso die festum beati Georgii. Idem purcravius Hermannus consentiens petitionibus dominae reginae, dedit liberam facultatem veniendi quocunque placeret ei, tamen sub ea conditione, relictis pueris in castro, et quod percatis negotiis suis ad pueros revertatur. Et ita iuxta formam praemissam factum est; venit et revenit. Iterum post aliquot dies petivit licentiam visitandi griseos monachos in Hradist, obtentaque venit, et ipso die in eadem civitate comedit, monasterio sibi virtualia procurante. Tertia vice accepta licentia venit in Mielnik civitatem, quae specialis eius erat, et ibi mansit tribus diebus in expensis burgensium, et rediit in Bezdyez. Adiecit adhuc petere licentiam veniendi in Pragam ad sororem Agnetem, et ea obtenta venit, et ibi de rebus suis dispositis finxit se velle venire in Moraviam ad*

Occasionally fiction interferes also with fantasy. In the *Chronicon aulae regiae* Kunhuta is seduced by the magic power of Závěš, who is depicted as necromancer as shown in the following passage: “But because the female mind changes easily, the queen, as they say, seduced by him with some deceptions of the art of magic, loving him more firmly [...] Závěš [...] gave birth to the love in her soul, cheating her with the use of the necromancy.”³⁹ This negative image was very stable in the course of time and probably influenced also modern historians such as Bedřich Mendl. The scholar does not judge the personality of the queen but questions the attribution of her letters to Otakar. According to his opinion they are fictional and might have been composed to remedy her reputation.⁴⁰ František Palacký describes the queen as an ambitious woman and a bad counsellor of her husband. It would be partly because of her that Otakar met his fatal destiny in the battle of Dürnkrut in 1278.⁴¹ This emphasis on Kunhuta’s manipulative attitude may be explained as a “rhetorical advice” which seeks to establish “a link between a queen’s influence and bad government.” Unlike other king’s advisors the figure of queen as counsellor is treated in a “gender-specific manner.”⁴²

The most recent scholarship allows to contradict some beliefs of the past. Thought perceived as prisoner by his contemporaries,⁴³ Vacláv II was most likely not kept in

exequias mariti sui regis Otakari. Et arrepto itinere, cum deberet venire in Moraviam, divertit gressus suos in Opaviam, et sic astute et sapienter angustias et molestias, quas patiebatur ex parte Theutonicorum, evasit.

³⁹ See Petrus Zittaviensis, [Otto, abbas], “Chronicon Aulae Regiae,” 22-23: *Sed quia de facili mutatur mens mulieris, Regina, ut aiunt, quibusdam artis magice ab ipso illusa fallaciis, ipsum arcius amans [...] Zawissius [...] regine animum in amorem suum, quibusdam nigromancie conatibus ipsam circumveniens, provocavit.* It is relevant to notice that the *Chronicon Aulae Regiae* was written in honor of Václav II, who was the founder of the monastery of Zbraslav. This would maybe in part explain the chronicler’s emphasis on the magician power of Závěš used as an expedient to protect Kunhuta and justify her bad behavior. The image of Kunhuta deceived by Závěš is a common topic of the chronicles of the time. In the *Chronicon Francisci Pragensis* we read: *Mater vero eius per quemdam baronem, nomine Zavissium, decepta, stando in Moravia filium ex eo generavit. Hic, Iohannes nomine, seculum renuncians in ordine Cruciferorum Christo militavit;* (Cf. “Kronika Františka Pražského,” edited by Zachova, 17).

⁴⁰ Bedřich Mendl, *Listy královny Kunhuty králi Přemyslovi* [The letters of Queen Kunhuta to the King Přemysl] (Praha: Akropolis, reprint 1997), 41.

⁴¹ František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě II. Od roku 1253 až do roku 1403* [History of the Czech nation in Bohemia and Moravia II. From 1253 to 1403] (Kvasnička a Hampl: Prague, 1939⁵), 78.

⁴² Theresa Earenfight, *Queenhip and Power. Queenhip in Medieval Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013), 23. It is interesting to notice that between the thirteenth - fifteenth centuries a type of narrative of accused queen spread in Europe. Nancy B. Black has identified a common structure in these texts: the heroine is falsely accused, she falls from her position of high status, she recovers it, she is defamed a second time and finally she recovers status and position a second time. Black states that these stories “distinguished a moral lesson.” Though hardly can be found a direct connection between the heroines and the actual reigning queens “the fictional depictions of powerful kings and queens provide an opportunity for political commentary and the construction of social ideas.” (Cf. Nancy B. Black, *Medieval Narratives of Accused Queens* [Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003], 2 and 10).

⁴³ Probably, the bad administration undertaken by Otto in Bohemian lands, his image of depredator rather than adiutor influenced also the contemporaneous evaluation of Vacláv guardianship. The description of the *Chronicon Aulae Regiae* of the suffering of young Vacláv II borne after the death of his father (King P. Otakar II) under the guardianship of Margrave Otto V of Brandenburg fostered the creation of Otto’s portrayal as

captivity by his tutor. Bezděz did not look like a prison but of a luxury mansion build by Otakar II himself.⁴⁴ In this castle Václav was under the care of his nurse Eliška, a staff that satisfied his daily needs and a circle of priests.⁴⁵ Dana Dvořáčková-Malá has proved also that Spandau, where the future Czech king was brought from Bezděz, was most likely the headquarter of the Brandenburg family and there he was assisted by his aunt Beatrix-Božena.⁴⁶ Besides the scholar assumes that for Christmas time (1279) also Kunhuta and some representatives of Otto's family were present in the castle. Consequently, the depiction of the queen as an heartless mother that abandoned her child in a state of captivity should be questioned.

In addition, charters and letters prove that immediately after the death of the Czech king Přemysl Otakar II, the widow Kunhuta took relevant decisions to normalize the political situation in the Czech lands and to guarantee the succession to the throne for her son, the seven-year old Vacláv II. An agreement signed probably in October 1278 through the mediation of Rudolf of Habsburg, nominated Otto V of Brandenburg as *capitaneus regni Bohemiae et tutor*, chaptain of Bohemia and tutor of the future Czech king in the years 1278-1283. Furthermore, it is worthy to notice that Kunhuta kept a good relationship with

captor. The chronicler reports that after being nominated administrator of Bohemia by Rudolf I, Otto brought the future heir to the Czech throne to the castle of Bezděz (cap. IX): [...] *in Beyzdez, castro fortissimo, quibusdam sibi de terra capellanis adiuctis et famulis moraturum pro tempore collocavit*. Afterwards, he moved with him to Saxony where Vacláv, who was only seven years old, was underfed and dressed in miserable rags (cap. X): *Quomodo in Saxoniam septennis puer ducitur et diversis angariis ibidem affligitur. [...] Sepe caret victu, quod erat miserabile dictu, Cum surgit mane, caret esuriens puto pane; Contritissimis panibus ibi mansit pluribus annis*. Petrus Zittaviensis, [Otto, abbas], "Chronicon Aulae Regiae," 15-16. Dana Dvořáčková-Malá notices that no other source mentions the mistreatment of the child. Furthermore, the reference to the stay of Vacláv out of the Czech borders is rare and undetailed. Only Beneš Minorita brings new information on this subject but he omits to portray Vacláv psychological and physical condition. The reporter provides details about the dates and places related to the stay of the future king in the Margraviate of Brandenburg. It is said that on 17th November 1279 he was brought from Bezděz to Saxony (Görlitz) stopping in Zittau on the way. Then, in December, after a brief stay in Berlin, he reached Spandau. Despite the inaccuracy about the dates (Vacláv was taken away from Bezděz at the end of August or beginning of September, indeed, the last documented stay of Otto V of Brandenburg in Bohemia dates back to 25th August; the royal family arrived at the castle of Bezděz on 4th September and not 4th April), relevant information has been offered by this chronicle that raises questions on the issue of the captivity of Vacláv II (see Dana Dvořáčková-Malá, "Braniboři v Čechách a zjetí Václava II. Česko-braniborské vztahy ve 13. století," [Brandenburgs in Bohemia and captivity of Václav II. Czech-Brandenburg relations in 13. century] in *Korunní země v dějinách českého státu II: společné a rozdílné. Česká koruna v životě a vědomí jejích obyvatel ve 14.-16. století*, edited by Jana Konvičná, Lenka Bobková (Ústí nad Labem: Albis International, 2005), 131-132, 135-138.

⁴⁴ Tomáš Durdík, *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie českých hradů* [Illustrated Encyclopedia of Czech castles](Praha: Libri, 2000), 58-61.

⁴⁵ Charvátová, *Václav II.: král český a polský*, 54; Vaníček, *Velké dějiny země koruny české. 3, 1250-1310*, 372.

⁴⁶ In the past it was believed that Beatrix died already in 1270. Yet, it has been found that she is mentioned in documents of 1280 and 1282 and she probably deceased in 1286 or 1290 (see Dana Dvořáčková-Malá, "Braniboři v Čechách a zjetí Václava II. Česko-braniborské vztahy ve 13. století," 137. On the controversial issue of Vacláv's imprisonment, see also Charvátová, *Václav II.: král český a polský*, 54.

Václav also after his ascendance to the throne. In 1283, the queen moved to the royal court in Prague where married Závíš of Falkenštejn.⁴⁷

queen's moral attitudes as good mother are questioned by contemporaneous probably because they condemned her relationship with Závíš. Šusta states that Kunhuta is also accused of infidelity to her husband before he died.⁴⁸ Yet, it has been proved that Závíš most likely did not belong to the circle of Otakar's court. Apparently, the reference to personal meetings with the king before 1276 is rare and undetailed. In a charter of 1274 Závíš simply figures among the witnesses: "Zabissius, castellanus in Valchestein."⁴⁹ This consideration leads to refuting the speculation about the queen's affair with Závíš before 1278. Most likely he got in touch with the queen only when she moved to Opava after Otakar's death. Around 1280 he was accepted at Kunhuta's court in Moravia and became part of her *curie familia*.⁵⁰

The figure of Závíš of Falkenštejn is quite complex in historiography. For a long time a common opinion prevailed that depicted him as a traitor of the Czech king. In 1276, Přemysl Otakar II struggles with Rudolf of Habsburg seeking to defend the territories conquered.⁵¹ At the same time he had to face the revolt of noble families that benefited of the critical situation to rise against the politics of centralization adopted by the king. Otakar had realized that the foundation of new towns guaranteed the increment of the financial sources of the kingdom.⁵² Besides, the free cities also stemmed the expansion of the power of the nobles and the creation of large mansions in their hands. The noble dissent from passive becomes active with the coming into play of Rudolf of Habsburg.⁵³ The Vítkovci, to which Závíš of Falkenštejn belonged participated to the riot in 1276. This strengthened a distrust towards them that progressively was gaining space in the common opinion of the time. Their relationship with German nobilities and their estates beyond the Czech borders led to perceive them as partisans of the imperial side. In some sources it is said that Závíš

⁴⁷ Chronicles date their marriage between the years 1283-1285.

⁴⁸ Josef Šusta, "Závíš z Falkenštejna," *Český časopis historický* 1 (Prague: Bursík & Kohout, 1895): 290.

⁴⁹ CDB V/3 n. 1639, 402-403.

⁵⁰ In the *Chronicon Aulae Regiae* it is said that he started to attend Kunhuta's court in order to recover his estates. See Petrus Zittaviensis, [Otto, abbas], "Chronicon Aulae Regiae," 22: [...] *sperabat etenim, quod statum pristinum recuperaturus, possessiones suas in regno sine difficultate resumeret*. In a Kunhuta's charter he figures as burgrave of Hradec nad Moravicí from 11 February 1281: *Zauissius noster purcravius de Gredz*, (see below).

⁵¹ After the death of Richard of Cornwall (1272), on 29 September 1273 in Frankfurt, the princes electors, not taking in consideration the candidature of the Bohemian king, nominated the new German King Rudolf of Habsburg. Very soon Otakar was required to give back the imperial possessions that once belonged to the Babenberg family. On May 1275 he was banned because he was not present to the Diet of Augsburg and formally deprived of his Moravian and Bohemian fiefs. On 26 November 1276 after a peace pursued in Vienna, the Czech king is forced to renounce to Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and Eger. Rudolf stipulated also that Jutta, her daughter was to marry Václav II, Otakar's son.

⁵² Otakar favored the foundation of new cities and also donated many privileges to those that already existed. Apart from some cities that were completely new such as České Budějovice, Nymburk (Nimburg), or Polička, the others were created mostly on the base of old agglomerations.

⁵³ Kateřina Charvátová, *Václav II: král český a polský*, 60-64.

led the revolt. This speculation was adopted by some modern Czech historians, such as Palacký and Šusta.⁵⁴ There is no way to prove that Závěš was the leader of the rebels. On the other hand, the Vítkovci were among those punished by Otakar by confiscations and exile. After 1278 the banished nobles tried to recover their goods and reestablish their power in Bohemia.

Závěš was perceived as a disturber of the peace, as noticed by Robert Antonín. He contrasted the ideal of the sovereign of the *rex pacificus* and in 1290 under Václav II reign will be captured, condemned and executed.⁵⁵ Definitely his bad reputation and actions affected negatively the image of Queen Kunhuta in the public opinion of the time as emblematically shown by the words of the abbot Petrus Zittaviensis: “This way Závěš corrupted the pure Kunhuta and stained the matrimonial bed of the death King of Bohemians.”⁵⁶

I.c. The Queen's Court

The first reference to a Bohemian noble court has a tenth century legendary fashion. The hagiography depicts the Holy Duchess Ludmila with a retinue of servants caring for her comfort and needs.⁵⁷ Ludmila's murderer, Drahomíra, her daughter in law and mother of Václav the Saint,⁵⁸ acts as regent for her son, who is unable to rule due to his age.⁵⁹ She is

⁵⁴ Šusta, “Závěš z Falkenštejna,” 253.

⁵⁵ Robert Antonín, “Pater et filius iustitiae. The Ideal of Sovereign's Rule,” in *Processes of Cultural Exchange in Central Europe*, edited by Veronika Čapská (Praha: European Social Fund – Opava Silesian University, 2014), 307. On the issues related to Závěš's trial see Jan Libor, “Proces se Závěšem a proměny královské vlády v letech 1289-1290. Památce Miloše Vystyda († 19. října 1914 na haličské frontě),” [Závěš's Trial and Changes in Royal Governance between 1289-1290] *Český časopis historický* 103 (Praha: Historický ústav AV ČR2005): 1-40.

⁵⁶ Petrus Zittaviensis, [Otto, abbas], “Chronicon Aulae Regiae,” 23: *Sawischius mundam sic prostituit Chunigundam, Defunctique thorum maculat regis Bohemorum*. It should be noticed that after the criticism of Kunhuta's behavior, the author of the chronicle refers to the reconciliation between the son and mother. Václav identifies with the *iustus* and *pius* king, who punishes and forgives (see Petrus Zittaviensis, “Chronicon Aulae Regiae,” 23).

⁵⁷ Jaroslav Ludvíkovský ed., *Legenda Christiani: vita et passio Sancti Wenceslai et Sancte Ludmille ave eius* (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1978), 40: *Clerus eius cunctus universique vernaculi utriusque sexus [...]*. The same passage in the English translation by Marvin Kantor, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1990), 177: “Her entire clergy and all her domestics, both male and female [...].”

It is worthy to note that the legitimation of the ruling Přemyslid dynasty in early Medieval Bohemia is connected to Ludmila sainthood, the holy Duchess, who is rightly called patroness of the Bohemians in the homily *Factum est*; see Martin Homza, “Imago Sanctae Ludmilae in the Homily 'Factum est': an Attempt of Analysis,” *Quaestiones Mediaevi Novae* 14 (2009): 55-82; Marie Bláhová, “The function of the saints in early Bohemian historical writing,” in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000-1300)*, edited by Lars Boje Mortensen (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2006), 83-119.

⁵⁸ Similarly to his grand-mother, Duke Václav is described in hagiography with hierarchical circles of servants, militaries and counsellors: *Dulces amici vosque o familiars clientuli* (My dear friends and you, my courtiers

surrounded by “villainous counselors” and faithful magnates.⁶⁰ These two examples show that since the early time duchesses and queens’ roles at the medieval Bohemian court went beyond those of wives and mothers. This connection between women and power in Čechách is not restricted to a limited period of time. Narrative and documentary material, which outlines a link between women and politic sphere, can be found persistently along the centuries. In the *Letopis Vincentia Pražského* Gertrude (d. ca. 1150) wife of Vladislav II is uncharged of the defense of Prague during the absence of her husband.⁶¹ Konstancie Uherská, Constance of Hungary (ca. 1181 - 1240), mother of St. Anežka (the founder of a Franciscan house for women in Prague) and second wife of King Přemysl Otakar I, is co-donor with her husband and petitioner of her consort’s donation.⁶² Kunhuta Štaufská, Cunegunde of Hohenstaufen (ca. 1200 - 1248), wife of Václav I and mother of Přemysl Otakar II, is founder and patroness of a Cistercian monastery of nuns (St. Marienthal) in Saxon Upper Lusatia as referred by the pope Gregory IX in a letter dated 1235.⁶³ She also signs documents in which goods or privileges are granted, like those donated to the brothers of the hospital of St. Francis wearing a cross with a star.⁶⁴

Kunhuta Uherská perfectly matches with the group of women described so far by exercising a political, cultural and social power that later will be exploited in Bohemia by others queens such as Eliška Rejčka (1288 - 1335),⁶⁵ Eliška Přemyslovna, Elisabeth of Bohemia

[...]; cf. Kantor, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary*, 175; Ludvíkovský ed., *Legenda Christiani*, 34. This is the first reference to the Přemyslid household, which will take the form of a standard structured medieval court only two century later as clearly outlined in the Canon of Vyšehrad (1140). Assuredly, its development and establishment was fostered by the acquisition of the royal crown by Duke Vratislav II in 1085 and also by the adoption of the ceremonial customs, which were probably a mix of foreign importation (from the imperial court) and autochthonous social model. For the emergence of the Přemyslid household in the the eleventh and twelfth centuries see Dana Dvořáčková-Malá, Jan Zelenka, *Curia ducis, curia regis: panovnický dvůr za vlády Přemyslovců* [Curia ducis, curia regis: sovereign court during the reign of the Přemyslid] (Praha: Historický ústav, 2011), 38-61.

⁵⁹ Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců: vstup Čechů do dějin, 530-935* [The beginnings of the Přemyslid: the entrance of the Czechs in the history, 530-935] (Praha: Lidové noviny, 1997), 361-374.

⁶⁰ The reference to the counsellors is found in *Fide crescente Cristiana*, that to the magnates in the *Legenda Christiani*, see Kantor, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary*, 157, 176.

⁶¹ “Letopis Vincencia, kanovníka kostela pražského = Annales Bohemorum Vincentii Pragensis,” in *FRB II*, edited by Josef Emler (Praha: nákladem Musea Království Českého, 1874), 412: *Dux itaque W<ladislaus> firmata predicta civitate fratrem quoque suum Thebaldum in ea cum domna Gertrude, uxore sua, cui maxime in hoc articulo confidebat, cum quibusdam militibus valde bellicosus pro tuenda civitate et principali throno [...], Prage dimisit.*

⁶² CDB III/1-2 nos. 60, 86, 238, 245, 320, 324, 332; 52, 75, 188.

See *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Letters* <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/woman/85.html>

⁶³ CDB III/1 n. 117, 143.

⁶⁴ CDB IV n. 142, 239-240.

⁶⁵ Robert Antonín, “Alžběta Rejčka a souboj o český trůn v letech 1306–1308 [Elisabeth Rejčka and the struggle for the Czech throne in the years 1306–1308],” in *Chrám Svatého Ducha a královna Eliška Rejčka v Hradci Králové 1308–2008. Historická tradice v dějinách města. Od chrámu ke katedrále. Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní vědecké konference konané ve dnech 15. a 16. října 2008 v Hradci Králové*, edited by Jiří Štěpán (Ústí nad Orlicí: Oftis, 2009), 17-31; Charles E. Brewer, “Cantus Regine: The Liturgical Manuscripts of Queen Alžběta Rejčka,” in *Cantus Planus: Papers read at the 7th Meeting [I.M.S. Study Group on Chant] Sopron*,

(1292 - 1330),⁶⁶ Anna Luxemburská (of the House of Luxemburg), Anne of Bohemia (1366 - 1394)⁶⁷ or Johana z Rožmitálu, Joanna of Rožmitál (ca. 1430 - 1475).⁶⁸

Kunhuta has a court which is active immediately after her coronation. The first document that attests its existence dates to 15 July, 1262:⁶⁹ the queen confers under the request of her husband the right of patronage (*ius patronatus*) of the church in Budeč, which was attributed to her, to the chapter of Vyšehrad. The *littera* is written and composed by the *scriba/dictator* Přisnobar, who was formerly notary of Přemysl Otakar II and at that time *scholasticus* and *canonicus* of Vyšehrad church. It is signed and sealed in Prague and given by the hand of the notary *magister* Wernher (*datum per manus magistri Vernheri notarii*), who performs the authorizing chancery official. A female presence is included among the witnesses:⁷⁰ Anna (*Anna de Galacia, de Machow et de Rodna*), Kunhuta's mother, is placed in the first position in the list probably because of the consanguinity connections. Perhaps, she came to Prague to visit her daughter and her presence at the Czech court is confirmed also in later documents. After Anna, Andreas, who is the queen's chief chamberlain (*summus cammerarius*) follows. The list continues with two other household offices, the *pincerna* (butler) *Domazlaus* and the *dapifer* (steward) *Hirzo*. The *testes* group is completed by *Iariosius* the burgrave of Prague, *Chech* the chief judge (*iudex summus*), *Sdzilaus* the *marsalcus* (marshal) and other unnamed people (*et alii quam plures*). Another charter by Kunhuta testifies a donation of a hill with vineyards near Blučina to the Cistercian monastery in Žďár.⁷¹ It is dated to July 25 1265, issued in Písek and sealed at the presence of two chamberlains, *Mistidruh* and *Gregorius*,⁷² the *miles Gerardus filius Bosconis*, *Cunradus* formerly *subcamerarius* (vice-chamberlain) of the queen.

An *instrumentum*, a queen's document with legal force issued in Poděbrady on March 1, 1269 restores the hereditary property in Pohořelice to a female monastery (*Cella Beatae*

Hungary, 1995, edited by László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 1998), 123-137.

⁶⁶ Božena Kopiczková, *Eliška Přemyslovna: královna česká 1292-1330* [Eliška Přemyslovna: Czech Queen 1292-1330] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 2003).

⁶⁷ Alfred Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society, 1310-1420* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

⁶⁸ John M. Klassen, "Queenship in Late Medieval Bohemia," in *Women and Power in East Central Europe: Medieval and Modern*, edited by Marianne Sághy, Nancy F Partner (Los Angeles: Charles Schlacks, 1993), 101-116.

⁶⁹ CDB V/1 n. 344, 512-513.

⁷⁰ It would be interesting to pursue a research by making a comparison between medieval queens' and kings' letters witnesses lists and check to which extent women participate to the issue of documents and by this way they legitimize their position in society. According to the research made by Lisa Wolverton, two documents (ca. 1146-48) issued by Duke Vladislav II report the same list of names which is made exclusively by men and adopted without changes for a dozen of years (Lisa Wolverton, *Hastening Toward Prague: Power and Society in the Medieval Czech Lands* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001], 54).

⁷¹ CDB V/1 n. 451, 666-667.

⁷² He is attested as chamberlain also among the witnesses of a document by Rulco de Pyberstain about his offer of service and promise of fidelity to King P. Otakar II (7 Febr. 1278). See ACRB I n. 20, 32-33.

Mariae) in Brno.⁷³ It confirms the will of Kunhuta's predecessors (*confirmatam per nostros predecessores*). Some of the names of the witnesses have been already encountered in previous mentioned charters: the *camerarius noster Mystidruh*, the *pincerna Domazlaus*, the *subcamerarius Gregorius*. There are also new attestors: the *dapifer Chazlaus*, the *marsalcus Wlastiborius*, *Bohuta submarsalcus*, *Benesius zudarius*,⁷⁴ the *subpincerna Iohannes*, the *subdapifer Otto* and in the first position are listed two domenic friars, *frater Zacharias* who is the *confessor* of the queen and *frater Protiva*. The *dictator* is the *magister Godefridus*, who is protonotary of Kunhuta's chancery, chaplain of the king and *plebanus* of the church in Přibyslavice. The document is included in an abbreviated version in the collection of master Bohuslav preserved in the manuscript sign. 526 held by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.⁷⁵

The name of the queen may be also used to claim apparently false grants of privileges. As stated in a charter (22 Jan. 1267) Kunhuta intervened in a controversy about the right of the patronage over the church in Nowa Cerekwia and confirmed the attribution of the privilege to the Cistercian monastery in Oslavany Vallis Sancte Marie (Marienthal). This was already set in antecedent documents by King Václav I, the bishops of Olomouc *Robertus* and *Bruno*.⁷⁶ According to Šebánek and Dušková, the letter could be spurious. It has the style of the queen's chancery but it may be written in the monastery of Oslavany rather than in Prague. In addition, the charters by the king and the bishops are found to be false. Also another queen's charter emanated in 14 Oct. 1271 may have been forged. It grants the *ius patronatus* of the church in Řevnice and of the female convents in Václavice and Živohošť to the hospital of St. Francis in Prague.⁷⁷ Šebánek and Dušková state that this charter could be fabricated because the *dictator* does not write the title of Kunhuta in a correct way.

Kunhuta's court continues to be active after the death of her husband (1278). A couple of preserved documents dating back to this period are issued in Prague. The oldest, which dates to 9th Oct. 1278 confirms under the request of *Hermannus de Braunshorn* the privilege of the jurisdiction in the town of Svádov to the friars of the order of the hospital of St. John Baptist of Jerusalem. *Hermannus* is the *praeceptor* of the mentioned order in Bohemia, Dacia, Austria, Moravia and Polony.⁷⁸ This *instrumentum*, which is sealed at the presence of various unnamed friars, is given by the hand of the *magister Petrus*, who is the *praepositus* of the royal chancery of Vyšehrad (*manum magistri Petri prepositi Wissegradensis cancellarii regni Boemie*). The *dictator*, who belongs to the chancery of the death king, could be Henricus, his royal protonotary.

⁷³ CDB V/2 n. 581, 164-166.

⁷⁴ Cudař, e (Czech): in Latin *iudex* or *czudarius* (*sudarius*, *czaudarius*). This lemma was progressively used in the meaning of *iudex provincialis* (Libor, *Vznik zemského soudu a správa středověké moravy*, 42).

⁷⁵ See Ed. n. 75.

⁷⁶ CDB V/2 n. 486, 28-30.

⁷⁷ CDB V/2 n. 643, 267-268.

⁷⁸ CDB VI/1 n. 10, 55-56.

Another *littera* issued in Prague (11 Feb. 1279)⁷⁹ grants under the request of *Hermannus de Braunshorn* the immunity from seigneurial justice (*libertas*) in the entire province of Opava to the friars of the order of the hospital of St. John Baptist of Jerusalem in Grobniki. The scribe, who is also the letter *dictator*, may be of the royal chancery of Vyšehrad or of the queen's chancery.

Further *instrumenta* attest the settle of Kunhuta's court in Opava in the years 1279-1281. As reported by these documents, Kunhuta's title changes from *Bohemorum regina, ducissa Austrie et Stirie et marchionissa Moravie* in *regina Bohemiae et domina terrae Oppaviae*. The adoption of the title of Lordess of Opava leads one to think that a certain degree of power was exercised by the queen in the Moravian province.

Two of the chartes coming from this regional territory are issued in Hradec nad Moravicí where the queen established her circle of servants and courtiers. One dates to 31th Aug. 1279 and pertains the confirmation, under the request of the *iudex Thylmanus*, of all the privileges and goods granted by Kunhuta's death husband to the citizens of Krnov.⁸⁰ In addition to these goods and privileges, the Queen of Bohemia and Lordess of Opava gives to the citizens of Krnov also the *ius iudicandi* in the twons of Bliszczyce, Chomýž, Kostelec and Chařová. Nobles of Moravian-Silesian origin are listed among the witnesses: the lords *Prochmus de Borowek*,⁸¹ *Cuno de Cunstat*,⁸² *Egilota de Dodich*,⁸³ *Herbordus de Fullnstain*,⁸⁴ *Wocco de Crawarz*,⁸⁵ *Benesius de Chumlow* and other unnamed people. The second document issued in the same place on 13th Oct. 1279 is a *littera donacionis* through which the Queen bestows on the master and friars of the order of the hospital of St. John Baptist of Jerusalem the *ius patronatus* of the church in Glubczyce.⁸⁶ The list of witnesses mentions *Herbordus de Wllenstein*⁸⁷ and his son *Henningus, Kuno burgravius in Gretz*,⁸⁸ the lord *Miloto* and the son of his brother *Benessius*, the chamberlain *Protiwen*,⁸⁹ *Sheborius de Namish*,⁹⁰ *Matheus de Shirnehor*,⁹¹ *Conradus de Praga, Rudgerus iudex de Lubschitz*.⁹² According to the editors of the charter (Zbyněk Sviták and Helena Krmíčková) the *scriba*,

⁷⁹ CDB VI/1 n. 28, 69-70.

⁸⁰ CDB VI/1 6.1 n. 66, 112-113.

⁸¹ Borowek (German), Borovska (Czech).

⁸² Kunstadt (German), Kunštát (Czech).

⁸³ Dieditz (German), Dědice (Czech).

⁸⁴ Fullstain (German), Fulštejna (Czech); see the appendix of the concordance of the place names in Czech-German Jiří Kejř, *Die mittelalterlichen Städte in den böhmischen Ländern: Gründung-Verfassung-Entwicklung* (Köln: Böhlau, 2010), 441.

⁸⁵ Crawarz (German), Kravaře (Czech).

⁸⁶ CDB VI/1 n. 77, 120-121.

⁸⁷ Wellestein (German), Valdštejna (Czech).

⁸⁸ Gretz (German), Hradec nad Moravicí (Czech).

⁸⁹ Protiven z Borovska, probably was also chamberlain of Guta Habsburská (around 1289).

⁹⁰ Namish/Namiescht (German), Náměšť (Czech).

⁹¹ Shirnehor (German), Černá Hora (Czech).

⁹² Leobschütz (German), Głubczyce (Polish).

who copied this document is the same of those letters transcribed in the manuscript sign. 526, fols. 80v and 121v (more on this issue the below).

As stated in another *littera* issued in Glubczyce (11 Feb. 1281)⁹³ the Queen confirms the *charta* by Otakar about the decimal of the toloneum and the *censum* of the church in Glubczyce. Furthermore, she bestows the right of patronage of the same church on the master and the friars of the hospital of St. John Baptist of Jerusalem. The witnesses are: *Zavissius purcravius de Gredz, Wokco, magister Wernherus* and other unnamed people.

A glance at the information contained in the described queenly charters can be schematized as follows. The scheme aids to illustrate the structure and functioning of the queen's court along her life and question on several issues: the type of offices held by her servants and officials; the patterns used in raking court members; the presence of the turnover of the household job-positions; the relation between the queen's court and that of her husband.

Table 1: The witness list of Kunhuta's charters

Name	Title	Document	Date	King P. Otakar II's court
Anna		CDB V/1 n. 344	5 July, 1262	
Andreas	<i>Summus camerarius</i>	CDB V/1 n. 344	5 July, 1262	
Domazlaus	<i>Pincerna</i>	CDB V/1 n. 344	5 July, 1262	<i>Camerarius</i> 1277-1278 (?)
Hirzo	<i>Dapifer</i>	CDB V/1 n. 344	5 July, 1262	
Iariosius	<i>Burgravius Pragensis</i>	CDB V/1 n. 344	5 July, 1262	<i>Burgravius Pragensis</i> 1253-1263
Cech	<i>Iudex summus</i>	CDB V/1 n. 344	5 July, 1262	<i>summus iudex, iudex Bohemie generalis</i> 1255-1257; <i>iudex provincialis, iudex Bohemie, iudex, iudex terre, summus iudex</i> 1260-

⁹³ CDB VI/1 n. 130, 177-178.

					1263
Sdzlaus	<i>Marsalcus</i>	CDB V/1 n. 344	5 July, 1262		<i>Marsalcus</i> 1256-1261
Mistidruh	<i>Camerarius</i>	CDB V/1 n. 451	25 July, 1265		<i>Burgravius</i> <i>Pragensis</i> 1277- 1279
Gregorius	<i>Camerarius</i>	CDB V/1 n. 451 ⁹⁴	25 July, 1265		
Gerardus	<i>Miles filius</i> <i>Bosconis</i>	CDB V/1 n. 451	25 July, 1265		
Cunradus	<i>Subcamerarius</i>	CDB V/1 n. 451	25 Jul. 1265		<i>iudex Pragensis</i> 1265 (?)
Mystidruh	<i>Camerarius</i>	CDB V/2 n. 581	1 Mar. 1269		
Domazlaus	<i>Pincerna</i>	CDB V/2 n. 581	1 Mar. 1269		
Gregorius	<i>Subcamerarius</i>	CDB V/2 n. 581	1 Mar. 1269		<i>Custos</i> of the church in Olomouc 1254 (?)
Iohannes	<i>Subpincerna</i>	CDB V/2 n. 581	1 Mar. 1269		
Otto	<i>Subdapifer</i>	CDB V/2 n. 581	1 Mar. 1269		
Chazlaus	<i>Dapifer</i>	CDB V/2 n. 581	1 Mar. 1269		
Wlastiborius	<i>Marsalcus</i>	CDB V/2 n. 581	1 Mar. 1269		
Bohuta	<i>Submarsalcus</i>	CDB V/2 n. 581	1 Mar. 1269		
Benesius	<i>Zudarius</i>	CDB V/2 n. 581	1 Mar. 1269		
Zacharias	<i>Frater/ confessor</i>	CDB V/2 n. 581	1 Mar. 1269		
Protiva	<i>Frater</i>	CDB V/2 n. 581	1 Mar. 1269		
Unnamed friars		CDB VI/1 n. 10	9 Oct. 1278		

⁹⁴ See also the footnote n. 44 and 76.

Petrus	<i>Magister</i>		CDB VI/1 n. 10	9 Oct. 1278	<i>Magister 1266-</i>
Prochmus Borowek	de		CDB VI/1 n. 66	31 Aug. 1279	
Cuno de Cunstat			CDB VI/1 n. 66	31 Aug. 1279	
Egilota Dodich	de		CDB VI/1 n. 66	31 Aug. 1279	
Herbordus Fullnstain	de		CDB VI/1 n. 66	31 Aug. 1279	
Wocco Crawarz	de		CDB VI/1 n. 66	31 Aug. 1279	
Benesius Chumlow	de		CDB VI/1 n. 66	31 Aug. 1279	
Herbordus Wllenstein	de		CDB VI/1 n. 77	13 Oct. 1279	
Henningus (Herbodus'son)			CDB VI/1 n. 77	13 Oct. 1279	
Kuno	<i>Burgravius Gretz</i>	<i>in</i>	CDB VI/1 n. 77	13 Oct. 1279	
Miloto			CDB VI/1 n. 77	13 Oct. 1279	
Benessius (son of Miloto's brother)			CDB VI/1 n. 77	13 Oct. 1279	
Protiwen	<i>Camerarius</i>		CDB VI/1 n. 77	13 Oct. 1279	
Sheborius Namish	de		CDB VI/1 n. 77	13 Oct. 1279	
Matheus Shirnehor	de		CDB VI/1 n. 77	13 Oct. 1279	
Conradus Praga	de		CDB VI/1 n. 77	13 Oct. 1279	
Rudgerus	<i>Iudex</i>	<i>de</i>	CDB V/1 n. 77	13 Oct. 1279	

Lubschitz

Zavissius	<i>purcravius</i> <i>Gredz</i>	de	CDB 130	VI/1	n.	11 Feb. 1281
Wokco			CDB 130	VI/1	n.	11 Feb. 1281
Wernherus	<i>Magister</i>		CDB 130	VI/1	n.	11 Feb. 1281

From the analysis of the witness list schematized above it is possible to infer some relevant assumptions. First, Kunhuta's court has the all basic areas of the court administration organized according to a hierarchical structure from its early appearance. The following household's members have been mentioned: the *camerarius* and *subcamerarius*, the *marsalcus* and *sub-marsalcus*, the *summus iudex* and *iudex*, the *zudarius*, the *purgravius*, the *pincerna* and the *subpincerna*, the *dapifer* and the *subdapifer*, the *confessor*. Not surprisingly, the *praefectus curiae* (Hofmeister) has not been mentioned since he will appear at the very end of the Přemyslid epoch.⁹⁵ The *burgravius Pragensis* is replaced by the burgrave officials of Hradec nad Moravicí (*Kuno*, *Zavissius*) when the queen moves to Opava (1279-1281). The new settle of Kunhuta in Moravia is made evident also by the witnesses list, which includes the office of the judge (*Rudgerus*) from Glubczyce. Further information concerning the members of the queen's court are provided by Otakar's documents. One in particular should be taken in consideration. It relates the confirmation of the attribution of the patronate of the monastery Vallis Sancte Marie near Brod with its related properties to Kunhuta. This document refers to several queen's courtiers, namely Otto, the *magister coquine* (master cook) and the *alumpne* (maids), Elisabeth and Welena.⁹⁶ The subscriptions *testes* and the *formulae* relating the document datary (*datum per manum*) record the basic organizational structure of the chancery (notary, protonotary, chancellor). They notificcate the presence of notaries (*magistri*) who are also chaplains:⁹⁷ *Wernherius*,⁹⁸ *Godefridus* and *Petrus*. Godefridus is Kunhuta's chancery protonotary. The queen's *magister Petrus* is also Prevost of the chapter of Vyšehrad and royal chancellor.

⁹⁵ Apparently, the first attested reference to this office dates back to 1283 and connected to the person of Purkart z Janovic (Dvořáčková-Malá, Zelenka, *Curia ducis, curia regis*, 102).

⁹⁶ RBM II n. 634, 248.

⁹⁷ In the thirteenth century, the chaplain is often also notary at the Přemyslid court. Sometimes, chaplains are physicians as well, as in the case of Henricus, Václav's court member (1286); see Dvořáčková-Malá, Zelenka, *Curia ducis, curia regis*, 106.

⁹⁸ He is also author of a collection of *formulae* based on real documents and some letters are by Queen Kunhuta; see Dušan Třeštík, "Formularze, czeskie XIII wieku. Rękopisy i filiacje," [Czech Formulary of the thirteenth century. Manuscripts and filiation] *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 7 (1962): 43. See also chapter III, 90-92.

Furthermore, from the editors of the *codex diplomaticus Bohemiae* we learn that Přisnobar and *Henricus* are the *dictatores* of two queenly documents: the first is a chaplain and *notarius generalis Bohemiae* (1254-1257),⁹⁹ the second protonotary of Otakar's chancery.¹⁰⁰ Also friars are part of Kunhuta's court. One of them, who is named Zacharias, is a Dominican recorded as her confessor. The office of the confessor assumed in 1286 by Martin, a predicant brother at the court of Václav II leads one to postulate that a privileged relationship between Přemyslid court and the Dominican order took place in the second half of the thirteenth century.¹⁰¹

The witnesses subscriptions show also a variability in the Latin nomenclature. This non homogeneous usage of terminology is a problematic issue which relates in general the Přemyslid household (10th - 14th cent.), despite the existence of scribal schools at Vyšehrad and St. Vitus. In Kunhuta's subscription charters, the names are not regularly complemented by the title of the rank held.¹⁰² Besides, it is not always clear if they are listed according to hierarchical patterns. Usually the order is the following: the chamberlain, the butler, the steward and the marshal.¹⁰³ More complicated is the case in which there is a co-presence of the chamberlain, the burgrave and the judge. In a document the chamberlain is mentioned first, the burgrave in the second position, the judge in the third post (CDB V/1 n. 344); in another charter the burgrave and the chamberlain switch their spot (CDB VI/1 n. 77). This perhaps because in the first case the chamberlain is ranked as *summus camerarius*, in the second one as *camerarius*. Anyway, this issue remains problematic because the high chamberlain is generally labelled only as *camerarius* in Přemyslid charters and so the apparent different classification does not automatically indicate a different rank.¹⁰⁴

In general the subscription list varies. Only some noteworthy *testes* are repeated, such as the chamberlain Mystidruh, the butler Domazlaus or the *magister* Wernher who is both, the datary of a document (1262) and witness in another (1281).¹⁰⁵ The list changes because Kunhuta's court members change. Anyway, the variation is associated with a base of continuity trend. Some officials are taken from the same circle of people and this especially

⁹⁹ Přisnobar is P. Otakar II's notary, *scholasticus* and canonic of the Vyšehrad chapter. See CDB V/1 n. 451, 512.

¹⁰⁰ CDB VI/1, n. 10, 56. He is *protonotarius regni et plebani in Gors* (since around 1271) and from some scholars identified with *Henricus de Isernia*. More on this issue in chapter II, 47-48.

¹⁰¹ In this respect, it should be mentioned *Zacharias*, Dominican friar in Prague. His is a witness in a document issued in 1245 by another Queen Kunhuta, Otakar II's mother (RBM n. 1134, 535).

¹⁰² He is probably the same Wocco de Czarwarz mentioned in 1279.

¹⁰³ Yet it is not a general rule; for instance in one charter, the marshal comes after the chamberlain, the butler, the steward, the burgrave of Prague and the high judge (CDB V/1 n. 344).

¹⁰⁴ In the first half of the thirteenth century the chief-chamberlain is named *summus camerarius* or *camerarius* or *camerarius regni* or *camerarius aulae regiae*. During the reign of Přemysl Otakar II the terminology concerning this office is featured by further variations. The vice-chamberlain is indiscriminately called *subcamerarius* and *camerarius*. See Dvořáčková-Malá, Zelenka, *Curia ducis, curia regis*, 95-96.

¹⁰⁵ It is interesting to note that the notary Wernher, who is recorded in documents that date back to the beginning of Kunhuta's court (1262) and its last period (1281), probably belonged to the group of officials especially close to the queen.

evident when relations of consanguinity have been mentioned, like in the case of the *zudarius Benesius* (1269), offspring of Milota's brother (*filius fratris sui*). He is Benesius junior, son of Beneš ze Cvilína, Milota's brother and it could not be otherwise, since his father mentioned in king's letters as *camerarius* (1260) and also *burgravius Znoymensis*¹⁰⁶ apparently died around 1265 after been arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Veverčí with another nobleman Ota z Maissova. In the chronicle of Dalimil it is said that the king Beneš "upálil v temné věži" (burnt to death in the dark tower).¹⁰⁷ The incorporation of Milota z Dědic and *Benesius* in the court of Kunhuta confirms the rejection by Vaníček of the thesis that imputes the arrest of both, Beneš and Milota, to their alleged betrayal of the King.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, it shows that the interaction between the king's and queen's courts took place through a sharing of officials or courtiers such as Mystidruh z Chlumu, Kunhuta's chamberlain (1265-1269) and *burgravius Pragensis* (1277-1278); Čěč (*Czech*) *iudex summus* both in a queen's document (1262) and in the king's charters (1255-1263); Zdislav (*Sdzlaus*), who was Kunhuta's (1262) and Otakar's (1256-1261) marshal; Domaslav ze Škvorce (*Domazlaus*), Kunhuta's butler (1262-1269), who might be identified with Domaslav, the official promoted to the position of the king's chamberlain in the years 1277-1278.¹⁰⁹ This proves that the study of the king's court cannot be separated by that of her wife, since they have both influence on the shape of the same monarchy.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, it is noteworthy to notice that the queen did not appoint officials exclusively choosing them from the circle of the people surrounding the king. She also included in her court new members and probably sponsored her courtiers in the monarch's household behaving as a powerful agent in the government and administration of her country. The subscription of Kunhuta's charters show also that the queen's court never stopped to be active and also to grow even after the death of the king. According to some chronicles her

¹⁰⁶ In a false letter he is also called *camerarius regni nostri* (1255), afterwards in the years 1256-1257 *camerarius* Dvořáčková-Malá, Zelenka, *Curia ducis, curia regis*, 96).

¹⁰⁷ *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila*, edited by Jiří Daňhelka (Praha: Academia, 1988-1995), 161.

¹⁰⁸ Most likely Beneš's reclusion can be explained with a dispute concerning financial matter connected to both his roles as chamberlain and burgrave. Vaníček states that even if this condemnation to death is somehow a violation of the chivalry code (protection of the lord as reward of service offered by vassals) it cannot be considered an expression of the monarchy despotism. Justice and chivalry remain essential aspects of the Přemyslid court but courtly *milieu* becomes more dependent on the person of the king and his officials. Cf. Vaníček, *Velké Dějiny země Koruny České*, 105.

¹⁰⁹ Another possible case of "shared official" may be connected to the person of *Gregorius* (Řehor or Řehník z Litovic), vice-chamberlain of the queen (1262) and maybe previously king's chaplain (1254) and *custos* of the church in Olomouc.

¹¹⁰ This approach to the study of late medieval or pre-modern monarchy has been adopted by Theresa Earenfight in her study on Maria of Castile, wife of Alfonso V, who had a separate royal court and council and governed Catalonia while Alfonso was conquering the Kingdom of Naples. She had not children and ruled not as a queen in her own rights but as a General of Catalonia during her husband absence. Theresa Earenfight, *The King's other Body: María of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

court progressively expanded¹¹¹ including new courtiers such as her future second husband Závaš of Falkenštejn¹¹² attested as *dispensator curie*.¹¹³ As dowager, Kunhuta should have more rights because not anymore under his husband's tutorship. Upon the death of her consort, her legal status changed from that of the junior partner in marriage relationship to being a woman with her own legal rights. Noble widows were not weak members of medieval Bohemian society and the destiny was joyful for the queens-dowager of the Přemyslid dynasty as suggested by Gabriela V. Šaročková.¹¹⁴ Konstancie Uherská, Přemysl Otakar I's second spouse after Adelheid of Meissen was operative during her husband life and also for the entire decade (1230-1240) she survived him. In 1232, Konstancie founded the Cistercian convent of Porta Coeli at Tišnov¹¹⁵ that, as noticed by Žemlička, it was partly a queen's project of protection of Přemysl, her younger offspring, the Margrave of Moravia.¹¹⁶ In 1233 she sold towns to the monastery in Teplá. In the same year she made a gift of land to the nuns of St. Peter in Olomouc. In 1236 she confirmed a decimal from the property of the Teutonic order to the church in Vrbno. In 1240 she asked the abbess of a monastic house to pay the remaining sum after establishing the legal boundaries of the surrounding area of the city of Komín bought by the queen for the same monastery. Margarete of Babenberg became especially powerful when her husband passed away. She was even able to attract a remarkable international interest. After the death of Heinrich VII in 1242 and the demise of her children, another mourning followed. His brother Friedrich died in 1246. Since he was the last male of the Babenberg dynasty, after Friedrich's decease, Margarete inherited the Duchy of Austria on the bases of the *Privilegium minus*.

¹¹¹ In a chronicle it is said that upon the death of the king, before moving to Moravia, Kunhuta court grew dramatically and because of the confinement in Bezděz, it suffered a (temporarily) setback: *Curia dominae reginae et familia eius, quae ad magnam numerositatem creverat tam in domicellis nobilium quam in domicellabus et aliorum militum servorum officialium* (cf. "Annales de rebus gestis post mortem Przem. Ottakari regis," in *FBR* II, 347).

¹¹² Petrus Zittaviensis, [Otto, abbas], "Chronicon Aulae Regiae," 22: *Hic rege Ottakaro defuncto Chunigundam reginam in Moravia manentem adiit, cui non tam obsequiis prompior quam colloquiis familiarior ceteris militibus esse cepit.*

¹¹³ According to Dvořáčková-Malá and Zelenka the exact meaning of *dispensator* can be understood only taking in consideration the context in which it is used. Palacký linked this office to that of *magister curie nostre*. Anyway, the author of the *Zbraslavská kronika* used the word in three different cases and probably he did not link it to a specific office. Závaš, Kunhuta's husband was *dispensator* in the way in which exercised his influence on the young Václav II, on the court and the reign. See Dvořáčková-Malá, Zelenka, *Curia ducis, curia regis*, 102-103.

¹¹⁴ Gabriela V. Šaročková, *Radostný úděl vdovský: královny-vdovy přemyslovských Čech* [The joyful destiny of the widow: queens-dowager of the Přemyslid Bohemia] (Praha: Dokořán, 2004).

¹¹⁵ It could be that originally she founded this monastery to create a new funerary temple for the Přemyslid dynasty; see Vratislav Vaníček, *Velké Dějiny země Koruny České, 2, 1197-1250* [The great history of the Czech Crown, 2, 1197-1250] (Praha: Paseka, 2000), 388.

¹¹⁶ Václav was successor to the throne; Konstancie's youngest son found a space to exercise his power in Moravia. Tišnov belonged to the Moravian Margrave and through the foundation of the monastery in this town, Konstancie could oversee better her son. See Josef Žemlička, *Počátky Čech královských: 1198-1253: proměna státu a společnosti* [The beginnings of the Bohemian kings: 1198-1253: the transformation of the state and society] (Praha: Lidové Noviny, 2002), 138.

The title acquired of Duchess of Austria and Styria made her a target coveted and disputed by contemporaneous ambitious sovereigns and tied her to the Přemyslid dynasty. Eliška Rejčka, a further Czech queen in the Přemyslid period was widowed twice. First she married the widower Václav II, who died in 1305 and left her a great pension, some cities and the title of Polish and Bohemian queen. Then she became spouse of Rudolf of Habsburg, who died very soon and left her other cities and a good amount of money. Consequently she could count for her entire life on a valuable pension and great revenues from her properties. She was also a patroness in 14th century Moravia. She had an active court in Hradec Králové which became a center of culture and arts and established a *scriptorium* where illuminated manuscripts were produced for the Cistercian nuns convent in Brno she founded.

As queen dowager also Kunhuta apparently acted quite resolutely and showed to be able to take decisions. Furthermore, she could manage the property in her possessions and got a widow pension, which allowed her to maintain her court in Opava (1279-1281). Indeed income is clearly linked to power. As brilliantly explained by Attila Bányai, the queen's monetary situation affects deeply her potential ability to exercise political influence and artistic patronage.¹¹⁷

Though as dowager Kunhuta had more rights than as king's wife, her destiny was not completely happy as the title of the Czech study previously cited would suggest. She still faced difficulties, including struggle for inheritance and their ability to remain unmarried. Very often, widows had some difficulties in managing her property and that held in trust for their children. Kunhuta experienced similar problems when in 1281 she was forced to leave her court in Opava because Mikuláš, the illegitimate son of Otakar II claimed the right of inheritance of the court in Hradec nad Moravicí. Furthermore, between the years 1283 and 1285 she married Závěš of Falkenštejn in Prague, most likely to silence the gossips and criticisms about their relationship and her illegitimate son Jan.

At any rate, the documents analyzed do not question the agency of the queen, who was involved in various administrative and political tasks. As we learn from the charters, Kunhuta had to protect and take care of the monastic houses of the country. The documents refer to donations, grant of privileges bestowed by the queen on the religious orders, especially the Hospitallers, who were the most relevant military religious order to acquire possessions in Bohemia and Moravia from the middle of the twelfth century onwards through donations by noble and royal families. Furthermore, other letters that will be described in the following chapters help to reconstruct a more complete portrayal of Kunhuta driving our attention to her further performed roles or duties accomplished. The queen's power is expressed also by the fraudulent usage of her name and authority to legitimize false claims as showed by two of the documents examined, which have been

¹¹⁷ Attila Bányai, "Medieval Queens and Queenship. A Retrospective on Income and Power," in *Medieval Queens and Queenship: the Present Status of Research in Income and Power, Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 19* edited by Judith Rassin and Marianne Sághy (Budapest: Central European University, 2013), 149-199.

labelled by the editors as of “dubious authenticity.” The production of such fabricated documents conforms perfectly to the medieval standard attitude of forging the past, occasionally deliberately honest, in part dishonest, which boasts countless similar cases that involve queens. There are historical false documents produced against them which mostly originated, as stated by Nancy B. Black, by the “usurpation of royal power or a weak line of succession.”¹¹⁸ In other case, charters falsely ascribed to queens or noblewoman are simply produced to give written substation to false rights over property or inheritance as those deceptively connected to Konstancie Uherská.¹¹⁹ Kunhuta’s two attributed false letters are included in this second category. They confirm her authority and power exercised in the society of the time. Besides, Kunhuta’s influence is made visible also through the collection of letters probably compiled by *magister* Bohuslav. This epistolary work, which is preserved in a manuscript that was owned by the queen’s court, has been analysed in the following two chapters.

¹¹⁸ Nancy B. Black, *Medieval Narratives of Accused Queens*, 71.

¹¹⁹ One apparent false letter grants freedom to the towns possessed by the monastery of St. Stephen of Hradiště in the province of Olomouc and in the province of Břeclav (CDB II, *Acta Spuria*, n. 354, 368-369); in another letter the queen moves the Teutonic men in the city of Hodonín (Goeding) and offers them municipal rights (CDB II, *Acta Spuria*, n. 381, 429-430).

II. A Queenly Letter Collection

Queen Kunhuta is known in modern times especially for a letter collection probably compiled by one of her notaries, magister Bohuslav. This source has been published almost entirely by František Palacký under the title *Formelbuch der Königin Kunigunde* (Formulary of Queen Kunhuta).¹²⁰ Its interpretation was in the past a matter of dispute among scholars. Palacký considered the epistles as documents based on real letters.¹²¹ Jan B. Novák had a different opinion. He defined this source as a compilation of fictive letters (“figované dopisy”).¹²² Despite the divergent point of view that the scholars individually manifest, their studies show a certain similar misinterpretation of the text analyzed (see below). Epistles in the Middle Ages, transmitted individually or in a group should be prudently examined. Besides, letter collections can be considered one of the most complex types of sources available in medieval times. This chapter will first review the past extant scholarship on the subject of the so-called Formulary of Queen Kunhuta. Afterwards, it will address some major problems faced when editing a letter collection. More specifically it will concentrate on the issues which relate to the dating, the selection, the arrangement and the content of the letter collection presumably compiled by master Bohuslav.

¹²⁰ František Palacký, *Über Formelbücher, zunächst in Bezug auf böhmische Geschichte: nebst Beilagen: ein Quellenbeitrag zur Geschichte Böhmens und der Nachbarländer im XIII, XIV und XV Jahrhundert*, vol. II (Prague: Bei Kronberger und Řivnač, 1842-1847), 225-317.

¹²¹ The term “real” is used here to refer to letters, which were sent or intended to be sent.

¹²² Jan Bedřich Novák, “Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty” [Criticism of the collection of model letters of Queen Kunhuta], in *Sborník prací historických k šedesátým narozeninám dvor. rady Prof. dra Jaroslava Golla*, edited by J. Bidlo, G. Friedrich, K. Krofta (Prague: Nákladem Historického Klubu, 1906), 152.

II.a. Palacký vs Novák, from Real to Fictional Letters

The letter collection of magister Bohuslav is part of the work published in 1842 by František Palacký under the title *Formelbuch der Königin Kunigunde*. It is preserved in the manuscript sign. 526 (*olim* Philol. 187) held by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB) and discovered by Josef Georg Meinert in 1823. Meinert published few letters included later by Palacký in his edition, namely nos. 14, 84, 85, 95, 97¹²³ (Ed.¹²⁴ nos. 90, 32, 40, 83, 75).

This epistolary work was neglected for several decades. In the beginning of the 20th century Jan Bedřich Novák, a Czech historian and archivist (head of the *český zemský archiv* in 1916) found a new interest in this source. He analyzed it in a study published in 1906. His article remained the only extant scholarly research on this topic for one century.¹²⁵ Novák criticizes Palacký's work for two major reasons. First, he states that in the so-called *Formelbuch der Königin Kunigunde* are contained two different collections and each of them has a distinct author: one has master Bohuslav (fols. 17r-29r, 57r-60r), the other an "unknown author" (fols. 60r-72r). Furthermore, Novák affirms that Palacký published the two groups of documents erroneously as a whole inducing the reader to adopt towards them the same approach.¹²⁶ According to him they should be approached through two distinct research methods because they are different types of sources: the epistolary work by master Bohuslav is a corpus of *dictamina*, the other a chancery formulary of documents. The first one provides fictive letters inspired by actual events occurred in the years 1266-1271, conversely the second one collects copy or summary of letters mostly issued by the chancery of King Přemysl Otakar II (ca. 1265-1270).¹²⁷

Novák seeks to prove the validity of his thesis through three supporting arguments: 1) some letters textual incongruences; 2) the individuation of identical formulas in certain epistles attributed by Palacký to different senders; 3) four exercises in style which are included in the letter collection.

¹²³ In addition to them n. 21 which belongs to another formulary preserved in the manuscript 526 (fols. 60r-72r) and nos. 111 and 115 contained in another forms collection published by Palacký in the section of his book (Palacký, *Über Formelbücher II*, 318-366) called *Aus den übrigen Formelbüchern* (nos. 111-167).

¹²⁴ Ed. refers to the edition of the letter collection provided in the present study.

¹²⁵ An article by Volková provides above all paleographical remarks about the manuscript which preserves the source (Milena Volková, "Příspěvek k paleografickému rozboru listáře královny Kunhuty," [Contribution to the paleographical analysis of the letter collection of Queen Kunhuta] *Folia diplomatica* 7-8 (1956): 215-226. See also my works: "Queen Kunhuta's Epistles to Her Husband," in *Medieval Letters between Fiction and Document*, edited by Christian Høgel, Elisabetta Bartoli, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy (USML) 33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 265-276; "Il formulario della Regina Kunhuta e la retorica epistolare in Boemia nel XIII secolo," in *Le Dictamen Dans Tous Ses Etats: Perspectives de Recherche sur la Théorie et la Pratique de l'Ars Dictaminis (XIe-XVe siècles)*, edited by Benoît Grévin, Anne Marie Turcan-Verkerk, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 257-283.

¹²⁶ Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 152.

¹²⁷ Apart from Palacký, *Über Formelbücher II*, nos. 87, 88, 94, 98.

As for the first supporting point, he lists several epistles that would have hardly been written by the queen. In one letter¹²⁸ the addresser informs the addressee, the king called O., about the good condition of his kingdom, and states that – what is more (*sed quod amplius est*) – she is fine with their daughters and mother (*sane sumus cum dilectis filiabus nostris et matre nostra karissima*). Novák believes that Kunhuta would have never written this phrase unless we assume that she was completely heartless. Anyway, it is not clear why this letter should be interpreted as an expression of the queen's insensibility. In the second part of the same epistle her words are enough to express her love, that is she is missing him dearly and implores him to return home. Novák believes also that the following phrase could not have been used by the queen: *si invenimus gratiam et amorem in vestris oculis* (if we find the grace and love in your eyes).¹²⁹ The very same phrase, which recalls the book of Numbers 32,5¹³⁰ is found in letters addressed to Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine by religious individuals, Bernard of Clairvaux¹³¹ and Geoffrey prior of the convent of Christ Church in Canterbury.¹³² Bernard commends to the queen the abbot of Beaulieu and requests that a certain Guiscard may be restored to his possessions; Geoffrey asks on behalf of the convent for Eleanor's patronage and protection. A similar phrase is also found in a letter (1203) by Ingeborg of Denmark, Queen of France to the pope Innocent III (see Ed. n. 51).¹³³ In another letter the queen refers to the Bohemian kingdom as "our kingdom" (*regnum nostrum*) despite the fact she is not a queen regnant.¹³⁴ For this reason, Novák defines this letter as an exercise in style. It is noteworthy that another Bohemian queen consort, Kunhuta Štaufská makes the brothers of the hospital of St. Francis, who wear a cross with a star completely free from any charge or toll in all parts of "our kingdom" (*per omnes partes regni nostri*).¹³⁵ Novák includes in the list of the textual incongruences of the letters also the allegedly incoherent way in which the queen is named in relation with her relatives.¹³⁶ Yet, it is known that medieval kinship terminology was not consistently used to indicate a clear

¹²⁸ Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 140. See Ed. n. 87.

¹²⁹ Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 140. See Ed. n. 43.

¹³⁰ Num. 32,5: *Dixerunt, inquam, si invenimus gratiam in oculis tuis, detur terra haec servis tuis in possessionem: ne transire nos facias Jordanem.*

¹³¹ See *Epistolae* <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/1294.html>

¹³² See *Epistolae* <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/147.html>

¹³³ For the usage of a similar sentence in the letter collection linked to Queen Kunhuta see especially: Ed. nos. 46, 51.

¹³⁴ Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 140-141. See Ed. n. 41. Palacký's states that it could be attributed to King P. Otakar II despite the fact it is issued by a female sender (as showed by *mote*).

¹³⁵ CDB IV n. 142, 239-240.

¹³⁶ For instance, she would appear as the daughter of her grandparents, King Béla IV and Queen Maria (King Béla IV is called *pater noster atque vester*), cf. Ed. n. 60, Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 141; or she is called sister (*soror*) of Béla, who is the son (*vester filius*) of the addressee, Béla IV, the queen's uncle, cf. Ed. n. 18, Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 141-142). The Czech scholar also states that in one letter the widow of the Margrave of Brandenburg, Božena, the sister of Kunhuta's husband, is not properly named Kunhuta's *nurus* (daughter in law), cf. Ed. n. 15, Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 141.

genetic connection and disregarded consanguineous relationships.¹³⁷ For instance, as stated by Tamsin Hekala, kinship nomenclature could indicate “pleasure or displeasure with a relative. Thus, it was not unusual if an aunt was unhappy with a nephew to call him distantly cousin.”¹³⁸ Besides it was common to call brother or sister those that shared the same experience or had the same position. It is plenty of royal documents in which monarchs commonly refer to each other as cousin or brother.¹³⁹

Novák’s supposed textual inconsistencies (well founded or not) present a major problem in understanding the letter collection as a distinct complex source. They seem disregard the following considerations. As indicated by Fabio Troncarelli in his study on Abelard and Heloise, potential contradictory information provided by the letters should not be considered assuredly and totally as an expression of forgery (*spie di falsità*): “possono essere la spia di una revisione testuale che modifica ma non distrugge il nucleo di un testo autentico” [they can be the result of a textual revision which changes but does not destroy the content of a authentic text].¹⁴⁰ Similarly to the other medieval epistolaries, the letter collection connected to Queen Kunhuta should be considered as a *work in progress* in which most likely a plurality of individuals are involved (issuer, dictator, compiler, scribe) and the entire source may have been subject to multiple revisions and contributions. Furthermore, the potential unreliability of these epistles for the reconstruction of facts or events does not deprive them of their historical value.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ For instance Nicolaus senior, master of rhetoric and one of the most important representatives of the “Capuano” style is called “avunculus” (maternal uncle) and at the same time “patruus” (paternal uncle) of his nephew, Nicolaus junior (see Nicola da Rocca, *Epistolae*, edited by Fulvio Delle Donne (Firenze: SISMELE - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2003), XIX).

¹³⁸ See Tamsin Hekala, *Who’s a relative? Kinship Terminology in the Middle Ages*, ORB Encyclopedia: Online Essays <http://www.the-orb.net/essays/text03.html>. Further readings on this issue (feudal society): Andrew Warheam, “Later Medieval Kinship,” in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, edited by Margaret Schaus (New York: Routledge, 2006), 442-443; Helle Vogt, *The Function of Kinship in Medieval Nordic Legislation* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985); Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (6th ed. Paris: A. Colin, 1978).

¹³⁹ Other textual incongruences have been listed by Novák: 1) in one letter the female sender blames her mother for her lack of attention and love. The Czech scholar states these words cannot come from the Přemysl court; this letter should be considered a fictive account of gossip denoting rhetorical embellishment (Novák, “Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty,” 140. See Ed. n. 76); 2) according to Novák two letters relating the queen’s announcement of her newborn daughter without a birth defect should be critically evaluated, (Novák, “Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty,” 140. See Ed. nos. 63, 64); 3) the scholar refers also to two letters attributed by Palacký to the bishop of Prague Tobiáš. One of them, which concerns the issue of the indulgences, would apparently adopt formulas usually not used by the bishop in such kind of letters. The theme (medical matters) and the style of other epistles would be different from those found in other bishop’s preserved documents (Novák, “Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty,” 142-143; Ed. nos. 14-15).

¹⁴⁰ Fabio Troncarelli, “Abelardo, Eloisa e la paleografia integrale,” *Litterae Caelestes* 2/1 (2007): 64.

¹⁴¹ As stated by Florian Hartmann, it is not so relevant to prove the authenticity of model letters from a diplomatic point of view but rather it is important to study them in order to learn about the mentality and system of values of the time. See especially the fourth part of Hartmann’s study on the *Ars dictaminis* and the Italian municipal context (11th- 13th centuries). It is focused on two historical events (the return of Friedrich I, called Barbarossa, in Italy in 1258-1269 and the emergence of the *studium* in Bologna). Cf. Florian Hartmann,

The second reason used by Novák to explain his interpretation of Queen Kunhuta's letters as fictive letters relates the usage of the same formulas of *gaudium* by different addressers (Kunhuta, her mother Anna, her sister in law Božena of Brandenburg, Elisabeth the Duchess of Bavaria).¹⁴² Yet, the style is not a reliable indicator of authorship.¹⁴³ In fact, all letters were somehow "fabricated" since they were not written by their supposed authors but generally composed by professional secretaries that used the rhetoric learned at schools and adapted it to the different needs of the chanceries.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, missives once sent may become an "object of property" of the addressee that may change them at her or his will.¹⁴⁵ Besides, the *gaudium* formulas studied by Novák cannot be considered an expression of a specific stylistic identity since they are based on the rhetoric of joy commonly used in medieval letters and in the contemporary *summae* or *artes dictandi* (e.g. Thomas de Capua's *summa*).¹⁴⁶

Novák's third reason, which supports his peculiar approach to the study of the so-called Formulary of Queen Kunhuta, is linked to four exercises in style contained in the letter collection and copied in fol. 27rv. These letters are defined by Palacký as forms without any historical content ("Alle diese vier Formeln sind blosser Phrasen – Übungen ohne historischen Inhalt") and most likely for this reason the Czech editor did not publish them.

Ars dictaminis: Briefsteller und verbale Kommunikation in den italienischen Stadtkommunen des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts (Ostfildern: J. Thorbecke Verl, 2013), 271-306.

¹⁴² Those indicated in Palacký's edition. See Palacký, *Über Formelbücher II*, nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 34, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 48, 49, 51, 52, 57, 58; Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 132-139.

¹⁴³ Novák's method of interpretation of the letters partly recalls that adopted by Wattenbach in his edition of letters published in the *Iter Austriacum* (1853) that was critically analysed by Francesco Stella. Wattenbach distinguishes between real and fictional letters (*wirkliche und fingierte Briefe*) by using a method defined by Stella ("del sospetto automatico"). He collects a series of formulas which were used in papal and imperial letters. According to him, these formulary expressions, which were commonly used in medieval chanceries, would prove that all the letters have been written by the same hand. Stella also refers to the critical edition prepared by Heinrich Appelt (*Urkunden Friedrichs I*) and suggests that editors of epistolary works should follow Appelt's editorial method. The Austrian editor used the method of the stylistic analysis of the documents and supported his choices by using other sources (See Francesco Stella, "Recuperare una fonte storica: i modelli di lettera," in *Le Dictamen Dans Tous Ses Etats: Perspectives de Recherche sur la Théorie et la Pratique de l'Arts Dictaminis (XIe-XVe siècles)*, 163-164, 169, 177).

¹⁴⁴ See Benoît Grévin, "Les mystères rhétoriques de l'État médiéval. L'écriture du pouvoir en Europe occidentale (XIIIe-XVe siècle)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 63, 2 (2008): 271-300. Besides, it should be taken into consideration the complex notion of medieval author, see Fulvio Delle Donne, "Auctor e auctoritas nelle raccolte epistolari del XIII secolo," in *Auctor et Auctoritas in Latinis Medii Aevi Litteris. Author and Authorship in Medieval Latin Literature*, proceedings of the VIth Congress of the International Medieval Latin Committee (Benevento-Naples, November 9-13, 2010), edited by Edoardo D'Angelo and Jan Ziolkowski (Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014), 291-301.

¹⁴⁵ Joseph de Ghellinck, *Patristique et Moyen âge: Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale*, vol. 2 (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1946), 206. Already quoted by Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), 16.

¹⁴⁶ Thomas de Capua, Liber II, De ratiocinationibus, *gaudiis*, mutuis benevolentibus et certificationibus inter amicos absentes et significationibus diversorum negotiorum (see Matthias Thumser, Jakob Frohmann eds., *Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua Aus den nachgelassenen Unterlagen von Emmy Heller und Hans Martin Schaller* (München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica), 53-94.

It can be found online http://www.mgh.de/fileadmin/Downloads/pdf/Thomas_von_Capua.pdf

According to Novák these four stylistic exercises¹⁴⁷ are very relevant because they would prove the didactic purpose of the letter collection. They also would show that Bohuslav was not simply a collector (sběratel) but the author of all the letters (skladatel).¹⁴⁸ Given these reasons, Novák states that the epistles copied in folia 17r-29r and 57r-60r should be considered fictive texts written by a single author named Bohuslav.

As we have seen, each of Novák's supporting points rises questions and doubts around two main issues (a. authorship; b. reality vs. fictionality). His methodology implies a modern canon of interpretation and not necessarily medieval judgments. Consequently, the scholar's research approach needs to be questioned as explained in the following section.

II.b. Methodological Problems in the Past Scholarship Tendencies and the Proposal of a New Approach

The past research of letter collections, as noticed by Ysebaert, was used to divide these sources rigidly into real and fictional. In the nineteenth century, historians of the positivistic period in conformity with the goal of generating an objective knowledge and gathering data or facts were especially attracted by this approach.

Palacký and Novák can be found among the adherents to the empirical method. Their studies take a stance *pro* or *contra* the categories of reality and fictionality. Palacký publishes the *Formelbuch der Königin Kunigunde* in a period in which there is a special focus on national identities. In his work, the collection of magister Bohuslav becomes an auto-biographical document of Queen Kunhuta. The result is that the reconstruction of the queen's social network has been elaborated, her family and court relationships have been rigorously established, the attribution and date of the letters have been provided. Objections to Palacký's work have been raised by Novák. He considers all the letters contained in the collection compiled by Bohuslav fictive and those containing real aspects (or are copies of authenticated documents) have been labeled as follows: 1) "zpolá listiny" (half-documents);¹⁴⁹ 2) added documents.¹⁵⁰ Novák rejects the possibility that this epistolary work could gather different kind of material and supports his argument by using terms that imply a modern frame of reference.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ In addition to them, he mentions all the other letters that have not been published by Palacký.

¹⁴⁸ See Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 143-144.

¹⁴⁹ The letters attribute to Jan of Dražic bishop of Prague in the years 1258-1278 (Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 151).

¹⁵⁰ See Ed. nos. 74, 75, 83. They would not originally belong to the collection of master Bohuslav but to that of the "unknown author" (fols. 60r-72r, see the chapter IV "A dictaminal manuscript at Queen Kunhuta's court"). Cf. Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 152.

¹⁵¹ For the issue concerning the past scholarship about the definition of medieval letter see Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, 12-13.

Novák's proposed approach is today generally adopted or considered the most advanced research result by Czech scholars in the study of the source of our interest; among others Mendl,¹⁵² Třeščík,¹⁵³ Nechutová can be mentioned.¹⁵⁴ Božena Kopiczková asserts that despite their undervaluation letters are essential source for the study of the history of women in medieval Moravia and Bohemia. Two exemplary cases come from the 13th century Bohemia: the four letters of St. Clare and the listář of Queen Kunhuta. The scholar states that the ranking of the second source is quite problematic because it is a formulář (formulary) in which fictional love letters are included.¹⁵⁵

Thought a methodology for using and studying medieval letters and letter collections has not been fully defined yet, the achievements of the most recent research trends show that Palacký's and Novák's approaches should be submitted to a critical evaluation. The studies of the two Czech scholars are precious sources for the history of medieval Bohemia and Moravia but at the same they are representative of an old-fashioned scholarship not adjusted to the new research standards.

¹⁵² Mendl states: "Potud poznatky Palackého, novější bádání učinilo podstatný krok další: J. B. Novák, jenž o výzkum našich formulářů získal si největší zásluhy, ukázal přesvědčivě, že formulář Kunhutin podává listy smyšlené" [So far the findings by Palacký, a new research made a substantial further step: J. B. Novák, who obtained a great merits about the study of our formulary, showed persuasively that the formulary of Kunhuta provides fictitious letters]. Afterwards, the scholar states that Novák showed that the letters contain errors and inaccuracies that are not possible in real letters ("ve skutečných listech nemožné"). The scholar also asserts that the author of these letters does not hide his authorship since in the formulary there are also exercises in style that have several variant expressions of the same theme. See Mendl, *Listy královny Kunhuty králi Přemyslovi*, 40.

¹⁵³ Třeščík states that the formulary of magister Bohuslav, "Formularz mistrza Boguslawa," has been studied accurately by J. B. Novák, who came to the conclusion, "który doszedł do wniosku," that we deal with fictitious letters and documents. The great parts of these letters are written under the name of Queen Kunhuta and inspired by real events connected to her court. According to Třeščík, it is possible that also real documents were used and they were revised and rewritten following dictatorial rules. See Třeščík, "Formularze czeskie XIII wieku. Rękopisy i filiacje," 45.

¹⁵⁴ Jana Nechutová states: "Pod jménem jinak neznámého M. Bohuslava se dochovala sbírka zjevně fiktivních (dříve byly považovány za autentické) a nikdy neodeslaných listů z údajné korespondence královny Kunhuty," [under the name of a certain unknown master Bohuslav has been preserved a collection of evidently fictitious (formerly considered authentic) and never sent letters of the alleged correspondence of Queen Kunhuta]. See Jana Nechutová, *Latinská literatura českého středověku do roku 1400* [The Latin literature of the medieval Bohemia till the year 1400] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 2000), 112-113.

¹⁵⁵ The scholar states that the 15th century is especially relevant because it provides a large amount of preserved epistles like those of the Rožmberk sisters (Perchta and Aněžka); she also suggests to address attention to male correspondents because they bring relevant information about medieval women (e. g. the letters of Vojtěch Raňkův z Ježov (Adalbertus Rankonis de Ericinio) and Jan Hus published by Anna Císařová-Kolářová, *Žena v hnutí husitském* [The woman in the hussite movement] (Praha: Sokolice, 1915). See Božena Kopiczková, *Historické prameny k studiu postavení ženy v české a moravské středověké společnosti: (interdisciplinární pojetí studia)* [Historical sources for the study of the women condition in the medieval Bohemian and Moravian society: (an interdisciplinary approach to the study)] (Praha: Historický ústav, 1992), 16-17. The letters of the Rožmberk sisters, which are deposited in the Státní oblastní Archív in Třeboň, have been translated from Czech and German in English by Jonh M. Klassen, Eva Doležalová and Lynn Szabo (see John M. Klassen, Eva Doležalová, Lynn Szabo, *The Letters of the Rožmberk Sisters: Noblewomen in Fifteenth-Century Bohemia: translated from Czech and German with Introduction, Notes and Interpretive Essay* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001).

Their first evident methodological gap relates to the lack of the study of the letter collection as a distinguished and complex source. As proved in part by Constable, then by Köhn, more recently by Psík, Ysebaert and Stella it is necessary to question the old system of classification and adopt a new methodology to study letter collections. First Constable insists on the problem concerning the definition of the epistolary genre,¹⁵⁶ on the relevance of the critical investigation of medieval letters (composition, preservation, incorporation in the collection) and on the historical value of all typologies of epistolary compilations.¹⁵⁷ Köhn distinguishes four kind of letter collections: a) Briefregister;¹⁵⁸ b) Briefbuch;¹⁵⁹ c) Briefsammlung;¹⁶⁰ d) Briefsteller.¹⁶¹ The quadripartite distinction of the medieval letter collection proposed by Köhn is borrowed by Richard Psík's in his introduction to the edition of the *Invectiva* by Henricus de Isernia.¹⁶² The scholar, who is preparing the IX and X volumes of the *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, has recently highlighted the problems that the editor of medieval form collections has to deal with.¹⁶³ In one of his recent articles, he rises three main questions: 1) should be included in the *codex diplomaticus* also the collections of literary *dictamina*?; 2) should any collection be edited without making distinction among the types of material that the collection contains? Then two related questions follow: is it possible to adopt the standard notion of the archetype when editing form collections? Which kind of role does the filiation of the manuscripts play

¹⁵⁶ Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, 11-25.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 43-65.

¹⁵⁸ A collection composed by a continuous (can be also irregular) registering activity in the archive of the sender, who is an individual that cannot be identified with the author; both copies of the Konzept (finished drafts) or original documents may be included within this source. See Rolf Köhn, "Zur Quellenkritik kopiał überlieferter Korrespondenz im lateinischen Mittelalter, zumal in Briefsammlungen," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 101 (1993): 297.

¹⁵⁹ It is connected to the Briefregister but it has some relevant differences: it contains especially the correspondence received or other letters, e. g. the correspondence from abroad; it does not register chronologically the documents and includes heterogeneous material (i. e. the exchange between sender-receiver, or epistles on a specific topic). The scholar states that the Reinhardsbrunner Briefsammlung contained in the Codex Uldarici is more a Briefbuch than a Briefsteller (Köhn, "Zur Quellenkritik kopiał überlieferter Korrespondenz im lateinischen Mittelalter, zumal in Briefsammlungen," 299-300).

¹⁶⁰ It is a gather of letters which differs from the Briefregister and the Briefbuch because of its emphasis on literary-autobiographical more than archival-documentary aspects; it is connected to a single author even when he/she composes letters for other senders (cf. Köhn, "Zur Quellenkritik kopiał überlieferter Korrespondenz im lateinischen Mittelalter, zumal in Briefsammlungen," 301-302).

¹⁶¹ It is a collection of model letters (Briefmuster) which are the practical examples of the theoretical part of the *Ars dictandi*, the manual of letter writing. According to Köhn it generally does not contain copy of Konzept or original letters, but mostly fictive epistles. Cf. Köhn, "Zur Quellenkritik kopiał überlieferter Korrespondenz im lateinischen Mittelalter, zumal in Briefsammlungen," 305.

¹⁶² Richard Psík, *Invectiva prosotetrasticha in Ulricum Polonum: součást sbírky listů a diktamin Mistra Jindřicha z Isernie* (Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, Filozofická fakulta, 2008), 9-10.

¹⁶³ See Richard Psík, "Formulářové sbírky a jejich zpřístupnění. Stav a perspektivy," In *Almanach medievisty-editora* [The medievalist editor's almanac] edited by Pavel Krafl (Praha: Historický ústav, 2011), 84-85.

in the critical edition of form collections?; 3) How should the issue of emendation be considered in relation to the collection of form letters?¹⁶⁴

In most recent time, Walter Ysebaert provides a survey of the research done in the past on medieval letters and letter collections and drives the attention of scholars to the methodological problems related to these subjects. He suggests that it is not possible to define the medieval letter “accurately” and proposes a new approach to the study of letter collections. Furthermore, he states that the standard and generally accepted triple system of classification of medieval letter collection (1. register – 2. biographical composed out of literary reasons – 3. exemplary or didactic) should be questioned because it does not consider the “variation in the material” and the “organic and multidimensional character” of this complex source.¹⁶⁵ In this respect, Ysebaert states that it has been demonstrated that the biographical epistolary type does not contain only real letters and the didactic collections cannot be considered as simple compilations of fictional epistles (e.g. *Transmundus*; the *Modi dictaminum* of master Guido). Furthermore, same provenience can be hardly traced for the material incorporated in the collections (e.g. sender-recipient archives, note-book of a notary, loose folia-bifolia). The material may have been preserved in different ways before having been included in the letter collection. Besides it may also be collected in different times (stages of the development of the letter collection) and for several purposes.¹⁶⁶

More recently, Francesco Stella has stressed the necessity to recover the historical value of the model letters.¹⁶⁷ He provides a number of criteria that should be taken in account when examining a medieval letter collection. It is emblematic that “la corrispondenza con diplomi conservati in originale” (the concordance [between letters] and preserved original diplomas)¹⁶⁸ is the last criterium given in the aforementioned list. The editor of epistolary works has to verify if an authenticated version of the document examined is preserved. Yet, the historical value of letters is not undermined by the lack of their authenticated versions. According to Stella, every letter of all extant collections may bring precious information about the social and cultural context in which it was written. The scholar also suggests to

¹⁶⁴ Some of Psík’s answers to the above questions follow: 1) the collection should be considered as a whole; consequently all its material should be edited and not only selected documents published (e. g. Palacký and Tadra). In the case of large form collections, some parts can be published separately (for instance the *Invectiva* of Henricus de Isernia). The same is true for a second edition of the same work (for instance, the love letters by Queen Kunhuta prepared by Mendl, which differs from Palacký’s edition, because they have been analyzed from a literary point of view). Furthermore, if in the collection have been incorporated documents whose original version has been preserved, the variants should be considered as independent author’s variant readings. Cf. Psík, “Formulářové sbírky a jejich zpřístupnění. Stav a perspektivy,” in *Almanach medievisty-editora*, 84.

¹⁶⁵ Walter Ysebaert, “Medieval Letters and Letter Collections as Historical Sources: Methodological Problems and Reflections and Research Perspectives (6th-14th centuries),” *Studi Medievali* 50 (2009): 59.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 57-73.

¹⁶⁷ Francesco Stella, “Recuperare una fonte storica: I modelli di lettera,” in *Le dictamen dans tous ses états: perspectives de recherche sur la théorie et la pratique de l’ars dictaminis (XIe-XVe siècles)*, 161-178.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 177.

refer to the material analysed by adopting a medieval terminology (*dictata, dictamina, epistole*) or opting for a legal nomenclature.

The letter collection compiled allegedly by magister Bohuslav should be studied taking in consideration all the above outlined issues, i.e. its complex nature (see below) and historical value (from the point of view of the rhetoric tradition and social mentality in thirteenth century Bohemia). Letter collections used for didactic purpose were copied especially for their rhetoric relevance. The source of our interest probably survived for the same reason. For the modern historian it is also a meaningful text for the study of the *dictamen* developed under a female authority and a significant source for the research of the Přemyslid court, Queen Kunhuta's private-public image and in general the complex aspects of medieval queenship.

II.c. On the Traces of *Magister Bohuslav*

Finding biographical data on Bohuslav is not an easy task. This is not surprising. Medieval *magistri*'s lives are commonly based on scarcity and ambiguity of information.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, they face the problem of homonymy. The list of medieval *dictatores* that deal with the issue of personalities that share the same name is quite long. The most recent cases studied include Nicolaus de Rocca senior, who was confused in the past with his nephew;¹⁷⁰ we can also refer to *magister* Guido (12th cent.) confused with a master much more famous than him, namely Guido Fabia (Guido Bononiensis);¹⁷¹ Henricus de Isernia may also be mentioned, since scholars cannot decide whether such a figure should be identified with a person named Henricus, who was *protonotarius regni et plebanus* in Gors (since around 1271).¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Elisabetta Bartoli reconstructs and collects brilliantly the biographical information concerning *magister* Guido who was pupil of Bernard (Bernardus) and worked as master between 1145 and 1160 (the first years of '60). She distinguishes direct sources (especially the *salutationes* and documentary material) and indirect sources (historical figures and *localia* references quoted in Guido's works). She contrasts the canonical thesis of scholars that connect the didactic activity of Guido exclusively to the *Studium* of Bologna. Master Guido was assuredly linked to the famous Bolognese University, but also he worked in Tuscany, specifically in the area of Arezzo. See *Maestro Guido. Trattati e raccolte epistolari*, edited by Elisabetta Bartoli (Firenze: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014), 16-38.

¹⁷⁰ For a detailed and rich biography of the two *dictatores* and the issue of the two Nicolas, see Nicola da Rocca, *Epistolae*, edited by Delle Donne, XI-XIII.

¹⁷¹ He was a bolognese rethoric *magister* and *capellanus* of St. Michael church. See *Maestro Guido. Trattati e raccolte epistolari*, edited by Bartoli, 19-22.

¹⁷² His biography opened an intense debate in the past years. Scholars were divided into two factions: those that supported the thesis of one Henricus (Palacký, Emler, Petrov, Třeštík), those that on the contrary believed in the existence of two distinguished personalities, Henricus de Isernia and Henricus Italicus (Shaller, Novák, Voigt, Jireček). A summary of this debate is provided by Jan Dienstbier in his diploma thesis (*Osobnost Jindřicha z Isernie z pohledu jeho epistolárních formulářů* [Henricus de Isernia from the view of his epistolar dictamina] (Unpublished Master Thesis: Charles University, 2010).

Despite this ambiguity, a certain degree of information about the masters previously mentioned was preserved. For instance, several Henricus de Isernia's personal letters came down to us.¹⁷³ Yet, when one refers to *magister* Bohuslav there are only assumptions. The only certainty is that he is indicated as the author of the letter collection called "Formulary of Queen Kunhuta" by Palacký. At the end of this epistolary work (fol. 60r) we read: *Explicit opus magistri et domini Boguslay*.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, it is well known that in the Middle Ages the notion of authorship involves a plurality of individuals and roles (*auctor*, *scriptor*, *compiler* and *commentator*). Medieval writings are open textual entities which are the product of a collaborative work.¹⁷⁵ Besides, the medieval authorial instability becomes particularly evident in epistolographic texts. The epistolaries, which are "collections mouvantes" as they have been defined by Grévin,¹⁷⁶ are the result of continuous and disparate types of contaminations mainly done for a double purpose, professional (in chanceries) and/or didactic (in rhetoric schools).¹⁷⁷ Thus, to come back to the original

¹⁷³ The personal letters before Henricus's arrival in Prague (around 1271) were published by Hampe (Karl Hampe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der letzten Staufer: Ungedruckte Briefe aus der Sammlung des Magisters Heinrich von Isernia* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1910). For the other partially edited Henricus's works see: Thomas Dolliner, *Codex epistolaris Primislai Ottocari II. Bohemiae regis* (Viennae: Academia Thersiana, 1883); Josef Emler, *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae, II, 1253-1310* (Pragae: Haase, 1882); Aleksej Petrov, *Henrici Italici Libri formarum e tabulario Otacari II Bohemorum regis* (St. Petersburg: Tip. I.N. Skorokhodova, 1907); *Invitantur scolares...Formulářové listy Jindřicha z Isernie - pozvání pražským žákům ke studiu na vyšehradské škole* [Invitantur scolares...model letters of Henricus de Isernia – invitation addressed to Prague students to study at Vyšehrad school] - edici a překlady pořídili studenti doktorského cyklu klasické filologie – latinské medievistiky (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, Filozofická fakulta, 2000); Josef Třiška, "Prague Rhetoric and the Epistolare dictamen (1278) of Henricus de Isernia," *Rhetorica* 3 (1985): 184-200; Brigitte Shaller ed., "Der Traktat des Heinrich von Isernia De coloribus rethoricis" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 49 (1993): 113-153; Psík, *Invectiva prosotetrasticha in Ulricum Polonum*. Richard Psík is preparing the complete critical edition of Henricus de Isernia's epistolary work.

¹⁷⁴ In the past it was assumed that the word *opus* may suggest that all the letters and epistolary works copied till the explicit (fol. 60r) may have been collected by master Bohuslav. Nevertheless, the study of the transmission of such texts indicates that most likely they were included in the antigraph and simply copied by the scribe (more on this issue in the chapter IV, 94-102).

¹⁷⁵ As declared by Albert Russel Ascoli, the notion of *auctor*, a person who possessed *auctoritas*, was in tension with a "proto-modern usage of the word to refer to any person who writes a book." This emerges from St. Bonaventura commentary on Petrus Lombardus's *Sententia* (PL, vol. 192, col. 519- 950), which distinguishes four roles in making a book (*auctor*, *scriptor*, *compiler*, *commentator*). See Albert Russell Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 6. For the notion of the "shared authorship" in a female context see "Introduction: Reading, Writing and Relationship in Dialogues," in *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*, edited by Linda Olson, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), xi; Joan M. Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex: Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 216.

¹⁷⁶ Benoît Grévin, *Rhétorique du pouvoir médiéval: les lettres de Pierre de la Vigne et la formation du langage politique européen, XIIIe- XVe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2008), 17-18.

¹⁷⁷ In this respect, it is noteworthy to quote Edoardo d'Angelo's description of medieval epistolary nature: "essi [gli epistolari] nel Medioevo vivono moltre altre "vite:" in particolare le raccolte subiscono, se così vogliamo dire, quelle che possiamo chiamare la "deviazione didattica" (diventano cioè manuali d'uso per l'insegnamento dell'ars dictandi), e la "deviazione professionale" (vengono cioè usati nelle cancellerie come modelli da seguire per la stesura dei documenti." (See Edoardo d'Angelo, "Le sillogi epistolari: il caso di Pietro

question: what is the authorial role performed by master Bohuslav? It should most likely be excluded that he was simple scribe: if he had been only a copyist the scribe's hand should have changed after the *explicit* (fol. 60r), but it remains the same till folio 80. It could be that Bohuslav was the *compiler* of the letter collection¹⁷⁸ and also the dictator, who partly redacted the letters for other senders.¹⁷⁹

On the other hand, it should be noticed that the manuscript which contains the letter collection presumably compiled by master Bohuslav preserves also a commentary on Gaufridus de Vino Salvo's *Poetria Nova* accompanied by the name of its alleged author. At the end of this interpretation we read: *Explicit Nova Poetria Uldarici*. Yet the manuscript tradition proves that Ulricus was probably not the author, but who copied the commentary.¹⁸⁰ This erroneous speculation about Ulricus's authorship of the commentary urges to be very careful about attributing the authorship of the letter collection linked to Queen Kunhuta.

At any rate, the lack of sources of the period explicitly mentioning an official named Bohuslav at the service of the Bohemian queen remains one of the major problems in this issue. The witnesses list of documents issued by Přemyslid royal chanceries (13th century) includes the name of Bohuslav. Conversely, people with the sole name of Bohuslav do not appear in Queen Kunhuta's charters; only one document with a pointed B. may be connected to him.¹⁸¹ In addition, a letter included in Bohuslav's letter collection (Ed. n. 40)

di Blois," in *Dall'«ars dictaminis» al Preumanesimo?. Per un profilo letterario del secolo XIII*, edited by Fulvio Delle Donne and Francesco Santi (Firenze: SISMELE edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013), 25-26.

¹⁷⁸ This letter collection is very different by that of Petrus de Blois, who was auctor and compiler and published several redactions of his collection. Blois's epistolary does not contain many administrative letters and the majority of them is transmitted under his name. The epistolary linked to Queen Kunhuta is also different from that of Petrus de Vineia. The *summa* of the southern Italian dictator has been transmitted in four redactions made probably when Petrus was already dead (1249). According to Fulvio Delle Donne it could be that the letter collection was originally prepared at the pope's court by Iordanus de Terracina, who maybe got this collection by Nicolaus de Rocca (senior or junior). Iordanus's collecting work was perhaps abruptly interrupted by his death in 1269. It is clear that the person, who tried to collect the letters of Petrus de Vineia was able to finish his work as showed by the preservation of four different redactions of the same epistolary. It could be that in part the epistolary was prepared also in an university context through the usage of the method of the *pecia* (cf. Fulvio Delle Donne, "Autori, trasmissioni, redazioni, ricezione. I problemi editoriali delle raccolte di Dictamina di epoca sveva e dell'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna," *Arnos* 2 (2009): 11-12).

¹⁷⁹ Letters written by someone for other senders have been defined by Francesco Stella as examples of medieval "eterografia" (cf. Francesco Stella, "Chi scrive le mie lettere? La Funzione-autore e l'eterografia nei modelli epistolari latini del XII secolo," in *Auctor et Auctoritas in Latinis Medii Aevi Litteris*, 1074 and 1089. This is considered the most relevant feature of the epistolary genre by Edoardo D'Angelo (cf. *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, edited by Edoardo D'Angelo, Fulvio Delle Donne et alii (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2014), 21.

¹⁸⁰ The issue of the identification of this Ulricus and that of Ulricus Polonus, who is the addressee of one of the tree *invective* written by Henricus de Isernia has been covered by Richard Psík (cf. Psík, *Invectiva prosotetrasticha in Ulricum Polonum: součást sbírky listů a diktamin mistra Jindřicha z Isernie*, 56; Richard Psík "Henricus de Isernia and his *Invectiva prosotetrasticha in Ulricum Polonum*" *Arnos* 4 (2013-2014): 98-99).

¹⁸¹ See below.

by an unnamed notary at the service of the queen may be considered a copy of one of his personal letters (see below).

The following results emerge from the perusal of the documents emanated by the chancery of King P. Otakar II. Bohuslav is mainly mentioned as a member of noble families among the witnesses placed at the end of the charters: *Bohuzlaus filius Jankonis*;¹⁸² *Borso filius Bohuzlai*;¹⁸³ *Bohuslaus filius Cheronis*;¹⁸⁴ *Bohuslaus filius Ratmiri*;¹⁸⁵ *Ratmirus et frater suo Bohuzlaus*;¹⁸⁶ *Bohuslaus de Boyman*;¹⁸⁷ *Bohuslaus frater Ratmiri*.¹⁸⁸ Apparently a certain Bohuslav worked also as *dapifer* at the court of King P. Otakar II (*Bohuzlaus dapifer cum fratre suo Predborio*)¹⁸⁹ and another Bohuslav was *burgarvius de Primberc* (Frimberg)¹⁹⁰ in 1272.

A person named Bohuslav offered his service as high chamberlain of the Kingdom of Bohemia at the court of another queen named Kunhuta (1200? – 13 September 1248), who was mother of King P. Otakar II. One document eminently draws attention to him, since other witnesses are listed in association with Bohuslav: *Bohuzlaus camerarius noster, Borso filius eius, Mladata filius sororis Bohuzlai. Johannes gener Bohuzlai [...]*. The very same person appears also in other documents issued by Vacláv I: in a charter from 1232 (*Bohuzlaus summus camerarius et filius eius Borso* or *Bohuzlaus cum filio suo Borse*),¹⁹¹ in another dated 1239 (*Bohuzlaus camerarius regis, Borso filius eius*) and a further one (*dominus Bohuzlaus summus camerarius*) which is about the confirmation of possession of property owned by the monastery of Kladruby.¹⁹² He is also mentioned in a document (1241) in which Václav I donates the twon of Seifersdorf to the monastery of Vallis St. Mariae.¹⁹³ A reference to a certain *Boguslaus filius Radim* is contained in documents issued by the Kings Otakar I and Vacláv I;¹⁹⁴ *Bohuslaus magister venatorum* is also found among the witnesses in a charter (1233) by Přemysl (1227-1239), Margrave of Moravia;¹⁹⁵ chaplains named *Bohuzlaus, Dobremilus* and *Sdizlaus* appear in a document issued by Vacláv I (1235).¹⁹⁶

¹⁸² A charter from (1253), which confirms to the monastery of Chotišov the ownership of two villages Vjezdetz (Újezdec?) and Zboch (Zbůch). See RBM II n. 8, 5.

¹⁸³ A document (1254) concerning the convent of Osek. See RBM II n. 36, 16.

¹⁸⁴ RBM II n. 48, 21.

¹⁸⁵ The Švamberg family. Cf. RBM II n. 106, 43.

¹⁸⁶ The Švamberg family. Cf. RBM II n. 164, 65.

¹⁸⁷ RBM II, n. 167, 66.

¹⁸⁸ The Švamberg family. Date: ca. 1263. Cf. RBM II n. 426, 164.

¹⁸⁹ A charter issued in Opava (1256); RBM II n. 106, 43.

¹⁹⁰ The Švamberg family. Cf. RBM II n. 787, 317.

¹⁹¹ RBM I n. 784, 369; n. 785, 369.

¹⁹² RBM I n. 965, 447; RBM I n. 978, 455.

¹⁹³ RBM I n. 1054, 498.

¹⁹⁴ RBM I n. 763, 357; n. 764, 358; n. 784, 369.

¹⁹⁵ RBM I n. 817, 384.

¹⁹⁶ RBM I n. 874, 413.

All the personalities mentioned so far cannot be identified with the *magister* Bohuslav we look for. Their profile and the time in which they lived do not correspond to those suggested by the information contained in the letter collection presumably compiled by him.

On the contrary, a chaplain named B. to whom Queen Kunhuta donated a church dedicated to Virgin Mary would seem a better match with his figure.¹⁹⁷ This is the only one document that seem to directly link the chancery of the Bohemian queen and an official named B <ohuslaus> (?). Supplementary information concerning *magister* Bohuslav can be drawn directly by the letters he allegedly collected. The toponomastical data and the events to which the epistles refer lead one to assume that he was probably notary of Queen Kunhuta, he had free access to her archives and that of his husband and he was active in the years ca. 1266-1272. Furthermore, the letter collection includes a letter probably linked to him (Ed. n. 40). This letter has been included in a section entitled “Letters of other people.” It is noteworthy that it was neglected by the previous scholarship.

A further biographical fact concerning the Czech *dictator* should be noticed. It relates his supposed relationship with Henricus de Isernia, who was a master of rhetoric, a notary at Otakar II’s chancery and exile in Prague from ca. 1271. This association between the two *magistri* was emphasized by Czech scholars in the past decades. Novák states that they had epistolary and probably personal relationship and that Bohuslav was one of Henricus’s pupils. He supports his thesis by listing four points: 1) Bohuslav uses, imitates and includes Henricus’s *dictamina* in his letter collection; 2) the two masters have anti-German feelings and defend a Slavic national identity;¹⁹⁸ 3) they share some stylistic similarities; 4) Henricus writes two letters to an unknown *protonotarius Boemie regine*¹⁹⁹ that might be Bohuslav because he is expert in the art of rethoric and in that of medicine.²⁰⁰

Generally speaking, some kind of relationship may have occurred between the two notaries. Anyway, some remarks should be made. First, the collector who prepared the so-called Formulary of Queen Kunhuta (Bohuslav?) used more than one Henricus’s epistles;²⁰¹ besides, the unnamed notary to whom Henricus addressed his letters may be Bohuslav but also other Kunhuta’s officials, namely *magister* Godefridus, her protonotary, chaplain of the king and *plebanus* of the church in Přebyslavice or the physician and *magister* Jan.²⁰² It should be noticed that the epistolary exchange was a normal practice among *dictatores*. It was so relevant in the southern part of Italy that it favored the creation of a specific

¹⁹⁷ See Ed. Appendix n. 1.

¹⁹⁸ More on this issue, 60-63

¹⁹⁹ RBM II nos. 2597, 2598, 1129-1130.

²⁰⁰ Novák, “Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty,” 146-151. Novák believes that the author of the letter collection connected to Queen Kunhuta was also a physician because in his fictive letters he showed special interest in the health condition of the correspondents.

²⁰¹ Novák refers to RBM II n. 768, 308.

²⁰² Could this *magister* Johannes be identified with master Jan, who is mentioned in one of Henricus’s *dictamina* addressed to Prague students? The students are invited to attend Henricus’s school in Vyšehrad, (cf. *Invitantur scolares...Formulářové listy Jindřicha z Isernie - pozvání pražským žákům ke studiu na vyšehradské škole*, 29).

dictaminal style formerly called “capuano,”²⁰³ that includes among its representative *dictatores* Thomas de Gaeta, Richardus de Sancto Germano, Petrus de Precio, Jacobus de Capua, Taddeus de Sessa, Terrisius de Atina,²⁰⁴ Nicolaus de Rocca, Henricus de Isernia, maybe Thomas de Capua and also the famous Petrus de Vinea.²⁰⁵

In conclusion, the information at our disposal does not allow to trace any certain biographical portrayal of *magister* Bohuslav. By making few reasonable assumptions, we can state that who collected the letters connected to Queen Kunhuta was of Czech origin and perhaps he was named Bohuslav. He was definitely close to the court of the queen and her husband in the years (1266-1272). Perhaps, he was Queen Kunhuta’s chaplain and notary and knew Henricus de Isernia’s *dictamina* and epistles. Most likely, he was also master of rhetoric and author of a manual of art of letter writing which got lost or it is still preserved in some unknown manuscripts.

II.d Critical Evaluation of the Letter Collection

II.d.1 Dating

The letters included in the collection refer mostly to the years 1267-1271.²⁰⁶ They recall St. Hedwig of Silesia’s canonization (1267), the conflicts between Bohemia and the Dukes of Bavaria (1267), the Czech crusade in Prussia (1268), the struggle (1270) and the truce signed in 1271 by Přemysl Otakar II and the Hungarian King István V, the death of Béla IV (1270) and the demise of the archbishop Władysław of Salzburg (1270).

²⁰³ This definition dates back to Hampe and today is critically evaluated (cf. Fulvio Delle Donne, “Le consolationes del IV libro dell’epistolario di Pier della Vigna,” *Vichiana* 4 (1993): 287-90.

²⁰⁴ This notary is author of erotic letters connected to the didactic activity. It is noteworthy that another dictator of southern Italian origin, Henricus de Isernia, composed a series of sensual letters in Prague. They share a similar humorous spirit. For Terrisius’s letters see Francesco Torraca, “Maestro Terrisio di Atina,” *Archivio Storico per le Province Napolitane* 36 (1911): 231-253; Fulvio Delle Donne, *Suavis terra, inexpugnabile castrum: l’Alta Terra di Lavoro dal dominio svevo alla conquista angioina* (Arce: Nuovi Segnali, 2007), 145-146.

²⁰⁵ The list of capuani *dictatores* is provided by Fulvio Delle Donne that assumes that in the lack of an institutional rethoric school in Capua, probably the style capuano generated by the letters exchanged by the *dictatores* coming from Campania, see Nicola da Rocca *Epistolae*, edited by Delle Donne, XXVII-XXXI. The scholar states also in a study on Jacobus de Capua that the style called “capuano” is very similar to the that used by the Papal and Imperial chanceries and that many dictatores, who worked for both these institutions, came from Capua (see Giacomo [Iacobus], *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani – vol. 54* (2000) [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacomo_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacomo_(Dizionario_Biografico)/).

²⁰⁶ This was already noticed by Palacký (cf. Palacký, *Über Formelbücher II*, 227). Nevertheless, there is also reference to the years (1275-1285): cf. Critical edition, 147, 164.

Novák assumes that the collection was prepared in the years 1271-1273, i. e. after the arrival of Henricus de Isernia in Prague and the foundation of his rethoric school in Vyšehrad. His argument hinges on the fact that Henricus' *dictamina* are incorporated in the collection and their stylistic influence on some of the queen's letters have been exercised.²⁰⁷ Also Mendl seeks to date the redaction of the letter collection; he provides a double options: 1) Novák's thesis (1271-1273); 2) a later dating (ca. 1279) after the death of King P. Otakar. According to Mendl, the epistolary work would include fictitious letters, e. g. the love epistles by the queen to the king composed to eliminate doubts raised on the genuine capacity of Kunhuta to love her husband when he was still alive.²⁰⁸

Relevant information for establishing the time in which the letters were put together is provided by the manuscript in which they are preserved. The codex (sign. 526) of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek was surely kept by the court of Queen Kunhuta in Opava as shown by the documents copied in folios (80v, and 122r-124v). They are based on authentic letters and charters of the years 1279-1281. This material has been copied by the notaries of the queen as confirmed by the editors (Zbyněk Sviták, Helena Krmíčková, Jarmila Krejčíková, Jana Nechutová) of the *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris*, vol. VI/1. According to them, the *scriba* of Kunhuta's charter n. 73²⁰⁹ would be the same of the document transcribed in the manuscript sign. 526, fol. 80v (Ed. Appendix n. 2); furthermore a similar hand wrote the charter n. 130²¹⁰ and the charter of Otto V of Brandenburg copied in folio 124r (Ed. Appendix n. 5).²¹¹

Probably these documents were transcribed immediately after being received at the queen's chancery²¹² partly with the intention to fill the empty space of the manuscript. The folios left blank before (one) and after them (four) lead to assume that they were part of a copyist work which remained unfinished. They probably had also a memorial fuction. Their presence in the manuscript makes possible to state that the codex was owned by Kunhuta's court in Opava (1279-1281) and used by her notaries. As result, we can assume that the letter collection was probably made before 1279.²¹³

²⁰⁷ Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 146-151.

²⁰⁸ Mendl, *Listy královny Kunhuty králi Přemyslovi*, 41.

²⁰⁹ See footnote n. 211.

²¹⁰ see footnote n. 211.

²¹¹ Already Palacký and Novák had noticed that the above mentioned documents were copy of authentic material emanated by Queen Kunhuta's chancery. Yet, they could not know the edition and the related analysis of these original charters, which came out only in 2006. See CDB VI/1 n. 73, 120-121, n. 130, 177-178.

²¹² The charter of one of these documents issued in 1281 (Ed. Appendix n. 2) was preserved in the Malta archive in Prague. It has been studied by Volková, "Příspěvek k paleografickému rozboru listáře královny Kunhuty," 215-226.

²¹³ Mendl assumes that the beautiful manuscript 526 was made and decorated for Queen Kunhuta (cf. Mendl, *Listy královny Kunhuty králi Přemyslovi*, 40).

II.d.2 Goal, Arrangement and Gendered Voice

The letter collection is usually today included in the list of the “formulářové sbírky” (collection of forms)²¹⁴ of Czech origin of the 13th century.²¹⁵ It has been interpreted as a collection of model letters (*dictamina*) accompanied by a theory part, in Czech listář,²¹⁶ redacted with a didactic purpose. As we have previously stated, this thesis was first proposed by Novák and afterwards generally accepted by Czech scholars.

This letter collection was probably first prepared by a notary of the queen for personal use and afterwards copied in the ms. 526 and re-used as a collection of *dictamina*.²¹⁷ The letters are deprived of many concrete details. Very often the names of persons or places are pointed, omitted or changed. The epistles are decontextualized and ready to be reused at every available opportunity. Besides, the collection is preserved in a manuscript that contains mainly dictaminal material²¹⁸ as showed by the title written in the spine cover of the book: “Syntagma variarum epistolarum” (work of various epistles). This manuscript was used as an anthology of practical examples by the notaries of Queen Kunhuta.²¹⁹ It is possible that this source once copied in the manuscript 526 took also the form of a personal *memorium* as indicated by the addition of documents in fols. 80v, 122r-124v that emphasize the institutional and political role of the Bohemian queen.²²⁰

This epistolary work contains 94 letters. The vast majority of them are deprived of the salutation and conclusive formulas, which were omitted probably as a consequence of a generalization process adopted during the transmission of the source.²²¹ Consequently,

²¹⁴ Jana Nechutová in her study on the Latin literature of the Czech Middle Ages devotes a chapter to diplomatic and rhetoric fields and outlines the standard terminology used by Czech scholars to refer to medieval form collections (formulářová sbírka): 1) sbírka listinných formulářů (collection of form documents); 2) sbírka epistolárních formulářů-dictamina (collection of model letters) (Nechutová, *Latinská literatura českého středověku do roku 1400*, 103).

²¹⁵ For the list of this kind of sources see Psík, “Formulářové sbírky a jejich zpřístupnění. Stav a perspektivy,” 81-88.

²¹⁶ The Listář is the Czech translation of the German Briefsteller (someone who or something which provides model letters and set up norms for letter-writing). See the Czech-German vocabulary by František Štěpán Kott online <http://kott.ujc.cas.cz/>

²¹⁷ Fulvio Delle Donne explains very clearly the way in which similar letter collections were prepared. See especially Delle Donne, “Auctor e auctoritas nelle raccolte epistolari del XIII secolo,” 297-298.

²¹⁸ See the chapter “A Dictaminal Manuscript at Queen Kunhuta’s Court.”

²¹⁹ The manuscript contains also texts that provide the theory of the *art dictaminis*. Cf. “A Dictaminal Manuscript at Queen Kunhuta’s Court.”

²²⁰ Ysebaert proves that letter collection can be made for several purposes. For instance the letter collection of Stephen of Orléans was collected in different phases in six or seven collections; the first collection had an administrative-pedagogic purpose; the last one should be regarded also as an institutional *memorium*. See Ysebaert, “Medieval Letters and Letter Collections as Historical Sources:” 61-63. Benoît Grévin states that the *summa dictaminis* of Petrus de Vineia had also a memorial function.

²²¹ It was a normal consuetude of the copyists or masters that collected letters for rhetorical purposes. It is true for instance for the collection of the *Epistolae duorum amantium* that was copied in 1471 by Iohannes de Vepria, the librarian of Clairvaux. He collected in a personal book various sets of examples letters. While

intitulatio (sender) and *adscriptio* (recipient) are missing and there is no clear reference to the correspondents. A great part of the epistles have a female sender/recipient (70 letters); 6 are of an unknown gender, 4 collections of formulas to be used at an appropriate time and occasion. Two documents mention explicitly Kunhuta as the authority under which the documents have been issued;²²² furthermore, in one letter the sender refers to her (Ch).²²³ In two letters the female figure gains a specific profile having been mentioned as the wife of the King of Bohemia named O.; in twelve letters the sender identifies herself with an unnamed queen; in 33 letters she is described as the wife of a lord (*dominatio; dominus*). The data above can be summarized as follows:

Sender/Recipient

	Edition numbers	Total
Female sender/recipient		60 (sender) + 10 (recipient) = 70
Unknown gender	13, 25, 51, 52 61, 93	6
Male sender/ recipient (unknown addressee/addresser)	4, 5, 6, 7, 33, 35, 46, 50, 78, 83, 89, 92, 46, 50	14
Collections of exemplary formulas	69, 70, 71, 72	4

Female Sender/Recipient = Queen or wife of a Lord

	Edition numbers	Total
Kunhuta (Ch.)	74, 75	2

copying the excerpts of the epistolary of the two lovers he omitted some parts, namely those that provided particulars, events and actions. The omissions in copy were indicated. The genuineness of these letters and their attribution are still under debate. Some scholars attribute the letters to Abelard and Heloise (Mews, Jaegar, Piron), against this opinion (among others Peter von Moos). For a survey on this debate and a valuable analysis of the letter collection see Sylvain Piron, "Heloise's Literary Self-fashioning and the Epistolae duorum amantium," in *Strategies of remembrance: from Pindar to Hölderlin*, edited by Lucie Doležalová (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 102-162.

²²² Ed. nos. 74, 75: the first one is an administrative letter concerning the granting perpetually of the right of possession (*iure perpetuum possidendum*) above a homestead (*mansum*) to the Polish monastery St. Maria in Henrichow of the Benedictine order, which is under her protection (this letter is connected to another one included in the letter collection Ed. n. 62); the second one relates the restoration for a female monastery dedicated to St. Mary of the hereditary rights over an estate in Görlitz (the diploma has been preserved in the archive of the mon. of Marie V. Brunae sign. Jesuité Brno).

²²³ The original pointed name in the manuscript is Th. The sender is a king, who requests to an unspecified religious order to read a marian Mass to preserve his health, that of her wife and their children.

Reference to Kunhuta (Ch.)	12	1
Wife of the King of Bohemia O.	39, 87	2
Queen of Bohemia /wife of the King of Bohemia	2, 3, 8, 14, 15, 36, 37, 41, 67	9
Queen	1, 9, 40, 48	4
Wife of a Lord (<i>dominatio</i> – <i>dominus</i>)	18, 20, 21, 27, 28, 30, 47, 53, 56, 65, 68, 73, 81, 86, 94	15
		Total: 33

Fourteen letters have a male voice. Four of them seem to be connected to King P. Otakar II and at least two may come from the hand of his *dictator*, Henricus de Isernia (Ed. nos. 4, 6). It was a common habit to incorporate in exemplary letter collections, which were copied especially because of their rethoric value, letters of other relevant rethoric masters of the time. For instance, some Nicolaus de Rocca's letters are copied in Petrus De Vineia and Thomas de Capua epistolaries.²²⁴

The letters are only to a certain extent arranged by subject and not distinguished in books like in the case of the four systematic redactions of the *summa dictaminis* of Petrus de Vineia (*parva* and *magna*, in five and six books). Letters that are linked to each other (due to a similar *petitio* or correspondents) are only partially copied continuously in the manuscript (see for instance the love letters or those relating the friction between Duchy of Bavaria and the Bohemian Crown).

II.d.3 Content

The major thematic trends covered by the letters can be described as follow: **a.** the motherhood (15 letters); the beloved wife (11 letters); **b.** female diplomacy (17 letters) and the Bohemian-Hungarian truce (4 letters); **c.** administrative/ recommendation letters (30 letters); **d.** the colonization and the national identity (4 letters); **e.** the erratic letters.

a. The Motherhood – b. The Beloved Wife

The female subject (addresser or recipient) of the following letters figures as mother of one daughter (Ed. nos. 8 [Q], 20, 23, 24, 56, 73); mother of daughters (Ed. nos. 27 (D), 81); mother of children (Ed. n. 90); mother of a newborn daughter (Ed. nos. 63, 64); mother of one daughter (8 [Q], 9 [Q]) or of daughters (Ed. n. 81) or of children (Ed. n. 91), who hopes

²²⁴ See Delle Donne, "Autori, trasmissioni, redazioni, ricezione," 11.

for the birth of a male offspring; Queen of Bohemia, who is pregnant and waits for the birth of the future heir to the Czech throne (14 [BQ], 15 [BQ]).²²⁵ As we have seen, motherhood is a persistent aspect of the above mentioned letters. The person depicted as a mother is identified five times with a queen [Q], two times with a Bohemian queen [BQ] and one time with the the wife of a unspecified Lord - *dominatio* (D). It is noteworthy that six letters (four addressed by/to a queen) cover the theme of the auspicated birth of a male child. Besides, the male child is identified with the heir to the Czech throne twice. This information is contained in two letters addressed to the Bohemian queen by the bishop of Prague (Jan III z Dražic [John III of Dražic], 1258-1278).²²⁶

The continuation of the royal dynasty was surely augured and exulted in medieval society. It could not have been otherwise in a society based on the right of the primogeniture. Thus the ability of the queen to produce a male son was considered very relevant by contemporaries. Lisa Benz St. John has pointed out: “Chronicles as a whole do not comment on the queens as mothers in very great detail, at the very least, record the birth of royal children [...]. In general they tend to mark the birth of the male heirs, and occasionally they heed the birth of the younger children.”²²⁷ The chronicles refer to cases of queens repudiated because of their alleged infertility. King P. Otakar II himself married Kunhuta because her first wife, Margarete of Babenberg was not able to give birth to the royal heir. On the other hand, this was not a general rule as showed by more recent studies.²²⁸ In this respect, Anna Lucemburská can be considered an eloquent example. She was a childness queen but she had apparently a successful marriage. She was very active in the political scene and her chancery rolls demonstrate that she exercised a great intercessionary power.²²⁹

The Bohemian letter collection covers also the sphere of the emotions and love in the eleven letters addressed to the beloved absent husband (27 [D], 47 [D], 59 [BQ], 80, 84, 85, 86 [D], 87 [Q], 88, 89, 90). They repeat the theme of the wife’s lament and reveal at the same time an expression of personal identity. They are investigated in a separate section (see the next chapter).

b. Female Diplomacy, the Friction between Bohemia-Bavaria and the Bohemian-Hungarian Truce

²²⁵ The last mentioned letters are linked to a letter from the king that asks to a religious order a mass for her wife (Ch) and the birth of a male child (Ed. n. 12).

²²⁶ The bishop of Prague mentioned in the letters should be identified with Jan III z Dražic, who was appointed as bishop in 1258 till the year of his death in 1278. This because the widow of the Marquis of Brandenburg (*relictā Branderburgensis marchionis*), sister-in low (*nurus*) of the recipient has been mentioned. Beatrix, Otakar’s sister, lost her husband in 1267.

²²⁷ St. John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England*, 98.

²²⁸ See footnote n. 47.

²²⁹ Lisa Benz St. John noticed that also the chroniclers emphasized her act of intercession because “they could not represent her as a mother when she never had any children.” (Cf. St. John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England*, 100).

The great number of the letters regarding intercessionary activities is plain to see (Ed. nos. 1 [Q.], 3 [BQ], 18 (f.), 19, 21 (f.), 23 (f.), 25, 26 (f.), 28 (f.), 36 [BQ], 37 [BQ], 38 [Q], 39 [BQ], 48 [f.], 60 [f.], 93, 94 (f.). They relate mainly an explicitly detected female subject [f.], who is required to act as mediator between families or countries. She is clearly identified with a queen or more specifically with a Bohemian queen or the wife of a King of Bohemia called O. (Ed. n. 39). The letters refer to controversial relationships between three countries. They seem primarily involve the Bohemian kingdom, the Crown of Hungary and the Duchy of Bavaria in the years 1266-1271.

They inform about the friction between Přemysl Otakar II and Heinrich XIII, *comes palatinus Renhi*²³⁰ and Duke of Lower-Bavaria. The Bohemian king was involved in rivalries with the Wittelsbachs of Bavaria for several reasons. Josef Žemlička states that Bavaria and Hungary were allies in their attempt to dampen Otakar's growing ambitions for political and economic power in Central Europe after the death of Friedrich II, the last male heir of the Babenberg dynasty (1246). On the other hand, in the decisive battle of Kressenbrunn against the Hungarians (1260) Heinrich of Bavaria, a fickle ally, was persuaded by Prague ambassadors to take a neutral position.²³¹ Besides in 1257 the Czech king made alliance with the Bavarian bishops and invaded Bavaria.²³² Yet, Wittelsbach Dukes, Ludwig II and Heinrich XIII repulsed the attack and defeated Otakar's troops at Mühlendorf.²³³ In the same year a dispute raised about the control of the archbishopric of Salzburg, which ended in 1266/1267. In 1265 through the aid of Urban IV and Clement IV the archbishopric of Salzburg was assigned to Wladyslaw, son of Henryk II of Wroclaw, Otakar's great-nephew and the bishopric of Passau to another of his entourage. In 1267 a truce between the two rivals, Otakar and Heinrich was established with the pope as guarantor.²³⁴

Eight letters, which are partially copied continuously in the manuscript, seem to refer to this friction.²³⁵ Certain features are found consistently in all of them. They are addressed to a

²³⁰ Wittelsbach possessions were divided between the two brothers (Dukes Heinrich XIII and Ludwig II) in 1255, after the death of their father, Duke Otto II (d. 1253): the Lower Bavaria went to Heinrich XIII and the Upper Bavaria and the Palatinate to Ludwig II. Heinrich claimed the title of Pfalzgraf bei Rhein (count Palatinate of the Rhine) in December 1256, and in 1271 requested Pope Gregory X to confirm his right to an electoral vote. While there is no evidence about the response he received, Duke Heinrich XIII (d. 1290) did act as the seventh elector in the election of Rudolf of Habsburg as King of Germany in 1273, although his brother Ludwig II (d. 1294) registered his non-recognition of his brother's right on 29 May 1276. It is interesting to note that in one letter (Ed. n. 37) that Duke of Bavaria is also named *comes palatinus*.

²³¹ See Josef Žemlička, *Přemysl Otakar II: král na rozhraní věků* [Přemysl Otakar II: a king on the border of ages] (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2011), 94 and 110-111.

²³² The division of Bavaria made in 1255 was against the law. It was not probably not accepted by the Bavarian bishops.

²³³ Cf. Žemlička, *Přemysl Otakar II*, 106-109.

²³⁴ RBM II nos. 510, 511, 197-198 and nos. 578, 585, 222-225.

²³⁵ Emler included five letters in his *Regesta* (Ed. nos. 1, 3, 36, 37, 39). Any reference to them has been found in *Monumenta Boica*. This collection of monastic Bavarian records, which contains also documents of secular

queen, who is similarly asked to intercede with her husband in order to reinvigorate the relationship between the two neighbouring countries (Ed. nos. 1, 3, 36,²³⁶ 38, 39). In two letters this request is more specifically described as addressed by the Duchess of Bavaria²³⁷ to the Bohemian queen (Ed. n. 37), who is the wife of the King named O. (Ed. n. 39); another one is issued in Landau (Ed. n. 3). It is noteworthy that the last letter of the collection (Ed. n. 94) seems to be an answer to the *petitio* formulated in the above quoted letters: the female sender thanks the recipient for his missives and promises that her husband will be well disposed towards him, her wife and their children.²³⁸ Thus this *responsiva* does not follow directly the *missive* as in the standard dictaminal collections.²³⁹

The female sender/recipient acts as mediator also in matters which are connected to the Crown of Hungary. She enters in negotiations to get forgiveness for her brother's mistake (Ed. nos. 19, 25, 26, 93);²⁴⁰ she communicates with her relative Béla (Ed. n. 18); she shows concern for the behavior of her uncle, King István, who ousted his father (B.) from the Hungarian throne (Ed. nos 23, 60). Four further letters are connected to the Hungarian political context. They concern the truce (1270) and the alleged betrayal of the Hungarian King István V (1271). Three of them are linked to the chancery of King P. Otakar II (Ed. nos. 5, 6, 7), one to that of her wife, Queen Kunhuta (Ed. n. 84). These letters are further analysed in the following chapter.

c. Administrative/Recommendation Letters

Many administrative letters are also contained in the letter collection. They concern important royal and aristocratic duties such as endowing land, confirming privileges or giving benefices to churches, hospitals and other charitable organizations (Ed. nos. 52, 55,

content (especially the *Codex Epistolaris*, vol. 1 or the *Monumenta Nideralteensa*, vol. 11) does not give information about the letters of our interest (cf. *Monumenta Boica*, edited by Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, vols. 1-50, 53-54, 60 [München: Lindauer, 1763-1916]). Neither the *Regesta Boica* (*Regesta sive rerum Boicarum*, edited by Karl Heinrich von Lang (Monaci: Impensis Regiis, 1825) or the *Monumenta Wittelsbacensia* refer to these letters. In the *Monumenta Wittelsbacensia* there is only a letter issued by P. Otakar II about his agreement with the *civitas* of Regensburg against Dukes of Bavaria, which dates to 1266 (cf. *Monumenta Wittelsbacensia: Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Hauses Wittelsbach. Von 1204 bis 1292*, edited by Franz Michael Wittmann, vol. 1 [München: Franz, 1857], n. 89, 216- 219).

²³⁶ The male relative informs the wife of the King of Bohemia that his wife is already in the throes.

²³⁷ She should be Erzsébet of Hungary (d. 1271), daughter of Béla IV and Maria Laskarina and wife of Heinrich I Duke of Bavaria. Erzsébet and Heinrich had ten children.

²³⁸ The sender's wife is called *matertera* as in the other letters above mentioned.

²³⁹ For a similar consideration see footnote n. 238.

²⁴⁰ The brother is named M. and could be identified with Kunhuta's elder brother. These letters seem to be linked (they have a similar *petitio*). Yet, only in one letter we deal clearly with a female mediator (Ed. n. 26). It should be taken into account that the negotiations seem to be successful. We learn this information from a letter which is placed at the end of the collection (Ed. n. 93).

62, 66, 74, 75, 83); four of them are explicitly connected to Queen Kunhuta (Ed. nos. 62, 66, 74; 75).²⁴¹ Few letters relate declarations of support or mutual protection by a female subject (Ed. nos. 53,²⁴² 54²⁴³).²⁴⁴ There are also letters that deal with legal/judicial matters Ed. nos. 2 [BQ], 49; 51). The letter collection includes also a considerable number of recommendation letters for chaplains, notaries, friars, monks or in general relatives addressed by a king [K] – male [m] subject or a queen-female subject (Ed. nos 29 [K.], 30 [f.], 31, 32, 33 [m], 34, 42 [f.], 43 [f.], 44, 45, 46, 57 [f], 65 [f], 67 [Q], 73 [f.], 82 [K]).

d. Central Europe Colonization and Linguistic National Identity

Four letters are of special interest as they concentrate on the issues of the expansion of central Europe, the phenomenon of colonization and the definition of a Czech identity (Ed. nos. 10 [f.], 11, 41 [BQ], 68 [Q]).²⁴⁵

The letters (Ed. nos. 10 e 11) repeat a similar request. The addresser asks that Chaslav, lector of the minor order, who was moved to another province may return to Prague or Bohemia. This request should be satisfied for the profit of the common language (“propter commune bonum lingue nostre,” Ed. n. 11).

The other two letters are explicitly from the voice of a Bohemian queen. The letter (Ed. n. 41) draws the attention to the problem of the increasing number of German speaking Franciscan friars in the Bohemian-Polish province. Conversely, Slav friars are a minority, they cannot conduct divine services and are expelled from their convents. As a result, the souls of the Slavs suffer and the Slavic language is discriminated. The letter (Ed. n. 68) similarly focuses on the issue of the emargination and oppression beared by Slav friars in Bohemia and in Poland. The addressee of the letter (*soror karissima*) has forgotten her Polish and Bohemian origins. The sender asks her not to ostacolate the Slav friars that speak

²⁴¹ The queen is explicitly identified as the issuer of the document (Ed. nos. 74, 75). The letter n. 62 is connected to the letter n. 74.

²⁴² This letters comes by the wife of an absent ruler. It proves that she was endowed to defend her land when her husband was gone.

²⁴³ This letter is connected to the process of canonization of St. Hedwig of Silesia (1267) and the request of her relics (Ed. n. 58).

²⁴⁴ In addition, it should be mentioned also a letter addressed to a king, who is asked to continue to protect the sender and confirm his privileges (Ed. n. 35).

²⁴⁵ Further letters, which have not be mentioned, are included in the letter collection: a letter by the chancery of King P. Otakar II on the vacancy of the pope seat (Ed. n. 4); two letters addressed to a king by his sister (Ed. nos. 16, 17); a letter on a difficult relationship between a daughter and her mother (Ed. n. 76); letters for the request of the presence of the absent addressees (Ed. nos 22, 61); a queen’s notary letter (Ed. n. 40); two letters about the death of the Hungarian King Béla (1270) and that of Wladyslaw in 1270 (Ed. nos 77, 92); letters which come from a religious context and that have not be published by Palacký (Ed. nos. 13, 50); four collections of exemplary parts of the medieval letter (Ed. nos. 69, 70, 71, 72). Some of these letters have be analysed in the section “Erratic letters.”

her very same language (*nostra et vestra lingua*). The reproached religious leader has been identified by Palacký with Agnieszka (Agnes), Abbess of the convent of St. Clare in Trzebnica (1230/1230 – after 1277?).²⁴⁶

This last letter has been mentioned by Jennifer Ward as an expression of the political activity played by Queen Kunhuta during her husband lifetime.²⁴⁷ Definitely, it draws the attention to the phenomenon of the Central Europe expansion, which probably started in 12th century.²⁴⁸ Novák compares the queen's letter to the manifest addressed to Bohemian and Polish lords (ca. 1278) written by Henricus de Isernia for King P. Otakar II.²⁴⁹ The Czech scholar states that in both cases, a perception of the German immigration as a threat has been expressed and the manifest would poignantly recall the German "Drang nach Osten."²⁵⁰ The medieval phenomenon of the eastern settlement is here described as a German aggression and a prelude to the contemporary expansionism and Germanization efforts.²⁵¹

Modern historians have proved that the phenomenon of the expansion in Central and Eastern Europe was not simply connected to the German immigration. Immigrants arrived from various areas. For instance, Romance-speaking population moved to Bohemia. Besides, immigrants had different social status. Moreover, the settlement was not generated by a German overpopulation or land-hunger. Neither it was an aggression. Conversely, it was fostered by rulers and nobles. Nora Berend states that local rulers and nobles tried "to bring new lands under cultivation, benefit from trade and generate revenues [...] these rulers

²⁴⁶ She had Polish and Bohemian blood. The convent was founded by her mother Anna Przemysłidka (Anne Přemyslid), Duchess of Silesia. Anne married Henryk II Duke of Lower Silesia and was daughter of P. Otakar I and Konstancie Uherská. Anne was the founder and the patron of the St. Clare monastery in Wrocław. She was St. Hedwig of Silesia's daughter in law.

²⁴⁷ It is emblematic that few lines before the scholar pointed out: "the amount of power which a queen might exercise during her husband lifetime was limited" (cf. Jennifer C. Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500* [New York: Longman, 2002], 125).

²⁴⁸ Josef Žemlička states "an exceptional settlement act took place in 12th century," then the colonisation continued in the 13th and 14th centuries. He also points out: "Germans were known to have settled in Bohemia in the 10th and 11th centuries as clerics courtiers and merchants. [...] But as we know today, only in the 13th century there was the major qualitative development which was connected with the dynamic increase of the German urban population. In two generations these people must have regarded themselves as natives, as *indigenae*." See Josef Žemlička "The Germans and the Implantation of German Law among the Bohemians and Moravians in the Middle Ages," in *The Expansion of Central Europe in the Middle Ages*, edited by Nora Berend (Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum, 2012), 240-241.

²⁴⁹ RBM II n. 1106, 466-468; Dolliner, *Codex epistolaris Primislai Ottocari II. Bohemiae regis*, n. 37, 93-95.

²⁵⁰ Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 149.

²⁵¹ In the nationalist circles of the 19th century, Polish, Czechoslovak and Russian intellectuals started referring to the medieval East settlement as "Drang nach Osten." The medieval phenomenon was interpreted as the Germans's attempt to expand their power into Slavic lands, which would have led to the loss of the Slavic freedom and democracy. The same motto became also a central part of the German nationalism and later adopted by Nazism to justify a German ethnical superiority and the claims to Poland and Czechoslovakia.

tried to expand territories through conquest or dynastic alliance: that is Central Europe was not a passive recipient of German or other immigration.”²⁵²

In the thirteenth century some conflicts erupted in cities or locations linked to the royal court. Yet these clashes did not involve only Germans but also Jews or Cumans. Furthermore, they cannot be considered as an expression of xenophobia but rather tensions exploded for positions in political or economic power. German culture was very important at the court in Prague. Bohemian rulers adopted it to contend with the German princes for the gain of a privileged political position within the Holy Empire. At the same time, the nobles, who were in conflict with the royal court, started to encourage the usage of the Czech language. The political of centralization championed by the king undermined the noble’s privileges. As a result, in the 14th century a vernacular literature rised. This written culture in Czech, such as the Legend of St. Procopius (*Legenda o svatém Prokopu*, ca. 1350) and the so-called Dalimil chronicle (ca. 1308-1314), promoted anti-German feelings. By this way the definition of a Czech identity came to be associated to the nobles’s defence of their privileges.²⁵³

Also in the case of the four queen’s letters, their anti-German feelings are intertwined with a contention that was political rather than ethnic. John B. Freed²⁵⁴ assumes that they are associated to a controversy over provincial boundaries within the Franciscan order. He states that in 1260, Pisa general chapter transferred the custody of Złotoryja (Goldberg), which included monasteries in Upper Lusatia and Lower Silesia from the Bohemian-Polish²⁵⁵ province to Saxony. In 1272, the custody of Wrocław (Breslau), which embraced Silesian houses was added to the German province.²⁵⁶ According to Freed, the Bohemian

²⁵² Nora Berend, “Introduction,” in *The Expansion of Central Europe in the Middle Ages*, xxvii.

²⁵³ Len Scale points out: “The anti-German diatribes to which native chroniclers, poets and pamphleteers occasionally give voice doubtless reflect above all the jealousies and anxieties of fairly small and privileged insider groups – at the court, in the twons and in the Church;” (cf. Len Scale, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis 1245-1414* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012], 414).

²⁵⁴ John B. Freed, “The Friars and the Delineation of State Boundaries in the Thirteenth Century,” in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer*, edited by William C Jordan, Bruce McNab and Teofilo F. Ruiz (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), 45-46.

²⁵⁵ A Bohemian-Polish province was organized probably in 1239. Five Franciscan provinces had emerged by 1217: Italy, France, Spain-Portugal, Germany, the Holy Land. By 1239 the German province had expanded in seven sub-provinces: Germany (the Rhine region), Saxony, Austria, Hungary, Sclavonia (Dalmatia), Cologne, Dacia, Bohemia-Poland.

²⁵⁶ Christian-Frederik Felskau points out that the custodies of Wrocław and Złotoryja were attributed to provinces connected with the influence of Saxonia. He states that the Czech-Polish province “between its solidification till roughly 1420, consisted of seven custodies [...]. He lists the custodies of Prague and Moravia, the north Bohemian custody of Hradec Kralové, the west Bohemian custody of Litoměřice, the Silesian custody of Opole, the Polish custody of Cracow, the Great Polish and Lower Silesian custody of Gniezno; cf. Christian-Frederik Felskau, “Economy-related written sources of the Franciscans (and partially of the Poor Clares’) in Bohemia and Moravia, ca. 1230 – ca. 1450” *Hereditas monasteriorum* 3 (2013): 32-33. For the controversial issue connected to the attribution of the custodies of Wrocław and Złotoryja and other friaries see Christian-Frederik Felskau, *Agnes von Böhmen und die Klosteranlage der Klarissen und Franziskaner in Prag: Leben und Institution, Legende und Verehrung* (Nordhausen: Bautz, 2008), 154-182, 515-522; Kaspar Elm, “Sacrum Commercium. Über Ankunft und Wirken der ersten Franziskaner in Deutschland,” in *Reich*,

court disagreed with these boundaries revisions. They were against King Otakar II's attempt to create a stable and vast Bohemian power in Central Europe. Christian-Frederik Felskau states that the tensions between Czech-Polish and German-speaking fractions of the brothers cannot be explained by factors of national identity. Yet, these frictions should be ascribed to the persistent change of affiliation between the custodies of convents and provinces. The scholar gives some useful example: in 1263 the custody of Moravia is assigned to Austria and that of Bautzener to Saxonia; in 1266 Saxonia is deprived of the custody of Bautzener; in 1269 Saxonia recovers the custody of Bautzener and Hungary gains that of Cracow; in 1272 Hungary loses the custody of Cracow while Saxony is granted of that of Wrocław. As we have seen, the changes of custodies affiliations involve especially Saxony and other neighboring provinces and all date to the 13th century.²⁵⁷

Therefore, the queen's four letters should be interpreted taking in consideration the historical context outlined above. Their expression of anti-German feelings should not be explained as the result of national and linguistic disputes but more likely of conflicts between provinces for the gain of political power within the Franciscan order.

e. The Erratic Letters

In geology, erratic is "a stone or boulder, glacially transported from place of origin and left in an area of different bedrock composition."²⁵⁸ Some of the letters contained in the letter collection may be defined erratics as it seems that they differ from the surrounding letters and have wandered in (Latin *errare*) from a different original resting place.²⁵⁹ Palacký and Novák have noticed their peculiarity and implicitly declared their inappropriate positioning into the collection. The Czech editor did not include them in his critical edition (Ed. nos. 4, 13, 50, 52, 69, 70, 71, 72) or edited selected parts (Ed. nos. 74, 75). According to him, these letters are not interesting from an historical point of view or they are not connected to the queen's court or they are vicious written texts: the letter n. 4 is unproductive of historical information or relationships ("als unergiebig an historischen Daten und Beziehungen"); the letter n. 13 does not have details of historical type ("ohne nähere historische Beziehung"); the letter n. 50 is from a clergyman to a Superior for his admission as canon in the collegiate

Regionen und Europa im Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Peter Moraw edited by Peter Moraw, Paul-Joachim Heinig and Barbara Krauss (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), 389-412.

²⁵⁷ Felskau, *Agnes von Böhmen*, 522–527.

²⁵⁸ Cf. The *Glossary of geologic terms* provided online by the Department of Geological & Atmospheric Sciences of the Iowa State University (<http://www.ge-at.iastate.edu/glossary-of-geologic-terms/>).

²⁵⁹ The definition "Erratic Letters" takes inspiration from the title of one of the two roundtable sessions sponsored by the Grammar Rabblet at the 51st International Congress on Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo) in May 12–15, 2016. Yet, the letters that have been discussed at the Conference did not relate medieval epistolography but the alphabet.

(i. e. it does not relate Queen Kunhuta); the letter n. 52 is a corrupted text (“fehlerhaft geschrieben”); the letters nos. 69, 70, 71, 72 are forms without historical content (“Formeln ohne historischen Inhalt”).²⁶⁰ Novák stresses the eccentric nature of some letters by labelling them as “half-documents” or “added documents” (e. g. Ed. nos. 74, 75).²⁶¹ The apparent irregularity in pattern of these letters that was noticed by the Czech scholars is linked to old criteria of historical authenticity, which have been discussed, questioned and rejected in the previous sections (II.a, II.b).

The above mentioned texts do not go against the conventional composite and complex nature of medieval letter collections. The letter n. 4 probably comes from the hand of Henricus de Isernia, dictator of King P. Otakar II. As previously stated, it was common to include in letter collections used for didactical purpose texts of other relevant rhetoric masters that could provide valuable examples of dictaminal style.

The texts nos. 69, 70, 71, 72 are collections of formulas to be used at the appropriate time and occasion. This is explicitly declared at the end of the text n. 70 in which we read that “all these can be adapted to kings, dukes, counts or chaptains” (*et hec omnia possunt ducibus, comitibus, et militibus faciliter adaptari*). Each of these texts seems to combine the various exemplary parts of medieval letters, which in the *artes dictandi* often followed the theory and came before the exemplary *epistolae*. The text (Ed. n. 69) is by someone that got a donation and informs the addressee about the *donum* received.²⁶² The addressee is named *vestra fidelitas* or *fraternitas*. The addressing formula *vestra fidelitas* is often used in model letters among people of different social rank (e.g. *de imperatore ad subditos, de imperatore ad principem*);²⁶³ *vestra fraternitas* are generally found in model letters between people having a similar social status.²⁶⁴ The *donum* mentioned in the letter is that granted to a poor church. In the last part of the letter are listed formulas which concern exemplary offers of reciprocal aid and protection.²⁶⁵ The exemplary formulas (Ed. n. 70) are associated to rulers

²⁶⁰ Palacký, *Über Formelbücher II*, 228-229.

²⁶¹ See the section 3.2.

²⁶² See the *narratio* of the letter: *Noverit itaque [...] innotescat, vel notum facimus vel vestram itaque fidelitatem non lateat, vel scire volumus*.

²⁶³ See a *responsiva* by the Emperor to a Prince – *imperiali responso gratiosa* (Augusto Gaudenzi ed., “Guidonis Fabe Epistole,” *Il Propugnatore* 6, 2 [1893]: 383, 385); see also the letter *de imperatore ad subditos*: “[...] *vestra fidelitas nostra gloria recognoscat [...]*” (Augusto Gaudenzi ed., “Guidonis Fabe Dictamina rhetorica,” *Il Propugnatore* 5, 28-29 [1892]: 96); or also the third *modum* of the *Modi dictaminum* of master Guido (12th cent.): “*tertius modus est subditorum ad dominos, disciplinorum ad magistros et e converso [...]*. Si vero fuerit laicus ei debet mitti fidele servitium, obsequium fidelitas, constantiam et similia in hunc modum.” (Cf. Maestro Guido. *Trattati e raccolte epistolari*, edited by Bartoli, 130).

²⁶⁴ See the second *modum* of the *Modi dictaminum* by master Guido, namely *De doctrina secundi modi scilicet sociorum ad socios et equalium minorum inter se ad equales* (Maestro Guido. *Trattati e raccolte epistolari*, edited by Bartoli, 125); see also the model letters: the *responsivae de patriarcha ad patriarcham; de fratre ad fratrem* (Gaudenzi ed., “Guidonis Fabe Dictamina rhetorica,” 69, 88).

²⁶⁵ As for *vestra fraternitas* see for instance the *Epistola que per venustam varietatem verborum omnem circuit amicitiam* included in the *ars dictaminis* by Guido Faba (Augusto Gaudenzi ed., “Guidonis Fabe Summa dictaminis”, *Il Propugnatore* 3, 16-17 (1890): 382-384; as for *vestra dilectio* see the dictamina *de plebano ad*

and laic lords and the addressee is referred as *vestra fidelitas*. The letter relates the attack of a lord's land (*terra nostra, regnum nostrum, provincia nostra*) and the consequences of such an invasion. The last part of the letter provides formulas connected to the theme of the feudal friendship. In the text (Ed. n. 71) the virtual addresser is able to exercise influence. He/she rejoices for the promotion of his/her protégé (*dilectus*) as prior, abbot, provost or bishop. The last of these four exemplary collections (Ed. n. 72) concerns the promotion by an abbot of the addresser as associate (*socius*), or intimate counsellor (*collateralis*), or table-companion (*commensalis*) or chaplain (*cappellanus*). The addressee is referred as *vestra paternitas* and he is asked to act as mediator with the mentioned abbot for the granting of a benefice.

We can assume that these formulas were part of the theory section of an *ars dictandi* prepared by master Bohuslav (?).²⁶⁶ Perhaps the scribe had this manual at his disposal and copied some selected parts. It is possible that the above quoted letters (Ed. nos 13, 50), which apparently are not directly connected to the Přemyslid chancery come from this source.

Unlike all the other texts contained in the letter collection those copied in fols. 28r-29r (Ed. nos. 74, 75) preserve protocols. Their *intitulatio* explicitly indicate Queen Kunhuta as sender. Seemingly, they have not been added by the notaries of the queen in Opava. They have not been written by any of the several hands of the notaries which copied the documents in fols. 80v and 122r-124v. Besides, these documents copied at the end of the manuscript date to 1279-1281, conversely those (Ed. nos. 74, 75) probably were composed in the years 1269-1272. According to Novák, they would belong to the collection of the privileges copied in fols. 60r-72r.²⁶⁷ Nevertheless, this thesis should be debated. It raises the following question. Why would the scribe have moved from a place to another one of the manuscript (i. e. from the section of privileges to the letter collection of master Bohuslav) only two (Ed. nos. 74, 75) of the three documents²⁶⁸ that are issued by the chancery of Queen Kunhuta? On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the copyist seems especially interested in one of these two documents (Ed. n. 74). He adds along the text the name of the sender *Cunegundis* and highlights part of the letter (*cellam in Henrichowe*). In the letter collection of master Bohuslav only another one further marginal note can be found. Yet, it is written by a different and contemporary hand and it stresses the content of the letter "De treguis" (see Ed. n. 6). As a result, should we assume that the copyist added this document for his personal interest? And eventually from which source he did take it? It is relevant to notice that the very same document is linked to another one (Ed. n. 62) included in the

plebanam; the *responsiva de vicino ad vicinum*; the *responsiva de archiprebistero ad archipresbiterum* in the *dictamina rhetorica* by Guido Faba (Gaudenzi ed., "Guidonis Fabe Dictamina rhetorica," 73,75, 102).

²⁶⁶ It may also be that these texts were added by the scribe. In this case, they would provide further information about the reception of this collection, that is a gather of letters re-used as *dictamina* to learn the art of letter writing.

²⁶⁷ Novák, "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty," 152.

²⁶⁸ See Ed. Appendix n. 1.

collection and it seems to be complementary to it.²⁶⁹ Thus, as we have seen the texts (Ed. n. 74, 75) conform for their content and date to the other letters contained in the collection. However, an issue remained unsolved. It is not clear if their uniformity in pattern was created by the scribe who added the documents or by the author of the collection. Therefore, their erraticism in the meaning of “wandering in from another place” remains an unanswered question.

Some General Considerations

Summing up, various kind of letters have been collected together. They provide a multispectral portrayal of the queen. Their historical value is fairly evident. The letters are the product of an authentic cultural and social context. Names of people and cities, reference to specific historical events lead to reconstruct a temporal and geographical frame in which the source finds place which is closed to the court of Queen Kunhuta and her husband in the years 1266-1271.

²⁶⁹ See the commentary part Ed. nos. 62, 74.

III. The Queen's Letters. A Rhetorical and Socio-Cultural Historical Source

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the figure of the queen, which emerges from the letter collection is extremely multifaceted. She is a mother, queen consort concerned with the birth of a male child, beloved wife, intercessor between families and countries, skilled administrator of the reign and political agent involved in the contemporaneous issues of the time. The definition of such an image is the result of an accurate selection of documents made by the compiler and other alleged contributors (copyists). It is relevant to take in mind that we are dealing with an epistolary work that is not a neutral source. Letter collections, whatever the typology, have somehow a narrative frame which guides the audience. The selection of letters helps the readers to adopt a specific reading from the many possible readings. Furthermore, if the compiler is a *magister*, the story told by the collection is corroborated by his authorial voice. It is well known that dictatores were able to exercise at a great extent a political, cultural and moral influence on their audience, both in chanceries and in schools.²⁷⁰ These are the essential presuppositions to be taken in account when reading the following sections. They will focus on two of the multiple queen's roles described in the previous chapter: the queen as intercessor and the beloved wife. As for the intercessory queenly activity the letters connected to Hungarian affairs will be analysed. They will draw attention to interesting interferences occurred between the representatives of the Bohemian and southern Italian rethoric traditions, i. e. Bohuslav and Henricus de Isernia. The image of the queen as beloved wife emerges from eleven love letters contained in the collection. They are expression of an amorous rhetoric, whose long tradition dates back to Ovide.

As it will be shown, the letters investigated in this chapter are precious historical sources, both from the dictaminal and socio-cultural point of views. They are beyond the brute facts and raise questions on identities and mentalities of the time. From them we learn how contemporaneous events were read at the queen's court. Besides, the letters bring light on the way in which coniugal affection and emotions were expressed at the royal court. Furthermore, they inform us about the development of a rhetoric tradition established in Bohemia from 13th century. Last but not least, the image of the queen portrayed by these letters add new information about the contemporaneous understanding of Kunhuta's life,

²⁷⁰ A valuable example of such political and moral influence exercised by *dictatores* is provided by Florian Hartmann. The German scholar reconstructs brilliantly the socio-cultural context of the dictatores, masters and secretaries at the service of lords and institution in the 12th century Italian civic life (cf. Florian Hartmann, "Il valore sociale dell'ars dictaminis e il self-fashioning dei dettatori comunali," in *Medieval Letters between Fiction and Document*, 105-118).

whose complexity is proved by the apparent contradictory images provided by the documentary sources investigated in chapter I (chronicles and diplomas).²⁷¹

²⁷¹ See for instance the antinomic images of Kunhuta as “bad wife” in cronicles and “beloved wife” in letters.

III.a Kunhuta Uherská (Hungarian): a Queen Intercessor

III.a.1 The Case of Hungary

In the letter collection the queen figures as key figure in the relationship between families and countries (namely the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, the Duchy of Bavaria). The focus of this section will be on letters which concern the frictions between the polities of the first two mentioned lands and their rulers Béla IV, István V and P. Otakar II. Béla IV, King of Hungary, dies in May 1270 and his son succeeds him on the throne (1270-1272). Their relationship was apparently quite conflictual. The crisis raised after the defeat in Kroissenbrunn against the Bohemians (1260). After loosing the title of Duke of Styria gained in 1258, István was made by his father Lord of Transilvania. In 1262 he gained the title of *rex iunior* (junior king) and was granted of the government of a part of the kingdom (that one on the east side of the Danube).²⁷² Nevertheless, this shared of power did not assure the auspicated political stability in the reign. The frictions between Béla and István continued till 1266 when father and son signed a peace treaty in the Margitsziget (island of Marguerite).²⁷³ Nobles took part to the wars between the King of Hungary and his son in 1260. Apparently, they supported the *senior* or *iunior* king in disrespect of the part of the realm they lived. After the peace (1266) the unfaithful barons were punished and expropriated of their lands. Michael, elder Kunhuta's brother, supported Béla IV and consequently gained the hostility of King István V. In 1268, Michael was not anymore ban of Bosnia.²⁷⁴

As seen in the previous chapter, several letters included in the letter collection presumably compiled by master Bohuslav seem to refer to the friction between Michael and the Hungarian king (Ed. nos. 19, 25, 26, 93). The sender acts as intercessor (Ed. n. 19) for repairing to the mistake of her brother (M.) and repeats a similar request of forgiveness in letters (Ed. nos 25, 26). In the letter n. 93 her request seems to find a successful response. Nevertheless, these apparent advantageous negotiations are contradicted by the fact that in 1268 Michael was ousted by King István V. After 1268 we do not have information about him and so it is difficult to reconstruct his relationship with King István V in the time between 1268 and 1272. Yet, we know that in 1272 a person named Stephen replaced him and became ban of Bosnia.²⁷⁵

Several further letters concern Bohemia's foreign affairs related to Hungarian crown. They refer to the frictions between Béla IV and his son (ca. 1261-1266) and once again

²⁷² John V. A. Fine states that István revolted against his father because in 1262 he assigned Slavonia, Dalmatia and Croatia to Béla, István's younger brother (see Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: a Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*, 175).

²⁷³ For the bad relationship between Béla IV and his son see Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 106-107.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: a Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*, 181.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

emphasizes the queen's mediator activity. In the letter (Ed. n. 60) it is said that the old Hungarian King has been ousted from his throne and betrayed by his son and faithful servants (*de solio suo pellitur, fraudatur suis fidelibus*). Consequently, the addressee should mediate with her husband and persuade him to undertake a battle against the the son of the Hungarian King (*ad succurrendum in forti brachio et armato contra temeritatem filii*). The request of this protection seems to be confirmed in another letter (Ed. n. 23) in which the addresser promises that her husband will protect the female addressee and the nobles (*viri*) against King István. Another couple of letters relate the death of the Hungarian King (Ed. n. 77) and his last will that would assign to the addressee, identified by Palacký with P. Otakar II, the title of protector of his family, consort and barons of the realm. The meaning and content of this last letter finds place again within the framework of the domestic wars of the 1260 that raised internal conflicts in the Hungarian realm that never pacified. After Béla's death some barons started to consider Otakar as their lord. Engel states that they "feared retribution from the new king."²⁷⁶ They had served the former king and fought with him against his son. Now they were forced to serve their opponent. According to Wojciech Kozlowski, this state of affairs would have lead some barons "to invite P. Otakar II to sit on the Hungarian throne." and consequently "a double election took place."²⁷⁷ Kunhuta would have probably exercised a key role in this dispute to the succession to the Hungarian throne as grand-daughter of the former King, Béla IV. Anna, Kunhuta's mother, probably also supported Otakar's election as King of Hungary. She fled to Prague with the Hungarian royal treasury.

III.a.2 *De treguis*. The issue of the truce between P. Otakar II – István V and the Rhetoric of Henricus de Isernia

Four letters (Ed. nos 5,6,7, 84) included in the collection relate the truce agreed in 1270 by P. Otakar II and István V. The relevance of these texts is stressed by the presence of a marginal note (*de treguis*) along the text (Ed. n. 6). A look at chronicles and documentary sources help to contextualize and interpret these documents.

At 16 October 1270 P. Otakar II met István V near Bratislava. It was St. Martin day and a temporary truce of two years was signed.²⁷⁸ In December the Czech king during his journey

²⁷⁶ Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 107.

²⁷⁷ Wojciech Kozlowski, *The Thirteenth Century "International" System and the Origins of the Angevin-Piast Dynastic Alliance* (Doctoral Dissertation, Central European University, 2014), 206.

²⁷⁸ Palacký, *Über Formelbücher II*, n. 91, 301-302; this document was included by Gusztáv Wenzel in his *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, vol. 3 (Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd Akademiai, 1862), n. 148, 243-244. In the collection of magister Bohuslav (Ed. n. 5) another document concerns the same issue; Palacký dates it to 1270. The same document but apparently taken from another source (*ex diplomatarium cartaceo Ottocari*) has been published by Dobner and dated by him to 1267 (See Ed. n. 5). Dobner publishes also two other documents linked to the same subject. One (*ex carthulario diplomatario Ottocari II*) by István,

back to Prague foils an attack of István V and his Hungarian and Cuman troops. Anyway, the rest of his army falls into the ambush and the Austrian land was plundered and ravaged.²⁷⁹ In April 1271 the Austro-Bohemian troops invaded Hungarian lands and they arrived near river Rába where they fought against István V's army (21 May 1271). After the battle the Czech king returned to Bohemia (24 May 1271).²⁸⁰ In the *Althenses Annales* it is said that as soon as the Otakar left the Hungarian realm, István attacked Austria and Moravia.²⁸¹ The battle was followed by a peace that was guaranteed by the prelates of both the kingdoms on 2 July 1271,²⁸² signed on 3 July by the Hungarian king²⁸³ and on 14 July by the King of Bohemia.²⁸⁴ In the treaty Přemysl gave back the Hungarian territories conquered during the military campaign. On the opposite side, István renounced to his claims on the royal treasure brought to Bohemia by Anna, Kunhuta's mother, and promised to give up his claims over Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola.

This historical sketch describes the struggle of the years 1270-1271 as an attempt of István V to gain control on Austria and Stiria. Anyway, scholars have showed that other factors might have led to conflict situations. Engel describes the short reign of István V (1270-1272) as a period of disorder and internal dissense. He assumes that the emergence of a new quarrel between the Bohemian and Hungarian kings may be linked to István's discord with some of his barons. As previously said, after Béla's death in 1270 some barons moved to Prague asking for Otakar's support.²⁸⁵

A further consideration should be made. The information provided above are taken mainly by Austrian and Czech sources. Not surprisingly they tend to read István's attack to Austria (December 1270) as a fraud attack of Hungarians. The seemingly fraudulent nonobservance of the truce is especially emphasized in the letter collection of master Bohuslav. It is noteworthy that the order of the letters relating the truce copied in the

archbishop *Colocensis*, who confirms the observance of the peace signed with P. Otakar II by the Hungarian King István V. It is dated by the Czech editor to 1267; Hrubý and Emler date it to 2 July 1271 (ACRB I n. 18, 30-31; RBM II n. 751, 294-295). The other document (*ex diplomatario cartaceo Ottocari II*) is addressed by the Hungarian King István V to his sister, Elisabeth Duchess of Cracow, about the promise of observance of the peace signed with P. Otakar II (dated to 1273); anyway, this date is wrong since King István V died in 1272 (cf. Gelasius Dobner ed., "Diplomatarium Bohemico-Hungaricum," in *Monumenta Historica Boemiae nusquam ante hac edita*, vol. II (Prague: Clauser, 1768), nos. 46-47, 369-370).

²⁷⁹ "Hermannii Althenses Annales," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores in Folio*, 17, edited by ed. Ph. Jaffé (Hannoverae: Hahn, 1861), 406: *Stephanus rex Ungariae circa festum s. Thomae apostoli misso exercitu in Austriam a parte meridiana Danubii, illam provinciam devastavit, occisis et in captivitatem abductis plus quam XVII millibus hominum.*

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² ACRB I n. 18, 30-31; Gelasius Dobner ed., "Diplomatarium Bohemico-Hungaricum," n. 46, 369; RBM II n. 751, 294-295; see also Ed. n. 7.

²⁸³ Wenzel, *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, vol. 3, n. 152, 247-256; CDM IV n. 51, 67-75; CDB V/2 n. 636, 247-260; RBM II n. 752, 295.

²⁸⁴ CDM IV n. 52, 75-83; RBM II n. 753, 295-301; György Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. V/2 (Budae: typogr. Regiae universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), 113-124; CDB V/2 n. 637, 247-260.

²⁸⁵ Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 107.

manuscript seems not to be accidental. It apparently guides the reading of the audience and tells a story of a honest vs dishonest king, respectively represented by P. Otakar II and István V.

The story is distinguished in three phases: 1) the defense of the peace by the Czech king (Ed. n. 5); its fraudulent violation by the Hungarian king and the public complain of Otakar, who requests support by the representatives of Christians (Ed. n. 6); the positive answer by Hungarian bishops and prelates, who want to favor the restoration of the truce (7). A further letter concerns the same issue. Yet, it comes from the queen's voice (Ed. n. 84). In this letter the treacherous behavior of István V is particularly underlined. The queen once again seems here to play a mediator role. She, who is the bond of union between families and countries, deplors her uncle's behavior. His mistake might potentially threaten the peace between Hungarians and Bohemians sealed by her marriage with the Czech king in 1261. This letter is apparently connected to the letter (Ed. n. 6) that has presumably composed by Enrico of Isernia.

In both letters an insistence on the Hungarian transgression of the truce and massacre of the innocents can be found.²⁸⁶

The king's letter Ed. n. 6	The queen's letter Ed. n. 84
<p>[...] ipse rex St. cuius stabilitas est esse instabilem, et fides perfidie deservire, sicut patet ex operum argumentis, renunciatis treugis [...] <u>fidem datam violans</u>, promissiones irritans, concessa privilegia parvipendens sive vilipendens, <u>dictam terram nostram Austriam fraudulenter invasit, in ipsa proch dolor per Comanos et alios infideles Christi effundens profluvium sanguinis Christiani</u> [...] <u>et nocenter effudit sanguinem innocentum</u>, non parcens conditioni, sanguini, sexui vel etati. Ut igitur formam privilegiorum super treugis huiusmodi confectorum, quam ad noticiam domini pape cardinalium, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et omnium Christianorum deferre volumus, ut <u>nostram innocenciam et inauditam iniuriam nobis factam</u> audiat totus mundus, atque eciam ut singulas conditio<n>es, quibus treuge eedem sunt vallate, plenius cognoscatis. Ecce vobis de verbo ad verbum transcriptum mittimus eorundem, sigilli</p>	<p>Semper in suspenso noster fuit animus de statu persone vestre ex relatione rumorum, quos nobis hactenus nunciastis, ita ut quod antea enigmaticice credebamus, nunc ex ultima relatione scripti vestri cognoscimus evidenter, quod futurum, proch dolor verebatur. Dolemus enim et dolendo veremur intra nos verecunde, quod noster avunculus rex Stephannus, caro et sanguis noster, <u>oblitus date fidei et prestiti tactis sacris iuramenti per se et per suos, pro se et pro suis</u>, sic Deum minus veritus est, ut immunitis tendendo insidias, postquam in vobis exercere nequivit maliciam, exemplo erroris inflammatus potius quam correctus non nisi celitus per Dei providenciam prenuncio prophético, <u>inpotentes agressus est sanguinem proch dolor innoxium effundendo</u>. Letamur et ingemimus diversis respectibus ex premissis. Letamur equidem, quod immunitum, iustum et insontem Dei providencia de manu vos erroris alterius eripuit et ingemimus non</p>

²⁸⁶ The following analysis and comparison between the two letters has been partly explored in my article *Il formulario della Regina Kunhuta e la retorica epistolare in Boemia nel XIII secolo*, in *Le Dictamen*, 257-283.

<p>nostri munimine roboratum.</p>	<p>inmerito, quod immunes et mortis inconscii in gladio sub pacis specie ceciderunt, quorum mors quia sancta est, ut credimus. Grates altissimo plene referre neque scimus, neque poterimus quamdiu vivimus, <u>qui vestre puritatis innocenciam per suam clemenciam e manibus sic eripuit impiorum</u>. Nos itaque vivendo nobis vivere non videmur, quasi desperantes humanitus, nisi concedatur nobis divinitus diebus nostris gracia vos videndi, propter quod sicut scripsistis nobis in Moraviam vel Austriam nos expedire quando nobis mandaretis. Dicimus, quod videndo vos commori vobis vellemus potius quam in amaritudine defectus vestri vivere, sicut vivimus in presenti. Placeat igitur dominationi vestre orbatam omnis gaudii solamine vestre presencie preferencia consolari si ut diximus vivere diligitis semivivam.</p>
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As the table shows the key themes covered by the two letters are very similar apart from the fact that in the first one they are part of a political propaganda probably aimed to legitimate Otakar's territorial acquisition in the Hungarian land and in the second one they recall a rethoric of affectivity which is explored in the following section.

The letters present also stylistic similarities. They stress in a similar way the innocence of the king (*nostra innocencia / vestre puritatis innocencia*) vs the fraudulent invasion of Austria by István V, who contravened his pact (*fidem datam violans / oblitus date fidei et prestiti tactis sacris iuramenti*) and shed innocent blood (*effudit sanguinem innocentum / sanguinem proch dolor innoxium effundendo*).

Should we consider one letter the possible model of the other? This hypothesis was first formulated by J. B. Novák and probably there is some truth in his line of thinking. It should be taken in account that it was a normal habit recycling phraseology from other letter collections and adapt it to the new needs of the time.²⁸⁷ Furthermore, Enrico of Isernia was

²⁸⁷ Grévin explains zealously this process of the use of the *summe dictaminis* (letter collections which gathered rhetorical practical models created – as the French scholar points out – “*exempli causa* or adapted from chancery practice”). This process of re-using rhetorical material was more complex that one may expect. It did not simply implied an imitation of the chancery routine formulas or of the rules learned from the theoretical part of the *ars dictaminis*. Yet, letter collections were especially re-used. Professional writers study them at schools and afterwards they deepen the knowledge of this rhetorc material in the course of their stage at the chanceries. According to Grévin, it is not completely clear if the professional writers used the letter collections more by memorizing them or consulting the manuscripts. For the case of the use of the Sicilian and papal model letters at the English chancery (13th and 14th centuries) see Benoît Grévin “Writing Techniques in Thirteenth - and Fourteenth-Century England: The Role of the Sicilian and Papal Letter

probably considered a sort of authority in Bohemia (13th century). He was who inaugurated the dictaminal tradition in Czech lands.²⁸⁸ His manual on letter writing (*Epistolare dictamen*) was the first to be written in those territories.²⁸⁹ In addition, he also founded the first rethoric Bohemian school in Vyšehrad (ca. 1273-4), in which it was thought the art of writing letters and the trivium (grammar, rhetoric and logic). The information concerning his school can be drawn from his letters such as those inviting students to attend his lectures.²⁹⁰ These nine inviting letters are considered as the *proemium* of his epistolary. The third one is also an eloge of rhetoric and it is explicitly addressed to students that want become notaries or (*causarum patroni*).²⁹¹ Probably, the lack of knowledge of the dictamen in Bohemia was quite evident as showed by Enrico's praising of the progress of one of his students whose letter tries to imitate the Capuan style rather than the ignorance of the Bohemian one (*ruditas Bohemie*).²⁹² Enrico's work as rhetoric teacher was made in conjunction with his service as notary or secretary of the king. This explains the issues covered by his letters that are concerned with relevant contemporaneous facts. In this respect, it should be notice the thematic connection between some of them probably written for king P. Otakar II and those included in Bohuslav's collections (i.e. the letter addressed to Polish lords, those against the Dukes of Bavaria and the documents concerning Hungarian

Collections as Practical Models for the Shaping of Royal Propaganda," in *Fourteenth Century England VII*, edited by W. Mark Ormrod (Suffolk (U.K.): Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 1-29; for a similar use at a larger European level see Grévin, *Rhétorique*, 539–873.

²⁸⁸ We have scarce information about the existence of Bohemian schools before the foundation of the University by King and Emperor Charles IV (1348). Probably, the most ancient school was founded in connection to St. Vitus cathedral (a first reference to it comes from Kosmas in 1074). It was also assumed that a still more ancient school was created in Budeč since legendary stories tell that St. Václav was educated there. Probably St. Vitus school offered a good education for elementary studies but students had to go abroad for advanced studies programs in 12th century (e. g. Kosmas, the bishop Daniel I, the prince Jindřich Břetislav). In a sense, the rhetoric school created by Henricus de Isernia brought for the first time in Bohemia a more advanced level studies in Bohemia. For Prague pre-University schools and the development of monastery schools in 14th century (e.g. the Augustinian school of St. Thomas monastery in Malá Strana, or the monasteries schools in Staré Město - the minorite one of the St. James and the Domenican one of St. Clement -, or the Cistercian school connected to Zbraslav monastery) see especially Marie Bláhová "Pražské školy předuniverzitního období," [Prague school in Pre-University time] in *Škola a město: sborník příspěvků z Konference Škola a Město, konané ve dnech 5. - 6. října 1992*, edited by Jiří Pešek (Praha: Archiv Hlavního Města Prahy, 1994), 26-39.

²⁸⁹ He wrote another rhetorical treatise (*De coloribus rhetoricis*) and an invective that can be considered a grammar manual (*Invectiva in Ulricum Polonum*). See footnote n. 173.

²⁹⁰ In the fourth letter the rhetoric school of Vyšehrad is explicitly mentioned: "Scolares omnes Pragam habitantes ad mensam meam, quam in Wyssegradensi ecclesia erexi, duxi presentibus invitandos [...]; see *Invitantur scolares...Formulářové listy Jindřicha z Isernie - pozvání pražským žákům ke studiu na vyšehradské škole*, 25.

²⁹¹ *Ivi*, 20.

²⁹² RBM II n. 2620, 1146: *Sum gavisus, quod littere vestre stili nolo dicere ruditatem Bohemie nullatenus redolent, sed splendidioris incudis fabricam sapientes suaviloquam videntur imitari Siciliam et tube clangorem altisonum Capuane.*

issues).²⁹³ Given these premises, the hypothesis that the king's letter might have been partly a stylistic source of inspiration for the queen's letter should be taken in account. At any rate, it is definitely sure that these texts are a precious database of information for the study of the rhetoric tradition in Bohemia and the socio-cultural history of the time.

III.b Queen Kunhuta: a Nouvelle Heroine? Love, Letters, Frauenklage and the Trope of the Female Suffering

Ovid's *Heroides* provides a characterization of the feminine represented by female mythological victims of love that share a common plot, a set of vocabulary and a similar request of return of the man who seduced and often abandoned them. These fictional epistolary characters repeat a similar female literary figure.²⁹⁴

Ovid's attempt of construction of an ideal literary Woman against the multiplicity of women is one of the core themes investigated in feminist scholarship.²⁹⁵ In the *Heroides*, there is a repetition of a pattern of female image which reflects, as stated by Lindheim, the author's attempt "to generalize about Woman, posing a single principle by which to define all women."²⁹⁶ According to Laurel Fulkerson, heroines perform gender in the same way

²⁹³ As for the relationship between Bavaria and Bohemia see especially (Dolliner, *Codex epistolaris Primislai Otacari II*, n. 15, 44-52), which is a complaint and invective against Duke Heinrich of Bavaria who apparently betrayed the Czech King and supported Rudolph of Habsburg (ca. 1276) and also (Dolliner, *Codex epistolaris Primislai Otacari II*, nos. 16, 17, 20, 52-54 and 60-61). On the subject of the friction between Hungary and Bohemia see (Dolliner, *Codex epistolaris Primislai Otacari II*, nos. 1,4, 1-5 and 7-8; after the death of István V: nos. 12, 13, 31-34).

²⁹⁴ A clear explanation of the meaning of the repetition of similar situations in the *Heroides* has been provided by Jacobson: "The world of myth is no longer reality or a symbolic reflection of reality, but to a larger degree projections or extensions of individual minds. That is why Ovid chooses to create a work in which very similar situations, indeed, the very same myth recurs again and again. For, given the insight that mind is itself part of reality, one and the same event becomes a multi-faceted thing depending on who sees, experiences, and recounts it," cf. Howard Jacobson, *Ovid's Heroides* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 349.

²⁹⁵ There are several recent feminist or post-feminist oriented studies. For instance that of Lauren Fulkerson, who is interested in issues of authorship, models of communal reading and writing. Fulkerson studies the way in which Ovidian heroines, as literary writers and readers, fashion themselves as authors by alluding to the readings influenced them. Intertextuality and intratextuality are central to the matter of her book. Her study with that of Spentzou are post-feminist works since the two scholars believe that "Ovid can write like a woman." This can be explained with the fact that readers over the ages believed it. So epistles should not be seen as simply projections of the male poet that fail in writing authentically as a woman. A further relevant study that is focused on the voice of women at the expense of the men is that by Lindheim; she is especially interested in genre issues (epistolary – elegy) and women's self-fashioning. Cf. Erossini Spentzou, *Readers and Writers in Ovid's Heroides: Transgressions of Genre and Gender* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Lauren Fulkerson, *The Ovidian Heroine as Author. Reading, Writing, and Community in the Heroides* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2005); Sara H. Lindheim, *Mail and Female: Epistolary Narrative and Desire in Ovid's Heroides* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003).

²⁹⁶ Lindheim, *Mail and Female*, 10-11.

because “they are psychologically similar,” they are abandoned women and as a result also they “drawn upon a limited store of vocabulary and rethorical devices.”²⁹⁷ Though it is an illusion, the reader has the impression to listen to authentic female voices. The subjective nature of the epistolarity genre allows the mythological figures to speak in first person and re-tell the story told in previous sources, especially epic or tragedy. As explained by Elisabeth Harvey,²⁹⁸ Ovid “travestite ventriloquism,” his vocal cross-dressing, allows him to speak as if he were a woman and find a persuading voice for female suffering. As argued by Lindheim, this fictional female voice reveals quite clearly its deceit and in a more evident manner in the last letter of the collection. In the letter by Sappho to Phaon, which is the only epistle by a real woman and not a mythological one, Ovid represents her as the other heroines seeking to associate her to a stable portrayal of Woman. Yet, a comparison between Ovid-authored Sappho’s letter and the Greek poet’s surviving fragments of poetry shows a relevant fact. Sappho’s fragments’ reject any generalization about feminine but conversely produce a “disintegration of categories.”²⁹⁹

The literary feminine created by Ovid previously enounced has been a lasting influential model in epistolography imitated by numberless generations. In her study on *ancient régime* France love letter writing, Katherine Ann Jensen investigates the emergence of a creation of female epistolary ideal based on abandonment and emotional writing. She explains this stylized version of the feminine image through the notion of the Epistolary Woman: “seduced, betrayed, and suffering, this woman writes letter after letter of anguished and masochistic lament to the man who has left her behind.”³⁰⁰ This ideology of femininity would express according to Jensen an attempt to limit women’s influence on language and literature gained in salon and reduce their “power over sexual relations and the tenets of *galanterie*.”³⁰¹ The definition coniated by Jensen is one of the most emblematic expressions of the varied and persistent reception of the Ovidian *Heroides* over the centuries.³⁰² The

²⁹⁷ Fulkerson, *The Ovidian Heroine as Author*, 12.

²⁹⁸ Elizabeth Dolan Harvey, *Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

²⁹⁹ Lindheim states that though the letter by Sappho to Phaon has been written by Ovid, it “bases on the ground of an authorial authenticity” because this poem rewrites the words of a real poem. Thus Ovid is able to speak like a woman because gives the illusion of a Woman borrowing the voice of the heroines.

³⁰⁰ Katharine Ann Jensen, *Writing Love: Letters, Women, and the Novel in France, 1605-1776* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995), 1.

³⁰¹ Cf. Jensen, *Writing love*, 5. The Epistolary Woman is the result of a male struggle with the salon that empowered women and made them arbiters of literature and behavior. Editors and epistolary theorists seek to establish the belief in the natural talent of women for writing letters and specifically amorous letters. They try to create the ideal image of woman as victim of love, suffering and subjected to the man’s betrayal.

³⁰² Scholars dedicated several studies to the influence of Ovid’s *Heroides*; see for instance Eleanor Jane Winsor, *A Study in the Sources and Rhetoric of Chaucer’s Legend of Good Women and Ovid’s Heroides* (PhD diss., Yale university, 1963); Nancy Dean, “Chaucer’s Complaint, a Genre Descended from the *Heroides*,” *Comparative Literature* 19 (1967): 1-27; Harvey, *Ventriloquized Voices*; Linda S. Kauffman, *Discourses of Desire: Gender, Genre, and Epistolary Fictions* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Yvon Le Blanc, *Va Lettre Va: the French Verse Epistle: 1400-1550* (Birmingham [Ala.]: Summa Publications, 1995); Marina

seventeenth-eighteenth century France epistolary manuals, which were designed for courtly rules and etiquette, often promoted the trope of the female suffering through a selection of sample letters by Ovid's *Heroides*.³⁰³

The trope of the suffering woman, which finds a central model in the *Heroides*, has a reception which is not limited to the modern framework. It plays an influential role also in medieval time, in both epistles and literature in general. In vernacular language three valid examples are offered by Dante, Boccaccio, and Chaucer to whom have been recently dedicated a study by Suzanne C. Hagedorn.³⁰⁴ A certain influence can be found also in courtly literature and specifically in the vernacular love poetry of the female lament. On the Latin side, the *Rota Veneris* stands out among the other medieval epistolary texts. This is the only medieval Latin manual of letter writing specifically dedicated to the theme of love. Not surprisingly, it is greatly influenced by the poetics of the ancient author, Ovid, the *praeceptor amoris* for excellence. As it will be shown below, the trope of the suffering woman of ancient origin have been used in medieval love letters. It can be found also in epistles attributed to medieval historical women, such as in Queen Kunhuta's to her husband. In conformity with the routine practice of the time, the queen's letters are probably influenced by a specific amorous rhetoric of the female lament which is inherited by the Antiquity and that finds place in contemporaneous forms of expressions both vernacular (poetry) and Latin (epistolary).

The most recent scholarship have rigidly labelled Kunhuta's love letters as fictive letters. Yet, as stated in the previous chapter medieval letters reject rigid categorizations. At this point a series of questions raise. How should be approached the queen's letters? Do they give voice to a new Heroine, that is to a literary suffering woman? How the objectivity of a conventional motif becomes expression of a subjective identity? In which way these letters give an insight in a peculiar historical environment?

In the following section, first the trope of the female suffering of ancient origin, which is imitated in vernacular poetry (Frauenklage) and medieval love letters will be shortly explored. It was decided to take in consideration the German female lament (among the range of the other possible European vernacular expressions, e. g. cantigas de amigo or chanson de femme) because the Minnesang was most probably closer to Bohemia 13th century.³⁰⁵ Though direct contacts between Kunhuta's court and Minnesänger have not been

Scordilis Brownlee, *The Severed Word: Ovid's Heroides and the Novela Sentimental* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

³⁰³ Jensen quotes some examples and among others she refers to *Les fleurs du bien dire ... pour exprimer les passions amoureuses, tant de l'un comme de l'autre* by François Des Rues or *Lettres amoureuses non moins pleines de belles conceptions que de beaux désirs. Ensemble la traduction de toutes les Epîtres d'Ovide* by Pierre Déimier. Cf. Jensen, *Writing love*, 22.

³⁰⁴ Suzanne C. Hagedorn, *Abandoned Women. Rewriting the Classics in Dante, Boccaccio, & Chaucer* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004).

³⁰⁵ For the study of the Old Czech poetry see Julius Feifalík, *Altčechische Leiche. Lieder und Sprüche des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Gerold in Komm., 1862), Ján Vilikovský, *Staročeská lyrika* [Old Czech poetry] (V Praze: Melantrich, 1940). See especially for the love poetry Václav Černý, *Staročeská milostná lyrika* [Old

found,³⁰⁶ the Frauenklage and the love epistolary tradition represent most likely the stylistic humus which have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the formation of the queens's letters.

Afterwards, the section will illustrate how the conventional motif of the female lament is adopted, re-used and eventually transgressed in Kunhuta's letters. Finally, few letters most likely addressed by P. Otakar II to Kunhuta, his wife, will be examined. They add new information about the reading of the love queen's letters.

Reading Queen Kunhuta's Epistles as Love Letters

The collection of magister Bohuslav contains eleven love letters.³⁰⁷ These epistles have been edited in 1842 by František Palacký and afterwards by Bedřich Mendl.³⁰⁸ They were considered real by the first scholar and fictive by the second.³⁰⁹

They can be defined as a significant amorous literary source. They gain a specific place within the literary tradition giving voice to a female character suffering for the absence of her husband.

All the letters satisfy the essential prerequisite of the love epistolary communication which is particularly concerned with the idea of the physical separation from the beloved.³¹⁰ From a general point of view, in the amorous epistle, the absence of the lover can be determined by different reasons: his death; seduction under promise of marriage and then abandonment; an affair with another woman; political and military issues. In the specific case of the queen's letters the separation from her husband, might be found in the last reason listed above, that is the king's foreign policy.³¹¹ The recurrence of a military terminology in the letters confirms this assumption: *expeditiones, expugnare, castra, municiones civitatum, sagitta, rebelles, innoxii, sanguis innoxium, gladius, mors*.

Czech love poetry] (Praha: Družstevní práce, 1948) and the most recent study on the topic Sylvie Stanovská, Manfred Kern, *Staročeské a německé milostné básnictví vrcholného středověku* [Old Czech and German love poetry of the High Middle Ages] (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2013).

³⁰⁶ Anyway, it should be noticed that her husband's court guested among others Friedrich von Sonnenbrug, Ulrich von dem Türlin, Ulrich von Eschenbach. Furthermore, Kunhuta's son Václav was a great patron of German Minnesang.

³⁰⁷ Ed. nos. 27, 47, 59, 80, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90.

³⁰⁸ Mendl, *Listy královny Kunhuty králi Přemyslovi*.

³⁰⁹ Mendl's approach to these letters, who takes inspiration by Novák's study, is that usually today adopted.

³¹⁰ For a survey of Medieval love letters see Ernstpeter Ruhe, *De amasio ad amasiam. Zur Gattungsgeschichte des mittelalterlichen Liebesbriefes* (München: Fink, 1975); Etienne Wolff, *La lettre d'amour au Moyen Age* (Paris: NiL éditions, 1996); Francesco Stella, "Il Cantico dei Cantici negli epistolari d'amore del XII secolo," in *Il Cantico dei cantici nel Medioevo: atti del convegno internazionale dell'Università degli studi di Milano e della Società internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo latino (SISMEL), Gargnano sul Garda, 22-24 maggio 2006*, edited by Rossana Guglielmetti (Firenze: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008), 451-474.

³¹¹ As we have seen in the previous chapter many letters refer to P. Otakar II's military expeditions or problematic relationship with Hungary and the Duchy of Bavaria.

The Lament for the Absence of the Beloved One. Frauenklage and Medieval Latin Love Letters

The king's absence compels the queen to address to him longing messages. In fact, the most relevant features that Kunhuta's epistles share is found in the passionate enquiry for the return of her husband and the desire for his physical presence. These are the most common themes in both courtly female poetry and in medieval love letters, whose long literary tradition has its own roots in the Antiquity.³¹² The motif of the absence of the beloved and the request of his return is intensively explored in Ovid's *Heroides*, which was frequently imitated in the Middle ages.

On the vernacular side, the Frauenklage is a good example of indirect reception of the classical pattern of the woman's complain for the absence of the dear one. Schmitz points out that the Frauenklage are connected to the Ovide genre of the Heroical letter ("verwandten ovidischen Genre des Heroischen Briefes").³¹³ This type of Frauenlieder (women's songs), which represents the woman's point of view, takes the form of a female lament for the separation and abandonment of the man or complain about envious rivals. A considerable number of Frauenlieder in the form of Frauenklage appeared in the Danubian and classical phases of the Minnesang. Schweikle distinguishes six phases in the Minnesang: 1) Frühphase - early phase 1150-1170; 2) Erste Hochphase - first high phase 1170-1190/1200; 3) Zweite Hochphase - second high phase 1190-1210/1220; 4) Höhepunkt und Überwindung - climax and change 1190-1230; 5) Erste Spätphase - first late phase 1210-1240; 6) Zweite Spätphase - second late phase 1210-1300.³¹⁴ These six stages can be grouped in three major phases: 1) early (Danubian or indigenous stage);³¹⁵ 2) classical phase;³¹⁶ 3) late phase.³¹⁷

³¹² In fact, despite the difficulty in defining the letter as a genre (Margaretta Jolly, Liz Stanley, "Letters as/not a genre" *Life Writing*, 1, 2, [2005]: 91-118) because of the variety of the content and form of epistolary communication, in regard to love epistle a formalized mode to express love can easily be retraced, which finds its origin in the Antiquity (*A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, edited by Thomas K. Hubbard [Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2013], 2).

³¹³ Cf. Götz Schmitz, *Die Frauenklage: Studien zur elegischen Verserzählung in der englischen Literatur des Spätmittelalters und der Renaissance* [Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1984], 14). Schweikle has stated that Ovid and other classical authors have definitely influenced the Frauenlieder but they are only one factor to be taken in account in the formation of medieval lyric (cf. Günther Schweikle, *Minnesang* [Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1989], 72). See also Helga Reuschel, "Ovid und die ags. Elegien" *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 62 (1938): 132-142.

³¹⁴ Such a distinction into phases of development of the Minnesang outlines the amount of French influence and the level of poetry sophistication. Cf. Schweikle, *Minnesang*.

³¹⁵ In this stage the contact with troubadour poetry is perceived in a minor level than in the classical stage. This early phase includes anonymous and known poets active along the Danube river in Austria or in southern Germany such as Der von Kurenberg, Dietmar von Aist, Burgraff von Regensburg, Meinloh von Sevelingen.

³¹⁶ The classical Minnesang is considered as a fully developed courtly love poetry. It is characterized by the most direct influence of the French model. The list of minnesingers of this stage is quite long; among others, Heinrich von Veldeke, Friedrich von Hausen, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Hartmann von Aue. One of the most

At the earlier stage Der von Kürenberg³¹⁸ and Dietmar von Aist³¹⁹ seem to excell in this kind of song. Kürenberg's Frauenklage 'Swenne ich stân alleine' (When I stand alone) is a mix of sexual pleasure and unbereable sorrow. The protagonist is a woman that misses her beloved knight. She is in a night dress and her heart 'is sad and fain to mourn.' Dietmar von Aist's song 'Ez stuont ein frouwe alleine' (There stood a woman alone) represents the lonely lady in the act of looking across the meadow and looked for her lover. She sees a falcon that flies above her, which recalls her departed lover. A more later tradition (the classical phase) includes among others Reinmar der Alte³²⁰ and Hartmann von Aue.³²¹ Reinmar der Alte's song 'Ungenâde und swaz ie danne sorge was' (Of misfortune and trouble I have had my fill) depicts a woman suffering because she was forced to reject the lover. In the Frauenklage (If one can save one's soul by laying) by Hartmann von Aue the female voice complains about the consequences of having chosen a false lover.

As we have seen, the motif of the female lament of ancient origin takes courtly tones in the vernaculare language of the Minnesang. This trope of the suffering woman, which finds a central model in Ovid's *Heroides*, influence in a great extent also the medieval Latin world. On the Latin side, the *Heroides* are often received for being moralized.³²² Yet the examples below shows that this ancient collection of love letters was also used as art of letter writing.³²³

Following Ovid, the Middle Ages coheres finely with the trope of the female lament for the absence of the beloved one in both, fictive letters, and letters attributed to historical figures. On the fictional side, Boncompagnus de Signa in the *Rota Veneris* provides different amorous model letters that reproduce the situation of the women waiting and lamenting for

representative poet of this stage of the German love courtly poetry is Reinmar von Hagenau or (Der Alte), who was active at the court of Vienna till his death (ca. 1210).

³¹⁷ Walther von der Vogelweide (d. 1230) is the last representative of the classical stage and at the same time the creator of a new fashion of courtly love. His poetry reaches a great degree of immediacy. The figures of his poems are not anymore simple abstractions or symbols. In this respect, it is emblematic his poem 'Unter den linden' (under the lime tree), which is a song on the satisfied love. After him, Minnesang spread and started to be characterized by an sentimental exploration of love and interest in Christian motives. The best poets include Ulrich von Winterstetten, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, Heirich von Messein (Frauenlob).

³¹⁸ For the edition of the poet's songs with parallel translation into modern German see especially Günther Schweikle, *Die mittelhochdeutsche Minnelyrik*, vol. 1 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977); for an edition with translation and commentary in English (cf. Gayle Agler-Beck, *Der von Kürenberg: edition, notes and commentary* (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins B.V., 1978).

³¹⁹ See Hugo Moser, Helmut Tervooren and Carl von Kraus eds., *Des Minnesangs Frühling* (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1981).

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² Medieval readers did not know Greek and lacked Ovid's sources. As stated by Suzanne C. Hagerdorn: "aspects of poems that certain modern readers consider parodic when read against their sources would very probably not have appeared so to medieval readers" (Hagerdorn, *Abandoned Women*, 27). As a result, it is not surprising that amatory poetry and *Heroides* were read as didactic work and interpreted as an instruction of moral behavior.

³²³ For medieval commentaries that read *Heroides* as instructional manual of love letter writing see Hagerdorn, *Abandoned Women*, 30-34.

the absence of the lover.³²⁴ On the historical side, several female voices in letters whose authorship is still under debate, imitate Ovid's heroines and complain to their absent husbands or lovers missing their presence.

A vast range of examples is among the second group of letters. In the literary circle of the Loire Valley region of France (eleventh-twelfth century) a nun named Constance by borrowing the voice of *Heroides* expresses herself as a frustrated lover. She supposedly wrote to her superior, Baldricus Burgulianus (Baudri of Bourgueil),³²⁵ deploring her miserable condition (*me miseram*), her impossibility to see him (*nequeo cernere quod cupio*), for one year (*annus abit*). Constance's deepest anxiety leads her to implore Baudri to find whatever reason to visit her (*cur ad nos venias occasio multa paratur*), and to hasten towards her (*maturato gradus et me visurus adesto [...]*).³²⁶ On the other hand, he can reach her more easily than she him because of her "savage stepmother" (*seva noverca*).³²⁷ In the first of the love letters from the twelfth century Tegernsee manuscript from Bavaria (Munich, Clm 19411), a woman suffers for the long absence of her beloved one.³²⁸

In the letter 53 of the famous *Ex epistolis duorum amantium* transcribed by Johannes de Vepria (ca. 1445-ca. 1518), the *Mulier* (Heloise?) refers to the *Vir* (Abelard?) by expressing her special love and her unbearable pain due to the distance which divides them.³²⁹ For this reason "one day will seem a month" (*dies michi mensis*), "a week a year" (*septimana*

³²⁴ Paolo Garbini, *Rota Veneris* (Roma: Salerno, 1996), 60 and 72, in ALIM - *Archivio della latinità italiana del Medioevo*: A women laments because seduced and afterwards abandoned; a wife suffers because abandoned by her consort, who loves another woman.

³²⁵ The issue of this letter attribution still divides scholars. In support of Constance's authorship, see: Peter Dronke, *Women Writers in the Middle Ages, A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (1203) to Marguerite Porete (1310)* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 85; Katherine Kong, *Lettering the Self in Medieval and Early Modern France* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer 2010), 28. Among the opponents: Jean Yves Tilliette, "Hermès amoureux, ou les métamorphoses de la Chimère. Réflexions sur les carmina 200 et 201 de Baudri de Bourgueil," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 104, 1 (1992): 139-144, 160-161; Christine Ratkowitsch, "Io und Europa bei Baudri von Bourgueil," in *Arbor amoena comis: 25 Jahre Mittellateinisches Seminar in Bonn, 1965-1990*, edited by Ewald Könsgen (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), 155.

³²⁶ *Balderico di Bourgueil, Marbodo di Rennes, Ildeberto di Lavardin, Lettere amoroze e galanti*, edited by Manuela Sanson (Roma: Carocci Editore, 2005), 81.

³²⁷ Dronke points out: "the phrase is used by Hypsipyle of Medea – but here it must remain the Mother Superior of Le Ronceray." The scholar identifies other Ovidian echoes such as the conclusive distich that would have been drawn from the opening of Penelope's letter to the absent Ulysses: *Expectate, veni...sepe vocate, veni*, (Dronke, *Women Writers*, 90). The link between Constance's epistle and Ovidian *Heroides* has been explored in several studies. Among them: Tilliette, *Hermès amoureux*, 150; Kong, *Lettering the Self*, 38-43; Hagedorn, *Abandoned Women*, 34-35. Furthermore, it should be noticed that Baudri was deeply influenced by Ovid's *Heroides* and he himself wrote his own version of the exchange of letters between Paris and Helene.

³²⁸ Helmut Plechl, *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Hannover: Hahnsche, 2002), 345-346; Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 472-473.

³²⁹ The new edition by David E. Luscombe (*The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013) proves that the authenticity debate around this collection is not at the end (Barbara Newman, "Astonishing Heloise," *London reviews of books* 23 Jan. 2014).

quoque videbitur annus), if the man will not restore her by his “soothing presence.”³³⁰ Heloise, probably the most famous female correspondent in the medieval time that clearly drew on *Heroides* model at several points,³³¹ in the first of her sensual personal letters addressed to Abelard, requests the “sweet semblance” of his presence through his words.³³²

Kunhuta’s Lament for the Absence of Her Husband

The request of the *presencia consolatrix* of the king is the key-motive of Queen Kunhuta’s letters to her husband. The physical presence of the absent is considered the only possible remedy to the torment caused by the separation as exemplified by the following passages:

Et quia post Deum, qui solus dat et aufert vivere, desiderii anime nostre in vobis conplacuit, optamus super omnia, requirimus et vociferamur: Veniat O., ubi nunc est grata presencia consolantis?³³³

And since after God, who is the only one that gives and takes away life, through the desires of my soul came to love you, I desire above all, I request and cry out: Let O. come, where is the beloved consoling presence now?

or

Igitur diligende vestre dominacioni supplicandum duximus ex affectu, ut consolari nos dignemini vestre presencie maturacione, quam super omnia querimus, diligimus et conplectimur grato munere karitatis.³³⁴

Therefore I believed it was necessary to implore your beloved sovereignty because of my affection, that you consider me worthy of being comforted by your expedited presence, which I request, love and welcome above all thanks to the pleasant gift of love.

It is clear that these excerpts have a highly literary connotation transmitted by the poetic tradition previously enounced. However, the simplicity of these phrases and the *climax* (*optamus super omnia, requirimus et vociferamur* – I desire above all, I request and cry out / *super omnia querimus, diligimus et conplectimur* – I request, love and welcome above all) suggest an affectivity that perhaps moves beyond the epistolary *topos*. This hypothesis is supported even by the mention of concrete details that allude to an intimate framework, such as the reference to the stable condition of the reign (*existit bonus status regni vestri* – there

³³⁰ Constant J. Mews, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), n. 53, 234-235. The original Latin text is edited by Ewald Könsgen, *Epistolae duorum amantium, Briefe Abaelards und Heloises?* (Leiden: Brill, 1974).

³³¹ Phyllis R. Brown, John C. Pfeiffer, “Heloise, Dialectic, and the Heroides,” in *The Lost Love Letters*, edited by Mews, 143-160.

³³² For the original text see Bibliotheca Augustana, *Heloisae epistulae ad Abaelardum*, edited by Jacques Monfrin (Paris: J. Vrin, 1967), http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/hel_ep1.html.

³³³ Ed. n. 87.

³³⁴ Ed. n. 80.

is a good condition of your kingdom),³³⁵ the good health of the queen's daughters and mother (*sane sumus cum dilectis filiabus nostris et matre nostra karissima* – we are healthy with our loved daughters and our dear mother).³³⁶

A variant on the theme of the inquiry of the beloved's return is to refer to the letter as a sort of physical presence. This motive is variously explored in the queen's letters. In one epistle, she implores her husband to visit her (*frequentetis*) through the multitude of his letters (*litterarum vestrarum frequentia*).³³⁷ In another, the seventh one if we follow the original order of the love letters in the manuscript, it is said that the revived presence (*renata presenciam*) of the king will shine brightly in the queen's mind once she receives his message. The literariness of this second mentioned epistle is increased by the use of *leto dolore et tristi gaudio* (joyful pain and doleful joy),³³⁸ a contrasting pair, that are combined with the idea of the physical absence of the beloved and that recall the most famous "bitter-sweet" definition of Eros referred to Peter Dronke.³³⁹

Despite the evident conventional tone of the letter, there is a clear perception of a distinctive personal situation. The junction of rhetoric and subjective expression is here illustrated by the inclusion of peculiar and concrete aspects, such as the chamberlain M. (*vestrum et nostrum M. camerarium*) that could be Mstidruh z Chlumu, Kunhuta's chamberlain (1265-1269)³⁴⁰ and *burgravius Pragensis* (1277-1278).

Besides, there is reference to the King's escape through the clemency of God from the impious hands (*vestram innocenciam graciose de manibus eripiens iniquorum* – saving your innocence graciously from the hands of impious man).³⁴¹ This second aspect is particularly significant since the queen's letters originated most likely because of the absence of the King involved in military campaigns, especially that against István V (1270-71). This even explains the anxiety of Kunhuta, her recommendation to her husband to take care of himself, and her inquiry to him to never enter in person into any city fortifications or camps (*nuncquam ad aliquas municiones civitatum seu castrorum in propria persona accedatis*).³⁴²

As already demonstrated by Dronke, "the female attempt of protection of the loved from himself," is another constant motif in the love epistolary tradition³⁴³ and it is directly included in the macro-topic of the absence of the beloved. In the queen's letter the theme is recast in a distinctive way by incorporating the *monimentum* from the elegiac comedy *Geta*:

³³⁵ Ed. n. 87.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ Ed. n. 86.

³³⁹ Dronke, *The Medieval Latin*, 329.

³⁴⁰ CDB V/1, n. 451, 666.

³⁴¹ Ed. n. 86.

³⁴² Ed. n. 85.

³⁴³ Dronke, *Women Writers*, 90: "As Hero warns Leander of the dangers of the Hellospont, or Laodamia pleads with her bridegroom not to step ashore first in Troy, so Constance implores Baudri: don't be tempted by perilous places such as Rome, or Mainz. They are barbarous people there – let another man tame those beasts!"

posset ab incauto mors tibi seva dari (it might have been given to you a cruel death by a maladroit).³⁴⁴ In the original text this phrase has a comic tone and it is pronounced by Geta, who after throwing stones towards Birria, pretends not to have seen him. Nevertheless, in the queen's letter this passage is read in a completely different way.

It is significant to remind that this comedy by Vital de Blois (12th cent.)³⁴⁵ had a vast reception in the thirteenth and fourteenth century manuscripts used for didactic purposes and his author was included, e. g. by Eberhardus Teutonicus (first half 13th cent.) and Hugo de Trimberg (ca. 1235- ca. 1313) among the *ethici minores*. Furthermore, this text was copied in codices with other works read as instructional sources for ethical behavior such as the *Remedia amoris*.³⁴⁶ It should be also noticed that the *Geta* was transmitted in great number through Italian manuscripts and was well received at the *Magna curia* of Friedrich II. Petrus de Vineia and the other *dictatores* of the Sicilian court quoted frequently verses of the elegiac comedies, i. e. the anonymous *Phamphilus* and Vital's *Geta*. As noticed by Grévin, their quotations were not simple used as rethorical ornaments.³⁴⁷ According to the general reading of the time, they were exemplary sources of moral behavior. Similarly, Geta's verse borrowed by the queen has a moral meaning, which is in this specific case mixed with feelings of conjugal affection.³⁴⁸ It is possible that the person, who composed the letter, got Geta's verse through the mediation of the southern Italian rethoric or florileges, which especially circulated in German speaking countries.

³⁴⁴ Ed. n. 85. The passage quoted refers to the meeting between Geta (in Plautus's text was named Sosia and now is identified with a student) and Birria (this second character was absent by the comedy of Plautus). Birria was asked by Alcmena to follow in secret Geta and see when he returns with Amphitruo by Athens. Geta realizes that he was chased by someone and starts throwing stones towards him that was hiding (Birria). Thus Birria asks to spare him and at this point Geta says: "may have been given to you a cruel death by a maladroit." According to Stefano Pittaluga, the *Amphitruo sive Geta* of Vital de Blois was composed around 1125-1130. This text with the *Aulularia* by the same author would have given birth to the genre of the elegiac comedy. For the style the model is Ovid, for the content Plautus. It seems that Vital knew Plautus' comedies only through Pseudo-Plautus texts. Most likely the model for *Aulularia* was the *Querolus*, and for *Geta* another source that unfortunately went lost, cf. Stefano Pittaluga, "Prologhi di commedie medievali e prologhi di commedie umanistiche," *Scrineum* 24/25 (1993): 103.

³⁴⁵ For a modern edition of the text see Ferruccio Bertini, "Vital de Blois. Geta," in *Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo*, vol 3, 139-241, edited by Ferruccio Bertini (Genova: Istituto di filologia classica dell'Università di Genova, 1980).

³⁴⁶ See the part of the study of Rino Avesani focused on the history of the tradition which preserved the *Geta* comedy by Vital de Blois; among others, the scholar studies four manuscripts of Italian origin, and one of them preserves the *Remedia amoris* cod. IV F 12 of the National library of Naples (Rino Avesani, *Quattro miscellanee medievali e umanistiche* [Milano: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1969], 14).

³⁴⁷ For the reception of the elegiac comedies at the court of Friedrich II see Klementyna Glińska and Benoît Grévin, "Circulation, interprétation et exploitation des "comédies élégiaques" dans le royaume de Sicile. De Pierre de la Vigne à Boccaccio (XIIIe-XIVe s.)," *Arnos* 4 (2013-2014): 45-74.

³⁴⁸ The elegiac comedy (especially *Pamphilus*) (cf. Grévin, "Circulation, interprétation et exploitation des "comédies élégiaques," 61) quoted also in an amorous letter by Petrus de Vineia. Yet, Petrus' letter is a seduction love letter. Cf. Giulio Bertoni, "Una lettera amorosa di Pier della Vigna," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 57 (1911): 33-46.

The Sacrifice of Love

The request for the return of Queen Kunhuta's husband is stylized and even involves pathetic and fatalistic aspects in harmony with the literary tradition centered on the myth of absolute love. This leads to an apex through the use of hyperbolic expressions, which make the lover the person whom the happiness and even the life of the woman depends on:

*Non reputamus nos aliquid sine vobis. Sola enim et unica post Dominum spes et salus in vestro vivere nobis datur*³⁴⁹

I consider myself nothing without you. Since after God I am given the one and only hope and refuge in your life.

or

*Maxime cum post Deum in vestri solius salute et prosperitatibus nostra dependeat tota salus*³⁵⁰
Mainly because after God all my life depends only on your safety and prosperity

or

*Unde teste Dei Filio, cum in vestra salute constet nostrum vivere [...]*³⁵¹

Whence, as the Son of God testifies, because my life is dependent on your personal safety [...]

The words of the queen revoke the medieval literary attraction, both vernacular and Latin, for an imaginary that identifies love and death. Love requires extreme sacrifice, a “fatal affliction”, a “martyrdom” as argued by Simon Gaunt,³⁵² a sufferance because of which who undertakes the path of the true love must die. Hence, in the medieval French, Tristan and Iseult meet a fatal destiny for their inextricable bound of love; in the *Rota Veneris*, the woman abandoned is compared to the turtle –dove that expects no consolation but that of death; Heloise, in her second letter to Abelard, claims not be able to live if he died. Likewise, Kunhuta would prefer to cease to exist, or die with her husband (*commori vobis*) rather than not to see him again.

However some differences from the conventional motives of the literary tradition reveal an inconstancy. First, the queen's high rhetoric tends to curve towards a prosaic dimension of daily commitments. In the framework of sublime conception of love, Kunhuta does not renounce remind the King of the lack of provisions which should be sufficient till the “quinta feria” ([...] *non plus quam usque quintam feriam proxime venturam expense nobis sufficere estimantur* – not more than till next Thursday expenditures are estimated to be

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁰ Ed. n. 80.

³⁵¹ Ed. n. 85.

³⁵² *Love and Death in Medieval French and Occitan Courtly Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

sufficient).³⁵³ Second, the notorious *topos* of lovesickness (the medical *amor hereos*), which is usually associated with that of love-death, is subverted. The queen recurrently insists in informing her addressee about her good health and that of her daughters (*sane sumus cum nostris karissimis filiabus* – we are healthy with our beloved daughters).³⁵⁴ Thus, two contradictory images of the queen coexist, that of a person, whose *gaudium*,³⁵⁵ originated exclusively by the *salus* of her addressee, and that of a forceful woman, able to take care of her family and manage the reign during the absence of her husband.

Furthermore, the attempt to make the addressee feel guilty, which conventionally lies subtended in the “fatal sacrifice of love,” does not concretize in the queen’s letters. Almost all the Ovidian heroines, declare their incapability to live if their beloved ones will not spare of themselves and will not come back. Similarly, Kunhuta declares not be able to live if the King will not console her with his presence.³⁵⁶ Anyway, at the same time, she represents herself resolute by accepting her pain, since provoked by a rightful reason (*iusta causa est*). Thus, unlikely the Ovid’s Oenone, who laments to be unjustly abandoned by Paris and to suffer undeservedly (*quae venit indignae poena dolenda venit*),³⁵⁷ Kunhuta should bear her pain, which is determined by necessary military expeditions:

³⁵³ Ed. n. 27. Egidio Forcellini, *Lexicon totius Latinitati*, vol. 2 (Patavii: Seminarium, 1828): *Expensa-ae, spesa, sumptus, impensa* = expediture.

³⁵⁴ The letters since of the “development and change they afford” are particularly suited to the medical motive; “in Fronto, for example, a letter itself could be presented as either infection or [...] health tonic (*Ancient Letters. Classical and Late Antique Epistolography*, edited by Ruth Morello and A. D. Morrison [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007], viii).

³⁵⁵ As already pointed out in my article (“Queen Kunhuta’s Epistles to Her Husband,” in *Medieval Letters between Fiction and Document*, 274-275) and in chapter III, the *gaudium* formulas are part of the *summe dictaminis* of the time (e.g. Tommaso of Capua, Liber II). In our specific case, they reflect the sender’s interest in the health of the addressee showed by the recurrent usage of the word *salus* and its variations (*sospitas, bonus status corporis, salubriter*). Furthermore, some notes about the theory of humors written along the text of *Morale Somnium Pharaonis* by Johannes Lemovicensis (fols. 1r-11r) suggest that an interest in medical issues might characterize the manuscript which preserve Queen Kunhuta’s letters. In fact, in the fol. 1v, containing the *epistula secunda Pharaonis ad Magos* and the *epistula tertia Magorum ad Pharaonem*, we read: *Sanguis est humor naturaliter calidus et humidus; flegma est humor naturaliter frigidus et humidus; colera est humor naturaliter calidus et siccus; melancholia est humor naturaliter frigidus et siccus. Adulescencia est etas calida et humida secundum augmentum corporis discreta [et durat] usque ad XXV annos vel circa XXX. Iuventus est etas calida et sicca secundum statum discreta et durat X annis usque ad circa XXX vel XL annos. Senectus est etas frigida et sicca secundum occultam declinationem discreta et durat per XX annos usque ad LX vel LXV annos. Senium est etas frigida et humida secundum manifestam declinationem discreta [...].* More on the *Morale Somnium Pharaonis* by Johannes Lemovicensis in chapter IV.

³⁵⁶ Ed. n. 84: *Placeat igitur dominationi vestre orbatam omnis gaudii solamine, vestre praesencie preferencia consolari, si ut diximus, vivere diligitis semivivam.*

³⁵⁷ Ovid’s distich (*Leniter ex merito quidquid patiare ferendum est / Que venit indigne, poena dolenda venit*) gains a relevant ideological meaning at the Sicilian *Magna Curia*. It is the theme of Petrus de Vineia’s speech given in Padua (1239) after the second excommunication of Friedrich II. Cf. Rolandino, *Vita e morte di Ezzelino da Romano (Cronaca)*, edited by Flavio Fiorese (Milano: A. Mondadori, 2004), 196-199: *Cum insonuisset per Paduam quod imperator erat excommunicatus per papam, tunc ipse fecit protinus convocari magnam contionem in palacio Padue. Et dum illic in sua maiestate sederet, surrexit iudex imperialis Petrus de Vineia, fundatus multa litteratura divina et humana et poetarum. Proposuit autem illam auctoritatem Ovidii: Leniter ex merito quidquid paciare, ferendum est; Que venit indigna pena, dolenda venit, et, aptata sapienter*

*Scripsit et mandavit nobis vestra dileccio, consolando nos, persuadendo et rogando, ne turbaremur multum, attendentes accionis sive expeditionis vestre iuste causam, et revera, quia iusta est, tanto amplius maiorem dolorem nobis inportat animi, certo nos exemplo poetico edocente: " Que venit indigne" etc.*³⁵⁸

You, my love, wrote and sent me a letter to console, persuade and ask me not to be much upset and to consider the reason for your rightful action or expedition, and in fact since it is rightful, it inflicts much greater pain on my soul. Certainly, as the poet teaches us: The penalty that comes upon us undeservedly...

And afterwards she continues:

*Unde tamen sicut mandastis, quia vestris semper obedire mandatis tenemur per omnia firme, quoque roboratum in hoc est cor nostrum, ut placita vobis nobis placeant [...]*³⁵⁹

Whence, anyway as you wrote to me, since I always observe your orders in everything being firmly, also in this respect my heart is persuaded that what is pleasant for your gives pleasure to me [...]

Thus the absence of the king causes a great sufferance to the queen. Yet she bears the pain. As we will learn few lines later, she would experience the sorrow of underseved torments only in case his husband would enter in the camps and would loose his life. As a result, the

auctoritate intencioni, disputavit et edocuit populum quod, cum dompnus imperator foret adeo benignus et iustus princeps et dominus equitatis, sicut unquam fuerit aliquis qui a Karlo citra imperium gubernasset, digne poterat de sancte matris Ecclesie rectoribus conqueri et dolere. The use of this Ovide's quotation in the context of the *ars aregandi* (13th century) was suggested to me by B. Grévin and already quoted in my article ("Il Formulario della Regina Kunhuta e la Retorica Epistolare in Boemia nel XIII secolo," in *Proceedings of the Conference Le Dictamen dans tous Ses États*, 275).

³⁵⁸ Ed. 85. This quotation of Ovid's *Epistulae Heroidum*, V, 8 (*Quae venit indigne poena dolenda venit*) attests a reception of classical culture in Bohemia 13th cent. As stressed by Hexter, Ovid was a school author and the *Heroides* a textbook. Ovid was especially read and studied in 12th cent. - 13th cent. and was variuosly received. His fortunad varied according to the audience and interpretation. Indeed as stated by Hexter "one must anatomize it;" cf. Ralph J. Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling: Studies in Medieval School Commentaries on Ovid's Ars Amatoria, Epistulae ex Ponto, and Epistulae Heroidum* (München: Bei der Argeo-Gesellschaft, 1986), 3. Unfortunately, before that of St. Vitus chapter school of the 14th century we do not have a preserved canon of authors read at school in the Bohemian context. Anyway, it should be noticed that in the 13th century an increment and deeper contact with classical culture probably took place in Bohemia thanks to the foundation of the rethoric school in Vyšehrad by Henricus of Isernia (ca. 1273). Henricus himself quotes Ovid in his letters such as the *Metamorphoses*, I, 100: *mollia peragant ocia*, (*Psík, Invectiva prosotetrasticha in Ulricum Polonum*, 18). It is possible that who composed the queen's letter (the *dictator*, the stylistic author) was influenced by the Italian schoolmaster. At the same time, another relevant fact should be noticed. Ovid has been variuosly interpreted such as *Ethicus, Magus, Medicus, Theologus*. Hexter in his analysis of a school commentary and its related *accessus* on the *Heroides* in a twelfth century parchment manuscript preserved in Munich (clm 19475) stresses that the commentary was written by attributing to Ovid a moralizing purpose. Indeed the medieval master reads the *Heroides* as a collection of fictive letters written to praise the legitimate love and blame the illicite and foolish ones. In the queen's letter the quotation is deprived of a moral meaning and incorporated within the context of a emotional subjective situation. More on this issue below.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

idea of the unjust suffering does not pertain the queen's present moment but rather the sphere of her virtual future. From this point of view, as already stated before, she is very different from Ovid's Oenone.

Nevertheless, it should be noticed that in the same letter she seems to assume disunified characteristics, from strength to weakness. After representing herself as a judicious and strong woman, she entrusts her life to his husband's safety. Despite of the fact she is consoled by the presence of her children, she admits that could not continue to live if he does not return saved:

*Etsi per divinam providenciam sufficienter dotate simus dono puerorum super terram, ... videmur tamen ... nichil habere gaudi seu leticie nostrum animum consolantis si salutis vestri corporis nobis consolacio non adesset*³⁶⁰

Though thanks to God's mercy I am granted of the gift of the children in my life, ... nevertheless it seems to me that ... my heart could not have any joy or pleasure if the comfort of the safety of you missed to me.

The tendency of the queen to simultaneous claims of power and help seems to espouse the complex nature of Ovid's mythological female letters writers. This contradictory self-representation of the heroines has been particularly investigated by Lindheim that consider them as a product of an "epistolary negotiation" and at the same time an invitation "to read the *Heroides* as a text that explore desire."³⁶¹ Among others, the disparate features of Ovid's female fictional subjects have also been highlighted by Peter Dronke, who refers to Constance's letter and states: "for her, to exploit the emotional range of Ovid's heroines was an ideal solution. The *Heroides* could suggest many ways of handling changes of mood, of expressing warmth and of taunting the man with coldness or neglect, flashes of blithe longing and stretches of being forlorn."³⁶² Kathryn L. McKinley similarly stresses Ovid's peculiar representation of the feminine and its fortune in medieval literature: "Ovid's astute

³⁶⁰ *Ibidem*

³⁶¹ The scholar thinks that this contradictory portrayal of the heroines can be interpreted as a rhetorical strategy adopted to get control over the addressees. From one point of view, this might be easily explained as an "epistolary negotiation." Indeed, the female mythological writers try to persuade their addressees by prefiguring an anticipatory response from them. Consequently, they look for the best representation of themselves in order to get the desired reaction in the letter's addressee. In this respect, she refers to Demetrius "it is right have regard to the person to whom letter is addressed... the reader becomes determinant of the letter's message." From another point of view, this incoherent way of self-characterization may be understood, the scholar states, by basing on the lacanian theory of desire: "explaining the structure of feminine desire, Lacan argues that a woman performs a series of roles, often highly contradictory ones, in an effort that she will be a man's eternal object of desire [...] masculine desire is a desire for an impossible desire." My interpretation of the double portrayal of the queen has been inspired by Lindheim's study, but exclusively by the notion of the "epistolary negotiation." See Lindheim, *Mail and Female: Epistolary Narrative*, 9-10, 23, 81-2.

³⁶² Dronke, *Women Writers*, 87.

portrayals of the multiple, and complicated, emotional states of his female characters are indeed a rich heirloom for medieval poets.”³⁶³

Generally speaking, the queens’ portrayal while it is similar to that of Ovid’s literary characters at some points, it shows³⁶⁴ two relevant differences. First, the heroines fail to persuade their mythological addressees and they do not receive any response from their correspondents.³⁶⁵ On the contrary in the queen’s letters there is more than one reference to an ongoing exchange of letters: [...] *nunc ex ultima relatione scripti vestri cognoscimus [...] sicut scripsistis nobis* (now from the last report of your letter we learn... as you wrote to me); *scripsit et mandavit nobis vestra dilecio* ([my] love wrote and sent to me);³⁶⁶ *nos consolamini vestris scriptis* (I console thanks to your writings);³⁶⁷ *per litteras vestras et nuncios frequentamur* (thanks to your letters and messengers we meet),³⁶⁸ *per litteras vestras consolamur* (thanks to your letters I console).³⁶⁹

Furthermore, the queen has not been abandoned like the heroines and she trustingly expects her husband’s return (*Expectans expectavi cor nostrum cum gaudio vestrum reditum [...] primos introitus confiniorum Bohemie predixistis* – My heart with long waiting waited joyfully your return ... the first entrances of the borders of Bohemia you said before).

Letters by King P. Otakar II to His Wife, Queen Kunhuta

A research in the printed documentary sources brought to finding several letters seemingly addressed by King P. Otakar II to her wife, which lead to suppose that perhaps a correspondence between them took place. They have been published by Thomas Dolliner in his edition gathering 50 epistles related to the Bohemian King and preserved in the Austrian national library manuscript sign. 3143. One is of special interest among them. Dolliner assumes that this letter may have been addressed by the king to Kunhuta. Though we do not have the authenticated version of this letter and thus there is no way to prove that it was for certainty based on a real missive, it is relevant to note that its content presents a link to the

³⁶³ Kathryn L. McKinley, *Reading the Ovidian Heroine, ‘Metamorphoses’ Commentaries 1100- 1610* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), xx.

³⁶⁴ Ed. n. 84.

³⁶⁵ I do not want to label the heroines as simple incompetent writers, but this failure in getting the return of their addressees is something that cannot be denied. Anyway, as showed by recent studies, e. g. that of Laurel Fulkerson, it would be misleading interpreting the heroines as simple “ineffectual letters written by abandoned women.” This would be a misinterpretation of the aim of the collection as a whole. According to Fulkerson, they are effective letters in the way in which their writers assume an authorial role. This “community of fictional writers” allude not only to the canonical version of their stories, but also the to other stories of the other heroines. So, they have effect in the poetic world in which they live. As a result, from a metapoetic point of view, they do not fail in communication. Furthermore, their writing affect the reader understanding of the collection and their influence is made visible by the creation of a lasting poetry that was considered worthy of imitation over the centuries. See Fulkerson, *The Ovidian Heroine as Author*.

³⁶⁶ Ed. n. 85.

³⁶⁷ Ed. n. 89.

³⁶⁸ Ed. n. 47.

³⁶⁹ Ed. n. 88.

queen's eleven love letters. It concerns one of its core-theme, i. e. the Hungarian defeat by Bohemians (1271) and the suppose betrayal of István V of the truce signed in 1270.³⁷⁰

In addition to it, another letter by King P. Otakar II to her wife, Kunhuta, has been transmitted through a neglected letter collection perhaps compiled by magister Wernher, attested as notary of the queen from the first appearance of her chancery in Prague (1262) till the creation of her new court in Opava (1279-1281). This source, that came down to us in fragments, was discovered by Wattenbach and its *formulae* published by him without an apparatus criticus.³⁷¹ This collection probably fall into oblivion and did not receive a full attention by scholars of diplomatics and medieval documents because, as noticed by Dušan Třeštík, it was believed that it was lost.³⁷² Already Wattenbach noticed the relevance of this letter and defines it as the most remarkable of the documents preserved in this formulary collection ("Und nun kommen wir zu dem merkwürdigsten aller dieser Briefe"). After him nobody, as far as I know, drew the attention on the historical value of this document. It is interesting to note that it was copied at the margin of the main text maybe with the aim to fill empty space and it probably was a copy of a real letter (a draft or a minuta?).

In this letter King P. Otakar II informs his wife, Queen Kunhuta, that he is saved in Brno and from there in the "feria sexta" after the feast of St. Margareth (16th Jul.) moves with his troops to Austria. After interrupting the march for a while (probably to rest), he is about to hasten the path. The King (Rudolph of Habsburg?) is in Vienna and he cannot receive any help. Otakar II wishes that Austria chooses to submit spontaneously to him.³⁷³

³⁷⁰ Cf. Dolliner, *Codex epistolaris*, n. 1, 1; RBM II n. 747, 291. Other letters have been addressed by Otakar to Kunhuta; see Dolliner, *Codex epistolaris*, nos. 21 and 38, 61-97. In the number 21 Otakar informs her wife about the lost of the lands that were annexed to the the Bohemian Crown, and asks her to be patient and do not lament for it. Dolliner dates it to December 1276 and so the referred provinces lost would be Austria, Stiria and Carinthia. In the number n. 38 Otakar asks Kunhuta to order that a special devotion to St. Jacob should be established in all the parts of the Bohemian realm.

³⁷¹ Wilhelm Wattenbach ed., "Fragmente eines böhmischen Formelbuches aus dem 13. Jahrhundert," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 15 (1875): 215-238.

³⁷² Třeštík, "Formularze, české XIII wieku. Rękopisy i filiacje," 44. Anyway, as recently stated by Richard Psík, this source is today preserved at the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, PK, gig. Ms. lat. fol. 434; their antigraphs are München, Clm 29.095/10 and Clm 29.586/4. Cf. Psík, "Formulářové sbírky a jejich zpřístupnění. Stav a perspektivy," 83-64.

According to Třeštík, it is the most ancient formulary of Czech origin (ca. 1264). Before this formulary, they were copied excerpts of foreign collections such as the *Gemma purpurea* by Guido Faba. In the first part, the formulary contains *formulae* connected to the bishop of Prague Jan z Dražic (1258-1278); in the second part, there are documents linked to the royal chancery (also by the Bohemian Queens, Margareth of Babenberg [d. 29 October 1266] and Kunhuta), and to the chapter of Vyšehrad. On the margins of the manuscript have been added other models of the years 1265-1284.

³⁷³ This is the trascription of the letter by Wattenbach: *O. dei gracia rex Boemie karissime consorti sue domine Ch. inclite regine Boemie, salutem in plenitudine gaudiorum. Ad mentis exultacionem vobis tenore presencium nunciamus, quod sumus Brunne f<eliciter cum> s<ospitae> corporis per dei gratiam constituti, indeque feria sexta post <fest> um beate Margarete proxime venturum [Jul. 16] una cum omni ex[ercitu nostro] in Austriam progressus nostri tramitem dirigemus ... laboris intermissi procul mota segnicie, quinimo <cum> progressionis festinancia processuri. Et ut eo festi <vius vestra di>lectio omniumque nostrorum corda fidelium jocunditatis <vota sol>lempnizent, harum serie notum vobis facimus, quod rex <Romanorum> est Winne, et nullum ei potest venire subsidium ista vice, <quare fir>miter speramus, quod de ipso prosperos ad vota*

Conclusion:

The queen's love letters present a literariness which apparently builds the "illusion of a Woman," as Ovid did for his heroines.³⁷⁴ At the same time they evoke an intimate space, which is endorsed by documentary sources, and places them in a grey zone of the interplay between invectiveness and reality.³⁷⁵ Their documentary literariness gives a precious insight in the amorous rethoric, letter love composition, values and emotions peculiar of a special environment, the royal court of Queen Kunhuta.

successus consequi <valebimus>, nec solum in eo, verum etiam in nostris inimicis et emulis universis. <Nam> firma datur nobis fiducia, quod civitates Austrie, postquam illuc vene<rimus>, omnes mandatum nostrum facient, et voluntate spontanea nostro <se> dominio subjugabunt.

³⁷⁴ Lindheim, *Mail and Female*, 177-184.

³⁷⁵ Francesco Stella and Lars Boje Mortensen discuss the old approach to the study of medieval letters and state: "when dealing with communication, discourses and values, this means that we should go beyond the epistemology implied by reference to 'brute' facts... we need to remind ourselves that referring to the external tangible world is often a very minor task for language, especially written language. More important is how concepts are constituted and signified." (Cf. Francesco Stella and Lars Boje Mortensen, "Preface," in *Medieval Letters between Fiction and Document*, 3).

Besides, it should be noticed that most part of medieval private letters have been lost. As a result, *dictamina* or letters used as *dictamina* become especially precious. They represent the samples on the base of which real letters were redacted. This interplay between fiction and reality can be fairly be found also in the context of medieval love letters as confirmed by Stella's and Bartoli reading of the IV *Modum Dictaminum* of Master Guido as an art of love letter writing created to meet concrete social needs. See Francesco Stella and Elisabetta Bartoli, "Nuovi testi di «Ars dictandi» del XII secolo: i «Modi dictaminum» di Maestro Guido e l'insegnamento della lettera d'amore. Con edizione delle epistole a e di Imelda," *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 55 (2009): 109-36.

IV. A Dictaminal Manuscript at Queen Kunhuta's Court

The physical description and the content of the manuscript sign. 526 held today by the Austrian National Library proves that the codex was owned by Queen Kunhuta's court in Opava (1279-1281). This fact draws the attention at least to three relevant points: 1) the court of the queen continues to be active after the death of her husband; 2) her notaries perfect their knowledge in the art of letter writing by using the practical model letters contained in the manuscript; probably they started to learn the *dictamen* in some Bohemian rethoric school that presumably can be identified with that of Henricus de Isernia in Vyšehrad;³⁷⁶ 3) the chancery of the queen applies the method of learning the letter composition, which is usually adopted in the main European chanceries. It is based on the usage of a practical epistolary composite manual containing some of the most relevant dictaminal authorities of the time, among which are the *summe* of Petrus de Vinea and Thomas de Capua and also some dictaminal texts apparently more specically connected to Central Europe (see below).³⁷⁷

*I am indebted for the description of the manuscript 526 to that provided in a detail manner by Hans Martin Shaller (Hans Martin Shaller, *Handschriftenverzeichnis zur Briefsammlung des Petrus de Vinea* [Hannover: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 2002], 389-399).

³⁷⁶ It should be notice that some Henry's *dictamina* are contained in the manuscript.

³⁷⁷ This new common practice of the *dictamen* learning adopted in the European chanceries (XIII-XIV cen.) has been mentioned and illustrated in his pioneering study by Benoit Grévin (see Grévin, *Rhétorique du pouvoir médiéval: les lettres de Pierre de la Vigne et la formation du langage politique européen, XIIIe- XVe Siècle*, 40-41).

Ms. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 526 (olim Philol. 187)*

Parchment, I + 124, 236 x 173 mm, second half of the thirteenth century, Bohemia, (ca. 1280), Gothic script.

Eleven quires containing 124 folios. The manuscript has both, an old and modern foliation. An early folio numbers have been written in the top right hand corner of every right-hand 'page' in the manuscript, with the numbering running from 1r-124v. A modern folio number have been written by pencil in the down left hand corner of every verso-hand 'page' in the manuscript (fols. 1r-124v). Folios 122r and 123r are blank for almost their halph part, 123v is left blank.

Collation: I-III: 12 (fols. 1-12, 13-24, 25-36) + IV-VI: 10 (fols. 37-46, 47-56, 57-66) + VII-X: 12 (67-78, 79-90, 91- 102, 103-114) + XI: 10 (115-124).

No catchwords. Written space mostly 164 x 177 mm. Two columns, 43 lines. Prickmarks on the outer and inner edges. Initials flourished in red and blue. Several hands: 1r-80v X1; 80v X2;³⁷⁸ 80v-121v X3; 121v-124v different but contemporaneous hands.

Binding: white parchment over cardboard with bookplate of the library: E<x> A<ugusta> B<ibliotheca> C<aesarea> V<indobonensis> 17. G. L. B. V. S. B. 53 (bound under the direction of Gerard Furher Van Swiesen, 1753). Title on the spine: "Syntagma variarum epistolarum." Sign. of Blotius: 4095 (fol. 124r, on the lower edge). Old signaure: Philol. 187.

Contents

The codex 526 owned by the Austrian National library is a manuscript, which is concerned with rethoric, specifically with the art of letter writing. It contains dictaminal material, i. e. collections of model letters or rhetoric treatises that focus primarily on letters. Perhaps, it has a Bohemian origin and it is connected to the court of Queen Kunhuta. In the beginning of the manuscript (fols. 1r - 11r) the *Somnium morale Pharaonis* by Johannes Lemovicensis has been copied.³⁷⁹ This *speculum principis* (mirror of the prince) is a fictitious correspondence between the Pharaon, his officials and Joseph. It was probably considered in

³⁷⁸ This is one of the documents copied by Kunhuta's notary. It has been preserved its authenticated version, (cf. Edition Appendix n. 2).

³⁷⁹ The text has been edited by Horváth (Konstantin Horváth ed., *Johannis Lemovicensis Opera omnia*, vols. 3 (Veszprém: Egyházmegyei Könyvnyomda, 1932). For information concerning older editions see Leena Talvio, "Sulla Figura della Fortuna nel Sogno del Faraone," *Arctos. Acta philologica Fennica* 21 (1987): 185.

the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a worthy epistolary model to be imitated. The text presents some glosses related to the theory of four humors, which attest an interest by the users of the manuscript in medical matters.³⁸⁰ A series of letters follows (fols. 11r- 17r). It includes epistles by Petrus de Precio (Prezza, near Sulmona), who was the protonotary of Corradin of Hohenstaufen (d. 1268) after the death of Manfred (Benevento, 1266).³⁸¹ Petrus was exile in Germany and supported the Ghibelins faction, who promoted the Imperial election of Friedrich I of Wettin, Margrave of Messein, nephew of Friedrich II. Petrus cooperated with Henricus de Isernia and probably he was his guest at his school in Germany. Henricus was the founder of the first rethoric school in Bohemia (ca. 1273-4) and perhaps through him Petrus de Vineia's *dictamina* reached Prague. This connection between the Bohemian and southern Italian epistolary style traditions is confirmed by further material contained in the manuscript (see below).

Afterwards, the so-called Formulary of Queen Kunhuta takes place. If the information provided by its *explicit* is right (fol. 60r: *Explicit opus magistri ac domini Boguslay*), this letters collection was compiled by magister Bohuslav, presumably one of the queen's notaries. The epistolary work has been copied in two distinct parts (fols. 17r-29r and 57r-60r) to which should be added eight documents (fols. 122r-124v) written by the notaries, who worked at the chancery of Kunhuta in Opava (1279-1281).³⁸² In the fols. 29r-50v two of the most relevant medieval *summe* are contained: the *dictamina* by Petrus de Vineia (fols. 29r-40r) and those by Thomas de Capua (fols. 40r-50v), which partially continue in fols. 72r-80v. The epistolary of Petrus de Vineia has been transmitted by ca. 250 manuscripts in different redaction typologies (117 mss: systematic letter collection; 30 mss.: framments and florileges; 110 mss: unsystematic letter collection). There are four types of systematic Petrus de Vineia's epistolary: the big redaction (*Magna*) in six books (M6) and in five books (M5); the small redaction (*Parva*) in six books (P6) and in five books (P5).³⁸³ The P6 type was the most spread (95 manuscripts) and it was edited by Iselin³⁸⁴ and recently by the équipe of Edoardo d'Angelo and Fulvio Delle Donne.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁰ For further information on these glosses see chapter III., 87.

³⁸¹ About Petrus de Pretio see especially Eugen Müller, *Peter Von Prezza, Ein Publizist Der Zeit Des Interregnums* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1913).

³⁸² A further document copied by the notary of Queen Kunhuta is found in fol. 80v (Ed. Appendix n. 2; Pal. n. 102).

³⁸³ This information are taken by D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, 23-24.

³⁸⁴ Johann Rudolf Iselin, *Petri de Vineis iudicis aulici et cancellari Friderici II. imp. Epistolarum quibus res gestae ejusdem imperatoris aliaque multa ad historiam ac jurisprudentiam spectantia continentur libri VI*, vols 2 (Basileae: Christ, 1740). There is also a reproduction of Iselin's edition with an introduction by Shaller (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1991). A great part of the letters of the so-called little six type of Petrus de Vineia's *summa* was published in chronological order by Huillard-Bréholles (cf. Jean Louis Alphonse Huillard-Bréholles ed., *Historia diplomatica Friderici II*, 11 vols (Parisiis: excudebant H. Plon, 1852-1861) and Jean Louis Alphonse Huillard-Bréholles, *Vie et correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne ministre de l'empereur Frédéric II* (Parisiis: excudebant H. Plon, 1865).

³⁸⁵ D'Angelo, Fulvio Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*.

The *dictamina* of the logothete of the Emperor Friedrich II have been copied next to the papal *summa* of the cardinal Thomas de Capua. The most spread redaction type of this *summa* is that in ten books. Yet, the version of the cardinal letter collection (Briefsammlung) contained in the manuscript was generated from a different redactional work. As stated by Matthias Thumser there are 20 preserved known exemplars which belong to the same tradition; among them: Florenz Laur. Gaddi 116, Troyes 1482 II (fols. 125ra–145rb), Paris lat. 11867 I (fols. 15va–30rb) and II (fols. 154ra–164vb), Verona CCLXII. They preserve the letters in a different order number.³⁸⁶

It is interesting to note that the work by Petrus de Vineia and Thomas de Capua are preserved in the same manuscript with the *Somnium Pharaonis* previously mentioned, the letters of Petrus de Blois³⁸⁷ and the Transmundus. They give birth to an epistolary macro-text defined by Benoît Grévin a “super-ensemble textuel,” a “super-summa” that is preserved in a great number of dictaminal manuscripts of the 13th and 14th centuries. This composite *summa* became apparently the standard practical dictaminal manual used in the main European chanceries (English, French, Imperial) and seemingly also at the Bohemian court of Queen Kunhuta.

In the manuscript (fols. 60r-72r) a collection of privilege forms of Bohemian origin has been copied, whose author is unknown. It contains 33 documents which are connected to the Bohemian royal court, especially that of King P. Otakar II. All the forms are connected to the royal chancery of King P. Otakar II, his second wife Queen Kunhuta (Ed. Appendix n. 1; Pal. n. 94), Václav I (Pal. n. 87), and Vratislav II (fols. 69v - 70r) apart from two documents: the first one is *actum et datum* in Prague in 1273 and concerns an agreement between two Prague *cives* (C. et S.) and Jo<ahannes> provost of Sadská for the revenues of the twon of Holubice (fol. 60r, Pal. n. 98); the second one is emanated by the pope Innocence IV, given in Perugia (1253) and it is about the canonization of Peter, Prior of the Order of Dominicans in Verona (fols. 64r-66r). The forms are on several issues: a document concerns the agreement between King P. Otakar II and Wladyslaw Duke of Opole about the determination of the boundaries between Opole and Moravia (fol. 60v, Pal. n. 89); another one is on the peace signed at the presence of King P. Otakar II between Ludovicus *magister* (master) of the Hospital House of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Germans in Prussia and Mestwin (Mistwinus), Duke of Pomerania (fol. 60v, Pal. n. 88); the collection includes also a letter, which relates the engagement between King P. Otakar’s daughter, A<gnes> and the son of the *dominus de Brunswie*, the Duke of Brunswick - Albert I the Tall (fol. 63rv, Pal. n. 92);³⁸⁸ there is also a privilege of the exemption from taxation given by King Václav I to

³⁸⁶ See Thumser, Frohmann eds., *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, 5.

³⁸⁷ In addition to them also the epistles by the italian master Rolandinus have been preserved (fols. 50 v-57r).

³⁸⁸ Agnes apparently married the son of the King of Romans (Rudolph I of Habsburg), i. e. Rudolph II of Habsburg. The *Chronica Pragensis (Chronicon Francisci)* records the betrothal of Václav II and Jutta (the daughter of Rudolf of Habsburg) and of *filius Electi filiam Regis Boemiæ* (see *Chronica Pragensis-Continuatio*

Reynardus citizen in Prague (1234) (fol. 63v, Pal. n. 87); a confirmation emanated by King P. Otakar II about the possessions and revenues granted to the church of Vyšehrad is found in fol. 66v (Pal. n. 93); the anonymous form collection transmits also a document linked to the bishop Bruno of Olomouc that was sent to Prussia to baptize the pagans (fol. 68rv, Pal. n. 21); a confirmation by King P. Otakar II of the privileges given to the chapter of Vyšehrad by Vratislav II has been copied in fol. 69rv; there is also a letter by King Richard of Cornwall in which he informs King P. Otakar II about his arrival in Germany and calls him Imperial vicar of the lands on the left side of the Reno (date 1266; fols. 70v - 71r, Pal. n. 1); at the end of the collection (fols. 71v - 72r) the letter by Heinrich Duke of Carinthia addressed to P. Otakar II about the election of new Patriarch of Aquileia, Philip of Carinthia, after the death of Gregory of Montelongo (1269) finds place. Several documents are deprived of concrete details such as: fol. 63r, Pal. n. 101 b; fol. 63v, Pal. 101b; fol. 68r, Pal. n. 101 f; fol. 68v Pal. n. 101 k. There is also an unedited letter whose author (Henricus de Isernia?) being fallen out of the favor of the royal court implores the mercy of the addressee.³⁸⁹

Thus, a series of glossed texts follow. They relate to dictaminal matter. A commentary on the *De arte poetica* by Q. Horatius Flaccus (fols. 112r - 115v) is copied after another commentary which accompanies Gaufridus de Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* (fols. 95v - 111v). The first one has not been published, while the second one has been edited by Marjorie Curry Woods.³⁹⁰ This commentary on the *Poetria nova* is one of the earliest made on this text. The editor refers to it by its *incipit* because we do not have any information about its author. The codex 526 is the only one manuscript among those used by Woods for her edition in which the name of the author as *Uldaricus* is given.³⁹¹ According to Woods, the *Poetria nova* was used especially in Central Europe as a "vehicle for teaching the composition of letter." It was transmitted in manuscripts which contain letter-writing manuals and collection of model letters. She points out that this almost never occurs in Italian manuscripts. Woods states that the commentaries on *Poetria nova* from Central Europe more clearly use the *Poetria nova* as a didactic treatise of letter writing than those found in some French or English manuscripts.³⁹²

The manuscript 526 contains also another glossed text (fols. 116r - 121v), Alexander Nequam's *De nominibus utensilium* (On the names of domestic utensils). This codex can be considered a further exemplar which increases the number of the known manuscripts in

Francisci Pragensis, Liber I, Caput III). Heinrich, one of the sons of Duke Albert I the Tall married another Agnes (the daughter of Albert, Margrave of Meissen).

³⁸⁹ The pleonastic and magniloquent style of this letter, the usage of ancient sources, its fissuring of the autobiographical self lead to assume that the letter may have been composed by Henricus de Isernia.

³⁹⁰ Marjorie Curry Woods, *An Early Commentary on the Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf* (New York: Garland Pub., 1985).

³⁹¹ For the controversial issue concerning this attribution of authorship see chapter II, 49.

³⁹² Marjorie Curry Woods, *Classroom Commentaries: Teaching the Poetria Nova across Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2010), 169-170.

which this treatise survives.³⁹³ The beginning of the text is imperfect. The right incipit would be: *Qui bene vult disponere familie sue et rebus suis, primo provideat sibi in utensilibus et in supellectilibus*. Nequam (1157-1217) was educated in Oxford and in Paris and he was active as lexicologist and grammarian. Between 1197 and 1201 he entered in the Augustinians canons at Cirencester where remained till his death. Alexander's treatise *De nominibus utensilium* is a lexicological work that was especially popular in England and often transmitted with Adam of Petit Pont's *De utensilibus* and Jonh of Garland's *Dictionarius*. According to Tony Hunt the purpose of the treatise was "to teach young boys the common Latin words for everyday objects."³⁹⁴ The list of the words included and the subject fields covered in this text (kitchen's utensils, house furniture, traveller's equipment, clothes, personal ornaments, construction of castles, ships, implements used in the *scriptorium*, material of the jeweller and ecclesiastical objects) reflect an evolution in society in which students are lay pupils that are not anymore confined to monastery but live in cities.³⁹⁵ As a result, it is not surprising that this new mundane class-glossary came to include rapidly vernacular glosses.³⁹⁶ Few glosses are found also in the codex 526. They are in Czech³⁹⁷ and supports the assumption about the Bohemian origin of the manuscript.

³⁹³ Over thirty five manuscripts have been listed. See Hunt 126-128; Montague Rhodes James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover. The Catalogues of the Libraries of Christ Church Priory and St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury and of St. Martin's Priory at Dover* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903), 319, 431, 489, 490, 495; Richard William Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: the Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157-1217)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 126-128.

³⁹⁴ Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991), 181.

³⁹⁵ Patrizia Lendinara, "Oratio de Utensilibus ad domum regendum pertinentibus by Adam of Balsham," in *Anglo-Norman Studies: XV Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1992*, edited by Marjorie Chibnall (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 175.

³⁹⁶ Tony Hunt, "Les gloses en langue vulgaire dans le manuscrit du *De nominibus utensilium* d'Alexandre Nequam," *Revue de linguistique romane* 43 (1979): 235-262.

³⁹⁷ They have been found by J. B. Novák and studied especially by Václav Flajšhans, "Glossy české XIII. století," *Časopis Českého musea* 75 (1901): 249f. and Friedrich Repp, "Die altschechischen Glossen der Hs. 526 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 26 (1958): 382-390. Friedrich Repp criticizes Václav Flajšhans's study in several points. First, Flajšhans defines erroneously the glossed text as *fragmenta* instead of *fragmentum*. Besides he neglects the Latin glosses and focuses exclusively on the Czech ones; indeed, he does not inform about the presence of both, Latin and Czech glosses next to the Latin text, and he does not notice that the glosses and the text have been written by the same hand. According to Friedrich Ripp, they were originally in larger number before be cancelled by erasures. He transcribes (fol. 116r) both the Latin text and the Czech glosses (perinam, scale, pucleri, nasilnici, domouí, osta, stpice, cole<ge>, cruhi, hrabati, naton, sita, pilu); he states that the orthography of the glosses should place them before the Ostrovská píseň, Song of Ostrava (the end of 13th century). Ripp concludes the article by making two relevant observations: 1) he assumes that the Latin text and its glosses should be copy of a manuscript, which already contained the glossed text; this because text and glosses have been copied by the same hand; 2) the glossed text may be have written at the Přemyslid court; he bases his assumption on the fact that the manuscript contains another Bohemian source: the so-called Formulary of Queen Kunhuta (17r - 29r, 57r - 60r and 122r - 124v).

A minor place in the manuscript is occupied by few theological excerpts and philosophical writings. It seems that the transmission of these kind of texts with dictaminal material in Central Europe was not an exception. The codex 3143 (Mitteleurope, 14th cent.), which is today preserved in the Austrian National Library is a good example to be taken in consideration. It contains the *dictamina* by Henricus de Isernia, the *Somnium morale Pharaonis*, Boethius's *De consolatione philosophie* and similarly to the codex 526, in its last part, some theological works and Bernardus Silvestris's *Cosmographia*.

Abbreviations:

Baerwald: Baerwald, Hermann ed. *Das Baumgartenberger Formelbuch*, vol. 25. Vienna: Hof und Staatsdruckerei, 1886.

BF: Böhmer, Johann Friedrich, Julius Ficker eds. *Regesta Imperii. Jüngere Staufer 1198-1272. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV, Friedrich II, Heinrich (VII), Conrad IV, Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard. 1198-1272*, vol. V, 1. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1881.

BFW: Böhmer, Johann Friedrich, Julius Ficker and Eduard Winkelmann. *Regesta Imperii. Jüngere Staufer 1198-1272. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV, Friedrich II, Heinrich (VII), Conrad IV, Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard. 1198-1272*, vol. V, 2-3. Innsbruck: Wagner 1882-1892.

Müller: Müller, Eugen. *Peter Von Prezza, Ein Publizist Der Zeit Des Interregnums*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1913.

Pal.: Palacký, František. *Über Formelbücher, zunächst in Bezug auf böhmische Geschichte: nebst Beilagen: ein Quellenbeitrag zur Geschichte Böhmens und der Nachbarländer im XIII, XIV und XV Jahrhundert*, vol. II. Prague: Bei Kronberger und Řivnač, 1842-1847.

PdV.: Petrus de Vinea.

Petrus de Blois: Giles, John A. ed. *Petri Blesensis Epistolae Archidiaconi Opera omnia*. London: Whittakeruni, 1846-1847; Migne, Jacques Paul ed. "Petris Blesensi Opera Omnia," in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Latina 207, col. 1-560. Parisiis: Migne, 1855.

Potthast: Potthast, August ed. *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 2. Berlin: Rudolf de Decker, 1874. Reprint Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957.

Rolandinus: *Summa artis notariae domini Rolandini Rodolphini Bononiensis*. Lugduni apud Seb. de Honoratis, 1559.

ThdC: Thomas de Capua.

- Fols. 1r - 11r **Johannes Lemovicensis, *Morale Somnium Pharaonis***.
- Fols. 11r - 17r **Letters of Italian Origin (Petrus de Precio)**:

Fols. 11r - 12r Infandum sed plus nequandum – voluntatem (BFW 13623; Müller, n.1).

Fol. 12r Urbem Parme multimode modernis – gratiosam.

Fol. 12r Racionis causa multiplex et multiplicis – obligatus (Müller, n. 17)

Fol. 12rv Vehementis doloris instancia – velitis (Müller, n. 2)

Fol. 12v Profunda mente pensantes – consequatur (BF 4573)

Fols. 12v - 13r (without separation) Instans persuasio necnon instancia –detrahatur

Fol. 13r (without separation) Qui desiderat esse vester – libertatis.

Fol. 13r (without separation) Nondum perlectis – visione.

Fol. 13rv Non potest quidem amari – redeundi (Ed. Appendix n. 10).

Fol. 13rv Non potest nobis non esse notorium – contumaces (BF 4619).

Fols. 13v - 14r Multipharie multisque modis – condempnare (BF 4618).

Fol. 14rv Utinam aliquem ex orbis terre lateribus – pararetur (BF 3559).

Fol. 14v Quod in Lombardie partibus – predictorum (BF 3517).

Fol. 14v Laudate Dominum in omnibus operibus – dirigatur (BF 13514).

Fol. 14v Celsitudini vestre presentium serie – deputatis (BF 13665).

Fols. 14v - 15r Non sum iniurius iuri – destitutum (Müller, n. 8).

Fol. 15r Si totus mundus – mentionem (Müller, n. 11).

Fol. 15rv Firmum in pectore nostro – nobis (BF 3470).

Fol. 15v Ex intime dilectionis fervencia – curarent.

Fol. 15v Vestre benignitatis sinceritas – procurando.

Fols. 15v - 16r Clemens episcopus et cetera. Plenus dulcedine ac semper ineffabili affluens – nos id favoris gracie quod Domino expedire senserimus certa vos oportuno tempore affectu benivolo exponamus. Datum in Perusii (ThdC Liber II n. 2; BFW 9483).³⁹⁸

Fol. 16rv Amarus nuper aures ad nostras – gloriari (BF 2207)

Fol. 16v Cum excellentiam deceat regiam – nostram.

Fols. 16v - 17r Licet iam dudum oculorum vestrorum radius – concedatis (Ed. Appendix n. 11).

- Fols. 17r - 29r **The So-Called “Formulary of Queen Kunhuta” I Part**

Fol. 17r Licet nostrum animum – recrearet (Ed. n. 1; Pal. n. 28).

³⁹⁸ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua, Liber II, n. 2: Plenus dulcedine ac semper ineffabili affluens - que secundum Deum tibi ad honorem redundare senserimus, paternis affectibus prosequamur.*

Fol 17rv Quoniam discretionem vestram – probitas (Ed. n. 2; Pal. n. 62).

Fol. 17v Singularis fiducie presumpto – exhibere. Datum in Landowe (Ed. n. 3; Pal. n. 26).

Fols. 17v - 18r Summi patris providentia – experimentum (Ed. n. 4).

Fol. 18rv Amator pacis rex pacificus – interiectis (Ed. n. 5; Pal. n. 90).

Fol. 18v Grande scelus, nefarium crimen – roboratum (Ed. n. 6; Pal. n. 24).

Fol. 19r Litteras celsitudinis vestre debito – mentis (Ed. n. 7; Pal. n. 11).

Fol. 19r Cum ab ipsis fere infantie annis – profectum (Ed. n. 8; Pal. n. 63).

Fol. 19rv Non recedentes a nostrorum progenitorum – adiuvari (Ed. n. 9; Pal. n. 61).

Fol. 19v Cum a primeve etatis – obligati (Ed. n. 10; Pal. n. 59).

Fol. 19v Ab exemplo nobis – vivemus (Ed. n. 11; Pal. n. 60).

Fol. 19v Cum inter ceteros religionum – Deum (Ed. n. 12; Pal. n. 25).

Fol. 20r Tibi, vel alias, fili karissime, tamquam – conplacere (Ed. n. 13).

Fol. 20r Secretissima et plena gaudio – respondere (Ed. n. 14; Pal. n. 36).

Fol. 20r Licet excellentiam celtitudinis – consortes (Ed. n. 15; Pal. n. 35).

Fol. 20r Gaudemus ut tenemur – amatis (Ed. n. 16; Pal. n. 5).

Fol. 20r Si cuncta prospira et iocunda – voluntas (Ed. n. 17; Pal. n. 4).

Fol. 20v Gaudemus sicut innate carnis – gratum (Ed. n. 18; Pal. n. 39).

Fol. 20v Gaudio magne consolationis – iocundari (Ed. n. 19; Pal. n. 43).

Fol. 20v Etsi procul sumus a vestre – exoptantes (Ed. n. 20; Pal. n. 40).

Fol. 21r De tentorio misso domino – premissis (Ed. n. 21; Pal. n. 41).

Fol. 21r Letari et gaudere tenemur – commanere (Ed. n. 22; Pal. n. 48).

Fol. 21r Visitatione litterarum vestrarum consolate – ordinare (Ed. n. 23; Pal. 42).

Fol. 21r Si secundum desideria vestra – corde (Ed. n. 24; Pal. n. 51).

Fol. 21r Vestri nobis retulerunt nuntii – visitavit (Ed. n. 25; Pal. n. 45).

Fol. 21v Dilectioni vestre soror karissima – reformetur (Ed. n. 26; Pal. n. 46).

Fol. 21v Laudes Deo dicimus – estimantur (Ed. n. 27; Pal. n. 19).

Fol. 21v Exultare et letari – vestra (Ed. n. 28; Pal. 49).

Fol. 22r Cum ex reservato iure communi – consequatur (Ed. n. 29; Pal. n. 69).

Fol. 22r Sicut petivisse meminimus – promereri (Ed. n. 30; Pal. n. 83).

Fol. 22rv Referimus immensas graciaram actiones – compleantur (Ed. n. 31; Pal. n. 84).

Fol. 22v Affectus vestre paternitatis – consummare (Ed. n. 32; Pal. n. 81).

Fol. 22v Astrictus iam obsequiis – eisdem (Ed. n. 33; Pal. n. 86).

Fol. 22v Commendantes vestram discretionem – gratioso (Ed. n. 34; Pal. n. 82).

Fol. 22v Cum post Deum vos solum – premissis (Ed. n. 35; Pal. n. 10).

Fols. 22v - 23r Etsi rara est nostra vel consortis – promoventes (Ed. n. 36 ; Pal. n. 29).

Fol. 23r Illa nos ex divino precepto caritas – ampliari (Ed. n. 37; Pal. n. 31).

Fol 23r Cum de vestre dilectionis serenitate – commendatos (Ed. n. 38; Pal. n. 30).

Fol. 23r Vestre serenitatis dilectionem– adoptemus (Ed. n. 39; Pal. n. 27).

Fol. 23rv Astrictus sicut scitis pater – premissorum (Ed. n. 40; Pal. n. 85).

Fol. 23v Cum sit indecens ac in nostrum – favore (Ed. n. 41; Pal. n. 55).

Fol. 23v Ad vestram paternitatem tamquam – reputamus (Ed. n. 42; Pal. n. 64).

Fols. 23v - 24r Proculse acerbitate dira rumoris – fine (Ed. n. 43; Pal. n. 80).

Fol. 24r Ehibitorem presentium fratrem H. quondam ordinis fratrum Minorum – proximorum (Ed. n. 44 ; Pal. n. 78).

Fol 24r Ehibitorem presentium H. monachum – reputamus (Ed. n. 45; Pal. n. 79).

Fol. 24r ut placabilem nobis in nostris – detur (Ed. n. 46; Pal. n. 77).

Fol. 24rv Multimoda consolationis vestre gratia – totum (Ed. n. 47; Pal. n. 16).

Fol. 24v. Pro eo quod vos in nostris negotiis – promereri (Ed. n. 48; Pal. n. 32).

Fol. 24v Cum in numero prelatorum – vice versa (Ed. n. 49; Pal. n. 73).

Fol. 24v-25r Scit dominatio vestra pater – precibusque (Ed. n. 50).

Fol. 25r Paternitati vestre devotis affectibus – nostre (Ed. n. 51; Pal. n. 76).

Fol. 25r Scitis quod salus nostra – tribulatus (Ed. n. 52).

Fol. 25r Consideratis affectibus animi vestry – audiretis (Ed. n. 53; Pal. n. 56).

Fol. 25r Consolate plurimum per continentiam – debeatis (Ed. n. 54; Pal. n. 47).

Fol. 25r Super iure patronatus reservato – memoratum (Ed. n. 55; Pal. n. 75).

Fol. 25v Intente semper consolari – sospitate (Ed. n. 56; Pal. n. 52).

Fol. 25v Cum ad hoc semper debeamus – defendatis (Ed. n. 57; Pal. n. 72).

Fol. 25v Commendates affectus vestre (Ed. n. 58; Pal. n. 57).

Fol. 25v Expectans expectavit cor nostrum – se sequatur (Ed. n. 59; Pal. n. 12).

Fols. 25v - 26r Forsitan non latet vestram dilectionem – paratus (Ed. n. 60; Pal. n. 33).

Fol. 26r Pluries iam visitando vos – voluntatem (Ed. n. 61; Pal. n. 53).

Fol. 26r Cum in Herichewe celle S. Marie domus – memorata (Ed. n. 62; Pal. n. 74).

Fol. 26r Visitavit nos divina clementia – prenotati (Ed. n. 63; Pal. n. 66).

Fol. 26rv Dono nove prolis dotate – debeatis (Ed. n. 64; Pal. n. 67).

Fol. 26v Previa voluntate et consensus – reputamus (Ed. n. 65; Pal. n. 70).

Fol. 26v Quoniam pium et sanctum – rex inclytus Vecezlaus (Ed. n. 66; Pal. n. 71).

Fol. 26v Si presentia domini nostri et mariti – mandamus (Ed. n. 67; Pal. n. 68).

Fol. 27rv Rumor insolitus ex certa relatione – parte (Ed. n. 68; Pal. n. 54).

Fol. 27v Illi a quo datum est omne optimum – recurratis (Ed. n. 69).

Fols. 27v - 28r Illi per quem reges regunt – adaptari (Ed. n. 70).

Fols. 27v - 28r Audivimus et audiendo non potuimus – promotus (Ed. n. 71).

Fols. 27v - 28r Unde pater benignitas vel pietas – actiones (Ed. n. 72).

Fol. 28r Miramur mater et domina – amplexari (Ed. n. 73; Pal. n. 38).

Fol. 28rv In nomine sancte – actum ecc. (Ed. n. 74; partly edited Pal. n. 96).

Fol. 28v - 29r In nomine domini – testimonio etc (Ed. n. 75; partly edited Pal. n. 97).

- Fols. 29r - 40r **Petrus de Vinea dictamina**

Fol. 29r *Incipiunt dictamina magistri Petri de Vinea.*

Fols. 29r - 30r Exultet iam – letitia gaudeatis (PdV Liber II n. 1).

Fol. 30r Plenam dant nobis – resurgant (PdV Liber II n. 9).

Fol. 30r Etsi stipendiorum – merito delectabit (PdV Liber II n. 11).

Fol. 30rv Qualiter post obtentam – potenter intendere valeamus (PdV Liber II n. 12).³⁹⁹

Fol. 30v Furiosam superbiam – videbitis expedire (PdV Liber II n. 13).

Fols. 30v - 31r Quanta sit fidei – premiis merito valeamus (PdV Liber II n. 14).

Fol. 31rv Ne fama sub incerto – hostium trucidatis (PdV Liber II n. 5).⁴⁰⁰

Fols. 31v - 32v Collegerunt pontifices – cornua superbiorum (PdV Liber I n. 1).

Fols. 32v - 33r Ne per excogitate – integre reducantur (PdV Liber I n. 4).

Fol. 33rv Audacite nobis continue – particeps sis triumphum (PdV Liber I n. 8).⁴⁰¹

Fols. 33v - 34r Hucusque satis – intentionem generet delinquendi (PdV Liber I n. 10).⁴⁰²

Fol. 34r Innatum vobis placide – pensamus (PdV Liber III n. 3).

Fol. 34r Intellecto nuper, quod magister – precipiendo mandamus et cetera (PdV Liber III n. 6).⁴⁰³

³⁹⁹ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber II n. 12: *Qualiter post obtentam – potenter exerere intendamus.*

⁴⁰⁰ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber II n. 5: *Ne fama preambula su incerto – hostium trucidatis.*

⁴⁰¹ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber II n. 8: *Audacite nobis continue – participes triumphorum.*

⁴⁰² D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber II n. 10: *Hucusque satis – intentionem aggravent delinquendi.*

- Fol. 34rv Latentis hostis insidias – incurrere concupisti (PdV Liber IV n. 2).
- Fols. 34v - 35r Speciali quadam – temeritas attemptaret (PdV Liber III n. 9).
- Fol. 35r Noster instanter – auri tibi nostra munificencia (PdV Liber III n. 10).⁴⁰⁴
- Fol. 35rv Missos nuper ad presenciam nostram – generositate florescat (PdV Liber III n. 27).⁴⁰⁵
- Fol. 35v Tua nuper ad nos littera – adimplere (PdV Liber III n. 32).
- Fols. 35v - 36r Semper hactenus, ut loquamur – sue usibus viderit oportuna (PdV Liber III n. 23).⁴⁰⁶
- Fol. 36r Presto nobis causa – sequacium procedemus (PdV Liber III n. 34).⁴⁰⁷
- Fol. 36rv Ne divinu instinctu – perobtatum⁴⁰⁸ (PdV Liber V n. 2).
- Fol. 36v Te redargutionis – precludatur (PdV Liber V n. 3).⁴⁰⁹
- Fol. 36v Sepe contingit – et intendere debeatis (PdV Liber V n. 4).
- Fol. 36v Cum ad supplicationem – exequaris (PdV Liber V n. 5).
- Fols. 36v - 37r Ad elim<in>anda discrimina – prosecutio studiosa requirit (PdV Liber V n. 6).⁴¹⁰
- Fol. 37r Ne per impunitatem – sit in penis (PdV Liber V n. 11).⁴¹¹
- Fol. 37r Solet et diligencius studiosius – plantatori (PdV Liber V n. 10).⁴¹²

⁴⁰³ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber III n. 6: *Intellecto nuper, quod magister – quocirca tibi precipiendo mandamus, quatenus eidem magistro G. licentiam tribuas ad propria libere redeundi.*

⁴⁰⁴ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber III n. 10: *Noster instanter – munificencia provideri.*

⁴⁰⁵ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber III n. 27: *Missos nuper ad presenciam nostram – generositate florescant.*

⁴⁰⁶ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber III n. 23: *Semper hactenus, ut loquamur –sue usibus oportuna.*

⁴⁰⁷ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber III n. 34: *Presto nobis est causa – sequencium protendamus.*

⁴⁰⁸ perobtatum pro peroptatum.

⁴⁰⁹ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber V n. 3: *Te redargutionis – prebeatur.*

⁴¹⁰ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber V n. 6: *Ad evitanda discrimina – prosecutio studiosa requirit.*

⁴¹¹ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber V n. 11: *Ne per impunitatem – sit in pena.*

Fol. 37rv Nobile opus – iuribus applicanda (PdV Liber VI n. 1).⁴¹³

Fols. 37v - 38v Regnantibus nobis feliciter – passo iniuram applicanda (PdV Liber VI n. 9).

Fols. 38v - 39r Noticiam tuam latere – merito delectabit (PdV Liber VI n. 14).

Fol. 39r Satis honoris – valeat exercere (PdV Liber VI n. 4).

Fol. 39r Pulchrum in subditis – etiam confirmamus (PdV Liber VI n. 5).

Fol. 39rv Etsi culpe traductio – incursum (PdV Liber VI n. 6).

Fol. 39v Etsi prosequatur officium – gloriosus.

Fol. 40r Questionis ardue – subectionis inflammet (PdV Liber III n. 44).

- Fols. 40r-50v **Thomas de Capua Summa**⁴¹⁴

Fol. 40r Duobus similibus exceptis de vestro consilio – imploro.

Fol. 40rv Qui sicut domino alteri sicut magistro ...etc...talis se totum et ad meliora processum. Quia tres nomine et tres interpretentur – duorum.

Fol. 40v Pellis camisii ad agentis vota – tributum.

Fol. 40v De hospitatis legatione legationis auspicii – remissoris.

Fol. 40v Duo⁴¹⁵ nepotes mei devoti vestri – admittat.

Fols. 40v - 41r Si quid de humano intellectu retines – admonitus (Heathcote, Transmundus n. 119, 169).

Fol. 41r Quia libera sunt labia diligentis libere – in alieno dispendio lucem suam (ThdC Liber III n. 35).⁴¹⁶

Fol. 41r Quot bona sperentur provenire de pace, hii satis intelligunt - irrita fiant, que de vestris labiis processerunt (ThdC Liber III n. 14).⁴¹⁷

⁴¹² D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber V n. 10: *Solet studiosus et diligens – plantatori.*

⁴¹³ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, Liber VI n. 1: *Nobile opus – iuribus applicanda decernimus.*

⁴¹⁴ It is not explicitly indicated when Petrus de Vineas' *dictamina* finish and the collection of Thomas de Capua starts.

⁴¹⁵ Duo] quo Ms., duo em. Shaller.

⁴¹⁶ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber III n. 35: *Quia sunt libera labia diligentis, libere loquor – in alieno dispendio lucrum suum.*

Fol. 41r Ad ecclesie Romane obsequia te paratum - prudenter et cito fuerit revocatum (ThdC Liber I n. 22).

Fol. 41rv Silere proposui, sed interdum - sitis filius virtute (ThdC Liber III n. 25).⁴¹⁸

Fol. 41v Affectum, quem ad illustris - dexteram extenderitis ultionis (ThdC Liber III n. 26).

Fol. 41v Inter alios imperii principes - vestrarum esse ministros (ThdC Liber III n. 33).

Fol. 41v Cum frequenter dicta – purgetis offensam (ThdC Liber VII n. 71).⁴¹⁹

Fol. 41v Propositum vestrum iuxta conscientiam – proventum.

Fol. 41v Inter cetera, que in hyeme - inveniatur ornatus (ThdC Liber III n. 16).

Fol. 41v Si cursum vite tue - nostrarum largitas expensarum (ThdC Liber II n. 48).

Fol. 41v - 42r Committitur filie cedula - per alium innotescant (ThdC Liber II n. 78).

Fol. 42 Procuratorem misistis satis ydoneum - si verbum facti consortium non declinat (ThdC Liber II n. 82).⁴²⁰

Fol. 42r Etsi precedens fiducia – obligamur.

Fol. 42r Fiducialiter vobis illa suggerimus – obligemur.

Fol. 42r Pro clerico vobis apostolice littere – dilecto.

Fol. 42r Cum pro hiis quos laudabilis – admissa.

Fol. 42rv Cum dominus papa vobis – teneamur.

Fol. 42v Mandato apostolico vobis – statuamur.

Fol. 42v Pro consanguineo domini .. – geminata complacendo (ThdC Liber VII 41).⁴²¹

Fol. 42v Benignitatis vestre dulcedo – reputare.

⁴¹⁷ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber III n. 14: *Quot bona sperantur provenire de pace, hii satis intelligunt [...] irrita fiant, que de vestris labiis processerunt – consueti fecundius in aqua turbata piscari.*

⁴¹⁸ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber III n. 25: *Silere proposui, sed interdum – sitis filius et virtute.*

⁴¹⁹ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber VII n. 71: *Cum frequenter Deum – purgetis offensam.*

⁴²⁰ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber II n. 82: *Procuratorem misistis satis industrium – si verbum facti consortium non declinet.*

⁴²¹ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber VII n. 41: *Pro consanguineo domini .. – geminata placendo.*

Fol. 42v Lator presentium desiderat – retributores pro posse (ThdC Liber VII n. 48).

Fol. 42v - 43r Non equa retributione recurritur – pro meritis respondere (ThdC Liber VII n. 112).

Fol. 43r De vestre paternitatis honore – michi, rogo, etc. (ThdC Liber VII n. 113).⁴²²

Fol. 43r Quousque tollitis animam nostram – procul dubio teneremur (ThdC Liber VII n. 66).⁴²³

Fol. 43r Caritas vobis esse celebris – liberalis.

Fol. 43r Habeo ex testimonio - obligatus.

Fol. 43v Quod preces ab ignoto recipitis – obmisit.

Fol. 43v Pro eo quod karissimo nostro ecclesiam – descendit.

Fol. 43v Venerabilis pater Pragensis episcopus ecclesiam – gratiarum.

Fol. 43v Venerabilis pater Pragensis episcopus karissimo – respondere.

Fol. 43v Mirari cogimur quod cum pro suscepto – debeamus.

Fol. 43v - 44r Abbati .. priori et conventui.. Volentes ad vestra et monasterii vestri commoda – honoris.

Fol. 44r Voluntas est domini pape – enitescat (ThdC Liber III n. 17).⁴²⁴

Fol. 44r Cum pro nostris – forcius obligatus existat (ThdC Liber VII n. 32).⁴²⁵

Fol. 44r Si essetis memores <verbi> vestri – necessitas in invitum (ThdC Liber VII n. 33).

Fol. 44r Quoniam a nobilibus – obtentu revocetis illatam (ThdC Liber VII n. 49).

Fol. 44r Sollicitudinis P. latoris presencium – vestre gratie commendamus (ThdC Liber V n. 6).⁴²⁶

⁴²² *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber VII n. 113: *De vestre paternitatis, ut possum, honore – mihi, rogo, etc.*

⁴²³ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber VII n. 66: *Quousque tollitis animam nostram – exinde teneremur.*

⁴²⁴ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber III n. 17: *Voluntas est domini pape – elucescat.*

⁴²⁵ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber VII n. 32: *Cum pro nostris – commoda fortius obligentur.*

⁴²⁶ After ThdC Liber V n. 6, ThdC Liber III n. 19 follows (ThdC VII n. 31 does not follow ThdC Liber V n. 6 as indicated in Shaller, *Handschriftenverzeichnis*, 394).

Fol. 44rv Cum intercipiat verba pudor – ad exauditionis gratiam introducat (ThdC Liber III n. 19).

Fol. 44v Quanta prudentia ac diligencia – participio gratie fecundetur (ThdC Liber V n. 7).

Fol. 44v Licet G., lator presencium – recommendantem habetis effectum (ThdC Liber VII n. 50).⁴²⁷

Fol. 44v Quidam propinqui presbyteri – consilio Anagnino donari (ThdC Liber VII n. 51).

Fol. 44v Electiones due celebrate sunt in ecclesia – celebrata.

Fol. 44v In opinione incido – quid eligam de predictis (ThdC I n. 26).

Fols. 44v - 45r Pro nobili viro – Deo possumus debitores (ThdC Liber III n. 32).

Fol. 45r Sunt qui rogant pro suis – satisfaciant et rogante (ThdC Liber VII n. 74).

Fol. 45r Cum magister in Romana curia advocatus – factum.

Fol. 45r In plantario Iesu Christi plantula – ad merita graciaram (ThdC Liber VII n. 114).

Fol. 45r Libenter vobis illa suggerimus – obligemur.

Fol. 45rv Etsi⁴²⁸ precedentia merita nobis non offerant – devoto.

Fol. 45v Nobilis ira leonis prostratis – amore.

Fol. 45v Scimus quod estis cesaris – post tergum (ThdC Liber VII n. 69).

Fol. 45v Ad opera prosequenda que misericordiam sapiunt – promoreri.

Fol. 45v - 46r Lator presencium – excusatum (ThdC Liber VI n. 8).

Fol. 46r Pro nobili viro .. de .. et votis eiusdem – admittat.

Fol. 46r Firma credulitate – peculiari affectu (ThdC Liber VII n. 117).

Fol. 46r Si servientis meritum – ad beneficium reputabit (ThdC Liber VII n. 122).

Fol. 46r Recognosco me forte – itineris conferatis (ThdC Liber VII n. 123).

Fol. 46r In iudice quesivi iudicium – obsequiorum invitet (ThdC Liber VII n. 89).

Fol. 46r Et iusti et honesti conditione venisset – potiora.

⁴²⁷ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber VII n. 50: *Licet G., lator presencium – recommendantem habetis dilectionis affectum.*

⁴²⁸ Etsi] utsi Ms., etsi em. Shaller

Fol. 46rv Ablatus est mihi – expeditione rogamus (ThdC Liber VII n. 53).

Fol. 46v Cum in vobis post Deum sit fiducia – recommendet.

Fol. 46v Propter novercalia blandimenta michi fortuna – maritare.

Fol. 46v Pro paternitatis vestre litteris mihi missis – Deum.

Fol. 46v Est petitio publicantis – fructuosum.

Fol. 46v Preces que videntur in se continere favorem – confidenter et cetera.

Fol. 46v Debitorum honore pregravatus a devotione vestra – permanere.

Fol. 46v Exultans exultavi videre diem istum – teneatur.

Fol. 47r Introducat amicus – detis cito responsum (Thdc Liber VII n. 25).

Fol. 47r Attenditur concedentis affectus et beneficium – adimplere.

Fol. 47r Ab Ungaro missi enses – insinuet animorum (ThdC Liber VIII n. 2).

Fol. 47r Missus equus a cesare – presagire sessoris (ThdC Liber VIII n. 20).

Fol. 47r Missus nuper a vobis pannus – credulitate remitti (ThdC Liber II n. 90).

Fol. 47r Volentes in vestris uti libere – vestro deberi (ThdC Liber II n. 96).

Fol. 47r Licet grata fuerint in se missa – assurgemus ad grates (ThdC Liber I n. 29).

Fol. 47r Dum utilitatem advertimus – quas debemus (ThdC Liber VIII n. 17).

Fol. 47rv Multiplicem liberalitatis affectum – successivis.

Fol. 47v Missus liber a caro – maioris gratia creditoris (ThdC Liber VIII n. 16).⁴²⁹

Fol. 47v Turbamur et premimur – interdicto supponi (ThdC Liber IV n. 22).

Fol. 47v De misso exempnio gratiarum – invenitur (ThdC Liber VII 28).

Fol. 47v Ex affectu quem ad illustris– liberalitate contenti (ThdC Liber VIII n. 22).

Fol. 47v De vasis valde gratis – ad commodum et honorem (ThdC Liber VIII n. 11).

Fol. 48r Non reputemur ingrati – inficit ante tempore (ThdC VII n. 23).

⁴²⁹ This letter and the following 10 letters have a different order in the description of the manuscript provided by Shaller, namely ThdC VIII n. 16; ThdC IV n. 22; ThdC VII n. 28; ThdC VIII n. 22; ThdC VII n. 23; ThdC VIII n. 55; ThdC VII n. 137; ThdC VIII n. 60; ThdC I n. 33 (cf. Shaller, *Handschriftenverzeichnis*, 394-395).

Fol. 48r Illa blandita sunt – esse remissa (ThdC Liber II n. 118).

Fol. 48r Missus mulus – corde contenti (ThdC Liber VIII n. 55).

Fol. 48r Fide purus et devotione – recepimus in signum gratie specialis (ThdC Liber VII n. 137).⁴³⁰

Fol. 48r Contingit interdum – pellibus marturinis (ThdC Liber VIII n. 60).

Fol. 48r Referunt plurima plurimi – aliis litteris destinare (ThdC Liber I n. 33).⁴³¹

Fol. 48v Languerat animus expectatione sollicita – exsolvit.

Fol. 48r Scripsistis, quod Os<eus>? nepos noster – potuit promissione ligare (ThdC Liber II n. 92).⁴³²

Fol. 48r Legati legatos accepimus – beneficio caruerunt (ThdC Liber VII n. 72).

Fol. 48r Litteras vestras affectione consueta – respiciunt commodum et honorem (ThdC Liber II n. 71).⁴³³

Fol. 48v Benigne recepimus litteras – que possibilitati videatur amica fuit (vicina) saluti (ThdC Liber III n. 22).⁴³⁴

Fol. 48v Vidimus que missa pagina continebat – vobis per latorem presentium respondemus ad plenum (ThdC Liber VI n. 10).⁴³⁵

Fol. 48v Gratanter vidi tuarum seriem litterarum – direxisse.

Fol. 48v Tot et tantorum manibus caritatis – inter medios me reputes amicos (ThdC Liber II n. 99).⁴³⁶

Fol. 48v Gratum⁴³⁷ mihi tue caritatis epistola retulit – dedignareris amicum (ThdC Liber III n. 37).

⁴³⁰ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber VII n. 137: *Fide purus et devotione – in vestris obsequiis mee novit devotionis affectum.*

⁴³¹ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber I n. 33: *Referunt plurima plurimi – alias litteras destinare.*

⁴³² *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber II n. 92: *Scripsistis, quod Matheus, nepos noster – potuit promissione ligare.*

⁴³³ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber II n. 71: *Litteris vestris affectione consueta – respiciunt commodum et honorem.*

⁴³⁴ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber III n. 22: *Benigne recepimus litteras – que possibilitati videntur amica et fuerint votiva saluti.*

⁴³⁵ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber VI n. 10: *Vidimus que missa pagina continebat – vobis per latorem presentium respondemus.*

⁴³⁶ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber II n. 99: *Tot et tantorum manibus caritatis – inter medios me reputetis amicos.*

Fol. 48v Committitur filie cedule – vestre per alium innotescant (ThdC Liber II n. 78).

Fols. 48v - 49r Preces vestras in quibus possumus – beneplacito fuerit procedemus (ThdC Liber VI n. 17).

Fol. 49r Consueverunt preces assequi - sancto solvatur in nobis (ThdC Liber II n. 28).

Fol. 49r Tenentes pro firmo quod de nostra prosperitate – postulatis.

Fol. 49r Si valetis valeo – salutetis.

Fol. 49r Si in archidiaconatu - tua pagina relativa (ThdC Liber VII 38).

Fol. 49r Ut me vestrum omnimode reputantes – requiratis.

Fol. 49r Cum inviti tua nobis cara presencia – prestolamur.

Fol. 49r Ad grates assurgo – anime sanitate vigere (ThdC Liber II n. 97).⁴³⁸

Fol. 49r Cum sospitemur ex sospitate refocilemur – repedentis.

Fol. 49r Cum interdum mutuis – defectum absencie corporalis (ThdC Liber II n. 57).

Fol. 49r Delegata vobis⁴³⁹ cedula – operibus graciosis (ThdC Liber II n. 46).

Fol. 49r Calix domini plenus mixto dulcia – inmolamus.

Fol. 49v Satis intelligere possumus – solvite quod debetis (ThdC Liber IV n. 5).

Fol. 49v Bibimus de amaritudinis calice – in adepto amore videtur amissum (ThdC Liber IV n. 6).⁴⁴⁰

Fol. 49v Licet tacti sumus dolore cordis – inpendatis.

Fols. 49v - 50r Sic nos counivit ydempnitas animorum – nubilo leticie radio succedente succedant (ThdC Liber IV n. 21).⁴⁴¹

Fol. 50r Bibi amaritudinis calicem – conferre poterit in duobus (ThdC Liber IV n. 7).

Fol. 50r Recessus domini W. venerabilis Salzburgensis episcopi – profectum.

⁴³⁷ Gratum] status Ms.

⁴³⁸ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber II n. 97: *Ad grates assurgo - anime sospitatis vigere.*

⁴³⁹ vobis] nobis Ms.

⁴⁴⁰ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber IV n. 6: *Bibimus de amaritudinis calice – in adepto amare videtur amissum.*

⁴⁴¹ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber IV n. 21: *Sic nos quedam counivit ydempnitas animorum - nubilo leticie radio succedente.*

Fol. 50rv Recogitantes et amaritudine anime vestre – beatitudinis collocare dignetur.

Fol. 50v Differebamus scribere hactenus – speculum et exemplar (ThdC Liber IV n. 11).

Fol. 50v *Expliciunt dictamina magistri Thom<asii>*.

- **Mix Letters (Rolandinus, Petrus de Blois)**

Fol. 50v Utinam non sic respiceret corporis – responsivam.

Fol. 50v Noverit vestra reverenda dominatio quod toto cordis – transmittentis.

Fols. 50v - 51r Discretionis vestre litteras quo decuit honore recepimus – teneamur.

Fol. 51r Quoniam in gaudio noster renovatur animus et fovetur – prosperamur.

Fol. 51r Ego talis sanus mente licet – canonico.

Fol. 51r Expectans expecto sollicitus quando redeant – regressum (Mendl, 55).

Fol. Rumor qui auribus meis nuper insonuit – vestro.

Fol. 51v Confundantur labia dolosa et maliloqua – paratum.

Fol. 51v Confidenter vobis porrigimus preces – extendit.

Fol. 51v Ut vera preiudicent posituris et cedat – triplicatum.

Fol. 51v Pro immensis serviciis et innumeris curialitatibus – effectus.

Fols. 51v - 52r Humane conditionis fragilitatis – inserentis.

Fol. 52r Ad hoc speculatoris astantis desuper cuncta – protegantur.

Fol. 52r Tota virtus et enitens probitas decor – exhiberi.

Fol. 52r Karitatis fervens dilectio sitiens ampliari – noscuntur. Hinc est et cetera.

Fol. 52rv Cum igitur ad executionem mandati – testimonium presentes (Rolandinus fol. 718).

Fol. 52v Tali civi nostro N. nuper – civis nostri (Rolandinus fol. 720).

Fol. 52v Talis civis noster quosdam habet cives vestros – penam (Rolandinus fol. 721).

Fol. 52v Venerat in civitatem V. karissimus civis noster A. – possemus (Rolandinus fol. 720).

Fol. 52v - 53r Divina mandat auctoritas quod proximum suum – eidem (Rolandinus fol. 721).

Fol. 53r Licet hostis humani generis nostre semper invidus – absint (Rolandinus fol. 722).

Fol. 53rv Licet in latitudine libertatis naturaliter – debis (Baerwald 344 and 384; Rolandinus fol. 724).

Fol. 53v Quoniam de manibus – veniatis (Baerwald n. 62, 453; Rolandinus fol. 725).

Fol. 53v Cum omnes homines equales – subituri (Baerwald n. 63, 453; Rolandinus fol. 726).

Fols. 53v - 54r Cum olim bone memorie domino N. episcopo – instrumentum (Rolandinus fol. 395).

Fol. 54r Cum defuncto domino N. bone memorie sacerdote et rectore ecclesie S. Adalberti vacaret – iure (Rolandinus fol. 395).

Fol. 54rv Cum olim bone memorie domino Ph. episcopo – instrumentum (Rolandinus fol. 396).

Fol. 54v De lite vel super lite et controversia – firmitatem (Rolandinus fol. 401).

Fols. 54v - 55r Ego Phylippus electus communiter arbiter – supradictum (Rolandinus fol. 409).

Fol. 55r Antonius ex una parte et Conradus ex altera – durent (Rolandinus fol. 410).

Fols. 55r - 56r Si loquor ad dominum meum – et efficaciter promovere velitis (Petrus de Blois n. 38).

Fols. 55r - 57r Gauderem plurimum si esset modestior – reputatur inmundum (Petrus de Blois n. 40)

Fols. 55r - 57r Pacior vehementer et non est qui conpaciatur – compassionis affectum exitere (Petrus de Blois n. 49).

Fol. 56v Devota celsitudini vestre – fructuoso (added in the lower margin by another hand).

Fol 57r *Expliciunt.*

- **The So-called “Formulary of Queen Kunhuta,” II Part**

Fol. 57r Merito filie cor scinditur – dimittat (Ed. n. 76; Pal. n. 37).

Fol. 57v Lacrymosa doloris mesticia – teneri (Ed. n. 77; Pal. n. 34).

Fol. 57v Cum fii dulcissime – testamento (Ed. n. 78; Pal. n. 8).

Fol. 57v Magno gaudio, magna consolatione – offeratis (Ed. n. 79; Pal. n. 9).

Fol. 58r Satis sumus exterrite – frequentetis (Ed. n. 80; Pal. n. 13).

Fol. 58r Si quod loquimur continuis – recommissam (Ed. n. 81; Pal. n. 58).

Fol. 58r Noveritis quod per dei gratiam – graciaram (Ed. n. 82; Pal. n. 22).

Fol. 58r Cum universas ecclesias – exemplum (Ed. n. 83; Pal. n. 95).

Fol. 58va, Semper in suspenso noster fuit animus – semivivam (Ed. n. 84; Pal. n. 17).

Fol. 58v Scripsit et mandavit nobis vestra dilectio – dari (Ed. n. 85; Pal. n. 6).

Fol. 59r Benedictus Dominus Deus qui – reparatrix (Ed. n. 86; Pal. n. 18).

Fol. 59r Dominationi vestre in gaudium – renovatus (Ed. n. 87; Pal. n. 20).

Fol. 59v Continuas vestre dileccionis grates – compleantur (Ed. n. 88; Pal. n. 15).

Fol. 59v Hoc est quod optat anima nostra – scriptis (Ed. n. 89; Pal. n. 7).

Fol. 59v Gaudemus gaudent – gracia offeratis (Ed. n. 90; Pal. n. 14).

Fol. 59v - 60r Commendante fama vite vestre – prosequemur (Ed. n. 91; Pal. n. 65).

Fol. 60r Quanta doloris amaritudine – videbuntur (Ed. n. 92; Pal. n. 23).

Fol. 60r Gaudere nos oportet multiplicatis – omnimodas ex affectu (Ed. n. 93; Pal. n. 93).

Fol. 60r Rengraciamur multiplicibus accionibus – solaciari voboscum (Ed. n. 94; Pal. n. 50).

Fol. 60r *Explicit opus magistri ac domini Boguslay.*

Fols. 60r - 72r **The Form Collection of an “unknown author” (Bohemia, 13th century)**

Fol. 60r *Incipiunt privilegia ad omnem materiam.*

Fol. 60r Noverint universi – computato (Pal. n. 98).

Fol. 60 Rubric: Distincio metarum in terris propter pacem.

Fol. 60v In nomine Domini amen. Nos Otthacharus Dei gratia Bohemie rex et cetera. Omnibus in perpetuum. Ut inter nos et illustrem principem – prescriptorum. In cuius rei testimonium et cetera (Pal. n. 89).

Fol. 60r Rubric: Forma collacionis beneficii.

Fols. 60r - 61r In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis amen. Nos Ch. Dei gracia regine Bohemie, omnibus in perpetuum. Cum labilis sit etas mortalium – roboratum. Testibus, qui presentibus aderant infra scriptis, qui sunt a. b. c. Actum Prage anno Domini millesimo duecentesimo et cetera (Ed. Appendix n. 1; Pal. n. 94).

Fol. 61r Rubric: Concordacionis litigantium forma.

Fol. 61r In nomine Domini amen. Nos Lud. magister .. commendatores et alii fratres Cruciferi hospitalis sancte Marie de domo Theuthonica per Prussiam constare volumus universis – adiutorem. In cuius rei testimonium et cetera (Pal. n. 88).

Fols. 61r - 63r Insignium virtutum signis [...]. Licet solarem regiam igneam ethereamque regionem solaribus radiis luminosius illustratam vespertilionis oculus non valeat, nec audeat intueri – sapiunt honestatem (Unedited, Henricus de Isernia?).

Fol. 63r Rubric: Forma legandi res suas cuicumque ex gratia concessa.

Fol. 63r In nomine Domini amen. Nos Otthakarus et cetera. Ne res in tempore simul cum preteritione – sigillorum nostrorum munimine roboratum et cetera (Pal. n. 101 b).

Fol. 63r Rubric: Forma contraccionis matrimonii propter concordiam.

Fol. 63rv Nos O. Dei gratia Bohemie rex et cetera omnibus notum esse cupimus – et nos presentes litteras prefato domino duci dari mandavimus sigillorum nostrorum munimine roboratas. Datum (Pal. n. 92).

Fol. 63v Rubric: Forma ut aliqui perpetuo sint exempti ab exactione.

Fol. 63v In nomine Domini amen. Nos Wencezlaus Dei gratia quartus rex Boemorum Reynardo magistro civi Pragensi et liberis eius in perpetuum. Evenit libertates publice concessas – nostri typario iussimus insigniri. Testes autem huius rei sunt hii [...]. Datum per manum notarii Wilahlmi apud Pragam iiii Kal. Aprilis (Pal. n. 87).

Fol. 63v Rubric: Forma ut aliqui suas res libere possit legare cuicumque.

Fol. 63v Salutem et plenitudinem omnis boni. Ne fidei merita et devotionis obsequia quibus Ze.. – inviolabiliter observari. In cuius rei testimonium presentes litteras conscribi facimus

et sigilli nostri munimine roborari, testium nominibus infra scriptis, a. et cetera. actum anno ab incarnatione Domini et datum tale (Pal. n. 101 a).

Fol. 63v Forma treugarum servandarum sub iuramento.

Fols. 63v - 64r Nos Ottakarus et cetera. Tenore presencium litterarum protestamur – dispendio subiacere (Pal. n. 91).

Fol. 64r Forma institutionis festivitatis.

Fols. 64r - 66r Innocencius episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabilibus fratribus universis, archiepiscopis, episcopis et dilectis filiis abatis, prioribus, archyepiscopis, decanis, archydiaconis et aliis ecclesiarum prelati ad quos littere iste pervenerint, salutem et apostolus benedictus. Magnis et crebris declarata – misericorditer relaxamus. Datum Perusii viiii Kal. Aprilis pontificatus nostri anno decimo (Potthast 14926; Baerwald n. 24, 148-151).⁴⁴²

Fol. 66r Rubric: Forma confirmationis et aucionis reddituum capelle.

Fol. 66rv In nomine sancte et cetera. Otthakarus Dei gratia et cetera. Omnibus in perpetuum. Conditor universe creature Deus – roborari huius rei testes sunt a. b. actum et datum et cetera (Pal. n. 93).

Fol. 66v Rubric: Commissio theolonii.

Fol. 66v Nos O. et cetera. Universis constare volumus vel cupimus – subnotati. In cuius rei testimonium facimus et cetera post festum pretactum et cetera. Acta sunt hec in tali loco anno Domini et cetera (Pal. n. 101c).

Fol. 66v Rubric: Commissio iudicii.

Fol. 66v Nos O. et cetera. Notum facimus universis – temporibus. Ultimam partem in festo .. Datum in festo et cetera .. (Pal. n. 101d).

Fol. 66v Forma libertatis.

Fols. 66v - 67r Nos O. et cetera. Scire volumus universos – exsolvatur. In cuius rei et testes. Actum et datum et cetera (Pal. n. 99).

Fol. 67r Rubric: Legatio prediorum monasterio.

Fol. 67r In nomine sancte et individue trinitate amen. Nos O. Dei gratia Bohemie rex, dux Austrie et Stirie et marchio Moravie, omnibus in perpetuum. Cum ob reverenciam

⁴⁴² Pal. does not publish this document but refers to it in the table of contents of the Formulary of Queen Kunhuta (See *Über Formelbücher*, 230). The document by pope Innocence IV (1253, Perugia) is about the canonization of Peter, Prior of the Order of Dominicans in Verona.

omnipotentis Dei in cuius manu vita principium – porrigimus instrumentum nostrorum sigillorum munimine roboratum, testibus qui aderant subnotatis. Actum et datum et cetera.⁴⁴³

Fol. 67v Rubric: Fideiussio pro alio.

Fol. 67rv Notum sit universis – volunt esse liberi (Pal. n. 100).

Fols. 67v-68r In nomine Domini amen et cetera. Altercationem contentiosi litigii – ibidem (Pal. n. 101e).

Fol. 68r Rubric: Pro relevacione pressarum pauperum.

Fol. 68r Nos O. et cetera. Constare volumus presencium – litterarum (Pal. n. 101 f).

Fol. 68r Rubric: Libertatis forma.

Fol. 68r Nos et cetera. Quin nova civitas circa sanctum – firmitatis (Pal. n. 101 g).

Fol. 68r Rubric: Commissio orborarum.

Fol. 68r Nos et cetera. Profitemur et recognoscimus et testamur – festo (Pal. n. 101 h).

Fol. 68r Rubric: Persuasio ut aliquis se baptizari sinat.

Fol. 68rv Creator totius creature – inducendo (Pal. n. 21).

Fol. 68v Nos et cetera. Civitati et subditorum honori – subnotatis (Pal. n. 101 i).

Fol. 68v Rubric: Pro nova cultura.

Fol. 68v Gloriam decus et honorem – informanda (Pal. n. 101 k).

Fol. 68v Intendentes communi amoris – assistemus (Pal. n.101 l).

Fol. 68v Rubric: Remuneratio servitorum.

Fols. 68v - 69r Quoniam patri nostro – inconvulsa presens datum et cetera (Pal. n.101 m).

Fol. 69v Rubric: Innovatio privilegiorum.

⁴⁴³ Shaller does not refer to this document in his description of the manuscript. Pal. does not include it in his edition but he mentions it in the table of contents of the Formulary of Queen Kunhuta (See *Über Formelbücher*, 231). It is about the donation of an estate by King P. Otakar II to Zlatá Koruna (Golden crown) monastery (Bohemia). In the beginning it was named the monastery of the Holy Crown of Thorns (Latin Sancta Corona Spinea). In the document we read: *claustrum nostrum in honore sancte spinee corone Domini nostri Iesu Christi*.

Fol. 69rv Othakarus Dei gratia rex Bohemorum dilectis fidelibus suis, preposito et capitulo Wissegradensi eorumque legitimis successoribus in perpetuum. Dei filius cuius misericordie – rationabiliter pretermissa est.⁴⁴⁴

Fols. 69v - 70r In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis. Notum sit cunctis sancte ecclesie filiis – presidio communire actum in ... anno Domini et cetera. Datum per manum et cetera. Testes qui et cetera.⁴⁴⁵

Fol. 69v Rubric: Petitio.

Fols. 69v-70r Excellenti et magnifico principi precordiali amico suo domino inclito regi .. et cetera C. Dei gratia et cetera salutis et felicitatis ac prosperitatis augmentum. Ut magnitudini vestre – pro viribus adimplere et cetera. Datum et cetera (Pal. n. 110).⁴⁴⁶

Fol. 70r Rubric: Peticio pro concordatione.

Fol. 70rv Quoniam ex officio nobis – intimetis. Datum et cetera (Pal. n. 2; BFW 10578).

Fols. 70v - 71r Richardus Dei gratia Romanorum rex semper augustus illustri et magnifico principi C. eadem gratia regi karissimo suo gratiam suam et omne bonum. Excellencie vestre litteras tanta – desideratur effectus (Pal. n. 1, BF 5435).

Fol. 71rv F. Dei gratia Romanorum inperator et semper augustus Jerusalem et Sicilie rex illustri regi Bohemorum dilecto principi et affini suo gratiam suam et omne bonum. Orbis orbitas et turbatio generalis – violenter. Datum et cetera (BF 3363).⁴⁴⁷

Fols. 71v - 72r Excellenti et magnifico principi consaguineo suo karissimo domino O. illustri regi Bohemie et cetera. Ulricus Dei gracia dux Karintie et cetera se ipsum ad eius beneplacita et mandata. Reverendo in Christo patri – honorem. Datum in tali .. et cetera (Pal. n. 3; BFW 12072).

Mix Letters

Fol. 72r Quod publice fore noticie – proh dolor personarum aut (PdV Liber I n. 32).⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁴ Pal. does not publish this document but refers to it in the table of contents of the Formulary of Queen Kunhuta (See *Über Formelbücher*, 231). It is a confirmation by King P. Otakar II of the privileges given to the chapter of Vyšehrad by Vratislav II (see the following document).

⁴⁴⁵ Pal. and Shaller do not refer to this document in which Vratislav II (*Wratizlaus Dei gratia princeps et monarcha Bohemie*) gives privileges to the chapter of Vyšehrad.

⁴⁴⁶ Pal. is uncertain about the identification of the addressee of this document (P. Otakar II?) by Corradin of Hohenstaufen about the confirmation of an alliance in order to “deprimenda molimina hostium communis matris ecclesie,” (See Palacký, *Über Formelbücher*, 317).

⁴⁴⁷ Pal. does not publish it but he refers to this document in the table of contents of the Formulary of Queen Kunhuta (See Palacký, *Über Formelbücher*, 231). The addresser informs the King of Bohemia about the liberation of the bishop of Palestrina.

Fol. 72v Sole domicilium leonis peragrante divino inperio comparande sublimitas prosapie sociatur propter diu fanitatem – virtutis egregie facinora enodari (Astrological theme).

Fol. 72v Stelle matutine numero pulcritudinis comparande nobilissime domine B. inter choros virginum mirifice radianti – ymo dulcissima in palatu. Datum et cetera (ed. Appendix n. 12).

Fol. 73rv Omnipotens conditor mundi Deus rex sine principio principale – statuentes (Kloos, Petrus de Prece n. 1, 94-98).

Fols. 73v - 74r Audite gentes de gente per secula ingentem nequiciam a seculis inauditam – reformemus (BF 3767).

Fol. 74v Si Anna discessum Thobie filii non sustinens – deceat affluere beneficiis pietatis (BF 6817; Potthast 8594).

Fols. 74v-75r Non Noemi id est pulchra – ferro subsequente fomentum 74v-75r (ThdC Liber I n. 2).

Fol. 75r Prudenter precipienda sunt mala – in spe fertili divine clementie superseminari (ThdC Liber I n. 3; PdV Liber II n. 16).⁴⁴⁹

Fol. 75rv Morditiva⁴⁵⁰ lenitivis admiscet interdum – ex parte nostra proposuerit habeatis (ThdC Liber I n. 4).

Fols. 75v - 76r Ad vestre sanctitatis noticiam – affectum pariter et effectum (ThdC Liber II n. 1).

Fol. 76r Mercennarium⁴⁵¹ habet sub umbra pastoris – tibi gratiam facimus specialem (ThdC Liber I n. 5).⁴⁵²

Fol. 76rv Recogita in amaritudine – exegerint merita recepturus (ThdC Liber I n. 6).

Fols. 76v - 77r Missa nuper per iudicem P. de Vinea - edite noscitur extitisse (ThdC Liber VI n. 1).

Fol. 77r Letentur celi et exultet terra – habeatur.

⁴⁴⁸ D'Angelo, Delle Donne et alii eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna: Quod ad publicae notitiae fores [...]* proh dolor personarum aut – tuum delectet auditum.

⁴⁴⁹ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber I n. 3: *Prudenter precipienda sunt mala – in spe fertili divine clementie superseminari poterit semen optate quietis.*

⁴⁵⁰ morditiva] sorditiva Ms.

⁴⁵¹ mercennarium] percennarium Ms.

⁴⁵² *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber I n. 5: *Mercennarium habet sub umbra pastoris – tibi gratiam facimus amplioem.*

Fol. 77r Summi providencia principis peculiarem populum – coerceat et pena sit limes offense et cetera (ThdC Liber IX n. 1).⁴⁵³

Fol. 77rv Humilis doctrina magistri humiles – super quo provisioni sedis apostolice omnia iura sibi et suis ecclesiis competentia commiserunt. Nos autem considerantes et cetera (ThdC Liber I n. 9).⁴⁵⁴

Fols. 77v - 80v Miranda tuis sensibus nostra venit epistola – multaue sollicitudine fovit adultum (ThdC Liber I n. 1).⁴⁵⁵

Fol. 80v Nos Ch. et cetera et domina terre Opavie universis scire per presentes nos vidisse sigillitas in nulla parte viciatas literas in hec verba – sigilli nostri robore confirmatas (Ed. Appendix n. 2; Pal. n. 102).⁴⁵⁶

Fols. 80v - 95v **Bernardus Silvestris**, *Cosmographia (De mundi universitate)* with a summary and glosses.

Fol. 80v Summary: In huius operis primo libro qui megacosmus id est maior mundus vocatur – duret in longum igitur valeatque vita vestra.

Fols. 81r - 95v Text: Congeries informis adhuc cum Silva teneret – auctores quod pedes omnificasque manus.

Fols. 95v - 111v **Gaufridus de Vino Salvo**, *Poetria nova* with a commentary.

Fols. 95v - 111v Commentary: In principio huius libri videndum est quid tractetur in hoc opere – fictile vel luteum faciens frigere lieum.

Fols. 96r - 111v Text: Papa stupor mundi – quantum de iure mereris. / Omnia que prestas virtute petitaue prestas / Cunctis, fer mestas curas mihi quas dat egestas. Explicit nova Poetria Uldarici.

Fols. 112r - 115v **Q. Horatius Flaccus**, *De arte poetica* with a commentary.

Fols. 112r - 115v Text: Humano capiti – nisi plena cruoris hyrudo.

⁴⁵³ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber IX n. 1: *Summi providencia principis peculiarem populum [...] coerceat et pena sit limes offense – per impunitatis audaciam animans turbatores.*

⁴⁵⁴ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber IX n. 9: *Humilis doctrina magistri humiles [...] super quo provisioni sedis apostolice omnia iura sibi et suis ecclesiis competentia commiserunt. Nos autem considerantes et cetera – si forte succubuerint in expensis.*

⁴⁵⁵ *Summa Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua*, Liber I n. 1: *Miranda tuis sensibus nostra venit epistola – multaue sollicitudine promovit adultum. Datum in Laterani.*

⁴⁵⁶ This document has been written by another hand. It has been erroneously labelled by Shaller as a document concerning the federal pact between King Vacláv and Philip of France, date 1303 (Shaller, *Handschriftenverzeichnis zur Briefsammlung des Petrus de Vineq*, 399).

Fols.112r - 115r Commentary: Pictor equinam. Hic asimilat scriptorem pictori – occupat extremum in scribendo scabies et quia dum dictamen habent ideo turpe est michi relinqui.

Fols. 116r - 121v **Alexander Nequam's *De nominibus utensilium***. Treatise on household utensils with Latin and few vernacular glosses; the beginning is imperfect).

Fols. 116r - 121v Penso et tradula que ad ipsam spectant et tricaturas nunc explicet nunc complicit et vestes laneas aut pannos laneos consuat et sarceat. Cirotece primis digitorum portionibus amputatis habeat eciam thecam corigialem acus insidiis obviantem – vocabula.

Fol. 121v **Theological Excerpts** *de conscientia, de miraculis* etc. (in a different contemporary hand).

Fols. 122r - 124v **Queen Kunhuta's Correspondence in Opava** (1279-1281)

Fol. 122r Ch. Dei gracia Boemie regina et domina terre Opavie omnibus in perpetuum [...]Ad noticiam igitur deferri volumus presencium et memoriam futurorum, quod dilecti fidelis nostri domini H. dominus de Wl. – sicut in presentibus continetur. In cuius et cetera. (Ed. Appendix n. 3; Pal. n. 103).

Fol. 122r Noverint universi et singuli presentem paginam inspecturi, quod nos Ch. Dei gracia et cetera post diversas et varias ordinaciones habitas cum compatre nostro karissimo domino V. inclito duce Opoliensi – Et ut hec omnia prehabita perhenniter manean inconvulsa, presentem et cetera. (Ed. Appendix n. 4; Pal. n. 104).

Fols. 122v - 123r Excerpts de peccatis (**St. Bonaventura, *Breviloquium***, cap. XI), de libero arbitrio

Fol. 122v De peccatis autem finalibus sive irremissibilibus – cui est honor, et gloria in secula seculorum, amen.

Fols. 122v - 123r Est autem liberum arbitrium facultas rationis et voluntatis qua eligitur bonum gratia assistente et malum gratia descendente – omnia que per nos voluntarie ... non enim.

Fol. 123v blank

Fol. 124r Rubric: Compromissum

Fol. 124r Nos Otto Dei gracia Branderburgensis marchio et illustris domini W. in regno Boemie tutor – Datum ... anno domini millesimo duecento octuagesimo primo kalende (Ed. Appendix n. 5; Pal. n. 106).

Fol. 124r In nomine Domini amen. Nos Ch. et cetera quod nos propter bonum pacis et plene concordie unionem – Datum in Praga et cetera. (Ed. Appendix n. 6; Pal. n. 105).

Fol. 124v Alfonsus Dei gracia Romanorum rex semper Augustus Castelle - Datum Sibilie M° CC° LXXX° (Ed. Appendix n. 7; Pal. n. 108).

Fol. 124v Excellenti et magnifice domine Ch. et cetera, Jacobus Contarenus eadem gracia dux Veneciarum – beneplacitis libencius intendamus (Ed. Appendix n. 8; Pal. n. 107).

Fol. 124v Gloriosissime ac devotissime domine Ch. regine Boemie W. et cetera. – nobis profuisse videamus. Datum et cetera (Ed. Appendix n. 9; Pal. n. 109).

Fol. 124v Nos V. (?) talis notum facimus – et anno (in a different contemporary hand). Under the letter few notes about the four senses of scripture follow.

Reference Works and Selected Studies:

Baerwald, Hermann ed. *Das Baumgartenberger Formelbuch*, vol. 25. Vienna: Hof und Staatsdruckerei, 1886; Böhmer, Johann Friedrich, Julius Ficker eds. *Regesta Imperii. Jüngere Staufer 1198-1272. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV, Friedrich II, Heinrich (VII), Conrad IV, Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard. 1198-1272*, vol. V, 1. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1881. Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Julius Ficker and Eduard Winkelmann eds. *Regesta Imperii. Jüngere Staufer 1198-1272. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV, Friedrich II, Heinrich (VII), Conrad IV, Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard. 1198-1272*, vol. V, 2-3. Innsbruck: Wagner 1882-1892; D'Angelo, Edoardo, Fulvio Delle Donne, Alessandro Boccia et alii eds. *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2014; Flajšhans, Václav. "Glossy české XIII. století." *Časopis Českého musea* 75 (1901): 249f. Giles, John A. ed. *Petri Blesensis Epistolae Archidiaconi Opera omnia*. London: Whittakeruni, 1846-1847; Heathcote, Sheila J. "The Letter Collections Attributed to Master Transmundus, Papal Notary and Monk of Clairvaux in the Late Twelfth Century," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 21 (1965): 35-109, 167-238; Mendl, Bedřich. *Listy královny Kunhuty králi Přemyslovi* [The letters of Queen Kunhuta to the King Přemysl]. Praha: Akropolis, reprint 1997; Menhardt, Hermann. *Das älteste Handschriftenverzeichnis der Wiener Hofbibliothek von Hugo Blotius 1576: kritische Ausgabe der Handschrift Series nova 4451 vom Jahre 1597*. Wien: Rohrer [in Komm.], 1957; Migne, Jacques Paul ed. "Petris Blesensi Opera Omnia", in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Latina 207, col. 1-560. Parisii: Migne, 1855; Novák, Jan Bedřich. "Kritika listáře Královny Kunhuty" [Criticism of the collection of model letters of Queen Kunhuta], in *Sborník prací historických k šedesátým narozeninám dvor. rady Prof. dra Jaroslava Golla*, 124-152, edited by J. Bidlo, G. Friedrich, K. Krofta. Prague: Nákladem

Historického Klubu, 1906; Palacký, František ed. *Über Formelbücher, zunächst in Bezug auf böhmische Geschichte: nebst Beilagen: ein Quellenbeitrag zur Geschichte Böhmens und der Nachbarländer im XIII, XIV und XV Jahrhundert*, vol. II. Prague: Bei Kronberger und Řivnač, 1842-1847; Potthast, August ed. *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 2. Berlin: Rudolf de Decker, 1874. Reprint Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957; Repp, Friedrich. "Die alttschechischen Glossen der Hs. 526 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien." *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 26 (1958): 382-390; Shaller, Hans Martin *Handschriftenverzeichnis zur Briefsammlung des Petrus de Vineia*. Hannover: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 2002; *Summa artis notariae domini Rolandini Rodulphini Bononiensis*. Lugduni apud Seb. de Honoratis, 1559; *Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum* (Cod. 1 -Cod. 19500), vol. 10. Wien, 1864-1899; Thumser, Matthias, Jakob Frohmann eds. *Die Briefsammlung des Thomas von Capua Aus den nachgelassenen Unterlagen von Emmy Heller und Hans Martin Schaller*. München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 2001; Woods, Marjorie Curry. *An Early Commentary on the Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*. New York: Garland Pub., 1985.

CRITICAL EDITION

Editorial Principles

The letters have been edited following the order they have in the manuscript.^a Few texts which do not belong to the collection presumably compiled by master Bohuslav have been included in the Appendix. They have been edited because they bring useful information for the interpretation and analysis of the letter collection.^b

It has been generally preserved the orthography of the codex since the edition is based on only one manuscript. On the contrary, the previous editors, especially Palacký normalized the text according to classical norms.^c

Peculiarities of the spelling of the manuscript have been kept if they do not affect the meaning of the text. Some cases of degemination can be found such as (*aprobata* Ed. n. 2; *anunciando* Ed. n. 64). The scribe uses inconsistently *y/i*: *dyaconatus* (Ed. n. 46) – *archidiaconatus/archidiaconus* (Ed. n. 49), *ymo* (Ed. nos. 2, 17, 21, 47, 49, 50, 57, 62, 63, 70) – *imo* (Ed. n. 22) / *immo* (Ed. n. 28).

It has not been corrected *k*, which is used by the scribe to express the voiceless velar stop consonant *c*. The varying usage of the nasal consonants *m/n* before *p* has not been regularized: *inperialis* (Ed. n. 4), *inperat* (Ed. Appendix n. 11) – *imperium* (Ed. Appendix n. 8, Appendix n. 9) or *inpedimenti* (Ed. n. 1), *inpedire* (Ed. n. 22), *inpedimentis* (Ed. n. 28), *inpedimentum* (Ed. n. 66) – *impedimentum* (Ed. n. 14), *impedire* (Ed. Appendix n. 3); it is consistent the spelling used in other cases such as *inpotens* (Ed. nos. 40, 44, 73, 84). It has been kept the palatization *ci = ti*: *amicitia-amicicia* (Ed. nos. 1, 5, 39, 70), *clementia-clemencia* (Ed. nos. 5, 12, 29, 46, 51, 63, 81, 84, 87), *violentia-violencia* (Ed. n. 70). Persistent the usage of the monophthong *e* apart from a single case of ash (*æ*: *suæ* Ed. n. 2), which has been corrected.

Some words are inconsistent in terms of the spelling; for instance: *dileccio* (Ed. nos. 1, 87, 88, 92, Appendix n. 5) – *dilectio* (Ed. nos. 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26,

^a On the contrary, Palacký published them by creating six groups of letters. Each of these groups are given paying attention to the relation sender-recipient: 1) Letters addressed to King P. Otakar II (eleven letters); 2) Queen Kunhuta's letters to her husband (nine letters); 3) King P. Otakar II's letters to his wife and other people (five letters); 4) Letters addressed to Queen Kunhuta (eleven letters); 5) Queen Kunhuta's letters to various addressees (48 letters); 6) Unknown addressers's letters to unknown addressees (2 letters). These six groups belong to a category called by Palacký "Briefe," which is distinguished by another one, which contains 24 "Urkunden." Palacký publishes as a whole both the collections (which are contained in fols. 17r-29r, 57r-60r and in fols. 60r-70r); more on this issue in the Introduction, 38, 116). Cf. Palacký, *Über Formelbücher II*, 227-228.

^b The love letters show that in the manuscript there is a general interest in the rhetoric related to the amorous epistolography. Besides, the correspondence of Queen Kunhuta in Opava (1279-1281) proves that the letter collection was used by her notaries and that after her husband's death (1278) her court and chancery continued to be very active. See the Introduction, 15-17, 22-35.

^c For instance: *carissima* instead of *karissima*; *etiam* instead of *eciam*; *litera* instead of *littera*; *moesticia* instead of *mesticia*; *terrae* instead of *terre*; *aestimet* instead of *estimet*; *aerumnosa* instead of *erumpnosa*; *dilectio* instead of *dileccio*; *onus* instead of *honus*; *satagatis* instead of *sathagatis*; *quidquid* instead of *quicquid*; *numquam* instead of *nunquam* or *nucquam*.

30, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 47, 53, 54, 60, 63, 69, 70, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 85, 89); *violencia* (Ed. n. 70) – *violentia* (Appendix n. 10); *legatio-legacio* (the voiceless velar stop consonant is predominantly used);^a *clementia-clemencia* (the voiceless velar stop consonant is predominantly used);^b *nichil* (Ed. nos. 17, 32, 40, 47, 48, 63, 80, 85, 90) – *nil* (Ed. n. 6); *michi* (Ed. nos. 35, 50) – *mihi* (Ed. nos. 35, 40, 72, Appendix n. 10, Appendix n. 11, Appendix n. 12).^c

The arbitrary scribe’s usage of *vester-noster* and *vos-nos* has been corrected; each correction has been indicated in the critical apparatus.^d Very often Palacký and the other historians, who included some of the letters in their collections of documents (e. g. Gusztáv Wenzel, Gelasius Dobner, Joseph Georg Meinert) corrected “silently” the text and did not indicate what found in the original text.^e Some selected examples will follow. For instance, as for the epistle (Ed. n. 5): Pal., RBM II, Dobner, CDH do not provide the *lectiones* of the manuscript *pacis pacis* and *gubernaculo*; Pal. RBM II omit also *suprapositus* and *federi*. With respect to the epistle (Ed. n. 6): Pal. RBM II CDA have *de cetero* and ignore the *lectio* of the manuscript *procul dubia*. As for the epistle (Ed. n. 7): Pal. RMB II CDA have *cadat* and disregard what found in the original text, that is *cedat*. Pal. does not provide the following *lectiones* of the manuscript: *angusticias* (Ed. n. 14), *cordis cordis* (Ed. n. 20), *raro* (Ed. n. 25), *ame, confidis* (Ed. n. 35), *ut si* (Ed. n. 36), *amiciciam* (Ed. n. 39), *visitant, cordinis, per oculum* (Ed. n. 41), *conpater* (Ed. n. 46), *gavise* (Ed. n. 54), *ductor* (Ed. n. 68). With regard to the epistle (Ed. n. 85), Meinert neglects what found in the original text, that is *certo, quoque, precipitis, exprimit, videmur, amore*.

Furthermore, some erroneous readings provided by previous editors have been corrected, such as *sinceriter* instead of *sincera* (Ed. n. 4);^f *igitur* instead of *sibi* (Ed. n. 6);^g *urgeant* instead of *urgeat* (Ed. n. 36);^h *sclavice* instead of *solavice* (Ed. n. 41);ⁱ *convinctum* instead of *coniunctum* (Ed. 49);^j *D.* instead of *O.* (Ed. n. 60);^k *libertatis* instead of *liberatis* (Ed. n. 83);^l *ex* instead of *et* (84);^m *videlicet* instead of *vel* (Ed. n. 87).^a

^a Ed. n. 36: *legatio*.

^b Ed. n. 86: *clementia*.

^c It should be noted that the varying usage of *michi-mihi* can be found also in the very same letter (Ed. n. 35).

^d This confusion has been noted already by Palacký (see Palacký, *Formelbücher*, 227). Yet, the Czech editor corrects the text and does not indicate his corrections in the critical apparatus. Palacký corrects also *pro* with *quod* and *sibi* with *igitur*. According to him these errors are made because of the incorrect interpretation of the signs of abbreviations (see Ed. nos. 1, 7, 77).

^e Generally speaking, the other editors included in their editions Palacký’s version of the edited letters (Georgius Fejér followed Dobner, Ed. n. 5). At any rate, their editions have been compared and the different readings indicated in the apparatus criticus.

^f Pal. states: *Ms. habet sinceri*.

^g Pal. states: *Ms. habet sibi*.

^h Pal. states: *Ms. habet urgeat*.

ⁱ Pal. states: *Ms. habet solavice*.

^j Pal. states: *Ms. habet coniunctum*.

^k Pal. states: *Ms. habet O*.

^l Pal. states: *Ms. habet liberatis*.

^m Meinert states: *Ms. habet et*.

The punctuation adopted in the present edition is modern and according to the syntax of the text. Words or letters supplied by conjecture are in pointed brackets < >. The ellipsis dots have not been added by the editor but they are in the original text. They indicate the conscious omission of proper names or geographical names by the copyst or the author of the letter collection. The pointed names in the original text have been preserved.^b The expansion and identification of antroponyms and toponyms take place in note. The proper names, the geographical names and the *nomina sacra* (*Deus, Dominus, Virgo*) have been capitalized. Nobility and military titles are capitalized when they precede a person's name or are used with a specific location (es. the King of Hungary). The apparent incongruities connected to pointed names of people and places have not been corrected if they do not affect the meaning of the text (e. g. Ed. nos. 60, 75). They are conscious changes made by the author of the collection or the scribe, who copied it.^c

The edition of the letter collection has a standard structure. An apparatus criticus at the foot of the page and a source apparatus at the bottom of the edition are given. A *regestum* that summarises the content of the letter and a related commentary part have been provided. The names of the correspondents and the date furnished by previous editors are also referred. Furthermore, the manuscript's folios and the reference to previous editions/*regesta* have been placed before each document.

^a Pal. states: *Ms. habet vel.*

^b Very often Palacký uses abbreviated form of words, which are not present in the original text such as D. for *dominus* or B. for *beatus*. They have been corrected in the critical apparatus. They can be misinterpreted by the reader and understood as pointed names.

^c Concrete details in medieval model letters were regularly eliminated or changed in order to create general exemplar letters to be used at any proper occasion. In this respect, any correction would go against the documentary literariness of such kind of texts.

Sigla codicum

V Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 526 (*olim* Philol. 187), fols. 17r-29r, 57r-60r

P Prague, Knihovna pražské metropolitní kapituly, I. XXVI, fol. 9v

Abbreviations used in the critical apparatus*

< > added by the editor
[] omitted by the editor

a.c. ante correctionem
add. addidit
a.m. alia manu
in marg. in margine
om. omisit
sq. sequitur
sup. l. supra lineam

*For the other abbreviations used in the critical edition see the list of the abbreviations, 8-9.

1

Letter addressed to a queen by one of her relatives, who has children (nostri pueri). The sender complains about the scarcity of the letters received by the addressee and asks her to solve the impediments that caused the reduction of the correspondence. Furthermore, the sender requests the queen to act as intercessor with the king in order to reinvigorate the good relationship between their families. The addresser also greets the king.

This letter is connected to the letters (Ed. nos. 3, 24, 28, 36, 37, 38, 39, 94). They relate the difficult relationship between the royal family (P. Otakar II) and the Duchy of Bavaria.

Pal.: addresser: the Duchess of Bavaria, Elisabeth; addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

Date: (RBM II)1267 (?).

V: fol. 17r

Ed.: Pal. n. 28, 277-278

Reg.: RBM II n. 588, 226-227

Licet nostrum animum afflixerit vehementer, quod^a tua saluberrima gaudia tam diu nos latebant, tamen id^b <quod> mora nobis subtraxit in tempore supplevit tua legatio nobis plenissima gaudiorum et in tantum nos fecit ylariter exultare quod calamus non potest exprimere. Sed tua dileccio estimet affectu cum fiducia pleniore, cum nos in omnibus tuis gaudiis semper gaudere velimus et dolere si te tangeret, quod absit, mesticia corporalis. Sed quod^c te nostra^d legatio iam^e visitat et salutatur, ex eo est, quod tuas litteras tam raro cepimus vel legationem, in quo si tibi est aliquid occasio inpedimenti, id karissima, per tuam industriam studeas remove^f, ut nos possimus quandoque solacii causa litterarum alloquio confovere, cum ad id nos nature debitum liget et astringat et ut eciam nostri pueri per nostrum favorem ad perpetui favoris similis amicitiam inducantur. Ceterum a te petimus, ut nos de statu parentum nostrorum, ad quos nostra^g legatio non potest, ut deceret sepius pervenire, nobis aliquid significes ac demandes. Dominum regem eciam maritum tuum, dilectum affinem nostrum, salutes nostro obsequio speciali et suam circa nos amicitiam foveas, qua forte^h nosⁱ possimus^j frequentibus legationibus, quando placet ad invicem recreare.^k

Datum.

^a quod] pro V

^b id] quod Pal. RBM II

^c quod] pro V

^d nostra] vestra V

^e iam] tam V

^f remove] remanere V

^g nostra] vestra V

^h forte] fota V, forta Pal.

ⁱ nos] vos V

^j possimus] possumus Pal. RBM II

^k recreare] recrearet V

Letter addressed by the wife of the King of Bohemia to a member of a religious order. She requests the liberation of a detained friar employed as a lector. The queen points out that the king has already sent messengers and persuasive letters without getting any positive results. Nevertheless, the sender entrusts the good will, sincerity and discretion of the addressee and guesses that through his help the friar might be freed from prigion. The queen expresses her affect for the addressee, his order, and especially the detained friar ([...] omnium qui ad nos pertinent vestro memorato superius), who has not abandoned the religious life, but on the contrary he continues to pursue it. She promises that the order will be rewarded if the prisoner will be released from the condition of captivity and will be granted of mercy.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: a friar of the Minorite Order.

V.: fol. 17rv

Ed.: Pal. n. 62, 290-291

Reg.: RBM II n. 2508, 1079-1080

Quoniam discretionem vestram non latet, quod^a detentio erumpnosa fratris^b lectoris vestri dilecti, marito domino nostro regi Bohemorum et nobis grati in Domino, iam dicto domino regi et nobis, nec non potioribus terre nostre plurimum generavit molestie, prout ex sollicitudine diligenti, quam circa liberationem ipsius dominus^c rex una nobiscum affectuosissime gessit, tam in mittendo hiis, quibus videbatur expediens nuncios et litteras efficaces, quam eciam inparciendo^d <vobis>, in porrigendo vobis affectuosas preces pro eodem. Ex premissis, vestra circumspectio potes<t>^e colligere diligenter, quantum nobis et nostris ingerat gaudium liberatio, qua eundem nobis restituere incolomem dignatus est Deus celi. Et quoniam petitionibus, quas pro liberatione ipsius vobis porreximus, personaliter ex affectu vos intelleximus inclinatum benivole, et vestrum nobis favorem promiseratis inpendere fideliter in premissis quemadmodum credimus vos fecisse pro viribus. Data nobis de vestra sinceritate fiducia, rogamus omni prece qua possumus, quatenus pro obliganda^f vobis specialiter et toti ordini nostra persona, et omnium qui ad nos pertinent vestro memorato superius, cuius status ad presens est^g quiddam vacillatione permixtus, vitam religiosam non repudians sed amplectens, non fugiens sed insequens ad vos properat, intuitu precum, quas premisimus inpendere dignemini auxilium efficax et consilium salutare, et eundem, sicut de vobis presumimus brachiis recipere caritatis, nec ipsum per aliquos fratrum vestrorum mittatis sustinere molestiam, donec status ipsius deducatur ad solidum vestro subsidio mediante. Scientes certissime, quod quicquid favoris et gracie eidem inpenderitis, nobis inpensum reputabimus, et a modo vobis ordini erimus in amplioribus

^a quod] pro V

^b fratris] fratris ... Pal. RBM II

^c dominus] D. Pal. RBM II

^d inparciendo] om. Pal. RBM II

^e potest] potes V

^f obliganda] obligando Pal. RBM II

^g cuius status ad presens est] c. s. e. a. p. Pal. RBM II

ymo in omnibus beneplacitis obligate. Quicquid circa prudentiam vestram et statum viri memorati superius nostre preces effecerint et in quo statu eum constitueris, negocio sic pendente nobis dignemini quam celerius^a poteritis vestris litteris intimare. Scientes quod sibi in omnibus que ad promotionem et pacem suam pertinent, dominus et maritus noster karissimus ac nos deesse nolumus, propter sue^b aprobata merita probitatis.

3

Letter addressed to the wife of the King of Bohemia by a female relative. The addressee is the maternal aunt (matertera) of the addresser. The addresser requests the addressee's intercession for favoring accord between their families. Her mediation role, which is supported by the cooperation of an unspecified abbot de t. l. (abbreviation for tali loco, a certain place), is especially relevant for establishing a good relationship with the Bohemian king. The letter is issued in Landau (Bavaria).

The letter is issued in Landau and this detail has probably led Palacký to attribute the letter to Elisabeth, the wife of Heinrich Duke of Bavaria and date it to 1267, which is the year of the truce between Bohemia and Bavaria. See the commentary part Ed. n. 1. Elisabeth is Kunhuta's maternal aunt. In the letter, the addressee is called *matertera* (maternal aunt). On the contrary, in the letter (Ed. n. 38), the addresser's wife (Elisabeth?) is named *matertera*.

Pal.: addresser: the Duchess of Bavaria, Elisabeth; addressee: Queen Kunhuta.
Date: (Pal., RBM) 1267 (?).

V: fol. 17v

Ed.: Pal. n. 26, 277

Reg.: RBM II n. 586, 226

Singularis fiducie presumptio, quam non inmerito de dilectione vestra gerimus, crebre nobis affert copiam bone spei, ac preces amicales dirigere hortatur, ut videlicet in causa perpetue unionis et amicicie inter dilectum consaguineum nostrum inclitum regem Bohemorum et karissimum dominum et maritum nostrum,^c vestra mediatio cooperari debeat principaliter et sincera^d sollicitudine laborare. Sicut etiam venerabilem abbatem de t<ali> l<oco> ad presens in eodem negocio laborantem, a dilectione vestra petimus confoveri ac fide plena credere verbis eius. Et ut, matertera dulcissima, maior effectus in hac parte vestre mediationis studium comitetur,^e consulimus, ut eo magis intentam vos predicti consaguinei nostri velitis beneplacitis exhibere.

^a celerius] celius V

^b sue] suæ V

^c nostrum] vestrum V

^d sincera] sinceriter V

^e comitetur] comitatur V

Datum in Landowe.

4

It is a lamentation for the vacancy of the Pope's seat.

After the death of Clemens IV on 29th November 1268, the following pope Gregory X was elected in 1271. Seemingly, this letter is the first of a trilogy of letters connected to King P. Otakar II. They apparently belong to the letter collection of Henricus de Isernia partly edited by Thomas Dolliner. The second one is addressed to Otakar, who is informed of the nomination of the new pope (*Codex epistolaris Primislai Ottocari II. Bohemiae regis*, edited by Thomas Dolliner [Vienna: Academia Thersiana, 1803] n. 2, 6). The third one is addressed by the Bohemian king to the college of cardinals; the king thanks them for having remediated to the lack of the papal seat (*Codex epistolaris Primislai Ottocari II. Bohemiae regis*, edited by Thomas Dolliner, n. 3, 7-8). The letters issued under the name of Otakar are of special interest (Ed, n. 4 and *Dolliner*, n. 3). They provide two crucial metaphorical images: 1) the *navicula Petri* (literally the little ship of Peter); 2) the reference to the theory of the *duo magna luminaria* of Innocence III (decretal *Solitae benignitatis*), the sun (the *luminare maius*), which represents the *pontificalis auctoritas* and the moon (the *luminare minus*), that is the *regalis potestas*. They have placed by God “in firmamento coeli,” the first one to govern the day, the second one to rule the night. This theory finds its origin in the allegorical interpretation of a biblical passage (Gen. 1, 16-18: *Fecit Deus duo magna luminaria: luminare maius, ut preesset diei, et luminare minus, ut preesset nocti, et stellas*). The boat of Peter refers to an allegory of the church of long tradition (“the most ancient and approved form for the Church was an *oblong*; sometimes with parallel sides, but more frequently elliptical, like the form of a ship,” see *The Antiquities of the Christian Church*, transl. and comp. by Lyman Coleman [Andover: Gould, Newman & Saxton, 1841],180); cf. Karl Rahner, “*Navicula Petri*,” *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 69 (1947): 1-35. It indicates the troubles that the church overcame in God. In the letter contained in the present edition (Ed., n. 4), the *navicula Petri* is without rower and guide (*sine remige et rectore*); in the letter (Dolliner, n. 3) after floatig in the high seas (*in pelagi altitudine*) without a rower (*dum proprii Remigis carerent suffragio*) the Christian community reaches a safe port (*portum tranquillitatis*).

Both the letters have also similar contrasting images of darkness and light connected to the pope absence/presence. In the letter (Ed., n. 4) the light of the sun (*solis ecclesie*) or (*maior luminaris*) that was used to bright is obscured from an eclipsis (*lumen consuevit refulgere, obscuravit eclipsis*); in the other letter it is said that after Otakar's request (*ad oportune nostre petitionis instanciam*), the obscurity brought by the eclipse of the major source of light (*maior dudum eclipsis induxerat luminaris*) has been replaced by the desired joys of the light (*lucis votiva gaudia*).

Pal.: addresser: King P. Otakar II; addressee: college of cardinals and nobles.

V: fols. 17v-18r
Unedited

Summi patris providencia, cuius *inscrutabilis sapientie altitudo*ⁱ singula ad*>*mpienda antequam fiant previdet, ordinat, et disponit et sancte mentis in specula futura tamquam presencia speculatur sancte matri ecclesie sponse sue misericorditer providit, et providendo disposuit ab eterno. Ut sicut duo eminentiora luminaria firmamenti solis videlicet atque lune dierum et nocti illuminando presunt et preessendo desiverunt varias vices temporum distinguendo, sic nimirum pontificalis auctoritas et inperialis maiestas, tamquam luminare maius et minus indesinenti successione preessent et succederent in eadem, que si quidem equitatis libris et recti iudicii statura emergencium causarum chaos distinguerent et sue lucis radios orbi infuderent universo, detersa caligine tenebrarum.ⁱⁱ Sed proh pudor! proh dolor! Capitibus sublatis extinctisque lucernis, qui lucere debuerant populo christiano, sicut heu nostris temporibus contingere cum rectoris officio similiter vacentⁱⁱⁱ sacerdotum atque regnum et inperialis maiestas iam dudum gubernatoris sic nescia et in terris careat successore Petrus et vicario Iesus Christi. Quid igitur superest, nisi quod populum, cui lux orta fuerat devia tenebrarum involuunt solem ecclesie de qua doctrine lumen refulgere consuevit obscuravit ecclipsis, et luna inperialis fastigii in sanguinem est conversa. Quantum predicta mater ecclesia sue viduitatis deploret excidium, et tamquam vidua domina gencium, deposita corona leticie, sedeat in tristitia ad consolatorem cum gemitu suspiciens et respirans. Nos, qui carissimorum progenitorum nostrorum exempla sequentes, in dilectionis caritate fuerimus et devotionis zelum gerimus ad eandem, cum matre gemente gemiscimus, ab alto cordis suspiria trahimus et dolenti eximiis pectoribus tanto acrius condolemus compassionis calcaribus stimulati, quanto propensius consideramus et ex vicinitate locorum certius cognoscimus qualiter ex principalium capitulum ecclesie diminutione et Petri navicula sine remige et rectore in fluctibus fluctuante ausus infidelium extenditur, et undique dilatatur potencia paganiss*>*mi. Et certe quidem non solum ab externis hic stupet^a ex defensoris carencia ovile concutitur fidei christianos quodammodo intra sua viscera. Ipsa mater ecclesie bellum sentit filiorum, quos genuit insultibus crudeliter laccessita. Nam sicut status presencium evidentissimus edocet argumentis et experencie, certa fides cessante manu vindicis et ultore gladio iniuriam cohibentis et de proscripta iusticia, pace sepulta, fide naufragante et concordia exulante viget iniquitas, regnant discordie, perfidie pululant, bellis internis exter<r>eunt populi christiani et fidelium principes, qui infidelium terror et tremor esse consueverant et qui se pro domo Yerusalem defensionis clipeum et murum firmissimum opponebant contra faciem inimici, nunc inter se in invicem discriminis exercent materiam mutuis bellorum congressibus, consumuntur pro hostibus exteris et emulis crucis christiani in domesticos seviendo. Nempe cum hoc pensamus, dum in pectoris archa diligenter revolvimus tantorum siderum occasum et periculum ecclesie generalis. Licet quippe simus inter reges alios iuniores, quorum forte fecundam ad vos verbis et fecundam sentenciis exortationem consimilem credimus precessisse. Tamen reverendum vestre paternitatis cetum utpote illos, qui estis fidei^b chatolice cardines et columpne, qui tamquam stelle minores locate in superiori ecclesie firmamento illustratis virtutum radiis orbem terre, qui tamquam fontes irrigui doctrine pluvia corda arida irrigatis devote duximus exhortandum, ut considerato quanta in eleccione

^a stupet] stipet *a. c. a. m. sup. l. V*

^b fidei] fidius *V*

summi patris sic in necessitate comoditas et in commoditate necessitas ad creationem ipsius more sublato dispendio unanimi consensu et concordi concordia procedatis. In sponse orphanis, in patre votis consonis providendo, ut sic novo exorto, sole, preconsequens luna inperialis aperitis que dudum latuit radiis solaribus accendantur. Quod autem indocti peritos insipientes exortationis consilio alloquimur sapientes in quibus nullus defectus, nulla insufficiencia reperitur apud quos matris discretio resedit et sapiencia locavit specialiter sedem suam. Quid id zelus dilectionis sancte matris ecclesie nos induxit, unde speramus quod exorationem nostram vobis exhibitam clementer suscipere debeatis, quam sola devotionis sinceritas et vere caritatis integritas dolorosum animi dolorem cordisque affectum interius experimentem.

5

It relates the truce between the Hungarian King István V and the sender (King P. Otakar II) signed in the island of Pozsony. The compromise was made with the mediation of eight representative of both the parts.

According to Palacký and Dobner this is the *monumentum* that attests the truce signed by P. Otakar II and István V in the island of Pozsony, near Danube. Palacký dates the compromise to 1270, Dobner dates it to 1267. Georgius Fejér states that the conditions of peace have not been found in any documents (*Apud Dobner Mo. ineditorum, Tom. II, p. 368. Pacis conditiones in nullo monumento inveniuntur expresse*). Palacký includes it in the section of his edition entitled “Mostly documents”- (Urkunden überhaupt, nos. 87-110). This letter is linked to the following two letters (Ed. nos. 6, 7) and to the letter (Ed. n. 84).

Attenta consideratione pensantes] probably the scribe did not interpret rightly the abbreviation concerning *attenta* and wrote erroneously *a cuncta*. The sentence *eapropter attenta consideratione pensantes* can be found also in another letter contained in the ms. V, fols. 63-64, Pal. n. 91, 304-305; it belongs to the collection of the “unknown author.”

Domino St. serenissimo rege Ungarorum] King of Hungary, István V (ca. 8 October 1239 - 6 August 1272).

Pozonium] Bratislava.

Potinburch] Pottenburg, Lower Austria.

Pal., Dobner, CDH: addresser: King P. Otakar II; addressee: public.

Date: (Pal., RBM II) October 1270; (Dobner, CDH) 1267.

V: fol. 18rv

Ed.: Pal. n. 90, 301

Dobner n. 45, 368

CDA n. 147, 241-242

CDH, 421-422

Reg.: RBM II, n. 726, 281-282

Amator pacis^a rex pacificus et eternus filios sancte matris ecclesie, quos redemptos pretioso sanguine^b in unitate fidei catholice counivit,^c eciam in caritatis dilectione mutueque^d pacis observatione disposuit atque voluit esse unum,^e ut ydemptitatem fidei,^f ydemptitas sive unio concordie sequeretur, et eos, quos una coniunxit fides mencium, dissensus non divideret accionum. Et certe quidem, licet ad tanti dispositoris exemplar pacem diligere et servare teneantur singuli christiani nominis professores, tamen hos, quos divina providencia in dignitatem^g arche locavit, regali dyademate insignitos, decet tanto amplius fore pacis et concordie zelatores, quanto se cognoscunt honoris et sublimitatis apicem altius conscendisse, ut ab ipsis tamquam a lucernis suprapositis,^h pacis et iusticie lumen refulgeat, et eorum concordia personis inferioribus imitationis transeatⁱ in exemplum. Eapropter attenda^j consideratione pensantes, et in pectoris nostri archa diligentius revolventes, quod ex divina clemencia regni et terrarum gubernacula^k teneamus, in trono regio collocati, ne lumen pacis, quo lucere debeamus^l aliis, tenebre sint, cum domino St. serenissimo rege Ungarorum,^m cum quo tam sanguinitatisⁿ/^{iv} quam affinitatis fibula in amicitia nos connectit, et alterutrum nos invitant ad concordie unionem, pacem plenam et perpetuam promittimus observare, quam per nos vel per nostros^o nullo umquam tempore aliqua dissensionis corruptela, discidii^p zizania violari volumus aliquatenus vel corrumpi. Et ut hec quidem^q pacis federa^r possent personis intermediis forcius couniri,^s ecce nobis et predicto rege St. in insula iuxta Pozonium et Potinburch pariter constitutis, in octo personas, quibus arbitrandi plenariam dedimus facultatem, per nos hin<c> et inde extitit^t compromissum, talibus tamen^u conditionibus interiectis.^v

^a pacis] pacis pacis V

^b pretioso sanguine] sanguine pretioso Dobner CDH

^c counivit] coniunxit Dobner CDH

^d mutueque] mutuaque Dobner CDH

^e esse unum] unum esse Dobner CDH

^f fidei] fidius a. c. a. m. V

^g dignitate] dignitatum Dobner CDH

^h suprapositis] suprapositus V, suppositis Dobner CDH

ⁱ imitationis transeat] transeat Dobner CDH

^j attenda] a cuncta V, acuta Pal. RBM II

^k gubernacula] gubernaculo V

^l debeamus] debemus Dobner CDH

^m Ungarorum] Ungariae Dob. CDH

ⁿ sanguinitatis] consanguinitatis Pal. RBM II Dobner CDH

^o per nostros] nostros Dobner CDH

^p discidii] dissidii Dobner CDH

^q hec quidem] quidem Dobner CDH

^r federa] federi V Dobner CDH

^s couniri] coniueri Dobner CDH

^t extitit] exstitit Pal. RBM II CDH CDA, existit Dobner

^u tamen] autem Dobner

^v interiectis] interiectis et cetera, in cuius rei testimonium, et cetera, acta sunt autem hec anno dominice incarnationis millesimo et cetera Dobner

The Hungarian King István V has violated the truce of two years signed in the feast of St. Martin. The betrayed king asks the support of the Church, since Christian innocents have been murdered by impious hands.

The document has a marginal glosse *de treguis*. The sender of the letter is the Bohemian King P. Otakar II. Pal. uses another manuscript preserved in the Prague Cathedral Chapter Library I XXVI (*olim* Ms. J. 26, fol. 9v; see Johann Friedrich von Schulte, *Die canonistischen Handschriften der Bibliotheken: 1. Der k. k. Univ., 2. d. Böhmischen Museums, 3. d. Fürsten Georg Lobkowitz, 4. d. Metropolitan-Kapitels von St. Veit in Prag* [Prag: Böhmische Ges. der Wiss., 1868], n. CC, 79) and includes the variant readings of V in the critical apparatus. The manuscript I XXVI (XIV cent. ineunte) has been named P; it contains: 1) fols. 1r-10v Fragmentum formularii officialis episcopalis; 2) fol. 11r Litterae ducis Carinthiae Joannis, fratris Caroli IV, quibus a. 1349 Pesconem Krabicze de Weytmul constituit iudicem provinciae Trutnoviensis; Confirmatio eiusdem instrumenti a Carolo IV; 3) fols. 12r-67v Summa cancellariae Caroli IV; 4) fols. 68r-69v (XVII cent. hand) Legati gallici Gremovilli valedictio ad nobilitatem Austriacam Viennensem anno 1671; 5) fols. 70r-73v vacua; 6) fols. 74r-85r (XIV cent. hand) Morale somnium pharaonis ad Theobaldum; 7) fols. 86r-88r (XIV cent. hand) Tractatus de confessione (see Ant. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny Metropolitaní kapitoly pražské, vol. 2 F-P* [Prague: Nákl. eske akademie císaře Frantika Josefa pro vdy, 1922], 146).

This letters seems to be linked to the letter (Ed. n. 84). See also the commentary part Ed. nos. 5, 6. More on this letter in the Introduction, 69-75.

Per St. regem Ungarie] King of Hungary, István V.

Pal.: addresser: King P. Otakar II; addressee: college of cardinals and princes.

Date: (Pal., RBM II, CDA) 1271.

V: fol. 18v

Ed.: Pal. n. 24, 275

CDA n. 155, 259

Reg.: RBM II n.768, 308

Grande scelus, nepharium^a crimen, et detestabilem perfidiam per St. regem Ungarie in christianum populum perpetrata, ad aures vestras deferimus cum querela, utpote ad <aures> eorum, qui christiani principes estis,^b et qui merito ad compassionis dolorem excitari debetis, ex trucidatione^c filiorum sancte matris ecclesie et iactura nominis christiani. Ecce enim cum eodem rege St. treugas nunc a festo beati Galli usque ad festum beati^d Martini, et

^a nepharium] nefandum P Pal. RBM II CDA

^b utpote ad aures eorum qui christiani principes estis] utpote qui christianus princeps estis P Pal. RBM II, utpote eorum q. c. p. e. CDA

^c trucidatione] traditione P Pal. RMB II CDA

^d beati] b. Pal. RBM II CDA

abinde per duos annos continuos duximus statuendas, que ad stabilem observanciam earundem tam nostris quam ipsius, quam eciam archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et baronum in terris utriusque nostrum manencium^a fuerant stabilite, interpositis corporalibus fidei sacramentis vicibus repetitis, et autenticis^b privilegiis super eo prestitis hinc et inde. Sed ipse rex St., cuius stabilitas est esse instabilem, et fides perfidie deservire, sicut patet ex operum argumentis^c renunciatis^d treugis, nobis non diffidatis, nobis^e non premunitis, nobisque nil tale^f timentibus, sed de partibus Karinthie, Carniole et Marchie, ubi quosdam infideles nostros, qui se contra nos in rebellionem erexerant, ad nostre retraximus dominium potestatis, sub treugarum pretextu, secure versus Austriam dirigentibus iter nostrum, spicula non ultra dissimulans perfidie, que^g eciam in suis parentibus excercuit aliquando, fidem datam violans, promissiones irritans, concessa privilegia^h parvipendens sive vilipendens,ⁱ dictam terram nostram Austriam fraudulenter invasit, in ipsa proch dolor per Comanos et alios infideles Christi effundens profluvium sanguinis christiani. O quis christianus princeps digne non compaciatur? O quis catholice religionis zelator merito poterit non dolere? Quod manus barbara, manus^j canina, in locis diversis sacram pedibus conculcavit eucharistiam, sacerdotes tormentorum affecit martiriis, devastavit ecclesias, sanctuaria prophanavit, virgines et iuvenes abduxit captivitati perpetue redigendos et nocenter^k effudit sanguinem innocentum, non parcens conditioni, sanguini, sexui vel etati. Quare profecto vos rogamus attentius et hortamur, ut velitis, si non nobis saltem christianis, quorum sanguis effusus est in creatoris^l contumeliam^m condolere. Ad haec eciam, ut inmanitasⁿ criminis, vos ad compassionem excitet amplioem, ad id vestre discrecionis acclinetis accumen, et interiores cordis oculos diligencius covertatatis, quod si nos, quod absit, qui murus vester simus contra perfidas nationes, corruerimus et paries nostre potencie fuerit perforatus, vos procul dubia^o sciatis consimilis iacture periculo subiacere, nam sicut describit auctoritas: *res tua tunc agitur paries cum proximus ardet*^v quoniam mala vicina^p ac imminencia, si eisdem non tempestiviis remediis obvietur, ledere ac nocere facilius consueverunt. Ut igitur formam privilegiorum super treugis huiusmodi confectorum, quam ad noticiam domini^q pape cardinalium, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et omnium christianorum deferre volumus, ut nostram innocenciam et inauditam iniuriam nobis factam audiat totus mundus, atque eciam ut singulas conditio<n>es, quibus treuge eedem sunt vallate, plenius cognoscatis. Ecce vobis de verbo ad verbum transcriptum mittimus eorundem, sigilli nostri munimine roboratum.

^a manencium] morancium literis vel promissionibus *P Pal. RBM II CDA*

^b autenticis] attenticis *V*

^c argumentis] documentis *a. c. V*

^d renunciatis] non renunciatis *P Pal. RBM II CDA*

^e nobis] vobis *V*

^f tale] tales *V*

^g que] quem *V*

^h privilegia] privilegiis *V*

ⁱ parvipendens sive vilipendens] vilipendens *P Pal. RMB II CDA*

^j manus] manusque *V*

^k nocenter] innocenter *V*

^l in creatoris] increatoriam *V*

^m contumeliam] contumeliam contumeliam *a. c. V*

ⁿ inmanitas] in manicas *V*

^o procul dubia] de cetero *P Pal. RBM II CDA*

^p vicina] vicinia *V*

^q domini] *D. Pal. RBM II*

This is the answer of the Hungarian prelates to the letters sent by the King of Bohemia about István V's violation of the truce. They state that are desiderous for friendship and request to accelerate the conclusion of the negotiated peace agreement.

Ph. archiepiscopus Strigoniensis] Fülöp Szentgróti archbishop of Esztergom (in Latin *Strigonio*) in the years 1262-1272.

Pal.: addresser: college of Hungarian cardinals and barons; addressee: King P. Otakar II.
Date: (Pal.) June 1271.

V: fol. 19r

Ed.: Pal. n. 11, 270

CDA n. 160, 264-265

Reg.: RBM II n. 750, 294

Litteras celsitudinis vestre debito recepimus cum honore continentes, quod vobis, qui pacis estis filii et bona pacis diligitis cum omnibus Christi fidelibus, maxime tamen cum hiis, qui serenitati vestre cognatio<n>is funiculo coniunguntur, pacis procuratio bene placet. Nos eciam proposito nostro et litterarum vestrarum serie audiencie domini nostri regis Ungarie ex ordine recitato, pium ipsius animum multis suadentes rationibus induximus ad pacem amandam et concordiam reformandam secundum licitum et honestum, maiestatem vestram attentius^a inducentes quatenus ad finem debitum tanto negotio inponendum vobis a domino^b tradita sapiencia festinando^c festinetis, accelerando, quod pacis tractatus exigit et requirit, ne mora pertractionis^{d/vi} cedat^e in multorum perniciem animarum. Scituri, domino nostro regi de novo, de exteris regionibus maximum advenissem populum^f armatorum, nec esset deo placitum mutuis cedibus litare sanguinem subiectorum. Quod vero nota^g dignum reputastis, qualiter venerabilis pater dominus^h Ph archiepiscopus Strigoniensis huiusmodi pacis tractatui non affuerit, nec per litteras suam intencionem voluerit reserare, qui antea circa tractatum pacis habende fideli animo et devoto studio laboravit. Nos enim rogamus affectu, sed ipsius laboris intencio nullum invenit effectum. Intererit tamen finaliter tanto

^a attentius] autencius V

^b domino] d. RBM II

^c festinando] om. Pal. RBM II CDA

^d pertractionis] pertractioni V, protractionis Pal. RMB II CDA

^e cedat] cadat Pal. RMB II CDA

^f populum] pacem a. c. in marg. V

^g nota] nata V

^h dominus] D. Pal. RBM II

negocio reformando, si ad meliora dominus vicissim produxerit et direxerit aciem vestre mentis.

8

Letter addressed by a queen to a friar of the order to which the royal family is especially dedicated. She believes that there is evidence of a reciprocal devotion from both the parts. As a result, she promises to the Prior of the addressee order in Polony, Johannes, that her family will continue to follow faithfully the advice and suggestions of the monks and that the friars could return the affection by praying for her, her husband and her daughter and by dedicating a special Marian mass for the birth of a male son.

This letter is linked to the following letters: Ed. nos 9, 81, 91. Their *petitio* relates persistently a special Mass for the birth of a male son. The request is addressed to a order to which the royal family is especially devoted. Apart from the letter n. 91, Pal. persistently identifies the order with that of the Minorites.

There is a reference to a unique daughter (*dilectam nostram filiam*). The same can be applied to the following letter (*unicam karissimam filiam nostram*, Ed. n. 9). If these two letters are based on real letters or inspired by real facts they might both have been written before 1269 (the date of the birth of Queen Kunhuta's second daughter, Anežka).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: a friar of the Minorite order.

Date: before 1269.

V: fol. 19r

Ed.: Pal. n. 63, 291

Reg.: RBM II n. 2512, 1081

Cum ab ipsis fere infancie annis ordini vestro sacro ac^a eiusdem professoribus sincero devocionis affectu una cum nostris parentibus adhererimus, secundum fratrum consilia et monita salutaria, quibus nos totaliter commisimus nos regentes: non inmerito cum omni fiducia vestrum sacrum collegium statuimus presentibus visitandum, ut et nostra devotio singularis, quam erga fratres et ordinem incessanter gerimus, vobis universis ac singulis illucescat, et vestre devocionis effectus circa nos efficacius excitetur et animetur ad fovendum nos in Domino vice versa. Nam licet quorundam monitis et induccionibus satis circa nos attemptatum fuerit, alienas et extraneas nos reddere religioni vestri ordinis: constanciam tamen, quam a nostra puericia caritatis affectibus eidem gessimus, gerimus adhuc fideliter et geremus amplius quoad vivimus bono corde. Ut igitur devotionis nostre constancia erga vos et vestrum venerandum ordinem vobis plenius innotescat, certos vos reddere curavimus presencium per tenorem, quod tempore vite nostre intendimus esse largiente Domino fratrum et ordinis mater et filia in Domino specialis, nec alicuius exemplo vel consilio minorabimur in solite devotionis affectu. In cuius plenam confirmationem venerabilis patris fratris Johannis prioris provincialis Polonie ordinis vestri manus

^a ac] ad a. c. in marg. V

intravimus, eidem firmiter promittentes, quod nullius consilio aut exemplo tam in vita quam in morte, in prosperis et adversis ordinem deseremus, sed secundum fratrum consilia in omnibus, que saluti et honori nostro expediunt, nos portabimus Domino largiente ipsorum consolationibus ac profectibus pro nostre possibilitatis modulo intendentes. Verum quia iustum est et omnino consentaneum rationi, ut nos ordinem vestrum sacrum tam constantissime diligentes, et a vobis quoque universis et singulis foveamur in Domino vice versa. Cum omni precum instancia humiliter supplicamus, quatenus nos et dominum regem nec non et dilectam nostram filiam habere velitis fratrum omnium oracionibus specialiter commendatos. Concedentes nobis nichilominus unam missam de Virgine gloriosa de speciali gratia et favore, ut Dominus omnipotens dignetur nobis donare filium, vestris suffragantibus meritis in nostrum et totius regni nostri solacium et profectum.

9

Letter addressed by a queen to a friar of an order toward which the royal family is reverently disposed. Similarly to the previous epistle, it concerns a request for prayers and the reading of a Marian mass to assure the health of the queen's relatives, i. e. the king and their unique daughter. Besides the sender requests votive prayers for the birth of a male son, the future heir to the throne that will ensure the continuation of the family line of succession in the reign.

See the commentary part (Ed. n. 8).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: a friar of the Minorite order.
Date: before 1269.

V: fol. 19rv
Ed.: Pal. n. 61, 290
Reg.: RBM II n. 2511, 1080-1081

Non recedentes a nostrorum progenitorum salutaribus vestigiis, sinceris devotionum et dilectionum affectibus, quibus ordinem vestrum pre aliis conplectimur specialius, credimus cercius et tenemus firmum, quod devoti deo in ipso vos diligentes diligere merito debeatis. Quare vestre reverencie supplicandum duximus omni diligencia et affectu, quatenus serenissimum dominum et maritum nostrum regem,^a nos et unicam karissimam filiam nostram habere dignemini affectuosius commendatos, hoc concedi nobis petentes, ut de gratuita benevolencia favoris vestri quilibet sacerdotum vestri conventus unam missam de beata Virgine legere velit pro conservanda^b et augmentanda salute nostra, et ut nostri^c

^a regem] regis V, om. Pal. RBM II

^b conservanda] consideranda V

^c nostri] nostra a. c. V

successiva linea successore regni non careat, offerre domino preces et^a hostias pro nobis dignemini salutare, quibus cum fiducia speramus firmiter adiuvari.

10

Letter addressed from a female sender to a friar. It has been asked that the Czech lector called Chazlaus of the order of the addressee, taken (abstractus) from his original place and sent to another province by the recipient, should return again in Prague or another part of Bohemia.

This letter is linked to the following one (Ed. n. 11).

Chaslaus] The only person named Chazlaus directly connected to Queen Kunhuta is her *dapifer* in the year 1269 (CDB V/II n. 581). There is evidence for the existence of a Bohemian lector, named Chazlaus, in 1283 (Felskau, *Agnes von Böhmen*, 165); a “frater Chazlaus executor officii per Bohemian et Poloniam” is mentioned in a document, date 1285 (see Gustav Adolph Stenzel, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bisthums Breslau im Mittelalter*, [Breslau: Max, 1845], 173-174). See also chapter II, 59-62.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: a friar of the Minorite order.

V: fol. 19v

Ed.: Pal. n. 59, 289

Reg.: RBM II n. 2509, 1080

Cum a primeve etatis nostre primordiis plus aliis omnibus ordinibus specialis prerogativa karitatis^b semper complexe fuerimus pio animo et sincero religionis vestre ordinem, presumptionis nobis datur audacia facilius ea, que sunt petitioni congrua, apud vestre paternitatis prudentiam inpetrandi. Et ecce omni affectu et dulcedine cordis vestre paternitati supplicandum duximus, pater reverende, pater pie, quatenus causa nostre dilectionis fratrem Chaclaum lectorem lingue nostre ordinis vestri fratrem, quem ut audimus nostre abstractum provincie locastis alias comorandum remittere ad nos dignemini, stare^c debere in Praga vel saltem in Bohemia^d ubicunque. Pro quo nos cum omnibus amicis nostris vestre paternitatis specialiter et ordini vestro esse volumus obligati.

11

It has been asked that the lector named Chaslaus located by the addressee (ad mandatum vestrum) to another province, might return to his original place (supposedly Bohemia) in

^a et] om. Pal. RBM II

^b karitatis] in karitatis a. c. V

^c stare] stabe a. c. V

^d in Bohemia] in et Bohemia V, in regno Boemie Pal. RBM II

order to protect the Czech language (commune bonum lingue nostre). It has also been expressed the special devotion of the family of the sender for the order of the addressee.

See the commentary part of the letter (Ed. n. 10).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: a friar of the Minorite order.

V: fol. 19v

Ed.: Pal. n. 60, 289

Reg.: RBM II n. 2510, 1080

Ab exemplo nobis nostrorum progenitorum moralitas hoc reservat, ut religionis vestre ordinem sanctum honorantes digna reverencia in Domino, specialis favoris plenitudine complectamur.^{vii} Propter quod sine diffidencia presumere nos oportet, ut petitiones nostre congrue honestatis decenciam inportantes, exauditionis pium locum apud vos debeant invenire. Ecce enim ut audivimus ordinis vestri frater Chaslaus lector terrigena gentis nostre, ad mandatum vestrum, cui obedire tenetur, in alia provincia locatus est. Cuius usu manendi in terra nostra quia magni profectus fuit utilitas, vestram paternitatem requirimus et rogamus omni diligencia et affectu, quatenus causa nostre dilectionis propter commune bonum lingue nostre, ipsum ad terram nostram remittere dignemini de plenitudine vestre gracie et favoris. Pro quo ad promerita specialia teneri vobis et vestro ordini affectuosius <volumus> dum vivemus.

12

This epistle is from a king to a friar of the order to which the royal family is especially devoted. There is a request about the reading of a Mass on the Virgin Mary by the religious order of the recipient. All the houses of the order should read it as they were used to do in the past (unam missam per omnes domos vestri ordinis celebrari, iuxta quod et annis aliis consuevistis generaliter procurando). The scope is the preservation of the health of the king, her wife and their children.

There is a similar request about the reading of a Mass on the Virgin Mary (Ed. nos. 8, 9, 81, 91). Yet, in this letter the addresser is not a queen but a king. Besides, the sender does not refer to a daughter (Ed. nos. 8, 9) but to children (*liberi*). Thus, the letter should be written after the birth of Anežka (1269) or Václav II (1271).

liberi] See John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: the Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 27: "Latin employs overlapping concepts related to status and age of unusual, almost impenetrable richness and complexity. *Pueri* designates children (either free or servile) and slaves; *liberi*, children (usually free) and the free. [...] This usage was conveyed to the

Middle Ages thought the Christian Scriptures as well as Roman legal and literary muniments [...].”

Uxoris nostre carissime domine Th.] Queen Kunhuta (ca. 1244/1245 - 9 Sept. 1285). Concrete details were usually changed in model letters.

Pal.: addresser: King P. Otakar II; addressee: a friar of the Minorite order.

V: fol. 19v

Ed.: Pal. n. 25, 276

Reg.: RBM II n. 2506, 1078-1079

Cum inter ceteros religionum gradus et viros religiosos, per quos calcatis carnalibus desideriis, ordinata caritate atque devota vite religiose observacione indeficiens, future messonis premium acquiritur et eterni patris solium effectum bonorum operum feliciter pervenitur, fratres vestri ordinis sincerius prosequamur et ad interiores dilectionis amplexus specialius admisimus cordis nostri. De vestra benignitate gerimus confidentiam, quod nobis^a in prosecutione dilectionis consiliis iuxta debitum vicissitudinis, officium in caritatis operibus ampliandis, et consiceram ordinis vestri liberalitatem, vestra debeat sinceritas respondere. Quare universitatem vestram humiliter deposcimus et devote quatenus nostrum affectum, quem erga ordinem vestrum cum fidei puritate nostra gerit regia celsitudo diligentius intuentes pro salute et conservacione nostra, et uxoris nostre carissime domine Th.^b ac liberorum nostrorum, intercessores esse dignemini apud eam, videlicet apud matrem Domini nostri Iesus Christi, a qua nobis tocus salutis profluxit exordium, et vite deperdite reparatio emanavit pro nobis et pro nostris, ut premissimus in honorem ipsius unam missam per omnes domos vestri ordinis celebrari, iuxta quod et annis aliis consuevistis generaliter procurando. Constanter enim in Domino speramus, quod tantorum virorum suffragio, mediante in hiis, in quibus terreni regni sollempne prepedimus apud divinam clemenciam non mediocriter adiuvari, maxime cum magni vigoris effectum obtineant iustorum preces assidue apud Deum.

13

It is addressed to a generic tibi, dearest son, to whom has been recommended to follow the teaching of God and so honor his father and mother and by this way live long in the land the Lord gave him. God has commanded us to honor father and mother. The addressee, who moves through the precepts of the Lord, will learn to please him.

See chapter II, 66-66.

V: fol. 20r

^a nobis] vobis V

^b Th.] Ch. Pal.

Unedited

Tibi vel^a alias,^b fili karissime,^{viii} tamquam eius qui plus nosti de scripture sacre misterio, scribimus et memorie commendamus precepti domini documentum sic dicentis: honora patrem et matrem ut sis longevus super terram^{ix} et alibi in Oratione dominica. Deus, qui nos patrem et matrem honorare precepisti,^x hoc exemplo tactus filius matri karissime consulens. Tibi ipsi ambulando in preceptis Domini discas ei, qui terribilis est dans et auferens spiritum per exhibitionem bonorum operum conplacere.

14

The recipient, who is the Queen of Bohemia, is pregnant. In the exorde of the epistle it is said that the Lord made manifest his favor toward the Kingdom of Bohemia when he honoured the queen through his mercy. Nevertheless, since even the minor thing might be dangerous in the angust and sacre royal venter, in order to reduce any risk of delay or prevention to the birth of a male heir (successio heredis felicissima) – which is especially desired (preoptata) by all the subjects of the reign - the addresser suggests to observe the abstinence from the food forbidden during the Lent, i.e meat and dairy products (carnes et laccinia). The addresser is the bishop of Prague. The sender states that all prelates and convents of his diocesis will bind themselves in the obligation (obligamus nos) to forgive the queen's sins and follow the will of the Lord.

This letter is connected to the following letter (Ed. n. 15). It should have been written before 1271 (the birth of Václav II), since the heir to the Bohemian throne has not be born yet.

Pal., Meinert: addresser: Jan, bishop of Prague; addressee: Queen Kunhuta.
Date: (Meinert) 1265.

V: fol. 20r
Ed.: Pal. n. 36, 280
Meinert n. 6, 49

Secretissima et plena gaudio insinuatione noviter intelleximus, quod oriens ex alto Dominus omnipotens sue benedictionis in regno^c Bohemie principia tamquam *in sole posuit*^{xi} manifeste,^d quando^e vestre celsitudinis excellenciam nobili honore per suam misericordiam honoravit, in quo expectatur in omnibus populis gaudium, et successio heredis felicissima et

^a vel] ubi V

^b alias] aliter V

^c regno] regno et V

^d manifeste] manifesto V Pal

^e quando] quoniam Meinert

omnibus desideriis preoptata.^a Sed quoniam inter ipsas sacri ventris angustias,^b pericula etiam minima sunt diligentissime precavenda, non iniuste timemus, si ciborum quadragesimalium inhabilitas in ipsis impedimentum non possit afferre, per quod vicinitas partus differatur vel omnino, quod absit, in nichilum redigatur. Cuius rei gracia, omnibus et singulis huiusmodi periculis paterna provisione rationabiliter obviare volentes, omni, qua possumus, precum instancia celsitudinem vestram requirimus et rogamus, et nichilominus bona fide consulimus, auctoritate etiam^c beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et ea, qua quidem fungimur in hac parte, in remissionem vobis omnium peccatorum iniungimus: ut carnes et laccinia,^{xii} ex nostra permissione segura^d consciencia de cetero comendatis, ab alimentis quadragesimalibus prudenter^e abstinentes. Nos autem per nos ipsos, et prelatos, ac conventus tocius dyoceseos obligamus nos, coram Deo pro huiusmodi <despensacione> respondere.

15

Same addresser and recipient of the previous letter. The sender (the bishop of Prague) asks the addressee (the Queen of Bohemia) not to visit the church of Prague with all other members of her family for the request of the indulgence. The indulgence will be granted on the day of the dinner of the Lord and in the imminent festivity. One of the queen's relatives, her nurus (daughter in law), the widow of the Marquis of Brandenburg has been mentioned.

Confidentes auc<torita>te beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ac ea qua fungimur] the authority of the recipient draws by the apostoles Peter and Paul; cf. Ed. n. 14: *auc<torita>te etiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et ea, qua quidem fungimur.*

Preclaram nurum vestram, relictam Branderburgensis marchionis felicissime recordationis] The widow of the Margrave of Brandenburg may be identified with Kunhuta's daughter in law, Beatrix, P. Otakar II's sister (d. 1290, Breslau Klarissenkloster). She is the widow of the Margrave of Brandenburg, Otto III, who died in 1267 (Johannes Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg* [Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1961], 136-75).

Pal., CDBR: addresser: Jan, bishop of Prague; addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

Date: (CDBR) 1270.

V: fol. 20r

Ed.: Pal. n. 35, 280

CDBR n. 141, 106

^a preoptata] peroptata *Meinert*

^b angustias] angusticias *V*

^c etiam] *om. Meinert*

^d segura] salva *Meinert*

^e prudenter] providenter *Meinert*

Licet excellenciam celsitudinis vestre, quemadmodum et precordialis domini nostri Bohemie regis illustrissimi, vestri mariti karissimi, in omnibus in quibus possumus, honoremus, et honorare toto vite nostre tempore intendamus; hac tamen vice cum nostris consiliis, quamquam non usquequaque, obediveritis, petitionibus serenitatis vestre grater annuimus ac etiam reverenter. Quapropter hoc, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia confidentes auctoritate beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ac ea qua fungimur, vos et preclaram nurum vestram, relictam Branderburgensis marchionis felicissime recordationis, cum hiis omnibus, qui de familia vestra in vestris obsequiis commorantur, nec hiis diebus ad sanctam Pragensem ecclesiam pro indulgentia promerenda accedere possunt, omnium remissionum, orationum, et indulgentiarum ac aliorum universorum bonorum spiritualium, que in dicta ecclesia in die cene Domini et in festivitatibus in<m>inentibus peragentur feliciter, dante deo participes efficimus et consortes.

16

The female sender thanks her brother, who is a lord (dominatio) for his missive which informe her about his good health. The letter received should have been sent from Zenodis.

Zenodis] today in Carniola, a region that was acquired by inheritance by King P. Otakar II in 1269.

Pal.: addresser: Beatrix, wife of the Margrave Otto III of Brandenburg and sister of King P. Otakar II; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

Date: ca. 1269.

V: fol. 20r

Ed.: Pal. n. 5, 267

CDBR n. 139, 105

Gaudemus, ut tenemur, et consolamur in vestris prosperitatibus et salute, frater et domine dilectissime, quia iam non nisi vos solum et unicum preter Deum summum et supremum habemus solacium cordis nostri. Et quia graciosè requirimus per vestram dilectionem edoceri de statu vestro,^a nostram et karissimi filii nostri parvuli salutem vobis scribimus, et per Dei ac vestram gratiam omnis boni plenitudine habundamus. Referentes immensas grates vestre dilectioni sive dominacioni de^b <littera> Zenodiis^c nobis transmisisti,^d in quibus evidenter nobis datur cognoscere, quod nos dilectionis vestre gracia favorabiliter complectente<nte>s specialiter diligitis et amatis.

^a vestro] nostro V

^b de] der V

^c Zenodiis] xenodiis Pal. CDBR

^d transmisisti] transmissis Pal. CDBR

The sender informs the male addressee, who is a lord (dominatio) about her-his good health condition. The addressee's wife and daughter (filia quoque vestra) are in good condition as well. The sender has a letter for the addressee from the part of her/his sons (filii nostri miserunt nobis unam litteram). This missive, which is unread (inperlecta), is about to be resent to him. The sender asks the addressee to respond through a similar enclosed letter (sub sigillo).

The letter refers to the addressee's daughter. For a comparison about a similar topic see Ed. nos. 8, 9, 12, 14, 20, 23, 39.

Quia post Deum nostri vos estis spes unica] cf. Ed. n. 85: [...] *sola enim et unica post Deum spes et salus in vestro vivere nobis datur* [...].

Propter quod uobiscum omnia, sine vobis nichil unquam faciemus] cf. Ed. n. 85: [...] *que non reputamus nos aliquid sine vobis* [...].

Pal.: addresser: Beatrix, wife of the Margrave Otto III of Brandenburg and sister of King P. Otakar II; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

V: fol. 20v

Ed.: Pal. n. 4, 266-267

CDBR n. 38, 104

Si cuncta prospera et iocunda circa salutem vestri corporis et successus alios geruntur, gaudemus^a teste cognitore omnium secretorum non minus quam de propria sospitate. Nos eciam per misericordiam provisoris omnium, et soror nostra, karissima vestra coniux, filia quoque vestra et noster parvulus sani sumus, optantes et orantes Dominum vobis concedi prosperitate et pacem diu vivere et denique in eternum. Igitur, quia post Deum nostri vos estis spes unica, sub vestre dominacionis tutamine stare iam et cadere nos oportet, propter quod uobiscum omnia, sine vobis nichil unquam faciemus. Significantes vestre dilectioni, quod filii nostri miserunt nobis unam litteram, quam et nos, sicut missa nobis est, inperlectam vobis transmisimus. Et quia et vobis una ex parte eorundem mittitur, respondere dignemini petimus per vestram litteram sub tenore eodem, ymo et sub sigillo, tam pro vobis, quam pro nobis, sicut vestre tunc dilectioni videbitur expedire, ut in hoc evidencius cognoscatur, quod quibus una fides est, cognoscatur concors eciam et voluntas.

^a gaudemus] debemus gaudemus V

To a male addressee by a woman, who rejoices because Béla's wife is pregnant. Béla is the son of the addressee (vester filius) and the addresser's brother (noster frater). The sender acts as mediator: the recipient would like to know why the sender's husband did not receive the embassies of the sender's mother. The addresser says that her husband did not receive them; if her mother would have reached him through pleasant conversations or embassies, this would have been very welcomed.

Belej Béla of Slavonia, son of Béla IV, Queen Kunhuta's uncle or Béla, Queen Kunhuta's brother. Béla is called in the letter (*vester filius*) and also (*noster frater*).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: the King of Hungary, Béla IV.

Date: (CDA) 1267.

V: fol. 20v

Ed.: Pal. n. 39, 282

CDA n. 106, 162-163

Gaudemus, sicut innate carnis et sanguinis requirit debitum, pater reverende et domine karissime, de vestris iocundis successibus et salute, referentes immensas grates vestre serenitati, quod nostra^a desideria tali solamine dignemini frequentare. Nos quoque, quia per Dei gratiam sane sumus, hoc ipsum vobis in gaudium nunciamus. Gratulamur eciam in hiis, que grata vobis sunt, scilicet de impregnatione nostre sororis karissime, uxoris domini^b Bele, vestri filii, karissimi^c fratris nostri et quemadmodum petivistis, orari pro ipsa bono animo faciemus, supplicantes in idem, ut et vos pro nobis orari similiter faciatis. Quod autem nunciastis nobis inquiri a domino et marito nostro karissimo, cur nuncios et legationes karissime domine et matris nostre non libenter recipiat: sine eiusdem requisitione super hoc vobis brevis sit responsio, quod si eadem domina et mater nostra karissima, quemadmodum vos et alii nostri carnales facitis, dominum nostrum et maritum alloquiorum graciosis et favorabilibus legationibus visitaret, scimus equidem veracissime, quod hoc per omnia fore<t> gratum.

The sender asks the recipient (mater et domina) to forgive her brother M. because he learnt his mistake. This request has been already formulated in previous letters (sicut in prioribus litteris). He tried to do his best but at the end he was urged by the situation to act in a

^a nostra] vestra V

^b domini] D. Pal.

^c karissimi] om. Pal. CDA

wrong way. In other words, the progress is possible even if perfection is unattainable, or once reached the peak, the decline can follow. The sender wishes that the addressee might be merciful and the changeable (mobilis) fortune may be in favor of the tearful one (lacrimans).

Wenzel states that this letter has the same content of the letters (Ed. nos. 23, 93).

It is linked to the letters (Ed. nos 25, 93).

M.] Michael, Queen Kunhuta's brother. See the Introduction, 13 and 69.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: Maria Laskarina, wife of the King of Hungary, Béla IV, Queen Kunhuta's grandmother.

Date: (CDA) 1270.

V: fol. 20v

Ed.: Pal. n. 43, 283

CDA n. 145, 240

Gaudio magne consolationis nostri cordis desideria inflammatur, quotienscumque de salute vestra et aliis vestris prosperitatibus renovatione litterarum vestrarum^a sedula visitamur, hoc ipsum nos et nostros comitari vestre dominationi iocundis animis nunciantes. Verum quia patet relatione scriptorum vestrorum de infortunio karissimi fratris nostri domini M., ne videamur vestram dilectionem offendere, nec non petere pro eodem, sicut in prioribus litteris, nostrum vobis aperimus animum, suppliciter insistentes pro eiusdem pace et commodo reformandis. Veruntamen vestra serenitas animadvertat perspicacius, quid aliud quam quod potest, angustiato iniuriose restat agere, cum inplorans humiliter gratie debitum nequeat adipisci. Propter quod non miremini si compulsus aliud cogatur facere, quam vobis sit placitum et sibi expediens. Quia hoc est poetico turbatus corde forsitan: *est quoddam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.*^{xiii} Igitur mater et domina, clemencie vestre bonitas vestrum conpescat animum misericorditer in prescriptis, quia fortis sepius fastigium post prospera excidium pretendit, ut hunc quem modo fortuna mobilis defraudavit, conversa facilliter, lacrimantem efficere poterit iocundari.

20

The female sender rejoices for her male relative's good health and updates him about her own good status and that of her husband and her daughter.

Pal., CDA: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: the King of Hungary, Béla IV.

Date: (CDA) 1267.

V: fol. 20v

^a vestrarum] vestrarun Pal.

Ed.: Pal. n. 40, 282-283
CDA n. 107, 163

Etsi procul sumus a vestre dilectionis oculis constistute, excitat cordis nostri memoriam carnalis fidei coniunctio, cuius cursu curitabimus quamdiu vivimus, ignite caritatis incendio supradicte. Est igitur cordi^a nobis semper scire de salute vestra et de temporalium circumstanciarum singulis et utinam prosperis successibus. Significantes vestre paternitati in gaudium vice versa, quod nos cum domino et marito nostro karissimo ac filia nostra dilecta per Dei gratiam sane sumus, hoc ipsum vobis et vestris, pater et domine, per omnia exoptantes.

21

The female sender acts as mediator. She apologies to the recipient because his messenger has not found her husband. He has already left his tend and he is coming back from Prussia.

King P. Otakar II's left Prussia in February 1268 (CDB V/2; Jörg K. Hoensch, *Přemysl Otakar II. von Böhmen: der goldene König* [Graz: Styria, 1989], 149; William L. Urban, *The Baltic Crusade* [Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1975], 320). The Bohemian King wanted the pope Clement IV to appoint bishop Bruno of Olomouc as archbishop for his realm. Nevertheless, his plans failed (Martin Wihoda, *Vladislaus Henry: the Formation of Moravian Identity* [Leiden: Brill, 2015], 225-226). Otakar's first campaign in Prussia with his brother in law Otto III of Brandenburg dates to 1255 and was marked by the name of the town (Kalingrad) build in his honour.

Pal., CDA: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: King of Hungary, Béla IV. Meinert n. 3, 46
Date: (Pal.) February 1268.

V: fol. 21r
Ed.: Pal. n. 41, 283
Meinert n. 3, 46
CDA n. 119, 182

De tentorio, misso domino et marito nostro karissimo, pro eo et cum eo vestre paternitati immensas graciaram referimus acciones, excusantes nu<n>cium vestrum, presencium exhibitorem, quod idem tentorium, nobis prohibentibus, non perduxit^b usque ad presenciam domini et mariti nostri karissimi, quia idem dominus et maritus noster de peregrinacione, quam agebat versus Pruteniam, in reditu iam iam fuit. Quare paternitatem vestram

^a cordis] cordis cordis V

^b perduxit] produxit Meinert

requirimus et rogamus, quatenus eidem nuncio vestro indignari non velitis, ymo excusatum habere potius super eo, quod prediximus in p<re>missis.

22

The female sender asks the recipient to get the permission from her husband to visit her. She is almost deprived of all her relatives and she would like to see her in person. Furthermore, she asks the addressee to act as mediator and send letters to the Duchess of Cracow, who is the addressee's sister and the maternal aunt of the sender. The Duchess should allow the addresser's sister to visit her in person.

The addressee may be Jolán of Kalisz, blessed Jolenta of Poland also known as Helene of Hungary, born around 1244 and died in 1298 in Gniezno. She is daughter of Béla IV and Maria Laskarina, and wife of Boleslaw the Pious (Bolesław Pobożny). After his death in 1279, she entered the cloister of the Clarician sisters in Stary Sącz with her sister Kinga, and one of her daughters.

Dominam et sororem vestram karissimam ducissam Cracoviensem] the Duchess of Cracow may be Kunegunda of Cracow (d. in 1292 in Stary Sącz), also known in her Magyar name as Kinga, daughter of Béla IV and Maria Laskarina, wife of Boleslaw V of Poland, who died in 1279. Widowed she entered the cloister of the Clarician sisters she founded (cf. Stanley S. Sokol, Sharon F. Mrotek Kissane, Alfred L. Abramowicz, *The Polish Biographical Dictionary* (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1992), 74.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: Jolán of Kališ - blessed Jolenta of Poland (?), Queen Kunhuta's maternal aunt.

Date: (CDA) 1267.

V: fol. 21r

Ed.: Pal. n. 48, 285

CDA n. 110, 166-167

Letari et gaudere tenemur et utique sic facimus, quandocumque boni status et salutis vestre prospere^a relatione aliqua veridica consolamur, unde si secundum desideria vestra cuncta circa^b vos aguntur prospera, tamquam de propriis attentissime gratulamur. Rogantes cum fiducia, ut inducere dignemini dominum et maritum vestrum carissimum, quod nobis^c vos liceat videre personaliter^d posse; habemus enim multa digna relatui vobis mutuo et occulte et maxime ut in vestra rara et desiderabili presencia nostra concupiscencia sacietur. Ceterum

^a prospere] prospirare V

^b circa] *add. sup. l. V*

^c nobis] vobis V

^d personaliter] personaliter vos *a. c. V*

quia, sicut scitis, nos quasi omnibus^a orbatam esse carnalibus, ex imo^b cordis supplicandum dilectioni vestre duximus, quatenus causa nostre dilectionis inducere per vestras litteras dignemini dominam et sororem vestram karissimam ducissam^c Cracoviensem, materteram nostram, ne in veniendo ad nos karissimam sororem nostram quomodolibet debeat inpedire, ut eius consolemur presencia cui semper desideravimus summopere conmanere.

23

From a female addresser, who has a daughter, to her mother, to whom she expresses gratitude for the letters sent. The addresser acts as intercessor by promising that her husband will protect the recipient and all her relatives by King István V. She concludes the letter asking that her mother may visit her the sooner the better.

István V is Kunhuta's uncle and son of Béla King of Hungary and Maria Laskarina. István very soon came into conflict with his father. First, he tried to overthrow him, afterwards he became ruler of Transilvania (1258), and later King of the oriental part of the Hungarian Kingdom. In 1265 fought against his father that wanted deprive him of his rights of succession to the throne. In 1270, after Béla's death, István became King of Hungary.

Vice et iterum] The scribe made two connected errors. He writes the lemma in the expanded form (*vice*) and keeps the sign of abbreviation above (*vicee*). As a result, by connecting the superfluous "e" to the word *vice* rather than to the following "t" he wrongly writes *te* instead of *et*.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: Maria Laskarina, Béla IV's wife.

Date: (CDA) 1270 (Wenzel assumes that this letter was written when Maria Laskarina was already widow).

V: fol. 21r

Ed.: Pal. n. 42, 283

CDA n. 144, 239

Visitatione litterarum vestrarum consolate, mater et domina, in quibus cognovimus vos^d bene valere et congaudere saluti nostre ac filie nostre karissime, dignas vestre dilectioni grates referimus, condolentesque singulis et universis vestris incommodis, que sicut mandastis nobis, per regem St. machinantem vobis malum quomodolibet disponuntur. Non dubitantes,^e quin omnem opem et operam cum diligencia, consilium et iuvamen curabimus adhibere, sicut tenemur ex debito, circa dominum et maritum nostrum dilectum, quod in

^a omnibus] omnium V

^b ex imo] estimo V

^c ducissam] ducissimam V

^d vos] nos V

^e dubitantes] dubitamus Pal. CDA

omnibus vobis assistere debeat toto posse et viribus omni vice.^a Et^b iterum supplicamus, ut ad videndam karissimam dominam et matrem nostram, in veniendo ad nos quantocius poteritis causa nostre dilectionis dignemini ordinare

24

The female sender rejoices about the good status of the addressee and her/his children. She also informs the addressee that herself, her daughter and her husband are healthy.

For a comparison about the reference to the sender's daughter or children see the letters (Ed. nos. 8, 9, 12, 14, 20, 23, 26, 27).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: Heinrich Duke of Bavaria.

V: fol. 21rd

Ed. Pal. n. 51, 286

Si secundum desideria vestra cuncta circa vos aguntur prospera et circa vestros pueros, tamquam de propriis attentissime gratulamur, sperantes firmiter vice versa, quod per vos equa caritatis benivolencia complectamur. Propter quod bonum statum nostrum et mariti nostri^c karissimi ac filie nostre dilecte vobis scribimus, exposite semper ad vestra beneplacita quelibet pio corde.

25

The brother of the sender apparently did not observe loyalty to the male recipient. The recipient is one of his relatives. The addresser tries to protect her/his brother and support his position. She/he got many letters from him in which he desperately proclaims his innocence and fidelity to the recipient, who is invited to trust him. Indeed, who is accused to be guilty should be forgiven since connected to the recipient because of consanguinity connections. The known should be considered more trustable than the unknown as taught in the Disticha Catonis: ignotum tibi tu noli praponere notis (Do not prefer someone unknown to you over those who are known). The addresser asks the addressee to greet her wife and thank her for the letters sent.

^a vice] vicee V

^b et] te V

^c nostri] nosri Pal.

This letter is linked to the letters (Ed. nos. 19, 26, 93).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: István V.
Date: (CDA) 1271.

V: fol. 21r
Ed.: Pal. n. 45, 284
CDA n. 157, 262

Vestri nobis retulerunt nuncii conquerentes ex parte vestra de karissimo fratre nostro, cuius etiam scripta et nuncium recepimus, conquerentem nobis cum lacrimis, quod omni affectu et desiderio cordis plene fidelitatis et constancie vobis potius quam alicui alteri usque in mortem paratus servire nunquam desisteret, dummodo in suis angustiatus necessitatibus, que pro dolor multe et magne sunt, vestro favore et auxilio foveatur.^a Et quia hoc hactenus sibi defuit circa vos, quid aliud restitit anxio, nisi ut se reciperet, ubi posset utcumque vitam inopem defensare. Igitur afflictum non^b culpando, qui sanguis et caro^c vestra, potius sibi compati dignemini misericordie visceribus, quam persequi et conqueri de eodem. Placeat vestre dilectioni karissime supplicantes nos exaudire favorabiliter de eodem et placato animi vestri gravamine, ipsum ut premisimus, ad vestra^d velitis obsequia revocare, iuxta proverbium sapientis: *ignotum tibi tu noli preponere notis.*^{xiv} Sic igitur assit sibi revocato nostra benignitas, ut karissime domine et matris nostre, ac aliorum nostrorum et vestrorum carnalium, per vestram industriam gracie reformetur. Hiis enim bonis operibus honor et gloria clarescet lucidius fame vestre,^e nobis quoque nunquam possetis graciosius beneficium exhibere. Cogimur etiam imputare vobis amicabiliter, quod nos salutacionis et visitacionis vestre inmeritas facitis sine causa, sed regraciamur affectuose karissime sorori nostre, vestre coniugi, que salutando nos amicabiliter per suas litteras visitavit.

26

The female sender expresses gratitude to the female recipient for the letters sent in which she rejoices for her good health and that of her daughter. She asks the recipient, called "soror karissima" (beloved sister), to intercede with her husband in favor of her brother. He should be forgiven since he is one of his relatives ("an obligation of blood and flesh binds <her brother> to him"). She also requests the addressee to act as intercessor with the other members of the family.

See the commentary parts (Ed. nos. 19 and 25).

^a foveatur] foveatur V
^b non] ymo V
^c caro] raro V
^d vestra] nostra V
^e vestre] nostre V

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: Erzsébet of Hungary, István V's wife.
Date: (CDA) 1271.

V: fol. 21va
Ed.: Pal. n. 46, 284-285
CDA n. 158, 263

Dilectioni vestre, soror karissima, sincerissime regraciamur, quod nos vestris litteris et nuncio dignata estis affectuosissime salutare, de nostra salute et filie nostre karissime sospitate congaudentes. Gaudemus et nos de salute mariti vestri karissimi atque vestra bona fide, petentes, soror karissima, ex parte vestra hoc nobis concedi pro magno beneficio et amore, ut omnibus persuasionibus et precibus, sicut potestis, inducere dignemini maritum vestrum et dominum, ut compassus afflictionibus karissimi fratris nostri,^a promptum et paratum ad sua se exponentem obsequia et mandata, revocare dignetur favorabiliter, complectendo potius eum, quem^b carnis et sanguinis debitum sibi stringit; maxime cum ex hoc illustretur fame sue titulus longe lateque ampliori gloria et honore. Nos quoque, quamdiu vivimus, vobis et sibi ex hoc singularibus volumus beneficiorum meritis complacere. Instet igitur vestra bonitas, soror karissima, ut procurante vestro suffragio idem frater karissimus noster revocatus, karissime domine et matris nostre ac aliis nostris carnalibus, favori^c et gracie reformetur.

27

From a woman to her husband, who is a lord (dominatio). She delights for her husband safety and informs him about her own good health and that of her daughters. Then, a part of the letter concerning practical issues follows: the addresser is waiting for her husband instructions about the possibility to move to another place because she will be able to rely on supplies till quinta feria ventura.

This letter is linked to the letters (Ed. nos. 47, 59, 80, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90). See the Introduction, "Queen Kunhuta: a Nouvelle Heroine? Love, Letters, Frauenklage and the Trope of the Female Suffering."

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: King P. Otakar II.
Date: ca. after 1269.

V: fol. 21vb
Ed.: Pal. n. 19, 273

^a nostri] vestri V

^b quem] quam V

^c favori] favore V

Mendl n. 9, 30-31

Laudes Deo dicimus, grates omnimodas referentes eius magnificencie, qui salutis vestre plenitudine et successibus prosperis status vestri cuiuslibet cordis nostri desideria multipliciter consolatur. In hiis enim audiendis continue anima nostra nunquam posset cum^a sufficiencia delectari. Nos enim eodem disponente, qui tribuit omnia, in laude et ipsius gloria sane sumus cum nostris karissimis filiabus, expectantes cum debita reverencia et moveri et quiescere de loco ad locum, secundum vestre beneplacita voluntatis. Hoc tamen significantes vestre dominationi, quod ista vice non plus quam usque quintam feriam^b proxime venturam expense nobis sufficere exstimantur.

28

The female sender acts as mediator. She rejoices of the good health of the male addressee and of his wife (her beloved sister "soror karissima") and children. She informs the addressee about her good health, that of her husband and daughters. Furthermore, since the addressee asked the addresser's husband that representatives of both the parts may meet to discuss issues of mutual interest, she gives a positive answer to this request. The "fideles barones" of the respective parts may meet when it will be more convenient for the addressee.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: István V (?) or Heinrich Duke of Bavaria (?).
Date: (CDA) 1271.

V: fols. 21v-22r
Ed.: Pal. n. 49, 286
CDA n. 156, 261

Exultare et letari carnalis unio caritatis alterius ad^c alterum mutuo nos excitat et invitat in cunctis prosperis et gratuitis successibus nostri pariter et nostrorum promptius,^d quod cum desiderio cordis et animi audire semper nos delectat bonum statum vestrum et salutem corporis vestri ac vestre uxoris, nostre sororis karissime, puerorum quoque vestrorum. Quia hec et alia quecumque gaudia vestra et solacia propria sicut expedit per omnia reputamus, summe diffidentes quin immo sperantes firmiter vice v<er>sa hec eadem nostra esse similiter vobis cordi. Que annuncianda vobis duximus in presenti, quia videlicet et nos cum dilecto domino et marito nostro ac nostris filiabus karissimis in iocunditate et leticia vivendo salubriter per Dei providenciam in omnibus prosp<er>amur. Verum quia scripsistis aliquando dilecto domino nostro et marito, super habendo secum personaliter colloquio, ad confe<re>ndum que mutuo nos^e contingerent alterutrum^a ardua negocia, vel saltem ut hec

^a cum] eum V

^b feriam] fferiam V

^c ad] ad ad V

^d promptius] ppromptus V

^e nos] nos V

eadem pertractarentur per suos et vestros fideles barones missos a latere vestri hinc et inde, si convenire occupati forsitan personaliter non possetis, multis arduis obstantibus impedimentis, cum convenire hactenus nequiveritis ad invicem personaliter, restat sicut scripsistis sibi aliquando, si placitum adhuc vobis fuerit, ut fideles nostri et vestri conveniant quando volueritis, et pertractent loco vestri singula que tractanda habueritis^b facta vestra.

29

The addresser exercises the “ius advocatiae” or “protectionis” (right to advocacy or protection) over the church. The right has been transmitted by the predecessors according to the ius commune (common law). The addresser requests to a member of a religious order to accept in his congregation Christina, granddaughter of his/her physician and magister (notary) Johannes.

Karissimi physici nostri [magistri Johannis] a physician called Johannes is recorded as royal doctor with Bernard, *Johannes et Bernardus physici regis*. Cf. CDB V/2 n. 488, 32.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 22ra

Ed.: Pal. n. 69, 293

Reg.: RBM II n. 2518, 1083

Cum ex reservato iure communi a nostris predecessoribus nobis ex antiquo ius advocacie in vestra ecclesia et universis attinenciis eidem nostre celsitudinis^c defensionem immediate respiciat: dignum est, ut quibus^d adesse debemus ex debito, senciamus talium in nostris petitionibus benivolenciam fructuosam. Et ecce vestram universitatem communiter ex affectu sinceri animi rogandam duximus de confidencia speciali, quatenus propter Deum specialiter et nostrarum precum intuitu,^e Cristinam neptem karissimi physici nostri^f magistri Johannis, quem propter sue probitatis et fidei merita ex^g debito caritatis clemencia complectimur singulari, in vestre religionis consorcium favorabiliter et benivole recipere dignemini unamini de consensu. Quia hec contemplando vestre desiderabiliter conversationis, elegit sub habitu vestro obediens vitam ducere et in Domino mori feliciter in eodem. Igitur in premissis petitionum nostrarum desideriis sic vos gratas sine inclusione

^a alterutrum] elterutrum CDA

^b habueritis] habueritas Pal.

^c celsitudinis] colsitudinis V

^d quibus] quibus deesse a. c. V

^e intuitu] intuitui V

^f nostri] vestri V

^g ex] ex ex V

occasionum quarumlibet nobis per effectum exhibere dignemini, ut et nos^a vice versa inveniamur vobis in vestris^b requisitionibus clemencius promptiores, facientes taliter, ut hec nostra digna grata favorabilis petitio, quam primam super huiusmodi negociis vobis porrexisse meminimus exaudicionis apud vos gratiam consequatur.

30

The female addresser, who is married, requests to an unknown religious reverend father (vestra paternitas) to intercede with the episcopus T. Wratislaviensis, the bishop T. of Wroclaw for her chaplain and notary T. The bishop T. should include as canon (prebendary) in his church her notary chaplain T. This was asked orally in t. l. (tali loco) and now reiterated through her letters.

The letter is linked to the letters (Ed. nos. 31, 32, 33, 34).

Dominum T. venerabilem Wratislaviensem episcopum] The bishop T. of Wroclaw may be Thomas I bishop of Wroclaw (1232-1268) or his nephew Thomas II, who was a canon of Wroclaw and archdeacon of Opole before being bishop (1270-1292). Thomas II succeeded Wladyslaw, Duke of Wroclaw, provost of Vyšehrad and chancellor of Bohemia (since 1255), archbishop of Salzburg (since 1265) and administrator of the diocese of Wroclaw (1268-1270).

Magistrum T. nostrum carissimum cappellanum] Theodoricus, royal *magister* and *capellanus* is attested in documents (1274-1275); cf. “[...] magistrum Theodoricum, Pragensis ecclesie canonicum” (CDB V/II n. 770, 440-442); [...] magistrum Theodoricum, Pragensis ecclesie canonicum, dilectum capellanum nostrum, ad vestram presenciam duximus destinandum [...]” (CDB V/II n. 769, 437-440); “[...] per magistrum Theodoricum et magistrum Witlonem, dilectos capellanos nostros [...]” (CDM IV n. 103, 142-143).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 22r

Ed.: Pal. n. 83, 298

Sicut petivisse meminimus in t<ali> l<oco> oretenus a vestra paternitate, sic per nostras^c litteras iterato nunc petimus et rogamus, quatenus causa nostre dilectionis, quemadmodum singulari circa vos confidentia versamur, intendere cum diligencia dignemini circa dominum T. venerabilem Wratislaviensem episcopum, promovendo nostris^d petitionis et consiliorum instantiis, dilectum nostrum cappellanum magistrum T., ut promissa sua complendo, prestita liberaliter ad manus nostras sollempniter in multorum presencia, idem T.

^a nos] vos V

^b vestris] nostris V

^c nostras] vestras V

^d nostris] vestris V

dominus episcopus recipiat in canonicum et confratrem ecclesie sue memoratum magistrum T. nostrum carissimum cappellanum, quod circa vestram paternitatem semper una cum domino et marito nostro karissimo volumus specialiter promereri.

31

Same correspondents of the previous letter. The addresser expresses gratitude to the addressee (vestra paternitas), that has already started to accomplish the service commissioned. The addressee is required to complete the process of acceptation of the chaplain and notary T. as canon of his church, since "the main promise made to her has not been finalized yet" (nondum principale promissum ad manus nostras factum completum est).

Magistro T. nostro karissimo capellano] see Ed. n. 30.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 22rv

Ed.: Pal. n. 84, 298

Referimus immensas graciaram acciones vestre paternitati de complendo iam provisionis munere magistro T. nostro karissimo capellano, volentes huius benivolencie vestre ex meritis inmemores numquam esse. Verum quia nondum principale promissum vestri ad manus nostras factum completum est in recepcione eiusdem T. magistri dilecti nobis ad canonicatus dignitatem in vestra ecclesia, rogamus cum fiducia et non desinemus petere, quoadusque super vestris promissis, que prescripta sunt, nostrarum precum desideria compleantur.

32

Apparently, the letters has the same correspondents of the previous two ones (nos. 30 and 31) and a similar petitio. Again the addresser expresses gratitude because the intention (affectus) of the addressee (vestra paternitas) is followed by the effect (effectus). Anyway, the process of acceptation of the chaplain-notary T. has not been completed yet. Hence, the addresser urges the accomplishment of the commission (provisio) required.

Nostro cappellano magistro T.] See Ed. nos. 30, 31.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 22v

Ed.: Pal. n. 81, 297

Affectus vestre paternitatis in effectu cognoscentes, quos in nostro^a cappellano magistro T. nobis favorabiliter ostendistis de provisione sibi facta et data iam, vestre dilectioni immensas graciaram acciones referimus, volentes vice versa vestris et vestrorum intendere promotionibus et beneplacitis pio corde. Verum quia in recepcione eiusdem magistri T. nichil adhuc sicut promiseratis nobis completum est, non desinemus vos pulsare de premissis promissis vestri donec effectui manciantur, supplicantes vestre paternitati confidentur, quatenus promissiones vestras in hiis nostris voluntatibus dignemini liberaliter consummare.

33

From a male addresser to a bishop (vestra dominatio; pater et dominus; frater et dominus), who has accepted as canon among the members of his church his brother, the notary T. The commission required has been successfully accomplished. The addresser also asks that the goods at first offered to the citizens of t. l. may return to them.

Magistro T. karissimo] See Ed. nos. 30, 31, 32.

Pal.: addresser: a notary of Queen Kunhuta; addressee: Jan, bishop of Prague?

V: fol. 22v

Ed.: Pal. n. 86, 299

Astrictus iam obsequis dominationi^b vestre conplacere tenebor quibuscunque potero pro meritis, pro gracia facta provisionis per vos magistro T. karissimo fratri meo. Supplicans dominationi vestre, quatenus propter Deum et meum ac meorum amicorum obsequium, ut vestri teneamur esse servitores perpetui, eundem T. magistrum fratrem meum karissimum adunare canonicatus in membris ecclesie vestre dignemini, conplendo favorabiliter in effectu, quod liberaliter, pater et domine, sponpondistis de misericordia et amore, quem nobis exhibitis, frater et domine, in multa beneficiorum demonstratione large presumentes, si licet sine offensa vestre dilectionis supplicandum duximus vestre graciae, quatenus exhibitorem presencium civibus de t<ali> l<oco> quedam bona restitui ordinare dignemini, que oblata primitus sunt eisdem.

34

^a nostro] vestro V

^b dominationi] dominationem a. c. V

The addresser's request of the notary T. acceptance in the church of the bishop T. has not accomplished yet. Thus the sender urges that the recipient's intercession with the bishop venerable T. of t. l. about the commission required may be successfully accomplished.

Dominum T. venerabilem de t<ali> l<oco> episcopum] See Ed. n. 30.
Magistro T. nostro karissimo cappellano] See Ed. nos. 30, 31, 32, 33.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 22v
Ed.: Pal. n. 82, 297

Commendants vestram discretionem, cuius constancia ab experimento iam cognoscimus, vestre dilectioni immensas graciaram acciones referimus pro eo, quod vos diligentes et sedulos exhibuistis in promovendo vobis ex parte nostra commisso negocio circa dominum T. venerabilem de t<ali> l<oco> episcopum pro magistro T. nostro karissimo cappellano. Verum quia que principalis nostra erat petitio, adhuc admissa non est, quod idem T. receptus non sit in canonicum et confratrem ecclesie vestre, supplicamus vestre dilectioni, quatenus causa nostre petitionis, ne sic in irritum nostra desideria deducantur, sicut cepistis laudabiliter, fine dignemini concludere gracioso.

35

From a male addresser to a male recipient, who is his tutor and ruler. The sender first thanks the addressee from whom he was granted of several beneficia, both in silver and in jewels. On the other hand, the addresser states he is deprived of his rights. This never happened before, during his youth under the government of the recipient's grandmother, father, mother and aunt of the recipient's former wife. If he has enough energy to claim his rights, he will hammer the neck of his adversary by hoping that he will be assisted by God and by the support of the recipient.

Pal.: addresser: unknown, addressee: King P. Otakar II.

V: fol. 22v
Ed.: Pal. n. 10, 269

Cum post Deum vos solum et unicum beneficiorum superstitem patrem et dominum habeam, pre gaudio lacrimatus, flexis genibus et humili corde regraciari vobis nunquam sufficiam de vestre consolationis gracia multiplici, largienti mihi regaliter beneficiorum diversorum munera tam in argento, quam aliis clenodiis, que me vix dignum posse estimo promereri. Sed si quid mereor apud Deum exaudiri, supplicibus emissis suspiriis et contriti cordis gemitu deprecari non desistam inpotencie mee inpenis beneficiis retributionis eterne

vobis meritum suffragari. Quod autem michi scripsistis, quod effrenata quadam licencia^a meos vicinos religiosos et laycos premam usurpando mihi bona ipsorum. Nulli hoc quam summo Deo conqueror, quod talibus detractionibus in etate utique iam matura sic detrahor, cum a primis iuventutis^b mee temporibus, sub dominiis avie^c vestre, patris et matris et matertere prioris vestre^d coniugis, et^e moderne atque vestri,^f nuncquam audivi quicquam talium usque modo. Propter quod, si vires suppetent etatis pristinae, in gladio dexterae mee mallearem viriliter collum mei adversarii, confidens^g in Domino de plenitudine equitatis. Nunc vero vos, domine et tutor, mihi sitis auxilium in premissis.

36

To the Queen of Bohemia by her kinsmen (vester cognatus), who wishes to inform her that his wife, her maternal aunt (vestra matertera) is already in the throes. Despite of the fact that the addresser and his wife have not sent many letters to the queen, he believes that the sublimity of the royal throne (regalis throni sublimitas) never forgot him. Thus, the addresser hopes that the queen will persuade his husband, the King of Bohemia, to forgive their delay.

See the commentary part of the letter (Ed. n. 1).

Pal.: addresser: Heinrich Duke of Bavaria, addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

Date: (RBM) 1267 (?)

V: fols. 22v-23r

Ed.: Pal. n. 29, 278

Reg.: RBM II n. 589, 227

Etsi^h rara est nostra vel consortis nostre karissime matertere vestre apud serenitatem vestram legacio litterarum, dante causam diversi discriminis nocumento, frequens tamen et continua nobis inest fiducia, de vestra nobilitate presumens, quod regalis throni sublimitas et successuum votivororum prosperitas ad intuitu cordis vestri cognati sanguinis memoriam non subducat. Sane cum prefata consors nostra iam parturiens in immensisⁱ doloribus urgeatur^j et sit anxia vite sue, petimus omni studio supplicantes, ut moram nostram erga consaguineum

^a licencia] in leticia V

^b iuventutis] juventatis Pal.

^c avie] ame V

^d vestre] nostre V

^e et] ac et a. c. V

^f vestri] nostri V

^g confidens] confidis V

^h etsi] ut si V

ⁱ immensis] universis V

^j urgeatur] urgeant V

nostrum regem Boemie velitis habere propensius excusatam, causam nostram, et nuncios ea qua speramus diligencia promoventes.

37

From the Duchess of Bavaria to the Queen of Bohemia (called matertera). The addresser, who is mother of several children (filii and filie) wishes that the two neighboring countries, Bavaria and Bohemia, will have a good relation. In this respect, she asks the queen to cooperate with her in order to foster a favorable relationship between their related husbands, the Duke of Bavaria and the King of Bohemia. As the bible teaches, a cord of three strands is not quickly broken (Ecclesiastes 4,12). Thus the two bordering countries, should be linked together in a form of an unbreakable bond.

See the commentary part of the letter (Ed. n. 1).

Tui honoris sublimacio] the sender addresses to the queen by using the second-person singular.

Pal.: addresser: Elisabeth Duchess of Bavaria, addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

Date (RBM): 1267 (?).

V: fol. 23r

Ed.: Pal. n. 31, 278

Reg.: RBM II n. 590, 227

Illa nos ex divino precepto caritas compaginat ac naturali vinculo iungit propinquitatis terrarum situs conterminat, ut *funiculus triplex, qui difficile rumpitur*,^{xv} nexu indissolubili nos perpetuo debeat unionis federe in singulis fortune successibus continere. Unde matertera dulcis et dilecta, si optata sospitate perfrueris, non minus quam de propria gratulamur. Nos quidem una cum domino karissimo et consorte nostro ac filiis et filiabus nostris leta ylaritate valemus, ad vestri et liberorum vestrorum, quos divina gracia vobis donaverit honoris propaginem et augmentum. Et quo ad hoc amicabilius aspiramus, tanto magis indigemus, ut utinam perpetue firmitatis concordiam inter karissimum affinem nostrum inclitum regem Boemie ac dilectum consortem nostrum palatinum comitem ducem Bavarie, uno nobiscum animo studeas procurare et apud ipsum nostros nuncios in singulis negociis promovere, quatenus honoris tui sublimacio de nostro liberorum profectu multiplicibus obsequiis in futurum valeat ampliari.

38

From a male relative addresser to a queen. The addresser joins her wife, the queen's maternal aunt (matertera) in trusting the benevolence of the addressee. As a result, as an

expression of friendship (amicicie signum) he informs the recipient about the birth of his daughter hoping that the royal couple might manifest the same affection showed for the other addresser's children. The queen should act as intercessor with her husband and recommend them to him.

See the commentary part of the letter (Ed. n. 1).

The conventional feudal formula (*auxilio et consilio commendatos*) stresses the subaltern and fidelity liaison between the king and his vassal.

Gratam filiam est enixa] the new-born daughter may be Katharina of Niederbayern, who was born in 1267 (Cf. Jaffé ed., "Hermann Altahenses Annales," 406).

Pal.: addresser: Heinrich Duke of Bavaria, addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

Date: (Pal.) 1267

V: fol. 23r

Ed.: Pal. n. 30, 278

Cum de vestre dilectionis serenitate fiducialiter spem geramus, non diffisi, quin de nostro gaudio et bonis eventibus nobis et karissime consorti nostre matertere vestre^a gratulemini pari forma: ad maius itaque dilectionis et amicicie signum sinceritati vestre providimus nunciandum, quod karissima uxor nostra pietate omnipotentis liberata nobis gratam filiam est enixa, quam petimus, ut diligatis cum aliis pueris nostris, vestre habentes dulcedini pietatis eos apud dilectum consaguineum nostrum dominum inclitum regem fervencius auxilio et consilio commendatos.

39

The addresser states that already a long time ago would have sent letters to her if he/she would have not been in friction with the King of Bohemia O. He/she asks the Queen of Bohemia to act as intercessor with her husband in order to settle a new friendship between the litigants. The addresser wishes for her and her children a good health condition.

See the commentary part of the letter (Ed. n. 1).

In this letter for the first time it is explicitly mentioned the abbreviated name of King of Bohemia O. and also the long lasting friction (*longa dissensio*) between his kingdom and that of the addresser.

Pal.: addresser: Heinrich Duke of Bavaria, addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

^a vestre] nostre V

V: fol. 23r

Ed.: Pal. n. 27, 277

Reg.: RBM II n. 587, 226

Vestre serenitatis dilectionem iam longo tempore sincero corde desideravimus salutasse, nisi non diffidencia ex discordia inter karissimum consaguineum nostrum dominum O. inclitum regem Bohemie maritum vestrum et nos hactenus abstitisset,^{a/xvi} quia timebamus quod non salutacionem nostram vestra illustratio dignaretur. Sed modo speramus, quod longa dissensio inter ipsum dominum^b regem Bohemie et nos in bonum pacis, concord*e* et vere amicie^c dirigatur, vestre pietatis consilio et auxilio accedente. Propter quod vestre venustatis claritatem affectuose deprecamur, ut vestris piis exhortationibus ipsum consaguineum nostrum dominum^d regem Bohemie maritum vestrum inducere sathagatis, ut nobiscum velit ad veram amiciciam concordare. Scientes, quod ad hoc semper intendimus et nos promptissimos exhibemus, qualiter suis valeamus desideriis conplacere pro^e sue dilectionis amicicia^f capescenda.^{xvii} Ceterum non dubitetis, quin bonum statum^g vestrum ac liberorum vestrorum et persone vestre sospitatem sincerissime diligamus et toto cordis desiderio adoptemus.

40

The male addresser states that he is continuously engaged to serve the queen and he cannot visit in person the recipient, who is a bishop (he is addressed as “father and lord” of the diocese). The queen’s notary implores the bishop to take measures against those that despised his church. They were already excommunicated by the addressee a long time ago (“longi iam temporis vestros excommunicatos”) and afterwards they continued to offend the addresser’s church. The recipient should not be influenced by their false allegations formulated in order to get the absolution or obloquy him. They would take advantage of the sender’s absence . As a result, the addresser hopes that the bishop may be favorable to defend the rights of his church that was offended and damaged as declared in his letter (“per mea scripta”).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta’s notary; addressee: Jan, bishop of Prague (?).

V: fol. 23rv

Ed.: Pal. n. 85, 298-299

^a abstitisset] obstitisset Pal. RBM II

^b dominum] d. Pal. RBM II

^c amicie] amicitae Pal.

^d dominum] d. Pal. RBM II

^e pro] per V

^f amicicia] amiciciam V

^g statum] statutum V

Astrictus, sicut scitis, pater et domine, servitiorum continua presencia in presencia domine mee regine, ad videndum cum visitare nequeam dilectionem vestram ex premissis, ne in mea ausencia per contemptores clavium ecclesie longi iam temporis vestros excommunicatos ausu temerario, in sua pertinacia irrevocabiliter perdurantes meos et ecclesie mee^a videlicet offensores, aliquid attemptare contingat circa vos per se vel per suos fautores, false suggestionis pretextu quolibet vel pro sui absolutione vel inpugnatione me absente,^b ut suam sicut consueverunt simulatione malorum iniquitatem pallient, inclinari faciliter non velitis, pater et domine reverende, afflictionum mearum non inmemores, laborum intollerabilium, periculorum vite pariter et dolorum, quorum adhuc pro dolor non est numerus neque finis. Solita igitur clemencie vestre bonitate fovete me dignemini, me miserum et indignum non posse proprio sed Dei solius et vestra suffragante gracia foventem iura et libertates ecclesie vestre dyocesis. Ne, quod absit, inpotenti contra potentes, deficientibus viribus prioribus et expensis, si quod nullatenus credo, tepescere vos velletis, in excessum transiens exhareat leviter, quod sollempniter reflerebat. Quare propter Deum et iusticiam, sicut de vestra mihi gracia sepius promisistis, nisi prius vobis per scripta mea plenius constiterit de satisfactione dampnorum et gravaminum mihi et ecclesie offense exhibita nichil admittere dignemini in oppositum premissorum.

41

This letter, which is addressed by the Queen of Bohemia to a religious leader concerns the problem of the emargination and oppression of the Slavic language of the minor friars in Bohemia and in the Duchy of Poland. While the German speaking friars are despatched to the houses of the order of Minorites in the Bohemian Kingdom, the Slavic language ones are expelled from the Czech lands (“lingue vero slavice fratres disperguntur ad extraneas nationes”). They are less numerous than the Teutonic friars and they can hardly absolve the pastoral duties such as the administration of the predication or the listening to the confessions. They are also not allowed to elect their own officials. As a result, the souls of the Slavs suffer in great danger (“ita quod in maximum hoc gentis slavice periculum transeat animarum”). The queen is afraid about the contempt showed towards her people (“in contemptum nostri et gentis nostre”) and the growing trouble suffered by the Slavic language (“regni nostri atque lingue slavice crescat preiudicium et gravamen”). Therefore, she asks the recipient to offer aid and support to the Slav brothers.

This letter is linked to Ed. n. 68. See chapter II, (“Central Europe Colonization and Linguistic National Identity”), 62-64.

Palacký states that this letter might be by Otakar II (similarly to another letter contained in Palacký, *Formelbücher* II, 288). He supports his hypothesis by referring to the inappropriate use of the expression “regnum nostrum” in relation to a queen.

^a mee] me V

^b absente] absencie V

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: a cardinal in Rome.

V: fol. 23v

Ed.: Pal. n. 55, 288

Reg.: RBM II n. 2505, 1078

Cum sit indecens ac in nostrum et regni nostri atque lingue sclavice crescat preiudicium et gravamen, ut tam in Bohemia quam in Polonia fratres ordinis minorum sue lingue oppressionibus diversis sic graventur, quod mist<e>r<i>is Deo placitis vix vacare possunt liberaliter, que ipsorum exigit officium predicandi videlicet et confessiones audiendi ac exercendi alia, que edificant in populo ecclesie sancte Dei, sicut eiusdem ordinis gentes alie in suis partibus usitant^a et exercent, in quorum exterminatione fratres lingue teutonice plures numero, quam opus sit, transmittuntur ad domos singulas dicti ordinis^b in regno nostro et in ducatus Polonorum, lingue vero sclavice^c fratres disperguntur^d ad extraneas nationes, ubi inutiles sunt, ita quod in maximum hoc gentis sclavice^e periculum^f transeat animarum prohibeturque dictis iam fratribus Boemie et Polonie, in contemptum nostri et gentis nostre, per ipsorum superiores, ut non liceat ipsis ex se et inter se prelatos eligere, sicut et cetera faciunt nationes. Hiis igitur et multis aliis in premissis negocio, mote molestiis, supplicandum duximus vestre paternitati, quatenus^g propter Deum et nostram dilectionem, in promotionem agendorum Dei predicte, exhibitoribus presencium, fratribus minorum ordinis sepe dicti adesse misericorditer dignemini consilio, auxilio et favore.

42

Letter by a female sender to a religious leader. She inquires the recipient's intercession for getting the pope approval about the stay in Hungary of Farchas, her loved friar of the minor order.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: a prelate in Rome.

Date: (CDA) 1271.

V: fol. 23v

Ed.: Pal. n. 64, 292

CDA n. 159, 264

Ad vestram paternitatem tamquam ad eum, in quo specialem spem habemus promotionis agendorum nostrorum, confugimus affectuose supplicantes, quatenus causa nostri hoc

^a usitant] visitant V

^b ordinis] cordinis V

^c sclavice] sola vice V

^d disperguntur] disperguntur disperguntur a. c. V

^e sclavice] sola vice V

^f periculum] per oculus V

^g quatenus] quapropter a. c. V

inpetrare dignemini circa dominum papam, ut frater Farchasius ordinis fratrum minorum noster fidelis, accedente consensu et licencia favorabili eiusdem domini pape, sibi stare liceat in Ungaria, in domo aliqua sui ordinis, ubi apertam sibi mansionem duximus eligendam. Quod pro speciali nobis inpenso beneficio reputamus.

43

By a female sender to a religious leader. The addresser is upset because of the terrible harshness of the news (“acerbitate dira rumoris insolitis”) about the death of the master St., canon and archdeacon of the recipient’s church. She asks the addressee that the vacant prebend may be assigned to her relative T.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 23v-24r

Ed.: Pal. n. 80, 297

Proculse^{xviii} acerbitate dira rumoris insoliti de mortis eventu, si sic est, sicut recitatur apud nos publice magistri St. viri utique magne discretionis et nominis vestre ecclesie canonici et archidiaconi, amirantes^a multum et compacientes, teste Deo casui tanti viri, non sine dolore cordis scribimus vestre dilectioni, quia promisimus et volumus compacientes in tribulationibus, quibuslibet vestris vobis et ecclesie vestre semper adesse pio corde universis profectibus requisite. Verum quia meminimus, cum pro dilecto et fideli nostro T., votum^b peteremus in recipiendo ipsum^c in canonicum et confratrem apud vos, recepto quoque de vestra benivolencia aliquociens vestra rescripta^d recepimus, ubi certas nos reddidit vestra universitas securum esse debere de perceptione prebende sibi debite suo loco. Cuius vestre promptitudinis debitis retributionum muneribus quamdiu vivimus inmemores esse nunquam poterimus maxime cum hec nostra petitio tunc primum aput vos grata erit plurimum et accepta. Igitur pro eodem T. nostro familiari et cum ipso vobis, quos nostros speciales reputamus et habere sic volumus, supplicandum duximus omni diligencia et affectu, quatenus si invenimus gratiam et amorem in vestris oculis^{xix} et si primiticii vestrarum petitionum non abscidimus caritate, si locus est, ut speramus, de hac presenti vacante prebenda memorato T. nostro familiari percipiendam favorabiliter dignemini, ut sic inchoaca precum nostrarum vota in effectum completa desiderabiliter devotionis vestre circa nos claudant constanciam bono fine.

44

^a amirantes] amirante V, ammiratae Pal.

^b votum] notum V

^c ipsum] ipsum in recipiendo a. c. V

^d rescripta] res scripta V

It is a recommendation letter for the friar H., who is a relative of the women who are with the sender (domine que nobiscum sunt). The monk is sick and unable to follow the rule of the franciscan order. As a result, he should be placed by the recipient (vester paternitas) in the order of St. Benedict. The monk will select the convent where he will be moving in. Yet, thought he would prefer living among foreigners (tanquam solitarius inter ignotos stare querat), his convent will be located in the reign ruled by the sender (in regno nostro).

For the issue connected to the expression *in regno nostro* see letter Ed. n. 41.

Pal.: addresser Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 24r

Ed.: Pal. n. 78, 296

Reg.: RBM II n. 2507, 1079

Exhibitorum presencium fratrem H. quondam ordinis fratrum minorum diffuse comendant predicatorem cum propter bone vite tytulum prohibentis sibi a plerisque in eodem ordine diligamus specialiter et eciam propter quasdam dominas, que nobiscum sunt, quarum frater idem est carnalis, idem quoque frater H.^a iam exhaustus sicut patet, in viribus et persona infirmus et inpotens ad portandum iugum honeris predicti ordinis, cum sit licenciatus de communi^b benivolencia summi ministri ac fratrum suorum ad transferendum se in alium ordinem magis aptum vite sue, elegeritque religionis habitum sancti Benedicti, cuius monachus iam existens, sic vitam ducere desiderat in domino et mori feliciter in habitu memorato. Quare supplicandum duximus vestre paternitati, quatenus causa nostre dilectionis, quam nobis^c et nos vice versa vobis sinceram gerimus, predictum H. monachum alicubi in claustro ordinis quem elegit locare in regno nostro dignemini, maxime cum potius apud^d tanquam solitarius inter ignotos^e stare querat refugendo per omnia noticia proximorum.

45

It is connected to the previous letter. The sender states that the monk H. is under her/his special protection and asks the addressee to be benevolent towards him.

Pal: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 24r

^a H.] om. Pal. RBM II

^b communi] communi licencia a. c. V

^c nobis] vobis V

^d apud] apud ... Pal. RBM II

^e ignotos] ignitos V

Ed.: Pal. n. 79, 296

Reg.: RBM II n. 2514, 1082

Exhibitorem presencium H. monachum, quem commendant bone vite merita, tamquam nostrum specialem, quia in nostram defensionem singularem recepimus et conductum, universitatem vestram requirimus et rogamus, quatenus benivolencie vestre in hoc nobis favorem gratuitum inpendentes, memorato H. monacho in prestando securo conductu et vite necessariis, ubicumque per ipsum nostro nomine requisiti fueritis, adesse favorabiliter debeatis. In quo nobis exhibitum speciale per vos obsequium reputamus.

46

To a religious man. The addresser refers to the addressee calling him vester paternitas and pater et conpater (father and first cousin). It is a request for the consecration as a priest of a clerk of the dyaconat order.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 24r

Ed.: Pal. n. 77, 296

Reg.: RBM II n. 2513, 1081-1082

Ut placabilem nobis in nostris supplicacionibus habere possimus^a divinam clemenciam,^{xx} affectus nostri est pro posse et viribus intendere pio corde, que ipsius cultum respiciunt et expellunt et extollunt.^b Huius igitur glorie querentes merita contingere, supplicandum duximus cum fiducia vestre paternitati, ut si quam graciam in vestris oculis invenimus, reverende pater et conpater^c karissime, ad contingenda divine retribucionis premia, cooperari^d nobis velitis, exaudiendo quas vobis subsequenter porrigimus preces nostras, ut videlicet presencium <exhibitorem> ordinis dyaconatus clericum in gradum sacerdocii consecrare dignemini propter Deum; maxime cum bone fame et conversacionis laudabilis a plerisque testimonium detur.^e

47

From a woman to her husband, who is a lord (dominatio). She is afraid that will not be able to show him, who is the dearest of the men, enough gratitude for the letters and gifts he sent to her and their daughters. They meet frequently through his letters (per litteras vestras et nuncios frequentamur). Anyway, she implores him with great love and respect to visit her in

^a possimus] possumus V

^b et expellunt et extollunt] et extollunt Pal. RBM II

^c conpater] pater Pal. RBM II

^d cooperari] quo operari V

^e detur] ei detur Pal. RBM II

person at the earliest possible time. His presence is desired more than any other thing (quam desideramus super omnia).

See the commentary part of the letter (Ed. n. 27). Cf. chapter III, “Queen Kunhuta: a Nouvelle Heroine? Love, Letters, Frauenklage and the Trope of the Female Suffering.”

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

V: fol. 24rv

Ed.: Pal. n. 16, 271-272

Mendl n. 8, 28

Multimoda consolationis vestre gracia gratuite consolamur, pro quo in plenum non sufficimus, nec videtur nobis posse referre grates plene vestre, dominorum karissime, caritati. Ecce enim non solum per litteras vestras et nuncios frequentamur sine intermissione vestre dulcedinis consolationibus, verum et munerum vestrorum participatione magnifica nos semper dignas redditis atque filias nostras karissimas. Quibus de causis cognoscimus evidenter vestre dominationis gratiam nobis fore propiciam debito cum favore. Atque incentivum nobis additis, quam super omnem gloriam mundi conplectimur intentissime vestre presencie conversatione desiderabili refoveri in gaudio caritatis. Igitur supplicandum vestre dilectioni duximus omni devocione et affectu, quibus possumus et debemus, quatenus causa nostre dilectionis, cuius plenitudinem presentamus,^a ex ipsis vestre benignitatis indiciorum exhibitionibus eam, quam desideramus super omnia, vestre gratitudinis presenciam nobis dignemini maturare. Qua habita, nichil nobis deficere credimus, ymo conplecti conplacet pocius totum, totum.

48

Letter addressed to a queen, who is one of the sender's relatives. Her husband (maritus vester) is the sender's uncle (avunculus). The addressee should interceed with her consort in order to get the approval for some of the sender's issues (nostris negociis).

Pal., CDBR: addresser: the Margrave Otto of Brandenburg (?); addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

V: fol. 24v

Ed.: Pal. n. 32, 279

CDBR n. 132, 99

Pro eo, quod vos in nostris negociis circa avunculum nostrum^b karum^a karissimum semper habuimus sollicitam et benignam, serenitati vestre tenemur et teneri volumus ad merita

^a presentamus] presentimus *Mendl*

^b nostrum] nos rum *Pal.*

graciarum. Cum igitur <secundum> canonem^b nihil factum videtur, cum aliquid superest ad agendum, generositati vestre quam intime supplicamus, quatenus et nos et nogocia nostra in vestram sollicitudinem assumentes, aput avunculum maritum vestrum karissimum, nostri memoriam habeatis. Quocirca apud^c vos quoad vixerimus omni quo possumus servitiorum studio volumus libentissime promereri.

49

The addressee is an archdeacon since it is said that the sender enters in Bohemia in which prevails the authority of the addressee's archidiaconatus. As soon as the addresser arrives in the Bohemian land (nunc primum), she/he learns about an ignomy. The letter is about the accuse against the deacon N. from t. l. that did not fear (veritus est) to molest the cleric magister Henricus, who is chaplain and member of the sender's familia. The deacon neither having confessed, nor be convicted of anything, and nor be sued (nec confessum, nec convictum, ymo nec citatum), is declared innocent by the ecclesiastical sentence. The disrespect of the justice makes innocent guilty people (innocentes noxios faciens). It seems that hardly priests pay for their crimes ([...] hii qui oves sunt, quid delicti censentur luere alieni [...]). The sender states that all the clergy should be humbly subject to the judgement of her/his courtroom (aula nostra). As a result, it should be made justice for the injured party and the deacon should receive an appropriate punishment.

Clericum quendam magistrum H., qui cappelle nostre annotatus est et mense inter familiares nostros non ultimus] (?) Henricus prothonotarius regni et plebanus in Gors, Otakar II's and Kunhuta's dictator.

Pal.: addresser Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown

V: fol. 24v

Ed.: Pal. n. 73, 294

Cum in numero prelatorum ex relatione bone fame et commendatione nostrorum familiarium vestre semper usque huc persone memoriam gratam habuimus,^d nec adhuc de sequentibus vos culpare volumus aut debemus, nisi nobis ab experimento detur certa noticia veritatis. Conquerendo igitur vestre discretioni notificare cogimur, quod a <tempore>^e nostri introitus in Bohemiam nunc primum, ubi archidiaconatus^f vestri auctoritas protenditur, inter

^a karum] om. Pal. CDBR

^b secundum canonem] canonem V

^c apud] add. sup. l. V

^d habuimus] habuerimus Pal.

^e a tempore] a V

^f archidiocanatus] archidiaconus V

alios contemptus nobis illatus est; nec credimus hoc fieri de vestra consciencia, eo quod nullus prorsus ordo iuris sit in negotio observatus. Ecce enim quidam vester decanus N de t<ali> l<oco>, cuius corruptele vitio ductus ignoramus, clericum quendam magistrum H., qui cappelle nostre annotatus est et mense inter familiares nostros^a non ultimus, molestare non est veritus; quia preter iusticiam nec confessum, nec convictum, ymo nec citatum, ubi in eum quamvis preter debitum iusticie condempnationis sententiam fere voluit, personalem oblitus iuris auxit maliciam, innocentes noxios faciens, ecclesie sue parrochiales ecclesiastico subposuit interdicto. Unde cum etsi iudicatus pastor excessisse in aliquo reperiretur, hii qui oves sunt, quid delicti censentur luere alieni, cum nec <doli> consuentur^b hactenus repererimus, quod aule nostre clerici tam humiliter iudicari debeant? Placeat igitur vestre reverencie supplicamus notorium in premissis contemptum nobis exhibitum preter iusticiam in nostro clerico, in predicto vestro decano corrigere et revocare sententiam propter commune bonum fidelium inmerite punitorum procaciter ac prolatam. Astet nichilominus idem Henricus clericus coram vobis, obiectis partis contrarie responsurus, cui nostri causa esse dignemini favorabilis et benignus. Cuius benevolencie esse volumus inmemores viceversa.

50

By a canon to a bishop. It is request for the granting of a prebend. The sender says that since the addressee has accepted him in the collegiate church as canonicus and co-friar, it would be grateful if the addressee might assign him also the vacant prebend. In return for the favor, he will continue to honor him, satisfy his requests and execute his orders.

V: fols. 24v-25r

Unedited

Scit dominatio vestra, pater et domine, quod in <gracia> vestre consolationis et affectibus requievitur, quia nunquam deesse ymo prodesse potius semper michi paternis affectibus misericorditer consuevistis. Igitur supplicandum duxi circa confidentia dominationi vestre, quatenus propter Deum et si adhuc circa gratiam vestram non merui, tamen quia devotum est michi perhennis desiderii propositum. Si locus est, ut spero, de hac presenti vacante prebenda michi debitus pro dolor, sicut procurastis me recepi per vestram gratiam in canonicum et confratrem, sic procurare dignemini prebendalis perceptionis gratiam consequendum. Minime dubitantes, quin me ex hoc obedientem vobis^c sic reddetis, quod non solum res ymo personam exponere. Inpiger nunquam differam pro vestris honoribus, ad vestra beneplacita quelibet et mandata, inducendo alios confratres meos ad perficiendum que peto et visitando circa eos gratis vestris persuasionibus precibusque.

^a nostros] vestros V

^b consuentur] consuetum Pal.

^c vobis] nobis V

51

This letter is addressed to the pope and it is about the request of the dispensation of the defect of birth (defectus natalium) of a friar of the order of St. Augustine.

Undertaking an ecclesiastic career required a legitimate birth and freedom of deformities. If the friar was stained with illegitimacy or he was affected by any kind of deformity, he had to require a dispensation from his defect of birth. Otherwise, he would have been prevented ordination to the Holy Orders or advancement to higher monastic offices (cf. Paul B. Newman, *Growing up in the Middle Ages* [Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., Publishers, 2007], 209-210).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 25r

Ed.: Pal. n. 76, 296

Reg.: RBM II n. 2503, 1077

Paternitati vestre devotis affectibus supplicamus, quatenus propter Deum et nostrarum precum pretextu exhibitorum presencium fratrem ordinis sancti Augustini in suis petitionibus misericorditer exaudire dignemini de plenitudine vestre gracie, dispensando secum super quodam defectu natalium, cuius circumstancias ipse planius et plenius vestre paternitati scit et poterit explicare. Sic de vestra clemencia exhibentes vos favorabilem eidem fratri pauperi, ut in vestre pietatis oculis^{xxi} profuturo sibi effectum capiant preces nostre.

52

It is an ordinance about the observation of the immunity of the churches in the land ruled by the person, who is the issuer of the letter.

Pal. does not publish this document because he defines it as a defective text (“fehlerhaft geschrieben”). It has been used a formula to indicate the sender rulership *in nostro dominio* (other terms used for the ruling power: *auctoritas, potestas, mundium, imperium, possessio, bannum, districtus, maiestas*).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: public.

V: fol. 25r

Unedited

Scitis quod salus nostra et omnium hominum presentis et eterne vite sustentatur oracionibus devotorum et maxime clericorum, quos nullus fidelium dubitat sane mentis militantis in divinis ministeriis ex officio pius aliis esse proximos summo Deo, quibus eciam et potestas in celo et in terra ligandi concessa est et solvendi. Tales igitur honorare volentes, quibus circa sanctarum ecclesiarum commissa est, vestre fidelitati firmiter precipiendo, mandamus quantenus iura et libertates conservantes, tam ecclesiis quam clericis in nostro dominio nec gravari ab aliquo permittatis, nec per vos aut per nostros quomodolibet molestetis quandocumque aliquis clericorum ad vos confugerit tribulatus.

53

By a woman, who is the wife of an absent ruler to an unknown addressee. It is about the expression of gratitude by the sender to the addressee, because of the letters sent and the offer of protection and help (consiliis et auxiliis). She would like to thank in person the addressee at the presence of her husband, when the divine providence will allow her to see his desired face (regraciari vobis volentes in presencia domini et mariti nostri karissimi, quando primum adiuvante divina providencia vultum eius intuite fuerimus exoptatum). The addresser refers to her role as protector of her land (terra nostra) during the absence of her husband, through the mediation of the addressee.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 25r

Ed. : Pal. n. 56, 288

Consideratis affectibus animi vestri sinceris, quos expresse et manifeste ex continencia litterarum vestrarum comprehendentes promptos et paratos nostris beneplacitis, sic oportunum foret, condignas dilectioni vestre graciaram referimus acciones, regraciari vobis volentes in presencia domini et mariti nostri karissimi, quando primum adiuvante divina providencia vultum eius intuite fuerimus exoptatum. Nec reticebimus, si opus inciderit, vestris consiliis et auxiliis refoveri. Petentes studiose, ut ex parte nostra, nos et nostros munire dignemini, semper et maxime in absencia domini et mariti nostri karissimi in hiis, que nobis et terris nostris quecumque contraria audiretis.

54

By a woman to a female addressee, who gave birth to a child (filium). The process of the canonization of St. Hedwig has started. During the way of her pilgrimage, the sender encountered one of the recipient's messenger. Affect and gratitude towards the recipient has been expressed by the addresser, who donated to the messenger ten marks of fine silver and garments. The sender asks the recipient to be confident in her support.

St. Hedwig of Silesia was canonized in 1267. Her canonization was especially promoted by the Piast dynasty (such as Anne) and also by the Bohemian King P. Otakar II that had a claim on Silesia. Gábor Klaniczay points out that the king visited in person the abbey on the occasion of the canonisation (Cf. Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002], 221).

This letter is linked to the letter (Ed. n. 58).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: an unknown princess.

Date: September 1267.

V: fol. 25r

Ed.: Pal. n. 47, 285

Consolate plurimum per continenciam litterarum vestrarum, ex quarum relatione et salutem corporis vestri cognovimus et filium peperisse, gavise^a fuimus sicut tenemur in plenum, tamquam de propriis successibus et salute. Verum quia procedentes ad canonizationem et beate Hedvigis, in uia peregrinationis nos vester invenit nuncius, in desertis silvarum deviis; in signum dilectionis vestre et prescripti gaudii relati, tamquam peregrine festinantes ad locum propositi, que tunc requirente necessitate motus nostri potuimus, sibi munera fuimus^b impertiti, decem marcas argenti puri nostri ponderis et vestes. Et utique propter vestram dilectionem amplius fecissemus, si in loco quietis iuvene quomodolibet fuissemus, petentes, quatenus fiducialiter confidentes de nobis et de nostris omnibus pro vestris beneplacitis percipere debeatis.

55

It is a request about the accomplishment of a task concerning the assignment of the prebends (collatio prebendarum) in the church Melliensi (alias Melk), which is under the sender's protection. The right of protection (patronatus) has been inherited by the sender's predecessors. The letter is delivered by the chaplain C. (presencium exhibitor), who is under the special care of the addresser.

Melliensi] Melnicensi (of Melk). It was common in model letters to change names of real places and people.

C. capp<e>llanum sacerdotem nostrum] Christinus *sacerdos cappellanus noster*, as we read in a Otakar's chancery diploma (Poděbrady, 1269), which relates Queen Kunhuta. Its witness list includes also some queen's officials and courtiers (CDB V/II n. 579, 161-162).

^a gavise] gravisae Pal.

^b fuimus] finis V

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 25r

Ed.: Pal. n. 75, 295

Super iure patronatus reservato et relicto nobis a nostri predecessibus ex antiquo de collatione prebendarum in ecclesia Melliensi^a cum gravis nobis iniura inferatur, quam etsi possemus tamquam potens i<n> nostro dominio corrigere, tamen ad maiorem evidenciam roborandi nostri iuris, ut in memoriam nostris posteris relinquatur presencium exhibitorum C. capp<e>llanum sacerdotem nostrum specialem ad vestram discrecionem transmittimus, rogantes ex affectu, quatenus circa nostri, sicut per eundem instructi fueritis credere et promovere dignemini negocium memoratum.

56

The female addresser, wife of a ruler and mother of a daughter, rejoices about the good health condition of the addressee and requires to be persistently informed about the recipient.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 25r

Ed.: Pal. n. 52, 287

Intente semper consolari salutis vestre prosperis successibus, sollicitudo^b nostra est continua audire aliquid certi et experiri de statu vestro et utinam^c bono et salubri, quem complectimur tamquam proprium Deo teste. Igitur quia scimus sine diffidencia vice versa favoris et gracie vestre plenitudinem ad nos extendi, supplicando petimus et petendo supplicamus, ut consolari possimus^d statum salutis vestre et circumstantias successum temporalium nobis dignemini nunciare. Hoc scientes, quia et nos cum dilecto marito nostro et domino ac filia nostra karissima optata fruimur sospitate.

57

The female addresser stresses her protection about a master of students of t. l. (de tali loco), who is under her special care. This master that is under her special care should get back what has been improperly expropriated.

^a Melliensi] Melnicensi Pal.

^b sollicitudo] solitudo V

^c et utinam] utinam Pal.

^d possimus] possumus V

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 25v

Ed.: Pal. n. 72, 294

Cum ad hoc semper debeamus esse exposite, ut miseris et tribulatis omni parte requisite succurrere debeamus vos, quos non multum adhuc sollicitasse meminimus nostris precibus aut modicis, quantumcumque favorabiles invenerimus in nostris rogatibus, exhibebimus nos vice versa benivolas ad vestros profectus et commoda temporibus oportunis. Et ecce cum instancia vestram universitatem rogandam duximus, quatenus ostendentes nobis, quod diligamur a vobis, magistro scholarum de t<ali> l<oco>, quem in nostram defensionem specialem recepimus, universa pecora magna et minuta que abstulistis eidem, et quecumque alia ablata restituere eidem ex integro debeatis. Non dubitantes, quin et nos dampna huiusmodi vobis supplebimus in pluribus vestris negociis requisite. Sic facturi, exauditionis locum apud vos inveniant preces nostre, providentes eciam, ne per vos vel quoslibet alios in aliquo de certo molestetur, quin ymo contra omnes ipsum, sicut de vobis confidimus defendatis.

58

The addresser expresses gratitude to the recipient. The sister of Trzebnica was asked to give the relics of St. Hedwig. The sender appreciates the promptitude and efficiency of the action taken by the addressee despite the fact that the relics were not received yet.

In 1202 St. Hedwig and her husband founded a Polish abbey for women in Trzebnica. Gábor Klaniczay points out: “The Cistercian convent soon became a gathering place for princesses. Agnes of Bohemia was sent there for her education as the intended of Boleslas, the crown prince of Silesia (and was sent back home when her young fiancé died),” (Cf. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, 251). For more on St. Hedwig, see letter (Ed. n. 54).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 25v

Ed.: Pal. n. 57, 289

Commendates affectus vestre sinceritatis circa nos, quos exhibuistis favore gratuito ad preces nostras instando persuasionibus precibusque sorori vestre domine de Trebnizte pro beate Hedvigis reliquiis nobis dandis. In quo quamvis nostra desideria minus completa sunt, tamen vestre promptitudinis benivolencia favorabiliter attedentes immensas graciaram vobis referimus actiones, volentes vice versa bono corde quibuslibet beneficiorum meritis proinde semper vestris beneplacitis conplacere.

The addressee entered in the borders of Bohemia. His wife is waiting for his return and hope that her letter (cartula) may find him in good health.

See the commentary part of the letter (Ed. n. 27). Mendl refers to a similarity between the opening of the queen's letter "expectavi expectans cor nostrum" and the model letter by Boncompagnus included in the *Rota Veneris*: "expectavi expectans desiderium meum." The scholar suggests that the person, who composed the queen's letter, master Bohuslav, may have known the *Rota Veneris*. Yet Bohuslav might have imitated only single phrases and have drawn from *Boncompagnus* general rethorical principles. According to Mendl the queen's letter is different from the models composed by Boncompagnus (i.e. the Italian ones have more metaphores and they are about extraconjugal love). According to Mendl, the Czech master would have imitated the Italian dictator by following the instructions of writing the letter in relation of the writer and recipient's social status. See, Mendl, *Listy Královny Kunhuty králi Přemyslovi*, 52.

It is noticeable that most likely the incipit of the letter has a biblical origin (*Expectans expectavi Dominum* Ps. 39, 2) and it was widely used in medieval love letters. Furthermore as already noticed by Mendl, another letter, which has a similar incipit is contained in V, fol. 51r: "Expenctans expecto sollicitus" (the entire letter has been published by Mendl, *Listy Královny Kunhuty králi Přemyslovi*, 55).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: P. Otakar II.

V: fol. 25v

Ed.: Pal. n. 12, 270

Mendl n. 11, 34

Expectans expectavi cor nostrum cum gaudio vestrum reditum. Cuius suscepcionis occurrendum cum desiderio decrevimus corde et animo, in loco et die, quibus vestri adventus primos introitus confiniorum Bohemie predixistis. Ubi utinam in gaudio et exultacione optate salutis hec precurrens nostra cartula vos sic excipiat, influens et instillans vestre dulcedinis, kare karissimo, super omniam caritatem redeatque prestolanti karum kari hec eadem caritas presencie expotati prenuncia consolatrix. Ipsa quoque vestre persone desiderata presenciam, quam prediximus utinam quantocius omni prosperitatis fastigio comitante nostris amplexibus grata gratissima subsequatur.

By a female addresser to a woman. The addressee should act as intercessor with his husband in order to offer military support to the King of Hungary D. ousted from his throne by his son.

D. inclitus Ungarorum rex] Béla IV, King of Hungary. It was common in model letters to change names of real people and places (see Ed. nos. 12, 55, 75).

Scribimus, ortamus et supplicamus] A similar climax in other letters; for instance see (Ed. n. 87): *optamus super omnia, requirimus et vociferamus* [...].

Pal.: addresser: Kunhuta of Krakaw (?); addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

Date (Pal., RBM, CDA): 1267 (?).

V: fols. 25v-26r

Ed.: Pal. n. 33, 279

CDA, n. 105, 161

Reg.: RBM II n. 591, 227-228

Forsitan non latet vestram dilectionem adversitas iniuriosa quam sustinet karissimus dominus et pater noster atque vester D.^a inclitus Ungarorum rex, cuius dolor multiplex est, quia in etate utique iam matura ubi quiesceret deberet, sublevatus baculo senectutis, de solio suo pellitur, fraudatur suis fidelibus, quorum per plures cesi subcubuerunt maiestatis sue iusticiam defendentes. Et ecce quia tacti doloris sui amaritudine, quam ut dignum est propter iusticiam veri patris et domini reputamus propriam, una cum dilecto domino et marito nostro karissimo scribimus, ortamus et supplicamus dilectioni vestre, quatenus compacientes insolitis et iniustis serenissimi domini et patris vestri ac nostri dolorum persecucionibus inducere monitis, persuasionibus atque consiliis maritum vestrum dignemini ad succurrendum in forti brachio et armato contra temeritatem filii, paterne glorie tytulum infirmantis, maxime cum dilectus dominus et maritus noster karissimus non percendo personis, laboribus aut expensis id ipsum faciendo omnes vires suas fideliter exponere sic paratus.

By a female addresser, who requests through the deliver of the letter P. (per exhibitorem presencium) to be consoled by the presence of the recipient. In this respect, she will wait an answer by the addressee.

^a D.] Belae RBMIII CDA, B. Pal.

P.] The magister Petrus, who is the praepositus of the royal chancery of Vyšehrad and chancellor of Bohemia (*manum magistri Petri prepositi Wissegradensis cancellarii regni Boemie*), CDB VI/1 n. 10, 55-56; or the *dictator* Přisnobar, who was formerly notary of Přemysl Otakar II and at that time *scholasticus* and *canonicus* of Vyšehrad church (CDB V/1 n. 344, 512-513).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 26r

Ed.: Pal. n. 53, 287

Pluries iam visitando vos litteris nostris et salutando sincerius tandem et per fratrem nostrum karissimum nos rogavimus, desiderio desiderantes vos videre posse et consolari in vestra presencia, gratis quoque sermonum diversitatibus refoveri maxime cum super hoc indulte^a nobis et vobis licencie litteras habeamus. Expectavimus igitur usque adhuc nec venerunt sub hoc ad nos vestra responsa. Propter quod petimus et rogamus, quatenus per exhibitorem presencium P. nobis super premissis vestram nobis dignemini intimare voluntatem.

62

The sender is the patron of the monastery dedicated to Mary, the "cella sancte Marie" (called also Vrchlábí Provostship) in Henrichow (Lhota Klášterská, i. e. 'German monk village') from the time of its foundation. She prohibits the citizens and pleban of Arnov (Hostinné in Czech) from destroying it. Perhaps the monastery was progressively expanding (e.g. it was granted of a mansus by the queen, see Ed. n. 74) and thus its monks were perceived as colonizers by the nearby village of Arnov. As a result, Arnov's citizens did not want that the consecration of the local church had the same patron of the monastery in Henrichow.

The addresser can be easily identified with Queen Kunhuta. According to Šimák, the original charter of the foundation of the city of Arnov has not been preserved. Yet only undated form documents can be provided. Two have been published in RBM II (nos. 2487, 2498); the first is an abridge form of the present letter, the second mentions the pleban of Arnov as one of its witnesses. A further document should be considered (Ed. n. 74). It refers to the chamberlain M., i. e. Mstidruh z Chlumu, who detained his office in the years 1269-1272. Consequently, most likely the city should have been founded not after 1272. According to Šimák, since the addresser of the letter is not the founder but only the patron of the monastery, it is possible to assume that the city was established before 1261 (before Kunhuta was crowned as Queen of Bohemia). See Josef Vítězslav Šimák, *Historický vývoj Čech severovýchodních* [Historical development of northeastern Bohemia] (Česká Skalice: t.j. Mašek, 1931-1932), 12.

^a indulte] indulce V

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: public.
Date: 1269-1272.

V: fol. 26r
Ed.: Pal. n. 74, 295
Reg.: RBM II n. 2487, 1070

Cum in Henrichewe celle sancte Marie domus a prime sue foundationis tempore eandem matrem Dei non solum patronam obtinuerat hactenus, ymo et denominationis usque huc vocabulum reservavit ab eadem, sicque in commisso specialis defensionis nostre non solum per nos quin ymo ab aliis gravari ipsam quomodolibet non vellemus. Audivimus enim, quod plebanus et cives nostri de Arnou in consecratione ecclesie sue per vos dedicande, intytulationem patroni ecclesie sue, in cuius honore fundata fuit, contempta et abiecta^a in preiudicium et gravamen celle predicte in Henrichowe,^b patronam sibi eandem beatam Virginem nituntur assumere ob quam causam omnino possit dest<r>ui dicta cella. Unde cum hoc omnino voluntati nostre sit contrarium, paternitatem vestram requirimus et rogamus, quatenus in premissis victi precum aliquibus instantiis predicti plebani vel civium, nihil omnino facere debeatis, in quo gravari seu molestari posset nobis dicta cellula memorata.

63

The sender announces the birth of her daughter, who is healthy and deprived of any defect. Furthermore, she asks the recipient to rejoice of this news.

Pal. argues that this letter is about the birth of Kunhuta's second daughter Anežka (1269). The sender's relative N. is entrusted of communicating this information.
Quoque iam post nostri partus editum confortate] see Ed. n. 64: *post partum parvule filie nostre confortate quoque iam.*

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: public.
Date: (Pal.) September 1269.

V: fol. 26r
Ed.: Pal. n. 66, 292

Visitavit nos divina clemencia, uteri nostri conceptus glorificans, quos hec eadem mirifice clausa reserans iam nunc in lucem produxit ad cognoscendum patula, que omnino primitus

^a abiecta] obiecta *Pal. RBM II*

^b Henrichowe] Henrichewe *Pal.*

minime nota erant. Ecce enim nove prolis et filie dotate gaudio, sine omni defectu naturalium et cum plenitudine salutis nostri corporis, competenter quoque iam post^a nostri partus editum confortate,^b singula hec premissa vestre dilectioni in gaudium nunciamus, nichil dubitantes ymo potius sperantes firmiter, sicut cum dolentibus dolere in adversis, sic nobiscum una in prosperis de tanta festivitate nostra et congaudere nostro solacio debeatis. Igitur dilectum et familiarem nostrum N. vobis annuncium deputavimus huius nostri gaudii prenotati.

64

The female addresser proclaims the birth of her daughter, who is deprived of any defect and asks the recipient to rejoice of this news. The letter covers the topic of the previous one.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: public.

V: fol. 26 rv

Ed.: Pal. n. 67, 293

Dono nove prolis dotate celitus iam post partum parvule filie nostre confortate quoque iam in viribus et salute corporis nostri, vestre fidelitate in gaudium et extultationem anunciando scribimus in presenti, et ut cognoscamus a modo per effectum, quod gaudia nostra, salus corporis et filie nostre parvule nativitas sine omni defectu naturalium per Dei providenciam cordi sit et amori vestris affectibus annunciandum vobis tantarum prosperitatum nostrarum cuncta felicia deputavimus talem, sperantes firmiter, quod ob reverenciam et amorem nostre salutis et nativitatem nostre parvule, congaudendo nobis, tali honore et munere ipsum prosequi debeatis ad nostram gloriam, sicut vestram^c fidelitatem condecet, quod regraciari vobis ex merito teneamur. Ita tamen, quod tu scultete,^{xxii} specialiter ex parte tua, vos quoque homines nostri ex parte vestra, honestatem vestram quam volueritis ostendere debeatis.

65

The female sender states that according to her husband's will and letters, his chaplain, the master Jaroslav, should be endowed of a stable office in the church in Neumberk and granted of a considerable benefice.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: public.

V: fol. 26v

^a post] potuit V

^b confortate] confortare V

^c vestram] nostram V, vestra Pal.

Ed.: Pal. n. 70, 294

Previa voluntate et consensu illustris domini et mariti nostri^a karissimi, sicut per eiusdem litteras <d>emonstratur expressius, vestram paternitatem requirendam duximus et rogandam ex affectu sincero, quatenus causa nostri magistro Iarozlao, mariti nostri et domini karissimi cappellano, clementer et paterne adesse dignemini in ecclesia sibi collata in Neumberk et confirmatum in eadem fovere favorab<i>liter sicut presumimus contra suos quoslibet invasores. Quod pro speciali nobis inpenso beneficio reputamus.

66

The sender confirms the rights over the church in Rewich granted by Václav, once King of Bohemia, to the hospital of St. Franciscus, which was required to pray for his soul. This confirmation has been established by the sender after death of the owner of the church Ch.

W. quondam rex inclitus Bohemie] Václav I, King of Bohemia (1230-1253).
Ch.] Kunhuta Štaufská, Václav I's wife, P. Otakar II's mother.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: public.

V: fol. 26v

Ed.: Pal. n 71, 294

Reg: RBM II n. 2502, 1077

Quoniam pium et sanctum est et gloriosis terre precipue gloriosum, ut piorum predecessorum suorum voluntates pias precipue que pro remedio animarum suarum fieri decreverint, successores ipsorum benigne roborent et confirment, hinc est, quod pietati vestre supplicamus, quatenus intuitu Dei et nostrarum precum instancia, ecclesiam in Rewich, quam bone memorie illustris dominus W. quondam rex inclitus Bohemie pro remedio anime sue hospitali et fratribus sancti Francisci liberaliter contulit, post mortem Ch. nunc defuncti, qui possessor fuit eiusdem ecclesie, quemadmodum suo sigillo roborate littere protestantur auctoritate vestra dignemini confirmare, ne dicti fratres in ecclesia illa impedimentum aliquod paciantur et irritum fiat, quod pro remedio anime sue disposuit fieri, ut dictum est, rex^b inclitus Vecezlaus.

67

^a vestri] nostri V

^b rex] rex moh V

A queen requests on behalf of the absent king that the master M. and his brother the soldier N. may have a safe return with their crew (horses and all the other things brought by their retinue) in the Kingdom of Bohemia. The first, the master M., who is the person who delivers the letter (exhibitor presencium) is coming back to the studium generale; his brother N. joined him after his transmarine trip. If the addressee is absent, his delegates should execute the queen's order.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: unknown.

V: fol. 26v

Ed.: Pal. n. 68, 293

Reg: RBM II n. 2519, 1084

Si presencia domini et mariti karissimi adesset, obtinere nos posse credimus firmiter, quod in eius absentia suo nomine fieri a te petimus et mandamus. Et ecce tuam discrecionem requirimus et rogamus et presumentes de plenitudine graciae et favoris domini et mariti nostri suo nomine tibi precipimus et mandamus, quatenus magistrum M. exhibitorem presencium redeuntem ad studio generali, et fratrem eius N. militem, qui de peregrinatione transmarina cum eodem ad propria revertitur, cum equis et rebus^a aliis omnibus, quas secum habent in comitatu suo et pacifice transire permittas et securum eis conductum prebeas, quanto remocius poteris precavendo firmiter, sicut hoc plene presumimus propter honorem domini et mariti nostri karissimi, ne per regnum Bohemie ipsis in rebus et personis aliqua quomodolibet gravamina inferantur. Hoc ipsum tuos procuratores, si tu absens fueris, rogamus exequi et mandamus.

68

A letter addressed by the wife of a ruler (inclitus dominus et maritus noster) to a female religious leader (soror karissima). Seemingly, the recipient has forgotten her Polish and Bohemian origin (a vestri progenitoribus sanguinis polonici et bohemicus traxeritis originem) because of a bad influence (minus sano ducta consilio). As a result, this religious leader supports the Teutonic friars instead of the Bohemian and Polish ones. Furthermore, she excommunicates the Slavic brothers (Bohemiae et Poloniae fratres excommunicatos esse dicitis) rather than be loving towards them (gentis vestre tacte affectus dulcedine). Above all, she favors the German friars by acting in the opposite way she is supposed to act (oppositum huius facitis). The excommunicated friars, who are provided of the literal sense (scientia litteralis) of the divine text (documentis divinitus), do not deserve to be treated in this disrespectful way. They should not suffer a similar condition (nullo modo paterentur statum suum) and lose their health (in propriae salutis dispendium). The sender, who is supported by her husband, asks the addressee not to ostacolate the friars, who speak "our and your language" (adesse ac prodesse potius quam obesse nostre ac lingue vestre fratibus).

^a et rebus] et rebus et rebus a. c. V

See the letter Ed. n. 41.

Pal.: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: Agnieszka, Abbess of Trzebnica.

V: fols. 26v-27r

Ed.: Pal. n. 54, 287

Reg.: RBM II n. 2504, 1077

Rumor insolitus ex certa relacione ad nostras pervenit aures et est satis nobis mirificus, quod videlicet, soror karissima, cum a vestri progenitoribus^a sanguinis polonici et bohemicus traxeritis originem, minus sano ducta^b consilio, si racionabiliter discutere hoc velletis, fratribus mi<n>oribus Polonie et Bohemie inportuno animo, ut audivimus, vos graves gerentes, ubi pocius afflictorum lingue vestre molestiis misericorditer conpati deberetis, gentis vestre tacte affectus dulcedine, oppositum huius facitis, fovendo^c partem theutonicorum fratrum, Bohemie et Polonie fratres excommunicatos esse dicitis, et hoc ipsum sorores vestre predicant de eisdem. Verum cum hoc male credi possit de ipsis aut deb<e>at, presertim cum iam dicti fratres litteralis sciencie^{xxiii} sint preditionis documentis divinitus, pocius hoc presumendum est credere, quod nullo modo paterentur statum suum in proprie salutis dispendium conscienter ad tantum inconveniens devenire. Unde cum ministris militantibus in ecclesia sancta Dei opus pietatis in tribulacionibus succurrere, vobis quoque, quam sancte religionis ligat professio, alti quoque sanguinis magnitudo clarificat, minus decoris quam dedecoris, honoris quam honeris inpartire possit huiusmodi gravitas animi, quam geritis predictis, placeat vobis, soror karissima, domare animi vestri motum et adesse ac prodesse pocius quam obesse nostre ac lingue vestre fratribus, quorum exemplis et doctrinis fides coruscat catholica in populo nobis datis. Maxime cum inclitus dominus et maritus noster ac nos ipsos fovere velimus, in omnibus ipsorum^d comoditatibus et iuribus constanter^e et fideliter omni parte.

69

It is a collection of formulas to be used at an appropriate time and occasion. The recipient is addressed as your loyalty (vestra fidelitas), your discretion (vestra discretio), your love (vestra dilectio), your brotherhood (vestra fraternitas). First, a thanksgiving section is given. Afterwards the body of the letter follows. It includes formulas explaining the purpose of the letter (noverit, or notum facimus, litteris presentibus innotescat [...]) and the request -

^a progenitoribus] progeontoribus V

^b ducta] ductor V

^c fovendo] favendo Pal. RBM II

^d in omnibus ipsorum] in ipsorum in omnibus ipsorum a. c. V

^e constanter] conferat V

petitio (requirimus, vel duximus ...). The purpose of this model letter is to make known to the virtual addressee: a) that the addresser's friend (amicus noster), who is aware of the poverty of his church, donated some goods; b) someone that was about to die or was already deceased donated his estates to the addresser's church. In the third section of the letter formulas, which relate an addresser's donation of goods and offer of aid and protection (auxilium and iuvamen) are given.

This letter is linked to (Ed. nos. 70, 71, 72). More on the subject in the chapter II of the Introduction (the section entitled "The Erratic Letters").

V: fol. 27r
Unedited

Illi a quo datum est omne optimum et omne donum perfectum procedit grates referre non sufficimus copiosas, qui nobis licet in meritis tantum gaudium dignatus est impertiri, vel sic gratiarum Auctori grates referimus, qui nos licet nostra non sufficiant merita tam misericorditer visitaverit, quod de nobis omnes amici nostri salutem hac vice potuerunt unanimiter exultare, vel sic si meditatione sollicita pensaremus quanta est misericordia Salvatoris, et quam ineffabilis pietatis oculis respicere consueverunt peccatores, modis omnibus sincere fidelitatis adhereremus, tanta namque sequitur eius retributio, lacrimas in risum, dolorem in gaudium, tormentum in requiem et timorem in spem, vel felicitatem convertit. Noverit itaque vestra discretio, vel fidelitas, vel sic vestre itaque fidelitati litteris presentibus innotescat, vel notum facimus, vel vestram itaque fidelitatem non lateat, vel scire volumus, quod cum tali amico nostro domus nostre paupertatem exposuerimus, ipse libertate solita se et sua nobis concessit tam liberaliter quam libenter vel sic, quod cum nuper positus esset in extremis, vel decessit, vel in mortis articulo constitutus, talia bona ecclesiae nostre testamento ligavit, vel sic voluntate concessit, vel in elemosinam erogavit. Dum igitur vestra fidelitas meruit omnibus bonis nostris gaudere, vel sic cum igitur in vobis^a tantam fidelitatem, vel tante fidelitatis copiam invenimus, quod bonis nostris perfrui sive vobis munimine <corroborare>debeamus, dilectionem, vel fidelitatem vestram, vel fraternitatem vestram requirimus, vel duximus requirendam, quatenus si necessitas nobis ingruerit, nostrum requiritis auxilium et iuvamen, vel nostra non tantummodo requiratis, sed accipiatis tamquam confidenter, vel sic quatenus nullatenus agatis, dum nos videritis habundare, dignum est enim, ut ipsorum una sit copia, unus census, quorum unus est animus, vel cor unum, vel sic quatenus de nobis minime diffidentes, res vestras non alienas sed tamquam proprias reputantes, ad nos cum vobis necesse fuerit recurratis.

^a vobis] nobis V

It is a collection of formulas to be used at an appropriate time and occasion. The virtual correspondent of this letter should be a king, a duke, a count or a captain, as clearly stated in the last sentence of the letter (et hec omnia possunt ducibus, comitibus, et militibus faciliter adaptari).

A short thanksgiving section opens the letter, which expresses the addresser's gratitude to God, who allows kings (reges) to govern. A long body of the letter follows, which includes formulas explaining the letter's purpose: a) it should be communicated by writing (duximus ascribendum, et debet ascribi, vel tenemur ascribere) that the addresser's humility (nostra humilitas) has defeated the enemies thanks to the grace of God (eius gracia); b) the addressee (vestra dilectio or fidelitas or fraternitas) should know that a king invaded the sender's land (terra nostra), or province (provincia) or kingdom (regnum). A variety of possible consequences follow: the enemies have been expelled (eiecimus, vel expulimus, vel fugavimus) or the sender's people have been oppressed (infestare vel molestare). Then formulas of gaudium for the loyalty of the addressee has been included ("or thus we have found such a great expression of loyalty in you that our joy should be totally declared and not hidden," vel sic cum igitur tante fidelitatis copiam in vobis invenerimus, quod nostrum gaudium ymo tocius patere, latere non debeat). A variety of formulas concerning the offer of aid (auxilium iuvamen or consilium) follow.

V: fol. 27r
Unedited

Illi per quem reges regunt et regnant grates referimus copiosas, vel referre non sufficimus copiosas, qui summe meritis nostris nomen regium exaltavit in tantum, ut quibus nos preesse contulit, eisdem voluit et prodesse, vel sic non regie potestatis sed illius glorie, cui propositum est misereri semper et parcere dignum, duximus ascribendum, et debet ascribi, vel tenemur ascribere, quod eius gracia mediante colla inimicorum nostrorum, vel superbiam, nostra humilitas debellavit, vel sic quanto maior potestas vobis ab illo, cui summe gubernari regnareque desuper est concessa, tanto humiliter tenemur eidem ac devocius famulari. Quis enim viventium posset eius misericordiam estimare, qui non merita nostra sed humilis plebis preces respiciens inimicorum nostrorum seviciam in subicientibus se tamquam murum^a defensionis apposuit et *in manu forti et in brachio excelso ipsorum maliciam*^{b/xxiv} debellavit vel expugnavit. Sane vestra dilectio sciat si fidelitas vel fraternitas, quod cum talis rex nuper cum maximo exercitu, vel cum magna potencia, vel cum inestimabili comitatu in terram nostram, vel in provinciam nostram, vel invasisset, vel in regnum nostrum^c insultum fecisset, vel nostram provinciam invasisset, vel regni nostri fines vel terminos violenter intrasset. Nos sub eius fiducia, que solet humiles exaltare eiecimus,

^a murum] omirum V

^b maliciam] malo a. c. V

^c in regnum nostrum] regni nostri fines in regnum nostrum a. c. V

vel expulimus, vel fugavimus inimicos, vel sic quod cum tali manu non modica terram nostram violenter ingrediens homines nostros graviter infestaret,^a vel molestaret nos eorum gravamini consulentes extra fines nostros fugavimus inimicos sibi redentes^b pro meritis talionem, vel quod cum talem audivimus terris et hominibus nostris ausu temerario violenciam sensisse. Nos de iure nostro non modicum confidentes terram et heredes nostros laboravimus defensare, quod inimicis nostris in vituperium et confusionem vertitur et nobis et amicis nostris in laudem pariter^c et honorem vel sic, quod sicut credimus inimici nostri attemptare de cetero talia non presument. Cum igitur vestra fidelitas serenitati nostre tamdiu serviverit, vel sic cum igitur tante fidelitatis copiam in vobis invenerimus, quod nostrum gaudium ymo tocius patere, latere non debeat vos et vestros familiaritatem et amiciciam, vel dilectionem vestram rogamus, vel requirimus vel dignum duximus requirendam, quatenus quociens cumque neccesse habueritis regium requiratis consilium vel iuvamen vel sic quatenus de nobis minime diffidentes res nostras tamquam vestras proprias virorum convertatis commodum et honorem, sic vel quatenus in omnibus neccessitatibus vestris ad nostrum confugiatis auxilium confidenter scituri pro certo, quod animam nostram fidelitatis vestre memoriam non relinquet, vel scituri pro certo, quod commodum et honorem vestrum pro viribus nostris studebimus promovere, vel sic scituri quod labora vestro tenebimur grata vicissitudine respondere, vel sic scituri, quod fidelitatis vestre inmemores esse non potuerimus dum nobis fuerit vita comes. Et hec omnia possunt ducibus, comitibus et militibus faciliter adaptari.

71

It is a collection of formulas to be used at an appropriate time and occasion. The virtual addresser rejoyses because his/her protégé that was afflicted by poverty (paupertatis) or by the debts (honere debitorum) or several sufferences, fortunately has been elected (electus), or called (vocatus), or employed (assumptus) or promoted (promotus) as prior, abbos, provost or bishop.

V: fol. 27v

Unedited

Audivimus et audiendo non potuimus non gaudere, vel sic igitur tum gerimus et acceptum, vel sic cessit dolor, cessit tristicia, et exultationis tempus accessit talis enim dilectus noster, qui tam diu fuit honore paupertatis oppressus vel debitorum vel diversis^d molestie oppressionibus fatigatus, nec dante Domino sicut audivimus, vel sicut nobis nuper litteris suis intimavit ab omni gaudet, tristicia, vel debito, vel tribulationis vinculo liberatus, vel

^a infestaret] infestavit *a. c. V*

^b sibi redentes] nostros sibi cedentes redentes *a. c. V*

^c pariter] nobis pariter *a. c. V*

^d diversis] diversio *V*

expeditus, vel sic quod talis dilectus noster, qui tanto tempore fortune sinistro flatibus, vel minis, vel flagello succubuit, nunc divina mediante gracia in seculo fortune vultu usum gratum vel desideria tamen invenit, vel sic quod talis dilectus noster talis loci in priorem, vel abbatem, vel prepositum vel episcopum, nuper fuit electus, vel vocatus, vel assumptus vel promotus.

72

It is a collection of formulas to be used at an appropriate time and occasion. It contains a large section relating gaudium formulas. The sender notifies (notifico) the addressee (vestra paternitas) his success because he knows that he will rejoy. There are several kind of notifications: a) a certain abbas hired the addresser as associate (socius), or intimate counsellor (collateralis), or table-companion (commensalis) or chaplain (cappellanus); b) a certain abbas gave the addresser a dowry (dos); c) a certain abbas gave to the addresser a gift (munus) d) the addressee can act as mediator with a certain abbas for the grant of a benefice (beneficium).

V: fols. 27v-28r
Unedited

Unde pater, benignitas, vel pietas me confidenter ad hoc inducit, ut nobis gaudium meum vel prosperitatem nunciem firmam spem habens et fiduciam, ut qui hactenus de dolore meo et adversitate doluistis de^a gaudio meo mihi benevolencia solita congaudere, vel sic quanto magis^b vobis benignitatis et amicitie semper inveni, vel sic quanto magis pietatem vestram de^c gaudio meo gaudere cognovi tanto libencius exultationem et promotionem meam, vel prosperitatem vobis proposui nunciare, vel declarare, vel explicare, vel sic si merita mea non sufficiunt in vobis causam tante benignitatis gratiam, vel favorem, vel copiam consuevi^d hactenus invenire, quod prosperitatis, vel eventus, vel successus mei vobis gaudium presentibus nunciare litteris dignum duxit hinc est, quod paternitati vestre notifico me apud talem abbatem tantam gratiam invenisse, quod me de novo in socium, vel collateralem, vel commensalem, vel capellanum suum assumpsit, vel vocavit, vel sic noverit itaque vestra paternitas, quod talis abbas mihi de novo talem dotem tribuit, vel concessit, vel largitus est tam liberaliter quam libenter. Cum igitur ipsum abbatem personam meam non diligere cognoscitis, vel sic cum igitur predictus abbas intuitu vestri munus mihi contulerit prelibatum, vel memoratum, vel antedictam paternitatis vestre benevolenciam omni qua possum cordis affecione requiro, vel deposco, vel exoro, vel flagito, vel sic benignitati vestre supplico, vel supplicare non sufficio, vel supplico quam possum, quatenus cum locus affuerit prefato abbati super beneficio mihi precibus vestris concesso, vel collato grates multimodas referatis, vel gratiarum dignemini multimodas acciones.

^a de] die a. c. V

^b magis] magis pietatum a. c. V

^c de] in a. c. V

^d consuevi] consevi V

By the wife of a lord, who gave birth to a unique daughter (nos et maritus noster karissimus ac filia nostra unica). The addresser intercedes for a citizen of Opava (Al. de Opavia) with her mother. After the conventional captatio benevolentiae section in which have been included thoughts toward the health and the wealth of the recipient and her family, the addressee is asked to act in favor of a man from Opava, who suffered pillage in the recipient's land (in terra vestra quidam de vestris comitibus). Thus the petitio has been formulated: the recipient is not considered as a powerless mistress (inpotens preceptrix) and she is deign to support the plundered man that will receive back all his robbed goods (ut ablata ex integro rehabeat). As a result, this man will be led to express gratitude to the addressee rather than sufference for the injustice endured (et regraciari vobis potius quam conqueri de tantis iniuriis amplius compellatur).

Pal., CDA: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: Anna, Kunhuta's mother.
Date (CDA): 1267.

V: fol. 28r
Ed.: Pal. n. 38, 281-282
CDA n. 109, 165-166

Miramur, mater et domina, qua excessuum commissione hoc apud vestram dilectionem demeruisse iudicemur, indignas vestra maternitas nos fecerit visitandi per suas litteras, quibus multum noster animus desiderat consolari. Gaudemus^a tamen, ut oportet, ex affectu caritatis debito, toto corde, toto animo, de universis vestris prosperitatibus et salute, si hec per divinam providenciam circa vos et vestros pro vestris desideriis prospere et salubriter disponuntur scientes, quod et nos et maritus noster karissimus ac filia nostra unica per divinam gratiam in ipsius laude pace tranquilla fruimur et salute. Et^b quia in omni plenitudine favoris, amoris et gracie prosecucione^c ex parte domini et mariti nostri karissimi gratulamur, omni parte nobis et vobis ac vestris precavere vellemus, ne huius oppositum evenire posset nobis quomodolibet incidenter. Ecce enim ex querimonia lacrimabili valde cognovimus presencium exhibitoris non ultimi civis^d karissimi domini et mariti nostri Al. de Opavia, quod in terra vestra quidam de vestris comitibus ipsum magnis et multis rebus ipsius spoliaverunt enormiter mobilibus et immobilibus, quas requirendo, quamvis magnas expensas fecerit, rehabere non potuit usque modo. Ad precavendum ergo ampliori malo, quod ex hoc posset succedere, hec gravamina deduci non permisimus ad noticiam nostri^e domini karissimi et mariti, sed existimavimus hoc posse per nostra monita apud vestram dilectionem, mater et domina karissima, pertractare supplicantes ex affectu vestre dominationi, quatenus vestre dilectionis et proprii vestri^f honoris causa, ne inpotens

^a gaudemus] gaudeamus V

^b et] est V

^c prosecucione] persecucione V

^d civis] cuius a. c. V

^e nostri] vestri V

^f vestri] vestri vestri V

preceptrix vestrorum iudicens,^a memorato Al civi sic adesse dignemini, ut ablata ex integro rehabeat, et regraciari vobis^b potius quam conqueri de tantis iniuriis amplius compellatur. Nos quoque de specialis caritatis gracia hoc materno largicionis pro munere gratuito semper gratanter memores volumus amplexari.

74

Queen Kunhuta donates perpetually an agricultural soil that can be cultivated (mansus), named in Czech lan, to the cella sancte Marie in Henrichow of the order of St. Benedectine. The queen is the patron of this monastery dedicated to Mary. The soil was onwed by her servant. In addition, the friars of the monastery should receive other four virgae (yardlands) to replace the part of the donated soil that cannot be cultivated. The donation is made for the remission of the queen's sins and those of her husband. Her chamberlain M. has been informed of this bestewal and the borders of this soil will be settled.

More on the subject (Ed. n. 62).

M.] Kunhuta's chamberlain Mstidruh z Chlumu, who detained his office in the years 1269-1272. Thus, this document should be have written between 1269-1272.

Palacký does not publish the *exordium* of this letter and defines it a "prolix arenga."

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: public.

Date: 1269-1272.

V: fol. 28rv

Ed.: partly edited, Pal. n. 96, 305-306

Reg.: RBM II n. 2486, 1069-1070

In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis, Chunegundis Dei gracia et cetera universis presentem paginam inspecturis ad rei memoriam sempiternam. Regalis magnificencie sublimitas ac regii sceptri dignitas temporali gloria fulgens quemadmodum^c largos et latissimos hactenus rivulos diviciarum ab eo verissime descendentes, cuius gloria et divicie eternales nec in finem habent, nec sencient detrimentum sic racionabiliter et iuste latitudinem continet pietatis, cuius largitatis munificencia egentes et paupertatis angustia laborantes, liberali animo locupletati maxime tamen eos, qui tunica mundarum rerum et sollicitudinum expoliati suavi sopore^d contemplationis quiescentes veluti in reclinatorio aureo Salomonis spiritualibus vacant amplexibus in ymitacione humilitatis sui videlicet redemptoris, ut oracionibus suis prosint et obtineant in mola vite active laborantibus huius

^a iudicens] iudicemini *Pal. CDA*

^b vobis] vel *V*

^c quemadmodum largos et ... Dominus non quiescit] *om. sed add. sequitur arenga prolixa Pal.*

^d sopore] odore *a. c. V*

mundi. Oratio enim veluti Hester ingredior non vocata vultui Domini pro peccatoribus assistens et dampnaticiis assidue sua veniam eciam plorans donec aspiciat altissimus non recedit et donec misireatur Dominus non quiescit.

Sane cum sit nemo super terram immunis^a a peccato ymitari debemus consilium veritatis, *qui docet nos facere amicos de mammona iniquitatis*^{xxv} et pauperibus spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum Dei emere, possidendum. Cum igitur habeamus cellam in Henrichowe ordinis sancti Benedicti nostra sub protectione gaudentem, redivibus quidem^b exiguum, sed veneracione dignam, in honore sancte Marie genitricis pie ac intemerate Virginis consecratam, in qua multi sanctorum patrum vitam heremiticam ducendum diutina fatigatione carnis sub cruce Christi, currentes alacriter et infatigabiliter honus Domini baiolantes celo spiritum reddiderunt, ne inibi nostris temporibus ob victus penuriam^c rigor et vita deperat monastice discipline, locusque sic sanctissimus desoletur, nec non virtus caritatis seu hospitalitatis, que transeuntibus hospicibus et miserabilibus personis ac infirmis ad eam commigrantibus exhibetur, totaliter extingatur, de nostre liberalitatis munificencia nostrique regis speciali gracia et consensu favorabili unum mansum, qui vulgariter lan dicitur, quem Pribeo quondam noster serviens possedit, et insuper quatuor virgas pro supplemento locorum inarabilium in predicto manso incidencium computatas et eidem adiuctas prefate^d celle donavimus et fratribus ibidem Deo famulantibus, pro remedio nostrorum et dilecti mariti nostri serenissimi regis Bohemie peccaminum concessimus iure perpetuo possidendum. Sperantes quod ille cum venerit nobis reddere debeat, qui sibi nos dedisse testabitur, quod <in> suis minimis^e contulimus et manu porreximus liberali. Porro in evidens^f nostre concessionis seu donacionis argumentum M. nostro camerario precepimus, quatenus predictum mansum et que ad ipsum pertinent eis secundum patrie consuetudinem circuiret et agrorum limites signis conterminalibus^{g/xxvi} connotaret. Ut igitur nostra donacio firma perpetuis temporibus et inconvulsa permaneat, nos super hoc presens scriptum eidem celle supradicte dedimus et illud sigilli nostri appensione iussimus communiri. Testes huius facti sunt actum.^h

75

Queen Kunhuta restores for a female monastery dedicated to Mary M. the hereditary rights over an estate in Görlitz.

^aimmunis] inminis a. c. V

^bquidem] pridem V

^cpenuriam] pecuniariam V

^dprefate] profate V

^eminimis] nummis V

^fin evidens] me videns V

^gconterminalibus] conterminabilibus V

^hactum] etc. actum etc. Pal. RBM II

Palacký replaced the German Görlitz with the name of the Moravian town *Porlize* (Pohořelice). On the contrary, the *lectio Gorlizc* has been accepted by Kölher and Doehler, who included this letter in their collection of documents on the history of the Saxon Upper-Lusatia. Furthermore in the Czech edition the preposition *in* takes the place of the manuscript *lectio M* (Marienthal in CDSL). Kölher explains his editorial decisions in “Der Nonnen Haus zu Görlitz,” *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 26 (1849): 288-291.

It has been found that the diploma has been preserved in the archive of the monastery of St. Mary in Brno (CDB V/II n. 581, 267-268). According to it (Poděbrady, 1 March 1269), the female monastery of the Virgin Mary is located in Brno and it is granted of the restoration of the hereditary property rights over an estate in Pohořelice. The queen was granted of the *ius advocatiae* over this Marian monastery by her husband in 1269 (RBM II n. 635, 248). In the present edition the documentary literariness of the text has been kept and the toponyms have not been corrected. Form documents very often based on authentic material and changed their model by omitting or replacing concrete details.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: public.
Date (CDLS I, Doehler): 1261-1278.
Probably after 1269.

V: fols. 28v-29r

Ed.: partly edited, Pal. n. 97, 306

CDLS I n. 53, 84-86

Reg.: Doehler n. 11a, 11

Diplomatic tradition: CDB V/II n. 581, 267-268; Reg: RBM II n. 635, 249; CDM IV n. 19, 24

In nomine Domini amen.^a Nos Chunegundis Dei gracia et cetera.^b

Omnibus presencium noticiam habituris tam viventibus^c quam victuris ad rei memoriam sempiternam. Ne noverca memorie oblivio suis habeat votis locum, humana providit ratio temporalibus gestis quibuslibet in testimonium sequacibus per^d certa subvenire remedia scripturarum. Hinc est, quod nos deodicatis^e dominabus domus sancte Marie M.^f t<alis> l<oci>^g curiam quandam sitam in Gorlizc^h foro nostro, dominio videlicet marchionatus nostri in Moravia, quam fundator domus eiusdem de licencia et favoris plenitudine atque confirmatione tunc regie maiestatis contulerat dicto loco, quod et data privilegia super hoc clarius manifestant. Nostris quoque temporibus per pravorum odiosam suggestionem turbabantur in eadem curia dicte domine. Nos inquam ipsarum indemnitatibus premissis in

^a in nomine Domini amen] *om.* CDB V/II CDM IV

^b et cetera] Boemie regina ducissa Austrie et Stirie et marchionissa Moravie CDB V/II CDM IV

^c tam viventibus] *om.* V Pal. CDLS I: integravi ex CDB V/II atque CDM IV

^d per] propter V Pal.: correxi ex CDB V/II atque CDM IV

^e deodicatis] id ex dicatis V, Deo dicatis Pal.: correxi ex CDB V/II atque CDM IV

^f M] in Pal. CDB V/II CDM IV, Marienthal CDLS I

^g talis loci] Brunna CDB V/II CDM IV

^h Gorlizc] Porlize Pal., Pohorlich CDB V/II, Pohorlicz CDM IV

futurum succurrere provide discernentes,^a in exemplum nostris sequacibus augendi potius quam minuendi ea, que Dei sunt, memoratam curiam collatam, ut dictum est, et confirmatam per nostros predecessores de consensu voluntario et favorabili benivolentia domini et mariti nostri karissimi Othakari, illustris Bohemie regis quinti,^b cum omnibus^c ad eandem curiam pertinentibus et cum omnibus bonis campestribus et domesticis,^d mobilibus atque immobilibus, que ablata ipsis fuerant in eadem curia, et nos restituimus ac restituta eidem domui iure hereditario de regalis munificencie liberalitate^e libere contulimus perpetuo possidendam huius scripti^f testimonio^g et^h virtute ipsis dantes liberrimam optionem sepe dictam curiam pro maiori commodo, profectu et utilitate dicte domus vendendi, bona eadem commutandi, obligandi, sive aliudⁱ quidlibet faciendi de bonis eisdem,^j quod sibi tunc viderint expedire, habentes spem firmam et fiduciam certam divinitus hac mercacione temporalium celestia debere pacis et gaudii remedio percipere sempiterno una cum domino et marito^k karissimo et nostris heredibus dictarum dominarum precum^l et beneficiorum participacionibus quoadiute. Nullus igitur ex nunc nostrorum camerariorum,^m iudicum, preconum, seu quorumcunque officialium predictas dominas in eadem curia et omnibus attinenciis sibi molestare presumat requirendo exactiones aut tributa aliqua sive servicia seu etiam compellendo ibi ipsarum homines ad iudicia nostra contra observaciones ecclesiastice libertatis, quam ipsis et domui earum observari volumus et statuimus ab omnibus in vita nostra et post nos nostris posteris in exemplum et testimonium pacificum et quietum. In cuius rei memoriam et cautelam presens instrumentum dictis dominabus et domui ipsarum cum subnotatis testibusⁿ dari mandavimus sigilli nostri munimine roboratum. Testes autem hii sunt.^o
Actum et datum.^p

76

^a discernentes] decernentes *CDB V//II CDM IV*

^b regis quinti] regis quinti ducis Austrie et Stirie et marchionis Moravie *CDB V//II CDM IV*

^c omnibus] hominibus *CDB V//II CDM IV*

^d domesticis] domesticis atque *a. c. V*

^e liberalitate] libertate *V*, ubertate *CDLS I*

^f scripti] scripti scripti *a. c. V*

^g testimonio] testimonio etc. etc. *Pal.*

^h et virtutis ... testes autem hii sunt actum et datum] *om. Pal.*

ⁱ aliud] ad *CDLS I*

^j eisdem] eiusdem *CDLS I*

^k marito] marito nostro *CDB V//II CDM IV*

^l precum] precium *CDLS I*

^m ex nunc nostrorum camerariorum] camerariorum ex nunc *CDB V//II CDM IV*

ⁿ testibus] celestibus *V CDLS I*

^o sunt] sunt frater Zacharias confessor noster et frater Protiva ordinis fratrum Predicatorum, Mystidruh camerarius noster Domazlavs pincerna Chazlavs dapifer Wlastiborius marsalcus Benesius zudarius Gregorius subcamerarius, Iohannes subpincerna Otto subdapifer Bohuta submarsalcus et alii quam plures *CDB V//II CDM IV*

^p actum et datum] actum et datum in Podebrad per manum magistri Gotfridi, tunc nostri prothonotari, anno Domini MCCLXIX kalendis marci coronacionis nostre anno nono *CDB V//II CDM IV*

From a woman who is married (coniux decorata) to her mother (mater karissima). The addresser complains with the addressee because she does not show any affection towards her. As a result, the sender suffers deeply (cor scinditur in dolores) and feels as abandonaed by her mother (in exilio deputatam). The addresser is greatly appreciated by all the other relatives apart from her mother (filia sollempni, coniuge decorata, quam tota ipsius parentela in gloriam elevat et sublimat). Furthermore, her mother is very kind with all the other children (habetis ad alios pueros vestros et consaguineos evidencia tam favorabili cum effectu) and generous also with unknown people (benefacitis extraneis et ignotis); her public fame confirms it (fama publica vos coronet). The addresser was reproached for her puerility (nostram in hoc inprudenciam puerilem arguistis) and unjustly punished for it. The addresser implores her mother's piety and her love.

Pal., CDA: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: Anna, Kunhuta's mother.
Date (CDA): 1267.

V: fol. 57r
Ed.: Pal. n. 37, 281
CDA n. 108, 164-165

Merito filie cor scinditur in dolores, cum se videt materni affectus desiderabili gaudio desolatam. Ad instar eiusdem, domina et mater karissima, scisso corde tradimur in lamenta, et ad Dei misericordiam suspiria mittimus, lacrimas effundendo pro eo, quod nos videmur ex materna pietate vestra cadere in contemptum, consideratione habita in dilectionis respectum, quem habetis ad alios pueros vestros et consaguineos evidencia tam favorabili cum effectu, quod non dicimus invidendo, sed pocius infortuniorum nostrorum iniurias detestando, que eciam nos aliquando^a induxerunt, quod vobis pro dulcibus amara scripsimus, quibus tamen filialis amoris reverencia non consentit. Quid enim displicet materno affectui in filia sollempni, coniuge decorata, quam^b tota ipsius parentela in gloriam elevat et sublimat? Ach cogimur iterum maternas iniurias deplorare, quod nullum adhuc de affinitate nostra^c aliquibus beneficiis^d honorastis, ut saltem cognovissent vos matrem in nobis exule filia veneratam, cum tamen fama publica vos^e coronet, quod eciam benefacitis extraneis et ignotis. Dicamus ergo, hucusque nostram in hoc inprudenciam puerilem arguistis, sed hoc modo proiciatis, domina^f reverenda, pretendentes, quod modo adolevimus et vestras despectiones naribus sapimus ubertatis et nolite amplius contempnere vestram filiam exilio deputatam. Sed hoc possumus forte pocius ascribere culpe nostre, quam Deus in nobis exigit flagellari, quam quod materne dilectionis contemptum cum gravi contra nos lacrimarum discordia disputemus. Petentes, quatenus adhuc circa nos vestre pietatis viscera non tepescant, quia si secus fieret, cogeremur eligere vice versa, qui equo libramine filios et filias in se non despicit, confidentes qui^g eciam nos^a sperantes de sua gracia non dimittat.

^a aliquando] aliquando nos V

^b quam] quem Pal. CDA

^c nostra] nostri V Pal. CDA

^d beneficiis] beneficentiis V

^e vos] nos V

^f domina] domino V

^g qui] quod Pal.

77

Letter exchanged between female correspondents. They are relatives and suffer for the death of the King of Hungary (rex Ungarie). The addresser is the king's daughter (filia), the addressee his niece (neptis). The sender regrets that only rarely met her sister (the recipient's mother). Hence, the addressee should exhort her mother to visit the sender.

Pal.: addresser: Erzsébet of Hungary; addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

Date: (Pal.) 1270.

V: fol. 57v

Ed.: Pal. n. 34, 280

Lacrimosa doloris mesticia, qua sumus ex obitu karissimi domini et genitoris nostri regis Ungarie serenissimi felicis memorie, tu pro nepte et nos pro filia exorbate, pari compassionis perturbacione vulneravit intima cordis nostri et quod magis est nos peturbat,^b quod a primeva etate te et karissimam sororem nostram,^c matrem tuam, visitandi nobis non dedit copia facultatem. Unde petimus, karissima matertera, ut ad hoc nitaris efficacia diligenti,^d si possis inducere filiali exhortacione predictam sororem nostram, ut nos presenciali visitacione possemus invicem salutare, ad quod aspiramus toto desiderio cordis nostri, sperantes dilectio<ne> mutua similer nos^e teneri.

78

The addresser, the King of Hungary, is about to die and asks the recipient, who is called filius dulcissimus, to take care after his death of the Queen of Hungary and all the barones of the realm. The addressee should consider this request as the addresser's will (testamentum).

Pal.: addresser: Béla IV, King of Hungary; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

Date (Pal., RBM II): April, 1270.

V: fol. 57v

Ed.: Pal. n. 8, 268

RBM II n. 699, 271

^a nos] vos V

^b magis est nos peturbat] m. n. p. e. Pal.

^c nostram] vestram V

^d efficacia diligenti] efficacia diligenti si possis inducere efficacia diligenti V

^e nos] vos V

Cum, filii dulcissime, manus excelsi regis nos tam gravi tetigerit infirmitate, ut tributum extreme diei solvere debeamus, spem vivendi penitus renunciando, vestrum dulcem affectum et animum, quem erga nos semper habuistis et habere voluistis, presentibus petimus ex tota cordis intentione, quatenus si Domino invocante viam universe carnis in infirmitate presenti nos ingredi contigerit, nostram consortem karissimam, reginam Ungarie et filiam nostram dulcissimam, matrem vestram dilectissimam, ac omnes nostros^a barones, qui fuerunt perseverantes in fidelitate cum ad vos refugium habuerint, amplexu paterno recipiatis, consilium et auxilium oportuno tempore eisdem inpendentes, cum ad vestra confinia post nostrum decessum contigerit eosdem devenire, secundum vota mutue dilectionis sepius inter nos habita, sicut scitis, ut ex hoc facto noster animus in celesti paradyso simul coniungi et gaudiis eternis perfrui mereatur dominus, qui nos tam dulciter coniunxerat et beneficiis et obsequiis familiaribus inpensis per dilectionem inter nos habitam gloriatur. Predicta a vobis, dulcissime^b filii, petimus laborantes in lecto tamquam in ultimo testamento.

79

From a female addresser to his son in law called filius carus. She states that she learned from his letters that he is healthy and she rejoices for it. Furthermore, she urges his return. Her daughter, the addressee's wife, is suffering. She misses his presence. On the other hand, all these conquered by love are bound each other. As a result, their separation may lead her to death.

This epistle anticipates the series of love letters by the queen to her husband in which the return of the lover is persistently implored (see fols. 58-59, Ed. nos. 80, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90). See also the commentary part (Ed. n. 27).

Pal.: addresser: Anna, Queen Kunhuta's mother; addressee: King P. Otakar II.
Date: (Pal.) July 1270.

V: fols. 57v-58r
Ed.: Pal. n. 9, 269
CDA n. 149, 244
Reg.: RBM II n. 739, 287

Magno gaudio, magna consolacione, cor nostrum extollitur in leticia, quia vestri favoris et benivolencie gracia nos filialiter contemplando, visitacione litterarum vestrarum et nunciorum consolamini frequencia salutandi, pro quo vobis in plenum regraciari non possimus, fili kare, gaudentes super omnia de vestris prosperitatibus et salute, de quibus letamur tamquam de propriis teste Deo. Sciat eciam vestra dilectio, quod dilecta filia nostra,

^a nostros] vestros V

^b dulcissime] dulciter V

vestra coniux, per Dei gratiam convaluit aliquantum excepto hoc, quod in uno dolet latere et vestra visione una nobiscum expectat cum desiderio refoveri. Nos itaque considerantes animadversione vos vinctos^a amoris unione alterius ad alterum plenitudine sincera gaudere in mortem et mori, proinde iam amplius in gaudio nos delectat, super omnia supplicantes, ut pro amore eiusdem karissime vestre coniugis, nostre filie, nostre quoque dilectionis intuitu, hac vice vestram nobis desideratam presenciam quantocius offeratis.

80

The female addresser has not heard from her lover, who is a lord (dominatio vestra), for so long time that she fears about his safety. Her life depends totally on the recipient's health and success. For she requests ardently to visit her in person (nos dignemini vestre presencie maturacione) or through his letters (visitacionis litterarum vestrarum frequentia... frequentetis).

See chapter III (“Queen Kunhuta: a Nouvelle Heroine? Love, Letters, Frauenklage and the Trope of the Female Suffering”).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

V: fol. 58r

Ed.: Pal. n. 13, 270-271

Mendl n. 2, 10

Satis sumus exterrite, quod iam diu nichil de statu vestro et de salute vestri corporis nunciari nobis vidimus ex parte dominacionis vestre. Maxime cum post Deum in vestri^b solius salute et prosperitatibus nostra dependeat tota salus. Igitur diligende vestre dominacioni supplicandum duximus ex affectu, ut consolari nos dignemini vestre presencie maturacione, quam super omnia querimus, diligimus et complectimur grato munere karitatis, vel saltem visitacionis litterarum vestrarum frequentia in solamen suspensi gaudii nostri graciousius frequentetis.

81

The addresser asks that the addressee's religious order may pray for the safety of her family, i.e her husband and her beloved daughters (pro eodem quam pro nobis et nostris filiabus dilectis orandum constituere dignemini). The addressee's intercession prayers

^a vinctos] vincitas V

^b vestri] nostri V

should also secure the birth of a male son. Furthermore, she requires that a nun of the monastery of St. Clare in Prague may receive a special care.

Ordinis sancte Clare in Praga] The Order of St. Clare founded in Prague (1231) by the Přemyslid Princess Anežka (St. Agnes of Prague), daughter of Přemysl Otakar I.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: friar of the Minorite order.

V: fol. 58r

Ed.: Pal. n. 58, 289

Si, quod loquimur, continuis operum exhibicionibus demonstramus, iudicari nolumus de gloria nobis aliqua pro meritis ascribenda. Equidem quia semper a nostre primeve etatis^a intelligencia usque adhuc plus aliis religionum habitibus ordinem vestrum et religionem ampliori karitatis favore profitentes complexe summus toto corde, tota anima, dignis graciaram prosecucionibus. Ex premissis presumpcionem assumimus sine difficultate nos debere assequi, que videmur decenter petere ac honeste. Ecce enim, quia per Dei graciaram et dilectus dominus ac maritus noster est similiter zelator vestri ordinis graciosus, supplicandum vestre paternitati duximus, ut tam pro eodem quam pro nobis et nostris filiabus dilectis orandum constituere dignemini et ut prole sexus masculini dignas nos efficiat superne visitationis divina clemencia dedicere dignemini de vestra providencia, quibus vestrarum plantationum meritis in percipiendis donis, que suppliciter exquirimus conferendis vobis,^b dator celestis Dei filius misericorditer conplacetur. Petimus eciam, ut vestre paternitatis bonitas graciara sororem nostram dilectam ordinis sancte Clare in Praga reclusam propter nostra obsequia et nostrorum habere dignemini specialius recommissam.

82

By a ruler to his wife. He asks his wife to take under her protection H., son of the deceased Duke Henricus, that for a while he is gusted in the addresser's court (aliquando apud nos in nostra exstitit curi<a> constitutus). H. was especially recommended to the the sender by Duke H. (his father, pater suus) and also by the respectable archbishop W. (his paternal uncle, patruus suus). Thus, the addresser's wife should give him affection and care as he was their son (non aliter quam si filius noster esset).

H. filius domini Henrici ducis bone memorie] Henryk IV, son of Duke Henryk III of Wroclaw. According to Dolliner, Henryk IV may be also the addressee of a recommendation letter by King P. Otakar II for an unknown relative (*H. filius... clare*

^a etatis] etatis in ordinem vestrum et religionem a. c. V

^b vobis] nobis V

memorie noster consanguineus), student candidate in the city of Wrocław (Dolliner, *Codex epistolaris*, n. 41, 102-103). Henryk IV Probus (1273-1290), was son of Henryk III Duke of Wrocław. After his father's death in 1266, he was placed under the guardianship of his paternal uncle, the Archbishop Władysław of Salzburg. In 1267, Henryk was sent by his tutor to Prague to be raised at the court of King P. Ottokar II of Bohemia.

Dominum W. venerabilis talis loci archiepiscopus] Władysław, Duke of Wrocław, provost of Vyšehrad and chancellor of Bohemia (since 1255), archbishop of Salzburg (since 1265) and administrator of the diocese of Wrocław (1268-1270). For more information about him see Ed. n. 92.

Pal.: addresser: King P. Otakar II; addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

V: fol. 58r

Ed.: Pal. n. 22, 274

Noveritis, quod per Dei gratiam sani sumus, et in nostris negociis sive dispositionibus prosperamus. Et cum dominus H. filius domini^a Henrici ducis bone memorie, qui eciam aliquando apud nos in nostra exstitit curi<a> constitutus, nobis tam per patrem suum, quam eciam per patruum suum dominum W. venerabilis t<alis> l<oci> archiepiscopus sit specialiter recommissum et ex hoc eundem pertractari desideremus non aliter quam si filius noster esset, trahens generacionis originem ab utriusque, petimus cum affectu, ut quando ad vos venerit, ipsum omni favoris gracia et dilectionis sinceritate tamquam filium vestrum^b specialem prosequi debeatis, tanto favore et benivolencia pertractantes eundem, prout honorificum nobis fuerit pariter atque vobis, et quod nichilominus vobis proinde specialiter teneamur ad merita graciaram.

83

It is about the confirmation of several rights to the clergy of Klodzko (Clacensis provincie).

The province of Kłodzko (*Glacensis urbs*), today in the Polish Lower Silesian Voivodeship. According to the Czech chronicler Kosmas the existence of the *castellum Cladsco* would date back to 10th century. The county of Kłodzko was an historical administrative unit within Bohemia and only after the death of King P. Otakar II it was donated by Rudolf I of Habsburg to Henryk IV the Probus. For the history of the incorporation of Silesia in the Bohemian Crown see especially Marcin Pauk, Ewa Wólkiewicz, “The administrative structure of Silesia as a determinant of legal and constitutional cohesion (12th–15th century),” in *Cuius Regio? Ideological and Territorial Cohesion of the Historical Region of Silesia (c. 1000-2000)* vol. 1. *The Long Formation of the Region Silesia (c. 1000–1526)*,

^a domini] D. Pal.

^b vestrum] nostrum V

edited by Przemysław Wiszewski (Wrocław: Publishing House eBooki.com.pl, 2013), 79-81.

Pal.: addresser: unspecified; addressee: unspecified.

V: fol. 58r

Ed.: Pal. n. 95, 305

Reg.: RBM II n. 2352, 1022-1023

Cum universas ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas nostre dominationi subiectas regio volumus defensionis presidio in suis iuribus ac libertatibus^a confovere, volumus ut clerici Clacensis provincie, cuiuscunque ordinis sive^b conditionis fuerint, a iudicum, villicorum sive^c aliorum, quorumque angariarum molestiis esse debeant absoluti, et quod ipsis iura et libertates eorum iuxta canonicas sanctiones inviolabiliter observentur, nec quicquam contra ipsos attemptare^d presumat in preiudicium ecclesiastice libertatis. Sane eciam precipimus, nec^e aliquis iudicum nostrorum clericos provincie supradicte laborantes in extremis, vel eciam viam universe carnis ingressos rebus suis aliquatenus spoliare presumat, sive^f ipsorum infringere, que legaliter instituerint testamenta. Nichilominus statuentes, ut decimationes iuxta primam locationis institutionem ecclesiis fideliter persolvantur. Ceterum cum manum mitti in messem non deceat alienam, volumus et iubemus, ne aliquis iudicum nostrorum causas^g ad forum ecclesiasticum spectantes debeat iudicare, et <ad> spiritualia extendere aliquatenus manum suam. Si quis autem contra huiusmodi libertatis^h gratiam predicto clero concessam presumpseritⁱ contrarium attemptare, animadversione tam districta se noverit puniendum, ut sua correctio aliis transire valeat in exemplum.

84

Queen Kunhuta complains for her uncle's betrayal, King István V. She rejoyses because her husband escaped by the hands of the enemies and mourns the loss of many innocent people.

See the commentary part Ed. n. 27.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

^a libertatibus] libertatis V

^b sive] sine V, seu Pal. RBM II

^c sive] sine V, seu Pal. RBM II

^d attemptare] attemptant a. c. V

^e nec] ne Pal. RBM II

^f sive] sine V, seu Pal.

^g causas] ad causas V

^h libertatis] libertatus V

ⁱ presumpserit] presumpsit V

V: fol. 58v
Ed.: Pal. n. 17, 272
Mendl n. 3, 12-14
Meinert n. 7, 50

Semper in suspenso noster fuit animus de statu persone vestre ex relatione rumorum, quos nobis hactenus nunciastis, ita ut quod antea enigmatische credebamus, nunc ex ultima relatione scripti vestri cognoscimus evidenter, quod futurum, proch dolor verebamus. Dolemus enim et dolendo veremur intra nos verecunde, quod noster avunculus rex Stephannus, caro et sanguis noster, oblitus date fidei et prestiti tactis sacris^a iuramenti per^b se et per suos,^c pro se et pro suis, sic Deum minus veritus est, ut immunitis tendendo insidias, postquam in vobis exercere nequivit maliciam, exemplo erroris inflammatus potius quam correptus non nisi celitus per Dei^d providenciam prenuncio prophético, inpotentes agressus est sanguinem proch dolor innoxium effundendo. Letamur et ingemimus diversis respectibus ex^e premissis. Letamur equidem, quod immunitum, iustum et insontem Dei^f providencia de manu vos erroris alterius eripuit et ingemimus non inmerito, quod immunes et mortis inconscii in gladio sub pacis specie^g ceciderunt, quorum mors quia sancta est, ut credimus. Grates altissimo plene referre neque scimus, neque poterimus quamdiu vivimus, qui vestre puritatis innocenciam per suam clemenciam e manibus sic eripuit impiorum. Nos itaque vivendo nobis vivere non videmur, quasi desperantes humanitus, nisi concedatur nobis divinitus diebus nostris gracia vos videndi, propter quod sicut scripsistis nobis in Moraviam vel Austriam nos expedire^h quando nobis mandaretis. Dicimus, quod videndo vos commori vobis vellemus potius quam in amaritudine deffectus vestri vivere, sicut vivimus in presenti. Placeat igitur dominationi vestre orbatam omnis gaudii solamine vestre presencie preferencia consolari si ut diximus vivere diligitis semivivam.

85

Female addresser lamenting for the absence of her husband, who is a lord (dominatio). She asks for his return. Thought their children give her confort, only the presence of her husband can console her. For she inquires him to take care of himself and do not never enter in person into any city fortifications or camps (nuncquam ad aliquas municiones civitatum seu castrorum in propria persona accedatis).

—

^a sacris] sacri V

^b per...suos] om. Meinert

^c suos] suis V

^d Dei] divinam Pal. Meinert

^e ex] de Meinert

^f Dei] divinam Pal. Meinert

^g specie] spe Meinert

^h expedire] expediremus Pal. Meinert

See chapter III (“Queen Kunhuta: a Nouvelle Heroine? Love, Letters, Frauenklage and the Trope of the Female Suffering”).

Pal.: addresser: Beatrix, wife of the Margrave Otto III of Brandenburg and P. Otakar’s sister; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

Date: (Pal.) 1270.

V: fol. 58v

Ed.: Pal. n. 6, 267

Mendl n. 5, 18-22

Meinert n. 7, 51

CDBR n. 40, 105-106

Scriptis et mandavit nobis vestra dilectio, consolando nos, persuadendo et rogando, ne turbaremur multum, attendentes accionis sive expeditionis vestre iuste causam,^a et revera, quia iusta est, tanto amplius maiorem dolorem nobis inportat animi,^b certo^c nos exemplo poetico edocente: *que venit indigne*^{xxvii} et cetera. Veruntamen, sicut mandastis, quia vestris semper obedire mandatis tenemur^d per omnia, firme^e quoque^f roboratum in hoc est cor nostrum, ut placita vobis nobis placeant et displiceant^g per omnia, que sunt vestris voluntatibus aliena. Igitur non nostri, sed vestri consolatione consolamur, que non reputamus nos aliquid sine vobis, sola enim et unica post Deum^h spes et salus in vestro vivere nobis datur. Si igitur nos vivere vultis etⁱ consolari, sicut precipitis,^j petimus,^k quod et antea petivimus, munus nobis dari, quod datum^l vitam nobis tribuet, negatum diminuet esse nostrum, quod videlicet nuncquam ad aliquas munitiones^m civitatum seuⁿ castrorum in propria persona accedatis, periculosus enim est impulsus insperate veniens^o sagittarum. Tunc enim consolari poterimus, ut credimus aliquantum, si certas nos reddiderit vestra dilectio talis doni. Diminuta quoque amaritudine cordis, lib<e>riore^p mente, que ad hoc requiritur ac intentione devota, fixa cordis dulcedine celitus, tanto^q amplius pro vestris prosperitatibus et salute orare poterimus suffragandum auxilium vobis Dei,^r cuius misericordia iustos

^a iuste causam] iusticiam *Meinert*

^b maiorem dolorem nobis inportat animi] maior dolor nostrum penetrat animum *Meinert*

^c certo] vere *Meinert*

^d tenemur] tenemur iam *Pal. Meinert CDBR*

^e firme] firmiter *Meinert*

^f quoque] quoniam *Meinert*

^g displiceant] discipline aut *V*

^h Deum] dominum *Pal. CDBR*

ⁱ et] *add. sup. l. V*

^j precipitis] scripsistis *Meinert*

^k petimus] peti *V*

^l datum] data *a. c. V*

^m ad aliquas munitiones] ad aliquam munitionem *Pal. Meinert CDBR*

ⁿ seu] sive *Pal.*

^o veniens] venencium *Pal. Meiner*

^p liberiore] liberiori *V Mendl*

^q tanto] tanta *V*

^r Dei] domini *Meinert*

confovet, rebelles exprimit,^a inplorabimus diligencia pervigili. Et super hoc devotorum fidelium undique pro vobis adiuvari^b precibus et persuasionibus sollicitis insistemus. Etsi per divinam providenciam sufficienter dotate sumus^c dono puerorum super terram, quibus consolari possemus iudicio populari, videmur^d tamen, super quo altissimum testem inducimus respective, nichil habere gaudii seu leticie nostrum animum consolantis, si salutis vestri corporis nobis consolacio non adesset.^e Igitur tristari semper nos oportet non ab re nec immerito, processum vestrum, quamvis accionis et cause iuste sit, cordetenus revolventes. Est enim dolor amarissimus pati dolores et afflictiones inmeritas, nisi quod proinde datur meritum salutare, hac a<n>madversione consolatur noster animus aliquantum. Unde teste Dei filio, cum in vestra salute constet nostrum vivere, multis casibus circumscriptum,^f supplicandum vestre dilectioni et dominationi duximus omni fiducia: quatenus advertentes, quanta salus et quod vivencium quasi vestro vivere dependeat, propter Deum^g et amore^h vestre coniugis karissime, puerorum vestrorum, nostri et nostrorum, qui vestri sumus exaudire clamantes dignemini et cavere diligencius multifformes decipulas malignorum, et precipue, ne ad aliquas munitionesⁱ civitatum sive^j castrorum^k expugnandas personaliter accedatis. Sit enim vobis ante oculos cordis huius exempli poetici monumentum: *posset ab incauto mors tibi seva dari.*^{xxviii}

86

From a female addresser to her husband, who is a lord (dominatio). She thanks God because he has heard her prayers and her husband was saved (Gaudemus equidem, gaudent et nostri in suo salvati salvatore laudantes clementiam ... sic reductum restituit incolomem nostris votis). Anyway, she misses her presence and sends him their chamberlain M. in order to urge his return.

M.] Mstidruh z Chlumu, Kunhuta's chamberlain in the years 1269-1272.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

V: fol. 59r

Ed.: Pal. n. 18, 272-273

Mendl n. 4, 16-17

^a exprimit] deprimit *Meinert*

^b vobis adiuvari] nobis adunate *Meinert*

^c sumus] simus *V*

^d videmur] videmus *Meinert*

^e adesset] adest *Meinert*

^f circumscriptum] circumscriptis *V*

^g Deum] dominum *Meinert*

^h amore] amorem *Meinert*

ⁱ munitiones] municionis *Meinert*

^j sive] seu *Pal. Meinert*

^k castrorum] castrorum *Pal.*

Benedictus Dominus Deus, qui in se sperantes nuncquam deserit, et in nobis sibi suppliciter instantibus suam misericordiam adimplevit, vestram innocenciam graciose de manibus eripiens iniquorum. Iam enim amplius additur sperare nobis, ut qui cepit per suam magnificenciam, salvando innoxios, in rebelles sibi^a vindictam addiciet ulciscendo. Gaudemus equidem, gaudent et nostri in suo salvati Salvatore^b laudantes clementiam, que in gremio suorum fidelium sicut elongaverat, sic reductum restituit incolomem nostris votis. Expectare vix valentes, ut quasi pene deplanctum, cum viderint, quod desiderant, visionis solatio et utinam breviter nostri oculi depascantur. Igitur in occursum et obviam vestre receptionis cum plenitudine desiderii vos videndi,^c si nequimus, sicut sperabamus presencialiter, vestrum et nostrum M. camerarium mittimus, leto^d dolore et tristi gaudio invitantes, ut ad nos veniendo quantocius dominationis vestre quasi iam primum renata presenciam, obiecta carnis visui, in mente cum augmento refulgeat hec eadem omnis nostri solacii reparatrix.

87

From a female addresser, who is the wife of a king (dominatio) named O. She informs her husband about his kingdom's prosperity and the good health condition of their children and her mother. She misses him and requests his return.

See chapter III (“Queen Kunhuta: a Nouvelle Heroine? Love, Letters, Frauenklage and the Trope of the Female Suffering”).

O.] P. Otakar II, King of Bohemia (1253-1278).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

V: fol. 59r

Ed.: Pal. n. 20, 273

Mendl n. 1, 8-9

Dominationi vestre in gaudium et consolacionem successivam continuando scribimus et significamus, quod non solum per Dei graciā in vestra^e <absencia> existit bonus status regni nostri,^f sed quod amplius est, sane sumus cum dilectis filiabus nostris et matre nostra karissima, optantes vestre dileccioni id ipsum tota fide, toto animo succedere prospere pro vestris beneplacitis omni parte. Et quia post Deum, qui solus dat et aufert vivere, desiderii anime nostre in vobis conplacuit, optamus super omnia, requirimus et vociferamus: veniat

^a sibi] sibi sibi V

^b Salvatore] Salvatoris V

^c videndi] vivendi Mendl

^d leto] lecto V

^e vestra] nostra V

^f nostri] vestri Pal. Mendl

O., ubi nunc est grata presencia consolantis? Suppliciter Dei clemencia, que omnia tribuit incessabili voce postulantes, exhortantes suspiriis videlicet,^a ut et cuncta prospera, votis vestris placita affluere faciat de plenitudine multitudinis doni sui et reducat vos^b pace et salute comite quantocius, quem desideramus, quo super omnia anxia cupimus refoveri O., si videre merebimur, quem requirimus. Veniat gratissima presencia, ut repletus mole mesticie fluctuans noster animus vivifici gaudi viso, quem voluit, refloreat mirifice renovatus.

88

From a female addresser to her husband. She is grateful for his letters (continuas vestre dileccioni grates referimus de visitacione, qua per litteras vestras consolamur) and rejoices for his good health condition and his successful activities (de omnibus vestris successibus prosperis et precipue de sanitate corporis). She also assures that he will protect himself against unexpected events that may harm him. Her husband asked her to be ready to meet him in person and to be consoled by his presence (et quia mandastis nobis, ut parate simus ad veniendum consolari in vestra presencia). As a result, she can barely wait the day until he will come (expectare diem vix possumus).

See chapter III (“Queen Kunhuta: a Nouvelle Heroine? Love, Letters, Frauenklage and the Trope of the Female Suffering”).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

V: fol. 59v

Ed.: Pal. n. 15, 271

Mendl n.10, 32-33

Continuas^c vestre dileccioni grates referimus de visitacione, qua per litteras vestras consolamur, gaudentes inmensum pleno cordis affectu, cuius gaudi testis est Dominus, de omnibus vestris successibus prosperis et precipue de sanitate corporis, cui Dominus ad sua ministeria perficienda laudabiliter addat gratiam fortitudinis et virtutis. Nos quoque quasi dicere non audemus, an omnibus affectibus deprecamur Dominum, ut pro vestre voluntatis desideriiis agendorum vestrorum concedat exitibus bonum finem. Hoc semper in continua ammonitione vestre dileccioni inculcantes, ut cavere sit vobis cura a tradicionibus quibuslibet insperatis et inopinatis eventibus^d dampnose cedentibus in personam, quia post Deum multorum est salus hominum in eadem. Et quia mandastis nobis, ut parate simus ad veniendum consolari in vestra presencia cum magno desiderio expectare diem vix possumus, quo eciam vestri visione desideratissima refloreat noster animus ad videnda tanta

^a videlicet] multis *Pal. Mendl*

^b vos] nos *V*

^c continuas] continas *Pal.*

^d eventibus] tenentibus *V*

gaudia evocate. Optamus igitur sic continue clamantes ad Dominum: Domine, Domine, da ut vota nostra in premissis quantocius compleantur!

89

From a female addresser to her husband. Her persistent prayers for divine protection and guardianship, as she implores God to protect her husband. Her solace will be greater than her husband's joy knowing about his success.. She feels very grateful to him for his letters.

See chapter III (“Queen Kunhuta: a Nouvelle Heroine? Love, Letters, Frauenklage and the Trope of the Female Suffering”).

Pal.: addresser: Beatrix, wife of the Margrave Otto III of Brandenburg and P. Otakar's sister; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

V: fol. 59v

Ed.: Pal. n. 7, 268

Mendl n. 6, 24-25

Hoc est, quod optat anima nostra deprecando Dominum in suspiriis continuis et oracionum constancia pervigili, ut in vestre salutis refeccione plena reficiamur, que post Deum nos vivere sola facit. Equidem numquam tantum iocunditatis et gaudii provenire vobis posset ex vestris prosperitatibus, quantum ex relatione eorundem gaudiorum augetur vite nostre solacium, nec audire vellemus aliud in vita nostra, nisi vivere vos sanum^a ylariter et succedere vobis cuncta. Referentes immensas graciaram acciones vestre dilectioni, quod per^b huiusmodi relaciones nobis gratas nos consolamini vestris scriptis.

90

A female sender to her husband. Their faithfull people and the addresser delight in the prosperity of the recipient. The sender informs him of her good condition and that of their children. She also hopes that her prayers will be instrumental in bringing him back home and safe thanks to the divine mercy.

^a sanum] sa sanum V

^b per] pro V

See chapter III (“Queen Kunhuta: a Nouvelle Heroine? Love, Letters, Frauenklage and the Trope of the Female Suffering”).

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: King P. Otakar II.

V: fol. 59v

Ed.: Pal. n. 14, 271

Mendl n. 7, 26-27

Gaudemus, gaudent et vestri ac nostri fideles, glorificantes magnificenciam Iesu Christi, cuius donacione largiflua primum, quod super omnia magnificum estimamus, valere vos bene et eos, qui vobiscum sunt, et demum in vestris omnibus propositis salubriter prosperari. Nichil gracios, nichil consolabilius vite nostre curriculis expectantes. Quia non est, quod sustentet nostrum vivere, quam hoc ipsum, per quod et salus nobis additur corporis, et valemus per Dei graciam bene cum pueris nostris karissimis, desiderantes hoc solummodo, ut completis vestris desideriis in hac executione vestri propositi, vestram nobis quantocius presenciam et utinam salvam pro nostris votis divina regente gracia offeratis.

91

From a female sender to a member of a confraternity. She requests the intercession from the recipient for the protection of her husband and their children. The addressed religious order should also intercede before God so that he may grant the sender the birth of a male son.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: a member of a religious order.

V: fols. 59v-60r

Ed.: Pal. n. 65, 292

Commendante fama vite vestre tytulos, inclinavit cor nostrum contricio^a oracionumstrarum pro meritis subportari, propter quod specialem et familiarem nostrum presentem^b exhibitorem et ad vos nostro nomine peregrinantem transmittimus, ut nos vestris oracionibus recomittat. Cognita quoque et status et religionis vestre conditione, que omnino nobis ignota est, edocere nos sciat ad complectendum ampliori desiderio loci et religionis vestre habitum propositis animi iam conceptis. Verum quia confraternitati vestre et oracionibus in domo vestra, ut premisimus specialiter cupimus annotari misericorditer assit vestra reverencia nostris votis auditum nostris supplicacionibus^c favorabiliter applicando, ut videlicet cura sit vestris affectibus inpressa memoriter, inposita speciali oracione deprecandi Dominum pro salute nostra et nostri mariti karissimi et pueris nostris genitis et generandis et precipue, ut divinam per providenciam, cuius gracia et spei fomento fovemur et regimur masculini sexus proles nobis celitus concedatur. Cuius rei propositum si digne fuerimus meritisstrarum

^a contricio] contritione *Pal.*

^b presentem] presentium *Pal.*

^c supplicacionibus] supplicacionibus *V*

oracionum attingere^a amplioribus familiaritatis visitacionibus et favoris ac benefitorum gracia locum vestrum et vos nuncquam vestri inmemores gratuite prosequemur.

92

The sender suffers for the decease of his uncle, the archbishop W. The addresser informs the recipient, who is his nephew, that he will protect him and his land. This was requested by the recipient's father to the addresser before he died.

W.] Wladyslaw, archbishop of Salzburg since 1265 (see Ed. n. 82).

Pal.: addresser: King P. Otakar II; addressee: Henryk IV the Probus;
Hansiz: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: Henryk IV the Probus.
Date: (Pal., Hansiz) 1270.

V: fol. 60r
Ed.: Pal. n. 23, 274-275
Hansiz, 370

Quanta doloris amaritudine decessus domini W. venerabili archiepiscopi patris nostri, avunculi karissimi, qui ut audivimus, tali die in tali loco diem clausit extremum, respexit^b intima cordis nostri, solum ille cog<n>ovit, qui *inspector est cordium et omnium cognitor secretorum*.^{xxix} Sed quia inevitabilis est via mortis, ni<hi>l aliud nobis restat, nisi ut dolores nostros in eo consolemur, qui mestorum est consolator, et in cuius dispositione consistunt mors pariter^c atque vita. Et quoniam pater vester adhuc vivens, avunculus noster karissimus, vos et terram vestram nostre contuicioni commisit, dileccionem vestram scire volumus per presentes, quod vestram personam et terras vestras nostre defensionis presidio semper habere volumus reconmissas, cum promptitudinis benivolencia, intendendo ad omnia, que vestram promocionem pariter et defensionem sapere^d videbuntur.

93

To a female addressee, who is named dear mother (mater karissima). The sender is delighted that her/his brother is not anymore persecuted.

^a attingere] accingere V

^b respexit] replevit Hansiz Pal.

^c pariter] om. Hansiz

^d sapere] capere Hansiz

This letter seems to be linked to other letters included in the present edition (see Ed. nos. 19, 25, 26).

Pal.: addresser Queen Kunhuta; addressee: Maria, Queen of Hungary.
Date (CDA): 1270.

V: fol. 60r
Ed.: Pal. n. 44, 284
CDA n. 146, 241

Gaudere nos oportet, multiplicatis^a nobis gaudiorum solaciis, quibus vestris scriptis noster animus excitatur. Semper enim diligimus, nec desinemus diligere, ut audita sanitate vestra quocienscumque hoc fuerit, cordetenus consolemur. Sed ecce fortune succedente fastigio, qua victorem cognovimus existere karissimum fratrem nostrum de suis persecucionibus,^b amplius multiplicatur nobis non inmerito materia gaudiorum. Super qua relacione nobis, mater et domina, grates vobis referimus omnimodas ex affectu.

94

From a female sender, who is the wife of a lord (dilectus dominus et maritus noster) to a male addressee, who is married to one of the sender's relatives (nostra matertera). The addresser is grateful for the response letters received from the addressee. She informs him that her husband will be well disposed towards him and his family (wife and children).

This is the only one letter of the collection which is not separated by the previous one.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta, addressee: Heinrich, Duke of Bavaria.

V: fol. 60r
Ed.: Pal. n. 50, 286

Regraciamur multiplicibus accionibus vestre illustrationi, quod ad scripta nostra priora tam amabiliter, tam consolabiliter respondendo nobis rescribere voluistis. Pro quo magis speciali diligencia amplius esse volumus sollicite, quomodo promerendo hoc circa vos et nostram materteram karissimam, vestram coniugem ac vestros pueros, conplacere vobis per opera debeamus. Et quia scimus certissime, quod dilectus dominus et maritus noster omni bono motu et voluntate se disponit et exhibet convivere vobis placide et solaciari vobiscum.^c

^a multiplicatis] multiplicitatis *Pal.*

^b persecucionibus] persecutoribus *Pal.*

^c *Sq.*: Explicit opus magistri ac domini Boguslay

Queen's Kunhuta correspondence in Opava (1279-1281)

Appendix 1

This is the only one form document which belongs to the collection of the 'unknown author' (according to Novák's definition) linked to Queen Kunhuta. This instrumentum attests to the donation by the queen of a church dedicated to Virgin Mary to her chaplain B., who is rewarded for the service offered. The chaplain is also perpetually granted of two plots (duo lanei integri).

More on this letter in the chapter II of the Introduction (section called "On the traces of magister Bohuslav").

Ch.] Queen Kunhuta (ca. 1244/1245 - 9 Sept. 1285).

Dilectus capellanus noster B.] The *magister* Bohuslav.

Pal: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: public.

V: fols. 60r-61v

Ed.: Pal. n. 94, 304-305

Rubr.: Forma collacionis benefici

In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis amen. Nos Ch. Dei gracia regine Bohemie, omnibus in perpetuum. Cum labilis sit etas mortalium et de gestis ipsorum erronea sueverit calumpnia suboriri necesse est, ut ea, que ex beneplacito principum pro subditorum utilitatibus et con<modis> disponuntur, litterali memorie commendentur, que veritatis est indicium ac certitudinis argumentum. Inde est, quod scire volumus presencium quoslibet noticiam habituros, tam posteros quam modernos, quod consideratis gratis obsequiis et fidelibus, que dilectus capellanus noster B. nobis exhibuit et exhibet incessanter. Volentes quod^a ipsius^b serviciis nostre benivolencie consolationis munere respondere, et ut fidelium nostrorum^c ad obsequendum nobis fervencius animus accendatur ipsi ... ecclesiam talem in honore gloriose Virginis dedicatam, in qua ius habere dignoscimur patronatus, cum omnibus iuribus et pertinentibus ad eandem, quocunque nomine censeantur, conferimus et contulimus gracie perpetuo possidendam. Verum cum prefate dos ecclesie sit tenuis et exilis et reddituum eius quantitas admodum exigua videatur. Ecce zelo pietatis nos monente ac sacri pneumatis igniculo inflammante, ob spem retributionis eterne et donum incomparabilis divini premii gaudiorum, ac eciam propter merita prefati capellani nostri ... quibus nobis multipliciter studuit complacere, duos laneos integros ad dotem et in dotem ecclesie memorate annectendos duximus et attribuendos ab eodem ... suisque successoribus perpetualiter possidendos, predictorum laneorum hereditatem, que nostre serenitatis

^a volentes quod] volentesque *Pal.*

^b ipsius] ipsius nostris *a. c. V*

^c nostrorum] nostro *V*

possessio ante fuit, in patrimonium Iesu Christi libenter ac liberaliter convertentes. De habundantiori eciam favore et de gracia speciali nostreque benignitatis cumulo pleniori, universos eorundem laneorum possessores nunc et in evum libertatis solatio volumus congaudere, ita quod iidem a solutione census et steure liberi et immunes de certo existentes, ab exactionis cuiuslibet honere perpetuo sint exempti. Et ut hec universa et singula iam premissa iuxta continenciam sue forme robore firmitatis perpetue solidentur prefato... suisque successoribus presens instrumentum dari mandavimus nostri sigilli munimine roboratum. Testibus, qui presentibus aderant infra scriptis, qui sunt a. b. c. actum Prage anno domini millesimo duecentesimo et cetera.

Appendix 2

Through this document (instrumentum) Kunhuta, Queen of Bohemia and Lordess of Opave confirms that his husband, King P. Otakar II donated to his chaplain Ely a tenth of tholoneum (transportation toll on merchandise) and tribute (census) of the church in Hlupich (in Czech) - Głubczyce (in Polish). The document which testifies to this donation was given in Znoym through the hand of the king's protonotharies Arnoldus and Ulricus on 17th November 1259 (see CDB VI/I n. 204, 322; RBM II n. 238, 92). The queen grants the order of St. John the ius patronatus over the church in Hlupich. The master and friars of the order will receive a tenth of crops, a decimam septimam in toll and a tenth of the tribute (census).

It has been found that the diploma is held by the archive of the Grand Prior of Malta (sign. RM 151; see CDB VI/1, 177-178), 11 February 1281.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: public.

Date: (Pal., CDM VII) 1279.

V: fol. 80v

Ed.: Pal. n. 102, 313

CDM VII n. 143, 775

Diplomatic tradition: CDB VI /1 n. 130, 177-178; CDM IV n. 199, 264; Delaville, Cartulaire III n. 3738, 404; Schlesisches UB IV n. 404, 270. Reg.: Kopetzky, Regesten n. 130, 131; CDS VII 3 n. 1654, 3; RBM II n. 1267, 545.

Nos Ch. et cetera^a et domina terre^b Opavie^c universis^d scire cupimus^a per presentes, nos vidisse sigillitas^b in nulla parte viciatas literas in hec verba: nos Otthacarus, qui et Premizl,

^a et cetera] Boemie regina CDB VI/I CDM IV

^b domina terre] domina CDB VI/I CDM IV

^c Opavie] Opaviensis Pal. CDB VII

^d universis] universos CDB VI/I CDM IV

Dei gracia dominus regni Boemie, dux Austrie et marchio Moravie, scire volumus universos, quod nos accepta sufficienti caucione et testimonio honesto super eo, quod decima decime nostre thelonei et census ecclesie in Hlupcich attineat ex debito et de iure, ipsam decimam dilecto nobis cappellano Ely et suis successoribus confirmamus. In cuius rei testimonium sibi et ecclesie sue prescripte et suis successoribus presens instrumentum dari mandavimus, cum subnotatis testibus, sigilli nostri munimine roboratum. Teste: Benesius cammerarius noster, Milota frater eius, frater Paulus et^c frater Hermanus et alii quam plures. Actum et datum in Znoym per <manus> prothonotarium nostrorum Arnoldi et Ulrici magistrorum a. d. M CC LIX XV kal. decembris. Cum itaque^d prenotatus dominus noster et maritus karissimus^e honorabilibus viris magistro et fratribus hospitalis sancti Johannis^f de certa consciencia et consilio nostro, ius patronatus prescripte ecclesie^g iuste et racionabiliter contulerit^h perpetuo possidendum, nos prefatamⁱ decimam decime frugum, decimam septimam in tholoneo, et eciam decimam census nostri in prelibata civitate Hlupich, prefatis fratribus confirmamus, dantes ipsis presentes^j litteras sigilli nostri robore confirmatas.^k

Appendix 3

Queen Kunhuta Lordess of Opava donates goods and the hereditary rights above them to the lord H. de Wl., who was a faithfull dependent of Otakar. This donation is a reward for the service offered. It is not specified the place in which the goods are: "bona in...."

H. de Wl.] Herbord of Füllstein Bohušov (Bohušov in Czech) *dapifer* of the bishop Bruno of Olomouc, from whom he receives the twon of Bohušov (1275), RBM II n. 975, 399. In 1253, Herbort defended Osoblažsko from the attack of the prince Vladislav I. of Opoli. In 1263 he was lokator of the city Bruck an der Mur in Styria (Karl Gutkas, "Městská politika Přemysla Otakara II. v Rakousku a ve Štýrsku," in *Česko-rakouské vztahy ve 13. století: Rakousko (včetně Štýrska, Korutan a Kraňska) v projektu velké říše Přemysla Otakara II.: sborník příspěvků ze symposia konaného 26.-27. září 1996 ve Znojmě*, edited by Marie Blahová, Ivan Hlaváček [Praha: Rakouský kulturní institute, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 1998], 105. In the years 1265-1269 he was employed in Otakar II's administration

^a cupimus] *om. V Pal.: correxī ex CDB VI/I atque CDM IV*

^b sigillatas] sillitas *a. c. a. m. V*

^c et] *om. Pal.*

^d cum itaque] cum itaque que *V*

^e prenotatus ... karissimus] de plenitudine gracia specialis *CDB VI/I CDM IV*

^f Johannis] Johannis Jrlm *Pal. CDM VII, Johannis Iherosolimitani CDB VI/I CDM IV*

^g de certa ... ecclesie] ius patronatus prescripte ecclesie *CDB VI/I CDM IV*

^h contulerit] contulerimus *CDB VI/I CDM IV*

ⁱ nos prefatam] prefatam *CDB VI/I CDM IV*

^j presentes] presentas *V*

^k confirmatas] confirmatas testes sunt Zavissius noster purcravius de Gredz Wocko magister Wernherus et alii quam plures actum et datum in Hlupchizhc anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo octuagesimo primo tercio idus februarii *CDB VI/I, confirmatas testes sunt Zavissius [...] octuagesimo primo CDM IV*

as chief justice (zemský soudce) in Styria (Gerhard Pferschy, “Funkce a struktura panství Přemysla Otakara II. ve Štýrsku,” in *Česko-rakouské vztahy ve 13. století: Rakousko (včetně Štýrska, Korutan a Kraňska) v projektu velké říše Přemysla Otakara II.: sborník příspěvků ze symposia konaného 26.-27. září 1996 ve Znojmě*, edited by Marie Blahová, Ivan Hlaváček [Praha: Rakouský kulturní institut, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 1998], 51). In 1267 he led also a diplomatic mission to promote the canonization of St. Hedwig and the Czech-Silesian alliance (Pavel Kouřil, Dalibor Prix and Martin Wihoda, *Hrady českého Slezska*, [Brno: Archeologický Ústav Akad. Věd ČR, 2000], 431). He was mentioned last time as a witness in a charter by Nicholas I. Opava in 1288, and probably soon after he died.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta, addressee: Herbord von Füllstein (Herbort z Fulštejn).
Date (Pal., RBM II): 1279.

V: fol. 122r

Ed.: Pal. n. 103, 313

Reg.: RBM II n. 1199, 520

Ch. Dei gracia Boemie regina et domina terre Opavie omnibus in perpetuum. Cum res gesta propter varietates multimodas variosque rerum eventus, quibus humani generis memoria labilior et infirmior efficitur, scriptis autenticis utiliter annotetur: quicquid per nos recordacione dignum geritur, non solum labili umano testimonio, verum eciam litere vivacis argumento, dignum diximus commendandum. Ad noticiam igitur deferri volumus presencium et memoriam futurorum, quod dilecti fidelis nostri domini H. dominus de Wl. consideratis et attentis gratis serviciis, que nostro domino et marito karissimo felicis recordacionis principaliter exhibuit et nobis eciam per consequens exhibendo, habita sana cum fidelibus nostris deliberacione et matura, sibi et suis heredibus bona in ... cum villis ad ipsa pertinentibus videlicet ... et ... et cetera et aliis omnibus, videlicet silvis, pratis, campis, aquis, molendinis dedimus iure proprietario perpetuo possidenda. Promisimus, siquidem sibi et suis heredibus excipere eos et solutos omnino reddere et integraliter reformare, si talis vel talis cum fratribus suis vel alius^a quispiam eosdem in predictis bonis impedire vel impetere conaretur, volentes eciam eos defendere regulariter et tueri contra ipsorum quoslibet invasores et ut hec provida nostre serenitatis donacio plenior consequatur effectum, volumus et concedimus, ut quilibet successorum nostrorum predictos tueatur, sicut in presentibus continetur. In cuius et cetera.

Appendix 4

Kunhuta signs a truce in 1279 (?) with her first-cousin V. (Wladyslaw), who was Duke of Opole from 1246 till his death in 1281 (Opole was one of the three Duchies in which the Duchy of Silesia was split: Duchy of Wroclaw, Legnica and Opole). The Bohemian queen manages to defend her land by the attack of her first cousin and signs a peace agreement with him through the mediation of H. (Henryk IV the Probus), Duke of Wroclaw. She also

^a alius] aliis V

establishes that no one of the duke's milites will be allowed to construct a new town (novum castrum). If she wishes to construct new towns, they will be administrated by her milites.

V. inclito duce Opoliensi] Wladyslaw, Duke of Opole from 1246 till his death in 1281.

Dominum H. Wratislaviensem ducem] Henryk IV (the Probus), Duke of Wroclaw.

Mediante ipso duce Wr.] Henryk IV (the Probus), Duke of Wroclaw.

The attack to Opava can be explained in part as result of the rivalries that emerged in particular way in settlement near the borders of territories (here Moravia and Silesia). This attack can be explained also as result of the lords' attempt to take advantage of the turbulent period following the death of the Bohemian King, P. Otakar II (1278).

In 1260 Wladyslaw took part at the battle of Kressenbrunn againsts the Hungarians. Anyway in 1278 in the battle of Marchfeld he did not send troops in support of P. Otakar II. Besides, as proved by this document, after the death of the Bohemian King he attacked Opava probably trying to obtain it. Anyway, he was not successful because of the rapid normalization of the situation in Prague and the settle of the regency of the minor Václav II. In order to re-establish good relationships with the Bohemian crown, he participated to the congress of Vienna in 1280 together with Henryk the Probus with whom he made a new alliance.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta, addressee: Wladyslaw, Duke of Opole (Władysław Opolski).

Date (Pal., RBM II): 1279.

V: fol. 122v

Ed.: Pal. n. 104, 314

Reg.: RBM II n. 1196, 518

Noverint universi et singuli presentem paginam inspecturi, quod nos Ch Dei gracia et cetera post diversas et varias ordinaciones habitas cum compatre nostro karissimo domino V inclito duce Opoliensi, taliter ad concordie venimus unionem, quod ex nunc dictus compater noster, nec aliquis filiorum suorum seu baronum vel militum sibi subiectorum, nos et terram nostram non debent aliquatenus conturbare, sed potius eiusdem terre nostre, quemadmodum terre suimet, pro viribus fidelis debet esse gubernator. Et si quod absit, quispiam in nostro residens dominio, terram ipsius affecerit spoliis seu rapinis clandestinis vel apertis, quandocumque per nuncios dicti ducis ammonite fuerimus, de ipsis maleficis secundum terre nostre consuetudinem, <hic est> post terne citacionis edictum, quodlibet continens duas septimanas faciemus iusticie complementum. Si autem is, qui accusatus fuerit iuri pare<re>^a noluerit, ipso proscripto, quemadmodum ipse dux eum persequendum decreverit persequamur, et si municionibus propriis vel alienis se incluserit, iuri parere subterfugiens, tam ipse dux suis hominibus, quam eciam nos nostris hominibus ipsum debemus hostiliter inpu gnare. In super de ... sepedictus compater noster spon dicit, quod quarto die post recepcionem presencium, ubicunque cum nostro condixerit nuncio nobis circa metas terre utriusque nostrum faciet iusticie complementum, secundum quod principes ab eterno servare

^a parere] pare V

consueverunt. Omnes autem cause, que emergere videbantur ante festum pascatis, priusquam treuge per dominum H. Wratislaviensem ducem ponerentur inter nos et conpatrem nostrum sepius nominatum, mediante ipso duce Wr. inter nos et ipsum amicabiliter decidantur, nam ipsius arbitrio in premissis ex utraque parte nos decrevimus committendos. Ceterum ad robur amplioris firmitatis mutuo spondimus bona fide, quod nullus militum nostrorum, nec eciam ducis iam pretacti, castrum novum ex nunc construere permittetur, ut sic latronum insidiis eo melius obvietur. Nos autem, si placuerit, in dominio nostro, ubi voluerimus, construemus, sed illa nostris militibus debemus comittere gubernanda. Et id ipsum dux sepius adnotatus de castris novis, si qua facienda decreverit, cum suis omnibus filiis, sicut eciam et universa annota observabit. Demum neuter ex nobis proscriptum alterius in contemptum sui, postquam sufficienter intimatum fuerit, in suo morari dominio permitetur.^a Et ut hec omnia prehabita perhenniter maneant inconvulsa, presentem et cetera.

Appendix 5

Otto, who was entrusted of the tutorship of Václav II and nominated as Captain of the Bohemia signs an agreement with Queen Kunhuta. The Bohemian queen will receive an annual pension, i.e. one thousand marcas of silver and tenths for year. The intermediator is a bishop (i.e. the bishop of Prague Tobiáš z Bechyně). The document dates to 1281.

Otto Dei gracia Branderburgensis marchio] Otto V Margrave of Brandenburg (ca. 1246-1298). Son of Otto III of Brandenburg and Beatrix - Božena (1225-1290), P. Otakar II's sister.

dominus W.] Václav II (1271-1305), son of P. Otakar II and Queen Kunhuta and heir to the Czech throne.

Ch.] Queen Kunhuta (ca. 1244-1285).

Pal: addresser: Otto V Margrave of Brandenburg; addressee: public.

Date: (Pal., RBM II) ineunte 1281.

V: fol. 124r

Ed.: Pal. n. 106, 315

Reg.: RBM II n. 1227, 529-530

Rubr.: Compromissum

Nos Otto Dei gracia Branderburgensis marchio et illustris domini W. in regno Boemie tutor et capitaneus generalis, per scriptum presens ad universorum noticiam cupimus pervenire, quod circa inclitam dominam Ch. reginam Boemie magnificam, nostram materteram karissimam, favoris plenitudine estuantes, cum eadem solidioris dileccionis completivo

^a permitetur] permittat V

vinculo ad unionem et concordiam pervenimus in hunc modum, quod libenter ipsam^a tamquam neptem nobis dilectam volumus dileccionis brachiis amplexari et in promocionibus ipsius refluere sicut decet solito in amore. Insuper venerabile domino ... tali episcopo, necnon et talibus integraliter commisimus, in persona nostra ipsis dando plenariam potestatem, ut ipsi domine regine prefate mille marcas redditum in mansis debeant finaliter assignare, et hoc ubicunque inter ... et ... et etiam inter ... et ... prefati viri redditus prehabitos ex parte domini W. nos tangentes invenerint vel poterunt invenire. Si autem complete predictos redditus in terminis vel partibus prenotatis non poterunt invenire, tunc inter partes ... et ... assignabunt ipsi domine^b regine tot redditus, ut ei perfecte mille marcarum numerus compleatur, quos redditus ipsa possideat annuo pacifice et tranquille. Eo tamen addico, quod ipsi domine regine decimarum marcarum argenti redditus per personas premissas in moneta et toloneis etiam assignentur, ut sic mille marcas argenti et decimas ipsa domina^c regina percipiat annuatim. Ut autem istud per nos et per nostros quoslibet ipsi domine^d regine inviolabiliter observetur, presens scriptum desuper fieri et sigillo nostro iussimus communiri. Datum ... anno domini millesimo duecento octuagesimo primo kalende.

Appendix 6

It is the form document about the agreement (presentis compromissionis literas) made between Queen Kunhuta and Otto V Margrave of Brandenburg through the mediation of Th. (Tobiáš z Bechyně), the bishop of Prague. Otto is entrusted of the guardianship of Václav II, the future heir to the Bohemian throne. He is also elected as general Captain (capitaneus generalis) of Bohemia. Queen Kunhuta receives in turn a dowry (dotalicium) and a part of the Bohemian Kingdom (alia racione in regno predicto). The document is given in Prague.

Th. venerabilem pragensem episcopum] Tobiáš z Bechyně, the bishop of Prague (1278-1296).

Al.] Albert III (1250-1300), one of the brother of Otto V of Brandenburg.

Pal.: addresser: Queen Kunhuta; addressee: public.

Date: (Pal., RBM II) exeunte 1280.

V: fol. 124v

Ed.: Pal. n. 105, 314-315

Reg.: RBM II n. 1221, 528

^a ipsam] ipsum V

^b domine] D. Pal.

^c domina] D. Pal.

^d domine] D. Pal.

In nomine Domini amen.

Nos Ch. et cetera quod nos propter bonum pacis et plene concordie unionem, quam habere intendimus et volumus puro corde cum domino Othone inclito marchione brandeburgensi, qui gerit vices domini Al. marchionis brandeburgensis fratris sui, karissimi filii nostri Wenceslai, pupilli principis et domini regni Boemie, tutoris et capitanei generalis in regno predicto, de negociis et iuribus omnibus ad nos tam ratione dotalicii, quam alia ratione in regno predicto quocumque modo spectantibus, compromittimus bona et spontanea voluntate in reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum Th. venerabilem pragensem episcopum et cetera tenore presencium firmiter promittentes, quod quicquid predicti dominus episcopus et cetera tamquam arbitri, arbitratores, laudatores seu amicabile conpositores, inter nos et predictum marchionem Othonem arbitrandum duxerint laudando seu eciam componendo iuxta consilium et deliberacionem per barones et cives regni predicti habitam, inviolabiliter observare, dummodo per predictum marchionem Othonem domini episcopi et aliorum arbitrium laudum seu conposicio per predictos barones et cives adinventata nobis inviolabiliter observetur. Quod si forte a parte predicti marchionis Othonis predicta conposicio seu arbitrium per omnia inviolabiliter non servetur ad predicta, que promissimus seu ad servacionem predicti compromissi teneri nolumus aliquatenus vel arceri. Et ne de predictis posset in posterum dubitari, presentis compromissionis literas scribi mandavimus, sigilli nostri munimine roboratas.
Datum in Praga et cetera.

Appendix 7

Alfonso X, King of Castile, León and Galicia (1252-1284) asks Kunhuta, Queen of Bohemia to trust the knight Franciscus from Alba, his dear familiaris that will deliver a message on his behalf. The document provides information about place and date of issue (Seville, 1280).

In the protocol of this letter the Spanish King is called *Romanorum rex semper Augustus*, title associated with the Emperor. After the death of William II of Holland (1256), during the imperial election (1257) Alfonse was nominated as King of Romans by a dissident faction. His rival, Richard of Cornwall was crowned at Aachen in 1257. After Richard's death the prince-electors elected Rudolf I of Habsburg (1273). In 1275 he tried to convince the pope Gregory X to recognize him as Emperor but his imperial ambitions were not satisfied. He was declared deposed by the pope.

Pal: addresser: Alfonso X King of Castile, León and Galicia; addressee: Queen Kunhuta.
Date: 1280.

V: fol. 124v
Ed.: Pal. n. 108, 316
Reg: RBM II n. 1226, 529
RI V- 2, 4, 2135

Alfonsus Dei gracia Romanorum rex semper Augustus Castelle, Legionis, Toleti, Galicie, Sibilie, Cordube, Mursie, Gehenne, Algarbii rex, illustri domine Ch. regi<n>e Boemie, karissime affini sue salutem et omni<u>m augmenta bonorum. Mittentes ad presenciam vestram nobilem virum Franciscum de Alba militem dilectum familiarem nostrum, super hiis, que ad vestrum et nostrum redundant comodum et honorem, excellenciam vestram requirimus et rogamus attente, quatenus exposita vobis pro parte culminis nostri^a per ipsum indubitanter credere velitis^b si placet et prosequi cum effectum.
Datum Sibilie M° CC° LXXX.°

Appendix 8

Jacobus Contarenus, dogde of Venice (1275-1280) asks Queen Kunhuta, under Michael Buldo's request, inhabitant of Venice, to give an amount of money (duo leoni) to the friar Whalter, Bohemian lector of the minorite order.

Pal.: addresser: Jacobus Contarenus, dogde of Venice; addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

Date: 1280?

V: fol. 124v

Ed.: Pal. n.107, 316

Reg.: RBM II n.1202, 521

Excellenti et magnifice domine^c Ch. et cetera, Jacobus Contarenus eadem gracia dux Veneciarum, Dalmacie atque Croacie dominus quarte partis et dimidie totius imperii Romanie salutem et totius glorie incrementum. Cum vir nobilis Michael Buldu, noster civis dilectus, constituerit discretum et honestum virum fratrem Waltherum boemum lectorem de ordine Minorum ad petendum et exigendum ac recipiendum a vestra excellencia totam pecuniam, quam sibi pro leonibus duobus dare tenemini: excellenciam vestram attente rogamus, quatenus vobis placeat d<i>ctam pecuniam fratri Val. predicto procuratorio nomine ipsius nostri civis facere exhiberi. Ita quod excellencie regie cedat ad decus, et dictus fidelis possit inde esse contentus. Et nos id gratum habentes et placidum, ad grata vestre excellencie et placida vestris beneplacitis libencius intendamus.

Appendix 9

^a nostri] vestri V

^b velitis] velitis velitis V

^c domine] D. Pal.

The sender W. complains about the troubles he suffers because of the people of Queen Kunhuta's land. The sender urges the queen to come back to her land. He hopes that the queen's presence may solve this difficult situation.

W.] Pal. identifies the addresser with Duke Wladyslaw of Opole.

This letter seems to be linked to another one in the present edition (Ed. Appendix 4). Another document which belongs to the letter collection of the "unknown author" relates the Duchy of Opole; King P. Otakar II restores in Silesia the peace between Opole and Wroclaw by setting the borders between the two Duchies (Pal. n. 89, 300-301).

Pal.: addresser: Wladyslaw of Opole; addressee: Queen Kunhuta.

Date: (RBM II) 1279-1285.

V: fol. 124v

Ed.: Pal. n. 109, 316-317

Reg.: RBM II n. 1201, 520-521

Gloriosissime ac devotissime domine Ch. regine Boemie W. et cetera. Summa redemptoris altissimi providencia ideo latitudinem orbis singulorum dominancium imperio soiugavit, ut ab illatis excessibus sibi subiectos choerceant et tranquillitatem pacis^a ordinent terris suis. Et quia propter absenciam vestri, quam plurima gravamina pertulimus ab hominibus terre vestre, semper adventum vestrum cum singulari spe fuimus prestolati, credentes, quod vestra corporalis presenciam tranquillitatem et commodum tam vestre quam eciam terre nostre debeat ordinare. Ad quod vobis per omnes modos, quos possumus, dare volumus et opus et operam cum affectu. Petimus igitur^b cum instancia qualibet et affectu, quatenus hiis, que premisimus intendere velitis cum effectu, ut vestram presenciam nobis profuisse videamus.

Datum et cetera.

^a pacis] possunt V

^b igitur] eciam Pal.

Love letters

Appendix 10

A man to a woman.

V: fol. 13rv

Unedited

Non potest quidem amari quod quidem non intersit riamari, velud cor meum iugiter exprimitur quod post nostrum de Troia discessum, tanta cogitatione redundat, tanta callvaria curarum habundat,^a tanta per amoris ardentem caminum angustia cruciatur, quod sompnus insompnis, irrequieta quies et inappetentes appetitus me extenuant et adeo nimis^b talis vita mortificat corpus meum, quod timeo ne defungar. Nam pro facto, dulcissime domine, cum vestram figuram nequeam cominus intueri, eminus me e mentis acumine vos semper, qui *per speculum in enigmate contemplatur*^{xxx} et amoris violentia nimia mihi vestram effigiem in absentia representat. Quantumcumque veruntamen affligar propter ea, quantumcumque ardentem ymo ardentius vestrum reditum concupiscam, tanto^c queso devocius quod si vobis ex mora forsitan utilitas aut honor accedit vestrum commodum, quod reputo proprium meis desideriis prefatis et modernis temporibus, cordi nostro non habeat propositum redeundi.

Appendix 11

A man to a woman.

V: fols.16v-17r

Unedited

Licet iam dudum oculorum vestrorum radius, oris vestri sermo multifluus, honestatis mores et gestus, ac vestre stature per totum formata formositas, in amorem nostrum ardentem meum animum inflamasset. Cum vestram personam substanciam remirabar, quam Deus omnipotens et natura parens omnis pulchritudinis specie decorarunt, verendo tamen rem audere tam arduam et nostram personam non modicum reverendo in sepulchro pectoris, quamvis difficulter illud occultum portavi diucius, ut prius quam extra prorumperet amor exterius deleretur. Nunc autem ad cor meum accendens quidam amoris acutus stimulus, a vobis in vero procedens ignem absconditum in tantum incendium excitavit, quod penas penis addidit, et cruciatum cruciatibus geminavit, ita quod nequid a modo hoc velari silencio, quia necessitas valida cui resisti non potest, omnino vobis inperat revelari. Sciatis

^a habundat] habundet *a. c. a. m. V*

^b nimis] *add. in marg. a. m. V*

^c tanto] *add. in marg. a. m. V*

hoc igitur, sciatis et aliud quod nisi penarum mearum asperitas suavitate vestre gratie leniatur, cum in alio salutari non sperem, desperabo necessario de salute. Consideret itaque vestra pietas meam^a vulneris qualitatem, quod prorsus est incurabile per naturam nisi eadem causa sit vulneris et medele. Consideret eciam quid est quod absit in quandam infamie labem, labetur negocium si optate rei concessio detractetur et sic mihi vestri amoris non ingratham sed gratissimam gratiam alacriter concedatis.

Appendix 12

A man to a woman.

V: fol. 72v

Unedited

Stelle matutine numero pulcritudinis comparande nobilissime domine B. inter choros virginum mirifice radianti, atque morum elegancia undique radianti B. sinis quod in celo fulgeant sidera, tot devotiones salutiferas cum devotione vel obligatione perpetue servitutis, telo cupidinis graviter sauciatas, nullum iam sencio solaminis remedium nec video spem salutis nisi manus eadem faceret opem, que vulnus intulit patienti propterea occultum in pectore diutius telum gerens, nec valens ultra tolerare vulneris et dolorem illum non inpudenter detego, sed audac<i>ter a nobis postulata licencia detegendi nam quo magis tegitur eo forcius estuat ignis et frustra curam medicaminis expectat, qui non exorit vulnus suus. Nempe captatus vestre pulchritudi<ni>s ab aspectu, eam vel eum in animo meo voluens, ideo non sum quod fueram et nihil in me possum agnoscere praeter umbram, quod opere deficiens et sermone quibus mihi vestram possim pre cunctis desiderabilem gratiam vindicare. O qualis facies, qualis vultus, tocius corporis vestri forma. Quid enim a vertice usque ad plantas pedis aspicitur, nisi pulchrum ymo pulcherrimum, et ultra si ars concedere quartum gradum, capilli nempe deaurati per verticem^b diriguntur, frons leta nive candidior speculum est videndi, aquilini sunt oculi radiantes et quis illos poterit intueri et intuens, non stupescit nasus utpote fuit opus artificis non nature, genarum quoque colorem invidus, dispositio est rotunda. O beatus, qui habere merebitur illius tactu oris et utinam forem ille quid referam de osculo, cuius labia rubicunda cum aperiuntur sunt dulcia, ymo dulcissima in palatu.

Datum et cetera.

^a meam] mea V

^b verticem] verticom V

ⁱ Augustinus, "Contra Iulianum," liber tertius, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series latina, edited by Jacques Paul Migne, vol. 44 (Parisiis: Migne, 1841), col. 721: *Considera igitur, quam sit inscrutabilis altitudo iudiciorum sapientiae et scientiae Dei.*

ⁱⁱ Innocentius III, "Prima collectio decretalium," in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series latina, edited by Jacques Paul Migne, vol. 216 (Parisiis: Migne, 1855), cols. 1184C-1185A: *Praeterea nosse debueras quod fecit Deus duo magna luminaria in firmamento coeli, luminare maius ut praeesset diei, et luminare minus ut praeesset nocti, utrumque magnum, sed alterum maius, quia nomine coeli designatur Ecclesia, iuxta quod Veritas ait: Simile est regnum coelorum homini patrifamilias, qui summo mane conduxit operarios in vineam suam (Matth. XX). Per diem vero spiritualis accipitur, et per noctem carnalis, secundum propheticum testimonium: Dies diei eructat verbum, et nox nocti iudicat scientiam (Psal. XVIII) . Ad firmamentum igitur coeli, hoc est universalis Ecclesiae, fecit Deus duo luminaria magna, id est duas magnas instituit dignitates, quae sunt pontificalis auctoritas et regalis potestas. Sed illa quae praeest diebus, id est spiritualibus, maior est; quae vero noctibus, id est carnalibus, minor; ut quanta est inter solem et lunam, tanta inter pontifices et reges differentia cognoscatur. Hoc autem si prudenter attenderet imperatoria celsitudo, non faceret aut permetteret venerabilem fratrem patriarcham Constantinopolitanum, magnum quidem et honorabile membrum Ecclesiae, iuxta scabellum pedum suorum in sinistra parte sedere, cum alii reges et principes archiepiscopis et episcopis suis, sicut debent, reverenter assurgant et eis iuxta se honorabilem sedem assignent. Nam et piissimus Constantinus quantum honoris exhibuerit sacerdotibus, tua, sicut credimus, prudentia non ignorat. Nos autem, etsi non increpando scripserimus, potuissemus tamen rationabilius increpare, cum beatus Paulus apostolus episcopum instruens ad Timotheum scripsisse legatur: Praedica verbum, insta opportune importune, argue, obsecra, increpa in omni patientia et doctrina (II Tim. IV) . Non enim os nostrum debet esse ligatum, sed patere debet ad omnes, ne secundum prophetam simus canes muti non valentes latrare. Unde correctio nostra tibi non debuit esse molesta, sed magis accepta; quia pater filium quem diligit corripit, et Deus quos amat arguit et castigat. Debitum igitur pastoralis officii exsequimur cum obsecramus, arguimus, increpamus, et non solum alios, sed imperatores et reges opportune et importune ad ea studeamus inducere quae divinae sunt placita maiestati.*

ⁱⁱⁱ Karl Hampe ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der letzten Staufer: ungedr. Briefe aus d. Sammlung d. Magisters Heinrich von Isernia* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1910), n. 11, 122: *imperialis excellencia dignitas, que truculentis invidie manibus proprio capite sincopata iacet acephala*; RBM II n. 2557, 1102-1103: *imperio, quod apocapatum iacet sincopa capitis et rectoris.*

^{iv} Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon*: sanguinitas (consanguinity).

^v Horatius, *Epistolae*: I, 18, v. 84: *Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*

^{vi} e*Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*: pertractio, -onis 1) litterarum, zapis (record); 2) tractatio, rozważanie (deliberation/discussion).

^{vii} Cf. Ed. nos. 9-10-11: [...] *quibus ordinem vestrum pre aliis conplectimur specialius* (Ed. n. 9); *plus aliis omnibus ordinibus specialis prerogativa karitatis [...]* (Ed. n. 10); *ordinem sanctum honorantes digna reverencia in Domino, specialis favoris plenitudine complectamur* (Ed. n. 11). This similar expression of the devotional disposition of the sender towards the religious order was inherited by the addresser's ancestors: *Non recedentes a nostrorum progenitorum* (Ed. n. 9); *Cum a primeve etatis nostre primordiis [...]* (Ed. n. 10); *Ab exemplo nobis nostrorum progenitorum moralitas hoc reservat [...]* (Ed. n. 11). Similar also the object (Ed. nos. 10 and 11) and style of the request (*petitio*): [...] *supplicandum duximus omni diligencia et affectu* (Ed. n. 9); *omni affectu et dulcedine cordis vestre paternitati supplicandum duximus* (Ed. n. 10); *vestram paternitatem requirimus et rogamus omni diligencia et affectu* (Ed. n. 11).

^{viii} *Iam tibi fili carissime*, Feast: Vincentii, René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonarium Officii*, nr. 3473. Data on *Cantus* (online catalogue for mass and office chants): 28 chants found. <http://cantusindex.org/id/003473>

^{ix} Ex. 20, 12: *honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam ut sis longevus super terram quam Dominus Deus tuus dabit tibi.*

^x From the Roman Missal, opening prayer (collect) for the Mass for the Dead. *Thesaurus Precum Latinarum* <http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/Varia/Deusmp.html>

- ^{xi} Ps. 18, 6: *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum: et ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo: Exultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam.*
- ^{xii} Du Cange et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis: laccinia/lacinia; laccinium, lacticinium* (dairy products).
- ^{xiii} Horatius, *Epistolae*, I, 1, 33: *Est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.*
- ^{xiv} *Disticha Catonis*, Liber I, 32: *Ignotum tibi tu noli praeponere notis; Cognita iudicio constant, incognita casu.*
- ^{xv} Eccles. 4, 12: *Et si quispiam praevaluerit contra unum duo resistent ei funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur.*
- ^{xvi} Charlton T. Lewis, Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary*: absto (to stand off or at a distance from, to stand aloof). Karl Ernst Georges, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* (Hannover: Hahn, 1913.), vol. 1, col. 37: ab-sto , äre, abstehe = entfernt stehen, longius (Ggstz. propius stare), Hor. de art. poët. 362: *abstandus est*, er muß fern stehen, Plaut. trin. 264.
- ^{xvii} Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon: capescere = capessere* (to undertake, to take hold of any thing with zeal).
- ^{xviii} *eLexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*: procello, -ere, pobudzać, podniecać (stimulate, excite), incitare: GŁOG. Alex. I fol. Q IIIa: *p-re, id est percutere proprie ad animum.*
- ^{xix} Num. 32, 5: *Dixerunt, inquam, si invenimus gratiam in oculis tuis, detur terra haec servis tuis in possessionem: ne transire nos facias Jordanem.*
- ^{xx} The opening of the letter has liturgical echoes. See for instance the following prayer addressed to the Lord: *adesto, domine placatus plebium tuarum precibus et his sacrificiis [...], or adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris [...]* (Cf. Hans Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper: A Study in the History of the Liturgy* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953], 86). Or see *Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris et sperantes in tua misericordia intercedente beato petro apostolo tuo, caelesti protege benignus auxilio* (Cf. Jean Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien. Ses Principales Formes d'après les plus Anciens Manuscrits* [Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1971], 212).
- ^{xxi} The formulas *in vestre pietatis oculis* can be found in religious and secular contexts. See for instance the opening of the letter (ca. 1228) by a dean and chapter to pope Gregory: *Quantas possumus dignationi vestrae, pater sancte, referimus gratias pro gratia quam nuper in oculis vestrae pietatis invenire meruimus [...]*, (cf. W. H. Rich Jones, *Vetus Registrum Sarisberniense alias dictum Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi*, vol. 2 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, rist. 2012], 84); or the letter (1203) by Ingeborg of Denmark, Queen of France to the pope Innocent III: *[...] oculi mei ad vos sunt, Pater sanctissime, ne peream [...]* (cf. *Epistolae*, <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/24140.html>).
- ^{xxii} Du Cange et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*: scultetus = praetor, praefectus, ballivus, iudex oppidi; Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon*: sculthetus = local judge.
- ^{xxiii} Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon: litteralis* (literal, as contradistinguished from allegorical; *litteralis scientia* Bruno Carthus, *Expos. in epist. Pauli*, ib. t. 153 col. 126B).
- ^{xxiv} Ps. 135, 12: *In manu potenti et brachio excelso, quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius.* See also the use of this verse of the Psalm in Petrus de Vineas's epistolary, especially the letter 5.117 (D'Angelo, Delle Donne eds., *L'Epistolario di Pier della Vigna*, 987-989): *[...] in brachio excelso et manu potenti ad ipsorum Parmiensium malitiam [...]*. The Emperor Frederik II "with a mighty hand and a stretched out arm" (and so for God's mercy) moved against the city of Parma to overthrow the wickedness (*malitia*) of its insurgents inhabitants (*Parmienses*). In a similar way in the model letter, "with a mighty hand and a stretched out arm" the wickedness (*malitia*) of enemies has been defeated.
- ^{xxv} Lc. 16, 9: *Et ego vobis dico: facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis: ut, cum defeceritis, recipiant vos in aeterna tabernacula.*
- ^{xxvi} *Latinitatis medii aevi lexicon Bohemorum - Slovník středověké latiny v českých zemích*, I-II (Praha: Academia 1992), Electronic version: conterminalis: 1) *confinis, vicinus* – hraničící, sousední, příbuzný: *in eodem puncto zodiaci c-i equinocciali* [CristPrachAstr f.44r]; 2) *ad terminos pertinens* – pomezni, hraniční: *nostro camerario precepimus (Chunegundis), quatenus... agrorum limites signis c-ibus connotaret.* (s. XIII) FormPal I 306].
- ^{xxvii} Ovidius, *Heroides*, V, 7: *que venit indigne, poena dolenda venit.*
- ^{xxviii} Ferruccio Bertini, "Vitale di Blois. Geta," in *Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo*, vol. 3, 139-241, edited by Ferruccio Bertini (Genova: Istituto di filologia classica dell'Università di Genova, 1980).

^{xxix} *Decretales*, lib. V., tit. III, cap. XXXIV: [...] *sine dubio tam ille, quam isti apud districtum iudicem (qui scrutator est cordium, et cognitor secretorum) culpabiles iudicantur.*

^{xxx} 1 Cor. 13, 12: *Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate: tunc autem facie ad faciem. Nunc cognosco ex parte: tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum.*

Names of People, Authors and Works

Abbot of Beaulieu – 39.

Abelard – 40, 53, 82, 86.

Adalbertus Rankonis de Ericinio (Vojtěch Raňkův z Ježov) – 43.

Adelheid of Meissen, Queen consort of Bohemia – 33.

Agnes of Kuenring – 14.

Agnieszka (Agnes), Abbess of the convent of St. Clare in Trzebnica – 60, 190.

Al. de Opavia – 196.

Al., marchionis brandenburgensis frater – 223.

Albert I the Tall, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg – 97.

Alexander Nequam – 98, 123.

Alexander IV, the pope – 14.

Alfonso V, King of the Crown of Aragon – 32, 224.

Altahenses Annales – 71.

Amphitruo – 84.

Andreas, summus camerarius – 24, 27.

Anežka (Agnes), Kunhuta's daughter – 15, 97, 144, 147, 187.

Anéžka (Agnes) Rožmberg – 43

Anna Przemyslidka (Anne Přemyslid), Duchess of Silesia – 60, 180.

Anna Luxemburská (of the House of Luxemburg) or Anne of Bohemia, Queen consort of England – 24, 56.

Anna of Hungary, Queen Kunhuta's mother – 12, 13, 14, 24, 27, 41, 70, 71, 196, 200, 203.

Annales Bohemorum Vincentii Pragensis (Letopis Vincentia Pražského) – 23.

Arnoldus, magister, prothonotarius – 218.

Aulularia – 84.

B., dilectus capellanus noster (see Bohuslaus, Bohuslav, magister) – 48, 216-217.

Baldricus Burgulianus – 81.

Batu Khan (d. 1255), Mongol ruler – 13.

Beatrix or Božena, Duchess of Brandenburg – 16, 20, 39, 41, 56, 150, 151, 152, 208, 212, 221.

Bela (see Béla of Slavonia and Béla Mačevský) – 153.

Béla IV, King of Hungary – 12, 13, 14, 39, 51, 58, 59, 69, 70, 72, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 184, 202, 232.

Béla Mačevský, Béla of Mačva, Queen Kunhuta's brother – 12, 13, 39, 58, 152, 153.

Béla of Slavonia, son of Béla IV – 39, 58, 152, 153.

Benesius (Beneš Krabice of Weitmile) – 18.

Benesius (Beneš ze Cvilína) – 32.

Benesius, burgravius Znoymensis – 32.

Benesius, zudarius – 32.

Bernardus (Bernard) – 46.

Bernardus, physicus regis – 162.

Bernard of Clairvaux – 39.

Bernardus Silvestris – 100, 123.

Birria – 84.

Boccaccio – 74.

Boguslaus, filius Radim – 49.

Bohuta, submarsalcus – 25, 28, 200.

Bohuslaus (Bohuslav), magister – 25, 35, 37, 38, 42, 43, 47, 71, 75, 78, 96, 128, 184, 216.

Bohuslaus, magister venatorum – 49.

Bohuzlaus, capellanus – 49.

Bohuzlaus, camerarius, summus camerarius – 49.

Boncompagnus de Signa – 81, 184.

Breviloquium – 124.

Bruno of Olomouc, bishop – 16.

Burgraff von Regensburg – 80.

C., capellanus, sacerdos (see Christinus sacerdos capellanus) – 182.

Canon of Vyšehrad – 23.

Chaslaus (Chaslav), lector – 146, 147.

Chaucer – 74.

Chazlaus (Chazlav), dapifer – 25, 28.

Cech (Čěč), iudex summus – 32.

Chronicon Aulae Regiae (Kronika zbraslavská) – 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 33.

Chronicon ecclesiae Pragensis Benessii Krabice de Weitmile (Kronika Beneš Krabice z Weitmile) – 18.

Chronicon Francisci Pragensis (Kronika Františka Pražského) – 18, 19, 97.

Constance, nun – 81.

Corradin of Hohenstaufen, son of Conrad IV – 96.

Cosmographia – 100, 123.

Cristina, neptis – 162.

Christinus, sacerdos capellanus – 182.

Cuno de Cunstat (Kunštát) – 26.

Cunradus, subcamerarius – 24, 28.

D., inclitus Ungarorum rex (see Béla IV, King of Hungary) – 185.

Dalimil Meziřícký, chronicler – 32, 61.

Daniel I, bishop of Prague – 74.

Dante – 77.

De arte poetica – 98, 123.

De coloribus rhetoricis – 74.

De consolatione philosophie – 100.

Der von Kürenberg – 80.

Dietmar von Aist – 80.

Dobremilus, capellanus – 49.

Domazlaus (Domaslav ze Škvorce), pincerna – 24, 31, 32.

Drahomíra, Duchess of Bohemia – 22.

Ducissa Cracoviensis – 156, 157.

Eberhardus Teutonicus – 84.

Egilota de Dodich (Dědice) – 26.

Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen consort of France and England – 39.

Elisabeth, Queen Kunhuta's sister – 12, 13.

Eliška Přemyslovna (Elisabeth Přemyslid), Queen consort of Bohemia – 23, 24.

Eliška Rejčka (Elisabeth Richenza), Queen consort of Bohemia – 13, 23, 24.

Ely, capellanus – 218.

Epistolare dictamen – 47, 74.

Erzsébet (Elisabeth) of Hungary, Duchesse of Bavaria – 58.

Erzsébet (Elisabeth) of the Kumans, Queen consort of Hungary – 13.

Farchasius, frater ordinis fratrum minorum – 172.

Franciscus de Alba – 224.

Friedrich I Barbarossa – 40.

Friedrich II, Duke of Austria and Styria – 14, 57.

Friedrich I of Wettin, Margrave of Meissen – 96.

Friedrich von Hausen – 80.

Friedrich von Sonnenbrug – 78.

Fülöp Szentgróti archbishop of Esztergom – 143.

Gaufridus (Geoffrey), prior of Christ Church in Canterbury – 39.

Gaufridus de Vino Salvo (Geoffrey of Vinsauf) – 48, 98, 123.

Gemma purpurea – 14.

Gerardus (Gerard), bishop – 17.

Gerardus (Gerard), miles – 24.

Gertrude, Duchess of Bohemia – 23.

Geta – 84, 85, 231.

Geta – 84, 85.

Godefridus, magister protonotarius – 25, 31, 50.

Gregorius, subcamerarius, camerarius – 24, 25, 28.

Gregorius de Dražic (Řehoř, or Řehník z Litovic, Řehoř z Dražic) – 18.

Gregory IX, the pope – 23, 230.

Gregory X, the pope – 57, 137, 224,

Gregory of Montelongo, Patriarch of Aquileia – 98.

Guido, magister – 45, 46, 63, 91.

Guido Fabi, Guido Bononiensis – 46, 63, 90.

Guiscard – 39.

H., filius domini Henrici ducis bone memorie – 205.

H., frater (ordinis fratrum minorum) – 174, 175.

H., clericus, magister, capellanus (see Henricus, protonotary) – 177.

H. de Wl. (see Herbordus de Fullnstein) – 219, 220.

Hartmann von Aue – 80.

Heinrich, Duke of Carinthia – 98.

Heinrich VII, German king – 33.

Heinrich XIII, Duke of Lower Bavaria – 57.

Heinrich of Isny, bishop – 16.

Heinrich von Veldeke – 80.

Heloise – 40, 82, 86.

Henningus – 26, 29.

Henry IV of Wraclaw the Probus – 16, 17, 205, 206, 214, 220, 221.

Henricus, protonotary – 26, 31, 46, 177 (?),

Henricus de Isernia, dictator, magister – 31, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 55, 60, 63, 67, 70, 74, 94, 96, 98, 99, 137.

Herbordus de Fullnstein (Bohušov) – 26, 29, 219, 220.

Herbordus de Wllenstein (Valdštejna) – 26, 29.

Hermannus de Braunshorn, praeceptor of the order of the hospital of St. John Baptist of Jerusalem – 25, 26.

Heroides – 75, 77, 79, 81, 88, 89.

Hirzo, dapifer – 24, 27.

Hugo de Trimberg – 84.

Iariosius, burgravius – 24, 27.

Iarozlaus, magister, capellanus – 189.

Ingeborg of Denmark, Queen of France – 30, 230.

Innocence IV, the pope – 97.

Invectiva prosotetrasticha in Ulricum Polonum – 44, 45, 74, 86.

Iohannes, magister, physicus (regis) – 162.

Iohannes, subpincerna – 25, 28, 200.

Iohannes de Vepria – 54.

Iordanus de Terracina, papal dictator – 48.

Iselin (Iselius) – 97.

Iseut – 86.

István V (Stephen V), King of Hungary – 13, 14, 51, 58, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 84, 90, 139, 141, 143, 157, 159, 160, 161, 207, 208.

Legenda o svatém Prokopu – 61.

Ludwig II, Duke of Upper Bavaria – 57.

Jacobus Contarenus – 224.

Jacobus de Capua – 51.

Jan, Queen Kunhuta and Závěš of Falkenštejn's son – 17, 18, 34.

Jan Hus – 43.

Jan III z Dražic (John III of Dražic), bishop of Prague – 42, 56, 90, 149, 150, 165, 170.

Jindřich (Henry) Břetislav, bishop-prince – 74.

Johana z Rožmitálu (Joanna of Rožmitál), Queen consort of Bohemia – 24.

Johannes Lemovicensis – 86, 95, 101.

Johannes, provost of Sadská – 97.

Jolán of Kalisz, also known as blessed Jolenta of Poland or Helene of Hungary – 156.

Jutta or Guta (Judith) of Habsburg, Queen consort of Bohemia – 16, 21, 97.

Konstancie Uherská (Constance of Hungary), Queen consort of Bohemia – 23, 33, 35, 60.

Kosmas, chronicler – 18, 74, 206.

Kunhuta (Cunegunde), Queen consort of Bohemia, Lordess of Opava – 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 99, 102, 116, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125, 128, 134, 135, 136, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225.

Kunhuta (Cunegunde), Abbess of St. George, Queen Kunhuta's daughter – 14.

Kunhuta Štaufská (Cunegonde of Hohenstaufen), Queen consort of Bohemia – 23, 31, 39, 49, 189.

Kuno, burgravius in Gretz (Hradec nad Moravicí in Czech) – 26, 29.

László (Ladislav IV), King of Hungary – 13.

Leszek Czarny (Leszek II the Black) – 13.

Ludovicus, master of the Hospital House of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Germans in Prussia – 97.

M., frater noster (see Michael, Queen Kunhuta's elder brother) – 153, 154,

M., magister – 190.

Manfred, King of Sicily, son of Friedrich II – 96.

Margarete of Babenberg, Queen consort of Bohemia – 14, 33, 56.

Maria Laskarina, Queen consort of Hungary – 58, 157.

Maria of Castile, Queen consort of the Crown of Aragon – 32.

Martinus (Martin), Domenican brother – 31.

Matheus de Shirnehor (Černá Hora) – 26.

Mehart of Tirol, bishop – 16.

Meinloh von Sevelingen – 80.

Metamorphoses – 86.

Michael, Queen Kunhuta's elder brother – 12, 13, 69, 154.

Michael I Asen (d. ca. 1256), Bulgar prince – 13.

Michael Buldo – 224, 225.

Michael Vsevolodovich, ruler of Černigov and grand Prince of Kiev – 12.

Mikuláš (Nicholas), P. Otakar II and Agnes of Kuenring's son – 14, 17, 34.

Milota z Dědic – 32.

Mistidruh (Mystidruh z Chlumu), camerarius, burgravius Pragensis – 28, 32, 186, 197, 200, 210, 211.

Mistwinus, Duke of Pomerania – 97.

Morale Somnium Pharaonis – 86, 101.

N., dilectus et familiaris noster – 188.

N., miles – 190.

Nicolaus de Rocca, dictator – 40, 48, 51, 55.

Nicolaus de Rocca iunior, chaplain of the cardinal Simone Paltinerio from Monselice – 40, 48.

O., inclitus rex (Bohemia) – 55, 170, 211.

Oenone – 88.

Ota z Maissova – 32.

Otto, magister coquine – 30.

Otto, subdapifer – 25, 28.

Otto, abbas (Otto of Thüringen) – 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 33.

Otto II Wittelsbach, Duke of Bavaria – 57.

Otto III of Brandenburg – 15, 150, 151, 152, 155, 222.

Otto V of Brandenburg – 16, 17, 18, 20, 52, 176, 221, 222, 223.

Ovidius – 75, 76, 78.

P. (see Petrus, magister and Přisnobar, dictator) – 186.

Perchta Rožmberk – 43.

Petrus, prior of the Domenicans in Verona – 97.

Petrus, magister – 25, 29, 31, 186.

Petrus de Blois – 48, 97, 114

Petrus de Hallis (Peter of Schwäbisch Hall) – 16.

Petrus de Precio – 51, 96, 101.

Petrus de Vinea – 51, 55, 84, 94, 96, 97, 105, 231.

Petrus Lombardus – 47.

Petrus Zittaviensis (Peter of Zittau) – 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 33.

Plautus – 84.

Phamphilus – 84.

Ph. archiepiscopus Strigoniensis (see Fülöp Szentgróti archbishop of Esztergom) – 143.

Poetria nova – 48, 98.

Přemysl Otakar II, King of Bohemia – 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 31, 34, 38, 39, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 78, 79, 90, 91, 97, 98, 119, 120, 121, 128, 134, 137, 138, 139, 141, 143, 148, 150, 151, 152, 155, 160, 166, 171, 175, 177, 180, 184, 185, 189, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 217, 219, 220, 221, 225.

Přemysl, Margrave of Moravia – 33.

Přemyslid – 12, 22, 23, 17, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 46, 48, 64.

Přisnobar, dictator, scholasticus and canonicus of Vyšehrad – 24, 31, 186.

Prochmus de Borowek (Borovska) – 26.

Protiua, frater – 25, 28, 200.

Protiwen – 26.

Purkart z Janovic, praefectus curie – 30.

Q. Horatius Flaccus – 98, 123, 229, 230.

Querolus – 84.

Reynardus citizen in Prague – 97.

Richard of Cornwall, King of Romans – 21, 98, 223.

Richardus de Sancto Germano – 51.

Robertus, bishop of Olomouc – 25.

Rolandinus de Padua – 87.

Rolandinus Rodulphinus Bononiensis or Rolandinus de Passageriis, notary – 97, 101, 114, 115, 116.

Rostislav Mikhailovich, Rus' Prince, Queen Kunhuta's father – 12, 13, 14.

Rota Veneris – 77, 86, 184.

Rudgerus iudex de Lubscitz (Głubczyce) – 26.

Rudolf of Habsburg, King of Germany – 11, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 34, 57, 96, 206, 224.

Rulco de Pyberstain – 24.

Sdizlaus (Zdislav), capellanus – 49.

Sdizlaus (Zdislav), marsalcus – 24, 28, 32.

Sheborius de Namish (Náměšť) – 26.

Sosia – 84.

Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila – 32.

St. Anežka, Agnes of Prague – 17, 18, 23, 204.

St. Bonaventura – 124.

St. Hedwig of Silesia – 59, 180.

St. Ludmila – 22.

St., magister – 173.

St., rex Ungarorum (see István V) – 139, 141,

St. Kunegunda of Cracow, also known as Kinga (see ducissa Cracoviensis) – 156.

St. Václav (Wenceslaus) – 23.

T., magister, capellanus (see Theodoricus, magister and capellanus) – 163, 164, 165, 166,

T. venerabilis Wratizlaviensis episcopus (see Thomas I bishop of Wroclaw and Thomas II of Wroclaw) – 163, 166.

Taddeus de Sessa – 51.

Th., uxor nostra carissima domina (see Kunhuta Queen consort of Bohemia, Lordess of Opava) – 55, 148.

Theodoricus, magister and capellanus – 163.

Thomas de Capua – 41, 51, 55, 94, 96, 97, 108.

Thomas de Gaeta – 51.

Thomas I, bishop of Wroclaw – 163.

Thomas II, bishop of Wroclaw – 163.

Tobiáš z Bečyně (z Benešova), bishop of Prague – 17, 40, 221, 222, 223.

Thylmanus, iudex – 26.

Transmundus – 45, 97, 108.

Tristan – 86.

Ulrich von Eschenbach – 78.

Ulrich von dem Türlin – 78.

Ulricus/Uldaricus Polonus – 48.

Urban IV, the Pope – 15, 57.

Václav II (Wenceslaus II), King of Bohemia – 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, 33, 34, 54, 71, 74, 78, 97, 99, 125, 147, 149, 189, 220, 221, 222, 223.

Vital de Blois – 84.

Vítkovci – 21, 22.

Vladislav II, King of Bohemia – 23, 24.

Vratislav II, Duke, King of Bohemia – 23, 97, 98, 120.

Zacharias, frater, confessor – 25, 28, 31, 200.

Záviš of Falkenštejn, member of the Vítkovci clan, Queen Kunhuta's second husband – 11, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 33, 34.

W. (see Wladyslaw Duke of Opole) – 225.

Waltherus, boemus lector – 224.

Wernher, magister – 24, 31.

Werner of Eppenstein, Archbishop of Mainz – 15.

Wittelsbach – 57, 58.

Wladyslaw, Duke of Opole – 97, 220, 221, 225.

Wladyslaw, Duke of Wroclaw, bishop of Wroclaw, Archbishop of Salzburg – 57, 59, 163, 205, 206, 214, 215.

Wlastiborius, marsalcus – 25, 28, 200.

Wocco de Crawarz – 31.

Walther von der Vogelweide – 80.

Wolfram von Eschenbach – 80.

The index contains names as they are conventionally used in Latin and in the other languages (German, Polish, Czech, Hungarian). Czech, Polish and Hungarian names are with common English equivalents.

Names of Places

Arnów (Hostinné) – 186-187.

Austria – 21, 25, 62, 71, 72, 73, 80, 90, 91, 139.

Bautzener – 62.

Bezděz – 18, 19, 20, 33.

Bliszczyce – 26.

Blučina – 24.

Bohemia – 16, 44, 72, 87, 172, 189, 190, 191, 198.

Břeclav – 35.

Brno – 17, 25, 34, 54, 91, 198.

Bruck an der Mur – 219.

Budeč, church – 24.

Budeč, school – 74.

Carinthia – 71, 21, 90.

Carniola – 21, 71, 151.

Chařová – 26.

Chomýž – 26.

Cracow – 61, 71, 156.

Dacia – 25, 61.

Dalmatia – 61.

Danube – 69, 80, 189.

Dürnkrot – 11, 15, 16, 19.

France – 61.

Glubczyce – 26, 27, 30.

Gniezno – 61, 156.
Görlitz – 20, 54, 198.
Gors – 31, 46.
Hodonín – 35.
Holubice – 97, 218, 219.
Hradec nad Moravicí – 21, 26, 30.
Hradiště – 18.
Hungary – 13, 57, 61, 62, 75, 79, 172.
Italy – 61.
Landau – 58, 136.
Klodska – 206-207.
Komín – 33.
Kostelec – 26.
Kressenbrunn/Kroissenbrunn – 14, 57, 69, 220.
Krnov – 26.
Marchfeld – 220.
Margitsziget (the island of Marguerite) – 69.
Melk – 182.
Mělník – 18.
Moravia – 16, 21, 25, 30, 33, 34, 43, 44, 61, 97, 199, 220.
Mühldorf – 57.
Neumberk (Nimburg) – 21, 189.
Nowa Cerekwia – 25.
Olomouc – 16, 25, 28, 35.
Opole – 97, 163, 220, 225.

Order of the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the German House in Prussia – 97.

Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in Grobniki – 26.

Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in Svádov – 25.

Oslavany – 25.

Passau – 57.

Perugia – 97.

Písek – 24.

Poděbrady – 25, 181, 198.

Pohořelice – 25, 198.

Polony – 25, 60, 144, 172, 191.

Porta Coeli in Tišnov – 33.

Portugal – 61.

Potinburch (Pottenburg) – 139.

Pozsony – 139.

Prague – 13, 15, 17, 21, 23, 24, 25, 50, 52, 59, 61, 70, 71, 72, 90, 96, 97.

Prussia – 155.

Řevnice – 25.

Rewich – 189.

Salzburg – 52, 57, 163, 205, 214.

Saxony – 20, 61, 62.

Seifersdorf – 49.

Spain – 61.

St. Clare in Prague – 205.

St. Clare in Wroclaw – 60.

St. Clement in Staré Město (Prague) – 74.
St. Franciscus (Francis) hospital in Prague – 25, 189.
St. George in Freistadt – 18.
St. James in Staré Město (Prague) – 74.
St. Maria in Brno – 25, 198.
St. Maria in Henrichow – 54, 74, 186, 187.
St. Maria in Oslavany – 25.
St. Maria near Brod – 30.
St. Marienthal in Saxon Upper Lusatia – 23, 198, 199.
St. Peter in Olomouc – 33.
St. Stephen in Hradiště – 35.
St. Thomas in Malá Strana (Prague) –
St. Vitus, cathedral in Prague – 15, 17, 31, 74.
St. Vitus, school in Prague – 74, 87.
Styria – 14, 21, 34, 71, 219.
Sulmona – 96.
Trzebnica – 184.
Václavice – 25.
Veveří – 32.
Vyšehrad, chancery – 185,
Vyšehrad, chapter – 24, 31, 97, 120.
Vyšehrad, scribal school – 31, 47, 74, 87.
Vrbno – 33.
Žďár – 24.
Zenodis – 151.

Złotoryja – 61.

Živohošť – 25.

*It is not included in the index “Bohemia” (it was not possible to indicate the high number of times this toponyme occurs).

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