

JOHN OF MARIGNOLLI AND THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PROJECT OF CHARLES IV

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ABSTRACT

In 1355 an Italian Franciscan, John of Marignolli, was asked by Charles IV to compose a chronicle of Bohemia. His *Chronicon Bohemorum* is conserved into three manuscripts, two of which are now in Prague's National Library. Marignolli's work followed a project of historiographical renovation: Charles aimed to rewrite Bohemian historiography in order to celebrate his election as Emperor. It was Marignolli's task to collect all the previous chronicles, revise them and bring about a brand new universal narrative leading to contemporary Bohemian history. Shortly after Marignolli's death, Charles IV gave the Bohemian writer Přebík Pulkava of Radenín the same appointment: in 1374 he wrote an alternative *Chronica Bohemiae*, copied beside Marignolli's one in both of the Prague manuscripts. These two chronicles are very different from one another: it's likely that Charles didn't appreciate Marignolli's work and asked Pulkava to write a text more suitable for his purposes.

Keywords: John of Marignolli – Charles IV – Prague – historiography – manuscripts – Přebík Pulkava of Radenín – Bohemian chronicles

The foundation of Prague's University in 1348 took place during a great wave of cultural and political renovation that characterized Bohemia in the middle of the 14th century. In 1344 Prague became an Archbishop's seat, with Ernest of Pardubice as the first Archbishop; in 1355, it became the capital city of the Holy Roman Empire, after the coronation of Charles IV. Charles, 'king of the Romans' since 1346, was eager to celebrate Bohemian history if it had reached its peak during his reign. Therefore, besides his project of *renovatio studiorum*, connected with the academic foundation, there was a project of what could be called a 'historiographical renovation', aimed to reconsider Bohemian history in a celebrative fashion. In other words, Charles' program exemplifies the need of the new power for a new narrative to legitimate itself.¹ During his reign there was a wide production of chronicles connected in some way with the imperial court: all these works tried to re-elaborate past chronicles in order to convert Bohemian history into a path of celebration of Charles IV's deeds.²

In twenty years, between 1353 and 1374, five chronicles of Bohemia commissioned by Emperor Charles had been written. All these works were based on previous Bohemian

¹ Marie BLÁHOVÁ, *Die Hofgeschichtsschreibung am Böhmischem Herrscherhof im Mittelalter*, in: Rudolf Schieffer – Jaroslav Wenta (eds.), *Die Hofgeschichtsschreibung im Mittelalterlichen Europa*, Torún 2006.

² Marie BLÁHOVÁ, *Kroniky doby Karla IV*, Praha 1987; Bernd-Ulrich HERGEMÖLLER, *Cogor adversum te. Drei Studien zum literarisch-theologischen Profil Karls IV. und seiner Kanzlei*, Warendorf 1999, pp. 385–387; Jana NECHUTOVÁ, *Die lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters in Böhmen*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2007, pp. 162–167.

chronicles, combined and rearranged into a new structure oscillating between world and local history.

Francis of Prague, in 1353, wrote a second *recensio* of his chronicle (*Chronicae Pragensis libri III*),³ adding a prologue dedicated to Charles IV and some information about the emperor's activities, like a paragraph on the university foundation. The chronicle, a combination of world and local history, is a continuation of Cosmas' one and is widely based on Peter of Zittau's Königsaal chronicle;⁴

John of Marignolli, between 1355 and 1358, wrote a universal chronicle starting with the world's creation entitled *Chronicon Bohemorum*,⁵ whose last section – the one about Bohemian history – is based on Cosmas' and Dalimil's chronicles;⁶

Neplach of Opatovice, around 1362, wrote a *Summula chronicae tam Romanae quam Bohemicae*,⁷ in which he connected Bohemian and world history by collecting excerpts from previous chronicles (Cosmas and his continuators for Bohemian history, Martin of Troppau for world history);⁸

Beneš Krabice of Weitmile, between 1372 and 1374, wrote a *Cronica ecclesiae Pragensis*⁹ which is widely based on Francis of Prague and Peter of Zittau, and that culminates with the parallel biographies of Charles IV and Ernest of Pardubice;¹⁰

Průbík Pulkava of Radenin, in 1374, wrote the last chronicle commissioned by Charles IV, known simply as *Chronica Bohemiae* (it does not have an official title).¹¹ The narration starts with the building of the Tower of Babel, but the chronicle does not have a proper universal structure since it deals from its beginning with the mythical origins of the Czech people and with Bohemian history. Pulkava's work is based on Cosmas and his continuators and it has been enriched with sources and information directly provided and supervised by Emperor Charles.¹²

Among all these chronicles, John of Marignolli's is the only one preceded by a prologue written apparently by the Emperor himself. Although it is quite certain that the prologue's author wasn't Charles but Marignolli, the text seems to express Charles' ideas on history and politics and is full of literary quotations reflecting the Emperor's readings.¹³

- ³ FRANCISCUS PRAGENSIS, *Chronicon*, ed. Jana ZACHOVÁ, Praha 1997 (*Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum. Series nova*, I). The chronicle's 'recensio prima' was written in the early 1340's on demand of the bishop John IV of Dražice.
- ⁴ M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Kroniky doby Karla IV.*, pp. 564–567; B.-U. HERGEMÖLLER, *Cogor adversum te*, pp. 385–386; J. NECHUTOVÁ, *Die lateinische Literatur*, pp. 162–163.
- ⁵ JOHANNIS DE MARIGNOLA, *Chronicon*, ed. Josef EMLER, Praha 1882 (*Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, III), pp. 485–604.
- ⁶ M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Kroniky doby Karla IV.*, pp. 580–583; B.-U. HERGEMÖLLER, *Cogor adversum te*, p. 386; J. NECHUTOVÁ, *Die lateinische Literatur*, pp. 165–166.
- ⁷ JOHANNIS NEPLACHONIS abbatis Opatovicensis, *Chronicon*, ed. Josef EMLER, Praha 1882 (*Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, III), pp. 443–484.
- ⁸ M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Kroniky doby Karla IV.*, pp. 583–585; B.-U. HERGEMÖLLER, *Cogor adversum te*, p. 386; J. NECHUTOVÁ, *Die lateinische Literatur*, pp. 164–165.
- ⁹ BENESSIUS DE WEITMIL, *Chronicon*, ed. Josef EMLER, Praha 1884 (*Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, IV), pp. 457–548.
- ¹⁰ M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Kroniky doby Karla IV.*, pp. 567–571; B.-U. HERGEMÖLLER, *Cogor adversum te*, pp. 386–387; J. NECHUTOVÁ, *Die lateinische Literatur*, pp. 163–164.
- ¹¹ PRZIBICO DE RADENIN dictus PULKAVA, *Chronicon Bohemiae*, ed. Josef EMLER, Praha 1893 (*Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, V), pp. 1–326.
- ¹² M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Kroniky doby Karla IV.*, pp. 572–580; B.-U. HERGEMÖLLER, *Cogor adversum te*, p. 387; J. NECHUTOVÁ, *Die lateinische Literatur*, pp. 166–167.
- ¹³ For a complete analysis of Charles' prologue to Marignolli's chronicle B.-U. HERGEMÖLLER, *Cogor adversum te*, pp. 374–380.

A paragraph of this prologue is crystal clear about Charles' aims regarding historiography: "*Cronicarum antiquas et novas hystorias maxime Boemorum obscure conscriptas per venerabilem patrem, fratrem Johannem dictum de Marignolis de Florentia ordinis Minorum, Bysinianensem episcopum, nostre imperialis aule commensalem, transcurri mandavimus, amputatis obscuris verborum ambagibus et superfluis resecatis ac interpositis quibusdam utilibus.*"¹⁴ ("I gave the venerable father, friar John of Marignolli from Florence, from the Franciscan Order, bishop of Bisignano and our imperial court's chaplain, the order to search for all the ancient chronicles and the latest historiographical works, mostly the Bohemian ones, written in such an obscure fashion, in order to remove from them the convoluted language, cut off the superfluous information and add something useful.")

After Charles' prologue there is the author's response. Marignolli explains: "*Ego frater Johannes dictus de Marignolis de Florentia [...] cronicarum boemicalium ystorias obscure quidem pristinae conscriptas in unum magis lucide compendium [...] duxi regulandas, ut, que prius obscura clausit umbrositas, concepti operis sententia reddat manifesta.*"¹⁵ ("I, friar John of Marignolli from Florence, [...] decided to summarize the narratives of all these obscure Bohemian chronicles written in the past, in order to write a clearer compendium [...] and in order to shine more light on things that were before shrouded by an intense obscurity.")

John of Marignolli was a Franciscan friar from Florence. It seems that Charles met him in 1355, when he went to Italy for his imperial coronation, and he asked him to join his imperial court in Prague.¹⁶ Marignolli was a man of learning (he taught at Bologna *Studium* around 1332)¹⁷ and had been also the protagonist of an extraordinary travel experience: in 1338 he had been sent to the Far East by the Pope for diplomatic reasons, and he had travelled around Asia for fifteen years.¹⁸

We don't know the true reasons of Charles' choice for Marignolli: probably the Italian friar showed some literary competence in other works, but the attribution of these works to Marignolli is nowadays uncertain.¹⁹ Definitely he was a great intellectual: this is evident due to the large amount of quotations we can find in his *Chronicon Bohemorum*. Those

¹⁴ Johannis DE MARIGNOLA, *Chronicon*, p. 492.

¹⁵ Johannis DE MARIGNOLA, *Chronicon*, p. 493.

¹⁶ Girolamo GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, IV, Firenze 1923, p. 268. It seems however that Marignolli had already been in Prague in 1353, because of his description of a miracle that occurred in St. Agnes' church during this year (Johannis DE MARIGNOLA, *Chronicon*, pp. 521–522), but there is no evidence of that. Marie BLÁHOVÁ, '... ad probos mores exemplis delectabilibus provocemus ...'. *Funkce oficiální historiografie v představách Karla IV.*, in: Tomáš Borovský – Libor Jan – Martin Wihoda (eds.), *Ad vitam et honorem. Profesoru Jaroslavu Mezníkovi přítelové a žáci k pětadesátým narozeninám*, Brno 2003, p. 112.

¹⁷ Marignolli's name is written in the *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis Sancti Francisci* relating to the year 1332. *Analecta Franciscana sive chronica aliarum varia documenta ad historiam fratrum minorum spectantia*, XI, Firenze 1970, pp. 13–14.

¹⁸ For further information on Marignolli's life and travels: Anastaas VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica Franciscana*, I, Firenze 1929, pp. 515–518; Girolamo GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca*, pp. 257–271; Irene MALFATTO, 'Plus curiosus quam virtuosus': *Giovanni de' Marignolli e il suo resoconto di viaggio (1338–1353)*, *Itineraria* 12, 2013, pp. 55–81; Kateřina KUBÍNOVÁ, *Jan Marignola a jeho 'cestopis'*, in: Petr Sommer – Vladimír Liščák (eds.), *Odorik z Pordenone: z Benátek do Pekinga a zpět. Setkávání na cestách Starého světa ve 13.–14. století*, Plzeň 2006, pp. 95–106.

¹⁹ Igiovanni Giacinto SBARAGLIA, *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci a Wadlingo aliisve descriptos*, Roma 1806, pp. 436–437; G. GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca*, p. 308.

references show an impressive knowledge of the Bible, exegesis, theology and philosophy.²⁰ Marignolli's writing style, moreover, was highly rhetorical, well finished and somewhat 'baroque'.

Maybe John of Marignolli raised the interest of Charles IV because of his Asiatic experience as well. 14th-century Bohemia, after all, was characterized by an interest towards the East: one of the most common versions of one of the most famous medieval travel books, Odoric of Pordenone's *Relatio*,²¹ was actually Bohemian (it was written by Henry of Glatz around 1340). Furthermore, the first manuscript circulation of another well-known travel account also happened in Bohemia, with William of Boldensele's *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus*,²² written in 1336. Moreover, since the beginning of the 15th century there were Czech translations of Marco Polo's *Divisament dou monde* and Mandeville's *Travels*,²³ it is probable that these works, in their Latin versions, were already known and read by Bohemian people in the previous century.

Charles IV himself, as we can read in Marignolli's *Chronicon*, was personally interested in the 'marvels of the East'. It seems he created at his imperial residence in Prague a sort of enclosure full of exotic beasts: Marignolli, when describing his trip to southern China, finds out that "*sunt etiam monstruosi serpentes et fere, sicut habet in clausura sua Pragensi dominus imperator Carolus*"²⁴ ("there are also monstrous snakes and beasts, like the ones Emperor Charles keeps in his enclosure in Prague").

John of Marignolli proposes a partition of his *Chronicon Bohemorum* into three books. The first book, entitled *Thearcos*, narrates the history of the world from Adam to the building of the Tower of Babel; the second and the third book are set to show sacred and mundane histories in parallel, tales of Kings and Emperors (the second book, entitled *Monarchos*) and bishops and popes (the third book, entitled *Ierarchos*) from the world's beginning up to the present. In the second and third book the author focuses more and more on Bohemian history: the real 'Bohemian chronicle', in fact, is limited to the second part of books II and III.²⁵

An important model to Marignolli is Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* (12th century),²⁶ which is often quoted as a source. The *Pantheon* represents an example of an encyclopaedic chronicle, a kind of text usually written by Franciscan and Dominican authors in late Middle Ages. Marignolli, like them, inserts lots of digressions in his chronicle. Concerning the choice to narrate in parallel religious and mundane rulers' deeds, another important model

²⁰ For further information on Marignolli's cultural background: Anna-Dorothee VON DEN BRINCKEN, *Die universalhistorischen Vorstellungen des Johann von Marignola OFM*, Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 49/3, Köln – Graz 1967, pp. 297–339.

²¹ Odoricus DE PORTU NAONIS, *Relatio*, ed. Anastaas VAN DEN WYNGAERT, Firenze 1929 (Sinica Franciscana I), pp. 379–495.

²² Henricus CANISIUS, *Antiquae Lectionis. Antiqua monumenta nunc primum edita et notis illustrata*, V, Ingolstadt 1601–1604, pp. 95–142.

²³ J. NECHUTOVÁ, *Die lateinische Literatur*, pp. 167–168.

²⁴ Iohannis DE MARIGNOLLIS, *Chronicon Bohemorum. Excerpta de rebus orientalibus*, ed. Irene MALFATTO, 2013 <<http://ecodicibus.sismelfirenze.it>> (April 15, 2016), p. 22.

²⁵ For further information on *Chronicon Bohemorum* structure M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Kroniky doby Karla IV.*, pp. 581–582; Kateřina ENGSTOVÁ, *Marignolova kronika jako obraz představ o moci a postavení českého krále*, Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica 6, Praha 1999, pp. 79–80.

²⁶ Gotifredus VITERBIENSIS, *Pantheon*, ed. Georg WAITZ, Hannover 1872 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 22), pp. 107–307.

is Martin of Troppau's *Chronicon Pontificum and imperatorum* (13th century).²⁷ However, John of Marignolli does not always seem to respect his intention to clarify Bohemian historiography, betraying in some way the Emperor's will. He interprets Charles' invitation to 'superfluis resecare' ('cut off superfluous information') and 'quaedam utilia interponere' ('add something useful') in a very personal way. In the first and second book he inserts a lot of long digressions not exactly pertaining to the matter, but strictly related to his personal experience: his travel to the Far East. These digressions, when recollected together, can be read as a complete travel account: a very important document about diplomatic relations between Popes and Mongolian Emperors in the 14th century. Moreover, Marignolli's narrative can be seen as an important source on Oriental world geography and habits.²⁸

Marignolli justifies his unusual digressions by insisting on their supposed 'necessity'. We can read, for example, a passage in which he reports his trip to Ceylon, insisting on the usefulness of his account: "*Verum quia materia requirit, et credo delectabile et aliquibus proficuum, hystoriam de Seyllano duximus presentibus inserendam, dummodo placeat Cesaree maiestati; si vero non placeat obelus citius emendabit.*"²⁹ ("As a matter of fact, because the subject requires it, and because I think it would be pleasant and useful to somebody, I decided to insert here this information about Ceylon. I will continue as long as His Majesty likes; if it does not please him, I will immediately emend it with a mark.")

Marignolli was extremely proud of his trip to Asia. He used the opportunity as collaborator to this important literary work to incorporate his personal feats into the narrative. Nevertheless, the Bohemian section of Marignolli's chronicle is not particularly original: the author, showing a quite superficial knowledge of Bohemian history, reports the narration of Cosmas and his continuators without inserting anything new.³⁰ Although reading Marignolli's chronicle is interesting even to analyse its reuse of the sources and its particular representation of Charles IV's power,³¹ it is clear that the Italian friar's authorial idea was mostly to fill the history of the world with the account of his trip to Asia rather than to focus on Bohemian history. Therefore, the sections of the chronicle recounting his travels are undoubtedly the most interesting and original ones. But as this was not in accordance with the design of the *Chronicon Bohemorum*, John of Marignolli as historiographer seems to have disappointed his patron.

Let's now focus on the *Chronicon Bohemorum*'s manuscript transmission.³² Marignolli's work is copied completely into only one manuscript, conserved in Prague's National

²⁷ Martinus OPPAVIENSIS, *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, ed. Anna-Dorothee VON DEN BRINCKEN, 2014, <<http://www.mgh.de/ext/epub/mt/index.htm>> (January 18, 2016).

²⁸ Iohannis DE MARIGNOLLIS, *Chronicon Bohemorum*; I. MALFATTO, 'Plus curiosus quam virtuosus'; K. KUBÍNOVÁ, *Jan Marignola a jeho 'cestopis'*.

²⁹ Iohannis DE MARIGNOLLIS, *Chronicon Bohemorum*, p. 8.

³⁰ The only subject that was quite new in Bohemian historiography is Marignolli's consideration on Charles' dynasty, that he made come from the pagan gods Jupiter and Saturn. M. BLÁHOVÁ, "... ad probos mores"; K. ENGSTOVÁ, *Marignolova kronika*.

³¹ Marignolli's attempt to legitimate Charles' power as Roman emperor is highly researched in Czech literature. Marie BLÁHOVÁ, *Odras státní ideologie v oficiální historiografii doby předhusitské*, Folia Historica Bohemica 12, Praha 1988; M. BLÁHOVÁ, "... ad probos mores"; K. ENGSTOVÁ, *Marignolova kronika*.

³² Marie BLÁHOVÁ, *Poznámka k recepci České kroniky Jana Marignoly z Florencie ve středověkých Čechách*, in: Helena Krmíčková – Anna Pumprová – Dana Růžičková – Libor Švanda (eds.), *Querite primum regnum Dei*, Brno 2006.

Library (shelfmark I D 10).³³ Another manuscript in the same library (shelf mark I C 24)³⁴ contains only a few excerpts of the text and a third manuscript, now at the Marciana Library in Venice (shelfmark lat. X 188 [3628]),³⁵ contains only the first book and the beginning of the second. All these manuscripts belong to the 15th century and they are collections of heterogeneous texts, mostly focused on historical works and documents pertaining to Bohemia, especially to the period of Charles IV.

The two Prague manuscripts are very similar in the outlook as well as in the content. Most of the texts included are from the 14th century and are related to Charles IV and his reign. The only main difference between the two is the way they deal with Marignolli's *Chronicon*. Manuscript I D 10 is a composite book, in which the texts copied in the 15th century are placed side by side with interpolated documentary materials of the 17th century. Among the other contents,³⁶ the presence of Marignolli's and Pulkava's chronicles (ff. 1r–102v; ff. 109r–215r) is significant because both are products of Charles IV's guidelines on historiography. We will focus later on the connection between these two works.

Manuscript I C 24 dates from the second half of the 15th century. Its content is partially similar to the other manuscript, but it contains more texts related to Charles IV, his court and his intellectual entourage. The manuscript actually seems to be a copy of a miscellaneous book produced in Prague during the second half of the 14th century. In this manuscript we find Pulkava's chronicle (ff. 1r–82r), a list of Bohemian kings and bishops (ff. 83r–87v), the *Vita* of Charles IV (ff. 90r–112v), the text of the *Bulla Aurea* (ff. 171v–185v) and some excerpts from Marignolli's chronicle (f. 202r/v). The presence of excerpts from Marsilius of Padua's *Tractatus de translatione imperii* (ff. 190v–198r) and from Petrarch's *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia* (ff. 203r–205v) is interesting as well, because of the links of both authors with the imperial court. Significant also is the presence of excerpts from Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* (ff. 206v–315r) and of Martin of Troppau's *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* (ff. 198v–201v): these works were important sources to Marignolli's *Chronicon Bohemorum*, so they were probably significant within Prague's culture of the time.³⁷

At f. 205v an 18th century lector steps in remarking his removal of some sheets because, as he states, they contain useless materials, not pertaining to the principal subject of the manuscript, which is history.³⁸ So the manuscript, after this intrusion, lost some material: perhaps, we lost some texts that we could imagine similar to the ones of Petrarch and Marsilius, the only texts not following historiographical topics. This is a great loss, because this manuscript – or better its antigraph – seems to have been an interesting outcome of Prague's cultural milieu during Charles' reign.

³³ Josef TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C. R. bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, I, Praha 1905, pp. 54–55.

³⁴ J. TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, pp. 39–41.

³⁵ Giuseppe VALENTINELLI, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum. Codices mss. Latini*, VI, Venezia 1873, pp. 99–101.

³⁶ Remarkable too is the presence of the *Vita* of Charles IV (ff. 216r–238v). For a full description of the manuscript's contents J. TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, pp. 54–55.

³⁷ For a full description of the manuscript's contents J. TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus*, pp. 39–41. See also: M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Poznámka k recepci*, pp. 337–340.

³⁸ The text of the gloss is: "Hic sequebantur miscellanea quaedam theologica partim etiam philosophica et poetica, ad historiam parum aut nihil facientia. Ut autem in hoc volumine uberioris historiae locus esset, omnia illa folia inutilia eieci, et chartam puram, in qua conformia credentibus scriberentur, substituendam esse putavi."

In both manuscripts Marignolli's *Chronicon Bohemorum* is placed side by side to Pulkava's *Chronica Bohemiae*. The latter was composed in 1374, about twenty years after the former (which was composed between 1355 and 1358). Both works, as we said, are chronicles of Bohemia written on Charles IV's demand. We have already seen the programmatic declaration included in Marignolli's *Chronicon*'s prologue; let's now inspect Pulkava's work more closely.³⁹

This author, like Marignolli, came from an academic background: we know that he was 'doctor artium' and teacher at St. Egidius' school in Prague, similar to Marignolli who had been teacher as well at the franciscan *Studium* of Bologna. As we said, Pulkava's work starts off as an universal chronicle, like Marignolli's, but is strictly focused on Bohemian history from its beginning.

Its conclusion, in particular, is very interesting when compared with Marignolli's prologue. Pulkava's *Chronica Bohemiae*'s *explicit* reads: "*Explicit cronica Boemorum, quam [...] Przibico de Tradenina, arcium liberalium doctor, congregavit ac composuit ab origine terre Boemie omnium ducum et regum, qui suis temporibus ipsam gubernaverunt et in ea regnaverunt, ex omnibus cronicis omnium monasteriorum et quorundam baronum, ubicunque potuit conquirere. Scitoque tamen istud, quod omnes res fabulose et non vere ac fidei dissimiles sunt obmisit et reiecte, sed quod verum et certum est, de eis excerptum, hoc est in hac cronica mandato predicti imperatoris positum. Nam illas omnes res certas et veras ac gesta seu facta sue terre Boemie idem imperator, quam pervalide super omnes alias suas terras dilexit, solus omnibus cronicis monasteriorum et baronum visis et cum summa diligencia perlectis memorato Przibiconi demandavit ex eis unam cronicam veram et rectam conscribere et in unum volumen redigere.*"⁴⁰ ("Here ends the Bohemian Chronicle that [...] Pribik of Radenin, doctor in Arts, collected and composed on Charles IV's invitation. He composed this chronicle by collecting all the chronicles that he could find at monasteries and at some secular lords' libraries, wherever he could trace them. And you have to know that all things that are imaginary, not true and opposite to our faith, have been left out and refused. Only what is true and certain, selected from those works, has been included in this new chronicle, according to the emperor's will. The emperor himself, indeed, after having looked at all those chronicles from monasteries and lords, and after having read them carefully, asked the above-mentioned Pribik to collect and put together all these certain and true information, like Bohemian facts and deeds, in a fair and true chronicle, in one book.")

The emperor's guidelines given to Pulkava seem to be similar to the ones expressed in Marignolli's *Chronicon Bohemorum*. We can compare Marignolli's prologue and Pulkava's conclusion:

³⁹ For further information on the comparison of Marignolli's and Pulkava's works M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Odras státní ideologie*; M. BLÁHOVÁ, "... ad probos mores".

⁴⁰ PRZIBICO DE RADENIN dictus PULKAVA, *Chronicon Bohemiae*, ed. Josef EMLER, Praha 1893 (*Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, V), p. 207.

Marignolli: <i>Cronicarum antiquas et novas hystorias maxime Boemorum obscure conscriptas [...] transcurri mandavimus.</i>	Pulkava: <i>Congregavit ac composuit [...] ex omnibus cronicis omnium monasteriorum et quorundam baronum, ubicunque potuit conquirere.</i>
Marignolli: <i>Amputatis obscuris verborum ambagibus et superfluis resecatis ac interpositis quibusdam utilibus.</i>	Pulkava: <i>Omnes res fabulose et non vere ac fidei dissimiles sunt obmisit et reiecte, sed quod verum et certum est, de eis excerptum, hoc est in hac cronica mandato predicti imperatoris positum.</i>
Marignolli: <i>Cronicarum boemicalium ystorias obscure quidem pristinae conscriptas in unum magis lucide compendium [...] duxi regulandas.</i>	Pulkava: <i>Ex eis unam cronicam veram et rectam conscribere et in unum volumen redigere.</i>

In both circumstances Charles explicitly invited the authors to collect all existing Bohemian chronicles checking and revising them in order to write a unique historiographical book, which would have been free from useless and superfluous material.⁴¹

Yet it's clear to notice that between the two books' programmatic declarations there are some slight but significant differences: in Marignolli's prologue the intention of '*superflua resecare*' was joined to the one of '*quaedam utilia interponere*'. Moreover, it seemed that he especially wanted to remove useless rhetorical affectations ('*obscurae verborum ambages*') that made the contents less clear. Pulkava's chronicle *explicit*, on the other hand, clearly expresses the intention of cutting out from previous chronicles all the information that seemed '*fabulose et non vere ac fidei dissimiles*', in order to put first only things that were specifically '*certe*' et '*vere*' (the word '*verum*' is often repeated).

In the end, comparing these two texts we can assume that Marignolli interpreted Charles' guidelines in his own way and took advantage of his chronicle's universal and encyclopaedic structure to enrich the contents with the narration of his own experience. The topics of the long digressions placed in the first part of *Chronicon Bohemorum* actually seem to match perfectly with Pulkava's definition of '*fabulose, non vere ac fidei dissimiles*': Marignolli consistently spices up his account with curious oriental legends and fictitious experiences (for example, his meeting with the queen of Sheba or the location of the Garden of Eden). Furthermore, he writes several paragraphs about costumes and rituals of Buddhists and Hinduists, telling the reader how much he admires their authentic and sincere faith.⁴²

It's really probable that Charles didn't appreciate Marignolli's work, which seems also incomplete. After the Italian's death the Emperor reformulated his request to another writer: yet this time he chose a real Bohemian, not a foreigner, to whom he asked for a chronicle that would have been a true 'Bohemian chronicle', despite of the universal structure. Above all, he wanted him to restrict his narrative to real historical facts, without legends, curiosities or oddities.

⁴¹ For a comparison of Marignolli's prologue and Pulkava's explicit M. BLÁHOVÁ, "*... ad probos mores*", pp. 115–117.

⁴² Iohannis DE MARIGNOLLIS, *Chronicon Bohemorum. Excerpta de rebus orientalibus*.

This hypothesis could be confirmed by the way in which Marignolli's text is treated in manuscript I C 24: the manuscript contains only three paragraphs extracted from the whole work, which fit into only one folio (folio 202 recto and verso). Furthermore, under the copied text there is an annotation made by a later reader of the manuscript, which shows a great lack of interest towards Marignolli's work: the reader addresses the copyist directly, in German: "*Hastu nit mehr gwüsst oder khönet, so hettest diss auch wol bleiben lassen.*" In English, it could sound like this: "Were you not able to find anything better in this text? Then you should have better avoided copying it at all!"⁴³

In conclusion, some words on the Venice manuscript: it's a 15th century manuscript composed in Slesia in connection with the work of Nicholas Tempelfeld and shows a completely opposite reception of the text.⁴⁴ The *Chronicon Bohemorum*, in fact, is copied there concerning only his more 'universal' section, the one that contains the digressions about Marignolli's journey. The narration of Bohemian history is totally omitted. Therefore it's clear that the manuscript was produced in a different context (it indeed belongs to a different branch of the tradition).⁴⁵ We can assume it also by paying attention to its contents: it is less focused on Charles IV and more heterogeneous.⁴⁶

The treatment of Marignolli's text in the Venetian manuscript exemplifies another way the text had been understood: a collection of exotic curiosities about Asia rather than a chronicle of Bohemia with celebratory purposes.

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RESUMÉ

Ze všech českých kronik napsaných během vlády Karla IV. (celkem pět textů vzniklých mezi lety 1353 až 1374) je pouze kronika Jana Marignoly uvozena významným prologem. Podle něho prý císař požádal v roce 1355 tohoto italského mnicha, aby shromáždil všechny dřívější kroniky zachycující českou historii, zhodnotil je a přišel s novým všeobecným narativem. Marignolova práce měla sledovat projekt historiografické renovace: Karel si přál přepsat českou historii za účelem oslavy svého zvolení císařem. Univerzální vyprávění mělo sahát od počátku světa až do tehdejší současnosti. Františkán měl však vlastní plány. Pochyboval o císařově výslovném vybidnutí „*superflua resecare*“ z dřívějších kronik a „*quaedam utilia interponere*“, namísto toho protkal své dílo mnohými odbočkami, které se nevztahovaly k české historii, vycházely však z jeho osobní zkušenosti. V roce 1338 byl totiž Marignola vyslán na Dálný východ jako papežský legát a během své dobrodružné cesty navštívil centrální Asii, Čínu, Indii, Blízký východ a Svatou zemi. V jeho *Chronicon Bohemorum*, jak je výsledné dílo nazýváno, proto v první části hovoří například o budhistických rituálech, uvádí legendy o pozemském ráji a popisuje různá *mirabilia*.

Marignolovo dílo, které je zachováno ve třech rukopisech, z nichž dva jsou uloženy v Národní knihovně v Praze, zřejmě Karla neuspokojilo. Proto v roce 1374 požádal Přibík Pulkavu z Radenína, aby napsal další alternativní českou kroniku. Pulkavova *Chronica Bohemiae*, která je dochována ve dvou rukopisech uchovávaných

⁴³ M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Poznámka k recepci*, p. 337.

⁴⁴ M. BLÁHOVÁ, *Poznámka k recepci*, p. 335.

⁴⁵ For further information on the *Chronicon Bohemorum*'s *stemma codicum* Heribert A. HILGERS, *Zum Text der 'Cronica Boemorum' des Johannes de Marignolis*, *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch* 15, 1980, pp. 143–154; Iohannis DE MARIGNOLLIS, *Chronicon Bohemorum. Excerpta de rebus orientalibus*, pp. V–VII.

⁴⁶ For a full description of the manuscript's contents G. VALENTINELLI, *Bibliotheca manuscripta*, pp. 99–101.

Národní knihovnou v Praze (I D 10, I C 24), je velmi odlišným dílem. Její autor se zaměřil výhradně na českou historii, a co více, zdůraznil, že „*omnes res fabulose et non vere ac fidei dissimiles sunt obmisse et reiecte*“, čímž pravděpodobně odkazoval na neobvyklý obsah Marignolův. Nedostatečné ocenění díla italského mnicha se odráží i v jeho rukopisném dochování.

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