

Freising and the Slavs: Possible Literary Witnesses of the Freising Mission in Carantania Found in Present Day Carinthia

More than sixty years ago, four Carolingian fragments from religious manuscripts were discovered in Carinthia. The research done on these fragments right after their discovery, was only superficial. After a more thorough reinvestigation, it became clear three of them can be linked directly to the diocese of Freising. The results of the reinvestigation of the three fragments will be shown in this article, with special attention to their place and value in the Carantanian missionary context.¹

Keywords: Carantania, Freising, Christian mission, manuscripts, 9th-10th century

Freising in Slovani: morebitne književne priče freisingške misije v Karantaniji, najdene na današnjem Koroškem

Pred več kot šestdesetimi leti so na Koroškem odkrili štiri karolinške odlomke nabožnih rokopisov. Takoj po njihovem odkritju so te fragmente le površno analizirali. Temeljitejša ponovna analiza pa je pokazala, da bi bili trije od njih lahko neposredno povezani s freisingško škofijo. V tem članku bodo prikazani rezultati ponovne analize teh treh fragmentov, posebna pozornost pa bo namenjena njihovem mestu in vrednosti v kontekstu karantanskega misijona.

Ključne besede: Karantanija, Freising, krščanski misijon, rokopisi, 9.–10. stoletje

1 Introduction

In the search for literary evidence of the Christian mission in Carantania, I came across four ninth century manuscript fragments belonging to the *Kärntner Landesarchiv*, that were only discovered during the fifties and sixties of the last century. The amount of literary evidence in the form of liturgical and theological literature retrieved in the missionary area itself is very scarce. A deeper examination of the fragments could therefore provide us with new insights regarding the missionary history of Carantania. This is especially so because the manuscript fragments that are to be discussed in this article, have only been examined and commented upon by Malloth (1965a, 1965b, 1969) and Bischoff (1998-2014) and mostly with rather limited attention to the broader historical and textual context. In this article, three of the four fragments will be discussed, as they can be linked to the Freising-led part of the mission.

Before entering on the examination of the fragments from the *Kärntner Landesarchiv*, we must, however, first clarify which works and texts belonged to or fitted the standard

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repertory of a missionary church. The church inventory belonging to the missionary centre of Maria Wörth/Otok has been preserved. We should be able to identify a common core of basic works that should be present in any church in order to function properly. The question is of course, which works were considered as essential and to which extent did the churches under the *aegis* of Freising meet the standards.

During his time as bishop of Basel, Haito (807-823) drew up a list of liturgical works every parish church should possess. By comparing the inventory of Maria Wörth/Otok to Haito's recommendations, it will be made visible which texts or books present in the inventory must be considered either essential or just common and typical, and which ones are possibly unique to the function or position the church in question held or can be linked directly to the location they were kept or to the diocese of Freising. This discussion will be followed by the analysis of the three fragments.

2 Liturgical must-haves according to Haito

In chapter six of his *Capitula Ecclesiastica*, bishop Haito of Basel presented a list of books he considered as essential to every respectable parish church: "Sexto, qua ipsi sacerdotibus necessaria sunt ad discendum, id est sacramentarium, lectionarius, antifonarius, baptiserium [sic!],² computus [sic!],³ canon penitentialis, psalterium, homelie per circulum anni dominicis diebus et singulis festivitibus aptae. [...] (MGH Capit. Reg. Fr. Vol. 1: no. 177; p. 363)"⁴

This sixth chapter is one of twenty-five, all discussing how a priest should behave and fulfil his tasks. Haito's work was quite widespread throughout the Carolingian empire as there was a great need for better educated clergy (Hammer 1980: 5-6). We should keep in mind that the books suggested by Haito were ideally at the disposal of every priest. However, the real world quite often deviated from this ideal.

3 The inventory of the church of Maria Wörth at the time of bishop Abraham

The missionary centre at Maria Wörth/Otok was already active in the late ninth century, as it was first mentioned in a deed from 902 and had, moreover, already relics in its possession (Mass 1969: 112-113).⁵ The inventory consists of one *folium* and is glued to the inner side of the front cover of Clm 6380. The codex itself dates to the end

² *Baptiserium* is of course also the word for baptistry. This choice of word seems rather odd, as the author probably wanted to refer to the baptismal formula. However, the word *baptiserium* was at some point indeed used to describe a book containing the ritual instructions for the baptism (Huber & Rieth 1973: 81).

³ *Computus*, book for the calculation of Easter day.

⁴ "Sixth, [the books] that are indispensable for the priests themselves for what is to be studied (to be used for study), is a sacramentary, lectionary, antiphony, baptiserium, computus, penitential, psalter, homilies for the Sundays and important feast days of the whole year." (own translation)

⁵ "Inde divina Christi compunctus clementia perveniens ad locum pretitulatum qui proprio nomine ad Vueride vocitatur ubi sanctorum martyrum Christi Primi et Feliciani corpora requiescunt tradidit iure hereditario in capsam suprascriptorum electorum dei ipso videlicet venerabili episcopo traditionem accipiente..." (Bitterauf 1909: 780-781).

of the tenth century and was compiled in Freising. It contains the *Historiae adversus paganos* by Orosius (1r-102r) and a text called *De septem gradibus consanguinitatis*⁶ (102v-103r) (Glauche 2011: 150-51).

The books Abraham donated, were a *plenariosium*, the Bible in two volumes⁷, the Book of Genesis, the Book of Kings, the Parables of Solomon, the Acts of the Apostles, the Book of Revelation, two dialogues, three missals, an epistolary, a lectionary, an antiphonary, an explanation on Genesis, a book by Wolfhardus,⁸ the *Vita Samsonis*⁹ and one *officiale*.¹⁰ The library collection of Maria Wörth/Otok as it was before the generous gift of bishop Abraham is certainly of equal interest to us. It contained a plenary, two missals, an *antiphonarium*, a gradual, the Deeds of the Apostles, a psalter, three homilies,¹¹ a *dialogorum*,¹² a gradual, another psalter, the Book of Matthew, two *sequentaria*,¹³ a passional, two commentaries on epistles,¹⁴ the Book of Samson,¹⁵ a passion of the saints Primus and Felicianus (the patron saints of Maria Wörth/Otok), a *versarium*, a missal, a book by presbyter Hieronymus written in “the Scottish script” (Glauche 2011: 151) and a text or book about the order in which the mass is to be celebrated. The total amount of books present at Maria Wörth/Otok at that time was forty-two. All these books are suitable for the celebration of the mass, the celebration of the days of saints and for religious education.

When we compare the inventory to the list of bishop Haito, we see that a lot of the prescribed books are present. A sacramentary is not listed by this name, but it is highly likely that the missals on the list are in fact sacramentaries. The development of the

⁶ It is a text about the seven degrees of blood relationships, which is traditionally ascribed to Isidore of Seville.

⁷ In Clm 6380 it literally says “Bibliotheca in duo volumina divisa”.

⁸ Wolfhard was the author of the *Vita Waldburgae* and a *Liber Passionalis* (Wendehorst 2006: 39-42). The Freising cathedral possessed the relics of Waldburga and she is prominently incorporated in the Sacramentary of Abraham (Clm 6421) (Daniel 1973: 93-95).

⁹ The presence of the life of a Celtic saint is rather striking, also because he is mostly venerated in France. The monastery of Pfäfers (St. Gallen) did possess relics of Samson and other Irish saints (Flobert 1997: 14). The name Samson does occur a few times in the name lists of the *Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis*. We could assume a Celtic influence was introduced in Maria Wörth/Otok through Freising and indirectly St. Gallen. We see this as well in the presence of the *Liber Geronimi presbiteri scriptus Scotigene*. The Celtic influence in the inventory certainly deserves some more attention in future research.

¹⁰ An *officiale* is a book containing the *Divinum Officium*, also known as the Liturgy of the Hours (Jaschinski 1998: 1008).

¹¹ The inventory speaks of *homiliae*, but it seems likely that the author or copyist meant *homiliaria*, i.e. collections of homilies. It is highly unlikely that three homilies stood on their own. They would probably have been a part of another manuscript, like a *homiliarium*. None of the other *codices* present at Maria Wörth/Otok could contain homilies, so it cannot be the case that the copyist wanted to highlight their presence by mentioning them separately. Apart from that it is very hard to imagine an important centre like Maria Wörth/Otok only having three homilies at its disposal.

¹² Probably the *Dialogorum libri quattuor de Vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum et de aeternitate animarum* of Gregory the Great.

¹³ A *sequentarium* is a book containing sequences. Sequences are rhymed poetry with paired lines on music that are recited after the Alleluia and before the Gospel during Mass (Leahy & Durst 2002: 1-5).

¹⁴ Probably the epistles of Paul.

¹⁵ Probably also the *Vita Samsonis*, as there are no known works by Samson of Dol.

Missale Plenum only took off in the twelfth century (Pierce 2003: 672). Sacramentaries created for priests could also include baptismal liturgies (Ashworth, Pierce 2003: 438). The *baptiserium* mentioned by Haito is probably part of a missal/sacramentary from the inventory of Maria Wörth/Otok. The inventory shows us that Maria Wörth/Otok possessed quite a large amount of missals/sacramentaries. This is suggestive of Maria Wörth/Otok serving as the home base from which the needed books were distributed to the local clergy. What we do miss at Maria Wörth/Otok are a penitential and *computus*. At the time, there had been quite a lot of controversy regarding penitentials, so it might not be so surprising that Maria Wörth/Otok did not possess one as such. The main issue with penitentials of the beginning of the ninth century was their often-contradicting content. They were usually anonymously compiled and did not necessarily follow canon law in the strictest manner. Many synods discussed this problem and suggested solutions. The council of Paris in 829 even proscribed the burning of all small and anonymous penitentials which contain penances that are too soft and not based on canon law. These works had to be replaced by collections of texts that are authoritative and not arbitrary. Due to these reforms, canon law collections like the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, the *Hispana* and penitentials based on these two works became very popular (Le Bras 1923-72: 1172-3; Bieler 2003: 74-5). It is very peculiar the inventory does not contain any other works that could possibly contain a set of rules regarding penance. The other work that is missing in the inventory, is a *computus*, which is used to calculate the date of Easter. The absence of the *computus* does not have to mean that it was actually missing from the library altogether. It could have been added as an appendix to a larger manuscript. Alternatively, one could assume that the Easter date for Maria Wörth/Otok was calculated elsewhere (e.g. at Innichen/San Candido).

Apart from the absence of a penitential and a *computus* in Maria Wörth/Otok, the church possesses all the books that are required to function properly. We do see that by and large, Maria Wörth/Otok possesses a very specific and even intriguing set of *codices*. We should consider it possible that a missionary centre can be of higher status than an average country church. There is no doubt the church at Maria Wörth/Otok was highly respected. We can be sure of this, because in 902-903 a husband and wife from noble descent explicitly stated in a deed they wanted to be buried at the church (Bitterauf 1909: 780-1). Another indicator of the importance of Maria Wörth/Otok, is the existence of a separate inventory that is not part of a deed. The inventories of monastic libraries were often used as library catalogues. In this way, one was able to see what could be lent or read when passing by (Reed-Leal 2020: 196-204). It seems very likely this inventory was added to other manuscripts as well so it could circulate, but is now only preserved through Clm 6380. After comparing the repertory of Maria Wörth/Otok to Haito's standards, we saw that the church also possessed works that can be related to the function it held, namely liturgical and educational works, like the *expositiones*. As the church at the *Wörthersee* was a missionary centre, it is likely they could have been used in the training of new (local) clerics. A third category of works we can distinguish, are the ones that stand out because of their uniqueness or content-related characteristics which link them to the place of usage, like the passion of the saints Primus and Felicianus and the *Liber Wolfhardi*.

4 The manuscript fragments from the *Kärntner Landesarchiv*

It is beyond dispute that these fragments are of great historical value, especially for the field of missionary history. There is very few literary evidence of Christianity in Carantania from the Early Middle Ages. Concerning the missionary activities, we do know for sure they started before 770, because by this time three parishes were already erected (Malloth 1969: 465-6). We get this information from the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*. The churches in question were Maria Saal/Gospa Sveta, a church in the upper valley of the river Mur and one in the Liburnia (Lurnfeld/Lurnsko Polje) territory. This last one could be Molzbichl/Molec (Krahwinkler 2019: 192). Unfortunately, we haven't found any charters or book fragments dating back to the eighth century. However, they must have been well equipped, as we can see that was the case at the younger missionary centre of Maria Wörth/Otok. Most manuscripts and fragments in the region go back to the 12th century at the earliest. The scarce fragments are mostly found as bookbinding material in printed books from the late fifteenth century up to the 1700s (Golob 2017: 70-104). In the next paragraphs the three manuscript fragments that can be linked to Freising will be discussed.

4.1 AT-KLA 118-A-12/37 St (Griffen fragment)

The Griffen fragment was recovered from a farmers inventory going back to 1727-1733. It belonged to the Griffen collegiate. The fragment itself is written in the Carolingian minuscule and consists of one double *folium*. It was written in the second quarter of the ninth century. The dimensions of it are 20 by 17,5 centimetres (Bischoff 1998-2014: 382). Time has had its effect on the writing, but it is still possible to trace the literary contents of the fragment. The Griffen fragment contains a part of St. Jerome's Commentary on the gospel of Matthew. In addition to the double *folium*, there were four other fragments recovered from underneath the covering of the inventory (Malloth 1965b: 691). According to Malloth (1965b: 691), the triangular pieces of parchment were written by the same scribe and taken out of the same manuscript. Hans Malloth (1965b: 696) is convinced we can attribute the fragment to the second quarter of the ninth century. The palaeographical research conducted by Bernhard Bischoff (1998-2014: 382) confirmed the time span, even though he initially mentioned to Malloth (1965b: 696) that it is likely the codex dates back to the first and the second quarter of the ninth century. There is no doubt the fragment is from the Carolingian era, but it is rather difficult to tell its place of origin due to the lack of local features. According to Bischoff (1998-2014: 382) the codex to which the fragment belonged was probably assembled in a South-eastern German writing school and this is as far as we can go. The Bavarian State Library holds three *codices* of Freising provenance containing the commentaries on Matthew by St. Jerome. They all go back to the Carolingian era as well. The *codices* in question are Clm 6272 (shortly after 810), Clm 6305 (end of the eighth century) and Clm 3805 (first half of the ninth century) (Glauche 2000: 128, 184; Hauke 2011: 401). There is no actual proof so far that the Freising diocese was already active in the area of Griffen/Grebinj/Völkermarkt/Velikovec by the second quarter of the ninth century, but we have to bear in mind the charter of the noble Matheri who

wanted to donate some land between Trixen/Trušnje and Griffen/Grebinj to bishop Hitto for the benefit of the monastery at Innichen on the tenth of July 822. However, the Freising diocese gave it back to him as a lifelong loan in order to cultivate and ameliorate the land. After that, a long time passes until we hear about this region again. The lands of Matheri are never mentioned again at all. However, Freising's activity in Lower Carinthia can be derived from a charter going back to 870/875 (Moro 1967: 69-70). Of course, Freising was probably active in the area before this time. The discovery of the Griffen fragment is highly suggestive of the fact there might have been missionary activity in the area before the last quarter of the ninth century. There is even a possibility that it was Freising-led, regarding the later possessions of the diocese in the area and its earlier presence in the upper and middle part of Carinthia (Moro 1967: 70). When discussing manuscript fragments, it is dangerous to assume that the bookbinder who recycled them just took them out of manuscripts that were originally used in the same area. However, this is very likely in the case of the Griffen fragments, as we can identify similar cases looking at the medieval parchment fragments found in present day Slovenia. Nataša Golob (2017: 103) discovered there is definitely a link between the place of binding and the origin of the manuscript fragments used in the covers. The bookbinders always used manuscripts that were disposed of by local monasteries and churches, so if a bookbinder made a book for a local buyer, the manuscript fragments used for the binding never left their area of origin. We could apply the same reasoning to the Griffen fragment. The farmers inventory must have been bound by a local bookbinder, as its content only concerned the Griffen collegiate. The fragments used for the binding are therefore most likely local. The paper used for the printing of the farmers inventory was, according to the watermark, made in St. Veit/Sv. Vid in Carinthia. The use of this paper was widely spread and is even traceable as far as Ljubljana (Malloth 1965b: 697). It is therefore not impossible the book was bound in Griffen/Grebinj itself. The collegiate was consecrated in 1272. It is plausible the original codex containing the fragment belonged to the collegiate and was then reused in the making of their own inventory of farmers. It is highly unlikely the manuscript travelled to Griffen/Grebinj with the first inhabitants of the collegiate, a group of canons from the abbey of Vessra in Thüringen, as the fragments were paleographically described as most likely South-eastern German. It is more likely the codex was already present in the Griffen/Grebinj area before the collegiate came into existence. There was without doubt missionary activity in Carantania initiated by the archdiocese of Salzburg. We should clarify if there were churches or religious communities in the area of Griffen/Grebinj already existing in the early ninth century. There is archaeological proof that the church of St. Martin/Sv. Martin near Niedertrixen/Spodnje Trušnje was erected in the period between 772 and 828. There are stones present bearing the typical wickerwork patterns used in this period (Eichert 2011: 220-2). This style of decoration was especially used in churches erected by the local Carantanian nobility (Karpf 2002: 212). The church of Sankt Martin is situated at roughly eight kilometres from *Stift* Griffen. It is possible the codex could have first belonged to the little church near Niedertrixen/Spodnje Trušnje before it ended up in the Griffen collegiate. As the manuscript was copied in South-eastern Germany, it could have been done by a scribe from the Freising or Salzburg scriptorium to provide a local cleric with educational material. We should bear in

mind that the Gospel by Matthew strongly emphasises mission. No other gospel is as drenched with references to missionary work. Only the Acts of the Apostles concern missionary activity as well (Wood 2001: 3, 62). If the manuscript to which the fragment belonged, was indeed present in Carinthia shortly after it was written, there could be a link between its presence and the missionary activity in the area.

4.2 AT-KLA 118-A-12/42 St (Biberstein fragment)

The fragment from Biberstein near Feldkirchen/Trg holds a part of the *Vita Augustini* by Possidius and an overview of the work of St. Augustine by the same author. The fragment was found in the Bibersteiner *Kastenregister* from 1698. Bischoff's palaeographical examination places the fragment in the second quarter of the ninth century. Its dimensions are 29,7 by 18,3 centimetres (Bischoff 1998-2014: 382). The style of the ligatures is noteworthy, because it has insular characteristics. When we look at the content of the fragment, we notice again the patristic character of the text.

What is interesting about this fragment, is that it contains an ornamental dragon. As far as we know, it is the oldest ornament that was found in the Carinthian area (Malloth 1965a: 312). The Würzburg writing school was influenced by the insular, in this case more specifically Anglo-Saxon, style from its founding till the moment our fragment was written, therefore the ornament is also considered as influenced by the insular style (Malloth 1965a: 312). There is no doubt that Würzburg was a propagator of the insular-German style of ornament painting and writing as well (Bischoff, Hofmann 1952: 5). The influence of the Würzburg style of Hunbert's writing school on the fragment is undeniable. Hunbert was the bishop of Würzburg between 832 and 842 who brought about innovation at the local writing school. Originally, the Würzburg writing school was influenced by the Anglo-Saxon writing style, which is due to the part Anglo-Saxon missionaries played in the realisation of the bishopric. The insular way of writing evolved into a so-called German insular style which kept being used until the 830s. By this time, the Carolingian minuscule was already becoming dominant, although a new influence was entering Würzburg during the time of bishop Hunbert (Bischoff 1952: 5-17). A new style was introduced due to the fruitful relationship with Fulda. There is proof of a conversation between Hunbert and Hrabanus Maurus that provides some insight in the literary connection between the two writing schools.¹⁶ There is absolutely no doubt the two men were close colleagues who valued the distribution of theological knowledge. The shared past between Fulda and Würzburg is also very clear. The abbey of Fulda was founded in 744 under the guidance of Boniface, who was of Anglo-Saxon origin. The first abbot was called Sturm, a monk from the entourage of Boniface of the second

¹⁶ Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae 5, pp. 439-42. Hunbert asked if the Fulda writing school could provide copies of commentaries on the Heptateuch, as he had recently ordered the production of some Bible books at his own scriptorium in Würzburg. He also requested Bible commentaries and provided the parchment on which the books were meant to be copied (Bischoff, Hoffmann 1952: 15). He also explicitly stated that he wanted the text of his letter included at the beginning of the manuscript. Unfortunately, Hrabanus was unable to fully comply with the request. He sent Hunbert a commentary on the Book of Judges and another one on the Book of Ruth. He also confirmed he would provide the other commentaries in the future (Bischoff, Hoffmann 1952: 15).

generation. Though he was not of Anglo-Saxon descent himself, he was educated in the spirit of Boniface. The second generation of Boniface's followers originated from the continent and they were often descendants of the wealthy local aristocracy. Sturm probably only acted as the official abbot after the death of Boniface in 754 (Raaijmakers 2012: 26-7, 32-3). The bishopric of Würzburg was founded around the same time. Its first bishop was Burchard (742-54), who was of Anglo-Saxon descent and travelled to the continent with Boniface around 735 (Wendehorst [1977]-1999: 951). Before the new bishopric was established, Würzburg already had an insular, especially Irish, past. It was St. Kilian who came to the area to preach and found his death in Würzburg around 689. About thirty years later, the Anglo-Saxon Willibrord was active in the same area (Zwanzig 2010: 11-12). The veneration of St. Kilian in Würzburg was promoted, even by Boniface, despite the fact that he often clashed with his Irish contemporary Virgil of Salzburg (Palmer 2009: 65). There is no doubt the writing school of Würzburg was influenced by the insularly influenced style of Fulda. The scribes were acquainted with the Carolingian minuscule, but they did not stop using the insular script alongside it until about 850. One could think this was done out of recognition and respect for their insular past (Raaijmakers 2012: 240). This, however, does not explain why a fragment from a manuscript written in the style of Würzburg ended up in the binding of a Carinthian book from the late seventeenth century. However, there is a connecting link between Carinthia and Würzburg, which is the Freising writing school. At a certain moment, the writing style of Würzburg found its way into the Freising scriptorium. A new writing style was born during the episcopate of Anno. The old style, dominant under Hitto and Erchanbert, was of course still very much alive and still fairly predominant. The best-known representative of the more traditional style is Waltheri, who wrote Clm 6262 (Mass 1969: 187-8). The new style could be seen in manuscripts side by side with the older and more traditional one. The new style is most visible in the two *evangelaria* from the time of bishop Anno (Mass 1969: 189). It had a ductus that was blunt and less round and sweeping. It seems this new writing style was not created in Freising. It must have been introduced by a scholar from outside. The new style is very similar to the one in the Vienna manuscript 968 (Bischoff 1974: 69). According to Bischoff (1974: 70) the style has some typical characteristics relating it to the writing school of Würzburg. Most likely, this new manner of writing was introduced in Freising by a teacher. It is possible that the new scholar or one of his pupils introduced the new style in the *evangelaria* Clm 6215 and Clm 17011 from the middle of the ninth century that were written by the same hand (Mass 1969: 188; Bischoff 1974: 123; Glauche 2000: 20). The Vienna manuscript goes back to the time of Hunbert. (Bischoff 1980: 43). The Biberstein fragment, which dates from the period 825-50, is somewhat younger than the two *evangelaria*. Therefore, the fragment from Biberstein near Feldkirchen/Trg could have been copied in Freising with this new writing style in mind. The palaeographical analysis showed us the fragment resembles the style of Würzburg, but there are no compelling reasons that it must have been written there. If the codex to which the fragment belonged, came to Carantania not long after it was copied, there is no explanation whatsoever why a Würzburg manuscript would end up over there, except if it was copied in Würzburg upon request. It is possible Freising asked for a copy of the work in the same manner as Hunbert asked Hrabanus, but there are no known ties

between Carantania and the diocese of Würzburg, so the most logical explanation for the existence of the Biberstein fragment would be that the codex to which it once belonged, was brought to Carantania to support the Freising-led mission and was copied at the Freising scriptorium during the time of bishop Anno.

4.3 AT-KLA 118-A-13/37 St (Maria Wörth fragment)

The fragment has a dimension of 16 by 36 centimetres. It formed a part of a codex, which, regarding its width, must have been of quite an impressive size. Due to its second life as a stiffener in a book, it was ripped into three pieces. Some of the text parts are very poorly visible because the parchment was probably glued to the wooden cover of the book. The fragment was found in an already dismantled state. The book in which it was recycled probably dates back to the seventeenth century, because the shreds were found in a folder containing nine seventeenth century fragments of deeds (Malloth 1969: 468). Our fragment was coincidentally discovered in 1967 by an archive user (Malloth 1969: 465, 468).

The fragment has been paleographically examined by Hans Malloth (1969: 465-80) and Bernhard Bischoff (1998-2014: 382). The writing is definitely early Carolingian and not very neat and disciplined, which hints to the practical nature of the manuscript. What we do see is a very uniform style of writing, which implies that the manuscript saw the light in a well-established writing school. Malloth (1969: 470) concluded that the manuscript was probably copied in Freising during the episcopate of Hitto (811/812-36). His argument is supported by the fact that only three of the forty *Codices Latini Monacenses* from Freising from the period of bishop Hitto are written in a different style and the bishop is known for having many theological works copied (Malloth 1969: 471). It is therefore quite plausible that the fragment did belong to a Freising manuscript from the early ninth century. The fragment includes a part of chapter twenty-five of *In Genesis* by Isidorus Hispalensis, which is part of his *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum* (Malloth 1969: 471-3). The three strips of fragment combine to form two *folia* of which a part is missing. The manuscript containing the fragment probably held the whole *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*. As it is a work by Isidorus Hispalensis, it is patristic and therefore theological.

We know of the existence of a manuscript which was held in Freising and contains the *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*. According to the work of Glauche (2000: 146), the Clm 6286 was written at the turn of the ninth century in Southern Bavaria in an early Carolingian minuscule, just like the fragment of *In Genesis*. The writing style, however, is different. I noticed that Clm 6286 has the special *capitalis* Q. It has its origin in Freising and was first introduced at the end of the eighth century in Clm 6307. The use of the *capitalis* is a distinctive feature of manuscripts compiled during the episcopate of Hitto (Bischoff 1974: 66). We could possibly specify its origin to Freising instead of just Southern Bavaria. The fragment of *In Genesis* does not contain the special capital Q. This, however does not mean that the fragment from the *Landesarchiv* was not written in Freising. Clm 6286 does not contain the special capital throughout

the whole of chapter 25 of *In Genesin*. Other manuscripts that are undoubtedly from Freising and the time of Hitto do contain the Freising Q, but its use is very arbitrary. It is worth considering that Clm 6286 could have been, due to its provenance and age, the example for the codex of which the *In Genesin* fragment was originally part of.

The big question that remains, is how the fragment ended up in Carinthia. Malloth (1969: 475) states that the manuscript of which the fragment was part of, travelled to Carinthia during a wave of Freising missionary activity in the region. Apart from appointing Freising as the birthplace of the fragment due to palaeographical reasons, there are also some historical and textual arguments that make Freising the logical place of origin. Freising was one of the major centres of Irish culture on the mainland. The Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks took the lead when it comes to education in the seventh and eighth century on the territory of what would become the Frankish empire. The insular monks were known for studying the works of Isidorus and copying it over and over again. Freising seems to have stuck to this tradition and therefore we still possess eleven complete works of Isidorus Hispalensis from the eighth and ninth century¹⁷. Clm 6286 contains the whole *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*. We can say without doubt that the existence of this codex proves that the *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum* had been copied in Freising at the turn of the eighth century, so probably at least a decade before our fragment from the *Landesarchiv* saw the light. I do not think it is very plausible that the manuscript containing the fragment was put together in the Freising missionary area in Carinthia, if we take into consideration that the missionary centre at Maria Wörth/Otok was of fairly recent origin and that most of the books there were donated by Freising, as we can glean from the list of books donated by bishop Abraham. One of the works given by Abraham, is described as *Expositio super Genesim* (Kos 1906: 393). This does probably not concern the work of Isidorus Hispalensis, as there are no known cases of the existence of *In Genesin* from the *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum* as an individual part. The inventory of the donations to Maria Wörth/Otok also contains a list of the books and liturgical objects that were already present by the time of Abraham. We can clearly see that no work by Isidorus Hispalensis was present at Maria Wörth/Otok at that time (Kos 1906: 393). Apart from the *Expositio super Genesim*, Abraham also donated the book of Genesis itself. We can clearly see from the inventory that the works given by Abraham provide for the acquisition of a deeper knowledge of the Christian faith. The manuscripts already present at Maria Wörth/Otok are mostly of a more practical and basic nature. It is likely that the study of the book of Genesis was promoted, as the book itself and a commentary on it were donated to the church in Carantania. If we follow our hypotheses that during the time of Abraham, the Carantanian mission was going more into depth, we can also state that the codex containing the fragment from *In Genesin* travelled to the Carantanian area that was owned and spiritually provided by Freising around the time of the episcopate of Abraham. There is no reason to believe that it was unusual to donate books that already had quite some age to them.

¹⁷ These *codices* are Clm 6307, Clm 6302, Clm 6309, Clm 6250, Clm 14392, Clm 14461, Clm 6325, Clm 6319, Clm 6275, Clm 6286 and Clm 6286.

The finding of the Maria Wörth fragment shows us that the work of Isidore of Seville had already found its way into Carantania during the heyday of patristic literature in Freising. It is not likely the codex the fragment was part of directly belonged to the church at Maria Wörth/Otok, as it is not mentioned in the inventory compiled in the time of bishop Abraham. Nevertheless, we can be fairly sure it was meant to be used in Carantania. It is a pity we don't know anything about the book to which our fragment served as binding material, as it was found in an already dismantled state. It could have been part of a farmer's inventory or some other kind of register.

5 Conclusion

The fragments from Maria Wörth/Otok, Biberstein near Feldkirchen/Trg and Griffen/Grebinj definitely form tangible evidence of the presence of Freising in the Carantanian area. These fragments were all part of works, who were discarded at some point in time. This most likely happened because they were worn out and replaced by printed copies, as these works were fairly standard. One could possibly categorise them as common educational works. Their existence on itself is therefore not that exceptional, but the fact they were found on Carantanian soil definitely is. These theological works and *Vita* are not part of the standard set of books prescribed by bishop Haito, so their presence gives us the impression that the early days of the Carantanian mission were over by the first half of the ninth century. If these works circulated in the area, it could be a sign of a religious education that has already gone beyond the basics. The inventory of Maria Wörth/Otok does not contain these exact works, but we can see it had similar manuscripts in its possession (*expositiones, vitae*). These works definitely could have been used in an educational sphere, like centres where new and most likely local clerics were trained. In any case, the fragments form an early tangible proof of the Bavarian missionary activity in the Carantanian region and should therefore be valued and subjected to further examination in the future.

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POVZETEK

V članku razpravljamo o treh karolinških rokopisnih fragmentih iz Koroškega državnega arhiva (*Kärntner Landesarchiv*), ki so bili najverjetneje zapisani v freisinškem skriptoriju. Pred analizo fragmentov in njihove morebitne uporabe v misijonarskem kontekstu je bilo treba razjasniti, katere vrste del so spadale v standardno zbirko misijonske cerkve. V ta namen smo inventar misijonskega središča Marije Wörth na Otoku iz desetega stoletja primerjali s seznamom nepogrešljivih liturgičnih knjig Haita iz Basla. Pri tem se je odkrilo, katera besedila ali knjige v inventarju je treba obravnavati kot bistvena oziroma kot običajna in tipična, katera pa so morda edinstvena glede na vlogo ali položaj cerkve ali pa jih je mogoče neposredno povezati s krajem, kjer so bila hranjena, ali s freisinško škofijo. Po analizi fragmentov s posebnim poudarkom na krajih, od koder izvirajo, in njihovi uporabi je postalo jasno, da so ti fragmenti

zgodnji oprijemljiv dokaz bavarskega misijonskega delovanja v karantanskem prostoru. Vsi so bili del kodeksov, ki so vsebovali teološka dela (komentar k Matejevemu evangeliju, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*) in življenjepis (*Vita Augustini*). Njihov obstoj sam po sebi torej ni tako izjemen, vsekakor pa je izjemno dejstvo, da so bili najdeni na karantanskih tleh. Tovrstni rokopisi niso del standardnega nabora knjig, ki jih je predpisal baselski škof Haito, zato njihova prisotnost daje vtis, da je bil najzgodnejši del karantanskega misijona končan v prvi polovici devetega stoletja. Inventar Otoka ne vsebuje natančnih popisov teh del, lahko pa vidimo, da je imel v lasti podobne rokopise (*expositiones, vitae*). Če so se ta dela širila po okoliških področjih, bi to lahko bil pokazatelj verske vzgoje, ki je že presegla osnove. Ta dela bi vsekakor lahko bila uporabljena za izobraževanje, na primer v centrih, kjer so se usposabljali novi in najverjetneje lokalni pripravniki za duhovniški poklic.