

Specimen

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Wolfram R. Keller, Dagmar Schlüter (eds)

### “A fantastic and abstruse Latinity?”

Hiberno-Continental Cultural and Literary Interactions  
in the Middle Ages

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### “A fantastic and abstruse Latinity?”

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Diarmuid Ó Riain

## The *Schottenklöster* and the Legacy of the Irish *sancti peregrini*

### 1. Introduction

The *Schottenkloster* movement reached its greatest extent in the 1230s, at which point it encompassed eight abbeys and two priories in Germany and Austria, an uncertain number of priories in Ireland and a short-lived outpost in Kiev.<sup>1</sup> The size and geographical spread of the movement, which began in humble circumstances at Regensburg in the second half of the eleventh century, is impressive, and raises the question as to what made the particular monastic offering of these Irishmen attractive to both the founders of the daughter-houses and to the local populations whose patronage sustained the monasteries and fuelled their expansion. These monasteries were, after all, far too late to occupy any sort of missionary role, and, in following the already ubiquitous Benedictine rule, the *Schottenklöster* were not promoting an innovative form of communal religious life. The movement did over time develop characteristics offering practical benefits to potential patrons, including a willingness to locate their monasteries in urban settings and to engage in scribal duties on behalf of their patrons. On a basic level, however, the *monasteria Scotorum* traded on their ‘Irishness’, the national exclusivity of their inhabitants being jealously guarded throughout their existence, and on their related image as *peregrini pro Christo*. This article will illustrate how, as a means of ensuring that their Irish identity carried positive connotations of extraordinary piety and self-sacrifice and in promoting the idea that ‘Irishness’ and *peregrinatio* were almost synonymous, the *Schottenklöster*

<sup>1</sup>) On the history of the Irish Benedictine monasteries in Germany, see Ludwig Hammermayer, “Die irischen Benediktiner-„Schottenklöster“ in Deutschland und ihr institutioneller Zusammenschluß vom 12.-16. Jahrhundert,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 87 (1976), 249–339; Helmut Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster. irische Benediktinerkonvente im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland* (Paderborn, 1995); Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, “Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent,” in *The Irish Benedictines*, ed. Martin Browne & Colmán Ó Clabaigh (Dublin, 2005), pp. 25–63; Diarmuid Ó Riain, “*Schottenklöster*: the Early History and Architecture of the Irish Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Germany,” unpublished PhD thesis (University College Dublin, 2008); Stefan Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent. Das Leben des Marianus Scottus von Regensburg und die Anfänge der irischen ‘Schottenklöster’* (Heidelberg, 2010).

attempted to exploit the legacy of illustrious Irish or pseudo-Irish missionaries and saints of the early medieval period. This strategy is particularly manifest in a number of texts written at the Regensburg motherhouse, as will be discussed at length below. Furthermore, as some of the early medieval saints were associated with the towns or regions in which the *Schottenklöster* now resided, their invocation on the part of the Irish monks would also have served to highlight the host town's pre-existing bond with Ireland and to thereby strengthen their own position within local society. This article will examine the manner in which the cults of particular saints were fostered at the *Schottenklöster* in this context. The potential of this approach was most forcefully demonstrated in respect of the cults of SS Albart of Cashel and Erhard of Regensburg, which were completely revamped in the twelfth century to the benefit of the Irish monks resident in the Bavarian town, as will be made clear below.

## 2. The Regensburg *Vita Albarti* and *Recessus Erhardi*: The Strategic Construction and Adaptation of a Legend

A single ambiguous expression in the eleventh-century Life of St Erhard would ultimately lead to the creation of three new Irish saints by way of two works produced at the Regensburg *Schottenkloster* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Erhard's hagiographer, Paulus, described Erhard as being "Narbonensis gentilitate, Nervus civilitate, genere Scoticus."<sup>2</sup> Of the three descriptives, the first is regarded as potentially the most reliable, with Erhard thought to have been born in the Narbonne region in the south of France around the middle of the seventh century.<sup>3</sup> The second was probably imported from the tenth-century Life of Erhard's supposed brother, St Hildulf, where the latter is referred to as "claro Nerviorum genere ortus."<sup>4</sup> The term *genere Scoticus* has been interpreted as a hagiographical topos or perhaps an indication that Erhard received part or all of his training in a monastery following an Irish rule. In the context of its appearance together with *Narbonensis gentilitate*, the ex-

- 2) *BHL* 2590; ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 6 (Hannover — Leipzig, 1913), pp. 8–21, at p. 10. The author of the Life is generally believed to have been Paulus Iudaeus, a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Fulda; MGH, SS rer. Mer. 6, pp. 5–6; Gisela Koschwitz, "Der heilige Bischof Erhard von Regensburg. Legende — Kult — Ikonographie," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 86 (1975), 481–644, at p. 496; Paul Mai, "Der heilige Bischof Erhard," in *Bavaria Sancta. Zeugen christlichen Glaubens in Bayern*, vol. 2, ed. Georg Schwaiger (Regensburg, 1971), pp. 30–51, at p. 33.
- 3) On Erhard's origins, see John Colgan, *Acta sanctorum veteris et maioris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae* I (Louvain, 1645), pp. 37–38; John Hennig, "St Albert, Patron of Cashel. A Study in the History of Diocesan Episcopacy in Ireland," *Mediaeval Studies* 7 (1945), 21–39, at pp. 23–24; Friedrich Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jahrhundert)* (Munich — Vienna, 1965), pp. 385–387; Koschwitz, "Der heilige Bischof Erhard," pp. 488–489; Mai, "Der heilige Bischof Erhard," pp. 33–35; Alois Schmid, "Erhard, hl.," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* III, (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 2138–2139.
- 4) *BHL* 3945; ed. Joannes Baptista Sollerius, Joannes Pinius & Guilielmus Cuperus, *Acta Sanctorum, Julii III* (Antwerp, 1723), pp. 221–224, at p. 221. For the potential meanings of *Nervus/Nervius* here, see Mai, "Der heilige Bischof Erhard," pp. 33–35.

pression could hardly be taken to indicate that Erhard was an Irishman. Nonetheless, the twelfth century would see the origins of Erhard, almost certainly on foot of that single phrase, transplanted to Ulster, the Regensburg saint recast as an erstwhile Bishop of Armagh: "[...] beatus Herhardus, in Hybernia natus et conversatus, sanctitate magnificus, dignitate episcopus in civitate que dicitur Artmacha" ("[...] the blessed Erhard, born and raised in Ireland, magnificent in sanctity, holding the dignity of a bishop in a city called Armagh").<sup>5</sup> This was done in the context not of a new Life of Erhard, but of the *Vita Albarti archiepiscopi Casellensis*, an otherwise unattested saint destined "to remain completely in the shadow of another" in his own Life.<sup>6</sup> As is clear from its content, the *Vita Albarti* was almost certainly composed at one of the two Irish monasteries in Regensburg, probably at the larger *Schottenkloster* of St James rather than at Weih Sankt Peter.<sup>7</sup>

- 5) *BHL* 218; *Vita Albarti archiepiscopi Casellensis*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH, SS rer. Mer. 6 (Hannover — Leipzig, 1913), pp. 21–23, at p. 22. Levison's text has *Artinacha* rather than *Artmacha*, based on the former reading in the two text witnesses he relied upon, i.e. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 14473 (early thirteenth-century; originally from the library of the Benedictine monastery of St Emmeram in Regensburg) and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 336 (circa 1200; probably from the Augustinian canonry at St. Pölten, April to June section of the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*); Karl Halm et al, *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis*, vol. IV/II, Munich, 1876, p. 178; Elisabeth Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek. Teil I: Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg* (text vol.), Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 43; Albert Poncelet, "De Magno Legendario Austriaco," *Analecta Bollandiana* 17 (1898), 24–96, 123–216; Friedrich Simader, "Ein Buchmaler um 1200. Zu den Anfängen der Buchmalerei in St. Pölten," *Unsere Heimat. Zeitschrift für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 72 (2001), 25–34; Diarmuid Ó Riain, "The Magnum Legendarium Austriacum: A New Investigation of One of Medieval Europe's Richest Hagiographical Collections," *Analecta Bollandiana* 133 (2015), 87–165. *Artinacha* is undoubtedly a corruption of *Artmacha*, and the correct form is, indeed, found in the witnesses of the *Vita Albarti* contained in the exemplars of the Austrian legendary (*MLA*) from the Cistercian monastery at Heiligenkreuz (Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 12, fol. 164v; late twelfth-century), the Benedictine monastery at Admont (Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 24, f. 129r; circa 1200) and in the fifteenth-century copy from the Benedictine monastery at Melk (Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 492, f. 70r). *Artinacha* appears in the early thirteenth-century exemplar of the *MLA* from the Cistercian monastery at Zwettl (Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 24, f. 175v). The place-name *Lesmor* (Lismore) suffered a similar fate in Cod. Lat. 14473, being rendered *Lesinor*, but with the correct reading appearing in all five *MLA* manuscripts. The *Artinacha* reading in Levison's templates led him to incorrectly ascribe the diocese of Ardagh to Erhard.
- 6) Koschwitz, "Der heilige Bischof Erhard," p. 533. A detailed commentary on the *Vita Albarti* with German translation is contained in: Stefan Weber, "Die Konstruktion eines fabelösen »irischen« Heiligenlebens? Der heilige Albert, Regensburg und die Iren," in *Irische Mönche in Süddeutschland. Literarisches und kulturelles Wirken der Iren im Mittelalter*, ed. Dorothea Walz & Jakobus Kaffanke (Heidelberg, 2009), pp. 229–304. See also Hennig, "St Albert, patron of Cashel"; Helmut Flachenecker, "Hagiographische Werke als Kommunikationshilfen für Fremde," in *Hagiographie im Kontext. Wirkungsweisen und Möglichkeiten historischer Auswertung*, ed. D. R. Bauer & Klaus Herbers (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 96–116, at pp. 110–113; Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, "Cashel and Germany: The Documentary Evidence," in *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal*, ed. Damian Bracken & Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel (Dublin, 2006), pp. 176–217, at pp. 183–185; Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 732–735.
- 7) At some point during the twelfth century the two Irish monasteries in Regensburg were amalgamated, with the result that, as the *Vita Mariani* (*BHL* 5527) puts it, one convent was divided

According to the Life, Albart, a Londoner with a strong reputation for sanctity, was visited in England by Herhardus or Erhard, Bishop of Armagh, with whom he returned to Ireland. When they arrived at Cashel, which had been without a prelate for the previous two years, the inhabitants of the town all wished that Albart would become the new archbishop and he was duly elected as such by the whole clergy. On foot of a stirring sermon in praise of *peregrinatio* preached at Lismore by the bishop of that *civitas*, Albart and Erhard left together for the Continent as pilgrims, only to separate after reaching Rome, where they had been received by Pope Formosus (891–6). Albart travelled on to Jerusalem, before seeking out Regensburg on his return, having stopped at Salzburg on the way.<sup>8</sup> In Regensburg he found Erhard buried at the church of St Mary (i.e. Niedermünster). After incessant prayer at the tomb of his erstwhile companion, Albart died on 25 May and “in ecclesia sancte Marie carissimo suo Herhardo consepultus est” (“he was buried with his most dear friend Erhard in the church of St Mary”).<sup>9</sup>

Albart, an English Archbishop of Cashel, is a saint who is unattested outside of the *Vita Albarti* and some derivative literature. He receives no mention in the eleventh-century *Vita Erhardi*. Considering that the content of Albart’s Life is overwhelmingly advantageous in relation to the particular circumstances of the Irish monks in twelfth-century Regensburg, the suspicion that the author simply invented the hero of the *Vita Albarti* is very strong. It seems that here was more a case of a Life needing a saint than a saint needing a Life. It must be noted, however, that archaeological evidence suggests that Erhard may indeed have had a companion with a reputation for saintliness, who was buried with him at Niedermünster.<sup>10</sup> This may have given rise to a tradition, which was then usurped by the author of the *Vita Albarti* for the benefit of the *Schottenkloster* monks.<sup>11</sup> It may even be that this compan-

between two locations with the abbot of St James as head and the prior of Weih Sankt Peter appointed by the latter. This arrangement is first recorded in the above-mentioned Life of Marianus, which was written at some point between 1177 and 1185, but is likely to have come about much earlier in the century; Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 164, 673–678; Flachen-ecker, *Schottenklöster*, pp. 95–96.

- <sup>8</sup> The Life records the death of two of Albart’s companions, Gillipatrigh and Iohannes, in Jerusalem and Salzburg, respectively.
- <sup>9</sup> MGH, SS rer. Mer. 6, p. 23.
- <sup>10</sup> Excavations undertaken at Niedermünster in the 1960s identified the tomb of Erhard near the north-wall of the surviving twelfth-century church, and in association with it a second sarcophagus of similar c. 700 date. The archaeological evidence shows that the tomb of Erhard was successfully rediscovered during the recorded exhumation of the saint in 1052, with the lid of the sarcophagus thereupon raised to the level of the floor and thereby made visible within the church. It was subsequently obscured by the erection of a ciborium over the tomb in the fourteenth century; Klaus Schwarz, “Das spätmerowingerzeitliche Grab des heiligen Bischofs Erhard im Niedermünster zu Regensburg,” in *Ausgrabungen in Deutschland gefördert von der Forschungsgemeinschaft 1950–1975*, vol. II (Mainz, 1975), pp. 129–164; idem, “Regensburg während des ersten Jahrtausends im Spiegel der Ausgrabungen im Niedermünster,” *Jahresbericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege* 13/14, 1972/3 (Munich, 1978), pp. 20–98; Peter Morsbach, “Das Grab des heiligen Erhards,” in *Ratisbona Sacra. Das Bistum Regensburg im Mittelalter*, ed. idem (Munich, 1989), pp. 64–68.
- <sup>11</sup> The second tomb has been attributed to Albart, and, indeed, its position corresponds to that of the traditional location of Albart’s tomb, as indicated by the presence of a fourteenth-century

ion was known to have been named Albartus, although there is another theory as to the origins of the name.<sup>12</sup> Whether the *Vita Albarti* usurped an existing tradition or completely invented Erhard’s companion, the Life must be viewed as a vehicle designed to fabricate an ancient link between the town of Regensburg, and its venerated St Erhard, and the homeland of the Irish monks. More particularly, the Life created a pseudo-historical link between Regensburg and Cashel, the ecclesiastical and royal capital of the province of Munster, from which the majority of the residents of the Regensburg *Schottenklöster* hailed from circa 1100 onwards.<sup>13</sup> Cashel is glowingly referred to as a *celeber locus*, “que est civitas metropolis, urbs Hybernie regalis” (“which is a metropolitan see, the royal city of Ireland”), and its importance heightened by the author anachronistically bestowing it with archiepiscopal status.<sup>14</sup> The Life was also designed to cast a generous light on the *Schottenkloster* monks through its emphasis on the virtue of *peregrinatio*, its firm linking of the concept with Ireland, and its creation of two ancient adherents who had already made the journey from Ireland to Regensburg and in whose exalted footsteps the twelfth-century Irish monks could claim to be travelling. In its hibernization of Erhard, its apparent invention of another saint embodying a link between Regensburg and Munster and the creation of two saintly antecedents for the self-styled *monachi peregrini* of the Regensburg *Schottenkloster*, the *Vita Albarti* can be seen as something of a hagiographical masterstroke. Yet there was little subtlety in the author’s attachment of

sculpture of the saint within the ciborium in the church above; Schwarz, “Das spätmerowingerzeitliche Grab,” pp. 141–142; idem, “Regensburg während des ersten Jahrtausends,” *passim*; Morsbach, “Das Grab des heiligen Erhards.” Rather than identifying the excavated tomb as that of Albart, however, it should be viewed as possible evidence that Erhard did have a particular saintly companion, who was buried with him at Niedermünster, with the *Vita Albarti* then having exploited this existing tradition.

- <sup>12</sup> John Colgan, who did not have access to a copy of the *Vita Albarti*, suggested that the name Albart was a Germanized version of Albeus and that the figure of St Ailbe or Albeus, Bishop of Emly, stood behind the Regensburg Albartus; Colgan, *Acta sanctorum*, pp. 40–41. According to his Life, which is preserved in the fourteenth-century *Codex Salmanticensis*, Ailbe met St Patrick at Cashel and was bestowed with the care of all Munstermen, including Oengus son of Nad Froich, King of Munster; *BHL* 197; *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi*, ed. W. W. Heist (Brussels, 1965), pp. 118–131, at p. 125; Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, 2011), pp. 58–60. Colgan’s theory was subsequently developed in Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, “Aspects of the Promotion of Irish Saints’ Cults in Medieval Germany,” *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 39 (1982), 220–234, at p. 231; eadem, “German Influence on Munster Church and Kings in the Twelfth Century,” in *Seanchas. Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne*, ed. Alfred Smyth (Dublin, 2000), pp. 323–330, at pp. 323–325.
- <sup>13</sup> The earliest Irish monks at the monastery of Weih Sankt Peter including Marianus or Muiredach Macc Robartaig, the founding father of the *Schottenkloster* movement, appear largely to have been natives of Ulster. The beginning of the shift to Munster predominance within the Irish community at Regensburg is recorded in the late twelfth-century *Vita Mariani*, where Dominus, the last head of the community at Weih Sankt Peter and first abbot of the newly-founded St James, is said to have hailed from the south of Ireland, unlike his predecessors “[...] in eodem loco septem abbates viri venerabiles eiusdem sancti viri Mariani digni successores, de eadem gente borealis Hibernie finibus surrexerunt. Quorum erat ultimus vir celebris [...] Dominus nomine, qui a parte australi Hibernie primus extiterat.” Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 126.
- <sup>14</sup> MGH, SS rer. Mer. 6, p. 22.

Albart to the existing Erhard tradition; while seemingly exploiting the description of the saint as *genere scoticus* in his eleventh-century Life, no effort was made to tie the *Vita Albarti* in with the narrative of the *Vita Erhardi*, other than to have Erhard end his days in Regensburg.

The clearest espousal of the virtue of the *peregrinatio* in the *Vita Albarti* is provided by the unnamed Bishop of Lismore by means of a sermon rich in Biblical quotation: “Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende omnia que habes et da pauperibus et veni sequere me et habebis thesaurum in celo (Matt. 19.21) [...]. Qui non reliquerit omnia que possedit, non potest meus esse discipulus (Luke 14.33)” (“If you wish to be perfect, sell all that you have, give it to the poor, come follow me and you will receive your treasure in heaven [...]. He who does not leave behind all that he possessed cannot be my disciple”).<sup>15</sup> Albart and Erhard are inspired to give up all they have and to leave behind “*terram, patrias et sedes proprias*,” accompanied by nineteen other pilgrims styled *perfectionis amatores*, and there follows a verbose *laudatio* of the physical and spiritual nature of the *peregrinatio*.<sup>16</sup>

It can be assumed that the glorification of the *peregrinatio* offered by the *Vita Albarti* was designed to reflect well on the twelfth-century inhabitants of the *Schottenklöster* in Regensburg, who projected a self-image as *peregrini pro Christo*. Indeed, the sources relating to the earliest period in the *Schottenkloster* movement suggest that the *Vita Albarti* account of the journey undertaken by Albart and Erhard, i.e. from Ireland to Regensburg via Rome or Jerusalem and other pilgrim destinations, may echo the experiences of many of the members of the Irish monastic community at Weih Sankt Peter in the late eleventh century. The earliest surviving charter granted by Henry IV to Weih Sankt Peter in 1089 refers to its Irish inhabitants as “*quidam Scottigenae pro cruciando corpore salvandaque anima patria sua exulerant, ac diu orationum loca visitantes Ratisponam tandem venerant*” (“certain Irishmen, who had exiled themselves from their homeland for the torment of the body and the salvation of the soul, and who, after spending a long time visiting places of prayer, had come finally to Regensburg”) and also as *monachi peregrini*.<sup>17</sup>

The late-twelfth-century *Vita Mariani*, a Life of the founding father of the *Schottenkloster* movement, Muiredach Macc Robartaig, states that the knowledge of the new Irish monastery at Weih Sankt Peter spread “*per ora hinc inde peregrinorum limina diuersissima sanctorum requirentium*” (“from different directions through the mouths of pilgrims seeking out the most diverse sites of the saints”).<sup>18</sup> According to

<sup>15</sup>) MGH, SS rer. Mer. 6, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup>) “*Scientes autem et invicem suggerentes, quia quamdiu in corpore sumus peregrinamur a Domino et quia hic non habemus manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus, ceperunt peregrinari corporaliter et conversari spiritualiter, non tam de regione in regionem pedum passibus progredientes, quam de regione in regionem gradibus virtutum proficientes, ieiunia continuando, vigiliis custodiendo, orationi insistendo, in fide unanimes, in spe longanimes, in karitate fortes et magnanimes, in verbo affabiles, in opere imitabiles, in utroque spectabiles.*”

<sup>17</sup>) MGH, Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae VI, Heinrich IV. Diplomata, ed. Dietrich von Gladis & Alfred Gawlik (Berlin — Weimar — Hannover, 1941–1978), No. 403.

<sup>18</sup>) Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 124.

the *Vita*, Marianus and his two companions were themselves on route to Rome when they arrived at Regensburg.<sup>19</sup> One Clemens, who is said to have been the third Irishman to join Marianus at Regensburg and a *peregrinationis amator*, left Weih Sankt Peter for Jerusalem, where he ended his days.<sup>20</sup> This calls to mind the person of Gillipatrich in the *Vita Albarti*, who also dies in Jerusalem after accompanying Albart there. Another early inhabitant of Weih Sankt Peter, Iohannes, one of Marianus’ two original companions, left the monastery and became an inmate at Göttweig in Austria.<sup>21</sup> That a companion of Albart of the same name is said in the latter’s Life to have died in Salzburg may be no coincidence.<sup>22</sup>

That analogies can be found between the narrative of the *Vita Albarti* and the footloose character of many of the earliest monks at Weih Sankt Peter may have some relevance to a consideration of the dating of the Life. The anachronistic description of Albart as Archbishop of Cashel appears to offer a secure *terminus post quem* of 1111, this being the year of the Synod of Ráith Bressail, when a new Irish diocesan system was introduced with Cashel and Armagh as the two archiepiscopal sees. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by the inclusion of the *Vita Albarti* in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* or Great Austrian Legendary, the compilation of which was completed in the penultimate or final decade of the twelfth century.<sup>23</sup> Some aspects of the Life’s content seem to suggest that its composition belongs to the early part of this seventy- to ninety-year date-range. The year 1111 is also significant within the history of the *Schottenkloster* movement, insofar as the consecration of the church of St James in Regensburg is recorded for that date.<sup>24</sup> A charter granted by

<sup>19</sup>) After his arrival in Regensburg, but before the establishment of the Irish monastery at Weih Sankt Peter, Marianus reportedly produced a psalter with commentary for the then Abbess of Niedermünster, dating the work to 1074 in a prologue and describing that year as the seventh of his *peregrinatio* (this codex does not survive). In a colophon to a collection of Pauline epistles of 1079, at which point the Irish monastery was up and running, he states that he wrote the work for his *fratres peregrini* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1247). At the end of a different manuscript, another Irish scribe, Johannes, resident at Weih Sankt Peter, referred to 1083 as the seventh year of his own *peregrinatio* (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Fort Augustus Collection, Acc. 11218/1). Regarding these manuscripts, see William Reeves, “Marianus Scotus of Ratisbon,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 7 (1857–61), 290–301; Mark Dilworth, “Marianus Scotus: Scribe and Monastic Founder,” *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 10 (1965), pp. 125–148, at pp. 136–145; Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster*, pp. 126–136; Hartmut Hoffman, “Irische Schreiber in Deutschland im 11. Jahrhundert,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 59 (2003), 97–120, at pp. 100–114; Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 753–764.

<sup>20</sup>) Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 126.

<sup>21</sup>) Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 128.

<sup>22</sup>) See also Weber, “Die Konstruktion eines fabulösen »irischen« Heiligenlebens?,” pp. 273–275.

<sup>23</sup>) See Poncelet, “De Magno Legendario Austriaco,” pp. 25–26; Anton Kern, “Magnum Legendarium Austriacum,” in *Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, ed. Josef Stummvoll (Vienna, 1948), pp. 429–434; Ó Riain, “The Magnum Legendarium Austriacum,” pp. 135–139.

<sup>24</sup>) “Hartwicus Episcopus Ratisbonensis, qui plura beneficia nobis praestitit et anno millesimo centesimo, undecimo praesens nostrum Templum in honorem S. Jacobi apostoli et S. Gertrudis virginis, suis sumptibus consecravit”; Regensburg, Bischöfliches Zentralarchiv, *Schottenkloster* collection: *Tentamen primum Necrologii Monastici*..... (at 30 November). Although it fits in well with external contemporary evidence, the reliability of this date is questionable, consider-

Henry V in the following year can be seen as marking the completion of the new abbey's foundation process.<sup>25</sup> Although an Irish monastery had existed at Regensburg since circa 1075, the foundation of St James marked a major step forward, as this was a new independent abbey, unlike the situation at Weih Sankt Peter, where the Irish monks had use of a church belonging to the Abbess of Obermünster, who enjoyed significant rights in relation to the monastery there.<sup>26</sup>

Considering that the prime purpose of the *Vita Albarti* appears to have been to copper-fasten the position of the Irish monks within Regensburg by inventing a noble precedent for the presence of Irish *peregrini* in the Bavarian capital, the most opportune time to have written such a Life would seem to have been quite early in the existence of the new stand-alone Irish monastery. By the late 1130s, St James was already prosperous and self-confident enough to oversee the expansion of the *Schottenkloster* movement, which began rapidly with the establishment of daughter-houses at Würzburg, Nuremberg and Constance between circa 1138 and 1142. If an organized system of recruitment had not already been put in place to people the two monasteries in Regensburg, the foundation of daughter-houses would surely have necessitated its institution. Due to their insistence on national exclusivity, the *Schottenklöster* required a steady stream of Irish novices, something they attempted to secure through the establishment of dependent priories in Ireland.<sup>27</sup> It seems probable that the somewhat *ad hoc* system of recruitment true of the early years of the Irish community in Regensburg would have been superseded within a short period of the founding of St James. The travels of Albart and Erhard in the *Vita Albarti* therefore better reflect those of the archetypal *Scoti peregrini* in the early years of the *Schottenkloster* movement, rather than the circumstances of the average monk of the mid-twelfth century, who would most likely have travelled directly to Regensburg from one of the dependent priories in Ireland. This could again be seen as indicative of the *Vita Albarti* having been composed at an early date within the 1111–1190 bracket, with the author perhaps having been in a position to draw on the experiences of contemporary or recently deceased Irish monks in Regensburg for his description of the *peregrinatio* of Albart and Erhard.

ing the late, eighteenth-century, date of the necrology and the numerous chronological errors it can be shown to contain.

25) Thomas Ried, *Codex chronologico diplomaticus episcopatus Ratisbonensis*, vol. 1 (Regensburg, 1816), No. 184; Gustav Adolf Renz, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schottenabtei St. Jakob und des Priorats Weih-St. Peter in Regensburg," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 16 (1895), 64–84, 250–259, 418–425, 574–581; 17 (1896), 29–40, 229–239, 416–429, 629–639; 18 (1897), 79–87, 263–274, Reg. No. 9.

26) Regarding these rights, see Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster*, p. 98.

27) On the Irish priories, see James Coombes, "The Benedictine Priory of Ross," *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 73 (1968), 152–60; Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, "Das Nekrolog der irischen *Schottenklöster*. Edition der Handschrift Vat. lat. 10 100 mit einer Untersuchung der hagiographischen und liturgischen Handschriften der *Schottenklöster*," *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 26 (1992), 1–119, at pp. 21–7; eadem, "Irish Benedictine Monasteries," pp. 58–63; Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster*, pp. 282–7; Diarmuid Ó Riain, "New Light on the History of St Mary's Priory, Rosscarbery," *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 113 (2008), 56–68; Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 485–492.

A feature of the Life that might also be telling in respect of its date is the author's linking of the two principal characters with Cashel and Armagh. As mentioned above, while Marianus and the earliest Irish monks at Weih Sankt Peter were drawn largely or exclusively from Ulster, a shift occurred within decades to a Munster predominance, which would continue for the remainder of the Regensburg monastery's existence. The *Vita Mariani* dates the turning-point to the abbacy of Dominus, the last "abbot" of Weih Sankt Peter and first of St James.<sup>28</sup> All the available documentary evidence suggests that the abbots and brethren of St James were indeed dominated by Munstermen from at least the 1130s onwards.<sup>29</sup> Assuming that the change from Ulster to Munster hegemony occurred around the time of the foundation of St James, as indicated by the *Vita Mariani*, it may be no coincidence that the two *peregrini* and *fratres karissimi* that end up in Regensburg in the *Vita Albarti* were bishops attached to the ecclesiastical capitals of Munster and Ulster. This could be seen as an attempt to promote unity between the divergent elements within the Irish community at Regensburg and is therefore again potentially indicative of an early date. That the see of Cashel is attributed archiepiscopal status and roundly lauded, while the merits of Armagh remain unsung and its prelate only given the status of a bishop, must surely signify that that Munster predominance had already been established. While the general thrust of the Life indicates that it was primarily directed at a German audience, this particular element suggests that an internal readership may also have been in the author's mind.

Finally, the most curious aspect of the *Vita Albarti*, the fact that the hero is an Englishman, may once again point to an early date. The most credible explanation yet offered for this circumstance holds that it may be attributable to the English influence exerted on the shape of the reorganization of the Irish church in the early twelfth century, notably in the form of English-trained clerics being appointed to prominent positions within the new church structure.<sup>30</sup> In particular, the character of the earliest Archbishop of Cashel, Malchus (Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire), a monk in Winchester prior to his elevation to the see, may have provided the direct inspiration for the English background of Albart.<sup>31</sup> If this was the case, then a date of composition contemporary with Malchus' tenure (1111 onwards) seems plausible.<sup>32</sup> By its juxta-

28) See above, n. 13.

29) On the Munster origins and connections of the *Schottenklöster* monks after this point, see Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, "Irish Kings and Bishops in the Memoria of the German *Schottenklöster*," in *Irland und Europa. Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter*, ed. Próinséas Ní Chatháin & Michael Richter (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 390–404; eadem, "German influence on Munster;" eadem, "Cashel and Germany"; Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster*, pp. 277–287; Ó Riain, "New Light," pp. 56–68.

30) Hennig, "St Albert, Patron of Cashel," p. 33; Flachenecker, "Hagiographische Werke," p. 112; Ó Riain-Raedel, "Cashel and Germany," p. 185; Weber, "Die Konstruktion eines fabulösen »irischen« Heiligenlebens?," pp. 257–259.

31) Malchus was remembered in the necrology of the *Schottenklöster* as *Malachias archiepiscopus*; Ó Riain-Raedel, "Nekrolog," pp. 64, 90 (at April 11).

32) Malchus died in 1135, but had returned to the see of Lismore/Waterford before his death. At what point he left the see of Cashel is not clear; *A New History of Ireland IX*, ed. T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin & F. J. Byrne (Oxford, 1984), pp. 289, 291, 303–304. When Albart's English origins are viewed in the light of the archaeological evidence supporting the possibility

position of Cashel and Armagh and its bestowal of the former with archiepiscopal status, the *Vita Albarti* has already revealed itself to be a work influenced by contemporary developments in the Irish church.<sup>33</sup> While the evidence is circumstantial, it can be said that the *Vita Albarti* seems principally to reflect the concerns of the Irish monks in Regensburg in the early part of the twelfth century and a date in the second or third decade thereof seems most likely for the work.<sup>34</sup>

Although the Irish monks enjoyed a more sedentary way of life in the late twelfth century, the concept of the Irish *peregrinatio* was again lauded in the *Vita Mariani* and the implication that the *Schottenkloster* monks were following in the footsteps of the illustrious wandering missionaries of the early medieval period made clear. Strangely, Albart and Erhard, who one would expect to be cited as a precedent for the Irish monks, receive no mention. Of course, the notion cannot be completely dismissed that the *Vita Albarti* was actually composed within a small window between the completion of the *Vita Mariani* (between 1177 and 1185) and the inclusion of both Lives in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* before 1200. Slight evidence in this direction is provided by a recently-discovered litany surviving from the Regensburg *Schottenkloster* dating to the second half of the twelfth century, which includes the name of Erhard, but not of Albart.<sup>35</sup> A martyrology of uncertain — potentially twelfth-century — date from the monastery similarly omits Albart, while Er-

of a saintly companion for Erhard, the hypothesis could be posed that a pre-existing tradition may have existed, which held that this second hailed from England, requiring the author of the *Vita Albarti* to incorporate this belief into his new legend.

33) While the influence of contemporary ecclesiastical politics in Ireland upon the Life is clear, no clear agenda with regard to the issues surrounding the twelfth-century reform is discernible, unless the higher status granted to Cashel vis-à-vis Armagh within the text is to be interpreted as an attempt to support the latter's claims to the primacy of the Irish church within the post-1111 structure. This would assume an audience in Ireland was also intended, a conclusion for which the content of the Life provides little basis. If Colgan was right in seeing Ailbhe of Emly behind Albart, then, as argued by Ó Riain-Raedel, Albart's elevation to the see of Cashel could be construed as asserting Meic Carthaig claims to Cashel and by extension to the kingship of Munster, Ailbhe being a saint closely associated with the family; Ó Riain-Raedel, "Aspects of the Promotion," p. 231; eadem, "German Influence on Munster," pp. 323–325. This would again presuppose an Irish audience. Although we are well within the realm of speculation, it can be said that in both of the instances outlined, the particular concerns are again compatible with a date in the early decades of the twelfth century.

34) The archaeological evidence concerning the reputed tomb of Albart at Niedermünster should not be ignored in regard to the dating of the *Vita Albarti*. According to the excavator of the church, the lid of the tomb was raised to floor-level in tandem with the construction of the post-1152 Romanesque church; Schwarz, "Das spätmittelalterliche Grab," pp. 156–157. It could be that this development encouraged the writing of the *Vita Albarti*. Yet it is not clear from Schwarz's preliminary archaeological reports whether this second sarcophagus had already been rediscovered during the 1052 exhumation of Erhard, although its lid was not raised at that point. Considering the extent of the cut that would have been necessary to raise the lid of Erhard's tomb, it seems probable that at least the eastern edge of the adjacent second tomb would have been revealed. It may have been this discovery that gave rise to the tradition of the saintly companion, if it did not already exist, leading ultimately to the writing of the *Vita Albarti*, which may in turn have inspired the raising of the lid of the second sarcophagus during the rebuilding of the church post-1152. Suffice it to say that the archaeological evidence is somewhat equivocal on this point.

hard is given special attention.<sup>36</sup> The factors pointing to an earlier twelfth-century date for the composition of the *Vita Albarti* suggest, however, that some other unknown reason must lie behind the absence of references to the saint in other twelfth-century *Schottenkloster* texts.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps the Life's incompatibility with the *Vita Erhardi* led to it being poorly received and to the temporary abandonment of *Schottenkloster* attempts to establish Albart's cult. Judging by its inclusion in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, and alongside the *Vita Erhardi* in a codex from the Regensburg monastery of St Emmeram dating to the early thirteenth century, however, the new tradition had managed to gain a significant degree of acceptance by the end of the twelfth century.<sup>38</sup>

In the middle of the following century the story of Albart and Erhard was resurrected and reshaped by a *Schottenkloster* scribe, who attempted in a small way to reconcile the narrative of the *Vita Albarti* with that of the *Vita Erhardi*, adding a layer and a third actor to the legend in the process. In question is a short work entitled the *Recessus Erhardi et suorum sociorum*. The transmission of the *Recessus Erhardi* can be divided into two strands: it forms part of the mid-thirteenth-century *Libellus de fundacione ecclesie Consecrati Petri*, a work part-history, part-fantasy, written at the Regensburg *Schottenkloster*, but it is also transmitted independently in

35) Cork, UCC Boole Library, U.331; Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel & Pádraig Ó Riain, "Irish Saints in a Regensburg Litany," in *Clerics, Kings and Vikings: Essays on Medieval Ireland in Honour of Donnchadh Ó Corráin*, ed. Emer Purcell et al. (Dublin, 2015), pp. 55–66.

36) The martyrology is preserved in a seventeenth-century transcript (Regensburg, Diözesanarchiv, SWS HS 40); Pádraig Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Irish Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies* (Brussels, 2006), pp. 225–244. Erhard is commemorated in two entries in the martyrology (MReg), one recording the date of his translation (8 October), the other the octave of this event (15 October); Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, p. 232, n. 30. The entries for 20 December to 19 January are lacking in the transcript, with the result that the feastday of Erhard (8 January) is missing, but can be assumed to have been present in the original. The probable inclusion of, at least, three entries related to Erhard (more than any other saint) points to a keen interest on the part of the Irish monks in the cult of the Regensburg saint at the time of the original's composition. MReg records the names of numerous Irish saints, these entries having been taken from a copy of the Martyrology of Óengus, which appears to have been brought to Regensburg in the second half of the eleventh century. The date of MReg itself is not clear. Among the entries not present in the Martyrology of Óengus, however, is one commemorating the translation of St Flannán of Killaloe on 26 August, an anniversary unattested elsewhere. The knowledge of this feastday suggests that the martyrology was compiled after the Munster domination of the Regensburg *Schottenkloster* had commenced in the early twelfth century. This entry may be tied in with other evidence for the cultivation of the feast of Flannán at the monastery in the second half of the twelfth-century, when a Life of the saint may have been rewritten; Ó Riain-Raedel, "Kalendare und Legenden in ihre historische Auswertung," in *Early Irish Literature — Media and Communication. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in der frühen irischen Literatur*, ed. Stephen Tranter & Hildegard Tristram (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 241–265, at pp. 261–262; eadem, "Aspects of the Promotion," p. 233; eadem, "Cashel and Germany," p. 211; Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 714–727. The Life records Flannán's translation, but without furnishing a date; Heist, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, pp. 280–231, at pp. 299–300.

37) It must be noted that both litany and martyrology include St Ailbhe. Assuming that the two texts date to after the composition of the *Vita Albarti*, this could be invoked as evidence in support of the theory mentioned above that Albart is a Germanized version of Ailbhe, with the Irish form continuing to be used in these internal liturgical texts.

38) On the St Emmeram and MLA codices, see n. 5.

three late manuscripts now held in Munich and Vienna.<sup>39</sup> In all three it appears immediately prior to the aforementioned *Vita Mariani*. This led Flachenecker to speculate that the *Recessus* may originally have been written as a sort of prologue to the *Vita Mariani*.<sup>40</sup> While this would account for the absence of Albart and Erhard from the body of the *Vita Mariani* itself, it can be shown that the *Recessus* was composed as part of the thirteenth-century *Libellus*. This is obvious from the very first line of the *Recessus*, which in both the *Libellus* and the only slightly divergent versions in the three other manuscripts begins:

Deinde summus pontifex beatum Hildolfum episcopum et fratrem eius Herhardum episcopum et Albertum episcopum transmisit ad Treverensem civitatem sitam super fluvium Mosulam, ut novos filios procrearent in unitate fidei.<sup>41</sup>

The Pope then despatched the blessed Bishop Hildulf and his brother, Bishop Erhard, and Bishop Albert to the city of Trier, which is situated on the River Moselle, in order that they beget new sons in the unity of the faith.

Why this passage begins with *deinde* is clear from the *Libellus*, where it follows accounts of the likewise papally-sanctioned missionary activities of Aidan of Lindisfarne and Kilian of Würzburg. The identity of the unnamed *summus pontifex* is also revealed as Leo II in the preceding passages of the *Libellus*. The version of the *Recessus* that is found in the three late Munich and Vienna manuscripts was clearly lifted in its entirety from the *Libellus* and its association with the *Vita Mariani* is the work of a copyist, whose compilation would have provided the direct or indirect source for the three surviving manuscripts.<sup>42</sup>

As seen above, the *Libellus* records that three Irishmen, Bishops Erhard, Albart (here spelled Albert) and Hildulf, were sent by Pope Leo II (682–3) as missionaries to Trier. Hildulf, who is described as Erhard's brother, had first been consecrated

<sup>39</sup>) Pádraig Breatnach, *Die Regensburger Schottenlegende — Libellus de fundacione ecclesie Consecrati Petri* (Munich, 1977), pp. 145–7. This work is the main focus of Thomas Poser's contribution to this volume. The manuscripts in which the *Recessus* appears independently are Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3301 (an early sixteenth-century compilation by Hieronymus Streitel, including texts relating to the history of Regensburg); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 27070/2 (= 27354) (early seventeenth-century compilation by Franz Jeremias Grienerwaldt of texts from Regensburg libraries); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 167 (an early seventeenth-century copy of Vienna Cod. 3301). On these manuscripts, see Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 41–50, 54–56, 170–173.

<sup>40</sup>) Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster*, pp. 25, 28–29; idem, "Hagiographische Werke," p. 110.

<sup>41</sup>) Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, p. 145. Weber provides the *variae lectiones* of the *Recessus* in Munich Clm 27070/2 and Vienna Cod. 3301 against the *Libellus* version; Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 45, n. 35.

<sup>42</sup>) As already stated, Munich Clm 167 is a direct copy of Vienna Cod. 3301. On the basis of his study of the versions of the *Vita Mariani* contained in Cod. 3301 and Munich Clm 27070/2, Weber concluded that they were not copied from each other, nor from a common source. The compiler of 27070/2, Grienerwaldt, states that he discovered the *Vita Mariani* and the immediately preceding *Recessus* in a water-damaged manuscript at the library of the Augustinian canonry of St Mang in Stadtamhof (a transpontine suburb of Regensburg). Weber argues that this St Mang codex and Cod. 3301 relied directly or indirectly on a common source; Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 41–50, 54–56, 79–83, 170–173. The juxtaposition of the *Recessus* and *Vita Mariani* would then be attributable to the compiler of this lost manuscript.

as Archbishop of Trier by the Pope. After the success of their mission and upon Hildulf's death, Erhard was the people's preferred successor, but the reluctant saint fled Trier with Albart, ending up in Regensburg, where they were received at the Niedermünster canonry. Described as a *pauper cellula* at the time of their arrival, the author strongly emphasizes that the canonry became prosperous on foot of donations inspired by the good works and manifold miracles of Erhard and Albart, both while still alive and after their burial within the church.

After the *Vita Albarti* had wholly ignored the content of the *Vita Erhardi*, the *Recessus Erhardi et suorum sociorum* in turn almost completely disregards the *Vita Albarti*. Albart is retained as a companion of Erhard, but is quietly transformed into an Irishman, and is said to be a bishop, not an archbishop. No mention is made of Cashel or Armagh, or of Albart's *peregrinatio* to Jerusalem. Indeed the *Recessus* provides little direct evidence that its author even had a copy of the *Vita Albarti* to hand.<sup>43</sup> Unlike Albart's Life, the *Recessus* relies on the eleventh-century *Vita Erhardi* for much of its scant detail. The appearance of the third man, Hildulf, who is not mentioned in the *Vita Albarti*, is testament to this, as he and Erhard are said in the *Vita Erhardi* to have been brothers, the latter Life being reliant on the tenth-century *Vita Hildulfi* on this count.<sup>44</sup> As Erhard was an Irishman by virtue of the *Vita Albarti*, by logical extension, his brother, Hildulf, must also have been. As the introductory chapters of the *Libellus* glorify all things Irish, the author would have been only delighted to secure the prestigious see of Trier for an Irishman.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, the author elsewhere lists Trier along with Regensburg, Cologne and Rome as the four principal cities since ancient times, subject only to pope and emperor.<sup>46</sup> While the fraternal relationship of Hildulf and Erhard has a sound hagiographical basis in the *Vita Erhardi*, the story of Erhard's activities in Trier and his ultimate flight from the town is pure invention on the author's part, suggesting that his commitment to reconciling the legend of Erhard and Albart with the *Vita Erhardi* was weak to say the least.

<sup>43</sup>) A possible indication that he did indeed have the Life to hand is offered later in the *Libellus*, where an episode occurs in which Christianus Mac Cárthaig, Abbot of the Regensburg *Schottenkloster* in the 1130s and 1140s, is elected as Archbishop of Cashel while on a fundraising visit to the town. Christianus' elevation by acclaim to the see, an event that is historically unattested, has obvious echoes of Albart's election as archbishop, suggesting that the *Vita Albarti* may have been the source of inspiration for this particular episode; Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, pp. 256–257.

<sup>44</sup>) Sollerius et al, *Acta Sanctorum, Julii III*, p. 123.

<sup>45</sup>) Hildulf was active in the area around the Vosges mountains in the second half of the seventh century and is celebrated as the founder of Moyenmoutier. His status as Archbishop of Trier is historically unattested and belongs to a later tradition; Ernst Winheller, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der vorkarolingischen Bischöfe von Trier* (Bonn, 1935), pp. 17–18; Thomas Bauer, "Von der (spät)merowingischen zur hochkarolingischen Zeit (613 – ausgehendes 8. Jahrhundert)," in *Im Umbruch der Kulturen. Spätantike und Frühmittelalter = Geschichte des Bistums Trier I*, ed. Heinz Heinen, Hans Hubert Anton & Winfried Weber (Trier, 2003), pp. 221–255, at pp. 236–237, 245–246. The *Recessus* was, to this author's knowledge, the first work to claim Hildulf as an Irishman.

<sup>46</sup>) Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, p. 158. See the discussion of this passage in Thomas Poser's contribution to this volume.

### 3. The *Vita Mariani* and *Libellus de fundacione ecclesie Consecrati Petri*: Cataloguing the Irish *sancti peregrini*

The *Recessus Erhardi* forms one section of a catalogue of Irish saints, which serves as part of the introduction to the fabulous history of the foundation of the Irish monastery of Weih Sankt Peter. The *Vita Mariani* offered a template of sorts for the *Libellus* list, it too having cited the example of a number of Irish missionaries within its introductory section. These short biographical passages lead on from the author's endeavour in the opening chapter of the *Vita* to directly associate the monks of the Regensburg *Schottenkloster* with their illustrious forefathers by subsuming all under the umbrella of the age-old Irish custom of *peregrinatio*:

Quapropter antecessores nostri nos quoque Christi pauperes pro remedio animarum de finibus occidentis nudum Christum nudi sequentes, patriam carosque propinquos amore ac desiderio uite celestis derelinquentes [...] commendabo.<sup>47</sup>

I will commend to you why our predecessors and we also, the poor of Christ, following from a western land nude the nude Christ for the salvation of our souls, leaving behind our homeland and our dear relatives out of love and desire for a heavenly life [...]

The *Vita*, the author promises, will illuminate the origins of this especially Irish *mos*, and to this end he offers a catalogue of Irish missionary saints, beginning with Mansuetus of Toul, whom he states was sent out from Rome by St Peter in order to convert the people of Lotharingia, after which he preached widely in other parts of Europe, before returning to Toul.<sup>48</sup> The casting of Mansuetus as an Irishman and contemporary of Peter was already a feature of Adso of Montier-en-Der's tenth-century Life of the saint.<sup>49</sup> Thanks to the association with St Peter, the Irish *peregrinatio* could be implicitly presented in the *Vita Mariani* as being as old as the church itself, a point made explicit in the later *Libellus*.<sup>50</sup> Before his death Mansuetus, we are informed, sent certain of his disciples on a mission to Ireland, paving the way for the much later arrival of Patrick, who is then credited with constituting churches, bishops and priests north and south.<sup>51</sup> There follows another eloquent description of the *peregrinatio*, as many of these new *sancti* are said to have preached to foreign peoples, thereby trading the sweet soil of their native land and their dear relatives for

<sup>47</sup> Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 92–94.

<sup>48</sup> Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 94–95, 98–101.

<sup>49</sup> *BHL* 5208–5209; *Vita sancti Mansueti*, in *Adsonis Dervenis opera hagiographica*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis CXC VIII, ed. Monique Goullet (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 131–170. See also James Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929), pp. 160–161.

<sup>50</sup> Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, pp. 140–141.

<sup>51</sup> On the notion of pre-Patrician saints, including Mansuetus, see Richard Sharpe, “Quatuor sanctissimi episcopi: Irish Saints before St Patrick,” in *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney*, ed. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach & Kim McCone (Maynooth, 1989), pp. 376–399; Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, “The Question of ‘Pre-Patrician’ Saints of Munster,” in *Early Medieval Munster: Archaeology, History and Society*, ed. Michael Monk & John Sheehan (Cork, 1998), pp. 17–22.

Christ and eternal life, and weakening their bodies through fasting, thirst and the cold in seeking to gain the company of angels.<sup>52</sup> Among them, the author states, were Columba, Fursa, Columbanus, Gall and Kilian. Little detail is provided beyond the areas of Britain and Europe in which each operated. A concluding sentence distils the salient facts of this introductory section:

Preterea ut omnia breuiter concludam, postquam ardens flamma spiritus sancti populos Hibernie temporibus primitiuis sancte ecclesie efficaciter perflauit, peregrinationem cambientes pro patria, ita in transmarinas regiones se precipitauerunt, ut diversas Europe partes semotas predicando perlustrarent.<sup>53</sup>

Moreover, so as to briefly conclude matters: after the burning flame of the Holy Spirit had blown powerfully over the people of Ireland in the earliest period of the holy Church, exchanging pilgrimage for homeland, they accordingly hastened to regions across the sea in order to wander preaching all over diverse, remote parts of Europe.

This prelude leads directly to the beginning of the *Vita* proper and Marianus' arrival at Bamberg, the latter's *peregrinatio* clearly presented as a continuation of all that had gone before, the founding father of the *Schottenklöster* as the next in the line of Irish *sancti peregrini*. The strength of the Irish association with the *peregrinatio* is again highlighted in the description of the travels of Marianus and his two Irish companions, Iohannes and Candidus, who are said to have left Bamberg on account of their desire to complete their pilgrimage to Rome, *gentis sue more*.<sup>54</sup> In the final chapter of the Life the author considers the eternal reward awaiting Marianus and the others who piously and devotedly follow in his footsteps, leaving behind the sweet soil of their native land to do God's bidding.<sup>55</sup> Clearly the *Schottenkloster* monks are here the other exiles in question, modern-day custodians of the tradition of the ancient Irish *peregrinatio*.

The theme of the *peregrinatio* as a particular custom of the Irish was taken up by the author of the *Libellus*, who makes frequent use of the phrase *more Scotorum* or similar in this relation.<sup>56</sup> The format of the introduction to the *Libellus* very much resembles that of the *Vita Mariani*, with a saints' catalogue following on from an account of Patrick's conversion of Ireland. In his narration of these episodes and throughout the *Libellus*, the author goes far beyond the measured tone of the *Vita*, forsaking no opportunity for embellishment and hyperbole. The tone is set by the sentence introducing the saints' catalogue:

De transitu quorundam sanctorum de occiduis partibus mundi idest de Hybernia vel Scotia, ultra quam terra non habetur, et qualiter Deus predestinavit, quod partes Africe et Europe in maiori parte per sanctos Hybernicos seu Scotos sunt ad fidem catholicam converse, et qualiter dedit eis donum lingue aliene in barbaris nationibus et eos angelorum visitacione duxit de terra ad terram et sapiencie et pre-

<sup>52</sup> Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 104.

<sup>53</sup> Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 106.

<sup>54</sup> Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 112.

<sup>55</sup> Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 168.

<sup>56</sup> See Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, pp. 148, 183, 185 (*bis*), 201, 211, 235.

dicacionis spiritu imbuat gracia a tempore Petri usque ad tempus Karoli regis Magni, filii Pipini regis.<sup>57</sup>

Concerning the passage of certain saints from the westerly parts of world, that is from Ireland (*Hybernia vel Scotia*), beyond which there is no other land, and how God predestined that regions of Africa and Europe were for the most part converted to the catholic faith by Irish saints (*sanctos Hybernicos seu Scotos*), and how he gave them the gift of foreign speech in barbarian nations and led them from country to country through the visitation of angels, and filled them with grace and a spirit of wisdom and preaching from the time of Peter until the time of King Charlemagne, the son of King Pepin.

The catalogue begins with Mansuetus, who, in the one significant alteration to the format of the *Vita*, makes his first appearance after Patrick's conversion. The reason for the change is clear from the content: while reprising the story of Mansuetus' activities in Lotharingia and beyond in the time of St Peter, the *Libellus* author drops the awkward notion of a pre-Patrician mission to Ireland. Accounts of the missionary activities of Fursa, Aidan of Lindesfarne, Kilian, Erhard, Albart and Hildulf follow. Later in the text a second catalogue follows a short recounting of the conversion of Ireland, which ended with a synod attended by no fewer than thirty thousand saints, who receive licence from Patrick to visit the tombs of Peter and Paul and the Holy Land as far as the River Jordan, thereby instituting the custom of the Irish *peregrinatio*:

Et duxerunt in consuetudinem omnes Scoti ab illo die invisere loca sancta Christi et peregrinari.<sup>58</sup>

And they introduced the custom from that day forward for all Irishmen to visit sacred places and go on pilgrimage.

The impression of the ubiquity of the wandering Irish saint since time immemorial, fostered here and throughout the *Libellus*, is further heightened by the author's provision of the lengthy second catalogue of saints, which includes numerous names mentioned neither in the first nor in the *Vita Mariani*. It lists and furnishes terse detail on Mansuetus, Fursa, Erhard, Albart, Hildulf, Kilian, Virgilius of Salzburg, Lullus of Ilmmünster, Declanus of Freising, Alta of Altmünster, Columbanus, Gallus, Magnus of Füssen, Florencius of Lorch-Enns, Maximianus of Hersfeld, Albeus of Ellwangen, Neemias, a second Columbanus, Finnianus of Augsburg, Sanctinus, Florencius of Livizidem and Ymarus of Goslar.<sup>59</sup> This range of Irish and pseudo-

<sup>57</sup>) Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, pp. 140–141.

<sup>58</sup>) Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, pp. 181–183.

<sup>59</sup>) Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, pp. 183–188. See discussion of the sources and contents of this list in *ibid.*, pp. 36–40; *idem*, “Über Beginn und Eigenart der irischen Mission auf dem Kontinent einschließlich der irischen Missionare in Bayern,” in *Virgil von Salzburg, Missionar und Gelehrter*, ed. Heinz Dopsch & Roswitha Juffinger (Salzburg, 1985), pp. 84–91; *idem*, “Irish Churchmen in Pre-Carolingian Europe,” *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* 11/2 (1985), 319–330. On the question of early Irish missionary activity in southern Germany in general, see Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum, passim* and the following essays in *Die Iren in Europa im frühen Mittelalter*, vol 1, ed. Heinz Löwe (Stuttgart, 1982): Alfred Wendehorst, “Die Iren und die Christianisierung Mainfrankens,” pp. 319–329; Wolfgang Müller, “Der Anteil der Iren an der Christianisierung der Alemannen,” pp. 330–341; Heinrich Koller, “Die Iren und die Chris-

Irish saints particularly emphasised the legacy of Irish missionaries in German regions, most notably in Bavaria, the selection reflecting the geography of the *Schottenkloster* movement, with Regensburg at its centre. As in the case of the *Vita Mariani*, the implication that the *Schottenkloster* monks were successors of these illustrious practitioners of the Irish *peregrinatio* underlies the *Libellus*. The arrival in Regensburg of Marianus and his companions is characterised as “post vestigia sanctorum Herhardi et Alberti” (“in the footsteps of Erhard and Albart”), the natural culmination of the Regensburg *Schottenkloster*'s cultivation of the local saints' cult.<sup>60</sup>

#### 4. The Exploitation of Local Cults

The *Schottenklöster* may have invested the most effort in refashioning the cult of Erhard and Albart, but among the early medieval Irish saints associated with Germany, it was arguably from the veneration afforded to St Kilian that they drew the greatest benefit. The Irish monks had a particular interest in the promotion of Kilian due to the existence of an Irish monastery at Würzburg, which was founded circa 1138 as the first *Schottenkloster* daughter-house outside of Regensburg.<sup>61</sup> Kilian occupies a prominent position in both the *Vita Mariani* and the *Libellus*, where, in addition to his appearance in the introductory list of saints in the two works, he receives mention in their divergent accounts of the foundation of the Würzburg *Schottenkloster*. According to the *Vita*, it was in affinity with God and St Kilian that Bishop Embricho (*ep.* 1127–1146) granted the Irish monks a site in the suburbs of Würzburg and an adequate estate.<sup>62</sup> The *Libellus* went much further and made Kilian an active agent in the founding of the twelfth-century *Schottenkloster*.<sup>63</sup> It states that Macarius, first abbot of Würzburg, had previously been sub-prior at Regensburg, but had left Bavaria with three companions on account of homesickness. On their way back to

tianisierung der Baiern,” pp. 342–374; Hans-Dietrich Kahl, “Zur Rolle der Iren im östlichen Vorfeld des agilolfingischen und frühkarolingischen Bayern,” pp. 375–398. The author also mentions two unnamed saints buried *apud Rot*, who can be identified as the legendary, reputedly seventh-century, Irishmen, Annianus and Marinus, who were venerated at the Benedictine monastery at Rott am Inn in Bavaria; see Kenney, *Sources*, pp. 511–512; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 347–348.

<sup>60</sup>) Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, p. 202.

<sup>61</sup>) The foundation of the *Schottenkloster* at Erfurt has traditionally been dated to 1136 on the basis of unsound historical evidence. It was in all likelihood not established until the 1150s; see Ó Riain, “*Schottenklöster*,” pp. 237–279.

<sup>62</sup>) “Tunc fauente dei gratia crescente fratrum multiplici numero, fama benignissima claustris eiusdem non tantummodo per fines Bavariae, uerum etiam usque ad Franconiam se late longeque disperserat. Quapropter felix patriarcha Herbipolensis ecclesiae episcopus Emrico locum celled, et agros sufficientes usibus fratrum in suburbio Herbipolensi dei ac sancti Kiliani cognatione [...] concessit.” Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 142. A forged early thirteenth-century charter, purporting to date to 1140, also states that Embricho founded the monastery “pro reverentia pretiosj Martyris Kylianj”; Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 545, f. 1r. Regarding the dating of the forgery, see Peter Johaneck, *Die Frühzeit der Siegelkunde im Bistum Würzburg*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg 20 (Würzburg, 1969), pp. 50, 63–64.

<sup>63</sup>) Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, pp. 263–266.

Ireland they stopped at Würzburg to visit the tomb of Kilian. Only an intervention by Kilian himself prevents Macarius from continuing his journey homewards, the saint appearing to both Macarius and Embricho, urging the former to stay in Franconia and the latter to build a monastery for the saint's compatriots, which he duly does. Nowhere is the *Schottenklöster* monks' use of the legacy of their exalted forbearers to smoothen their own path better encapsulated.<sup>64</sup>

Indeed, the Irish monks' successful exploitation of the cult of Kilian and self-portrayal as pilgrim monks is clearly evident in the earliest charter surviving from the monastery, issued by Bishop Embricho in 1142, in which the Irish monks are referred to as *peregrini Scoti, videlicet compatriotae patronj nostrj, pretiosj martýris Kiliani* ("Irish pilgrims, compatriots of our patron, of course, the precious martyr Kilian").<sup>65</sup> The Irish monastery also held from 1195 at the latest, if not *ab initio*, the valuable *praebenda s. Kyliani*, which entitled the monastery to the income and rights of a cathedral canon.<sup>66</sup> A further link with the cult of St Kilian is suggested by the two dates recorded for consecration ceremonies at the Irish monastery in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the ninth and tenth of July, both of which fall within the octave of St Kilian, an annual period of celebration believed to have been instituted during Embricho's tenure and keenly observed in Würzburg to this day.<sup>67</sup> While their compatriot's legacy clearly helped to legitimize and secure the position of the new foundation, there is little evidence after this early phase for the promotion of Kilian's cult within the monastery.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps this was out of deference to the town's cathedral church, which was dedicated to Kilian, and to the collegiate church of Neumünster, which held his tomb, both of which might have resented any overly vigorous attempts on the part of the Irish monastery to associate itself with the saint's cult. Nonetheless, it is a curious feature of all the Irish monasteries that suitable Irish saints were very rarely commemorated by means of church or altar dedications, at the same time as the promotion of the cults of such saints was of seemingly para-

<sup>64</sup> Although one might argue that the act precipitating these events, Macarius' departure from Regensburg due to homesickness, was something of a blow to the Irish monks' self-portrayal as *peregrini par excellence*.

<sup>65</sup> Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 545, f. 1v; Michael Wieland, "Das Schottenkloster zu St. Jakob in Würzburg," *Archiv des Historischen Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg* 16 (1863), 1–183, Reg. No. 1.

<sup>66</sup> This prebend is mentioned in the 1140 forgery as well as in the *Libellus*, and is also listed among the monastery's possessions in an 1195 papal privilege; Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 545, f. 1r, 100r; Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, p. 273; *Germania Pontificia* 3.3, ed. Albertus Brackmann (Berlin, 1935), p. 194.

<sup>67</sup> Kilian's feast-day is 8 July. Regarding the origins of the octave, see Klaus Wittstadt, "Geistliche Impulse und Frömmigkeitsleben in der Stadt Würzburg," in *Geschichte der Stadt Würzburg* 1, ed. Ulrich Wagner (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 297–312, at pp. 298–299. The two consecrations relate to the completion of the Chapel of James, the earliest structure built at the monastery, and to the refurbishment of the chapel of St Mary within the *Schottenkirche* in 1247; Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Standbuch 545, ff. 1r, 16r; Wieland, "Das Schottenkloster zu St. Jakob," Reg. No. 49.

<sup>68</sup> One of the *Schottenkirche*'s two side-altars was dedicated to Kilian and the Blessed Virgin and was renovated in 1661. It is unclear whether it dated back to the monastery's Irish period (Wieland, "Das Schottenkloster zu St. Jakob," pp. 42–43. The source cited by Wieland — *Archiv des bischöflichen Ordinariats* sub 8. Gottesdienste — was destroyed in 1945).

mount concern to those producing hagiographical and liturgical works in the monasteries' scriptoria.<sup>69</sup> While the Irishness of the monasteries was not reflected in their church and altar patrons, the dedication of their churches in almost all cases to universal pilgrimage saints or cults, i.e. James (in four cases), Egidien/Giles, the Holy Cross and Holy Sepulchre, and Nicholas of Myra (all once) ensured that the *monachi peregrini* side of the *Schottenklöster* image was fostered in a manner more easily comprehensible to the general public.<sup>70</sup>

The examples of Regensburg and Würzburg best illustrate the Irish monasteries' successful invocation of the legacy of their exalted forbearers. Hints at similar attempts to exploit the memory of other local Irish saints are discernible at Vienna and Constance, but the sources are late. In his 1586 history of the Viennese *Schottenkloster*, Johannes Rasch suggested that the memory of St Koloman (Colmán) of Stockerau, an Irish pilgrim captured and executed in Austria while on his way to Jerusalem in or around 1012, was a factor in the Babenberger Duke Heinrich II choosing Irish monks to call to Vienna to found the town's first monastery.<sup>71</sup> Considering the close connections between the Babenberger dynasty and the saint's cult, and Heinrich and

<sup>69</sup> Exceptions to the general practice regarding altar dedications are provided by an entry to the above-mentioned martyrology of the Regensburg *Schottenkloster* (MReg), which commemorated a "dedicatio altaris sanctorum Hyberniorum" at 30 January, and the recorded existence in 1292 of a *capella sancti Herrardi* at the *Schottenkloster* in Vienna (Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, p. 232, n. 30; Ernest Hauswirth, ed., *Urkunden der Benediktiner-Abtei Unserer Lieben Frau zu den Schotten in Wien vom Jahre 1158 bis 1418*, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum II.18 (Wien, 1859), No. 69). The *altar sanctorum Hyberniorum* at Regensburg was in all probability identical with the altar of a vaulted chapel erected, according to the *Libellus*, "in honore sancti Patricii et sancte Brigide et Columbe et omnium sanctorum Hybernensium" in the early days of the Irish monastery at Weih Sankt Peter; Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, p. 149. The presence of an altar dedicated to St Gall is recorded in a description of the Memminger *Schottenkirche* written immediately prior to its demolition in 1529, but, as in the case of the above-mentioned Kilian-altar at Würzburg, it is not clear whether the dedication to Gall belonged to the period in which the Irish abbey still functioned, which in the case of Memmingen appears to have ended in the early fourteenth century; Uli Braun, "Wie hat das Schottenkloster zu Memmingen ausgesehen?," *Das schöne Allgäu* 44 (1981), 13–15, at p. 15; Helmut Flachen-ecker, "Das mittelalterliche Schottenkloster St. Nikolaus zu Memmingen," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 109 (1998), 185–209, at p. 205.

<sup>70</sup> The best evidence for the promotion of the quintessential pilgrim saint, James, is provided by the Würzburg *Schottenkloster*, where both the main church and an external chapel were dedicated to him. The monastery housed an arm-reliquary among other *reliquiae sancti Jacobi* and there was a annual procession to the *Schottenkirche* on the eve of his feastday; Wieland, *Das Schottenkloster zu St. Jakob*, p. 54; Robert Plötz, "1 Roer de corpore S. Jacobi Apostoli," *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 40 (1978), 75–103. Physical reminders of the Irish monks' veneration of St James are provided by a surviving fourteenth-century statue of the saint, and by the monastery's seal, which, at least from 1268 onwards, featured a depiction of the pilgrim patron with a palm-branch in one hand and a book in the other, flanked on both sides by scallop shells; Brigitte Schröder, *Mainfränkische Klosterheraldik. Die wappenführenden Mönchsklöster und Chorherrenstifte im alten Bistum Würzburg*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg 24 (Würzburg, 1971), pp. 72–79 & Plate VIIa. The statue today stands in the Mainfränkisches Museum in Würzburg.

<sup>71</sup> Johannes Rasch, *Stiftung und Prelaten unser lieben Frauen Gottshaus Benedictor-ordens genannt zu den Schotten zu Wienn in Österreich* Anno Domini MCLVIII (Vienna, 1586), Dii.

Koloman's shared link with the Holy Land, Rasch's statement could well have a sound basis, though there is no surviving evidence to suggest that the Irish saint's cult was promoted at the *Schottenkloster*.<sup>72</sup>

The area around Lake Constance had strong Irish connections in the early medieval period, and it can be assumed that the legacy of the missionary saints venerated in the area would have helped to gain acceptance for the Irish monastery founded at the episcopal see circa 1142. A legend associating the twelfth-century *Schottenkloster* with a local "Irish" saint, Fridolin of Säkingen, as well as with the Merovingian king, Sigibert III, is recorded, but it first appears in sixteenth and seventeenth-century town chronicles. According to the story, Fridolin founded a Benedictine monastery at Constance in the early sixth century, which in the year 701 became the town's first cathedral. While some monks remained on as cathedral canons, the others left to join an Irish Benedictine convent elsewhere in the town, which had been established in 653 by King Sigibert.<sup>73</sup> The foundation of the twelfth-century *Schottenkloster* is said to have constituted a restitution of the latter, since-lapsed monastery.<sup>74</sup> The tenth-century *Vita S. Fridolini* provides no support for the notion of the saint having founded a monastery in Constance and there is nothing to substantiate the legend.<sup>75</sup> Although late in date, it is possible that the story originated in the Constance *Schottenkloster*, perhaps as part of a lost foundation narrative. If so, an interesting necrological entry for the first abbot of the *Schottenkloster* might be of relevance. According to the now-lost *antiquum necrologium Herbipolense*, as reported in the eighteenth century by Marianus Brockie, Macrobius' obit on 8 February read "Ad aeternam requiem translatus est Beatus Macrobius Abbas Constantien-

<sup>72</sup> Regarding the cult of Koloman and the Babenberger connection, see K. Lechner, "Die Anfänge des Stiftes Melk und des St. Koloman-Kultes," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 29 (1944/8), 47–81; Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, "Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages: The Role of the Irish Monks in Austria," in *Austro-Irish Links through the Centuries*, ed. Paul Leifer & Eda Sagarra (Vienna, 2002), pp. 11–40, at 27–32; Meta Niederkorn-Bruck, *Der heilige Koloman. Der erste Patron Niederösterreichs* (Vienna, 1992), pp. 29–36.

<sup>73</sup> The sequence of events is described under the years 511, 653 and 701 by Gabriel Bucelinus in his *Constantia Rhenana.....descriptio topo-chrono-stemmatographica* (Frankfurt am Main, 1667), pp. 103, 119, 125. He cites Gregorius Mangoldt as a source in relation to the founding of the *Monasterium Fridolinianum* and the 701 entry, but not regarding the 653 event. While furnishing Mangolt's date of 529 for the original foundation, he himself dates it to 511. The legend and its transmission are discussed in Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster*, pp. 198–199. Mangolt's Constance chronicle, various recensions of which he produced between the 1540s and the 1570s, remains unpublished, and this author has not yet had the opportunity to consult any of the surviving manuscript copies. Regarding the chronicle see M.J. Wenninger, "Gregor Mangolts 'Werke letzter Hand'. Zum Verhältnis von Vita und Werk eines reformatorischen Konstanzer Chronisten," *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft* 7 (1992/3), 343–375.

<sup>74</sup> Kaspar Bruschi, *Magni operis de omnibus Germaniae episcopatus epitomes: Tomus primus* (Nuremberg, 1549), p. 42; Johannes Stumpf, *Schwytzer Chronica.....biß auf das jar Christi 1546* (Zürich, 1554), p. 109; Christoph Schulthaiß, "Constanzer Bisthums-Chronik (c. 1574), ed. Johann Marmor," in *Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv* 8 (1874), 1–101, at p. 30; Bucelinus, *Constantia Rhenana*, p. 243. While the chronicles are unanimous in describing the 1142 foundation as a restitution, only Bucelinus supplies detail concerning the origins of the defunct Irish monastery.

<sup>75</sup> MGH, SS Rer. Mer. 3 (ed. Bruno Krusch), pp. 350–369.

sis et episcopatus Archidiaconus" ("Blessed Macrobius, Abbot of Constance and Archdeacon of the episcopate, was translated to his eternal rest").<sup>76</sup> If accurate, this entry raises the possibility that the legendary association of the Irish monastery with the cathedral chapter may have been designed to echo and perhaps justify the real involvement of *Schottenkloster* monks in diocesan administration after 1142.<sup>77</sup> Support for this hypothesis can also be found in Gabriel Bucelinus' account, where it is stated that, after the migration of part of the convent of the *Monasterium Fridolinianum* to the Irish monastery in 701, the abbots of the latter house were assigned a place within the cathedral chapter.<sup>78</sup>

The motif of dating the origins of a monastery back to the distant past and associating it with celebrated figures is also a feature of *historiae foundationis* concerning both the Regensburg and Nuremberg *Schottenklöster*. In each case the main actor in the legend was Charlemagne. The Regensburg narrative is contained in the above-mentioned *Libellus* and involved the emperor founding the church of Weih Sankt Peter at the site of his victory over a heathen enemy outside the walls of Regensburg, with Irish monks arriving shortly afterwards to occupy the church, in accordance with an angelic vision experienced by Charlemagne.<sup>79</sup> The less well-known Nuremberg legend is recorded in town-chronicles from the late fifteenth century onwards.<sup>80</sup> It credits Charlemagne with the erection of a chapel dedicated to St Martin at the site of the Irish monastery of St Aegidius, this having occurred at the same time as the construction of the nearby castle. The emperor is said to have given this chapel over to Irish monks.<sup>81</sup> The existence of this tradition can be traced back further, as reference is made to it in a *Salbuch* or rent-book of the monastery of St. Aegidius, which

<sup>76</sup> Marianus Brockie, *Monasticon Scoticanum. Tomi I pars tertia complectens monasteria a Scotis et pro Scotis per Gallias et Germaniam fundata* (1751), p. 378 (as per George Wilson's 1898 transcription of the unpublished work; Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh, SK 11; available on microfilm at the National Library of Ireland, MF p. 4113).

<sup>77</sup> The limited evidence in this regard suggests that at least some of those who held the position of archdeacon in the mid-twelfth century were drawn from the cathedral chapter; Helmut Maurer, *Das Bistum Konstanz II. Die Konstanzer Bischöfe vom Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts bis 1206*, *Germania Sacra* 42.1 (Berlin, 2003), pp. 319–20. Brockie states that Macrobius was made a "canonicus cum honorabili annua pensione"; Brockie, *Monasticon*, p. 377.

<sup>78</sup> There are echoes here of the *praebenda S. Kyliani* in Würzburg. I have speculated elsewhere that Bishop Embricho, founder of the Würzburg *Schottenkloster*, may have played a significant role in the establishment of the Constance house; Ó Riain, "Schottenklöster," pp. 224–225.

<sup>79</sup> The *Libellus* also credits Charlemagne with the founding of Irish monasteries at Burtscheid near Aachen and at Cologne (Groß Sankt Martin); Breatnach, *Regensburger Schottenlegende*, p. 191.

<sup>80</sup> The earliest town chronicle to include this legend is Sigmund Meisterlin's *Chronik der Reichsstadt Nürnberg (1488)*, in *Die Chroniken der fränkischen Städte, Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. ins 16. Jahrhundert* 3, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften/ Karl Hegel (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 1–256, at pp. 61, 91. It is dealt with at greater length in Johannes Müllner, *Die Annalen der Reichsstadt Nürnberg von 1623*, part 1, ed. Gerhard Hirschmann (Nürnberg, 1972), p. 24.

<sup>81</sup> This detail is provided by Johannes Müllner, who states that he extracted it from unnamed Nuremberg chronicles, but adds that he himself doubts that Irish monks were already present in Germany in Charlemagne's time. Neither Meisterlin nor the St. Aegidius *Salbuch* (see below, n. 82) state that Irish or any other monks were granted the chapel by the emperor.

is datable to between 1451 to 1466.<sup>82</sup> The monastery had passed from Irish to German hands in 1418. The history of the monastery included in the *Salbuch* states that the earliest chapel at the site was founded, it is believed (“ut creditur”), in Charlemagne’s time in tandem with at the erection of the oldest castle. Although the *Salbuch* was written in the mid-fifteenth century, it was explicitly based on an exemplar from 1383. Whether the history of the monastery contained therein was also present in the earlier rent-book is not clear, resulting in a degree of uncertainty as to whether it can be attributed to the Irish or German phase in the monastery’s history.<sup>83</sup> Assuming that it was a mid-fifteenth century composition, it may be that the pre-existing Charlemagne legend dated to the Irish period, which may account for the German author’s somewhat sceptical approach to it. Given the efforts undertaken at the Regensburg *Schottenkloster* to associate their monastery with Charlemagne, it is quite possible that the Irish monks at Nuremberg sought to extend his legendary interaction with the *Schottenklöster* to include their monastery. It also seems probable that they were behind an attempt to link Charlemagne with a chapel at nearby Altenfurt, which constituted one of the Nuremberg monastery’s possessions and survives intact today. This legend is contained in the mid-fifteenth-century *Salbuch* in a separate section concerned with the history of the Altenfurt chapel.<sup>84</sup> The legend again credits Charlemagne with the foundation, attributing the chapel’s peculiar form — its round shape with conical roof — to it having been built in imitation of the emperor’s tent. Reference is also made to Charlemagne’s construction of a chapel of identical form at Weih Sankt Peter in Regensburg.<sup>85</sup> The legends concerning the chapels at Nuremberg and Altenfurt may once have formed part of a single foundation narrative written at St Aegidius, probably, though not certainly, in the Irish phase.

The fabrication of a connection between Charlemagne and Irish monasteries at Regensburg and, probably, at Nuremberg can only have been designed to boost their prestige and to deepen their roots in the German hinterland.<sup>86</sup> Also underlying the

<sup>82</sup> “Das alt sal buch deß closters santt Egidii in Nurembergk” — Nürnberg, Stadtarchiv, A 21–2: No. 107, f. 37v (Passage reproduced in Gerhard Pfeiffer, “Die Anfänge der Egidienkirche zu Nürnberg. Ein Beitrag zur ältesten Stadtgeschichte,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 37 (1940), pp. 255–308, at pp. 261–262; dating discussed at p. 262).

<sup>83</sup> See Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster*, pp. 183–184.

<sup>84</sup> Nürnberg, Stadtarchiv, A 21–2: No. 107, f. 70. Reference is made to this legend in Meisterlin’s work and in Schedel’s “Nuremberg Chronicle”; Meisterlin, *Chronik*, pp. 60–61; Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg, 1493), f. 100v. Müllner cites Schedel’s account of the legend, but provides more detail, which he had taken “aus des Kloster S. Egidien Büchern,” presumably from the *Salbuch* itself; Müllner, *Annalen* 1, p. 25.

<sup>85</sup> As I have pointed out elsewhere, the Altenfurt legend confirms the presence of a round chapel at Weih Sankt Peter dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre prior to the monastery’s demolition in 1552; Ó Riain, “*Schottenklöster*,” pp. 36–39. It has since come to my attention that this chapel is also clearly visible in Albrecht Altdorfer’s famous 1518 depiction of the *Awarenschlacht Karls des Großen vor Regensburg* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg. I hope to publish an article on this subject in the near future.

<sup>86</sup> Mention should also be made here of another *Schottenkloster Gründungsgeschichte*, this time that of the Erfurt monastery. A legend is recorded in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century town-chronicles, whereby a monastery for Scottish monks was founded at Erfurt in the eleventh

Regensburg, Nuremberg and Constance *Gründungsgeschichten* and, indeed, the *Vita Albarti* and *Vita Mariani* is the notion of the ubiquity of the pious Irish monk. By exploiting the genuine legacy of the early medieval Irish missionary on the Continent to present a scenario whereby the founding of Irish monasteries was a frequent and perfectly natural occurrence across Germany, they were effectively attempting to normalize the presence of Irish monks in German towns in the later medieval period. In his contribution to this volume, Thomas Poser argues that the notion of the *Scoti peregrini* accentuated cultural difference and was essentially disintegrative in character. While the emphasis placed on this concept in the literature of the *Schottenklöster* undoubtedly served on the one hand to exoticize and differentiate the Irish inhabitants and their monastic identity, it should be clear from the foregoing that it also offered them a means by which to integrate their monasteries into the local surroundings, allowing them to exploit existing historical ties in an attempt to legitimize the very existence of the Irish monasteries across Germany.

On account of their nationality, exiled status and shared areas of operation, the monks of the *Schottenklöster* could claim to belong to the great pool of *Scoti peregrini* and hope to bask in the reflected glory of their illustrious predecessors. This, of course, glossed over their lack of a missionary vocation or a pioneering form of monasticism, the foundations on which the exalted legacy of their forefathers was

century by a Scottish king who had come to the aid of his brother-in-law and French king, Roland, in putting down the revolt of the latter’s subjects in Saxony, Thuringia, Meißen, Franconia and Swabia; *inter alia*, *Erphordische Chronica* (to 1592), Erfurt, Stadtarchiv 5/100–26, p.78; *Erffurdtsche Chronica* (to 1637), Erfurt, Stadtarchiv 5/100–33, f. 6. He is said to have established a Scottish monastery at each of the towns he captured on Roland’s behalf, including Erfurt, Nuremberg and Regensburg. The origins of this fantastic story appear to lie in the legend of Duke William or Gilmour of Scotland, brother of King Achay, who, according to the late medieval Scottish narrative, which featured in Bower’s mid-fifteenth-century *Scotichronicon* and was first printed by John Maior in 1521, founded numerous monasteries in Germany, having fought for Charlemagne; Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Book III, c. 57, ed. D. E. R. Watt, vol. 2 (Aberdeen, 1989), p. 161; Ioannes Maior, *Historia Maioris Britanniae, tam Angliae quam Scotiae* (Paris, 1521), Lib. II, f. XXXV. The legend of the establishment of the university in Paris by Scottish monks contained in the *Scotichronicon* is also reprised in the Erfurt chronicles. There is a strong possibility that, after the Erfurt *Schottenkloster* had passed into the hands of Scottish Benedictines in the early sixteenth century, the history of the monastery’s foundation was reimagined within the framework of the William legend, most likely through one or more works produced within the monastery itself. The mid-seventeenth-century *Germania Sancta* and *Indiculus monasteriorum Scotorum ordinis S. Benedicti extra Scotiam* written by a Scottish monk, James Brown, at the Würzburg *Schottenkloster*, make frequent reference to the legend of Duke William, citing John Maior as source; Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.ch.q. 54 (citation at f. 13r) & M.ch.q. 49/1 (citation at f. 16v). While the notion that a Scottish king founded the Erfurt monastery does not feature in Brown’s work, he does provide evidence that a text, now lost, was written at the Erfurt *Schottenkloster* in the sixteenth century, in which the William narrative had been combined with other legendary material drawn from the Regensburg *Schottenlegende*. He cites namely a manuscript written by Abbot James (1525–1542) of the Erfurt monastery and reproduces a particular passage, which closely follows the *Libellus* account of the founding of the *monasterium Scotorum* at Burtscheid, but here with Charlemagne acting on the advice of Duke William (M.ch.q. 54, f. 17v; M.ch.q. 49/1, f. 22v). It could well be that Abbot James was also responsible for incorporating William (or another Scottish figure) into a history of the founding of the Erfurt monastery, with the story being transmitted, perhaps in somewhat garbled form, by the later town-chroniclers.

built. Nor would the sedentary nature of *Schottenkloster* life, as demanded by the *stabilitas loci* precept of the Benedictine Rule, have allowed them to practise the archetypal footloose lifestyle of the early *Scoti peregrini*.<sup>87</sup> The extent of the benefit which actually accrued to the *Schottenklöster* through the attempted exploitation of their compatriots' legacy is difficult to assess, reliant as we are, for the most part, on texts produced by the Irish monks themselves, and seldom offered an inkling of the external reception of the constructed self-image. Yet even on the basis of the rare glimpses we are given of an outsider's perspective, the words of Bishop Embricho's 1142 charter being a salient example, there can be little doubt that the positive legacy of their forbearers, and the *Schottenklöster's* manipulation thereof, would have contributed significantly to the emergence, expansion and impressive longevity of this singular monastic movement.

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<sup>87</sup>) Attempts by the *Schottenklöster* to combat the problem of gyrovagism among Irish monks belonging to both the houses in Germany and Ireland are recorded in charters dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See Hammermayer, "Die irischen Benediktiner-,Schottenklöster", pp. 279, 281.