1. Introduction

The Schottenklöster 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.¹ 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

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 Schottenklöster in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Erhard’s hagiographer, Paulus, described Erhard as being “Narbonensis gentilitate, Nervus civilitate, genere Scoticus.” 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. 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.” 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 expression 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. “[...] eratus Herhardus, in Hybernia natus et conversatus, sanctitate magnificatus, dignificus episcopus in civitate qui dicitur Artmacha” (“[...] the blessed Erhard, born and raised in Ireland, magnificent in sanctity, holding the dignity of a bishop in a city called Armagh”).5 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. 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.6

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 Emmeran in Regensburg) and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 336 (circa 1200; probably from the Augustinian canony at St. Pölten, April to June section of the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum); Karl Halm et al, Catalogus codicum latinorum bibilotsce regiae Monacensis, vol. IV/I, Munich, 1876, p. 178; Elisabeth Klemm, Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek. Teil I: Die Bis tümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg (text vol.), Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 43; Albert Poncelet, “De Magno Legionario Austrioac,” Analecta Bollandiana 17 (1898), 24-96, 123-216; Friedrich Simader, “Ein Buchmaler um 1200. Zu den Anfängen der Stiftsbibliothek St. Pölten,” Unsere Heimat. Zeitschrift für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich 72 (2001), 25-34; Diarmuid Ó Ríain, “The Magnum Legendarium Austriacum: A New Investigation of One of Medieval Europe’s Richest Hagiographical Collections,” Analecta Bollandiana 134 (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 Heiligkreuz (Heiligkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 12, fol. 164v; late twelfth-century), the Benedictine monastery at Admont (Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 24, f. 129v; 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 Lenzer (Lismore) suffered a similar fate in Cod. Lat. 14473, being rendered Leinzer, 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.


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. 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 consupellass ext” (“he was buried with his most dear friend Erhard in the church of St Mary”).

Albart, an English Archbishop of Cashel, is a saint who is associated 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 that 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 sanctity, who was buried with him at Niedermünster. 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. It may even be that this companion—

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; Flachenhacker, *Schottenkloster*, pp. 95–96.

The Life records the death of two of Albart’s companions, Gillipatrich and Iohannes, in Jerusalem and Salzburg, respectively.

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 excavation 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*, 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.

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 scribe, GMS, SS rer. Mer. 6, p. 23.

The earliest Irish monks at the monastery of Weih Sankt Peter including Marianus or Muirendach Mace Rohartaig, 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, wrote of 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 borialis Hiberni.” 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 masterpiece. Yet there was little subtlety in the author’s treatment of sculpture of the saint within the ciborium in the church above; Schwarz, “Das spätmerowingerzeitliche Grab,” pp. 141–142; idem, “Regensburg während des ersten Jahrhunderts,” *Regensburg während des ersten Jahrtausends im Spiegel der Ausgrabungen im Niedermünster*, pp. 130–142; idem, “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.

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 hiberniae* (Dublin, 1902), pp. 95–96. Colgan’s theory was subsequently developed in Dagmar Ø Rian-Raedel, “Aspects of the Promotion of Irish Saints’ Cults in Medieval Germany,” *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 39 (1982), 220–234, at p. 231; endem, “German Influence on Munster Church and Kings in the Twelfth Century,” in *Searches. 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.
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”).

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 amatoris*, and there follows a verbose *laudatio* of the physical and spiritual nature of the *peregrinatio*.

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 *Schottenklöster* 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 cruciendo corpore salvandaque anima patria sua exulerant, ac diu orationem 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*. The late-twelfth-century *Vita Mariani*, a Life of the founding father of the *Schottenklöster* movement, Muiredach Macch Roibartaig, 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”).

According to the *Vita*, Marianus and his two companions were themselves on route to Rome when they arrived at Regensburg. 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. 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, Johannes, one of Marianus’ two original companions, left the monastery and became an inculce at Götweig in Austria. 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.

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. 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 *Schottenklöster* movement, insofar as the consecration of the church of St James in Regensburg is recorded for that date. A charter granted by...
Henry V in the following year can be seen as marking the completion of the new abbey’s foundation process. 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.

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 Schottenkloster required a steady stream of Irish novices, something they attempted to secure through the establishment of dependent priories in Ireland.

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.


26 Regarding these rights, see Flachenecker, *Schottenkloster*, p. 98.


28 See above, n. 13.


31 Malchus was remembered in the necrology of the Schottenkloster as Malchius archiepiscopus; Ó Ríain-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 archiepiscopcal status; the Vita Albarti has already revealed itself to be a work influenced by contemporary developments in the Irish church.

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. A martyrology — potentially twelfth-century — date from the monastery similarly omits Albart, while Erhard is given special attention. 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. 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.

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 over 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 have been a problem in Ireland as well in the following centuries. Having seen Dublin as a move that was self-aggrandzing by O Riain-Raedel, Albart’s elevation to the see of Cashel could be construed as asserting Melc Carthaigh claims to Cashel and by extension to the kingship of Munster, Alibhe being a saint closely associated with the family; O Riain, “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 reported 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 spätmerowingerzeitliche 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 Albart’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. The example may in turn have inspired the raising of the lid of the second sarcophagus during the rebuilding of the church post-1152. Sufficient to say that the archaeological evidence is somewhat equivocal on this point.
three late manuscripts now held in Munich and Vienna.³⁹ 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. 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 beam Hildulfum episcopum et fratrem eius Herhardum episcopum et Albertum episcopum transmisit ad Treverensem civitatem sitam super fluvium Mosulam, ut novos filios procrearet in unitate fidei.⁴¹

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.⁴²

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 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.⁴³ 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 Hildulphi on this count.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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.

³⁹ Padraig Breatnach, Die Regensburger Schottenlegende — Libellus de fundacione ecclesie Consaecri 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 Cod. 3301 (an early sixteenth-century codex in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) and Munich Clm 27070/2 (an early seventeenth-century codex in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). The compiler of 27070/2, Grienewaldt, states that he discovered the Vita Mariani and the immediately preceding Recessus in a water-damaged manuscript at the library of the Augustinian canony of St Mang in Stadthamhl (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, p. 45, n. 35.

⁴⁰ 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, Grienewaldt, states that he discovered the Vita Mariani and the immediately preceding Recessus in a water-damaged manuscript at the library of the Augustinian canony of St Mang in Stadthamhl (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.

⁴¹ This work is the main focus of Thomas Poser’s contribution to this volume. It is a study of the versions of the Libellus that can be attributed to the compiler of this lost manuscript.

⁴² 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 Cartaigh, 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.

⁴³ 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 Hildulphi on this count. 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. 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. 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.

⁴⁴ 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, Grienewaldt, states that he discovered the Vita Mariani and the immediately preceding Recessus in a water-damaged manuscript at the library of the Augustinian canony of St Mang in Stadthamhl (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.
3. The Vita Mariani and Libellus de fundacione ecclesiae 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, 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:

Qua propter antecessores nostri nos quoque Christi pauperes pro remedio animum de finibus occidentis natum Christum nudi sequentes, patriam carasque propinquas amorem ac desiderium uite celestis derelinquentes [...] commendabo. 47

I will commend to you why our predecessors and we also, the poor of Christ, following from a western land made 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 Manusetus 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. 48 The casting of Manusetus as an Irishman and contemporary of Peter was already a feature of Adso of Montier-en-Der’s tenth-century Life of the saint. 49 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. 50 Before his death Manusetus, 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. 51 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 Christ’s eternal life, and weakening their bodies through fasting, thirst and the cold in seeking to gain the company of angels. 52 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 distills the salient facts of this introductory section:

Preterea ut omnia breuiter conclusam, postquam ardens flamma spiritus sancti populos Hiberni temporibus primitiis sancte ecclesie efficaciter perfluit, peregrinationem cambientes pro patria, ina in transmarinas regiones se spectaculareunt, ut diversas Europea partes semitas predicando perlustrant. 53

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 Mariani’s arrival at Bamberg, the latter’s peregrinatio clearly presented as a continuation of all that had gone before, the founding father of the Schottenkloster 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 Mariani and his two Irish companions, Johannes and Candidus, who are said to have left Bamberg on account of their desire to complete their pilgrimage to Rome, gentis sue more. 54 In the final chapter of the Life the author considers the eternal reward awaiting Mariani 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. 55 Clearly the Schottenkloster monks are here 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. 56 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 transui quorundam sanctorum de occiduis partibus mundi ideat de Hybernia vel Scocia, ultra quam terra non habetur, et qualiter Deus predestinavit, quod partes Affricae et Europe in maiori parte per sanctos Hybernicos seu Scotos sunt ad fidem catholicae conversa, et qualiter dedit eis donum lingue alienae in barbaris nationibus et eos angelorum visitazione duexit de terra ad terram et sapieniec et pre-

50 Bretnach, Regensburger Schottenlegende, pp. 140–141.
54 Weber, Iren auf dem Kontinent, p. 112.
56 See Bretnach, Regensburger Schottenlegende, pp. 148, 183, 185 (bis), 201, 211, 235.
Concerning the passage of certain saints from the western parts of world, that is from Ireland (Hybernia vel Scocia), 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 (santos 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, Alhart 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 peregrinatione:

Et duxerunt in consuetudinem omnes Scoti ab illo die invenire loca sancta Christi et peregrihnari 58

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 the earlier tradition of saints including Erhard, Alhart, Hildulf, Kilian, Virgilius of Salzburg, Lullus of Efemnin, Declarius of Friesing, Alta of Atilmünster, Columbus, Galus, Magnus of Rous, Florencius of Lorc-Enns, Maximianus of Hersfeld, Albeus of Ellwang, Neemias, a second Columbus, Finnianus of Augsburg, Sanctinus, Florencius of Livizidem and Ymarus of Goslar.59 This range of Irish and pseudo-

57) Bretnach, Regensburger Schottenlegende, pp. 140–141.

Irish saints particularly emphasised the legacy of Irish missionaries in German regions, most notably in Bavaria, the selection reflecting the geography of the Schottenklöster movement, with Regensburg at its centre. As in the case of the Vita Mariani, the implication that the Schottenklöster monks were successors of these illustrious practitioners of the Irish peregrihnatio underlies the Libellus. The arrival in Regensburg of Marianus and his companions is characterised as “post vestitia sanctorum Hercardi et Alberti” (“in the footsteps of Erhard and Albart”), the natural culmination of the Regensburg Schotten Kloster’s cultivation of the local saints’ cult.60

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 Schottenklöster daughter-house outside of Regensburg.61 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 Schottenklöster.

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.62 The Libellus went much further and made Kilian an active agent in the founding of the twelfth-century Schottenklöster.63 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
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 forbears to smoothen their own path better encapsulated.

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 patronij nostri, pretiosj martyrj Kiliani (“Irish pilgrims, compatriots of our patron, of course, the precious martyr Kilian”).

The Irish monastery also held from 1195 at the latest, if not ab initio, the valuable praebenda s. Kyliant, which entailed the monastery to the income and rights of a cathedral canon. 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. 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. 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-

mount concern to those producing hagiographical and liturgical works in the monasteries’ scriptoria.69 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.

The examples of Regensburg and Würzburg best illustrate the Irish monasteries’ successful invocation of the legacy of their exalted forbears. 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 1856 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 Babenberg Duke Heinrich II choosing Irish monks to call to Vienna to found the town’s first monastery.70 Considering the close connections between the Babenberg dynasty and the saint’s cult, and Heinrich and

64) 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.


66) This prebend is mentioned in the 1140 forgery as well as in the above-mentioned martyrology of the Regensburg 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.

67) Kilian’s feast-day is 8 July. Regarding the origins of the octave, see Klaus Wittstadt, “Geist-liche 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.

68) One of the Schottenkirche’s two side-altars was dedicated to Kilian and the Blessed Virgin and was consecrated 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).

69) 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 (Ö Riain, Feastsdays, p. 232, n. 30; Ernest Hauswirth, ed., Urkunden der Benediktiner-Abtei Unserer Lieben Frau zu den Schotten in Wien von den Jahren 1159 bis 1478, Fontes Reum Auszurichtung 15.1 (1972), Reg. 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 Brigitte et Columbe et omnium sanctorum Hyberniorum” in the early days of the Irish monastery at Weih Sankt Peter; Breantach, 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 ausgeschenkt?”, Das schöne Aligiu 44 (1981), 13–15, at p. 15; Helmut Flachen- ecker, “Das mittelalterliche Schottenkloster St. Nikolaus zu Memmingen,” Studien und Mittei-

60) 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 connections between the Babenberger dynasty and the saint’s cult, and Heinrich and

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neighborhood of the Irish monastery at Weih Sankt Peter; Breantach, 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 ausgeschenkt?”, Das schöne Aligiu 44 (1981), 13–15, at p. 15; Helmut Flachen- ecker, “Das mittelalterliche Schottenkloster St. Nikolaus zu Memmingen,” Studien und Mittei-

70) 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 an annual procession to the Schottenkirche on the eve of his feastday; Wieland, Das Schottenkloster zu St. Jakob, p. 54; Robert Ploetz, “Z Roer de corpore S. Jacob Apostoli,” Würzburger Döitsungsgeischlichtbläiter 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 wappenführen-

Kolumban'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.\footnote{Regarding the cult of Kolumban and the Babenberger connection, see K. Lechner, "Die Anfänge des Stiftes Melk und des St. Kolumban-Kultes," Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich 29 (1944/4), 47–81; Dagmar Ó Rian-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 Sagarr (Vienna, 2002), pp. 11–40, at 27–32; Meta Niederkorn-Bruck, Der heilige Kolumban. Der erste Patron Niederösterreichs (Vienna, 1992), pp. 29–36.}

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 ventured 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 Säckingen, 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.\footnote{The sequence of events is described under the years 511, 653 and 701 by Gabriel Bucelinus in his Constanz Rhenana, descriptio topo-chrono-stemmographica (Frankfurt am Main, 1667), pp. 103, 119, 125. He cites Gregorius Mangoldus as a source in relation to the founding of the Monasterium Fridolimitum and the 701 entry, but not regarding the 653 event.} 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.\footnote{The sequence of events is described under the years 511, 653 and 701 by Gabriel Bucelinus in his Constanz Rhenana, descriptio topo-chrono-stemmographica (Frankfurt am Main, 1667), pp. 103, 119, 125. He cites Gregorius Mangoldus as a source in relation to the founding of the Monasterium Fridolimitum and the 701 entry, but not regarding the 653 event.} 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 necroligical 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 Marianne Brockie, Macrobius' obit on 8 February reads "Ad aeternam requiem translatus est Beatus Macrobii Abbas Constantiens-}

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is datable to between 1451 to 1466.\textsuperscript{82} The monastery had passed from Irish to German hands in 1418. The history of the monastery included in the Salbucch 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 Salbucch 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.\textsuperscript{83} 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 Schottenkloster 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 Nuremburg monastery’s possessions and survives intact today. This legend is contained in the mid-fifteenth-century Salbucch in a separate section concerned with the history of the Altenfurt chapel.\textsuperscript{84} The legend again credits Charlemagne with the foundation, attributing the chapel’s peculiar form — its round shape with conical roof — to it being 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.\textsuperscript{85} The legends concerned 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 land.\textsuperscript{86} Also underlying the


\textsuperscript{83} See Flächencker, Schottenkloster, pp. 183–184.

\textsuperscript{84} Nürnberg, Stadtarchiv, A 21–2: No. 107, f. 70. Reference is made to this legend in Meisterlin’s work and in Schedel’s “Nuremberg Chronic”; Meisterlin, Chronik, pp. 60–61; Hartmann Schedel, Liber Chronicarum (Nuremberg, 1493), f. 100r. 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 Salbucch itself; Müllner, Annalen 1, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{85} 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; Ö Rian, “Schottenkloster,” pp. 36–39. It has since come to my attention that this chapel is also clearly visible in Albrecht Alt dorfer’s famous 1518 depiction of the Aweoranschluft Karls des Großen vor Regensburg in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg. I hope to publish an article on this subject in the near future.

\textsuperscript{86} Müllner, 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 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, Erhard. Hercher, Chronica (to 1637), Erfurt, Stadtarchiv 5/100–26, p. 75; Erhardt, Liber Chronicarum (to 1637), Erfurt, Stadtarchiv 5/100–26, f. 163r.; Erfurt, Stadtarchiv 5/100–26, f. 149v. Müllner cites Schedel’s account of the founding of the 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 Gilmore of Scotland, brother of King Achai, 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 (Abertar, 1898), 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 reprinted 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 Indulcatus monastieorum 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, Universitätbibliothek, M.ch.q. 54 (cited at f. 13r) & M.ch.q. 49/1 (cited 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 monastery Scotorum at Burscheid, but here with Charlemagne acting on the advice of Duke William (M.ch.q. 54, f. 17v; Müllner, Schottenkloster, p. 33). It could well be that the story of Duke 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. 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 forbears, and the Schottenklöster’s manipulation thereof, would have contributed significantly to the emergence, expansion and impressive longevity of this singular monastic movement.

87) 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.