

Diarmuid Ó RIAIN

**THE MAGNUM LEGENDARIUM AUSTRIACUM:
A NEW INVESTIGATION OF ONE OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE'S
RICHEST HAGIOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS¹**

Section 1: Introduction

1.1. *De magno legendario Austriaco*

Exactly 117 years ago an article by Albert Poncelet carrying the title *De magno legendario Austriaco* appeared in this journal and laid the foundation for all subsequent research concerning one of the largest and most important hagiographical collections ever compiled in medieval Europe². Poncelet coined the term *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (MLA) for a voluminous legendary assembled at the latter end of the twelfth century and transmitted in six extant exemplars, all with a provenance within the borders of modern-day Austria. These exemplars, which vary significantly in their completeness, are held by the Benedictine monasteries of Admont in Styria and Melk in Lower Austria, by the Cistercian houses at Heiligenkreuz, Lilienfeld and Zwettl, all also in Lower Austria, and by the Austrian National Library. Close to uniform in their content and structure, the exemplars belong to a discrete legendary tradition and all descend directly or indirectly from a single lost archetype. The term *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (MLA) — sometimes “Great Austrian Legendary” — therefore refers not to a particular extant legendary, but to

¹ List of abbreviations, see below pp. 164-165.

This article is the product of research undertaken under the auspices of a Special Research Programme (SFB) funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) with the title “Visions of Community (VISCUM): Comparative Approaches to Ethnicity, Region and Empire in Christianity, Islam and Buddhism (400-1600 CE)” (Project speaker: Walter Pohl, Austrian Academy of Sciences / University of Vienna); http://www.univie.ac.at/viscom/index_viscom.php (visited 25 February, 2014). The MLA has been the subject of research within the sub-project “Social and Cultural Communities across Medieval Monastic, Civic, and Courtly Cultures in High and Late Medieval Central Europe” (Project leader: Christina Lutter, University of Vienna) since the VISCUM project began in March 2011.

One of the participants in the sub-project, Martin Haltrich, was central to the gestation of the current article, and has made his palaeographical and codicological expertise available to the author. I am also grateful to Christina Lutter, Jonathan Lyon and Manu Radhakrishnan for reading an earlier draft of this article and providing helpful comments. The thoughtful observations of the anonymous reviewer also encouraged me to refine certain elements of the text.

² PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, pp. 24-96, 123-216.

a hagiographical collection represented by the manuscript tradition deriving from the lost original, the *Ur-MLA*³. The recognition that a number of Austrian monasteries held related copies of a particular large legendary can be credited to Georg Heinrich Pertz, who included mention of it in correspondence published in 1821⁴. Thirty years later another distinguished German historian, Wilhelm Wattenbach, was the first to identify and describe all twenty-one surviving manuscripts constituting the six exemplars of what he referred to as “das große Legendarium”⁵. He listed according to their calendrical sequence more than 175 of the texts contained in the legendary — approximately one third of the total — and supplied short incipits and explicits as well as references to printed editions, having based his selection of legends on their perceived relevance to the readership of the *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*.

Wattenbach’s contribution was made largely obsolete by the publication of Poncelet’s grand survey in 1898, in which the Bollandist provided an almost full list of the contents of the *MLA*, complete with the folio numbers for the relevant legend in each exemplar and references to printed editions. The catalogue was prefaced by an introductory essay, which provided a brief description of the extant manuscripts and discussed the sources, dating and provenance of the collection as well as the stemmatic relationship between the surviving exemplars. This article has remained the fundamental guide to the *MLA*, but is not without its flaws, mostly not of Poncelet’s own creation. A primary problem is the fact that access to the Zwettl exemplar was denied the author, with the result that the relevant folio numbers of its legends could not be provided, nor could the full range of additional items appearing within the Zwettl manuscripts be taken into account⁶. The inability to consult the Zwettl exemplar also helped to

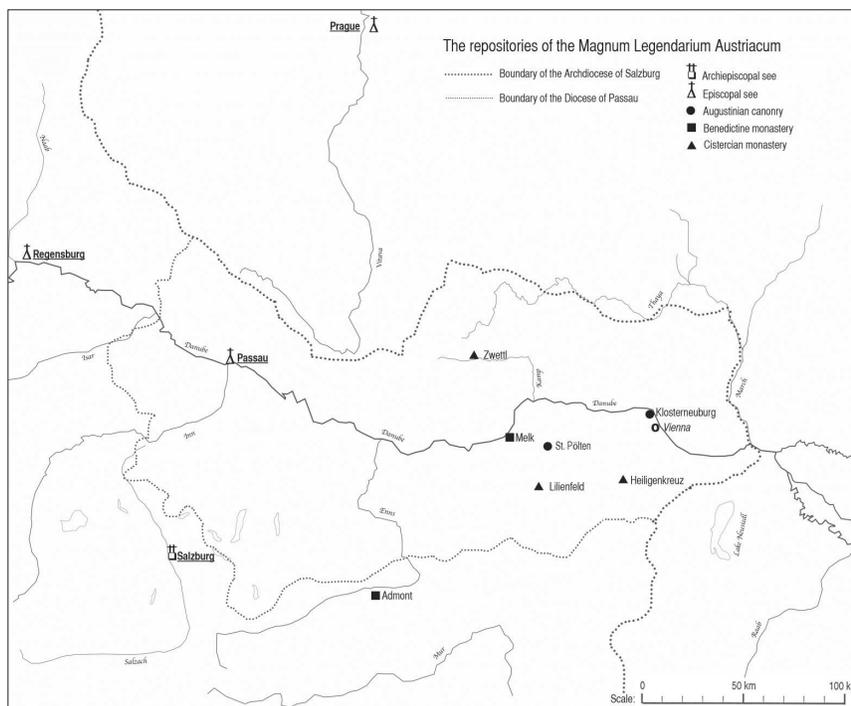
³ As will be made clear in section 3.5, the stemmatic relationship of the surviving exemplars excludes the possibility that any of them could constitute the original legendary.

⁴ “Vermuthlich stammen die großen Legendarien in Lilienfeld, Klosterneuburg und Mölk mittel- oder unmittelbar aus diesem Heiligenkreuzer, dessen Vergleichung daher die der andern zum Theil überflüssig machen wird”; Uebersicht des Briefwechsels (Februar-August 1821), in *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters*, 3 (1821), pp. 471-677, at p. 567. The relationship between the *MLA* and the Klosterneuburg legendary listed by Pertz will be discussed in section 2.2.

⁵ W. WATTENBACH, *Das große Legendarium*, in *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters*, 10 (1851), pp. 644-657.

⁶ The folio and *BHL* numbers of the legends in the Zwettl exemplar were ultimately supplied by Joseph van der Straeten in a more recent article published in this journal in the

skew Poncelet's proposed model of transmission, as will be discussed in section 3.5. Poncelet only provided incipits or explicits on rare occasions, and because the article was published shortly before the appearance of the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, the reader was left to chase the references to printed editions in order to establish which redaction of a particular Life actually appears in the *MLA*⁷.



Map showing the repositories of the *MLA* within the diocesan boundaries existing c. 1200 (Martin Haltrich)

Partly thanks to the great efforts of Poncelet and partly due to the sheer scale of the *MLA*, no comparable work of research concerning the complete corpus of the legendary has appeared in the intervening period. While Poncelet's theories with regard to the compilation and transmission of the *MLA* have received a good airing in publications concerning individual legends contained within the collection, the need for a new survey of

wake of the appearance of a new manuscript catalogue for the Zwettl monastery; VAN DER STRAETEN, *Le «Grand Légendier Autrichien»*, pp. 321-348.

⁷ *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, ed. Socii Bollandiani (= *Subs. hag.*, 6), Brussels, 1898-1901.

the whole corpus, which would bring the state of research up to date, offer a reassessment of Poncellet's conclusions and pose new questions regarding the social context of the legendary, has been for some time pressing.

The opportunity to conduct a fresh, intensive investigation of the legendary, its content, compilation and transmission has now arisen under the auspices of the "Visions of Community" (VISCOM) Special Research Programme⁸. The use of modern technologies — the digitalisation of all surviving *MLA* manuscripts and the creation of a detailed electronic database — has provided an excellent platform from which to tackle the many outstanding questions concerning the *MLA*. The digitalisation of the exemplars offers huge benefits with regard to the accessibility and readability of the manuscripts as well as allowing questions that arise regarding palaeography or content to be speedily addressed through comparison. The project database, which will ultimately be available to a wider audience online, greatly facilitates the ongoing investigation in listing all texts in the *MLA* according to their calendrical sequence, and providing *inter alia* the relevant folio numbers within each exemplar, incipits and explicits, *BHL* numbers and references to printed editions and secondary literature⁹. The research undertaken within this project seeks not only to resolve long-standing issues regarding the *MLA*'s creation and dissemination, but also to use the knowledge acquired from the study of the manuscript tradition to gain an understanding of the significance of the legendary within the ecclesiastical and political landscape of the Duchies of Austria and Styria in the decades around 1200, and to tease out what notions or visions of community may have underpinned the compilation and transmission of this enormous and prestigious hagiographical collection. This line of inquiry is in keeping with the aims of the wider VISCOM project, namely to use the in-depth study of historical sources as a basis to investigate the conception and development of communities and identities within the framework of universal religions¹⁰.

⁸ See above, n. 1.

⁹ Credit for the creation of this valuable database belongs to a former researcher within the VISCOM sub-project, Peter Gretzel.

¹⁰ Regarding the aims and methodology of the VISCOM project, see *Visions of Community: Comparative Approaches to Medieval Forms of Identity in Europe and Asia*, ed. A. GINGRICH – C. LUTTER (= *History and Anthropology*, special edition), London, 2014. Concerning, more specifically, the sub-project within which the *MLA* is being studied, see C. LUTTER, *Social Groups, Personal Relations, and the Making of Communities in Medieval vita monastica*, in *Making Sense as a Cultural Practice. Historical Perspectives*, ed. J. ROGGE, Bielefeld, 2013, pp. 45-61.

The core of the present article comprises the preliminary results of the continuing project investigation of the overall corpus of the *MLA*, providing new insights into the place and date of its compilation, the sources used and the stemmatic relationship between the surviving exemplars. It incorporates the findings of multiple studies undertaken by various scholars on different parts of the *MLA* corpus, thereby bringing the state of research in this field up to date. While the reception of the collection in later medieval Austria is not a central focus of the article, the opportunity has been used to clarify the relationship between it and two later legends from Klosterneuburg and Gaming/Trier, which have frequently been brought into association with the *MLA*. Before turning to these issues, there follows a series of introductory essays concerning the hagiographical and historical context of the *MLA*, a brief description of the surviving manuscripts and, firstly, some observations on the connection between the *MLA* and concepts of community.

1.2. *The MLA and community: some lines of inquiry*

A collection containing the Lives of over five hundred saints, which covers a period running from Antiquity to the second half of the twelfth century, creates the impression of a shared and continuous Christian past and of a universal Church. Through the incorporation of saints belonging to a particular region, order or religious community, the local could be intertwined with the universal and the ecclesiastical traditions of a particular area, group or community effectively sanctified by association with exalted Christian forbearers¹¹. It follows that it may be possible to recognise specific local identifiers in the context of the study of the composition of a particular legendary. An examination of which texts were included in or, where the available sources are known, excluded from a collection could thus provide a glimpse of prevailing visions of community within a specific religious house. Applying this approach to the *MLA* is somewhat hindered by the fact that the archetype (the *Ur-MLA*) has been lost and the exact provenance of the collection has yet to be determined conclusively. Furthermore, the question arises as to whether the *MLA* should be regarded as the product of a single institution, considering that the scale of the collection and its relatively speedy dissemination within a confined area give good reason to believe that its compilation was the result of cooperation

¹¹ An analogy could be drawn in this regard with the practice of cathedral or monastic churches in different regions acquiring the relics of universal saints and martyrs, thereby binding themselves to a celebrated Christian past.

between a number of monasteries. This would raise the prospect of the compilation of the *MLA* having been somehow connected with particular notions of a community on a regional level. The question regarding who commissioned the *MLA* arises in this context. It could be that the initiative came from within a particular monastery, but the possibility of some form of outside episcopal or secular stimulus, which may also have facilitated the collaboration of a number of houses, must be borne in mind. The most likely source of any secular involvement would have been members of the Babenberg dynasty, who, through the role of monastic advocates, patronage and other means, took an active interest in monastic affairs in Austria and Styria as part of a wider strategy aimed at the consolidation of their regional power¹². Could the *MLA* have somehow been tied in with Babenberg efforts to shape a unified monastic landscape within their territories? With regard to potential episcopal participation in the process, all but one of the monasteries possessing copies of the *MLA* lay within the boundaries of the diocese of Passau, the exception being Admont, situated within the archdiocese of Salzburg. Nonetheless, Salzburg appears the more likely source of episcopal involvement, both because Passau diocese lay within its ecclesiastical province and on account of its close connections with the monastery at Admont, which was founded as an *Eigenkloster* of the archepiscopacy in the eleventh century and which, as will be mooted in section 3.3., may well have been the ultimate location of the *MLA*'s compilation. It is interesting in this respect that the Salzburg see was also very much within the sphere of Babenberg influence in the relevant period, Adalbert III of Bohemia, son of the Babenberg Gertrude and grandson of Margrave Leopold III, holding the archepiscopacy from 1168 to 1177 and 1183 to 1200 after succeeding his uncle, Konrad II of Babenberg. A better understanding of the circumstances surrounding the *MLA*'s inception should emerge as the study of the manuscript tradition delivers more detailed knowledge regarding the processes of compilation and transmission.

A concrete connection between the *MLA* and individual monastic communities arose through the possession of exemplars of the legendary. While a number of copies of the *MLA* can be shown to have been lost, in five cases, namely Admont, Heiligenkreuz, Lilienfeld, Melk and Zwettl, a surviving exemplar can be attributed with certainty to a specific monastery. Furthermore, there are strong indications that the *MLA* volume today kept in the Austrian National Library originated in the Augustinian canonry at

¹² See section 1.5.

St. Pölten¹³. Legendaries were in most cases produced to meet the practical needs of a religious community, and constituted one of the basic requirements of a monastic library. Saints were supposed to serve as examples for the members of a community, and their legends were absorbed into the everyday claustral life through different channels. Besides private reading, the legends could be read during the office, in the refectory or, more rarely, in chapter¹⁴. A study of the manner in which the *MLA* exemplars were used within the individual monasteries, which will involve both the examination of marginalia and external sources, is planned as part of the VISCOM project. An example of the sources available is provided by a fifteenth-century refectory reading-list from Cistercian Heiligenkreuz, which includes specific reference to legends drawn from volumes of the *MLA*¹⁵. This study may help to get a sense of the relative importance of the *MLA* as a practical instrument within the monasteries rather than as a primarily representative holding.

While the extant *MLA* exemplars are very similar with regard to their structure and content, they are not identical. There are in each case some legends omitted and others added, often, though not always, at the end of a volume either in the original or a later hand. An examination of these discrepancies might reveal the particular concerns of individual communities and highlight different patterns of identification. The treatment of a monastery's patron saint as well as saints belonging to the same order or with a strong local cult will be interesting in this regard¹⁶.

¹³ See section 2.1.

¹⁴ See PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, pp. 112-121; B. DE GAIFFIER, *À propos des légendiers latins*, in *AB*, 97 (1979), pp. 57-68; F. DOLBEAU, *Notes sur l'organisation interne des légendiers latins*, in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés. IV^e-XII^e siècles*, Paris, 1981, pp. 11-31, at pp. 24 (fn. 5), 30-31.

¹⁵ GOTTLIEB, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. 1, pp. 75-82; K. KASKA, *Zerteilt und zerstört. Zu einem Fragment des Magnum Legendarium Austriacum in Heiligenkreuz*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 122 (2014), pp. 91-98.

¹⁶ Examples include the addition of two extra Marian texts, *De obitu sancte Marie* and a collection of hymns, to Cod. 12 (fol. 317^v-327^v) of the exemplar at Heiligenkreuz, which, like all Cistercian houses, was dedicated to Mary, and the appearance of two specifically Benedictine texts in the fifteenth-century *MLA* Cod. 16 in Melk, the *Vita Placidii discipuli s. Benedicti* (fol. 190^r-198^r; *BHL* 6863), included in the original corpus, and *De dignitate et magnificentia ordinis S. Benedicti* (fol. 343^v-347^r, 348^r-348^v), appended at a later stage; PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, pp. 68, 84, 87; A. HADINGER, *Die Handschriftengruppe um den Josefsmeister in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2774*, in *Codices Manuscripti*, 48/49 (2004), pp. 35-42, at p. 37, fn. 18 (Re: *De dignitate...*). The later addition of the so-called *Vita magistrae*, an account of the life of a female teacher at the Admont double monastery, to Cod. 25 (fol. 235^r-235^v) of that monastery's exemplar is also a salient example of the base *MLA* corpus being supplemented in accordance with the concerns of a particular commu-

The complete corpus of the *MLA* represents a hagiographical treasure-trove, the product of what Knapp referred to as an extraordinary *Sammeleifer*¹⁷. There is no doubt that the compiler was intent on creating a hagiographical compendium on a grand scale¹⁸. It is appropriate to speak of a single compiler with regard to the *MLA*, on the basis that the legendary's compilation is presented in a prologue as having been the work of one individual. For this reason, reference will be made to "the compiler" rather than "the compilers" throughout this essay, but without any intention of ruling out the involvement of a number of people in the process of conceiving the legendary and collecting, arranging and transcribing the many texts¹⁹. The prologue need not be taken to contradict the argument made above that the scale and dissemination of the *MLA* point to it having been the product of a wider, cross-institutional cooperation, as it may simply have been the ultimate task of arranging and, perhaps, selecting texts that fell to a single individual. Lives were for the most part incorporated into the collection with minimal textual alteration, as is evinced by the close proximity of the *MLA* texts to other witnesses found in earlier or contemporary manuscripts²⁰. There is no suggestion of a strong editorial hand at work. Neither is it possible to detect any great bias with regard to the category of saints included in the collection; apostles, martyrs, bishops, monks and *virgines* are all strongly represented, papal and royal saints to a lesser extent. The underlying urge to collect as many Lives as possible appears to have ensured that the compiler was not discriminating in this regard. The composition of a legendary can sometimes reveal much about the ideological preoccupations of the compiler, but this approach does not appear to have the potential to yield much fruit with regard to the *MLA*²¹.

nity; see C. LUTTER, *Geschlecht & Wissen, Norm & Praxis, Lesen & Schreiben: monastische Reformgemeinschaften im 12. Jahrhundert* (= *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 43), Vienna, 2005, pp. 87-107.

¹⁷ F. P. KNAPP, *Die Literatur des Früh- und Hochmittelalters in den Bistümern Passau, Salzburg, Brixen und Trient von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1273* (= *Geschichte der Literatur in Österreich von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 1), Graz, 1994, p. 173.

¹⁸ Cf. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, pp. 107-108: "D'ailleurs le simple instinct de collectionner suffit à expliquer de telles entreprises"; P. CHIESA, *Le versioni latine della Passio sanctae Febroniae. Storia, metodo, modelli di due traduzioni agiografiche altomedievali*, Spoleto, 1990, pp. 63-64: "...agli aspetti liturgici veri et propri si aggiungevano perciò intenti eruditi, cioè il desiderio di comporre una vera e propria *summa* delle leggende conosciute".

¹⁹ The compiler's prologue is reproduced in full in PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, p. 38; see also DOLBEAU, *Les prologues*, p. 355.

²⁰ See section 3.2. and appendix 2.

²¹ For an example of this approach yielding interesting results with regard to an early medieval legendary from the same general region, see M. DIESENBERGER, *Der Cyp 420 – die*

From a geographical perspective, the saints in the *MLA* are also widely dispersed, but among the legends dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries there is a clear emphasis on texts originating in southern Germany or Austria²².

The narrative character of hagiography lends itself to the study of inherent concepts of community. While the individual saint is generally, though not always, the central focus of a Life, he or she tends to interact regularly with diverse groups and communities drawn from different social classes, whereby different perceptions of the character and boundaries of a community can emerge. The historicization of the terms used in a text to denote groups and their perceived members and non-members can prove fruitful in this regard, while an examination of the vocabulary used can also reveal signifiers of belonging, for example, the use of the first-person plural on the part of the hagiographer²³. Because there is a wide spread in the chronological period and provenance of the legends, the texts of the *MLA* can be seen to reflect developments of concepts of community over time and space. Overall, with respect to both the process of compilation and transmission, as well as on the basis of its constituent parts, the *MLA* lends itself well to investigating the emergence and communication of medieval visions of community.

1.3. *Scale and structure of the MLA*

To settle on an exact figure for the number of texts in the *MLA* is a somewhat difficult task, owing to the loss of the original legendary, differences between the contents of the surviving exemplars and the various ways in which one might go about counting. A base-corpus of 534 texts can be reconstructed for the *Ur-MLA*, of which 502 constitute biographies concerning individual or groups of saints, the remainder belonging to other genres such as *visiones* and stand-alone collections of *sermones* or *miracula*²⁴.

Gemeinschaft der Heiligen und ihre Gestaltung im frühmittelalterlichen Bayern, in *L'hagiographie mérovingienne à travers ses réécritures*, ed. M. GOULLET – M. HEINZELMANN – C. VEYRARD-COSME (= *Beihefte der Francia*, 71), Ostfildern, 2010, pp. 219-248.

²² Because Wattenbach's catalogue of *MLA* saints' Lives was designed to appeal to the interests of the readership of the *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, his list provides the most concise overview of the legends originating in the relevant area; WATTENBACH, *Das große Legendarium...* (see above n. 5).

²³ See LUTTER, *Social Groups...* (see above n. 10), pp. 48-49.

²⁴ This number still excludes the additional redactions, *translationes* and *miracula* provided for some saints as well as the monthly *praefationes*. It also counts collections of multiple *sermones*, *auctoritates*, etc. as single items.

There are a further twenty texts that are found in one exemplar only and can be taken to be original additions on the part of the respective copyists²⁵.

Beginning with Basilios on 1 January, the saints' Lives in the *MLA* are ordered *per circulum anni* according to their feastdays. Each exemplar was originally divided into four three-monthly volumes, though, as will be outlined in section 2.1., this arrangement was relatively short-lived at a number of monasteries, where some of the bulky volumes were split into two tomes, each covering approximately six weeks. In most cases the surviving volumes are preceded by an original calendrical table of contents. As will become clear in section 3, discrepancies between the attached table and actual content are not rare and this suggests that in many cases the table was simply transcribed in full from the particular template, with the result that subsequent deviations in the actual copy were not reflected.

Following the example of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* the *MLA* begins with a letter purportedly written by Bishops Chromatius of Aquileia and Heliodorus of Altinum, in which they beseech St Jerome to send them the famous *feriales de archivis sancti Eusebii Cesarie*. This is followed by Jerome's response and again by two prologues, one taken from the late ninth-century martyrology of Wolfhard von Herrieden, the other constituting the personal preface of the compiler of the *MLA*, in which he attributes the inspiration to undertake his work to the love and affection of his *fratres*²⁶. The beginning of each month within the legendary is marked by the appearance of a *praefatio* drawn from the corresponding month in the *Martyrologium Wolfhardi*²⁷. Each legend is almost invariably preceded by a *lemma*, whereby the use of the description *passio* or *vita* distinguishes martyr from confessor. The descriptives used to denote the genre of the text are not limited to these two, with others including

²⁵ There are ten further texts that were inserted into individual exemplars at a later stage.

²⁶ The *Martyrologium Wolfhardi* was probably written before 895 and is transmitted in an early eleventh-century manuscript originating from the Benedictine monastery at Tegernsee in Upper Bavaria: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18100. Regarding this work, see A. PONCELET, *De martyrologio Wolfhardi Haserensis*, in *AB*, 17 (1898), pp. 5-23; F. J. WORST-BROCK, *Wolfhart von Herrieden*, in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 10, ed. B. WACHINGER et al., Berlin, 1999, col. 1364-1367; M. NIEDERKORN-BRUCK, *Papst Gregor I. in liturgischen und liturgie-theoretischen Quellen des Hochmittelalters*, in *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen: von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, ed. W. POHL (= *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 8), Vienna, 2004, pp. 317-328, at pp. 321-325. While Wolfhard's prologue comes before the compiler's in the Admont exemplar, the order is reversed in the corresponding volumes preserved at Heiligenkreuz, Melk, Lilienfeld and Zwettl. Regarding the *MLA* compiler's prologue, see PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, p. 38; DOLBEAU, *Les prologues*, p. 355.

²⁷ See DOLBEAU, *Les prologues*, pp. 353-354.

visio, translatio, gesta and *conversio*. After well over five hundred legends the *MLA* ends simply with the explicit of the final Life, the *Passio Columbe virginis* (31 December; *BHL* 1896).

1.4. *The hagiographical context*

Regardless of whether one takes the figure of 502 saints or 434 texts into account the *MLA* is undoubtedly the most voluminous “classic” legendary known from the German-speaking part of high medieval Europe. Philippart distinguishes between classic or traditional legendaries and abbreviated collections or *novae legendae*²⁸. Whereas the former is to be understood as an assemblage of pre-existing texts subject to only minimal textual intervention on the part of the compiler — a categorisation that rings true for the *MLA* — the *abbreviations* represent the work of an original editor or abbreviator, who made substantial changes to the legends included in the collection. The increased prominence of the abbreviated legendaries is thought to be associated with the rise of the mendicant orders, but their transmission was by no means restricted to newer foundations²⁹. While the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine is the best-known and most widely disseminated example of an abbreviated legendary, this category is also well represented within the *MLA*’s area of transmission, most notably by the so-called *Legendarium Austriacum minus* and the Kreuzenstein legendary dating to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively³⁰. The transcription of six new volumes of the *MLA* at Melk circa 1470 testifies, nonetheless, to the continued popularity of the classic legendary format in the region. Interesting in this regard is also a legendary compiled at Klosterneuburg in Lower Austria circa 1300, which borrowed

²⁸ PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, pp. 21-26; ID., *Legendare*, col. 644-645.

²⁹ PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, pp. 45-48; ID., *Legendare*, col. 644-645; M. RENER, *Lateinische Hagiographie im deutschsprachigen Raum von 1200-1450*, in *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, vol. 1, ed. G. PHILIPPART (= *Corpus Christianorum. Hagiographies*, 1), Turnhout, 1994, pp. 199-265, at pp. 204-207. Dolbeau draws a further distinction between *abbreviated* volumes of small format with a limited selection of texts, which were specifically designed for preaching, and those containing an abundance of such texts, but resembling classic legendaries in format and structure; DOLBEAU, *Les prologues*, pp. 346-347.

³⁰ F. P. KNAPP, *Die Literatur des Spätmittelalters in den Ländern Österreich, Steiermark, Kärnten, Salzburg und Tirol von 1273 bis 1439*. Half-volume I: *Die Literatur in der Zeit der frühen Habsburger bis zum Tod Albrechts II. 1358* (= *Geschichte der Literatur in Österreich von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 2/1), Graz, 1999, pp. 140-143; W. JAROSCHKA – A. WENDEHORST, *Das Kreuzensteiner Legendar. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der österreichischen Hagiographie des Spätmittelalters*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 65 (1957), pp. 369-418.

some elements of the structure and content of the *Legenda Aurea*, while otherwise remaining very much a legendary of the classic type³¹.

With regard to scale, the *MLA* comfortably surpasses the next largest legendaries of its time, namely those from the Premonstratensian canonry at Windberg in Lower Bavaria (slightly fewer than 350 legends) and the Benedictine monastery of St. Maximinus in Trier (incomplete, an estimated 400 legends)³². It was not until the compilation of the enormous *Legendarium Bodecense* at the Augustinian canonry of Böddecken in Westphalia circa 1460 that the *MLA* was eclipsed³³. Despite, or perhaps even because of, the great scale of the *MLA*, the collection also exceeds with its six exemplars the transmission of contemporary legendaries within the same area. The Windberg collection is one of three closely related legendaries originating within a confined area of Lower Bavaria, the other two being fragmentary legendaries from the Benedictine monasteries of Ober- and Niederaltaich. Although much more work needs to be done on this subject, it seems that all three derive from a lost hagiographical collection, the Oberaltaich and Windberg exemplars perhaps directly, while the Niederaltaich legendary appears to be a copy of Windberg³⁴. Through their shared

³¹ See section 2.2.

³² Concerning the Windberg Legendary (= Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22240-45), see A. PONCELET, *De legendario Windbergensi*, in *AB*, 17 (1898), pp. 97-122; W. LEVISON, *Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum*, pp. 533-534; G. EIS, *Legendarium Windbergense*, in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 1. edition, vol. 5, ed. K. LANGOSCH, Berlin, 1955, col. 604-610. Regarding the Trier legendary (= Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cod. Lat. 9741 & 9742; Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 1151; Trier, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars, Cod. 35 & 36), see LEVISON, *Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum*, pp. 536-537; M. COENS, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum seminarii et ecclesiae cathedralis Treverensis*, in *AB*, 49 (1931), pp. 241-275, at pp. 249-254; ID., *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae civitatis Treverensis*, in *AB*, 52 (1934), pp. 157-285, at pp. 193-207; PHILIPPART, *Legendare*, col. 651. The following works offer an overview of the development of the medieval legendary in German-speaking areas: LEVISON, *Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum*, PHILIPPART, *Legendare* and RENER, *Lateinische Hagiographie...* (see above n. 29), pp. 204-207.

³³ The legendary is preserved in a very incomplete state. A description published of the volumes still surviving in 1908 points to the total number of legends having been close to 900; H. MORETUS, *De magno legendario Bodecensi*, in *AB*, 27 (1908), pp. 257-358; F. HALKIN, *Legendarii Bodecensis menses duo in codice Paderbornensi*, in *AB*, 52 (1934), pp. 321-333; LEVISON, *Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum*, pp. 538-539; PHILIPPART, *Legendare*, col. 652-653.

³⁴ Niederaltaich = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II. fol. 58 [CXCv]; A.G.R. NAUMANN, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui in bibliotheca senatoria civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur*, Grimma, 1838, pp. 59-62. Oberaltaich = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9506; C. HALM – G. MEYER, *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis*, vol. II/I, Munich, 1874, pp. 94-95. Levison regarded the collections from Windberg, Ober- and Niederaltaich as exemplars of a particular *legendarium amplum totius anni*; LEVISON, *Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum*, p. 533. Philippart, on the other hand, identified both the Ober- and

descent from a lost *archetypum* of probably Bavarian provenance, these three legendaries are stemmatically related to the *MLA*³⁵. The original extent of the *MLA* transmission was not limited to the six preserved exemplars, as will be made clear in section 3.5. The importance of the *MLA* as a peerlessly rich repository of hagiographical material cannot be overestimated, and this provoked from an early stage the interest of the “Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde”, which ultimately led to many *MLA* text witnesses providing the basis for editions published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* series³⁶. The *MLA* contains a particularly valuable store of eleventh- and twelfth-century legends originating in German-speaking areas, some of which are only transmitted in the *MLA*³⁷. Among the more “exotic” elements in the collection are numerous legends of relatively obscure Irish and Italian saints, which enjoy a very limited transmission outside of the *MLA*³⁸.

1.5. The historical context

The decades either side of 1200, in which the compilation and dissemination of the *MLA* occurred, coincided with a highpoint in the fortunes of the dynasty which for centuries held control of the Mark and later Duchy of Austria, the Babenbergs³⁹. Their long-established hegemony in

Niederaltaich legendaries as copies of Windberg; PHILIPPART, *Legendare*, col. 650. While this rings true in the case of Niederaltaich, the collection from Oberaltaich (c. 1120/5) is earlier in date than Windberg (1141-1191) and appears therefore to be independently descended, possibly directly, from the shared source legendary. For the dating of the Oberaltaich legendary, see E. KLEMM, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek. Teil 1: Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg* (text vol.), Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 81.

³⁵ See section 3.2. Whether the lost legendary source of Windberg, Ober- and Niederaltaich is identical with the *archetypum* or rather represents a descendant thereof cannot be determined at this point, though there is some evidence favouring the latter scenario; see n. 115.

³⁶ See section 1.1.

³⁷ E.g. *Vita Ottonis Babenbergensis* (BHL 6394); *Vita Gregorii Septimi* (BHL 3652).

³⁸ Regarding the collection of Irish Lives, see section 3.3. The *Passio Luxorii* (BHL 5092) provides an example of an Italian legend whose transmission north of the Alps is extremely restricted; M. ZEDDA, *Passio sancti Luxorii martyris*, Florence, 2006. It is not, however, as suggested in Zedda’s recent edition, limited entirely to the *MLA* witnesses, being found also in Cod. 713 from the Benedictine monastery of St Lambrecht in Styria, a manuscript datable to exactly 1216; A. KERN, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, vol. 2, Vienna, 1956 (= *Handschriftenverzeichnisse Österreichischer Bibliotheken. Steiermark*, 2), pp. 1-7, no. 55; M. MAIOLD, *Die datierten Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz bis zum Jahre 1600. Part 1: Text* (= *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich*, 6), Vienna, 1979, pp. 78-79.

³⁹ An overview of the history of the Babenbergs can be found in LECHNER, *Die Babenberger*; K. BRUNNER, *Herzogtümer und Marken vom Ungarnsturm bis ins 12. Jahrhundert*

Austria and more recent acquisition of the Duchy of Styria (1192) provided the political backdrop to the monastic landscape of the region within which the *MLA* circulated. The transmission of the *MLA* is restricted to monasteries located within the then political boundaries of the Duchies of Austria and Styria, and, as will be argued in section 3.3., there are very strong indications that the collection was also compiled within this area, contrary to previous assertions of an outside origin. The territory of Austria and Styria lay within the sprawling dioceses of Passau and Salzburg, respectively. Despite the repeated efforts of the Babenbergs from the late twelfth century onwards, no independent diocese was erected within the Duchy of Austria until the fifteenth century⁴⁰.

By the time of the compilation of the *MLA* the monastic landscape of Austria/Styria was dotted with numerous prosperous monasteries and canonries, which represented both cultural focal points and institutions carrying significance within the ecclesiastical and secular framework of the region. This was, however, a relatively youthful collection of establishments compared to core areas within the Holy Roman Empire, with most having been founded or re-founded no earlier than the later eleventh century⁴¹. A combination of episcopal initiative and, increasingly as the twelfth century wore on, the endeavours of the Babenbergs and local nobility resulted in the creation of a more expansive network of monasteries within the region. The landscape was initially dominated by Benedictines and Augustinians, but from the third decade of the twelfth century onwards the Cistercians made significant inroads in Austria/Styria, not least due to the considerable support they received from the Babenbergs. The monasteries holding exemplars of the *MLA*, comprising two Benedictine, three Cistercian and, probably, one Augustinian house, thus reflect to an extent the diversity of contemporary monasticism within Austria/Styria. As will be made clear in section 3.5. of this article, the six surviving exemplars by no means represent the full extent of the original transmission of the *MLA*, with a number of copies, including the *Ur-MLA* having, demon-

(= *Österreichische Geschichte 907-1156*), Vienna, 1994; H. DOPSCH – K. BRUNNER – M. WELTIN, *Die Länder und das Reich. Der Ostalpenraum im Hochmittelalter* (= *Österreichische Geschichte 1122-1278*), Vienna, 1999; C. LUTTER, *The Babenbergs: Frontier March to Principality (II)*, in *The Origins of the German Principalities, 1100-1350*, ed. G. A. LOUD – A. MURRAY – J. SCHENK, New York, 2015 (in press).

⁴⁰ H. KRABBO, *Die Versuche der Babenberger zur Gründung einer Landeskirche in Österreich*, in *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*, 93 (1905), pp. 1-41.

⁴¹ See LECHNER, *Die Babenberger*, pp. 98-105; F. RÖHRIG, *Die Kirche in der Zeit der Babenberger*, in *1000 Jahre Babenberger in Österreich. Niederösterreichische Jubiläumsausstellung*, Vienna, 1976, pp. 110-124; LUTTER, *The Babenbergs...* (see above n. 39).

strably, been lost. It can therefore be assumed that monasteries other than those today associated with the *MLA* were also involved in the process of transmission. It is nonetheless pertinent to give attention to the history of each of the custodians of *MLA* exemplars, in order to sketch the historical context of the collection's manuscript tradition and, perhaps, shine light on the motivations which lay behind its compilation and transmission.

The Benedictine monasteries among the holders of surviving exemplars of the *MLA*, Admont and Melk, are two of the earliest foundations within Austria / Styria. The former was established as an *Eigenkloster* or proprietary monastery of the archiepiscopal see of Salzburg in 1074, with Archbishop Gebhard as founder⁴². The installation in 1115 of an abbot from the Benedictine monastery of St. Blaise in Swabia, a centre of the Hirsau monastic reform movement, ushered in Admont's own period as a reform centre of considerable note within the region of modern-day southern Germany and Austria⁴³. The influence of Admont during the twelfth century can be measured, *inter alia*, by the large number of Admont monks who were called to serve as abbots in other Benedictine monasteries, including such illustrious abbeys as St. Emmeram in Regensburg and St. Michael in Bamberg, thereby spreading the particular Admont observance or *religio Admuntina*. The Benedictine nunnery founded at Admont in the early twelfth century similarly became a regional focal point for monastic reform. Although located within the Duchy of Styria, Admont firmly entered the sphere of Babenberg influence in 1168/69, when the Austrian Duke Heinrich II was granted the role of the monastery's *advocatus* in fief by the Archbishop of Salzburg⁴⁴.

The arrival of a party of monks from the monastery at Lambach in Upper Austria in 1089 marked the beginning of the Benedictine phase at Melk in Lower Austria, a pre-existing canonry at the site having been dis-

⁴² See H. P. NASCHENWENG, *Admont*, in *Die Benediktinischen Mönchs- und Nonnenklöster in Österreich und Südtirol*, ed. U. FAUST – W. KRASSNIG (= *Germania Benedictina*, 3/1), St. Otilien, 2000, pp. 71-188.

⁴³ K. ARNOLD, *Admont und die monastische Reform des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 89 (1972) (= *Kanonistische Abteilung*, 58/1), pp. 350-369; S. SEEBERG, *Die Illustrationen im Admonter Nonnenbrevier von 1180. Marienkrönung und Nonnenfrömmigkeit. Die Rolle der Brevierillustration in der Entwicklung von Bildthemen im 12. Jahrhundert* (= *Imagines Medii Aevi. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung*, 8), Wiesbaden, 2002, pp. 6-21; LUTTER, *Geschlecht & Wissen...* (see above n. 16), pp. 52-62.

⁴⁴ F. HAUSMANN, *Die Vogtei des Klosters Admont und die Babenberger*, in *Babenberger-Forschungen*, ed. M. WELTIN = *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, n. s. 42 (1976), pp. 95-128; REICHERT, *Landesherrschaft*, pp. 136-139. Two close relatives of Heinrich II, his brother, Konrad II (1164-1168), and his nephew, Adalbert III (1168-1177; 1183-1200), held the archiepiscopal see in 1168/69.

solved⁴⁵. Although the exact circumstances are unclear, it seems that Margrave Leopold II was responsible for inviting the Lambach monks to Melk, which had long been the location of a Babenberg residence. Melk, which held the tomb of the patron saint of Lower Austria, the Irish pilgrim Koloman († 1012), served as the principal burial site of the Babenbergs until the secular and ecclesiastical centre of the Mark moved eastwards to Klosterneuburg in the 1130s. Monastic life within the Melk monastery appears initially to have adhered to the observance associated with the reform centre at Gorze in Lotharingia, which also prevailed in Lambach, but from the early twelfth century onwards came under the influence of the Hirsau reform movement. The role of lay advocate (*advocatus*) in relation to the Melk monastery rested with the Babenberg dynasty⁴⁶.

Margrave Leopold III, who was to be canonized in the fifteenth century, moved his residence to Klosterneuburg around 1113⁴⁷. A pre-existing secular canonry at the site was converted to a house of the Augustinians regular in 1133, and would host the tombs of Leopold and of his wife, Agnes. Although the primary dynastic residence shifted to Vienna in 1155, the canonry at Klosterneuburg remained a Babenberg bastion of tremendous importance within the regional monastic landscape. Leopold III was also instrumental in the establishment of Heiligenkreuz, the earliest Cistercian monastery within Lower Austria, in 1133 — the order already had a presence in Styria, where Stift Rein was founded in 1129 — acting on the prompting of his son, Otto, future Bishop of Freising, who was then a monk at Cistercian Morimond in Burgundy⁴⁸. The monastery at Heiligenkreuz was settled from Morimond and would house the burials of a series of Babenberg Margraves and Dukes, beginning with Leopold III's short-lived successor, Leopold IV († 1141). An exception was Duke Heinrich II, who himself founded an Irish Benedictine monastery or *Schottenkloster* at

⁴⁵ LECHNER, *Die Babenberger*, pp. 63-64, 114; REICHERT, *Landesherrschaft*, pp. 170-172; G. GLASSNER – W. KOWARIK – M. NIEDERKORN-BRUCK, *Melk*, in *Die Benediktinischen Mönchs- und Nonnenklöster in Österreich und Südtirol*, ed. U. FAUST – W. KRASSNIG (= *Germania Benedictina*, 3/2), St. Ottilien, 2001, pp. 526-654.

⁴⁶ REICHERT, *Landesherrschaft*, pp. 170-172.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-164; F. RÖHRIG, *Klosterneuburg*, in *Die bestehenden Stifte der Augustiner-Chorherren in Österreich, Südtirol und Polen*, ed. F. RÖHRIG (= *Österreichisches Chorherrenbuch. Die Klöster der Augustiner-Chorherren in der ehemaligen Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, 2), Klosterneuburg, 1997, pp. 99-193.

⁴⁸ H. WATZL, *Die Babenberger und das Stift Heiligenkreuz im Wienerwald*, in *Sancta Crux*, 37 (1975), pp. 11-21; C. LUTTER, „*Locus horroris et vastae solitudinis*“? Zisterzienser und Zisterzienserinnen in und um Wien, in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 132 (2012), pp. 141-176.

Vienna in 1155, where he would be buried in 1177⁴⁹. The strong Babenberg connection with Heiligenkreuz was renewed under his successor, Leopold V (1177-1194), who is recorded as having donated a relic of the True Cross to the monastery and would also be interred there, as was his son Duke Friedrich I (1194-1198).

Leopold VI (1198-1230) was also a strong supporter of the Cistercian order, but his primary focus was on the new monastery he founded at Lilienfeld in Lower Austria in 1202. Settled from Heiligenkreuz in 1206, Lilienfeld was the last male monastery to be founded by a Babenberg Duke, and would serve as the burial site of its founder⁵⁰. Unlike Heiligenkreuz, where the Babenbergs held the advocacy *ab initio*, Lilienfeld was granted freedom from this office in accordance with the then Babenberg model of the Duke as *defensor* rather than as *advocatus* of the monasteries within his territories⁵¹. The other Cistercian custodian of an exemplar of the *MLA*, the monastery at Zwettl in Lower Austria, had been established as a daughter-house of Heiligenkreuz in 1137/38⁵². This monastery was not founded directly by the Babenbergs, but rather by Hadmar I, a member of the Kuenring family, who were *ministeriales* or administrators attached to the Margrave. Royal and papal charters issued to Zwettl in 1139 and 1140 granted the monastery freedom from lay advocacy, although an equivalent role was played by members of the Kuenring family⁵³.

The Augustinian canonry at St. Pölten, the final establishment associated with an *MLA* exemplar — although the provenance is not completely secure — stands out from the rest on account of its religious observance and the fact that it was an *Eigenkloster* of the Passau bishopric.

⁴⁹ K. LECHNER, *Die Gründungsgeschichte und die Anfänge der Schottenabtei in Wien*, in *Religion, Wissenschaft und Kultur. Vierteljahrsschrift der Wiener katholischen Akademie*, 11 (1960), pp. 19-38; H. FLACHENECKER, *Schottenklöster. Irische Benediktinerkonvente im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland*, Paderborn, 1995, pp. 214-236; C. R. RAPF – H. FERENCZY, *Wien, Schotten*, in *Die Benediktinischen Mönchs- und Nonnenklöster in Österreich und Südtirol (= Germania Benedictina, 3/3)*, St. Ottilien, 2002, pp. 779-817.

⁵⁰ LECHNER, *Die Babenberger*, pp. 204-205; N. MUSSBACHER, *Das Stift Lilienfeld, in 1000 Jahre Babenberger in Österreich. Niederösterreichische Jubiläumsausstellung*, Vienna, 1976, pp. 155-165. Although the exact circumstances of its foundation are unclear, it appears that Leopold VI also established the Cistercian nunnery of St. Mary (by St. Nicholas) outside the walls of Vienna before 1228; LUTTER, *Locus horroris...* (see above n. 48), pp. 168-176.

⁵¹ REICHERT, *Landesherrschaft*, pp. 159-162, 169, 269-274.

⁵² H. WOLFRAM, *Zisterziensergründung und Ministerialität am Beispiel Zwettls*, in *Kuenringer-Forschungen*, ed. A. KUSTERNIG – M. WELTIN = *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, n. s. 46/47 (1981), pp. 1-39; REICHERT, *Landesherrschaft*, pp. 226-260; LUTTER, *Locus horroris*.

⁵³ REICHERT, *Landesherrschaft*, pp. 226-260.

This institution actually began life circa 800 as a Benedictine monastery, making it comfortably the oldest monastery within Lower Austria⁵⁴. The introduction of Augustinian canons circa 1083 was an initiative of the reforming Bishop Altmann of Passau, who had also been responsible for founding an Augustinian canonry at Göttweig shortly before. The Babenbergs were granted the position of *advocati* of the St. Pölten canonry in fief by the bishops of Passau circa 1150⁵⁵.

From this short overview it will be clear that there is a good degree of diversity in the foundation circumstances of the six houses associated with the *MLA*. Nonetheless, the six religious houses are linked to a greater or lesser extent by their connections to the Babenbergs. These were particularly strong in the case of Melk, Heiligenkreuz and Lilienfeld, where members of the dynasty founded or refounded the monasteries. Although Zwettl was not founded by a Babenberg, it was very much within the sphere of influence of the dynasty, having been established by one of their *ministeriales*. Admont and St. Pölten, though *Eigenklöster* of the Archbishop of Salzburg and Bishop of Passau, respectively, also had a concrete connection with the Babenbergs through the role of the latter as advocates. With regard to Admont, this Babenberg involvement ensured the monastery was already associated at this level with the other monasteries in Lower Austria prior to the Babenberg acquisition of the Duchy of Styria in 1192. The question arises as to whether the shared Babenberg connections of the individual monasteries may have had a bearing on the circumstances surrounding the compilation and transmission of the *MLA*. As will be discussed in section 3.5., the stemmatic relationship of the surviving exemplars suggests that the collection was, for the most part, not transmitted according to channels based on affiliation to a particular order. The twelfth-century Austrian annals present an analogous manuscript tradition, whereby codices can be shown to have circulated among a large group of monasteries, including Melk, Heiligenkreuz, Admont and Zwettl, as well as Klosterneuburg and the *Schottenkloster* in Vienna, with the transmission

⁵⁴ F. SCHRAGL, *St. Pölten*, in *Die ehemaligen Stifte der Augustiner-Chorherren in Österreich und Südtirol*, ed. F. RÖHRIG (= *Österreichisches Chorherrenbuch. Die Klöster der Augustiner-Chorherren in der ehemaligen Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, 3), Klosterneuburg, 2005, pp. 447-484; J. WEISSENSTEINER, *Das bayerische Kloster Tegernsee und die Anfänge von St. Pölten im Mittelalter*, and H. SPECHT, *Das Kloster der Augustiner-Chorherren im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, in *Sant Ypoelten. Stift und Stadt im Mittelalter*. Katalogbuch zur Sonderausstellung des Diözesanmuseums St. Pölten aus Anlass der Verleihung des Privilegs von 1159, St. Pölten, 2009, pp. 35-46, 55-72.

⁵⁵ REICHERT, *Landesherrschaft*, pp. 190-193.

again not following channels of monastic affiliation⁵⁶. If, as mooted in section 1.2., the process surrounding the compilation and dissemination of the *MLA* involved the cooperation of a number of monasteries, it is conceivable that Babenberg influence may have encouraged or facilitated these processes, but evidence to this effect is lacking⁵⁷. Whether the *MLA* was the product of an external commission, either by secular or ecclesiastical parties, remains unclear. The relatively widespread dissemination and faithful transcription of the four-volume *MLA* leads to the conclusion that it to some extent came to be regarded as a standard-work, a “must-have” or “should-have” for monastic libraries in the region. It is possible that the character of the *MLA* as a standard-work was a matter of design more than chance, and that this was the ultimate intention of the commissioners.

Schmale viewed the patterns of transmission of the Austrian annals as evidence for a consolidation of Austria through the intensification of interdependent religious and political connections within a restricted region, and as a reflection of a growing unity⁵⁸. The *MLA* can certainly be regarded in a similar light, demonstrating as it does the extensive links between religious houses in Austria/Styria, which were also integrated into the regional political framework. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, Babenberg policy in relation to the office of monastic advocate sought the implementation of a model whereby each monastery within their territories would have no *advocatus*, and instead have the Duke as common *defensor*⁵⁹. This system of *Entvogtung*, which served to sideline those members of the local nobility who had traditionally occupied and benefitted from the role of advocates — aside from its worth as a means of consolidating their authority within their territories — can be seen to an

⁵⁶ F. J. SCHMALE, *Die österreichische Annalistik im 12. Jahrhundert*, in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 31 (1975), pp. 144-203.

⁵⁷ If this was the case, then the absence of the other two monasteries directly founded by the Babenbergs in the twelfth century, Klosterneuburg and the *Schottenkloster* in Vienna, from the *MLA* narrative would appear curious, but, given the evidence for the loss of a number of *MLA* exemplars, it may simply be the result of the quirks of manuscript survival. See sections 2.2., 3.2. and 3.3. for more concerning Klosterneuburg and the *MLA*. The holdings of the library of the medieval *Schottenkloster* have been largely lost or dispersed and no catalogue survives from the period; GOTTLIEB, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. 1, pp. 431-435.

⁵⁸ SCHMALE, *Die österreichische Annalistik...* (see above n. 56), p. 194: “Die Verbreitung der Melker, Klosterneuburger und Admonter Annalen spiegelt ja selbst bereits das Zusammenwachsen Österreichs aufgrund sich einander bedingender und ergänzender religiöser und politischer Beziehungen wider... Sie sind ein Beweis für die Verdichtung der Beziehungen in einem begrenzten Raum, dessen wachsende innere Geschlossenheit darin treffend zum Ausdruck kommt”.

⁵⁹ See LECHNER, *Die Babenberger*, pp. 205-207; REICHERT, *Landesherrschaft*.

extent as a manifestation of the Babenbergs' conception of a ducal monastic church, a network of monasteries all under the protective umbrella of the dynasty. It can be viewed as an extension of the pre-existing Babenberg policy of seeking to acquire the office of advocate in respect of individual monasteries, as in the case of Admont and St. Pölten. While the existence of a closely-knit network of monasteries and canonries within the Babenberg sphere seems not to be in doubt, it is more difficult to determine whether the religious houses and their individual members shared a sense of belonging to a greater whole, a monastic community on a regional level. Equally, whether the compilation or transmission of the *MLA* was somehow tied in with Babenberg visions of a monastic landscape unified under their patronage must remain an open question.

Section 2: The manuscript tradition of the *MLA*

2.1. *The six surviving MLA exemplars*

The manuscript tradition of the *MLA* comprises 21 volumes and a single, recently identified fragment. All but one of the manuscripts have been retained by their original owners, the monastic libraries at Admont, Heiligenkreuz, Lilienfeld, Melk and Zwettl. The exception is Cod. 336 of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB), which had already arrived at the library's predecessor, the Viennese *Hofbibliothek*, by 1576⁶⁰. The provenance of this particular exemplar, dating to circa 1200, remains uncertain, but there are now strong indications that it was produced at the Augustinian canonry of St. Pölten in Lower Austria. The manuscript has long been associated with St. Pölten due to the presence at its back of a report in a fourteenth-century hand of the discovery of relics there in 1209⁶¹. The attribution has been considerably strengthened by the results of a recent art-historical and palaeographical study by Friedrich Simader, who has identified Cod. 336 as a product of the St. Pölten scriptorium⁶². Aside from the 21 manuscript volumes of the *MLA*, a single fragment has recently been

⁶⁰ H. MENHARDT, *Das älteste Handschriftenverzeichnis der Wiener Hofbibliothek von Hugo Blotius 1576*. Kritische Ausgabe der Handschrift Series nova 4451 vom Jahre 1597 mit vier Anhängen (= *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Denkschriften*, 76), Vienna, 1957, p. 89.

⁶¹ The *Historia inventionis reliquiarum* is found in Cod. 336, fol. 402^r-403^v and edited in AASS, Iunii t. 4, pp. 708-710, and H. PEZ, *Scriptores rerum Austriacarum veteres ac genuini*, I, Leipzig, 1721, pp. 739-750. See also LHOTSKY, *Quellenkunde*, p. 231.

⁶² F. SIMADER, *Ein Buchmaler um 1200. Zu den Anfängen der Buchmalerei in St. Pölten*. in *Unsere Heimat. Zeitschrift für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, 72 (2001), pp. 25-34.

discovered within the binding of a sixteenth-century printed book in the library at Heiligenkreuz⁶³. It constitutes a folio once belonging to the tail-end of the incomplete Cod. 14 volume of the Heiligenkreuz exemplar, and contains a section of the *Gesta Silvestri* (BHL 7725-27).

Only in Melk does a version of the *MLA* covering the entire year survive, while the Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl exemplars are the most complete among the remainder⁶⁴. Only one of the seven volumes at Melk actually belongs to the original exemplar, however, the others having been copied by the Melk librarian, Christophorus Lieb, circa 1470. The exact nature of the template available to Lieb remains a matter of uncertainty⁶⁵. It appears that each exemplar of the *MLA* was originally composed of quarterly volumes. Such manuscripts, consisting of up to 403 folios, survive from all monasteries bar Melk. In a number of cases, however, these quarterly volumes were subsequently split into two volumes covering approximately six weeks, namely Lilienfeld Codd. 58/59, Zwettl Codd. 14/15, Heiligenkreuz Cod. 14/missing volume, Melk Cod. 388/missing (thirteenth-century) volume. It must be borne in mind, that while certain exemplars such as Heiligenkreuz were undoubtedly once complete, others may, perhaps due to the laboriousness of copying a collection of this scale or to the reliance on an incomplete template, never have been finished. The Admont and Lilienfeld exemplars, which both cover a period of six months through their surviving volumes, are the most suspect in this regard. A catalogue of the Admont library holdings from 1380 records the presence of one *passionale sanctorum a kalendis Ianuarii usque ad kalendas Aprilis* and another *a kalendis Aprilis usque ad kalendas Iulii*⁶⁶. These two entries undoubtedly relate to the surviving Codd. 24 and 25, and the absence of further volumes in 1380 raises the question as to whether there were ever more than two completed at Admont. Furthermore, the second volume in the sequence, Cod. 24, covering the period April to June, has numerous lacunae compared to the other *MLA* exemplars, including fifteen legends between 4 and 14 June. Given the somewhat cavalier attitude to the transcription of the template evident in this manuscript, it would not surprise if the copying process did not extend to any further volumes. Similarly, a

⁶³ Stiftsbibliothek Heiligenkreuz, HS 7F/8K; KASKA, *Zerteilt und zerstört...* (see above n. 15).

⁶⁴ The Melk exemplar does omit a limited number of legends, but is unbroken in respect of the calendrical period covered by its volumes.

⁶⁵ See section 3.5.

⁶⁶ G. MÖSER-MERSKY, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*. Vol. 3: *Steiermark*, Graz, 1961, pp. 34-63, at p. 51.

thirteenth-century library catalogue survives from Lilienfeld and contains reference to *II passionalia*⁶⁷. These two legends may be identifiable with the surviving Codd. 58/59 (before they were separated) and Cod. 60. The question again arises as to whether the Lilienfeld *MLA* exemplar ever extended beyond its current size. An assumption that the legendary was copied in calendrical sequence might lead one to expect that at least an additional volume covering the period April to June would once have existed, considering that the surviving codices at Lilienfeld cover the periods January to March and July to September. As will be made clear in section 3.5., however, it seems likely that there was never actually a complete exemplar available to copy at Lilienfeld, with the surviving volumes having been transcribed from two stemmatically divergent templates.

As part of the VISCOM project, full codicological and palaeographical descriptions of each surviving *MLA* exemplar have been compiled by Martin Haltrich and will shortly be made available on www.manuscripta.at, the internet portal of the Abteilung für Schrift- und Buchwesen at the Institute for Medieval Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, which already carries a very extensive range of Austrian manuscript descriptions and catalogues. These descriptions will also incorporate the results of art-historical appraisals, which are in the process of being undertaken by Susanne Rischpler and Lena Sommer⁶⁸. For the purposes of this article a simple list of the 21 *MLA* volumes with their current location, the approximate date of the manuscript's production and an indication of the calendrical period covered by the legends within is being provided. A discussion of the dating of the different exemplars is contained in section 3.4. Bibliographical references are here largely restricted to the library catalogues. Further relevant literature can be found at www.manuscripta.at as well as among the footnotes of this article. Pending the publication of the project database and full descriptions of the individual manuscripts on

⁶⁷ GOTTLIEB, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. 1, pp. 125-127, at p. 127. This catalogue has been more recently dated to "about 1230"; A. HAIDINGER – F. LACKNER, *Die Handschriften des Stiftes Lilienfeld. Anmerkungen und Ergänzungen zu Schimeks Katalog*, in *Codices Manuscripti. Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde*, 18/19 (1997), pp. 49-80, at p. 63. The reference to the *passionalia* appears, however, towards the end of the catalogue in a section added by a second, slightly later hand.

⁶⁸ Susanne Rischpler's (Würzburg) art-historical analysis of all illuminations contained in the *MLA* is being funded in association with the VISCOM project (F4206-G18), and Lena Sommer's PhD project on layout and knowledge transfer in the *MLA* exemplars of Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl is being conducted at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), University of Hamburg, within the framework of the SFB 950 ("Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa").

www.manuscripta.at, Poncelet's catalogue remains the best guide to the contents of the *MLA* exemplars. Also included in the list, though not a true *MLA* exemplar, are the four constituent volumes of a legendary from the Augustinian canonry at Klosterneuburg in Lower Austria. As will be discussed in section 2.2., these volumes are dependent on an incompletely preserved *MLA* exemplar, and therefore occupy a position of some importance within the wider transmission.

List of manuscripts:

Admont, Styria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 25** (1 January-31 March)

Vellum, 272 folios. Date: circa 1200.

Admont, Styria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 24** (1 April-30 June)

Vellum, 215 folios (incomplete). Date: circa 1200.

- Catalogue: J. WICHNER, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Admontensis* (hand-written), Admont, 1887, pp. 26-30.

Heiligenkreuz, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 11** (1 January-31 March)

Vellum, 273 folios. Date: late twelfth century.

Heiligenkreuz, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 12** (1 April-30 June)

Vellum, 327 folios. Date: late twelfth century.

Heiligenkreuz, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 13** (1 July-30 September)

Vellum, 266 folios (incomplete). Date: late twelfth century.

Heiligenkreuz, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 14** (22 November-27 December)

Vellum, 171 folios (incomplete). Date: late twelfth century.

- Catalogue: B. GSELL, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Stiftes Heiligenkreuz*, in *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Cistercienser-Stifte*, vol. 1 (= *Xenia Bernardina*, II/1), Vienna, 1891, pp. 115-272, at pp. 124-132.

Lilienfeld, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 58** (1 January-15 February)

Vellum, 151 folios. Date: first third of the thirteenth century.

Lilienfeld, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 59** (16 February-29 March)

Vellum, 113 folios (incomplete). Date: first third of the thirteenth century.

Lilienfeld, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 60** (1 July-30 September)

Vellum, 279 folios. Date: first third of the thirteenth century.

- Catalogue: C. SCHIMEK, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften des Stiftes Lilienfeld*, in *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Cistercienser-Stifte*, vol. 1 (= *Xenia Bernardina*, II/1), Vienna, 1891, pp. 481-561, at pp. 501-502.

A. HADINGER – F. LACKNER, *Die Handschriften des Stiftes Lilienfeld. Anmerkungen und Ergänzungen zu Schimeks Katalog*, in *Codices Manuscripti. Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde*, 18/19 (1997), pp. 49-80, at p. 52.

Melk, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 388** (1 January-14 February)

Vellum, 265 folios (incomplete). Date: first half of the thirteenth century.

- Melk**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 97** (15 February-30 April)
Vellum, 281 folios. Date: circa 1470.
- Melk**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 492** (1 May-30 June)
Vellum, 291 folios. Date: circa 1470.
- Melk**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 101** (1 July-31 August)
Vellum, 355 folios. Date: circa 1470.
- Melk**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 16** (1 September-31 October)
Vellum, 348 folios. Date: 1471.
- Melk**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 100** (1 November-30 November)
Vellum, 265 folios. Date: circa 1470.
- Melk**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 546** (1 December-31 December)
Paper, 275 folios. Date: circa 1470.
- Catalogue: V. STAUFER, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii Mellicensis O.S.B. servantur*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1889, pp. 201-204; also pp. 957-1040 of the unpublished, hand-written section of the catalogue.
 - C. GLASSNER, *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Melk. Teil 1: Von den Anfängen bis ca. 1400* (= *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters*, series II, 8), Vienna, 2000, pp. 180-182.
- Vienna**, Austrian National Library (ÖNB), **Cod. 336** (1 April-30 June)
Vellum, 403 folios. Date: circa 1200.
Original provenance: St Pölten, Lower Austria (?).
- Catalogue: *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*. Vol. 1: *Cod. 1-2000*, ed. Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis, Vienna, 1864, p. 47.
- Zwettl**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 13** (1 January-31 March)
Vellum, 234 folios. Date: first quarter of the thirteenth century.
- Zwettl**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 24** (1 April-30 June)
Vellum, 310 folios. Date: first quarter of the thirteenth century.
- Zwettl**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 14** (1 October-16 November)
Vellum, 201 folios. Date: first quarter of the thirteenth century.
- Zwettl**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 15** (20 November-31 December)
Vellum, 173 folios (incomplete). Date: first quarter of the thirteenth century.
- Catalogue: C. ZIEGLER, *Zisterzienserstift Zwettl. Katalog der Handschriften des Mittelalters*. Teil 1: *Codex 1-100* (= *Scriptorium Ordinis Cisterciensium Monasterii BVM in Zwettl*), Vienna, 1992, pp. 31-43, 55-59.
- Klosterneuburg**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 710** (1 January-27 March)
Vellum, 358 folios. Date: circa 1300.
- Klosterneuburg**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 708** (4 April-4 June)
Vellum, 399 folios. Date: circa 1300.
- Klosterneuburg**, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 709** (5 June-30 June; 11 November-29 November)
Vellum, 346 folios. Date: circa 1300.

Klosterneuburg, Lower Austria, Stiftsbibl., **Cod. 701** (30 November to 31 December)

Vellum, 336 folios. Date: circa 1300.

- Catalogue: H. PFEIFFER – B. ČERNÍK, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum, qui in bibliotheca canonicorum regularium s. Augustini Claustro-neoburgi asservantur*. Vol. 2: *Codd. 453-1256* (= handwritten card-catalogue), without year (early twentieth century), pp. 931-945, 975-1022 (= permalink: [http://manuscripta.at/?ID=908; ...915; ...916;...918](http://manuscripta.at/?ID=908;...915;...916;...918)).

Library	Jan.-March	April-June	July-Sept.	Oct.-Dec.
Admont (A)	Cod. 25	Cod. 24	—	—
Melk (M)	Codd. 388, 97	Codd. 97, 492	Codd. 101, 16	Codd. 16, 100, 546
Heiligenkreuz (H)	Cod. 11	Cod. 12	Cod. 13	— Cod. 14, Frag. HS 7F/8
Lilienfeld (L)	Codd. 58, 59	—	Cod. 60	—
Zwettl (Z)	Cod. 13	Cod. 24	—	Codd. 14, 15
ÖNB (V)	—	Cod. 336	—	—
<i>Klosterneuburg (KL)</i>	Cod. 710	Codd. 708, 709	—	— Codd. 709,701

Table 1: Overview of the calendrical periods covered by the surviving *MLA* exemplars and by its descendant, the Klosterneuburg Legendary.

2.2. The Klosterneuburg Legendary

The Augustinian canonry at Klosterneuburg houses among its rich medieval holdings four interrelated legendary-manuscripts dating to circa 1300 (Codd. 701, 708, 709 and 710), which have over the past near two centuries repeatedly been brought into association with the *MLA*, without the exact relationship between the two collections having ever been determined⁶⁹. While the Klosterneuburg Legendary (*KL*) was known to hold fewer Lives, it largely mirrored the sequence of the *MLA*, nonetheless, and its text witnesses were extremely close to the *MLA* redactions. The following section offers a clarification of the relationship between *KL* and the *MLA*.

⁶⁹ This tendency began as early as 1821, when Pertz presumed the Klosterneuburg Legendary as well as the *MLA* volumes from Lilienfeld and Melk to have been copied directly or indirectly from the Heiligenkreuz exemplar; see above n. 4.

Research to date

On the back of correspondence from the then Klosterneuburg archivist and codicologist, Berthold Černík, Wilhelm Levison counted the Klosterneuburg Legendary as an additional exemplar of the *MLA* in his influential 1902 *Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum*, despite there having been no mention of the legendary in Poncelet's 1898 article⁷⁰. Levison's categorisation was, however, rejected by Jaroschka and Wendehorst, who argued that *KL* was "only a derivative" of the *MLA*, lacking the monthly *praefationes* of Wolfhard, exhibiting breaks in the *MLA* sequence and, although with more modest content overall, containing additional texts compared to the *MLA*⁷¹. Lhotsky was of similar opinion on the matter, arguing that *KL* constituted a different legendary, which required closer examination⁷². Philippart described the legendary more recently as an "overhauled recension" of the *MLA*⁷³.

A more revealing picture of the relationship between the *MLA* and *KL* emerges from studies concerning the transmission of individual texts shared by both legendaries. As early as 1952 Heinrich Tritz concluded on the basis of his study of the manuscript tradition of the *Vita Leonis IX* (*BHL* 4818, 4821, 4829) that the text witness in Klosterneuburg Cod. 708 was directly dependent on the Life contained in ÖNB Cod. 336 (i.e. the *MLA* exemplar, *V*)⁷⁴. Paolo Chiesa and François Dolbeau also postulated a

⁷⁰ LEVISON, *Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum*, pp. 529-706, at p. 535. In Pfeiffer and Černík's unpublished manuscript catalogue of the Klosterneuburg Stiftsbibliothek the relevant codices are all described as volumes of the *MLA*; see manuscript-list in Section 2.1. for references.

⁷¹ "Es fehlen die Einleitungen Wolfhards zu den einzelnen Monaten, die Reihenfolge der Legenden ist teilweise durchbrochen, und obwohl die Klosterneuburg Ableitung weniger reichhaltig ist als das Magnum Legendarium, enthält sie doch einzelne Viten, die in diesem nicht erhalten sind: z.B. Cod. 709, fol. 240^v-253^v: Elizabeth von Thüringen"; JAROSCHKA – WENDEHORST, *Das Kreuzensteiner Legendar...* (see above n. 30), pp. 369-418, at p. 375, fn. 28. This opinion was based on a personal communication received from Horst Fuhrmann.

⁷² LHOTSKY, *Quellenkunde*, pp. 220-221.

⁷³ PHILIPPART, *Legendare*, col. 649-650. Followed by KNAPP, *Die Literatur des Früh- und Hochmittelalters...* (see above n. 17), p. 173.

⁷⁴ "Es finden sich besonders die Auslassungen, die ÖW allein aufweist, in ÖK wieder"; H. TRITZ, *Die hagiographischen Quellen zur Geschichte Papst Leos IX. Eine Untersuchung ihrer Überlieferungs- und Entstehungsgeschichte*, in *Studi Gregoriani*, 4 (1952), pp. 191-364, at p. 210. This assertion of the dependency of *KL* on *V* was endorsed in Krause's 2007 edition of the Life; KRAUSE, *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX.*, p. 59, fn. 219. The possibility of a direct relationship between Cod. 708 and *V* had already been raised by Elliott van Kirk Dobbie in 1937, on the basis of his investigation of the manuscript tradition of the *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae* (*BHL* 1068), transmitted in both the *MLA* and *KL*: "In three passages, *KL*₂ and *V*₁ agree as against the other MSS of the Legendary [i.e. the *MLA*]... If, as seems likely, *KL*₂ was

close stemmatic relationship between the witnesses of the *Vita Epiphanii* (BHL 2569) in Cod. 708 and in *V* on the basis of shared textual errors⁷⁵. In an article on the transmission of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim's *Conversio Gallicani* (BHL 3243, 3244), Sibylle Jefferis described the text witnesses in Cod. 709 and in *V* as "identical", sharing the same deviations from the reconstructable *Ur-MLA* version against all other surviving exemplars⁷⁶.

The stemmatic relationship between the Klosterneuburg Legendary and the MLA

The consistent linking of *KL* with *V* in the above-mentioned studies encouraged the present author to collate a sample of the readings from Klosterneuburg Codd. 708 and 709, which contain legends covering the period April to June, with the corresponding volumes in the Admont, Heiligenkreuz, Melk, ÖNB and Zwettl *MLA* exemplars⁷⁷. This comparison, which involved comparing the incipits and explicits of the first 21 legends in Cod. 708 and of the remaining June legends in Cod. 709 with the other *MLA* exemplars, revealed numerous *variae lectiones* shared exclusively by *KL* and *V*, most of which are included in appendix 1. The wealth of shared readings brought forth by this limited amount of collation leaves no doubt that the text witnesses in this section of *KL* are dependent, probably directly, on those contained in *V*. Between Cod. 708 and the first section of Cod. 709 there are 88 legends relating to the period April to June compared to 129 in Cod. 336 (*V*). This section of *KL* contains no legend that is not also in *V*, while its calendrical sequence matches that of *V* with four exceptions⁷⁸. In some instances the text witnesses in *KL* are shortened compared to *V* and the other *MLA* exemplars⁷⁹.

taken from a MS of the Legendary, it is evidently to *V*₁ or to a similar text, that we must look for its immediate source"; E. VAN KIRK DOBBIE, *The Manuscripts of Caedmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song, with a Critical Text of the Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae*, New York, 1937, p. 64.

⁷⁵ P. CHIESA – F. DOLBEAU, *Una traduzione amalfitana dell'XI secolo: la Vita latina di sant'Epifanio*, in *Studi Medievali*, 30/2 (1989), pp. 909-951, at p. 914, fn. 9: "Può dirsi invece accertata una relazione fra gli esemplari di Vienna (*V*) e di Klosterneuburg (*C*), che concordano in errore...".

⁷⁶ JEFFERIS, *Hrotsvit and the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, pp. 245-246.

⁷⁷ The legends in Cod. 708 cover the period from the start of April to early June, beginning with the Life of Ambrosius (*MLA*: 4 April; *BHL* 377) and ending with Quirinus (*MLA*: 4 June; *BHL* 7035). The remaining June legends, running from Bonifatius Tarsensis (*MLA*: 5 June; *BHL* 1413) to Martialis (*MLA*: 30 June; *BHL* 5552) are found in the opening section of Cod. 709 (fol. 1-173).

⁷⁸ The Lives of Theodosia (*MLA*: 02.04; *BHL* 8090) and Maria Egyptiaca (*MLA*: 02.04; *BHL* 5415) first appear between those of Theophilus (*MLA*: 07.04; *BHL* 8121) and Apollonius

Given the dependency of the April-June legends in Codd. 708 and 709 upon ÖNB Cod. 336, it can be presumed that the other sections of *KL* were also copied from *V*. The loss of all other volumes of *V*, however, ensures that this hypothesis will have to remain unproven. Nonetheless, *KL* can be assumed to provide a picture of the overall extent and structure of the lost volumes of *V*, as well as potentially supply the characteristic readings of its text witnesses⁸⁰. Thus, as an apparently direct copy of a largely incomplete exemplar of the *MLA*, *KL* occupies an important position within the manuscript tradition of the collection. The four surviving volumes of *KL* cover the period 1 January to 27 March (cod. 710), 4 April to 4 June (Cod. 708), 5 to 30 June and 11 to 29 November (Cod. 709) and 30 November to 31 December (Cod. 701). Legends relating to the period July to October are therefore absent from the legendary. The question arises as to whether the original volumes of *KL* actually covered the entire calendar year, or whether the surviving manuscripts constitute the full extent of the collection. If so, this might reflect the extent of *V*, today only surviving in Cod. 336, as it was in 1300. It could be that a significant portion of *V* was already missing at this stage, which would explain the content of Cod. 709, where there is a jump from 30 June to 11 November between the first and second sections, a feature original to the manuscript⁸¹.

(*MLA*: 09.04; *BHL* 6804). Godehardus (*MLA*: 05.05; *BHL* 3582) is positioned between Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus (*MLA*: 03.05; *BHL* 266) and Florianus (*MLA*: 04.05; *BHL* 3054). Iacobus (*MLA*: 01.05; *BHL* 4093) appears after instead of before Philippus (*MLA*: 01.05; *BHL* 6815) and Quiriacus (*MLA*: 01.05; *BHL* 7022).

⁷⁹ The *Vita Liudgeri* (*BHL* 4942) in Cod. 708 finishes after the first book of the Life rather than at the end of § 34: i.e. *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. W. DIEKAMP (= *Die Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster*, 4), Münster, 1881, p. 116 instead of p. 131. The prologue of the *Vita Maximini* (*BHL* 5824) is absent. Only one (*BHL* 3389) rather than two versions (*BHL* 3389 and 3364) of the *Passio Georgii* are present. The last chapter of the *Vita Bonifatii archiepiscopi* (*BHL* 1400) was cut from the witness in Cod. 709: i.e. *Qualiter in loco...*; *Vitae sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini*, ed. W. LEVISON (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, 57), Hannover, 1905, pp. 56-57. The prologues to the *Vita Albani Moguntini* (*BHL* 200) and *Conversio Gallicani* (*BHL* 3243) are also missing from the same codex, and there are only three rather than four *sermones* concerning St John the Baptist (24.06).

⁸⁰ With regard to the possibility of *KL* supplying variant readings from lost text witnesses of *V*, errors on the part of the Klosterneuburg copyists must also be allowed for. The collated passages from the *Vita Frontini* and *Vita Leonis IX* in appendix 1 offer examples of such mistakes. In respect of the overall content of *V*, the appearance of certain texts in *KL* that are not in any *MLA* exemplar remind one that the contents of *KL* cannot be taken to mirror those of *V* directly.

⁸¹ An entry describing Cod. 709 as it is today is contained in a library catalogue dating to 1330: *Item passionnes sanctorum Bonifacii martiris et aliorum usque ad adventum*; GOTTLEB, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. 1, pp. 100-120, at p. 114. This entry also provides a *terminus ante quem* for *KL*.

The proportion of *MLA* legends present in the Klosterneuburg Legendary is lower in its other constituent manuscripts than is the case in Cod. 708 and in the first section of Cod. 709, so that overall approximately half of the corresponding *MLA* texts are found in *KL*. Regarding Cod. 710 and the second section of Cod. 709 (fol. 174-346), the calendrical sequence deviates only twice from that of the *MLA*, with only Cod. 709 containing an additional text, namely the *Vita Elisabeth Landgraviae Thuringiae* (*BHL* 2495b) mentioned by Jaroschka and Wendehorst, which was, of course, written considerably later than the compilation of the *MLA* and the transcription of *V*⁸². The sequence in Cod. 701 only differs from that of the *MLA* twice, but this manuscript otherwise exhibits by far the most changes compared to the *MLA*. It begins namely with a *Prologus* followed by the sermon *De adventu Domini*, which constitute the first two texts in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. Five further Advent *sermones*, none of which are in the *MLA*, follow, before the first saint's Life begins on fol. 17^{v83}. It seems clear that Cod. 701 was written to be the first volume of *KL* and that here the model of a legendary structured according to the calendrical year offered by the *MLA* was jettisoned in favour of one that followed the liturgical year. This obviously represents the greatest structural deviation of *KL* from its *MLA* source.

As indicated in section 2.1. above, the long-standing, but tenuous, attribution of *V* to the Augustinian canonry at St. Pölten has recently been bolstered by the findings of Friedrich Simader, who identified Cod. 336 as a product of the St. Pölten scriptorium circa 1200. The existence of a copy of *V* at Klosterneuburg, another Augustinian canonry, lends further support to this argument, assuming that the transcription took place there. The shared Augustinian affiliation would provide a ready explanation for the arrival of this particular *MLA* exemplar at Klosterneuburg. Considering that the text of the report concerning the finding of relics at St. Pölten, which is added to the back of Cod. 336, is generally dated to somewhat later than *KL*, it would seem that the exemplar made it safely back to St. Pölten⁸⁴.

⁸² Cod. 709: the Life of Brandanus (*MLA*: 23.12; *BHL* 1436) is included after that of Saturninus (*MLA*: 29.11; *BHL* 7495 and 7496) as the last item in the manuscript. Cod. 710: Thaisis (*MLA*: 18.03; *BHL* 8013 and 8019) appears between some *sermones in annuntiatione Marie* (*MLA*: 25.03) and Castulus (*MLA*: 26.03; *BHL* 1648d).

⁸³ Cod. 701 also contains an additional series of *sermones de nativitate Christi*.

⁸⁴ PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, p. 36: "saec. XIV"; H. J. HERMANN, *Die deutschen romanischen Handschriften* (= *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, 2/2), Leipzig, 1926, p. 330: "von einer Hand der 1. Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts".

The fact that an outside exemplar was copied circa 1300 makes it extremely likely that the Klosterneuburg canonry did not possess its own copy of the *MLA* at this point in time. Whether it ever had its own *MLA* exemplar must also remain in doubt. That such an important Babenberg foundation within the regional monastic landscape did not participate in the compilation or dissemination of the *MLA* would be somewhat surprising⁸⁵. In any event, the canonry is, on the basis of the dependent Klosterneuburg *Legendary*, drawn into the story of the *MLA*, albeit as a straggler.

The *MLA* was thus copied in simplified form at Klosterneuburg, and, through the change to a structure based on the liturgical year, to some extent transformed. Including only half of the source's legends, while containing some additional texts, and omitting the *praefationes Wolfhardi*, the considerably younger *KL* represents a second stage in the dissemination of the *MLA*. Although much less complete, as a late medieval copy of an original exemplar the Klosterneuburg *Legendary* arguably belongs in a group with the volumes produced more than 150 years later at Melk. *KL* cannot simply be treated as an exemplar of the *MLA*, as Levison and Pfeifer and Černík did, but to describe it as merely a derivation (Jaroschka and Wendorst) or as a different *legendary* (Lhotsky), masks somewhat the close connection between the two collections⁸⁶. The production of the Klosterneuburg *Legendary*, just as later the Melk volumes, can be seen as evidence of the continued value placed on the *MLA* both as a hagiographical resource and as a collection of representative stature within the region.

Excursus: Melk-Gaming-Trier — A late descendant of the MLA

The story of the reception of the *MLA* can be further enriched by reference to another *legendary*, whose connections with the collection have recently been brought into focus. In an introduction to his edition of the *Vita Mariani* (*BHL* 5527) Stefan Weber argued that Cod. 1176 of Trier Stadtbibliothek, long recognised as a descendant of the *MLA*, is probably dependent on the thirteenth-century Melk *MLA* volume, Cod. 388, via a

⁸⁵ In this connection, see also below, section 3.2.

⁸⁶ *KL* is, in any case, continually counted among the *MLA* exemplars in the literature concerning individual legends; e.g. C. I. M. I. VAN BEEK, *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, vol. I, Nijmegen, 1936, pp. 141-142; TRITZ, *Die hagiographischen Quellen...* (see above n. 74), pp. 208-210; KARWASIŃSKA, *S. Adalberti Vita prior*, pp. LI-LII; BIELER, *Four Latin Lives*, pp. 15-21; JEFFERIS, *Hrotsvit and the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, pp. 244-245; CHIESA – DOLBEAU, *Una traduzione amalfitana dell'XI secolo...* (see above n. 75), p. 910; KRAUSE, *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX.*, pp. 38-41; C. LANÉRY, *La tradition manuscrite de la Passio Sebastiani (Arnohe le Jeune, BHL 7543)*, in *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 7 (2012), pp. 37-116, at p. 51.

lost intermediary manuscript from the charterhouse at Gaming in Lower Austria, which was founded in 1330⁸⁷. The Trier manuscript (*T*) is a compilation of hagiographical texts assembled from various Gaming manuscripts by the Erfurt Carthusian, Iacobus Bilagius, in 1627. As argued by Weber, a copy of Cod. 388 must have been among Bilagius' sources.

The first part of the manuscript (items 1-23) contains a selection of texts corresponding largely to legends contained in the January to mid-February section of the *MLA*, and following the same calendrical sequence. Texts particularly diagnostic of an association with the *MLA* include Wolfhard's preface to the month of February and Lives such as the *Vita Mariani* and *Vita Mochullei* (*BHL* 5978), the medieval transmission of which is almost exclusively limited to the *MLA*. In a note on fol. 86^r Bilagius mentions as one of his sources a legendary containing saints with feastdays between 1 January and 14 February and erroneously carrying the title *Prima pars passionalis sancti Hieronymi*⁸⁸. Only Cod. 388 among the surviving *MLA* manuscripts covers exactly the stated period, and the title can be taken to represent an unfortunate deduction from the two opening texts of the *MLA*, namely those letters exchanged between SS. Chromatius and Heliodorus and St Jerome, which also constitute the *prae-fatio* to the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*⁸⁹. Without having had the chance to consult *T* personally, a comparison of the items in Coens' description thereof with Cod. 388 allows its dependence on the Melk manuscript to be confirmed⁹⁰. According to Coens, the eighteenth text in *T* is entitled *Praefatio Hüoshardi in Februario*. Such an incorrect rendering

⁸⁷ WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 33, 51-53, 77-79. Earlier discussion in N. F. PALMER, »Visio Tnugdali«. *The German and Dutch Translations and Their Circulation in the Later Middle Ages* (= *Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 76), Munich, 1982, p. 18: "The Gaming (OCarth) manuscript ... was probably also a copy of this legendary [i.e. the *MLA*]", and D. 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. P. LEIFER – E. SAGARRA, Vienna, 2002, pp. 11-40, at p. 38: "a now lost recension [of the *MLA*] from Gaming survives in a manuscript in Trier". An overview of the history of the charterhouse at Gaming is to be found in *Kartause Gaming. Ausstellung anlässlich der Wiederherstellung des Herzogsgrabes. Herzog Albrecht II. und die Kartause Gaming*, ed. W. HILDEBRAND, Gaming, 1985; M. HALTRICH, »güt pücher und ander dinge«. *Untersuchungen von Schriftlichkeit, Administration und Buchproduktion in der spätmittelalterlichen Verwaltung der Kartause Gaming* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Vienna, 2010), pp. 19-50 (available online at http://othes.univie.ac.at/12052/1/2010-11-11_9305457.pdf; visited 13 May, 2014).

⁸⁸ Reproduced in WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 79.

⁸⁹ AASS, Nov. t. 2/1, p. LXXXII; WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 79.

⁹⁰ M. COENS, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae civitatis Treverensis*, in *AB*, 52 (1934), pp. 157-286, at p. 236-241.

of the title to this particular *Praefatio Wolfhardi* only appears in one *MLA* manuscript, namely in Cod. 388, f. 209^v: *Prefacio Huoshardi in februarium*. Furthermore, one can point to the title of the final text in *T*, which reads *Visio Mugdali militis cuiusdam Hybernie*⁹¹. Among all extant *MLA* volumes, this exact misrendering of Tnugdalus only occurs in Cod. 388⁹².

Whereas the Trier manuscript only contains a selection of the *MLA* texts from the period 1 January to 14 February, its source, the lost Gaming codex (*G*) — must have constituted a complete or fuller transcription of Cod. 388. Bilagius' comments give the impression that a more complete legendary volume with intact calendrical sequence was at his disposal in Gaming⁹³. Bilagius gave no hint as to the date of his source, but a piece of palaeographical evidence relating to the above-mentioned misrendering of the name Tnugdalus may provide a good indication. Whereas it is not possible to date the alteration from Tnugdalus to Mugdalus within the text itself in Cod. 388, a similar change was made to a table of contents added to the Melk manuscript in the fifteenth century⁹⁴. Here the title was altered to *Visio Mugaldi militis*, most likely by the same person who made the changes within the text itself⁹⁵. The lost Gaming codex was, therefore, probably written in the fifteenth century at the earliest, after these alterations had been made⁹⁶.

Whether the lost Gaming codex contained legends additional to Cod. 388, which may have been included in *T*, cannot now be determined. Because the library of the charterhouse at Gaming was dispersed after its dissolution in 1782 and many of its holdings lost in the meantime, trying

⁹¹ The three final texts in *T* are the *Visiones Baronti* (BHL 997), *Wetini* and *Tnugdali*. They appear in the order Tnugdalus, Barontus, Wetinus at the end of January in Cod. 388, which was most probably the source of these texts.

⁹² Whereas no name is contained in the actual title in Cod. 388, Mugdalus appears twice in the text (fol. 193^v, 195^v), although the “M” is clearly the result of a later alteration of the two original opening letters, assuredly “Tn”. The title of the work within a fifteenth-century table of contents was also changed to *Visio Mugaldi militis* (see below).

⁹³ *Quod opus si per singulos menses, de qua dubito, quia nos tantum hunc primum tomum habemus, integrum extaret, pro magno ecclesiae thesauro reputandum; per WEBER, Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 79.

⁹⁴ Cod. 388, fol. 265^v.

⁹⁵ An “M” was added in suprascript above the erased opening letter(s) of the name.

⁹⁶ Bilagius' comment that only one volume of his source legendary was present in Gaming may point to it having been transcribed in the period before Christophorus Lieb's production of six new volumes circa 1470. Weber believed that the inclusion of the *Vita Sebaldi*, which was written between 1400 und 1410, in *T* offered a secure *terminus ante quem non* for *G*; WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 346, fn. 707. This Life need not necessarily have been copied from *G*, however, and could instead have been drawn from one of Bilagius' other Gaming sources.

to identify the other sources used by Bilagius would present a great challenge⁹⁷. Other texts in *T* might have had their provenance in further Gaming copies of Melk codices, above all the *Passio* and *Miracula S. Colomanni* and *De S. Gothalmo socio peregrinationis S. Colomanni*. A closer examination of the Trier Cod. 1176 may shine more light on the then connections between the Gaming Carthusians and Melk Benedictines, whose monasteries were only circa 50km apart⁹⁸.

Section 3: Old questions and new beginnings: an investigation of the sources, compilation and transmission of the *MLA*

One of the key aims of the *MLA* project within VISCOM has been the clarification of the many open questions with regard to the compilation and transmission of the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*. This is, of course, in itself a major research *desideratum*, but it is also necessary in order to provide a sound basis for an exploration of the significance of the legendary in relation to the underlying project focus on medieval visions of community. The following section provides an overview of previous research conducted on the *MLA*, and, although the project is far from completion, it also offers significant new findings with regard to the compilation and transmission processes.

3.1. Research to date

As outlined above, Poncelet's 1898 publication remains the starting-point for any study of the *MLA*. His theories with regard to the sources and manuscript tradition of the legendary, which will be treated in detail below, continue to dominate the field. His conclusions concerning the relationship of the surviving *MLA* exemplars to one another have, however, been challenged repeatedly within studies concerned with the dissemination of individual texts contained within the collection. Indeed, it has

⁹⁷ See GOTTLIEB, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. 1, pp. 1-3. A project aimed at a digital reconstruction of the erstwhile holdings of the Gaming monastic library is currently underway at the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, University of Vienna: *Die virtuelle Bibliothek der Kartause Gaming* (Project Leader: Prof. Thomas Winkelbauer); <http://www.univie.ac.at/Geschichtsforschung/node/469> (visited 25 January, 2014).

⁹⁸ Regarding links between the two monasteries during the floruit of the Melk monastic reform movement in the fifteenth century and for an example of the post-dissolution travels of one fifteenth-century manuscript of probable Gaming provenance, see S. RISCHPLER – M. HALTRICH, *Der Codex 5393 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek und seine lokalhistorische Verortung. Eine Zusammenschau*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 120 (2012), pp. 307-320.

been through this research channel that the greatest strides in the subject area have been made. The modest number of essays concerning the *MLA* Corpus as a whole that have appeared in the more than a century since Poncelet's standard-work have, on the other hand, brought relatively little progress. In the course of two separate large-scale investigations concerning the sources of the Middle High German *Märterbuch* and of the late-fifteenth-century *Sanctuarium* of Mombritius, Gerhard Eis provided a lengthy description of the *MLA* without offering much that was new⁹⁹. His comparison of individual *MLA* text witnesses with their supposed descendants in the *Märterbuch* and the *Sanctuarium* is of greater value, insofar as he drew attention to differences between the *MLA* exemplars and also between the *MLA* and Windberg collections¹⁰⁰. Perhaps the most important article of the last century was published by Anton Kern exactly 50 years after Poncelet¹⁰¹. On the basis of the provenance of particular texts in the collection, Kern argued that the *MLA* was most likely compiled in Regensburg rather than in Austria, with the result that the question of the legendary's place of origin has since then been the central concern of *MLA* studies. In contrast to the open question of the collection's provenance, Kern regarded the issue of the sources used by the compiler as "for the most part clarified", a very debatable conclusion, then as now¹⁰². Despite this assertion Kern himself threw some new light on the sources of the collection through his emphasis on texts of demonstrable Regensburg origin. As will be discussed in section 3.4., Kern's observations regarding the date of the collection's compilation also proved influential. Nonetheless, his arguments in relation to both the provenance and dating of the *MLA* reaped considerable criticism fifteen years later in a short piece by Alphons Lhotsky, who championed an Austrian origin on grounds of the geographical spread of the surviving exemplars¹⁰³. Guy Philippart included the *MLA* among the "classic" legends of the post-Carolingian period in an

⁹⁹ G. EIS, *Die Quellen des Märterbuches* (= *Prager deutsche Studien*, 46), Reichenberg i. B., 1932; ID., *Die Quellen für das Sanctuarium des Mailänder Humanisten Boninus Mombritius. Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der großen Legendensammlungen des Mittelalters* (= *Germanische Studien*, 140), Berlin, 1933.

¹⁰⁰ In an entry to the *Verfasserlexikon*, Eis also offered an introduction to the *MLA* and some new observations regarding the identifiable sources of the legendary as well as its influence on later collections; G. EIS, 'Legendarium Austriacum, Magnum', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 1st ed., ed. K. LANGOSCH, vol. 5, Berlin, 1955, col. 600-606.

¹⁰¹ KERN, *Magnum Legendarium*, pp. 429-434.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 429.

¹⁰³ LHOTSKY, *Quellenkunde*, pp. 220-221.

entry to the *Verfasserlexikon*, comparing it with other large high- and late-medieval collections with regard to the number of texts it contains¹⁰⁴. The same author also emphasised the need to take a fresh look at the question of the *MLA*'s sources. In her introduction to a catalogue of the medieval manuscripts at Zwettl, Charlotte Ziegler proposed that the *MLA* was rooted within Cistercian tradition and originated in Heiligenkreuz, where the collection was compiled or copied in accordance with the Cistercian practice of possessing large legendaries, as exemplified by the four-volume collection compiled at Cîteaux in the twelfth century¹⁰⁵. She pointed to art-historical affinities between the Heiligenkreuz exemplar and manuscripts produced in Cîteaux. Ziegler's conclusions were, however, not based on any meaningful consideration of the content of the *MLA* or on textual comparison and did not give due regard to previous research undertaken on the legendary and its transmission. Following the publication of the first part of the Zwettl catalogue in 1992 an article concerning the *MLA* by Joseph van der Straeten appeared in this journal, which, as a measure aimed towards completing Poncelet's original list of contents, furnished the folio and *BHL* numbers of the Lives contained in the Zwettl volumes¹⁰⁶. Although somewhat circumspect with regard to Ziegler's theory, he endorsed the notion that the *MLA* was born out of Cistercian tradition, suggesting that a pre-existing Cistercian legendary was one of the compiler's sources and speculating that Heiligenkreuz was the cradle of the *MLA*.

All in all, in the more than a century since Poncelet's comprehensive study some of the more important questions concerning the sources and transmission of the *MLA* have failed to receive the attention they deserve in the literature concerning the collection as a whole. In fact, the real progress in this regard has been made somewhat unnoticed in studies devoted to individual legends contained within the *MLA*. Poncelet's theories with respect to sources and transmission have been subjected to reassessment in numerous critical editions and essays, without the findings of the different investigations having ever been collated. The gathering together of an extensive, if by no means exhaustive, array of such studies can be regarded in itself as an important achievement of the current project, insofar as the linguistic and geographical spread of the works has led to general lack of awareness among authors with respect to the like-minded earlier

¹⁰⁴ PHILIPPART, *Legendare*, col. 649-650.

¹⁰⁵ ZIEGLER, *Handschriftenkatalog Stift Zwettl*, part 1, pp. x-xii, xxxiii-xxxvi; part 3, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

¹⁰⁶ VAN DER STRAETEN, *Le «Grand Légendier Autrichien»*, pp. 321-348.

pursuits of their colleagues¹⁰⁷. Moreover, the overview gained from the collection and comparison of these studies also provides a solid basis for further research. The value of the investigation of individual texts as a means of unlocking the collection as a whole will become apparent in the following sections concerning the *MLA*'s sources, origin and transmission.

Most of the relevant authors have, understandably, proved somewhat reticent in applying the results of their studies of the manuscript tradition of individual *MLA* texts to the complete collection. Only through careful investigation of the transmission of several legends could clarification of the general issues concerning the sources of the legendary and the relationship between the surviving exemplars be hoped for¹⁰⁸. The current project offers the opportunity to take this step and, through the collation of the results of previous studies with the discoveries that come from an extended investigation of the legendary, tackle in systematic fashion the many open questions concerning the *MLA*.

3.2. *The sources and compilation of the MLA*

Poncelet's basic theory regarding the compilation of the *MLA*, whereby the content of the collection was drawn from an existing large-scale legendary combined with various smaller text groups and individual text witnesses, has remained unchallenged¹⁰⁹. The lost source-legendary was, as Poncelet argued, the original (*archetypum*) or a copy of a hagiographical collection that had been in circulation within southern Germany from as early as the final third of the eleventh century onwards. On the other hand,

¹⁰⁷ Edith Madas was, for example, of the belief that she was the first scholar to rebut Poncelet's theory of the dependence of the *MLA* exemplar from Lilienfeld upon that from Heiligenkreuz: "Diese Ansichten von Poncelet wurden nach meinem Wissen von niemanden widerlegt"; E. MADAS, *Die heiligen ungarischen Könige in zisterziensischen Legendarien am Ende des 12. bis Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts*, in *Zisterziensisches Schreiben im Mittelalter – Das Skriptorium der Reiner Mönche*, ed. A. SCHWOB – K. KRANICH-HOFBAUER (= *Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik*. Reihe A, 71), Bern, 2005, pp. 219-229, at p. 225. Ulla Westerbergh had, in fact, already taken this step some forty years before; U. WESTERBERGH, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, pp. 108-109. The present author has only recently become aware of a large collection of edited Aquileian and Istrian saints' Lives published in E. COLOMBI, *Le Passioni dei Martiri Aquileiesi e Istriani*, 2 vols (= *Fonti per la storia della Chiesa in Friuli. Serie medievale*, 7 and 14), Rome, 2008 and 2013. Many of the critical editions draw upon *MLA* witnesses and the position of same within the wider transmission is examined. An analysis of the findings of the respective authors with regard to the *MLA* will have to await future publication.

¹⁰⁸ For example, MADAS, *Die heiligen ungarischen Könige*, p. 227: "Meine Beobachtungen liefern jedoch einen Beitrag dafür, dass sich das Verhältnis der erhaltenen Exemplare des *Legendarium magnum* nur auf Grund sorgfältiger textkritischer Untersuchungen bestimmen lässt".

¹⁰⁹ PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, pp. 24-27.

the proposal that a legendary of French Cistercian origin provided the basis for the *MLA*, which was disseminated from Heiligenkreuz, as argued by Ziegler and van der Straeten, is not plausible, not least because investigations as to the transmission of individual texts contained within the *MLA* continually locate the closest stemmatic ancestors of the *MLA* versions within the southern German and Austrian region, regardless of the origins of the saint or date of the Life's composition¹¹⁰. This latter research has helped to cast light on the nature of the sources actually available to the compiler.

Poncelet was of the belief that the large Windberg Legendary, compiled in Lower Bavaria at some point between 1141 and 1191, was also based directly or indirectly on the *archetypum*, which the compiler of the *MLA* relied upon in original or secondary form¹¹¹. The possibility that both the original exemplar of the *MLA* (the *Ur-MLA*) and the Windberg Legendary (*Wind*) drew directly from the same source collection (whether the *archetypum* or a descendant) now seems improbable. While the witnesses of the more than 200 texts shared by the two legendaries are closely related, their stemmatic relationship appears to be more distant than that contemplated by Poncelet. For example, on the basis of her study of the manuscript tradition of the *Vita Anastasii*, Franklin came to the conclusion that the text in *Wind* was a number of stages further removed from the original version of *BHL* 410 than the *MLA* Life¹¹². Van Beek placed the *MLA* and *Wind* witnesses of the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (*BHL* 6636) in two different transmission groups, which would indicate that both were at least one stage removed from their shared ancestor¹¹³. Lanéry, on the other

¹¹⁰ ZIEGLER, *Handschriftenkatalog Stift Zwettl*, part 1, pp. XI-XII, XXXIII-XXXVI; part 3, p. XXIII; VAN DER STRAETEN, *Le «Grand Légendier Autrichien»*, p. 328, n. 30. As emphasised by Franklin in a discussion of Ziegler's theory, only through careful study of the collection's contents and the production of stemmata of common texts can the dependence of one legendary upon another be ascertained. Codicological and art-historical affinities cannot be isolated from the contents of the manuscripts; FRANKLIN, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius*, pp. 420-426 (esp. pp. 425-426).

¹¹¹ PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, p. 26; ID., *De legendario Windbergensi*, in *AB*, 17 (1898), pp. 97-122, at pp. 99-100. The complete Windberg Legendary (*Wind*) comprises six manuscripts (= Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22240-45); see n. 32. According to Jefferis, the *Passio Gallicani, Iohannis et Pauli* (*BHL* 3236, 3238) in the *MLA* was copied from that in *Wind*, which amounts to the only assertion of direct dependence within the literature; JEFFERIS, *Hrotsvit and the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, pp. 244-249, 251 (*stemma*). Considering that no textual readings were proffered to support this theory, it must be regarded as questionable.

¹¹² FRANKLIN, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius*, pp. 423-426.

¹¹³ VAN BEEK, *Passio sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis...* (see above n. 86), pp. 141-142.

hand, proposed that the *Passio Theodoraе et Didymi* in *Wind* might have been copied directly from the common source, while the *Ur-MLA* was one stage removed¹¹⁴. Assuming that these shared texts were all derived ultimately from Poncelet's *archetypum*, it would seem that the latter had been copied on a number of occasions before it was indirectly used by the compilers of *Wind* and the *MLA*. It is noteworthy that neither the *archetypum* nor the intermediary copies, which must themselves have been large legends containing more than 200 Lives, appear to have survived. The footprint of the *archetypum* can, nonetheless, be found in other descendant copies besides *Wind* and the *MLA*¹¹⁵.

One of these manuscripts, which has the potential to throw considerable light on the location and method of the *MLA*'s compilation, is Cod. 707 of the Stiftsbibliothek at Klosterneuburg. It dates to the second half of the twelfth century and contains 40 texts pertaining to 34 saints or feast-days¹¹⁶. All the saints and feast-days in Cod. 707 are represented in the

If the *stemma* reconstructed by Holder-Egger for the *Vita Lulli* (BHL 5065) were to be expanded to include the then unknown text witness in Klosterneuburg Cod. 707 (see the discussion immediately below), a similar picture would emerge, whereby both *Wind* and the *MLA* would be removed from their common source by separate intermediary copies: *Vita Lulli archiepiscopi Mogontiacensis auctore Lamperto*, ed. O. HOLDER-EGGER (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, 38), Hannover, 1894, pp. XXI-XXIV.

¹¹⁴ LANÉRY, *La Passion de Théodora et Didyme*, pp. 12-17. Such conclusions are, of course, necessarily dependent on the vagaries of manuscript survival. In this context, it is noteworthy, for example, that the corresponding volume of the Oberaltaich legendary (CIm 9506) discussed in section 1.4., does not survive. Although it is not certain that the *Passio Theodoraе et Didymi* was contained in it, the presence of the Life in the *MLA* and *Wind* and by extension in the *archetypum*, and the closeness of the content of CIm 9506 to *Wind* makes it probable that it was. According to Holder-Egger's *stemma* for the *Vita Lulli*, it was with CIm 9506 that *Wind* shared its immediate template.

¹¹⁵ The above-mentioned CIm 9506 from Oberaltaich is a salient example. A comparison of its content with that of the more recent *Wind* suggests that the two legends are very closely related, although a small number of Windberg Lives are absent in CIm 9506. It appears to be a case of two sister manuscripts copied from the same source, but the exact relationship between the two can only be established through text-collation. Holder-Egger's research on the *Vita Lulli* might be indicative in this regard, the editor having proposed that the text witnesses in the two collections were dependent on the same source; HOLDER-EGGER, *Vita Lulli archiepiscopi*, pp. XXI-XXIV. Significant with respect to the relationship between the *MLA*, *Wind* and the Oberaltaich legendary is the fact that Holder-Egger excluded the possibility that the *MLA* witness was copied from the shared source of the other two collections. Applying this conclusion more broadly, it would suggest that this shared source and the *archetypum* are not identical. A thorough investigation of the relationship between the many legends compiled in southern Germany (in particular Bavaria) and Austria in the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries, which would reveal the extent of the influence of Poncelet's *archetypum*, remains a research *desideratum*.

¹¹⁶ PFEIFFER – ČERNÍK, *Handwritten card-catalogue...* (see above p. 25), pp. 964-974 (permalink: <http://manuscripta.at/?ID=914>).

MLA, but on four occasions the Klosterneuburg manuscript contains a different redaction to that found in the *MLA*¹¹⁷. Where Cod. 707 and the *MLA* share the same redaction of a text, the witnesses are very close, as has been revealed by collation undertaken in the context of critical editions. Thus, Lanéry's study of the transmission of the *Passio Theodoraе et Didymi* led her to propose that the versions in Cod. 707 and the *Ur-MLA* were copied from the same source, a sister manuscript of *Wind*, with both going back directly to a common source¹¹⁸. Similarly, Karwasińska argued that Cod. 707 and the *MLA* belonged to the same family within the manuscript tradition of the *Vita Adalberti* (*BHL* 37), which was closely related to, but distinguishable from, that containing *Wind*¹¹⁹. Lanéry took up Poncelet's theory regarding the main source of the *MLA* and, on the grounds of her findings concerning the close textual relationship between the latter and Klosterneuburg Cod. 707, postulated that a copy of the *archetypum* must have already been in circulation in Austria prior to the compilation of both legendaries. This insight is potentially of great significance with regard to the debate surrounding the *MLA*'s place of origin, insofar as it would encourage the abandonment of the oft-mooted theory of a Regensburg provenance¹²⁰. The descriptive "*Austriacum*", first bestowed by Poncelet, would then gain added resonance.

It is, of course, not possible to come to definitive conclusions on the basis of the stemma of a single legend, or indeed of two, if we accept Karwasińska's transmission model as further evidence of the presence of a copy of the *archetypum* — i.e. the common source of the *Vita Adalberti* in Cod. 707 and the *MLA* — in Austria by the second half of the twelfth century. An examination of the content of Cod. 707, which comprises two distinct sequences of calendrically arranged texts does, nonetheless, provide support for Lanéry's theory. The first sequence covers 9 October to 15 November and is followed without a break by a group of legends pertaining to the period 4 April to 30 June. Only the very last text of the manuscript, the *Vita Sigismundi* (*BHL* 7717; 1 May) departs from the sequence. Cod. 707 therefore clearly represents a partial copy of a larger

¹¹⁷ Dionysius: Cod. 707 has *BHL* 2187 and 2178 instead of 2175 in the *MLA*. Benignus: *BHL* 1153 instead of 1155. Primus et Felicianus: both legendaries have *BHL* 6922, but in the *MLA* the text is much shortened. Albanus Moguntinus: *BHL* 8111 instead of 200.

¹¹⁸ LANÉRY, *La Passion de Théodora et Didyme*, pp. 12-17.

¹¹⁹ KARWASIŃSKA, *S. Adalberti Vita prior*, pp. XIV-XV, XIX, LI.

¹²⁰ This debate is outlined in section 3.3.

legendary, which was already arranged *per circulum anni*¹²¹. Furthermore, a comparison of the calendrical arrangement of Cod. 707, *Wind* and the *MLA* produces a notable result: Cod. 707 mirrors the sequence in *Wind*, whereas both deviate from the *MLA* order on a number of occasions. The *Vita Hildulfi* (*BHL* 3945) is included in Cod. 707 and in *Wind* at 8 November (date of translation), but this becomes 11 July (date of death) in the *MLA*. The *Vita Piniani et Lucinae* (*BHL* 562) appears on 6 April in the *MLA*, whereas it is accommodated at 11 May in the other two legends. While the Lives of *Columba* (*BHL* 1887) and *Primus et Felicianus* (*BHL* 6922) are included at 9 June in all three collections, they appear in reverse order in the *MLA*. This affinity in content between Cod. 707 and *Wind* becomes even clearer, when the particular redactions of the 34 legends in the Klosterneuburg manuscript are compared with the corresponding items in *Wind*: the two legends reveal an identical selection, and share the four deviations from the *MLA* redactions mentioned above.

Despite the correspondence in overall content and calendrical sequence, Cod. 707 is textually closer to the *MLA* in the case of the redactions shared by all three legends. This contention, which represents the findings of the studies of Lanéry and Karwasieńska, is supported by the results of collation carried out by this author on selected samples of the shared texts; this has revealed a significant level of concordance between Cod. 707 and the *MLA* against the Windberg Legendary. The *Passio Valentis episcopi* (*BHL* 8456) lends itself as an example, as the *MLA* and Windberg versions were together edited by Poncelet in an appendix to his 1898 article¹²². Comparison of the thirty-one *variae lectiones* provided by Poncelet with the text in Klosterneuburg Cod. 707 (see appendix 2), shows that Cod. 707 agrees with the dominant *MLA* reading five times against Windberg and in no instance vice versa¹²³. The collation of a limited section of the *Vita Bonifatii archiepiscopi* (*BHL* 1400) in all three legends on the basis of Levison's edition brings similar results, with Cod. 707 and the *MLA* agreeing against *Wind* in the case of most of the alternative readings¹²⁴. The greater textual proximity of the Cod. 707 and *MLA* redactions

¹²¹ Interestingly, the two periods covered by Cod. 707 correspond closely to the fifth (Munich, Clm 22244; October to mid-November) and second (Munich, Clm 22241; April to June) volumes of the Windberg Legendary. It seems likely that the source of Cod. 707 (and of the *MLA*) was a similarly arranged multi-volume legendary.

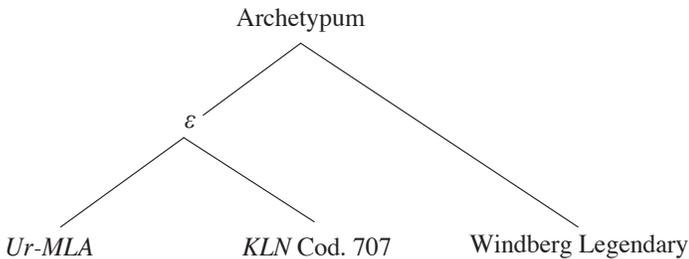
¹²² PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, appendix IV, pp. 133-135.

¹²³ Appendix 2, fn. 1.3, 1.4, 1.10, 1.12, 2.5.

¹²⁴ *Vitae sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini*, ed. W. LEVISON... (see above n. 79). A comparison of the six final *variae lectiones* of the Windberg text, as recorded in Levison's

is evident in these samples and adds weight to the findings of Lanéry und Karwasińska.

The ostensible contradiction presented by Cod. 707 having a greater affinity with *Wind* with regard to overall content and structure on the one hand, but a closer stemmatic relationship with the *MLA* on the other, can be resolved by means of the following hypothesis: the *Ur-MLA* and Cod. 707 descend directly, or less likely, indirectly from the same source, which Lanéry entitled ε . This source, like the *Windberg* Legendary, was ultimately derived from Poncelet's *archetypum*. Furthermore, the correspondence between Cod. 707 and *Wind* in redactions and calendrical sequence allows the conclusion that both the shared intermediary source (ε) and the *archetypum* were also structured in the same way and contained these particular text versions. While the compiler of the *MLA* adopted most of the Lives contained in ε , in the case of some legends he selected an alternative redaction from another available source. Moreover, a new overall structure was also created for the *MLA* with the result that certain legends derived from ε were placed at a different point in the calendrical sequence. The relationship between the three legendaries according to this hypothesis can be illustrated by the following *stemma codicum*¹²⁵:



edition, with Cod. 707 (*Kl*) and the *MLA* exemplars produced the following results: *MGH*, p. 53(g) – praedictum *Wind*; predictam *AHMVZKl*. p. 53(x) – supradictum *om. WindAHMVZKl*. p. 55(n)&(p) – qui et incarnationis Domini DCCLV annus cum LXXmus Lmus secundus indictione octava computatur *Wind*; qui (*del.*, et *corr Kl*) et (*om. AKl*) incarnationis dominice septingentesimus (septingentesimus *A*; septingentesimus *HKl*) quinquagesimus secundus annus cum indictione octava computatur (deputatur *Kl*) *AHMVZKl*. p. 56(b) & (c) – Qualiter in loco, ubi martyrum sanguis effusus est, ecclesie paraturam fons vivus apparuit *Wind*; Qualiter in loco ubi martyrum sanguis effusus (*om. H*) est (m. s. e. e.) martyrizatus est ad *Z* ecclesie (ecclesiam *M*) paraturam fons vivus apparuit *HMVZ*; *om. AKl* (space was left for a lemma, but never filled). p. 56(q) – inmensis (*corr. immensas*) ... irruptionis *Wind*; inmensas ... irruptiones *AHMVZKl*. p. 57(r) – Explicit vita sancti Bonifacii archiepiscopi et martyris vel passio ipsius ac sociorum eius *Wind*; *om. H*; Explicit vita vel passio sancti Bonifacii et (vel passio *V*) sociorum eius *AMVZKl*.

¹²⁵ This stemma has been simplified, insofar as the, as yet, indeterminable number of legendaries which separated the *archetypum* from ε and *Wind*, respectively, have not been represented.

It is important not to lose sight of the fact that ε only provided the basis of the *MLA*, which was supplemented many times over by smaller collections of texts and the Lives of individual saints. It seems probable that just over a third of items in the *MLA* were absorbed from ε , assuming that it was a legendary of similar scale and content to *Wind*¹²⁶. The fact that Klosterneuburg Cod. 707 contains no texts not also found in *Wind* encourages this assumption. It is noteworthy that neither ε nor *Wind* contains legends composed after the second third of the eleventh century. On that basis, it seems likely that the *archetypum* was completed within the final third of the eleventh century, which would have left ample time for the production of multiple primary and secondary copies before the compilation of the *MLA* in the latter part of the twelfth century. The absence of more recent texts from Cod. 707 could indicate that ε was compiled long before its transcription into the Klosterneuburg manuscript and the *MLA*. On the other hand, a more recent date for ε seems equally plausible by reference to the Windberg Legendary, which, despite having been compiled at some point between 1141 and 1191, displays an equally antiquated character.

In contrast to the Klosterneuburg and Windberg legendaries, the *MLA* comprises a state-of-the-art collection of hagiographical texts, particularly in respect of those produced in the region of southern Germany and Austria. The compiler was clearly intent on including the latest hagiographical products, and numerous texts from the second half of the twelfth century were absorbed as a result. Considering this tendency and the sheer scale of the *MLA*, it is easily imaginable that a call went out from the place of compilation to other monasteries in search of material for this great compendium. It is noteworthy in the context of the manuscript sources of the *MLA* and the collection's place of origin that the various authors who have studied the transmission of individual texts contained within the legendary have failed to identify the direct sources of the *MLA* witnesses. It raises the question as to what happened to this rich collection of hagiographic material after it was copied into the *Ur-MLA*. Nonetheless, as will be discussed in the following section, indirect stemmatic antecedents and sister

¹²⁶ More than 250 saints are commemorated in both the *MLA* and *Wind*, but the selected redactions frequently differ, as is demonstrated by the above discussion regarding the content of Cod. 707. Philippart has highlighted the difference between the *MLA* and *Wind* with regard to the versions of the *Vita Cypriani* they contain, and warned against the simple equation of the content of one legendary with the other: "L'éditeur autrichien avait ici choisi une autre «source» que sa source principale"; PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 104.

copies of individual texts are in certain cases identifiable, offering the potential to cast new light on the issue of the collection's provenance.

3.3. *The place of compilation*

The greatest obstacle to resolving the question of the provenance of the *MLA* is posed by the absence of the original exemplar or *Ur-MLA*, which might have offered codicological, palaeographical or art-historical evidence to facilitate its attribution to a particular religious house. The absence of the *Ur-MLA* has led to diverse methodological approaches being employed in regard to the contested issue of the legendary's place of origin. Before offering new insights concerning this question, an overview of the most important contributions to the debate to date is provided below.

Research to date

<i>Author</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Localisation</i>	<i>Main argument</i>
A. Poncelet ¹²⁷	1898	Lower Austria	Most of the surviving exemplars originate from there.
K. Uhlirz ¹²⁸	1914	Salzburg / Admont	The incorporation of a collection of Salzburg episcopal Lives.
A. Kern ¹²⁹	1948	Prüfening / Regensburg	The inclusion of particular texts written in Regensburg or Prüfening.
U. Westerbergh ¹³⁰	1963	A Benedictine monastery, possibly Melk	The Melk exemplar ostensibly copied directly from the <i>Ur-MLA</i>
A. Lhotsky ¹³¹	1963/ 1964	Lower Austria: Melk, Klosterneuburg, Heiligenkreuz, Zwettl or Göttweig	The predominant Lower Austrian distribution and the absence of exemplars or even fragments outside Austria.

¹²⁷ PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, p. 25.

¹²⁸ K. UHLIRZ, *Legendar (Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, HS No. XV)*, in *Monumenta palaeographica*, ed. A. CHROUST, ser. II.15, Munich, 1914, Pl. 9 (Pl. 389 of the complete work).

¹²⁹ KERN, *Magnum Legendarium*.

¹³⁰ WESTERBERGH, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, p. 110, n. 23.

¹³¹ LHOTSKY, *Quellenkunde*, pp. 220-221; ID., *Umriss einer Geschichte der Wissenschaftspflege im alten Niederösterreich. Mittelalter (= Forschungen zur Landeskunde von Niederösterreich, 17)*, Vienna, 1964, pp. 54-55.

P. Chiesa ¹³²	1990	Austria	The <i>MLA</i> version of the <i>Vita Epiphanii</i> derived from an Austrian template
C. Ziegler ¹³³	1992	Heiligenkreuz	The <i>MLA</i> as part of the Cistercian tradition. The presence of a multi-volume legendary at Cîteaux. Art-historical considerations.
J. van der Straeten ¹³⁴	1995	Heiligenkreuz	Because Heiligenkreuz held the earliest exemplar and was ostensibly the template for Lilienfeld and Zwettl.
D. Ó Riain-Raedel ¹³⁵	1998	Regensburg	Inclusion of a collection of Irish saints' legends, which probably originated at the Regensburg <i>Schottenkloster</i> .
C. Lanéry ¹³⁶	2004	Austria	The dependence of the <i>MLA</i> version of the <i>Passio Theodoraë et Didymi</i> on a lost legendary circulating in Austria.

Table 2: Overview of theories regarding the provenance of the *MLA*

While Poncelet, Lhotsky, Westerbergh and van der Straeten based their arguments on the legendary's transmission, the theories of others, in particular Uhliz, Kern and Ó Riain-Raedel, derived principally from a consideration of the provenance of individual parts of the collection¹³⁷. Lhotsky regarded the latter approach as unconvincing, an opinion that appears justified, although the fact that the relevant texts date largely to the period shortly before the compilation of the *MLA* lends them a certain significance. Extrapolating the place of provenance from the location of the surviving exemplars, while potentially indicative, is also somewhat unpersuasive, considering that a number of *MLA* exemplars are no longer extant, as

¹³² CHIESA, *Postille sulla tradizione manoscritta della 'Vita' latina di sant'Epifanio*, in *Studi Medievali*, 31 (1990), pp. 455-461, at p. 460.

¹³³ ZIEGLER, *Handschriftenkatalog Stift Zwettl*, part 1, pp. XI-XII, XXXIII-XXXVI; part 3, p. XXIII.

¹³⁴ VAN DER STRAETEN, *Le «Grand Légendier Autrichien»*, p. 329.

¹³⁵ D. Ó RIAIN-RAEDEL, *The Travels of Irish Manuscripts from the Continent to Ireland*, in *A Miracle of Learning. Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning*. Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan, ed. T. BARNARD – D. Ó CRÓINÍN – K. SIMMS, Aldershot, 1998, pp. 52-67, at p. 56; EAD., *Vita sancti Cœmgeni*, pp. 149-152.

¹³⁶ LANÉRY, *La Passion de Théodora et Didyme*, pp. 12-17.

¹³⁷ The relevant texts, namely the Salzburg episcopal Lives, Marian miracles and a *Dialogus* from Prüfening as well as an Irish hagiographical collection are all discussed in detail below (sections 3.3.-3.5.).

will be made clear in section 3.5. The potential for art-historical considerations to help determine the provenance, an approach adopted in part by Ziegler, appears to be very limited in the case of the *MLA*, given the loss of the original exemplar and one of at least two direct copies thereof¹³⁸. The most promising approach to this issue is also a laborious one, namely the localisation of the direct manuscript sources of the compiler by way of the identification of templates, antecedents and parallel witnesses of individual legends within the *MLA*. As will be discussed presently, the studies of Chiesa and Lanéry can be seen to show the way in this regard.

The Great Austrian Legendary

The *MLA* and Klosterneuburg Cod. 707 both appear to have copied directly a range of texts from the lost legendary source, ε , in the latter part of the twelfth century. The inference to be drawn, as Lanéry perceived, is that ε , a copy of the *archetypum* postulated by Poncelet, had by then already made its way to the region of Austria/Styria. Moreover, because ε represented the single main source of the *MLA*, it seems almost certain that the compilation of the legendary occurred somewhere in Austria/Styria and not at Regensburg or elsewhere outside the region. Some further evidence pointing to the *MLA* having originated within this area can be drawn from studies concerning individual legends. Chiesa identified the twelfth-century Admont Cod. 708 as the indirect source for the *MLA*-version of the *Vita Epiphanii*, the text in the *MLA* being separated from Cod. 708 by way of two intermediary copies. The lost immediate template of the *MLA* text was also transcribed into Zwettl Cod. 144 and Lilienfeld Cod. 134 (from Kleinmariazell Benedictine monastery in Lower Austria). The regional basis of the distribution of this branch of the legend's transmission prompted the author to cast doubt on the possibility that the *MLA* was compiled outside of modern-day Austria¹³⁹. A collection of Irish saints' Lives, which was most probably assembled at the Regensburg *Schottenkloster*, was also incorporated into the *MLA*, but, significantly, it is transmitted independently of the latter in further later twelfth-century manuscripts of Austrian/Styrian provenance¹⁴⁰. This suggests that the collection

¹³⁸ See section 3.5.

¹³⁹ CHIESA, *Postille...* (see above n. 132), p. 460: "La presenza dell'archetipo di questo ramo in Austria e la linearità con cui il testo sembra essersi diffuso nella regione costituisce un elemento contro l'ipotesi di un'elaborazione bavarese del *Magnum Legendarium*, avanzata dal Kern e già criticata dal Lhotsky".

¹⁴⁰ See BIELER, *Four Latin Lives*, pp. 233-234; ID., *An Austrian Fragment of a Life of St.*

arrived into the region autonomously rather than as part of an already-compiled *MLA*¹⁴¹. This evidence and, above all, the implications of the collection's textual relationship with Klosterneuburg Cod. 707, when taken together with the regional basis of its transmission, leave little doubt that the collection was compiled somewhere in Austria/Styria.

Assuming a provenance within this region, various potential places of origin become plausible. Because the full transmission of the *MLA* is not represented by the six exemplars surviving today (see section 3.5.) the location of the collection's compilation need not have been among the monasteries holding or associated with copies¹⁴². At the very least, Klosterneuburg should be counted among the potential places of origin, considering that the apparent main source of the *MLA*, the lost ϵ legendary, was copied there in the second half of the twelfth century. As mentioned above, the absence of an original *MLA* exemplar from Kloster-

Patrick, in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 95 (1961), pp. 176-181; Ó RIAIN-RAEDEL, *Vita sancti Cóemgeni*, pp. 147-149; WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 32-33, 735-740. This collection is above all distinguished by the Lives it contains of particular Irish saints, who would otherwise have been unknown or little known outside of Ireland at the time, namely Mochulleus, Ita, Ronanus, Coemgenus, Senanus and Flannanus. Traces of this collection can be found in two late-twelfth-century manuscripts of Austrian provenance, Stift Rein Cod. 51 and Göttweig Cod. 9, Nr. 33. XII.1. Cod. 51 from a Cistercian monastery in Styria contains almost exclusively Irish saints' Lives, including the *Vitae Ronani* and *Coemgeni*; A. WEIS, *Handschriften-Verzeichniss der Stifts-Bibliothek zu Reun*, vol. 1 (= *Xenia Bernardina*, II/1), Vienna, 1891, pp. 35-36. Going by an entry to a catalogue from 1568, the library may once have held a second manuscript containing Irish legends, beginning with the *Vita Brigidae*; A. WEIS, *Die Bibliothek des Zisterzienser-Stiftes Reun in der zweiten Hälfte des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, in *Beiträge zur Erforschung steirischer Geschichte*, 35 (new series, 3), (1906), p. 259, no. 217. Catalogues from the library at Heiligenkreuz dating to 1363-74 and 1381 also exhibit a manuscript boasting a collection of Irish Lives very similar but not identical to Cod. 51; GOTTLIEB, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. 1, pp. 11, 59, 69. The Göttweig fragment contains the final lines of the *Vita Flannani* followed by the opening of an otherwise unknown redaction of the *Vita Patricii*, which suggests that the folio once belonged to another legendary comprising exclusively or predominantly Irish Lives. Because published editions have shown the Rein manuscript to contain better witnesses of the *Vitae Ronani*, *Patricii* and *Coemgeni* than the *MLA*, and owing to the unique character of the Göttweig redaction of the *Vita Patricii*, neither manuscript can be dependent on the *MLA*, and instead constitute autonomous witnesses to this Irish collection; PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, appendix IX, pp. 159-166; BIELER, *Four Latin Lives*, pp. 14-39; Ó RIAIN-RAEDEL, *Vita sancti Cóemgeni*, pp. 158-161.

¹⁴¹ Particularly worthy of note in this context is the fact that the version of the *Vita Patricii* in the *MLA* is incomplete and its chapter sequence askew, a condition that Bieler attributed to the loss of folios and a subsequent disarrangement; BIELER, *Four Latin Lives*, pp. 16-17. The text-witness in Rein Cod. 51 is, in contrast, complete. If we assume, as Bieler did, that Patrick's Life was transmitted as part of the wider Irish collection, then the version of the source-collection available to copy at Rein cannot have been the same as that used in the compilation of the *MLA*, containing, as it did, an intact witness of the *Vita Patricii*.

¹⁴² From among the current custodians, Lilienfeld can, of course, be ruled out as the place of origin, as the monastery there was only founded in 1202.

neuburg is also somewhat incongruous, considering the importance of the canonry as a Babenberg stronghold within the region and the strong cultural links between it and many of the other monasteries party to the legendary's transmission, as is attested, for example, by the manuscript tradition of the Austrian annals.

As will be demonstrated in section 3.5., it appears that only one of the surviving exemplars of the legendary, namely that from Admont, was copied directly from the *Ur-MLA*, whereas all the others are stemmatically at least one, if not two, further steps removed from the original collection. On the basis, therefore, of the proximity of its exemplar to the *Ur-MLA*, Admont has a *prima facie* case to be the most likely place of compilation. Furthermore, the conditions necessary for the creation of such a large-scale compendium appear to have existed in Admont in the late twelfth century. The manuscripts preserved from this period in the monastic library testify to the presence there of a vigorous scriptorium, with an accumulation of hagiographic material and extensive contact with other monasteries¹⁴³. Admont was first mentioned as a possible provenance for the *MLA* by Uhlirz, on the basis that the monastery's close connections with the Salzburg archdiocese might account for the incorporation of a recently compiled collection of Salzburg episcopal Lives into the legendary¹⁴⁴. Indeed, it is certain that the Salzburg collection was present in Admont in the late twelfth century; a manuscript of Admont provenance contains this group of texts along with some additional Salzburg material not included in the *MLA*¹⁴⁵. Historically-documented connections with Regensburg, which,

¹⁴³ Regarding Admont's contacts, see section 1.5. Concerning the Admont scriptorium and library, see P. BUBERL, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark. I: Die Stiftsbibliotheken zu Admont und Vorau* (= *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, 4/1), Leipzig, 1911, pp. 1-6; MÖSER-MERSKY, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge...* (see above n. 66), vol. 3, pp. 1-65; NASCHENWENG, *Admont...* (see above n. 42), pp. 141-148; SEEBERG, *Die Illustrationen im Admonter Nonnenbrevier...* (see above n. 43), pp. 21-26, 53-56; LUTTER, *Geschlecht & Wissen...* (see above n. 16), pp. 59-62.

¹⁴⁴ UHLIRZ, *Legendar...* (see above n. 128). As will be discussed in section 3.4., it is not certain, but probable that this collection, which is included at November 27 in the Heiligenkreuz, Lilienfeld and Melk exemplars, was also present in the *Ur-MLA*.

¹⁴⁵ The relevant manuscript left Admont at some point after 1380, eventually ending up in the library of the counts of Kuenburg at Mladá Vožice in Bohemia, where its contents were recorded by Franz Martin before 1918; F. MARTIN, *Eine neu aufgefunden Admonter Handschrift*, in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 41 (1919), pp. 267-282. It is now in private hands in Salzburg, with a microfilm copy available to consult at the Salzburger Landesarchiv (SLA, HS 907). The whereabouts of this manuscript were unknown to the present author until very recently. Preliminary indications are that a planned textual comparison of the manuscript with the *MLA* promises to shed much new light on the circumstances of the *MLA*'s compilation. The results of this research will have to await future publication.

as highlighted by Claudia Märzl, resulted in the exchange of manuscripts in both directions, are also of potential importance with regard to Admont's plausibility as the place of the legendary's compilation, considering the incorporation of a significant number of texts of Regensburg provenance into the *MLA*¹⁴⁶. Moreover, Märzl cites evidence that certain of these Regensburg texts were transmitted in Admont manuscripts independent of the *MLA*¹⁴⁷. Illustrative of one means by which source texts may have arrived at Admont is a surviving copy of a letter sent by Abbot Gottfried (1138-1165) to a former Admont monk, then residing in the Benedictine monastery at Tegernsee in Upper Bavaria¹⁴⁸. Gottfried requests of the monk that he might make available to his former monastery, either through lending or transcription, any works held in the Tegernsee library, which were not also possessed by Admont. It may be that a copy of the *Martyrologium Wolfhardi*, which was the source of the monthly *praefationes* and numerous short Lives in the *MLA*, made its way to Admont through this channel, considering that the sole surviving witness of the martyrology is an early eleventh-century manuscript from Tegernsee¹⁴⁹. The above-mentioned conclusion of Chiesa that the *MLA*-version of the *Vita Epi-*

An indication that a copy of the Salzburg collection was present at Admont towards the end of the twelfth century is also provided by the *Vita Gebehardi archiepiscopi* (BHL 3294), which was written at Admont at some point between 1181 and 1199 and whose author displays knowledge of the *Vita Eberhardi archiepiscopi* (BHL 2362), the latter forming part of the Salzburg collection included in the *MLA*. An autograph copy of the *Vita Gebehardi* is preserved in Admont, Cod. 475. See *Vita Gebehardi, Thiemonis, Chunradi, Eberhardi, Chunradi II archiepiscoporum cum Chronico Admuntensi*, ed. W. WATTENBACH (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, 11), Hannover, 1854, pp. 33-49, at pp. 34, 44; LHOTSKY, *Quellenkunde*, p. 215; HAARLÄNDER, *Vitae episcoporum*, pp. 506-507. Neither this redaction of the *Vita Gebehardi* nor the earlier one (BHL 3293) was included in the *MLA*. As will be discussed below (n. 178) Gebehardus is included in the calendrical list of contents for Admont Cod. 24, but without any Life actually appearing in the manuscript.

¹⁴⁶ C. MÄRTL, *Regensburg in den geistigen Auseinandersetzungen des Investiturstreits*, in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 42 (1986), pp. 145-191.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181. The relevant texts are the *Vita Gregorii VII* (BHL 3652) and Arnold of Prüfening's *Dialogus de miraculis sancte Marie* (BHL 5360). The Admont library also housed a copy of the twelfth-century Prüfening catalogue of ecclesiastical writers. As will be discussed in section 3.5., the *Dialogus* only appears in the Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl exemplars, leaving it uncertain as to whether it was present in the *Ur-MLA*.

¹⁴⁸ H. PLECHL, *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung des 12. Jahrhunderts* (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 8), Hannover, 2002, pp. 211-212 (no. 179).

¹⁴⁹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18100; see above n. 26. It must be said, however, that errors present in the Tegernsee witness but absent from the *MLA* appear to exclude the possibility that the copy of the martyrology available to the compiler of the latter was derived from the surviving Tegernsee manuscript; PONCELET, *De martyrologio Wolfhardi*, p. 6; *Id.*, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, appendices II-IV, pp. 128-135.

phanii descends from an Admont manuscript also constitutes evidence, however slight, linking Admont to the compilation of the *MLA*. A search among Admont's rich hagiographical holdings for other saints' Lives stemmatically close to the *MLA*-versions may help to substantiate the hypothesis, as yet tenuous, that the Styrian monastery was, indeed, the cradle of the legendary¹⁵⁰.

3.4. *The date of the MLA's compilation and of its surviving exemplars*

A study of the contents of the *MLA*, together with palaeographical evidence, provides a basis for dating the compilation of the collection. A legendary is no older than the latest text it contains, and in the case of the *MLA* a collection of Lives and one individual legend offer potential *termini post quem* for its completion. The former consists of the group of Salzburg episcopal Lives mentioned above, which is included at November 27, the anniversary of St Virgilius. This cannot have been compiled before 1181, as already noted by Poncelet¹⁵¹. It is not, however, certain that the collection was part of the *Ur-MLA*, due to the absence of the relevant volume of the Admont legendary. As will be argued below, there are strong indications to suggest that the latter is the only one of the surviving exemplars to have been copied directly from the *Ur-MLA*, with all others descending from a lost second copy. It is therefore possible, although unlikely, that the Salzburg collection was first added to the corpus at the time of the production of this second copy. Through its inclusion of a list of past archbishops, the same Salzburg collection also offers a *terminus ante quem* for the compilation of the *MLA*. This list ends in Heiligenkreuz (Cod. 14, fol. 32^v-33^r) and Melk (Cod. 100, fol. 249^v-250^r) with Archbishop Adalbert, who was incumbent in 1168-1177 and 1183-1200. In Zwettl (Cod. 15, fol. 33^v), on the other hand, the list continues with Adalbert's successor, Eberhard (1200-1246). It appears, therefore, that the Heiligenkreuz *MLA* and the template of the fifteenth-century Melk volume

¹⁵⁰ Illustrative in this regard is, for example, van Cranenburgh's study of the manuscript tradition of the *Vita Pachomii* (BHL 6410). According to the author, the text witness in Admont Cod. 143 from the second half of the twelfth century is very close to the *MLA* version, enjoying "une ressemblance particulière" to the Admont exemplar; S. H. VAN CRANENBURGH, *La Vie latine de saint Pachôme, traduite du grec par Denys le Petit* (= *Subs. hag.*, 46), Brussels, 1969, at p. 61. It remains to clarify the exact relationship between Cod. 143 and the *MLA* Life.

¹⁵¹ PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, p. 25: *certe non multo post annum 1181 prima collectio perfecta est*. Concerning this collection, see *Vitae et miracula sanctorum Iuvavensium Virgilii, Hartwici, Eberhardi*, ed. W. WATTENBACH (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, 11), Hannover, 1854, pp. 84-103; LHOTSKY, *Quellenkunde*, p. 219; HAARLÄNDER, *Vitae episcoporum*, pp. 507, 510.

were written between 1183 and 1200, and the Zwettl copy after the latter year¹⁵². Adalbert's year of death can thus be regarded as a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the *MLA*. In estimating the approximate date of the original compilation, it must also be taken into account that one of the conclusions of the investigation into the stemmatic relationship of the surviving *MLA* exemplars which follows is that neither the Heiligenkreuz legendary nor Christophorus Lieb's template were copied directly from the *Ur-MLA*. Allowance should therefore be made for the time required to transcribe the intermediary copy or copies, leaving aside potential delays in the transmission of the collection from one monastery to the next.

A similar *terminus post quem* to that provided by the Salzburg collection is offered by the *Vita Mariani* (*BHL* 5527), which was written at the Regensburg *Schottenkloster*. Its completion can be securely dated to between 1177 and 1185 on the basis of papal privileges mentioned in the text¹⁵³. With the exception of that exemplar represented by ÖNB Cod. 336, which lacks the relevant volume, the *Vita Mariani* is present in all *MLA* copies, which means it was certainly included in the *Ur-MLA*. Whereas Poncellet dated the completion of the *MLA* to after 1181 on account of the Salzburg collection, Kern moved the *terminus post quem* forward to 1189¹⁵⁴. He argued that the description of Bishop Otto of Bamberg as *sanctus* in the Prüfening version of his Life, which is transmitted only in the *MLA*, required the completion of the legendary after his canonization in 1189. This assertion is, however, problematic: the *Vita Ottonis* (*BHL* 6394) was written between 1140 and 1146 and the description of Otto as *sanctus* was, according to the Life's editor, an original feature of the composition and not a later interpolation¹⁵⁵. In the medieval period canonization was,

¹⁵² WATTENBACH, *Das große Legendarium...* (see above n. 5), p. 645; UHLIRZ, *Legendar...* (see above n. 128); A. FINGERNAGEL, *Die Heiligenkreuzer Buchmalerei von den Anfängen bis in die Zeit „um 1200“* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Vienna, 1985), pp. 67-68.

¹⁵³ WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 699-702. Weber also pointed to the death of the first abbot of the Viennese *Schottenkloster*, mentioned in the text, as another possible *terminus post quem* for its completion. This hypothesis is to be treated with caution, however, as the Abbot Finianus installed in 1181 was not necessarily the direct successor of the deceased Sanctinus. Indeed, the necrology of the *Schottenkloster*, which survives only in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century copies, gives 1169 as the latter's year of death; *Monumenta necrologica monasterii Scotorum Vindobonensis*, ed. A. F. FUCHS (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Necrologia Germaniae*, 5), Berlin, 1913, pp. 303-318, at p. 304.

¹⁵⁴ KERN, *Magnum Legendarium*, p. 434.

¹⁵⁵ J. PETERSOHN, *Kloster Prüfening und die literarisch-hagiographische Formung des Andenkens Bischof Ottos von Bamberg im 12. Jahrhundert*, in *Päpste, Privilegien, Provinzen. Beiträge zur Kirchen-, Rechts- und Landesgeschichte*. Festschrift Werner Maleczek, ed. J. GIEBAUF – R. MURAUER – M. P. SCHENNACH (= *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische*

of course, not a pre-requisite for an attribution of sanctity or for inclusion in a legendary. Otto of Bamberg would have been only one of hundreds of “unofficial” saints, whose legends were incorporated into the *MLA*.

The Salzburg collection and the *Vita Mariani*, which provide a *terminus ante quem* of 1200 and a *terminus post quem* of 1181 or 1177/1185, appear in the current state of research to provide the most secure parameters for the dating of the *MLA*'s compilation. As mentioned above, it is also possible to date the production of individual *MLA* exemplars or, at least, individual manuscripts on the basis of the Salzburg archiepiscopal list, primarily Heiligenkreuz Cod. 14 (1183-1200) and Zwettl Cod 15 (1200-1245)¹⁵⁶. This dating tallies with palaeographical assessments of the relevant manuscripts¹⁵⁷. The case of Melk Cod. 100 is, however, more complex, as it is one of the fifteenth-century *MLA* manuscripts. The absence of Eberhard from the archbishops' list suggests that the template for the fifteenth-century copy was written before 1200. Yet the only surviving volume of the original Melk exemplar, Cod. 388, has been dated palaeographically to circa 1230¹⁵⁸. It could be that the thirteenth-century copyist simply omitted to extend the list beyond what he found in his template, or that the template of the fifteenth-century codex was not actually the thir-

Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsband, 55), Vienna, 2010, pp. 327-338, at p. 334: “Häufig wird, insbesondere bei den Missionsschilderungen ... das Wort *sanctus* auf ihn angewendet. Zweifellos also ist die Prüfening *Vita* von Ottos Auserwähltheit und Heiligkeit überzeugt”.

¹⁵⁶ Internal evidence also allows other Zwettl *MLA* codices to be dated more closely. A number of different texts, which only appear in the Zwettl exemplar, provide a *terminus post quem* of 1188 for Cod. 13 (January-March). A copy of correspondence between Abbot Erbo II of Prüfening and Engelhard of Langheim can be dated accurately to between March 29, 1187 and January 20, 1188; B. GRIESSER, *Engelhard von Langheim und Abt Erbo von Prüfening. Neue Belege zu Engelhards Exempelbuch*, in *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 71 (1964), pp. 22-37 (Dating, p. 35); 76 (1969), pp. 20-24. A collection of *exempla* written by Engelhard, which follows the correspondence, was completed in 1188 at the earliest, because it incorporates under the title of *De fratre Joseph* (BHL 3936) the metrical Life of St Hildegund, who died in the same year. This codex is also the only *MLA* manuscript to contain Lambertus de Legia's *Vita et Miracula s. Mathie* (BHL 5700 etc.), written in Trier after 1186; R. M. KLOOS, *Lambert von Lüttich (Lambertus de Legia)*, in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, ed. K. RUH et al., vol. 5, Berlin, 1985, col. 491-494. A prose version of the *Vita Hildegundis* (BHL 3937) also appears in Zwettl Cod. 24 (April-June). Because it is written at the very end of the manuscript in a different hand, a *terminus post quem* of 1188 cannot be regarded as certain, despite the hand being roughly contemporary with that of the previous scribe; ZIEGLER, *Handschriftenkatalog Stift Zwettl*, part 1, p. 55. Otherwise only Lilienfeld Cod. 60 (July-September) appears to include among its original contents a text datable to later than the 1177/1181/1185 *terminus post quem* of the *Ur-MLA*, namely the later *Vita Almanni* (BHL 314), written between 1192 and 1194 by one Rubertus Abbas; HAARLÄNDER, *Vitae episcoporum*, pp. 484-485.

¹⁵⁷ See n. 160 and 161.

¹⁵⁸ See n. 160.

teenth-century exemplar represented today by Cod. 388. This complexity is tied in with the open question of what template or templates were used by Christophorus Lieb in the fifteenth-century¹⁵⁹.

Because the monastery at Lilienfeld was not founded until 1202 and settled in 1206, its exemplar can be safely dated to after this point, which is in keeping with the palaeographic character of the surviving manuscripts. The Lilienfeld, Zwettl and original Melk *MLA* exemplars have all been assigned a date in the first third or half of the thirteenth-century in recent authoritative studies carried out in conjunction with the compilation of new library catalogues¹⁶⁰. New palaeographical and art-historical assessments of the Heiligenkreuz exemplar have again confirmed that it belongs to the period before 1200, as can also be deduced from the Salzburg archiepiscopal list¹⁶¹. The Heiligenkreuz *MLA* has long been held to represent the oldest surviving exemplar, but while it is certainly the earliest securely datable copy, its seniority relative to the ÖNB and Admont exemplars is not definite. In Simader's recent study of a group of manuscripts which he believes to have originated in the scriptorium of the Augustinian canonry at St. Pölten, the author implies that a date before 1200 is conceivable for the completion of the *MLA* manuscript ÖNB 336¹⁶². The only *MLA* exemplar not to have undergone a detailed palaeographical or art-historical investigation in recent times is that from Admont. Poncelet dated it to the thirteenth century, which accords with the entry in Wichner's hand-written 1889 catalogue. The thirteenth-century date has been reiterated many times since, but a significant number of authors have also assigned the exemplar to the late twelfth century¹⁶³. As it alone appears to have been

¹⁵⁹ See section 3.5.

¹⁶⁰ Lilienfeld: HAIDINGER – LACKNER, *Die Handschriften des Stiftes Lilienfeld...* (see above n. 67), pp. 49-80, at p. 52. Melk: A. HAIDINGER, *Beobachtungen zum Festkalender des Stiftes Kremsmünster, in Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, 109 (1998), pp. 27-67, at p. 45; GLASSNER, *Inventar der Handschriften...* (see above p. 110), p. 180. Zwettl: ZIEGLER, *Handschriftenkatalog Stift Zwettl*, part 1, pp. 31, 37, 40, 55.

¹⁶¹ The *MLA* manuscripts have been examined in the context of an ongoing study of the output of the Heiligenkreuz scriptorium by Alois Haidinger and Franz Lackner, the results of which are available through the www.manuscripta.at and www.scriptoria.at portals.

¹⁶² SIMADER, *Ein Buchmaler um 1200...* (see above n. 62), p. 30. Simader regards Cod. 336 as the oldest manuscript among a distinct group of St. Pölten manuscripts, which includes ÖNB Cod. 2221, datable to circa 1200.

¹⁶³ M. Tangl (in a marginal note in J. WICHNER, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Admontensis* [hand-written], Admont, 1887, p. 26); BUBERL, *Die illuminierten Handschriften...* (see above n. 143), pp. 74-75 (no. 47 and 48); KARWASIŃSKA, *S. Adalberti Vita prior*, pp. XIV-XV; SEEBERG, *Die Illustrationen im Admonter Nonnenbrevier...* (see above n. 43), p. 54, fn. 266; p. 61, fn. 303; KRAUSE, *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX.*, pp. 38-39.

copied directly from the *Ur-MLA*, and also because the compilation of the original collection may have taken place in this Styrian monastery, a more exact dating of the Admont legendary would be particularly desirable¹⁶⁴. If the Admont exemplar were the earliest surviving one, it could conceivably represent a house-copy produced before the *Ur-MLA* was passed onto another monastery. Alternatively, it might have been made after the *Ur-MLA*'s return to Admont¹⁶⁵. Because of the difficulty in dating Carolingian minuscule of the period either side of 1200 with any great degree of accuracy, the relative chronology of the earlier *MLA* exemplars will probably have to remain uncertain¹⁶⁶.

3.5. *The relationship of the surviving exemplars*

Poncelet's transmission model for the *MLA* has been adopted largely unquestioned in published works concerning the complete collection. He argued that the manuscript tradition was divisible into separate Cistercian and Benedictine branches, with none of the surviving exemplars constituting the original legendary or *Ur-MLA*¹⁶⁷. The Lilienfeld exemplar was held to have been copied directly from that of Heiligenkreuz, while the Zwettl copy was also believed to descend from the latter. He distinguished this *cisterciensium codicum familia* from the Benedictine group comprising the Admont and Melk exemplars on the basis that the former alone incorporated a particular group of texts at the end of either February or March and that texts belonging to each manuscript group shared a distinct set of *variae lectiones*. The ÖNB manuscript, then without a clear provenance, was held to be closer to the Benedictine manuscript family. Poncelet admitted, however, that he could not say anything more concrete about the relationships between the individual exemplars beyond this.

On the basis of extensive bibliographical research undertaken as part of this project and insights gained through intensive interaction with the corpus, it has become clear that Poncelet's model requires a complete re-

¹⁶⁴ See sections 3.3. and 3.5.

¹⁶⁵ As all other surviving exemplars derive from the second direct copy of the *MLA*, it is possible that the *Ur-MLA* was only made available to one other monastery for the purposes of transcription.

¹⁶⁶ It is to be hoped that both an art-historical analysis of the illuminations in the *MLA* manuscripts being undertaken by Susanne Rischpler and Lena Sommer's PhD project on layout and knowledge transfer in the *MLA* exemplars of Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl will contribute towards resolving this issue; see above n. 68.

¹⁶⁷ PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, pp. 30-31, 36-37.

assessment. The following section is intended as a contribution towards this process and follows the lead of François Dolbeau, who proposed the following method in attempting to reconstruct the relationships within a group of legendaries:

“Pour qui veut préciser les relations de parenté existant à l’intérieur d’un groupe, la superposition de différents *stemmata*, scientifiquement établis à partir de textes particuliers, est indispensable”¹⁶⁸.

Applying this approach successfully to the *MLA* presents a number of difficulties. Due to the incomplete nature of the surviving copies, there are no texts for which witnesses from all six exemplars survive. Only the Heiligenkreuz, Lilienfeld and Melk volumes for the July to September section are extant, for example. In the case of every single text, therefore, collation provides but a partial picture of the overall transmission, and only through comparison can a coherent model emerge. Because editors of individual works are dealing with only a part of the manuscript tradition, their findings may need to be reinterpreted on the basis of the understanding of the wider *MLA* transmission gained from the comparison of numerous texts. The potential use of second templates in respect to individual texts, volumes or whole exemplars must also always be borne in mind. That contamination or, indeed, scribal correction in respect of a single text might serve to disguise the overall stemmatic relationship between the *MLA* exemplars is also a danger. Furthermore, as will be made clear below, it cannot be assumed that complete exemplars passed from one monastery to another. Instead the volumes comprising a particular exemplar may have been copied from different templates. Despite the obstacles presented by a legendary of this scale, the following discussion will show that it is possible to determine to a large extent the relationship between the different surviving exemplars.

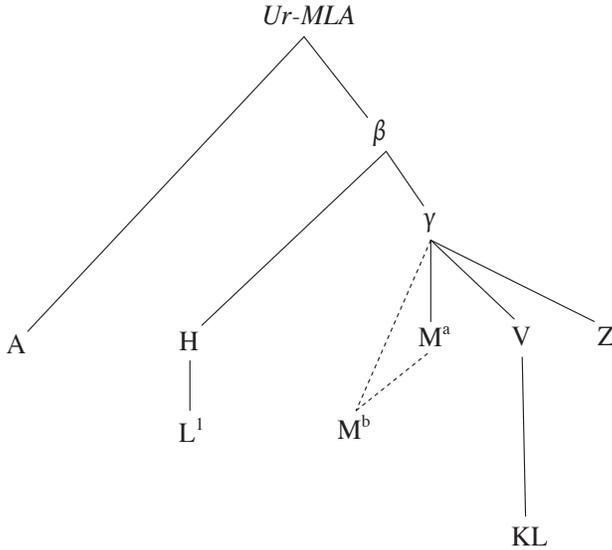
The special status of the Admont exemplar

From investigations to date and from the literature concerning individual texts within the *MLA*, a model of transmission is emerging, whereby the Heiligenkreuz (*H*), Lilienfeld (*L*)¹⁶⁹, Melk (*M*)¹⁷⁰, ÖNB (*V*) and Zwettl

¹⁶⁸ F. DOLBEAU, *Notes sur la genèse et sur la diffusion du Liber de natalitiis*, in *Revue d’histoire des textes*, 6 (1976), pp. 143-195, at p. 178.

¹⁶⁹ In the case of Lilienfeld exemplar, descentence from β is only certain in the case of the January to March volume (*L*¹). As will be outlined below, it is not possible to pinpoint the position of the July to September Lilienfeld volume (*L*²) within the *stemma codicum*, although derivation from β does seem likely.

(Z) exemplars all descend from a single intermediary copy (β), which was probably transcribed directly from the *Ur-MLA*. The Admont (A) legendary has a special status within the manuscript tradition: it alone appears to have been copied directly from the original collection. The following graph offers a hypothetical reconstruction of the stemmatic relationship between the different *MLA* exemplars¹⁷¹:



The Admont Exemplar (A) has been accorded an exceptional status in a number of studies regarding the transmission of individual legends, without this binary model ever having been proposed for the *MLA*. On the basis of his investigation of the manuscript tradition of the *Passio Febroniae* (BHL 2844), Chiesa attributed a position of excellence to the Admont witness within the *MLA*, because it appeared to be immune from errors shared by all other exemplars¹⁷². Karwasińska distinguished the Admont witness of the *Vita Adalberti* (BHL 37) from all other *MLA* exemplars, placing it

¹⁷⁰ While *M* will be used henceforth as the siglum for the Melk exemplar as a whole, *M^a* and *M^b* will be employed where appropriate to distinguish between the thirteenth-century exemplar, of which only one part-volume, Cod. 388, survives, and the six fifteenth-century codices.

¹⁷¹ The existence of the exemplar γ is somewhat uncertain, the evidence for *M*, *V* and *Z* relying on a distinct joint template not being conclusive at this point (see discussion below p. 153).

¹⁷² CHIESA, *Le versioni latine della Passio sanctae Febroniae...* (see above n. 18), pp. 91-94, at p. 91: “Una posizione di eccellenza potrebbe avere forse l’esemplare di Admont, che pare immune da alcuni errori comuni agli altri codici del gruppo”.

within a sub-group with Klosterneuburg Cod. 707, owing to it being textually somewhat closer to both the version present in the Windberg Legendary and to the archetype¹⁷³. In the case of the *Vita Mariani* (BHL 5527), Weber detected a greater proximity of the witness in *A* to the Regensburg branch of the Life's transmission. At certain points in the text *A* agreed with the Regensburg manuscripts against the remaining *MLA* witnesses, most notably in the case of a complete clause, which is absent in all exemplars save Admont¹⁷⁴. Such an omission of text passages, present only in *A*, is a strong indication of a split in the *MLA* transmission and also occurs in other Lives. The *Vita Itae* (BHL 4498), for example, features two clauses that appear only in the Admont exemplar¹⁷⁵. In this case, the omission of both passages can be attributed to homoioteleuton on the part of the scribe of the intermediary copy (β), from which Heiligenkreuz, Lilienfeld, Melk, ÖNB and Zwettl exemplars together descend¹⁷⁶.

An examination of the complete corpus of the Admont exemplar also points to its exceptional status. A number of texts are absent from the two surviving volumes, namely the Lives of Brigida (BHL 1455), Georgius

¹⁷³ KARWASIŃSKA, *S. Adalberti Vita prior*, pp. XIV-XV, XIX, LI.

¹⁷⁴ WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 81-83.

¹⁷⁵ The text in *A* (Cod. 25, fol. 187^{va}) reads ... *quia mortuus fuerat, sed multo magis quia sine herede contra promissionem suam in Christi nomine factam mortuus fuerat. Eatenus...*, whereas *H* (Cod. 11, fol. 164^{va}), *L* (Cod. 59, fol. 35^{va}), *M*^b (Cod. 97, fol. 48^{va}) and *Z* (Cod. 13, fol. 153^{va}) have ... *quia mortuus fuerat. Eatenus...* (the relevant volume of *V* is missing). A few lines later *A* has ... *depulsa, genuit filium quem sancta dudum promiserat Ita. A qua...*, while the others have ... *depulsa ita. A qua...* An edition of the *MLA* version of the *Vita Itae* (with the exception of *L*) is contained in C. GUNDACKER, *Die Viten irischer Heiliger im Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 2008), pp. 119-138 (available online at http://othes.univie.ac.at/907/1/2008-08-04_0003644.pdf; visited 28 January, 2014). The lacunae are noted on p. 126 (fn. 629 and 640).

¹⁷⁶ Franklin's edition of the *Passio Anastasii* (BHL 410) can also be cited in this regard. The author identified two manuscript groups within the *MLA* transmission, namely *HL* and *M^fZ*, while it was not possible to assign the Admont witness to either group. An examination of the edition's *variae lectiones* reveals five readings, where *A* alone among the *MLA* exemplars agrees with the text edition; FRANKLIN, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius*, p. 429, fn. 24; p. 430, fn. 37; p. 436, fn. 168; p. 439, fn. 237; p. 442, fn. 311. The reading *honoranda* instead of *ignorata* is perhaps the most significant among them. It should also be noted that a particular omission due to homoioteleuton, which according to Franklin's edition occurs in *A*, *M^f* and *Z*, is, in fact, only a feature of *M^f* and *Z*; *ibid.*, p. 438, l. 212-213. Furthermore, the *variae lectiones* of the *Passio Valentis episcopi* (BHL 8456) include an instance where a word is present in *A*, Klosterneuburg cod. 707 and Windberg and thus, presumably, in the *Ur-MLA*, but is absent from all other *MLA* exemplars (Appendix 2, fn. 1.2). Another example is offered by two readings among the *variae lectiones* of a section of the *Vita Mochullei* (BHL 5978), reproduced below, where *A* alone agrees with the independent text witness in the *Codex Salmanticensis* (see appendix 3, fn. 13.9. and 13.10.).

(*BHL* 3364), *Fructuosus* (*BHL* 3200) and *Theudarius* (*BHL* 8130)¹⁷⁷. A collection of vision-texts, comprising the accounts of *Tnugdalus*, *Wettinus* and *Esdrae*, are also missing in *A*¹⁷⁸. The *Admont MLA* is also marked out from the other exemplars by some differences in sequence and by additions, as well as by further omissions¹⁷⁹. The *Vita Evagrii* (*BHL* 6534) appears, for example, not only at 13 June in *A*, as in the other exemplars, but also at 6 January. The *Vita Iuliani* (*BHL* 4529) is found in the remaining exemplars at the latter date, but not in *A*¹⁸⁰. The *Dormitio Paulae viduae* (*BHL* 6548) is absent from *A* at 27 January. A short text entitled *Praefacio s. Iorinimi presbiteri*, according with that contained in the *Martyrologium Wolfhardi*, appears instead, but it is not followed by the actual *Dormitio*¹⁸¹. The prologues to the *Vita Iohannis Chrysostomi* (27.01; *BHL* 4378) and

¹⁷⁷ Two redactions of the *Vitae Brigidae* (*BHL* 1455 and 1457) and *Georgii* (*BHL* 3364 and 3389) appear in the other exemplars.

¹⁷⁸ It is interesting to note that the entry *Visio Wecti monachi* appears at the end of January in the contemporary calendrical table of contents accompanying *Admont Cod.* 25 (fol. VS, 1^v). A gap of two and a half folios was left at the relevant point in the manuscript (fol. 115^v), but remained empty until partially filled with an unrelated text at a later date. Such differences (see also n. 179) between table of contents and actual content occur in the case of almost all of the *MLA* exemplars. As suggested in section 2.1., a possible explanation is that the table of contents of the template was simply copied in full before the process of transcription began, with any deviations in content subsequently introduced left unrepresented. A different reason might lie behind the inclusion of *Gebehardus archiepiscopus* at 15 June in the list of June legends in *Cod.* 24 (fol. 1^v), despite his Life appearing neither in *A* nor in the remaining *MLA* exemplars. The absence of the Life of the founder of the *Admont* monastery in *A* and in the *MLA* overall is somewhat surprising. It seems that the incorporation of Gebhard's Life into *A* was, at least, planned, but never carried out. Two redactions of the archbishop's Life were written at *Admont*, one in the late eleventh, the other in the late twelfth century; *LHOTSKY, Quellenkunde*, pp. 214-215; *HAARLÄNDER, Vitae episcoporum*, pp. 506-507; see also n. 145. Could the planned inclusion, but eventual omission of the Life from *A* be in some way connected with the completion of the new redaction (*BHL* 3294) at *Admont*?

¹⁷⁹ *Admont* deviates from the sequence of the other exemplars in the following cases: the *Vita Gregorii Septimi* (*BHL* 3652) is included at 25 May (his correct anniversary) rather than 31 May; on 8 January *Erhardus* (*BHL* 2590) appears before instead of after *Severinus* (*BHL* 7657); on 25 May *Iohannes Papa* (*BHLms* *Iohannes* 03) comes before instead of after *Germanus Parisiensis* (*BHL* 3469). The *Vita Walpurgae* (*BHL* 8765) appears at 30 April in the other exemplars, but at 25 February in *A*. A much-shortened version of the Life (*BHL* 8765b) is included at the latter date in the remaining exemplars. The *Vita Mathildis* (*BHL* 5685) is found on the saint's anniversary of 14 March in *A*, but at 22 December in the other exemplars. Interestingly, this Life does not appear within the table of contents for March in *A* (*Cod.* 25, Fol. VS-3^v).

¹⁸⁰ The *Vita Iuliani* appears instead at 9 January, at which date the other exemplars have a shortened version.

¹⁸¹ See *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm* 18100, fol. 21^r. The words *Incipit Dormitio sanctae Paulae* were added directly after the *Praefacio* in *A*, but the text that follows is actually the *Vita Thyrsi, Leucii, Callinici et soc.* (*BHL* 8280), which led to the later deletion of the line.

the *Vita Gamelberti* (27.01; *BHL* 3260) are omitted alone in the Admont exemplar. The version of the *Vita Augustini* (26.05; from Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*) is much shortened compared to that appearing in the other exemplars. By far the greatest deviation of the Admont exemplar is the absence of fifteen legends between 4 and 15 May, which was almost certainly the original situation, despite the fact that all but one, the *Vita Gangolfi* (*BHL* 3328), appear in the table of contents¹⁸². This can be deduced from the fact that a blank space was left after the *Vita Alexandri, Eventii et Theoduli* (03.05; *BHL* 266) on fol. 111^v, rather than, as was standard in the *MLA*, the subsequent legend following immediately. The next Life, the *Vita Pachomii* (14.05; *BHL* 6410), appears at the top of fol. 112^r.

The overall structure of the extant Admont volumes gives the impression of a poorly executed copy. While many of the deviations point simply to corners having been cut by the copyists, the fact that *A* appears to be the only surviving direct copy of the *Ur-MLA* raises the possibility that some differences from the standard corpus, as represented by the other five exemplars, are attributable to changes introduced in conjunction with the production of the second copy (β). For example, the absence of second redactions of the *Vita Brigidae* and the *Passio Georgii* in *A* could be the result of omission by its copyist or addition by that of β . Such questions must remain open for now. While omissions in *A* with regard to overall content and within individual legends do not necessarily corroborate the binary transmission model proposed above, they at least allow the conclusion that *A* constitutes a cul-de-sac with respect to the transmission of the *MLA*; none of the other exemplars can be said to derive from the Admont exemplar¹⁸³. The instances outlined above, in which *A* offers text passages absent elsewhere, do, however, point to a split in the transmission of the *MLA*. The proposed *stemma codicum* will serve as a working model

¹⁸² Cod. 24, Fol VS^r. These legends were already marked as *vacat* by a late-medieval hand.

¹⁸³ Examples of text passages uniquely omitted in *A* due to homoioteleuton can also be cited: in the *Vita Albarti* (*BHL* 218) *conversacione angelus – Vita Albarti archiepiscopi Caselensis*, ed. W. LEVISON (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, 6), Hannover, 1913, pp. 21–23 (p. 21, l. 35); in the *Vita Bardonis* (*BHL* 977): *quid acturi essent homines annuntiavit. Amministravit cum – Vita Bardonis maior*, ed. W. WATTENBACH (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, 11), Hannover, 1854, pp. 321–342 (p. 330, l. 35). See also FRANKLIN, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius*, p. 429, l. 35–37; p. 447, l. 419–421 and the *variae lectiones* of the *Passio Valentis* reproduced below (Appendix 2, *AB* fn. 3.2). Apparent additions on the part of the copyist of β occur in the *Vita Adalberti*. Two explanatory sub-clauses not present in *A* or the text edition are found in *H*, *M*^p, *V* and *Z* (*L* has no corresponding volume). *Quod nomen sonat consolatio exercitus* was added after the name *Woietech*, and the first name of the Bishop of Prague was also supplied – *primo nomine Tethmaro (Tethinaro M^pZ)*; KARWASIŃSKA, *S. Adalberti Vita prior*, p. 5, fn. a-a; p. 9, fn. t-t (with corrections).

for the purposes of future project research, although it will be subject to repeated reassessment as further texts are examined with regard to their transmission.

Heiligenkreuz and Lilienfeld: a reduced cisterciensium codicum familia

On the basis of project research to date and by reference to the results of studies concerning the transmission of individual legends, it has been possible to divide all but one of the remaining *MLA* exemplars, the descendants of β , into two sub-groups, comprising Melk (*M*), ÖNB (*V*) and Zwettl (*Z*) on one side, Heiligenkreuz (*H*) on the other. It will be made clear below that *Z*, contrary to Poncelet's belief, does not belong to the same branch of transmission as the Heiligenkreuz exemplar. Poncelet's influential notion of a distinct *cisterciensium codicum familia* within the manuscript tradition of the *MLA* therefore requires serious revision, also in respect of the relationship between the Heiligenkreuz and Lilienfeld exemplars. The position of *L* within the manuscript tradition is, namely, the most problematic. On the basis of shared textual variants and similar content, including a group of seven texts at the end of February, which is missing from all other exemplars except *Z*, Poncelet argued that *L* was copied directly from *H*. This now appears only to be true in part. Over the past half-century a number of scholars have examined the stemmatic relationship between text witnesses in *H* and *L* and come to starkly differing conclusions. Poncelet's assertion of direct dependency has received support from some quarters, namely Felim Ó Briain in respect of two redactions of the *Vita Brigidae* (*BHL* 1455 and 1457), Ludwig Bieler in the case of the *Vita Patricii* (*BHL* 6506), Carmela Franklin, the *Passio Anastasii* (*BHL* 410) and Stefan Weber, the *Vita Mariani* (*BHL* 5527)¹⁸⁴. At the same time voices have been raised in contradiction of this theory, beginning with that of Ulla Westerbergh in 1963. She concluded that the witness of the *Sermo Theodori Studitae de sancto Bartholomeo apostolo* (*BHL*

¹⁸⁴ "... the text of [the *Vita Brigidae auctore Cogitosa* in] *L* is a copy of the *H* text, as several textual peculiarities show..."; F. Ó BRIAIN, *St Brigit* (draft typescript, without date), Franciscan Library, Killiney, Co. Dublin, Felim Ó Briain papers, box 1, no. 1, pp. 30-31, 269 (p. 30). "The *HL*-readings [in the *Vita Patricii*] ... would be explained most plausibly on the assumption that *L* is a direct copy of *H*"; BIELER, *Four Latin Lives*, p. 20. "Furthermore, the copy of the *Passio S. Anastasii* in the Lilienfeld codex (= *L*) shows without a doubt that it was copied directly from the Heiligenkreuz codex..."; FRANKLIN, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius*, p. 422. "Aufgrund etlicher, nur mit *L* gemeinsamer Lesarten [in der *Vita Mariani*] und aufgrund der vermutlichen Entstehung dieser Lesarten ist in *H* wohl die Quelle für *L*, nicht aber für andere Textzeugen zu sehen"; WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 77.

1005) in *L* was definitely not copied from *H*, because of numerous readings deviating from the text edition, which are found only in *H*¹⁸⁵. Furthermore, she highlighted the fact that many errors unique to *H* are also contained in the selection of *MLA* texts edited by Poncelet as an appendix to his 1898 article¹⁸⁶. Edith Madas reached the same conclusion on the basis of her study of the *MLA* transmission of the legend of St Stephen of Hungary (*BHL* 7918 and 7920): *H* could not have been the template for *L*, because *H* lacks a complete sentence and exhibits various deviations from both *L* and *M^b* (the other extant *MLA* witness) in its readings¹⁸⁷. Marcus Stumpf argued similarly that *H* offered a worse copy of the *Vita Heinrici regis* (*BHL* 3812) than *L* (and *M^b*), with the Heiligenkreuz scribe culpable of numerous errors¹⁸⁸. The dependence of *L* on *H* was also ruled out by Norbert Klaus Larsen on the basis of his examination of the transmission of the *Vita Marie Egyptiace* (*BHL* 5419)¹⁸⁹. The results of a collation of the three extant *MLA* witnesses of the *Vita Senani* (*BHL* 7574) in *H*, *L* and *M^b* cast further doubt on Poncelet's theory. This study produced multiple instances of words missing from *H* alone, and of *L* and *M^b* agreeing against readings in *H*¹⁹⁰. The complete *variae lectiones* for two further texts, short Lives of Pope Leo II (*BHL* Leo II) and Bishop Gregory of Neocaesarea (*BHL*ms Gregorius 14) extracted from the *Martyrologium Adonis*, paint a similar picture, most variants in the *H* witness not being repeated in *L*¹⁹¹.

¹⁸⁵ WESTERBERGH, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, pp. 108-109.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 108, fn. 21. But see below, n. 197.

¹⁸⁷ MADAS, *Die heiligen ungarischen Könige...* (see above n. 107), pp. 225-227.

¹⁸⁸ "Die zahlreichen Fehler gehen zu Lasten des Abschreibers von H"; M. STUMPF, *Die Vita sancti Heinrici regis et confessoris und ihre Bearbeitung durch den Bamberger Diakon Adelbert* (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum*, 69), Hannover, 1999, p. 137.

¹⁸⁹ "... jedoch machen individuelle Fehler deutlich, daß Hk¹ (12. Jh.) der Handschrift Lf (13. Jh.) nicht als Vorlage gedient haben kann"; N. K. LARSEN, *Hilberti Cenomanensis episcopi Vita beate Marie Egyptiace* (= *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 209), Turnhout, 2004, p. 104.

¹⁹⁰ A sample of the *variae lectiones* (*H* = Cod. 13; *L* = Cod. 60; *M^b* = Cod. 101): administrabat *H* (fol. 1^{ra}), pabulum salutis administrabat *L* (fol. 1^{rb}) and *M^b* (fol. 1^{rb}); sacratissimus Senanus *H* (fol. 1^{ra}), sacratissimus puer Senanus *L* (fol. 1^{rb}) and *M^b* (fol. 1^{va}); Quadam autem die *H* (fol. 1^{vb}), Quadam namque (*M^b* nanque) die *L* (fol. 2^{rb}) and *M^b* (fol. 2^{vb}); angelum dei ministrum habuit *H* (fol. 2^{ra}), angelum dei ministrum haberet *L* (fol. 2^{rb}) and *M^b* (fol. 3^{rb}); ad hoc sepius protestatur *H* (fol. 2^{rb}), ad hoc opus protestatur sepius *L* (fol. 3^{ra}), ad hoc opus sepius protestatur *M^b* (fol. 3^{va}); Post hoc ... videlicet in die resurrectionis vel in die migrationis *H* (fol. 4th), Post hec ... videlicet in die migrationis vel in die resurrectionis *L* (fol. 6th) and *M^b* (fol. 7^{va}).

¹⁹¹ The following are the *variae lectiones* for the *Vitae Leonis* and *Gregorii* in *H* (Cod. 13, fol. 5^v), *L* (Cod. 60, fol. 7^v-8^v) and *M^b* (Cod. 101, fol. 9^v) compared to the corresponding readings in the archetype, the *Martyrologium Adonis*, which are furnished as head-words after

A closer look at the text witnesses mentioned above may offer a solution regarding the ostensibly contradictory findings of the different authors. In the case of the four editions where the authors endorsed the theory of the dependence of *L* on *H*, the relevant Lives are all contained in the January to March section of the *MLA*, which in *L* is covered by Codd. 58 and 59, two parts of an erstwhile single volume (henceforth *L*¹)¹⁹². Where, on the other hand, scholars excluded the possibility of dependence, in all but one case the relevant Lives fall within the period July to September, covered in *L* by Cod. 60 (henceforth *L*²)¹⁹³. The exception is the *Vita Marie Egyptiace* (28 February), where the editor, despite stating that a series of shared readings distinguished *H* and *L*¹ from the only other extant *MLA* witness (*Z*), concluded that individual mistakes in *H* ruled out the possibility of it having been the template for *L*¹. There is undoubtedly a close textual proximity between *H* and *L*¹ in the case of all the relevant January to March legends, which marks these two exemplars out as a sub-group within the *MLA* manuscript tradition. Such proximity has, however, not been noted in the case of July-August Lives, again with one exception, Westerbergh conceding that the close affinity of the *H* and *L*² witnesses of the *Sermo Theodori* could “not be denied”. Madas, on the other hand, argued that the *Vita Stephani regis* in *L*² was closer to that in *M*^b, while Stumpf made no reference to characteristic *HL*² readings in respect of the *Vita Heinrici regis*.

There are a number of possible conclusions to be drawn from these findings. Turning firstly to *L*¹, it is clear that this volume does have a very close stemmatic relationship with *H*, frequent shared *variae lectiones* marking them off from all other *MLA* exemplars. The abundance of exclusive *HL*¹ readings in the section of the *Vita Mochullei* collated in appendix 3 demonstrates this textual proximity. With regard to content, *L*¹

J. DUBOIS – G. RENAUD, *Le martyrologe d'Adon. Ses deux familles, ses trois recensions. Texte et commentaire*, Paris, 1984. *Vita Leonis* (*MA*, p. 214, no. 5, l. 1) sedit menses decem] sedit decem menses Rome *H*, sedit menses x Rome *LM*^b; (*MA*, p. 214, no. 5 l. 4) graeca latinaque lingua eruditus] graeca latinaque instructus fuit lingua *H*; graeca latinaque instructus fuit *LM*^b. *Vita Gregorii* (*MA*, p. 213, no. 4, l. 19) refugiens] refugens *H*, refugiens *LM*^b; (*MA*, p. 213, no. 4, l. 20) derelinquit] dereliquid *H*, dereliquit *LM*^b; (*MA*, p. 213, no. 4, l. 22) rupes] rupes *HL*, rupis *M*^b; (*MA*, p. 213, no. 4, l. 22) vicini] vici *H*, vicini *LM*^b; (*MA*, p. 213, no. 4, l. 23) praeterfluens] preterfluens *HM*^b, prefluens *L*; (*MA*, p. 213, no. 4, l. 25) in oratione] in orationibus *H*, in oratione *LM*^b; (*MA*, p. 213, no. 4, l. 27) importuna] inoportuna *HL* (*ante ras.*), inoportuna *L* (*post ras.*) *M*^b; (*MA*, p. 213, no. 4, l. 28) ad condendam] ad condendum *H*, ad condendam *LM*^b; *MA*, p. 213, no. 4, l. 29) quamplurima] quam plurima *HL*, conplurima *M*^b.

¹⁹² 22 January, Anastasius; 1 February, Brigida; 9 February, Marianus; 17 March, Patricius.

¹⁹³ 1 July, Senanus; 3 July, Leo and Gregory; 13 July, Heinricus; 19 August, Stephanus; 24 August, Bartholomeus.

offers no text not in *H*, while it omits nine out of the 131 included in the corresponding Heiligenkreuz volume¹⁹⁴. The findings of Ó Briain, Bieler, Franklin and Weber would suggest direct dependence of *L*¹ on *H*, but Larsen ruled out this possibility in the case of the *Vita Marie Egyptiace*. It must be said, however, that Larsen's argument is not especially persuasive. Of the variants he provides in support only two offer instances where *L*¹ actually offers a correct reading together with the other surviving *MLA* exemplar, *Z*, against *H*. Moreover, reference to the manuscripts shows the editor to have been mistaken in both cases, *L*¹ and *H* agreeing on *destruxit* against *construxit* in *Z* and in the archetype, and elsewhere *L*¹, *H* and *Z* all agreeing on the reading *spe* for *prece*¹⁹⁵. The *variae lectiones* in Larsen's edition show a very strong textual affinity between *L*¹ and *H*, both, for example, omitting the words *ad horam. Ne coram sanctis confundar* due to homoioteleuton, text which is present in *Z*¹⁹⁶. Despite the comments of Larsen, it would seem the *Vita Marie Egyptiace* offers no barrier to the conclusion that *L*¹ was copied directly from *H*, rather than having to posit a joint "Cistercian" template or some form of contamination¹⁹⁷.

Indeed, there is some other textual evidence to strengthen the argument that *L*¹ was copied directly from *H*. In support for his assertion that

¹⁹⁴ The Lives are those of Paulus Thebaeus (*BHL* 6596), Maurus (*BHL* 5773), Antonius ab. (*BHL* 609), Babylas (*BHL* 899), Iulius et Iulianus (*BHL* 4558), Euphrosyna (*BHL* 2723), Phocas ep. (*BHL* 6838) and Benedictus Casinensis (*BHL* 1102), as well as the *Inventio capitis sancti Iohannis Baptistae* (*BHLms* Iohannes 01). In all but the case of the *Vita Benedicti*, which is also absent from *M*^b, the relevant text is present in all other *MLA* exemplars. The final two Lives of the January to March period, namely those of Nonnosus (*BHL* 6247) and Quirinus et Balbina (*BHLms* Quirinus 01), are also absent from *L*¹, but this is due to folio loss.

¹⁹⁵ LARSEN, *Vita beate Marie Egiptiace...* (see above n. 189), p. 104, fn. 24.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 253, ls. 332-333.

¹⁹⁷ Instances where *L*¹ shares with other *MLA* exemplars better readings than *H* do occasionally arise across the editions. Bieler cited some examples in the *Vita Patricii*, but believed that "these could easily have been corrected by an intelligent copyist"; BIELER, *Four Latin Lives*, p. 20, fn. 1. Weber offered a similar argument in relation to discrepancies between *H* and *L* readings in the *Vita Mariani*; WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, p. 77. One such instance also arises in the case of the *Vita Marie Egyptiace*, where *H* has *plusquam* against *postquam* in *L*¹, *Z* and the archetype, but again it seems reasonable to assume that the Lilienfeld scribe simply improved upon the *H* variant; LARSEN, *Vita beate Marie Egiptiace...*, p. 254, l. 341. Westerbergh cited a number of divergent *H* readings in the apparatus of Poncelet's appendices to support her theory, which will be discussed below, that *H* and *L* were copied from a distinct joint template rather than *L* being directly dependent on *H*; WESTERBERGH, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, p. 108. However, a re-examination of the four relevant *lectiones* pertaining to Lives contained in the January to March volume shows Poncelet to have been inaccurate in each case. The correct *MLA* readings are: *AB* p. 136, fn. 3, miranda *AM*^b*Z*, mirandaque *HL*¹; *AB* p. 138, fn. 13, ad-vexerat *AHM*^b, adduxerat *L*¹*Z*; *AB* p. 145, fn. 15, in more *vel* inmore *A*; inmonte *HL*¹*M*^b*Z*; *AB* p. 162, fn.3, Deinde *AHL*¹*Z*.

L was dependent on *H*, Poncelet argued that corrections made to *H* were incorporated *ab initio* by the Lilienfeld copyists¹⁹⁸. Ó Briain cited the following example in support of this thesis: "... the original scribe of *H*, copying his faulty exemplar, wrote (cap. 1): *a sua puericia bonarum studiis inoleuit* (fol. 93a) omitting *rerum* after *bonarum*. A slightly later hand inserted *uirtutum* in the bottom margin with a sign that it should follow *bonarum*. In *L* this *uirtutum* has been embodied in the text: *bonarum uirtutum studiis* (fol. 108^{vb}). The word does not occur in any other ms."¹⁹⁹. Furthermore, Bieler highlighted an instance of homoiotes, where the full clause is repeated in the witness of the *Vita Patricii* in *H*, but only the first four words in *L*¹, as if the scribe had belatedly noticed the duplication in his template²⁰⁰. The dependence of *L* on *H* would be the simplest explanation for both of these examples.

Discerning the position of *L*² within the *MLA* stemma is a more difficult task, not least because only the *H*, *L* and *M*^b volumes for the period July to August are extant²⁰¹. It is abundantly clear from the *MLA* witnesses of the *Sermo Theodori* and the *Vitae Stephani, Henrici, Senani, Leonis* and *Gregorii* that *L*² is considerably closer to *M*^b than to *H* with regard to variant readings. While the direct dependence of *L*² on *H* can therefore be ruled out, it does not necessarily follow that *L*² is stemmatically closer to *M*^b than to *H*. For while the text in *L*² does not follow *H* in respect to most of the latter's errors, it does repeat a small fraction thereof, thereby agreeing with *H* against a correct reading in *M*^b. This leaves open the possibility that *L*² and *H* were both copied from a joint intermediary "Cistercian" template, itself transcribed from β , which already contained those textual errors shared by *L*² and *H*. This was Westerbergh's conclusion with reference to the Heiligenkreuz and Lilienfeld witnesses of the *Sermo Theodori*²⁰². She offered four readings where *H* and *L*² together deviated from *M*^b and the archetype in support of this argument. Reference to the manuscripts shows the editor to have been mistaken in relation to one of these, the word *octobrii* having also been originally present in *M*^b before being altered to *octobris*. The three other shared deviations are, however, correctly noted, namely *apostoli corpus* for *corpus apostoli*, *cogitationes* for

¹⁹⁸ PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, p. 30.

¹⁹⁹ Ó BRIAIN, *St Brigit...* (see above n. 184), pp. 30-31.

²⁰⁰ BIELER, *Four Latin Lives*, p. 20, fn. 1.

²⁰¹ Furthermore, the absence of Lives pertaining to the period July to September from the Klosterneuburg Legendary (Codd. 701, 708-710) ensures that nothing additional can be garnered regarding the text or, indeed, the existence of the missing volume of the *V* exemplar.

²⁰² WESTERBERGH, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, pp. 108-109.

cognitiones and *tribulationem* instead of *tribulationis*. In the case of the *Vita Gregorii* *H* and *L*² also agree once against *M*^b and the archetype²⁰³. The fact that only the *H*, *L* and *M*^b volumes survive for the period July to August makes the interpretation of these readings difficult. It could be that these deviations were present in the *Ur-MLA* or in β and were simply corrected by Christophorus Lieb in the fifteenth century, if not at a previous stage in transmission. On the other hand they might indeed point to a joint Cistercian template or even to some form of contamination, whereby the Lilienfeld copyists would have had more than one template available to them, including *H*, allowing them to avoid repeating most of the mistakes contained in the latter.

The possibility of a discrete Cistercian template appears unattractive when both *L*¹ and *L*² are taken into account. That *H* and *L* were copied from a joint template in the case of one volume and not in another seems unlikely. Yet the inconsistency between the close textual proximity of *L*¹ to *H* on the one hand and the considerable divergence between *H* and *L*² on the other makes the possibility of a shared intermediary in respect of both the January to March and July to August volumes appear implausible²⁰⁴. As argued above, a direct dependence of *L*¹ on *H* seems probable. In the case of *L*² the possibility that *H* was also available as a template, albeit a secondary one, must be left open at this stage in the research²⁰⁵. The stemmatic position of the primary, if not sole, template is difficult to determine given the survival of only the *H*, *L* and *M* volumes²⁰⁶. Due to

²⁰³ See n. 191 (Re: *MA*, p. 213, no. 4, l. 27).

²⁰⁴ In this scenario the majority of the many variants in *H* would, in the case of the January to March volume, have already been present in the joint template, but, in the case of the July to August section, be instead attributable to the Heiligenkreuz copyists.

²⁰⁵ There is one shared feature of the *H* and *L*² volumes that could be taken to suggest a close stemmatic relationship between the two. In both, namely, the *Sermo s. Augustini de miraculis s. Stephani* (BHL 7866) at 3 August is incomplete. The text is then continued at the end of the relevant month in both volumes, albeit only the opening lines of the addendum appear in *L*² (see PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, p. 74 for details concerning the text). On the basis of the foregoing consideration of the stemmatic relationship between *H* and *L*², one would assume that the text was already disunited in β or even in the *Ur-MLA*. Yet the complete text appears at 3 August in *M*^b, which would leave open the possibility that the split in the *Miracula* text in *H* and *L*² stemmed from their sharing of a template or from *L*²'s dependence upon *H*. An alternative explanation more in keeping with the general results of textual comparison would be that either Christophorus Lieb or an earlier scribe identified and remedied a rupture present in β or in the *Ur-MLA*.

²⁰⁶ With respect to content there is little to separate the three volumes. *L*² omits two Lives compared to the total contained in *H*, namely the *Vita Bernardi* (BHL 1217, 1218, 1220) and the *Vita Gorgonii* (*Martyres XL*), while the latter Life as well as the *Vita Theclae* (BHL 8024o), the *Vita Arsenii* (BHL 715b) and an *Epistula de assumptione BMV* (BHL 5355d) are absent from

the absence of corresponding Admont volume, L^2 's descentance from β cannot be confirmed. Because there is no evidence for L^2 preserving text omitted in both H and M^b or providing superior readings, it seems reasonable, nonetheless, to assume that the template was not the *Ur-MLA* itself. The textual affinity of L^2 to M^b noted in the different editions may be attributable simply to a shared derivation from the *Ur-MLA* or from β , the relatively close textual relationship being attributable to the shared absence of most of the variants marking out the H witnesses²⁰⁷. L^2 's primary/sole template may have been β itself, another lost exemplar or perhaps even the missing volumes of V or Z . The uncertainty regarding the stemmatic position of its primary/sole template and the unresolved question of contamination ensure that it is not possible at this time to pinpoint the place of L^2 within the *MLA*'s manuscript tradition.

The apparent use of different templates for the two surviving Lilienfeld volumes raises some interesting issues. The circumstances could be seen to provide support for the possibility mooted in section 2.1. that the Lilienfeld exemplar may never have extended beyond the extant manuscripts; rather than the transcription of the entire *MLA* being too labour-intensive, it seems plausible that there was never a complete exemplar available to copy at Lilienfeld. Whether the seemingly *ad hoc* nature of the acquisition of templates at Lilienfeld was unique or mirrored elsewhere within the *MLA* transmission cannot be determined, but clearly the movement of complete templates from one monastery to the next cannot be taken for granted.

Zwettl (Z), Melk (M) and ÖNB Cod. 336 (V)

Poncelet's contention that the Zwettl exemplar also derived from H has provoked a mixed response from scholars investigating the trans-

M^b . L^2 has one text not contained in H or in M^b , namely a second redaction of the *Vita Altmanni* (BHL 314), which is found at the end of Cod. 60 (fol. 274^r-279^v); see n. 156. From the position of this Life within the manuscript, it seems clear that it represents an addition on the part of the Lilienfeld copyist, rather than a text present in the template. The relevant section of H (Cod. 13) is missing due to folio loss, but the Life does not appear in the table of contents (Cod. 13, fol. IV^v). M^b also has one text not found in H or L^2 , namely the *Passio Benedicti et soc.* (BHL 1148). Because it is only contained in M^b , it is possible that this Life was added to the corpus by Lieb in the fifteenth century.

²⁰⁷ The possibility that L^2 was the template for the corresponding volumes of M^b or their template can be ruled out by reference to numerous individual errors not repeated in the Melk codices; see, for example, WESTERBERGH, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, p. 108; STUMPF, *Die Vita sancti Heinrici...* (see above n. 188), p. 137, fn. 399; see also above, n. 191 (Re: *MA*, p. 213, no. 4, l. 23).

mission of individual legends within the *MLA*. Ó Briain regarded it as highly probable that both redactions of the *Vita Brigidae* in *Z* were copied from *H*, although he did not cite examples to support this contention²⁰⁸. Petersohn did not propose direct dependency, but concluded that the witnesses of the *Vita Ottonis Babenbergensis* (*BHL* 6394) in both exemplars were copied from the same template²⁰⁹. Franklin, on the other hand, asserted on the basis of common errors that the *Passio Anastasii* (*BHL* 410) in *Z* shared a template with *M^a* and could not be derived from *H*²¹⁰. Lanéry ruled out a dependence of the *Passio Theodora et Didymi* (*BHL* 8073) in *Z* upon *H*²¹¹. Bieler, Chiesa, Weber and Ó Riain-Raedel all considered the relationship between the Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl exemplars and found no clear evidence specifically linking the two within the broader *MLA* context²¹². Through the appraisal of the *variae lectiones* of a number of *MLA* texts, it is possible to clarify to a certain extent the relationship between *Z* and *H* and the position of the Zwettl exemplar within the wider *MLA* transmission. The *Vita Haimeradi* (*BHL* 3770), which was edited by Köpke in 1854 drawing on the witnesses in *H* and *V*, may serve as an example²¹³. A comparison of a proportion of the alternative readings supplied by the editor with the remaining *MLA* text witnesses in *M^b* and *Z* brings forth evidence of a clear split between *H* and *M^bVZ*²¹⁴. An assessment of the *variae lectiones* in Krause's edition of the *Vita Leonis IX*

²⁰⁸ Ó BRIAIN, *St Brigit...* (see above n. 184), pp. 30, 269.

²⁰⁹ PETERSOHN, *Die Prüfeninger Vita*, pp. 29-31.

²¹⁰ FRANKLIN, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius*, p. 422.

²¹¹ LANÉRY, *La Passion de Théodora et Didyme*, p. 13. Van Kirk Dobbie also concluded in respect of the *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae* (*BHL* 1068) that neither the witness in *Z* nor those in *A*, *M^b* or *V* could be shown to derive from *H*; VAN KIRK DOBBIE, *The Manuscripts of Cædmon's Hymn*, p. 60.

²¹² BIELER, *Four Latin Lives*, p. 20; CHIESA, *Le versioni latine della Passio sanctae Febroniae...* (see above n. 18), p. 91; WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent*, pp. 82-83; Ó RIAIN-RAEDEL, *Vita sancti Cœmgeni*, pp. 155-156.

²¹³ *Vita sancti Haimeradi presbiteri auctore Ekkeberto*, ed. R. KÖPKE (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, 10), Hannover, 1852, pp. 598-607.

²¹⁴ The following constitutes a collation of the alternative *H* and *V* readings provided in the last two pages of the Köpke edition with the corresponding passages in *M^b* and *Z* and with some corrections: *MGH*, p. 606: (b) Mathilt *HM^bZ*, Mahtilht *V*; (f) Berthae *H*, Berthe *M^bVZ*; (h) singillatim *HM^b*, sigillatim *VZ*; (m) navia *H*, navigia *M^bVZ*; (o) persecutione *HM^bVZ*; (w) omnia proprio ore *H*, omnia ore proprio *M^bVZ*. *MGH*, p. 607, (c) relecto *HVZ*, reiecto *M^b* (*post corr. ex relecto?*); (f) seu *HMZ*, sive *V*; (g) salvus *H*, salvus esse *M^bVZ*; (i) passio *H*, passo *M^bVZ*; (l) hoc *HM^bVZ*; (m) deferebat *H*, referebat *M^bVZ*; (n) sui circa sepulchrum viri mulierem *H*, sui circa sepulchrum viri Dei mulierem *M^bZ*, sui mulierem *V*; (o) *HM^bVZ* profluente; (q) foderet dentibus *HM^bVZ*; (t) constat iram adversum *H*, constat iram Dei adversum *M^bVZ*; (v) explicit written in full *HM^b*, initials only *V*, ad laudem et g. d. n. i. x. q. c. Z.

(*BHL* 4829, 4818, 4821) offers an even clearer picture of this dichotomy; whereas *Z* agrees only once with *H* alone, it shares on seventeen occasions a reading contrary to the latter, again agreeing often with *M^b* and *V* alone, more often with *A* as well²¹⁵. A comparison of the alternative readings in Poncelet's edition of the *Vita Mochullei* (*BHL* 5978) with the Zwettl witness, which was unavailable to the editor, produces similar results. In this case *H* and *L¹* frequently share readings deviating from all other exemplars, while *M^a* and *Z* (*V* has no corresponding volume) again display a close relationship, sometimes agreeing together on a divergent reading, other times agreeing with *A* against *HL¹* or *vice versa*²¹⁶. Furthermore, Jefferis highlighted eight deviations in the Heiligenkreuz witness of the *Conversio Gallicani* from both the archetype and the Melk *MLA* exemplar²¹⁷. A collation of these readings with those in the *V* and *Z* witnesses reveals that both agree with *M^b* against *H* in all cases with the exception of the *lemma*, where *et martiris* is absent from both *Z* and *H*.

On the basis of the above it is clear that *Z* is not directly or indirectly dependent on *H*. A strong connection between the Melk, ÖNB and Zwettl exemplars emerges from the examples cited, and this applies to both the thirteenth- and fifteenth-century Melk codices. The question arises as to whether these three exemplars depend directly on β , the second copy of the *Ur-MLA*, and are united simply by the absence of the characteristic *H* readings, or whether they were copied from a joint template (γ), itself dependent on β . It would only be possible to deduce the existence of such an intermediary template from shared readings, additions and omissions

²¹⁵ KRAUSE, *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX.*, pp. 79-243. The following is a representation of the manuscript groupings corresponding to the *variae lectiones* within the *MLA* transmission, as selected by Krause. *L* has no corresponding volume. *MGH*, p. 80 b) *M^b* v *AHVZ*, c) *M^b* v *AHVZ*, d) *H* v *AM^bVZ*; p. 82 e) *H* v *AM^bVZ* f) *V* v *AHM^bZ*; p. 84 n) *H* v *AM^bVZ*; p. 90 i) *H* v *AVM^bZ*; p. 104 e) *AH* v *M^bVZ*; p. 110 p) *AH* v *M^bVZ*; p. 114 q) *V* v *AHM^bZ*, w) *V* v *AHM^bZ*; p. 116 l) *A* v *HM^bVZ*; p. 118 o) *M^b* v *AHVZ*; p. 120 h) *H* v *AM^bVZ*; p. 134 z) *H* v *AM^bVZ*, h) *AH* v *M^bVZ*; p. 150 d) *H* v *M^b* v *AWZ*; p. 174 f) *AM^bZ* v *HV*; p. 190 x) *H* v *AM^bVZ*, k) *AM^bZ* v *HZ*; p. 204 m) *AM^bZ* v *HV*; p. 222 n) *H* v *AV* v *M^bZ*; p. 230 a) *H* v *AM^bVZ*; p. 234 g) *HM^b* v *AVZ*; p. 238 n) *M^b* v *AHVZ*. The frequent correspondence of *AM^bVZ* readings against *H* can be attributed to deviations on the part of the Heiligenkreuz copyist from the text contained in the *Ur-MLA* (see also below).

²¹⁶ See appendix 3. See also the discussion of Larsen's edition of the *Vita Marie Egyptiace* above, where instances in which *Z* preserves text and correct readings not found in *H* and *L¹* are discussed.

²¹⁷ JEFFERIS, *Hrotsvit and the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, p. 245. The *Conversio* is not present in the *A* and *L* exemplars. See also KARWASIŃSKA, *S. Adalberti Vita prior*, pp. XV-XVI, where the author points to a shared template for *M^b*, *V* and *Z*, albeit somewhat obliquely. I am grateful to a colleague at VISCOM, Fabian Kümmeler, for translating the relevant section of the Polish introduction, which is more comprehensive than the Latin.

contrary to both *A* and *H*. Such common readings are actually furnished by the *Vitae Anastasii* (M^aZ), *Leonis* (M^bVZ) and *Mochullei* (M^aZ), but the evidence is insufficient at this stage to form a definite opinion²¹⁸. There seems, in any event, to be too little evidence across the different editions to support Petersohn's contention that *H* and *Z* were copied from a joint template distinguishable from that of the Melk and ÖNB exemplars²¹⁹. Petersohn cited four readings where *H* and *Z* agreed against M^b and *V*, in all but one case *H* and *Z* deviating from the text edition²²⁰. He appears, however, to put too much weight on these *HZ* readings, as there are more instances where *Z* agrees on a variant with both M^b and *V* or with the latter alone against *H* and the edition²²¹. Indeed, looking overall at the *variae lectiones* of the *Vita Ottonis*, it is difficult to clearly discern different stemmatic groups. This might be taken to provide support for the conclusion that *H*, *M*, *V* and *Z* were each copied separately from a shared template, i.e. β , but the evidence cited above for common *MVZ* variants in other edited texts means that the possibility that the three latter exemplars depend on an intermediary template seems at this point a preferable hypothesis²²². That *H* cannot have been the source for *M*, *V* or *Z* should be clear from the foregoing. Neither is there any reason to suppose that any one of the three exemplars, *M*, *V* and *Z* is directly dependent on another, with individual omissions and mistakes speaking against such a relation²²³. The

²¹⁸ FRANKLIN, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius*, p. 422, fn. 18, p. 438, l. 212-213 (see n. 175); KRAUSE, *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX.*, p. 104, fn. (e); p. 110, fn. (p); p. 134, fn. (h) (see n. 215); *Vita Mochullei* (appendix 3, fn. 12.11 and 12.14).

²¹⁹ In the light of the divergence between the templates from which the two Lilienfeld volumes were copied, it should be noted that the *Vita Ottonis* (30 June) appears in the same April to June volume (Cod. 24) of the Zwettl exemplar as the *Vitae Leonis* (19 April) and *Haimeradi* (28 June).

²²⁰ sancti Georgii martiris in Bruviningen M^bV , martiris *om.* *HZ*; diocesianis M^bV , diocesionis *HZ*; ducentis M^bV , quingentis *HZ*; pacientiam M^bV , patientia *HZ*; PETERSOHN, *Die Prüfeningener Vita*, pp. 29-30. It should be noted that the accurate reading *quingentis* in the Zwettl witness was inserted by the corrector, the original variant, probably also *ducentis*, having been erased; *ibid.*, p. 71(y).

²²¹ e.g. PETERSOHN, *Die Prüfeningener Vita*, p. 57(x) esset HM^b (*post corr.*), esse M^b (*ante corr.*), est *VZ*; p. 61(a) receptionem *H*, receptione M^bVZ ; p. 68(g) et *om.* M^bVZ ; p. 98(r) recenter HM^b , recens *VZ*; p. 99(v) aurifrigia HM^b (*post corr.*), aurifria M^b (*ante corr.*) *VZ*; p. 104(p) tantum HM^b , tamen *VZ*; p. 119(z) cultum *H*, cultu M^bVZ ; p. 126(t) adhortatus HM^b , exhortatus *VZ*; p. 127(y) impressit *H*, expressit M^bVZ ; p. 134(u) aberrare HM^b , oberrare *VZ*.

²²² The common M^bVZ readings listed in the previous footnote could again be taken as evidence in favour of a joint intermediary template, assuming the correct readings in *H* were also present in β . It is possible that the additional deviations occurring only in *V* and *Z* might be attributable to corrections to the M^b witness on the part of Christophorus Lieb.

²²³ A dependency of *Z* upon M^a can be ruled out, for palaeographical reasons, amongst others, as Cod. 388 is generally assigned a somewhat later date than the Zwettl exemplar.

Zwettl exemplar, because of its numerous gaps and both reading and mechanical errors, can be most emphatically ruled out as a potential template for any other *MLA* exemplar²²⁴.

It follows from the above textual comparisons that Poncelet's assignment of the Zwettl exemplar to the *cisterciensium codicum familia* appears to be no longer tenable. Yet, with regard to overall content, there are a number of commonalities between the surviving Zwettl, Heiligenkreuz and Lilienfeld exemplars, which distinguish them from the other exemplars. The question to be asked, however, is whether these shared features constitute evidence of a discrete Cistercian stream within the *MLA* manuscript tradition or are rather simply the result of the fragmentary nature of the collection's transmission. These distinguishing attributes include the series of texts at the end of February or March, which Poncelet laid such store by as a defining feature of the Cistercian branch of the *MLA*. These texts are, indeed, missing from both *A* and *M*, while *V* has no corresponding volume. As it is one of the fifteenth-century Melk manuscripts that is in question here, however, namely Cod. 97, from which a number of other texts are absent, it is by no means certain that this group of texts was actually missing from the original Melk exemplar. Indeed, included at 28 February in the table of contents for the February legends in the original Melk exemplar (Cod. 388, fol. 265^v) is the metrical *Vita Marie Egyptiace*, the first text in the relevant group, and a text that does not appear in the later Cod. 97. The February tables of contents for *H* (Cod. 11, fol. IV^v) and *L*¹ (Cod. 59, fol. 1^v) similarly mention only the *Vita Marie Egyptiace* and not the remaining texts in the group²²⁵. It seems quite possible, if not

Comparing Cod. 388 with the corresponding Zwettl volume, Cod. 13, the former omits the *Vita Scholastica* (BHL 7514) and contains a much-shortened version of the *Vita Iuliani et Basilissae* (BHL 4529). The possibility of direct dependence of Cod. 13 on Cod. 388 or *vice versa* was excluded by Franklin; FRANKLIN, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius*, p. 422. This Life also provides an example of a passage, which is missing from Cod. 388 alone; *ibid.*, p. 443, l. 321-322; see also PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, appendix V, p. 143, fn. 7.17: where the words *iam mitis et amabilis* are absent alone in the Cod. 388 witness of the *Vita Mochullei*. For palaeographical reasons, amongst others, the direct dependence of *V* on either *M*^b or *Z* can be ruled out. The possibility that ÖNB Cod. 336 was the template for the corresponding volumes of *M*^b or of *Z* can also be excluded on account of not infrequent readings singular to the former; see, for example, appendix 1, *passim*.

²²⁴ See, for example, n. 124 above, in re: *MGH*, p. 56(b) and (c). Petersohn even attributed the numerous errors in the Zwettl witness of the *Vita Ottonis* to dyslexia on the part of the scribe; J. PETERSOHN, *Legasthenie als Ursache von Textvarianten? Beobachtungen an der Überlieferung der Priefeninger Otto-Vita*, in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 52 (1996), pp. 585-597.

²²⁵ The Lilienfeld table, which relates to the period 16 February to 31 March, is a seemingly faithful copy of the respective section of the original table, and was made in the four-

probable, that this series of texts was present in the original Melk exemplar, and cannot therefore be treated necessarily as a distinctive feature of the Cistercian *MLA* copies. Indeed, the fact that *Maria Egyptiaca* also appears in the February table of contents at Admont (Cod. 25, fol. VS-3^r), suggests that it might well have been present in the *Ur-MLA*, and that this group of texts, including the *Vita Marie Egyptiace* — a prose recension (*BHL* 5415) of which also appears at 2 April in all surviving exemplars — were among those omitted by the Admont copyists. The Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl legendaries are also marked out from the other surviving *MLA* exemplars by the presence of two further texts, namely a collection of Marian miracles (*BHL* 5357) and the *Dialogus de miraculis sancte Marie* composed by Arnold of Prüfening (*BHL* 5360). The suspicion again arises, however, that the preservation of these texts exclusively in Cistercian exemplars might be merely a quirk of the incomplete manuscript transmission. The Marian miracles, which are incorporated at the end of March in *H* and *Z*, are missing from *A* and *M*, while *V* has no corresponding volume and the relevant section of *L* has been lost²²⁶. Because the Melk volume in question is again Cod. 97, there is no guarantee that the miracles were absent from the original Melk exemplar. Indeed, it seems more likely than not that they were present, because there is evidence to suggest that the miracles were contained in the lost January-March volume of *V*. A selection of these Marian miracles appears namely towards the end of the January-March volume of the Klosterneuburg Legendary, which, as discussed above, was copied from *V*, the *MLA* exemplar represented today by ÖNB Cod 336²²⁷. It seems, therefore, that these miracles can no longer be regarded as a potential characteristic of a discrete Cistercian *MLA* manuscript tradition. Uncertainty must also surround the transmission of Arnold of Prüfening's *Dialogus*. While it is only preserved in *H* and *Z* (at 8 December), no corresponding volumes exist for *A*, *L* and *V*, and the relevant Melk volume is the fifteenth-century Cod. 546, which leaves open the possibility that it was actually in the original Melk *MLA* among other

teenth century on the heels of the division of the exemplar's first volume into two parts (Codd. 58 and 59).

²²⁶ The vision of Botho von Prüfening, on the grounds of which this widely disseminated collection was once attributed to the same, is present only in the Heiligenkreuz exemplar; see A. MUSSAFIA, *Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden. I.*, in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 113 (1886), pp. 936-937, 943; KERN, *Magnum Legendarium*, pp. 430-433.

²²⁷ Cod. 710, fol. 342^v-349^v.

exemplars²²⁸. The conclusion to be drawn would appear to be that there are no clear indications that the distinctive features shared by the surviving Zwettl, Heiligenkreuz and Lilienfeld exemplars should be taken to reflect an original, discrete Cistercian branch within the manuscript tradition of the *MLA*. It follows, therefore, that there is nothing concrete capable of contradicting the evidence from collation pointing to the Zwettl exemplar belonging to a separate group of transmission with the Melk and ÖNB exemplars, or at least constituting an independent copy of the β template.

The difficulties concerning transmission posed by the fact that six out of the seven Melk *MLA* volumes belong to the fifteenth century and appear not to represent identical copies of the original Melk exemplar will be clear from the preceding paragraph. Indeed, numerous questions surround the circumstances in which the Melk librarian, Christophorus Lieb, copied the six volumes circa 1470. Poncelet speculated that the transcription was a consequence of the loss of all earlier volumes besides Cod. 388 in the documented library fire of 1297²²⁹. Petersohn suggested, on the other hand, that the fifteenth-century manuscripts were copied from the corresponding volumes of the original thirteenth-century exemplar, which was by then in a damaged state²³⁰. Accordingly, Lieb would have relied on the original house copy of the *MLA* rather than on an outside template. It is true that the process of text collation has not yet thrown up any marked difference in the position of the early and late volumes of *M* within the *MLA stemma codicum*. It follows that Lieb may well have had the original Melk exemplar or its template (i.e. β or δ) at his disposal. At the same time, there are noticeable discrepancies between the original table of contents for February and March and the texts appearing in the corresponding fifteenth-century volume, Cod. 97. While this could be taken to indicate the use of an external template, the stemmatic position of the earlier and later Melk volumes suggest that other explanations should be considered, above all the possibility that Lieb was selective regarding the texts he wished to transcribe²³¹. Some support for the argument that Lieb actually copied from the template of the original Melk exemplar is, as mentioned

²²⁸ Kern suggested that its absence from the Melk exemplar may have been due to it being deemed a text inappropriate for inclusion in a legendary; KERN, *Magnum Legendarium*, p. 433.

²²⁹ PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, pp. 35-36.

²³⁰ PETERSOHN, *Die Prüfeningener Vita*, pp. 23-24.

²³¹ Indeed, Lieb sometimes expressly indicates that he is omitting a text present in his template. For example, in place of the *Vita Arsenii* (BHL 715b), which is found in both of the other surviving July-September *MLA* volumes, *H* and *L*², Lieb writes the following *Vita Arsenii confessoris habetur in vitis patrum. Ideo pro brevitate omisi* (Cod. 101, fol. 88^v).

in section 3.4., provided by the list of Salzburg archbishops in Cod. 100, which excludes Eberhard, whose tenure commenced in 1200. Because Cod. 388 is dated palaeographically to circa 1230, the inclusion of Eberhard in the original Melk exemplar would be expected, as was the case in the corresponding Zwettl volume. Attempting to clarify the nature of the template available to Lieb will be one of the aims of future research on the *MLA* transmission within the current project. A consideration in this regard will be the possibility of contamination, a prospect raised by Petersohn, who concluded that, while Lieb copied his text of the *Vita Ottonis* from the original Melk exemplar, the corrections he himself subsequently undertook show him to also have had access to a separate copy of the *MLA*²³².

Section 4: Summary and conclusion

Poncelet's division of the surviving *MLA* exemplars into Cistercian and Benedictine branches is no longer valid. It seems highly unlikely that Poncelet would have proposed this model had he had access to the Zwettl codices, which would have made clear the latter's greater textual proximity to *M* and *V* rather than to *H* and *L*. The two-way split Poncelet perceived with regard to the five remaining manuscripts appears to have been the product of the shared alternative readings of the *H* and *L*¹, which linked the latter legendaries through their presence and the three other exemplars consulted through their absence. The commonality between *A*, *M* and *V* in this regard extended also, as has been demonstrated, to the Zwettl exemplar, and can simply be traced back to their common derivation from the *Ur-MLA*²³³. As has been illustrated, however, the stemmatic relationship of *M*, *V* and *Z* is actually closer to *H* and *L*¹ than to *A*, owing to the latter having been copied directly from the *Ur-MLA*, while all the remaining exemplars derive from β , a second copy.

The reconstructed process of transmission proposed here paints a much more complex picture with regard to the role of monastic affiliation in the dissemination of the legendary than the model envisaged by Pon-

²³² PETERSOHN, *Die Prüfeninger Vita*, pp. 27-28.

²³³ This sharing of common, non-*H* or -*HL*¹ readings, by *A*, *M*, *V* and *Z* is well illustrated by the *variae lectiones* of the *Vita Leonis IX*, while the readings from the *Vita Mochullei* show this commonality in the case of *A*, *M* and *Z* (*V* has no corresponding volume); see n. 215 and appendix 3. As stated above, instances also arise where *A* agrees with *H* or *HL*¹ against *MVZ*; e.g. KRAUSE, *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX.*, p. 104 (e), p. 110 (p), p. 134 (h). These shared readings again go back to their common derivation from the *Ur-MLA*, and also point towards the dependence of *M*, *V* and *Z* upon a shared template (γ).

celet. Only in the case of the Heiligenkreuz and Lilienfeld exemplars can a clear connection between two monasteries belonging to the same order be demonstrated. The long-held view that *L* was a copy of *H* requires some revision, this dependency now being probable only in the case of the January to March volume of the Lilienfeld exemplar, with the July to September section deriving primarily, if not solely, from a different template. The classic model of a motherhouse, in this case Heiligenkreuz, lending a manuscript to its daughter-house for the purposes of transcription only rings true in the case of this single Lilienfeld volume. Monastic affiliation appears otherwise not to have played a significant role in the process of transmission, with the *stemma codicum* pointing to particular templates having passed between houses belonging to the Cistercian, Benedictine and, more than likely, Augustinian orders. The *MLA* in this regard bears witness to connections across the monastic landscape of Austria/Styria in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries²³⁴. Whether the transmission process can be said to have reflected or, indeed, contributed to a notion of a regionally defined monastic community is one of the key questions of the current project.

The conclusion arrived at above, that the compilation of the *MLA* occurred in all probability within Austria/Styria rather than outside, as had long been maintained, represents something of a breakthrough in this field, effectively closing the breach between the compilation and transmission processes and opening up new avenues with regard to the historical contextualisation of the collection. Although there is some evidence pointing to Admont, it is not possible at this stage to pinpoint the location of the *MLA*'s compilation within Austria/Styria. Renewing the search for the sources of the *MLA* offers hope of bringing enlightenment in this regard. The findings outlined above regarding the relationship between the twelfth-century Klosterneuburg Cod. 707 and the *MLA* have greatly expanded our knowledge regarding the sources and provenance of the *MLA*. They have also shed considerable light on the oft-discussed relationship between the *MLA* and the Windberg Legendary, and should inform future studies regarding the wider issue of the transmission of legendaries in Austria and southern Germany between the late eleventh and late twelfth centuries. As well as illuminating its prehistory, this article has also allowed some clarity to be brought to the question of the collection's reception in the period after the initial wave of transmission, insofar as the true nature of

²³⁴ As mentioned in section 1.5., the transmission of the Austrian annals presents an analogous picture, with the circulation of manuscripts disregarding differences in monastic affiliation.

the relationship between the *MLA* and two later collections from Klosterneuburg and Gaming/Trier has been elucidated. The conclusion that the Klosterneuburg Legendary represents a copy of a largely incomplete *MLA* exemplar, which is today represented by ÖNB Cod. 336, confers upon it an important position within the manuscript tradition of the *MLA* and has the potential to enrich future studies concerning the collection's transmission.

The importance of the *MLA* within the hagiographical tradition of Austria and the wider region will be clear from the foregoing. This article has sought to create a working model through which future project research on the collection might be structured. The planned production of critical editions of selected texts will allow the theses developed here concerning the sources and transmission of the *MLA* to be tested. These in-depth case-studies will also focus on the content of the Lives. The selection of the texts will be based both on the potential of the particular legends to provide answers to questions concerning the manuscript tradition of the *MLA* and on the suitability of the content of the text with respect to the overriding concern of the project with medieval visions of community. This article has constituted a *Zwischenbilanz*, the provisional results of an ongoing investigation, and a modest supplement to Albert Poncelet's venerable standard-work.

University of Vienna

Diarmuid Ó RIAIN

Department of History
Universitätsring, 1
A – 1010 Wien

Résumé. Cet article présente les premiers résultats d'une recherche de longue haleine sur l'une des plus vastes collections hagiographiques compilées dans l'Europe médiévale, à savoir le *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, transmis par six exemplaires. Première étude substantielle sur ce légendier depuis celle d'Albert Poncelet à la fin du XIX^e siècle, l'article vise à actualiser l'état de la recherche et à insuffler un nouvel élan à celle-ci. Proposant un nouveau *stemma codicum*, l'A. formule de nouvelles perspectives sur la provenance, le mode de compilation, la réception et le contexte social de cette exceptionnelle collection de la fin du XII^e s.

APPENDIX 1: the Klosterneuburg Legendary

Collation of readings from Klosterneuburg Codd. 708 and 709 with the surviving *MLA* exemplars, demonstrating the dependence of the Klosterneuburg text witnesses upon those contained in Cod. 336 of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB), i.e. exemplar V.

A = Admont, H = Heiligenkreuz, K = Klosterneuburg, M^b = Melk (15c), V = ÖNB, Z = Zwettl²³⁵

Vita Ambrosii (BHL 377):

Explicit (Cod. 708, 17^r): fuisse AHZ; fugisse VK; evasisse M^b

Passio Agapis, Chionae et Irenis (BHL 118)

Incipit (Cod. 708, 17^v): sub obtutibus AHM^b; obtutibus Z; subtutibus VK

Passio Vincentiae et Margaritae (BHL 8617)

Inc. (Cod. 708, 53^v): due virgines christiane dominum confitentes AHM^bZ; due virgines dominum confitentes VK

Vita Frontini (BHL 3189)

Inc. (Cod. 708, 91^r): peregret exemplum inuit accensus AHM^bZ; peregret exemplum (...) accensus V; peregret exemplum accensus K

Expl. (Cod. 708, 93^r): Acta sunt autem hec sub Antonio imperatore XIII AHM^bZ; Acta sunt hec sub Antonio imperatore XIII V; Acta sunt hec sub Antonio imperatore XIII K

Vita Gregorii abbatis (BHL 3671)

Inc. (Cod. 708, 93^v): compulsi audientium enodabimus devotioni AM^bZ; compulsi audientium enuntiamus devotioni H; compulsi audientium VK

Vita Leonis IX

Praefatio (BHL 4829), expl. (Cod. 708, 114^r): Ante Deum noster Leo papa piissime semper A(*manu sec.*)M^bZ; Ante Deum nostrum Leo papa piissime semper H; Ante Deum noster Leo papa memento tuere V(*manu sec.*)K

Vita (BHL 4818), Inc. (Cod. 708, 114^v): pontifice Herimanno (Heremanno H, Hermanno M^b) successit ei venerabilis Bruno AHM^bZ; pontifice Herimanno (Heirmanno K) Bruno VK.

Passio sancti Georgii (BHL 3389)

Prologus, expl. (Cod. 708, 163^r): incipiet explicare narratio AHM^bZ; incipiet explicare VK

*Vigilia S. Iohannis baptiste*²³⁶

Expl. (Cod. 709, 88^v): recte sexto mense HM^bZ; recto sexto mense VK

Passio septem Dormientium (BHL 2315)

Expl. (Cod. 709, 125^v): pro miraculo cum viderant HM^bZ; pro miraculo quod viderant VK (M^bZ *post corr.*)

²³⁵ L has no corresponding volume.

²³⁶ The following two texts are missing from Admont Cod. 24 due to folio loss.

APPENDIX 2: *Passio Valentis episcopi* (BHL 8456)

Collation of the *variae lectiones* contained in Poncelet's edition of the *Passio Valentis* with the text-witness in Klosterneuburg Cod. 707 and the *MLA* exemplar from Zwettl, which was unavailable to the editor; PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, appendix IV, pp. 133-135. For the purposes of the collation the *variae lectiones* of the *Martyrologium Wolfhardi* were not considered. Poncelet's *MLA* readings have been corrected in a few instances.

The collation reveals the witness in Cod. 707 to be textually closer to the *MLA* exemplars than to the Windberg Legendary, it agreeing on five occasions with the dominant *MLA* reading against the Windberg variant and never with the latter against the former.

A = Admont, H = Heiligenkreuz, M^b = Melk (15c), V = ÖNB, Z = Zwettl, Kl = Klosterneuburg, Cod. 707, Wind = Windberg Legendary²³⁷

Passio sancti Valentis episcopi A
Passio Valentis episcopi et martyris HVZ²³⁸
Passio sancti Valentis episcopi et martiris M^b
Passio Valentini martyris Kl
Sancti Valentis episcopi et martyris Wind

AB p. 133, fn. 1.1 dum A, cum HM^bVZKIWind; 1.2 sententia AKIWind, om. HM^bVZ; 1.3 violari AHM^bVkl, violare ZWind; 1.4 vocem AHVZkl (*ante corr.*), voci M^bKl (*post corr.*) Wind; 1.5 pretermittentes AV, premittentes HM^bZKIWind; 1.6 nisum AHM^bKIWind, visum V; 1.7 pastorali AHMVZKIWind; 1.8. mortuum A, mortuus HMVZKIWind; 1.9. audiendus AHZKIWind, auditurus M^bV; 1.10 secreta AHM^bVZkl, secreti Wind; 1.11 post AHM^bVZKIWind; 1.12 eo A, Deo HM^bVZkl, Dei Wind; 1.13 ficturi A, factori HM^bVZKIWind; 2.1 et *add.* A; 2.2 educaverat AHM^bKIWind, edificaverat V deducaverat Z; 2.5. cathomon AHM^bVZkl, cathomus Wind; 2.6 virida AHM^b (*ante corr.*) ZKIWind, viridia M^b (*post corr.*) V; 2.7 cathomo AHVZKIWind, cathomon M^b, cathoma Z; 2.8 unicis AHM^bZKIWind, inimicis V; 2.9 nequibat AHM^bZ KIWind, nequiebat V; 2.10 elogio AHM^b (*ante corr.*) VZKIWind, eulogio M^b (*post corr.*); 2.13 perfecit AHM^bVZKIWind; 3.1 torturi AHVZkl (*ante corr.*) Wind, tortori M^b, torturis Kl (*post corr.*); 3.2 clamant-tormentis om. A; 3.3 genitor AVZ (*post corr.*) KIWind, geni HZ (*ante corr.*), genetrix M^b; 3.6 ab eis *add.* V; 3.7 quo eos AM^bVZKIWind, quos H; 3.8 existere A, exstiterere HM^bVZKIWind; aggreditur AHVZ, aggredi M^bKl (*post ras.*) Wind, aggredi Kl (*ante ras.*); 3.10 alterum *add.* HVZ²³⁹.

²³⁷ L has no corresponding volume.

²³⁸ The anniversary of the saint *xii. kalendas iunii* is also included in the margin in H, M^b, V and Z.

²³⁹ Additional *variae lectiones* in Kl: AB p. 134, l. 2 agerentur Kl, ageretur *al. codd.*; p. 134, l.16 Deo Kl, Christo *al. codd.*; p. 135, l. 7 alterum sibi statuens Kl (*ante corr.*), alterum sibi ad sinistrum (*in marg.*) statuens Kl (*post corr.*), alterum sibi ad laevam statuit *al. codd.*

APPENDIX 3: *Vita Mochullei* (BHL 5978)

The following collation relates to the section of Poncelet's edition between p. 147, l. 2 and p. 149, l. 29; PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, Appendix V, pp. 135-154. This corresponds to the fragment of the *Vita Mochullei* transmitted within the so-called *Codex Salmanticensis* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 7672-74, fol. 220^r-220^v) from c. 1300, which represents the only witness of the unabridged Life outside of the *MLA*, with the exception of the Life in Cod. 1176 in Trier Stadtbibliothek, which, as discussed above (section 2.2.-*excursus*), is dependent on the *MLA*²⁴⁰. The *variae lectiones* which Poncelet provided for the *Codex Salmanticensis* have been amended somewhat in accordance with the more recent edition in *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi*, ed. W. HEIST (= *Subs. hag.*, 28), Brussels, 1965, pp. 410-413.

The collation demonstrates the characteristic proximity of readings in the Heiligenkreuz and Lilienfeld exemplars, which frequently share variants that are otherwise unique among the *MLA* exemplars. The high level of concordance between *M^a* and *Z* is also noticeable, whereby they sometimes share exclusively a divergent reading and on other occasions agree with *A* against *HL¹* or *vice versa*.

A = Admont, *H* = Heiligenkreuz, *L¹* = Lilienfeld, *M^a* = Melk (13c), *Z* = Zwettl, *S* = *Codex Salmanticensis*²⁴¹

AB, p. 147, fn. 11.10 Quia *A*, Quam *HL¹M^aZS*; 11.11 interrogaverant *AM^aZS*, interrogaverunt *HL¹*; 11.12 hinc *om. S*; 11.13 conscientia *AM^aZ*, constantia *HL¹*, continentia *S*; 11.14 versutia *A*, versutiam *HL¹M^aSZ*; 12.1 virago *AHL¹M^aZ*, virgo *S*; 12.2 ipsa *add. AM^aZS*; 12.3 veri *AHL¹ZS*, viri *M^a*; 12.4 virum *AHL¹M^aZ*, illum *S*; 12.5 in fronte *A*, in fronte *HL¹M^aZS*; 12.6 ante *AHL¹M^aZ*, antea *S*; 12.7 Glenetis *AM^aZ*, Glesnetis *HL¹S*; 12.8 Deum *AHL¹M^aZS*; 12.9 veste intacta *AM^aZS*, intacta veste *HL¹*; 12.10 proceris *A*, procerisque *HL¹M^aZS*; 12.11 seu *om. M^aZ*; 12.12 agrestium *om. HL¹*; 12.13 sibi alterutrum *AM^aZS*, sibique *HL¹*; 12.14 quodque *A*, quosque *HL¹S*, quoque *M^aZ*; 12.15 illustrati *AM^aZ*, illustrari *HL¹S*; 12.16 videmus *AHL¹M^aZ*, videamus *S*; 13.1 tantae *om. S*; 13.2 regii *A* (*post corr.*) *M^a* (*ante corr.*), regis (?) *A* (*ante corr.*), regi *HL¹M^a* (*post corr.*) *ZS* (*post corr.*), recti *S* (*ante corr.*); 13.3 indicaverit *AM^aZS*, indicaret *HL¹*; 13.4 rex ipse *AM^aZS*, ipse rex *HL¹*; 13.5 proiecit *AHL¹M^aZS* (*post corr.*), proiectus *S* (*ante corr.*); 13.6 que *A*, qui *HL¹M^aZS*; 13.7 sibi *add. AM^aZS*; 13.8 esse *om. AM^aZS*; 13.9 vidisset *AS*, audisset *HL¹M^aZ*; 13.10 atque iterum *add. AS*; 13.11 in terram *om. S*; 13.12 potentissime *AHL¹M^aZS*; 13.13 quia *AHL¹M^aZ*, qui *S*; 13.14 impia *AHL¹M^aZ*, impiam *S*; 13.15 audens *AHL¹* (*post corr.*) *M^aZS* (*post corr.*), audiens *L¹* (*ante corr.*), auderes *S* (*ante corr.*); 13.16 ausis *AM^aZS*, ausibus *HL¹*; 13.17 etiam ipsum *A M^aZS*, ipsum etiam *HL¹*; 13.18/19 successionis meae posteritatem *AM^aS*, successionem meae posteritatis *HL¹*, posteritatem successionis meae *Z*; 13.20 ceu *AHL¹M^aZ*, seu *S*; 14.1 deambulaverunt *AM^aZ*, deambularent *HL¹*, deambulaverint *S*; 14.2 miseriis *AHL¹M^aZS*; 14.3 deitatis *AHL¹M^aZ*, divinitatis *S*; 14.4 fuerat *A*, fuerit *HL¹M^aZS*; 14.5 qualis *AHL¹ZS*, quasi *M^a*; 14.6 inpetrationem *A*, inpetratione *HL¹M^aZS*; 14.7

²⁴⁰ Dating of the *Codex Salmanticensis* from P. Ó RIAIN, *Codex Salmanticensis: A Provenance inter Anglos or inter Hibernos?*, in *A Miracle of Learning. Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning...* (see above n. 135), pp. 91-100, at pp. 96-97.

²⁴¹ *V* has no corresponding volume.

signorum *AHL*¹ *M*^a*Z*, miraculorum *S*; 14.8 clarificavit *AHL*¹ *M*^a*ZS*; 15.1 miracula *add. AM*^a*ZS*; 15.2 post obitum suum *om. AM*^a*ZS*; 15.3 virtute sunt *AM*^a*Z*, sunt virtute *HL*¹, virtute *S*; 15.4 Teotico *AM*^a, Theoderico *HL*¹*Z* (*post corr.*), Theorico *Z* (*ante corr.*), Teodrico *S*; 15.5 simultatibus *AHL*¹ *M*^a*ZS*; 15.6 invicem *add. AM*^a*ZS*; 15.7 forte *A* (*post ras.*), fortuitu *HL*¹, forte fortuitu *A* (*ante ras.*) *M*^a*ZS*.

* * *

ABBREVIATIONS

- BIELER, *Four Latin Lives* = L. BIELER, *Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick. Colgan's Vita Secunda, Quarta, Tertia, and Quinta* (= *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, 8), Dublin, 1971.
- DOLBEAU, *Les prologues* = F. DOLBEAU, *Les prologues de légendiers latins*, in *Les prologues médiévaux. Actes du colloque international édité par l'Academia Belgica et l'École française de Rome, avec le concours de la F.I.D.E.M.*, ed. J. HAMESSE (= *Fédération internationale des Instituts d'études médiévales. Textes et études du Moyen Âge*, 15), Turnhout, 2000, pp. 345-393.
- FRANKLIN, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius* = C. V. FRANKLIN, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius the Persian. Hagiographic Translations and Transformations* (= *Studies and Texts*, 147), Toronto, 2004.
- GOTTLIEB, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. 1 = T. GOTTLIEB, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs. Vol. 1: Niederösterreich*, Vienna, 1915.
- HAARLÄNDER, *Vitae episcoporum* = S. HAARLÄNDER, *Vitae episcoporum. Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (= *Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 47), Stuttgart, 2000.
- JEFFERIS, *Hrotsvit and the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* = S. JEFFERIS, *Hrotsvit and the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, in *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: rara avis in Saxonia?*, ed. K. M. WILSON, Ann Arbor, 1987, pp. 239-252.
- KARWASIŃSKA, *S. Adalberti Vita prior* = S. Adalberti *Pragensis episcopi et martyris Vita prior*, ed. J. KARWASIŃSKA (= *Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series nova*, 4/1), Warschau, 1962.
- KERN, *Magnum Legendarium* = A. KERN, *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, in *Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Festschrift für J. Bick*, ed. J. STUMMVOLL, Vienna, 1948, p. 429-434.
- KRAUSE, *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX.* = *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX.*, ed. H.-G. KRAUSE (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, 70), Hannover, 2007.
- LANÉRY, *La Passion de Théodora et Didyme* = C. LANÉRY, *La Passion de Théodora et Didyme. Édition des traductions latines BHL 8072 et 8073*, in *AB*, 122 (2004), pp. 5-50.
- LECHNER, *Die Babenberger* = K. LECHNER, *Die Babenberger. Markgrafen und Herzoge von Österreich, 976-1246* (= *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 23), Vienna, 1976.

- LEVISON, *Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum* = W. LEVISON, *Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum*, in *Passiones Vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici* (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, 7), Hannover, 1920, pp. 529-706.
- LHOTSKY, *Quellenkunde* = A. LHOTSKY, *Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Österreichs* (= *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*. Ergänzungsband, 19), Graz, 1963.
- Ó RIAIN-RAEDEL, *Vita sancti Cómegeni* = D. Ó RIAIN-RAEDEL, *Vita sancti Cómegeni: An Edition of the Earliest Manuscript Version*, in *Glendalough: City of God*, ed. C. DOHERTY – L. DORAN – M. KELLY, Dublin, 2011, pp. 145-164.
- PETERSOHN, *Die Prüfeninger Vita* = *Die Prüfeninger Vita Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg nach der Fassung des Großen Österreichischen Legendars*, ed. J. PETERSOHN (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, 71), Hannover, 1999.
- PHILIPPART, *Legendare* = G. PHILIPPART, *Legendare (lateinische im deutschen Bereich)*, in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, ed. K. RUH et al., vol. 5, Berlin, 1985, col. 644-657.
- PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins* = G. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques* (= *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental*, 24-25), Turnhout, 1977.
- PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco* = A. PONCELET, *De magno legendario Austriaco*, in *AB*, 17 (1898), pp. 24-96.
- REICHERT, *Landesherrschaft* = F. REICHERT, *Landesherrschaft, Adel und Vogtei. Zur Vorgeschichte des spätmittelalterlichen Ständestaates im Herzogtum Österreich* (= *Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 23), Cologne, 1985.
- VAN DER STRAETEN, *Le «Grand Légendier Autrichien»* = J. VAN DER STRAETEN, *Le «Grand Légendier Autrichien» dans les manuscrits de Zwettl*, in *AB*, 113 (1995), pp. 321-348.
- WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent* = S. WEBER, *Iren auf dem Kontinent. Das Leben des Marianus Scottus von Regensburg und die Anfänge der irischen 'Schottenklöster'*, Heidelberg, 2010.
- WESTERBERGH, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* = U. WESTERBERGH, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius Sermo Theodori Studitae de sancto Bartholomeo apostolo. A Study* (= *Studia latina Stockholmiensia*, 9), Lund, 1963.
- ZIEGLER, *Handschriftenkatalog Stift Zwettl* = C. ZIEGLER, *Zisterzienserstift Zwettl. Katalog der Handschriften des Mittelalters* (= *Scriptorium Ordinis Cisterciensium Monasterii BVM in Zwettl*), 4 parts, Vienna, 1992-1997, part 1.