Compiling the Deeds of Salzburg Saints: The 12th-Century *De episcopis Salisburgensibus* and the Monastery of Admont

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This chapter examines *De episcopis Salisburgensibus*, a late 12th-century collection of texts concerning the bishops and history of Salzburg that was seemingly compiled by monks belonging to the Benedictine monastery of Admont in Styria, Austria. It discusses the structure, sources, manuscript tradition and reception of this little-known collection, which focuses primarily on the ›glorious‹ early centuries of the archiepiscopal see but through the inclusion of the Lives of later bishops and a bishops' list also stresses continuity in the sanctity and importance of the Salzburg institution. This latter message was particularly apt at the time of writing, which followed decades of upheaval due to conflict between the Salzburg archbishops and Emperor Frederick I. The compilation of this propagandistic collection by Admont monks was in keeping with the close historical and cultural relationship between the monastery and the archepiscopal see and the long-standing role of Admont as a centre for the composition and compilation of hagiographical and historiographical works concerning Salzburg and its bishops. Building upon a detailed appraisal of the manuscript evidence, this chapter shines light on the compilation strategies employed by the compilers of *De episcopis Salisburgensibus* and discusses the collection in the context of the special relationship between Salzburg and Admont.

Keywords: Salzburg, Admont, hagiography, historiography, manuscript transmission, institutional history, compilation strategy, monastic identity

At some point in or shortly after 1186 a group of ten texts relating to the history of the archiepiscopal see of Salzburg was included in a manuscript compiled for, and probably at, the Benedictine monastery of Admont, located within the then Duchy of Styria. Admont was founded as an *Eigenkloster* or proprietary monastery of Salzburg in 1074 by Archbishop Gebhard and lies in the middle of the Ennstaler Alps, just over 100 kilometres southeast of the see. Aside from this Admont codex, today in private hands in Salzburg, the collection of texts is preserved in six manuscripts dating from the 12th to the 16th centuries. While manuscript copies of the

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collection have in modern times been used for the purposes of editing many of its constituent texts, the compilation as a whole has received little scholarly attention, despite being published no less than twice by the antiquarian Heinrich Canisius in the early 17th century.[1] In the absence of a title for the work within the manuscript tradition, I will adopt that given to it by Canisius: *De episcopis Salisburgensibus* (»On the bishops of Salzburg«). In this article, I wish to investigate the circumstances surrounding the compilation and reception of this collection and will look at its structure, sources and manuscript witnesses with the aim of casting light on the motivations behind the enterprise. I aim to show that a study of this medieval biographical collection adds to our knowledge of the nature of hagiographical and historiographical activity at both Salzburg and Admont in the final decades of the 12th century and also illuminates the relationship between the Benedictine house and the archiepiscopal see a century after the establishment of the *Eigenkloster*. This study will argue, namely, that the compilation of *De episcopis Salisburgensibus* was bound up in the complex conceptions of identity and community that existed within the high medieval Salzburg-Admont axis.

The Content of the Compilation

In its original form, as can be reconstructed from the Admont manuscript (*A*), *De episcopis Salisburgensibus* (henceforth *De episcopis*) comprised the following ten Latin texts:

1) *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*[2]: »The conversion of the Bavarians and Carinthians«
2) *Breves notitiae*[3]: »Brief notices«
3) *Translatio sancti Rudberti* (BHL 7403)[4]: »The translation of St Rupert«
4) *Vita et miracula sancti Virgilii episcopi* (BHL 8680-8682)[5]: »The life and miracles of St Virgil the bishop«
5) *Vita et miracula sancti Eberhardi episcopi* (BHL 2362, 2364)[6]: »The life and miracles of St Eberhard the bishop«
6) *Vita et miracula sancti Hartwici episcopi* (BHL 3759)[7]: »The life and miracles of St Hartwig the bishop«
7) *Translatio sancti Martini episcopi ad Iuvavum* (BHL 5659)[8]: »The translation of St Martin the bishop to Salzburg«

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1   *De episcopis Salisburgensibus*, ed. Canisius (1602), 247-323; ed. Canisius (1604), 1138-1252; reprinted in Canisius and Basnage, *Thesaurus* 281-315, 338-344, 393-448, 462-474. The extended title in the 1602 volume reads *»De episcopis Salisburgensibus. Auctore S. Eberhardi Archiep. Salisburgensis discipulo«*, Canisius incorrectly attributing the entire collection to the author of one of the texts, the *Vita I Eberhardi* (see below). The witnesses of *De episcopis Salisburgensibus* copied by Canisius will also be discussed below.

2   *Conversio*, ed. Wattenbach, 4-14; ed. Wolfram, 58-80; ed. Lošek (1997), 90-135.

3   *Breves notitiae*, ed. Lošek, 88-118.

4   *Translatio sancti Rudberti*, ed. Wattenbach, 8, n. 32.

5   *Vita Virgilii*, ed. Wattenbach, 86-95.

6   *Vita I Eberhardi*, ed. Wattenbach, 77-84. *Miracula Eberhardi*, ed. Canisius (1604), 1206-1214; ed. Canisius and Basnage (1725), 414-418; ed. Wattenbach, 101(from chap. 7)-103 (this edition is missing the final *declamatio*).

7   *Vita Hartwici*, ed Wattenbach, 95-97.

8   *Translatio Martini*, ed. Canisius (1602), 316-318; ed. Canisius (1604), 1221-1223; ed. Canisius and Basnage, 311-312, 423-424.

8)   *Annales breves*[9]: »Brief annals«
9)   *Nomina et ordo successionis Saltzpurgensis episcoporum*[10]: »Names and order of succession of the bishops of Salzburg«
10) *Computationes de tempore sancti Rudberti* (BHL 7401)[11]: »Calculations on the time of St Rupert«

De episcopis is not solely a biographical collection, containing as it does a combination of historiographical and hagiographical tracts. The boundaries between hagiography and historiography are generally quite fluid, and this is certainly true of *De episcopis*, both as a whole and in its different parts.[12] For example, the first chapter of the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (henceforth *Conversio*) constitutes a rewriting of the lost original Life of Rupert of Salzburg, while the *Vita Virgilii* is based entirely on the information concerning the saint in the *Conversio*.[13] Two of the texts, the *Translatio Rudberti* and the *Computationes de tempore sancti Rudberti* (henceforth *Computationes*) are hagiographical works, insofar as they concern the life and cult of Rupert, but considering that their overriding interest lies in determining the correct dates of his death and translation, it seems a desire for historical accuracy was their prime motivator. This interest in the chronology of events also accounts for the *Annales breves* and the *Nomina et ordo successionis Saltzpurgensis episcoporum* in *De episcopis*. Unlike some of the other collections discussed in this volume, *De episcopis* is a compilation composed predominantly, if not solely, of existing texts, rather than an authorial work in the conventional sense.

Looking at the overall content, *De episcopis* amounts to something approaching an institutional history, with a clear emphasis on the early history of the Salzburg bishopric and its role in the conversion of parts of Bavaria, Carinthia and Pannonia in the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries.[14] The early bishops Rupert and Virgil are the most prominent figures in *De episcopis*, and the multiplication of historiographical and hagiographical texts concerning this period creates a sense of a ›golden age‹ in the history of Salzburg. Yet there is no overlooking a second facet of the overall collection, namely the sense of historical continuity evoked by the choice of texts, which serves to link this glorious past to the late 12th-century present. This is done in part through the figures of Hartwig, a late 10th/early 11th-century archbishop, and one of his successors, Eberhard, who died as late as 1164. Hartwig's mooted role in the translations of Rupert and Martin also helps to bridge the chronological divide.

Moreover, the sense of continuity in *De episcopis* is reinforced by the inclusion of the *Nomina et ordo successionis Saltzpurgensis episcoporum* or bishops' list. Beginning with Rupert and ending with the then incumbent, Adalbert III of Bohemia, and with all prelates regarded as saints given the prefix *sanctus*, the list provides a synopsis of the history and sanctity of

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9   *Vita Virgilii*, ed. Wattenbach, 85, n. 3.

10 *Catalogi archiepiscoporum*, ed. Holder-Egger, 353-354.

11 *Computationes*, ed. Wattenbach, 15-16 (column B); ed. Sepp, 412-415.

12 Lotter, Methodisches, 307-314; Dolbeau, Les hagiographes; Lifschitz, Beyond positivism; van Uytfanghe, Die Vita im Spannungsfeld.

13 *Conversio*, ed. Lošek (1997), 52-53; *idem*, Zu Biographie, 350-351.

14 On this genre, see Sot, Local and Institutional History.

Salzburg in a single frame. Unsurprisingly, the two imperially appointed anti-archbishops of Salzburg, Berthold of Moosburg (1085-1106) and Henry of Berchtesgaden (1174-1177), are omitted from this *»généalogie spirituelle«*, and thus evidence of discontinuity and the disruption of the archiepiscopal succession suppressed.[15] The final text, the *Computationes*, again concerns Rupert and the beginnings of the see, but in stating the number of years between Rupert's floruit and the year of writing, 1186, the text highlights the longevity and endurance of the Salzburg tradition. Furthermore, it was the reported finding of the grave of Virgil in 1181 that gave rise to the writing of his and Hartwig's Lives, and the miracles accompanying both *vitae* and that of Eberhard are presented as happening up to the time of writing. If one looks at the long list of miracles attributed to the three saints, it is noticeable that those pilgrims who are said to have witnessed them were drawn to Salzburg from places as far away as Aquileia, Bohemia, Hungary and Saxony.[16] By this means the texts reaffirm for the late 12th century that which is extolled in the *Conversio* and other texts dealing with the origins of the bishopric: the sanctity and regional importance of Salzburg. The significance of place in hagiography is well known, sanctity being bestowed on specific places through their role as settings for events in the lives of holy men or women.[17] Including a series of saints associated with a particular locality obviously gives rise to a multiplier effect in this respect, enhancing the propaganda value already inherent to individual hagiographical texts.[18]

Date of Compilation

The *terminus post quem* for the completion of *De episcopis* is 1186, the year in which the final text, the *Computationes*, was written. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by the bishops' list, which ends with Adalbert III (d. 1200). Close investigation of the earliest witness of *De episcopis*, the Admont manuscript *A*, may allow us to narrow this date-range down further, however, as there is reason to believe that it is the autograph copy of the collection. *A* contains, namely, the earliest witness of the 1186 *Computationes*, and there is evidence to suggest that this new version was first composed during the course of the production of the Admont codex. The 1186 *Computationes* is an updated version of a text written in 1129, which, thanks to a change in the basis of the calculations, saw a new year, 623 rather than 544, being determined as the year of Rupert's death.[19] The year 623 is also given for Rupert's death in the *Breves annales*, which precede the *Computationes* in the collection in *A*, but it

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15 Quotation from Picard, *Le souvenir*, 571; for a discussion of the genre of episcopal lists, see *ibid*., 537-572.

16 See *Vita Virgilii*, ed. Wattenbach, 92, 94.

17 See, for example, Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger*, 448-449; Geary, Saints, 22. On the importance of place in the wider cult of saints, see Thacker and Sharpe, *Local Saints*.

18 On the propagandistic nature of hagiographical texts, see Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger*, 438-450; Prinz, Hagiographie; Geary, Saints. Lhotsky refers to the post-1181 Lives and miracles of Virgil, Eberhard and Hartwig as *»eine Art Propagandaschrift«*; Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde*, 219.

19 *Computationes*, ed. Wattenbach, 15; ed. Sepp, 408-411.

is clear, tellingly, that this and other dating details are written *in rasura* by another, roughly contemporary, hand.[20] The erasures suggest that the original annal had contained different dating specifics, whether reliant on the 1129 or another earlier version. The new calculations of the 1186 *Computationes* would then have necessitated deletion of the original details.[21] This would appear to provide crucial evidence that the 1186 *Computationes* was actually composed as the last element in the compilation process, thus dating both *A* and *De episcopis* itself to that year.[22]

The glorification of Salzburg in *De episcopis* is striking when placed in the context of the prevailing circumstances at the archiepiscopal see. The construction of a new cathedral in Salzburg circa 1181 had been made necessary by the destruction of the previous church in 1167 in the course of the long-running struggle between the Salzburg archbishops and Emperor Frederick I (1152-1190).[23] The conflict stemmed from Salzburg's relatively steadfast support for Pope Alexander III (1159-1181), despite the emperor's recognition of a succession of anti-popes. This ultimately led to the appointment of an imperial anti-archbishop of Salzburg, Henry of Berchtesgaden, in 1174, and it was only with the Treaty of Venice in 1177, which saw the underlying conflict resolved in Alexander III's favour, that stability could return to Salzburg under Archbishop Conrad III of Wittelsbach (1177-1183). Having been overlooked at Venice, Adalbert of Bohemia, the papally sanctioned archbishop of Salzburg from 1168 onwards, would have to wait until 1183 to return to the seat, which he then held until his death in 1200. As in the case of the hagiographical activity occasioned by the 1181 discovery of Virgil's tomb, *De episcopis* could be seen as an attempt to reassert the regional primacy and enduring sanctity of Salzburg as it emerged from decades of upheaval. In this context, centuries-old texts such as the *Conversio* and the *Breves notitiae* that documented Salzburg's former glories and legitimised its status were now of renewed interest and importance, and could be usefully redeployed to convey a message to a late 12th-century audience.[24]

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20 This situation was already remarked upon by Franz Martin in his article on the manuscript; Martin, Admonter Handschrift, 279.

21 Curiously, while the obsolete dating details appear to have been promptly erased, there is evidence that the insertion of the ›correct‹ information did not happen immediately. Instead the crucial sections were left blank for a time. This can be determined by reference to the reading of the annal in the three (*Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*) witnesses of *De episcopis*: Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 14, fol. 32v; Melk, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 100, fol. 249v; Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 15, fol. 33r: *Anno ab incarnatione domini sexcentesimo decimo quarto, ab ordinatione pape secundo, et regni Heraclii imperatoris octauo, post obitum magni Gregorii xiii annis, et v mensibus euolutis die dominice resurrectionis ut legimus beatus Rutbertus primus Iuuauensis* (Heiligenkreuz: *Uiuauensis*) *episcopus migrauit ad dominum.* Of particular importance here is the strange absence of the name of the relevant pope. Because there is significant evidence to suggest that the compilers of the *MLA* used *A* as a direct source (see below), it seems highly probable that the missing pope stems from his name having been previously deleted in *A*. It seems likely that there was also still a blank space in *A* at the point where the year of Rupert's death had been written. The 614 year given in the *MLA* witnesses does not accord with any other known version of the *Computationes*, and Easter did not fall on 27 March in that year (the basis for the calculation of the correct year was the belief that Rupert's date of death, March 27, had been the date of Easter Sunday in the relevant year; *Computationes*, ed. Sepp, 408-411). It could, of course, also be the case that the scribe of the lost original *MLA* exemplar followed his template and left a number of blank spaces, only for the scribe of a later copy to fill or eliminate some of the gaps.

22 While not aware of the existence of *A*, Bernhard Sepp recognised the concordance of the 1186 *Computationes* and the preceding annals in the other witnesses, which led him to speculate that the author of the *Computationes* might be identical with the compiler of *De episcopis*; *Computationes*, ed. Sepp, 409, n. 5.

23 On the destruction of the cathedral and the conflict in general, see Hödl, Erzstift Salzburg; Dopsch, Salzburg, 278-301; *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Zeller.

24 On the increasing interest in the early Salzburg texts at the turn of the 13th century, see *Conversio*, ed. Wolfram, 39-40.

The propagandistic quality of the collection's content might lead one to expect that it was a product of the very institution it sought to legitimise and exalt. Furthermore, it might be assumed that *De episcopis* was designed to embolden and encourage cohesion among a Salzburg audience at a time of division and relative uncertainty. Yet a study of the transmission and reception of the work points to it having been compiled by monks from Admont and suggests that its readership was initially restricted to the Styrian monastery. Indeed, a copy of the work cannot be shown to have made its way to Salzburg itself until the second half of the 13th century. The following discussion of the compilation process, manuscript tradition and reception of *De episcopis* will culminate in a response to the question of why a Salzburg *Propagandaschrift* might have been produced at and for Admont and consider how the work fits in with the vibrant intellectual climate that prevailed at the monastery in the final decades of the 12th century.

The Admont Manuscript

The abovementioned evidence that *A* is the autograph copy of *De episcopis* has significant implications for the interpretation of the collection. Before outlining these, let us look more closely at the context of *De episcopis* within *A*. The contents of the manuscript are as follows:

Fol. 1r-18v: *Passio sancti Thomae Cantuariensis* (BHL 8201, 8171)
Fol. 19r-92v *Liber gestorum Barlaam et Iosaphat* (BHL 979)
Fol. 93r-113v: *Vita sancti Malachiae episcopi* (BHL 5188)
Fol. 114r-187v: *Vita sancti Bernhardi Claraevallis abbatis* (BHL 1217, 1218, 1220)
    Fol. 188r-190v: *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*
    Fol. 190v-199r: *Breves notitiae*
    Fol. 199v: *Translatio sancti Rudberti* (BHL 7403)
    Fol. 200r-208r: *Vita et miracula sancti Virgilii episcopi* (BHL 8680-8682)
    Fol. 208r-216v: *Vita et miracula sancti Eberhardi episcopi* (BHL 2362, 2364)
    Fol. 216v-218v: *Vita et miracula sancti Hartwici episcopi* (BHL 3759)
    Fol. 219r-219v: *Translatio sancti Martini episcopi ad Iuvavum* (BHL 5659)
    Fol. 220r: *Annales breves*
    Fol. 220r: *Nomina et ordo successionis Saltzpurgensis episcoporum*
    Fol. 220v-221r: *Computationes de tempore sancti Rudberti* (BHL 7401)
Fol. 222r: *Decretum Gregorii papae VII. qui et Hiltebrandus*[25]
Fol. 222r-222v: *Epistola Heinrici regis contra Hiltebrandum et repulsa papatus eius*[26]
Fol. 222v: *De Wichberto quem rex H[einricus] papam constituit expulso Hiltebrando, qui et Gregorius*[27]
Fol. 223r-224v: *Decretum Wicberti qui et Clemens*[28]

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25 *Codex Udalrici*, no. 190, vol 1, ed. Nass, 324-326. The title given here for this and the subsequent items is that which is found in the manuscript.
26 *Codex Udalrici*, no. 188, vol 1, ed. Nass, 319-322.
27 *Codex Udalrici*, no. 192, vol 1, ed. Nass, 327-329.
28 *Codex Udalrici*, no. 193, vol 1, ed. Nass, 329-336 (*ad* 334, l. 5).

Fol. 224v-225r: *Epistola Heinrici tercii imperatoris ad H[einricum] filium suum, quando coniuratio super eum facta est, et regalia insignia filio reddere compulsus est*[29]

Fol. 225r-226v: *Epistola H[einrici] imperatoris ad Ludwicum regem Francorum quando a filio suo depositus est, satis flebiliter descripta*[30]

Fol. 226v-228r: *De synodo Remis celebrata sub Kalysto papa, et anathemate Heinrici regis Vti*[31]

Fol. 228v-229r: *Decreta synodi*[32]

Fol. 229v-231v- *Epistola Iohannis presbiteri et regis Indorum ad Manuelem Constantinopoli*[33]

Franz Martin, who discovered the manuscript in the library of the counts of Kuenburg at Jungwoschitz (now Mladá Vožice) in Bohemia in 1915, published a description in which he identified three different scribal hands at work.[34] Hands A and B were responsible for the first four texts and for *De episcopis*, with a Hand C making a minor contribution to the latter. Hand A alone transcribed the subsequent eight items concerning the Investiture Conflict and the final Prester John letter. It appears therefore that the manuscript represents a single unit, presumably written without any major interruption, with Hand A beginning and completing the task.

The presence of the codex at Admont in the medieval period is clear from owner-marks and from its appearance in library catalogues dating to 1376 and 1380.[35] That the manuscript was also written specifically for the Benedictine monastery is strongly suggested by Martin's identification of Hand A as the scribe responsible for another Admont manuscript dating to the second half of the 12th century, Cod. 125.[36] Moreover, evidence for the use of the codex at Admont in the late 12th century will be presented below. Whether the manuscript was written at Admont or at Salzburg is, however, another question. *De episcopis* will be shown, namely, to have been compiled from numerous Salzburg manuscript sources, while the inclusion of the Life of Thomas Becket in the codex is also potentially indicative of a Salzburg provenance for some or all of the sources used. The presence of a relatively early copy of

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29 *Codex Udalrici*, no. 238, vol 2, ed. Nass, 396-398.

30 *Codex Udalrici*, no. 240, vol 2, ed. Nass, 400-405.

31 *Hessonis scholastici relatio*, ed. Wattenbach, 21-27; *Codex Udalrici*, no. 324, vol 2, ed. Nass, 544-552 (ad 551, l. 12).

32 *Hessonis scholastici relatio*, ed. Wattenbach, 27-28; *Codex Udalrici*, no. 324, vol 2, ed. Nass, 544-552 (ab 551, l. 13; the first section of the text, the actual *decreta*, is not present in the *Codex Udalrici*).

33 *Epistola Iohannis presbiteri*, ed. Zarncke, 909-922.

34 Martin, Admonter Handschrift, 268 et passim. Regarding the date of Martin's visit to Jungwoschitz, see Koller, Franz Martin, 26. The manuscript is now in private hands in Salzburg, with a microfilm copy available to consult at the Salzburger Landesarchiv (SLA, HS 907).

35 Möser-Mersky, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 26, 51; 1376: *»Item passio s. Thome Cantuariensis et aliorum«* (»Also the Passion of St Thomas of Canterbury and of others«). A note written in a 15th-/16th-century hand in the upper margin of fol. 2v in *A* reads *»Iste liber attinet monasterio Admontensis«* (»This book belongs to the monastery of Admont«). There is also a small parchment table of contents affixed to the front cover of the codex which is written in a hand belonging to the second half of the 13th century and which ends with the number XXV and designation *Admund*; see Martin, Admonter Handschrift, 267.

36 Martin, Admonter Handschrift, 268. Whether Hands B and C also belonged to Admont monks cannot be determined at this point. On Cod. 125, see manuscripta.at/?ID=26015 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

Becket's Life at Salzburg would be explained, namely, by the friendship between the Canterbury martyr and Archbishop Conrad III of Salzburg (1177-1183).[37] One element of the manuscript pointing to it having been written in whole or in part at Admont is the pair of items entitled *De synodo Remis celebrata sub Kalysto papa, et anathemate Heinrici regis V*[ti] and *Decreta synodi*, which constitutes the final part of the collection of Investiture documents.[38] The text of these two units in *A* has namely been shown to be dependent on the witness in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Cod. 629, a mid-12th-century Admont manuscript containing the so-called Admont letter collection (*»Admonter Briefsammlung«*).[39] This suggests that this pair of items and, by extension, the only subsequent text, the *Epistola Iohannis presbiteri*, were transcribed at Admont. It thus becomes likely that some or all of the remainder of the manuscript, including *De episcopis*, was also compiled at the monastery, with the necessary source materials having been brought there from Salzburg and, perhaps, elsewhere.

How should we view the manuscript's composition? Four hagiographical works precede *De episcopis*, which is followed by a short collection of Investiture documents and the Prester John letter. It is arguably possible to identify a broad ›Church versus State‹ theme that binds the *Passio Thomae, Barlaam et Iosaphat*, the Investiture letters and both certain texts within *De episcopis* (*Vita I Eberhardi, Translatio Martini*) and, given the historical circumstances of its composition, the Salzburg collection as a whole. While not quite ›Church versus State‹, the *Vita Malachiae* shares a wider theme of ecclesiastical reform. Even the final text, the *Epistola Iohannis Presbiteri* can be argued to fit this concept, ending the manuscript with the vision of a glorious Christian kingdom where members of court hold both ecclesiastical and secular office. It is therefore possible to posit a strand linking most if not all of the texts within *A*. In this scenario, the history and bishops of Salzburg would have been deliberately set within a wider context of Church reform and of the relationship between ecclesiastical and secular powers. An alternative approach to the manuscript context would be to isolate *De episcopis* and the Investiture documents as two discrete, cohesive collections. The five remaining texts can all be classed as relatively recent works, with three dealing with saints who died in 1148 (Malachy), 1153 (Bernard) and 1170 (Thomas Becket), respectively, and both the legend of Barlaam and Josephat and the *Epistola Iohannis Presbiteri* not being found in any manuscripts dating to before the second half of the 12th century.[40] Therefore, the main criterion underlying the choice of these texts may have been their novelty, the items being designed to supplement the existing library holdings at Admont. In the case of the saints'

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37   That Becket's cult was promoted in Salzburg is shown by Conrad's consecration of a chapel dedicated to him in the cemetery of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter in 1178; see Steinitz, Erzbischof Konrad III..

38   *Codex Udalrici*, no. 324, vol 2, ed. Nass, 544-552.

39   Martin, Admonter Handschrift, 280-281; Hödl, Admonter Briefsammlung, 423-424; *Codex Udalrici*, no. 324, vol 2, ed. Nass, 544-552, at 545 and 551, fn. a. On Cod. 629, see manuscripta.at/?ID=9979 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

40   Dapelo, Il romanzo Latino, 186-193. The witness of the *Epistola* in *A* can be assigned to the B$_{2b}$ sub-group within the manuscript tradition, according to the scheme devised by Wagner; Wagner, ›Epistola presbiteri Johannis‹, 167-170. *A*, which was not known to Wagner, may actually provide a new *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the B redaction of the text, depending on whether the 1186 dating of the *Computationes* applies to the manuscript as a whole. The existing *terminus* for the B redaction is 1191 (*ibid.*, 167).

Lives, the texts might also have been chosen with an eye to their inclusion in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, an enormous hagiographical collection in planning or in progress at the monastery.[41] Whether an isolated collection within the manuscript or part of a project with a wider theme, there is no doubt that *De episcopis* constitutes a coherent Salzburg compendium and, as will be shown, the subsequent manuscript tradition demonstrates that later copyists viewed it as such.

Compilation Strategy: The Structure of the Salzburg Collection

Though lacking a title or preface, the juxtaposition of the Salzburg texts and their shared focus marks them out as a discrete collection. We have seen that there were three hands at work in the transcription of *De episcopis*. Whether one of more of these scribes is also to be regarded as the compiler of the collection is difficult to determine.[42] It could be that another individual was directing the scribes as to which texts to include. Looking at potential structuring elements, the arrangement can be said to adhere largely to a chronological sequence. *De episcopis* begins with two texts, the *Conversio* and *Breves notitiae*, concerning the early history of the episcopal see, including its role as a staging-post for missionary activity in Bavaria, Carinthia and Pannonia.[43] The two were written in or around 870 and 798, respectively.[44] *De episcopis* includes only the first nine of the 14 chapters of the *Conversio*, the scribe in A breaking off midway through the first sentence of chapter 10.[45] St Rupert, the bishop of Worms who appears to have been charged with instituting a new see at Salzburg around 700 and founded the abbey of St. Peter there, features strongly in the two historiographical tracts and is also the subject of the third text, the short *Translatio Rudberti*. The man responsible for the first translation of Rupert in 774, Bishop Virgil, is then the focus of the succeeding text, the *Vita et miracula sancti Virgilii*. This text was written after the discovery of Virgil's tomb in 1181 and, as mentioned above, the Life is largely composed of sections lifted from the *Conversio*. While this Life shares the focus of the three previous texts on the early history of the Salzburg see, it is also strongly linked to the two subsequent texts, the *Vita et miracula sancti Eberhardi* and the *Vita et miracula sancti Hartwici*. Numerous annals for the year 1181 report, namely, the sudden occurrence of diverse miracles associated with Virgil and Archbishops Eberhard I and Hartwig:

> … in this year Archbishops Virgil, Eberhard and Hartwig became renowned for different signs and wonders in Salzburg metropolitan church, and [similarly] St Vitalis at [the monastery of] St. Peter[46]

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41 See below, pp. 163-165.

42 In his palaeographical study of five historiographical manuscripts from late 12th-century Admont, Gonsa identified one scribe across all of the codices, who, judging by the nature of his contributions, occupied the role of overseer or director in respect of their composition; Gonsa, *Einige paläographische Beiträge*, 64-67 et passim.

43 On these texts and their historical background, see Wolfram, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich*, 193-336; *Conversio*, ed. *idem*; ed. Lošek (1997); *Breves notitiae*, ed. Lošek.

44 *Conversio*, ed. Lošek (1997), 5-6; *Breves notitiae*, ed. *idem*, 33-39.

45 Wolfram argued that this abrupt discontinuation points to a contemporary lack of interest in the Pannonia-related content of the final chapters; *Conversio*, ed. Wolfram, 44; for a contrary opinion, see *Conversio*, ed. Lošek (1997), 8.

46 »… *hoc anno in metropolitana ecclesia Salzburge signis et prodigiis diversis claruerunt Virgilius, Eberhardus, Haertwicus, archiepiscopi, et apud Sanctum Petrum sanctus Vitalis; Continuatio Cremifanensis«;* ed. Wattenbach, 546. See also *Annales Sancti Rudberti*, ed. Wattenbach, 777; *Chronica collecta a Magno*, ed. Wattenbach, 507; *Continuatio Admuntensis*, ed. Wattenbach, 585-586; *Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis secunda*, ed. Wattenbach, 617; *Continuatio Mellicensis*, ed. Wattenbach, 505.

These reports are linked to a flurry of hagiographical activity at Salzburg. The above-mentioned Life and miracles of Virgil, which specifically refer to the 1181 discovery of his tomb, were composed shortly after this date. The Life and miracles of Eberhard (d. 1164; BHL 2363-2364) were also written in or around the same time.[47] Wattenbach assigned the Lives and miracles of both Virgil and Eberhard and of Hartwig (BHL 3759) to the same author, an anonymous Salzburg cleric writing after 1181.[48] The appearance of the three Lives and miracles in sequence in ÖNB, Cod. 339, a manuscript from Salzburg cathedral dating to circa 1200 provides support for the theory that they were written in tandem.[49] That the author belonged to Salzburg is also suggested by a reference to Virgil as *pater noster*, his citing of *annales nostri* for information on the life of the saint and his claim to have witnessed at least some of Eberhard's posthumous miracles.[50] While the miracles of Virgil and Eberhard certainly include ones post-dating 1181, the Life and miracles of Hartwig (d. 1023) contains no clear dating evidence, albeit the almost complete lack of knowledge the author possesses regarding the details of the archbishop's life and the fact that he expressly bemoans how the *antiqui* carelessly failed to record Hartwig's works for posterity would certainly be consistent with a late composition.[51]

The appearance of the Lives of Virgil, Eberhard and Hartwig in sequence in *De episcopis* is, in any event, likely to stem from their hagiographical association after 1181. Interestingly, it seems that the various 1181 annals are actually dependent on the same association, rather than vice versa. Indeed, there is strong evidence to suggest that the collection of annals that contained the original 1181 entry was compiled at Admont using *De episcopis*, presumably the witness in *A*, as a source of information.[52] The version of the 1181 annal contained in the

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47   The text includes an account of Archbishop Conrad III (1177-1183), Bishop Henry of Brixen (1178-1196) and Margrave Diepold of Vohburg (Diepold VI, d. after 1181) witnessing one of Eberhard's posthumous miracles; *Miracula Eberhardi*, ed Wattenbach, 102; regarding the date of Diepold VI's death, see Küss, *Die älteren Diepoldinger*, 58-61. A reference to *beatus Virgilius* is also suggestive of a date after 1181; *Miracula Eberhardi*, ed. Wattenbach, 102.

48   *Vita Virgilii*, ed. Wattenbach, 84-85; see also Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde*, 219; Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 506-507, 510; Rener, *Hagiographie*, 432-433, 440-442.

49   On Cod. 339, see manuscripta.at/?ID=9734 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

50   *Vita Virgilii*, ed. Wattenbach, 87, l. 14; 88, l. 38; *Miracula Eberhardi*, ed Wattenbach, 101a, ll. 54-57; see Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 510.

51   *Vita Hartwici*, ed. Wattenbach, 97, ll. 10-12.

52   In his 1998 study on the »Alpine Annals«, comprising manuscripts from Admont, Salzburg and Garsten, Beihammer posited a lost Admont original, compiled between 1177 and 1181, as the progenitor of the group; Beihammer, Alpenländische Annalengruppe, 253-327; see also Klebel, Fassungen. It seems, however, that this lost *Stammhandschrift* needs to be re-dated to slightly later. Beihammer mentions, namely, the compiler's frequent use of the *Vita II Gebehardi* (BHL 3294) as a source; Alpenländische Annalengruppe, 312-313, 327. This Life is datable to after 1181, as it mentions the occurrence of miracles at Eberhard's tomb, which can be taken as a reference to the post-1181 *Miracula Eberhardi* (BHL 2364); *Vita II Gebehardi*, ed. Wattenbach, 34, 44; Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde*, 215; Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 506-507; Rener, *Hagiographie*, 421-422. It appears, moreover, that the compiler of the annals also made use of the post-1181 *Vita Hartwici*, as this furnishes the date of the latter's consecration, a detail in the mooted *Stammhandschrift* for which Beihammer (Alpenländische Annalengruppe, 302-303) could identify no source. It seems highly likely, therefore, that the 1181 entry to the *Stammhandschrift* was also derived from the post-1181 hagiographical works concerning Virgil, Eberhard and Hartwig. Considering that the Admont manuscript, our *A*, contains the relevant texts and has a *terminus post quem* of 1186, it seems that the *Stammhandschrift* was also written shortly after this date. An examination of the entries in the *Stammhandschrift* regarding the date of Rupert's death (*ibid*., 273, n. 94) confirms this suspicion. It is recorded under 623. This is namely the incorrect year of death calculated in the 1186 *Computationes*! On the issue of the Garsten copy of the *Stammhandschrift*, which has traditionally been dated to 1181, see the following footnote.

Garsten exemplar of this annalistic collection is probably closest to the original, and strongly suggests that the details are based on the written Lives and Miracles of Virgil, Eberhard and Hartwig, complete with reference to the wide geographical spread of those who are said to have witnessed the saints' miracles:

> 1181. At Iuvavum, i.e. Salzburg, the [body of the] saintly bishop Virgil, the eighth after the blessed Rupert, is discovered through a revelation of the Lord. With that, and the other saintly bishops Vitalis, Hartwig and Eberhard and the first and most excellent of them, St Rupert himself, having become renowned for many miracles, they are constantly thronged by many, not just by local people but also those from far-distant regions.[53]

Regarding the hagiographical association of Virgil, Eberhard and Hartwig, it must be noted that the Life of Eberhard found in *De episcopis* is a different recension (BHL 2362) to that contained in the above-mentioned Cod. 339 (BHL 2363). It is a work written after 1177 by an *antiquus disciplinus* of Eberhard, who had been a monk at the Benedictine monastery of Biburg during the latter's abbacy. If we are to accept Wattenbach's thesis that the Lives and miracles of Virgil, Eberhard and Hartwig were written in tandem, then the compilers of *De episcopis* must have rejected this recension (BHL 2633) of the *Vita Eberhardi* in favour of another (BHL 2362), while retaining the same set of miracles (BHL 2364). Perhaps the greater focus on Eberhard's monastic career in the latter Life was the reason for the compilers' preference. Why the order of the saints in *De episcopis* should break with the chronological sequence of Virgil-Hartwig-Eberhard found in the mooted source, Wattenbach's tripartite collection, is unclear.

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53 *»1181. Apud Iuvavum id est Salzburch sanctus Virgilius episcopus, octavus a beato Ruperto, Domino revelante reperitur. Cum quo et alii sancti pontifices, Vitalis, Hertwicus, Eberhardus, et ipse primus et precipuus eorum sanctus Rupertus, multis miraculis declarati, a cunctis fere non solum vicinarum sed a longe positarum regionum populis frequentantur; Continuatio Admuntensis«;* ed. Wattenbach, 585-586. This entry is found in the Garsten version of the annals: ÖNB, Cod. 340; manuscripta.at/?ID=5879 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021). Beihammer and, before him, Klebel considered Garsten to be the only surviving copy of an original 1181 version of the »Alpine Annals«, with two later recensions from 1187 and 1197 providing the templates for the remaining representatives of this particular group of codices; Klebel, Fassungen, 130-135; Beihammer, Alpenländische Annalengruppe, 261-263. This theory rests on the fact that a note with the words *»Hoc anno hec cronica scripta in Garsten«* (»In this year this chronicle was written in Garsten«) appears in the margin next to the 1181 annal; ÖNB, Cod. 340, fol. 2v; *Continuatio Admuntensis*, ed. Wattenbach, 586. While the original scribe, who had written all entries down to 1181, also marked out the year-headings to 1188, the entries for 1182-1188 were written by an uncertain number of different hands, including the original scribe himself; Klebel, Fassungen, 53, 135. Whatever the outcome of any future palaeographical examination, the fact that the evidence mentioned earlier for the use of the post-1181 *Vita II Gebehardi*, *Vita Hartwicii* and *Computationes* is also present in the Garsten exemplar suggests that the above-cited *marginalium* should not be taken to date the Garsten manuscript, and that that the mooted 1181 version of the »Alpine Annals« is no more than a mirage. Indeed, considering that both Klebel and Beihammer assert that the annals in the Garsten manuscript agree with those in the other representatives of the annals up to the year 1187, it seems reasonable to conclude that it was also copied from the (original) 1187 version; Klebel, Fassungen, 135; Beihammer, Alpenländische Annalengruppe, 262-263. For a recent overview of the Austrian annalistic tradition and its historiography, see Haltrich, Annals.

There is the consideration that the seventh text in *De episcopis*, the *Translatio Martini*, follows on neatly from the *Vita Hartwici*. Indeed the divide between the *Translatio* and the *Vita Hartwici* is blurred by its author expressly assigning the episode to the *gesta* (deeds) of Hartwig, he being credited in the *Translatio* with the rediscovery of Martin's tomb at Salzburg.[54] Codicologically, the *Translatio* is removed from the *Vita Hartwici* in *A*, beginning with an illuminated initial on a new folio, but – as in the case of all *De episcopis* texts in *A* – lacking a title. Perhaps significantly, the *Translatio* does not appear in conjunction with the *Vita Hartwici* in the Wattenbach tripartite collection. Indeed, the *Translatio* in *A* is the earliest known witness and the text is not transmitted outside of *De episcopis* before the 15th century, when it was excerpted for inclusion in various miscellanies and Bavarian chronicles. It may be, therefore, that that the *Translatio* was first appended to the Life of Hartwig in the context of the compilation of *De episcopis*.

The text that follows the *Translatio* is the short set of annals (*Breves annales*) for the years 623, 767, 773 and 782. This harks back to the content of the historiographical texts at the beginning of *De episcopis*, which deal primarily with Rupert and Virgil. Its inclusion at this point in the collection is somewhat incongruous, unless we should see it as a prelude to the complete list of Salzburg bishops and archbishops that follows. The latter runs from Rupert to Adalbert III (1168-1177; 1183-1200) providing a succinct overview of the history of the Salzburg see and the figures that appear in the other texts of *De episcopis*. The final text, the *Computationes*, again looks back to Rupert but ends with the year of composition, 1186, thereby dating the *Computationes* text and, as has been argued above, perhaps also *De episcopis* as a whole.

In sum, the focus on Salzburg shared by all ten texts marks them out as a coherent collection. The placement of the texts does not appear to be random, the arrangement broadly following chronological lines, beginning with the earliest texts concerning Salzburg and ending with the year 1186. The first four texts are interrelated, each dealing with the early period, the *Vita Virgilii* then attracting the associated Lives of Eberhard and Hartwig, the latter in turn drawing the *Translatio*. The annals could be seen to serve as a preface to the bishops' list, the latter and the final *Computationes* both linking the early Salzburg past to the late 12th-century present.

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54   *Hec ideo huius patris nostri gestis inscripsimus, ut dum bona quę fecit attendimus, cum utrisque Martino scilicet et Hartwico de terrenis ad cęlestia meritorum uice transferri curemus.* (We assign therefore these matters to the deeds of this forefather of ours, Hartwig, for as long as we pay attention to the good which he did, we might manage to be conveyed with both Martin, namely, and Hartwig from earth to heaven on account of their merits.); *Translatio Martini*, ed. Canisius (1602), 318; ed. Canisius (1604), 1223; ed. Canisius and Basnage, 312, 424.

Compilation Strategy: The Sources of the Individual Texts

Conversio: the most recent editor of this work, Fritz Lošek, concluded that the text in *A* was dependent on that in ÖNB, Cod. 596, either directly or via a lost intermediate copy.[55] The ÖNB manuscript is composed of two parts, dating to the 10th and 12th centuries, respectively, and originally belonged to the library of Salzburg cathedral canonry. The witness of the *Conversio* in *A* is notable for its wide range of omissions and additions compared to the *ÖNB* codex. These might be assumed to be the work of the *De episcopis* compilers, but there is reason to believe that some, at least, of these changes were already present in their template. As Lošek noted, the author of the post-1181 *Vita Virgilii* used as his main source a copy of the *Conversio* containing the changes present in *A*.[56] Given that the *Vita Virgilii* actually appears together with the *Conversio* in *A*, it seems that the author must have used *A*'s template as his source, unless we are to assume that the *vita* was first written during the compilation of *De episcopis*.[57] It seems therefore, that the direct source of the *Conversio* in *A* was a lost intermediate manuscript rather than Cod. 596.

Breves notitiae: the only surviving witnesses of the *Breves notitiae* are all contained within the manuscript tradition of *De episcopis*.[58] It is not therefore possible to determine the source of the text. That there was still a copy of the *Breves notitiae* at Salzburg in the high medieval period is clear from its use as one of the sources of Recension C of the Life of Rupert (the *»Communis legenda«*; BHL 7392), a text written there in or before the 12th century.[59]

Translatio Rudberti: because this short text is not attested outside of the *De episcopis* manuscript tradition, its source is unclear. It may be that *A* represents the autograph of the text, a possibility strengthened by reference to the earlier observations concerning the composition of the *Computationes*. Both texts belong, namely, to the computistical genre and may both be the product of the compilers' interest in chronological accuracy. A description of Hartwig as *beatus et sanctissimus* in the text also suggests that the *Translatio* was composed no earlier than the – presumably post-1181 – *Vita Hartwici*.

Vita et miracula Virgilii, Miracula Eberhardi, Vita et miracula Hartwici: Wattenbach divided the manuscript tradition of the Lives and miracles of Virgil, Eberhard and Hartwig into two groups, with *De episcopis* belonging to the B-strand and the abovementioned Cod. 339, originally from Salzburg cathedral library, representing the earliest witness of the A-strand.[60] Both A- and B-strands are derived independently from a lost template, which, according to Wattenbach's thesis, was a tripartite collection written by a single author, a Salzburg cathedral cleric, after 1181.

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55   *Conversio*, ed. Lošek (1982), 18, 19 (*stemma codicum*); *Conversio,* ed. Lošek (1997), 16 (*stemma*). On Cod. 596, see manuscripta.at/?ID=9951 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

56   *Conversio*, ed. Lošek (1982), 23; ed. *idem* (1997), 53; *idem*, Zu Biographie, 351.

57   The evidence outlined in the previous section regarding Wattenbach's tripartite collection makes this latter scenario seem unlikely.

58   *Breves notitiae*, ed. Lošek, 18.

59   On the sources of the *Communis legenda*, see Levison, Älteste Lebensbeschreibung, 302-303. The earliest witnesses of the text appear to date to the 12th century. This includes Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5513, a codex placed by Levison and Sepp in the 11th century but now dated by Klemm to the third quarter of the 12th; *Vita Rudberti*, ed. Sepp, 53-59 (with list of manuscripts); Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, 182. For the most comprehensive overview of the manuscript tradition of the C recension, see now Fraundorfer, *Das literarische Nachleben*, 39-43.

60   *Vita Virgilii*, ed. Wattenbach, 84-86.

Vita I Eberhardi: aside from the *De episcopis* witnesses, the text is only contained in a single manuscript, ÖNB, Cod. 602.[61] This early 13th-century codex probably belonged to the Benedictine monastery of Garsten in Upper Austria originally and contains other hagiographical works, including the Passion of Thiemo (BHL 8134), a late 11th-century Salzburg archbishop. It is clear from Wattenbach's edition that the texts in *De episcopis* and in Cod. 602 derive independently from a lost template.[62]

Translatio Martini: this text is unknown outside of *De episcopis* before the 15th century.[63] There is, however, an account of the legend in a late 12th-century manuscript from Salzburg cathedral library, now ÖNB, Cod. 289.[64] It is contained within a description of relics held at Salzburg, which carries the title *Qualiter pignora s. Hermetis Salzburgam translata sunt*.[65] Here the legend is told in different words to the *Translatio* in *De episcopis*, with the narrative sometimes embellished, sometimes simplified, and the exact relationship between the two versions remains to be established. As regards the *Translatio* in *De episcopis*, there are clear indications that it was composed in the last third of 12th century, and it may be that this version was written or rewritten specifically for inclusion in the collection.[66] Considering that the *Translatio* does not appear with the *Vita Hartwici* in ÖNB, Cod. 339, the earliest witness of Wattenbach's mooted tripartite collection, the express assignment of the text to the *gesta* of Hartwig found in the *De episcopis* version probably constitutes a new departure.

Annales breves: these short annals do not appear to have been copied from an existing set. This is certainly true regarding the first, which, as discussed above, gives the year 623 as that of Rupert's death, the date determined by the 1186 *Computationes*.[67] The second annal, which has 767 as the year in which Virgil commenced the building of Salzburg cathedral and which places its consecration as well as the translation of Rupert in the year 773, was also added almost verbatim to the lower margin of one of the pages of the *Conversio* text in *A* (fol. 189v).[68] While 767 is the year given for Virgil's consecration in the *Conversio*, the source of the information on the construction and consecration of the cathedral is unclear.[69] The 782

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61   On Cod. 602, see manuscripta.at/?ID=9957 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

62   Interestingly, *A* includes on fol. 208r between *consecratur* and *vbi docilis* (*Vita I Eberhardi*, ed. Wattenbach, 78, l. 16) the following words absent from the Cod. 602 witness: »*et in Babinbergensi ecclesia liberalibus rudimentis traditur imbuendus*«. This line appears verbatim in the other Life of Eberhard (BHL 2633). It seems that the compiler here used the latter recension to embellish his copy of BHL 2632. (This line is present in all exemplars of *De episcopis* but nonetheless absent from Wattenbach's edition).

63   For a full discussion of the text and its manuscript tradition, see Ó Riain, Pushing the Boundaries.

64   On Cod. 289, see manuscripta.at/?ID=9689 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021). A second witness of this text is found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 12642, fol. 41r–42r, a 14th-century manuscript from the Augustinian canonry at Ranshofen, c. 50km north of Salzburg.

65   *Qualiter*, ed. Dümmler.

66   Ó Riain, Pushing the Boundaries.

67   *Vita Virgilii*, ed. Wattenbach, 85, n. 3.

68   *Conversio*, ed. Lošek (1997), 108.

69   *Conversio*, ed. Lošek (1997), 100. On the question of the date of Virgil's consecration, see Wolfram, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich*, 258-263.

annal concerning the consecration of the basilica on an island in Chiemsee is also found in annals deriving from the Admont *Stammhandschrift* mentioned above. Because this date is otherwise unattested, the likelihood is that *De episcopis* was again the source for this entry.[70] The source for the *De episcopis* annal, presumably a Salzburg manuscript, cannot be determined.

Nomina et ordo successionis Saltzpurgensis episcoporum: The list of bishops in *De episcopis* can be easily located within a long manuscript tradition thanks to the Holder-Egger's 1881 edition, which traces the development of this source-type at Salzburg from the 11th century onwards.[71] A comparison with the edited texts shows the list in *A* to be closest to that found in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 350, a 12th-century manuscript that originated at the Benedictine monastery of St. Lambrecht in Styria.[72] A glance at the other texts in the Graz codex suggests that it and *A* probably both descend from a one or more shared manuscript sources of Salzburg origin.[73]

Computationes: The 1186 *Computationes* in *De episcopis* represents a rewriting of an earlier text, composed in 1129. As argued above, it seems likely that *A* contains the autograph copy of the 1186 version. Comparison of *A* with the witnesses used by Wattenbach and Sepp suggests that the 1186 *Computationes* was based on that contained in a 12th-century Salzburg cathedral library manuscript, ÖNB, Cod. 596 – which actually constitutes a slightly divergent version of the 1129 text, written in 1132 – or on an intermediate copy.[74] As mentioned above, Lošek concluded that the *Conversio* witness in *A* was copied directly or indirectly from the same manuscript.

The original sense of the word *compilare* was to plunder and it was by plundering the library of Salzburg cathedral that *De episcopis* was created.[75] There seems little doubt that the compilers sourced their materials at the cathedral, which was served by canons regular. In the cases of the *Conversio* and the *Computationes*, a potentially direct manuscript source with that provenance has been identified (ÖNB, Cod. 596). Interestingly, while the

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70   See Klebel, Salzburger Geschichtsquelle, 42-43, n. 30; Beihammer, Alpenländische Annalengruppe, 290, n. 165.

71   *Catalogi archiepiscoporum*, ed. Holder-Egger, 350-351, 353-354

72   Kern, *Handschriften*, 1, 207-208; manuscripta.at/?ID=23444 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021). The only difference in the sequence of bishops is the placing of Virgil after rather than before Bertricus in *A*. In fact, Bertricus had actually been omitted from the list in *A* by the original scribe (fol. 220r) and was then inserted in the wrong position by a second, contemporary hand. The list in Cod. 350 actually ends with Conrad I (1106-1147), despite having clearly been compiled after the death of Archbishop Eberhard I. (1147-1164), some of whose posthumous miracles are included in the manuscript (see the following note).

73   Among the other items is a *Gesta miraculorum s. Eberhardi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, which amounts to a short collection of miracles related to those found in the *Miracula Eberhardi* (BHL 2364), a text that appears in *A*; *Miracula Eberhardi*, ed. Wattenbach, 102, n. 15. Wattenbach suggested that this was an older version of the *Miracula*, while Poncelet speculated that the Graz version and BHL 2364 descended from a shared template; [Poncelet], Miracles, 177-181. Interesting also is the presence of a copy of the *Liber gestorum Barlaam et Iosaphat* (BHL 979), again a text also found in *A*.

74   Both Wattenbach and Sepp used the *S*, *V* and *M* witnesses of the *De episcopis* for their editions of the *Computationes*. The affinity between the ÖNB, Cod. 596 and the *De episcopis* witnesses is clear from the reappearance of all unique variants of the former in the latter (with the exception of obsolete dating details); see *Computationes*, ed. Sepp, 413 n. (o), (r), (s); 414 n. (w), (bb), (hh), (nn), (pp). On the manuscript tradition of the different recensions, see *ibid.*, 409-412; *Computationes*, ed. Wattenbach, 15. A further copy of the 1129 *Computationes* is found in ÖNB, Cod. 289, fols. 101v-102r.

75   On the changing connotations of *compilare*, *compilatio* etc., see Hathaway, Compilatio.

Computationes directly precedes the *Conversio* in Cod. 596, thus serving as something of an introduction to the latter, the two texts were broken up by the *De episcopis* compilers. This may again point to a certain significance being attached to the placing of the *Computationes* with its terminating dating line at the end of *De episcopis*. In respect of the Lives and miracles of Virgil and Hartwig and the miracles of Eberhard, the closest sister manuscript (ÖNB, Cod. 339) belonged to Salzburg cathedral, with the archetype probably written by a Salzburg cathedral cleric. The only account of the translation of Martin to Salzburg outside of *De episcopis* is also found in a manuscript from the cathedral library (ÖNB, Cod. 289). The St. Lambrecht manuscript that offers the closest parallels to the bishops' list in *De episcopis* is also likely to go back to a common source at Salzburg cathedral. The compiler or compilers were selective in their use of sources, most notably choosing to break up Wattenbach's tripartite collection of Lives and miracles by opting for an alternative version of the *Vita Eberhardi*, while seemingly incorporating some readings from the other Life (BHL 2633). A number of the texts contained within the text may have been written or rewritten specifically for the collection rather than copied from an earlier source. This is true of the *Translatio Rudberti*, the *Translatio Martini*, the *Annales breves* and the *Computationes*, which are all unique to *De episcopis*. The evidence that the 1186 *Computationes* was written specifically for the collection strengthens the possibility that other texts were also new compositions based on sources available in the cathedral library.

Manuscript Tradition

The manuscript tradition of *De episcopis* can be divided into two sub-categories. There are three manuscripts other than *A* that hold the complete or almost complete collection, while there are a further three, all exemplars of the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, which contain only six of the ten texts. As will be demonstrated, all six complete or partial copies of *De episcopis* are stemmatically descended from *A*. The lack of evidence for a strand of transmission independent of *A* again points to it having been the autograph of *De episcopis* and not the copy of an existing exemplar.

The three manuscripts containing most or all of *De episcopis* are:

S: Salzburg, Stiftsarchiv St. Peter, Cod. A IX 30, 1r-35r (late 13th century)[76]
V: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Cod. 3662, 155r-179v (15th century)[77]
M: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 1276, fol. 7r-114r (circa 1500)[78]

The manuscript from the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter (*S*) was written between 1284 and 1290 and contains only *De episcopis*, but extends it by the addition of one final text, the *Vita II Gebehardi archiepiscopi* (BHL 3294). Despite its Salzburg provenance, *S* does not provide evidence of a Salzburg strand of transmission independent of *A*. Instead, as multiple

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76   manuscripta.at/?ID=38237 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

77   manuscripta.at/?ID=6250 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

78   Halm, *Catalogus codicum latinorum* 1.1, 248.

studies have shown, the text of *De episcopis* in *S* is undoubtedly descended from the Admont witness.[79] That *S* is almost certainly a direct copy of *A* is made especially clear by a comparison of their respective bishops' lists. The list in *A* originally ran as far as Adalbert (d. 1200), but later hands extended it as far as Frederick of Leibnitz (d. 1338). In *S* the list includes four names after Adalbert, namely Eberhardus, Wodezlaus, Fridericus and the then incumbent, Rudolfus (d. 1290). This mirrors the sequence in *A*, but actually constitutes a very incomplete list, seeing as there were no less than three holders of office between Eberhard (1200-1246) and Wlodizlaus (1265-1270), namely Burkart of Ziegenhain and Nidda (1247), Philipp of Spanheim (1247-1257) and Ulrich of Seckau (1257-1265). It seems, therefore, highly probable that the deficient list in *S* is attributable to its direct dependence on *A*.[80] The probability that *S* was copied from *A* is also strengthened by reference to the text added to *De episcopis* in *S*: Gebhard was not only an archbishop of Salzburg but also the founder of the monastery at Admont. Two Lives of Gebhard (d. 1088) were written at Admont, the second of which, dating to after 1181, was copied into *S*.[81]

Cod. 3662 of the Austrian National Library (*V*) belonged originally to the Benedictine monastery at Mondsee in Upper Austria and dates to the later 15th century. The studies of Wattenbach and Lošek have shown the text of *De episcopis* in *V* to be dependent on that in *S*.[82] It also retains the additional *Vita II Gebehardi,* but only four of its chapters. This reductive tendency also manifests itself in the omission of the *Annales breves*, the bishops' list and the *Declamatio* at the end of the *Miracula Eberhardi*. Moreover, the codex contains only the first two chapters of the *Conversio* and the first and seventh chapters of the *Breves notitiae*.[83] The two *Breves notitiae* chapters actually appear independently on fol. 159r and fol. 160r-160v, respectively, with the *Computationes* and *Translatio Rudberti* placed between the two excerpts, before the original sequence recommences with the *Vita Virgilii*. *De episcopis* forms one section of this composite manuscript, the others containing multiple hagiographical texts. Around 1519, a Mondsee scribe, Leonhard Schilling, prefixed *De episcopis* with a short text entitled *De archiepiscopis Salisburgensibus*, which recounts events from the time of Rupert up to the time of writing.

Clm 1276 of the Bavarian State Library (*M*) contains the original version of *De episcopis*, but without the opening text, the *Conversio*. It dates to circa 1500 and originally belonged to the cathedral library at Passau in Bavaria. It shares the manuscript with a copy of Josef Grünpeck's *Vitae pontificium sancte Salzburgensis ecclesie*, which ends after the accession of Archbishop Leonhard of Keutschach (1495-1519).[84] Lošek's studies have shown the text of

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79   Martin, Admonter Handschrift, 274-279; *Conversio*, ed. Lošek (1982), 16-18, 19 (*stemma codicum*); ed. *idem* (1997), 15, 16 (*stemma*); *Breves notitiae*, ed. *idem*, 18.

80   The similar orthography of the four names in both manuscripts would support this conclusion.

81   It appears from Wattenbach's edition of the *vita* that the witness in *S* is not dependent on the only other complete surviving witness, Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 475 from the earlier 13th century; *Vita II Gebehardi*, ed Wattenbach, 34-49; manuscripta.at/?ID=26934 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021). It may, however, have been transcribed from the lost archetype of the *vita* at Admont.

82   *Vita Virgilii*, ed. Wattenbach, 84-85; *Conversio*, ed. Lošek (1997), 13, 16 (*stemma codicum*).

83   The two chapters of the *Breves notitiae* are appended by the sentence *»Ottilo dux habuit sororem pippini regis nomine Hilttrut ex quibus natus est Thassilo dux piissimus«*; ÖNB, Cod. 3662, fol. 160v. This is based on the second sentence of chapter 11; i.e. *Breves notitiae*, ed. Lošek, 102.

84   According to Lhotsky, this the earlier of only two copies of Grünpeck's work; Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde*, 458

the *Breves notitiae* in *M* to descend from *A* rather than *S*.[85] Indeed, there is a tell-tale sign of *M*'s dependence on *A*. At the end of the *Translatio Martini* in *A* the scribe began to copy an account of a miracle, but he broke off the transcription at the beginning of the second line, presumably having quickly realised that this exact miracle was already contained in the foregoing *Vita Virgilii*. These lines do not appear in any copies of *De episcopis* other than in *M*, where they were faithfully copied from A or a lost intermediary by the uncritical scribe.

If we look at the three copies together, the reception would seem to largely support the interpretation that *De episcopis* should be considered a coherent collection. This is particularly true of *S* and *V*, where the extended *De episcopis* is the sole item in a codex or in one section of a composite manuscript. Although in *V* and *M De episcopis* is reduced slightly in content and, in the case of the former, shares the manuscript with other texts, the integrity of the collection is unthreatened. These omissions as well as additions are typical of the kind of emendation associated with the transmission of medieval biographical collections. The changes in the order of the texts undertaken by the Mondsee copyist, inserting the *Computationes* immediately before the *Translatio Rudberti*, presumably represented an improvement to the structure of the collection in his eyes, the two computistical texts concerning the Salzburg patron saint now being juxtaposed. Because *V* was dependent on *S*, the original, potentially significant placing of the *Computationes* with its final dating line at the end of the collection had already been lost in transmission through the appending of the *Vita II Gebehardi*. It is not clear why the compiler of *V* should have made the other change to the sequence, separating the two excerpts from the *Breves notitiae*. Although the changes made to *De episcopis* during transmission were relatively minor, the addition of Gebhard's Life to *S*, the continuation of the bishops' list in all witnesses and the omissions from *M* and *V* show that the collection was not regarded as static or sacrosanct. Leonhard Schilling's insertion of a text also entitled *De archiepiscopis Salisburgensibus* before *De episcopis* in *V* is a further example of such emendation. The status of *De episcopis* as a standalone collection was reinforced in the early 17th century through its twofold publication by Canisius, firstly on the basis of *V* in 1602 and again in 1604 after *S*.[86]

Connections with Admont and/or Salzburg would appear to explain the interest in *De episcopis* at St. Peter's, Mondsee and Passau. St. Peter's is located right next to Salzburg cathedral, was founded by St Rupert and had strong historical connections with their fellow Benedictines in Admont as well as with the see.[87] Indeed, the first monastic community at Admont after its foundation in the later 11th century arrived there from St. Peter's. *S* is, of course, the earliest witness of *De episcopis* from Salzburg itself, although the erstwhile existence of older Salzburg copies cannot be excluded. Interestingly, through the addition of the *Vita II Gebehardi*, the Salzburg-Admont links that underlay the compilation

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85   *Breves notitiae*, ed. Lošek, 18.

86   See n. 1 for references. Wattenbach correctly identified *V* as the source of Canisius' original printed version of the collection; *Conversio*, ed. Wattenbach, 3. The *Annales breves* and bishops' list are therefore absent from the published *De episcopis*, with some of the other texts incomplete and the deviant sequence of *V* followed. *S* was the »*Codex manuscriptus in Monasterio sancti Petri*« that provided Canisius with the template for the 1604 publication; *De episcopis Salisburgensibus*, ed. Canisius (1604), 1138. He followed the manuscript faithfully, except for including both the *Annales breves* and *Computationes* twice – in their correct position and between the *Breves notitiae* and *Vita Virgilii*.

87   Amt der Salzburger Landesregierung, *St. Peter in Salzburg*; Hahnl and Hermann, Salzburg, St. Peter.

of *De episcopis* are more strongly pronounced in the Salzburg manuscript than they are in the earlier Admont one. Indeed, it is somewhat curious that a Life of Gebhard was not included in the original *De episcopis*.[88] While it seems that *De episcopis* might predate the *Vita II*, the *Vita I* (BHL 3293) could easily have been added to the collection. Mondsee, while situated in the diocese of Passau, was in close geographical proximity to Salzburg, being less than 25km distant. It may have been at the fellow Benedictine monastery of St. Peter's in Salzburg that its exemplar of *De episcopis* was copied. Passau and Salzburg were episcopal rivals throughout the medieval period. The appearance of *De episcopis* along with Grünpeck's *Vitae pontificium* in *M* suggests that despite, or perhaps because of, this rivalry, a certain interest in the history of Salzburg was current at Passau around the turn of the 16th century.

Besides *A*, *S*, *V* and *M*, another Munich manuscript containing parts of the collection needs to be considered. It is Clm 14894 of the Bavarian State Library, which includes all or part of five of the original *De episcopis* texts together with other material relating to Salzburg and Bavaria.[89] The codex dates to between 1466 and 1482 and once belonged to the Benedictine monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg. It contains sections of the *Conversio*, *Breves notitiae* and *Vita Virgilii* and the complete texts of the *Translatio Rudberti* and the *Translatio Martini*. In addition, the manuscript includes one section of the *Vita II Gebehardi*. The *De episcopis* texts do not appear in unbroken sequence and the excerpts from both the *Conversio* and the *Breves notitiae* are divided into separate blocks, which in the case of the latter do not respect the original order of the chapters. As Lošek has argued in relation to the *Conversio* and *Breves notitiae* excerpts, the *De episcopis* texts in Clm 14894 are descended, perhaps via a lost intermediary, from *S*.[90] Nonetheless, because these texts are mostly incomplete and are interspersed with numerous other tracts within a Bavarian miscellany, we can scarcely speak of this as an actual copy of *De episcopis*. Instead this must be treated as an independent collection that mined *De episcopis* among other sources.

More faithful copies of *De episcopis*, albeit including only six of the ten constituent texts, are found in the following codices, all of which are volumes belonging to different exemplars of the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (*MLA*):

H: Heiligenkreuz ,Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 14 (late 12th century)[91]
Z: Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 15 (early 13th century)[92]
Me: Melk, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 100 (15th century)[93]

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88   The absence of any Life of Gebhard from the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, which, as I argue below, was almost certainly compiled at Admont, is equally curious; see Ó Riain, *Magnum Legendarium*, 133, n. 145 & 143, n. 178, but note that the author was here mistaken in stating that Admont Cod. 475 contains an autograph copy of the *Vita II*. The witness in the codex is, in fact, datable to 1231 at the earliest; Mairold, *Die datierten Handschriften*, 60-61.

89   Halm *et al.*, *Catalogus codicum* 2.2, 248-249.

90   *Conversio*, ed. Lošek (1997), 13-14; *Breves notitiae*, ed. *idem*, 18.

91   manuscripta.at/?ID=30305 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

92   manuscripta.at/?ID=31626 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

93   manuscripta.at/?ID=36450 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

The *MLA* is the largest surviving hagiographical collection from high medieval Europe, containing over 500 texts that were originally divided into four calendrically arranged volumes.[94] The compilers of the *MLA* jettisoned the two historiographical tracts, the *Conversio* and *Breves notitiae*, from *De episcopis* as well as the two texts dealing with the dating of the translation and death of St Rupert, the *Translatio Rudberti* and *Computationes*. The order of the remaining texts was retained and they were included in the legendary at 25 November, the feastday of Bishop Virgil.

The archetype of the *MLA* is not preserved, the collection being transmitted in seven copies held at Admont, Göttweig (Benedictine), Heiligenkreuz (Cistercian), Lilienfeld (Cistercian), Melk (Benedictine), Zwettl (Cistercian) and the Austrian National Library.[95] The incomplete nature of the surviving exemplars means that the section containing the *De episcopis* texts is only extant at Heiligenkreuz, Melk and Zwettl. This author's research on the stemmatical relationship between the different exemplars has shown only the Admont one to have been copied directly from the archetype, whereas the remainder all descend from a second, lost copy.[96] Furthermore, none of the Heiligenkreuz, Melk and Zwettl exemplars is a copy of the other, all going back independently to the lost template.

Where the *MLA* was compiled has long been a matter of debate, but a substantial body of evidence now points to Admont as the place of origin, with the current study of the transmission of *De episcopis* going a long way to resolving the issue.[97] The six *De episcopis* texts in the *MLA* are, namely, without doubt dependent on the Admont manuscript *A*. This can be particularly well demonstrated by reference to the manner in which marginal and interlinear additions made to the texts in *A* were incorporated into the *MLA* archetype, as can be reconstructed on the basis of the three surviving witnesses. One example is provided by a reading in chapter 4 of the *Vita Virgilii*, where the foundation of two new missionary churches in Carinthia is narrated and the three *MLA* witnesses all offer a unique variant. While all other manuscripts include the placename *Liburnia*, it is rendered *Libzolurnia* in the *MLA* codices.[98] The explanation for this unique placename can be found on the relevant folio of *A*. Here, a second hand has inserted the gloss »zol« above *Liburnia*, mistakenly equating the latter with the Carinthian area of Zoll(feld), which was, in fact, some 50km distant from the correct site.[99] The scribe of the original *MLA* clearly thought *zol* was a missing syllable rather than a gloss and inserted it into the placename. Two other examples of the dependence on *A* resulting in idiosyncrasies in the *MLA* witnesses are found in the *Vita I Eberhardi*. In both cases

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94 [Poncelet], De magno legendario; Ó Riain, *Magnum Legendarium*; *idem*, Neue Erkenntnisse. See also the comprehensive database at mla.oeaw.ac.at/ (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

95 The exemplar in the Austrian National Library probably belonged to the Augustinian canonry at St. Pölten; Simader, Ein Buchmaler.

96 Ó Riain, *Magnum Legendarium*, 139-158.

97 See Ó Riain, Neue Erkenntnisse, 8-12, where the findings of the current study concerning the *MLA* are first published.

98 Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 14, fol. 21v; Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 100, fol. 229r; Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 15, fol. 24r: »*Qui uenientes Karantanis dedicauerunt ibi ecclesiam* (Heiligenkreuz: *ecclesiam ibi*) *sancte Marie, et aliam in Libzolurnia ciuitate*«. See *Vita Virgilii*, ed. Wattenbach, 87 for the relevant section of the edited text.

99 Salzburg, private holding, Codex *A*, fol. 201r. The error on the glossator's part is probably attributable to the mention in the same sentence of the founding of the church of St Mary (*ecclesia sancte Mariae*), which was, indeed, located within the Zollfeld. On the location of Liburnia, see Eichert *et al.*, Von der *metropolis Norici*, 39-43; *Conversio*, ed. Wolfram, 128-129.

the scribe of *A* omitted sections of text which were then added in the margins. In the first instance, the scribe left the word *exempla* out of the phrase *»omnia mala exempla ex rebus bonis orta sunt«* in chapter 8.[100] In the *MLA* witnesses the word *exempla* is incorporated into the text, but it is mistakenly placed after *sunt*.[101] This error is attributable to the confusion regarding the correct placement of the word that arose from its position in the margin of the *MLA* scribe's template, *A*. The second example concerns a longer section of text in chapter 8: *»sed ex eius fetore archiepiscopus noster simul cum Ratisponense episcopo de sede sua propulsus est«*.[102] These words were again omitted by the scribe of *A* and then added in the margin together with a somewhat indistinct symbol to indicate that they should follow *»visus est«*. Again, the *MLA* witnesses of the text include the missing words, but insert them at the wrong point, namely after *»locus non sit«*.[103] Further to these examples, we have in the case of the *Annales breves* already seen an instance where a deletion rather than an addition to one text in *A* led to a unique reading in the three *MLA* witnesses. The evidence shows clearly the dependence of the *MLA* on the Admont manuscript, which in turn constitutes strong evidence for the legendary having been compiled at the Styrian monastery.

The *De episcopis* texts are without parallel within the context of the *MLA* insofar as the group of biographies was not broken up and each Life allocated to the feastday of the relevant saint. The Salzburg Lives thereby acquire a unique prominence within the collection, which, owing to its sheer scale and the fact that it includes saints from all eras and parts of Christendom, is arguably somewhat impersonal in its universalism. There seem to be two potential reasons for the decision not to break up the *De episcopis* Lives in the *MLA*. In the light of its probable Admont provenance and the historical connections between the monastery and the archbishopric, the inclusion of the Salzburg block within the collection might be interpreted as an isolated exercise in personalisation on the compilers' part, the collection being thus provided with an Admont/Salzburg stamp. Another, more mundane possibility, is that *De episcopis* was only acquired late in the compilation process, at which point the April-June volume, which should have accommodated Eberhard at his feastday of 22 June, was already completed. Even if this would account for Eberhard's appearance with Virgil, it would not explain Hartwig's, whose feastday was 5 December. The prominence afforded Salzburg by the retention of *De episcopis* Lives seems therefore to have been deliberate. This impression is strengthened by reference to the *Annales breves* and the list of Salzburg bishops, whose incorporation into the *MLA* is otherwise difficult to explain. While the six texts were now removed from their original context as part of a Salzburg historical compendium, their propaganda value and concerted Salzburg focus were to a certain extent preserved within their new setting. The privileged position of the Salzburg Lives within the *MLA* is, of course, in keeping with the Admont interest in Salzburg affairs that is demonstrated by the very compilation of *De episcopis*.

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100 Salzburg, private holding, Codex A, fol. 211r. See *Vita I Eberhardi*, ed. Wattenbach, 81 for the relevant section of the edited text.

101 Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 14, fol. 27v; Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 100, fol. 240r; Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 15, fol. 29r.

102 Salzburg, private holding, Codex A, fol. 214r. See *Miracula Eberhardi*, ed Wattenbach, 102 for the relevant section of the edited text.

103 Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 14, fol. 29v; Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 100, fol. 243v; Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 15, fol. 30v.

Use and Purpose: Recording and Remembering

The incorporation of the *De episcopis* Lives into the *MLA* is just one of the ways the former collection was used at Admont. Beyond additions to the bishops' list, the text of *De episcopis* in *A* actually shows little physical sign of use after the initial compilation process, when marginalia were quite frequent. Two numerical sequences added to the margins of the *Vita Virgilii* to divide up the text may have had a liturgical purpose, but they do not correspond to the *lectiones* demarcated in ÖNB, Cod. 339 (and used by Wattenbach in his edition) nor, for the most part, tie in clearly with ›natural‹ divisions in the content of the Life.[104]

In contrast to the paucity of physical evidence for its use, external sources point to *De episcopis* having served extensively as a source for other works produced at Admont. As we have seen, aside from its use by the compilers of the *MLA*, it was almost certainly a source for a set of annals compiled at Admont after 1186, providing dates and historical information to allow the compilers to supplement their base-text.[105] The author of the contemporary *Vita II Gebehardi*, written at Admont, also shows familiarity with the *Conversio* and the episcopal Lives in *De episcopis*, which strongly suggests that *A* served as a source. It is clear that Admont was a hotbed of hagiographical and historiographical activity in the late 12th century, with an apparent emphasis on new compilations.[106] Indeed, the composition of a *Chronicon mundi* or world chronicle commenced at Admont in 1187, the first part of which is preserved in Cod. 15.[107] The creation of *De episcopis* very much ties in with these developments, constituting a further Admont compilation and serving as a source for other projects at the Styrian monastery.

The compilers of *De episcopis* had created a history of Salzburg, a reference work for the library at Admont. Given the intellectual climate at Admont in the late 12th century, there seems little doubt that the compilers knew that their work would be used as a historical source-book. This is unlikely to have been the sole *causa scribendi* or, rather, *causa compilandi* of the work, and the learned group within the Admont community not its only target audience. This brings us to the fundamental question: why was this Salzburg *Propagandaschrift* compiled at and, at least in part, for the monastery of Admont? The answer would appear to lie in the entangled histories of the two ecclesiastical centres. As mentioned above, Admont was founded by Archbishop Gebhard as an *Eigenkloster* or proprietary monastery of the see of Salzburg in 1074. The first group of monks were sent there from St. Peter's in Salzburg, an institution whose long history was intertwined with that of the cathedral. While the rights of the archbishop in relation to Admont were reduced over the course of the 12th century, the legal and cultural connections between monastery and see persisted.[108]

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104 The first sequence runs from II to VIII with the II positioned at approximately *Vita Virgilii*, ed. Wattenbach, 86a, l. 45 (*Et quia ...*) and the VIII at p. 87b, l. 15 (*Mortuo autem ...*). The second begins with I at p. 88, l. 29 (*Quadam ...*) and with VIII at p. 89b, l. 28 (*Cum vero ...*).

105 See above, pp. 154-155, 158-159.

106 The *Vita II Gebehardi* also amounts to a collective biography, ending not with the death of Gebhard in 1088 but rather providing accounts of his successors up to the year 1177.

107 Wattenbach, Handschriften, 632-633; Wichner, *Catalogus*, 15-16, Gonsa, *Einige paläographische Beiträge*, 35-46; Tomaschek, Geschichtsbewusstsein, 161; http://manuscripta.at/?ID=25872 (Retrieved on 9 May 2021).

108 On the history of the Benedictine monastery at Admont, see Naschenweng, Admont. On Admont in the 12th century, see Mezler-Andelberg, Die rechtlichen Beziehungen; Arnold, Admont; Seeberg, *Illustrationen*, 6-21; Beach, *Women as Scribes*, 65-103; Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen*, 52-62 et passim.

Shared involvement in initiatives concerning the reform of monasteries and canonries in the region and the creation and renewal of confraternities between the Admont monks and the cathedral canons were reflections of and catalysts for these close ties.[109] Admont housed the tomb of Archbishop Gebhard and served as a place of refuge in times of political turmoil for archbishops such as Thiemo (*archiep.* 1090-1098), Conrad I (*archiep.* 1106-1147) and Conrad II (*archiep.* 1164-1168).[110] Connections to Salzburg were also enjoyed by members of the female community that was established at Admont in the 1120s. An account of the life of the first *magistra* of the Admont nunnery reveals her to have been the daughter of a ministerial family of the Salzburg see, who had first entered the claustral life at the Benedictine nunnery on the Nonnberg in Salzburg.[111] Just as the first Admont monks had come from St. Peter's in Salzburg, the founding group of nuns arrived from the Nonnberg convent, reinforcing the status of Salzburg as the fountainhead of monastic life at Admont.

The most interesting aspect of the relationship between the two ecclesiastical centres from our perspective is Admont's involvement in recording the history of Salzburg. Lives of Archbishops Gebhard and Thiemo were written there during the course of the 11th and 12th centuries.[112] The first Life of Gebhard was preceded by a collective biography of previous Salzburg bishops in verse form, while the second Life, as was mentioned above, was composed at Admont after 1181/1186 and includes accounts of the lives of his successors up to 1177. Moreover, the so-called »Alpine Annals« compiled at Admont in the 1180s show a particular interest in Salzburg affairs, to the extent that they were long mooted to have extracted much of their content from a lost »Salzburg compilation«.[113] Indeed, there is evidence that the cathedral library at Salzburg acquired a copy of the »Alpine Annals« immediately after they were completed in 1187, where they would form the basis of the Salzburg annalistic tradition throughout the later medieval period.[114] The production of *De episcopis* fits neatly into this field of Salzburg hagiography/historiography at Admont, again highlighting the role played by the monastery as something approaching a *»Werkstatt der Erinnerung«* (»workshop of remembrance«) for Salzburg.[115] When one looks at the uncertain political climate that prevailed at Salzburg in the decades before the work's compilation, the Admont initiative to document the illustrious history of the see certainly appears to have been a timely and efficacious one. Indeed, of the ten component texts of *De episcopis* four, the *Breves notitiae*, *Translatio Martini*, *Annales breves* and *Computationes*, are transmitted only within the *A*-dependent *De episcopis* tradition.

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109 Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform*, 158-169.

110 *Vita II Gebehardi*, ed. Wattenbach, 34-49, at 40-41, 46-47; Dopsch, Salzburg, 259, 287; Naschenweng, Admont, 74, 80-81.

111 *Vita cuiusdam magistrae*, ed. Lutter, 227; trans. Lyon, 157.

112 *Vita II Gebehardi*, ed. Wattenbach, 34-49; *Vita I Gebehardi*, ed. Wattenbach, 19-28; *Thiemonis passio metrice scripta*, ed. Wattenbach, 28-33; *Passio Tiemonis*, ed. Wattenbach, 52-62; Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde*, 214-217; Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum*, 506-507, 539-543; Rener, *Hagiographie*, 421-422, 426-429; Eldevik, Thiemo of Salzburg.

113 For a discussion of earlier scholarship on the subject, see Beihammer, Alpenländische Annalengruppe, 254-261.

114 Klebel, Fassungen, 64-65, 134-135, 165; Beihammer, Alpenländische Annalengruppe, 262-263.

115 Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung.*

Considering the substantial links between Admont and Salzburg, there should therefore be nothing surprising in members of the Admont community producing a work on the history and saints of the Salzburg see. It seems clear that the compilers would not have regarded their subject as foreign one but instead held the history of Salzburg to be their own: the Salzburg past was part of their own monastic identity. The compilation of *De episcopis* can therefore be seen as a product of their own particular identity, in which the ties to Salzburg were a fundamental factor, and to have contributed to the shaping of their sense of community. The internal audience is also likely to have included the female members of the *Doppelkloster*, whom we know from multiple studies to have been engaged in collaboration and manuscript exchange with their male counterparts.[116] Indeed, in the abovementioned 12th-century Life of the Admont *magistra*, her special devotion to St Rupert is twice stated, and there seems little doubt that the attachment to Salzburg that was born out of historical, cultural and familial connections also applied to the Admont nuns.[117] The absence of evidence for the presence of a copy of *De episcopis* at Salzburg before the late 13th century need not exclude the possibility that such a manuscript once existed. Indeed, the prompt dissemination of the Admont »Alpine Annals« to Salzburg reminds us of the cultural interconnection of monastery and see. This and the whole disposition of the collection make it seem unlikely that a Salzburg audience was not also intended and indeed reached by the compilers.

It has been argued that *De episcopis Salisburgensibus* was a work designed to celebrate the history of the Salzburg see and to assert its continuing importance for the late 12th century. The multiplicity of its constituent biographies and historiographical texts and their broadly chronological arrangement allowed the continuity of the Salzburg tradition to be emphasised and the underlying message of the place's sanctity and importance to be many times repeated. *De episcopis* constitutes an institutional history, and its content can be shown to have been collected within the institution itself, in the cathedral library. Yet all of the available evidence points to the anonymous compilers having belonged not to the cathedral canonry but rather to the Styrian monastery of Admont. As has been illustrated, it is the complex relationship between Admont and Salzburg that is central to understanding the reasons for the *De episcopis* compilation. It is a work that belongs to the long-standing tradition of the history of Salzburg being documented at the Benedictine monastery and testifies to the role of the Admont community as the keeper of Salzburg's memory.

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116 Seeberg, *Illustrationen*, 18-26; Beach, *Women as Scribes*, 65-103; Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen*, 97-104; *eadem*, Normative Ideals, 92-109.

117 *Vita cuiusdam magistrae*, ed. Lutter, 227, 229; trans. Lyon, 157, 160-161.

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Abbreviations
BHL: *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 4 vols, Subsidia Hagiographica 6, 12, 70 (Brussels, 1898-1901, 1911, 1986).
MGH: Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MGH SS: Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores
MLA: Magnum Legendarium Austriacum

Manuscripts
Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 15
Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 125
Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 475
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 350
Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 14
Melk, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 100
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 1276
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5513
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 12642
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14894
Salzburg, private holding, no shelf-mark (Codex A, *olim* Admont)
Salzburg, Stiftsarchiv St. Peter, Cod. A IX 30
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 289
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 339
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 340
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 596
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 602
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 629
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3662
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