

The Historical Work of Burchard of Ursberg, II: The Ursberg 'Chronicon' and the 'Historia Welforum' Tradition*)

The extant version of the Ursberg *Chronicon* (hereafter *UC*) is remote from the original. Available evidence, for the most part much later than the author's time, indicates that the provost of the Premonstratensian house of Ursberg, the historian Burchard, never finished his work. It may have been mutilated in a monastery fire shortly after its composition. All manuscripts are late. The copy assembled by the Augsburg humanist Conrad Peutinger around 1500 and preserved at Munich as Clm 4351 is the sole basis for critical edition. Another fifteenth-century copy now in private hands in Petronell, Austria, is only partial; its few better readings may be conjectural, and its text is so close to that of the Munich codex that it is of negligible value for its emendation. An incunable edition from Augsburg in 1472 is again partial and again of little importance for establishing the text. Clm 4351, the Petronell copy, and the incunable were all apparently based on the same corrupt exemplar, which antedated none of them by many years.

Clm 4351 is then the best witness to the Ursberg text, but it is faulty. The first three of its four sections, copied at different times during the last half of the fifteenth century and bound in jumbled order, contain material from *UC*. The last, copied at the same time as the third section of *UC* text and perhaps from the same exemplar, offers miscellaneous texts on the history of Augsburg: extracts from Burchard's own chronicle, from Otto of Freising's, and from a much later history of the Welf dukes of Bavaria. Even within the first three sections of the codex, and even where they overlap the Petronell and incunable texts of Burchard's work, there are apparent anomalies more important than scribal error. The authenticity of one passage excoriating Philip of Swabia has long been disputed. In view of the weakness of the manuscript tradition of *UC*

*) This is the second in a series of articles of which the first appeared in the most recent issue of this journal: «The Historical Work of Burchard of Ursberg, I: The Ursberg *Chronicon* Text», *Analecta Praemonstratensia* LVIII (1982), pp. 96-129. See especially «Burchard I», pp. 110-115 for description of the contents of the principal manuscript, pp. 125-129 for discussion of late alteration of the original author's fragmentary text.

and the apparent intrusion of late tendentious material, it seems useful to investigate the rest of the Ursberg text, especially its incorporation of sources, more carefully and more critically than has heretofore been attempted.

One group among those sources, a complex of texts recording the deeds and the relationships of the south German Welfen, that princely clan most strongly and consistently opposed to Hohenstaufen dynastic pretensions, merits first consideration. It departs conspicuously from the provost Burchard's general adherence to Stauffer and imperial themes. Analysis of its incorporation into *UC* must, however, proceed with great caution. Burchard, like most medieval historians, did not thoroughly subordinate the many sources which he employed — written and oral, surviving and lost — to the rhetorical and political values evident in independent sections of his work. A later article in this series will show that, for the records of those twelfth-century reigns in which Welf source materials are implicated in the extant version of his historical work, the Premonstratensian author generally did attempt to integrate borrowed texts. It will, however, be demonstrated here that no such effort was directed to the incorporation of the genealogy and exploits of the Welfen into his Ursberg chronicle.

Several Welf historical documents were employed in the compilation of the extant *UC* text; there is no reason to believe that they were not all used by the same incorporator, since all were available by the end of the twelfth century and since they overlap each other in their respective appearances in the Ursberg chronicle's context¹). Material from all but two chapters of the most important family history of the Bavarian ducal house, the twelfth-century *Historia Welforum*²) (hereafter *HW*), is represented in the Ursberg chronicle; many passages are faithfully reproduced, while others are edited and emended to varying extents. The Monumentists assumed that *UC*'s Welf sources were incorporated by its original author and that he used the autograph or a very early copy of *HW*³). H. Wieruszowski, who made the last substantive contribution to

¹) Burchard of Ursberg, *Chronicon*, ed. O. Holder-Egger and B. von Simson, 2nd ed., *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum* (Hanover, 1916). See, e.g., p. 9 and marginal notes.

²) *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*, ed. L. Weiland, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores* 21 (Hanover, 1869), pp. 454-472. A more recent edition offers a better text but without a critical apparatus revealing its relationship to *UC*: *Historia Welforum*, ed. and trans. E. König, *Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit* I (Stuttgart, 1938).

³) Weiland, p. 457; Simson, p. XIII and n. 7.

criticism of the Welf text, suggested that the exemplar of *HW* used for those passages represented in *UC* offered the best construable readings for that work. She concluded that it must have been the same as the archetype of the two extant complete twelfth-century copies of the family history which belonged, respectively, to the Benedictine *Eigenkirche* of the Welfen at Altomünster and Weingarten⁴). Thus, while there has been some discussion of the extent of the original Ursberg historian Burchard's use of related Welf sources, his access to the principal text in the ducal historiographical tradition has never been seriously challenged.

The scenario dictated by this assumption — that Burchard, writing less than fifty years after the author of *HW*, borrowed the autograph left by the historian of the Welfen — has consistently proved attractive because Burchard lived in the same south German political and cultural milieu as the earlier writer. The arguments in favor of the Premonstratensian historian's use of a very early version of the *HW* text, are however, circular and subject to the fallacy *recentior, deterior*. Without a careful study of manuscript variants, it seems likely that he used the original of the most important Welf historical text only because his chronological and physical proximity to its appearance is already known. If such apparent likelihood is tested against the possibility that a later author, not Burchard himself, added the history of the Welfen to *UC*, it is instantly weakened. The exemplar of *HW* used for the Ursberg chronicle might have carried a good text, but it might nevertheless have belonged to a late stage in that text's transmission. If passages from the Welf history in *UC* can be shown to have affinity to a later *HW* manuscript which preserves good readings in spite of — or perhaps of — contamination in the tradition, then the argument might be made that Burchard did not himself borrow from the autograph of the Welf historian for his account of the twelfth century.

STYLISTIC SYMPTOMS OF LATE INSERTION OF HISTORIA WELFORUM INTO THE URSBERG CHRONICON

An exhaustive study of the stylistic characteristics of extracts from *HW* incorporated into *UC* as well as of those surrounding passages intended to fit them into the host chronicle, would demand space out of

⁴) H. Wieruszowski, «Neues zu den sogenannten Weingartener Quellen der Welfengeschichte», *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 49 (1930), 75-76.

proportion to the conclusiveness of its results. Nevertheless, even cursory examination makes it clear that the stylistic traits and political tendentiousness of Welf sections set them apart from their matrix, that part of the chronicle's record of twelfth-century events independently produced by the provost of Ursberg. The initial appearance of material from the Welf history in *UC* offers an example of the general incompatibility of the Premonstratensian's own and the incorporated work. For the purposes of discussion of the stylistic, tendentious, and textual characteristics of *HW* material in the record of the reign of Lothar of Supplinburg, the first passage from the Welf family history in the entire Ursberg text, the incorporator will here be called N. This identification is not intended to suggest that he was or was not the primary *UC* author Burchard, but rather to facilitate comparison of incorporated with independent sections of his text.

The sentence which forms the initial boundary of N's introduction to the first *HW* excerpt in *UC* is of special interest for the problem of incorporation: «Lotarius vero filiam Gerdrudim, uncam quam habebat, dederat uxorem Hainrico duci Bauwariorum, fratri Welfonis novissimi, quem nos vidimus ...»⁵). Here, the first-person usage emphasizes that the provost Burchard is still speaking in his own words and from his own experience. No reference has yet been made to use of a Welf source. Burchard's statement about Lothar, Gertrude, and the Welf brothers still flows naturally from an immediately prior discussion of Staufen resistance to the Saxon emperor. While «Lotharius vero ...» is thus integral to the Ursberg text as it precedes the first excerpt from *HW*, the next clause is clearly N's, belonging rather to a framework intended to fit the inclusion into «Gesta Lotharii»:

... cuius generationis quia inclita fuit et nobilissima et Deo semper devota Romaneque ecclesie semper assistens et imperatoribus sepe resistens, quia mencio Welfonum superius frequenter facta est, in hoc loco generationem illam latius describamus⁶).

This introductory statement, followed by the heading «De generatione Welfonum», is anomalous in the context of *UC*. «Cuius generationis ...» blatantly lauds the Welfen. Their eulogy as «inclita et nobilissima et Deo semper devota Romaneque ecclesie semper assistens» is incompatible with the primary chronicle author Burchard's pro-Staufen political

⁵) *UC*, p. 8, l. 20.

⁶) *UC*, p. 8, l. 23.

stance in general and with his hostility to papal intervention in Germany in particular. «Imperatoribus sepe resistens» is even odder in the *UC* context. Neither assistance to anti-imperial popes nor rebellion against anti-papal emperors was an activity which the Ursberg provost regularly found praiseworthy. N does not rest his eulogy of the Welfen here, though. A few lines later he repeats *inclitus*, a laudatory adjective which is found nowhere in *UC* but in this paragraph and in the generally acknowledged interpolation, the invective against Philip of Swabia: «Creduntur autem viri illi incliti fuisse de gentibus illis». Once more before the Welf excerpt begins, only a few lines later, he uses the same description (words copied from *HW* underlined): «... primus tamen, de quo legitur, eius generis fuit inclitus dictus Ethicho, qui genuit filium nomine Hainricum»⁷).

Another of N's usages in his introduction to the first excerpt from *HW* in «Gesta Lotharii» is likewise atypical of the Premonstratensian author Burchard. N describes some of the Bavarian dukes of the Welf house as *tyranni*: «Licet autem eiusdem generis tyranni et nobiles in genealogia precesserint»⁸). The only other place in which this or an etymologically related word appears in the Ursberg text is, again, in the interpolation castigating King Philip. In reference to Philip's sale of rights over Swabian ecclesiastical foundations to secular lords, the interpolator employs *tyrannis* once and *tyrannus* four times⁹). The possibility emerges that usages of *tyrannus* and *inclitus* in the Ursberg chronicle, neither unusual in contemporary Latinity but both unaccustomed for Burchard, proceeded from the pen of an N author who was not he and who did not share his loyalty to the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

The redaction of *HW* and those independent passages implicated with it in *UC*'s synthetic treatment of Lothar of Supplinburg thus break off the original historian's narrative at the outcropping of Stauffer resistance to the Saxon emperor's election. The N incorporator's passages from *HW* and framework for including them in the Ursberg text, as they continue with the story of German events, reveal that he did not subordinate the divergent emphasis of the work which he excerpted to the energetically pro-dynastic and pro-imperial perspective of the host chronicle. Those changes made by the N redactor of *HW* in «Gesta

⁷) *UC*, p. 9, l. 4; cf. *HW*, p. 459, l. 5. The *UC* invective against Philip uses *inclitus* in reference to Barbarossa: p. 93.

⁸) *UC*, p. 8, l. 34.

⁹) *UC*, pp. 92-94.

Lotharii» — and, indeed, in the Welf passages used in subsequent treatments of Conrad and Barbarossa in the Ursberg text — are not politically colored, and those sentences which form the immediate contexts for their incorporation betray no pro-Staufer sentiment. The N incorporator includes with no tendentious revision much material from the Welf text in which the criticism of Hohenstaufen rule is generally incompatible with the explicit partisanship of Burchard's work. On the issue, for instance, of Frederick Barbarossa's spectacular failure on the Roman expedition of 1167, the N incorporator allows the *HW* text's vigorous condemnation to inform the Ursberg version. He places direct blame on Frederick's bishop and chancellor Rainald, but the emperor himself is clearly implicated in his subordinate's guilt: «Mox ultio divina subsecuta est; maxima enim pars exercitus imperatoris mortalitate interiit»¹⁰).

It would be anachronistically insensitive to the complexity of contemporary imperial or even Swabian politics to assume that Burchard cannot have been the incorporator because no eulogist of Frederick II and critic of Otto IV can have been willing to barrow without emendation from a work sympathetic to Otto's Welf ancestors; they were Frederick's ancestors too. Barbarossa's third Italian excursion had been ill-advised, and the emperor himself was nearly carried off in the general decimation of the German princely class by the diseases of the unaccustomed Italian summer. Not even Burchard, writing independently, could have praised this venture by his Staufer hero. But it remains surprising that the provost, if he were the N incorporator, should never have mediated between his own point of view and the Welf author's. Nowhere, neither in «Gesta Lotharii», in the annalistic sections of *UC* nor in its *hystorie* of Conrad and Frederick I, does the incorporator intervene in Welf-derived passages on behalf of Burchard's Staufer kings, although he frequently paraphrases and edits borrowed passages. N's reticence in moderating or altering his source's tendentiousness cannot by itself argue strongly that he was not the original Ursberg author, but Burchard's responsibility for inclusions into *UC* of material from at least the most important of Welf historical documents is cast in doubt by the political disinterest which they reveal. The possibility that Welf sections in *UC* are late contributions therefore demands attention in any attempt

¹⁰) *UC*, p. 48, l. 26. *HW* had offered (p. 471, l. 10): «illi [i.e. Rainald] qui tocius mali huius nec non et scismatis diutini incentor fuit».

to establish the stemmatic relationship of Burchard's work to the *HW* tradition.

TEXTUAL EVIDENCE ON INCORPORATION OF HISTORIA WELFORUM

Recent scholarship suggests that *HW*, the principal Welf source used in *UC*, was not an original composition of the late twelfth century, as prior students of its relationship to *UC* have uniformly assumed, but the recasting of an existing, unpolished family history to include contemporary activities sent out to Welf monastic foundations around 1170 from either Henry the Lion's or Welf VI's chancery¹¹). Wieruszowski already saw that the history of the *HW* text was not as simple as L. Weiland, the MGH editor, had earlier believed. She argued, on the basis of a manuscript copied at the Welf convent of Altomünster and which surfaced in Berlin after the First World War, that the great Welf abbey of Weingarten was not the text's place of origin, as the Monumentist edition had asserted¹²). Destruction during the Second World War of the Altomünster copy which Wieruszowski described necessarily hampers any subsequent scrutiny of the manuscript tradition of *HW*¹³). Nevertheless her careful description and record of its variants makes possible a stemmatic summary of the history of the text of the Welf history as she interpreted it.

Wieruszowski herself did not offer a stemmatic representation because she was concerned primarily to reconstruct the *HW* original, and her establishment of the relative importance of the Altomünster copy minimized the interest in other extant manuscripts. A stemma, while it unfortunately imputes more rigidity to Wieruszowski's interpretation than she intended, will nevertheless prove useful in comparing it to the textual tradition of Burchard's chronicle. Those symbols for manuscripts of *HW* used in the MGH edition and borrowed by Wieruszowski are maintained in the following list, so that this and earlier descriptions of the tradition may be compared. Brief descriptions include dates accepted by Wieruszowski and reference to two salient variants, chapter-headings and a continuation added to one branch of the tradition at Steingaden:

¹¹) H. Decker-Hauff, «Zur ältesten Weingartener Geschichtsschreibung», in *Weingarten 1056-1966: Festschrift zur 900-Jahr-Feier des Klosters* (Weingarten, 1956), pp. 367-368.

¹²) Wieruszowski, pp. 60 ff.

¹³) I am indebted for this information to A. Kerkmann at the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

1. Fulda D 11, *olim* Weingarten G 12 (ending twelfth century; text with chapter-headings, without continuation)
2. Clm 12202, *olim* Rottenbuch (ending thirteenth or beginning fourteenth century; text without chapter-headings, with continuation)
3. Stuttgart cod. hist. fol. 359 (A.D. 1503; text without chapter-headings, with continuation)
4. Weingarten G 20 (fifteenth century; text with continuation, known to Wieruszowski only from Hess' eighteenth-century edition, which did not indicate whether it had chapter-headings)¹⁴⁾

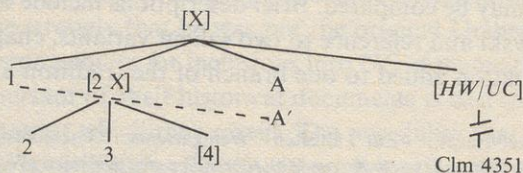
Wieruszowski added the following terms to the discussion:

- A. Berlin cod. lat. quart. 795, *olim* Altomünster H 30 (twelfth century; text with chapter-headings added marginally by a late hand, without continuation)
- 2 x. Steingaden hyparchetype reconstructed from copies 2 and 3 (twelfth century; text without chapter-headings, continuation added by the same hand as the main text's or one slightly later)

A few more terms will here be useful:

- A'. A, with the addition of its chapter-headings
- X. *HW* original (twelfth-century)
- HW/UC*. *UC* archetype or hyparchetype including *HW* passages
- Clm 4351. Sole extant *UC* manuscript of significance for reconstruction of the thirteenth-century original (assembled ca. 1500; *HW* passages carrying copy of paraphrase of much, though not all, of a text resembling the lost original, but none of the continuation)

Wieruszowski's interpretation of relationships among *HW* copies identified four branches diverging immediately from the original (manuscripts missing to her knowledge bracketed):



¹⁴⁾ *Anonymus Weingartensis de Guelfis principibus*, in *Monumentorum Guelficorum pars historica*, ed. G. Hess (Kempten, 1784), pp. 1-54.

She did not address the problem of how chapter-headings might have been added to MS. A to form A', but a conclusion that they were added by collation with MS. 1 or some copy closely related to it is compatible with her description¹⁵) and is here represented by a broken line.

Among the three principal extant or construable witnesses to the text of *HW* — 1, 2 X, and A — Wieruszowski noted seven important loci of variation other than the chapter-headings and continuation already mentioned, and was able to reject two passages relative to the abbey of Weingarten as interpolations made by the twelfth-century copyist of MS. 1, even though they had previously been considered genuine. She did not include MS. 4 in her discussion; her list of copies of the Welf history mentions MS. 4, but does not describe it more fully than Weiland was able from his reading of Hess¹⁶). Why this copy, which is not directly based on any other extant manuscript, should have been so long overlooked in criticism of the *HW* text is puzzling. Hess had identified one of the two codices containing the twelfth-century work available to him as Weingarten G 20, which he attributed to the fifteenth century¹⁷); it was this manuscript which Weiland could not find, but nevertheless labeled MS. 4 and included in his discussion on the sole basis of Hess' description. K. Löffler's catalog of Weingarten's library, which cited the same MS. G 20, did not appear until long after the MGH edition of *HW* — in 1912 — but it was available to Wieruszowski and she indeed used it¹⁸). Hess' late copy, Weingarten MS. G 20, was according to Weiland's construction of relatively little importance because the characteristics of its Steingaden exemplar could already be deduced from MSS. 2 and 3; Wieruszowski apparently followed Weiland in considering it insignificant. She may have thus failed to notice the appearance of Weingarten MS. G 20 (Weiland's MS. 4) in a note to Löffler's catalog entry on Fulda MS. D 11 (Weiland's MS. 1)¹⁹).

¹⁵) Wieruszowski nowhere says explicitly that MS. A's late chapter-headings were the same as MS. 1's. It is however, difficult to imagine that she would not have noted their originality if they were different from the headings reproduced in the MGH edition from MS. 1.

¹⁶) Wieruszowski, p. 61.

¹⁷) Hess, pp. 1, 121.

¹⁸) Wieruszowski, p. 69, n. 1.

¹⁹) K. Löffler, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Weingarten*, Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 41 (Leipzig, 1912), p. 102, n. 1: «Die auf den Rücken dieser letzteren Handschrift aufgeklebte alte Weingartener Signatur G 20 stimmt nicht mit der Inhaltsgabe von Bömmer [the last cataloguer] für G 20 (s.v.), dagegen mit den Angaben von Hess a.a.O. S. 104 und 121, der dort die Cronica St. Nicolai und Summula de Guelfis aus dieser Handschrift abdruckt».

Löffler had relegated MS. 4 to a footnote because he had determined that the Weingarten G 20 shelfmark it bore was incorrect. His interest was in reconstructing the library of the Welf *Eigenkirche*, not in assembling the witnesses to the chronicle attributed to the same foundation. Löffler nevertheless remarked, if inconspicuously, that «G 20» had been used by Hess, and that MS. 4 was not therefore lost after Hess' attention to it as Weiland had supposed. This MS. 4 of *HW*, now Stuttgart HB XV 72, received its first full catalog description only in M. Fischer's 1975 publication of manuscripts of the former Hofbibliothek now in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek²⁰). Its codex contains the following texts: *HW*; the chronicle of the Welf foundation of St. Nicholas at Memmingen; *Miracula S. Sanguinis*, a tract composed at Weingarten concerning its most important relic; a short fifteenth-century history of the Welfen entitled *Summula de Guelfis*. The several works in the volume were clearly copied at the leading Welf abbey as part of the same effort, with the intent that they be bound together and used there. Watermarks indicate that their paper was produced ca. A.D. 1505. MS. 4 of the twelfth-century *HW* text is thus a somewhat later copy than Hess estimated and his successors assumed from his description²¹); it is apparently contemporary with the assembly of Clm 4351, the principal manuscript of the Ursberg chronicle, by Conrad Peutinger.

Variants within the Historia Welforum Tradition

The following table, modified from Wieruszowski's list of important variants among her three principal witnesses to the text of *HW*, adds descriptions of readings at the loci of variation in MS. 4 (Stuttgart HB XV 72) and the redaction of the Welf history in *UC*. It presents a convenient means for identifying rough affinities among surviving *HW* copies. Minor variation in spelling is ignored:

²⁰) M. Fischer, *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek Stuttgart: Die Handschriften der württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, ser. 2, V (Wiesbaden, 1975), 43-44. The 1504-1506 dating proposed by Fischer must remain extremely tentative because it is unsupported except by the paper. The codex no longer bears the Weingarten signature.

²¹) Hess, p. 121, n.

	1	2 X	A	4	UC
1) c. 12 — «Idem etiam Guelfo monasterium in monte antiquum in honore Sancti Martini fundavit, nomen Winigartin inposuit. In quod de villa translatis monachis et ossibus patris sui Gwelf et patris Heinrici et avi Roudolfi ecclesiam priorem parrochiale esse statuit.»	present	absent	absent	absent	absent
2) c. 13 — «eo vivente et bona voluntate tradente»	present	present	absent	present	present
3) c. 15 — «de Andehse aliam Alberto comiti»	absent	present	present	present	entire passage absent ²²⁾
4) c. 15 — «eique cum omni homilitate necessaria aministravit.»	1 absent	2 X present	A present	4 present	UC present
5) c. 15 — «monachum professis in extremis suis»	present	absent	absent	absent	absent
6) c. 22 — «Econtra dux acies suas informat, pedites suos loco suo exordinat; obsidionem tamen non nisi in extremo discrimine positus relaxandam confirmat.»	absent	present	present	present	compressed version present
7) C. 22 — «Fridericum advocatum cognatum suum promissionibus ac minis circumveniens ad deditionem hortatur.»	present	present	shorter version present ²³⁾	present	compressed full version present

Wieruszowski had already concluded from her comparison of MSS. 1, 2 X, and A that passages (1) and (5) were tendentiously inserted at Weingarten after the initial composition of *HW*²⁴⁾. It is apparent from the addition of MS. 4 and *UC* to her table, however, that these latter texts are related more closely to MS. 2X than to MS. 1, and that everywhere they show similarity to each other. The incompleteness of the

²²⁾ The N incorporator omitted, apparently as irrelevant to his purposes, not only this phrase but the entire *HW* notice of the Hungarian princess Sophia's children and relatives in which it appears: *UC*, p. 12, l. 11.

²³⁾ MS. A omitted «cognatum» and «promissionibus ac minis circumveniens»: Wieruszowski, p. 66.

²⁴⁾ Wieruszowski, p. 68.

redaction of the Welf text in *UC*, evident here for instance at variant locus (3), makes it impossible to determine the characteristics of its exemplar throughout; its compression and rearrangement of material from *HW*, as at variant loci (6) and (7), further increase the difficulty of determining the text's affinity. It is nevertheless immediately clear that the incorporator of Welf passages in the Ursberg chronicle used a better copy of *HW* than any surviving twelfth-century manuscript (1 or A) and that the copyist of MS. 4 of *HW* (Stuttgart HB XV 72) — even though he was a Weingarten monk and the twelfth-century display copy of his abbey, MS. 1, remained there — knew a version even closer to the original than that decorated manuscript.

The Late Weingarten Copy of Historia Welforum

MS. 4, the early sixteenth-century *HW* copy unavailable to Weiland and Wieruszowski, shows several variants with *UC* and against all other witnesses to the text of the twelfth-century family history, although none of them is sufficiently important to prove conclusively that both MS. 4 and the extant form of *UC* derive from a different exemplar than do other surviving relatives. Where other copies offer «fratrem scilicet Ottonis de Wolveratenhusen»²⁵), *UC* gives «patruum Ottonis comitis de Wolfratehusen»²⁶) and *HW* MS. 4 has «fratrum Ottonis de Wolfhartzhausen»; both the Ursberg text and MS. 4 omit «scilicet». Similarly, both *UC* and MS. 4 offer «cum rege suo Cuonrado ac aliis principibus» instead of «alisque principibus»²⁷). More suggestively, both *UC* and MS. 4 and «quartum» to describe Welf IV in *HW*'s «quam Azzo ... in uxorem duxit, et ex ea Guelfonem ... progeniuit»²⁸; the Ursberg chronicle gives «revocavit filium prefati Azzonis, nepotem suum, Welfonem quartum»²⁹) and MS. 4 presents «quam Azzo ... in uxorem duxit, et ex ea Welfonem quartum ... progeniuit». Any of these three pairs of similar variants might, of course, have been independently produced. They hint more strongly at affinity between *UC* and MS. 4 when they are considered together with other indicative traits.

Within chapter 10 of the Welf history in its Monumentist edition — on MS. 4's fol. 5r at the sentence on Welf, the son of Azzo, which has just

²⁵) *HW*, p. 464, l. 31.

²⁶) *UC*, p. 13, l. 29.

²⁷) *HW*, p. 468, l. 18; *UC*, p. 19, l. 43.

²⁸) *HW*, p. 461, l. 4.

²⁹) *UC*, p. 10, l. 37.

been cited — the scribe of the late Weingarten copy inserted a chapter-heading which appears in no other copy of the work, not even in MS. 1. The copyist initially left out his title, but immediately corrected his omission, marked the heading's place in the text with double slashes, and wrote «de Welffone tercio» in the left margin. Immediately opposite in the right margin, the same scribe included an explanatory note; here the script and pen are smaller, but the note carries the characteristically simplified *w* used everywhere by the copyist of this leaf's main text: «Welffo huius nominis tercius sine liberis decessit. Habuit sororem Cunissam in Italia marchionissam, que habuit Welfonem quartum, qui successit Welfoni tercio avunculo in hereditate et dominio demum factus dux Bavarie». Both this note and the facing chapter-heading seem to have been copied, not composed, by the scribe of MS. 4. All chapter-headings are indeed likely to have been marginal at some stage in the tradition; this title perhaps remains so in MS. 4 because the associated explanatory note is redundant to the text. The opposite marginal comment is marked with a decorative flourish which suggests that it was not the afterthought of the copyist of MS. 4, but was like the title «De Welffone tercio» present in his exemplar. *UC*'s incorporation of *HW* seems to show the influence of the same marginal additions. Not only does the Ursberg version use an ordinal numeral for Welf III as it subsequently does for his nephew Welf IV, it also closely imitates MS. 4's «sine liberis decessit»: «Iste Welfo IIIus immatura morte preventus sine herede decessit»³⁰). The choice of expressions for Welf III's childlessness and death had been quite different in the *HW* original: «Hic denique Guelf sub iuvenili etate ... quia heredem ex se non habuit ... diem claudens extremum»³¹).

Ms. 4 of the Welf history (Stuttgart HB XV 72) — as Hess did not note, and Weiland and Wieruszowski were consequently unaware — contains throughout the same chapter-headings as MS. 1 with only a few minor omissions, additions — such as that noted immediately above —, and changes. While its basic *HW* text is eventually derived from the

³⁰) *UC*, p. 10, l. 33.

³¹) *HW*, p. 461, l. 22. Weiland occasionally erred in noting variants in *Chronographus Weingartensis*, a late twelfth-century work based on *HW* and appearing only in Fulda D 11, his MS. 1, as common to MS. 4: e.g. *HW*, p. 464, l. 2. MS. 4 in fact gives «rebellionem in Fridericum ducem sororis sue maritum pollicetur», with most copies and against *Chronographus*. Weiland was of course here dependent on Hess' reading of 4.

The Ursberg Chronicon and the Late Weingarten Copy of Historia Welforum

The affinity of the *HW* exemplar used for the Ursberg redaction to MS. 4 and 4's immediate ancestor, MS. β' in this discussion's terms, has already been implied by the identification of shared variants against other copies and by apparent reference in *UC* to a marginal note in MS. β' . The strength of this suggestion may now be tested against the proposed stemma by attention to those chapter-titles added to the margins of MSS. α' and β' and copied into the texts of MSS. 1 and 4. If *UC* in its extant form can be shown to reflect familiarity with these headings more generally than in the one instance already noted, then its descent from MS. β will seem the more likely. That familiarity will not, however, be immediately obvious, since *UC*'s redaction of *HW* is a continuous narrative unbroken by chapter divisions.

The simple diagnostics of name orthography and numbering of the principal subjects of the Welf history appearing in *UC* offer an initial suggestion in this discussion, since the incorporator deviated from the practice of the *HW* author in the spelling of the name Welf and in distinguishing among the many Welfen who belonged to the Bavarian ducal house. The *HW* archetype, it is clear from the critical apparatus of the Monumentist edition, regularly bore the spelling *Guelf* and did not distinguish among individuals by means of ordinal numbers. Spelling varies among and within its respective descendants. The chapter-headings represented only in surviving MSS. 1 and 4 and the lost Altomünster copy described by Wieruszowski, MS. α' , uniformly bear *Welf* even though the texts of two of them MSS. 1 and A, regularly carry *Guelf*. MS. 4 and *UC*, however, are the only descendants of the Welf author's archetype to use the *w*-spelling within their redactions of the *HW* text proper, apart from the chapter-headings sometimes attached to it. MS. 4, since it includes the headings, may do so under their direct influence; *UC* which omits the headings, may here indirectly reflect the influence of chapter-titles added by the α' scribe to the Weingarten archetype. That same copyist added numerals to the names of the Bavarian dukes of the Welf line, and here again *UC* may bear the impress of his minor alterations in the family chronicle. In its redaction of *HW*, the surviving version of Burchard's work consistently labels individual Welfen with Roman numerals or ordinal objectives³²).

³²) E.g. *UC*, p. 10, l. 19: «Huius filius Welfonis secundi Welfo IIIus».

Numbering of family members, like the spelling of their name, offers hard evidence neither for the N incorporator's use of a late manuscript of *HW* nor for subsequent incorporation of the Welf family history into the work as it was left by Burchard. The assignment of numerals to a succession of dukes of the same name and family is hardly exceptional. Nevertheless differences in spelling and in the labeling of individual Welfen among surviving witnesses to the tradition of *HW*, including *UC*, strengthen the suggestion already advanced on the basis of more substantial textual variants that the relationship of the Ursberg chronicle to the *HW* archetype is more distant than Wieruszowski believed. The resemblance in nomenclature between the Ursberg redaction of *HW* and the text's Weingarten chapter-headings, along with its textual affinity to the Steingaden group, supports a contention that N used not the original of *HW* but a copy of more complex ancestry. The reappearance of missing MS. 4, a manuscript which indeed derives from both Steingaden and Weingarten branches of the tradition, proves that contamination generating such a copy did eventually occur in the transmission of the Welf history, but by itself provides no closer *ante quem* for contamination of the text than the late fifteenth century. Textual evidence, like the stylistic and political incompatibility of selections from *HW* in the Ursberg chronicle, then implies only that the N incorporator made his contribution after Burchard set aside his history; it does not indicate when he may have done so.

THE URSBERG CHRONICON AND MINOR WELF SOURCES

More specific evidence for the moment at which *HW* was incorporated into Burchard's work comes from the relationship between the extant version of *UC* and other texts in the manuscript tradition of *HW*. The Steingaden continuation of the twelfth-century Welf family history as represented in MSS. 2, 3, and 4 is, it has already been noted, absent from *UC*; this discrepancy has discouraged prior students of Burchard's chronicle from considering any proximity between *UC* and the late Weingarten copy, MS. 4 of *HW*. The possibility that the N incorporator knew the continuation from his exemplar of the Welf document and simply failed to borrow it must, however, be admitted. N frequently discarded parochial material from the family history in his redaction for *UC*. The continuation, primarily a eulogy of Welf VI, contains little of importance from his perspective. Its absence from *UC* is thus no proof of its absence from the exemplar of *HW* used by the incorporator.

Other additional twelfth-century materials for the history of the Bavarian ducal house, *Annales Weingartenses*³³⁾ and *Genealogia Welforum*³⁴⁾, do on the other hand appear among the N incorporator's contributions to *UC*. The former, a spare set of annals, is known in several extant manuscript sources; the latter, short outline of genealogical material, survives completely in only one twelfth-century copy. *UC* itself shows only brief reference to either³⁵⁾. The Ursberg chronicle's principal manuscript witness, the Munich codex Clm 4351, however includes yet another related Welf text. In its final, non-*UC* section, the Munich volume carrying Burchard's work includes a fourth family history of much later date, the humanistic *Summula de Guelfis sive Guelfonibus*. This brief treatise is represented in only one other manuscript, that copy mentioned above among the contents of the codex carrying *HW* MS. 4³⁶⁾. As Wieruszowski emphasized, the incorporator who introduced Welf material into *UC*, whom she assumed to have been Burchard, probably used the same codex for his texts of both *HW* and *Annales*³⁷⁾. It will be shown here that the same model codex may have included the later *Summula* as well.

The following table will facilitate comparison of the contents of codices carrying Welf and *UC* texts. All of those texts from the historiographical tradition of the princely house used in *UC* or in the codex of its sole complete manuscript copy are included where they are represented in any important witness to the *HW* tradition. Unrelated texts found in the same volumes are here omitted. In all cases where more than one source appears codicological evidence points to coexistence of Welf materials from their initial copying.

MS. 1 — *Historia Welforum, Annales Weingartenses Welfici* (to 1185)

MS. 2 — *Historia Welforum*

MS. 3 — *Historia Welforum*

³³⁾ *Annales Weingartenses Welfici*, ed. G. H. Pertz. MGH SS 17 (Hanover, 1881), pp. 309-311.

³⁴⁾ *Genealogia Welforum*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 13 (Hanover, 1881), pp. 733-734.

³⁵⁾ Simson, p. XIV.

³⁶⁾ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4351, fols. 258r-260r; Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart HB XV 72, fols. 2r-17v. Hess' edition of Welf sources reproduces *Summula* from the Weingarten copy (Stuttgart HB XV 72), with many errors of transcription: *Summula de Guelfis sive Guelfonibus*, in *Monumentorum*, pp. 121-132.

³⁷⁾ Wieruszowski, p. 64, n. 3.

- MS. A — *Historia Welforum, Annales Weingartenses Welfici* (to 1177)
 MS. 4 — *Historia Welforum, Summula de Guelfis sive Guelfonibus*
 Clm 4351 — *Historia Welforum, Genealogia Welforum, Annales Weingartenses Welfici* (used to 1162), *Summula de Guelfis sive Guelfonibus*

From this summary of manuscript contents, it is immediately evident that at one or more points in the history of the Ursberg text its author or copyists had access to a wider collection of sources for the history of the Welfen than is reproduced in any one surviving miscellany of family history. The N incorporator knew *HW* and *Annales*; these two texts seem to have appeared together in every copy of the *HW* autograph except the lost Steingaden exemplar, whose descendants MSS. 2, 3, and 4 all omit *Annales*. But the same incorporator knew *Genealogia*, which survives in none of the major Welf history codices and apparently met with no other use after the twelfth century, as well. A scribe who participated in the formation of Clm 4351, moreover, knew the late *Summula* of Welf genealogy which is otherwise known to have been reproduced only by the scribe of MS. 4, a copy of *HW* to which the extant version of the Ursberg text has otherwise been shown to have affinity.

The association of Welf texts, then, points toward an exemplar for incorporations into *UC* which looked back to a traditional conjunction of *HW* with *Annales*, and to an exemplar for the *Summula* scribe of Clm 4351 which probably repeated older Welf sources as well as that new text. On codicological grounds, one immediate ancestor for both MS. 4 and a hyparchetype of Clm 4351, the principal manuscript of *UC*, is possible; the identity of the N incorporator of *HW* into the Ursberg text with the copyist who first introduced *Summula* into a codex carrying *UC* is plausible. Such a construction of the circumstances of inclusions of Welf material in Burchard's work is indeed radically different from that presented in earlier study of *UC*. If it can be supported, it will demand equally radical reassessment of the date of the incorporation of Welf sources into Burchard's history.

The Ursberg Chronicon and Summula de Guelfis

Clm 4351's text for *Summula de Guelfis sive Guelfonibus* is closely related to that represented in the codex carrying MS. 4 of *HW*. The two manuscripts of the late Welf genealogy are virtually contemporary; neither contains the original of *Summula* although the version in Clm

4351 is somewhat more accurate. Instances of common error are insignificant, so the two copies must have no common intermediate ancestor. More importantly, it is clear from the text of *Summula* bound with the Ursberg chronicle that its immediate exemplar or some direct ancestor carried text of *HW* identical with or closely related to that of the exemplar of MS. 4. The copy of *HW* in the late Weingarten codex of family documents contains sixteen drawings of coats of arms of houses mentioned in the text on its fols. 3r-14v. Six of the same series of heraldic emblems are described in mixed German and Latin on the upper right of Clm 4351's fol. 261r in the margin of a Swabian genealogical miscellany, one of three pages of family trees intervening between *Summula* and quotations about Augsburg from Otto of Freising³⁸). These notes, among which no devices unrepresented in MS. 4 intrude, must derive from the same exemplar of *HW* as that of MS. 4's illustrations. The scribe who first attached *Summula de Guelfis* to *UC* thus knew *HW* in its independent form, not just in the *UC* redaction. The possibility of his identity with N, the incorporator of Welf materials in *UC*, is enhanced by this indication that the codex in which he found *Summula* also included *HW*, N's most important addition to Burchard's history.

The volume including the *Summula* archetype may, of course, have included even more additional materials for the history of the Welfen than *HW*. Although all of the texts on the family's history in both surviving *Summula* codices did not necessarily come from the same model volume, for them to have done so is consistent with the context of the manuscript tradition of Welf historiography. Late MS. 4, with its *Vita* of the Welf saint Conrad and its miracles of Weingarten relics as well as *Summula* and *HW*, represents a small Welf omnibus; early MS. 1, Weingarten's display copy, is a full-fledged sourcebook for the history of the family and its premier abbey containing a monastic necrology, a family tree with portraits based on *HW*, Conrad's *Vita*, *Chronographus Weingartensis*, *Miracula S. Sanguinis*, as well as *HW*, *Annales*, and associated hagiographical texts³⁹). The copy postulated above as MS. 4's exemplar, a β' manuscript with textual affinity to *UC*, may have included

³⁸) The six coats of arms are: «Arma Altorff leo rubeus in campo aureo. Arma Hohenwart celestii coloris turris super triangulato rubeo monte in campo albo. Arma Oenigen leo rubeus in campo albo. Arma Glisberg iii rott zingken herab et econtra iii weis hin auf. Arma Estensia aquila celestii coloris in campo aureo. Arma Calw leo aureus in campo nigro».

³⁹) Weiland, pp. 455-456.

a similar or even greater range of related works, since the textual evidence of its copy of *HW* is that it sprang from contact between at least two previously remote branches of the tradition.

The Summula Author

The identity and objectives of the author of *Summula de Guelfis*, as they can be deduced from his text, may shed more light on the contents of the codex of materials for the history of the Welfen in which his work was originally included. Hess, the editor of *Summula*, contended that the author was an early thirteenth-century monk on the basis of his text's failure to mention the death of Otto IV in 1218⁴⁰). The last entries in the short work are in fact about Frederick II's election, Otto's excommunication, and the battle of Bouvines⁴¹). W. von Giesebrecht argued that Hess was wrong in assuming composition shortly after those events, and made the contrary suggestion that the author was a fifteenth-century humanist other than Peutinger. He agreed with Hess, however, that the brief *Summula* was intended as an introduction to a work on a larger scale⁴²). Giesebrecht was surely correct in pointing out that *Summula* broke off where its written sources — *HW*, *Vita S. Conradi*, and Cosmas of Prague — did, not at the point to which its author's contemporary knowledge extended⁴³). Both he and Hess, however, may have misinterpreted the writer's description of his historiographical activity. The methods and intentions of *Summula*'s author are therefore relevant to reconstructive description of the codex in which his original work was included, and therefore demand closer attention.

The late historian of the Welfen declares at the outset that he wishes to rescue the family's past from oblivion: «Ne tamen omnia corruant, que succinctim caduca admodum in monasticorum quorundam bibliothecis collegimus, referre conabimur»⁴⁴). As his work reveals, he indeed

⁴⁰) Hess, p. 121, n.; p. 131, n.: «Quoniam hanc cladem [i.e. Bouvines] Otto Imperator accepit anno 1214. Colligere licet scriptorem nostrum circa haec tempora scribere desiisse simul ac vivere; alius saltem obitum eiusdem Ottonis qui anno 1218. evenit, haut reticuisset». Hess' readings for the *Summula* text are here corrected against his exemplar, Stuttgart HB XV 72. Punctuation and capitalization are modernized.

⁴¹) *Summula*, p. 131.

⁴²) Hess, p. 132, n.; W. von Giesebrecht, «Kritische Bemerkungen zur Ursperger Chronik», *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, der philosophisch-, philologischen und historischen Klasse* (1881), I, 206.

⁴³) Cf. Hess, p. 126, n.; p. 132, n.

⁴⁴) *Summula*, pp. 121-122.

collected monastic sources from more than one library. The author's usage of *monastici* implies that he was not himself a monk; this impression is strengthened by his castigation of monastic historiography. He is nevertheless familiar with the *Eigenkirche* of the Welfen, and makes specific reference to the affiliation of the family's foundation at Steingaden with the Order of Prémontré: «Monasterium Staingaden premonstratensis ordinis in valle Lici faciendum curavit»⁴⁵). The author of *Summula* had surely been to Steingaden, where most of the Welf sources which he knew were available.

The late historian of the ducal house describes his objectives in two passages which Giesebrecht took to indicate plans for a chronicle of the Welf-Waibling conflict⁴⁶). He first expresses his interest in the conflict between the Welfen and the Hohenstaufen, and says that relevant material will be appended to *Summula*:

Ego credo quod sub Heinrici superbo, Guelffone eius fratre et Friderico duce nomina hec perniciosissime factionis Guelfforum et Gibellinorum indita sint : quare post finem huius summule quid alii dixerint subiungemus⁴⁷).

He subsequently mentions a different but closely related purpose, to bolster the reputation of the Welfen:

Dabimus autem operam hiis iam succinctim collectis ad optimam historieque dignam materiam reducere; cum huic nobilissime familie nichil defuerit, quod ad laudem et gloriam non accumulantisime accederet⁴⁸).

The author of *Summula* appears in these two descriptions of his motives to have had defects as a rhetorician beyond awkwardness in attempting the high style through lavish use of superlatives; he fails to make himself clear. The fuller history of struggle between the Hohenstaufen and their cousins which both Hess and Giesebrecht were persuaded that he intended — Hess to such a degree that he attributed a manuscript derived from the truncated incunable edition of Burchard's work to the same author —⁴⁹) is perhaps not at all what he means here to

⁴⁵) *Summula*, p. 129.

⁴⁶) Giesebrecht, p. 206: «... sie sollte zur Einleitung eines grösseren Werkes über die Kämpfe der Welfen und Staufen dienen, welches vielleicht nie geschrieben, wenigstens nie bekannt geworden ist».

⁴⁷) *Summula*, p. 129.

⁴⁸) *Summula*, pp. 131-132.

⁴⁹) Hess, p. 121. Giesebrecht explained his error: p. 212, n. 2.

describe, though their misapprehension is understandable in view of his ambiguity. The writer indeed says that *Summula* is only the beginning of his attention to the history of the Welfen, but he will attach «quid alii dixerint», not his own synthesis. He refers vaguely to «materia hystorie», and here he seems again to propose not an original history but a new version or collection of old histories. In his roundabout way, the compiler of *Summula* thus suggests an improved omnibus for local south German history, one incorporating the resources of several libraries, for which his own composition will provide an outline introduction. Assuming that the archetypal codex containing the autograph of *Summula* already included its author's collection of Welf sources as his «hiis ... collectis» implies, a similarity clearly emerges between it and the codex of the hyparchetypal β' manuscript of *HW* here postulated on textual evidence for MS. 4's and the Munich Ursberg chronicle's versions. MS. β' was apparently a sourcebook on the Welfen which, unlike those surviving manuscripts containing *HW*, seems from the contents of Clm 4351 to have also included *Genealogia*. Since both *Genealogia* and *HW* derived from the same lost earlier Welf history, the former was redundant to the longer, more polished version⁵⁰). While its relative unimportance was evident to the twelfth-century compilers of the original series of Welf sourcebooks centered around *HW* of which MS. 1 (Fulda D 11) is the outstanding example, *Genealogia* might have retained antiquarian interest for a fifteenth-century student of Welf history, the author of *Summula*, who was unaware of its ancestry.

THE INCORPORATION OF THE URSBERG CHRONICON'S WELF SOURCES

A scenario for the intrusion of Welf texts into Burchard's work substantially different from the generally accepted view that the provost himself used *HX*, *Annales Welfici*, and *Genealogia Welforum* and that a late copyist added *Summula de Guelfis* to a codex already containing a *UC* text incorporating older texts from the tradition of the family history may now be advanced, and an alternative stemma including *UC* proposed. The omnibus of materials on the Welfen containing *Summula*, *HW*, *Annales*, and probably *Vita S. Conradi*, the Memmingen chronicle represented in the codex of MS. 4 of *HW*⁵¹), and *Genealogia* represented in N's contribution to *UC* was assembled by the fifteenth-century

⁵⁰) Decker-Hauff, p. 366.

⁵¹) Fischer, pp. 43-44.

humanist author of *Summula de Guelfis*. His omnibus included the β manuscript of *HW*. The contamination of a Steingaden text of *HW* with Weingarten chapter headings evident in β 's descendants, MS. 4 and those sections of *UC*'s extant version drawn from *HW*, resulted directly from the collation by the author of *Summula* of his basic Steingaden version with a copy he encountered at Weingarten during his conscientious search for related sources among the Welf abbeys. The late historian of the Welfen left his new codex of materials for local history or a copy of it, in which at least the text of *HW* was true to the original since it was effectively a recension of two early copies, at either Weingarten or Steingaden. In around 1500, the scribes of MS. 4 used it at Weingarten as the model for their small, decorated Welf sourcebook.

Already, however, the *Summula* author's codex, with its β ' copy of *HW*, had been used at Steingaden to enrich the chronicle of Burchard of Ursberg. A canon at the Welf foundation, which the writer of *Summula* had recently visited and which belonged to the same reform order and geographical region as Burchard's monastery⁵²), copied relevant passages from the old histories in the volume containing the β ' copy of *HW* into his new manuscript of the fragmentary history left by an earlier Premonstratensian. Like the *Summula* author, Burchard himself, and later Peutingen, he was of the diocese of Augsburg and was interested in the region's history; thus, along with the text of *Summula*, which as Hess later agreed seemed appropriate to Burchard's composition, he appended to his copy of *UC* a few sheets emphasizing Augsburg's importance, one based on Burchard's excursus on the city and another from the other early south German historian he knew, Otto of Freising⁵³).

This Steingaden Premonstratensian, the first contributor of *Summula* to a codex bearing *UC*, was also N, the incorporator of materials about the Welfen into the chronicle of Burchard of Ursberg. He knew Otto of Freising's work sufficiently well to make a few corrections in quotations in *HW* from the bishop's history⁵⁴), and he was antiquarian enough to

⁵²) Cf. N. Backmund's notices on Steingaden and Ursberg: *Die Chorherrenorden und ihre Stifte in Bayern* (Passau, 1966), pp. 194, 203.

⁵³) Clm 4351, fols. 262r-263r. Cf. *UC*, pp. 50-52; Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister, trans. A. Schmidt, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 16 (Berlin, 1960), 3.3; 6.20.

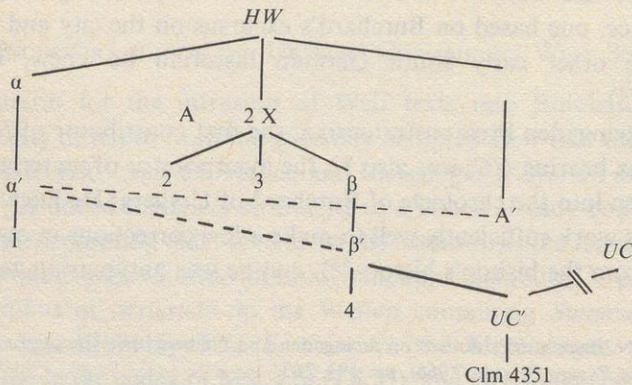
⁵⁴) N fills in words left out by the Welf author in quoting from Otto (*Chronica* 7.23) on an incident of special sensitivity for the Welf party, namely Conrad's maneuver to deprive

insert an independent remark on the history of a local abbey, Stein, which is found in neither of his principal sources⁵⁵). He was moreover the same interpolator who added the invective against Philip of Swabia, the notice of Ursberg's struggle against secular advocacy in 1226⁵⁶), and a few other entries of interest only within the order⁵⁷). His heavily interpolated Steingaden version of *UC* was the exemplar for all surviving copies of Burchard's text.

Stylistic, textual, and codicological evidence, then, alike point to late incorporation of Welf sources in *UC*; the monastery of Steingaden appears the probably locus of contact for Welf and Premonstratensian materials which contribute to the version represented in Clm 4351. A revised interpretation of the relationship between *UC* and Welf history manuscripts is shown in the following figure; the accuracy of this interpretation is again impossible to prove because intermediate exemplars are lost, but it nevertheless accounts more fully for the traits of *UC* and of the newly important Weingarten copy of *HW*, MS. 4, than do earlier interpretations. Welf manuscripts are indicated by the same symbols as in above stemmata, but three new terms are introduced:

- HW*. *Historia Welforum* original
UC. Burchard's original chronicle
UC'. *UC* as interpolated by N

Brackets are omitted since, in this symbolism, all manuscripts represented by lettres are now lost:



A final similarity in usage and theme connects the incorporator of *HW* and the other source materials on the Welfen in *UC*, the copyist who first added *Summula*, and the Premonstratensian interpolator who castigated

Philip of Swabia; it tends to confirm the stemma suggested here. The same hand which copied Clm 4351's text of *Summula de Guelfis* also added two quotations from Otto of Freising, it has been noted, on his final leaf, fol. 263r. The second contains a diatribe against the counts of the Palatinate. Clm 4351's version of the passage, from Otto's *Chronica* 6.20, includes after the notice of the battle of Lechfeld a condemnation of the descendants of the traitorous count of Skiren who led the Hungarians to their rout:

Ex huius origine cum multi hactenus tyranni surrexerunt, Otto palatinus comes, perfidi et iniqui patris haut dissimilis heres, omnes priores malicia supergrediens ecclesiam Dei usque in presentem diem persecui non destitit. Sicut enim mirabile dictu, quo divino iudicio nescio, pene tota illa posteritas in reprobum sensum tradita est, ut vel nulli nec pauci utriusque sexus, cuiuscumque professionis seu ordinis, ex ea inveniatur, quin illa aperta tyrannide deseviant vel omnino infatuati ad omnem tam ecclesiasticum quam secularem honorem indigni furtis et latrociniiis inservientes miseram vitam mendicando transigant.

In this passage Otto had written so venomously about the secular advocates of his own see of Freising that his vituperation was omitted in some copies of his work⁵⁸).

Burchard of Ursberg probably did not know Otto's invective⁵⁹). The scribe who added the condemnation of Philip to Burchard's «Gesta Philippi», however, surely did know it. His use of *tyrannis* specifically in reference to the secular advocacy of ecclesiastical foundations and his association of *tyrannus* with divine retribution are closely analogous to Otto of Freising's presentation:

Henry the Proud of his Saxon duchy: *UC*, p. 18, l. 23; cf. *HW*, p. 467, l. 19. N's repair of the gap seems more the pedantic exhibition of his care in collating the Welf text with its source than reaction against Welf tendentiousness, as Weiland suggested (p. 467, n. 94). Cf. Simson's remarks, pp. XIII-XIV, n. 8.

⁵⁵) *UC*, p. 9, l. 1.

⁵⁶) *UC*, p. 121-122.

⁵⁷) One passage, marginal in Clm 4351 (fol. 148v), refers to Norbert, the Premonstratensian founder: *UC*, p. 3, n. The other is problematic, but seems to claim Otto of Freising as a Premonstratensian: *UC*, p. 21, l. 19.

⁵⁸) Hofmeister, p. 465, n. 70.

⁵⁹) Although he appreciated Otto's importance as a member of the imperial house, bishop, and historian, Burchard knew only a few snatches of his *Chronica* copied into the Zwiefalten manuscript of Frutolf-Ekkehard, now Stuttgart cod. hist. fol. 411. This quotation is not among them. See Simson, pp. XI-XII.

Hinc nacta occasione, cum prefati tyranni de Nifen tantillam pensionem ab imperatoribus petere viderentur, ipsam ecclesiam omnino subegerunt et destruere studuerunt. Ceterum Deus ultionum dominus in primum huius sceleris auctorem, prefatum videlicet Philippum, vindicatam exercuit, ut sub gladio tyranni caderet, qui primus ecclesias in potestatem tyrannorum contradidit⁶⁰).

Although it is possible that the thematic congruity of the late Premonstratensian paragraph in *UC* with the passage from Otto of Freising copied into a codex carrying the chronicle at the same time as *Summula* is purely coincidental, it seems rather that a late contributor, probably the Steingaden copyist suggested above, modeled his own invective against Philip of Swabia on Otto's diatribe, aware that the earlier historian's relationship in Freising to the Wittelsbacher had been like the position of Ursberg under the advocacy of the counts of Niffen. Where *tyrannus*, foreign to Burchard's typical usage, appears in the introduction to the first *HW* passage in *UC*, it is apparently the contribution of the same fifteenth-century hand.

The exclusion of Welf history excerpts as well as the invective against Philip from reconstruction of a version of *UC* closer than the extant text to Burchard's original presents one remaining important obstacle. If the related sources from the family's historiographical tradition — especially the most important, *HW* — are simply struck from the surviving chronicle, then Burchard's work seems to have been bizarrely truncated and to have omitted some of the most important events of the twelfth century. The assumption might be made, however, that the late incorporator of Welf documents cast out some of the text prepared by Burchard in order to insert them. His editing need not have extended very far since, as the prior article in this series has emphasized, the extant chronicle represents a grossly incomplete attempt at the Premonstratensian historian's objectives.

Evidence for the moment of incorporation of *UC*'s Welf sources need not be overburdened to show, at the least, that Burchard himself did not include them in his history's earliest version. Although no single characteristic of style or of manuscript tradition conclusively proves late addition, an accumulation of suggestive traits points toward the intervention of another Premonstratensian author two centuries later than Burchard to repair his work's flaws. This observation holds less intrinsic

⁶⁰) *UC*, p. 94, l. 7.

interest, however, than importance for the further consideration of Burchard's historical method. A different Ursberg *Chronicon* than that previously known — one which, if *Historia Welforum* passages are eliminated, presents gaping lacunae but which nevertheless shows the original historian's plans for the style, structure, and persuasive impact of his work more clearly than a version riddled with anomalous Welf passages — can now be investigated.

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