RUOTGER

The Life of Archbishop Bruno

Vita Brunonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis

SABBATISMUS

Ruotger (fl. 965–969)
Vita Brunonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis · The Life of Archbishop Bruno

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Set in EB Garamond and Cinzel.
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Prologue

To the lord Archbishop Folcmar, most blessed in the grace of Christ and most perfect in all the splendour of wisdom, Ruotger, the last of his servants: the everlasting glory of true brightness. The reverence of your holiness has laid upon my head a burden heavy indeed, yet, for the measure of my littleness, exceedingly sweet and pleasant: that I should describe, with whatever power of speech I could, the life of the wonderful and magnificent Archbishop Bruno. His virtue won him a praise which the service of my pen has not been able to render as he deserved. Yet to speak of him in any manner at all, because you commanded it, has been a delight. From the beginning he was so minded that he thought himself born no more for his own sake than brought into the world for ours and for the commonwealth's.

He did a great many things, almost without number, that were worthy of everlasting memory; but let no listener expect all of them to be set out, either by me or by anyone else. For if anyone promised to do it faithfully and truly, he would have to mark each year that Bruno lived after leaving boyhood with a volume of its own, and a spacious one at that. I think, therefore, that many far and wide are busy at this task, so as to hand on his deeds, partly by writing and partly by rec-

ollection, even to those who are yet to come. For he did not do his business in one province or in one kingdom only; he sought the salvation of all whom he could reach through the commerce of his goodwill, his labour and his zeal. Nor is there any lack of men who could carry this out handsomely and wisely; for even if no others of such quality could be found, among his own disciples alone, while his memory is still fresh, every kind of learning and eloquence so flourishes in many lands that it would suffice not only to recount the greatest marks of his deeds but also to adorn them. How many and how great bishops we know among the pupils of so great a man, how many men most proven in every discipline of the Church's profession, who both knew him more intimately and could have set forth his life more perfectly in illustrious records! But who am I, that I should have dared to go against your wishes, most excellent of lords? I have done, then, what I could, as I could, not presuming on knowledge but keeping such confidence as I have in obedience. And in this, although it seemed to me hardly possible to accomplish what I had undertaken, I have nevertheless resolved always so to revere and embrace the dignity of your command that, forgetting my own incapacity, I am wholly in your hands, eyes and mind alike. Hence I beseech your bountiful kindness that whatever this work of mine lacks in pomp and ornament of speech may be supplied, in your ears, by the commendation of him whom, for the merit of his virtue, you loved so tenderly. May almighty God deign to

keep your Beatitude safe and in good health for a very long time, for our salvation.

THE LIFE OF THE LORD BRUNO

1

It is surely the part of wisdom to know whence comes the gift one receives, so as not to think that one has it from oneself, or indeed from God but as one's due. For if we ask what is owed to us, we find nothing but punishment. But the mercy of God has bestowed grace on us beforehand, so that he might have those to whom he could render grace for grace (Jn 1:16); and this would then be a debt because God willed it, not because man deserved it.

For what have you, says the Apostle, that you did not receive? And if you received it, why do you boast as if you had not received it? (1 Cor 4:7)

By the ineffable providence of God's goodness, then, it has been granted to his elect both to be enriched freely with abundant gifts of grace and yet, in a certain way, to merit through grace the very thing with which they are rewarded, one in this way, another in that (1 Cor 7:7), each according to what is wrought in him by one and the same Spirit, who apportions to each one as he wills (1 Cor 12:11). To the Only-begotten alone God gives the Spirit not by measure (Jn 3:34). For in him, as the Apostle says, dwells the whole fullness of the Godhead bodily (Col 2:9); he distributes it to his members, to each as he wills, and to them he gives abundantly all things to enjoy (1

Tim 6:17), namely himself, that God may be all in all (1 Cor 15:28). This unequal brightness and this varied bounty of gifts is now a question to marvel at; one day it will be the honoured beauty and adornment of the house of the Lord, of which it is said to God: Holy is your temple, wonderful in justice (Ps 65:5–6).

2

Many have lately found out, and the more discerning have well understood, in Bruno of pious memory, the venerable archbishop of the church of Cologne, how far one man may surpass another. Most of those who knew him more intimately could not wonder enough at his words and deeds. For in that one man there were things most unlike: nobility of birth, dignity of office, and such loftiness of knowledge, which is wont to puff up, that there was nothing above it; and yet such humility of mind and bearing, so far as the more perceptive could discern, that you would have thought there was nothing below it; the space between was paved with love (Song 3:10). Everything that could serve pride smiled upon him, and all of it he had always most zealously driven from himself with the hand of a watchful discretion. Thus he showed one thing to the eyes of men and another to the Witness of hearts. We believe that a great many can be wholesomely formed by the example of his way of life, if we go back over it briefly from his boyhood. For in it the lowly and the humble have something to strengthen them, and the proud and the rich,

on the other hand, something to astonish them. The forefathers of his forefathers, as far back as the memory of men reaches, were all most noble; scarcely one in their line is found obscure, not one degenerate; yet he surpassed them all — saving the pre-eminence of emperors and kings — most strikingly in grace of feature, in the glory of learning and in every kind of energy of mind. He was born at the time when his father Henry, the glorious king, having tamed the savagery of the barbarians and checked the danger of disaster at home, was rebuilding with great zeal what had been destroyed, and was ruling a willing people with the reins of justice in a peace at last most secure and most longed for. So the very time of his birth already bore, as it were, the marks of the good will that was to be his. For since he always sought most eagerly whatever was good, he sought the gift of peace with special care, as a kind of nourishment and adornment of the other virtues, foreseeing that it would profit all good men. For in a time of tranquillity the virtues must be nourished and made firm, so that when any disturbance breaks in they do not cease to keep a man from being softened out of the vigour of his state.

3

It would take too long to follow how the king we have mentioned, the father of this great man of whom we treat, came to that serenity of so welcome a peace, when he had found all the expanse of his kingdom shaken and cruelly harried both

by the constant raids of its neighbours and by the gravest dissensions even among its citizens and kinsmen. On one side the savage nation of the Danes, mighty on land and sea, on the other the hundredfold frenzy of the Slavs, gnashing barbarians, bristled against him; and the cruelty of the Hungarians followed as well, which crossed the borders of the Moravians, whom it had seized for itself with wicked licence not long before, and laid waste far and wide with fire and sword most of the provinces of his kingdom. The day would fail before the matter for telling this evil would. Beyond the Rhine, towards the west, everything was in rebellion against us; and the very princes of a kingdom still narrow were raging against their own vitals almost beyond remedy — evils that no one could either cut away or heal unless he were endowed with outstanding virtue and singular energy. But after some time, through divine grace, so great a fear seized the foreigners that nothing was ever more dreadful to them, and so great a love bound together those at home that nothing ever seemed more united in any kingdom, however mighty.

4

At that time the noble offspring of kings, then about four years old, was sent to Utrecht, to the venerable Bishop Balderic, who is still living, to be schooled in liberal letters. There, while he advanced in disciplined fashion with a keen mind, as a boy of good disposition would, the hated tyranny of the Northmen cooled somewhat, as

though through such a hostage, and on this occasion the churches at last, and the other buildings of which scarcely the ruins remained, were restored. Thus he passed no span of his life without profit to the holy Church of God. For through him, though as yet he did not know it, a Christian people, free from its enemies, was already exulting in the praises of God. Then, when he had learned the first rudiments of the art of grammar, he began, as we have learned from himself, who often turned it over to the glory of almighty God, to read the poet Prudentius under his master's guidance. And Prudentius, being Catholic in faith and intention, outstanding in eloquence and truth, and most elegant in the variety of his metres and his books, soon pleased the palate of his heart with such sweetness that he drank in, with an eagerness greater than can be told, not only the knowledge of the outward words but the marrow of their inmost sense and, if I may say so, their clearest nectar. Afterwards there was no kind of liberal study whatever, in all Greek or Latin eloquence, that escaped the liveliness of his mind. Nor did abundance of riches, as commonly happens, nor the constant din of crowds about him, nor any distaste stealing in from elsewhere ever turn his mind from this noble leisure; so that his unbroken meditation and the untiring zeal of continual exercise bore witness to the purity of his heart, every such inclination having by then passed wholly into habit, as it is written: A child is known by his pursuits, whether his works be pure and right (Prov 20:11). Add to this that, just

as he did not allow the fervour of his spirit to be quenched by the sloth and levity of others or corrupted by idle and vain talk, so he could hardly bear that the books he studied, or any he had before his eyes, should be carelessly broken or creased or handled in any way without due care; for he thought nothing that belonged to him should be neglected, since, as Solomon says, he who neglects small things falls little by little (Sir 19:1).

5

So when his father, having founded his empire and pacified it to perfection, departed this life, Otto his elder son, enriched with the blessing of the Lord and anointed with the oil of gladness (Ps 45:8), began to reign with the great goodwill and consent of the princes, in the hundred and eighty-eighth lustre and the sixty-third cycle of indictions from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ: a man on whom the Spirit of God bestowed a singular gift of truth and faith. Were I to promise to tell of his virtues, I should be taking too much upon myself and would be past bearing. For his praise and glory exceed whatever even Cicero himself might promise himself in eloquence.

He summoned his brother Bruno, dedicated to God and still a youth, from the schools to the palace with honour, as was fitting: a place suited to be a mirror so clear that whatever was misshapen in learning almost anywhere in the world showed there more plainly. For to it

flowed together, from all his borders, everything that thought itself to be something. Likewise this was the one refuge sought by all who were oppressed by any false accusation. There a pattern of wisdom, piety and justice stood out beyond the memory of men. Men who a little before had thought themselves most learned at home went back from there marked with a blush and took up the rudiments of the arts, as though saying, Now I begin (Ps 77:11). Anyone in whom nothing leapt on the left side of the breast thereafter kept himself modestly away from this lofty tribunal, as it were. The Lord filled that vessel of his with the spirit of wisdom and understanding. Nor was it enough for him to gather into the treasury of his heart what lay ready to hand; he brought in foreign riddles besides, and whatever he perceived to be philosophical and most remote from the earthly senses, that he drew together from every quarter. He himself wove anew the seven liberal arts, long forgotten. Whatever new and great thing the historians, orators, poets and philosophers proclaim, he searched out most diligently with teachers of every tongue; and where a master excelled in quickness of mind, there he showed himself a pupil in humility.

6

Often, when the most learned of the Greeks and the Latins were disputing about the loftiness of philosophy or the subtlety of any discipline flourishing within it, he sat in their midst as a learned interpreter and satisfied the disputants,

to the applause of all, which was the thing he loved least. For he did not try to set right the false pointer of that balance, nor did he seek himself outside himself; he reckoned his glory to be the testimony of his conscience (2 Cor 1:12). This was often watched by a judge who cannot be deceived in such matters, the greatest king in the world, who, as he made his kingdom strong outwardly with the vigour of courage and counsel, clothed it inwardly with such splendour. God himself, too, is believed to have watched these things, by whose mercy every gift he bestows is kept safe. For who could have kept arrogance away from so great and so incomparable a height, unless he himself had set his guard the more?

7

Israel the Scot, a bishop, under whose teaching this most illustrious man of whom we speak declared that he had profited very greatly, when asked about his character by certain people — we ourselves have heard them repeating it attentively and holding it almost as an oracle — answered that he was a man of eminent holiness. A praiseworthy and knowing testimony indeed, from a teacher about his pupil. The Greeks, whom he likewise had as masters, were astonished at so great a grace, and carried home to their fellow citizens problems truly worthy of him — a people whose pursuit, it is said, was once always to hear or to find something new.

8

Meanwhile he was obliged a thousand times a day to plead for the unfortunate, to counsel the afflicted, to bring help to the wretched. All this he so managed that he seemed to have become a refuge for all the needy. Thus when he was at leisure, scarcely anyone seemed busier, and when he was busy, he never ceased from his leisure. Wholly intent on his night studies, he was most acute in discovering and in composing whatever is most honourable. He made Latin eloquence polished and illustrious, not in himself only, where he excelled, but in many others as well. Yet he did this with no haughtiness, but with a homely charm as well as an urbane gravity. After meals, when others, even greater men, as we have heard, relax a little, he gave himself the more attentively to reading and meditation. The dawn twilight he would not sell at any price, nor did he ever then give himself up to sleep, however it solicited him. The scurrilous and farcical things in comedies and tragedies, spoken by various characters, at which some people roar and shake themselves with endless laughter, he always read with gravity; he counted the matter as of least account and the authority of the verbal composition as of the greatest. He had a school that travelled from place to place, and was at rest, not indeed in body, but in mind. For wherever the royal tents and camps were moved about, he took his library with him like the ark of the Lord, carrying with him both the cause of his study and its instrument, the cause in the divine books and the instrument in the pagan ones, like a learned

householder who knows how to bring forth from his treasure things new and old (Mt 13:52). Not even on the march was there room for idleness; in a crowd — a thing given to few — he was as though alone. For he would talk over something most useful with anyone at all, or ponder that same thing in any company.

9

When it came to the divine office, he kept his mind intent, commending himself to the Lord in a prayer brief indeed, but pure. To those among whom he lived he sometimes gave satisfaction in dress and bearing, while in his mind he was about something else. For otherwise he would not have been so truly a man of the people, nor have persuaded so many towards better things. Whatever great thing in religion any of the Lord's priests or of the perfect undertook at that time, he leaned on Bruno as on a companion beyond compare, and did not think his own authority strong enough by itself unless he knew that Bruno stood behind him, like a reserve, upholding him in the battle line of God. The servant of God made no small progress in what he had undertaken; he counted the rumours of the crowd as nothing, and foresaw not only what lay before his feet but also much that was to come. Hence it is that, seeing too great a familiarity of talk between his brother who bore their father's name and Conrad, who had been taken into the royal family by marriage, and that above all at the time of Mass, he is said to have declared with a prophetic

spirit: “Oh, into what bitterness of enmity these ill-gotten fellowships will dissolve, at this dread time!” The outcome, not long after, bore out his words.

10

His first charge was entrusted to him while he was still a youth, in certain monasteries, whose inmates, with the proper testimony of the Church, he bound to the regular life, partly with their will and partly by force, knowing that good is done even to the unwilling. And soon afterwards, by consent of the king's liberality, he restored those places consecrated to God to their former privileges and immunities, reserving from them no benefice by right for himself or his own, except what the fathers of the monasteries had freely offered out of charity. Among these stands Lorsch, a place ennobled by the munificence of kings, which still keeps, in memory of so great a man, both the prerogative of freedom and the monuments of religion. Then, as he went from strength to strength (Ps 84:8) with giant strides, so to speak, and wherever he set his foot always advanced in the will of the Lord, a sudden storm of dissension arose in the Church — while Jesus, I believe, slept in the breasts of the watchmen keeping guard before the doors of the house of the Lord — so that certain companions of Satan, swollen with the spirit of envy, tried to put out the emperor himself, through whom salvation was in the people, the very light of the world. Why this, unless so that their evil deeds might

not be exposed? For by the witness of the Gospel truth, everyone who does evil hates the light (Jn 3:20). When by God's mercy this design, conceived at the hissing of the serpent, had come to nothing, they poured the poison of their wickedness through the vitals of his whole kingdom. And though it threatened everywhere both the silence of the laws and the ruin of the common people through slaughter and plunder, nowhere did it seethe more fiercely than in the western parts. There the princes, accustomed to violence and plunder, and the peoples, eager for revolution, all bent on civil strife, preferred to grow rich on the miseries of others.

11

Then Wichfrid, shepherd of the holy church of Cologne, long very infirm, yet faithful enough to the royal majesty and to the fatherland, at last left behind his weary earthly limbs and was joined to the spirits above. The people, bereft of a shepherd, attempted nothing doubtful, nothing wavering in that very confusion, but chose for themselves as their one consolation, singly desired, the lord Bruno, a magnificent and most proven man, following the counsel of the magnates and of the whole clergy. Mature in character in a youthful body, he was humble and gentle amid the utmost pride of nobility; in the loftiness of the wisdom he had received he set his mind not to think more highly than he ought to think, but to think soberly (Rom 12:3); in royal abundance he was sparing to himself and rich to

his friends. In that election Bishop Godfrey shone at first above the rest, though it would be hard for anyone to say whether any man outstripped another in his desire for it. On this one point they were carried doubtfully between hope and fear: weighing the dignity of the office against the glory of the man, they feared that what they were preparing for him with such eagerness would be unworthy of so great an eminence. And indeed, had there been any place in all this kingdom more august, or at least more elegant in clergy, people, churches and every appointment, it would have been judged by all who knew him more worthy to receive so great a shepherd.

12

So all being of one mind and of one sense in Christ, while they still looked upon the body of his predecessor of good memory, unburied and laid out to view according to the custom of the place, four leading men were chosen by the most holy senate of the clergy, and as many laymen, all of them highly learned, to carry all this to the palace and, having made known the unanimity of the election after lamenting their bereavement, to ask for the man we have named as a comfort to the desolate. Why say more? It pleased the imperial authority — thanks be to God — so to provide for both the time and the place as to send in haste the visitor so steadfastly asked for to the keeping of the bereaved flock. Sent at last from the camp of an earthly empire into the tents of the heavenly King, to fight against spiritual

wickedness, he entered bearing with him the arts and exercises of the virtues, and holding before him the arms of faith. His new companions soon saw in him both what charmed and what awed. For he showed himself very affable and gentle; and though nothing escaped his diligence in affairs, he nonetheless asked carefully on every side what he ought to do and on what customs he should rely. His was a gravity seasoned with courtesy, so that to the thronging crowd he appeared moderately cheerful and in all things admirable.

13

They came to the most holy see, prepared for this pious provider by the almighty Lord before the ages and presented to him at its own time. A huge concourse of people gathered, an endless excitement of the crowd, and the city leapt with new joys. The clergy came together from the monasteries, a multitude of nuns ran to meet him, people of every condition and of both sexes gathered to the rejoicing more than ever before. The Church, rejoicing, weaned on the day of so great a solemnity her offspring, nursed until then at her maternal breasts and now grown to maturity in the grace of Christ, and made him spiritually a mother, who would afterwards bring forth for her with sweetest affection little children in whom Christ might be formed (Gal 4:19). Then the bishops, who were there in numbers, and the senate of this holy clergy, while all acclaimed him with the voice of rejoicing and salvation, seated

the man chosen by God and men upon the pontifical throne, and all together sounded forth the praise of God, each with what shout he could, and with organs too and cymbals and every sign of joy.

14

From then on all his purpose, all his zeal, was either the defence or the adornment of holy mother Church. She had to be defended without and adorned within, defended in secular things and adorned in spiritual ones. He loved above all the beauty of the house of the Lord and the place where his glory dwells (Ps 26:8); that he burned with this desire he showed clearly in many ways, which there is no need to sketch here in writing, since the memory of his illustrious deeds is fresh, and among his people no one who loves truth and faith will cease to speak of him. Yet some of these things, as we proposed, must not be covered by the silence of writers, for the example and instruction of very many. For it is impossible to unfold the deeds of so great a man through the daily progress of his virtues, and to extol fittingly, with praises worthy of his acts, the great merits which, like a most prudent bee, he had gathered far and wide, so that he might be the good fragrance of Christ, by doing good and by relieving the want of the oppressed. This, to be sure, was to some unto life, to others unto death. For those who, inflamed with the zeal of bitterness and ignorant of good arts, tried by detraction and cursing to pervert pursuits most

unlike their own deeds, which they could neither change nor knew how to revere, were laying up for themselves death and everlasting woe, according to the threat of the prophet, who says: Woe to those who call evil good and good evil, who put darkness for light and light for darkness (Is 5:20). But he who follows me, says the Lord, does not walk in darkness (Jn 8:12). Such a man, assuredly, does not judge before the time, nor does he lightly condemn anyone by his own sentence. So the good are resolved to displease the worst, and therefore they measure their life not by the vanity of popular talk but by the truth of conscience.

15

Before this man, learned in the law of the Lord, ascended the pontifical pulpit, the seditious citizens of our commonwealth, whom the spirit of Satan had inflamed to rise up against the Lord's anointed, had some hope of getting hold of Cologne. Thus they reckoned that the high-spirited people of the Lotharingian kingdom could either be bound to them by a pact of peace or, because of the advantage of the place, terrified by frequent assaults of war. But once this son of peace, the ever-watchful guardian of the churches, had entered it, words cannot tell with what grief all the enemies of peace in this kingdom were stricken, with what despair of completing their undertaking they were overcast. Hence blasphemies, curses, insults and every kind of impious invention. Iniquity has in-

deed lied to itself (Ps 27:12): for since they knew that the shepherd could neither be corrupted nor led astray in any way, they hoped by these portents of lies at least to turn the flock away from loving him, if any such fraud could make headway. For learned and great men know how to deserve envy, but have no wish to feel it.

16

At that time Mainz, a noble and wealthy city, was besieged by the emperor and his army. For it was full of enemies and plotters against the kingdom, and where sincerity of religion used to flourish, there the greatest bilge of dissension had flowed together. About the archbishop of the place the talk of princes and common people alike was divided. Some praised his innocence to the skies, proclaimed his virtues, and said that what was being done amiss here and there, and above all in those parts, through the civil evil, was hateful to him beyond all men; for they testified that he loathed the factions and therefore withdrew from the midst and cared very little to whom the city lay open or whom the soldiers obeyed. This was more or less the opinion of those who, leagued in an impious conspiracy, boasted that in everything they relied on his constant help and counsel, defending their cause by this alone: that a cause in which such a man was willing to share could by no means be wicked. But others, almost everyone — those in whose hearts divine grace had inspired reverence for the power ordained by God, and the following, with

all devotion, of the emperor, guardian of property, avenger of crimes, bestower of honours, and those too who cared for their household affairs, their wives and children at home, or to whom their own peace and safety had been sweet in any way — judged this man's merits very differently. Let us meanwhile leave these things to the judgement of God and return from the digression to our purpose.

17

The emperor, then, invited the new guardian of the city of Agrippina, the bishop-designate, to a new council, having already proved what he could do with mind and tongue before this charge was laid upon him. There the favour of flatterers was divided this way and that, and it was almost uncertain whom one could rightly believe. It was quite often heard, even from those who served in the royal camp, that they praised the bravery of the opposing side and alleged the innocence of their cause, since, they said, they had taken this toil upon themselves under compulsion and much against their will. And since not even among the enemy was anyone found so mad as to blaspheme the royal majesty, they turned all the blame and malice of the cruelty that had begun upon Henry, the emperor's brother, duke of the Bavarians and renowned margrave, a terror to the barbarians and to all the peoples of those parts, even to the Greeks themselves. But in truth, the better a man was and the readier to keep faith with the emperor and

his kingdom, the more they hated him. Into this hatred of the impiously plundering and perjured faction the glorious Bruno, the bishop longed for by the people of God, threw himself of his own will and gladly, giving no one occasion, neither with a double heart nor with deceitful lips, to conceal what he wished or to feign what he did not wish. So he neither set his mind to deceive another, nor would he consent to be deceived by another. Yet first he tried the hard hearts of the rebels, to see whether they could somehow be cured by any poultices of his wholesome persuasion and teaching, putting off the last remedy, the cautery, until with loving care he had found out more thoroughly what this unbridled audacity promised itself.

18

The leader in that conspiracy was the emperor's son Liudolf, a youth uniquely renowned and admirable, who would have been equal not only to preserving but also to adorning his father's monuments of victory, had he not believed seducers, and had he wished to be an heir, not a traitor. But because, in his haste to be rich, he did not deserve to obey his father's counsel, it befell him, according to the truthful saying of Solomon, that the inheritance he had hastened after in the beginning should lack a blessing in the end (Prov 20:21). So the priest of the Lord, excellent and full of counsel, who was to be and, as we have said, already was designated, grieving at the contempt shown to his brother and at the

ruin of his nephew, when Liudolf came into the camp under a pledge given through hostages, with the temper of a wild beast, drew him aside out of the crowd, as they tell, and spoke to him thus: "Do you not know, most illustrious of all the young men the earth has borne, how much good you would do yourself and your own if you let the words of my warning sink into the secret places of your heart? For you, the greatest care of your most glorious father and our glory, what do you leave us to hope for, if you take yourself away from our prayers? Do you not regard the venerable grey hairs of your loving father, whom it does not become you to grieve, nor to wrong? Do you not remember the fatherly love he has always shown you from your boyhood? Believe me, you offend God when you despise your father. There is nothing you can plead in excuse. Whatever new thing you contrive against this kingdom without his will tends to his injury. You are treating of your cause with your enemies, when on the contrary you ought to have done so with your friends. For they seek in you not you but their own interests; they make little of your welfare, and measure everything by words, not by the truth of things. See, I beg you, where they are leading you, lest they lead you astray. You who were the joy and crown of your father, the hope and delight of the whole kingdom, how have you been turned into bitterness? Cease at last to be Absalom, so that you may be Solomon. Think who exalted you so high, who bound all the princes of this kingdom to you by the faith of their oaths. Why did

he do this? Was it that you should prove ungrateful? Was it that you should learn to be a traitor? Truly they are mad who wish to deceive you so. Fear your father's daily sobs, dread his frequent groans, shudder at his tears. He would bear it less hard to have the whole kingdom snatched from him by his enemies than to lose you, for whom he keeps the kingdom. Your innocent heart has been led astray, alas, by poisonous flatteries; the bosom of a father's love lies open, and in it there is no guile. Your loving father grieves for a son snatched from him by the impiety of corrupters; he will rejoice at his return. If he is somewhat angry with those who led you astray, he will soon be softened when he has received you back, his delight, and will judge that this was done not through wickedness but through error, when he feels that you are restored to him, you whom he has loved even more than himself."

19

These things and the like the lord Bruno, a good man skilled in speaking, urged at length, deeply anxious for the welfare of that most handsome youth. But Liudolf, as though a Fury had goaded his mind to the crime begun, would by no means let the ear of his heart be brought near such warnings; he barely came near them with his outward hearing, lest he seem too insolent. For he thought it more honourable to seem innocent of the misery of this dissension than to be so. What moved his youthful mind was the anxiety and fear of his most elegant companions,

who, had they not been infected with the poison of that impious conspiracy, might have been an ornament and a delight even to the imperial dignity. Then, surely, it would have become so desirable, so valiant, so excellent an offspring of the emperor to be surrounded by such a company and to glory in this chosen excellence of young men. Above all there was in his mind, like a goad, Conrad, a little before a most valiant duke but then a most audacious plunderer, and the glory of riches and kingship already won, as they boasted, but in truth barren toil instead of tranquillity, and care ever anxious instead of security. For they brought it about by every means that he who had everything, so to speak, in his hands, by striving to have more, came to have nothing. Meanwhile, however, they fought by every means, by guile no less than by force, rested neither day nor night, made their adversaries suspicious of one another, left nothing untried and stopped at nothing, if only they could seize, by whatever device, the greatest cities of the kingdom, and the wealthiest, believing that from there they would easily command all its borders. And so that nothing at all should be done without fraud, they dealt secretly with Arnulf, a man of singular vigour, to whom at that time the supreme authority in the land of the Bavarians had been entrusted, with endless promises, reminding him besides of an old hatred, so that, forsworn, he should take from Duke Henry first himself, then a famous city, and at last that whole realm. So much strength did envy and hatred claim for themselves among

them. At the same time they were urging the Hungarians, the ancient plague of the fatherland, to invade a kingdom divided against itself, thinking that in this way the anxiety that pressed on them might be removed altogether or at least lessened somewhat.

20

Shaken by this, as by a thing so sudden and unforeseen, and grieving more for their wretchedness than for his own loss, the emperor raised the siege of Mainz, having at last received the agreement he sought; he arranged to set out in haste from the camp eastwards, with those he held faithful, to take care of those parts, and sent his brother Bruno to the west, at so perilous a time, as guardian and provider and, so to speak, archduke, giving him these instructions: "I cannot say, dearest brother, how it delights me that we have always thought one and the same thing, and that our wishes have never differed in any matter; and this is what most consoles me in my bitter troubles, when I see that by the grace of almighty God a royal priesthood (1 Pet 2:9) has been joined to our rule. For in you both priestly religion and royal fortitude are strong, so that you know how to give each his own, which belongs to justice, and are able to withstand both the terror and the fraud of adversaries, which belongs to fortitude and justice. Nor have I failed to see, long since, that you possess the very mother of the liberal arts and the true virtue, philosophy, which has schooled you to this modesty and greatness

of mind. So I know, my brother, I know that no one will persuade your prudence that it is no concern of yours how much the perverse glory in the ruin of the good, with whatever fair words they veil their intent. They will say perhaps that these things must be settled by wars, which are no business of yours and do not befit the dignity of your ministry. By deceitful boasting of words of this kind the bishop of this metropolis — you see how many he has led astray, how many he has enticed into the frenzy of civil disaster; if he had wished to withdraw from dissension, as he pretends, and from the peril of wars, so as to live in religious leisure, he would surely have done better to give back to us and to our commonwealth what we bestowed on him in royal munificence, rather than to our enemies. Enemies, I say, as almost everyone feels: wicked plunderers of citizens, betrayers of the fatherland, ravagers of the kingdom, deserters of the army, who with sacrilegious audacity would gladly see me slain, by their own hands, I believe, or perish by any death however bitter; who have taken from me my son and my brother, and strive to rob me of my kingdom, my children and my sweet wife herself, and at last of life itself. You alone, in the end, are my solid, faithful and firm comfort, who from your earliest years have made such progress in good arts that to do good and to look to everything with the utmost care has by habit become your nature. If, while you are safe, I may enjoy you gladly and wholly, as my mind ever demands, my longing asks and my soul implores, then dignity,

then glory, then honour will be ours. We have defence enough and to spare; but that we do not fail ourselves — this indeed must be our chief care. You are my witness, you, I say, with what care and what goodwill I cherished, protected and embraced these men whom I now endure as so cruel, and whom I would still most gladly heal, if they were willing to spare themselves. Ah, with what headlong recklessness they hasten to perish, and drag with them into every crime my offspring, innocently brought up! So hard is it, in positions of power, to restrain those who through ambition prefer not to be upright but to seem so. You know, dearest — and I recall it with grief — that those I cherished most, those I loved as most closely bound to me by many ties, those, in short, whom I thought nearest to me, have often been the harshest and most faithless towards me. This was hard to bear, a double misery. But what presses on me outweighs those former evils: that he whom I begot, snatched from me, has learned to lay snares for his father's love. Strive therefore, man devoted to God, not as at first, but now above all, strive, I beg you, with that counsel of yours in which you are so very skilled, that as place and time allow you may either dissuade them from arms or check them in whatever way you can. Absent from you in body, wherever I may be, may I rejoice in you and congratulate you on your foresight and moderation. Whatever you do, I am glad to count as my own; and may whatever I do likewise please you. I wish and long with all my heart that this may be the sum of our wishes

and our delight: to provide good things for one another, not only before God but also before men, and, if it can be, to have peace with all (2 Cor 8:21; Rom 12:18)." Then, after they had rushed into each other's embrace, they parted, not without tears, the emperor making for the east and his brother for the west.

21

And at once he hastened to the palace of Aachen. There he met the princes of the kingdom whom it concerned, instructed them in many and various ways, and urged on them above all not to believe seducers or their empty promises, not to fear threats, and to put no promises before the royal majesty and their own fidelity; and he pledged that he would always be ready, before the time and in the time, to restore the violated peace of the Church, if need be even at the risk of his own life. This done, he came joyfully to Cologne; the time of his ordination was awaited, and the saving joy of his anointing. This done, the joy of the people was renewed, and in the sight of all who had gathered the priest of the Lord our Saviour shone forth, adorned with the robe of gladness. Then the precious nard gave forth its fragrance (Song 1:12); in the midst of the church he opened his mouth (Sir 15:5). According to the ordinance of the Law, the sound of one entering the house of the Lord God was heard; he became an example and a lesson, for their salvation, to all who obeyed him. What he did, how he taught, how he spent himself for the

peace of the churches of God, is wonderful in the doing and hard in the telling. For his daily works so far outstripped the distinctions of those before him that all he had done in enlarging or restoring churches, in translating relics and bodies of saints into his diocese, in building private and public edifices, and in ordering the houses, the household and the affairs of the holy Church of God, seemed almost beyond comparison with the works of others. For as he had understanding above all his teachers (Ps 119:99), so he directed the keenness of his heart, the sharpness of his mind and the vigour of his spirit to greater works of wisdom and virtue. Concerning religion first, and the worship of God, which the Greeks call theosebia, he ordained, according to the wisdom given him and following canonical and apostolic authority, that the multitude in the various congregations belonging to his honoured see should be of one heart and one soul (Acts 4:32); that superfluity of dress, inequality of manners and whatever in this way seemed effeminate and unseemly in his church should be most diligently cut away by a true and spiritual circumcision, which is the beginning of wisdom; and that all whom it concerned should live most attentively for the divine ministries according to the rule set before them, and in no way reckon any other cause of their salvation.

22

These and similar things he often treated with the venerable fathers and the elders of his clergy,

and he anxiously urged them to keep watch with him over the Lord's flock; and since, through the fault of the times, he was pressed to treat these matters with them more rarely than he wished, he burned with care absent no less than present, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord (Rom 12:11). Without were fightings, within were fears (2 Cor 7:5). He fought against the fury of wolves eager to lay waste the Church of God; he feared for the simplicity of the Lord's sheep, like the Apostle: I fear, he says, lest, as the serpent deceived Eve by his cunning, your minds may be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ Jesus (2 Cor 11:3). Thus with a breast well exercised he was most robust against every adversity, and in prosperity too such a mind scarcely wavered; and likewise by frequent exercises he taught all who were subject to him to be careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace (Eph 4:3). By that singular agility of his mind he seemed almost to have overcome the common saying that the mind, when divided among many things, becomes smaller for each. So, at the bidding of the imperial authority, he undertook, as has been said, to manage the affairs of the kingdom among the Lotharingians. And though he apportioned to each of the princes and magistrates his own burden and laid on each the work that suited him, there was nothing that he did not see to himself, providing with the utmost liveliness of counsel what would profit all.

23

Some, perhaps, who do not know the divine dispensation, complain: why did a bishop handle the affairs of the people and the perils of war, when he had taken on only the care of souls? The thing itself readily answers them, if they have any sound sense, when they see so great a good of peace, and one so unaccustomed, especially in those parts, spread far and wide through this guardian and teacher of the faithful people, so that they need no longer stumble over this matter as though in darkness, where the light is not present. Nor was this governing of the world anything new or unheard of before among the rulers of the holy Church of God; examples of it are ready to hand, if anyone looks for them. But we, hastening on to other things, leave to each man's own judgement what he will say of this holy man, knowing that no one of sound mind would try to darken a most evident good with any reproach of slander. For all that he did was honourable and profitable to our commonwealth. Nor did he set his deeds this end, that they should fly about only on the lips of men, catching at favour; but he so lived, and so tempered his works before men, that he was a dread to the worst and an honour to the good. By these things it became plain to all that in the episcopate he desired a good work (1 Tim 3:1), in which he could not easily be faulted even by his envious rivals, unless the very fact that he displeased such men told rather in his praise. Held fast, then, by this wonderful occupation, the ever-watchful labourer of the great Householder and supreme bishop, bearing in his hands a

burning lamp, that is, the pattern of good works, led some willingly and drew others unwillingly to the things that are God's.

24

But meanwhile the ancient plague of the human race did not cease to scatter far and wide the poison of its envy through the works of the holy teacher, which were already sprouting in good hope. For when the people of the Lotharingian kingdom, induced at last, and barely, by the manifold exhortation of this great man, were first trying the charms of peace, to which they were little used, and for the most part were refusing to give their assent, to their own ruin, to those who promised themselves safety only in civil dissension, the savage nation of the Hungarians — a barbarism such as our land had never known — enticed by perverse citizens, crossed most of the provinces of Germany and poured itself wholly into Gaul, where long ago the noble people of the Franks settled, to lay waste everything with sword and fire. In this host Conrad, who had formerly been an excellent duke, fought with his followers; whether to satisfy by this foul cruelty the hatred he had conceived against the man of God, Bruno, who was surely the gentlest of men towards the good, or to help whom he could in so great a peril, is uncertain; but the first opinion was the more widely spread. For before this too, since his strength had failed, he had treacherously tried every harsh measure against Bruno: he seized by guile Metz, a most wealthy

city, made himself an object of suspicion to Cologne itself and the other strongholds of the kingdom, hurled insults and poured out threats. And afterwards, for some time, he remained in the same savagery in which he had long been. He left nothing untried by which he thought he could undo the covenant made among our people through the wisdom of their leader. For he was a man who a little before had enjoyed the highest power and the highest fortune, but did not know how prosperity ought to be used. Because, having abused it, he lost it, he raged beyond measure and without restraint against the good; but by God's dispensation he was always so beaten back from his wicked attempts that he repented not lightly of having undertaken so great a crime with such levity.

25

But the merciful and gracious Lord spared his priest and the holy provider of his people in all things, and so ordered everything that the greatest perils were often calmed without war and without loss of human life. Amid all this he himself, undaunted, often either read, absorbed in himself, or disputed about the greatest matters as though unaware of the cares pressing on him. It became known to the nations and peoples at Trier, and in Alsace, with what constancy and security of mind he confuted the fickle and reckless movements of his adversaries, showing those who boasted themselves most valiant in other men's affairs to be so feeble in their own. And in-

deed, men whom no battle line and no hardship had ever bent, this man's goodness made unwarlike and timid. For he was to be feared for his counsel and for the multitude of good men about him, not for cruelty, and because none of his enemies watched so keenly for destruction as he did for salvation. He was very little moved by rumour and the judgement of the crowd; he used his own judgement, and in what he rightly approved he chose to please not himself but God. So, to take in much in a few words and leave out more, within and without, at home and in the field, the untiring warrior of the Lord fought, with strength of mind more than of body, so long against the pestilent and the restless, and so often at the risk even of his own life, that the very fame of his name, wherever it reached, calmed wars, shaped peace, strengthened the pursuit of all good arts, and increased the grace of holy religion and of saving quiet.

26

Since, then, this humble lover of Christ and ardent seeker of the higher gifts (1 Cor 12:31), Bruno the servant of the Lord, ought, according to the dignity of his see, to be distinguished also with the privilege of the blessing of the Roman and apostolic see, and to be united with those who keep the sound doctrine handed down by blessed Peter the apostle in the integrity of the Catholic faith, in true confession and in the inviolable truth of preaching, he sent his synodal letter to Rome, to Pope Agapetus, a man of won-

derful holiness, by Hadamar, the venerable abbot of the monastery of Fulda; and in it he made known of what spirit he was, and that he was a shepherd chosen by his sheep and sent by the Lord. And there he was called one in heart and fellow citizen with the apostles, a prince and a spreader of the Lord's commandments. The envoy, returning thence with great eagerness of mind, then brought to the holy shepherd — to whom by God's grace there had already been given, according to the prophet, the oil of gladness for mourning — the mantle of praise for the spirit of sorrow (Is 61:3). For the Spirit of God divinely inspired this man of understanding, who was intent more on the magnificent power of this sacred sign than on what was visibly done, to lift up his heart in hope through spiritual joy, and not to be saddened at the labour he felt to be impending. For the heart that knows the bitterness of its own soul, in its joy no stranger shall share (Prov 14:10). These are the words of Wisdom.

27

So the envoy, as we began to say, returning from Rome, made haste to bring the good news to Cologne, carrying the sacred vestment sent by the universal pontiff, which signifies the sweet yoke of the Lord and his light burden (Mt 11:30), and the humble ministry exercised under it, as the words of the Lord bear witness, who says: He who is greater among you shall be your servant (Mt 23:11); bringing at the same time relics from the very body of Saint Pantaleon the martyr, and

a privilege granted by the authority of the apostolic majesty, by which the priest of the Lord was permitted, contrary to custom, to wear that same pallium as often as he wished; all that he asked was granted, and he himself, for the greatness of his virtue and wisdom, was admitted to a share in the pope's work and almost to a seat beside so great a dignity. The joyful city hastened to meet him; a rejoicing multitude ran together from every side; they gathered in the suburb near an ancient place where there was a church of the same precious martyr, still neglected and close to ruin. There the welcome burdens were set down, and afterwards each was put back in its own place.

28

That festive meeting at this same place, which shortly afterwards, alas, became a funeral one, prompts me to linger here a little. There this venerable vestment was received first, and there at the last: once with a glad song, once with a mournful one. For the body of the devout priest, worthy of God, when it was to be buried there, did not lose the insignia of its office, which nevertheless, as we believe, the soul carried with it spiritually, and therefore happily. So it was provided by the secret counsel of almighty God that this same place should first be made illustrious on this occasion, to make known the merits of his holy martyr, and should become the place which this peaceable and wonderfully humble man of the Lord would choose above all others, there to

await, lifeless, under the patronage of that same holy martyr, the day of the dread judgement and the glory of the resurrection to come. Not long after, in that same place, as being more secluded and further removed from the trouble of the city's unrest, he established brethren to serve the Lord under the rule of monastic discipline, watchful and diligent in the divine praise, and set over them an abbot named Christian, a guide in his profession and, as befitted that order, thoroughly learned in the law of the Lord. When he had been ordained, Bruno wrote him this brief admonition from the western parts: "See to it that you are what you are called; do not fall short of your kind. Make it your earnest triumph that it does not grow old, as before, but labour that it may go from strength to strength (Ps 84:8)."

29

He was never so taken up with the business of civil affairs — to which not his own desire but the necessity of the people drew him — as not to flourish in that mind of his, so lively for all things, intent above all on religion and on reading, in the pursuit of which he seemed ready to die. To this he kindled almost all whom he had before his eyes, by his example and by frequent admonition. But he grieved deeply over those who did not love it so, and, though in other respects they were his intimates, he kept them away from the secret and friendly place of his sorrow, where he used to open himself to himself more freely, and therefore more carefully. The heart of this man of

understanding was weary of royal luxury and of the enticements of jests and pleasures customary among the powerful, especially in our time. So if ever, constrained in some way by his own people, he yielded what he ought not, he usually wiped away this small excess with more abundant tears. He feared the present life when it was sweet, and he knew it by experience to be bitter. But of the life that knows no care and no weariness there is no doubt that he thought most of all, he who spoke of it so brilliantly and so often, both with his intimates and before the people entrusted to him.

30

Young as he was and surrounded with every pomp, he wished, I dare say, to be dissolved, if only to be with Christ (Phil 1:23). Hence his constant tears, his almost continual sighs, his stolen prayers and the sobs that sounded out quite clearly even in his bed, as those testify from whom he could not well hide it, even when he wished to remain hidden. How often he set the day of his death before the eyes of his heart! How often he broke out with his voice too into what he had pondered in his heart! How often we heard him, with vehement groaning, long for that which he hoped would come, though not without grave dread: that, safe in the mercy of God alone, he might escape the seething shipwreck of this world and stand at last on the shore of inmost security! He seemed in a way always about to slip away, fleeing as if it were death everything that

flattered him among the delights of this world. Very many witnesses of his way of life survive; whenever they had perceived him in private with a contrite heart and a humbled spirit, they could wonder at him more than imitate him. For this man of the people for the most part lived as though he were a solitary; wonderful to say, among the merriest guests he himself, merrier still, often abstained. The soft and delicate garments in which he had been reared and brought to manhood he often refused even in the houses of kings; among his ministers clad in purple and his knights gleaming with gold he himself wore a cheap tunic and rustic sheepskins. He utterly despised the delights of a soft bed. In the baths, among those who bathed and sought a gleaming skin, he hardly ever washed — which is all the more wonderful because from his very cradle he had been brought up amid such refinements and royal pomp. These things he did, as time and place required, now openly and now more secretly, so as both to escape human praise and yet, by doing them, to give an example to those under him. For many profit by words, but most profit more by examples. Among the meek and humble no one was humbler; against the wicked and proud no one was more vehement. This man, whom no favour could put under obligation, native and foreigner alike dreaded as a terror; and, in a right and most fitting order, everyone whom the fame of his greatness reached learned first to fear him and afterwards to love him.

Bodies and relics of saints and memorials of every kind he gathered from everywhere, to heap up patrons for his people and to spread the glory of the Lord through many peoples, on this side and beyond, by this solemn veneration. For these he prepared places and services lavishly, with every expense and appointment; and of each of them more would have to be said, if the brevity I have promised allowed it. These are signs of an unconquered faith, by which he sought not his own things but the things of Jesus Christ (Phil 2:21). Everyone knows with what diligence, what fervour, what joy he brought to Cologne the staff and the chain of Saint Peter, the one from Metz and the other from Rome. In Peter's honour he wonderfully enlarged his most honoured house, which from beautiful he made most beautiful. The renowned martyrs of illustrious fame, Patroclus, Eliphius, Privatus and Gregory, whose deeds are most magnificent, whose merits are glorious, whose patronage is sure, and the precious relics of Christopher and, as has been said, of Saint Pantaleon, to whose patronage he committed himself in a special way, he drew with wonderful zeal from various places to the most holy see of his church, as most welcome jewels and sweetest pledges. What was done, by the provision of this holy provider, concerning the translation of blessed Evergislus, the third archbishop of that same see, is known to very many: he was laid to rest in the church of the blessed virgin Cecilia

with hymns and the celebration of divine praise, and the devout people so venerate and honour him that you would think him present, repaying their daily service with ample benefits.

32

The other delights and gifts of salvation which in so short a time he bestowed on the sons of his church cannot be weighed or valued; he gathered them from almost all the regions and ends of the world with devout affection and purpose, as if guessing what was to come, so that, because of the shortness of his days, he might secure lasting gifts for the flock entrusted to him. Yet he took the greatest care that both the longing of those from whom they were taken and the joy of those to whom they were brought should be increased, so that both, roused by the good odour of Christ, who is in the martyrs — nay, which the martyrs themselves are — though with different feelings, the former might seek more eagerly what they had neglected, and the latter might venerate for ever what they rejoiced had been translated to them. For he who does not know how to love the good he has may perhaps learn, if it is taken from him, to love the good he lacks; and he will hold it more fruitfully in memory while it is absent than he held it uselessly when it was present. In this way was fulfilled that saying of the Gospel: To everyone who has will more be given, and he will have abundance; but from him who has not, even what he has will be taken away (Mt 25:29).

Meanwhile, in many places throughout the parishes of his diocese, this faithful and prudent servant of the Lord eagerly raised churches, monasteries and other buildings fit for the service of the Lord his God and for the honour of his saints: some he built from the foundations, some already founded he nobly enlarged, others long fallen into ruin he repaired. In each of them, with the provident skill of his mind, he placed men to serve almighty God under the rule of the canonical life, and, so that they should lack nothing befitting their way of life, he provided for them by generous endowment. The monuments of this work and of his most wholesome zeal, more lasting than bronze, endure firmly in the places where these things were done, so that, to the praise and glory of Jesus Christ, they will never allow any age to darken the memory of so great a man. The same he passed on to foreign nations, and spread it through the kingdom committed to his care, partly by example, partly by his own work, partly through persons of various kinds and by frequent admonition. For he would not let any of his people be either busy to no purpose or sluggish in idle leisure, laying down, as he used to say, that the lazy herd must be kept from the stalls, and, according to the Apostle, that if anyone will not work, neither let him eat (2 Thess 3:10). All the good things he did, taught and loved cannot be written down one by one. So much matter will always remain for

those who attempt it that they will surely stop, weary, before they have completed what they undertake. As for what he was, and how great, in preaching the word of God and in the subtlety of his disputations on the purity of the Scriptures, we can marvel at it but cannot define it; he poured forth so abundantly the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ and the teaching that accords with godliness (1 Tim 6:3) that no one who heard him and rightly understood could doubt that he was full of the wisdom of God, through which all things were made. And so that this keen searcher of the things of Jesus Christ might leave untried nothing that served the use of divine worship, if he found any, within the folds of his own sheepfolds or outside them, who sought the solitary life in order to fight the devil in single combat, he received them with all reverence, strengthened them too with the loving comfort of his exhortation, and enclosed them in various cells of monasteries and churches, with the proper testimony of the Church and with the religious office that was fitting, some singly and some in pairs; yet they had no access to one another except by word and sight alone. To these he carefully supplied, through the most faithful deputies of his administration, their maintenance and whatever seemed necessary for human frailty, and especially on the feasts of the apostles, as many as occurred in the year, he visited them one by one with fitting gifts. Thus, following the clear rule of the Apostle's teaching, he took care to provide good things, not only before God but also before

men (2 Cor 8:21), so that men of every disposition and condition, if they sought God, could be either proved or instructed among his disciples.

34

Concerning the handmaids of God who had been devoted to divine religion in the monastery of St Mary, and concerning the canons transferred to the church of St Andrew the apostle, and other such matters, he did leave no small scruple — but only for those whose mind's eye is not keen enough to see clearly his sincere intention in his various works. If they considered that men are not chosen by God for the sake of a place, but the place for the sake of men, and that obedience pleases God more than sacrifice, they would perhaps know that the sheep must hear the voice of the shepherd, and that what they follow through obedience will be more approved and acceptable to God than what they follow through their own will. For where there is jealousy and strife, says the apostle James, there is disorder and every evil work (Jas 3:16). Likewise, in driving out of the kingdom, as a plague upon the good, and forcing into exile certain wicked plunderers of the fatherland and of its citizens, who would not be quiet and peaceable in it, he surely took thought for their good, though they did not know it. For the longer a wicked man lasts, the heavier and longer the punishment he lays up for himself. And when would the good have rest, if no one resisted the fury of the wicked? God surely spared those to whom, in his great patience and good-

ness, he granted that, absent, they should hear of the peace and state of their fatherland what, present, they would never have wished to see; happy they, if at least in exile they came to know their own good and longed for the fatherland from which they could not be driven out, where all the peacemakers are blessed, for they have been called sons of God (Mt 5:9). Such, then, by the grace of almighty God, was this man, that he was in no way roused by hatred or envy to persecute such men, nor held back by any hardness or cruelty from pitying and sparing the wretched; but as an anxious shepherd and true leader of the people of God he sought in every affair the salvation and benefit of all, and strove vigorously that those whom he himself had led and taught in the way of God should not be seduced by the perverse and sent into error. He was so far from cruelty that he himself often wept bitterly even for those on whom, for the nature of their deeds, he was obliged to inflict something bitter; so he was wont to rejoice with those who rejoice and to weep with those who weep (Rom 12:15). For he who said this also commanded that a certain man be delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord (1 Cor 5:5).

35

So when the supreme day and the inescapable time was near in which almighty God, merciful to the land of his people, avenging the blood of his servants, would render vengeance on their ene-

mies (Deut 32:43), the pride of the most ferocious nation of the Hungarians swelled beyond measure and wholly past bearing, led on, I believe, by its success of the year before. For, as was most truly said: Before a fall the heart is lifted up; there have fallen all who work iniquity (Prov 16:18; Ps 36:13). This impending distress was forestalled by the peace of the Church, fully agreed upon at the royal assembly held at Arnstadt and already confirmed in great part through the wisdom of our emperor and his brothers. And indeed it became known to tribes and tongues that God is not a God of dissension but of peace (1 Cor 14:33), so great a salvation did he work for his people from the beginning of this peace. The emperor's spirit was indeed stirred within him, because he had no time to gather an army; but he had confidence through Christ towards God, who is able to save by few as by many (1 Sam 14:6). Conrad was there, no longer a duke but a knight, turned with his whole soul, as was thought, to the peace he had fiercely attacked a little before, taming his limbs with a hair shirt and beseeching God with groans, as it is said, that, if such were his holy will, he would grant the victory to our king and his army, and let Conrad himself be slain by the impious men with whom he had wickedly joined himself before, so that he might be freed for ever from their fellowship. The emperor decreed that a fast be proclaimed on that very day, which was then the vigil of Saint Lawrence the martyr, through whose intercession he asked that God himself be a refuge to him and to his people. The

purpose of the work I have undertaken does not allow me to set out the battle, begun at the first dawn of the holy feast and brought to a happy end barely by evening twilight, God mercifully disposing all and fighting for his own; the death of Conrad after the victory, to be pitied; the most glorious triumph of the emperor; the king of the barbarians himself, their dukes and princes, taken captive; the trophies, very many, set up across the whole breadth of his kingdom as far as the borders of that people — all of which await the labour of a work of their own, to the praise and glory of almighty God.

36

To return to our purpose, from which we have strayed a little, let us tell what meanwhile the holy archbishop Bruno, who always loathed all malice and was the untiring executor of justice, did. When he saw that he could not join his lord and brother, the great emperor, with auxiliary troops by the appointed day, and was at the same time anxious lest the barbarians, avoiding battle, should turn aside into Gaul, the province committed to his charge, he judged that in this way he would serve the kingdom and further the emperor's wishes the more: he met Liudolf, the king's offspring and his nephew, soothed his sick mind with blandishments sweeter than honey, and promised him his former standing, if he would attend more carefully to what was rightly his. When he felt that the healing antidotes of his words and exhortations were no longer

evaded, as before, with crooked windings, but tasted more eagerly than usual and taken into the depths of the heart, he soon invited him, gladly enough, to a venerable place of his diocese, namely Bonn, received him more gladly still, and, not unmindful of the royal dignity, entertained him with every pleasure worthy of them both and fitting, and most welcome to all who were present. While they were still together, they received news of what had been done in the campaign — or rather, by divine power. The uncle pressed on to console his nephew still further. Soon, at the prompting of this counsellor, it came about that the emperor entrusted all Italy to his son, who had been lost and was found (Lk 15:24), and, what was greater, bestowed on him a father's love most steadfastly. There, while he was most pleasing to the people and was making his way to Olympus, suddenly that most unblemished flower and surest strength of the kingdom passed from our midst. His father, the emperor and ever magnificent victor, having found comfort after his grief, joined the old bond with his brother by a new intimacy and came to Cologne; there he took delight not so much in brotherly entertainment as in seeing and speaking with him and in all their most pleasant intercourse. Nor was there lacking there a severe sentence of judgement upon the wicked and troublesome citizens of the kingdom, and likewise a gentle liberality of loving lordship towards the good and the meek. Concerning the state of the kingdom and the protection and enlargement of its affairs they took counsel

together diligently and vigorously, and it was provided with the greatest deliberation that they should proceed most cautiously, ratifying some things and cutting others away.

37

Meanwhile the holy shepherd Bruno, champion of truth and propagator of the Gospel, sought out with the greatest diligence active and industrious men, who would each defend the commonwealth in his own place with loyalty and strength. He took careful pains that they should lack neither counsel nor resources. All the princes, the lords of the regions and the others concerned with the ordering of the kingdom who, by his most wholesome admonitions, had agreed in full faith to a covenant for the common good of all good men, he held among his closest friends and intimates, and above all he reconciled them with the emperor, his brother, weighing the saying, not lightly made, of a certain wise man: "A good man, if you neglect him, grows slacker, but a bad man grows more wicked." Henry, archbishop of Trier, a man of great merit and the highest integrity, who succeeded Robert, that magnificent bishop, when he died at Cologne in a grievous pestilence while the emperor too was there; and William also, archimandrite of illustrious and most welcome excellence, his nephew, the successor of Frederick, bishop of Mainz — both outstanding, both perfectly instructed in the law of the Lord, both most closely bound to the emperor, the one by blood, the other by upright-

ness, and both by intimacy — these he himself also honoured with the greatest reverence. These men, then, so illustrious, so truly wise and devout and learned in all good arts, he often called to counsel, lest he himself, as is the way of human things, should stray anywhere from the path of truth; and we have seen them with him not only in reading, counsel and disputation but also in the battle line, providing good things, not only before God but also before men (2 Cor 8:21). For in the western borders of the Lotharingian kingdom there was a kind of untamed barbarism, among those who seemed to be children of the Church, envying the happiness of others and no less their own salvation, despising the gentle persuasion of fatherly exhortation and scarcely feeling the terror of power. If they had been left to their own law, they would have shown themselves perverse to their own people and worst of all to themselves. He, however, above all used a provident moderation of discretion: according to the nature of places and times, in setting shepherds over them at the command of our most wise emperor, he provided for the peace and tranquillity of the Lord's flock, preferring to the rest, of course, those to whom it was by no means unknown what is the office of a shepherd and what the fault of a hireling, what one takes upon oneself in ministry, what must be done or hoped for under compulsion; some, so that like curtains of violet they might adorn the inner parts of the house of the Lord, others, so that like coverings of goats'

hair they might keep out the violence of storms from without.

38

I am glad to recall a certain holy and praiseworthy deed of this holy father, which he is known to have done in the very beginnings of his priesthood, to awaken in the hearts of the oppressed, in place of mourning and the spirit of sorrow, the hope of salvation; although this very deed, for want of men who judge rightly, lay open to the slanderer's tongue. For what does envy not pervert, than which no madness seems greater? Rather, ordained bishop of Verona, a city of Italy, had been driven from the honour of his own see on some slight suspicion, as is the custom of that people; and by Bruno's great efforts he was installed, according to the statutes of the canons, in the vacant see of Liège. Because of the abundant learning and copious eloquence with which he was seen to flourish among the wisest, this was thought likely to be of great profit not only to the church over which he presided but to many others round about. At the same time, since in those parts, through zeal and strife, whence disorder and every evil work are wont to come, even certain priests of the Lord — a shameful thing to say — trusting more than was right in earthly power, were very often giving scandal to the unlearned people, the lord Bruno, so often named and so often to be named, on whom the care of governing the whole kingdom already rested, judged — and it was true — that this

man, cast out before and neglected, would by so great a kindness be drawn into that covenant of faith and truth, so that no one could lead him astray; and he believed that only so could he stop the mouths of those who spoke hostile things, if no occasion of scandal could be found in their bishop. But the sinister party prevailed, to its own ruin; whatever was done for their salvation they reckoned pestilent to themselves. Why say more? They erred, they raged, and they did not cease until they had satisfied their cruelty and wickedness by his expulsion. All hope of his restoration was taken away, for a most grievous conspiracy was formed, which, it seemed, could not be calmed unless he too were wholly removed and Balderic, who was sprung from the line of the magnates of that land, were put in his place. Into this bilge countless storms flowed together from every side; the ship of the Church tossed, its oarsmen labouring; the helmsman himself could not withstand the force of the raging tempest. So he yielded, he yielded, so as not to be overcome by evil, but to overcome evil with good (Rom 12:21); he yielded to the will of his opponents, so as to slay them with their own sword. Of their own accord they bound themselves by the faith of oaths that, if they were found worthy to receive the bishop they asked for, they would thenceforth defend with unshaken firmness the authority of the Church and the rights of the emperor. And so that nothing should remain unfinished in such an affair that might stir a scruple in those curious about the affairs of others, he brought it about,

with the emperor his brother, that the ancient see of the church of Verona was restored to Bishop Rather, now twice deprived of his see.

39

There are many other things, almost without number, which in a short time he accomplished most vigorously in the things of God and for the salvation of the whole people, not only among the people of the Lotharingians, which he had taken over entire to govern and which, as can be seen at present, he made peaceful and gentle from rough and wild, but also throughout the whole kingdom of the most glorious emperor, his brother. For he shared a wholly common care with his lord and brother, and each of them rightly gloried in the other in the Lord. Moreover, Lothair, his sister's son, sprung from an ancient line of kings, when he was hard pressed by his cousins, he wonderfully rescued and raised up, and did not rest until he had made him king in his father's place and had brought under his yoke the sons of Hugh, older and more powerful than he, and all the princes of that kingdom; thus providing for all, so that under the governance of one rule all alike might be safe from enemies and at peace with one another.

40

That kingdom — this must not be passed over in silence — is threatened by a savage scourge, the nation of the Northmen, than whom none

are more practised in piracy and plunder. To them a people accustomed to dissension and civil ruin had already in great part become a prey. What the Northmen had left, they had consumed among themselves in domestic sedition. But the provident governance of our ruler — who, since he understood that he was a man, thought nothing human alien to him — brought it about, I say, that all who loved quiet and peace fled to him as to the safest harbour. He softened the savagery and long intolerable ferocity of the barbarians themselves. For at that same time their king Harald, with a great multitude of his people, bowed his neck to Christ, the King of kings, and renounced the vanity of idols.

41

The emperor had a son, still very young, of the most delicate nature and the most unblemished charm, a hostage of peace and the glory of the people. The emperor, about to set out for Rome and to set in order the affairs of all Italy, had left him in the keeping of the archbishops, his uncle and his brother, for the protection of the kingdom on this side of the Alps. He himself, who was soon to be Caesar, had him made king, chosen with the fullest consent by the whole people; and Archbishop Bruno, William and Henry and the other priests of the Lord anointed Otto, his father's namesake, king at the palace of Aachen, and the people rejoiced with the greatest jubilation, saying: “Long live the king for ever!” Then the brothers, an ever unconquered pair, parted from

one another; and while the emperor crossed the Pennine Alps, the holy shepherd and archbishop Bruno, admired on this side and longed for on both with incredible love, remained behind. Not long after, since he could not go in person, he sent to his lord and brother auxiliary troops from the people of the Lotharingians, and no light-armed force. They were commanded by Duke Godfrey, whom he himself had brought up, a wise and devout man, most loving of peace, most observant of equity, serving the emperor at that time as he could wish and pleasing to all. At that same time he was seized with fever and breathed his last, in great hope of the rest to come. Being in some measure sure of his innocence, as one who had witnessed and known his life, the holy father Bruno, when the distribution of money for the remedy of his soul was under discussion, declared that he had no great need of such things. Moreover, his brother awaited the emperor's return anxiously night and day, and went joyfully to meet him as he returned in all glory — for outstanding were his virtue and dignity, and the faithfulness and restraint he had shown in the business he had carried out — and he reckoned that with him had returned the hope of leisure and tranquillity of mind, the courts, the laws, and, with the concord of the people, the authority of the king and of the princes. He took part in all the emperor's counsels — for the emperor thought day and night of nothing but the welfare of his people — and excelled among the first. He was to him the weightiest adviser in es-

tablishing the commonwealth, the most faithful companion in furnishing it, the strongest helper in bringing it to perfection.

42

So when, in this most holy pursuit, the emperor was in the thirtieth year of his reign and his brother in the twelfth of his episcopate, having scarcely passed his fortieth year, they celebrated holy Pentecost together at Cologne — and no greater glory was ever granted to mortals — and gladdened one another amid the holy offices of those solemn days, together with their divine mother, their sister the queen, their nephews and sons who were kings, and all that God-beloved family and all the senators of the kingdom. For it is agreed that no place ever flourished with such a concourse, with such splendour of men of every kind, age and rank. This faithful union of the most glorious Caesar Augustus and his brother, the supreme and incomparable Archbishop Bruno, pleasing to God in every will and work; this harmony in administering and carrying out well all that was useful and honourable; this most delightful fellowship of life and of every duty — cruel death, dreadful death, death, I say, alone put asunder. And indeed, though nothing seemed more cruel, nothing could have parted it more innocently.

43

So when the chief bishop Bruno, having first rushed into the embrace of his lord and brother, who was going eastwards, and wept abundantly, had left his company, and, giving thanks to God, had seen all things peaceful and quiet within the bounds of the kingdom entrusted to him, he admonished all his people, clergy and laity, again and again about what was to be done, and soon went west to Compiègne, to call his nephews, who were at odds with one another, back to concord, to establish them in faith and grace, and to confirm to the Church its religion, to the king his honour and to each, as the rule of equity dictated and with the Lord's assent, what was his own. Intent on this business, he began to fall ill; and so, held fast at the city of Reims by a grievous bodily affliction, on the fifth day after the sickness struck him it laid him low. During those days, on the road no less than in his lodging, he was refreshed by constant reading, and by almost no other food. When Bishop Wigfrid asked him familiarly, as he himself testifies, by the weight of what illness he was oppressed, he answered that it was not an illness but the dissolution of his body. The bishop of that metropolis received him most worthily and treated him most kindly; and on the feast of Saint Remigius, which then fell, he was somewhat easier, so that his little household and companions had hope of his recovery. But he called the bishops who had come with him, Theoderic and Wigfrid, and asked them to give him the opportunity of making his will and to lend him their help. When they excused them-

selves with deep grief and many tears, promising that the health he desired would soon return, he resisted them with the energy of mind that was always strong in him: "While there is time," he said, "let this be done; many other things remain for us to do after this." Then the illness grew heavier and gained strength, and his breathing, now that the passage of his throat was closing, foretold the failing of his vital powers. Then, calling a notary, he dictated his will himself in the presence of the witnesses we have named; all that he had he made over from himself while still living in good hope: he scattered, he gave to the poor (Ps 112:9); and what he had gathered for ordering the outward buildings of the churches of God he divided in a short time, according to the wisdom given him, once his deed had been drawn up and confirmed, fittingly and worthily of his profession. Whoever wishes to read it for himself will find it written below. His mind, which by the gift of God a pure heart and constant exercise had made polished and illustrious, did not fail him at the last, as plainly appears in his words.

44

After this the poor man of Christ, gathering the strength of his soul, again called the bishops to him apart. When they sat beside him and had drawn close, he poured out these words with abundant groaning and a flood of tears: "There seem to me to be three kinds of confession by which the heart of man lays itself open to the Lord its God, the witness of the reins and

searcher of hearts — not that it may become better known to him, who knows all things, but that the man who knows himself little may know himself more truly, and either praise God for his good deeds or accuse himself for his evil ones. Though this ought always to be done — for we are commanded to watch, lest the thief come and creep in upon us unawares to do us harm — yet when the master of the house knocks through the trouble of sickness, the mind must raise itself with what strength it can, rise with what attention it may to meet its approaching Judge, and, with earthly desires laid to rest, burn with hope for the things above; it must not despair of everlasting goods, though it has not deserved them; it must distrust itself and trust in the Lord. Behold, beloved brethren, as you see, the door of my breast is being knocked upon; I am called to render an account of my work. If you can do anything, I beg you, bring help; stretch out the hand of your prayer. I am carried, uncertain, between hope and fear; and I must strive to lean no further towards either side. But what is my strength? I await the remedy of mercy; I am in the hand of my Creator; I wait for what pleases him to be done with me. It is good to confess to the Lord (Ps 92:2); confession and magnificence are his work (Ps 111:3). For nothing good can be done unless he works it. There is a certain confession that does not lament sins but nevertheless implores mercy, of which it is said through the Psalmist in the person of the Lord: The sacrifice of praise shall honour me, and there is the way by which I will

show him my salvation (Ps 50:23). This salvation, that is, the Lord Jesus, I confess with my mouth, and I believe in my heart that God raised him from the dead (Rom 10:9). In him I acknowledge all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden (Col 2:3). No one can call him the Lord Jesus except in the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 12:3). Before him is all my desire, and my groaning is not hidden from him (Ps 38:10). I said: I will confess against myself my iniquities to the Lord (Ps 32:5) — and this is the second kind of confession, the lament for sins. The third, which the blessed apostle James commends when he says, Confess your sins to one another and pray for one another, that you may be saved (Jas 5:16) — this I wish to do with you, my lords and brothers; this I anxiously seek. And I hope, for we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins (1 Jn 2:1–2)." Then, when he had poured himself out wholly before the Lord in these words, he asked for the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, not unaware of the power of that sacrament. When it had been brought, that man of the Lord showed what he felt in his soul by prostrating himself with his whole body. Refreshed by this life-giving food and stronger in hope, he was laid back in his bed, and after this he remained no fewer than five days in the same weakness of body and fervour of spirit.

45

But on the solemn day of the blessed martyrs Gereon and his companions, as it was already

drawing to its close, he suddenly fell into a swoon and caused great mourning among the bishops, dukes, counts and all who were present, for they thought that the dissolution of that most beloved body was even then at hand. He, as was his way, recovering a little, quieted the commotion with his hand, soothed the weeping and wailing of those standing by, and called by name the elders and those more worthy of this last address: "Do not," he said, "do not, brothers, be saddened by this lot of mine. By the judgement of divine chastisement this condition has been laid upon all mortals; it is not permitted to refuse what the Almighty has decreed inevitable. Joyful things will soon follow these sad ones. I go there — my life not taken away but changed for the better — where I shall soon see men far more numerous and more illustrious than I have ever seen here." Saying no more than this, he soon laid his weary limbs back on his bed. A little later, while it was still full daylight, he completed with the brethren the customary office of evening praise, and Compline when night had fallen deep; he commended himself most earnestly to the Lord his God and to the prayers of his saints, as one soon to depart; he fortified his journey with that great viaticum, the holy and only pledge of our redemption; and he signed with his blessing the bishops, himself and those who were at hand. Thus with an attentive mind he awaited, at his Creator's command, the dread hour of his dissolution. Then, when midnight had passed, turning with what effort he could to Bishop Theoderic, his kinsman, he

said: "Lord, pray!" And soon, amid those who were singing psalms to the Lord and praying and weeping greatly, he breathed forth his spirit. What in him could not die was returned to its Creator; but his lifeless body, as he had commanded while alive, his untiring companions lifted on a bier that same day, that is, the fifth day before the Ides of October, and, carrying it, came on the eighth day after to Cologne, the august metropolis of his see. Some of them still testify on oath, affirming it in wonderful wise, that on that long journey they felt almost no weariness or burden of toil under so great a load. And from wherever they went, wherever they went, whatever peoples and whatever lands they reached, all esteemed wonderfully, each as best he could, the outstanding merits of this man worthy of God — to use their own words — towards the commonwealth, the emperor, the kings, the princes and all the people.

46

When such a funeral train was nearing Cologne, and rumour, all too hateful, spread the news through all the people of the Lotharingian kingdom, everyone was so undone — above all the nurslings of that most holy see and church — as if the departure and death of so great a shepherd were the funeral of the Church itself. For in proportion to the greatness of the former consolation, so then grew the force and the magnitude of their grief. So all wept, most of them until their tears were dried up in them. Many,

stunned and frozen in their limbs, forgot in the great misery of this bereavement that they themselves were alive. Before all others he was struck with mourning and tears, but still more with inward grief of heart, who had loved this father of the fatherland above the rest: Folcmar, a deacon of memorable uprightness and diligence, and the prudent and faithful provost and steward of this holy church — the title by which the father himself used to honour him, as his deputy and the man most closely joined to him in every affair — on whom alone the faces, eyes and minds of all the desolate were then turned, and who by the will and desire of them all had already been chosen bishop, though not yet appointed. To him, though absent, because he knew him well, the holy father had entrusted by name, with the greatest care, the distribution of all his goods to the needy and to the churches of his diocese, foreseeing, I believe, the succession to come.

47

Near the walls of the city there is a church, humble indeed in structure and workmanship, but distinguished by the name of the apostles, in whose veneration it is said to have been consecrated; there they laid the lifeless body of their shepherd and veiled it with the insignia of the priesthood, in a place where few had access except bishops and some priests of the second order. Then, soon lifting it again, the clergy and people, redoubling a chant mingled with lament, carried it into the church of the most

blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, where the venerable see was. That night they spent without sleep, in vigils and psalmody most solemnly kept, their bodies barely refreshed. In the morning the whole city gathered, and a countless multitude of those who had come from various provinces and kingdoms, startled by the sudden news. The archbishop of Trier was present, and the bishop of Liège. Into the midst came the bishops Theoderic and Wigfrid, witnesses of his last dispositions and of the message he sent to his sons serving God there. His will was read in the venerable presbytery before the altar of most holy Peter; and there were recounted also the things which, with a mind devout and careful in the things of God, he had asked and commanded but had not thought fit to put in writing: namely, that throughout that whole year, every single day, never less than a whole pound of pennies should be paid out for the needs of the poor.

48

Then, according to the request and desire of his heart, with which he burned at the last, the most holy clergy were persuaded to allow, with willing minds, his body to be transferred to the monastery of monks which he had built outside the city walls in honour of the holy martyrs Pantaleon, Cosmas and Damian, and Quirinus; and which he not only built then but builds still, and does not cease to set in order by his counsel and providence, God governing the signs of his good will through the merits of the saints whose

relics he brought there and whose patronage he secured for himself by devout and diligent supplication. All agreed most readily to all he had commanded; only this were they persuaded of with the greatest difficulty: that his lifeless body should be taken away from the highest place of his most holy see. They mourned as though bereaved a second time, yet after long deliberation they did not dare to resist his most devout will even in this. The shepherd was led away from his sheep with laments and complaints past telling. He was buried in the church of the blessed martyrs on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of November, where to this day it is plainly shown how great he was in the eyes of all good men. What manner of man he was whom they had lost, both good and wicked recognised more clearly afterwards. They throng to the place of his burial; they vie in recalling what he did, what he taught, how he lived, how he died. Now they pray for him, now they ask that he deign to pray for them. They do not seek signs; they attend to his life, they recall his teaching, and they promise themselves, or their descendants, that something great is to come in him. In short, by his memorials all are stirred to the praise and glory of God, now through him dead as once through him living.

49

The will of the lord Bruno, archbishop and venerable in Christ: in a good hour.

Bruno, servant of Christ, to his sons serving God at Cologne. What I have resolved concerning

the disposal of the goods which divine munificence has entrusted to me, I have judged it most fitting, should God not allow me to share these things with you in person, to have strengthened by your judgement and supported by your testimony, by a writing brought to you. Therefore, by the counsel of our brothers Theoderic and Wigfrid, who are themselves also your nurslings, agree to all of it and, God willing, carry it all out duly; and whatever treasure has been brought into the church by our wealth — whatever there is, for it is kept under the keys of this Evizo, a distinguished man, treasurer of Saint Peter's — save anything the servants may not yet have handed in, so that nothing may seem to have been divided from the church: let it be gathered, under the witness of Christ and the Church, before the altar of Saint Peter, openly in the presence of the lord Poppo, provost and steward of our church, and examined with careful reckoning, and let the golden vessels and all the more precious things be consecrated for ever to perpetual use in the service of the holy Mother of God, Mary, and of the blessed apostle Peter in that same church. A golden cup, a seal and a Greek dish, which are in our keeping, to blessed Pantaleon; also the candlesticks used daily in our service, a silver horseman given by the archbishop of Mainz, ten of the best palls, ten silver vessels of the better kind, a hundred pounds for completing the cloister, three hundred for enlarging the church, the wider curtain, three table-cloths, three carpets, as many bench-covers, thirty napkins; and besides,

whatever mares we have, except those found to belong to the church; the estates I acquired for our church — Langalon by the Rhine, Werebetti, Heingelon, Lidron, Wishem, which the Meuse washes; also the house of our cousin the bishop of Metz, and the estate of Bavingan, and besides whatever of our church's property he holds: all this I give. Let a third part of this year's produce, raised for our use, also be given for the use of the monks. Let a home for the aged be established in a suitable place, at the abbot's discretion, not far from the monastery; to it I grant whatever estate we have at Deutz, Leresfelt also, acquired in Saxony, and whatever Gebhard, formerly provost of Bonn, is known to have held by the Moselle. And so that this may be done with the good leave of our lord and of our successor, for the remedy of us both let him use as he pleases Ruthinge, which by our labour was added to the church's property. Like the oratory which we built for blessed Privatus beside the altar of Saint Martin at the west end of the church, let one be made for blessed Gregory, the great martyr, who was lately brought here, where his most holy body may be laid to rest. For its foundation let a hundred pounds be bequeathed. To our brothers at Saint Peter's, golden cups, twenty pounds, a curtain, two table-cloths, as many bench-covers. To the altar of Saint Gereon, large ewers, two palls, one of the larger carpets; to the brothers, incense boats and twelve pounds, a table-cloth and two bench-covers. For completing the altar of Saint Severinus, four pounds of gold; to the brothers,

eight pounds, two vessels, a table-cloth, two bench-covers. To Saint Cunibert, two dishes. To the two Saints Ewald, three palls; to the brothers, two vessels, eight pounds, a table-cloth, two bench-covers, one carpet. To Saint Andrew, thirty pounds, four palls, as many vessels, two candlesticks; to the brothers, six pounds. To the blessed martyr Eliphius and to Saint Martin the confessor, the same; and besides, the estate of Solagon, acquired for our church by precarial grant. To the altar of Saint Mary, two of the better vessels; for completing the monastery and cloister, a hundred pounds; a curtain, two bench-covers, as many napkins. To the altar of Saint Cecilia, three pounds of gold, a curtain, two candlesticks, two vessels, one carpet, two bench-covers, and for finishing the monastery fifty pounds. To the community of that monastery, ten pounds and a table-cloth. To the Holy Virgins, two vessels, two candlesticks, two palls, a curtain, one carpet, two bench-covers. To the holy nuns, ten pounds and a table-cloth. To the altar of the holy martyrs Cassius and Florentius, two pounds of gold, the basins that are in our keeping, two cups, as many palls; to the brothers, ten pounds. To Saint Victor and his community, the same. For founding the monastery and cloister at Soest, a hundred pounds; for the altar, six vessels, as many palls, one of the larger carpets, two bench-covers, a cope and a chasuble of our own; and besides, the estate which Wodilo gave at our request, and that also which the lord Poppo very diligently acquired for us at Richildinchuso and Arvite.

Pour out your prayers, O hearts; send forth your tearful voices: / behold, the father of the fatherland is laid in stone, / of royal stock, to be remembered through all lands, / Bruno the peacemaker, a good man and a holy. / Archbishop, whose see was famous Cologne, / he was seen everywhere as dear to all good men. / A light most living offended the black darkness. / The envious tongue is silent; now only true praise pleases. / This world was not worthy of so rare a gift; / snatched from this stain, he now enjoys the Lord. / On the fifth day before the Ides of October, a bishop of twelve years, / he departed this life; kindly hope was his companion.