GERHARD OF AUGSBURG

The Life of Saint Ulrich

Vita S. Udalrici

SABBATISMUS

Gerhard of Augsburg (fl. c. 972–993)
Vita S. Udalrici · The Life of Saint Ulrich

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The fame of the miracles of Christ, which he granted to be done through his servant Saint Ulrich in honour of his most holy Mother Mary, was knocking very often at the ears of many, and doubt still held their minds; so they sent messengers to me, wishing to learn the truth of these things from my answers, and asked me to set out for them in a clear account whatever I had been able to know in truth. And when so great a crowd of questioners had hemmed me in on every side with their questions that I judged I could not give each of them a written answer singly, I began to ponder silently within myself how, after searching out with quiet inquiry the origin of his birth, I might, once his birth was described, give a truthful account of the life that followed and of his death to all alike who asked and who wished to read; trusting not in any merits of mine gone before, nor in the sharpness of my own mind, but hoping in the mercy of almighty God, who said: Open your mouth, and I will fill it (Ps 81:11); that through the merits of the said bishop he may deign to guide my understanding with the watering of the Holy Spirit and the fervour of divine fire, so that he who inspired me to conceive this may not withdraw the strength to accomplish it, but may grant me to bring forth in

fitting measure what was purposed in my mind; and so that these pages may set examples of edification before those who love God, and increase for those who despise God's commandments the gain of conversion or the threat of damnation. We trust indeed that the help of almighty God is with those who read these things in the love of Christ, so that through his servant they may find support in this world and, with his help, be led to everlasting joys.

First of all, with the help of the Holy Spirit, we must not pass over in silence the meaning of the name of so great and so worthy a man. In the German tongue an inheritance left by one's forefathers is called "Altuodal", and "Ric" means riches; so Vodalricus may fittingly be interpreted as "rich in his father's inheritance", for he flourished enriched with the inheritance of the eternal Father, of whom we say daily in our prayer: Our Father, who art in heaven (Mt 6:9), and so on. To the possession of this inheritance Saint Paul encourages those who persevere in God's will, saying: Heirs indeed of God, and joint heirs with Christ (Rom 8:17); and of this inheritance it is also written: What eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man, what God has prepared for those who love him (1 Cor 2:9). He not only enjoys its fruit himself, but while he lived in this pilgrimage he drew very many by manifold consolations of his kindness, and by manifold helps and unceasing miracles he will lead them into it, as will be found in what follows.

I

Saint Ulrich of blessed memory, then, sprang from the lofty stock of the Alamanni, born of devout and noble parents, his father named Hupald and his mother Dietpirch. He was suckled in the usual way and nursed with the greatest care; yet, though his little body was shapely in stature, he was so wasted with leanness that his nurses were ashamed if any stranger looked upon his face. His father and mother wondered why he was afflicted with such thinness and ill shape of body, and often pondered it; meanwhile, in the twelfth week after his birth, an unknown cleric arrived by chance and begged them to receive him as a guest for a few days. He was kindly received, and as he sat with them at mealtime in the hall of their house he heard the little child crying in a chamber and asked who it was and whose; and when, ashamed of the child's leanness, they would not tell him, he said: "If you wish him to live, let him be weaned at once." They made light of his words and did not take the child from the breast. The next day, hearing him again, he said once more: "Why have you not done as I advised?" Still scorning his advice, they did not believe him. But on the third day, hearing the child's cry weaker than before, he said to them: "Through your neglect this little child is being handed over to death. Know for certain that if he is not taken from the breast he will die this very night; but if he is taken from it he will be saved, and hereafter the Lord will

show forth something great in him." Then at last they obeyed him and began to nourish the child with other food. At once he revived and, thriving from day to day, grew so comely in body that his own parents gazed on him with joy and showed him to others. They praised the Lord day and night for the child's health, and because he had sent them such a guest, one who understood the matter and made it known to them. Judging the future from the past, they considered where they might find a life most devout and most zealous in teaching, and on advice they entrusted him to the monastery of Saint Gall, because at that time there was a great number of noble servants of God there, and devotion and zeal for learning and teaching. He was entrusted to a devout man learned in the art of grammar, named Waning, under whose good care he received daily instruction in religion and in reading and planted it in the depths of his heart, so that little by little the brethren perceived how greatly the fruit of learning was growing in him, and for that reason they pressed him earnestly to join their fellowship.

Often urged by their requests, he asked for time to give his answer. Then he went to seek counsel from a recluse who lived there, named Wiborada; and she answered him: "Come to me after three days and, if it pleases God, you shall learn my counsel." When he had gone, she besought the Lord with devout prayer that on the appointed day she might be able to show him the sign of a sure and true counsel. And when he came to receive his answer, she said to

him: "Let doubt no longer hold your mind, for you will by no means be appointed by God to rule this monastery as its spiritual father; but in the east, where a river divides two regions, you shall serve God hereafter in the office of a bishop, and in that place you are to suffer many hardships such as your predecessors never bore from pagans and wicked Christians, yet all of them, with God's help, you will overcome most worthily in the end." He made what he had heard known to the brethren in deepest confidence, softened their urging with gentle words, and laid aside in his mind all hope of the former purpose; yet he did not for this give up his studies, but lived there in charity with everyone, until, in due time, filled with the twofold nourishment of learning and religion, comforted by the prayers of all and strengthened by the love of the brotherhood, he was lovingly sent away and returned to his parents.

They then, taking wise counsel, placed him under the lordship of Adalbero, bishop of the Church of Augsburg, whom they knew to be filled with much wisdom for those times, gifted above others in the art of music, and directing almost all the government of the kingdom together with the king. The bishop received him gladly for the nobility of his parents and for his good nature and comeliness, and entrusted to him the office of chamberlain. Having taken it up, along with other benefices befitting his rank, he prospered and advanced from day to day, being in all things ripe beyond his years.

Meanwhile it pleased him to visit the threshold of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. When he arrived there he was kindly received by the venerable Pope Marinus, who asked him from what province or city he came. He answered: "I come from the province of Alemannia and from the city of Augsburg, and I am in the service of Adalbero, bishop of that city." — "Do not be troubled in mind, brother," said the pope; "he of whom you have told me, your lord Adalbero, has departed this world, and by God's command it is fitting that you be shepherd of that same mother church." When he refused, the pope said: "Why do you reject what God has appointed? If now, in time of peace, you refuse to take it unshaken and unravaged, hereafter you will take it destroyed and plundered in time of turmoil, and with toil you will govern it and build it up again." The next day, without the pope's leave, out of grief for his dead lord and so as not to be pressed further by his words, he left Rome and went back to Augsburg, and found everything as the pope had foretold. Then Hiltine became Adalbero's successor. He, however, was not of such eminence that Ulrich wished to bind himself to his service. Meanwhile his father died, and he returned home and took on the care of his mother, remembering the Lord's commandment: Honour your father and mother (Ex 20:12), and so on. And he watched over her and all her affairs and ordered them with all the diligence that the strength granted him by the Lord allowed.

Fifteen years later Bishop Hiltine died, and through the efforts of Ulrich's nephew Duke Burchard and of others of his kinsmen he was presented to King Henry; the bishop's death was made known to his majesty, and he was petitioned to grant the episcopal authority to the said lord Ulrich. The king, seeing the nobility of his bearing and learning the extent of his learning, granted their petition, received him into his hands after the royal custom, and honoured him with the office of bishop. When this was done they returned from the king in high spirits, came to Augsburg, and according to the king's decree completed his investiture with the bishopric by the hand of authority. Then, in the season of the Lord's Nativity, on the feast of the Holy Innocents, his consecration was performed with the customary rite.

Coming home from there after a prosperous journey, and seeing the walls of the church thrown down on every side and all the buildings utterly ruined, as they had been consumed by fire under the former bishop, he was tossed by great anxiety of mind and pondered how he might most fittingly rebuild what was so thoroughly destroyed: for the greater part of the household had been slain by the pagans, the towns burned and plundered, and the part of the household that remained was afflicted with great toil and want. Nevertheless he engaged builders, gathered a multitude of the household, and began wisely to restore what had been torn down and to set it in good order, striving with great fervour

of spirit never to cease until he had finished what he had begun. And when this man of great gentleness, though his means were straitened, relying then on divine aid, had ardently completed the work he had begun, he strove to adorn all the interior of the temple with every kind of ornament, as far as he could; and often, too, surveying carefully with a keen eye the parts of the church within and without, he complained that the smallness of the dark crypt and its meanness displeased him greatly, and declared that, if God allowed, he would build it more fittingly and more worthily.

When the work was seen to be rising well, it seemed to a brother named Rambert, in an ecstasy of mind, that he was to chant the psalms with the bishop, as he was accustomed, and that meanwhile Bishop Adalbero appeared to him in the northern part of the crypt, vested for Mass, and beckoned him to come; but he, gripped by a double fear of his living lord and his dead one, began to gaze at Adalbero in terror. When Ulrich asked him why he kept turning his eyes that way, he answered: "Behold, I see my lord Adalbero vested as a bishop for Mass and calling me to him." And Ulrich said: "Make haste to do his bidding." When he came to him Adalbero said: "Rambert, tell your lord the bishop that he will receive a reward from the Lord for the prayers and alms he has faithfully sent to me; and give him this sign: that Fortunatus and I, if the Lord allows, will consecrate the chrism with him on the coming Maundy Thursday; and that

the building of this crypt is going to fall; yet he must not for that reason fail to take care to build it firmly hereafter. Warn the brethren also to remember that, without constraint and of their own free will, they promised to labour for me in earnest and constant prayer, and that they have not done so; and if they do not amend this, let them know that they will render an account of it in the sight of the Lord. And you shall sing one psalm for me every day, without fail; and I will warn you to amend this." Meanwhile the bishop himself, busy in the king's service, made his way to the court, and was long detained there among the courtiers with fitting honour; at last, having asked and received a gracious leave, he returned home, and found the work he had hoped to see completed fallen down entirely and overthrown, just as the said Rambert had foretold. Then he laid more careful foundations and completed it soundly.

Another time, in the town called Waringa, when early in the morning he was set on completing the psalmody with the same Rambert in his customary way, that brother began to stir fearfully, his eyes turned back. And when Ulrich asked him, he answered: "Behold, I see my lord Adalbero just as I saw him before, bidding me serve him at Mass." Ulrich rose at once, drew the doors to, and withdrew from the church until the vision was over.

Another vision, which we have learned to have happened from many brethren who told it truthfully, we must not consign to oblivion. On Easter

Day, while this devout man was striving zealously to perform the ministry of the sacraments, with a multitude of clerics present and a priest named Heilric acting as cantor, a right hand appeared, hallowing the sacraments together with the bishop's right hand. When Mass was over, the said Heilric followed him into his chamber, fell at his feet, and, less discreetly than he should have, told of this vision in the presence of laymen. The bishop answered: "It would have been more profitable for you to keep this to yourself than to speak of it." Dismayed by this answer, Heilric left him and sat down in the dining hall that lies before his chamber, and at once his eyes began to pour out tears in great abundance, and they went on weeping until they were wholly deprived of the light of this world.

II

At another time, in the night before the holy day of the Lord's Supper, he heard as if in his sleep a voice speaking to him: "Bishop Ulrich, know that today you will receive guests." Woken by the voice, he began to wonder who those guests might be. And when he fell asleep again he heard the words of one speaking to him: "The eyes of the Lord have beheld your prayers and your alms, and therefore you have been commended to your two predecessors, Fortunatus and Adalbero, that today and henceforth on these holy solemnities they may stand beside you as you celebrate the sacred mysteries, and bless them with you." When morning came and the other rites had been

performed, as is the custom, with the orders of ministers standing round, as he was consecrating the sacraments he himself and some of the more devout among those standing by saw the right hand of the Lord consecrating the sacraments with him and making the sign of the cross over them. Knowing them through the Spirit, when they came up to receive the viaticum from him he laid his finger on his lips that they should keep silent about the vision; and afterwards he called them to him, told them in secret what had been said to him in the night, and charged them that, while he lived, they should reveal to no one either what they had seen or what they had heard from him in secret, if they wished to keep their present life.

Nor do I think it good to hide in silence the wonders of a still greater vision that was shown to him. One night, when he had laid his body on his bed to sleep, he saw Saint Afra in great beauty, clothed and girded in a fair tunic, standing before him and saying to him: "Rise and follow me." And saying this, she led him out to the plain commonly called the Lechfeld. There he found Saint Peter, the prince of the apostles, with a great multitude of bishops and other saints, and of others whom he had never seen before but then, by God's will, knew well, holding a synod with them and ordering great and countless matters; and Peter was judging according to the law Arnulf, duke of the Bavarians, who was still alive, accused by many saints of the destruction of many monasteries, which he had parcelled out

as benefices for laymen; and he showed Ulrich two very noble swords, one with a hilt and the other without a hilt, and spoke thus: "Tell King Henry: the sword without a hilt signifies a king who will hold the kingdom without the blessing of the bishops; but the one with a hilt, a king who will hold the helm of the kingdom with the divine blessing." When the synod was over, God's martyr showed him the site of the camp where afterwards Otto, while he was still king, held a royal assembly with the peoples of various provinces, where King Berengar of Lombardy and his son Adalbert presented themselves with many bishops and submitted to his lordship. And she foretold to him the coming onslaught of the Hungarians and the places of the battle, and announced that victory, though hard won, had been granted to the Christians.

When the vision was over she brought him back, laid him on his bed and left him. Coming to himself, he pondered it, reverently calling to mind the words of that illustrious speaker who was caught up to the secrets of the third heaven: Whether in the body or out of the body (2 Cor 12:2), and so on. This vision he revealed to only a few prudent men who were close to him.

Afterwards he went to the king's court and placed himself in his service in the usual way, until King Henry ended this present life. And when Otto his son was raised to the throne, he strove to give him in all things the same diligent service and steadfast loyalty he had given his father.

At that time Bishop Ulrich had a nephew of good disposition, the son of his sister Liutgard, named Adalbero, whom he had entrusted to a most learned master, the monk Benedict, to be taught the art of grammar and the knowledge of other books. And when he had been taught and brought up by him in every advance of sound learning and discipline and had come to manhood, he was at once taken from school, presented by his uncle the bishop to the emperor and commended into the hands of his mercy; and he applied himself to the royal service so zealously and so becomingly that his ministry pleased the emperor well in matters both of the Church and of the world. Because of this diligence in his daily service it was granted to his uncle, the holy Bishop Ulrich, that the said Adalbero should make the military expeditions with the bishop's troops in his stead, at the emperor's pleasure, and remain at the emperor's court in his stead in constant service; and this so that the bishop might be free to give himself, as he desired, to the service of God and the keeping of the flock entrusted to him, to the needs of the Church, and to prayer and almsgiving.

And the freer he felt himself from the cares of the world, the more he strove to bind himself to the will of God. He kept carefully the daily office with the clergy of the cathedral in the choir of that church, whenever his other occupations allowed him to stay at home. Besides this, he was accustomed to complete every day one office in honour of Saint Mary, Mother of God, another

of the Holy Cross, a third of All Saints, and many other psalms, and the whole psalter, unless some unavoidable necessity hindered him. And he never ceased to sing three Masses daily, or two, or one, as time allowed, unless bodily sickness or some good work kept him from it.

III

For long periods he abstained from meat, yet he gave it abundantly to others who ate with him. At his daily meals, when he sat at table with his household, the first serving of bread and dishes was for the most part shared out among the poor by a cleric entrusted with this task; and this besides the maimed and the infirm who, getting about on pallets and litters and stools, or on wicker beds, received their daily food in his presence from the best of the food and drink. Of the others who took food in his presence, known or unknown, none went away hungry or thirsty, unless at times it happened through the carelessness or stinginess of the servants, against the bishop's will.

When guests came to him they were received with rejoicing and with such gladness of face and heart, and provided for in all things as best suited them, for he knew that in them he was receiving Christ, who says: I was a stranger, and you took me in (Mt 25:35). The emperor's vassals, whether setting out from him or returning to him, were received with the highest honour and feasted so well that no want troubled them or their beasts in anything, and they went away from him glad,

taking with them the provisions they needed for their journey. Monks and clerics and nuns who visited him he loved as sons and daughters, refreshed them abundantly with spiritual and bodily food, let them stay with him as long as they pleased, and in due time sent them on their way gladdened in every respect.

He ordered that the clerics of his household, whether free men of middling rank or of nobler birth, should be brought up and taught with the greatest care, and whichever of them he found worthy of honour he enriched with offices and fitting benefices. The laymen subject to his lordship always lived with him in all honour and gladness, fearing no deceit or fraud from him, but firmly believing and knowing for certain that whatever he had promised them he had, with the Lord's consent, promptly fulfilled. Whoever of the household entrusted to him came before him crying out that he had been unjustly oppressed or despoiled, or wronged in any way by his own lord, to whom he had been granted in benefice, or by a fellow servant, or by anyone else, he listened carefully to his case; and when he learned that injustice had been done him, he at once firmly ordered that the wrong be speedily put right, and did not let the matter rest until it was done. He let the whole household firmly keep the lawful rights it had enjoyed under his predecessors, and allowed no man of any power living under his rule to take them away.

At no time did he let his mind sink into idle leisure, but he was always devising or doing

something useful: for the church, which he had found ruined on every side, or for its adornment, or for the vestments of the altars and of the clergy, for the discipline of the canons and the school, for the support and safety of the household, and for how he might gird with walls the city, which he had found surrounded by paltry little ramparts and rotten timbers; for in those times the savagery of the Hungarians raged through these provinces like that of demons. While outwardly he dealt with all these matters on the advice of his faithful men, inwardly he was kindled by the heat of divine love and hastened with the utmost zeal to unite himself to God by vigils and prayers, fasts and alms, always wearing a woollen garment next to his skin and following the rule of monks. After Compline he never took food or drink at anyone's request, nor gave way to the pleasure of his body. He did not sleep on soft feathers, but rested on a rush mat with a rough blanket or rugs beneath him. At night he rose at the first sounding of the bell and completed the offices mentioned above with the greatest care.

IV

With what devotion he kept the season of Lent, words fail me to tell; yet it is not fitting for us to leave out altogether what we have seen. When Matins and Lauds were finished, as the first dawn began to brighten, he completed other prayers and then began to chant the psalter; when that and the litany were finished he persevered steadily in other prayers until the bell rang

for the Vigil of the Dead; on hearing it he rose at once and celebrated the Vigil and Prime with the brethren. When Prime was over and the brethren, as usual, went out carrying the cross, he stayed behind in the church and meanwhile chanted a little breviary of the psalms with other prayers, until the brethren came back with the cross and began to celebrate the Mass of the sacrifice; and he himself was the first to offer his gift devoutly to God, humbly kissing the priest's hand. When Mass was over he said Terce with the brethren; and while the brethren went to chapter, he remained in the church as usual until the bell rang for Sext. When Sext was over he went round the altars, kneeling at each, singing the Miserere mei, Deus and the De profundis; only then did he return to his chamber to wash his face and prepare himself for Mass. When the Masses had been celebrated and Vespers sung, he went to the little hospice of the poor, washed the feet of twelve poor men and gave each of them the worth of a penny in copper. Returning from there he sat down at table to dine, and there was no lack of reading there, nor of a great crowd of the poor already mentioned. He took what was set before him with joy, and shared it out most cheerfully among those who stayed with him, remembering the Apostle's words: For God loves a cheerful giver (2 Cor 9:7). To each he offered what he thought he would most gladly take. When the meal was over and all who stayed with him had been made glad, at the proper hour he said Compline, and after further prayers went back in

silence to the privacy of his chamber, and avoided all conversation, except with God and his saints, until Prime of the next day was over.

In this way he spent the days of Lent until the day of indulgence that they call Palm Sunday. On that day, at early dawn, he would come to Saint Afra's, if he had not spent the previous night there, sing a Mass of the Holy Trinity and bless branches of palm and of various trees; and with the Gospel book and crosses and banners, and with an image of the Lord seated on an ass, with the clergy and a multitude of people carrying palm branches in their hands, and with chants composed in honour of that day, he went in great state as far as the hill called Perleich; and there the choir of canons came to meet him in great splendour, with the citizens who had remained in the city and those from the surrounding towns who wished to join them, strewing the way with palm branches and their garments in imitation of the humility of the children and the rest of the people. When this was done the holy man gave everyone a most fitting exhortation on the Lord's Passion, so that often he wept and by his weeping made many weep. The exhortation over, all together, praising God, came to the mother church and celebrated Mass there with him, and from there everyone went home.

Afterwards, on the three days that followed, he was accustomed to hold a synod, since the canons prescribe that councils of bishops be held twice a year: one on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of October, and the other in the fourth

week after Easter. He resolved to hold it at this time, so that no obstacle might later hinder him from holding it, and so that on the day of the Lord's Supper the chrism and the oil might be consecrated more fully and more honourably with that same multitude of clergy and people. On that day, at the third hour, all the clergy came into the church clad in their most solemn vestments, and he, vested most gloriously after his custom for the service of God, began with them most devoutly to perform the sacred mystery; and when the Gospel had been read, the exhortation given to the people and the people's confession received, he most humbly granted them absolution; and while the whole synod brought up its offering, he carried out everything in order with the greatest care up to the blessing of the chrism and the oil. These he had brought to him with great reverence: with crosses, and with boys carrying them hidden under a little veil, and with candles, with verses composed for this rite most beautifully sung, and with a procession of twelve priests, who were to remain with him in their ministry until the end of the Mass. When it had been duly brought to him he received it most humbly, and asked the whole synod that when he made the sign of the cross over it in blessing, they too, together with the priests who had been in the procession and were assisting him, should not fail to bless it; and he asked the rest of the people to sing the Our Father with great humility. When it had been blessed, the people refreshed with the holy viaticum and Vespers ended, he came to the

sacristy to distribute the chrism and the oil to the clergy. When these had been distributed he went to the hospice of the poor and served them as usual. From there he walked into the church and came before the sacristy, and there, with new garments brought by the chamberlain, he clothed twelve poor men, and gave out a little heap of copper coins to the others; and that day he let no one go away from him empty-handed, though a great multitude of them was there. Afterwards he came to table, and when all who stayed with him had eaten, he began, after the Lord's example, to wash the feet of his disciples. When the washing had been carried out most becomingly with fitting antiphons and verses and readings, with great charity and humility he offered in plenty the best cups stored in his cellars; and when Compline was ended he gave his limbs, wearied in God's service, to the rest of his bed.

On Good Friday, having carefully completed the hours in their order, and leaving aside the other offices, as on the day of the Lord's Supper, except those proper to that day, he made haste at early dawn to complete the psalter; and when God's sacred mystery had been performed, the people fed with the sacred Body of Christ and what remained buried according to custom, he again completed the psalter, chanting it as he walked from church to church; and at the evening hour, without table or tablecloths, he began to refresh himself in his chamber with bread and beer, and ordered that bread and beer be given

to each of those who were with him, as much as they wished.

On the most holy Sabbath, when the night offices were over and the beloved psalter read through, he entered a bath prepared for him, which he never used at that season except on the Saturday before Lent, in mid-Lent and on that day. When he had washed his body and put on the garments made ready for him, he prepared himself solemnly for the sacred office and appointed that the whole clergy should be ready with him at the ninth hour of the day; and at once, the threefold litany sung, the candle blessed and the readings and tracts completed, he went with the fivefold litany and with all honour to the church of Saint John the Baptist to consecrate the font; and having baptized three children there, he returned with the sevenfold litany to the sacristy to prepare himself for Mass, while the clergy meanwhile sang psalms in the choir. When the solemnities of the Mass had been solemnly performed together with Vespers, the Body of Christ given out and the sacred vestments laid aside, on that day the table was set for a meal, and he sat down with a great multitude, and when all had been abundantly refreshed he let them go back joyfully to their lodgings.

When the most longed-for and most holy day of Easter came, after Prime he entered the church of Saint Ambrose, where on Good Friday he had laid the Body of Christ with a stone placed over it, and there with a few clerics he completed a Mass of the Holy Trinity. When the Mass was

over he went before the clergy, who had meanwhile gathered in the dining hall next to that church, clad in their most solemn vestments, carrying with him the Body of Christ and the Gospel book, with candles and incense; and with a fitting greeting of verses sung by the boys he went through the forecourt to the church of Saint John the Baptist, and sang Terce there; and from there, with antiphons most fittingly composed in honour of this day, in a most beautiful procession, walking two by two in order, he came to the cathedral to celebrate Mass. When the Mass had been sung with the greatest devotion and reverence, and all had received the sacraments of Christ and gone home, he went to his meal and found there three tables laid with every elegance: one at which he was wont to sit with those he chose, another for the cathedral clergy, the third for the community of Saint Afra. When the food had been blessed he shared out to all the lamb's flesh and the pieces of bacon that had been blessed during the solemnities of the Mass, and only then did he take his meal with them in all joy. At the appointed time the musicians came, so great a crowd of them that, standing in order, they almost filled the whole space of the hall, and they played three melodies together. When the rejoicing had thus been multiplied, the canons, at the bishop's bidding, receiving the loving-cup and asking for it, meanwhile sang a responsory of the Lord's Resurrection. And when this cup had been drunk, the community of Saint Afra did the same at the other table. As evening drew near he

gladly ordered cups to be handed to himself and those sitting with him, and asked all to drink the third loving-cup in charity; and when it had been taken, the whole clergy together sang the third responsory with joy. When it had been sung, the canons rose singing a hymn, so as to be able to come duly prepared to Vespers. When Vespers was over the bishop returned to his house with his guests and knights, to make them all merry.

On the morning of the next day, which is Monday, the whole clergy, clad in the finest vestments, gathered at Saint Afra's to receive the bishop with honour when he came; for it was his custom on that day to serve God there in the solemnities of holy Masses, and after the solemnities of the holy Masses to confirm with the sacred chrism the multitude of people gathered there. When this was done he went back to the city and celebrated the whole of Easter week there with the greatest devotion.

V

When the Easter solemnity was over, if any need arose that he should go, as was right, to other places or to the monasteries belonging to the bishopric (Feuchtwangen, Staffelsee, Füssen, Wiesensteig, Habach, which he never granted as benefices to laymen, except that he might grant some of the outlying lands belonging to those monasteries to a man of the district in which the monastery lay, so as to have an advocate for the monastery there by whom the Church's property would be defended; but he kept all the best of

them in his own hands, so as to have the means in their revenues to visit them, to stay there and to correct whatever needed correcting), he would sit on a chair set on a carriage, hung from the shafts of the wagon on iron, and with him one cleric of his chaplains, who would chant psalms with him all day long. When he first began to travel in this way it was not because he could no longer ride, but so as to be kept apart from the people, lest their idle talk should hinder him from chanting the psalms.

He ordered that some of his wisest priests should always accompany him, and enough of his chaplains for him to carry out God's service fittingly every day. Likewise he wished always to have with him some of the wisest of his vassals, so that if any business of the Church or of the world came before him to be dealt with, he might always be ready to handle it and settle it carefully with their counsel. There were also always men chosen from the household to lead the oxen that drew the carriage and to keep a careful watch around him, before and behind, to right and to left; and every day, in his presence, he had so great a store of grain given to them, by his own hand and by his servants, that it would have sufficed for three times as many men. A much-loved company of the poor also always went with him from place to place; those who were able to ride went on the gentlest of ambling horses. Others travelled in the vehicles they were accustomed to use, along with the carts carrying the bishop's furnishings. Every day he carefully arranged their

lodgings and all their provision himself, through one of his faithful men.

In none of the said monasteries did he ever remain idle, but he would work on the buildings of the church, or of the cloisters, or of other buildings, or on walls, prepared beforehand and with materials gathered for them. He strove to regulate and order in every respect the life of the monks or canons serving God in each monastery, and their revenues, and by no means allowed the rights of the household to be undone. Nor did he neglect to bestow the gifts of the Holy Spirit through confirmation with chrism wherever there was need.

VI

Welcome and needful to the people was the journey he made every fourth year, when, according to the ordinance of the canons, he resolved to visit the diocese entrusted to him in order to fulfil his ministry of governing, preaching and confirming. He sat in the same way, as we said above, on a chair set on a carriage and chanted the psalms as usual, imitating that eunuch who, sitting in his chariot reading the prophet Isaiah, went on his way, and to whom Philip was joined at the bidding of the Holy Spirit, and who, preached to and baptized by him, received the faith of the Holy Trinity; for he held it for certain that the more he withdrew from human talk, the nearer he could draw to divine things. When he reached the places where his councils had been announced, he was received with the Gospel

book and holy water and the ringing of bells, and with as much honour as those gathered there were able to show. As soon as Mass had been celebrated he took his seat in council, had the people called before him, and ordered the wiser and more truthful among them to be questioned under oath about what in that parish deserved correction, and what sins had been committed against the laws of Christianity, so that the facts might be made known to him by a truthful report. And when he heard from them of things that overstepped the rule of right, he made haste, without respect of persons and according to the judgement of the clergy, to draw them back to the path of right as far as he could with the help of almighty God, and with the greatest zeal to cut back with the pruning hook of God's word the ill-sprouting shoots of vice, lest the saplings of evil seed should be free to choke the harvest of Christ entrusted to him; and to the diseases of vice he applied the most fitting poultices of correction, yet always according to the word of God, who says: Reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and teaching (2 Tim 4:2). Matters which he learned from them were too difficult and beyond the power of his ministers to resolve, he strove to have settled in his own presence with the help of all who were with him, by a most careful ruling. What he perceived they could bring back to the state of right without others finding fault, he firmly entrusted to their governance to complete. Then, following the rule of his ministry, he took care to bestow on the people gathered there for

this purpose the gift of the Holy Spirit, the confirmation of the sacred anointing.

And if night crept on as usual before this was finished, lest any part of the sheep entrusted to him should suffer the loss of being deprived of the heavenly gift, he had lamps lit and strove in the name of the Lord to complete what he had begun. Sometimes, when such contention had arisen over those who resisted justice that, as the day waned, the darkness of night spread over the world, lest the matters aired in council there should remain uncorrected on that account, he had lights kindled and ordered the canonical rules to be read, so that the mouths of the gainsayers might be stopped with the bolts of justice, and all might be brought to an end by just judgements according to the will of God. When, the council or the confirmation completed, he returned to his lodging, he did not taste his meal to refresh his body before alms had been given out to the poor by the cleric entrusted with that duty. The infirm who came with him he had seated in his presence, and ordered an abundant meal to be set before them.

On certain days he arranged to hold chapters with the clergy in places where the archpriests thought this could most fittingly be done, and where they judged him to be freer from other worldly assemblies. When the clergy had gathered before him, he questioned carefully the archpriests and deans, and the best men he could find among them: how the daily service of God was carried out by them, and how the

people subject to them were governed by them in zeal for preaching and teaching; with what care infants were baptized, the sick visited and anointed, and with what compassion the bodies of the dead were given burial; how the poor and infirm were relieved from the tithes and offerings of the faithful, and whether they helped widows and orphans in all their needs; with what zeal they served Christ in guests and strangers; whether they kept women in their houses and so fell under the charge of suspicion; whether they went hunting with hounds or hawks, whether they went into taverns to eat or drink; whether they were given to coarse jesting; whether they loved drunkenness and carousing beyond measure; whether they were slaves to quarrels, strife and jealousy; whether they attended worldly weddings, or whether any of them were in the habit of unseemly occupations; whether at the Kalends, after the custom of their predecessors, they met at the appointed places and there said the customary prayers, and visited their churches in due time; whether they had shown obedience to their superiors and had striven to remain devout and fit in all their ministry. When answer had been made to his questions and he had grasped the truth of the matter, he gladdened those who stood firm in right with the grace of the sweetest consolation and gently urged them never thereafter to stray from the rule of justice; but brethren who wandered astray on byways he frightened with well-deserved rebukes and com-

manded them to give up their habitual vices from then on.

VII

If any devout person among those who held property in his bishopric wished for the love of Christ to build a church, and, having obtained leave from the holy bishop, had built it and asked him to consecrate it at a suitable time, he very readily granted each one's petition, provided that the founder did not delay to give at once into his lordship's hand a lawful endowment for the consecrated church, in lands and in serfs, before his fellow citizens and truthful witnesses, so that the truth of the transaction should not later be obscured; and on this condition too, that the rights of the other churches round about should in no way be diminished on account of the new one. When the consecration had been performed and the endowment handed over, he entrusted the care of the altar to an approved priest there, and firmly entrusted the advocacy of the church to the lawful heir, laying a cloth upon him. He asked no one for an offering or gift, unless the priest of that church begged him of his own accord to accept something as a mark of honour and of his goodwill.

VIII

Once, in obedience to the commandments of Jesus, when he had resolved to carry out the duty of his ministry in the district called Aldegowe,

some men of that district came to him lamenting: "Our fathers built a little church of stone, mortar and timber on the land they left us, which they wished to have dedicated to God and his saints, so that they might be able to hear the celebration of the sacred offices there, because that place lies in a vast wilderness; but because of the difficulty of the road and the poverty of their means they could never bring a bishop there to consecrate it." Hearing this, the servant of God said with a cheerful face: "Can you get together in time what is needed for the consecration of a church?" Relying on the help of their friends, they answered: "We can." He said to them: "Leave me just one guide for the road and go on ahead, and set in order what needs ordering; see, I will come there to help you in your need, and with God's help I will consecrate the church." The next day, when the consecration had been performed, the people came before him offering gifts according to their means; seeing them, he said with a smile: "I did not come here for love of any gift, but to provide for your need and that God's service might increase in this place. Keep for your own use these things you have offered us, grow in the service of God, and remain in peace." Saying this he departed, and made no complaint of the roughness of the road, except as if rejoicing in it.

IX

Persevering in these zealous good works, he refreshed spiritually with the kindest exhortation all who lived with him, teaching not only

in words but also in deeds that each should love the Lord perfectly with all his strength and prefer nothing to his love, and love his neighbour as himself, and honour his father and mother; moreover that he should love all men of good will, of whom the angelic multitude sings: And on earth peace to men of good will (Lk 2:14); but should resist the wicked in all their evil deeds, according to the holy prophet David, who says: In his sight the wicked man is brought to nothing, but he honours those who fear the Lord (Ps 15:4); that none should do to another what he would not wish done to himself; that he should visit God's churches often with devotion of mind and humility and with offerings, and there be diligent in beseeching God with tears for the forgiveness of his sins and for all his just needs. He urged them, moreover, to ask forgiveness for their enemies, according to the Lord's Prayer, which says: Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors (Mt 6:12); and according to the Gospel: So also my heavenly Father will do to you, if you do not forgive each one his brother from your hearts (Mt 18:35); and again: Forgive, and you will be forgiven (Lk 6:37). They should make haste to present with great care the tithes of all their labours to the Lord and his saints, and to the churches to which they were assigned, lest they fall into the guilt of Cain the fratricide. He urged them also to keep Sundays and the other feasts of the year most devoutly, abstaining not only from servile work but from all vices; each should strive to receive the Eucharist often, to present himself

cleansed before receiving it, and after receiving it to keep himself pure. He urged that the days of Lent and the other fasts appointed of old, and those newly established by common consent, should be kept by all with all devotion; that they should deny themselves and follow in Christ's footsteps, chastise the body, not love delights, refresh the hungry and thirsty with food and drink, give clothing to the naked, visit the sick and those in distress, grant lodging to the needy and the wanderer and give them what they need for the love of Christ, visit orphans and widows in their troubles and help them in all their needs; that they should not harbour malice in their hearts nor provoke anyone to anger with words, but lay aside wrath and leave vengeance to the Lord; render to no one evil for evil, nor embitter anyone by any injury; not curse those who curse them, but rather bless them, and endure persecution for justice' sake; call back to the harmony of one mind those who are at odds and at enmity with one another; resist those who resist God, and give help to those who fight faithfully for him; and not be ensnared by the stumbling block of any of the eight principal vices which beset the whole human race.

When some asked what the eight principal vices were, he answered, not only for them but also for those who are still in doubt, what the eight vices are, saying: The first is gastrimargia, that is, gluttony of the belly, with its offspring: carousing and drunkenness; the second is fornication, with its offspring: foul talk, scurrility and

jests, which are also foolish talking; the third is philargyria, that is, avarice or love of money, with its offspring: lying, fraud, theft, perjury, greed for shameful gain, false witness, violence, inhumanity, voracity and rapacity; the fourth is anger, with its offspring: murder, clamour and indignation; the fifth is sadness, with its offspring: rancour, faintheartedness, bitterness and despair; the sixth is acedia, with its offspring: idleness, sleepiness, importunity, restlessness, roaming about, instability of mind and body, wordiness and curiosity; the seventh is cenodoxia, that is, vainglory, with its offspring: contentiousness, heresy, boasting and the presumption of novelties; the eighth is pride, with its offspring: contempt, envy, disobedience, blasphemy, murmuring, detraction and enmity. Blessed, he used to say, is the man who does not stumble in these snares of vice.

He urged them to take in carefully with the ears of the heart the eight well-known beatitudes listed by God in the Gospel, and to plant them firmly in their inmost thoughts, so that in the time of temptation the evil spirits might be given no power to uproot them, but each might be raised by their consolations to the hope of heavenly longings; and to render always, day and night, with all their desire and all their strength, manifold praise and thanks to Christ, the Lamb of almighty God who takes away the sins of the world, for he is worthy, by his incarnation and birth, his baptism and crucifixion, his burial, resurrection and ascension, to loose the seven seals

of the sealed book that was shown in a vision to Saint John the Apostle on the island of Patmos. He asked earnestly and humbly for the goodwill of all in common: if there were any who felt that a harvest of some virtues had grown up within them, let them ascribe it not to their own merits but to the mercy of almighty God, lest it be killed in them by the sudden hail of boasting, and so that, ripening in due season under the protection of the Holy Spirit, it might be gathered into the barns of Christ.

To keep the mouth from evil or wicked speech; to listen gladly to holy readings; to confess one's past sins to God every day in prayer with groans and tears, and to amend them henceforth; not to fulfil the desires of the flesh; to break one's own will; to obey the commands of priests even if they themselves, which God forbid, act otherwise, imitating those of whom the Lord says: For they say, and do not do (Mt 23:3). He urged them to love chastity, to hate no one, to have no envy or jealousy, not to cultivate strife, to hate pride, to revere their elders and love the young, to have the fear of the Lord unceasingly in heart and mind, and to believe that the eyes of the Lord see all things and his ears hear all things, as the Psalmist says: Behold, the eyes of the Lord are on the just, and his ears are open to their prayers; but the face of the Lord is against those who do evil, to cut off their memory from the earth (Ps 34:16–17).

They should keep always before their eyes, with wary fear, the day of their death and the day of the Last Judgement, on which the Lord will

say to those who hasten every day to refresh and clothe and visit him in his poor, and who will not fear the evil hearing, those words: Come, you blessed of my Father (Mt 25:34), and so on; but to those who neglect this and do not minister to God in his members: Depart from me, you cursed, into the everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels (Mt 25:41); and they should very often behold with the eyes of the mind the punishments prepared for the cursed, and that most evil place which is ever without refreshment, without brightness, without sweetness, and will be without end, where their worm does not die and the fire is not quenched (Mk 9:48), where weeping and gnashing of teeth are heard always without ceasing, where the devouring flame will be ever renewed by the devil's contrivances, where there is no hope at all of consolation, but sorrow grows from hour to hour, because they can find no end to their abiding, but remain in anguish without end with those whom they served in this world.

But what joys and rejoicings await those who are blessed by God and set at his right hand, we must always ponder as far as is possible for human minds; of them it is written: What eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man, what God has prepared for those who love him (1 Cor 2:9). There the hymn-singing choirs of angels will shine with unspeakable brightness; there the loftiness of the patriarchs, rewarded with fitting honour, will rejoice; there the truthful order of the prophets,

their prophecies wholly fulfilled, does not cease to give thanks to God; there the choir of the apostles, the judges, having received the reward promised them before, will exult for ever; there the martyrs, crowned with the palm of their martyrdom, enjoy everlasting consolation; there the confessors, their rewards multiplied, persevere in the praises of God; there virgins abound in the reward of the hundredfold fruit, and widows are honoured with the return of the sixtyfold; there monks, for their renunciation of all worldly things, satisfied together with those who hunger and thirst for the justice of God, their desires fulfilled, will never cease to give themselves to God's praises; there penitents, the burdens of their sins laid down, rejoice together, praising God without end; there the children who follow the Lamb in white, in harmony with the angels beneath the throne, do not cease to praise God in song; there the most glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God, exalted above the choirs of angels, is seen gladdening all with inestimable brightness and beauty; there the just will shine like the sun (Mt 13:43), and all the saints will see their Creator and the Creator of all creatures in his brightness, face to face, rejoicing, as he takes from them all fear and all grief and sorrow and every adversity.

In that kingdom there is no need of the light of sun or moon or stars; hunger and thirst will harm no one, cold or heat will weary no one, sickness and pain will come to no one, the misery of old age to come will not be feared; but as on the day of judgement the bodies of the dead will rise in

the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ, so they will remain in that same impassibility and beauty. There no marriages are celebrated, and the human race will multiply no further; but the full number of the just will not be lessened, but kept in joy without end; it will fear the devil's snares no more, it will need the forgiveness of sins no more; as the angels will remain in the impassibility of their first state, so men too, after the resurrection equal to the angels, abide in sobriety and changelessness in the city of our God, built on his holy mountain, which is said to be adorned and founded on twelve precious stones, whose names and order Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist lists in the Apocalypse. He says that jasper is set in the first foundation, which they say puts all phantoms to flight, and in which the greenness of faith is signified; sapphire in the second, which signifies the hope of heavenly bliss; chalcedony in the third, which figures the flame of inward charity; in the fourth, emerald, which figures the brave confession of that same faith amid adversity; in the fifth, sardonyx, signifying the humility of the saints amid their virtues; in the sixth, sardius, in which the blood of the holy martyrs is expressed; in the seventh, chrysolite, in which spiritual preaching amid miracles is figured; in the eighth, beryl, in which the perfect work of preachers is signified; in the ninth, topaz, in which their ardent contemplation is shown; in the tenth, chrysoprase, which signifies at once the labour and the reward of the blessed martyrs; in the eleventh, jacinth, which figures the rising

up to heavenly heights, and the coming down to human things for the sake of the lowly; in the twelfth, amethyst, which signifies the remembrance of the heavenly kingdom ever present in the minds of the humble.

This setting of the twelve stones figures the firmness of the apostles, who are laid in the foundation of the Church, as the Saviour of the world said to blessed Peter: You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church (Mt 16:18). By saying this to Peter he made known to all the apostles that his Church was to be built upon them, whose sound has gone out into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world (Ps 19:5). If the apostles are the foundation of the house of God, and all Christendom must remain the building of that temple, as the Apostle says: The temple of God is holy, which you are, and you are God's building (1 Cor 3:17, 9), and so on, let us all strive with all our strength to join ourselves to its Builder and Indweller, so that, with our teachers laid as the foundation, we may by his gift deserve to be built upon them; that we may be seen set among the chosen stones and joined to the orders spoken of; that, seeing face to face our Creator and Redeemer, the judge of the living and the dead, we may deserve to praise him with them for endless ages of ages. Amen.

X

When the fame of his goodness had spread far and wide, and the devil saw him standing on this summit of virtue, he strove with every kind of

malicious cunning to plunge him into some abyss of trouble and to hinder him from the good he had begun. In those times Liudolf, son of the glorious King Otto, was duke of the Alamanni, and his father had earlier bound by oath to him all the peoples of the lands subject to his rule, to be his after the end of his own life; and Liudolf's uncle Henry, the king's brother, was duke of Noricum; and at the prompting of evil men they began to quarrel and contend with one another over the borders of their lands. And when the king could by no means bring them back to concord and peace, he set himself against his son and turned to help his brother. And when his son, with all whom he had been able to gather, strove to resist him and set about driving him from his royal power, Duke Henry entrusted the city of Regensburg and the whole land of Noricum to Arnulf the count palatine and to others of his faithful men besides, and went to the king. While he was staying there, the said Arnulf, with a multitude of people, treacherously took Regensburg and the other towns, with their throngs of people and with all whom he could, and brought them under Liudolf's power. When the king learned of this he invaded Bavaria in arms with his brother Henry, to restore him to the honour of his former power. Bishop Ulrich, the firm steadfastness of whose loyalty was never parted from the king's side, learning of this, left part of his vassals in the city of Augsburg, set his other affairs in order and, with those he could take, leaving his carriage behind, rode shrewdly into Noricum in the king's

service; and as the rising dragged on he could find no fitting chance to return. Meanwhile the said Arnulf gathered a host, came to Augsburg and plundered it of everything he could carry off, and took some of the bishop's knights prisoner back with him to Bavaria.

When the king came back from Bavaria and the bishop wished to return to his own, he did not think he could defend himself in the city of Augsburg with a small following, because almost the whole bishopric was being parcelled out as benefices to strangers by Liudolf and his followers; and of the bishop's knights some had been taken prisoner, some drawn away from him by wicked enticement, some reduced to poverty by plundering, so that they could not help him as he wished. Those who remained with him, strengthened by talking together, took the sound counsel of leaving the city of Augsburg, building the castle called Menichingen and defending themselves there against their enemies. So he stayed shut up in the city of Augsburg for one night only, and the next day went straight to that castle, which was wholly deserted, without buildings inside or out. Though the winter was hard, they waited in that place in tents and huts hastily put together, until the household had been gathered, the castle ringed with a timber palisade, and suitable buildings put up inside as far as they were able.

Arnulf and all who were with him, everywhere opposing the royal power, learned of this and sent envoys saying that, if he wished to keep

himself and his people safe, he should submit without delay to Liudolf's power and give up building the castle with his men; for at that time no one in all Swabia remained on the king's side except Count Adalbert with those subject to him, and Dietpald, the devout bishop's brother; and so they reckoned that by their decree he could by no means find the strength to resist. He, taking wise counsel with his men, by various promises and most humble answers, and at times by giving hostages and receiving them back again, softened their anger and their sieges in every way, until, the castle built and the ramparts renewed, he judged that he could defend himself and his people from their savagery within the fortifications of the place. And when the delays in giving his answer could be stretched no further, he declared openly that he meant to abide, as he had begun, by the will of the king.

Then the said Arnulf, son of Duke Arnulf, gathered a multitude of those ill-starred men who had earlier plundered the city of Augsburg, and of others on whose help he then relied, and sought to besiege the castle and force the venerable bishop and his men into subjection to Liudolf. On learning this, the bishop for his part sent envoys and, promising much money, begged that they would turn back and let him remain in peace; but if they refused peace and would not go back, he ordered the same envoys to bind his own parishioners among them with the ban of Christendom, that they should not dare in any way to invade the lands of Saint Mary that lay in his bishopric.

But they refused the money, set the ban of Christendom at naught and would not give up their evil undertaking; and on the Sunday on which it is the custom of clerics to eat meat before Lent, and then to abstain from it until the holy season of Easter, they invaded in arms the estate of Saint Mary, to their own destruction, and besieged the bishop. He, remaining zealously in God's service day and night, casting off fear and trusting in God, held their siege for nothing and persevered firmly in the resolve he had made.

When news of this siege reached Count Adalbert and the bishop's brother Dietpald, they gathered a band of men and, on the first day of Lent, which is a Monday, at early dawn, attacked the enemy's camp. The enemy, never thinking this could happen, were caught unready for battle and, struck with sudden fear, left their spoils behind and tried to escape their foes by flight. The others pursued them, captured Hermann, Arnulf's brother, cut down some in the camp and slew others as they followed them further. When most of them had been killed and the rest put to flight, none of them had the courage to defend himself except one named Egilolf; as he fled he gave Count Adalbert a slight wound in the arm, and of that wound the count died; his assailant too was at once killed by Liutpert, a vassal of the same Adalbert. Very few of them, bruised by blows and wounded in various ways, barely escaped the danger of death that day, carried off by their horses; and some of them, as the frost gripped them pitiably, made their way back

naked to their own dwellings, despairing of their lives. The reverend bishop carried the body of Adalbert, who had been slain in the will of God, to the city of Augsburg and, commending his soul to God with honour, buried him in the church of Saint Mary. And none of those who had earlier claimed the spoils of the city of Augsburg for themselves, in defiance of Mary, the holy Mother of God, escaped unpunished, except those who did not delay to redeem themselves with their own goods and obtain the reverend bishop's pardon.

XI

One of them, so his neighbours truthfully report, tore at his own hands, lost his reason and breathed his last. Another, with a book carried off from the city of Augsburg, bought a horse that pleased him greatly, brought it home with him, showed it to his wife and said: "I would much rather have this fine horse than leave in Augsburg the book I bought it with." His wife answered his words: "Perhaps it would have been better for you if your hand had not wrongfully touched that book." Meanwhile he was stroking the horse's hindquarters with his hand, and at once it kicked him and he died. When the people at large learned of these strange and sudden disasters, and of many other dreadful things that befell the guilty, great fear seized those who knew themselves guilty of the plundering of the city of Augsburg, not only those who had gone there but also those who had received from them any-

thing wrongly gained; and so, turning to penance and lamentation, with fitting amends and the restoration of what had been taken, and with earnest entreaty for the bishop's pardon, they strove to make their peace with Christ and with holy Mary his Mother.

Not long afterwards the said Arnulf, who had presumed to invade the property of Saint Mary in arms and remained incorrigible and impenitent, went out ready for battle from the besieged city of Regensburg, and was killed at once in the thick of the fray.

A man from the bishopric called Eichstätt carried off from there to his own property part of a worthless tablecloth, and was at once seized by a demon, and could find no place to hide from it, neither in church nor outside, nor when sprinkled with holy water, without its always seeming to stay beside him; until, going back to Augsburg, he returned what he had wrongfully taken, and begged the bishop to give him a beating with rods for Christ's name, and moreover to pardon his offence; and so, freed from the demon, he went away healed.

XII

Lest I stray too long from the task I have undertaken, I will draw my pen back from listing the cities besieged on either side, the wars raging everywhere and the turns of fortune in these varied disasters, and will rather recount how almighty God deigned, through the merits of his

servants, to deliver his people, lest by the devil's contrivances they should come to their ruin.

King Otto was in Alemannia with his army, on account of those who with his son Liudolf wished to oppose the rule of his royal power, by the river called the Iller, in the plain of the town called Tussa; and there his son Liudolf, so often mentioned, came against him with another army to fight, and they were drawn up so close together that no one in the multitude on either side was held by any doubt that battle would be joined. Then Bishop Ulrich, beloved of God, trusting in God with all confidence, took with him Hartbert, the devout bishop of the Church of Chur, and began to go to and fro between them as envoy and to entreat them to the concord of peace, lest the people entrusted to them by God to govern should be led to ruin for their guilt. By God's favour the minds of both, the father Otto and his son Liudolf, were softened by the profitable admonition and teaching of the venerable bishops, and they agreed on a pact of peace between them; and, the storm of war calmed, they went home in peace.

When all these wearisome troubles had been overcome, they thought they could rest in peace for some space of time. But the very next year, which is the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 965, so great a multitude of Hungarians broke in as no one then living confessed ever to have seen in any land; and it overran the land of Noricum from the river Danube to the Black Forest, which reaches to the mountains, laying

it waste as it went; and crossing the Lech and overrunning Alemannia, it burned the church of Saint Afra, plundered the whole province from the Danube to the forest, and burned with fire the greater part of it as far as the river Iller. It laid siege to the city of Augsburg, which at that time, ringed by low walls without towers, was not strong in itself. But the holy bishop had a very great number of the best knights stationed with him within the city's walls, and by their speed and daring the city, with God's help, stood strongly defended. When they saw the Hungarian army surrounding the city to storm it, they wished to go out against them; but the bishop would not consent, and ordered the gate where the main way in lay to be firmly shut. The gate on the eastern side, from which one goes down to the water, was so pressed in battle by the throng of Hungarians that they thought they could get in at once; but the bishop's knights, fighting manfully before the gate, held them off, until one of the Hungarians, who led the rest in the fighting and in whose leading and going before them they had placed their greatest confidence for the fight at that hour, fell slain; and when the rest saw him fall dead to the ground, they carried him off with great shouting and lamentation and went back to their camp.

During the hour of battle the bishop sat on his horse wearing his stole, protected by no shield or mail or helmet, and while darts and stones flew about him on every side he remained untouched and unharmed. When the fighting was over he

went back round the city, and ordered block-houses to be set at fitting points around it and built through the whole night, and the ramparts to be renewed as far as time allowed.

He himself spent the whole night in prayer, and roused the devout women gathered in the city, so that one part of them should go round inside the walls with crosses, crying devoutly to the Lord, and the other part, lying prostrate on the floor, should beseech most earnestly the mercy of Mary, the holy Mother of God, for the defence of the people and the deliverance of the city. He allowed his body only the smallest part of the night's rest in sleep before the hour of Matins, so that, Matins and Lauds completed, at the first break of dawn he might offer to God the victim of the saving sacrifice. When the sacred rite was over he refreshed them all with the holy viaticum and by humble exhortation persuaded them, persevering in the right faith, not to hesitate to place their hope in the Lord, pointing them to every kind of promise of comfort and proclaiming the words of David the psalmist: Though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for you are with me (Ps 23:4). When the bishop's saving exhortation was over, as the radiance of the shining sun first lit the breadth of the earth, the army of the Hungarians, in numbers beyond telling, ringed the city on every side to storm it, bringing various engines to bring down the walls. And when they were ready for battle on every side, and all the battlements of the city were full of defenders, some of the Hungarians drove the

others to the fight, threatening them with whips; but they, seeing so great a multitude on the battlements resisting them, were so terrified that they did not dare to come up to the walls.

Meanwhile, while within and without they stood ready for battle, Berthold, son of Arnulf, came from the castle called Reisensburg to the king of the Hungarians and told him of the coming of the glorious King Otto. When he heard this he ordered his trumpet, known to the whole army, to be sounded, and at its sound the whole army gave up the assault on the city and hastened to gather with their king in council. Having taken counsel with them, by God's gift he broke off the attack on the city and set out to meet the glorious king, reckoning that, once he had overcome him and his men, he could come back victorious and have the city and the whole kingdom freely.

Count Dietpald, the bishop's brother, with the others who were in the city, went out by night to meet King Otto as he came. When the king beheld so great an army of Hungarians, he judged that it could not be overcome by men unless almighty God deigned to slay them; and trusting in his help, and strengthened by the encouragement of his princes, he began to fight them manfully; and when men had fallen on both sides in mutual slaughter, and those whom God had destined to be slain had been killed, a glorious victory was given to King Otto by God, to whom nothing is impossible; so that the army of the Hungarians, turned to flight, had no more strength to fight; and though an incredible number of them had

been killed, yet so great an army of them still remained that those who saw them coming from the battlements of the city of Augsburg did not think they were returning beaten in battle, until they saw them pass the city and hasten to regain the far bank of the river Lech.

The king with his men pursued them, killing those he could overtake, and in the evening reached Augsburg; and there he spent that night with the bishop, and gave him great consolation in telling him of his brother Dietpald, who had been killed in the battle, and of others of his kinsmen slain there. He honoured Riwin, Dietpald's son, with his father's counties, and gave the bishop a worthy reward for his faithful help in whatever he knew him to desire. When morning came, following the fleeing ranks of the barbarians, he went back into Bavaria and, sending messengers in haste, ordered all the ferries and fords of the rivers to be watched, so that they might be slain; and so it was done. For when they came there by night, some of them were drowned in the rivers by those who were in the boats, some were killed, and those who reached the bank were slain by those who watched the banks; no road and no byway could they find where the vengeance of the Lord did not plainly rest upon them in every place; so that not many days later their kings and princes were captured and brought to Regensburg and, to the disgrace of their nation, were hanged on the gallows with many others of their countrymen.

XIII

King Otto, holding his might in God, confirmed his brother Henry in his realm by the hand of authority, and himself returned victorious to Saxony, as he was wont. When the king left Augsburg, the venerable Bishop Ulrich went to the places where the battle had been fought, seeking his brother Dietpald and the noble Reginbald, his sister's son; and finding them, he brought them to Augsburg and faithfully buried them both in one tomb in the church of Saint Mary, before the altar of Saint Walburga the virgin. When these things had been done, as has been told, the bishop, though wearied by many adversities, took heart, as best befits everyone who hopes in God, and began to consider with his people how he might most fittingly overcome the losses that pressed upon them. First, how he might support the plundered community of clerics so that they could carry out the daily ministry of God's service in the church; for he knew they had no food. So, with what he himself, plundered as he was, could find, and what well-disposed people sent and offered him, he had them eat and drink constantly in his presence, as far as his means allowed, and steadied them with every kind of help, until they had themselves eased the misery of the plundering and their lands, worked again, brought them the means of support. His own lands, burned by fire and reduced to desolation with their harvests destroyed, he ordered to be renewed by diligent labour in fields and buildings; and the vigorous

household, obeying his command, began the work and in due time restored them to use, as far as their means allowed.

The church of Saint Afra, which had been burned by the pagans, had not yet been rebuilt, but a thatched hut protected the altars from rain and foul weather; the tomb of Bishop Simpert, which lies in the choir beside the steps, was still without a roof; being admonished in a vision to cover it, he roofed it with timbers skilfully joined in the manner of a lid.

Not long afterwards he was admonished again not to delay in rebuilding the house of Saint Afra. He considered very often how its restoration might most fittingly be done, and how he might most suitably adorn the eastern part of the church by setting a crypt beneath it; and when no certainty came into his mind, he began with his household and devout priests to beseech the mercy of God most devoutly and in secret, with continual prayers and fasts, that the place where the body of Saint Afra had been laid might be shown to him, and whether it was lawful to build a crypt in the place he wished. That there might be no doubt that his prayer and fasting reached the ears of the Lord, according to the song of the holy prophet David: Behold, the eyes of the Lord are on the just, and his ears are open to their prayers (Ps 34:16), one night Saint Afra appeared to him in a vision and showed him the place in the church where her body had been laid, as it is written in the account of her passion, at the second milestone from the city of Augsburg. But

she forbade a crypt to be made in the place he had intended, because of the relics of the saints who are to await the day of judgement in rest in that place.

Taught by this revelation what he should do, he had the walls, for the most part thrown down by the fires, rebuilt in great haste, and raised them a cubit above their former height; he adorned the western part of the church with a fitting crypt; he ordered timbers for the roof, carefully measured in his presence, to be cut and brought with the greatest zeal, and did not rest until he had covered it entirely with tiles; and inside he panelled the church with coffered ceilings and adorned it with bright painting, and had the ornaments of the church restored, which had been carried into the city for fear of the barbarians and kept in the mother church.

XIV

It seems fitting to insert here how plainly it has been shown by sure signs that the place in the eastern part of the church is ever held in great regard by God. A gardener named Adelpold, walking there among the grass, found a cave, and going into it he saw a fine little vaulted chamber walled underground; and he came and told the bishop: "In this place I can store my vegetables and other things I need." The bishop answered him with a warning: "If you do this, you will surely lose your senses and the health of your limbs." But the gardener, not believing the bishop's words, began without his leave to

gather those things into the cave; and in doing so he lost his senses, with his hearing and his sight. When this was reported to the bishop, he had the gardener brought to him and said to him: "Why did you seek to take over that holy place, scorning my command?" And he, though bereft of his senses, said: "I do not deny it; for I know that it is for that guilt, because I did not obey your commands, that I have fallen into this affliction." The kindly bishop, grieving at his afflictions, granted him pardon with a blessing and, by God's gift, restored him to health. Wonderful to tell, that gardener could never find the cave again.

Afterwards the bishop summoned gravediggers and ordered them to dig a grave for him on the south side of the outer wall of the church and enclose it with a wall on the outside, and, breaking through the church wall, to turn a masonry arch above it; and he had a suitable chest made to cover his body in the grave, and directed that a stout boarding, proof against rot for a long time, bound with careful joints, should be laid over it. When these preparations for his burial had been made, from then on he was accustomed to visit the place every week on Friday and to offer the sacrifice there, unless some other business or his absence prevented him.

Meanwhile, by the gift of God's mercy, the concord of peace shone upon these lands, and no tumult of persecution kept well-disposed minds from God's service; so he resolved to go to Rome, and he arrived there safely and visited humbly, with devout zeal, the threshold of the blessed

apostles Peter and Paul; and there, having poured out his prayers and dispensed generous alms to the poor, he was received with honour by Alberic, prince of the Romans, and, loaded with frequent services and gifts, he stayed there some days. And when, while he stayed there, he had made known that he wished to acquire relics of the saints, a cleric came to him and led him in the silence of the night to a church where the head of Saint Abundius the martyr was kept enclosed in an altar; and showing him the account of his passion and presenting the head, he swore an oath upon the relics which the bishop had brought with him that this was the head of the same Abundius whose passion had just been read in his presence. When the bishop had heard the oath sworn, he gave the cleric the reward agreed, and taking the head of Saint Abundius he carried it back with him to Augsburg, and there enshrined it gloriously for the consolation of many.

He often visited the monastery of Saint Gall, where he had been taught the knowledge of letters, and gave a feast there for the monks serving God; and from there he went on to the cell of Saint Meinrad, to see God's servant Saint Eberhard and to help him and the monks subject to him in whatever needs he could learn they had. The last time, while Eberhard was still alive, when he was to leave, after a conversation full of every kind of affection, having taken his leave with prayers in the church, he went out to the carriage that was to take him home; and when he was ready to set off, and did not expect to see Saint Eberhard

again that day, Eberhard suddenly came after him as if in haste and, kissing him again in charity, said with tearful eyes: "From this hour you will not see me again, until, freed from our bodies, we are found worthy to see each other in the presence of God." The bishop answered his words: "Dearest Father, do you know, then, that I shall surely soon depart this world?" He answered him: "The end of your life is not yet near you; but do not doubt that the words I have just spoken to you are true." With these words the bishop went home, and before he visited that cell again Eberhard had happily departed this world.

XV

At another time he went to the land of the Burgundians and, with great zeal and humility, visited the place at Agaune where Saint Maurice and his companions suffered martyrdom for the name of the Lord. He had earlier received a promise from the king of the Burgundians that, by his gift and help, he might bring back from there to Augsburg one of the holy martyrs. And when he arrived there on a Saturday, he found the monastery lately burned by the Saracens, and saw none of its inhabitants there except one sacristan, guarding the burned monastery. He spent the holy night there in the praises of God, and in the morning, when the sun's ray first spread its light over the breadth of the earth, he celebrated a Mass of the Holy Trinity; and when it was ended and he had at once begun to celebrate another befitting the veneration of the Lord's day, twelve

clerics arrived with a multitude of people and remained to hear his celebration. When it was over, the holy bishop greeted those brethren, honoured them with gifts and made known to them why he had come there. They, feeling the sweetness of his cheerfulness and the devotion of his holiness, and lest he should go away deprived of his welcome desire, opened the cave hewn in the rock where the saints were laid, and gladdened him with the gift of a great part of the holy relics.

And as he came back from there with the welcome leave of the clergy and the most loving farewell of the people, he visited the city of Constance to pray, and from there came to the island of Reichenau, where he was received in charity by Abbot Alawich and well provided with every comfort. And as they talked together in friendly conversation, he told him everything that had happened to him on his journey. The abbot in his kindness, hearing that he had set out for love of the holy remains, satisfied his desire, gave him no small part of the body of Saint Maurice and of the relics of many other saints, and let him go away rejoicing.

As he drew near the city of Augsburg he sent messengers ahead with word that the clergy and people should come out with honour to meet the longed-for gift of holy relics he had brought with him, with crosses and fragrant incense and holy water, and receive it gloriously and escort it with honour, with praises and fitting melodies, together with him into the church consecrated in honour of Mary, the holy Mother of God. When

it had been brought there, the bishop laid it carefully in a shrine covered with gold and silver, to the praise of almighty God and the help of the people who come there, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and glory for endless ages of ages. Amen.

XVI

Serving ever in God's will with such zeal and the like, he strove to raise the bishopric he had undertaken to govern with honours of every kind, and laboured tirelessly to enlarge the service of God and of holy Mary, Mother of God; and so everywhere he was forestalled by God's grace, as is found written in the Psalms: He will do the will of those who fear him, and hear their prayer, and save them (Ps 145:19); and as the Apostle says: We know that for those who love God all things work together for good (Rom 8:28), and so on. Honoured with manifold marvels of God and strengthened by firm faith, he obtained the desires of his will and helped many in their needs, yet he humbly hid the power that was in him as far as he could: many who were troubled by the falling sickness were restored to health on receiving the blessing of his holiness, if they did not say why they sought the blessing; but those who openly told him the affliction they suffered, he sent away without his blessing out of humility, saying: "I am not worthy to be able to free you from this sickness."

The oil he consecrated on the day of the Lord's Supper became so healing that many who

were sick, when anointed by him, were quickly restored to health; and many who had dimness of the eyes and thought themselves deprived of the gift of this world's light were found worthy, at the touch of this oil, to enjoy clear sight again. These things I learned from no one's telling, but saw with my own eyes done in very many people.

Nor must we keep silent about the bishop's own recovery: once, when he had resolved to return from the monastery of Saint Gall to the city of Augsburg, he came to Kempten and was seized with so grave an illness that he could not walk without the help of others, and had not strength enough to take food to refresh his body. He sent messengers quickly to the city of Augsburg and ordered them to bring him back from there the oil he had consecrated; and when the messengers returned on the vigil of Pentecost at the ninth hour of the day, while the community of monks was still at the solemn office of Mass and he himself had heard the sacred mystery in his chamber, the oil was presented to him; and when the sacred mystery was over the monks were brought in to him, with the clerics who had come there with him present, and when the seven psalms had been sung for his sickness and the litany devoutly completed, the brethren returned to the cloister and left a holy monk named Hiltine with his two priests to anoint him with the holy oil.

When the anointing had been done, according to the teaching of the apostle James: Is any among you sick? Let him bring in the priest of the Church (Jas 5:14), and so on, the bishop said

to the provost: "Show fitting hospitality in my stead to these who have anointed me and to the rest of my companions, with the good things God has granted us today." And when they had sat down at table to dine, and the meal was not yet over, a messenger came from the bishop, saying: "Be of good heart and refresh yourselves with joy, for our lord the bishop, though all last week he could not take even a morsel of bread for nourishment, is now by God's gift eating, and his health has come back and he is better." Hearing this welcome news, they all together praised God and gave thanks to God and were made glad. When the evening hour came and the bell for Vespers first sounded, he rose at once and walked to the church, and remained there unwearied in the praises of God while the evening office was sung at length by the brethren after the monastic use; and afterwards, growing stronger from day to day, he was soon wholly restored to his former health.

O how great the abundance of God's sweetness, who granted him so swiftly for his own cure what he had prepared for others as a medicine and for the forgiveness of sins, so that through his perfect faith the faith of very many others might be confirmed!

XVII

I must also set down in this place another account, which I learned from his chaplain Herewig. One day, when on some necessary business he had to ride across the river called

the Wertach, and it had risen in flood, all the bishop's companions avoided the direct ford and looked for other, easier fords, and only Herewig remained with him; and the bishop crossed without fear by the ford the others had shunned, wearing socks made of coarse woollen cloth against the cold, for it was winter. When they had crossed the river, Herewig was soaked from the waist down, though he sat on a taller horse than the bishop's; and looking at the bishop's clothes to see whether the water had got into them, he could not see a single hair wet even on his socks, and said to the bishop: "I am drenched with wet, and not a hair on your lordship's socks is damp." The bishop said to him: "What you have seen, do not presume to tell anyone while I live."

At another time, when he had resolved to go to an assembly of the Emperor Otto at the city of Regensburg, sailing down the Danube, one day, as the boatmen were careless in looking ahead, the boat struck badly against a log, filled with water and threatened to sink with everyone aboard. All were dismayed and struck with fear, and made haste with great effort to bring the boat to the bank. When the boat had been brought to dry land, they carried ashore what was inside, but forgot the bishop, who was sitting in the stern. One of the clerics, named Mesi, struck with great amazement, said: "Woe to us wretches, that we have been no help to our lord in this danger!" And with these words he ran through the deep water that had gathered in the boat, took the bishop's arms over his shoulders and carried him out of

the boat; and when all had been unloaded and the bishop had come out last, the boat sank stern first into the deep.

What wonder if the laden boat could not sink while he sat in it, but stood upon the water at the command of him who by his own will made firm the waves of the sea for blessed Peter the apostle to walk upon? So the boat, not by its own nature but by the merits of him who sat in it, was made to float upon the waters for a while until it was relieved of all its stores and burdens, and only afterwards was reported sunk.

XVIII

Once, when he longed with burning heart to visit Rome, and came to the river called the Tarcus, he found it made so dangerous by the flooding of the waters that none of those who came to it from either side hoped to be able to cross it that day or the next. The holy bishop, trusting in God, made haste to put on his Mass vestments, celebrated Mass devoutly with his companions on the river bank, and after Mass crossed that river so easily that no mishap befell any of his companions, but all went on their way safe and sound, praising God with joy.

XIX

Since he applied himself most fervently to the many kinds of Christ's service and strove to enlarge it on every side, by God's gift he conceived the plan, on account of the devout life of a nun

named Emoza, of founding a community of nuns at the church of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr, placing them under the rule of holiness and joining them with the holy veil as brides to Christ God. When this had been done, a certain woman who, with her husband's consent, had renounced marriage joined that community, professing obedience for the reward of the bliss to come; she was not thoroughly taught in the knowledge of letters, but she had great energy for the outward work that had to be done, and so the other nuns wished to make her cellaress. When she refused, it was reported to the bishop, and he was begged to entrust the office of cellaress to her by his authority. The bishop granted the petition and commanded that the said nun should be cellaress; but she did not obey the bishop's command, and tried to persist in her former refusal.

The following night, in her sleep, she heard a voice saying to her: "Because you did not obey the bishop's command, you shall be deprived of the use of walking until you are absolved by him." On waking she felt her limbs so loosened that she had no power to walk. Bound by this infirmity, she waited wearily for the bishop's coming. Meanwhile the time of the synod drew near, and the bishop was returning to Augsburg; when the sick nun heard this, she asked to be carried into the church of Saint Mary and brought before his eyes; and when she came into his presence she began to implore his mercy, that she might be found worthy to be released by him from the afflicting bonds of her infirmity. Having heard her

plea, the bishop rebuked her for her disobedience and sent her away endowed with the gift of his blessing and of his pardon together. And as the bishop turned away from her, she was at once restored to health and ran ahead of him before he had passed through the church, and, prostrate before his lordship, praising God for her restored health, she promised that she would amend her disobedience thereafter, and went back joyfully to her own dwelling.

XX

Singing hymns to the Lord, the holy bishop afterwards, at a suitable time, began to build a church in the form of a cross in the cemetery of Saint Mary; and when the building was finished and five altars set up in it, he dedicated it in honour of Saint John the Baptist, had a baptismal basin hewn from stone set up in it, and, with a lawful endowment, entrusted it to a priest to care for in the divine offices; and he commanded that the cathedral clergy should visit it reverently every week on Saturday and on other solemn feasts, with the Gospel book, crosses and candles and the praises of God; and that in Easter week, which they call the week in albis, since it is then the custom to sing three psalms at Vespers, they should go there in procession and sing the remaining two with an antiphon and its tone in beautiful melody; and he himself very often offered the saving sacrifice to God there.

XXI

Desiring to save his soul in his last days, he resolved in his heart, though he felt his bodily strength waning from day to day, to labour with devout purpose to visit the threshold of the apostles Peter and Paul. When he had gone a little way of the journey in a carriage and came to rougher roads, he could go no farther until he was laid on a bed set upon horses and so began to travel on; and travelling in this way, though it seemed dangerous to his companions at every turn, with the help of God and of Saint Peter the apostle he reached Rome without mishap; and when he had most devoutly fulfilled there the vows and promises he had made beforehand, and received the gifts of most welcome benefits and indulgences, and had been honourably granted a wholesome leave by Saint Peter and by his vicar the pontiff and by the others who serve God there at Saint Peter's, he set out on a happy return and resolved to visit Ravenna.

As he drew near, he learned that the glorious Emperor Otto was staying there with the Empress Adelaide, and sending a messenger ahead he announced his coming; and he himself, following close behind the messenger, came to the door of the emperor's chamber. The emperor, when he learned that he was so near, with one foot shod and the other still bare, out of humility and the ardour of divine love, hastened lovingly to receive him. And when the empress had been sent for and they were enjoying sweet conversation in the chamber, settling the course of various matters as they spoke in turn, the holy man

began, with the empress's help, to entreat the emperor to entrust faithfully and firmly to his sister's son Adalbero the administration of his bishopric, with the government of the household and all the secular business belonging to it; and that he might be granted by his imperial highness the comfort of a promise that after his departure he would give Adalbero the chair of episcopal authority; so that he himself might be allowed greater leisure for the pursuit of prayer and of the Church's order, and for the steadfastness of the Christian life. The glorious and kindly emperor, assenting to his petition, entrusted the conduct of secular business to Adalbero and promised to give him the honour of the episcopal chair after the bishop's lifetime, if God willed; and besides, he presented the bishop with many pounds of gold and let him depart with every kindness, and through his own faithful men he carefully arranged his lodgings, with the other service he needed, as far as the border of that province.

XXII

When the bishop and the said Adalbero returned joyfully to the city, they were received with honour, as was fitting; and all who were found there, learning of their prosperous return and of the honour the emperor had done them, were greatly gladdened. Then the said Adalbero gathered the bishop's knights and desired them to swear oaths of fealty to him, which they did in the bishop's presence; and the household did likewise throughout the whole bishopric. The

bishop, for his part, now wore a garment made after the fashion of the monks, whose rule he had long been accustomed to follow in virtues of many kinds. While this was going on, because of the rivalry of certain clerics who reckoned that after the holy bishop's death they could obtain the bishopric by grant of his imperial highness, Adalbero presumed to carry the episcopal staff in public, so that all hope of obtaining the bishopric might be taken from them.

XXIII

Afterwards, when the emperors, that is, the father and his son, were returning from Italy to Francia, a synod was held at the place called Ingelheim, to which the archbishops with their other suffragans honourably invited Saint Ulrich through their envoys; and they decreed that his nephew Adalbero should come with him. When they arrived there, and the prelates gathered in that place learned that Adalbero carried the episcopal staff in public, they were angry with him and said that he had fallen into heresy against the rule of canonical right, and that he was claiming for himself, beyond what was just, the honour of the pontifical dignity while the bishop still lived, and that therefore it was no longer fitting for him to be ordained bishop. Hearing this, he avoided entering the synodal assembly on the first day, and stayed in another house with the rest of the bishop's clerics. The bishop, however, entered the synod with a few of his chaplains.

When the bishops had begun to confer among themselves, they wished each one's case to be settled by speech in Latin; and when Saint Ulrich's cause came up for debate, and he, because of his infirmity, could not set out his case in a voice loud enough for the whole synod to hear, one of his clerics named Gerhard, who had stayed outside the synod with Adalbero, was summoned to set forth in Latin speech, on his behalf, the reasons for his wish. And when, hardly able for the press of the crowd, he had come to stand before the emperors and the bishops, he was asked what his lord desired. When the questions had been put to him again and again, he said: "I ought not to answer your questions on my lord's behalf unless he commands it." The bishop said to him: "Brother, my desire is well known to you; tell it, and beg that by their counsel and leave, with God's help, it may be fulfilled." Then the said cleric Gerhard spoke in the presence of all: "Most excellent emperors and most devout prelates, my lord's desire is to leave the world, to enter upon a holy life according to the Rule of Saint Benedict, and to await the day of his death in the contemplative life. Indeed, in the garment of his outward habit you may read the will of his inward mind." When he had carried these and other arguments for his lord's wish through to the end, he fell to the ground at the feet of the emperors and prelates, beseeching them not to disdain to grant his lord's petition according to God's will.

They all together asked for time to answer until the next day, and afterwards considered

among themselves how Adalbero's case should be settled. Some of the bishops were Adalbero's supporters, so that he should not be wholly shut out from the hope of episcopal ordination after his uncle's lifetime. As they discussed these things among themselves, they came together at last in a single judgement, and all jointly determined that unless Adalbero cleared himself on oath that he had not known it to be heresy to seize the episcopal power with the staff, he could in no way thereafter lawfully become a bishop.

On the next day Adalbero too attended the synodal assembly with the bishop, and when the said charge was laid against him, he set about defending himself from it, together with his supporters, with many objections and arguments of every kind. When the assembly of all the bishops would not allow him this, he took the oath according to the bishops' aforesaid decision, by the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, upon the four Gospels. Then Bishop Ulrich again sought, through his aforesaid cleric, the answer to his petition that had been put off the day before; for he desired that his said nephew be ordained bishop, and that he himself might be allowed, with their consent, to serve God in a monastery according to the Rule of Saint Benedict.

The bishops, though it did not please them at all, were unwilling to oppose his petition openly in the synod; but the wisest of them, with the counsel of the others, asked him to walk with them outside the synod, and there they held a

private conversation with him and with his wisest clerics, saying: "Reverend Father, to whom the rule of all the Church's books is known, who have always walked the path of right without straying, it is not fitting that now, forsaking the way you have always kept, such an error should take its seed from you, that another should be ordained in your place while you live; for if such a custom begins to be practised from your example, many adversities will grow up hereafter for many reverend and good bishops from their nephews and clerics who desire such things. It is better for you to remain serving God in the ministry in which you began than, by following your own will, to give scandal to very many others; for it is by you that canons and monks and nuns and the rest of the Christians, who of themselves are quick to fall in every land, must be held fast to the state of right. And those who have fallen by walking carelessly may be hoped to be raised up again by you, with God's help. As for your nephew Adalbero, to satisfy your wish we jointly determine that after your departure no one else shall be ordained by us, while he lives, to the place in which you are shepherd, but he himself."

Agreeing to this counsel, the holy Bishop Ulrich went back with them into the synod; and then, with the consent of the other prelates, he had the emperor commit to Adalbero in their presence the stewardship of his affairs, and the task of carrying out under him the careful ordering of the whole bishopric in all things. When these matters had been settled in this way and

the synod was over, the bishop and Adalbero returned with their people to Augsburg.

XXIV

The said synod was held in the autumn; and when Eastertide came round thereafter and Holy Week was over, the bishop and Adalbero, at the kind invitation of Count Riwin, son of the bishop's brother Dietpald, came to the castle called Dillingen, to stay there some days in loving fellowship with him and with his wife, named Hildegard. After a few days had passed, Adalbero had himself bled there with a lancet, and afterwards sat down to supper with the bishop, and rising from supper lay down on his bed to rest. And when everyone had gone off to his own lodging, that same night Adalbero died a sudden death, in the year 973.

When his priest Herewig went into the bishop's chamber to tell him this, the bishop forestalled his words and said to him: "See, Adalbero is dead." He answered: "That is why I came in here, to tell you this; no one came to you before me; how could you know it?" The bishop answered him: "Go and wake Riwin and all who are with us, so that they may quickly make ready a carriage for us to take his body to the city of Augsburg." The bishop sent envoys to Augsburg and commanded that a tomb for Adalbero be prepared in the church of Saint Afra beside his own tomb; and so it was done.

He, with those who were with him, laid the body on a carriage, and with horses harnessed

in front brought it to Augsburg amid a throng of people. The cathedral clergy, with crosses and holy water and candles and incense, and with a great multitude of the household and of the rest of the people, went out to meet him as he approached, and receiving the body with honour they escorted it with fitting prayers and chants to the place of the tomb; and there, when the vigils had been kept and the saving sacrifice offered to God for his soul, and the bishop had commended the soul to almighty God, they buried the body most devoutly. When the commendation of the body was done and the bishop had gone back in sorrow, all returned to their homes with weeping and lamentation and great grief, because they had lost so soon, laid in the grave, a man born of noble stock, handsome, well taught in the art of grammar, zealous in the service of God, energetic in good works, prudent in sweet-sounding eloquence, generous in giving, saddened by the misfortunes of others, heaped with a wealth of many virtues, quick to help the wretched, adorned with kindness of every kind.

XXV

The devout prelate sent an envoy to inform the emperor of the death of his said nephew, and asked that the abbey called Ottobeuren, which his imperial power had granted to Adalbero, be given to himself, not out of avarice but with the intention of restoring to the monks who served God there the freedom which he had earlier obtained for them from the same emperor, writ-

ten and sealed. The emperor granted the abbey through the same messenger, and sent back great comfort and manifold greetings. When the messenger returned, he found the bishop at the place called Staffelsee, and told him all this. A few days later, while he was still staying in the same place, the emperor's death was announced to him by a messenger who asked for the help of prayer for the emperor's soul.

As he was returning from there to Augsburg, his nephews came to him, Count Riwin, son of his brother Dietpald, and Count Hupald, son of his brother Manegold, and asked him to go to the town called Wittislingen and show them how to lay out the church there, where the bodies of their kin had been committed to the earth (he himself had often urged them before to improve it and to enclose those bodies within it, so that they should no longer be drenched by the rain from the roofs), and how large they ought to make it. The holy bishop, though he knew most surely that the parting of his body and soul was close at hand, nevertheless went there for the love of God and for his affection for them, and with provident planning showed them how to enlarge that church over the said bodies; and he stayed there some days with his nephews, and from there came to the castle called Sulmetingen, at the request of Manegold, brother of the aforesaid Adalbero.

On the way, before they reached it, they had pitched camp in a field for the grazing, near the village called Gerlenhofen, and when the sun had

begun to sink its rays into the west, a man came who said that Bishop Conrad was most certainly dead; and he named the day of his death and the day his body was laid in the tomb. At this news the clerics and his other companions were astounded, and at once thought to send a messenger to Augsburg, so that the customary prayers might be said for his soul. The holy bishop, who knew the truth of the matter most surely, said to them in gentle words: "Hold back from sending a messenger yet; early tomorrow at daybreak you will learn how things stand with the bishop." And the next day at dawn a man came from Constance who truly gainsaid the bishop's death and reported that he was in his usual health.

Holy Bishop Ulrich finished the journey he had begun, and there, as one invited to a feast, after offering the saving sacrifice, which he took pains to render to God himself every day though he was much wasted in bodily strength, he sat at table every day with the guests, yet gave his body no food, except that he put in his mouth crumbs of bread soaked in water, and very often even these, once the water had been drawn from them, he put out of his mouth again; but sometimes, while still sitting at table, he refreshed his body with draughts of water.

When the business for which he had been called there was concluded, he set out to leave; the next day he came to the place called Utiuntiga, and there, calling to him the monks of the monastery called Ottobeuren, he began to consider providently with them and with his

faithful men how he might restore to them the freedom which, as I said before, he had earlier obtained for them from the emperor; and he said to them: "Choose one of yourselves as abbot, one who may be found useful in God's service and watchful over your needs. If you choose the one who pleases me for this, I will entrust the abbey to him until he comes before my lord the emperor; but if you choose another, not one who pleases me, I will not entrust it to him." They answered: "Let your holiness name to us the one who pleases your lordship, for the election by our community." Then he said to them: "I will name your brother Rudung for this office." Hearing this, the brethren asked for time until they could all speak together, to see whether this election could be made with the consent of all the brethren. When the brethren had gathered at the appointed place and begun to confer among themselves about this election, it pleased some of the brethren and displeased others; but, strengthened by the counsel of friends and obeying the bishop's will, they came together as one and elected Rudung abbot, and, returning with him to the bishop, announced to him the election made by their community. Hearing this, the bishop took his staff and entrusted the abbey to the said Rudung until he should come before the emperor, who had then succeeded his father of the same name in the empire; and he commended him to his nephews and his other faithful men, that they might present him to his imperial highness, and that, with their faithful

help, all this might be confirmed by him. When all this was done, he went back to the see of his own bishopric.

XXVI

When he had entered the walls of the city of Augsburg, he was beset with great sorrow for the death of his nephew Adalbero and for the passing of the emperor, to whom he had always kept faith in all things, and whose love was firmly bound fast to his heart. For the repose of the souls of both he bestowed many alms on the poor, and poured out many prayers and entreaties to the Lord every day, that he would deign to have mercy on them. He did not cease to celebrate the office of Mass every day, until his bodily strength so ebbed away that he could no longer stand by himself in any way. He would sit at table and provide a meal for those who sat with him, while he himself kept away from it as one fasting; and afterwards, in the church or in his chamber, he was refreshed by the sweet singing of psalms or by listening to the sacred readings.

When his bodily strength had so failed him that he could not sing Mass himself, he was brought into the church every day and did not cease to hear it most devoutly, persevering meanwhile in earnest prayer. Indeed, when he went into his chamber after Mass was finished, he did not give himself to the rest of his bed before the hour of Vespers, but sat on his chair with his shoes on, and sometimes leaned on a cushion to the right side, sometimes to the left, and

sometimes, still sitting, leaned his back against the back of the chair on which he sat. And after finishing the office and the whole psalter, he listened to readings from the sacred books read by Gerhard the provost, and at times enjoyed sweet converse with him about them.

Once, when a conversation between them had come to an end, the said cleric asked him: "My lord, do you hope that through this illness your death is close at hand?" He answered him as if rebuking him: "Why do you say so? I do not hope it: I know most surely that the day of my death will come to me before many days are out." Saddened at this, the priest asked his pardon and said to him: "My lord, which of the bishops do you bid us call for the commendation of your body?" He answered him: "At the time when my soul is to leave this body you will not be able to call any of them here: for my fellow bishop of this province, Bishop Conrad, is held by so great an illness that he cannot come here, and the bishops of the Bavarians are gathered in Francia for the royal assembly." And he said: "My lord, what then are we to do?" The holy bishop said to him: "Do you know how to commit a man's body to the earth?" He said: "If it were a person over whom our commendation ought to be made, we should have no fear about it." The bishop said to him: "When the time comes, do in this matter the best you can; the Lord will provide one to commend my body." With these words the said priest took up the reading again and went on with it, as he was accustomed, until the bell rang

and announced the hour of the evening praise. The readings were the Lives of the holy Fathers and the book of Saint Gregory which they call the Dialogues, whose last book treats at length of those who were caught up out of the body, saw many things in the spirit, and returned to the body again. Living in this way he awaited the day of his death most beautifully, and at times he saw a great many things in the spirit, of which he told a few to those who were with him.

Meanwhile, when Werinhar, abbot of the monastery called Fulda, came to visit him, he said to him among other things: "You ought to become bishop here after me; all chose you except two, and if those two had agreed with the others, your election would without doubt have been complete." And having said this, he took the hands of Attelin, then the steward, and of Hiltin the chamberlain, commended them to his good faith, and let him depart in love.

XXVII

On another occasion, one day, waking as if from a heavy sleep, he said, while those sitting by him heard it: "Alas, alas, that I ever saw that nephew of mine, Adalbero! For because I gave in to him according to his desire, they will not receive me unpunished into their fellowship!" And having said this, he at once fell silent. His bodily strength, waning from day to day, failed so far that he could not enter the church unless held up by two men.

And when, on the feast of Saints Mark and Marcellian, which is the fourteenth day before the Kalends of July, he was brought into the church to hear Mass, then, when Mass was over, he ordered a carpet to be laid down for him before the holy cross, and he lay prostrate upon it. When he had lain there about half an hour he rose, had his chamberlain, the priest Liutpald, come to him, and commanded him to bring into his presence all his possessions that were in his keeping and lay them before the altar, except that he left one set of furnishings for the house and the tables, and one coverlet of marten fur, for the service of his successor. When they had been set before him and he had looked at them, he said: "What should all these things be to me now?" Though they seemed very many to him, they amounted to no more than a few linen shirts, seven or eight tablecloths, two woollen blankets and ten shillings of silver, which he put at once into the hand of Gerhard the provost, to be given out to the poor. All the rest he ordered to be divided among the clerics of that place.

Of his garments he sent some to Antony, a venerable man, whom he had earlier enclosed as a recluse at Ottobeuren in God's name. He also sent garments to a certain Ruozo, who had no movement in his limbs except from the arms upward, and for whom a dwelling had been built in the cemetery of the monastery of Kempten, raised from the ground like a bed, so that what he had digested might fall to the ground and be kept apart from his dwelling; for earlier, when

the bishop was staying in that monastery, he had often visited this poor man in person and gladly listened to the sweetness of his talk, because this same poor man dwelt always behind his closed little door in the praises of God and in prayer, day and night. O what tongue can tell of a man of such kindness, who, at the point of death and with so great a distance between, did not neglect to clothe Christ! Surely it was because he who wished his members to be clothed by him was always at his side.

When these things had been given away, he commanded the steward and others of his faithful men and servants whom he chose that in all the places belonging to his service everything found in them should be divided into three parts, and that a third part should be given at once, while he still lived, to priests and to the poor, in a provident distribution; and so it was done. Indeed, though his body was held fast by grave illness, his senses, his mind and his will could be taken up with nothing but persevering in holy purposes.

XXVIII

So, on the holy day of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, at the first hour of the day, blessed Ulrich, roused as if suddenly from sleep, said to his chamberlains: "Put on me my clothes and my shoes." They hesitated because of his great weakness, wondering whether he gave them this command in a trance of the mind or from a failing of his senses; yet, fulfilling his command, they

dressed him in his clothes and shoes. At once he ordered them to vest him in his Mass vestments; and when he was vested, he walked through the mother church and came to the church of Saint John the Baptist, which he himself had built earlier and consecrated in his honour, and there he completed, with strength and care, the Mass he used to sing at early dawn on that yearly feast; and when it was finished he at once began the public Mass and, with God's help, carried it through most devoutly. When, standing without help from others, he had brought both Masses fittingly to their end with the blessings, he sat down and said to the clerics standing by him: "These mysteries which by God's gift I have now performed I did not undertake from my body's strength, but by command: for today, as I lay on my bed as though sunk in sleep, two young men of most beautiful appearance stood before my bed, and one of them said to me: 'Why do you not rise? For today you must celebrate Mass at Saint John the Baptist's.' The other answered him: 'How can this be, when for the weakness of his body he has not yet even said Prime?' But he who had spoken to me before said: 'Rise, and as I have told you, make haste to fulfil God's mystery in that church, for today no one but you will sing Mass there.'" Having said this, he went back to his chamber.

And as he awaited the day of his death with a devout mind and a glad heart, according to the words of David the psalmist, who says: As the hart longs for the fountains of waters, so my soul

longs for you, O God (Ps 42:2), though he did not say it in words, he showed by his deeds that he thought he would pass from this world on the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul.

On that same day, before the evening praise began, while the wardens of the church were setting all the bells ringing together, he was bathed and clothed in the vestments he had kept for his death, and laid himself down as one about to die. When Vespers was over, he raised himself from the ground with others helping him, and said, as if to himself: "O Saint Peter, you have not done now as I thought!" And he remained somewhat dismayed in mind over this.

But the said priest Gerhard said to him: "My lord, do not be saddened, but remember that the same thing happened to other holy bishops; for to one of them it was said: 'About the feast of the apostles you shall be led from this world to rest'; and when he hoped to die on the feast of the apostles, his time was lengthened until the eighth day, and then he died. To Cassius, bishop of Narni, it was said through a certain priest who had been scourged by an angel: 'Let your hand not cease, let your foot not cease; do what you are doing, work at what you are working; on the feast of the apostles you shall come to me.' And the bishop, thinking that his death was at hand on the feast of the apostles, which was then near, strove in every way he could to prepare himself for laying down his body. But when the feast came he remained sound and well, and so he stayed until the course of seven years had run;

and then on that same day, as had been told him, having sent many good works on before him and completed the sacred ministry, he passed happily from this world." Hearing this, the holy bishop remembered that it was true, and answered him: "You have spoken well, brother"; and, lifted in mind, he stayed in good heart and showed himself gentle and kindly to those who were with him: chiding no one, rebuking no one, angry with no one, troublesome to no one, set against no one; no word of any complaint was heard from him, but he did every good he then could to those present and those absent. He refused pardon to no one; he sealed all with the grace of his blessing.

Count Riwin, his nephew, of whom we have spoken, had not yet returned from the royal assembly. Of him he would say at times: "O Riwin, would that you might come while I am alive, so that I might see you!" That year the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul fell on a Sunday, and from then on, as I said, he waited in the best of dispositions until Thursday had passed; in that night, before the dawn of Friday could be clearly seen, he had ashes strewn in the form of a cross and sprinkled with holy water, and had himself laid down on them; and so he lay until the dawn lit up the whole breadth of the world. Then Riwin, returning from the palace, came in and delivered the emperor's message in his hearing. Having seen him and heard the message, he raised his eyes as far as he was able and gave thanks to almighty God, who, according to the words of David the prophet, will do the will of those who

fear him (Ps 145:19), and so on. And as Riwin went out, at once, in that same hour, while the clerics devoutly sang the litany, he commended his soul to God; and in the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 973, in the eighty-third year of his age and the fiftieth of his ordination, on the fourth day of July, the fourth before the Nones of that month, a Friday, lulled by a happy death as by a sweet sleep and set free from the prison-house of the body, he passed to his rest.

Indeed, when the holy body had been stripped for washing in the usual way, it filled the nostrils of all who were there with the fragrance of a sweet odour, which lasted until the body, washed, clothed in the garments prepared for it and placed on the bier, was carried into the church.

Now when the clergy heard that the bishops of the Bavarians were returning from the said assembly to their own province, they sent an envoy, wishing to call Archbishop Frederick for the commendation of the holy body; but when the messenger came to him, he found him held by so severe a fever that he could in no way come. As the envoy was returning from there in sorrow, he heard that the venerable Bishop Wolfgang meant to come to the place called Nördlingen, and he hastened to meet him. When he reached him and had been greeted by him, he heard that he meant to go to the city of Augsburg to visit Ulrich, the holy servant of God, who lay ill. He answered him: "The Lord has commanded your holiness to visit him; and I have come for this: to tell you

that he is dead, and to beg you on behalf of the whole community that serves God there to come in haste and commend the holy body to God." Hearing this, the holy bishop was overcome with great sorrow; that same night, at first light, he rose and set out for Augsburg. On the way, when he realized that he could not arrive there in good time, he sent the same envoy ahead to announce his coming.

Meanwhile the body was watched over carefully and devoutly by the community in the church of Saint Mary, day and night, with prayers and the celebration of Masses, until the Sunday. On the Sunday, after the first Mass had been celebrated for his soul, when the clergy had assembled and the community of nuns had come, with a great multitude of people from the provinces, the priests lifted the body and began to carry it to Saint Afra's, where his tomb had been prepared beforehand. When they came to the hill called Perleich, the said messenger arrived and announced Bishop Wolfgang's coming. They brought the body into the church of Saint Afra, and there again celebrated the Mass of the sacrifice with all devotion for the repose of his soul. As the bishop still did not come, and the hour of the day would not wait, but the time for celebrating God's public service was at hand, and this was being carried out with all devotion by the community of clerics, the said bishop arrived; and when he had been received with honour and had finished his prayer, he greeted the brethren and said: "What do you think: shall we commend

the holy body today, or put it off to another day?" The brethren answered him: "If it pleases your holiness, it seems good to us that all who are present here now be told to gather here tomorrow morning at a fitting hour for the commendation of the holy body, and that the offering of the saving sacrifice be made to God by you, while we offer it with you, for the repose of his soul; for the fitting hour is past, and you are overcome with great weariness." Hearing this, the bishop very gladly agreed to their counsel and waited for the next day.

That night Hildegard, wife of the said Count Riwin, a married woman yet most devout, came and brought a linen cloth soaked in wax, and asked the highest of the clerics to wrap it carefully and secretly around the holy body, so that the priestly vestments in which he was clothed should not soon be consumed by the earth; for while he was still alive he had commanded that no wooden boarding be put beneath his body, but that they should lay it on the bare earth and cover it with a wooden lid: and they, at her request, wrapped the cloth around the holy body.

When morning came a great multitude of people arrived, and the clerics and nuns who served God there gathered, and many from the provinces who exercised sacred offices joined them; and the prelate, while all offered sacrifice for his soul, offered the saving sacrifice to God with great contrition and humility of heart; and moreover, when the public Mass was over, he admonished all together in sober and careful words to pray

devoutly for that holy soul with the inmost purpose of their hearts, that, loosed from every bond of sin, it might by God's gift be found worthy to enjoy everlasting joy for ever with the saints and the elect of God. When all had prayed as he had bidden, the bishop buried the body and commended the soul most devoutly, with tears, to almighty God. The ministers, as was said before, covered the body with a wooden lid, and above it, on the ledges of the walled tomb, they laid a thick wooden boarding, and at the surface of the ground they closed it firmly with stones joined together. When this was done, the bishop went on to Augsburg to pray. When he had completed many prayers, he was asked by the brethren in charity to accept a set of Mass vestments that had belonged to Saint Ulrich, of which he had had a rich abundance in his lifetime, and he accepted it for the sake of his holiness; and having been sent off with honour, as he most fully deserved, he returned home with God as his companion.

XXVIII

After the death of the holy Bishop Ulrich, Henry, son of Count Burchard, became his successor, not entering the sheepfold with prudence but climbing up some other way (Jn 10:1); for, on the counsel of Burchard, duke of the Alamanni, who had married the daughter of his mother's sister, and of very many others, and also of some knights who craftily hoped to have their fiefs increased by him, he began to consider with subtle counsel how he might usurp the said place for

himself; although it had come to his knowledge that, in a certain assembly invisible to bodily eyes, at which Saint Ulrich was present in an ecstasy of mind and heard it, Abbot Werinhar would have been appointed to this ministry by that whole assembly, to become his successor, if two had agreed with the others, as I said before.

Some clerics, accompanied by the advocate and certain other knights of the same bishopric, set out on the road to the emperor's court, carrying the episcopal staff. When they came to the city of Worms, to the monastery of Saint Cyriacus, they found Duke Burchard there with his wife, laid up with illness. When they told him the purpose of their journey, he deceived them with cunning contrivances; for he told them that the emperor was staying at that time almost at the farthest bounds of his realm, that on the road they would have to take everything was beyond measure dear and the grass everywhere was fenced off, and that therefore they could find no means of supporting themselves and their horses. "In a few days our emperor means to hold a royal assembly at the place called Erinstein; you can easily go there. So turn back now, and when my trusty messenger comes to tell you the day of that assembly, do not hesitate to go there; for there you will find me a firm helper to you, and you may know without any doubt that in the episcopal election I shall be at one with you." Hearing these words, they thought them true, and, agreeing to his counsel, they turned back.

Not long afterwards the duke's messenger came, told them that the royal assembly would be held at the said place, and urged them to come there. At once, taking other brethren with them, they made haste to go to that place. When they had come near the place called Baden, a messenger met them and said: "Henry, son of Burchard, whom the emperor with his faithful men and Duke Burchard have decreed shall be bishop of Augsburg, will shortly be meeting you." Hearing this, the brethren were saddened that they were to be deprived of the said election of a bishop, and they went no farther, but turned back and waited at a convenient place until they could accompany the said Henry from there.

That very day, when the knights who had come from Duke Burchard with Henry reached the camp, they began to press the clerics who had joined them to approve Henry in common as bishop, there and then. They asked for a delay until all the brethren could gather together at home in a common chapter. When the knights refused this and they had argued among themselves at length, they returned to Henry and, together with some of the clerics, elected him to be bishop over them; but some, who did not elect him, went on to Augsburg to the rest of the brethren.

When they reached Augsburg, divided thus over his election, a certain count named Wolverad came to the community with some other men, as if bearing a message from the emperor, and said: "The emperor sends you his favour and mercy and every good wish, and

asks that you too, for love of him, should not refuse to elect with one accord as your bishop this lord Henry, whom he with his faithful men has decreed to be shepherd in this place." But this message had been put together by deceitful counsel. They answered him: "Let him come with you to our chapter to hear our answer." And when they had with difficulty obtained leave to enter the chapter, the canonical readings on the election of bishops were read. The said Henry, when he heard from the readings recited in his presence that it lay in the canons' power to elect him or reject him, prostrated himself and humbly asked them not to disdain to elect him bishop, promising them, if they consented to his request, every kind of benefit in time to come. Believing his promises, some willingly and some to avoid dissension, they all nevertheless decreed in common that he should be bishop. When this election had been made known in the church to the knights and the household, it was confirmed by all with the ringing of bells.

Then at last the said Henry, taking some of the canons with him, went to the emperor and, supported by the testimony of others, reported his election in his presence, humbly begging that the aforesaid bishopric be granted him by his imperial highness. The emperor neither refused his petition nor granted it at once, but promised to assent to it five days later, on the feast of Saint Maurice; and so he did. Afterwards, at the appointed time, he came to Mainz and received

the episcopal blessing from Archbishop Rupert and his suffragans.

In those times Otto, son of Liudolf, the son of the Emperor Otto, was duke of the Alamanni, and Henry, son of Henry the brother of the same emperor, was duke of the Bavarians; and though, being close kin, they ought to have been joined in love, through the scheming of Satan, that evil counsellor, they began to practise envy and discord against each other. Bishop Henry, then, remained more attached in all things to the duke who bore his name, and agreed with his counsels more than with Duke Otto's, although the city of Augsburg lay in Otto's duchy. For this reason Duke Otto began to be angry with him, and to take counsel with his faithful men how he might oppose him in whatever way he could; and so he did.

Moreover, on the advice of certain people, the bishop wished to take away their fiefs from some knights who were nephews of the holy Bishop Ulrich, Manegold and Hupald, though they had done no wrong. They, however, while the holy Bishop Ulrich was still alive, had often been sent by him to the emperor's aid with a lordly host of knights, and in his service, vigorously fulfilling his will in all things, had stayed until they were sent home in his favour, honoured with gifts. The queen also declared herself to be their kinswoman; therefore they refused to give up to the bishop the fiefs they had received, and kept them in their power against his will. So the

bishop, wearied by these and many other adversities, grew sad.

Once, when the Emperor Otto wished to invade the people of the Slavs with an army, and Otto, who was then duke of the Alamanni and of the Bavarians, Henry having been deposed, was ready to come to his aid with the Alamanni and the Noricans, and Bishop Henry promised to go with him, the bishop waited with his knights until the army had moved off, and then, as they had planned beforehand, seized with his knights the towns he could, and himself went into Neuburg. And Henry, who had formerly been duke, went into the city of Passau, intending that, once Otto had moved off with the army, he might subdue the province to himself with the help of his kinsman the bishop. When this plan became known to Duke Otto, he turned back with the army of both provinces and besieged him in the said city, Passau. And the Emperor Otto, delivered from the Slavs by God's mercy, came after him to the same city to besiege it. When the siege was over and the rising quelled, and the emperor was returning to Saxony, afterwards, at an appointed time, Henry son of Henry and his namesake the son of Berthold were summoned to an assembly of the emperor; and with them Bishop Henry also came to the emperor to clear himself of the said offence, so that, restored to his favour, he might be allowed to return home. When the assembly was over, Henry and his namesake were sent into exile. Bishop Henry was committed to the custody of the abbot at Werden, where Saint

Liudger rests. And while he was kept there under close guard from Easter until after the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, an imperial assembly was held in the town called Dortmund. There came two priests from Augsburg, Gerhard and Anamot, and, with the intercession of Duke Otto and of the bishops who were there, they made supplication not only for themselves but for all the clerics and laymen living in that bishopric, that they should not long be deprived of their bishop's care. The emperor, granting the petition of Duke Otto and of his other faithful men and of the said clerics, ordered the bishop to be brought back from exile, and, once he had renewed in his presence his oath of fealty, allowed him to return in his favour to his bishopric.

Restored to his place, the bishop began to turn over in his mind for what offences so many and such varied adversities had befallen him so often, he who was wronged by the duke in many ways more than his predecessors had been; and since the chief men among the knights presumed to hold their fiefs against his will, and the choicest officers of his father's household had suddenly perished in various ways, he asked his intimate clerics in secret whether Saint Ulrich had said of Abbot Werinhar that he ought to become his successor, as he had been told before. And when he learned in truth that what he had before refused to believe was true, he was seized with great fear, but did not show it in public; and he was the more afraid because at that time great signs and wonders were often being wrought, by God's grant, at

the tomb of the holy Bishop Ulrich. Then at last, changed for the better in many ways, he strove to make his peace with God; he ordered the mother church to be covered with a new roof, and built a bridge over the river Lech at Saint Afra's. And he commanded that none of the household should take toll or any payment for the bridge, but that, as an alms of his, whoever wished might cross without hindrance or seizure.

Afterwards he visited Rome and the threshold of the holy apostles Peter and Paul for the forgiveness of his sins. And before he set out for there, there was a property at Geisenhausen which his father Burchard was known to have held, and which he had handed over before witnesses to his faithful man Eticho, on this condition: that Eticho should firmly transfer it to whatever place his son, Bishop Henry, should ask. And so then, at the bishop's request, Eticho, together with the bishop's hand, lawfully handed over the said property, according to the law of the Noricans, to Saint Mary, upon her altar, which stands in the city of Augsburg, and upon a gilded reliquary adorned with set stones: with the church and all the buildings, with fields, meadows, pastures, mills, waters and watercourses, ways and wastes, towns, woods cut and uncut, things acquired and yet to be acquired, and with the household and with all that rightfully belongs to that property, except that he left twenty hides out of the gift and assigned them to the service of Saint Magnus at Füssen; and he agreed with the canons that they should have power, if they wished, to exchange

those twenty hides for ten hides well situated in this province. The gift was made into the hand of Werinhar the advocate and into the hand of Gerhard the provost, for the healing of his soul and of the souls of his father and mother and of his mother's sister and of his other relatives and kin, on this agreement: that it should remain for ever as an offering in the right and power of the canons, their daily allowance being preserved in all things; and that they, for the repose of his soul, should each year, on the eve of the anniversary, at the hour of Vespers, celebrate a full vigil with chant, and on the anniversary day complete the vigil again, and when Mass has been celebrated at the altar all should together offer to God the offering of the sacrifice; and moreover they should provide a hundred poor people with sufficient food and drink, and clothe twelve of them, one year with woollen garments and the next year again with woollens, and give them leggings and shoes.

But if any bishop who succeeds him should try to break this agreement, and should attempt in any way to take the said property from the canons and turn it to his own use, and, once the matter has been made known to him, should not restore it at once, his lawful heirs shall have free power to lay three pennies on the altar, and so to redeem the same property and possess it by their own right for all generations to come.

Done at Augsburg, in the church of Mary, holy Mother of God, before the altar, by the act of Bishop Henry, in the presence of the canons, be-

fore a throng of people and before the witnesses noted below.

Mark of Eticho, who made this gift. Mark of Adalbero. Mark of Jagob. Mark of Marahnurat. Mark of Willehalm. Mark of Hunurid. Mark of Engilmar. Mark of Wezzi. Mark of Pilgirim. Mark of Gundachar. Mark of Cadolt. These are from the province of Noricum.

And these are from the province of the Alamanni. Mark of Werinhar the advocate, who received this gift together with the hand of Gerhard the provost. Mark of Histipold. Mark of Gotebold. Mark of Reginhar. Mark of Suidger. Mark of Aribo. Mark of Vrolf. In the nine hundred and eightieth year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the eighth indiction, on the fourth day before the Nones of October, and on the twentieth day, a Thursday. I, Gerhard, an unworthy priest, have noted the day and the year.

When this had been done, as I said, he went on to Rome, and having fulfilled his vows he came home in good health. But inwardly he was still tormented by great anguish of mind, because Duke Otto, though outwardly they were at peace, compelled him more than his predecessors to render him service from the goods of Saint Mary; and because certain knights held, against his will, church fiefs that rightfully belonged to his power.

Since he was born of noble parents, had great knowledge of the art of grammar and of other books, and abounded most fittingly in sweet conversation and well-sounding speech, he was zealous on holy feasts in the service of God and

in preaching. He kept a lordly service at his table, and offered those who stayed with him plenty to eat and drink with a cheerful face and a kindly mind. Toward the household, however, he was harsher than was just, taking away their rights and in some places creating a new tax. Then at last he came to know that he could not overcome the adversities already mentioned unless God helped him and the favour of his imperial highness worked on his behalf; and he strove with all his might to bind himself to the emperor's service, so that, by winning his favour, all the oppositions threatening him from others on every side might be softened by his presence and his commands. Therefore he often visited him with gifts fit for an emperor, took pains to win over the emperor's intimates with fitting presents, and besides went on campaign with him, in the way he judged would best please him.

And so in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 983 the emperor went with an army into the province of Calabria, and Bishop Henry went there with him too; and when a battle was fought there with the Saracens and very many fell on both sides, alas for grief! he too remained there, whether captured or slain. His loss is to be lamented beyond measure, for the place where he lies cannot be found or visited by his clerics, his relatives, his kin or his friends. It is very dangerous to overstep a decree of God revealed through his saints and to despise prophecies, as Scripture says: Do not quench the Spirit; do not despise prophecies (1 Thess 5:19-20).

Afterwards Werinhar was asked by the emperor whether he would accept the bishopric, as Saint Ulrich had earlier decreed; and while he was still sound and well, he answered that he would no longer accept this bishopric. After refusing the bishopric, as I learned from his servants, within a few hours he began to fall ill, and ended his life at Lucca; and his body was carried all the way to the church of the Holy Lord and buried with honour. Duke Otto also died at Lucca, and was carried by his men over the mountains and brought all the way to Aschaffenburg, and there, with great honour and exceeding lamentation, he was committed to the earth.

THE MIRACLES OF SAINT ULRICH

I

After the precious treasure of Ulrich's holy body had been committed to the earth, a carpet was laid over the tomb, and a lamp set beside it burned constantly without ceasing. One of the wardens carelessly set a burning candle beside the tomb; when he had gone, the candle fell crosswise onto the carpet over the tomb and went on burning until the part of the candle lying on the carpet was consumed by the fire; and while it burned against the front part of the carpet, where it overhung the tomb, sending its flame upward along the carpet, the warden came back, and seeing this he stood trembling and aghast; fearfully he took away what was left of the candle and carefully examined the carpet

to see whether the fire had damaged it at all: he found a trace of the fire in the tiniest crumbs of wax, but not a single hair of the carpet could he find scorched, either on the top or on the side of the tomb. When he told this miracle to his master and the brethren, showing them the trace of the candle and yet the carpet unharmed, they were all filled with wonder and joy and glorified God and Saint Ulrich.

II

Although no miracle was yet known to have been worked openly there, a multitude of the household of both sexes lay continually prostrate on the pavement close to where the holy body was laid, praying for help in their needs; and finding that many aids of every kind of benefit came to them from there, they began to visit that place more and more often. So when, by the Lord's grant, that place had become known to very many through the constant stream of visitors, there came a man from the province of Noricum named Reginwalech, who, worn out by fever for a whole year and brought to extreme weakness, came to Wicfrid, provost of that place, and asked him whether he could show him some remedy for his deliverance. He answered: "Go and get yourself a staff, and carry it to the tomb of my lord Saint Ulrich for your recovery." He went away and cut himself a staff of birch wood, and brought it to the said provost. The provost went with him and led him to the holy tomb, and showed him how to lay the staff upon it. Supported also by the prayer

of the clerics and strengthened in faith by their teaching, in that same hour he was freed from the fever and plainly restored to health.

At that same time an incredible multitude of people in these regions were suffering from fevers. When they heard that the said man had been freed at the holy tomb, as I have told, some with staffs, and some adding other offerings too, hastened to visit the holy tomb for their health. And all of them, wherever they came from, were quickly restored to health.

III

A man of the household of Saint Mary named Hisenhart took one of the staffs that had been brought to the tomb by the sick, and, carrying it in his hand, began to walk away; and when he came to the hill called Perleich, he began to be sorely afflicted with fever. Then, sensing for what offence he had been given over to sickness, he went back to the tomb, put the staff back in the place he had taken it from, and vowed never again to presume to carry one away from there; and when he had made the vow, the fever left him.

IV

A priest of the community of Saint Afra named Adelger took from the tomb two little staffs, handsome to look at and handy to carry, and, forgetting himself, carried them into his house; and when he had sat down there, he was seized

by frequent yawning and a great bristling of the skin, and all his limbs were filled with weariness, so that he had no strength properly to sit, or to walk, or even to lie down. He began to consider within himself why he was afflicted by so sudden a loosening of his limbs; and rising, he went to Wicfrid the provost and told him what had happened. He said to him: "Did you not take those little staffs from the holy tomb?" He said: "I did." "Make haste," said the provost, "to put them back in their place." When this had been done, every bodily discomfort fled, and the priest was at once restored to his former health.

V

Likewise, any of the common crowd who took into their hands some of the staffs that had been brought there, to lean on them during the sacred mysteries and so wait more easily for the end of the service, were shaken by a sudden onset of fever; and when they found out the cause of what had happened, they threw the staffs aside and were freed in that same hour.

VI

When these happenings had been spread abroad and brought to everyone's knowledge on every side, no one presumed to carry off even the smallest staff from there without leave; and so such a multitude of staffs grew up that they could not easily be counted, nor be stored in the corners of the church without getting in the way. So it

came about that they were placed on the beams of that church where the tomb lies. And so the sacristans, at their master's bidding, often carry them to the hearth, and with them burning they soften wax to make more candles for the service of God. Yet a great many will always remain on the beams, and those who look at them do not think their number is lessened at all. Very many crutches hang there, left by those who, by the grant of God's grace, were freed there from various infirmities through the merits of Saint Ulrich; and very many likenesses of others, shaped after the various limbs of those who were sick, can also be seen there. Before the doors of the church can also be seen the vehicles of those who came there laid on carts, crippled by every kind of weakness of the limbs, were granted perfect health in all their limbs, and, leaving their carts there with their coverings, went home joyfully on foot.

VII

In the district of Geltenstein the daughter of a certain woman had lost all use of one arm; and one night it was said to the mother in her sleep: "Why do you not bring your daughter with a lamp to the tomb of Saint Ulrich for her healing?" On waking she told the dream to her daughter, and as quickly as she could she brought her there with a candle; and when perfect health had been received, she took her home again rejoicing to their own holding.

VIII

From the same district, from a little town called Toningewe, a man whose ears were closed so that he could hear nothing, and whose tongue was tied so that he had never been able to utter a single word, was brought by his brothers to the tomb of Saint Ulrich, and there he lay prostrate a long time, shedding tears; and when his brothers had raised him up, they led him round the altars. And when he had begun to walk and came before the altar of Saint Donatus, which stands at the west end of the church, he heard the sound of the clerics singing in the choir, and in a voice still weak he said to his brothers: "See, I hear, and I can speak." When, after the divine office was over, they told this to the clerics, and these found that it was truly so, they had the bells rung and began to praise God together; and when the praise was ended, the said sick man, endowed with perfect speech and sound hearing, was found worthy to go home.

IX

A baker of Bishop Henry's household named Liutnot lost his lord's favour through his own fault, because he had wasted with great carelessness the grain entrusted to him throughout the bishop's estates. When, sorely threatened by the bishop's officers, he fell into the greatest fear, he went barefoot to the tomb of Saint Ulrich to be delivered from the distress that hung over him, and there for a long time begged his help with tears. And when he had returned from there, within a few days, more easily than he could have

believed, he regained his lord's favour. From then on, trusting firmly in his help in every place, he would often drink for love of him when he took refreshment, and was accustomed to ask others to drink.

X

One day this same Liutnot came to the house of Razo, who was then a powerful officer of the bishop, in the town of Bobingen, and dined there with him. When he had eaten his fill and wished to leave, the said Razo pressed him to drink more. He did not dare refuse his request, but took the vessel that was handed to him, saying: "I will drink this strong drink as the charity of Saint Ulrich, by whose help I was freed from the greatest distress." And when he had drained the cup and turned the vessel upside down with his hand, he said: "Sealed with this charity, I am sure that no evil of any adversity can harm me today, nor any sword wound my body." Razo said to him: "Give me your finger, so that I may see whether my little knife can wound that limb of yours." At once, with great faith, he held out his finger to him. Razo took hold of his finger and with the other hand tried to draw the knife from its sheath to wound the said baker's finger, and with that same knife he dealt his own hand a great wound; and he quickly let go of the finger he was holding, and the knife too, and began to bewail his wounded hand; but the baker, strengthened in faith, went away unhurt.

XI

Another man of the household, named Adelhard, was about to go from the city of Augsburg to his home, which lies in the town called Eitingen, when before the city gate a man asked him to drink with others. And when they had begun to drink, one of those who were there asked them to take a drink as the charity of Saint Ulrich. But the said Adelhard let a foul word out of his mouth, and refused to take the cup of the charity that was asked of him. And when he had gone a little way from there, on the level road his horse fell and his leg was broken; and so, brought home with difficulty, he remained crippled for a long time. Afterwards he made a vow to the tomb of Saint Ulrich and, by God's gift, was restored to health; and from then on he often asked others to drink the charity he had once spurned.

XII

In the said village of Eitingen, one day when many of the household had gathered together to drink, there was among them one named Walterich, a pupil of Wicfrid, provost of Saint Afra's, who, hearing them call there for the charity of the holy Bishop Ulrich, spoke most foolishly with profane mouth, as if raving: “What good is that bishop's charity to me, since he can work no more signs than a dog?” No sooner had he uttered that word than he was given over to the devil and lost human speech, and began to make noises, raging

like a dog; and yelping and barking, after a little while, alas! he ended his life wretchedly.

XIII

In the city of Augsburg a smith called Herevuns was held for a long time by a great infirmity of his whole body, so that he could not walk unless others helped him; and sometimes, propped on two crutches, with his head bowed almost to the ground, he could barely manage his bodily needs. When he heard that many sick people were often healed at the holy tomb, he began to creep there beyond his strength, leaving his house at early dawn and barely arriving there before the third hour of the day. When he had done this often, once in Lent, on a Friday, as he came to the gate over which the chapel of Saint Michael is built, he stopped, exhausted beyond measure and bereft of all his strength, and said: "Lord God, almighty Father, deign to see in what great weakness I have now come to this place, and through the merits of your holy confessor Ulrich have mercy on me"; and after resting a little he crept on as far as the tomb.

When he had finished his prayer there and, taking his crutches, wished to rise with his companion's help, one crutch slipped on the floor and he was thrown to the ground again; and as he fell, his knees, drawn back by the shrinking of the sinews, gave a crack like mallets breaking, and his legs stretched out along the floor. When his companion wished to lift him up in the usual way, he said to him: "Wait a little; it seems to me

I can rise and walk by myself." Having said this, he left his crutches on the floor, rose, and walked. At once he took up a cross there and, with the clerics and the other citizens accompanying him, walked strongly without a staff to Saint Mary's in the city of Augsburg; and when the praises of God had been sung there by all together, he returned in that same hour to Saint Afra's, carrying the cross.

XIV

A poor bondman from the town called Messlinga, named Hiltibald, was struck with blindness and remained in that blindness for two years; in the third year some men of the same district decided to go to the city of Augsburg to pray, and on that same journey they found him with his guide, begging his bread from town to town, and said to him: "Come with us to the city of Augsburg and to the tomb of Saint Ulrich; perhaps you may find mercy there." He answered them: "I have no provisions for myself and my guide, nor offerings to bring to those holy places." They answered: "If you come with us, we will help you as far as we can." Yielding to their persuasion, he went with them to Augsburg, and that night he waited for the coming day outside the church, near the holy tomb. When morning came he was led into the church to the tomb and prayed devoutly, and by the gift of God's grace he received back the sight of his eyes that he had lost; and lifting up a cross, with a great multitude of people accompanying him, he came to Saint

Mary's and told how he had been given his sight, his fellow townsmen bearing witness for him.

XV

Once, when the holy bishop was going to the synod of the Emperor Otto assembled at Ingelheim, a poor man from the town of Affelterbach, called Rudpret, joined him by the road, carrying in the fold of his garment his bowels, which had fallen out of his belly at the navel; and when he opened the fold and showed them to the bishop, the bishop ordered a penny to be given him and said to him: "Go in the peace of God." Not long afterwards he began to get better from day to day, and when his belly had healed he was freed from that infirmity. But afterwards this same man became lame, so that he could walk only by propping himself on hand-stools, and he was also wholly deprived of the use of the joints of his right hand. When he had been held by this infirmity for four years, he longed to come to the tomb of Saint Ulrich, and bought wax to take with him to the tomb; and once the wax was bought, he was granted the power to walk with the support of staffs, leaving his hand-stools behind. And when he had come there in this way, his hand and his knees were restored to health and took up their functions again, so that the same man went home walking upright without supports and dancing for joy.

XVI

From the kingdom of Lothair too a certain Luteric, who had long been deprived of the light of his eyes, came to the holy tomb, and when he had said his prayers he received clear sight.

XVII

A certain cleric, who often stayed among the scholars in the city of Augsburg for the sake of learning, was struck dumb when he returned to his kinsfolk; and when they had brought him to the holy tomb, and he had let two pennies fall from his mouth onto the tomb, he received back the speech he had lost.

XVIII

A blind man set out in wintertime to go to the holy place with a very small boy as his guide; and when he had crossed the river Schmutter and came to a long brook, gathered from little springs, running down over the road, his guide could give him no help, but, his strength failing from cold and weariness, fell down. When his guide fell, the blind man, in great anxiety and sorrow, walked along the course of the brook, feeling all about with his staff, and crying with a loud voice to Saint Mary and Saint Afra and to Ulrich, the holy servant of God, he begged with all his heart that help and mercy be given him. And when, feeling his way and crying out like this, he had come almost to the end of the brook, by the gift of God's mercy his eyes were suddenly opened and he saw the light; and going back he lifted up his guide

and carried him all the way to the holy tomb, praising almighty God and his saints; and there he told openly to the clerics and all who were present what had happened to him on the way.

XIX

There was a certain lady in the province of the Franks, very rich and noble, who was seized by the devil and sorely tormented; for her deliverance five bishops gathered with very many others. When they pressed the devil with prayers and adjurations to leave the body he had seized, he cried and howled and said: "Unless something of Bishop Ulrich's belongings comes here, I will not leave the vessel I possess for any command of yours." And when he repeated the same answer again and again, they began to think of sending envoys to Augsburg to obtain something of the bishop's belongings. Meanwhile, as they were considering this among themselves, the devil cried out through the lady's mouth: "Woe is me! Woe is me! Here in the neighbourhood is a priest who has an amice that belonged to the said bishop"; and, not willingly but at God's command, he named the priest and the place where he lived. And when the priest was sent for and came with the amice, before he entered the house the demon said: "Woe! Woe! Now the bishop's amice is coming." With these words, crying out and wailing, he left the lady's body, utterly exhausted.

When the priest was asked where the amice had come from, he answered: "Once, when the

bishop was on his way to a royal assembly, he came to our church and asked us to sing Mass for him; and when he saw that we meant to put on the alb without an amice, he said: 'Where is your amice?' And I answered him: 'I have no amice.' Then he ordered this amice to be given to me." The lady, freed from the demon and restored to her senses and to health, sent by messengers to the tomb of Saint Ulrich all the clothes she was wearing that day, with her leggings and shoes; and she commanded them to announce there how, by the Lord's grant, she had been freed through his merits. Wicfrid, provost of that place, who was also the warden of the church at that time, had a dalmatic made from the lady's gown, and had her other garments made up, as was fitting, for the service of God, so that this sign of God's mercy might stay the more often in the memory of those to come.

XX

In the land of the Slavs, the son of Duke Boleslav fell ill and was brought to such weakness that his father and mother and the other friends who were present despaired of his keeping this present life any longer. While the father was in this distress, he was reminded by the boy's mother and by others who knew in how many ways many had been freed from various distresses through the merits of Saint Ulrich; and at once he vowed that, if his son returned to life, he would send envoys to visit the tomb of Saint Ulrich with offerings. That same day the duke's

son turned back to life and brought his father no small comfort. Recognizing God's mercy in his son, he took care to send messengers at once and to fulfil his vow. They came to the tomb and offered five pounds of silver and a great many gold pieces, and as much wax as one strong pack-horse could carry; and the boy's mother also sent separately, for her son, a good number of gold pennies. The envoys also devoutly visited the altar of Saint Mary with gold and other offerings, as they had been commanded, and likewise the altar of Saint Afra; and they told why they had been sent, saying that before they set out from their own province they had left their lord's son walking about and well.

XXI

At another time, too, a certain duke of the Vandals, Mieszko, was wounded in the arm by a poisoned arrow. When he felt that he had been struck with a harmful poison and thought that death was at hand for him that very hour, with great faith and constancy he vowed that he would not delay to send a silver arm with its hand to Saint Ulrich as quickly as he could. Immediately after the vow he was relieved of the danger and went back to his house, and ordered the arm to be made according to his vow. And when the smiths had begun to make the arm and were shaping the hand on it, the duke, freed at once from the danger that threatened him, rose up, praising God, who through the merits of his holy bishop had freed him from the peril of death;

and he fulfilled his vow by sending the arm with its hand to the holy man's tomb.

XXII

A woman from Rhaetia of Chur left her own husband and was joined in marriage to a man of the district of Albegewe called Durinc. And when she had stayed with him for some little time, she was possessed by a demon and sorely tormented by it. When she had sought help for her deliverance at many holy places and had not found it, she was advised to come to the tomb of the holy Bishop Ulrich; and so she did. And when she drew near the city of Augsburg and could see the church of Saint Afra clearly, she fell to the ground shrieking and raging, and became as one dead. The said Durinc, with those who were with him, made haste to lift her up; and when she had been lifted up, her senses returned and she was freed from the demon.

XXIII

An almswoman of Abraham, bishop of the city of Freising, from the village called Camera, whose jaw had grown fast to her breast and whose speech was wholly denied her, and whose hands were also bent back against her arms and stuck to them, so that the shape of her fingers could hardly be made out, came to the holy tomb; and as she was returning from there and walking over the bridge of the river Lech, a man came to meet her and asked her where she had come from; she

could not answer him, but turned, bowing, toward the church of Saint Afra, to show him where she had come from; and as she turned toward it, her jaw came loose from her breast, and speech was granted her to answer.

XXIV

A blind man, when he came with his guide to the river called the Wertach, asked him whether he could yet see the city and the minster. And when he heard that the holy place was near, he had his leggings and shoes taken off, so as to arrive there barefoot; but his guide snatched up his shoes and his other belongings and stole away from him; and the blind man supposed that he had gone into the town close by on some necessary errand and would come straight back to help him. When he had waited a long time, he began to call him loudly by name, that he might come. Meanwhile he also felt about for his bags and shoes, and did not find them. Then he realized that he had been robbed by his guide; weeping and praying, he began to cry out to Saint Mary, the Mother of the Lord, and to Saint Afra and Saint Ulrich, that some help and comfort might come to him. And while he laboured in the distress of this long affliction, suddenly he saw with his eyes a light unknown to him, and at once he marked the place with a little cross made of osiers; and then he joyfully visited the places he had set out for, giving thanks to almighty God and his saints for receiving his sight; and the people of Hovarchusa, in that same place where

they found the little cross he had pointed out, set up a larger cross as a sign.

XXV

Once, when the people were flocking from every side to Augsburg on the vigil of the Nativity of Saint Mary, to celebrate the holy day there with solemnity, a certain woman among the others set out to come there with her little boy, to weigh him against offerings at the tomb of Saint Ulrich for his health. And as she was taking the little boy over the bridge of the Wertach, set on a cart with her other things, the cart tipped because the bridge was uneven, and the little boy fell into the river, which, swollen high by a great flood, threatened destruction to all who crossed over it. And when the mother, in utter grief, wished to throw herself after the boy into the river to her own ruin, and was barely held back by the bystanders who seized her, the people on both sides of the river hurried along the banks to help the child. But since none of them could help him, he was swallowed by the river and hidden from the eyes of all. The mother was led away from the river by force and, having received what comfort was possible, with weeping and lamentation sought first of all the help of Mary, the most holy Mother of God, and afterwards went to the tomb of Saint Ulrich with the offerings she had meant to bring there for her son's health, and gave them in good faith for the repose of the little boy's soul.

The following night, when sleep took hold of the woman's sorrowing body, a most venerable

old man in a bishop's vesture appeared to her and said: "Woman, do you grieve greatly for your little child?" She answered: "I do, my lord." He said to her: "Early in the morning, at dawn, go to the river, and where he was seen in the water for the last time, look for him on the river bank among the bushes." On waking she could hardly wait for the morrow, and went with those who helped her to the river bank; and according to the holy man's word she found her child safe and sound. Then she went back rejoicing and praising God, and told what had happened in the city and everywhere.

XXVI

A certain man by the Danube, when all the people of their own accord were solemnly keeping the feast of Saint Ulrich, gathered hay into heaps with rakes, scorning the holy day. When he came with wagons the next day to carry it into his hayloft, he found it fair to look at on the outside; but when he touched the inside with a wooden pitchfork, he found it all turned to ashes; and the holy day he had refused to keep before, afterwards, for fear, he did not dare to despise.

XXVII

At the same time, a maidservant of a certain lady named Gerbirc was working at her web, weaving, when a sudden pain began to cramp her hands; and when she told the others of it, lamenting, they answered her: "Put down the

weaving iron, for this suffering has come upon you for the guilt of today's work"; and she, barely able to free her hands from the iron, went to her bed. And since she found no rest there because of the cramping of her hands, her fellow servants told their mistress; and she commanded that early next morning, at dawn, the girl be taken to the tomb of Saint Ulrich for her deliverance. And when, weary on the way, about the ninth hour, they had sat down on the plain of the Lechfeld to refresh their bodies, the pain in the sufferer's hands began to lessen, so that before they rose from that place her hands were given back the use of their former straightness. Then they came joyfully to the place they had set out for, and from there into the city, to the church of Saint Mary, Mother of God. Coming after Vespers, they told us these things as they had happened, and went home joyfully.

XXVIII

A noble lady from the province of the Burgundians, having resolved to go to the city of Augsburg to pray, bade a lame man who lived on her alms come with her; and she entrusted his horse to two of her servants, to shoe its feet with iron, as is the custom for travellers. They treacherously wounded the horse's feet with the nails, so that he should not be on the journey, as he usually was, an informer on their doings out of loyalty to their mistress. And they said to the lame man: "Your horse is lame, and so you must stay here." The lame man answered them:

"Though the horse is lame, still I do not agree to stay here; almighty God, who can do all things, is able also to bring me, as it pleases him, to the places I am bound for." And when he had set out with the others, he reached Augsburg with his horse sound and fit. And while he prolonged his devout prayer there at the tomb of Saint Ulrich and implored God's mercy with firm faith for his health, he was restored to health in the presence of many. Seeing this, the said men who had tried to hinder his journey through his horse fell to the ground, confessing their wrongdoing to the clerics and the others who were present, and begging pardon for having tried to keep the lame man from reaching the place where the Lord, through the merits of Saint Ulrich, deigned to heal him. And having received a penance, they followed the healed lame man as he carried a cross, each of them carrying a stone as big as he could lift, all the way into the church of Mary, holy Mother of God, which stands in the city; and there they bewailed their sins greatly, begging pardon with tears. And when this sign had been told in the presence of all, the clerics singing the Te Deum laudamus and the people the Kyrie eleison, they rendered thanks and praise to God.

XXIX

A young man, the son of a certain count, was held by so great an infirmity that he could not even turn over onto his other side in bed unless others helped him, nor for a long time could he take food, except that he was revived with a few

morsels offered to him. Worn out with this dreadful suffering, he was carried by his faithful men on his bed to the tomb of Saint Ulrich, and there, having made his offerings, he begged for mercy with tears. And when they had begun to carry him on his bed to Saint Mary's, halfway along the road he began to ask his bearers to set him down to walk. They, not believing that he could walk, would not set him down. At the city gate he asked again to be set down, saying that he could walk. Again they would not agree. But when he came to the steps of the church's forecourt, he begged them all together, in the name of almighty God, to set down the bed and let him walk. But they, wavering in faith, did not assent to his request. But he, when he knew that the infirmity had departed from him and that strength had been granted him at God's bidding, leapt from the bed, and from there came with a vigorous stride to the church, and went home in good health.

Epilogue

Let these few miracles here set forth suffice for readers eager for good examples, so that they may not weary even the slow and sluggish with a surfeit of excess. For if I were to begin to number one by one all the benefits granted by God to those who come to the tomb of Saint Ulrich and go home from it, or to the sick and the infirm beside the tomb, I could bring it to an end with no one's help but that of God alone, who can do all things. For they are so manifold that the perception of human quickness cannot number them. For to some they were granted at once, in their own homes, after they had devoutly made vows to come there with offerings. To some they were swiftly fulfilled while they were still far off on the road, to some as they drew near, to some as they arrived, to some as they went home again. The report of them has flown with good tidings not only to neighbouring lands but also to those far away, as the frequent throng of peoples arriving from every side very often makes plain, when they declare here that in their own lands many mighty works of God have been done through the merits of Saint Ulrich, and that the true knowledge of these has moved them to come to these places in their needs.

Having heard this, come now: we who dwell in this church, who so often saw the face of so great a patron, so often received his teaching and his blessing, and beheld in him the best examples, and who now, in reward for his good works, see and hear constant miracles and signs of many kinds in the deliverance of many, why do we not awake, and lay aside the sluggishness of our desire? Imitating him of whom we speak as far as, by God's gift, we can, let us with his help set out on the path of right, by which we may be found worthy to come to him who in three persons, in equality of Godhead, abides one, unchangeable, almighty God, without end, for ever and ever. Amen.