

The Babenbergs and the Cult of St. Coloman:  
Saint Formation and Political Cohesion in Eleventh-Century Austria

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For Robert Bartlett on his 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday

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Throughout the Middle Ages the relics of saints served as conductors for the creation of social, religious, and political identities. The relics of dead holy men and women were so powerful precisely because they were objects through which social meaning could be created. They were prized, among others, by secular rulers as conductors of spiritual power and for the symbolic capital they bestowed – as a means to legitimize power, increase prestige, and enforce consensus.<sup>i</sup>

With the progressive dissolution of the Carolingian Empire from the end of the ninth century the use of relics by the nobility changed as their pretensions to autonomy grew.<sup>ii</sup> The appropriation of relics by the nobility as “sacred tokens of political superiority”<sup>iii</sup> became common practice from this period, particularly in frontier regions. From the time of Baldwin I in the ninth century, for example, the counts of Flanders actively pursued the collection of relics in their centres of power. Their relic acquisitions often corresponded with their drive for territorial expansion, as during the rule of Count Arnulf II (918–64).<sup>iv</sup>

This article considers one exemplary case from the early eleventh century, that of St. Coloman, an Irish pilgrim who was martyred near Vienna in 1012 whose relics were appropriated soon after his death by the secular ruler of the region, the

Babenberg margrave, Henry I (d. 1018). I wish to explore why this martyr's cult may have been of interest for the Babenberg dynasty in consolidating their power base in a volatile frontier region on the borders of the Ottonian Empire. The millennium anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Coloman is an appropriate occasion to consider the political and cultural role played by the relics of this Irish martyr in cementing Babenberg power in Austria and to present a new edition and English translation of the Passio et Miracula S. Cholomanni (BHL 1881, 1882), our principal source for the cult.

### **The Hanged Man: An Irish Pilgrim Martyr**

Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg in Saxony, writing between 1013 and 1018, reported the lynching of a pilgrim in the Eastern March of Bavaria – the region that would become known as Austria – in his contemporary chronicle:

On the border of the Bavarians and Moravians, a certain pilgrim, named Coloman, was seized by the inhabitants and accused of being a spy. Compelled by their harsh treatment, he confessed his guilt although it was not merited. He made every effort to justify himself and explained that he was wandering, in that way, because he was one of the poor men of Christ. Nevertheless, they hanged this innocent man from a tree which had long ceased to bear fruit. Later, when his skin was slightly cut, blood poured forth. His nails and hair continued to grow. The tree itself began to bloom, moreover, thereby proving that Coloman was a martyr for Christ. As soon as Margrave Henry learned of these events, he had the body buried at Melk.<sup>v</sup>

The details of Thietmar's laconic account were augmented later in the eleventh century by an anonymous hagiographer writing in the Eastern March (probably at Melk). By this time Coloman had come to be venerated as a martyr and saint in the region. The "certain pilgrim" mentioned by Thietmar now appears to have been Irish. He was travelling along the Danube when he was stopped at Stockerau, a town about thirty kilometres to the north-north-west of Vienna (see Map 1). Coloman's cultural "otherness" aroused the suspicions of the inhabitants who accused him of being an enemy Czech spy. Coloman was assaulted, brought before a judge, tortured to elicit a confession, and then hanged. As with Thietmar's account, miracles soon followed the pilgrim's death proving his innocence and sanctity. Thietmar noted that the dead tree on which Coloman was hanged started to bloom; in the later account the rope which hanged Coloman sprouted leaves while the dead man's nails, hair, and beard continued to grow.<sup>vi</sup>

The anonymous hagiographer's account, however, should be read with caution. Thietmar only mentions that the local people lynched Coloman, whereas the hagiographer adds that he was brought before a judge, tortured, and then hanged alongside two robbers. The additional elements of the judge (Pilate), torture (Crowning with Thorns), and hanging alongside two robbers shows the hagiographer's explicit attempt to model Coloman's death on that of Christ's Passion.

The Passio does not mention the year of Coloman's death, only that his body was left hanging on the tree for about a year and a half before it was buried in a nearby church. Coloman remained in the church for a further year and a half before Margrave Henry heard of the miracles and had the body translated to his castle at Melk. The Passio gives the date of the translation as 7 October 1014 and notes that

this was three years after Coloman had been killed.<sup>vii</sup> Two later sources, the Annals of Melk and a chronicle, the Breve Chronicon, written at Melk between 1177 and 1194, both give 1012 as the year of Coloman's martyrdom. The Annals of Melk note that in 1012 Blessed Coloman was martyred and hanged at Stockerau. He was buried the following year in the same place and in 1014 he was translated to Melk.<sup>viii</sup> The Breve Chronicon accords with the Passio where it notes that the body was left hanging for one and a half years and worked miracles before it was buried.<sup>ix</sup>

The dating of Coloman's martyrdom is not made any easier by Thietmar, our earliest witness and a relative of Margrave Henry, who records Coloman's death under 1017. Thietmar's later date probably reflects the length of time it took for Coloman's sanctity to become acknowledged and for news of his translation to Melk to reach Thietmar in Saxony. Thietmar may have recorded Coloman's martyrdom only in 1017 when he first learnt about the new saint.<sup>x</sup> Despite these chronological inconsistencies, the main outlines of the sources are in accord. A pilgrim was lynched on the false suspicion that he was a spy, miracles occurred following his death that proved his sanctity, and the secular ruler of the region appropriated his body as soon as he learnt about the new cult.

Coloman took the overland route to Jerusalem through the Danube valley that would have taken him through Hungary. He was not on the return journey as is sometimes suggested in the secondary literature.<sup>xi</sup> The fact that Coloman ended up in Stockerau in the first place is curious. If he was coming from the west (as has been assumed) the main road he would have taken was the old Roman road on the right bank of the Danube which went through Tulln and then on to Vienna (see Map 2).<sup>xii</sup> It did not go through Stockerau. If he was on this road it means that at some point (perhaps at Tulln) he crossed the Danube and came to Stockerau which lies on the left

bank of the river. It is uncertain why Coloman left the road and crossed the Danube. One possibility is that he was travelling with merchants on their way to the “Market of the Moravians” which may have been located at or near Stockerau. According to the Raffelstetten customs tariff from the early tenth century, merchants sailed from Mautern with Bavarian salt to this market. Could Coloman have done the same?<sup>xiii</sup>

Whatever route Coloman took, his arrival in the town proved fatal. Stockerau at this time lay on the borders of the Eastern March.<sup>xiv</sup> To the north stretched a no man’s land that was neither part of the March nor under the control of the Moravians or the Hungarians.<sup>xv</sup> Although there is no record of direct aggression by Bohemia or Moravia in this area of the March at the time of Coloman’s martyrdom, the population were on edge after incursions and raiding by Hungarians whose western expansion was only halted by Otto I at the Battle of the Lechfeld in 955.<sup>xvi</sup> The last recorded attack by the Hungarians in the area of the Vienna Woods took place in 991 and the inhabitants were clearly in no mood to welcome exotic strangers.<sup>xvii</sup> Coloman proved the first victim of Austrian xenophobia as an eminent Austrian historian, Walter Pohl, astutely remarked: “It might seem particularly ironic today that the first Patron of Austria had fallen victim to Austrian xenophobia; something which nobody could have foreseen.”<sup>xviii</sup>

Nothing further is known of Coloman apart from his name, ethnicity, and that he was a pilgrim. Coloman is a Germanization of the Irish name Colmán, one of the most common medieval Irish names.<sup>xix</sup> The Irish monastic saints of the sixth and seventh centuries, Columba of Iona and Columba or Columbanus of Bobbio, both bore this name. Like Columbanus, Coloman of Melk was not recorded in the Irish genealogies or martyrologies of his native land.<sup>xx</sup> Later tradition at Melk gave Coloman an Irish royal background as the son of the Irish High King, Máel Sechnaill

II (d. 1022), who was king of Mide. Although the dates do not rule out this possibility,<sup>xxi</sup> and while many Irish pilgrims to the Continent at this time had links to this central region of Ireland,<sup>xxii</sup> the ascribing of royal origins to obscure saints was a common hagiographical topos throughout the Middle Ages. None of the earliest sources mention Coloman's royal origins. This does not rule out the possibility that Coloman was a high status individual, but, as Thietmar notes, when accosted by the inhabitants of Stockerau, Coloman chose to identify himself foremost as a pilgrim, "one of the poor men of Christ."<sup>xxiii</sup>

The case of Coloman's martyrdom has a broader significance for the history of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages and for the overland pilgrimage route to Jerusalem in particular. This ancient pilgrimage route, which followed the course of the Danube valley through Hungary, had been reopened following the conversion of King Stephen of Hungary in 997.<sup>xxiv</sup> King Stephen encouraged pilgrimage through his territories by reducing the threat of brigands and by subsidizing pilgrims. Bavaria in particular was known for brigandage. The twelfth-century epic poem, the Nibelungenlied notes: "Bavarians were known | for robbing anyone | who tried to travel along | their roads, and might have done | serious harm to those strangers | (as many surely wanted to do)."<sup>xxv</sup>

Although the overland route to the Holy Land was fraught with danger and involved travelling thousands of kilometres, there was much to commend this route over the sea route from Italy. Pilgrims departed in the autumn, followed the course of the Danube downriver to Belgrade, then to Constantinople and the Holy Land. After celebrating Easter in Jerusalem, they returned by sea in the Spring when the sailing conditions were more favourable. Taking the land route meant that pilgrims could complete the trip in less than a year, avoid the summer heat, and still celebrate Easter

in Jerusalem. The round-trip by sea was more hazardous and time consuming since sea voyages were not undertaken between November and March. Those pilgrims who took the sea route and who wished to spend Easter in Jerusalem faced two periods at sea during the hottest months of the year.<sup>xxvi</sup>

Coloman is one of the earliest cases for the growing popularity in pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the eleventh century that had its climax with the First Crusade. It may be possible that Coloman's desire to undertake the pilgrimage was sparked by the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by Caliph Al-Hākim in 1009, and the subsequent outrage this provoked in the West.<sup>xxvii</sup> The Cluniac monk Raoul Glaber, writing around 1026, records the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre and saw its restoration as contributing to the increasing number of people who wanted to undertake pilgrimage. These included people of humble rank as well as "women, noble, and the poor".<sup>xxviii</sup> Other contemporary chronicle accounts attest to the growing popularity of this pilgrimage and the overland route followed by Coloman. In 1026 Richard of St. Vannes led over seven hundred people via the overland route to Jerusalem subsidised by the duke of Normandy. In 1057 Abbot Thierry of St. Evroul likewise followed this route while Orderic Vitalis noted that by this time there was a hospital for pilgrims on the border of Bavaria and Hungary, the same region in which Coloman had been killed.<sup>xxix</sup>

The upsurge in pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the eleventh century reflects the growth in popular piety centred on Christ's Passion. This is reflected in the way the hagiographer of the Passio stylised and modelled his account of Coloman's martyrdom on that of Christ's. The popular element in the development of the cult is also a characteristic feature of the tenth and eleventh centuries when many new cults developed through popular devotion.<sup>xxx</sup> The post-mortem miracles that occurred in

relation to Coloman's body confirmed his sanctity for the local people. His corpse proved to be incorruptible even three years after his death, the dead tree on which he had been hanged began to blossom, his hair and beard continued to grow, and, when pierced, hot blood issued from his corpse.<sup>xxxii</sup> All of this proved to the inhabitants of Stockerau that they possessed the body of a saint. It was the local people who both killed the pilgrim and came to recognise him as a saint.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

Edina Bozóky has classified Coloman as amongst those martyrs whom she terms "martyrs of justice". These were saints who were killed unjustly for some reason – not due to religious persecution – and on which popular devotion centred after their death.<sup>xxxiv</sup> Many of these cults were concentrated in Lotharingia, the area comprising the Netherlands, the western Rhineland, and lands on the border between modern-day France and Germany. The majority of these cults were also of Irish saints, such as the cult of St. Foillan, an Irish abbot of the seventh century who was murdered by brigands near Théroutane.<sup>xxxv</sup> While these cults have shared features with that of Coloman's – Irish saints killed unjustly while travelling through dangerous regions – no direct textual influence can be detected between these hagiographical texts and the Passio Cholomanni.<sup>xxxvi</sup> What is of note, however, is that the veneration for these "martyrs for justice" is found in frontier regions at the same time when these political entities were in the process of cementing their own political identities. The counts of Flanders, avid relic collectors, and the Babenberg margraves both consolidated their power in these regions during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

### **A Dynastic Saint: Coloman and the Babenbergs**



Once Coloman's cult had been established through popular consensus, the relics of the new saint were appropriated by the regional ruler, Margrave Henry I, and brought to his residence at Melk.<sup>xxxvi</sup> Thietmar notes: "As soon as Margrave Henry learned of these events, he had the body buried at Melk".<sup>xxxvii</sup> This did not occur until some years after Coloman's martyrdom as the later accounts of the Passio, the Annals of Melk, and the Breve Chronicon make clear. The author of the Passio notes that Margrave Henry sent ordained clerics and some of his first-ranking warriors to translate the body of the saint to his town (in ciuitatem suam) after hearing about the miracles. The relics were taken to Melk and interred in the southern apse of the church of Saints Peter and Paul on 7 October 1014. This was done "on the advice of the nobles" (optimatum consilio) – a phrase that captures the new, elite arena into which Coloman's relics had been introduced.<sup>xxxviii</sup> The translation not only marked the formal acceptance of Coloman's role as a saint, but the transformation from a popular cult to an elite and dynastic one. Coloman's relics had now become a vehicle for the political and spiritual aspirations of the Babenberg margraves.

The spiritual power of the new saint was a valuable asset for Henry, a marcher lord in the process of consolidating his power base in a volatile, frontier region. Henry received the office of margrave after his father, Leopold I, the first Babenberg margrave, had been assassinated in 994. His time in office coincided with a prolonged period of conflict between Emperor Henry II and his Polish vassal, Duke Boleslav Chobry (965/ 967-1025), who exerted his independence and extended his territories to include Bohemia and Moravia.<sup>xxxix</sup> This brought Margrave Henry into the conflict for it was his duty to defend the borders of the Eastern March from Boleslav's southern expansion. The zone of greatest conflict between Henry and Boleslav was concentrated in the northeast border of the March in the area north of Stockerau.<sup>xl</sup>

Henry was a capable warrior and appears fleetingly in this guise in Thietmar's contemporary chronicle. In 1015, not long after Coloman's translation, he engaged a group of Boleslav's milites and won a significant victory – according to Thietmar his forces killed 800 of the enemy and captured their booty.<sup>xli</sup> In 1017 the Moravians invaded Bohemia where they captured and plundered a fortified site.<sup>xlii</sup> Henry responded by pursuing them with an army, routing the enemy, and freeing the captives who had been taken from the fortified settlement.<sup>xliii</sup> Thietmar records Henry's death on 24 June 1018 and gives him the appropriate epithet of “formidable in arms” (fortis armatus).<sup>xliiv</sup> According to the most recent commentator on the Babenbergs, “Henry was the right man in the right position” to contain Boleslav's ambitions along the borders of the March.<sup>xlv</sup>

But Henry's role was not only defensive. He was also entrusted with the expansion of the March north and east of the Vienna Woods in an imperial charter of Henry II of 1002.<sup>xlvi</sup> The donation of this land was the first time the Babenbergs had received a royal donation in this territory and it can be seen as the ratification of their leading position in the March.<sup>xlvii</sup> This land had been reclaimed from the Hungarians who had been gradually driven back beyond the river Leitha. It still remained in effect a “grey zone”, a no man's land primed for resettlement and incorporation into the March.<sup>xlviii</sup>

Margrave Henry's territorial expansion and consolidation of the March during the first decade of the eleventh century was given spiritual legitimization towards the end of his life by his appropriation of the relics of the new saint. Secular magnates also employed relics in frontier zones such as Flanders, Normandy, Aquitaine, and Brittany in tandem with territorial expansion during and before this period.<sup>xlix</sup> This was also a practice adopted by Margrave Henry in his attempt to consolidate the

Eastern March and his family's claim to dominance in the area. Although there is no further historical or diplomatic evidence for Henry's use of the relics of Coloman in battle or at assemblies, his appropriation and translation of the relics to Melk is, in my opinion, sufficient evidence for his interest in and use of the cult. When Henry died in 1018 he was the first member of his family to be buried in Melk in the church where he had interred Coloman's relics.<sup>1</sup> For later generations the figure of Margrave Henry would be closely associated with that of Coloman as can be seen from the ornate late fifteenth-century Babenberger Stammbaum now in Stift Klosterneuburg where Henry I is shown with Coloman and his castle of Melk in the background.<sup>li</sup>

While the significance of Coloman's cult has been acknowledged for the early political and cultural development of Austria,<sup>lii</sup> the ethnic significance of the saint in relation to the history of the Babenberg family has not been addressed. While Margrave Henry took the opportunity to acquire a newly minted martyr, it is likely that the saint's ethnicity may also have played a role in his promotion of the cult. To understand why this may have been the case, it is necessary to explore the origins of the Babenberg dynasty and the fate of the first margrave.

Henry's father, Leopold, the first margrave, was assassinated in Würzburg on the feast day of St. Kilian, 8 July 994, and died two days later. He was attending the celebrations to mark the feast day of the Irish martyr St. Kilian at the invitation of the bishop of Würzburg. He was there with his nephew, Henry, Margrave of the Bavarian Nordgau, who had previously blinded one of the bishop's men in retaliation for an unknown offence. During the festivities, a friend of the blinded man saw his opportunity and shot Leopold with an arrow, fatally wounding him. Leopold was buried in the nave of the cathedral a few days later.<sup>liii</sup> Two decades later, in 1015, Henry's brother, Ernst, Duke of Swabia, was also killed with an arrow while hunting.

His dying wish was to be buried beside his father in Würzburg.<sup>liv</sup> The skeletons of both father and son have been identified from excavations carried out in Würzburg—both were buried in a prominent position in the central nave of the cathedral near the baptismal font.<sup>lv</sup>

Both Margrave Henry's father and brother were thus buried in the cathedral of Würzburg where the relics of St. Kilian, the Irish saint martyred in 687, were also interred. It is no coincidence that they should be buried there. Henry belonged to the leading East Frankish noble families of Bavaria and Franconia. Although the origins of the Austrian Babenbergs remain disputed, Bishop Otto of Freising, son of the Babenberg Margrave (later Saint) Leopold III (1095-1136), writing in the 1140s, traced the origins of the family to the Franconian Babenbergs, also known as the Popponids.<sup>lvi</sup> Otto relates the feud between the Franconian Babenbergs and their rivals, the Conradines, which led to the Babenberg Count Adalbert killing Conrad the Elder, the head of the Conradines, in 906. Adalbert was subsequently tried and executed by King Louis the Child while his possessions were confiscated.<sup>lvii</sup> This effectively marked the end of Babenberg influence in Franconia as the balance of power shifted to the Conradines who rose to the kingship in the succeeding generation with King Conrad I of Germany (911-18)<sup>lviii</sup>. Otto noted that his great-great-grandfather, Margrave Adalbert (1018-55), the brother and successor of Henry I, traced his descent to the feuding Franconian Adalbert who had come to be celebrated in song as a hero.<sup>lix</sup> The Austrian Babenbergs of the twelfth century thus stressed their descent to the elder branch of the Franconian Babenbergs whose political ambitions in Franconia had been sidelined by the rise of the Conradines at the beginning of the tenth century.

But Henry's father, Leopold, who had been count in the Nordgau in Bavaria, also belonged to the inner circle of the Bavarian aristocracy and was a member of the old ruling ducal dynasty of Bavaria, the Liutpoldings. He attended Otto I at his imperial coronation in Rome in 962 and was rewarded for his service to Emperor Otto II following the uprising in Bavaria of Duke Henry II "the Quarrelsome" with his appointment as margrave of the Eastern March in 976.<sup>lx</sup> This marked a geographical reorientation for Leopold and his family from their traditional power base in Bavaria to the eastern limits of the Ottonian Empire. It was also an opportunity to create a semi-independent sphere of influence. According to Herwig Wolfram, the new margraves had "the hitherto unimagined chances which went with a border and colonial land in the "wild East." They seized their opportunity, established a dynasty and created a territory whose economic potential and real power began, in spite of its small size, to compete with its more substantial Bavarian and Carinthian neighbours."<sup>lxi</sup>

The dynasty's stressed kinship descent from the Popponids or elder branch of the Franconian Babenbergs, while certainly having a kernel of historical truth, may also have been politically expedient, as Karl Brunner has noted.<sup>lxii</sup> Leopold I was a member of the old ruling ducal family of Bavaria, the Liutpoldings, so the family could equally have stressed their descent from the old Bavarian ducal dynasty. They chose not to. Instead, the growing independence of the Eastern March made it desirable for its new rulers to seek to differentiate themselves from their Bavarian ducal relatives and to establish a new dynasty which looked to Franconia, not Bavaria, for the origins of their family. A superpower Bavarian duchy with autonomous pretensions was not what the Ottonians wanted, so the new ruling dynasty stressed their descent from a venerable Frankish family whose political relevance was no

longer a threat. The Babenberg family origin was less a question of genealogy but of political necessity – indeed it provided them with a tabula rasa from which they could construct a new dynasty. This has an important bearing on the present discussion.

Margrave Henry's appropriation of the relics of St. Coloman and his promotion of the cult fitted in well with the dynasty's desire to stress their links to Franconia where the cult of St. Kilian was well established and where Henry's predecessor and brother were both buried. The dynasty's claimed descent from the elder branch of the Babenbergs and their promotion of the cult of an Irish martyr can thus be seen as mutual strategies of distinction in their cultivation of their leading position in the Eastern March.

After his appointment as the new margrave Leopold, as a newcomer to the Eastern March, had first to assert his authority over the local nobility, some of whom had been partisans of Duke Henry II of Bavaria in his rebellion against Otto II. This was the political background to Otto's appointment of Leopold as margrave.<sup>lxiii</sup> He drove out an unidentified homo potentissimus, Gizo,<sup>lxiv</sup> from his fortress (castrum munitissimum) at Melk, strategically situated overlooking the Danube at the entrance to the Wachau and the eastern foothills of the Alps, and established his power base there.<sup>lxv</sup> According to the author of the Breve Chronicon, Leopold also established a foundation of canons at Melk.<sup>lxvi</sup> Leopold thus asserted his authority through force and through founding a religious foundation, exemplifying what has been termed the "sacralization" of political power.<sup>lxvii</sup> As the Babenbergs extended their power eastwards during the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the building of castles and the foundation of religious houses went hand in hand.<sup>lxviii</sup>

The appropriation of Coloman's relics by Leopold's son provided a new saint for this frontier land ensuring the continual action of divine providence for the region

and its rulers. Relics could be used to achieve peace and stabilitas in a community and it was around this time that relics came to take on a peacemaking function that rivaled if not superseded that of the ruler.<sup>lxi</sup> But the use of relics was also a way for rulers to legitimize their power and cement their authority. This can be seen from the way Duke Boleslav Chrobry, Margrave Henry's nominal enemy, also obtained the body of Adalbert, the missionary bishop of Prague martyred by the pagan Baltic Prussians in 997. When Boleslav learnt of the bishop's martyrdom he sent messengers to the Prussians offering to buy the body of the martyr for its weight in gold. His offer was accepted and the body was brought and interred in the cathedral of Gniezo, the capital of his principality.<sup>lxx</sup> Bozóky has even suggested that the earliest Life of Adalbert, written around 1000, may have influenced the hagiographer of the Passio Cholomanni in its depiction of Coloman's martyrdom.<sup>lxxi</sup>

Relics, however, were not just vehicles of political legitimisation and spiritual props for territorial conquest. They had tremendous cultural capital, "standing at the intersection of several different medieval discourses of value – material, spiritual, political, historical" that could change depending on context.<sup>lxxii</sup> For Margrave Henry, the cultural capital of Coloman arguably lay not only in the fact that Coloman was a martyr, but that he was Irish. The ethnicity and exoticism of his new saint may have conferred additional prestige. While Theitmar did not mention the ethnicity of this new saint, the author of the Passio (most likely a monk or cleric of Melk) explicitly noted Coloman's Irish ethnicity. This suggests that the saint's ethnicity had some meaning for the audience and the cult. Perhaps having an Irish saint was considered somehow more prestigious and exotic as can be seen from the numerous "invented traditions" of medieval saints who were ascribed spurious Irish origins.<sup>lxxiii</sup>

The Austrian Babenbergs sought to emphasise their origins in Franconia where the Irish martyr St. Kilian was especially venerated as the patron of the region.<sup>lxxiv</sup> Margrave Henry's father, the first margrave, had been killed while attending the feast of St. Kilian and his brother Ernst, who also died tragically, chose to be buried in the cathedral of Würzburg alongside his father where the decapitated heads of St. Kilian and his Irish companions were venerated. One of Killian's companions was also called Coloman or Colonato as his name appears in both the Passiones of St. Kilian.<sup>lxxv</sup> Colman was a very common Irish name so this need not imply any connection between the veneration of this companion of Kilian's and the development of Coloman's cult.

The appointment of Leopold as margrave of the Eastern March provided the Babenbergs with an opportunity to carve out a new power base on the eastern frontier of the Empire. Margrave Henry's decision to take the relics of St. Coloman and to promote his cult by translating them to his residence at Melk may have been partly influenced by his family's links to Franconia and the burials of his predecessor and brother in close proximity to the relics of St. Kilian. The Austrian Babenbergs sought to stress their family links to Franconia and the elder branch of the Babenbergs. One way they may have sought to do this was to promote the cult of an Irish martyr in their new frontier land who could become the patron of this region, just as Kilian was for Franconia.

That Coloman was intended as the dynastic and regional patron of the Babenberg margravate is vividly illustrated by one episode in the Miracula S. Cholomanni, the miracle collection that adds to the Passio, written in the mid twelfth century. It recounts how Peter, King of Hungary, took advantage of Poppo, archbishop of Trier and brother of Margrave Henry, to obtain the relics of St.



Coloman for himself. Poppo was returning from pilgrimage to the Holy Land and was entertained by the Hungarian king who forced Poppo to swear an oath that he would get the relics for him. Margrave Henry, not wishing his clerical brother to perjure himself, agreed to send the relics to Hungary. The translation of the relics, however, only brought disaster to the Hungarians whose kingdom was afflicted with drought, famine, and death until the relics were returned to Melk.<sup>lxxvi</sup>

While this miracle account might be a good example of the lengths to which medieval rulers were willing to go to acquire relics and their importance within the political sphere, there are problems posed by the dating of this event. Poppo returned from pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1028, ten years after the death of his brother Henry, when Stephen was still king of Hungary, not his successor, the Venetian Peter Orseolo, who only came to the throne in 1038. The translation would then have occurred under Margrave Adalbert when relations with the Hungarians were tenuous following the annexation of Hungarian territory between the rivers Fischa and Leitha in 1027.<sup>lxxvii</sup> This would explain the harsh treatment Poppo received on his return through Hungary in 1028 and the opportunity this presented for King Stephen to acquire the relics of St. Coloman.<sup>lxxviii</sup> The name Coloman was later taken by the Arpadian king, Coloman the Learned, when he succeeded to the Hungarian throne in 1095. The use of the name by the Arpadian royal house reflects the Hungarian interest in Coloman's cult.<sup>lxxix</sup>

Despite the chronological inconsistencies presented by the Passio's account of the translation of the relics to Hungary and their return to Austria, it nevertheless emphasises the regional remit of Coloman's cult. Coloman's spiritual power was a tightly constrained dynastic and regional one. It was one that the Babenbergs were keen to latch on to from the beginning in order to cement their new power base in the

Eastern March and to bring cohesion to this frontier region. Their monopolisation of power and regional control – what had been denied the elder branch of the Babenbergs in Franconia at the beginning of the tenth century – was enabled and advanced through their patronage of the cult of the Irish pilgrim who had been murdered at Stockerau in 1012.

The cult of St. Coloman spread throughout Austria, Hungary, and Bavaria where many chapels and holy wells are dedicated to him, especially in mountainous areas. Coloman is invoked as the guardian of horses and cattle and his feast-day of 13 October is honoured in all the liturgical calendars of these regions. It was common on his feast day for cattle and horses to be brought to the chapels to be blessed. Coloman was venerated as the first patron saint of Lower Austria up to 1663 when the cult of one of Margrave Henry's saintly descendants, the Babenberg Margrave and Saint Leopold III (1095-1136) officially overtook that of Coloman.<sup>lxxx</sup>

### **Edition and Translation of the Passio et Miracula S. Cholomanni**

Our main source for the cult of St. Coloman is a composite work from the eleventh and twelfth centuries: the Passio et Miracula S. Cholomanni (BHL 1881, 1882).

Margrave Leopold II gave his castle at Melk to Benedictine monks from the abbey of Lambach in 1089.<sup>lxxxi</sup> The Passio was probably produced around this time when the monks became the guardians of Coloman's relics. The earliest surviving witness, **Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 664**, dates to the end of the eleventh century.

The authors of the Passio and Miracula cannot be identified for certain. It seems that two separate authors wrote them, as the Miracula do not appear in the earliest manuscripts. The composition of the Miracula has been attributed to the third

abbot of Melk, Erchenfrid (1121-63), based on a fourteenth-century gloss on his obit in the monastery's necrology: "The third abbot of this place, who is said to have composed the history of Saint Coloman."<sup>lxxxii</sup> The Annals of Melk were begun during Erchenfrid's abbacy and he is also mentioned in the later Breue Chronicon Austriae Mellicense (1177 × 1194). In 1136 the abbey was prey to episcopal ambitions and the abbot had to renew a privilege originally bestowed by Pope Calixtus II in 1122.<sup>lxxxiii</sup> Erchenfried went on pilgrimage twice to Jerusalem in 1152 and in 1163.<sup>lxxxiv</sup> His interest in the cult of St. Coloman may have stemmed not only from the saint's importance for his community but also from his own interests in pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The composition of the earlier Passio may also have coincided with the growing rise in popularity of pilgrimage to Jerusalem and with the First Crusade. The widow of Margrave Leopold II, Ida, took part in the 1101 Crusade to the Holy Land.<sup>lxxxv</sup>

The Passio largely deals with Coloman's efficacy as a miracle-working saint – the miracle stories account for 75% of the text. The first part of the text deals with the background to Coloman's martyrdom. In the Preface, the author stresses the Christian concept of renunciation of the world and the importance of writing for committing to posterity what has been passed on by "faithful history". The Passio closely resembles early martyr accounts and Christ's Passion. Coloman is brought before a judge, whipped, and then hanged alongside two robbers. The author furthermore gives gruesome detail when describing the methods of torture in order to highlight the saint's perseverance and faith in Christ, just as the similarities with Christ's death are meant to emphasise the closeness he shares with Him in a martyr's death. The Latin used by the author for Coloman's gallows, patibulum, for example, is the same word for the crossbar of the crucifix.

From chapter 4 onwards the text is largely dominated by the miracle accounts. All are posthumous – five are corporeal, concerning the incorrupt body of the saint and the sacredness around the tomb; eight are healing miracles, especially the cure of paralysis, speech, and sight; one concerns the boat of a fisherman; and three are punishment miracles enacted on those who do not show proper respect at the tomb of the saint. The punishment miracles are only found in the latter half of the text. The vast majority of those affected are male, twelve, as opposed to three female. Whereas the males are mostly named – Adalgerus, Huzo, Gnanno – the women are not. They are described in terms of their paternal relationship – “the mute and bent daughter of Count Wolfrad”, “the daughter of a certain Hermann still living” – or not at all, “A third girl came.” Chapter 16 is the only one given exclusively to miracles that affect girls. Sixteen of the eighteen instances of miracles occur at the tomb of the saint or by his body. The other case is that of the son of Rumald who recovers after having been touched with a piece of flesh from the saint. The only miracle that does not take place in relation to the body or the tomb is that of the fisherman in chapter 8 whose boat was miraculously steered on the Danube. As always there was a need to have a saint who could punish those who sought to disregard the rights of the abbey. The vengeful saint is shown in the first three miracle accounts as punishing those who tried to rob from his shrine, who wrongfully took his body, and who showed disrespect. The lengthy episode concerning the removal of the saint’s body by Peter, king of the Hungarians (1038-41, 1044-46), a Venetian whom St. Stephen had chosen as his successor, is unusual in the context that his reign was characterised by good relations with the Bavarians (he fled to Henry III when he was deposed by the Hungarians in 1041).

## A Note on the Manuscripts and this Edition

The large number of manuscripts containing Coloman's Passio indicates the popularity of his cult in Bavaria and Austria. Ludwig Bieler listed over eighty manuscripts which contain the Passio, ranging from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries.<sup>lxxxvi</sup> All are located in Southern Germany and Austria, which corresponds to the localised nature of the cult.

The manuscript transmission shows that the text was disseminated in two groups from the first half of the twelfth century. A longer recension contains the Passio and the Miracula as printed here. Some earlier manuscripts however contain a shorter recension with the Passio up to chapter 11. During the twelfth century the Miracula were added (chs. 12-19) as records of new miracles were written down from eyewitness accounts. The text that was widely disseminated in the majority of the later manuscripts was the longer recension which was the version edited in the Acta Sanctorum and the MGH editions.<sup>lxxxvii</sup>

This edition is confined to ten manuscripts. I have selected the seven earliest manuscripts together with three later medieval manuscripts which are representative of the most widely disseminated version of the text for my edition. The manuscripts consulted for this edition are:

<b>Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 664</b> , fols. 261r–264v, saec. XIex.	<b>A 1</b>
<b>Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 412</b> , fols. 15r–18v, saec. XII	<b>A 2</b>
<b>Linz, Studienbibliothek, MS 240</b> , fols. 1r–6v, saec. XII	<b>L 1</b>
<b>Linz, Studienbibliothek, MS 422</b> , fols. 49r–51v, saec. XII	<b>L 2</b>

- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 17.041** (formerly Schäftlarn), fols. 55v–56r, saec. XII **S**
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 18.581** (formerly Tegernsee), fols. 117v–125r, saec. XII **T**
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 22.248** (formerly Windberg), fols. 91v–94r, saec. XIIex. **W**
- Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1398**, fols. 212r-212v, 218r – 221v, saec. XV **M**
- Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 16**, fols. 244r-247r, saec. XV **M2**
- Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 14**, fols. 46r-47r, saec. XV **Z**

While **Admont 664** has been dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the hand of the Passio section (fols. 261r – 264v) is clearly eleventh century, which makes it the earliest witness.<sup>lxxxviii</sup> The text is deficient, however, breaking off at fol. 264r where half the page has been sliced off at the end of the manuscript. It nevertheless provides a secure dating for the composition of the first part of the Passio to the eleventh century.

Georg Waitz edited the text for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* series in 1841 while the Bollandists and more recently Meta Niederkorn-Bruck have also produced editions.<sup>lxxxix</sup> Waitz based his edition on two manuscripts, **Admont 412**, a twelfth century manuscript, and **Melk 1398**, a manuscript from the fifteenth century. The choice of **Melk 1398** appears to have been none other than the fact it was this manuscript which was the principal manuscript the Melk Benedictine scholar Hieronymus Pez used for his edition of the Passio Cholomanni in his first volume of the Scriptores rerum Austriacarum published in Leipzig in 1721 and in an earlier

publication on Coloman.<sup>1</sup> Pez used the manuscripts to hand at Melk for his edition without employing the critical methodology for editing texts which would become standard later on. The Bollandist editor Jacob Bueus published the same text as that of Pez in his 1794 edition in the Acta Sanctorum which in turn was used by Waitz for his edition of 1841 in addition to consulting Admont 412. **Melk 1398** contains the longer version of the Passio which include the miracle accounts (chs. 12-19) attributed to Abbot Erchenfried and which are lacking in some of the earliest manuscripts. It was this longer version that entered the famous collection of saints's Lives, the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum, which may have been compiled at Admont around 1180, and which was the most widely disseminated version of the text.<sup>xc</sup> I have included two MLA witnesses, **Melk 14** and **Zwettl 16**, in this edition.<sup>xc</sup>

In her 1992 edition Meta Niderkorn-Bruck used three manuscripts – **Admont 412**, **Admont 664**, and **Munich Clm. 18.581** with **Admont 412** providing the base for her edition.<sup>xcii</sup> Both Admont manuscripts contain the shorter recension of the Passio which ends with chapter 11 so Niderkorn-Bruck used the Munich manuscript for the additional chapters of the Miracula.<sup>xciii</sup> According to Niderkorn-Bruck **Munich 18.581** contains the oldest text which in its variants is very close to **Admont 664**. As **Admont 664** was written in the eleventh century it is the oldest witness of the text, not the Munich manuscript which is twelfth century. **Admont 664** is in turn the exemplar for **Admont 412** which can be seen from the inter-linear glosses denoting a change in word order which appears in **Admont 412**.<sup>xciv</sup> While this may be the case, variants do exist between both manuscripts and **Admont 412** was not an exact copy of the older exemplar.

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<sup>1</sup> Scriptores rerum Austriacarum, ed. Hieronymus Pez, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1721), pp. 93-104; Hieronymus Pez, Acta S. Colomanni (Vienna, 1713). On Pez's interest in the history and cult of Coloman, see Niderkorn-Bruck, Koloman: 1012-2012, pp. 313-16.

While my edition does not provide a substantially different text or new insights into the work's composition, it is the most comprehensive edition to date due to the number of manuscripts consulted and provides slightly different readings to previous editions. It is also hoped that the translation will make this source more widely known and available to scholars.<sup>xcv</sup> The Passio et Miracula S. Cholomanni is an important composite work of Benedictine hagiographical writing from the High Middle Ages that provides a glimpse into a Marcher society in Central Europe where powerful saints were obviously in demand.

## Passio Sancti Cholomanni

### Praefatio

Princeps apostolorum Petrus audiens a Domino, mundi contemptores centuplo hic remunerandos<sup>xcvi</sup> emolumento et in futuro uitam eternam possessuros cum Christo, multas asseclarum copias sue conuersionis adquisiuit<sup>xcvii</sup> exemplo. Considerantes enim, que et qualia sunt que promisit<sup>xcviii</sup> Deus diligentibus se, spreuerunt ea que in mundo poterant habere, uite perennis possessione ut mererentur ditescere. Horum quorundam conuersionem conuersionemque<sup>xcix</sup> nobis commendat<sup>c</sup> fidelis historia,<sup>ci</sup> ut illorum apud superstites per<sup>cii</sup> secula uiuat memoria. Quocirca nos quidem officio stili<sup>ciii</sup> posteris commendare dignum duximus, que in nostra regione et nostris quoque gratulamur acta temporibus.



## Passio

1. Regnante gloriosissimo imperatore Heinrico, qui tercio Ottone mortuo Romanorum potiebatur<sup>civ</sup> imperio, plures pro nomine Christi peregrinantes iter direxerunt per regna eius dicioni subdita, quia tanta fuit prefati iam<sup>cv</sup> pietas imperatoris, ut in illo situm esset grande solamen,<sup>cvi</sup> pacis presidium<sup>cvii</sup> refugiumque miseris.
2. Accidit autem, quendam, Cholomannum<sup>cviii</sup> nomine, Scotice<sup>cix</sup> gentis oriundum, peregrinationis iter arripere, terrestrem<sup>cx</sup> celestis amore Ierusalem<sup>cx</sup> cum aliis currens<sup>cxii</sup> quibus eadem mens erat expetens inuisere.<sup>cxiii</sup> Uenit itaque in orientalem Norice regionem, cui a plaga orientali Pannonia, ab aquilonari confinis adiacet Poemia.<sup>cxiv</sup> Harum<sup>cxv</sup> regionum populis Norice<sup>cxvi</sup> telluri<sup>cxvii</sup> admodum tunc temporis erant moleste, eo quod ab illis sepe numero sint turpiter humiliate, deuicte multisque modis miserabiliter afflicte. Inde contra uirum Dei orta est falsa suspicio, tamquam ueniret missus a predictis nationibus, causa explorationis ac prodende regionis. Hac<sup>cxviii</sup> suspicione furiose plebis animi adeo incanduerunt aduersus famulum Dei, ut scopis atrociter castigatum traderent ad custodiendum, postera die iudici presentandum. Sed inuictus Christi miles Cholomannus<sup>cxix</sup> paruipendens breue labentis uite spacium, mentis sue constantiam uiriliter corroborando preparauit ad supplicium, cupiens adipisci coronam legitime certantibus promissam, quia, sicut apostolus ait: Nemo coronabitur nisi qui legitime certauerit.
3. Ut autem uentum est ante iudicem, modestiam quam in animo habuit, sermone uultu et habitu demonstrauit. Interrogatus itineris sue<sup>cxx</sup> causam ueraciter exposuit, aliud quicquam confiteri quam quod res erat compelli nequaquam<sup>cxxi</sup> potuit. Tunc iudicis edicto asperis horrendisque cedebatur uerberibus, ut si explorator esset saltem

confiteretur uictus penarum doloribus. Sed fortissimus athleta Cholomannus,<sup>cxxii</sup> qui solui<sup>cxxiii</sup> et esse cum Christo cupiebat, acria tortorum flagra, lapides ouaque fortiter ignita, candentem quoque forcipem, qua quidam peruersus<sup>cxxiv</sup> malleator corpus eius miserabiliter uellendo cruciauit, serram quoque, qua ossa eius<sup>cxxv</sup> lacerabantur, constanter innixus presidio Christi nullificauit. Carnifices uero cernentes<sup>cxxvi</sup> inuictam uiri Dei constantiam, animam eius tormentis sicut aurum quod in fornace<sup>cxxvii</sup> probatur tandem<sup>cxxviii</sup> extorsere suspendio, duobus latronibus suspensis cum eo. Horum carnibus frequenti morsu auium bestiarumque dilaniatis ac<sup>cxxix</sup> putredine consumptis, sancti uiri corpusculum,<sup>cxxx</sup> unguibus cum barba cesarieque crescentibus, materiali corrupcione procul remota floruit; insuper et<sup>cxxxi</sup> torta in qua pendebat fronduit, impleta prophetia psalmigraphi, que ait: Iustus ut palma florebit.

4. Incolis autem regionis eiusdem nouo et inaudito stupidis miraculo, contigit cuiusdam Rumaldi filium morbo<sup>cxxxii</sup> debilitari podagrico. Patre uero super hac re grauiter anxio<sup>cxxxiii</sup> et quid ageret dubio, quadam nocte sibi reuelabatur in somnis, filium suum pristine sanitati restituendam, si locus morbi obliniretur carne strangulati hominis.<sup>cxxxiv</sup> Igitur experrectus<sup>cxxxv</sup> ac tali uisione solito quidem hilarior effectus, accuratissime queri et afferri medicinam, misso festinanter praecepit<sup>cxxxvi</sup> nuncio, quam sibi praedicta<sup>cxxxvii</sup> reuelauit uisio. Profectus ergo nuncius postquam deuenit ad locum ubi uenerabile pendebat corpus, infixam lanceam frustum carnis de sura pendentis, ut iussus erat, abstulit. Et<sup>cxxxviii</sup> mox mirum in modum magna sequebatur copia tam calidi cruoris,<sup>cxxxix</sup> acsi anima adhuc obseruaretur in hospicio corporis.<sup>cxl</sup> Hoc uiso, legatus uelut attonitus expauit; tamen deferenda ad dominum suum proferens<sup>cxli</sup>, rem ut gesta erat<sup>cxlii</sup> pleniter enarrauit<sup>cxliii</sup>. At puer, cuius causa hec fiebant, allate carnis medicamine tercio oblitus<sup>cxliii</sup> surrexit incolomis, uiribus<sup>cxlv</sup> innitens propriis, qui prius ad surgendum uix utebatur alienis. Tali modo ipse sibi redditus, indeffessas<sup>cxlvi</sup> grates

retulit Deo ac<sup>cxlvii</sup> beato Cholomanno, per cuius<sup>cxlviii</sup> merita pristina sanitas est ei restituta.

5. His ita gestis, idem Rumaldus iter faciens diuertit ad patibulum, ubi sancti uiri erat corpus<sup>cxlix</sup> pendens. Intuitus autem<sup>cl</sup> diligentius tam ipse quam omnes qui secum aduenerant, et ille potissimum qui causa abscidende<sup>cli</sup> carnis missus fuerat—nam et is in comitatu eodem<sup>clii</sup> aderat—ammirabantur<sup>cliii</sup> non solum non factum uulnus sed nec cicatricem uulneris in corpore pendentis apparere.<sup>cliv</sup> Ita etenim diuina prestante gratia diminutio illa fuit redintegrata<sup>clv</sup>, ut nullum omnino cicatricis uestigium repperiri possit<sup>clvi</sup> in illo.

6. Quidam autem<sup>clvii</sup> venator, cuius precordia frigore obriguerunt perfidie: Si verum est, inquit, quod asseritur, ut<sup>clviii</sup> de isto cadauere<sup>clix</sup> cruor decurreret<sup>clx</sup> calidus, hoc ego iam<sup>clxi</sup> sum comprobaturus. Arrepto itaque uenabulo, uenerabilis uiri latus perforauit; unde confestim sanguis profluens ipsum et cui insidebat iumentum sacris imbuit reliquiis. Rumaldus<sup>clxii</sup> et qui cum eo<sup>clxiii</sup> aderant uise rei formidine trepidi, non parua multitudine cleri et<sup>clxiv</sup> populi coadunata, decreuerunt beate memorie uiri corpus sepeliendum deponi. Si quis autem<sup>clxv</sup> nosse uelit, quantum temporis spacium pendendo impleuerit, integrum annum computet et dimidium.

7. Est prope Danubium quedam speciosa et delectabilis augia, in qua nouiter constructa fuit basilica;<sup>clxvi</sup> illuc predictus Dei famulus utriusque sexus tripudio et plausu deferebatur humanus. Sequenti<sup>clxvii</sup> anno Danubius effreni licentia littorum curuitates euagatus,<sup>clxviii</sup> pleraque edificia suis uiribus eruta funditus ingurgitauit, et queque loca sibi contigua estuantis<sup>clxix</sup> diluuii copiis inebriauit; atrium autem basilice, iuxta quam beati Cholomanni<sup>clxx</sup> cadauer uenerandum quieuit,<sup>clxxi</sup> tanta diluuiis repleuit, ut medietas ecclesie praeualentibus aquis uix appareret.<sup>clxxii</sup> Sed omnipotentis Dei clementia per famuli sui merita noua<sup>clxxiii</sup> ostendit miracula, et nostris<sup>clxxiv</sup>

seculis<sup>clxxv</sup> inaudita. Nam tumulus quo claudebatur corpus ipsius, aquarum diluio non attingebatur penitus, fluctibus etenim<sup>clxxvi</sup> seuientibus locus sepulchri aprica uiriditate fruebatur quasi<sup>clxxvii</sup> ualidi fuisset munimine circumdatus.<sup>clxxviii</sup>

8. Quidam autem piscator, quem uacui uentris furor et rerum habendarum inopia compulit<sup>clxxix</sup> uagari per Danubium, aquarum<sup>clxxx</sup> uiolentia impulsus<sup>clxxx</sup> ad eundem peruenit locum; uidensque insoliti miraculi prodigium prore<sup>clxxxii</sup> gubernaculo paululum dimisso uehementer,<sup>clxxxiii</sup> obstupuit. Sed mox ad se reuersus, sue aliarumque uillarum ciuibus uisam<sup>clxxxiv</sup> rem iterum attonitus<sup>clxxxv</sup> predicauit. Illi autem correptis<sup>clxxxvi</sup> nauibus festinabant<sup>clxxxvii</sup> uidere magnalia Dei. Et uidentes, ammirati<sup>clxxxviii</sup> sunt dicentes: Sicut audiuius sic uidimus.<sup>clxxxix</sup> Deinde omnipotentiam Dei his glorificabant uocibus: Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel,<sup>cxc</sup> qui facit mirabilia solus!<sup>cxc</sup>

9. Huius<sup>cxcii</sup> praeclari stupendique<sup>cxciii</sup> miraculi fama ad aures Heinrici marchionis peruenit rumoribus allata.<sup>cxciv</sup> Qui statim, missis clericorum ordinibus et quibusdam militie sue primatibus, precepit, ut in ciuitatem suam<sup>cxcv</sup> honorifice transferrent sancti uiri<sup>cxcvi</sup> miraculis glorificatum<sup>cxcvii</sup> corpus. Uenerunt autem ad sepulchrum;<sup>cxcviii</sup> sed priusquam impresso<sup>cxcix</sup> sarcofagum tangeretur fossorio tanta mirifice<sup>cc</sup> insoliti odoris occurrit eis fragrantia,<sup>cci</sup> ut omnes qui aderant lacrimis maduissent effusis<sup>ccii</sup> prae gaudio. Aperto itaque sarcofago, inuenerunt sacri uiri corpusculum<sup>cciii</sup> ab<sup>cciv</sup> corruptione penitus illesum acsi eadem die esset humatum.<sup>ccv</sup> Consideremus ergo, quanti meriti sanctus iste sit apud Dominum,<sup>ccvi</sup> qui tantum temporis in tumulo quieuit, quantum in patibulo pendens adimpleuit, et tamen corpus eius<sup>ccvii</sup> corruptionis detrimenta non nouit. Nam a die illius<sup>ccviii</sup> suspensionis usque ad diem translationis totum triennium transiit temporis.

10. Eleuato igitur desiderabili thesauro et linteis, palliis<sup>ccix</sup> ad hoc paratis<sup>ccx</sup> inuoluto, optatum iter primo<sup>ccxi</sup> arripere diluculo, fugiente procul aduersitatis infortunio. Non paruam multitudinem sequi et occurrere uisa auditaque compellebant miracula; laudes ymnosque referentes uiuenti et regnanti in secula. Instante autem noctis iam crepusculo, diuerterunt ad ecclesiam non longe a uia positam, cupientes in illa nocte<sup>ccxii</sup> diuinis laudibusposito transigere corpusculo. Cumque omnes uigiliis praeterite noctis ac lassitudine itineris uictos languor opprimeret<sup>ccxiii</sup> soporis, quidam aduenticius clericus ceteris dormientibus, leniter arrepsit, beati uidelicet hominis<sup>ccxiv</sup> pedem, resecto poble<sup>ccxv</sup>, mutilauit; unde uix sedandi sanguinis ubertas profluens pauimenta irrigauit.

11. Orto autem die cum eleuato corpore dirigerentur in itinere, occurrit quidam infirmus, nomine Adalgerus,<sup>ccxvi</sup> singulorum membrorum officio paralisi priuatus<sup>ccxvii</sup>; adductusque ad feretrum, sue infirmitatis implorauit remedium.<sup>ccxviii</sup> Cumque oratione completa surrexisset unicuique<sup>ccxix</sup> membrorum proprio tam pleniter innitebatur officio<sup>ccxx</sup>, ut suis fortiter gressibus insistens et manibus crucem portans ante feretrum usque ad locum sepulchri tripudians et Dominum<sup>ccxxi</sup> glorificans graderetur.<sup>ccxxii</sup> Clerici uero qui sacras reliquias deferebant<sup>ccxxiii</sup> hec cernentes, cum cetera multitudine laudibus extulerunt Dei magnalia et sanctum eius<sup>ccxxiv</sup> Cholomannum<sup>ccxxv</sup>, cuius permerita signa fiebant talia.<sup>ccxxvi</sup> Hac iocunditate tandem peruenerunt ad ciuitatem nomine Medelicham,<sup>ccxxvii</sup> in qua pretiosi thesauri pignora predicti<sup>ccxxviii</sup> marchionis iussu fuerant reponenda. Ubi in nonis octobris dominice incarnationis millesimo quinto decimo anno optimatum consilio posuerunt eum in ecclesia honori principis apostolorum Petri et Pauli<sup>ccxxix</sup> dedicata in australi abside<sup>ccxxx</sup> ubi plurima per illum mirabilia iugiter operatur Dei uirtus et Dei sapientia, que cum Patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et dominatur per infinita secula seculorum, Amen.<sup>ccxxxi</sup>

De Miraculis Sancti Cholomanni Martyris<sup>ccxxxii</sup>

12. Ex multis mirabilibus, quae Dei clementia per suum fidelem famulum ostendit, pauca quae nobis uidendo cognita sunt perstringimus, ut fideles animentur et corroborentur, infideles conuertantur et meliorentur. Posito igitur<sup>ccxxxiii</sup> in ecclesia corpore, multi cotidie<sup>ccxxxiv</sup> ueniebant, et secundum quod unicuique copia erat, oblationes deferebant; quas quidam, nominee Huzo, stimulo sathane incitatus, ad furandum nocte per fenestram intrauit. Cumque super sepulchrum uiri Dei staret et ea quae ad laudem sancti<sup>ccxxxv</sup> suspensa pendebant diriperet, ut dudum mentem humanam, ita demum faciem<sup>ccxxxvi</sup> amisit, et caninam accepit, et pro uerbis latratum fudit. Quem cum edituus regrediens latrantem in ecclesia audisset, expauit, et non audens<sup>ccxxxvii</sup> accedere, donec ciues uillae uocaret, eorumque congregatione confortatus, ostium aperuit et intrauit. Ignorantibus autem caeteris quid esset, hominis dominus, nomine Wilhelmus – nam et ipse aderat – uestibus fuisse seruum suum cognouit; et quid agerent ignorantibus hoc consilium placuit potissimum, ut ad sepulchrum uiri Dei traderet illum. Quod cum factum fuisset, et, multitudine circumstantium orante, pristinum recepit uultum, et oris officium; ac ita usque ad finem<sup>ccxxxviii</sup> uitae suae in seruitio degebat fratrum; cuius adhuc filia in nostro est seruitio.<sup>ccxxxix</sup>

13. Hac igitur fama magis magisque crebrescente, Petrus rex Ungarorum est accensus, quali modo posset hoc acquirere et in suum regnum traducere corpus. Haec eo meditante, Treverorum archiepiscopus Poppo<sup>ccxi</sup>, marchionis<sup>ccxli</sup> frater, ab Hierosolimam<sup>ccxlii</sup> rediens, uenit in regnum eius. Quod rex ut audiuit, magno gauisus gaudio, ad se uocauit, sperans effectum sui desiderii per eum se inuenturum; quod ita

est etiam factum. Cum enim uocatus ueniret, sicut utrumque decuit, regem uidelicet et archiepiscopum, honorifice eum<sup>ccxliii</sup> suscepit, magnifice habuit, gloriose tractauit. His, ut saepe fit inter bonos, archipraesul uicisitudinem cupiens rependere, quidquid ab eo desideraret, magna pollicebatur et bona se uoluntate facturum. His auditis rex factus<sup>ccxliiv</sup> multum hilaris, quod<sup>ccxlv</sup> diu animo uoluebat, optimo praesuli uerbis exponebat. Sed quanto rex ex uerbis pontificis fuit laetior, tanto pontifex ex uerbis regis factus est tristior. Anxius enim haerebat animo, quid ageret. Promittere non audebat, ueritus se non posse apud fratrem impetrare; timuit uero<sup>ccxlivi</sup> negare; nam formidauit<sup>ccxlvii</sup>, si negaret, ut ui, sicut factum est, cogeretur. Postquam enim<sup>ccxlviii</sup> rex uidit<sup>ccxlix</sup> illum stupentem, minatus est, si non faceret, uincula et carcerem. His minis uictus episcopus cum promitteret, constrinxit eum sacramento, ut quod promisit sine dubio fieret. Ueniens itaque ad fratrem, magna afflictione cordis aperuit et<sup>cccl</sup> lacrimis, quod uiolentia compulit regis. Marchio autem, ut semper fuit uir bonus et prudens, ne qua macula optimum suum genus fuscaret, quamuis inuitus, decreuit tamen facere, ut rex coegit suum fratrem iurare. At postquam delata sunt ossa regi, retrolapsa est res eius; nam aeris siccitas, terrae sterilitas, fames et mortalitas regnum eius in tantum urgebant, ut<sup>cccli</sup> penitus interire se<sup>ccclii</sup> crederent. Miserunt tandem ad praedictum marchionem, postulantes legatos mitti, qui digne sancti reportarent ossa uiri. Missis itaque religiosis uiris, uidelicet clericis et<sup>cccliii</sup> laicis, sacra ossa receperunt, et regi suisque ueniam pro delictis dantes, ad laudem et gloriam nominis Dei in praedictum locum Medilicham reportauerunt.

14. Nec praetereundum est, qualis uindicta Dei persequebatur eos, qui sepulchrum fregerunt et ossa extulerunt. Clericus paralyti morbo percussus, linguae officio est priuatus. Faber uero ferrarius, qui primus fregit sarcofagum et aperuit, hac ultione est diuina<sup>cccliv</sup> percussus, ut maxilla eius per integrum annum penderet super lectum, in

quo ipse iacebat infirmus. Nec hoc silebimus, quod quidam pictor, nomine Ludwicus,<sup>cclv</sup> dum<sup>cclvi</sup> sederet iuxta sepulchrum beati Cholomanni<sup>cclvii</sup> causa pingendi, eleuatis palliis sepulchri, introspexit, et confestim omni destitutus est membrorum officio, donec publica uoce confessus est, qua de causa hoc meruisset. Et ueniam petens, promisit, quoadusque uiueret sancto Cholomanno<sup>cclviii</sup> se esse seruiturum, quantum posset; et ita Dei gratia periculum euadens, sanitatem recepit.

15. Quadam nocte inter matutinales laudes quidam, nomine Gnanno, qui mutus quinquennio in seruitio erat fratrum, cum de monte descenderet pro deferenda<sup>cclix</sup> aqua ad suum ministerium, uisum est sibi, quasi quidam, lineo fune ligato circa brachium, ui eum traheret ad sepulchrum. Qui cum a circumstantibus quid quaereret interrogaretur, manibus innuit, orandi spatium petiit; et sic inter orandum loquendi facultatem accepit.

16. Filia quoque comitis Wolfradi muta et curua eodem modo<sup>cclx</sup> est allata, sed gratia Dei per merita beati uiri<sup>cclxi</sup> loquens et erecta, crucem de sepulchro ad maius altare sancti Petri portauit. Alia quaedam puella, cuiusdam Hermanni filia adhuc superstitis, caeca, muta, curua, a matre est illuc adducta, quae oratione fratrum per merita beati martyris Cholomanni et uisum loquendique usum cum integritate aliorum membrorum recepit. Tertia puella uenit, manibus genibusque repens, crura pedes humo traxit, quae inter missarum sollemnia surrexit, et a sepulchro ad maius altare progrediens, gratias Deo suae<sup>cclxii</sup> sanitatis retulit.

17. Uir quidam tanta infirmitate est correptus, ut uno oculorum eius in modum craterae extra locum tumore eiecto<sup>cclxiii</sup>, magna spe recuperandae sanitatis a beato uiro auxilium flagitauit. Sed cum, consumptis longis precibus et multis effusis lacrimis, nihil<sup>cclxiv</sup> sentiret sospitatis, recessit flens et eiulans atque dicens: Heu, heu! o beate martyr Cholomanne<sup>cclxv</sup>, unde hoc merui, quod ego solus omnium, quorum tu



misertus es, nullam gratiam apud te inueni? His et aliis quae dolor dictat uocibus multiplicatis, in ipsa qua pergebat uia, quam desperabat salus sibi subito est concessa. Percepta igitur hac gratia, flexis in terra genibus, tanta perfusus laetitia quanta prius moestitia<sup>cclxvi</sup>, regressus est, magnificans et laudans Deum ac salutis suae impetratorem<sup>cclxvii</sup> Cholomannum<sup>cclxviii</sup>.

18. Aliud quoque miraculum in quodam Rudolfo<sup>cclxix</sup> accidit. Hic omnium praeter oculorum et linguae membrorum officio destitutus, uehiculo ad ianuam ecclesiae ductus, et ad sepulchrum famuli Dei manibus in sella deportatus est.<sup>cclxx</sup> Domino itaque<sup>cclxxi</sup> abbate cum fratribus orante, clementiam Dei tam uelocem sensit, quod sine mora propriis uiribus innitens surrexit; et gratiarum actiones Deo persolvens, qui prius alienis utebatur uiribus, equum ascendit, et hilaris repatriauit.

19. Haec pauca ex multis, quae Dei clementia ad laudem et gloriam nominis<sup>cclxxii</sup> sui et honorem<sup>cclxxiii</sup> beati Cholomanni<sup>cclxxiv</sup> operata est<sup>cclxxv</sup> et cotidie<sup>cclxxvi</sup> operatur, digessimus ad fidelium corroborationem et infidelium conuersionem, ne quis id, quo indignus est, praesumat, neque illud, quod gratia Dei ualet consequi, pertimescat.

## The Passion of Saint Coloman

### Preface

Hearing from the Lord, that the despisers of the world will be repaid a hundred times here and be the possessors in the future eternal life with Christ, Peter, the prince of the apostles, acquired many troops of followers by the example of his own conversion.

For considering closely what and of what kind are the things which God promised to those loving him, they spurned those things which they were able to have in the world in order that they might merit to grow rich by the possession of eternal life. Faithful history commits to us the reason of conversion and the way of life of these men, that the memory of them might forever live among the living. On account of which we thought it worthy indeed to commit to posterity by the service of the pen those things which we happily acknowledge to have been performed in our region and likewise in our times.

### Passion

1. During the reign of the most glorious emperor Henry,<sup>cclxxvii</sup> who gained possession of the empire of the Romans after the death of Otto III<sup>cclxxviii</sup>, many pilgrims for the name of Christ directed their journey through the realms subject to his authority, because so great by now was the piety of the said emperor, that in him was found a great solace, defence of peace, and refuge for the wretched.
2. It happened, however, that a certain man, named Coloman,<sup>cclxxix</sup> sprung from the Irish people, set out on the path of pilgrimage, was hastening with others who had the same mind, seeking to visit the earthly Jerusalem out of love of heavenly things. He came then into the eastern region of Noricum,<sup>cclxxx</sup> which borders Hungary to the east and Bohemia to the north. At that time the people of these regions were greatly troublesome to the land of Noricum, since they were many times disgracefully humiliated by them, they were entirely conquered and in many ways miserably afflicted. Then a false suspicion arose against the man of God just as though he were

coming, being sent by the aforementioned peoples, with the aim of spying on and betraying the region. With this suspicion the minds of the people were so furiously enflamed against the servant of God, that they violently beat him with rods and delivered him into custody, presenting him to a judge the next day. But Coloman, the unconquered soldier of Christ, thinking of little value the short space of passing life, prepared for punishment by manfully strengthening the constancy of his mind, desiring to obtain the crown promised to those who strive legitimately, because, as the apostle said: no one is crowned unless he strive lawfully.<sup>cclxxi</sup>

3. When, however, he had come before the judge, the modesty he had in his mind he showed by word, expression and demeanour. Having been interrogated Coloman quickly exposed the cause of his journey, as it was by no means able to have him compelled to confess to some other thing, nothing at all. Then he was submitted to stern and terrible whips by the sentence of the judge in order that if he were a spy he might at least confess, being conquered by the agonies of punishments. But the most strong athlete Coloman – who was longing to be free and to be with Christ – steadfastly relying on the help of Christ, thought nothing of the piercing scourges of torture, the stones and eggs strongly aflame, likewise the red hot forceps with which a certain depraved hammerer miserably tortured his body by plucking, likewise a saw, with which they were cutting his bones. But the torturers seeing the unconquered perseverance of the man of God – his soul tormented as gold that is tested in a furnace<sup>cclxxii</sup> – at length dragged him away to hang him, hanging two robbers with him. Their bodies were torn to pieces by the frequent bites of birds and beasts and consumed by rotting, but the body of the holy man flourished far removed from physical corruption, with growing nails, beard and hair, and in addition the rope on

which he was hanging grew leaves, fulfilling the psalm of the prophet, who said: the just shall flourish like the palm tree.<sup>ccclxxxiii</sup>

4. However, when the new and unheard of miracle stunned the inhabitants of the same region, it happened that a certain son of Rumald was debilitated with the sickness of gout. With the father gravely anxious and doubtful what he should do about this thing, one night it was revealed to him in his sleep that his son would be restored to perfect health if the place of illness was smeared over with the flesh of the hanged man. Therefore having gotten up and made happier than usual by this vision, he ordered a messenger to be sent quickly so that the medicine be sought out most accurately and brought to him which the above mentioned vision had revealed to him. Therefore the messenger departed. After he arrived at the place where the venerable body was hanging, having thrust in a spear, he took away a morsel of flesh from the calf of the hanging man, as he had been commanded. And soon a great abundance of blood followed, miraculously, so hot as if the soul was still preserved in the body. When the messenger had seen this he was terrified just as if he was astonished. Nevertheless, advancing as it had to be brought to his master, he related the thing in full detail as it had happened. But the boy, for whose sake these things were done, when the remedy of flesh, being brought, was smeared over him three times he awoke from sleep, leaning on his own strength, who before, having to be raised up by other people, scarcely managed. In such a way he was restored to himself. He returned unceasing thanks to God and to blessed Coloman, through whose merits perfect health was given back to him.

5. Thus with these things done, the same Rumald, making a journey, went to the gallows, where the body of the holy man was hanging. But regarding carefully, both he and all who had come with him, and especially he who had been sent to cut away

the flesh – for even he was present – they were amazed that not only no wound was made but neither even a scar of a wound was visible on the body of the hanging man. Thus by the preceding divine grace that decrease was made whole again so that no trace of a wound at all could be found in him.

6. A certain hunter, whose emotions had become stiff with the cold of treachery said: “If it is true what is asserted that from this body blood ran down hot, I myself am going to put it to the test.” When he had snatched a hunting spear, he pierced the side of the venerable man; from whence at once blood gushing forth soaked him with the sacred relics, and the mule on which he was sitting. Rumald and those who were present with him, with fear of what they had seen – no small crowd of clergy and laity having come together – decided that the body of the man of blessed memory should be taken down to be buried. If someone should wish to know for what length of time he spent hanging let him reckon a year and a half.

7. There is near the Danube a certain attractive and delightful meadow<sup>cclxxxiv</sup> on which was recently built a church. There the aforementioned servant of God was brought to be buried with the rejoicing and applause of everyone. In the following year the Danube overflowed its swelling banks with unbridled freedom and engulfed many buildings, which were utterly destroyed by its strength. It drenched with an abundant seething flood whatever places were near to it. It filled with so great floods the narthex of the basilica, near which the venerable body of blessed Coloman rested, so that the middle of the church was hardly visible in the powerful waters. But the mercy of almighty God revealed a novel miracle through the merits of his servant, likewise unheard of in our times. For the tomb in which his body was enclosed was not touched at all by the flood of waters, and indeed among the weighty waters the

place of the tomb was enjoying a spring sunshine as though it had been strongly fortified around.

8. However a certain fisherman, whom the fury of an empty stomach and the want of any possession forced to roam along the Danube, being driven by the violence of the waters arrived at the same place. Seeing the wonder of an unaccustomed miracle, he was astounded since the prow's helm was with great force sent about a little. But soon returning to his place he told the thing seen again astonished to the citizens of his own and to other towns. They, however, gathering in ships were hastening to see the great things of God. And seeing, they were amazed saying: "As we heard so we saw."<sup>cclxxxv</sup> Then they were glorifying the almighty power of God in these words: "Blessed Lord God of Israel, who alone does wonders!"<sup>cclxxxvi</sup>

9. The report of this famous and amazing miracle, being brought by rumours, arrived at the ears of Margrave Henry<sup>cclxxxvii</sup>. He, at once, sending ordained clerics and some of his first ranking soldiers, ordered that they should honourably translate the body of the holy man, glorified by miracles, to his town. They came to the tomb, but before the coffin was touched by a spade impressing upon it, a smell of such sweetness came to them that all who approached became wet with pouring forth tears through joy. Then when they opened the coffin, they discovered the holy body unharmed from all corruption as if he had been buried the same day. Let us therefore contemplate how great are the merits of that saint before the Lord, who lay as much time in the tomb as he spent hanging on the gallows, and still knew not the damages of physical corruption. For from the day of his hanging until the day of translation a full three years of time had passed.

10. When the desirable treasure was elevated and covered with linen cloths and mantles prepared for the body, they began the longed for journey at first light, fleeing

the misfortune of adversities at a distance. The miracles, having been seen and heard, compelled not a little multitude to follow and to run to meet the body, returning praises and hymns to the One living and reigning for ever. However, by now with the approaching darkness of night, they diverted towards a church situated not far off from the way, desiring to spend that night in divine praises where the body had been set down. And when the languor of sleep overwhelmed everyone by having spent the night in vigil and from the weariness of the journey, a certain foreign cleric, with the others sleeping, slowly moving stealthily towards the foot of the blessed man chopped it off by having cut back the back of the knee. From where suddenly an abundance of blood flowing forth, that could scarcely be quelled, inundated the pavements.

11. However when day came, the people being directed on the journey with the elevated body, a certain sick man, named Adalgerus, went to meet them, the use of several of his members being deprived by paralysis. And being brought to the bier, he begged a cure of his infirmities. And when the prayer was completed he arose and supported himself by the use of each one of his own members so fully, that standing strongly on his own legs and bringing the cross with his hands in front of the bier he walked up to the place of the tomb rejoicing and glorifying the Lord. Seeing these things the clerics who were bringing the sacred relics raised in praises with the other multitude the great deeds of God and of his saint, Coloman, through whose merits such great signs were taking place. With this joy at length they came to the city called Melk, in which the aforementioned margrave had ordered the precious treasures, the relics, to be stored.<sup>cclxxxviii</sup> Where on 7 October 1014, with the deliberation of the nobles, they placed him in the church honourably dedicated to the princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul, in the southern apse, where very many wonderful things are

continually being worked. The power and wisdom of God and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.<sup>ccclxxxix</sup>

### The Miracles of Saint Coloman the Martyr

12. From the many miracles which the mercy of God showed through his faithful servant, we gathered a few of which are known to us by seeing them, so that the faithful may be enlivened and strengthened, the unfaithful truly converted and made better. Therefore when the body was placed in the church, many people used to come daily, and according to the resources of each one, used to offer gifts. A certain man, named Huzo, roused by the prompting of Satan, entered the church in the night through a window to steal these gifts. And when he was standing on top of the tomb of the man of God and was pillaging those things which were hanging up suspended to the praise of the saint, just as he had lost his human mind, so at length he lost his human appearance, and became a dog, and in place of words poured out barking. When the sacristan returning to the church heard him barking, he was terrified, and not daring to come near, until he called the citizens of the village. Encouraged by the congregation of them, he opened the door and went into the church. However, while the others were ignorant of who he had been, that man's lord, named William – for he himself was present – knew it had been his servant from his clothes; and to those who did not know what they should do – this plan pleased the most, that he should hand him over to the tomb of the man of God. When this had been done, and when the crowd standing around had prayed, he got back his former appearance and the use of speech. And so he passed until the end of his life in the service of the brothers; his daughter is still in our service.



13. This fame grew more and more so that Peter, king of the Hungarians,<sup>ccxc</sup> was roused that he might be able in whatever way to acquire this saint and bring the body into his kingdom. When he was thinking these things, Poppo, archbishop of Trier,<sup>ccxci</sup> the brother of the margrave, returning from Jerusalem, came into his kingdom. When the king heard this, having rejoiced with great delight, he called the archbishop to himself, hoping that he would find the accomplishment of his desire through him; a thing which was thus achieved. When then he came after having been summoned, just as it befitted both, (the king and archbishop), he received him honourably, entertained him magnificently, treated him gloriously. With these men, as is often done among good men, the archbishop desiring to repay the interchange by whatever he would desire from him, promised that he would do great and good things in good will. The king became very pleased by hearing these things. He then told the good bishop what for a long time he had turned over in his mind. But the more the king became happier by the words of the bishop, the more the bishop became sadder from the words of the king. Anxiety was hanging on his mind as to what he should do. He did not dare to promise, fearing himself not able to obtain the body from his brother; but was afraid to refuse; for he was fearful that if he should refuse that, he would be compelled by force, just as it turned out. After the king saw him astounded, he threatened chains and prison if he would not do it. With these threats having won over the bishop as expected, he bound him with an oath that what he promised he would do without question. Coming then to his brother, the bishop revealed with great affliction of heart and tears, what the violence of the king forced him to do. But the margrave, as he was always a good and prudent man, in order that the highest of his family should not be blackened by any stain, eventhough unwilling, nevertheless he resolved to do it, as the king compelled his brother to swear. But after the bones had been sent to the king,

things began to go bad; for dryness of weather, sterility of the land, famine and death burdened his kingdom to such an extent that they believed themselves altogether ruined. They sent at length to the aforementioned margrave, begging messengers to be sent, who would worthily take back the bones of the holy man. Then having sent religious men, clergy and laity, they received the sacred bones, and giving pardon to the king and his people for their misdeeds, they took back the bones to the praise and glory of God to Melk.

14. Neither should it to be passed over how the vengeance of God punished them who had broken the tomb and had taken out the bones. A cleric having been struck with the weakness of paralysis lost the use of his speech.. A blacksmith, who first broke and opened the tomb, was divinely punished so that for a whole year his jaw hung out above the bed, in which he was lying sick. Nor will we be silent about this, that a certain painter, named Ludwicus, while he was sitting painting beside the tomb of the blessed Coloman, lifting up the cloth of the tomb he looked in and suddenly he was deprived the use of all his limbs, until he openly confessed for what reason he had deserved this. And coming pleading, he promised that as long as he were alive he would be in the service of Saint Coloman, as much as he could. And thus evading danger by the grace of God, he recovered his health.

15. One night during the morning lauds a man, named Gnanno, who was a mute in the service of the brothers for five years, when he descended from the mountain for the purpose of carrying water as part of his service, it seemed to himself, as though someone, having tied a cord line around his arm, dragged him with force to the tomb. When he was being asked by the bystanders what he was seeking, he gave a sign with his hands, sought a space for praying; and so during the prayer received the use of speech.

16. Also the mute and bent daughter of Count Wolfrad was brought in the same way, but, by the grace of God through the merits of the blessed man she, now able to speak and to stand straight, brought a cross from the tomb to the high altar of Saint Peter.

Another girl, the daughter of a certain Hermann still living, blind, mute, crooked, was taken there by her mother, who received her sight and the use of speech with the entirety of her other members by the prayers of the brothers through the merits of the blessed martyr Coloman. A third girl came, crawling on her hands and knees, dragging her feet on the ground. During the solemnity of the mass she rose and going forward from the tomb to the high altar, gave back thanks to God for her health.

17. A certain man was seized by such sickness that when one of his eyes had been ejected by a tumour from the socket in the manner of a bowl, he entreated the help of the blessed man with great hope of recovery. But when, after using a long time in prayer and much pouring forth of tears, he felt nothing of deliverance, he fell back weeping and wailing and saying: "Oh, oh! O blessed martyr Coloman, from where did I deserve this, because I alone of all, on whom you had mercy, have found no grace from you?" Having repeated these and other expressions which sadness dictates he was proceeding in this way when the health, which he was despairing for himself, was suddenly given. When he perceived this grace, genuflecting on the ground, filled with as much joy as sorrow before, he returned, magnifying and praising God and Coloman, the restorer of his health.

18. Also another miracle happened to a certain Rudolf. He, destitute of all the use of his members except his eyes and tongue, was led by a wagon to the door of the church, and was brought to the tomb of the servant of God by hand in a chair. When the Lord Abbot and the brothers prayed, he quickly felt the mercy of God, since he got up without delay relying on his own strength; and giving thanks for the deeds of

God, he, who before relied on the strength of others, ascended a horse and cheerfully returned to his own homeland.

19. These few miracles from many, which the mercy of God worked and daily works to the praise and glory of his name and the honour of blessed Coloman, we have arranged for the strengthening of the faithful and the conversion of the unfaithful, lest anyone should dare to do that which is unworthy nor to become very scared of that which the grace of God can accomplish. Amen.

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<sup>i</sup> Julia M.H. Smith, “Rulers and Relics c.750-c.950: Treasure on Earth, Treasure in Heaven,” in Relics and Remains, ed. A. Walsham (Oxford, 2010), pp. 73-96; see also David W. Rollason, “Relic-Cults as an Instrument of Royal Policy c.900-c.1050,” Anglo-Saxon England 15 (1987), pp. 91-103.

<sup>ii</sup> Edina Bozóky, La Politique des reliques, de Constantin à Saint Louis (Paris, 2006), p. 180.

<sup>iii</sup> Smith, “Rulers and Relics,” p. 90.

<sup>iv</sup> See Edina Bozóky, « La Politique des reliques des premiers comtes de Flandre (fin du IXe siècle-fin du XIe siècle), » in Les reliques. Objets, cultes, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer), 4-6 septembre 1997, eds. Edina Bozóky and Anne-Marie Helvétius (Turnhout, 1999) p. 271-292; for other examples, see Bozóky, La Politique des reliques, p. 180-186.

<sup>v</sup> In Bawariorum confinio atque Mararensium quidam peregrinus nomine Colomannus ab incolis, quasi speculator esset, capitur et ad professionem culpae, quam non meruit, diris castigacionibus compellitur. Ille, cum se nimis excusaret pauperemque Christi se sic vagari affirmaret, in arbore diu arida innocens suspensus est. Nam caro eius a quodam postea paululum incisa sanguinem fudit, ungues ac capilli crescebant. Ipsa

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quoque arbor floruit et hunc Christi martirem esse monstravit. Hoc marchio Heinricus ut comperit, corpus eiusdem in Mezilecun sepelivit: Thietmar of Merseburg, Chronicon 7.76, in Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung, ed. Robert Holtzmann, MGH, SS Rer. Ger. NS 9 (Berlin, 1935), p. 492; English trans. in Ottoman Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg, trans. D. A. Warner (Manchester, 2001), p. 374.

<sup>vi</sup> See below Passio S. Cholomanni 2-3.

<sup>vii</sup> Passio S. Cholomanni 6, 7, 9.

<sup>viii</sup> Annales Mellicenses, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH, SS 9 (Hannover, 1851), pp. 480-501, at 497.

<sup>ix</sup> Breve Chronicon Austriae Mellicense, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH, SS 24 (Hannover, 1879), p. 71.

<sup>x</sup> It apparently continues to confuse even modern historians such as Jonathan Sumption who gives 1053 as the year of Coloman's martyrdom in his Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion (London, 1975), p. 182.

<sup>xi</sup> Late medieval breviaries wrongly stated that Coloman was killed on his return journey from Jerusalem which influenced subsequent historiography. On this see, Meta Niederkorn-Bruck, Der heilige Koloman: Der erste Patron Niederösterreichs, Studien und Forschungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Institut für Landeskunde 16 (Vienna, 1992), pp. 13-14. For its persistence in modern scholarship, see Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, "Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages: The Role of the Irish Monks in Austria," in Austro-Irish Links Through the Centuries, eds. P. Liefer and E. Sagarra (Vienna, 2002), p. 28.

<sup>xii</sup> On Roman roads in Austria, see G. Winkler, Die römischen Straßen und Meilensteine in Noricum – Österreich (Stuttgart, 1985); Peter Csendes, Die Straßen

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Niederösterreichs im Früh- und Hochmittelalter (Vienna, 1969); V. Gassner, S. Jilek, and S. Ladstätter, Am Rande des Reiches. Die Römer in Österreich: Österreichische Geschichte 15 v. Chr. – 378 n. Chr. (Vienna, 2002), p. 91.

<sup>xiii</sup> I owe this idea to Herwig Wolfram. Inquisitio de theloneis Raffelstettensis 7-8, MGH, LL Capitularia regum Francorum 2, eds. A. Boretius and V. Krause (Hannover, 1897), no. 253, pp. 249-52, at 251-52. On the location of the Moravian market, see Lumír Poláček, “Ninth-century Mikulčice: The ‘Market of the Moravians?’ The Archaeological Evidence of Trade in Great Moravia,” in Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium, ed. Joachim Henning, 2 vols. (Berlin, 2007), 1: 499-524.

<sup>xiv</sup> On the border position of Stockerau at this time: Rainald Dubski, “Grundherrschaft und Christianisierung als prägende Elemente des Grenzaumes zu Ungarn und Mähren – Vom Ende der Frankenherrschaft bis zum Beginn des hohen Mittelalters,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 2013), p. 219 with further references.

<sup>xv</sup> Karl Brunner, Herzogtümer und Marken: Vom Ungarnsturm bis ins 12. Jahrhundert (Vienna, 1994), p. 179.

<sup>xvi</sup> Dubski, “Grundherrschaft und Christianisierung,” pp. 201-2. On Hungarian penetration in this area, see Das frühungarische Reitergrab von Gnadendorf (Niederösterreich), ed. Falko Daim and Ernst Laueremann (Mainz, 2006).

<sup>xvii</sup> Dubski, “Grundherrschaft und Christianisierung,” p. 203.

<sup>xviii</sup> “Gerade heute mag es ironisch scheinen, daß der erste Patron Österreichs der Fremdenfeindlichkeit der Österreicher zum Opfer gefallen war; doch so sah man das damals noch nicht.” Walter Pohl, Die Welt der Babenberger: Schleier, Kreuz, und Schwert (Graz, 1995), p. 81. On the role of Coloman’s “foreignness”, see now Dubski, “Grundherrschaft und Christianisierung,” pp. 203-11.

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<sup>xxix</sup> For a list of Irish saints bearing this name, including Coloman of Melk, see now Padraig Ó Riain, A Dictionary of Irish Saints (Dublin, 2011).

<sup>xxx</sup> On the fact that Columbanus was not commemorated in Ireland, see Michael Richter, Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages: The Abiding Legacy of Columbanus (Dublin, 2008), p. 48. For a recent survey of this material, see Padraig Ó Riain, Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies (Brussels, 2006); also Corpus genealogiarum sanctorum Hiberniae, ed. Padraig Ó Riain (Dublin, 1985).

<sup>xxxi</sup> Niederkorn-Bruck, Der heilige Koloman, p. 12, n. 14 states that Coloman could not be the son of this king due to chronological grounds. This is incorrect, however, as Máel Sechnaill II was a contemporary of Coloman's. There is no historical evidence that Coloman was of royal background. On the persistence of this motif even in recent scholarship, see Georg Scheibelreiter, Die Babenberger: Reichsfürsten und Landesherren (Vienna, 2010), p. 97.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Ó Riain-Raedel, "Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages," p. 28. The evidence that Coloman was royal from the Vita Gothalmi, concerning a servant of Coloman's royal father who was sent to search for Coloman and died near Melk, can be discounted due to its late fourteenth-century date. On this clearly fictional source, see Niederkorn-Bruck, Der heilige Koloman, pp. 89-92.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Thietmar, Chronicon 7.76, p. 492.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> See J. Chelini and H. Branthomme, Les chemins de Dieu. Histoire des pèlerinages des origines à nos jours (Paris, 1982), p. 155-156.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Das Nibelungenlied 1302, trans. Burton Raffel (New Haven, 2006), p. 181.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> See Herwig Wolfram, Conrad II, 990-1039: Emperor of Three Kingdoms (Philadelphia, 2006), p. 198; Heinrich Fichtenau, "Reisen und Reisende," Beiträge zur Mediävistik. Ausgewählte Aufsätze, 3: Lebensordnungen, Urkundenforschung,



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Mittellatein (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 1-79, esp. pp. 21, 45-49; also F. Micheau, « Les itinéraires maritimes et continentaux des pèlerinages vers Jérusalem, » in Occident et Orient au Xe siècle. Actes du Ixe Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public (Dijon, 2-4 juin 1978) (Paris, 1979), p. 79-104; Aryeh Grâbôys, Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au Moyen Âge (Paris, 1998).

<sup>xxvii</sup> See Rodulfi Glabri. Historiarum Libri Quinque 3.7, ed. John France, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1989), p. 133; Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Said d'Antioche 23.3, ed. I. Kratchkovsky and A.A. Vasiliev, Patrologia Orientalis, vol. 2 (Paris, 1932), p. 491-492; Adémar de Chabannes: Chronique, 3.47, in Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, vol. 20, ed. J. Chavanon (Paris, 1897). For discussion, see Martin Biddle, The Tomb of Christ (Stroud, 1999), p. 72, who suggests that Adémar's account is based on that of an eyewitness, Bishop Raoul de Couhé, who returned from Jerusalem in 1010.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Historiarum Libri Quinque 3.7, p. 133.

<sup>xxix</sup> See Diana Webb, Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West (London, 1999), pp. 26-27; for Orderic's account, see The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, vol. 2, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969-1980), pp. 68-73.

<sup>xxx</sup> Edina Bozóky, « La légende de saint Coloman, pèlerin martyr, » in « Scribere sanctorum gesta » Recueil d'études d'hagiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart, ed. Étienne Renard, Michel Trigalet, Xavier Hermand, and Paul Bertrand (Turnhout, 2005), p. 573-593, at p. 573.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Passio Cholomanni 3-6, 9.

<sup>xxxii</sup> On the corporeal miracles and the popular element of the cult, see Bozóky, « La légende de saint Coloman, » p. 579-584.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Bozóky, « La légende de saint Coloman, » p. 573.

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- <sup>xxxiv</sup> BHL 3070-3071, 3211. See Additamentum Nivalense de Fuilano, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH, SS Rer. Mer. 4 (Hannover, 1902), pp. 450-51; Paulus Nivalensis, Vita I. Foillani, Acta Sanctorum, Octobris 13 (Paris, 1883), pp. 383-85 and the Vita II. Foillani, pp. 385-87. For other examples of Irish martyr-saints venerated in Lotharingia, see Bozóky, « La légende de saint Coloman, » p. 577-578.
- <sup>xxxv</sup> Bozóky, « La légende de saint Coloman, » p. 578.
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> Passio Cholomanni 9.
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> Thietmar, Chronicon 7.76, p. 492.
- <sup>xxxviii</sup> Passio Cholomanni 11.
- <sup>xxxix</sup> On the geopolitical background: Stefan Weinfurter, “Kaiser Heinrich II. und Boleslaw Chrobry, Herrschaft mit ähnlichen Konzepten”, Questiones Medii Aevi Novae 9 (2004), pp. 5-25; Brunner, Herzogtümer und Marken; Dubski, “Grundherrschaft und Christianisierung”, pp. 197-203.
- <sup>xl</sup> Brunner, Herzogtümer und Marken, p. 179; Dubski, “Grundherrschaft und Christianisierung,” p. 201.
- <sup>xli</sup> Thietmar, Chronicon 7.19, p. 319.
- <sup>xlii</sup> See Thietmar, Chronicon 8.18. Bohemia and Moravia remained under Polish rule up to 1018 and 1029 respectively (Dubski, “Grundherrschaft und Christianisierung,” p. 200).
- <sup>xliii</sup> Thietmar, Chronicon 7.61, p. 351. In both cases Thietmar undoubtedly exaggerates the numbers of casualties perhaps to laud his kinsman. See Scheibelreiter, Die Babenberger, p. 95.
- <sup>xliv</sup> Thietmar, Chronicon, 8.18.
- <sup>xlv</sup> Scheibelreiter, Die Babenberger, p. 94.

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<sup>xlvi</sup> Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Babenberger in Österreich, no. 556, ed.

Heinrich Fichtenau (Vienna, 1997), pp. 7-8; Scheibelreiter, Die Babenberger, pp. 94-

96. On the political background to this charter, see Philipp Hansy, “Frühe

Babenberger” (Mag. Phil. diss., University of Vienna, 2011), pp. 46-47.

<sup>xlvii</sup> Hansy, Frühe Babenberger, p. 46.

<sup>xlviii</sup> Scheibelreiter, Die Babenberger, pp. 94-96; Brunner, Herzogtümer und Marken,

p. 179. On “grey zones”, see Herwig Wolfram, Grenzen und Räume: Geschichte

Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung (Vienna, 1995), p. 64.

<sup>xliv</sup> See Bozóky, La Politique des reliques, pp. 178-186.

<sup>l</sup> Karl Lechner, Die Babenberger: Markgrafen und Herzoge von Österreich, 976-1246

(Vienna, 1976), p. 64. Eleven members of the early Babenbergs were buried in Melk,

although it is odd that the Annals of Melk do not record Margrave Henry’s death or

place of burial. On the burials, see Johann Jungwirth, “Die Identifizierung der in Melk

beigesetzten Mitglieder der Markgrafenfamilie der Babenberger,” in Burgen- und

Siedlungsarchäologie des Mittelalters, Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen

Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte 5 (Vienna, 1971), pp. 57-60. See

also Gerhard Floßmann, “Melk und die Babenberger,” in 1000 Jahre Babenberger in

Österreich (Vienna, 1976), pp. 240-43.

<sup>li</sup> Floridus Röhrig, Der Babenberger Stammbaum im Stift Klosterneuburg (Vienna,

1977); Michael Scheibelreiter, “Der Babenberger-Stammbaum aus Klosterneuburg,”

in L’héraldique régionale: actes du XIIe colloque international d’héraldique, (Geneva,

2005), p. 207-219.

<sup>lii</sup> Hansy, Frühe Babenberger, p. 59; Erich Zöllner, Geschichte Österreichs: Von der

Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart (Vienna, 1990), p. 64.

<sup>liii</sup> Thietmar, Chronicon 4.21, pp. 166-67.

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<sup>liv</sup> Thietmar, Chronicon 7.14, pp. 316-17.

<sup>lv</sup> See Helmut Schulze, “Der Würzburger Dom und sein Bereich als Grablege,“ Würzburger Diözesan-Geschichtsblätter 40 (1978), pp. 5-42, at pp. 18-19, 20-21.

<sup>lvi</sup> On the origins of the Austrian Babenbergs and the debate concerning their origins, see Scheibelreiter, Die Babenberger, pp. 79-89; Lechner, Die Babenberger, pp. 39-45; Heide Dienst, “Die Dynastie der Babenberger und ihre Anfänge in Österreich,“ in Das babenbergische Österreich (976-1246), ed. Erich Zöllner (Vienna, 1978), pp. 18-37, esp. pp. 18-24; Brunner, Herzogtümer und Marken, pp. 82-84.

<sup>lvii</sup> Otto of Freising, Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus 6.15. ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH, SS Rer. Ger. in usum scholarum separatim editi 45, (Hannover and Leipzig, 1912), p. 275. See also the account of the Babenberg/ Conradine feud and its culmination in Regino of Prüm’s contemporary chronicle: Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensis, sa 902 and 906, ed. Frederick Kurze, MGH, SS Rer. Ger. in usum scholarum separatim editi 50 (Hanover, 1890), pp. 149, 150-153. For an English translation and commentary: History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg, ed. and trans. Simon MacLean (Manchester, 2009). On the Babenberg/ Conradine feud, see also Matthias Becher, Rex, Dux und Gens. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des sächsischen Herzogtums im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert (Husum, 1996), pp. 173-81; Matthew Innes, State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: the Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000 (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 230-31.

<sup>lviii</sup> This led to the “breaking of Babenberger power in central Germany in 906” according to Timothy Reuter, Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c.800-1056 (London, 1991), p. 131.

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<sup>lix</sup> Otto of Freising, Chronica 6.15. See also Karl Brunner, Leopold, der Heilige: Ein Portrait aus dem Frühling des Mittelalters (Vienna, 2009), p. 50. The Adalbertlied is no longer extant although it was mentioned by Ekkehard IV of St. Gall in the mid eleventh century: “Sed astutia hominis in falsam regis gratiam suasi, qualiter Adalpert, fraude eius de urbe Pabinberch detractus, capite sit plexus [...] quoniam vulgo concinnatur et canitur, scribere supersedeo.” Casuum S. Galli Continuatio I 11, ed. I. von Arx, MGH, SS 2 (Hanover, 1829), p. 83. See also Markus Diebold, Das Sagelied: die aktuelle deutsche Heldendichtung der Nachvölkerwanderungszeit (Bern, 1974), pp. 27-28.

<sup>lx</sup> For the political background, see Reuter, Germany in the Early Middle Ages, pp. 175-76.

<sup>lxi</sup> Herwig Wolfram, “Bavaria in the tenth and early eleventh centuries,” in The New Cambridge Medieval History III, c.900-c.1024, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 305-6.

<sup>lxii</sup> Brunner, Herzogtümer und Marken, pp. 82-84.

<sup>lxiii</sup> Scheibelreiter, Die Babenberger, pp. 72-73.

<sup>lxiv</sup> On theories as to who this Gizo or Sizo was, see Scheibelreiter, Die Babenberger, p. 74.

<sup>lxv</sup> Breve Chronicon, p. 70. On early Babenberg centres of power, see Leopold Auer, “Frühe Babenbergerpfalzen in Österreich,” Unsere Heimat 44 (1973), pp. 165-169.

<sup>lxvi</sup> This has been questioned by both Wilhelm Wattenbach, the editor of the Breve Chronicon (p. 70, n. 4), and by Karl Lechner who argues that it was not a foundation of canons but a proprietary church of the monastery of Eichstätt that had come under the control of the margrave. Meginaud, Bishop of Eichstätt, who was the bishop involved in the translation of the relics of Coloman to St. Peter’s church in Melk, was

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a relation of Margrave Henry I and a blood relative of Emperor Henry II.

Megingaud's role in the translation would seem to confirm Lechner's view: Die Babenberger, p. 63 and p. 319, n. 18.

<sup>lxvii</sup> Bozóky, La Politique des reliques, p. 165-169.

<sup>lxviii</sup> On the establishment of parochial and monastic structures in the March, see Lechner, Die Babenberger, pp. 98-105. On the expansion of the Eastern March under the Babenbergs, see Karl Gutkas, Die Babenberger in Österreich (St. Pölten, 1976), pp. 5-17; Karl Gutkas, "Die innere Entwicklung der babenbergischen Länder," in Das babenbergische Österreich (976-1246), ed. Erich Zöllner (Vienna, 1978), pp. 69-84.

<sup>lxix</sup> Bozóky, La Politique des reliques, p. 72.

<sup>lxx</sup> Miracula S. Adalberti martiris 8, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH, SS 4 (Hanover, 1841), p. 615.

<sup>lxxi</sup> Bozóky, « La légende de saint Coloman, » p. 578-579.

<sup>lxxii</sup> Smith, "Rulers and Relics," p. 76.

<sup>lxxiii</sup> On the concept of "Hiberno-ethnosanctity", see Alexander O'Hara, "Constructing A Saint: The Legend of St Sunniva in Twelfth-Century Norway," Viking and Medieval Scandinavia 5 (2009), pp. 105-121, at p. 114. On the hagiography of exotic Irish saints, see David N. Dumville, "St Cathróe of Metz and the Hagiography of Exoticism," in Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars, ed. John Carey, Máire Herbert, and Pádraig Ó Riain (Dublin, 2001), pp. 172-88. On cases of "Hibernicised" saints and the phenomenon of ascribing Irish origins to saints during the Middle Ages, see Louis Gougaud, "Les Surnuméraires de l'émigration scottique (Vie-VIIIe siècles)," Revue Bénédictine 43 (1931), pp. 296-302; Margit Koch, Sant Fridolin und Sein Biograph Balther: Irische Heilige in der Literarischen Darstellung des Mittelalters (Zurich, 1959); Dorothea Walz, Auf Spuren der Meister: Die Vita des

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heiligen Magnus von Füssen (Sigmaringen, 1989); Thomas Owen Clancy, “Magpie Hagiography in Twelfth-Century Scotland: The Case of Libellus de nativitate Sancti Cuthberti,” in Celtic Hagiography and Saints’ Cults, ed. Jane Cartwright (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 216-231; Robert Bartlett, “Cults of Irish, Scottish, and Welsh Saints in Twelfth-Century England,” in Britain and Ireland, 900-1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change, ed. Brendan Smith (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 67-86 (who discusses examples from Angevin England including St. Modwenna and St. Bega).

<sup>lxxiv</sup> On the importance of the cult of St. Kilian in Franconia, see the contributions in Kilian: Mönch aus Irland, aller Franken Patron, ed. Johannes Erichsen and Evamaria Brockhoff (Munich, 1989).

<sup>lxxv</sup> Passio Kiliani martyris Wirziburgensis 2, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH, SS. Rer. Mer. 5 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1910), p. 723, n. 1.

<sup>lxxvi</sup> Passio Cholomanni 13.

<sup>lxxvii</sup> Discussed by Bozóky, « La légende de saint Coloman, » p. 585-586.

<sup>lxxviii</sup> A surviving head reliquary from the second half of the thirteenth century, now in Stift Melk, was originally kept in a church in Székesfehérvár in Hungary, where St. Stephen was buried, and contained part of the relics of St. Coloman which the Hungarians kept from the translation in the eleventh century. See Annales Mellicenses, sa 1517, p. 530; Bozóky, « La légende de saint Coloman, » p. 586.

<sup>lxxix</sup> Coloman the Learned had, however, been a bishop before ascending to the throne. On the cult of St. Coloman in Hungary and in relation to King Coloman the Learned, see Terézia Kerny, “Szent Kálmán és Könyves Kálmán kultuszáról,” Ars Hungarica 29 (2001), pp. 9-32. See also more generally Z.J. Kostolnyik, “The Church and the Hungarian Court under Coloman the Learned,” East European Quarterly 18 (1984),

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pp. 129-41; Z.J. Kostolnyik, From Coloman the Learned to Bela III (1095-1196):

Hungarian Domestic Policies and their Impact on Foreign Affairs (New York, 1987).

<sup>lxxx</sup> On the later veneration and cult of St. Coloman in Austria, see Niederkorn-Bruck, Der heilige Koloman; eadem, Koloman 1012-2012 with gazetteer and detailed map of dedication sites.

<sup>lxxx</sup><sup>i</sup> Karl Lechner, “Die Anfänge des Stiftes Melk und des St. Koloman-Kultes,” Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich N.F. 29 (1944-1948), pp. 47-81.

<sup>lxxx</sup><sup>ii</sup> Annales Mellicenses, p. 504, n. 63.

<sup>lxxx</sup><sup>iii</sup> Ibid., p. 502.

<sup>lxxx</sup><sup>iv</sup> Annales Mellicenses, p. 504.

<sup>lxxx</sup><sup>v</sup> Niederkorn-Bruck, Der heilige Koloman, p. 26. Lechner, “Die Anfänge des Stiftes Melk,” p. 57.

<sup>lxxx</sup><sup>vi</sup> Ludwig Bieler in Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilisation, ed. R.J. Hayes, 11 vols. (Boston, 1965), 1:638-40.

<sup>lxxx</sup><sup>vii</sup> Niederkorn-Bruck, Der heilige Koloman, pp. 26-27.

<sup>lxxx</sup><sup>viii</sup> Contra Niederkorn-Bruck, Der heilige Koloman, pp. 67-68.

<sup>lxxx</sup><sup>ix</sup> Passio S. Cholomanni, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 4 (Hannover, 1841), pp. 674–78; Jacob Bueus (ed.), Acta Sanctorum, Octobris VI (Paris and Rome, 1868), pp. 357-62; Meta Niederkorn-Bruck (ed.), Der heilige Koloman, pp. 67–78.

<sup>xc</sup> Niederkorn-Bruck, Der heilige Koloman, pp. 68-69.

<sup>xc</sup><sup>i</sup> On the MLA collection, see now Diarmuid Ó Riain, “The Magnum Legendarium Austriacum: A New Investigation into One of Medieval Europe’s Richest Hagiographical Collections,” forthcoming in Analecta Bollandiana, with further references. My sincere thanks to Diarmuid Ó Riain for suggesting I incorporate the



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Melk and Zwettl MLA witnesses into my edition and for sending me digital copies of the relevant sections.

<sup>xcii</sup> Niderkorn-Bruck, Der heilige Koloman, p. 69.

<sup>xciii</sup> Ibid. p. 70

<sup>xciv</sup> Ibid. p. 67, n. 309.

<sup>xcv</sup> A note on the translation: in attempting to render an accurate English translation of the text I have chosen to follow a literal rendering of the Latin.

<sup>xcvi</sup> hic accepturos W

<sup>xcvii</sup> exquisiuit Z

<sup>xcviii</sup> repromisit Z, M2

<sup>xcix</sup> om. L 2

<sup>c</sup> comendat Z, M2

<sup>ci</sup> hystoria A 2, Z

<sup>cii</sup> semper per A 2

<sup>ciii</sup> sterili M, M2

<sup>civ</sup> praeponeretur M, M2

<sup>cv</sup> om. S, L 2, M, M2, Z

<sup>cvi</sup> solatium T

<sup>cvi</sup> peregrinis W, peregrinis praesidium pacis L 2, M, M2, Z

<sup>cviii</sup> Colomannum M

<sup>cix</sup> Scottice Z

<sup>cx</sup> Ierusalem terrene Z

<sup>cx</sup> Hierusalem S, T, W, L 2

<sup>cxii</sup> om. M

<sup>cxiii</sup> cum aliis currens quibus eadem mens erat A 2, Z, M2

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- cxiv Bohemia M, M2
- cxv Harum nationes M, Z, M2
- cxvi nationes regionum Norice A 2
- cxvii telluris M, Z, M2
- cxviii Hac igitur T
- cxix *om.* A 2, M, Z, M2
- cxx itineris sui A 2, M2; itionis sue Z
- cxxi numquam W
- cxvii Cohlomannus T Colomannus M
- cxviii dissolui Z
- cxviiii *om.* A 2
- cxviiii limam et iam qua ossa eius S, T; serram etiam qua crura eius W, M, M2, Z
- cxviiii uidentes A 2
- cxviiii per ignem A 2
- cxviiii excoctam tandem M, M2, Z
- cxviiii dilaniatis auium et bestiarum et A 2
- cxviiii corpus A 2, S, T, W
- cxviiii *om.* T, L 2, M, M2, Z
- cxviiii morbi Z
- cxviiii anxiato L 2
- cxviiii uidelicet hominis A 2, M, Z, M2; illius hominis T
- cxviiii expergefactus A 2, T, W, L 2, Z; experrectus A 1, S, L 1
- cxviiii medicinam precepit, misso festinanter nuncio A 2, T, W
- cxviiii praedicta sibi M, M2
- cxviiii *om.* A 2, W

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- cxxxix *om.* A 2, W  
 cxl in corpore A 2, W  
 cxli perferens M  
 cxlii est A 2, S, T, W  
 cxliii ennarauit M  
 cxliv illitus A 2, T, W  
 cxlv uiribus fortiter M, Z, M2  
 cxlvi *om.* A 2, T, W  
 cxlvii et M  
 cxlviii cuius per M, Z, M2  
 cxlix corpus erat M, Z, M2  
 cl uero A 2, T  
 cli abscindende M  
 clii in eodem comitatu M, Z, M2  
 cliii admirabantur M, Z, M2  
 cliv uulneris apparere in corpore pendentis A 2, W  
 clv reintegrata M  
 clvi posset M  
 clvii *om.* A 2, W  
 clviii quia L 2  
 clix corpore A 2, W  
 clx decurrat M  
 clxi *om.* M  
 clxii Rumaldus autem M, Z, M2  
 clxiii illo S, T

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clxiv	ac	<u>A 2, S, W</u>	
clxv	uero	<u>A 2, W</u>	
clxvi	in qua noua fabricata fuit ecclesia		<u>A 2, W</u>
clxvii	<i>add.</i> igitur	<u>A 2, M, Z, M2</u>	
clxviii	littorum curua itinera deuagatus		<u>A 2, L 1, W</u>
clxix	inundantis	<u>S</u>	
clxx	colomanni	<u>M</u>	
clxxi	cadauer requieuit	<u>A 2, W</u>	
clxxii	<i>om.</i> praeualentibus aquis	<u>A 2, W</u>	
clxxiii	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, W</u>	
clxxiv	nostris quoque	<u>M, Z, M2</u>	
clxxv	temporibus	<u>A 2, W</u> ; seculis sunt	<u>T</u>
clxxvi	etenim undique	<u>M, M2</u>	
clxxvii	quasi muri	<u>M, Z, M2</u>	
clxxviii	<i>om.</i> fluctibus ... circumdatus		<u>A 2, W</u>
clxxix	repulit inopia	<u>A 2, W</u>	
clxxx	qui aquarum	<u>M, M2</u>	
clxxxi	compulsus	<u>A 2, W</u>	
clxxxii	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, L 1, W</u>	
clxxxiii	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, W</u>	
clxxxiv	ipsam	<u>M, Z, M2</u>	
clxxxv	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, S, T, W</u>	
clxxxvi	arreptis	<u>M</u>	
clxxxvii	properabant	<u>A 2, W</u>	
clxxxviii	admirati	<u>M, Z, M2</u>	

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clxxxix	<i>om.</i>	<u>T</u>	
exc	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, T, W</u>	
exc <sup>i</sup>	magna	<u>A 2, T, W</u>	
exc <sup>ii</sup>	Huius tam	<u>M, Z</u>	
exc <sup>iii</sup>	tam stupendi	<u>A 2, W</u>	
exc <sup>iv</sup>	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, W</u> ; illata <u>Z</u>	
exc <sup>v</sup>	in suam ciuitatem	<u>M, Z, M2</u>	
exc <sup>vi</sup>	<i>om.</i>	<u>Z, M2</u>	
exc <sup>vii</sup>	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, W</u>	
exc <sup>viii</sup>	ad corpus	<u>T</u>	
exc <sup>ix</sup>	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, W</u>	
cc	miri et	<u>M</u>	
cc <sup>i</sup>	tanti odoris occurrit eis fragrantia		<u>A 2, W</u>
cc <sup>ii</sup>	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, W</u>	
cc <sup>iii</sup>	sanctum corpus	<u>A 2, W</u>	
cc <sup>iv</sup>	ab omni	<u>M, Z, M2</u>	
cc <sup>v</sup>	ab omni corruptione illesum		<u>A 2, W</u>
cc <sup>vi</sup>	Deum	<u>A 2, W</u>	
cc <sup>vii</sup>	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, W</u>	
cc <sup>viii</sup>	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, S, W, L 2</u>	
cc <sup>ix</sup>	palliisque	<u>M, Z, M2</u>	
cc <sup>x</sup>	praeparatis	<u>M, Z, M2</u>	
cc <sup>xi</sup>	<i>om.</i>	<u>A 2, W</u>	
cc <sup>xii</sup>	noctem illam in	<u>A 2, S, T, W</u> ; illa noctem	<u>Z, M2</u>
cc <sup>xiii</sup>	obprimeret	<u>Z</u>	

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- ccxiv martiris A 2, W
- ccxv pollice M, Z, M2
- ccxvi *om.* A 2, S, T, W
- ccxvii *om. singulorum ... priuatus* M, M2, Z
- ccxviii auxilium L 2
- ccxix unumquodque A 2, S, T, W
- ccxx proprio officio tam pleniter innitebatur M, M2, Z
- ccxxi ac Deum M, M2, Z
- ccxxii *om.* fortiter ... graderetur A 2, S, W
- ccxxiii deferebant reliquias M, M2, Z
- ccxxiv eius A 1, S ] om. A 2, T, W, L 1, L 2
- ccxxv colomannum M
- ccxxvi per cuius merita fiebant talia A 2, S, W
- ccxxvii Medelikcham S; Medelecham T
- ccxxviii *om.* M, M2, Z
- ccxxix *om.* M
- ccxxx australi in abside M, M2, Z
- ccxxxi *om.* Ubi ... Amen A 2, W
- ccxxxii Miracula de eodem Sancto Colomanno T; *om.* MSS
- ccxxxiii *om.* T, Z
- ccxxxiv quotidie M, M2
- ccxxxv *om.* L 1, T
- ccxxxvi faciem suam M, M2
- ccxxxvii audiens Z
- ccxxxviii in finem Z

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ccxxxix	<i>om.</i>	cuius ... seruitio	<u>L 1</u>
ccxl	Popo	<u>M</u>	
ccxli	<i>add.</i>	nostri marchionis	<u>T</u>
ccxlii	Hierosolyma	<u>A 2, S, W</u> ; Ierosoliam	<u>M</u>
ccxliii	<i>om.</i>	<u>T, L 2, Z</u>	
ccxliv	<i>add.</i>	est	<u>L 2</u>
ccxlv	quodque	<u>L 2</u>	
ccxlvi	<i>om.</i>	<u>T</u>	
ccxlvii	formidaret	<u>Z</u>	
ccxlviii	<i>om.</i>	<u>L 2</u>	
ccxlix	<i>ut uidit</i>	<u>L 2</u>	
cccl	<i>om.</i>	<u>Z</u>	
cccli	<i>om.</i>	<u>Z</u>	
ccclii	<i>om.</i>	<u>M</u>	
cccliii	ac	<u>L 2, T, M, Z</u>	
cccliv	diuina est	<u>Z</u>	
ccclv	Ludewicus	<u>T</u> ; Ludiwicus	<u>Z</u>
ccclvi	cum	<u>Z</u>	
ccclvii	Colomanni	<u>M</u>	
ccclviii	Colomanno	<u>M</u>	
ccclix	proferenda	<u>Z</u>	
ccclx	<i>om.</i>	<u>L 2, Z</u>	
ccclxi	Colomanni	<u>M</u>	
ccclxii	<i>om.</i>	<u>Z</u>	
ccclxiii	iecto	<u>Z</u>	

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- cclxiv nil M
- cclxv Colomanne M
- cclxvi mestitia M, M2
- cclxvii imperatorem M
- cclxviii Colomannum M
- cclxix Ruddolfo M
- cclxx om. L 2, Z
- cclxxi om. L 2
- cclxxii nomini L 1
- cclxxiii om. M
- cclxxiv beati colomanni martiris sui operata est M
- cclxxv sunt L 2
- cclxxvi quottidie M
- cclxxvii Henry II (Duke of Bavaria 995; Emperor 1002-24). The last Emperor of the Ottonian dynasty and later canonized as Saint Henry.
- cclxxviii Emperor 996–1002.
- cclxxix The German form of the common Irish name Colmán.
- cclxxx Noricum was a Celtic kingdom that became a province of the Roman Empire in 16 BC. It roughly corresponded to the greater part of modern Styria and Carinthia, Austria west of Vienna, Salzburg, a part of Bavaria, and a part of Slovenia. In the Early Middle Ages it came to refer to Bavaria and in the twelfth century to the margravate of Austria. See Herwig Wolfram, Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich: Die Conversio Bagoarium et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit (Vienna, 1995), pp. 71-73.
- cclxxxi 2 Tim. 2:5.



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<sup>cclxxxii</sup> Cf. Rev. 3:18; Prov. 27:21.

<sup>cclxxxiii</sup> Psalm 91:13.

<sup>cclxxxiv</sup> Augia is a water meadow. It a common feature found in German place-names (au in German), such as Reichenau ('Augia Dives'), Lindau, Mainau. Here it refers to the Stockerauer Au – a flat, forested water meadow criss-crossed with streams that lies between the Danube and the town. Burg Greifenstein lies on the opposite bank of the Danube which marked the eastern limit of the Eastern March in the early eleventh century.

<sup>cclxxxv</sup> Psalm 48:8; John 1:1.

<sup>cclxxxvi</sup> Psalm 71:18.

<sup>cclxxxvii</sup> Henry I of Austria (Margrave 994–1018) also known as Henry the Strong.

<sup>cclxxxviii</sup> The distance from Stockerau to Melk following an overland route is about 80km.

<sup>cclxxxix</sup> This is where the eleventh-century Passio concludes. The twelfth-century miracle accounts attributed to Abbot Erchenfrid of Melk continue.

<sup>ccxc</sup> Peter Orseolo was a Venetian who succeeded Stephen I as king of Hungary in 1038. He was deposed in 1041 following an uprising against him, but was restored by Emperor Henry III in 1044 and ruled for another two years.

<sup>ccxci</sup> Archbishop Poppo of Trier (1016-47), brother of Margrave Henry I. He bears the personal name associated with the elder branch of the Babenbergs known as the Popponids. He served as the provost of the cathedral at Bamberg (from which the Babenbergs took their name) before being appointed archbishop of Trier. He undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land with the monk Symeon of Trier between 1028 and 1030. This episode must have taken place therefore during the reign of Stephen I and not that of his successor Peter Orseolo.