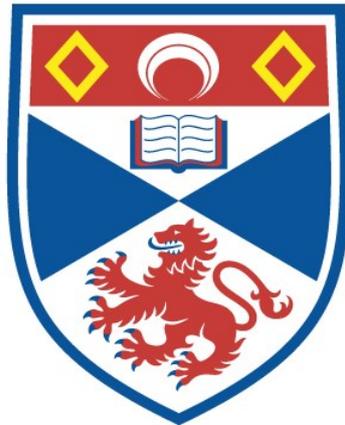


# THE *PASSIONES* OF ST. KILIAN: CULT, POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN THE CAROLINGIAN AND OTTONIAN WORLDS

Joanna Thornborough

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews



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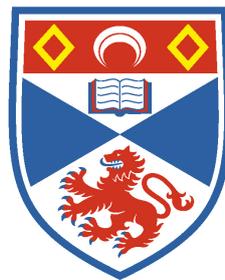
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**The *Passiones* of St. Kilian: cult, politics and society in  
the Carolingian and Ottonian worlds**

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University of  
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews

28 August 2014



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## Abstract

The subject of this thesis is the relationship between hagiography and cult in the early medieval west taken through the example of the *Passiones* of St. Kilian of Würzburg († 689) in the period from circa 700 to circa 1000 AD. Through examining a cult which developed east of the Rhine, this thesis will assess these developments taking place in a region without a strong Christian-Roman history. Thuringia produced new saints and cults in this period, yet they all operated within the overarching framework of the well-established religious phenomenon of saints' cults. In its approach, this thesis builds upon the insights of Ian Wood, James Palmer and others, in which saints' Lives are viewed as 'textual arguments' which could operate beyond cultic contexts. This is combined with the cultural context approaches advocated in geographically specific studies by the likes of Julia Smith, Thomas Head and Raymond Van Dam. By paying particular attention to the impact of updating saints' Lives this thesis provides an in depth comparison of the relatively overlooked two earliest *passiones* of St. Kilian and their place in the history of the Würzburg community. It therefore addresses the nature and function of hagiography and its relationship with the institutional memory and identity of that community. The spread of cult through texts and relics is compared with the distribution of the hagiography in order to form a picture of the relationship between these different facets of cult. The question of the way in which these *passiones* engaged with their wider political and religious contexts is also addressed in order to demonstrate the functions of hagiography outwith an immediate cultic context.

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If one of the purposes of re-writing a saints' Life was to improve upon the Latin of the original for the benefit of the contemporary audience, this has sometimes proven to have the opposite effect for the modern-day student seeking to get to the bottom of the text. The exceptional teaching, advice, and assistance of Peter Maxwell-Stuart and latterly Matthew McHaffie has been invaluable to me over the last four years as I spent many hours tackling the Latin of my chosen texts. I must also thank Sandra Peniston-Bird and Berenike Walburg for their instruction in the German language, which has allowed me to address many works of secondary scholarship which would otherwise have been impenetrable to me. I will be forever grateful to Berenike in particular for always being ready and on-hand to help me decipher a particularly taxing sentence or two in the office.

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Whilst my research has primarily been undertaken in St Andrews, I was very fortunate to spend an enjoyable and highly productive six months at the Universiteit Utrecht. I would like to thank Janneke Raaijmakers in particular for agreeing to supervise me for the duration of my stay and for her ready advice and thoughts. Whilst there may have been some teething problems with the exchange itself, I could not have been made to feel more welcome in the Department Geschiedenis en Kunstgeschiedenis and many thanks must also go to Mayke De Jong, Carine van Rhijn and Rob Meens for their advice and encouragement. I also enjoyed the company of a wonderful group of fellow postgraduates and without Erik Goosmann, Giorgia Vocino, Dorine Van Espelo and Robert Flierman my time in Utrecht would have been much less enjoyable. The exchange was hugely rewarding and motivating and I must thank them all for putting up with my British eccentricities and rather slow cycling.

This is the third degree which I have undertaken at the University of St Andrews and for the last ten years the Department of Mediaeval History has been my home away from home and I couldn't wish for a better place in which to have been a 'lifer'. Over the course of my studies here I have benefitted from the wealth of knowledge and expertise of almost every member of staff and I should like to thank them all for providing such stimulating lectures and tutorials over the years. I should also like to single out Robert Bartlett, as it was his 'Cults of Saints' special subject course which fired my interest in hagiography and the cults of saints and set me on the course which my research has subsequently taken. Like everyone here I also owe a debt of gratitude to the department's secretaries Audrey Wishart and Dorothy Christie for their help and assistance, without which I do not think the department could function.

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## Abbreviations

AASS	Acta Sanctorum (Brussels, 1643-1940)
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i>
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i>
EME	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Capit.	Capitularia regnum Francorum (2 vols; Hannover, 1883-1897)
Conc.	Concilia aevi Karolini (2 vols; Hannover and Leipzig, 1906-1908)
DD Karl I	Diplomata: Pippin, Karlomann und Karl der Große (Hannover, 1906)
DD O I	Diplomata: Otto I (Hannover 1879-1884)
EKa.	Epistolae Karolina aevi (6 vols; Berlin, 1892-1939)
Epp.	Epistolae in quarto (8 vols; Berlin, 1887-1939)
Epp. sel	Epistolae selecta in usum scholarum (5 vols; Berlin and Weimar, 1916-1952)
Poet. Lat. Carol.	Poetae Latini aevi Carolini (4 vols; Berlin, 1881-1923)
SRG	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum (74 vols; Hannover and Leipzig, 1841-2002)
SRG N.S.	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Nova Series (24 vols; Berlin, Hannover, Munich, Weimar and Zurich, 1922-2009)
SRM	Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum (7 vols; Hannover and Leipzig, 1884-1951)
SS	Scriptores (34 vols; Hannover, 1826-1980)

PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , series ed, by Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1844-65)
TRW	The Transformation of the Roman World, series ed, by Ian Wood (Leiden, 1997- )
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
HE	Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , ed, and translated by Bertram Colgrave and R.B. Mynors in, <i>Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> (Oxford, 1969)
<i>Passio maior</i>	Stephan of Novara, <i>Passio maior</i> , ed, Franz Emmerich, in <i>Der heilige Kilian: Regionarbischof und Martyrer</i> (Würzburg, 1886), 11-25
<i>Passio minor</i>	Anonymous, <i>Passio Kiliani martyris Würzburgensis</i> , ed, Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hannover, 1910), 711-728
<i>Soldiers</i>	Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head, eds, <i>Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages</i> (London, 1995)
<i>Vita Bonifatii</i>	Willibald, <i>Vita Bonifatii</i> , ed, Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRG 57 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1905)
<i>Vita antiquior Burchardi</i>	Stephan of Novara, <i>Vita antiquior Burchardi episcopi</i> , in <i>Die Lebensbeschreibungen Bischof Burchards von Würzburg: Vita antiquior - Vita posterior - Vita metrica</i> , ed, Desirée Barlava, MGH SRG 76 (Hannover, 2005), 105-115
<i>Vita posterior Burchardi</i>	Stephan of Novara, <i>Vita antiquior Burchardi episcopi</i> , in <i>Die Lebensbeschreibungen Bischof Burchards von Würzburg: Vita antiquior - Vita posterior - Vita metrica</i> , ed, Desirée Barlava, MGH SRG 76 (Hannover, 2005), 119-200

## Note

All translations are my own unless stated otherwise. Where Latin is used, it will be given in italics throughout.

Likewise, any transcriptions which appear are my own work, unless stated otherwise.

Use of parentheses and square brackets in quotations and footnotes are my own editorial insertions, unless stated otherwise.

For references from texts, I have kept to the editorial conventions of the editions. As a result, any variations in use of 'v' and 'u' in the Latin, for example, are in keeping with the editions.

## Introduction

“There was once a man of the venerable life named Killena, whom the Scottish land brought forth in greatness”.<sup>1</sup> So begins the earliest version of the Life of St Kilian († 689). We are told that, along with eleven companions, only four of whom are named, Kilian set out from Ireland bound for the Continent and, by some unknown route, reached Würzburg.<sup>2</sup> Ruled at that time by a certain Gozbert, Würzburg itself lived according to unnamed ‘pagan customs’.<sup>3</sup> Seeing this, these twelve apostle figures travelled south to Rome in order to seek a licence to preach from Pope Conon († 687).<sup>4</sup>

At this point, the company split and only Colonatus and Totnan continued back to Würzburg with Kilian, where, upon their return, Kilian persuaded Duke Gozbert to be baptised.<sup>5</sup> Although Gozbert’s conversion was undoubtedly a positive result, the matter did not sit so well with the duke’s wife, Geilana. We are told that she was so angered by Kilian’s insistence that Gozbert forego their marriage on the grounds that it was uncanonical that she plotted to have the saint murdered.<sup>6</sup> One night, supposedly on Geilana’s orders, the three companions were beheaded and secretly buried to hide the crime.<sup>7</sup> Divine justice, however, ensured that the killers, racked by their guilt, were unable to keep silent concerning the fate of the martyrs. Duke Gozbert called for a public test of the relative merits of the pagan and Christian faith, at which the latter naturally triumphed.<sup>8</sup>

Those parties perceived as being guilty of inflicting the martyrdom were held to account by divine retribution and punished with madness and death; Geilana was possessed, Gozbert was killed by his own servants, and their son Heden was ejected from the

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<sup>1</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 1, p. 722: “Fuit vir vitae venerabilis nomine Killena, quem Scottica tellus de magno edidit genere.”

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, chs. 2-3, pp. 722-723. The named companions are Colonatus, Gallon, a priest named Arnual and a Deacon named Totnan. In the *Passio maior Kiliani*, two of these are mentioned, but rendered as Colomanno, who we are told is a presbyter, and Totmanno, who is still referred to as a deacon, *Passio maior*, ch. 6, p. 14, see also *Passio minor*, p. 723, § 1&2. There is also a clear apostolic reference made here by the number of twelve companions.

<sup>3</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 3, p. 723.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, chs. 4-5, pp. 723-724. However, we are told that, when they set off for Rome, they were expecting to see Pope John V († August 686), but on their arrival, they instead found Conon.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, chs. 6-7, pp. 724-5. The fate of the other nine companions who set out from Ireland with Kilian is not mentioned.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, chs. 8-9, p. 725.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 10, pp. 725-726.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 13, p.727.

kingdom by his own people.<sup>9</sup> Finally, we are told that some years later, with miracles having occurred at the site of the saints' burial, their bodies were raised to "an honourable burial mound" by Bishop Burchard († 753), alongside Archbishop Boniface († 754), with the counsel and command of Pope Zacharias († 752), and with King Pippin reigning (Pippin the Short, † 768).<sup>10</sup> This then, in essence, is the story of St. Kilian as it was transmitted in the *Passio minor Kiliani*, the earliest hagiographical account we have for St. Kilian.

Not only does this serve as the first hagiographical record of the saint's Life, but it remains the first testimony to St. Kilian in any surviving source. There is no corroborating evidence for his existence as a real, historical figure in the sense that we have evidence for other saintly figures such as St. Boniface or St. Willibrord. As such it has become the accepted scholarly opinion that Kilian existed only as a saint who came into being with the translation of his 'remains' at Würzburg in 752 and with the production of his *Passio* towards the end of the eighth century.<sup>11</sup> This thesis will not deviate from this position, but will consider St. Kilian, his hagiography, and his cult in light of his *inventio*.

What follows will investigate the evolution of ideas of hagiography and the cults of saints in the early medieval period, from circa 700-1000 AD. This thesis will therefore address a number of important questions throughout its course: the nature and function of hagiography; the way in which Würzburg's institutional memory and identity formed and its relationship with the hagiography; and also the manner in which the hagiographical productions engaged with their wider political and religious contexts, beyond the bounds of cult. This date range covers not only the Carolingian period, but also its collapse in the late ninth century and the rise of the Ottonian Empire in the tenth century. This permits analysis of continuity and change in the cult and its hagiography whilst cutting across arbitrarily imposed dynastic periodisation.

It should be noted here that the term 'cults of saints' will be used in its plural form throughout, something which is at odds with the usage of highly influential works of scholarship, notably Peter Brown's *The Cult of the Saints*.<sup>12</sup> Whilst this work remains one of

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<sup>9</sup> *Passio minor*, chs. 13-14, p. 727.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 15, p. 728.

<sup>11</sup> Advocates of this position include Ian Wood and Paul Fouracre. See Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 160-162; Paul Fouracre, 'Review: Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 600-900', *EME* 20.4 (2012), 485-487, at p. 486.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981); for discussion of the influence and legacy of Peter Brown's work, see James Howard-Johnston and Paul Anthony Hayward, eds, *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999).

the most influential volumes on this phenomenon, Brown's use of 'cult' in the singular reflects his presentation of the cults of saints as a homogenous phenomenon, without variances or peculiarities across the wider Christian world.<sup>13</sup> The concept of a unified Western Europe with common preoccupations, focused on a Mediterranean centre, as influenced by works of Henri Pirenne and Fernand Braudel, is one which Brown himself now accepts as no longer tenable given the wealth of research which has been undertaken since the first publication of his work *The Rise of Western Christendom*.<sup>14</sup> Whilst there is an overarching idea of 'the Cult of Saints' for the late Antique and early medieval periods, within this there exists a multiplicity of forms varying between types of saint, as well as within the cult offered to a single saint in different locations. As a result, it is more useful to speak of the 'cults' of saints. This may seem a small point, but it has widespread implications for our understanding of the diversity which makes this aspect of medieval history so vibrant. As Julia Smith has put it: "[...] it is misplaced to think in terms of the *cult* of saints. Cults took plural forms, even for an individual saint: a falsely homogenized, static account of this multifaceted phenomenon is unhelpful."<sup>15</sup>

The range and vibrancy of the cults of saints in the early medieval period, as outlined here by Julia Smith, is a key influence on the approach that this thesis adopts towards hagiography and its functions. Particular attention will be paid to the impact of the process of updating saint's Lives and the effect which this had on the practices of cult and vice versa. The re-writing of *vitae* and *passiones* has been addressed by the likes of Monique Goulet's critical-reading approach and also by Robert Bartlett in his study of the Lives of Gerald of Wales, but there is still much scope for the study of the hagiographical dossiers of individuals or groups of saints.<sup>16</sup> *Vitae* were often re-cast and re-written and, "when meaning changes with context, the difference between author and copyist disappears; for copying, excerpting and rearranging old texts is just as significant as composing new ones"<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>14</sup> Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, AD 200-1000* (Oxford, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2003), pp. 9-11. Brown cites both Pirenne and Braudel as influences.

<sup>15</sup> Julia M.H. Smith, 'Saints and their Cults', in Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia M.H. Smith, eds, *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 3: Early Medieval Christianities, c.600-c.1100* (Cambridge, 2008), 581-605, at p. 583.

<sup>16</sup> Monique Goulet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques: essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIIIe-XIIIe s.)* (Turnhout, 2005); Robert Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales', *Speculum* 58.3 (1993), 598-613; also Richard Sowerby, 'The Lives of St. Samson: Rewriting the Ambitions of an Early Medieval Cult', *Francia* 38 (2011), 1-31.

<sup>17</sup> Patrick J. Geary, 'Saints, Scholars and Society: the Elusive Goal', in Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1994), 9-29, at p. 21.

These issues will be explored through the example of the martyr St. Kilian of Würzburg and the two earliest hagiographical testimonies to his cult: the *Passio minor Kiliani* and the *Passio maior Kiliani*, produced in the late eighth- and mid tenth-centuries respectively. Debates surrounding the dating of the *Passio minor* will be discussed in the second chapter of this thesis. The authorship and dating of the *Passio maior Kiliani* is more certain, however. Through palaeographical analysis of the earliest surviving manuscript evidence for the *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, Hartmut Hoffman has put forward a compelling argument for the shared authorship of this text and the *Passio maior Kiliani*.<sup>18</sup> Hoffman suggested that a tenth-century manuscript containing both the *Vita antiquior Burchardi* and the *Passio minor Kiliani*, now Dublin, National Library 19375, was not produced in either Regensburg or Fulda, as had been previously thought, but was instead a product of the Würzburg *scriptorium*.<sup>19</sup> Further to this he highlighted a short verse, appended to the end of the *Passio maior Kiliani*, and, as suggested by the poem itself and by the hand, written by an Italian.<sup>20</sup> Comparing this hand with other known examples, he names the Italian of the poem as Stephan of Novara.<sup>21</sup>

Whilst we cannot be sure precisely when Stephan arrived in Würzburg, Otto Meyer has suggested that he was brought or sent there by Otto I around the year 952, following the king's Italian expedition.<sup>22</sup> Further evidence for Otto's involvement comes from Stephan himself, in a couplet written after his return to Novara some time after 970, in which he states that he had been called to Würzburg by 'Otto, king of the Franks'.<sup>23</sup> It seems that Stephan left Würzburg some time shortly after the 16<sup>th</sup> August 970, as another verse, added to a Würzburg copy of Gregory the Great's commentaries on Ezekiel book 2, has the scholar donate his books to the Würzburg community, the cathedral and St. Kilian.<sup>24</sup> Meyer has suggested that this donation was made in order to enable Stephan to 'travel light' on his return journey to Novara.<sup>25</sup> In these verses, Stephan also wrote that he had arrived at

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<sup>18</sup> Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Die ältere Burchardvita, die jüngere Kilianspassio und Stephan von Novara', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 62 (2006), 485-504.

<sup>19</sup> 'Ibid', pp. 486-489. The *Vita antiquior Burchardi* is found at pp. 1-13 and the *Passio maior Kiliani* on pp. 17-41, the two texts being separated by a sermon for All Saints on pp. 13-16.

<sup>20</sup> 'Ibid', p. 489. The poem begins "*Hic Italus [...] / This Italian [...]*".

<sup>21</sup> 'Ibid'.

<sup>22</sup> Otto Meyer, 'Der Würzburger Domschlaster Stephan von Novara und seine Gesinnungsgenossen in der geistigen Auseinandersetzung ihrer zeit', in Dieter Weber and Gerd Zimmerman, eds, *Varia Franconia Historica* 2. Mainfränkisch Studien 24/II (1981), 753-763, at p. 754.

<sup>23</sup> 'Ibid', citing the manuscript now Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare, XXX.66, fol. 1176.

<sup>24</sup> Meyer, 'Der Würzburger Domschlaster', p. 753; Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Die ältere Burchardvita', p. 489, § 16. The manuscript in question is now Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.6 and the poem appears on folio 115v, though much of it is now indecipherable.

<sup>25</sup> Meyer, 'Der Würzburger Domschlaster', p. 754.

Würzburg during the episcopate of Poppo I (941-961), which accords well with a supposed arrival date of around 950.<sup>26</sup> As a result of these factors, we can say with some confidence that both the *Vita antiquior Burchardi* and the *Passio maior Kiliani* were written by Stephan of Novara and that he produced them some time between 950 and 970.

Like many saints of the period, St. Kilian is often overshadowed by St. Boniface († 754) who has himself been described as the apostle of Germany and as ‘the greatest Englishman’.<sup>27</sup> Whilst there were, undeniably, many connections between St. Kilian and his cult and the traditions surrounding St. Boniface on the Continent, this thesis places Kilian in the foreground.<sup>28</sup> Focusing on a cult which developed east of the Rhine allows us to see the various developments and changes taking place in a region which, unlike Gaul or Italy, lacked a strong Christian-Roman history and identity. What makes the early medieval period in a region such as this such a valuable area for this kind of investigation is that there were new saints such as Kilian, and therefore new cults, developing all the time in an area which required new solutions to different problems; hagiographers and religious communities were inventing traditions rather than merely responding to them.<sup>29</sup>

Würzburg itself lies on the river Main about 150 kilometres east of Mainz, and at a hub of a major north-south route.<sup>30</sup> The site was thus conveniently connected to other religious and political centres in the region. Situated on a bend in the river and with a high spur of land jutting out over it, Würzburg would have been ideally suited as a location for an ‘outpost’ in the expansion of Christianity and the Frankish realm east of the Rhine.<sup>31</sup> The earliest record for Würzburg comes from the anonymous Ravenna Cosmography, compiled at the beginning of the eighth century. It contains an entry for a certain ‘Uburzi’, which has been identified as Würzburg.<sup>32</sup> There are also extant grants made by the Duke of

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<sup>26</sup> ‘Ibid’.

<sup>27</sup> David Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 5th edition 2003), 66-68, at p. 66; for this laudatory label see Timothy Reuter, *The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St. Boniface and the Church at Crediton* (Exeter, 1980).

<sup>28</sup> More recent works by Richard Fletcher, Ian Wood and James Palmer have included St. Kilian in their wider studies, though he remains in a supporting role throughout. See Richard Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe: From Paganism to Christianity, 371-1386 AD* (London, 1997); Wood, *The Missionary Life*; James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690-900* (Turnhout, 2009).

<sup>29</sup> Paul Fouracre, ‘Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography’, *Past and Present* 127 (1990), 3-28, at p. 8.

<sup>30</sup> John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c.936-1075* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 240 and 255.

<sup>31</sup> David Parsons, ‘Some churches of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries in southern Germany: a review of the evidence’, *EME* 8.1 (1999), 31-67; also idem, ‘Sites and Monuments of the Anglo-Saxon Mission in Central Germany’, *The Archaeological Journal* 140 (1983), 280-321.

<sup>32</sup> *Revennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, eds, M. Pinder and G. Pathy (Berlin, 1860), IV.26, p. 233, ‘Uburzis’ is at line 2; Joachim Dienemann, *Der Kult des Heiligen Kilian im 8. und 9. Jarhrhundert. Beiträge zur Geistigen und Politischen entwicklung der karolingerzeit* (Würzburg, 1955), p. 65 and § 4-5; Franz Staab, ‘Ostrogothic

Würzburg to Willibrord at Echternach which also date to the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>33</sup> The *Passio minor Kiliani* describes Würzburg as a castle in the eastern parts, which was ruled by dukes who, along with their people, had lived according to pagan customs until Kilian and his companions came to the region.<sup>34</sup> In a letter of 742 from Boniface to Pope Zacharius we learn that Würzburg had been designated as the centre of one of the three dioceses into which the archbishop of Mainz had divided Germany.<sup>35</sup> Little more than a year later, Bishop Burchard appears in a list of bishops present at synods in 742 and 743, held by Karlomann as mayor of the palace of the Eastern Franks, which had aimed at re-establishing the law of God and the service of religion which had fallen into decay under previous rulers.<sup>36</sup> This study therefore begins around the year 700 to accord with the earliest evidence for the fortification which would become the centre of St. Kilian's cult.

Whilst Würzburg and St. Kilian have received some scholarly attention in the past, there has been little sustained analysis of the early cult and hagiography. Two volumes were produced to mark the 1200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the translation in 752 and also the 1300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the martyrdom in 689.<sup>37</sup> Their studies are wide ranging, both in terms of topics and with regard to the temporal and geographical spread of St. Kilian and his cult, but because of this they are unable to furnish us with cohesive and sustained analysis. Other notable scholarly works are those of Hubert Mordek, who has assessed the sources for the political background of Würzburg's dukes and their Carolingian relations, and Alfred Wendehorst's study of the history of the bishopric.<sup>38</sup> Würzburg's extensive early medieval library has also been largely reconstructed by the brilliant palaeographers Bernhard Bischoff and Josef Hofmann.<sup>39</sup> The cult of St. Kilian was also the focus of a monograph by

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Geographers at the Court of Theoderic the Great: a study of some sources of the Anonymous Cosmography of Ravenna', *Viator* 7.7 (1976), 27-64.

<sup>33</sup> See for example *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter*, vol. I.2: *Quellenband*, ed, Camillus Wampach (Luxembourg, 1930), no. 26, pp. 63-65.

<sup>34</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 3, p. 723; see also Hubert Mordek, 'Die Hedenen als politische Kraft im Austrasischen Frankenreich', in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter, eds, *Karl Martel in seiner Zeit*. Beihefte der Francia 37 (Sigmaringen, 1994), 345-366.

<sup>35</sup> *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed, Michael Tangl, MGH Epp. sel. 1 (Berlin, 1916), no. 50, 80-86, at p. 81, see also no. 53, pp. 94-95.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, no. 56, pp. 98-102.

<sup>37</sup> *Herbipolis Jubilans: 1200 Jahre Bistum Würzburg. Festschrift zur Säkularfeier der Erhebung der Kiliansreliquien*. Würzburger Diözesangesichtsblätter (Würzburg, 1952); Johannes Erischen and Evamaria Brockhoff, eds, *Kilian: Mönch aus Irland, aller Franken Patron* (Munich, 1989); *St. Kilian: 1300 Jahre Martyrium der Frankenapostel*, Würzburger Diözesangesichtsblätter 51 (Würzburg, 1989).

<sup>38</sup> Mordek, 'Die Hedenen'; Alfred Wendehorst's works are many, but see in particular *Germania Sacra. Historisch-statistische Beschreibung der Kirche des alten Reiches. Herausgegeben vom Max-Planck Institute für Geschichte. Neue Folge 1, Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Mainz. Das Bistum Würzburg, Teil 1, Die Bischofsreihe bis 1254* (Berlin, 1962).

<sup>39</sup> Bernhard Bischoff and Josef Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani: Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1952).

Joachim Dienemann in the middle of the last century.<sup>40</sup> This remains the only substantial study of the saint, but many of Dienemann's conclusions, including his dating of the *Passio minor* and its context, are ripe for re-interpretation.

More recent works by Knut Schäferdiek and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel offer valuable contributions to the study of St. Kilian. Schäferdiek provides an important overview of some aspects of the background and early development of St. Kilian's cult, including a discussion of the imagery of the goddess Diana and the many name-forms for Kilian and his companions.<sup>41</sup> The work of Ó Riain-Raedel has looked at St. Kilian and his cult from the point of view of the early medieval Irish network in the Continent.<sup>42</sup> Her study examines the influence of figures such as Virgil of Salzburg and Willibrord of Echternach, as well as the Columbanian link through St. Gall. There is much more to be done, however, and Ó Riain-Raedel admitted that her article provided only a starting point for much needed further research.

These studies are all valuable, but there remains a lack of sustained source criticism which places the *passiones* of St. Kilian within their wider contexts. Moreover, the *Passio minor Kiliani* has received the bulk of scholarly attention and Stephan of Novara's version of the text has been decidedly understudied. There is a need to analyse these texts together as part of a continuous hagiographical dossier and to look at their function both within and outwith the immediate cultic context. Hans-Werner Goetz began this process in his article for the 1989 anniversary volume, but admitted that it was only a start and more in-depth analysis was needed.<sup>43</sup> In studying the hagiography produced for St. Kilian as part of a continuous dossier for the saint, this thesis will seek to address this gap in the historiography.

The hagiography produced for St. Burchard has been treated in a recent edition for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, but the saint remains largely absent from scholarship

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<sup>40</sup> Joachim Dienemann, *Der Kult des Heiligen Kilian*.

<sup>41</sup> Knut Schäferdiek, 'Kilian von Würzburg. Gestalt und Gestaltung eines Heiligen', in Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach, eds, *Iconologia Sacra. Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1994), 313-340.

<sup>42</sup> Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'St Kilian and the Irish Network in Carolingian Europe'. I am very grateful to Dr Ó Riain-Raedel for allowing me to see an early version of this article. It will be published as Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'St Kilian and the Irish Network in early Carolingian Europe', in 'A Fantastic and abstruse Latinity?' in Wolfram R. Keller and Dagmar Schlütter, eds, *Hiberno-Continental Cultural and Literary Interactions in the Middle Ages, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie* (Münster, Forthcoming).

<sup>43</sup> Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Die Viten des heiligen Kilian', in Johannes Erischen and Evamaria Brockhoff, eds, *Kilian: Mönch aus Irland, aller Franken Patron* (Munich, 1989), 287-297.

regarding cult and hagiography at Würzburg.<sup>44</sup> There is comparatively little surviving evidence for St. Burchard, but as Hoffmann's demonstration that the *Vita antiquior Burchardi* was also written by Stephan of Novara indicates, these texts deserve more attention.<sup>45</sup> Whilst the confines of this thesis limit the amount of analysis which can be performed on Burchard's *vitae*, it begins to address this neglected topic.

The influential social history models of Peter Brown and André Vauchez have dominated studies of the cults of saints, despite acknowledged weaknesses in their approaches to source criticism.<sup>46</sup> Hagiography was 'occasional literature', a product of a particular time and place and often composed for motives beyond the requirements of cult.<sup>47</sup> The approach towards examining *vitae* as products of their own historical context was pioneered in the mid twentieth century by, among others, František Graus in his study of Merovingian hagiography.<sup>48</sup> Whatever the reason for production in each individual case, a hagiographical text is both comprehensible and interesting in terms of what can be gathered from it with regards to the concerns of the community in which it was produced.<sup>49</sup> To overlook hagiographical texts as useful contemporary sources or to collate them purely for purposes of statistical analysis disregards much of their value as sources.

Cultural-context approaches to hagiography have been developed by, notably, Julia Smith, Thomas Head and Raymond Van Dam, in their respective studies of Brittany, the diocese of Orléans and late antique Gaul, and continued by scholars such as Giorgia Vocino in her research on Carolingian northern Italy.<sup>50</sup> This thesis will follow this lead, but will move the agenda forward by building on the insights of Ian Wood and James Palmer who, amongst others, have approached the study of *vitae* as 'textual arguments', which could operate beyond the bounds of saints' cults.<sup>51</sup> By combining these more critical literary

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<sup>44</sup> *Die Lebensbeschreibungen Bischof Burchards von Würzburg: Vita antiquior – Vita posterior – Vita metrica*, ed, Desirée Barlava, MGH SRG 76 (Hannover, 2005).

<sup>45</sup> Hoffmann, 'Die ältere Burchardvita'.

<sup>46</sup> Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*; André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, translated by Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1997; originally published in French in 1988).

<sup>47</sup> Geary, 'Saints, Scholars and Society', p. 23.

<sup>48</sup> František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger: Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* (Prague, 1965).

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Julia M.H. Smith, 'Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850-1250', *Speculum* 65.2 (1990), 309-343; Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: the Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge, 1990); Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, 1993); Giorgia Vocino, 'Under the aegis of the saints: Hagiography and Power in early Carolingian northern Italy', *EME* 22.1 (2014), 26-52.

<sup>51</sup> For examples see Ian Wood, 'The Use and Abuse of Latin Hagiography in the Early Medieval West', in Evangelos Chrysos and Ian Wood, eds, *East and West: Modes of Communication. Proceedings of the First Plenary Conference at Merida*. TRW 1 (Leiden, 1999), 93-111; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*; idem, 'Wilfrid and the Frisians', in

readings with an understanding of the inner workings of hagiography and cultic activity, this thesis will produce a more nuanced and detailed picture of the relationship between text and cult at Würzburg contributing another piece to the puzzle of the cults of saints in the early medieval west.

The study of hagiography has not been without its critics, however. Two key issues relating to the study and function of hagiography have been raised, notably by Felice Lifshitz. The first challenge put forward by Lifshitz was that the term ‘hagiography’ is something of a misnomer and an anachronistic construction by later historians, not a concept which was understood by contemporaries in ninth-, tenth- or eleventh-century western Francia.<sup>52</sup> She argued that, in the period covered by this thesis, such texts were not seen to have a particular function which distinguished them from biography or historiography, noting, in support of her argument, that authors themselves referred to material used in the liturgy as ‘*historiae*’, rather than ‘hagiography’.<sup>53</sup> The numerous instances in which saints’ Lives do not seem to have been written to serve any cultic veneration, at least in the first instance, were cited by Lifshitz as evidence of a disjuncture which led her to further argue that that if hagiography is not connected to cult it ceases to be hagiography and is no more than an extension of biography or historiography.<sup>54</sup> Any thesis examining the relationship between text and cult in the early medieval west must confront such issues. It is therefore important to address two central questions here, both to refute some of Lifshitz’s claims and also establish the place of hagiography and written testimony to saints’ lives in the period under discussion, thus providing a background for analysis of the cult and *passiones* of St. Kilian.

The first and most basic question is what was hagiography and indeed was there a separate hagiographical genre in this period? As a starting point, we may take the words of Hippolyte Delehaye, whose book *The Legends of the Saints* remains an important work on hagiography and hagiographers. In this, Delehaye defined hagiography in the following manner: “[...] to be strictly hagiographical the document must be of a religious character and aim at edification. The term must be confined to writings inspired by religious

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N.J. Higham, ed, *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Proceedings from the 1300<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), 231-242.

<sup>52</sup> Felice Lifshitz, ‘Beyond Positivism and Genre: “Hagiographical” Texts as Historical Narrative’, *Viator* 25 (1994), 95-113, especially pp. 95-100.

<sup>53</sup> ‘Ibid’, pp. 113 & 97.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Ibid’, pp. 96-97; To support her argument she cites the work of Benedicta Ward as providing a number of uses for hagiography which are independent of cultic activity, see Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia, 1982).

devotion to the saints and intended to increase that devotion”.<sup>55</sup> Strictly speaking, all biographies aim at edification of their subject, but in hagiographical works this is combined with a desire to provide a model of spiritual perfection, within a Christian-Biblical framework, in order to inspire the audience. Hagiography acted as an intermediary between the audience and Christ and the saint’s own *imitatio Christi* provided a model of spiritual perfection for others, which could be framed in such a way as to make it more relevant to contemporary concerns.

In studying the *vitae* and *passiones* of the saints, a number of further distinguishing features become apparent. Biblical allusions are essential, in order to associate both the text and the saint with the wider history of Christianity.<sup>56</sup> Intertextual references also provide links with other products of the genre and associate the text’s hero or heroine with other members of the saintly pantheon. As will be shown, this latter aspect is particularly noticeable in the case of the *Passio minor Kiliani* which is a highly intertextual, even derivative, hagiography. The location of the narratives within the contexts of other Christian writings, but these means, was also a key factor in the wide appeal of these texts.

The ability of such texts to also function as a vehicle for polemical discourse is a feature of hagiography which may be maintained independently of cult. Contrary to Lifshitz’s assertion, however, this does not mean that the text is not still able to function perfectly well as hagiography and to support its saint and their memory, as per the above-quoted description of the genre by Delehaye. This function of hagiography is something which is particularly noticeable in the two *passiones* of St. Kilian. The way in which the demands of cult, politics and society interact in these texts is explored throughout this thesis. Whilst hagiography written about an ‘imaginary’ saint such as Kilian may seem less useful or reliable from an empirical point of view, the lack of a certain level of historical constraint on what could be reported about the life of a saint may have enabled hagiographer(s) to form a text in such a way that a commentary on contemporary political or religious debates and concerns could have been more elaborately weaved into the narrative. This is something which will be explored in more detail with relation to the *Passio minor* and *Passio maior Kiliani* in chapters four and five of this thesis.

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<sup>55</sup> Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, translated by Donald Attwater (Dublin, 1998; originally published in French in 1955), p. 3.

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, Sandra Duncan, ‘Prophets Shining in Dark Places: Biblical Themes and Theological Motifs in the *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*’, in N.J. Higham, ed, *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), 80-92; Robert A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge, 1997), especially pp. 40-50.

Nor should this lack of historical veracity for a saint make their hagiography any less successful in its stated intentions to increase devotion to that saint. As long as there was belief in the saint, then he or she could function as a saint should and their hagiography could be just as viable as any relating to a well known historical figure. It was, after all, the intercessory power which they had acquired in death which defined them as a saint, perhaps more so than their exemplary life.<sup>57</sup> As Paul Magdalino has noted with regards to the Lives of holy men in Byzantine traditions, hagiography provides the beginning of that saint's historicity; it helps make the saint real and is able to do this because of the belief in the efficacy of the saints which underlay the text's production.<sup>58</sup>

There is also surviving evidence that contemporaries did conceive of a coherent and separate genre of hagiography. The earliest surviving manuscript tradition for the *Passio minor Kiliani* can serve to illustrate this. There are four surviving manuscripts known to date from before the year 1000, and St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 566 is the earliest of the four, dating to the late ninth century and produced at St. Gall.<sup>59</sup> That now Vienna, Österreich Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 552, is the second oldest, and has been dated to the second third of the ninth century.<sup>60</sup> It was perhaps produced in Bavaria, though it demonstrates court connections and there is some evidence that Würzburg played a role in the addition of the *Passio minor*.<sup>61</sup> Munich, Bayerisch Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4585, a later ninth-century manuscript, also demonstrates links to Würzburg or a nearby *scriptorium* and was once in the possession of the monastery of Benediktbeuern.<sup>62</sup> These three manuscripts all contain collections of saints' Lives, arranged in calendrical order. Hannover, Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek, I.189 is the latest and most luxurious of these early manuscripts. Dating from around 975, it was most likely produced by Fulda for the female

<sup>57</sup> Exceptions to this, which focus on the active life of a saint more than on their death, will be discussed in chapter 5 in connection with Ottonian dynastic hagiography.

<sup>58</sup> Paul Magdalino, "What we heard in the lives of the saints we have seen with our own eyes": the holy man as literary text in tenth-century Constantinople', in Howard Johnston and Hayward, eds, *The Cult of Saints*, 83-112, at p. 85. The example he cites here is that of the cult of St. Andrew the Fool, a saint created by his hagiography, probably written in the context of tenth-century Constantinople.

<sup>59</sup> St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 566: Lives of early Roman and early German saints (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0566>). See below, Chapter 2, pp. 58-9.

<sup>60</sup> 'Paderborner Repertorium der deutschsprachigen Textüberlieferung des 8. bis 12. Jahrhunderts: Aufbewahrungsort Wien, Österr. Nationalbibl. Cod. 552', <http://www.paderborner-repertorium.de/11049>.

<sup>61</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, 'Bücher am Hofe Ludwigs des Deutschen und die Privatbibliothek des Kanzlers Grimalt. Mit sechs Abbildungen (Tafe; XIII bis XVIII)', in Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* (3 vols; Stuttgart, 1966-1981), III, 186-212, at pp. 188, § 9.

<sup>62</sup> München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4585, (<http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00033096-0>); Bernhard Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der karolingischen Zeit, Teil 1: Die Bayerischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 206.

community at Essen.<sup>63</sup> This later manuscript pairs the *Passio minor Kiliani* with the Passion of St. Margaret. It is clear from examples such as these that contemporaries understood hagiographic texts as belonging to a coherent genre which could be codified.<sup>64</sup>

The calendrical arrangements of hagiographical texts in manuscripts such as these also signify a potential function for the texts themselves. Organising such materials to align with the liturgical calendar in this way suggests an intended liturgical function of some kind. Indeed, envisioned liturgical functions could also override thematic considerations when organising manuscripts of saints' Lives, as has been demonstrated by Maximilian Diesenberger in his study of the manuscript known as the 'Bavarian collection'.<sup>65</sup> This collection contains some thirty *passiones* and one *vita*, as well as sermons and Diesenberger notes that the thematically associated groups of texts such as virgin *passiones* or the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles had been reorganised in order to fit with the manuscript's intended liturgical function.<sup>66</sup> In considering the ways in which hagiography related to cult, the manner in which these texts were used and transmitted is therefore just as important as the content of their narratives.

It is also possible that hagiographies and saints' names may have had an additional cultic role which they could perform independently of more traditional relic cult. The potential for heavenly *virtus* to permeate things besides a saints' relics can be seen from the example of King Sigismund of Burgundy († 523). It was held that his name, as opposed to his relics, possessed the ability to transmit heavenly power and that this would be affected wherever Mass was performed for him, rather than at the site of his relics in Agaune.<sup>67</sup> The potential for a saints' name to possess and transmit something of their heavenly charisma could also suggest that the place it occupied on a page might thereby have become a sacred space. Felice Lifshitz has noted that the Hieronymian Martyrology focused on the names of saints, as opposed to historical entries about them, and that early copies were filled with the names of saints whose relics were widely dispersed and not commonly associated with a

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<sup>63</sup> For a facsimile of the Hannover manuscript, complete with commentary see, *Passio Kiliani, Passio Margaretae, orationes: Vollständige Faksimilie-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift Ms I 189 aus dem Besitz der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover*, ed, Cynthia Hahn (2 vols; Graz, 1988).

<sup>64</sup> These manuscripts will be examined in more detail in chapter 2.

<sup>65</sup> Maximilian Diesenberger, 'How collections Shape the Texts: Rewriting and Rearranging *Passiones* in Carolingian Bavaria', in Martin Heinzlmann, ed, *Livrets, collections et textes: études sur la tradition hagiographique latine*. Francia 63 (Ostfildern, 2006), 195-224.

<sup>66</sup> 'Ibid', pp. 206-207.

<sup>67</sup> Felice Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and access to the sacred in Francia, 627-827* (Notre Dame IN., 2006), p. 27.

particular religious centre.<sup>68</sup> Although practical considerations of space and comprehensiveness were undoubtedly also behind the focus of the Martyrology, this was still more than just a list of names. The Martyrology was, like hagiographical texts, written and copied with the intention of devotion and it served to represent the heavenly pantheon.

The saint and their ability to transmit *virtus* was perhaps held to be physically present in their name just as much as in their relics. The earliest surviving copy of the Martyrology, produced at Echternach in the early eighth century, contains, along with the list of saints, the addition of the name 'Frumuald', which was added to the entry for the 14<sup>th</sup> of November, on folio 29r.<sup>69</sup> Whoever added this name into the manuscript may have believed that the name and thus some essence of the individual named Frumuald would derive some benefit from the physical proximity to the names of saints. Of course we cannot be certain why the name was added, but it does allow us to speculate upon how written testimonies to saints might function in a more cultic sense. As a feature of the cults of saints, this practice would have much in common with burial *ad sanctos*. By being buried as close to the tombs or relics of saints as possible, it was also hoped that the individual would benefit from the *virtus* and intercession of the saints in the afterlife.<sup>70</sup> In this sense, it was written productions which led the way, as it was not until after the year 1000 that we see saints' names added to tombs and relics as yet another means through which the sacred could be accessed.<sup>71</sup>

We can therefore wonder whether similar forces were believed to be active in those manuscripts which contained saints' Lives. For example, St. Kilian is the only non-classical martyr whose *passio* forms part of the collection found in Vienna Cod. 522 and it is separated from the others by a small gap. The inclusion of the *Passio minor Kiliani* in this manuscript was likely intended to create a physical association between the saint and his fellow martyrs, but Kilian would surely also have derived some spiritual benefit from the close association between the *passiones* in this codex. This may have been a conscious inclusion with more established saints in order to take on their holy aura for the newly

<sup>68</sup> Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>69</sup> Now Paris Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10837, folios 2-33, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001113z>; the manuscript also contains the Calendar of St. Willibrord; see *The Calendar of St Willibrord. From MS Paris Lat. 10837: Facsimile with Transcription, Introduction and Notes*, ed, H.A. Wilson, The Henry Bradshaw Society 55 (London, 1918).

<sup>70</sup> Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, p. 27, where he cites an early example whereby the body of a nobleman named Cynegius was buried close to the tomb of St. Felix at Nola in 421; see also Bonnie Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian Period* (University Park Pa., 2002), pp. 71-75.

<sup>71</sup> Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, p. 11

constructed saint. Likewise the *Hundesegen* ('dog blessing') and Latin incantation against snakes, which were both later added into the blank space before the *Passio minor* might also have derived some additional potency from their proximity to these *passiones*.<sup>72</sup>

The potential cultic significance of written productions such as these suggests that we might question whether hagiography really could be separated from cult, particularly because of the importance of the act of writing and the production of written evidence for Christianity and the cults of saints. Peter Brown began his indispensable work on the cults of saints by saying that his book, like the cults of saints itself, "[...] is about the joining of Heaven and Earth".<sup>73</sup> Just as they described the process of transformation by which their hero or heroine became a saint, *vitae* and *passiones* themselves could also bridge this gap between the sacred and the profane.

This was a view reflected by contemporaries, as the scholar and cleric Hrabanus Maurus († 856) made clear when he wrote that: "[...] writing is worth more than the vain shape of an image and gives the soul more beauty than the false painting which shows the form of things in an unfitting manner [...] Writing reveals the truth by its countenance, its words and its meaning".<sup>74</sup> Hrabanus also explained contemporary understandings of the permanence and authority of the written word, explaining that: "[...] only letters are immortal and ward off death, | only letters in books bring the past to life. | Indeed God's hand carved letters on the rock | that pleased him when he gave his laws to the people, | and those letters reveal everything in the world that is, | has been, or may chance to come in the future".<sup>75</sup>

This was also the view promoted by the royal court as, in its responses to the acts of the 787 Council of Nicaea, the text known as the *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* set out the

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<sup>72</sup> *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praetor gaecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatine Vindobonensi asservatorum*, ed, Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis (10 vols; Vienna, 1864-1899), Band 1: Cod.1 – Cod. 2000, p. 94.

<sup>73</sup> Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, p. 1

<sup>74</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, '*Item ad eundem*', ed, Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poet. Lat. Carol. II (Berlin, 1884), no. 38, ll. 1-19, p. 196: "*Scribendi [...] | Plus quia gramma valet quam cana in imagine forma, | Plusque animae decoris praestat quam falsa colorum [...] Haec facie verum monstrat, et famine verum, | et sensu verum.*", translated in Rosamond McKitterick, 'Text and Image in the Carolingian World', in idem, ed, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990), 297-318, at p. 298.

<sup>75</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, '*Ad egiilum de libro quem scripsit*', ed Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poet. Lat. Carol. II (Berlin, 1884), no. 21, ll. 9-14, p. 186: "*Grammata sola carent fato, mortemque repellunt, | Praeterita renovant grammata sola biblis. | Rupe, suo legem cum dederat populo, | Sunt, fuerant, mundo venient quae forte futura, | Grammata haec monstrant jamine cuncto suo.*", quoted in Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 151, citing the translation of Peter Godman, in *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London, 1985), no. 36, p. 249. McKitterick also notes that the provisions made for Fulda by Boniface in 751 and for Corbie by Adalhard in 822, which reflect the movement away from monks performing manual labour and towards an increased focus on study, McKitterick, *The Carolingians*, p. 151, § 51.

contrary Carolingian position which, gave a unique and elevated status to writing, as opposed to images, based on the written nature of Scripture.<sup>76</sup> These pronouncements were made shortly before the Synod of Frankfurt in 794, which further emphasised the need for written testimony to the cults of saints.<sup>77</sup> The *Opus Caroli regis* therefore came at a time when the *Passio minor Kiliani* may have been produced. Through the Bible, the Ten Commandments, and the book sealed with seven seals and its role in Christian eschatology, books and writing were a key part of the Carolingian Christian world-view.<sup>78</sup> This latter book is often found represented in Carolingian illustrated Apocalypses, such as the Trier Apocalypse which also depicted St. John the Divine in the process of writing the Book of Revelation.<sup>79</sup>

It was not only the products of writing which could express devotion, but as the words of Hrabanus and others suggest, the process itself was also an expression and practice of that belief. Isidore of Seville described a scribe's quill in the following way: "The tip of a quill is split in two, while its unity is preserved in the integrity of its body, I believe for the sake of mystery, in order that, by these two tips may be signified the Old and New Testament, from which is pressed out the sacrament of the Word poured forth in the blood of the Passion".<sup>80</sup> As David Ganz has put it, "the book is both prayer and tribute, and as tribute it embodies individual toil, a toil subordinate to the goal".<sup>81</sup> The importance of producing religious texts of a suitable quality to present their message was also enshrined in the *Admonitio Generalis* of 789, which stated that only those scribes of a mature age and ability should copy liturgical volumes.<sup>82</sup> Ganz has identified these concerns and wider cultural developments in the later part of the eighth century as leading to the creation and diffusion of Caroline minuscule as a means to express these ideas and to copy religious

<sup>76</sup> Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)*, ed. Ann Freeman and Paul Mayvaert, MGH Concilia 2, supplement 1 (Hannover, 1998), 97-558, II.30, at pp. 303-322; David Ganz, 'The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule', *Viator* 18 (1987), 23-44, at p. 32.

<sup>77</sup> Thomas F.X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009), pp. 158-160.

<sup>78</sup> Exodus 32:16; Revletaion 5.

<sup>79</sup> Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 31, <http://library.nd.edu/medieval/facsimiles/apocalypse/trier.html>. The book with seven seals is on fol. 16v.

<sup>80</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive Originum*, ed. Wallace M. Lindsay (London, 1911), Book 6, ch. 14.3: "*cuius acumen in dyade diuiditur, in toto corpore unitate seruata, credo propter mysterium, ut in duobis apicibus Vetus et Nouum Testamentum signaretur, quibus experimitur uerbi sacramentum sanguine Passionis effusum.*", translated by Stephan A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A Beach, Oliver Berghoff, with Muriel Hall, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2005), VI, xiv.3, p. 142.

<sup>81</sup> Ganz, 'The Preconditions', p. 32.

<sup>82</sup> *Admonitio Generalis*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (Hannover, 1883), no. 22, pp. 53-62, at no. 72, p. 60.

texts in a suitably clear, uniform and reverential manner.<sup>83</sup> The spiritual significance of written material, therefore, should not be underestimated.

This period also saw a surge in the importance ascribed to relics. In 801 and 813, the canon of the Fifth Council of Carthage, which stated that all altars not containing relics of the saints were to be destroyed, was enacted across the Frankish Empire.<sup>84</sup> At the same time, in 803, another capitulary had made it a requirement, across the Frankish world, for oaths to be sworn on relics, as they were thus sworn in sight of God as well as in sight of the emperor or one of his representatives.<sup>85</sup> The swearing of oaths in this manner was not a new practice, as the *Annales regni Francorum* for the year 757 report that the Bavarian duke Tassilo had attended a court of Pippin's at Compiègne, where he had:

“[...] commanded himself into vassalage with his hands, and swore innumerable oaths. Touching the relics of the saints, he promised fealty [...] in accordance with the law and as a vassal should to his lords [...] Tassilo thus swore on the bodies of St. Dionysius, Rusticus, Eleutharius, St. Germanus, and St. Martin that he would remain faithful all his life, as he had promised by oaths.”<sup>86</sup>

Earlier events such as this were politically highly charged events, however, and the real development came from making this a standard practice across the Frankish empire. In 813 the Synod of Mainz further declared that the bodies of saints were not to be translated or moved without the authority and consultation of the prince or the bishop, as well as the permission of the Holy Synod.<sup>87</sup> The integral importance of relics to the religious and political life of the realm was thus assured, embodied in law and attested to in contemporary sources.

Alongside this, however, we must place the fact that it was earlier decreed in 794 at the Synod of Frankfurt, that no new saints were to be venerated without the support of written

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<sup>83</sup> Ganz, 'The Preconditions'.

<sup>84</sup> Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990), p. 37; *Capitulare Aquisgranense: 801-813*, ed, Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. I (Hannover, 1883), no. 77, 170-173; see also Paul Fouracre, 'The origins of the Carolingian attempt to regulate the cult of saints', in Howard-Johnston and Hayward, eds, *The Cult of Saints*, 143-165, at p. 145.

<sup>85</sup> Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 38; *Capitulare legi ribuariae additum: 803*, ed, Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. I (Hannover, 1883), no. 41, 11, 117-118, at p. 118.

<sup>86</sup> *Annales regni Francorum inde a. 741 usque ad 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed, G.H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 6 (Hannover, 1895), 757, pp. 14-15: “[...] in vasatico se commendans per manus, sacramenta iuravit multa et innumerabilia, reliquias sanctorum manus inponens, et fidelitatem promisit regi Pippino [...] sicut vassus recta mente et firma devotione per iustitiam, sicut vassus dominos suos esse deberet. Sic confirmavit supredictus Tassilo supra corpus sancti Dionisii, Rustici et Eleutherii necnon et sancti Germani seu sancti Martini [...] eius sic conservaret, sicut sacramentis promiserat.”, translated by Bernhard Walter Scholz with Barbara Rogers in, *Carolingian Chronicles. Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* (Michigan, 1881), 35-125, at p. 42.

<sup>87</sup> Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 40; *Concilium Moguntinense: 813*, MGH Conc. 2.1 (Hannover, 1906), no. 36, 258-273, at p. 272.

hagiographic testimony to their sanctity.<sup>88</sup> This is of great importance for an understanding of the relationship between hagiography and relics in that it was hagiography and the written testimony it provided which authenticated a saint's relics and cult. As a result, we can see the extent to which hagiography was integral to saints' cults in this period: hagiography could function without relics, but relics could no longer function without hagiography. As Patrick Geary has put it: "As a physical object, divorced from a specific milieu, a relic is entirely without significance [...] by contrast a manuscript will always have some potential significance to anyone capable of reading it".<sup>89</sup>

Texts did not come with the same inherent theological problems which surrounded the division and translation of saints' remains. Written material could be copied as many times as was necessary and could be produced so as to be relatively portable.<sup>90</sup> This was a process which increased, rather than decreased devotion and expanded the horizons of a saint's activity beyond that of just their relics.<sup>91</sup> The greater importance ascribed to manuscripts as opposed to relics can also be seen reflected in the words of Paschasius Radbertus († 865), when he argued that hagiographical texts were of far more benefit to believers than relics and that, whilst *vitae* preserved the immortal memory of good deeds, relics were something belonging to the earthly and corruptible sphere, which belonged to man and original sin, rather than to heaven.<sup>92</sup>

This then was the context in which the cult and hagiography of St. Kilian were developing. As will become apparent, the relationship between hagiography and cult in this instance was a disjointed one and it seems that the hagiographical record produced for the saint may have served different purposes and ends to the concerns of cult. Moreover, we are also dealing with hagiography produced for a saint widely agreed to have been an imaginary construct of his cult and community. This does not mean that his hagiography and its development should be overlooked, however. Instead St. Kilian provides an opportunity to examine the evolution of a cult and its written expression at a time of great energy surrounding hagiography and the cults of saints.

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<sup>88</sup> MGH Capit. I, ed, Alfred Boretius (Hannover, 1883), no. 42, p. 77.

<sup>89</sup> Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 5.

<sup>90</sup> See for example the *libellus*, now Hannover, I.189, or the Burchard Homiliary now Würzburg, Universtätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.28.

<sup>91</sup> Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), p. 447.

<sup>92</sup> Gerda Heydemann, 'Relics and Texts: Hagiography and Authority in Ninth-Century Francia', in Peter Sarris, Matthew Del Santo and Phil Booth, eds, *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Europe* (Leiden, 2011), 187-204, at pp. 197-198.

Following the hagiography as ‘textual argument’ line put forward by Wood and Palmer, the function of the *passiones* of St. Kilian in their wider political and religious contexts will be addressed. By approaching this issue using *both* texts in a sustained manner as products of the same cult and community, but also as representatives of different historical periods, the developments and changes over time will become apparent. The hagiographical texts produced for the cult of St. Kilian are not only useful for what they reveal about how Würzburg portrayed itself and its saint within the Carolingian and Ottonian worlds; they also reflect Würzburg’s approach to external factors and influences, such as the missionary movements beyond the borders of Francia, and thereby provide valuable textual contributions to the history of Eastern Francia. These factors are part of the question of the way in which hagiography functioned outside of the cultic context.

Chapter one will focus on an in-depth textual and literary comparison of the *Passio minor Kiliani* and the *Passio maior Kiliani*. The analysis will divide the story of St. Kilian into five discernible episodes in order to better trace the changes between the two texts as well as to identify outside textual influences and introduce central themes and arguments. An extensive side-by-side appraisal of these two texts has not yet been undertaken but is essential here in order to provide a background for the following chapters.

The second chapter of this thesis addresses the place of the *passiones* in the history and memory of the Würzburg community. Building upon the previous chapter, the *Vita antiquior sancti Burchardi* will be discussed, drawing on contemporary textual and manuscript evidence to argue for its place in the hagiographical dossier of St. Kilian. The key question of when the *Passio minor Kiliani* was written will feature heavily, as various dates (and therefore contexts) for its production have been put forward by scholars. Connected to this will be the question of where the *Passio minor* was produced. Establishing a spatial context is just as important for our understanding of these texts as forming a temporal one and whilst it seems clear that the re-written version of the story was a Würzburg production, this has been less clear for the initial hagiographic testimony.

Having delved deeply into the narratives to build a picture of their textual community, the third chapter examines the remaining evidence for St. Kilian’s cult and its practice. Surviving calendars, martyrologies, sacramentaries and relics will be surveyed to compare the dispersal of cult with the distribution of the hagiography. Brought together, these other witnesses to cult will also provide an insight into St. Kilian’s place and function within the community of saints celebrated in east of the Rhine.

Chapter four studies the *Passio minor* and *Passio maior Kiliani* within the context of Carolingian and Ottonian drives for mission and education. Würzburg played a significant role in Charlemagne's mission to the Saxons as well as in administering pastoral care closer to home in the eighth and ninth centuries. As a training centre for missionaries but also as a notable educational establishment, bolstered by the arrival of Stephan of Novara in the mid tenth-century, the role of the *passiones* as educational tools will also be examined. 'Paganism' remained a concern in the tenth century, however, and the place of Würzburg and the *Passio maior Kiliani* in Ottonian drives for Christianisation will be discussed.

Chapter five provides a case-study of a character and a theme central to the *passiones* of St. Kilian: the figure of Geilana, wife of Duke Gozbert and oppressor of the holy men. Her representation undergoes significant development over the course of the two narratives and provides a notable point of political commentary which is framed by Biblical allusions. As will be shown, the *Passio minor* utilises Geilana and her battle with St. Kilian in order to comment upon the relative merits of past and contemporary political orders. The *Passio maior* casts Geilana as an adversary comparable to great Biblical villains as part of Ottonian political commentary, but also with an eye to the future and the day of Judgement.

This thesis addresses many questions which any historian of the Early Middle Ages must confront. From where do our texts originate and what is their provenance? Who was the audience, intended or actual, of our texts? What can they reveal about the relationship between politics and religion? The cults of saints was perhaps the most vibrant of contemporary phenomena to produce written evidence and the sheer number of surviving hagiographies make them an indispensable source for the period.<sup>93</sup> In its re-casting and re-writing, hagiography can provide us with a unique perspective of changing societies, attitudes and landscapes. By taking the example of two earliest *passiones* of St. Kilian this thesis will offer Würzburg as another point on the map of the cults of saints and its place in the politics and society of the Carolingian and Ottonian worlds.

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<sup>93</sup> Guy Philippart and Michel Trigalet have estimated roughly 10,000 surviving works in 7000 manuscripts dating from the third century to the sixteenth, Guy Philippart and Michel Trigalet, 'Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century: A Synoptic View', in Jennifer R. Davids and Michael McCormick, eds, *The Long Morning of Early Medieval Europe, New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Aldershot, 2008), 111-129, at p. 111.

## Chapter 1: The Two *Passiones* of St. Kilian

“A saint was not a person of a particular type but a person who was treated in a particular way. That “way” can be summed up by the word “cult”, and its three key elements were public recognition of the name and of the day of the saint; special treatment of the saint’s bodily remains; and celebration of the saint in writing.”<sup>94</sup>

This chapter concerns itself more deeply with the third element of cult: written celebration of the saint, or hagiography. Whilst Gaul and Italy were the greatest producers of hagiography in the Middle Ages, the lands east of the Rhine were relative newcomers to this field in the eighth century.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, there were already strong traditions in place which the authors of the *passiones* could draw on and build upon.

The *Passio minor Kiliani*, as set out in the introduction to this thesis, provided the foundations of the story of St. Kilian. This was then built upon in the mid tenth century when the hagiographical dossier of the saint was updated to suit a new context by the Italian scholar Stephan of Novara, who was active in Würzburg between c.950-c.970.<sup>96</sup> Re-writing was an opportunity to make improvements on the earlier work and to relocate the cult and the saint firmly within an updated, contemporary, and thereby more immediately relevant context.<sup>97</sup> It could also be that the narrative style of an earlier work needed to be made clear and comprehensible by re-writing.<sup>98</sup> A saint’s hagiographical dossier could not be allowed to go out of fashion.

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<sup>94</sup> Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013). p. 95.

<sup>95</sup> Guy Philippart and Michel Trigalet, ‘Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century: A Synoptic View’, in Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McKormick, eds, *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe, New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Aldershot, 2008), 111-120, at p. 118; Theodore Klüppel, ‘Die Germania (750-950)’, in Guy Philippart, ed, *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, Corpus Christianorum II (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 161-209.

<sup>96</sup> Hartmut Hoffmann, ‘Die ältere Burchardvita, die jüngere Kilianspassio und Stephan von Novara’, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 62 (2006), 485-504.

<sup>97</sup> See Monique Goulet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques: essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l’Occident latin médiéval (VIIIe-XIIIe s.)* (Turnhout, 2005).

<sup>98</sup> Otloh of St. Emmeram made it clear that he was re-writing Willibald’s *Vita Bonifatii* for this very reason, see Otloh of St. Emmeram, *Vita Bonifatii*, ed, Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRG 57 (Hannover, 1905), 111-217, at p. 111.

A previous survey of the *Passio minor* and *Passio maior Kiliani* was undertaken by Hans-Werner Goetz, though with the caveat that he was presenting only a starting point.<sup>99</sup> The *Passio maior*'s historical remove from both the events which it describes and the earlier *Passio minor Kiliani* has resulted in its being viewed as of little value for research.<sup>100</sup> In re-writing this text, however, Stephan of Novara was not only producing an individual hagiography, but he was also continuing the hagiographical tradition of St. Kilian, and his work is, therefore, just as valuable to the history of the cult as the original hagiographical narrative.

Stephan of Novara's version of this story expanded greatly upon the basic narrative framework, containing 23 chapters compared to the *Passio minor*'s 15. It is important here to provide a considered study of the evolution of this narrative as we see it through these two sources, providing the groundwork for further exploration of the relationship between text and cult. This chapter will set out some of the main points of comparison, exploring the ways in which the narrative of the *Passio maior* differs from that found in the *Passio minor*. It will therefore demonstrate the changes which took place in the representation and perception of St. Kilian as his hagiographical dossier developed along with his cult, and was re-written for a new era and a new audience.

## 1.1 Early Years

One of the most noticeable additions made by Stephan of Novara to St. Kilian's hagiography was the provision of a prologue. The *Passio minor Kiliani* had no prologue, or at least none surviving in any extant manuscript version. We are thus deprived of what background information a prologue usually provides to a work such as this; information which could indicate the purpose and genesis of the text and often what an audience should take away from it.<sup>101</sup> In the opening to his *Liber vitae patrum*, Gregory of Tours wrote that he felt that the Church might be strengthened by learning about the lives of the Fathers, and that it was better to speak of them as having had one 'life', because they had

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<sup>99</sup> Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Die Viten des heiligen Kilian', in Johannes Erischen and Evamaria Brockhoff, eds, *Kilian: Mönch aus Irland, aller Franken Patron* (Munich, 1989), 287-297.

<sup>100</sup> 'Ibid', p. 288.

<sup>101</sup> On the importance of the prefatory material of a saint's Life, see for example Katrienne Heene, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography: continuity or change in public and aims?', *Analecta Bollandiana, revue critique d'hagiographie* 107 (1989), 415-528, especially p. 419.

all been sustained by the one life of the body.<sup>102</sup> Such information can also be found in the prologue to the *Vita sancti Martini* by Sulpicius Severus, one of the most influential, frequently imitated and referenced hagiographical works of the early Middle Ages. Sulpicius stated that the work had been written in order to provide St. Martin's life as an example to others which might "rouse in the reader a desire for true wisdom".<sup>103</sup> In the seventh century, Jonas of Bobbio also began his *Vita Columbani* by saying that he wished the work to provide 'nourishing examples'.<sup>104</sup> He also name-checked earlier and highly influential hagiographical writings, such as Athanasius' *Vita beati Anthonii* and the works of Jerome, and their desire to promote the Christian faith against 'storms of heretics'.<sup>105</sup> Similarly Willibald began his *Vita Bonifatii* by addressing bishops Lull of Mainz († 786) and Megingoz of Würzburg († c.794), writing that these same bishops had commissioned the *vita*.<sup>106</sup> A prologue thus readies the audience of a hagiographical work and puts them in the correct mindset and state of reverence for the story which is to follow; it can also provide important information about the provenance of a work. This had been entirely lacking in the *Passio minor*.

The *Passio minor Kiliani* launches straight into the meat of the narrative. Following on from that already stated, we are told:

"Indeed from the age of a boy, he studied hard to learn the sacred letters. He achieved such perfection that he learned to rule the pontifical heights. Then – now known by the alternative name Kilian and having the grace of the clergy and the people – he filled up with so much love for the Christian religion, that he understood everything which pertained to the benefit of souls and the propagation of the faith, and he did not cease with devoted mind and the eagerness of pious works."<sup>107</sup>

From this we learn that he had supposedly received the Latinised form of his name – Kilian or Kilianus, as opposed to Killena – some time before he began his activities on the

<sup>102</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae patrum*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2 (Hannover, 1895), 661-744, at p. 662: "Unde manifestum est, melius dici vitam partum quam vitas, quia, cum sit diversitas meritorum virtutumque, una tamen omnes vita corporis alit in mundo", translated by Edward James, in *Gregory of Tours: Life of the Fathers*, TTH 1 (Liverpool, 1985), p. 2.

<sup>103</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, ed, Jacques Fontaine, *Sources Chrétiennes* 133 (Paris, 1967), 1.6, p. 252, translated by F.R. Hoare in *Soldiers*, 1-31, at p. 5.

<sup>104</sup> Jonas of Bobbio, *Vitae Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hannover, 1902), 1-152, at pp. 65-66.

<sup>105</sup> Jonas, *Vitae Columbani*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>106</sup> Willibald identifies himself as: "[...] Willibald, an unworthy priest in the Lord / Willibaldus, licet indignus, in domino presbyter.", *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 1, p. 1, translated by C.H. Talbot in *Soldiers*, 109-140, at p. 109.

<sup>107</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 1, p. 722: "Qui etiam a puerile aetate magnum habuit stadium sacras discere litteras, et in eis tam perfecte proficiens, ut exinde pontificale didicit regere culmen. Et tunc iam alio vocabatur nomine Kiliannus, habens gratiam ad clerum et ad omnem populum, qui etiam in tantum amore christianae religionis impletus, ut quid quicquid ad animarum lucrum, quicquid ad propagationem fidei pertinere cognoscebat, devota mente et pio operari studio non cessabat."

Continent.<sup>108</sup> More than this, however, we cannot gather much beyond that he began learning the “sacred letters” from a young age and soon attained the favour and grace of the church and people because of his piety and good works. These descriptions could be found in almost any hagiographical work, however, and form a topos of the genre. The saint is thus marked out for greatness from his early years and the author sets up the narrative to present a story of mission to and conversion of pagans.

Beyond the reference to ‘the Scottish land’ which had ‘brought Kilian forth in greatness’, there is very little geographical or biographical information to be had.<sup>109</sup> We do not learn anything about his family, where he grew up, or at which religious institution he received his education. To demonstrate this point, we can compare the beginning of the *Passio minor Kiliani* with the opening chapter of the anonymous early eighth-century *Vita Amandi*, a work which also influenced the *Passio minor*:

“The most holy Amand was born in the region of Aquitaine, not far from the shore of the [Atlantic] Ocean. He was the son of Christian and noble parents. His father was named Serenus, his mother Amantia. When passing through adolescence to a manly strength, burning with immoderate desire in love of Christ, he left his country and his parents for the Ile d’Yeu, which is forty miles off the [Atlantic] coast.”<sup>110</sup>

Whilst there are still elements of hagiographical convention in what we are told here of Amandus’s noble background and his strong love for Christ, the author presents the audience with a distinct character with a geographically framed background that they can begin to form in their mind. This is much more difficult to do for St. Kilian. Even to a modern reader, Amandus’s description sounds more like that of a genuine historical figure than does St. Kilian’s. It may be that the author of the *Passio minor Kiliani* had little or no historical evidence on which he could base his description of his subject. This would fit

<sup>108</sup> The variety of name forms for Kilian is well noted and something which can make tracing evidence for his cult in surviving manuscript records confusing at times. For some discussion of the various name forms of Kilian and his companions see Knut Schäferdiek, ‘Kilian von Würzburg. Gestalt und gestaltung eines Heiligen’, in Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach, eds, *Iconologia Sacra. Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für Karl Haucke zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1994), 313-340, at pp. 324-325; and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, ‘St. Kilian and the Irish Network in Carolingian Europe’, in Wolfram R. Keller and Dagmar Schlütter, eds, *‘A Fantastic and abstruse Latinity?’ Hiberno-Continental Cultural and Literary Interactions in the Middle Ages, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie* (Münster, Forthcoming).

<sup>109</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 1, p. 722.

<sup>110</sup> Anonymous, *Vita S. Amandi, episcopi et confessoris*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 5 (Hannover, 1910), 428-449, ch. 1, pp. 431-432: “*Amandus igitur sanctissimus adque religiosissimus Aquitaniae partibus aut procul a maris Oceani litore ex christianis atque inclitis parentibus aeditus puer est. Pater eius Serenus nomine, genetrix vero Amantia vocabatur. Sed cum iam adolescentiam transiens in robur migraret virile et inmodicis desideriis in Christi flagraret amore, patriam parentesque relinquens, Ogiam insulam, quae a litore Oceani maris quadraginta distat milibus [...]*”, translated in J.N. Hilgarth, ed, *Christianity and Paganism, 350-750: The Conversion of Western Europe* (Philadelphia, 1986), 139-148, at p. 140.

with the fact that, as a whole, the *Passio minor* is very light on detail, geographical or otherwise.

By contrast, the *Passio maior* does have a prologue which provides some indication of why the work was re-written in the second half of the tenth century. It is worth quoting the prologue here in full so that its message may become apparent and also to demonstrate the difference in style between this and the earlier *Passio minor Kiliani*. The *Passio maior* begins:

“As often as the struggles of our holy martyrs are remembered, they touch the mind with the ardour of remorse, whence it happens that the man who labours to preserve in writing the memory of stories of the martyrs seems to depend a lot on the love of his brethren. And although he cannot pursue a direct route, because faults get in the way, he still points out the path of truth to those who are making their way home. On the other hand, it is a very wretched thing for those who are sailing happily if a man who suffers the damages of a dangerous sea voyage begrudges a harbour of safety. Therefore we take pains to commit to writing, in as far as we are able, the deeds of the most blessed Kilian and his companions, so that we may rouse the brethren’s enthusiasm for a task well done. For because we cannot give our brethren a saucer, we shall at all events furnish them with a glass of wine.”<sup>111</sup>

It is immediately apparent that the style and narrative erudition of Stephan’s text is far greater than that found in the earlier *Passio minor*. This should be expected from a scholar who was so renowned that he had been specially selected and brought from Italy by Otto I as part of a royal initiative aimed at increasing learning in the empire.<sup>112</sup> The prologue suggests a narrative theme of education, guidance, and enlightenment, as Stephan referred to pointing out “the path of truth to those who are making their way home”, and that he hoped his work would “rouse the brethren’s enthusiasm for a task well done”. His final line here also indicates that Stephan intended this work to not only facilitate learning, but also to provide more spiritual nourishment.

In addition to these factors, Stephan’s narrative expresses a sense of community bound together by the shared memory of St. Kilian. Stephan mentioned his brethren (*fraterna*)

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<sup>111</sup> *Passio maior*, pp. 11-12: “Sanctorum martyrum certamina quotiens ad memoriam redeunt, totiens mentem ardore compunctionis tangunt, quo fit, ut fraternae caritati multum videatur impendere, qui martyrum historias stilo studet memoriae commendare. Et quamvis culpae retardentibus iter rectitudinis assequi non valeat, incedentibus tamen in patriam veritatis tramitem monstrat; alioquin miserrimum est, feliciter navigantibus si inuideat portum salutis, qui patitur damna periculosae navigationis. Idcirco beatissimi martyris Kyliani ac sociorum eius gesta, prout possumus, litterarum notis assignare curamus, ut fraterna studia ad amorem boni operis incitemus; quia enim phialam fratribus dare non possumus, saltem cyathum propinemus.”

<sup>112</sup> See Rosamond McKitterick, ‘Ottonian intellectual culture in the tenth century’, in Aldebert Davids, ed, *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium* (Cambridge, 1995), 169- 193, at p. 171; see also Otto Meyer, ‘Der Würzburger Domscholaster Stephan von Novara und seine Gesinnungsgenossen in der geistigen Auseinandersetzung ihrer zeit’, in Dieter Weber and Gerd Zimmerman, eds, *Varia Franconiae Historica* 2. Mainfrankish Studien 24/II (1981), 753-763.

three times in the prologue. Whilst the reference to his dependence on the love of his brethren in order to produce the work does suggest authorial humility, emphasised by the reference to his “faults”, this instance of the topos is not as tedious as some. By contrast, the *Passio minor Kiliani* reads in a more detached way than the *Passio maior*, as it does not clearly address the audience in such a personal manner. With Stephan’s text, we get the sense that he was addressing a particular audience, that of his brethren (in Würzburg in the first instance, but also applicable to the wider religious community). This connection with the audience is maintained throughout, drawing the listeners’/readers’ attention to particular elements of the story or to particular aspects of the cults of saints or of Church doctrine.

Not only did Stephan of Novara provide more in the way of an introduction to the text itself, he also furnished us with more on the background of its saintly subject. The narrative proper begins:

“Blessed Kilian was born of noble parents from a Scottish clan, yet by the superiority of divine grace he became very famous. Scotia, which is also called Hibernia [Ireland], is an island in the [Atlantic] Ocean, fertile indeed in its fields, but more famous for its very holy men: from among these Italy rejoices in Columbanus, Alemannia is enriched by Gallus and Francia Teutonica is ennobled by Kilian.”<sup>113</sup>

This is much more in the style of that mentioned above from the *Vita Amandi*. The description also bears some resemblance to that provided by Jonas of Bobbio in his *Vita Columbani* in which he also mentions that the Irish, or here “the race of Scots” were noted as flourishing “in the doctrine of Christian strength, and exceed in faith all the neighbouring tribes”.<sup>114</sup>

The reference to Ss. Columbanus and Gallus in the *Passio maior* is not a commonplace one, but intended to establish St. Kilian alongside these noted Irish ‘apostles’ to the Continent, both of whom were earlier seventh-century predecessors to Kilian’s mission. Combining these three in this way gives the impression of a seventh-century Irish missionary movement to the Continent, embodied by these saints, all associated with

<sup>113</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 2, p. 12: “*Beatus Kylianus, Scotorum genere nobilibus ortus parentibus, divinae tamen gratiae factus est nobilitate clarissimus. Scotia, quae et Hibernia dicitur, insula est maris oceani, foecunda quidem glebis, sed sanctissimis clarior viris, ex quibus Columbano gaudet Italia, Gallo ditatur Alemannia, Kyliano Teutonica nobilitatur Francia*”. The remainder of chapter two relates to another hagiographical trope, that of describing the love of learning and truth, as well as a predisposition towards the religious life which the young saint demonstrated.

<sup>114</sup> Jonas, *Vitae Columbani*, ch. 2, p. 67: “*Hanc Scottorum gens incolit, gens quamquam absque reliquorum gentium legebus, tamen in christiani vovoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fide praepollet.*”, translated by William C. McDermott, in Edward Peters, ed, *Monks, Bishops and Pagans: Christian Culture in Gaul and Italy, 500-700* (Philadelphia, 1975), 75-113, at p. 75.

different regions – though with a south-German, north-Italian emphasis - but supposedly sharing a close spiritual and brotherly bond. This trinity of saints is referred to again in a later chapter of the *Passio maior*.<sup>115</sup> This association between St. Kilian and other notable ‘apostles’ of the early medieval period is not carried over into the *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, which was written by Stephan of Novara very much as a sequel and companion piece to the *Passio maior Kiliani*.<sup>116</sup> The motif does, however, reappear later in the twelfth-century rewritten version of the Life of St. Burchard, the *Vita posterior Burchardi* by Ekkehard of Aura († 1125).<sup>117</sup>

In chapter 3, as well as stressing Kilian’s love of learning, the truth and his desire to follow Christ (a common hagiographical motif), Stephan also recounted the saint’s rise through the ranks of the religious, before he set out for the Continent with his companions. We are told that, “[...] seeing the blessed man’s perseverance in the increase of virtue, the brethren of the monastery compelled him by their prayers, first to ascend to the priesthood by the stages of the Church, and then to take up the task of governing the monastery.”<sup>118</sup>

The St. Kilian who appears in the early chapters of the *Passio maior Kiliani* is a much more developed character. It is easier to form a sense and even an image of the saintly subject from the *Passio maior*’s background information, than it is from that provided by the *Passio minor*. Whilst the merits of the individual and the various set pieces of their story were the focus of the narrative, we must not underestimate the importance of having a saint which an audience could begin to develop a picture of in their mind’s eye. Creating an image of the saint within the narrative of their hagiography, presented the audience not

<sup>115</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 6, p. 14.

<sup>116</sup> *Vita antiquior Burchardi*; see below, Chapter 2.

<sup>117</sup> For an example, see the *prologus* of the *Vita posterior sancti Burchardi episcopi*, where, in addition to Ss. Kilian, Gallus and Columbanus, St. Boniface is also added to the list. Ekkehard of Aura, *Vita posterior Burchardi episcopi*, in *Die Lebensbeschreibungen Bischof Burchards von Würzburg: Vita antiquior – Vita posterior – Vita metrica*, ed. Desirée Barlava, MGH SRG 76 (Hannover, 2005), 119-200, at p. 125; see also Helmut Flachenecker, ‘Zentrum der Kirche in der Geschichtslandschaft Franken’, in *Deutsche Königspfalzen, Beiträge zu ihrer historischen und archäologischen Erforschung*, 8: *Places of Power – Orte der Herrschaft – Lieux du Pouvoir* (Göttingen, 2007), 247-261, who has some discussion of this and other texts as sources for the religious centres of the period, see esp. p. 250 for the *Vita posterior Burchardi*.

<sup>118</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 3, pp. 12-13: “*Videntes atque monasterii fratres in virtutum profectibus beati viri preserverantiam, primo eum per ecclesiasticos gradus ad presbyteratus officium precibus ascendere, deinde eiusdem monasterii regiminis curam sumere coegerunt.*” It was first suggested by the historian Trithem in the late fifteenth century that the community mentioned in both *passiones* was Hyense or Iona, though neither source is specific enough for us to securely draw this conclusion. John Hennig contrasted this with Jonas’s *Vita Columbani*, with its mention of Bangor in connection to Columbanus’s early life, or the clear association of St. Fintan of Reichenau with Ferns. See John Hennig, ‘Ireland and Germany in the Tradition of St Kilian’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 78 (1952), 21-33, at p. 22. In his edition of the texts relating to St. Kilian, Franz Emmerich takes Trithem’s assertion as fact, Emmerich, *Der heilige Kilian Regionarbischof und Martyrer* (Würzburg, 1886), p. 86.

merely with an idea of sanctity, but with something more familiar, someone whom they could visualise rather than an intangible idea.

Such concepts are usually discussed in relation to the importance of images, the physical setting of the cults of saints, and the way in which cult was presented to and received by the ‘public’; the idea that contemplating an image could lead a believer to a powerful internalization which made the saint ‘present’ to them, sometimes in a very real sense.<sup>119</sup> As Gregory of Tours wrote in his *Liber in Gloria martyrum*, however, the majority of people were wont to “[...] venerate more carefully those saints of God whose struggles they could read about”.<sup>120</sup> If a relevant passage from the saint’s *Vita* or *Passio* was to be read out during the celebration of their feast day, therefore, then presenting a saint to the audience in such a way that they could form a sense of their person, could only be of benefit in encouraging veneration.<sup>121</sup> The *Passio maior Kiliani* would thus seem to better suit this requirement of cult than would its predecessor. The audience of the text would have included the brethren of the Würzburg community and, for them, having a saint to picture and venerate who was more fully formed can only have further strengthened the communal bond which itself was emphasised in the *Passio maior Kiliani*.

## 1.2 Rome

Kilian’s journey to Rome is a turning point in the narrative, as it sets the companions on their missionary course proper, which would ultimately lead to their martyrdom. As in the *Passio minor*, Stephan explained that Kilian would not preach in Würzburg before he had received licence to do so from the pope.<sup>122</sup> Clearly it was important that a saint should follow correct procedure and respect the authority of Rome. Both *passiones* also make it clear that it was only with this licence that clerics had the authority to preach and to teach and convert pagans or those in error.

Stephan’s main addition to this part of the narrative was his repeated reference to the Pelagian heresy with which Ireland had once been ‘polluted (*foedata*)’.<sup>123</sup> The monk Pelagius († 440) had advocated a controversial religious world-view which held humans as

<sup>119</sup> See Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 471-503, and especially p. 495.

<sup>120</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria martyrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2 (Hannover, 1885), 34-111, no.63 at p. 81: “*Mos namque erat hominum rusticorum, ut sanctus Dei, quorum agones relegunt, attentius venerentur.*”, translated by Raymond Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours – Glory of the Martyrs*, TTH 4 (Liverpool, 1988), p. 60.

<sup>121</sup> Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A.D. 481-751* (Leiden, 1995), p. 86.

<sup>122</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 4, p. 723; *Passio maior*, ch. 4, p. 13.

<sup>123</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 4, p. 13.

the central agency rather than God.<sup>124</sup> Pelagius and his followers emphasised free-will as the means by which man could achieve salvation and that all Christians were thereby capable of achieving perfection.<sup>125</sup> The Pelagian controversy had its origins in the post-Roman world of the early fifth century and clashed with the Christianity advocated by Augustine of Hippo († 430), which stressed divine agency and the ‘elect’, that is the saints, who had achieved perfection through the grace of God.<sup>126</sup> Perhaps significantly for Stephan’s reference here at a time of tenth-century monastic and clerical reform, Pelagianism also advocated ascetic renunciation of wealth, with its implications for lay donations to the church and almsgiving.<sup>127</sup>

The Pelagian reference seems to have been made in support of the authority of Rome, as Stephan stated that this problem in Ireland had only been solved by the judgement of the Apostolic See.<sup>128</sup> Stephan wrote that it was because of this authority that Kilian and his companions sought permission from Rome for their missionary plans, but also that Pope Conon was particularly happy to receive the group because their being there was proof that the ancient deceit had been gradually purged through divine ministry.<sup>129</sup> We are presented with St. Kilian as a phoenix rising from the ashes of Pelagianism in Ireland.

That Kilian proceeds from the authority of Rome is a further suggestion not only of his own fine qualities, but also makes clear to the audience that Rome’s authority is the only true authority and that those who deviate from it or disagree with it, such as Pelagius, are heretics. The *Passio maior Kiliani* tells us that Kilian was elevated to the episcopal dignity by Pope Conon whilst he was in Rome. We are told that: “Then, with the consensus of the whole city of Rome, he [Conon] established the most blessed man [Kilian] in the office of bishop.”<sup>130</sup> To this, Stephan adds that Kilian was also given the authority to administer the chrism and consecrate churches.<sup>131</sup> The importance of proper papal backing in the creation of a bishop and the proper founding of his see is also something which comes through

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<sup>124</sup> Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000* (Oxford, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2003), pp. 88-89.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*; Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton, 2012), pp. 308-309.

<sup>127</sup> Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, pp. 309, 316 and 361-364; Julia Barrow, ‘Ideas and Application of Reform’, in Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia M.H. Smith, *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 3: Early Medieval Christianities c.600-c.1000* (Cambridge, 2008), 345-362, especially pp. 358-360.

<sup>128</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 4, p. 13.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 5, p. 14.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 6, p. 14: “*Tunc ex consensus totius Urbis beatissimum virum in praesulatus officium constituit.*”

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

strongly in Stephan's *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, in those chapters detailing Burchard's visit to Rome with Boniface.<sup>132</sup>

Stephan may have referenced Pelagianism because of its perceived Irish association and the report of the sixth-century rendition of the controversy in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*; perhaps also because of the conflation of the Pelagian heresy and the quartodeciman error.<sup>133</sup> This neglects the artificial nature of the connection between Pelagianism and quartodecimanism, however, as created by the Roman Church to suit its own ends. Here the Roman curia was not so much speaking out against a supposed revival of the Pelagian heresy in Ireland, as using memory of the controversy to further defame the Irish reckoning of Easter by arguing that pre-empting the Pasch by celebrating Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, in common with the Jews, was akin to denying that the Resurrection was the true means of man's redemption.<sup>134</sup> What Stephan may have intended by this reference was that more educated members of his audience be directed to better understand the Pelagian and quartodecimanist positions and thereby prevent their future recurrence. Würzburg is known to have possessed a copy of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* from at least the year 800 and doctrinal issues of central importance to Christianity are something which Stephan returns to in his narrative.<sup>135</sup> By associating Kilian's trip to Rome with a well-known theological debate, Stephan also added some authority to the description of Kilian's encounter with a pope as obscure as Conon.

Finally, when describing their return journey to Rome from Würzburg, Stephan of Novara took the opportunity to once again refer to the tripartite seventh-century Irish missionary movement, by saying that Kilian, Colonatus and Totnan left Rome, leaving St. Columbanus behind them in Italy.<sup>136</sup> Though Stephan wrote that Kilian and his companions were forced to bypass Alemannia because Kilian was suffering from a fever, we know from the second chapter that this did not matter so much because the area already had St. Gallus to enrich it.<sup>137</sup> The idea of St. Kilian as an apostle is a theme

<sup>132</sup> *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, chs. 3-4, pp.107-111.

<sup>133</sup> The quartodeciman error celebrated Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon. See the papal letter on this matter, reported in Bede, *HE*, II. 19, pp. 199-203; for Ceolfrid's letter, see *HE*, IV.21, pp. 534-550. On this see also Daibhí Ó Cróinín, "'New Heresy for Old"; Pelagianism in Ireland and the Papal Letter of 640', *Speculum* 60.3 (1985), 505-516.

<sup>134</sup> Ó Cróinín, "'New Heresy for Old", p. 516.

<sup>135</sup> A '*historia anglorum*', by Bede is listed as the fifth item in a Würzburg book list, dated to c.800 and now found in Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Laud. Misc. 126, fol. 260r. See Elias Avery Lowe, 'An Eight-Century List of Books in a Bodleian MS. from Würzburg and Its Probable Relation to the Laudian Acts', *Speculum* 3.1 (1928), 3-15.

<sup>136</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 6, p. 14.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 2, p. 12.

throughout the *Passio maior* and is a development from the earlier emphasis of the *Passio minor* on St. Kilian as a missionary and martyr.

The *Passio minor Kiliani* is less specific about the licence from Rome and only states that Kilian received, “licence and authority to preach and to teach [...] and whosoever his teaching was able to convert he should make free and most firm by this authority.”<sup>138</sup> James Palmer has noted that Würzburg’s own missionary activity was as part of a Carolingian rather than a papal venture, and that of St. Kilian’s contemporaries only St. Willibrord had sought papal authority for his actions.<sup>139</sup> The *Passio minor* presents St. Kilian as a saint in the Bonifatian mould and it is this Bonifatian influence which underpins the importance of papal authority in the hagiography.

If Rome and papal authority were essential to the self-conception of Anglo-Saxon mission, then there is no clearer example of this than in the figure of St. Boniface. Rome looms large in both the *Vita Bonifatii* and in Boniface’s own letters.<sup>140</sup> Papal authority was integral to Boniface’s establishment of an ecclesiastical hierarchy in eastern Francia, as can be seen from his 742 letter to Pope Zacharias requesting a papal charter for new bishoprics.<sup>141</sup> When condemning two ‘heretics’ at the Synod of Rome in 754, Boniface’s complaints against Aldebert included that he undermined the authority of Rome in establishing churches and challenged the cult of St. Peter by distributing his own hair and fingernails as relics.<sup>142</sup> Papal interest in the conversion and security of the lands east of the Rhine can be seen in a letter to Boniface of 722 in which Pope Gregory II addressed five leading men of the region and congratulated them on refusing to abjure their faith under pressure from pagans.<sup>143</sup> Stephan’s narrative testifies to the continuing importance of Rome to the world-view of eastern Francia in the tenth century.

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<sup>138</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 5, p. 724: “[...] dedit illi a Deo et sancto Petro principe apostolorum licentiam et potestatem praedicandi et docendi, et quoscumque sua convertere potuisset doctrina, libera adque firmissima hoc faceret potestate.”

<sup>139</sup> James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690-900* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 240-241. Here Palmer adheres to the dating of the text in the mid ninth century, see *Idem*, p. 238.

<sup>140</sup> Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 215.

<sup>141</sup> *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. Michael Tangl, MGH Epp. sel. 1 (Berlin, 1916), no. 50, pp. 80-85, at p. 81; see no. 53, pp. 94-95 for Zacharius’s reply concerning Würzburg.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 59, pp. 108-120, especially p. 111-112.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 19, p. 33; Paul Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel* (Harlow, 2000), p. 114.

### 1.3 Conversion and Baptism

It is not until the action is moved to its primary location and events are set in motion, that we are introduced to two of the three main characters of the narrative. St. Kilian, along with Colonatus and Totnan, returned to Würzburg from Rome, armed now with the licence to preach to and convert those pagans they had earlier encountered there. Whilst the *Passio minor Kiliani* has the three companions returning to Duke Gozbert, the *Passio maior* instead tells us that they “discovered, not the man he had left behind as duke in that same province, but someone else called Gozbert.”<sup>144</sup> The previous incumbent of the position would have been Heden the Elder († c.676), who, whilst he is mentioned in a brief genealogical aside in the *Passio minor*, is not said to have been in power at the time of Kilian’s first visit.<sup>145</sup> Shortly after this, as we shall see, we are also introduced to Geilana.

St. Kilian’s actions upon his return to Würzburg are given closer attention by Stephan of Novara than they were by the earlier anonymous author, who devoted only two short chapters, each of five lines in the modern edition, to this phase of the saint’s activities; Stephan furnished us with three sizeable chapters, of between 17 and 20 lines in Franz Emmerich’s edition of the text. Read in light of the *Passio maior*’s emphasis on Kilian as an apostle to the Franks in the vein of Ss. Columbanus and Gallus, we can well understand why this might form an important section of his version of the narrative.

Kilian and his companions do not go straight to the leading men of the area in order to preach, but rather their initial focus is described as being the general population. We are told that:

“[...] the venerable man gradually began to provide the unbelieving populace with the food of God’s word. For the Lord had granted him so much grace that in a short time he acquired a full knowledge of the people’s speech and, in his own style of speaking, began to broadcast the seeds of truth. Everyone was astonished, not only at the novelty of his teaching, but also at the exuberance of his eloquence; and his virtue was as effective as his style was eloquent. What the truth had promised to the Apostles was fulfilled in him: ‘I shall give you eloquence and wisdom [Luke 21:15]’ He said; and again, ‘The things I do, you will do also [John 14:12]’.”<sup>146</sup>

<sup>144</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 7, p. 14: “[...] non eum, quem in eadem provincial ducem reliquerat, invenit, sed alium nomine Gozbertum”.

<sup>145</sup> For a speculative genealogical table of the dukes of Thuringia, see Hubert Mordek, ‘Die Hedenen als politische Kraft im Austrasischen Frankenreich’, in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter, eds, *Karl Martel in Seiner Zeit*. Beihefte der Francia 37 (Sigmaringen, 1994), 345-366, at p. 365. See also *Passio minor*, ch. 3, p. 723.

<sup>146</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 7, pp.14-15: “[...] Porro verberabilis vir paulatim coepit pabula divini verbi incredulis populis ministrare; tantam etenim ei Dominus gratiam contulerat, ut in brevi tempore gentis loquelam perdiceret et eis proprio sermone semina veritatis erogaret. Mirabantur autem omnes non solum novitatem doctrinae, sed exuberantiam quoque eloquentiae;

Once again, there is a clear connection to be made here, on the part of the audience, between the actions and character of St. Kilian and those of the Apostles. The contrast between Kilian's Christian teaching and the rustic beliefs of the populace around Würzburg need not have been as stark as it is portrayed in the narrative and, indeed, it is unlikely that Christianity was wholly new to this region of Francia. Such a dichotomy is necessary in the text to emphasise the achievement of the saint and his companions, as well as to magnify the victory of Christianity over paganism in such areas.

As a result of Kilian's preaching to the people in and around Würzburg, his reputation reached the ears of duke Gozbert, who then ordered Kilian to be brought before him, "because he wanted to find out for himself what was this teaching that [Kilian] was preaching he had not heard of until now".<sup>147</sup> If, as has been suggested, a court was a kingdom in miniature, then convincing and converting the duke and his court of the truth of Christianity would have a trickle-down effect on the rest of the population who had supposedly already been primed by the saint and his companions.<sup>148</sup>

The *Passio minor Kiliani* tells us that Kilian and Gozbert "made conversation in turns", but provides no indication of the subject matter that had been discussed, and one is left to wonder what aspects of Christian doctrine the Irishman might have expounded to the duke in order to convince him of the error of his beliefs.<sup>149</sup> The *Passio maior* is, once again, more expansive on this account, suggesting that Kilian set out the nature of the Holy Trinity to the duke, and did so in a clear and comprehensible manner, whilst also emphasising the Holy Spirit's powers of salvation by which a: "[...] mortal created being deceived by the guile of the hateful Enemy may mercifully be restored to life".<sup>150</sup> The significance and "unconquerable truth" of Kilian's words is of course not lost on the duke, whose natural

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*fecundiam etiam sermonis comitabatur efficacia virtutis; impletum est in illo, quod veritas apostolic promisit: 'Ego, inquiens, dabo vobis os et sapientiam' et item: 'Opera, quae ego facio, et vos facietis?'*

<sup>147</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 7, p. 15: "*Qui eundem sanctum virum sibi praesentari iussit, experii cupiens, quae esset haec doctrina, quam praedicabat, hactenus sibi incognita.*"

<sup>148</sup> See for example Stuart Airlie, 'The Palace of Memory: The Carolingian Court as Political Centre', in Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks and A.J. Minnis, eds, *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 2000), 133-152.

<sup>149</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 7, pp. 724-725.

<sup>150</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 8, p. 15: "*[...] per quem rationalis mortalisque creatura, invidi hostis fraude decepta, sit misericorditer reparata.*" The translation is here given with the inclusion of an addition to this part of the text which is present in the AASS edition and to which Emmerich makes reference in § 20, "*tertiam tamen in trinitate personam per quem*". It should also be noted here that *invidius* can also mean odious or envious.

intelligence we are reminded of.<sup>151</sup> It would be too easy a thing, however, for the duke to be persuaded to convert immediately. The saint could hardly have won his spurs as an apostle if he did not have to labour a little more to win the pagan populace of the region over to Christianity and “[...] with continual earnestness [...] give back to God souls which the Devil was trying to bring to perdition.”<sup>152</sup> Here we see Kilian in a guise reminiscent of the holy man and, as Peter Brown has put it, a “facilitator in the transition from paganism to Christianity”.<sup>153</sup> The postponement of duke Gozbert’s conversion was a formality, however, and, having debated whether “[...] the form of worship Kilian was teaching, or that of Diana, should be given preference”, he ‘secretly’ (*secretò*) went to Kilian for instruction.<sup>154</sup>

Following Gozbert’s own conversion, the resulting baptism and conversion of the region occurs almost immediately within the narrative. Stephan wrote:

“But having been carefully instructed by the most blessed man in the teachings of the catholic faith, on the next Easter Sunday he, along with many others, was given a name, was washed in the water of baptism, and obtained absolution from his former error; and thus it turned out that nearly the whole of Eastern Francia abandoned the worship of demons and devoted itself to the religion of God.”<sup>155</sup>

The implication from this passage is that, once this had been achieved and Gozbert and presumably other leading nobles had been baptised, the subsequent conversion of the populace was a foregone conclusion. The challenge lay in converting the duke, not the populace. As Peter Brown has noted, such narratives, when recalling the triumph of

<sup>151</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 8, p. 15. “*insuperabilem veritatem*”; *De s. Kiliano episc. et Martyre, Colomano seu Colonato et Totnato ejus sociis, Herbipoli in Franconia. Altera Passio*, ed. Henry Canisio, AASS 8<sup>th</sup> July (Antwerp, 1721), BHL 4661, ch. 8, col 0616A.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid*, p. 16: “*Verumtatem egregious vir ingi instantia laborabat, ut Deo redderet animas, quas diabolus perdere conabatur.*”

<sup>153</sup> Peter Brown, ‘Arbiters of the Holy: the Christian holy man in late antiquity’, in *idem, Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge, 1995), 57-78, at p. 64, see also page 60. In this work, Brown revisited and attempted to re-cast the holy man he had earlier discussed in his seminal article, ‘The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity’, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), 80-101.

<sup>154</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 8, p.15: “*ad tempus eius distulit auditionem, volens frequenti apud se tractare rimatu, utrum quem Kylianus docebat, an Dianae cultus praeponendus foret*”; and *ibid*, ch. 9, p. 16.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 9, p. 16: “*Sed a beatissimo viro catholicae fidei documentis diligenter instructus, proxima die dominicae resurrectionis cum multis aliis dato nomine aqua lotus baptismatis absolutionem pristinae promeruit erroris; sicque factum est, ut paene tota provincialis Orientalis Franciae relicto daemonum cultu divinae religioni operam daret.*” Peter Maxwell-Stuart has pointed out to me that the use of ‘*sed*’ at the start of this passage is strange as, although this translation holds, this section does not contradict what has gone before it but rather introduces a fulfilment of it. A contrast clearly lies between the ‘error’ of paganism and ‘the teachings of the catholic faith’, however, and this may be why Stephan of Novara had ‘*sed*’ in mind when composing this sentence.

Christianity over pagan beliefs, tend to rush through the last phase of conversion, and portray the final victory as more instantaneous than can realistically have been the case.<sup>156</sup>

Having dealt with the saint's early years and the events which took place in Rome, Kilian was shown as the apostle of the eastern Franks, setting him alongside the likes of St. Columbanus and St. Gallus in a comparison which the *Passio maior* makes explicit. There is a sense that with the conversion and baptism of the formerly pagan duke Kilian had achieved a higher level in his mission and the next comparison, at the end of chapter nine, is between Kilian and the Apostles John and Andrew.<sup>157</sup> The people of Eastern Francia had now been enlightened by the truth of Christian teaching and the darkness of pagan superstition had been banished, with the saint himself shining as a beacon of light over Würzburg. This is something which the narrative also sought to convey as we are told at the end of chapter eight that, "Therefore, as a lamp placed on top of a lamp-stand, he shone brightly on everyone and was seen by everyone as a city erected upon a mountain."<sup>158</sup> Following Kilian's victory in this battle, the narrative directs the audience to the greatest and final battle, as chapter nine concludes by telling us that the time has come in the story for Kilian and his companions to achieve martyrdom.<sup>159</sup>

#### 1.4 The Martyrdom and its Aftermath

In the *Passio minor's* original rendering of the story, the martyrdom of the three companions and the resultant aftermath forms part of a dramatic conclusion to the text. In the *Passio maior* this event is also highlighted, but in the centre of the narrative, as Stephan of Novara furnished his audience with almost as many chapters following the martyrdom as had preceded it.

<sup>156</sup> Brown, 'Arbiters of the Holy', p. 65.

<sup>157</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 9, p. 16.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 8, p. 16: "*Lucerna igitur supra candelabrum posita omnibus resplendebat et civitas in monte constituta ab omnibus videbatur.*" See also Luke 11 :36; Rev. 21 :23. Matt. 5 :14-15: "You are the light of the world. A city seated on a mountain cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine to all that are in the house / *vox estis lux mundi non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita. Neque accedunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio sed super candelabrum et luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt.*" It is perhaps no coincidence that Würzburg itself is overlooked by a castle, the Festung Marienberg, or Marienberg fortress. This imagery is also something which Stephan returned to in the *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, ch. 3, p. 108. Similar imagery was also used to describe St. Augustine of Hippo by his pupil Possidius, who wrote of the saint's activities that: "Thus lit and burning and 'raised upon a candlestick' Augustine continued to 'give light to all who were in the house' (Matt. 5:15)", *Vita sancti Aurelii Augustini, Hipponensis episcopi, auctore Possidio Calamensi episcopo*, PL 32 (Paris, 1841), BHL 0785, ch. V, col. 0037: "*Unde accensa et ardens elevata super candelabrum lucerna, omnibus qui in domo erant lucebat.*", translated by F.R. Hoare, in Noble and Head, ed, *Soldiers of Christ*, 31-73, at p. 37.

<sup>159</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 9, p. 16.

Having signalled this final battle, the *Passio minor* introduces the villain of the piece: Geilana, Duke Gozbert's wife. Whilst Gozbert is described as making continual 'progress towards goodness' with Kilian's encouragement, his marriage was the remaining factor preventing him from fully achieving it.<sup>160</sup> Stephan described the marriage in much the same way as we find it in the *Passio minor Kiliani*: the duke's spouse was the widow of his brother and a pagan.<sup>161</sup> Whereas the *Passio minor* stated that Kilian had not yet addressed this issue because he wanted to firmly secure Gozbert for the Christian faith before debarring him from his wife, the *Passio maior* paraphrases Hebrews 5:12: "For whereas for the time you ought to be masters, you have need to be taught again what are the first elements of the words of God: and you are become such as have need of milk and not of strong meat." Solid spiritual sustenance will only be received, says Kilian, once perfection has been accomplished.<sup>162</sup> Once again, therefore, the duke is presented with a choice.

The fuse for martyrdom had been lit and at this point in the narrative, in another addition to the original account, Kilian is afforded a glimpse of his fate, through divine revelation.<sup>163</sup> Referencing Acts. 9:25, Kilian is offered a way out of martyrdom, much as St. Corbinian evaded his would-be assassins under cover of darkness, having challenged the marriage of a pagan duke in a remarkably similar story.<sup>164</sup> St. Kilian, however, rises above temptation and, not being afraid to die, accepts his fate.

From being compared to first Columbanus and Gallus and, latterly, Peter and Andrew, Stephan began chapter twelve of the *Passio minor* - which could be seen as the beginning of the second half of the narrative - by making overt comparison between the fate awaiting Kilian and that suffered by John the Baptist and the prophet Elijah.<sup>165</sup> The text reads: "Fortunate Kilian, you are worthy to be compared to Elijah and John. For Elijah endured the treacherous attack of Jezebel, John received martyrdom because of Herodia's deceit;

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<sup>160</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 10, p. 16: "Predictus dux Gozbertus monitu assiduo beatissimi praesulis ad meliora de die in diem proficiebat".

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 10, p. 17.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> Acts. 9:25: "But the disciples, taking him in the night, conveyed him away by the wall, letting him down in a basket. / accipientes autem discipuli eius nocte per murum dimiserunt eum submittentem in sporta." For the Life of St. Corbinian by Arbeo of Freising, see *Vitae Sancti Corbiniani*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRG 13 (Hannover, 1920), 188-232. For the similarities between the *Passio minor* and the *Vita Corbiniani*, see Sigfried Riezler, 'Die Vita Kiliani', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe* 28 (1903), 232-234.

<sup>165</sup> The edition of this text which appears in the *Acta Sanctorum* does divide the narrative up into two overall parts, with chapter twelve beginning the second part of the work, *De s. Kiliano*, ed. Henry Canisio, AASS 8<sup>th</sup> July.

you are being mutilated by Geilana's jealousy".<sup>166</sup> To this is added, "All three, however, have one reason for their suffering, namely, their attestation to the truth".<sup>167</sup> The Kilian of Stephan's narrative has therefore gone through three main transformations: from a missionary he became an apostle and now we have him reaching the pinnacle of his development as he becomes a martyr. Previously Kilian had been referred to as a '*beatissimus praesul*' or a '*venerabilis praesul*', but in chapter thirteen he is described as '*beatissimus martyr Kylianus*': the most blessed martyr Kilian.<sup>168</sup>

The contest between hero and villain is not merely played out on a mortal level, however. Geilana may be the antagonist of the narrative, but this is not at the expense of the eternal adversary, because, "[...] the Devil supplies the wicked remedies of maliciousness to those who want them".<sup>169</sup> Just as the Devil is on Geilana's side so, before the fateful day, Kilian himself is described as receiving a divine visitation from a man, "beautifully dressed and very handsome."<sup>170</sup> The audience is not told explicitly who this figure is, but it is made apparent by this description of his physical appearance, the nature of Kilian's vision and the fact that he tells him, "[...] you will be immediately triumphant with me."<sup>171</sup> Biblical imagery is evident in Kilian's reported words to his companions following this visitation. He tells them: "Let us be wakeful brothers, the Lord will soon be near, and he will knock at the door;<sup>172</sup> therefore we must be careful that he does not find us lethargic from sleep.<sup>173</sup> Let us add oil to the lamps while there is still time, so that there will have been no lack; then let us begin to look, since we will now be able to find".<sup>174</sup>

The act of martyrdom itself is dispensed with swiftly in the text, with Kilian and his companions awaiting their fate in quiet contemplation. Stephan wrote that:

"Round about midnight, their executioners entered the place where they were praying, with drawn swords, [in order to slit the throats of the saint and his companions]. When the holy man had cast his eyes over them, he said, 'Friends, why have you come? You will carry out what you have been told to do, you will finish what you have embarked

<sup>166</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 12, p. 18: "*Felix Kyliane, qui Heliae et Johanni dignus es comparari; Helias namque Jezabelis insidias pertulit, Herodiadis fraude Johannes martyrium accepit, tu Geilana zelo truncaris.*"

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*: "*tribus tamen una causa est laboris, testificatio videlicet veritatis.*"

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 13, p. 19.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 13, p. 18: "*et quia diabolus inique cupientibus fomenta malitiae subministrat.*"

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 13, p. 19: "*aparuit vir habitu formaque pulcherimus.*"

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*: "*sic ingiter victor mecum eris.*"

<sup>172</sup> In particular Rev. 3:20.

<sup>173</sup> Mark 13:36.

<sup>174</sup> Matt. 25:4 & 8; Matt. 7:7-8; Luke 11:10; *Passio maior*, ch. 13, p. 19: "*Vigilemus, cito aderit nobis Dominus et pulsabit ianuam; cavendum est ergo, ne nos somno torpentes inveniat; addamus oleum lampadibus, dum tempus est, ne si forte defecerit, tunc incipiamus quaerere, quando non poterimus invenire.*"

upon.’ With these words, they were killed and entrusted to the earth in that place, so that no one could know what had been done.”<sup>175</sup>

Along with them were buried their clothes, including their vestments and also their holy books. Whilst the narrative has it that these items had been buried in order to hide evidence of the crime which had been committed, in a cultic sense it allows for the existence of secondary and contact relics of the martyrs.

Chapter eleven of the *Passio minor Kiliani* briefly mentions that these events were related by a woman named Burgunda, but we are told nothing more about her.<sup>176</sup> Naturally, however, we cannot rule out the possibility that there was indeed a witness to the martyrdom, perhaps named Burgunda, and that her account did survive locally to be retold in the *passiones*. The character of Burgunda is more developed in Stephan’s narrative and we are told that she had eagerly followed Kilian and his companions, “from the moment they began to preach”, and that, with the killers having left the scene, she also “collected on a linen cloth the blood of the saints which had been shed.”<sup>177</sup> With this attachment to the saints, collection of relics and the additional information that she treated the site of the saints’ burial with reverence, we arguably have veneration and cult in place, albeit from an individual, immediately after the event.<sup>178</sup> In sum, his chapter elaborates on the bare bones which were provided in the *Passio minor Kiliani*, whilst also providing additional support and justification for what were long-standing cultic practices by the time Stephan was writing.

In the following chapter, however, Stephan added an entirely new episode, before again picking up the thread of the earlier anonymous work. Following the martyrdom and, presumably the discovery that the place of burial was being venerated, we are told that

<sup>175</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 14, p. 19: “*Illis itaque circa medium noctis orationibus vacantibus, [qui sanctum cum sociis jugulent] carnifices strictis gladiis locu, in quo orabant, penetrarunt. Quos cum sacer vir intuitus esset, ait: ‘Amici, ad quod venistis? implebitis praeceptum, consummabimus cursum.’ His dictis interfecti sunt ibique terrae mandati, ne quis scire posset, quid factum foret.*” I have added the section in square brackets from the *Acta Sanctorum* edition of the text (col. 0617C – 0617D), although Emmerich does not mention this additional phrase in his edition.

<sup>176</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 11, p. 726. Chapter 16 of the anonymous *Vita altera Bonifatii* also claims an old woman as a source, who witnessed the martyrdom of St. Boniface, see *Vita altera Bonifatii auctore Traiectensi*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRG 57 (Hannover, 1905), 62-78, at ch. 16, p. 73.

<sup>177</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 14, p. 19: “*a principio praedictionis eorum [...]*”; “[...] *linteolo mundo fusum sanctorum sanguinem collegit [...]*”. Christian veneration of cloths soaked in the blood of martyrs as relics was an old practice by this point and John McCulloh has cited the Passion of the martyrs of Lyons as an early written description of the practice. See John McCulloh, ‘The Cult of Relics in the Letters and ‘Dialogues’ of Pope Gregory the Great: A Lexicographical Study’, *Traditio* 31 (1976), 145-184, at pp. 176-177 and § 128.

<sup>178</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 14, p. 20. The text says that Burgunda: “carefully – devoting herself to vigils and prayers – dug in the ground where she knew the saints’ bodies had been buried: and she began to treat the place with what reverence she could, though silently, so that it might not be removed by Geilana’s order (as happened later) / [...] *ac terrae diligenter infodit, vigiliis et orationibus vacans, ubi sanctorum corpora obruta noverat excolebatque locum veneration qua poterat, licet silenter, ne, sicut postea factum est, Geilanae iussu removeretur.*”

Geilana, “[...] laid down boards too, and ordered a stable for horses to be made in that place where the martyrs had been buried, so that the holy bodies might not be made known by any evidence.”<sup>179</sup> But, as Stephan later told us, “[...] nothing is hidden which cannot be revealed, and nothing hidden which cannot be known”.<sup>180</sup> Those animals which were stabled there refused to urinate or defecate on the site of the martyrs’ burial.<sup>181</sup> Here Stephan also made a rare reference to the Old Testament in his telling of how this story was reported, as he paraphrased Isaiah 1:3, writing: “‘An ox’, he said, ‘recognised its owner and an ass the manger of its lord; Israel did not recognise him’”.<sup>182</sup>

The fate suffered by those who were held to be responsible for the murders of the three men of God will be elaborated upon in greater detail in a later chapter of this thesis.<sup>183</sup> Nonetheless, it should be noted here that Stephan’s narrative largely followed the tune of the *Passio minor* in this section. He did, however, add that, upon his return to Würzburg, Duke Gozbert made enquiries as to where the holy men had gone, only to be blamed for their apparent disappearance by his wife, who told him, “‘He had not protected them, nor provided guards. When they had wanted he had come; when it pleased him, he had gone away so that they could preserve the intention of their travel’”.<sup>184</sup>

From Stephan’s text it becomes more apparent, when compared to the *Passio minor*, why the duke should later suffer for the martyrdom, despite having no direct role in it himself. When this speech of Geilana’s has been reported, it is followed with a damning comment about Gozbert’s response: “‘Whom do a woman’s words not soften? Whom do they not drag back from a state of rectitude? And so the chief, easily believing the words of his wife, did little or nothing as a result of the investigation he had started.’”<sup>185</sup> Despite his conversion and baptism by Kilian, Gozbert is here accused of falling back into error, drawn there by his wife, the wicked woman who had ordered the murder of the three holy companions.

There is a sense of the passing of time in the *Passio maior* which had not been present in the *Passio minor*. This is a basic narrative tool and yet it adds depth and plausibility to

<sup>179</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 15, p. 20: “[...] stratis quoque plancis stabulum equorum in loco, ubi sancti martyres humati erant, fieri iussit, ne quo indicio sacra corpora proderentur.”

<sup>180</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 5, p. 20: “[...] nihil opertum, quod non reveletur et occultum, quod non scietur.”

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*: “‘Cognovit’, inquit, ‘bos possessorem suum et asinus praesepe domini sui, Israel autem non cognovit.’”

<sup>183</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>184</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 15, p. 20: “‘non se eos custodisse neque custodias adhibuisse; quando voluerunt, venisse, quando sibi placuit, recessisse, quo peregrinationis quae servarent propositum’”.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*: “‘Quem feminea verba non emolliunt? quem a statu rectitudinis non retrahunt? Credulus itaque verbis coniugis princeps aliquantulum coepta ab inquisitione quievit.’”

Stephan's account when he introduces Divine retribution for the killings by telling his audience that it did not occur until a time "when these deeds were gradually being forgotten".<sup>186</sup> The previous chapter had ended by reminding the audience that nothing can be hidden from God and this is a theme which continues throughout the remainder of the work.<sup>187</sup> One of those men whom Geilana had hired to do her dirty work is said to have cried out: "Kilian, you are persecuting me harshly, since I am being consumed by fire. I cannot hide what I have done. I see a sword hanging over me, spattered with your blood."<sup>188</sup>

With this reference to the Sword of Damocles and the fear and anxiety which hung over the head of those guilty of the martyrdom, the reader is presented with the miserable fates of the murderers, Geilana, duke Gozbert, and their son Heden. The language used does not hold back in condemning these individuals, and Stephan again referenced the vengeful God of the Old Testament, when he wrote, "Waste them, O Lord, with a twofold grief".<sup>189</sup> Fates suffered by these individuals include becoming raving mad; spilling out his guts (one of the murderers); being seized by demons (Geilana); torment; agony; being killed by his own servants (Gozbert); and, finally, being deposed by his own people (Heden) – this latter being a punishment which Stephan extends to the kinsmen and relations by marriage of the Hedenid ducal line.<sup>190</sup> This report ties in well with, but expands upon, that provided by the *Passio minor Kiliani*.

There are more direct interactions with the audience in Stephan's version of the text, through the speeches ascribed to the knights and to Geilana herself. There is also suggestion that it was the martyrs themselves providing Geilana's torment, as she says, "Kilian, you pursue fiercely; Colonatus, you kindle a fire; Totman, you supply the kindling. Let it be sufficient for you to have gained a victory, you have greatly avenged your injuries."<sup>191</sup> In the *Passio minor*, the tortures take the form of divine retribution as opposed to the personal avengement which takes place in the *Passio maior*.

<sup>186</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 16, p. 21: "Cum ea quae facta fuerant".

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 15, p. 20.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 16, p. 21: "Kyliane, acriter me persequeris, si quidem igne consumor; quod feci, celare non possum, vide imminere mihi gladium sanguine tuo reppersum."

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid*: "Duplici contritione contere eos, Domine." Here referencing Jeremiah 17:18: "Let them be confounded that persecute me, and let not me be confounded: let them be afraid, and let me not be afraid: bring upon them the day of affliction, and with a double destruction, destroy them / confundantur qui persequuntur me et non confundar ego paveant illi et non paveam ego induc super eos diem afflictionis et duplici contritione contere eos".

<sup>190</sup> *Passio maior*, chs. 16, 17 & 18, pp. 21-22.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17, p. 21: "Acriter instas, Kyliane; ignem ascendis, Colmanne; fementa ministras, Totmanne; sufficere vobis vicisse; nimis vestras ulciscimini iniurias."

As to why such suffering had been inflicted not only on those immediate instigators of the crime, but also upon the entire Hedenid ducal line, Stephan offered the following explanation:

“But the reason these things happened [was] either, because they were preserving the correct faith, they suffered such things at the hands of those who were deviating from it; or because they had strayed from the path of truth after the death of the holy martyrs and brought this vengeance upon themselves from God. He, from whom nothing secret lies hidden, has seen provided that we are not in the least ashamed to be ignorant about such things.”<sup>192</sup>

Such an account was not provided for the earlier *Passio* and perhaps it was not needed. The fact that Gozbert himself was not present at the time of the martyrdom and that his son Heden and their descendants also played no active role, however, makes such whole-scale divine retribution difficult to reconcile with the rest of the narrative; Stephan therefore covered all bases in his justification.

## 1.5 Plot Holes and Revelations

In contrast to the *Passio minor Kiliani*, the destruction of the Hedenid ducal line following the death of the three holy men is not immediately succeeded by an account of the relic translation which took place in 752. Instead, we are furnished with a miraculous back-story which explains how the bodies of the martyrs came to be discovered and the translation came about.

A feature which nonetheless continues throughout the hagiographical dossier of St. Kilian is the desire to move the cult and its centre at Würzburg into alignment with the Christian Frankish present, and away from the area’s supposedly pagan past. The destruction of the ducal line in the wake of the martyrdoms, whilst it does not tie in with historical reality, is designed with this in mind; the sweeping away of the old, immoral line, in order to make way for the arrival of the Carolingians.<sup>193</sup> The *Passio maior Kiliani* attributed the founding of a monastery in Würzburg to Gertrude of Nivelles († 658), daughter of Pippin the Elder the founder of the Carolingian dynasty, and, moreover, a saint in her own

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<sup>192</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 18, p. 22: “Cur autem haec provenerint, utrum quia fidem rectam servabant, ab his qui ab ea deviant, talia passi sunt, an quia ipsi post obitum sanctorum martyrum a tramite veritatis recesserant, vindictam hanc a Deo illatam sibi pertulerint, viderit ipse, quem nullum latet secretum, dummodo nil talium pudeat nos ignorantis rerum.”

<sup>193</sup> See Chapter 5.

right.<sup>194</sup> The story which Stephan provided, however, is conflated with a story from the *Vita sanctae Balthildis* († c.680) as, we are told that: “When the venerable virgin Gertrude, daughter of Pippin, King of the Franks, refused to accept a husband with whom her father wished to ally her, with the assistance of her mother she lay hidden for as long as she could in her father’s palace”.<sup>195</sup> Whilst according to her *vita*, Gertrude did indeed refuse to marry the son of the Duke of Austrasia, desiring instead to wed herself to Christ, her refusal is described as very public and open and her Life does not say that she hid from her father in order to avoid the marriage.<sup>196</sup> In the Life of Balthild, however, the saint *does* hide in a palace, but in this case she hid from her would-be husband, Erchinoald.<sup>197</sup>

We are then told that, when she could no longer hide, Gertrude supposedly fled to Eastern Francia:

“[...] to the place which is today incorrectly called Carleburg, and there from her own resources she built a monastery in honour of the most blessed Virgin Mary, which endures right up to the present day, where she had appointed the priest Atalongus and the deacon Bernardus, whom she had brought with her.”<sup>198</sup>

The Life of Gertrude of Nivelles mentions that she erected churches to the saints, but does not refer to any by name and her only accredited monastic foundation is that which she founded at Nivelles, with the aid of her mother Ida.<sup>199</sup> Similarly, the Life of Balthild connects the saint with the foundation and patronage of many monasteries, but Würzburg/Carleburg is not mentioned among them and her foundation at Chelles is the only direct link with the cult of St. Kilian, through its possession of relics of the saint.<sup>200</sup> Atalongus and Bernardus are also absent from any other corroborating historical record. This chapter, like some which had preceded it and those which follow, attempted to fill in those gaps in understanding of how the religious community at Würzburg came to be and how the relics and story of St. Kilian were discovered, remembered and promoted.

<sup>194</sup> For a brief commentary on the text and its importance, as well as a translation of the *vita* see ‘*Vita Sancti Geretrudis* (The Life of Gertrude) and the *Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano* (the Nivelles supplement to the Vita Fursei concerning Foillan)’ in Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding, eds, and translate, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640-720* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 301-329.

<sup>195</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 19, p. 22: “*Venerabilis virgo Geretrudis, Pipini Francorum regis filia, cum virum accipere nollet, cui eam pater sociare volebat, auxilio matris, quamdiu potuit, paternis in regnis latuit.*”

<sup>196</sup> *Vita sanctae Geretrudis*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hannover, 1888), 453-474, A, ch. 1, pp. 454-455.

<sup>197</sup> *Vita sanctae Balthildis*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hannover, 1888), 475-508, ch. 3, pp. 484-485.

<sup>198</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 19, p. 22: “*[...] qui nunc corrupte Carliburg vocitatur ibique de facultatibus suis in honore beatissimae virginis Mariae monasterium construxit, quod usque in praesentem permanent diem, ubi Atalongum presbyterum et Bernardum diaconum, quos secum adduxerat, ordinavit.*”

<sup>199</sup> *Vita sanctae Geretrudis*, A, chs. 2-3, pp. 455-458.

<sup>200</sup> *Vita sanctae Balthildis*, chs. 7-8, pp. 489-493. On the presence of relics of St. Kilian at Chelles see, David Ganz and Walter Goffart, ‘Charters Earlier than 800 from French Collections’, *Speculum* 65.4 (1990), 906-932.

Stephan's chapter is not without its own plot holes and historical difficulties, however. The Gertrude mentioned in the text, based on the fact that she is referred to as daughter of Pippin King of the Franks, would seem to represent Gertrude of Nivelles. However, given that she died in 658, she would need to have established this monastery dedicated to the Virgin and to have placed Atalongus and Bernardus in charge, before this date. That is, this would have necessarily occurred *before* Kilian and his companions were martyred there in 689, leaving at least a 31 year gap between the founding of the monastic community and the martyrdom. By this Atalongus may have still been present in Würzburg during the time of Kilian's activities and also for his martyrdom. Yet, we are told in the text that, "the foresaid Atalongus did not know of Kilian, perhaps because he had scarcely heard his reputation and this ignorance had excused [him] a little".<sup>201</sup>

It is possible that the Gertrude mentioned in the narrative is another for whom we have no surviving historical record; perhaps a daughter of Pippin II († 714) or, more likely, a daughter of Pippin III († 768, also known as 'The Short' or 'The Younger') who, unlike Pippin the Elder, could properly be called 'King of the Franks'.<sup>202</sup> Certainly Pippin III would be the same Pippin mentioned in the *Passio minor*, in whose reign the translation of the saints' relics occurred. Perhaps the Carolingian tradition of recycling names could be as much a source of confusion for early medieval scholars as it can be for modern-day historians. Stephan may not have intended nor indeed needed this part of his story to be historically accurate as the essence of his narrative here is that there was a strong personal link between leading Carolingian figures, St. Kilian and the Würzburg community. In order to achieve this, his recollection of the Carolingian family tree would not need to have been precise.

Setting aside these problems, we must proceed with those new passages which Stephan added to the hagiographical account. During a lesson in which Atalongus was instructing children in the study of letters, instead of reciting the lesson as he expected, the younger children cried out: "Kilian produces signs from the place in which he unworthily lies, he ought to be raised".<sup>203</sup> As if to warn those who might be sceptical not to ignore divinely inspired words, Atalongus is prevented from chastising the children for speaking out of

<sup>201</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 19, p. 22: "Praedictus autem Atalongus ignorabat Kylianum, forsitan ut vix eius audiverit famam, quem paulatim ignorantia obsolebat."

<sup>202</sup> See the genealogy table for the Carolingians in Marios Costambeys, Matthew Innes and Simon MacLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011), p. xx.

<sup>203</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 20, p. 23: "Kylianus signa facit, de loco in quo indigne iacet, tolli debet."

turn by a solar eclipse.<sup>204</sup> There follows a chapter in which St. Kilian himself appears to Atalongus to tell him, “If you do not believe, you will not see.”<sup>205</sup> This Augustinian phrase is then repeated and further classical references are used with even the sun, here called *Pheobus*, unable to enlighten the priest with its rays.<sup>206</sup> Although the text is not clear on this count it seems that, in failing to heed the words of the children he was teaching, Atalongus had been punished with a blindness which could only be cured by the martyr Kilian. This blindness is to be interpreted literally, as the following chapter tells us that Atalongus asked ‘a certain peasant (*quidam rusticus*)’ to lead him to the grave of the martyrs and that, once there, begged and prayed for light to be returned to him.<sup>207</sup> Stephan therefore managed to weave a healing miracle into the story of the saints’ *inventio*.

By means of this series of events, Atalongus was inspired to seek out what information he could about the holy man:

“Yet, understanding that the dream offered him a prophecy of darkness, and remembering his eyes’ rashness and the proclamations of the children, he understood the prophecy of divine activity. Then weeping and lamenting, he began to grieve not so much the blindness of his body, as the audacity of his mind. Hence, from the inhabitants of that place where he was staying, he began to ask who Kilian was whose praise even a child’s voice was uttering.”<sup>208</sup>

Stephan was clearly showing off his own learning and stylistic abilities here, as well as trying to instruct his audience in the importance of belief and faith, as Kilian’s words to Atalongus are surely directed as much at the audience as they are at the priest. Not only did he present the audience of this text with a lesson, but here he also provided a miraculous back-story for the eventual discovery of Kilian’s remains and a ‘revival’ of his memory and veneration.

The *Passio minor Kiliani* had told us that Boniface, along with Burchard, had raised up the bodies of the saints in 752. Stephan drew a link between Atalongus’s investigations and St. Boniface through the miracle as, having had his sight restored, Atalongus publically spread the word of the miracles being performed in Würzburg, even having it reach the ears of the

<sup>204</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 20, p. 23. In Biblical terms, the most notable eclipse takes place when Christ is on the cross at Calvary, and the earthquake which raises the saints. See Matt. 27:45-54.

<sup>205</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 21, p. 23: “*Nisi crederis, non videbis.*”

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*: “*Nisi credideritis, non intellegitis.*”

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, chs. 21-22, pp. 23-24.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 21, pp. 23-24: “*Intelligens tamen quod sibi somnium praetulerit vaticinium caecitatis ac temeritatem suam ad oculos mentis revocans, puerorum praeconia praesagium intellixit divinae operationis. Tunc flens et eiulans coepit dolere non tantum caecitatem corporis quam praesumptionem mentis. Hinc ab incolis loci illius, in quo morabatur, sciscitari coepit, quis fuerit Kylianus, cuius laudes etiam puerilis lingua fatebatur.*”

venerable Boniface.<sup>209</sup> By this means, Stephan was able to include the important saintly presence of Boniface in his narrative and tie this foundation story in with the more historically tenable account of the foundation of the bishopric, as: “[...] from that time the most venerable archbishop sought out in what way the town, where the bodies of the saints had been placed, might be raised to the episcopal dignity”.<sup>210</sup> The *Passio maior Kiliani* ends its narrative here, however. Unlike the *Passio minor Kiliani*, Stephan does not conclude his account by describing the translation of the saint’s remains which took place in 752.

Stephan has given us a saint who appears more developed and well-rounded than the saint that we are presented with in the *Passio minor Kiliani*. This is not to say that Stephan’s account should necessarily be considered to be of any more historical worth than the earlier life, indeed its temporal distance from events would discourage this in the first instance. What is important though is that Stephan’s narrative might have seemed more believable to a tenth-century audience. The fact that there are many more instances of direct speech results in greater engagement between audience and text. Such direct engagement would have been intentional and may have made this text a more useful and valuable tool for preaching and education than the previous *Passio*.

## 1.6 Conclusion

The *Passio minor Kiliani* appears as a much more hurried work than its later recension, lacking a prologue and providing little information or detail throughout its narrative. By contrast, the *Passio maior Kiliani*, although written at a greater remove from the events it describes, provides a much more polished work which stands up better in comparison with other hagiographies. The two *Passiones* were written in different circumstances and the earlier work suggests a greater sense of urgency behind its production, but the ability to pursue a more considered approach in the case of the later text.

Unlike its tenth-century equivalent, the *Passio minor* presents the audience with very little information about St. Kilian’s background. What material there is could hardly be said to be unique to the saint in any way. In producing a hagiography for an ‘imaginary’ saint, this choice may have been a deliberate one as much as a necessity, as it has the benefit of aligning Kilian more closely with other holy figures. By the time of the *Passio maior*’s

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<sup>209</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 22, p. 24.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 23, p. 24: “Ex eo itaque tempore investigabat archipraesul venerabilissimus, qualiter oppidum, ubi sanctorum corpora posita erant, episcopali dignitate sublimaret.”

production, St. Kilian and his community were better established within the Frankish realm, giving more scope for elaborating upon the earlier life. In re-writing the text, improvement on the original would also have been something that was expected.

The inspirational aspirations of both texts are clear. Whilst it is more explicitly stated in Stephan of Novara's prologue, it is also apparent through the manner in which the *Passio minor* presents its saint as a model, drawn in large part from other, authoritative, hagiographical narratives. The saint desires to convert pagans, but does so only after having received proper licence from Rome. Moreover, he suffers martyrdom because of his actions, something which he accepts willingly and with grace, but does not go looking for.

The Roman stage of St. Kilian's journey is also important for both texts. In this the *Passio minor Kiliani* reflects its context and its close association with the *Vita Bonifatii* and Bonifatian traditions. Rome is portrayed as the central authority, coming before any temporal authority when matters of Christian religion and the cults of saints are at stake. Stephan elaborated upon the importance of Rome and Roman practice by referring back to the Pelagian heresy which had once infected Ireland. Whilst Rome functioned as part of St. Kilian's portrayal as a missionary in a Bonifatian mould in the earlier *Passio*, with Stephan's re-written version it was adapted in order to reflect his educational vision for the text. These aims are also reflected in Stephan's more detailed treatment of the interaction between the saint and the Würzburg *populus* and duke.

The martyrdom itself forms the central and climactic episode of both texts as this was, after all, the moment when Kilian achieved everlasting life in death. In the *Passio minor*, this martyrdom of the companions forms part of the narrative's dramatic conclusion. The *Passio maior*, by contrast, emphasises the event by placing it in the centre of the text. In its representation Stephan's text also employs stronger Biblical overtones, in which the battle against pagan error is re-cast in the style of a re-enactment of the timeless battle between good and evil, between Christ and the Devil. The *Passio minor* was more focused on the confrontation between 'paganism' and Christianity, reflecting a Bonifatian tradition and also Würzburg's own contemporary position at the end of the eighth century.

Changes and developments in the representation of St. Kilian are readily apparent. Beginning as a missionary and martyr in a Bonifatian mould, with heavy reliance on Bavarian hagiographic models, his development in the *Passio maior* saw him become an apostolic figure akin to St. Columbanus or St. John the Baptist. Through these progressions

we are also able to see the changing circumstances of the Würzburg community reflected in the concerns of the narratives. To ignore the *Passio maior Kiliani* would be to ignore Kilian's development as a saint.

## Chapter 2: History and Memory: the saint and the community

In writing his *Passio maior Kiliani*, it seems that Stephan of Novara did not intend it to stand alone as a text, but rather designed a companion piece for it: the *Vita antiquior Burchardi*. In order to lead into this next work, the *Passio maior Kiliani* ends its story in the following way:

“And because we are coming to the end of this work, let us end our narrative here. The way in which the venerable bishop Burchard was the first man to gain the episcopal seat of Würzburg publically, and how he raised the bodies of the martyrs from that place where they had been placed unbecomingly, we shall make clear in his life to the best of our ability to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns, God through eternity for ever and ever, Amen.”<sup>211</sup>

The Life to which Stephan makes reference here is that of Bishop Burchard of Würzburg († 753) the Anglo-Saxon whom Boniface had chosen as the first incumbent of the new diocesan see of Würzburg.<sup>212</sup> The *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, however, is not so much a life of Burchard as a history of the foundation of the bishopric of Würzburg and the beginning of the cult of St. Kilian. It is apparent from this connective portion of text that Stephan of Novara wrote the *Passio maior* and the *Vita antiquior Burchardi* as two parts of the same narrative. It is true that they have different saints as their heroes, but both saints are also intimately connected with the religious and cultic life of Würzburg and, as such, they form an institutional history of the community, albeit one produced some two hundred years after the foundation of the bishopric.

This chapter will first look more closely at the idea of community which is portrayed by Stephan of Novara in these two later hagiographical works. This idea of a communal history and the chance to make use of the role of the hagiographer as a ‘professional remembrancer’ is something which Würzburg may have wished to realise when the opportunity to have their story written by a renowned scholar such as Stephan presented

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<sup>211</sup> *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, ch. 23, p. 25: “Et quia ad finem huius operis tendimus, hic terminum narrationis ponamus. Qualiter autem venerabilis Burchardus pontifex publicitus episcopalem sedem Würzburg primus promeruit, et quomodo martyrum corpora de loco, ubi indecenter posita fuerant, sustulerit, in vita ipsius, prout poterimus, manifestare curabimus ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostril Jesu Christi, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen.”

<sup>212</sup> Boniface mentioned the establishment of an episcopal see in Würzburg, along with sees in Buraburg and Erfurt, in a letter to pope Zacharias in early 742. We know that Burchard was bishop by the time of a synod in 742, because he is mentioned in a report of the synod from Karlomann, ‘Mayor of the Eastern Franks’. See *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. Michael Tangl, MGH Epp. sel. 1 (Berlin, 1916), no. 50, pp. 80-86; no. 56, pp. 98-102.

itself.<sup>213</sup> As Patrick Geary has suggested in his study of memory in the medieval period, memory of the past was an important factor in addressing contemporary challenges for any community and thus the loss of institutional memory was something which was to be avoided.<sup>214</sup>

Whilst we have clear evidence for Würzburg's preservation of its own historical memory in the middle and later part of the tenth century, this chapter will move from looking at the *Vita antiquior Burchardi* to return to the *Passio minor Kiliani* and investigate why it does not seem that the community seized upon this opportunity earlier and why, following the translation of Kilian's remains in 752, his story and that of his community took so long to be taken up and produced as a written history through the hagiographical medium. This will also address the issue of whether or not the cult of St. Kilian was the main driving force behind the production of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, or whether other factors may have come into play.

## 2.1 The *Passio maior Kiliani*, part II: the *Vita antiquior Burchardi*

The physical link between the works produced by Stephan of Novara is apparent from the texts, but also from the surviving manuscript tradition. One of the earliest, perhaps the earliest surviving copy we have of these texts, may have been produced at Würzburg itself in the tenth century, as has been suggested by Hartmut Hoffmann.<sup>215</sup> This manuscript, (now Dublin, National Library, 19375) was central to Hoffmann's argument for Stephan of Novara being the author of both the *Vita antiquior Burchardi* and also the *Passio maior Kiliani*. Although the fragment which is held in Dublin was originally part of a larger codex, it contains the *Vita antiquior Burchardi* and the *Passio maior Kiliani* in close proximity, separated only by a sermon for All Saints (*Sermo in festivitate omnium sanctorum*), and it is followed by three lines of verse which Hoffmann has attributed to the pen of Stephan of Novara

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<sup>213</sup> Catherine Cubitt, 'Memory and Narrative in the cult of early-Anglo-Saxon Saints', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes, eds, *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 29-66, at p. 36.

<sup>214</sup> Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), p. 117.

<sup>215</sup> Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Die ältere Burchardvita die jüngere Kilianspassio und Stephan von Novara', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 62 (2006), 485-504, especially pp. 486-488. In Desirée Barlava's edition of the Burchard text, she lists the provenience as being Erfurt/Fulda, as well as dating it to the eleventh century. Hoffmann disagrees with this. See *Vita antiquior Burchardi episcopi*, in, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen Bischof Burchards von Würzburg: Vita antiquior – Vita posterior – Vita metrica*, ed, Desirée Barlava, MGH SRG 76 (Hannover, 2005), p. 31.

himself.<sup>216</sup> In addition to suggesting that the lines of verse were written by an Italian, Hoffmann also points to the use of *Guirziburg* or *Guirziburgensis* for Würzburg in both of the saints' Lives as indicating an Italian hand, as such spelling is characteristically Roman and would have been very unusual from a German scribe.<sup>217</sup> It seems that this hand was not Stephan's, however, but may have belonged to a Würzburg scholar who had been taught by the Italian and who was having difficulty with the resultant variations in spelling.<sup>218</sup> Such confusion between Italian teacher and German pupil was seemingly common in Würzburg and those other religious centres and schools which had been given foreign scholars as teachers as part of the Ottonian drive for educational renewal and reform.<sup>219</sup> Whilst Hoffmann admits that we cannot hold up this manuscript as a definitive archetype for the *Passio maior Kiliani* and the *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, it is the nearest thing to one that we have. This manuscript also shows that these two texts travelled together from early on in their respective histories.

The closeness of these texts is also apparent in two further early manuscript witnesses to the *Vita antiquior Burchardi*. That now Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug, Perg. 84, is, according to Hoffmann's dating, contemporary with the Dublin manuscript as well as with the latter part of Stephan of Novara's stay at Würzburg.<sup>220</sup> This text, however, was produced in Reichenau, suggesting good links between the two centres, or at least their scriptoria. Within the manuscript itself, the '*Vita vel passio sancti Kyliani et sociorum eius*' is followed by the '*Vita sancti Burchardi confessoris*', with a blank space left between the *explicit* of the former and the *incipit* of the latter.

Another early manuscript, now St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 571, also contains a copy of the '*Vita sancti Burchardi episcopi*', this time without the *Passio maior Kiliani* in accompaniment.<sup>221</sup> Here the Burchard text is preceded by the *passio* of the martyr Pelagius, though the difference in hand, the colour of the ink and the staining of the parchment, between the end of the *Passio beati Pelagii martiris* on page 274 and the *incipit* of the Life of

<sup>216</sup> Hoffmann, 'Die ältere Burchardvita', pp. 487-490. On the origins of the Sermon for All Saints, see J.E. Cross, "'Legimus in Ecclesiasticis Historiis': A sermon for all saints, and its use in Old English Prose", *Traditio* 33 (1977), 101-135.

<sup>217</sup> Hoffmann, 'Die ältere Burchardvita', pp. 490-492.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>219</sup> On this see Otto Meyer, 'Der Würzburg Domscholaster Stephan von Novara und seine Gesinnungsgenossen in der geistigen Auseinandersetzung ihrer Zeit', in Dieter Weber and Gerda Zimmermann, eds, *Varia Franconiae Historica* 2. Mainfränkisch Studien 24/II (1981), 753-763.

<sup>220</sup> Hoffmann, 'Die ältere Burchardvita', p.485.

<sup>221</sup> The spelling here is as that found within the manuscript itself. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 571: Lives of early Christian and early Frankish saints (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0571>).

Burchard on page 276, as well as an apparent break in the manuscript, suggests some pages having been removed or that the Life of Burchard was later inserted into the back of this manuscript. We cannot, therefore, rule out the possibility that this manuscript once also contained a copy of the *Passio maior Kiliani*, alongside the Life of Burchard. Although Hartmut Hoffmann has ruled out a St Gall origin for the text of the *Vita antiquior Burchardi* in this manuscript, it nonetheless appears to be southern German and dated to the tenth century.<sup>222</sup> A Munich manuscript dating to the second third of the eleventh century, from the Tergensee, again, contains the *Passio maior Kiliani* (fol. 75-106) immediately followed by the *Vita antiquior Burchardi*.<sup>223</sup>

The relative positions of these two saints' Lives in these examples is not related to calendrical order (Kilian's feast is 8<sup>th</sup> July, Burchard's is 14<sup>th</sup> October). They were placed together because they were textually connected through their continuing narratives, as had been intended by their author, as well as both being associated with Würzburg. It thus seems appropriate to consider the earliest Life of St. Burchard not so much as a stand-alone text, but rather as the second part of the *Passio maior Kiliani*. The fact that Stephan made his work cover the lives of two of Würzburg's saints cemented, in narrative and textual form, an idea of the continuity of religious life at Würzburg and also a continuation of saintly activity there.

The idea of unity and continuation is something which Stephan put across in the first chapter, which stands as a prologue, to his Life of St. Burchard. In this he wrote:

“[...] we should not be afraid that when we faithfully broadcast the praises of saintly men, the narrative of their pious devotion can exceed the measure of truth. Therefore we have no doubt that whatever we say correctly about all of them, we say about each one of them, too, because the saints are so joined together in brotherhood that Christ is considered to be everything in everyone; and this harmony binds the parts of the body to the head in close union, the result being that the reward of the merits of different people is a single exaltation of them all. Consequently we are given freedom of speech in a carefully considered narrative recording to everyone.”<sup>224</sup>

There is more than a little in this passage which recalls Gregory of Tours in his *Liber vitae patrum*, with its suggestion that it was better to speak of the Fathers as having had one

<sup>222</sup> Hoffmann, 'Die ältere Burchardvita', pp. 485-486.

<sup>223</sup> 'Ibid', p. 485; *Die Lebensbeschreibungen Bischof Burchards*, ed, Barlava, p. 33.

<sup>224</sup> *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, ch. 1, p. 105: “Neque enim metuendum, ut in laudibus beatorum virorum fideliter prolatis modum possit excedere veritatis piae narratione devotionis. Quicquid itaque de omnibus recte fatemur, et de unoquoque profari non dubitamus, quando sic sanctorum fraternitas iungitur, ut omnia in omnibus Christus habeatur; eaque Concordia membrorum conexio capiti copulatur, quo diversorum retributio meritorum una sit exultatio omnium. Quapropter datur nobis licentia faminis, servato ductu catholicae narrationis.”

'life'.<sup>225</sup> As was argued in the previous chapter, the narrative of the *Passio maior Kiliani* presents us with a greater sense of community than can be found in the earlier *Passio minor*, both in terms of the city's relation to its saint and also in terms of Würzburg's own religious environment.

This is a trend which continues in the *Vita antiquior Burchardi* and its account of the 752 translation. Burchard himself is described as being mild of speech, bright of face and loved by everyone.<sup>226</sup> We are also told of the local traditions surrounding the martyrs and their secret burial.<sup>227</sup> When Burchard proclaims his intention to find and elevate the bodies of the martyrs, he does so at Lent to an assembled group of clerics and people, thus involving the whole community of Würzburg in the process.<sup>228</sup> Furthermore, we read that on the day of the translation itself a great crowd of peasants (*maxima rusticorum multitudo*) flowed through the streets of Würzburg.<sup>229</sup> Although it was Burchard himself who first began to dig at the grave of the martyrs, he had his chosen assistants with him and when the remains had been uncovered the nostrils of all those standing around are described as being filled with the great sweetness of the odour of sanctity.<sup>230</sup> Finally, when the bodies had been elevated, Stephan described a throng of people coming together to see and benefit from God's power as it manifested itself through his saints.<sup>231</sup> The language and the imagery used here is tailored to produce a sense of a community, both in terms of the brethren and the general populace; something which was entirely lacking from the *Passio minor's* somewhat lacklustre account of the same. Stephan's version of events also has it that there were many witnesses to the miraculous events of the day and, therefore, to the sanctity of St. Kilian.

The narrative flows from the *Passio maior Kiliani* to the *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, forming a constant progression and development of cult and community: the arrival of Kilian and his companions in Würzburg; the conversion of the duke, the populace and the martyrdom; the miracles and visions which led to Boniface seeking to elevate the city to the episcopal dignity; the consecration of Burchard as the first bishop; his bringing the bodies of the martyrs into the light of day where they can receive the deserved veneration of the assembled masses; and, finally, the venerable Bishop Burchard himself passing from this

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<sup>225</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae patrum*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2 (Hannover, 1895), 661-744, at p. 662.

<sup>226</sup> *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, ch. 6., p. 112.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.6, p. 113.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

life to join the pantheon of saints. Through this, the sense of community and of coming together is physically embodied in a foundation narrative, spanning two volumes, which Stephan wrote for Würzburg.

The interconnected nature of these two texts by Stephan of Novara and their purpose seems to be relatively clear: to provide an authoritative written history of the foundation of Würzburg's principal cult and of its religious community; one which involved such key figures as St. Boniface, Popes Conon and latterly Zacharias, and also the Carolingian royal family through the figure of Gertrude. Stephan created a foundation history which drew the community together through a common heritage. It was not unusual for an early medieval hagiography to function as a foundation history, and Janneke Raaijmakers has shown that Eigil's *Vita Sturmii*, written for the community of Fulda in the late 810s, was produced with just this purpose in mind.<sup>232</sup> In the case of Fulda, however, Eigil was writing for the benefit of a monastic community, a closed confraternity to which his narrative was directed.

The nature of community must be thought of in different terms in the case of Würzburg, by virtue of its being an episcopal rather than a monastic centre. As such, the 'community' of Würzburg comprised not only those members of the religious centre, but the town and, in its broadest sense, the whole diocese. It is a different and perhaps more complicated task to bring such a group together, but Stephan's narrative was tailored to suit this task. In his description of the translation of 752 Stephan wrote of great crowds of people coming together in celebration of the martyrs, suggesting that the event had the effect of drawing the community together in a representation of its various elements in a similar manner to the arrival of relics in Rouen in 396/7, as described by the bishop, Victricius.<sup>233</sup> Stephan utilised the ability of the cults of saints to bring people together in shared veneration and this was an intention which he had set out at the beginning of his *Life of Burchard*. He was channelling the authoritative spirit of Gregory of Tours in writing of the unity in Christ which comes from the multitude of his saints and his people, but also stating that his 'carefully considered narrative' was to be a recording to everyone.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744-c. 900* (Cambridge, 2012) pp. 150-153.

<sup>233</sup> Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum*, eds, Jacques Mulders and Roland Demeulenaere, *CCSL* 64 (Turnhout, 1985).

<sup>234</sup> *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, ch. 1, p. 105: "[...] servatu ductu catholicae narrationis."

## 2.2 Lost in *translatio*

The *Passio maior Kiliani* and the *Vita antiquior Burchardi*, however, were written some considerable amount of time after the events which they describe and had been preceded by an earlier hagiographical production which did not function so successfully as a communal memory. It must be remembered that between the translation of Kilian's relics and the production of Stephan's texts, we have a gap of some two hundred years. Within this time period we must also place the production of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, the first text which sought to provide a written voice for the foundation of cult and community. The question of when this was written, however, and the relationship between text and cult is not as clear in this regard as the later textual production in the tenth century might suggest. Scholars have put forward a variety of dates for the production of the *Passio minor*, which range from 752 to the 840s.<sup>235</sup> However, if we take into account the historical context, as the following analysis demonstrates, we can potentially move this date to the last few years of the eighth century.

Of the events which are mentioned in the *Passio minor* itself, the one which is most attested to in other historical sources and which forms the earliest date postulated for the production of the *Passio minor*, is the translation or *elevatio* of the martyrs' relics. The account says that, "with the counsel and order of Pope Zacharias, by way of Archbishop Boniface, they were raised up by Burchard the first bishop of Würzburg to an honourable burial mound, in the reign of Pippin, the first king of the East Franks."<sup>236</sup> Burchard had been fairly recently appointed to the see of Würzburg by Boniface and, according to the *Passio maior Kiliani*, with the papal approval and authority of Zacharias. He was in this seat from 742 until 753/4, Boniface himself also died in 754, Pippin the Short ruled until September 768, and Zacharias was pope until his death on 15<sup>th</sup> March 752. In Würzburg's own, though admittedly much later, historical record, the translation of the saints' remains

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<sup>235</sup> The later dating for the *Passio minor Kiliani* was put forward by both Wilhelm Levison and Alfred Wendehorst; the former dating it to after 833 when the title 'King of the East Franks' was introduced for Louis the German. See *Passio minor*, ed, Levison, p. 713; Alfred Wendehorst, 'Die Iren und die Christianisierung Mainfrankens' in Heinz Löwe, ed, *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* (2 vols; Stuttgart, 1982), I, 319-329, especially p. 320; Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Die Viten des heilige Kilian', in Johannes Erischen and Evamaria Brockhoff, eds, *Kilian: Mönch aus Irland, aller Franken Patron* (Munich, 1989), 287-297.

<sup>236</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 15, p. 728. "cum consilio et praecepto Zachariae papae, mediante Bonifatio archiepiscopo, a Burchardo primo Würziburgensium episcopo de tumuli honorifice sublevati sunt, regnante Pippino primo orientalium Francorum rege feliciter."

is also dated to the year 752, ten years after the foundation of the bishopric.<sup>237</sup> Wilhelm Levison suggests that the time stamp provided by this list of names agrees with a dating of 752; likewise Joachim Dienemann has seen the reference to pope Zacharias and Pippin, in particular, as key to our dating of this event and, as a consequence, to our understanding of the earliest emergence of cult for St. Kilian.<sup>238</sup> As a result of these factors, the *Passio minor Kiliani* cannot have been composed before the date of this translation, thus providing us with a *terminus post quem* for this work.

One line of thinking presented by existing scholarship, is that this translation brought about the production of the *Passio minor Kiliani*. This is certainly a possibility, as it was not uncommon for hagiographical works to be written in order to commemorate such an occasion, as happened in the case of the *Vita Corbiniani*, as the text and the event would be mutually supportive and provide a strong foundation for cultic veneration of a saint.<sup>239</sup> Publicity of this kind would undoubtedly have been beneficial to the community which housed the saints' remains. Following Burchard's episcopacy, Bishop Megingoz's († circa 794) time in Würzburg, between 753 and 768 or 769, would seemingly have been a good time to produce a hagiographical narrative to accompany the cult. Before Megingoz's abdication from his bishopric due to in-fighting about the running of the monastic community, he demonstrated a notable interest in theology, pastoral care and continuing Würzburg's close association with the Bonifatian circle.<sup>240</sup>

This might have been an ideal time for Würzburg to capitalise on the memory of the recent translation, as well as continued royal support and the newly increased saintly-celebrity of Boniface, to produce its own hagiographical record. Yet the account of the translation, as it appears in the *Passio minor Kiliani* seems rather brief and added almost as an afterthought. It also makes no mention of Burchard's being charged with all the churches

<sup>237</sup> See the *Chronicon Wirziburgense ada 1070*, eds, Georg Waitz and P. Killon, MGH SS 6 (Hannover, 1884), 17-32, at p. 26, no. 11. Although no date is given for this entry in the chronicle, the previous entry (Burchard's acceptance of the see) is dated to 751 and the following entry (the naming of Pippin as King of the Franks by Pope Stephan) is dated to 753; the *Annales Wirziburgenses a. 687-1191. 1480*, ed, G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 2 (Hannover, 1829), 238-247, at p. 240.

<sup>238</sup> *Passio minor*, ed, Levison, pp. 714 and 728, no. 3; Joachim Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zur Geistigen und Politischen entwicklung der karolingerzeit* (Würzburg, 1955), p. 64.

<sup>239</sup> Katrienne Heene, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography: Continuity or Change in Public and Aims?', *Analecta Bollandiana, Revue Critique D'Hagiographie* 107 (1989), 415-428, at p. 421. Heene also cites the *Vita Chrodegangi*, the *Vita Hucberti* and the *Vita Severi* as other examples of hagiographies composed to tie in with a translation of relics or remains.

<sup>240</sup> Alfred Wendehorst, *Germania Sacra. Historisch-statistische Beschreibung der Kirche des alten Reiches. Herausgegeben vom Max-Planck Institute für Geschichte. Neue Folge 1, Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Mainz, Das Bistum Würzburg, Teil 1, Die Bischofsreihe bis 1254* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 27-28. On the relationship between Boniface's successor in Mainz, Lull, and Würzburg under Megingoz, see also James Palmer, 'The 'vigorous rule' of Bishop Lull: between Bonifatian mission and Carolingian church control', *EME* 13.3 (2005), 249-276, especially p. 262.

of the Franks, Saxons and Slavs, as was stated in the *Vita Bonifatii*.<sup>241</sup> Beyond its mention of specific individuals, it contains no more in the way of detail than can be found in the *Passio minor* as a whole. Were the text to have been written for the translation, we might expect this event to feature more heavily in the narrative, perhaps more in the vein of Stephan of Novara's later version of events.

A further factor in the argument for a production date later than 752 is the degree of narrative reliance in the *Passio minor* on the Lives of Ss. Emmeram and Corbinian by Arbeo of Freising, which were written some time between 769 and 772.<sup>242</sup> Although the *Passio minor* is much less prosaic than Arbeo's works, the narrative structure bears a notable resemblance to the *Vita Corbiniani*.<sup>243</sup> The events are transferred from Bavaria to seventh-century Thuringia in the anonymous *Passio minor*, so much so that Ian Wood has argued that the *Passio minor Kiliani* amounts to an amalgamation of these two texts by Arbeo.<sup>244</sup> Both St. Corbinian and St. Kilian interacted with and tried to convert pagan dukes and their peoples, both saints condemned the uncanonical marriages of these dukes – being married to their brothers' widows – which infuriated the wives and led them to plot the holy men's demise.<sup>245</sup> The difference comes at the end of their respective stories, when Corbinian escapes his fate whilst Kilian succumbs (willingly) to his.

Kilian's demise, as described in the *Passio minor*, also brings to mind the description of St. Boniface's martyrdom in Willibald's *Vita Bonifatii*. In Willibald's narrative, St. Boniface drew his companions around him and gave a rousing speech to stir their courage and faith in the face of a "frenzied mob of pagans".<sup>246</sup> Here Boniface's speech is intended to show him to be a great man of God and adds to the drama of this important scene, but it also delivers a message to the audience of the text. Willibald wrote:

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<sup>241</sup> *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 8, p. 44.

<sup>242</sup> On this see Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 156-157 and 160-162.

<sup>243</sup> Compare for example Arbeo's description of Regensburg and its environs in the *Vita Haimbrammi*: Arbeo of Freising, *Vitae Sanctorum Haimbrammi*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRG 13 (Hannover, 1920), 26-99, at ch. 6, pp. 34-36. Evidence for contacts and exchanges between the scriptoria of Freising and Würzburg, from at least the first third of the ninth century, comes from M.p.th.q.15, <http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/permalink/mpthq15>.

<sup>244</sup> Wood, *The Missionary Life*, p. 161.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid*; see also Sigfried Riezler, 'Die Vita Kiliani', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe* 28 (1903), 232-234. For the textual relationship between Salzburg and Würzburg, see Theodore Klüppel, 'Die Germania (750-950)', in Guy Philippart, ed., *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1510*, Corpus Christianorum II (Turnhout, 1996), 161-209, at pp. 177-178.

<sup>246</sup> *Vita Bonifatii*, ch 8, p. 50. "[...] furens [...] paganorum tumultus.", translated by C.H. Talbot in *Soldiers*, 107-140, at p. 136.

“[...] We are told in Scripture not to render evil for good but to overcome evil by good [...] Take comfort in the Lord and endure with gladness the suffering He has mercifully ordained. Put your trust in Him and He will grant deliverance to your souls [...] fear not them who kill the body, for they cannot slay the soul, which continues to live for ever. Rejoice in the Lord; anchor your hope in God, for without delay He will render to you the reward of eternal bliss and grant you an abode with the angels in His heaven above. Be not slaves to the transitory pleasures of this world. Be not seduced by the vain flattery of the heathen, but endure with steadfast mind the sudden onslaught of death, that you may be able to reign evermore with Christ.”<sup>247</sup>

If we compare this with the martyrdom scene as described in the *Passio minor Kiliani*, although the text is much briefer, the message being presented is the same, both texts citing the same passage from Matthew 10:28: “Oh my spiritual sons, now the long-desired day is here; undertake the spiritual contest with me without fear, without trepidation, following the word of God: *Do not fear them who kill the body, for they will not kill the soul.*”<sup>248</sup>

Willibald was writing his *Vita Bonifatii* some time between 763 and 765, whilst Arbeo produced his Lives of Emmeram and Corbinian around 769. As a result, it is highly unlikely that the *Passio minor* was written before either of these two texts by Arbeo, thus ruling out an immediate connection between the creation of the work and the *translatio* of 752. Given Boniface’s role in the translation of 752, his importance in the foundation of the bishopric of Würzburg, and his status both in life and posthumously within the Frankish realm, it is readily apparent why Willibald’s narrative of his Life should have been of such influence to the *Passio minor Kiliani*. If it is to be placed in the context of these other Lives, we must wonder whether their production, promoting the cults of other martyrs, may have prompted the writing of a similar narrative for Würzburg’s own martyr saint.

Whilst the translation of 752 seems to be too early a date for the production of the *Passio minor*, a translation which supposedly took place in 788 in the presence of Charlemagne has been put forward by Joachim Dienemann and latterly by Cynthia Hahn as

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<sup>247</sup> *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 8, pp. 49-50: “[...] quoniam scripturae testimonio veraciter erudimur, et ne malum pro malo, sed etiam bonum pro malis reddamus. Confortamini igitur in Domino et permissionis suae gratiam gratanter sufferte; spate in eum, et liberavit animas vestras [...] ne terreamini ab his, qui occidunt corpus, quoniam animam sine fine manentem necare non possunt; sed gaudete in Domino et spei vestrae ancoram in Deum figite, quia ex tunc perpetuae reddet vobis remunerationis mercedem et caelestis aulae sedem cum supernis angelorum civibus condonat. Nolite vos vana huius mundi delectatione subicere, nolite caducis gentiliū adulationibus delectare; sed subitanum hic constanter subite mortis articulum, ut regnare cum Christo possitis in evum.”, translated by Talbot, in *Soldiers*, pp. 135-136.

<sup>248</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 10, p. 726: “O filii mei spirituales, iam adest dies diu optata; spirituale certamen mecum inite absque timore, sine trepidatione, secundum Domini vocem: Nolite timere, eos, qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere.” See also James T. Palmer, ‘The Frankish cult of martyrs and the case of the two saints Boniface’, *Revue Bénédictine* 114.2 (2004), 326-348, especially p.336.

the event which prompted the creation of the *Passio*.<sup>249</sup> This would certainly have been an occasion for communal rejoicing and celebration, but this dating relies on a body of evidence which is not clear in its account of events. There is a surviving charter, dated and located to the church of St. Salvator (in Würzburg) “where rests the body of the holy *Chilianus*”, October 788, in which Charlemagne confirmed gifts which his father Pippin had given to the church of Würzburg, namely the places of Neustadt, Homburg and the religious cells of Amorbach, Schlüchtern and Murrhardt.<sup>250</sup> The charter itself also refers back to the translation which occurred in 752, when Pippin had originally granted these places to Würzburg. Joachim Dienemann also noted that, according to Charlemagne’s itinerary for that year, there was time enough between his departure from the palace at Ingelheim in June or July of 788 and October of that year in which he could have conceivably made this trip to Würzburg.<sup>251</sup> Further evidence for Charlemagne’s presence in Würzburg around this time comes from an entry in the *Annales Maximiniani* for the year 787, which state that, after Charlemagne had received the son of duke Tassilo of Bavaria as a hostage, a translation of St. Kilian was celebrated at Würzburg.<sup>252</sup>

Arguably, had a new translation taken place in this year, it would have come almost at the centenary of the martyrdom of St. Kilian and his companions, which would seem to strengthen Dienemann’s case. Once again, however, this relies on local tradition which is itself not based on any known historical evidence for Kilian’s existence. Neither the surviving diploma nor the entry from the *Annales Maximiniani* make it explicit that a *new* translation took place in 788.<sup>253</sup> The charter only refers to the earlier translation under the aegis of Burchard and Boniface, whilst the *Annales Maximiniani* only state that: “[...] and in Würzburg he celebrated the translation of St. Cilian the martyr”.<sup>254</sup> The *Annales Maximiniani* describe the event in a rather general and brief way, when compared to the relatively detailed description of the meeting between Charlemagne and Tassilo. A continuation of a

<sup>249</sup> Joachim Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zur Geistigen und Politischen entwicklung der karolingerzeit* (Würzburg, 1955), pp. 103-106; *Passio Kiliani, Passio Margaretae, orationes: Vollständige Faksimilie Ausgabe im originalformat des Codex MS. 1.189 aus dem besitz der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover*, ed, Cynthia Hahn (2 vols; Graz, 1988), *Kommentarband*, p. 28.

<sup>250</sup> MGH DD Karl I, ed, Engelbert Mühlbacher (Hannover, 1906), no. 246, pp. 347-348. “*ubi sanctus Chilianus corpore quiescit*”.

<sup>251</sup> Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian*, p. 107. To reach this conclusion, he cited the evidence for Charlemagne’s itinerary collected in J.F. Böhmer, E. Mühlbacher and J. Lecher, *Regista Imperii I. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den karolingern, 751-918* (1908), no. 208a-i.

<sup>252</sup> *Annales Maximiniani*, ed, Georg Waitz, MGH SS 13 (Hannover, 1881), 19-25, at p. 21.

<sup>253</sup> See also Knut Schäferdiek, ‘Kilian von Würzburg. Gestalt und gestaltung eines Heiligen’, in Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach, eds, *Iconologia Sacra, Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Altenropas. Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1994), 313-340, at p. 316.

<sup>254</sup> *Annales Maximiniani*, 787, p. 21: “[...] *et in Wirtzipurc translationem sancti Ciliani martyris celebravit.*”

‘universal chronicle’ for the years until 741, the *Annales Maximiniani* are thought to have been produced in Bavaria.<sup>255</sup> As such, they would naturally be more interested in Bavarian events than those which took place in connection with a Thuringian saint.

It should also be noted that the *Passio minor Kiliani* itself refers only to the translation which occurred in 752, and names only Pippin not Charlemagne. No mention is made in the text itself to a translation in 788. An event such as this would certainly have brought great prestige to the community at Würzburg, as well as providing great publicity for their patron saint. It is notable, therefore, that neither the *Annales Wirziburgenses* nor the *Chronicon Wirziburgense* mention a 788 translation, despite the fact that, as mentioned above, they both record the translation of 752. It seems highly unlikely that Würzburg’s own historical record and communal memory would not wish to record an event of this importance.

Some of Würzburg’s own sources show inconsistencies in the dating of St. Kilian’s martyrdom, with the *Catalogus Episcoporum Wirziburgensium* of 1105 dating it to 697, which Oswald Holder-Egger corrected to 687 in his edition – a date which corresponds to that found in the *Annales Wirziburgenses* and later transmitted in the eleventh-century world chronicle of Marianus Scottus.<sup>256</sup> A further thought should be added to this, however, as the date 687 was also, according to many *Annales*, the beginning of Frankish history with Pippin of Herstal’s defeat of the Neustrians at the Battle of Tertry.<sup>257</sup> The *Chronicon Wirziburgense*, meanwhile, dated the martyrdom to 688, which would make a 788 translation a particularly special ‘anniversary’.<sup>258</sup> It has been argued that the latter part of the eighth century was a time when, under the auspices of figures such as Fulrad, abbot of St. Denis and head of the royal chapel (c. 750-784), the commemoration of royal anniversaries was established at the Frankish court.<sup>259</sup> Würzburg would not have been alone in associating its

<sup>255</sup> See Georg Waitz, ed, MGH SS 13, pp. 1-4; Sören Kaschke, *Die karolingischen Reichsteilungen bis 831: Herrschaftspraxis und Normvorstellungen in zeitgenössischer Sicht*. Schriften zur Mediävistik 7 (Hamburg, 2006), p. 27.

<sup>256</sup> *Catalogus Episcoporum Wirziburgensium*, ed, Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 13 (Hannover, 1881), 337-340, at p. 338; *Annales Wirziburgenses*, p. 239; *Mariani Scotti Chronicon*, eds, Georg Waitz and P. Kilon, MGH SS 5 (Hannover, 1844), 481-563, at p. 544; C.P.E. Nothhaft, ‘An Eleventh-Century Chronologer at Work: Marianus Scottus and the Quest for the Missing Twenty-Two Years’, *Speculum* 88.2 (2013), 457-482.

<sup>257</sup> See for example the *Annales Sancti Amandi*, the first entry in which reads: “687 (691) bellum Pippino in Testricio, ubi superavit Francos.” *Annales Sancti Amandi*, ed, G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 1 (Hannover, 1826), 6-14, at p. 6; see also Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe*, translated by Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia, 1993; originally published in French in 1983), pp. 25-6. This anniversary is another of Dienemann’s reasons for the dating of the translation, Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian*, p. 189; see also Alain J. Stoclet, ‘Die Unctionis A Note on the Anniversaries of Royal Inaugurations in the Carolingian Period’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 20 (1986), 541-548, p. 545.

<sup>258</sup> *Chronicon Wirziburgense*, p. 25, see also pp. 1-8.

<sup>259</sup> Stoclet, ‘Die Unctionis’. Stoclet sees this as being a continuation of the Roman Imperial tradition, which had not previously been continued by the Merovingians, but rather handed down to the Eastern Empire from where, through Byzantine territories in Italy, it had reached and been adopted by the Frankish royal court.

own history with that of the ruling house as centres such as Fulda also associated significant events within their own communal history with those of importance to the Carolingians through noting them down in marginal annotations to Easter Tables.<sup>260</sup>

The problems inherent in trying to forge a communal memory based on obscured or fabricated events of the past may be to blame for these later inconsistencies in Würzburg's own tradition. It is possible that, in creating their saint, the Würzburg community had earlier chosen a date for his martyrdom based upon its importance for the Carolingians. Such a scheme would also have made it more memorable both within and outwith the community and would have meant that the memory of one event would call to mind the other. The re-writing of history for the purposes of memory is not unknown, as Regino of Prüm († 915) is known to have re-cast the history which he was writing into a more simple framework for the purposes of compiling his chronicle, having very few historical 'landmarks' around which to base the earlier portions of his work.<sup>261</sup> The cult of St. Benedict also shows signs of having its history fitted into a mnemonic pattern as the date recorded for the saint's translation to Fleury in 703 coincides with the first year of a key 19-year lunar cycle, whilst his feast day of the 21<sup>st</sup> March corresponds to the date of the Vernal equinox.<sup>262</sup>

Amongst this confusion, however, one must come to a position on the possible connection between 788 and the writing of the *Passio minor Kiliani*. Neither source states for certain that a translation took place, rather they indicate that one was celebrated, which could simply refer to a celebration of the anniversary of the 752 translation. The *Annales regni Francorum* make no mention of Charlemagne's visiting Würzburg in the year in question.<sup>263</sup> An instrumental role in a translation of St. Kilian may have been difficult to

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<sup>260</sup> Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community*, pp. 56-57. She has also noted here that this would have had the additional effect of tying these events in with the spiritual history of Christianity through the presence of these notes in the Easter Tables. Her argument builds on that put forward by Richard Corradini in his article, 'The rhetoric of crisis: *Computus* and *Liber annalis* in early ninth-century Fulda', in Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger and Helmut Reimitz, eds, *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Artefacts*, TRW 12 (Leiden, 2003), 269-321.

<sup>261</sup> See Simon MacLean, ed, and translate, *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester, 2009), pp. 20-22.

<sup>262</sup> The year 703 can be found as a starting point in tables in Paris, Bibliothèque National, lat. 10837, fols. 40v-41v and 43r-43v, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001113z> – this manuscript originally came from Echternach in the eighth century; On the manuscripts and the nature of the lunar cycles see James T. Palmer, 'Calculating Time and the End of Time in the Carolingian World, c. 740-820', *English Historical Review*, vol. 126, no. 523 (2011), 1307-1331, especially pp. 1328-1329, he also cites the manuscript London, British Library, Cotton Caligula, A xv, fols. 110r-117r, thought to originate from north-eastern France in the eighth century.

<sup>263</sup> *Annales regni Francorum inde a. 741 usque ad 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed, G.H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 6 (Hannover, 1895), pp. 80-84.

reconcile with grievances which might still have been held by local aristocrats, given that Thuringia had risen against Charlemagne in 785-6 and Charlemagne's wife Fastrada, mentioned in the royal charter, had been blamed for inciting the revolt.<sup>264</sup>

It seems, therefore, that there is not enough agreement in the sources to allow us to firmly state that a new translation took place at Würzburg in the presence of Charlemagne in 788; rather the most we can say is that perhaps a commemoration of the 752 translation took place then.<sup>265</sup> It does not make sense for a text written to commemorate a translation in 788 to only cite an earlier event and not give any space to emphasising the fact that two translations of St. Kilian had been presided over by two Frankish monarchs. The charter of 788 seems to pose more problems than it solves and, given that its provenance is further drawn into doubt by suspected forgery at some point in its existence, it does not provide us with reliable enough evidence to date the production of the *Passio minor Kiliani*.<sup>266</sup>

Perhaps indications as to when this text was composed may be found within the narrative itself. Andreas Bigelmair suggested that the final chapter of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, which describes the 752 translation, may have been a later addition to the text and not part of its original composition. For this, he offers as evidence the problematic and possibly anachronistic use of the title 'King of the East Franks' to refer to Pippin III.<sup>267</sup> Certainly, if we look at the final chapters of the *Passio minor*, chapter 14 does end the tale rather aptly with the demise of the Hedenid ducal line: "Servants killed Gozbert by his own sword; Heden, his son, was ejected from the kingdom by the people of the East Franks. So greatly were their progeny persecuted, that not one of that line remained."<sup>268</sup>

There are some key elements of importance not just to a saints' *vita* but also to their cult which would be missing where the narrative to end here, however. Thus we find the final

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<sup>264</sup> This is reported by Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, ed, Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 25 (Hannover, 1911), ch. 20, p. 26. See also Matthew Innes, 'Kings, monks and patrons: political identities and the abbey of Lorsch', in Régine Le Jan, ed, *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (du début du IX<sup>e</sup> aux environs de 920)*, Centre d'Histoire l'Europe du Nord-Ouest 17 (Lille, 1998), 301-324, at pp. 313-315; Janet L. Nelson, 'Opposition to Charlemagne', *The German Historical Institute London, Annual Lecture 2008* (London, 2009), pp. 23-24.

<sup>265</sup> This viewpoint has also been put forward by Knut Schäferdiek in his article 'Kilian von Würzburg', p. 316, § 14.

<sup>266</sup> MGH DD Karl I, no. 246, p. 347.

<sup>267</sup> Andreas Bigelmair, 'Die Passio des heiligen Kilian und seiner Gefährten', in, *Herbipolis Jubilans: 1200 Jahre Bistum Würzburg. Festschrift zur Säkularfeier der Erhebung der Kiliansreliquien*. Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter (Würzburg, 1952), 1-25, at pp. 18-21. Knut Schäferdiek also discusses this problematic use of terms, see 'Kilian von Würzburg', p. 316.

<sup>268</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 14, p. 727. "Gozbertum vero gladio sui occiderunt servi; Hetanum vero, illius filium, populous orientaliu Francorum de regno eiecerunt. In tantum enim illius progeniem persecute sunt, ut nec unus de illius stirpe remanebat."

chapter of the work telling us that, at the place where the martyrs were buried, “[...] the blind received sight by divine nod, the lame also walked, and the deaf heard. However many were fatigued by diverse infirmities, they came there and immediately received their health.”<sup>269</sup> Whilst these miracles may seem to have been added to the later part of the narrative as something of an afterthought, we should not go as far as Bigelmair and see this as invalidating the final passages of the *Passio*, as brief additions of this nature were not uncommon. This practice can also be found in the hagiographical tradition of St. Boniface, as can be seen if we compare the above quoted text with the ending of the eighth chapter of Willibald’s *Vita Bonifatii*:

“From that moment the spot in which the sacred body was interred became the scene of many divine blessings through the prayers of the saint; many of those who came there, troubled by various sicknesses and diseases, were healed in soul and body. Some who were at death’s door and practically lifeless, deprived of everything except their last breath, were restored to vigorous health. Others, whose eyes were dim with blindness, received their sight; others, bound fast by the snares of the devil, unbalanced in mind and out of their sense, regained their peace of mind and after their cure gave praise and thanks to God.”<sup>270</sup>

What is important is that the key miracles found in many saints’ Lives and miracle collections, recalling the wonders worked by Christ, are mentioned in the *Passio minor* as they are here in the *Vita Bonifatii*: the blind receiving sight, the lame walking and the deaf regaining their hearing; though such miracles could be readily attributed to any saint.<sup>271</sup>

Emphasis is also placed upon the location at which these miracles occurred, thus marking Würzburg out further as a *locus sanctus* and a place for faithful pilgrims to visit and pay homage to St. Kilian and his companions in the hope that they might be relieved of their ailments. Whilst it is true that not all saints’ cults produced posthumous miracles, miracles were nonetheless one of the central aspects of a saints’ relevance and importance

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<sup>269</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 15, p. 728. “[...] divino nutu receperunt caeca visum, claudi quoque gressum, surdi auditum. Quotquot autem diversis infirmitatibus erant fatigati et ibi venerunt, statim sanitatem receperunt.”

<sup>270</sup> See *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 8, pp. 54-55: “Sed in loco, ubi sanctum deposuerunt corpus, divina deinceps beneficia redundabant, et sancti viri precibus hii, qui ad eundem diversis infirmitatibus obsessi perveniunt locum, salubre tam corporem quam etiam mentium remedium consequuntur, ita ut alii iam tot corpore praemortui peneque per omnia examines, ultimum tamen interim exalantes spiritum, pristina redditi sunt sanitate; alii vero, luminibus caecitate pressis, suum recipient visum; alii quidem diabuli laqueis adstricti, etiam mente sunt capti et insanientes animi postmodum detinent integritatem et pristina dediti salute, laudantes glorificant Deum.”, translated by Talbot in *Soldiers*, pp. 138-139.

<sup>271</sup> See Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, translated by Donald Attwater (Dublin, 1998; originally published in French in 1955), p. 73; Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia, 1982), especially pp. 167-170.

for the faithful. They provided evidence that the individual in question was truly a saint and, therefore, chosen by God and worthy to be a conduit for His power on earth.<sup>272</sup>

If translations in 752 and 788 were not the events to prompt the writing of a hagiographical testimony for the life and cult of St. Kilian, then we must look to alternative events which could have necessitated its production. As has been shown above and in the preceding chapter, the *Passio minor Kiliani* is light on detail about its saint, but nevertheless, it does emphasise certain elements. The St. Kilian who appears from the pages of the *Passio minor* is a missionary and a martyr, two particularly important saintly attributes in this period, which can also be seen in notable figures such as St. Boniface. The *Passio minor* therefore also acts as an advertisement, something to attract pilgrims and others to the shrine of St. Kilian as opposed to that of another saint. As stated above, the emphasis is very much on Würzburg as a *locus sanctus*, advertising the comfort and reassurance of God's mercy and love as it could be found there, something which was itself an important aspect of the cults of saints for the majority of the faithful. We should not disregard considerations such as this when we think about when and why a hagiographical narrative may have been produced.

Royal endorsement and enforcement of the importance of such evidence for the reputation and viable commemoration of a saint can be seen in a capitulary issued by Charlemagne in 794 at the Synod of Frankfurt. Item number 42 in this capitulary states: "That no new saints are to be venerated or invoked and no shrines for them to be put up along the roads; but those alone are to be venerated in the church who have been deservedly chosen on the basis of their passions or lives".<sup>273</sup> An earlier letter from Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne in 791 had also stressed the importance of authoritative hagiography.<sup>274</sup> Saints' cults were seen to be in need of official regulation at this time and hagiography, a written testimony in support of the saint, was of central importance to this. It is possible that, with no pre-existing written, hagiographical support for their patron saint and his cult before this 794 synod, the Würzburg community saw the need to quickly produce something of this nature. This need may have been made more pressing by the

<sup>272</sup> See Julia M.H. Smith, 'Saints and their Cults', in Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia M.H. Smith, eds, *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Vol. 3, Early Medieval Christianities* (Cambridge, 2008), 581-605, at p. 591.

<sup>273</sup> 'Synodus Franconofurtensis', ed, Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. I (Hannover, 1883), 73-78, no. 42, p. 77: "Ut nulli novi sancti colantur aut invocentur, nec memoria eorum per vias erigantur; sed hii soli in ecclesia venerandi sint qui ex auctoritate passionum aut vitae merito electi sint.", translated in P.D. King, ed, *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Kendal, 1987), 224-230, at p. 229.

<sup>274</sup> *Epistolae selectae pontificum Romanorum Carolo Magno et Ludovico Pio regnantibus scriptae*, ed, K. Hampe, MGH Epp. EKa. III (Berlin, 1899), no. 4, pp. 14-15; Giorgia Vocino, 'Under the aegis of the saints: Hagiography and Power in early Carolingian northern Italy', *EME* 22.1 (2014), 26-52.

fact that Charlemagne spent Christmas of 793 at St. Kilian's in Würzburg, on his way to Frankfurt.<sup>275</sup> This would be particularly important if, as seems to be the case for St. Kilian, the saint was a fabrication of the community rather than a real historical figure. Any legitimising text of this nature would therefore be vitally important to the integrity and viability of cult; something which a community such as Würzburg clearly did not feel that it could do without. Although it would be very difficult to prove this conclusively unless an earlier manuscript were to come to light, or were a letter or similar to be found which could link the *Passio minor Kiliani* and this synod, it is a significant point of consideration in an otherwise unclear provenance for this source.

A dating some time in the final decade of the eighth century would mean that production of the *Passio minor* fell within the episcopate of Bishop Berowelf, himself a member of the Würzburg cathedral clergy, who was the incumbant from 768/769 until 800.<sup>276</sup> Looking back over what has been discussed to this point, there are a number of factors which would make his episcopate an ideal time for Würzburg to have produced a *passio* of its saint. The *passio* of a missionary saint and martyr would have been of great practical importance to Würzburg and Berowelf at this time, as not only was Berowelf a figure of some importance for the conversion of the Slavs as has been suggested by Alfred Wendehorst, but Würzburg itself also became a centre of mission in this period as it was given direction of the mission diocese of Paderborn and charged by Charlemagne with training missionaries.<sup>277</sup> The effect of this role on Würzburg and its library can be seen in a book list from around 800, in which the Acts of the Apostles appears as the book of most importance at the head of the list.<sup>278</sup>

From the point of view of institutional history and tradition, the fact that Berowelf's own consecration came about through the agency of Archbishop Lull of Mainz and also Willibald, bishop of Eichstätt, would have provided a good opportunity to reaffirm the long-standing associaton between Würzburg and St. Boniface's circle.<sup>279</sup> Moreover, Berowelf's election came following the resignation of the position's previous incumbant, Megingoz (753-768), which is thought to have arisen due to in-house disputes over the rule

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<sup>275</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, 793, p. 94.

<sup>276</sup> Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, p. 31.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid*, p. 33.

<sup>278</sup> On this book list see Elias Avery Lowe, 'An Eighth-Century List of Books in a Bodleian MS. from Würzburg and Its Probable Relation to the Laudian Acts', *Speculum* 3.1 (1928), 3-15; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 152.

<sup>279</sup> Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, p. 33.

and regulation governing the community.<sup>280</sup> Following such internal quarrels, the need to re-establish a sense of unity and communal feeling and identity would have been strong. Though this feeling is not something which comes through as strongly in the *Passio minor Kiliani* as it does in its later recension, the fact that Würzburg could be provided with a foundation history as well as the story of their patron saint, would have been valuable nonetheless.

The eruption of communal discord at Fulda in the first half of the ninth century resulted in an active period of literary production there which saw, amongst other things, the production of Eigil's *Vita Sturm* as part of what Richard Corradini has termed a necessary 'rhetoric of reconciliation'.<sup>281</sup> At a time when Würzburg was flexing its episcopal muscles in relations with nearby communities such as Fulda, the effect of a text such as the *Passio minor* could have been to galvanise support and feeling both within Würzburg's own community and also further afield. Even if we cannot be sure that a new translation took place in 788, the fact that the Salvator Dom was built, or at least completed and consecrated during Berowelf's episcopacy, lying as it did atop the resting place of the martyrs signals the importance of his episcopate for the development of Würzburg and also, perhaps, of St. Kilian.<sup>282</sup> A narrative accompaniment to explain the importance of these saints would undoubtedly have been a significant consideration to go along with the consecration of this building.

### **2.3 '*Pippino primo orientalium Francorum rege*': representations of royalty and the *Passio minor Kiliani***

As well as the debates over the dating of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, there are also two schools of thought when it comes to the place at which this *passio* may have been written; one side arguing for an origin connected to the royal court, the other suggesting local Würzburg or at least southern German beginnings. It is a bolder claim to suggest that the production of the *Passio minor Kiliani* and the subsequent promotion of the saint and his cult originated with the royal court. The language and imagery used within the *Passio minor*, or evidence for the manuscript dissemination would also need to support this. It is much more likely, and more readily defensible based upon the surviving evidence, that this was a local text about a local saint intended for a local audience made up of Würzburg's own community and its

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<sup>280</sup> Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, pp. 29 and 31.

<sup>281</sup> Corradini, 'The rhetoric of crisis', pp. 278-280.

<sup>282</sup> Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, p. 32. Also *Vita posterior Burchardi*, III.1, pp. 190-193.

wider network. Any association with the royal court of Charlemagne or Louis the German may have come as a result of this promotion.

The argument for a provenance stemming from the royal court found its main proponent in Joachim Dienemann, who argued that the only agency which could have triggered the writing of a text like the *Passio minor Kiliani* was the kingdom and court of Louis the German.<sup>283</sup> The period following the truce at Verdun in 843 saw the zenith of literary production at the east Frankish court as part of a renewed drive towards a *renovatio* of religion and learning.<sup>284</sup> The presence of two martyrologies in a catalogue of books and treasures from Louis' royal chapel at Frankfurt suggests that this interest in literary and liturgical productions also extended to those texts of importance to the cults of saints and the ordering of the liturgical year.<sup>285</sup> Würzburg's own activities in this area at this time are apparent from the relics of Ss. Cyrian and Sebastian acquired for the community by Bishop Gozbald († 855).<sup>286</sup> These factors as well as Gozbald's own close relationship with Louis the German suggest that a hagiographical text about St. Kilian could have been produced in these circumstances, but, as we shall see, the text itself and its surviving manuscripts do not readily support this conclusion.<sup>287</sup>

Dienemann's argument rests upon key factors such as his belief in the instrumental importance of a 788 translation, the text's reference to Pippin as king of the East Franks, and his own dating of the text; arguments which, as discussed above, are far from conclusive. This line of reasoning seems to have held some sway over the years, however, and as recently as 2004 Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel asserted that, "[...] the earlier life of St. Kilian has been shown to have been composed at the Frankish court."<sup>288</sup> Before Dienemann argued for a court origin, it had been reasonably well assumed, based upon the author's apparent local knowledge of both the cult and the Würzburg area, that the *Passio minor Kiliani* was a production of the Würzburg community.<sup>289</sup> Again, however, features of the text such as its description of the area around Würzburg were influenced by similar

<sup>283</sup> Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian*, pp. 216-145.

<sup>284</sup> Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Ithaca NY, 2006), pp. 147 & 165.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167. The catalogue is now 'Lorsch Rotulus', Frankfurt a.M., Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Ms. Barth. 179. urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-diglit-63289, see verso 2.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168; see also Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, pp. 42-46.

<sup>287</sup> Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 171.

<sup>288</sup> Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Kilian (d. 689?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5419, accessed 24 March 2014].

<sup>289</sup> See Goetz, 'Die Viten des hl. Kilian', p. 288.

descriptions in the works of Arbeo of Freising.<sup>290</sup> More recently, Knut Schäferdiek has moved the focus away from the Carolingian court and back within the Main-Frankish area, suggesting that the author was himself a Würzburg cleric.<sup>291</sup>

Had the *Passio minor Kiliani* been produced at the royal court the reference to Pippin might have been more acclamatory than what we in fact find. Pippin is mentioned more in terms of giving the events of 752 a time stamp, rather than exalting the ruler in any particular way. Here Pippin is referred to as “Pippin the first king of the East Franks / *Pippino primo orientalium Francorum rege*”.<sup>292</sup> If the *Passio minor Kiliani* was a court production from the time of Charlemagne, or even Louis the German, we might expect it to share more language and imagery with other royal documents when referring to ruling heads of the Carolingian dynasty.

This is not to say that the *Passio minor Kiliani* is not pro-Carolingian. In his discussion of the Thuringian reaction to the expansion of royal activity as it increasingly impacted on lands east of the Rhine, Matthew Innes has emphasised the particularly local identity which comes through in the language evoked by those involved in the subsequent revolt.<sup>293</sup> Innes notes that a Lorsch manuscript containing the *Annales Nazariani*, possibly written at Murbach, describes the conspirators as ‘Thuringians’, thus using language that represents a particular regional identity which marks them out as distinct from the Carolingian realm.<sup>294</sup> He compares this with sources closer to the court which refer to the conspirators as ‘eastern Franks’.<sup>295</sup> As the *Passio minor* refers to Pippin as ‘king of the East Franks’, it seems that the text aligns Würzburg and St. Kilian with a Carolingian-focused identity.<sup>296</sup> The downfall of the Hedenid ducal line as described by the *passio* would also suggest an understanding that recognition of Carolingian rulership would be of greater benefit for the long term future of the community. When the *passio* describes Heden’s downfall, he is described as having been ejected “[...] by the people of the East Franks.”<sup>297</sup> Alignment with pro-Carolingian sentiment does not argue for a court production, however, and there is still a notable difference between this pro-Carolingian stance and the language used by texts which exhibit more of a court ‘state of mind’.

<sup>290</sup> See, for example, *Passio minor*, ch. 3, p. 723; see also above, p. 55.

<sup>291</sup> Schäferdiek, ‘Kilian von Würzburg’, p. 317.

<sup>292</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 15, p. 728.

<sup>293</sup> Innes, ‘Kings, monks and patrons’, pp. 313-315.

<sup>294</sup> ‘Ibid’, p. 313. The manuscript is now Vatican, Palatina Latina, 966. See also Nelson, ‘Opposition to Charlemagne’, pp. 13-14.

<sup>295</sup> ‘Ibid’.

<sup>296</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 15, p. 728.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 14, p. 727: “[...] *populus orientalium Francorum de regno eiecerunt.*”

We can also compare this with the words of Alcuin in his *Vita Willibrordi*; as although written when he was abbot of Tours around 796, Alcuin had previously been resident at the court of Charlemagne. When describing the saint's prophecy of the future glory of the Carolingian line, Alcuin described Pippin and his heirs in the following way:

“[...] Pepin the Short, son of the valiant Charles Martel, leader of the Franks and father of the present illustrious Charles, who reigns over the Franks at the present day in triumph, dignity, and glory. Of Pepin, father of the last named, Willibrord uttered the following prediction [...]: ‘Know that this child will be highly exalted and renowned. He will be greater than all the leaders of the Franks who have gone before him’ [...] For all the people know what wonderful victories this illustrious conqueror has gained, how widely he has extended the bounds of his empire, how devotedly he has promoted the Christian religion and how he has defended the Holy Church of God abroad.”<sup>298</sup>

The language and imagery here fits well with what we might expect from texts reflecting more of a ‘court state of mind’, and presenting the Carolingians as defenders of the faith and heirs to the kings of the Old Testament and the emperors of Rome.<sup>299</sup> This imagery is no less apparent in those texts related to the courts of Louis the Pious or Louis the German. In Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* († 865) the emphasis is on the active promotion of Anskar's missionary work in the north by Pippin and his heirs. Rimbert describes Charlemagne as a ‘most excellent emperor’ and writes that he ruled his people “[...] in a praiseworthy manner and with great prudence.”<sup>300</sup> Likewise his son, Louis the Pious, is termed ‘most serene / *serenissimum*’, as well as being described as a most pious and memorable emperor.<sup>301</sup> The active role in the religious life of the realm is also something which comes through in Rudolf of Fulda's *Vita Leobae*, which he wrote around 838, and is particularly evident in chapter 18, where Rudolf describes the veneration shown towards the soon-to-be saint by successive members of the dynasty.<sup>302</sup>

<sup>298</sup> Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi, archiepiscopi Traiectensis*, ed, Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 7 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1930), 18-141, ch. 23, p. 133-134: “[...] Pippinum, filium fortissimi Francorum ducis Carli, patrem huius nobilissimi Caroli, qui modo cum triumphis maximis et omni dignitate gloriosissime Francorum regit imperium. De quo Pippino, patre eius, idem sanctus vir praesaga voce tale [...] praedixit vaticinium: ‘Scitote, quod iste infans sublimis erit valde et gloriosus et omnium praecedentium Francorum ducibus maior’ [...] Scit namque omnis populus, quibus nobilissimus vobis celebrantur triumphis, vel quantum terminos nostri dilatavit imperii, vel quam devote christianam in regno suo propagavit religionem, vel quid pro degensione sanctae Dei ecclesiae apud extraneos exercuit gentes.”, translated by C.H. Talbot, in *Soldiers*, pp. 191-211, at pp. 206-207

<sup>299</sup> See Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 39.

<sup>300</sup> Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, ed, Georg Waitz, MGH SRG 55 (Hannover, 1884), ch. 3 p. 21: “[...] cum magna prudentia regni scepra laudabiliter gubernasse [...]”, translated in ‘Anskar and his Mission to Scandinavia’, in Paul Edward Dutton, ed, *Carolingian Civilization: a Reader* (Peterborough ON., 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2004), 400-451, at p. 403.

<sup>301</sup> Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, chs 7 and 12, pp. 26 and 33-34; see also James T. Palmer, ‘Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* and Scandinavian Mission in the Ninth Century’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55.2 (2004), 235-256.

<sup>302</sup> Rudolf, *Vitae Leobae abbatissae Bischofesheimensis*, ed, Georg Waitz, MGH SS 15.1 (Hannover, 1887), 118-131, ch. 18, p. 129, translated by C.H. Talbot, in *Soldiers*, 255-277, at p. 273.

As this text by Rudolf and also the *Vita S. Sualonis* by Ermanrich of Ellwangen, written some time in the middle of the ninth century, testify, it was not unheard of in this period for *vitae* to be written in court circles for saints about whom the author knew very little.<sup>303</sup> As such, the lack of original information about St. Kilian need not necessarily be a hindrance to its production. As we can see from this comparison, however, the language used in the *Passio minor Kiliani* to describe a member of the Carolingian dynasty does not seem to have enough of a court ‘flavour’ to it. We might also expect to find a reasonably large and widely dispersed number of early testimonies for a text which enjoyed royal patronage. As it stands, however, there are only four manuscripts of the *Passio minor Kiliani* surviving which we can date to before the production of the *Passio maior*.

## 2.4 Manuscripts and Textual Transmission

The manuscripts which contain the earliest known surviving copies of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, in order of age, are: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 566; Vienna, Österreich Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 552; Munich, Bayerisch Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4585; Hannover, Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek, I. 189. These manuscripts all originated east of the Rhine and suggest that the hagiography took a long time to be of interest beyond Würzburg’s own ‘local’ concerns. Although Würzburg’s role in the dissemination of the *Passio minor Kiliani* can only be inferred from these manuscripts, their survival nonetheless indicates that the text was a useful product for export from Würzburg; one which may have been of more practical use at these other centres of influence and interest than it was in the cult centre itself. They demonstrate that the *Passio minor* had a practical function in manuscripts which were themselves actively used and developed over time. It is not until the production of the Hannover manuscript, at a time which may have coincided with the production of the *Passio maior Kiliani* that there is an emphasis on form and display.

The earliest known copy of the *Passio minor Kiliani* is found in a late ninth-century manuscript, produced at St Gall, the main part of which consists of a collection of early Roman and early German saints’ Lives.<sup>304</sup> The contents of this manuscript not only form a thematically coherent whole, but they are also arranged in calendrical order by saint, with the ‘*Vita sanctorum Chilianii et sociorum martyrum*’ appearing on folios 212-219. The manuscript

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<sup>303</sup> On Ermanrich and his Life of St. Sualo, see Lynda L. Coon, ‘Historical Fact and Exegetical Fiction in the Carolingian *Vita S. Sualonis*’, *The American Society of Church History* 72.1 (2003), 1-17.

<sup>304</sup> St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 566: Lives of early Roman and early German saints (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0566>). From now on: St Gall, Cod. Sang. 566.

itself is a particularly important testimony to the large collection of saints' *vitae* in the monastery's own library, as it also contains what Paul Lehmann described as a rare breed of catalogue on folios 1v-11, listing the hagiographical texts in the possession of St Gall's library, kept and updated between the ninth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>305</sup> This catalogue was arranged calendrically, like the rest of the manuscript, with saints whose *vitae* or *passiones* the library possessed listed according to their feast day, with the entry informing the reader in which volume their Life could be found. It thus provided a quick reference guide to finding a saint's Life in the large monastic library. Listed for the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, we find the entry "*Chiliani in collectariolo passionis sancti Desiderii*", indicating that the library possessed a copy of the *passio* of St. Kilian and that it could be found in the volume which began with the *passio* of St. Desiderius: St. Gall, Cod. Sang. 566.<sup>306</sup>

As suggested by the arrangement of the hagiographic contents and by the addition of the calendrical book-list, this manuscript seems to have been a functional piece. There is no decoration beyond rubrication for some initials, for the *incipit* and *explicit* of the saints' Lives and also for the dates of the calendar; indicating a clear practical function rather than any specific adornment. Throughout the manuscript, although a number of changes in hand are evident, the text remains clear and unadorned. The text of the *Passio minor* in particular shows signs of a number of different hands in its production, as well as exhibiting a number of erasures, corrections and some marginal notes. A note found in the left hand margin of p. 214, states that Kilian's meeting with Pope Conon took place "*te(m)p(or)ib(us) Justinian(us) i(m)p(er)atoris primi*", that is, during the time of Justinian I, emperor in Constantinople. Though Justinian I died in 565, indicating that the scribe has made a mistake where Justinian II should have been written, the note indicates engagement with the text. The style and the quality of the *Passio minor* suggests that this may have been a practice piece as use of capitals for proper nouns is inconsistent as is the spelling of the name 'Kilian', with the Irish 'Ch-' spelling sometimes being used in place of the 'K-' form. This suggests that the text we have preserved in this manuscript may have been copied from an earlier, now lost, manuscript witness to the *Passio minor*.

The importance of function over that of form in the early manuscripts of the *Passio minor* is also apparent from that which survives in Vienna. The manuscript Vienna,

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<sup>305</sup> Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz, I Band., Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur*, ed, Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München (Munich, 1918), pp. 89-91.

<sup>306</sup> Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, p. 95. Lehmann transcribes the hagiographic catalogue on pages 91-99.

Österreich Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 552, was dated to the second third of the ninth century by Bernhard Bischoff and may, therefore, be almost contemporary with the St Gall manuscript.<sup>307</sup> As with the St. Gall manuscript, this Vienna example contains a collection of *passiones* of classical martyrs, arranged in calendrical order.<sup>308</sup> Interestingly there was a blank page (fol. 107a) left between the main body of *passiones* and the copy of the ‘*Passio S. Kiliani et sociorum eius*’ (fols. 107b-112a), which was later filled in, possibly in the tenth century, with a six-line *Hundesegen* (‘dog blessing’) written in German and also a snake incantation written in Latin.<sup>309</sup>

Bernhard Bischoff noted palaeographic similarities between this Vienna manuscript and that now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14098, a Latin manuscript which was produced in Salzburg for the young Louis the German, perhaps for his court.<sup>310</sup> This Salzburg production contains, amongst other things, Quodvultdeus of Carthage’s Pseudo-Augustinian sermon against Jews, pagans, and Arians.<sup>311</sup> Bischoff also noted that the six classical *passiones* found in this manuscript correspond to those found in a manuscript known to have once been in the possession of Louis’ chancellor Grimald.<sup>312</sup> This latter manuscript dates to the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, which would fit well with the date he ascribed to Vienna, Cod. 552. Although Bischoff ruled out the

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<sup>307</sup> Hereafter referred to as Vienna, Cod. 552. Bernhard Bischoff, ‘Paläographische Fragen deutscher Denkmäler der Karolingerzeit’, in idem, *Mittelalterliche Studien, Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* (3 vols; Stuttgart, 1966-1981), III, 73-111, at p. 103.

<sup>308</sup> ‘Paderborner Repertorium der deutschsprachigen Textüberlieferung des 8. bis 12. Jahrhunderts: Aufbewahrungsort Wien, Österr. Nationalbibl. Cod. 552’, <http://www.paderborner-repertorium.de/11049>.

<sup>309</sup> *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, ed. Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis (10 vols; Vienna, 1864-1899), Band 1: Cod.1 – Cod. 2000, p. 94; For the *Hundesegen* (*Sex versus theotisci, Benedictionem canum gregis continentes*), see ‘Paderborner Repertorium’. These two unusual additions have been the primary focus of attention directed at this manuscript, on which see: Karl Müllenhoff, ‘Die Wiener Hundeseugen, an herren Theodore von Karajan’, *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum* 11 (1859), 257-262; Hermann Menhardt, *Verzeichnis der altdeutschen literarischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Deutsche Sprache und Literatur 13 (Berlin, 1960), p. 42; *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, ed. Elias von Steinmeyer (Berlin, 1916), No. 76, pp. 384-396.

<sup>310</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, ‘Bücher am Hofe Ludwigs des Deutschen und die Privatbibliothek des Kanzlers Grimald. Mit sechs Abbildungen (Tafe; XIII bis XVIII)’, in Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* (3 vols; Stuttgart, 1966-1981), III, 186-212, at p. 188, § 9. Although the footnote itself refers to ‘Wiener Hs. 522’, this seems to be a typographical error and should in fact read ‘Wiener Hs. 552’, as can be seen if the citation of Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian*, p. 218ff is traced.

<sup>311</sup> Bischoff, ‘Bücher am Hofe Ludwigs’, p. 188, § 9. Quodvultdeus can be found on folios. 61r-119v, see <http://www.europeanregia.eu/en/node/11148> and <http://www.opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/search?oclcno=645188524>.

<sup>312</sup> ‘Ibid’; see also Bischoff, ‘Paläographische Fragen’, at p. 103. The manuscript in question is now St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 559.

possibility that the Vienna manuscript was also produced in Salzburg, a connection to the royal court remained highly plausible.<sup>313</sup>

Whilst Bischoff did not suggest an alternative *scriptorium* which may have produced the Vienna manuscript, Joachim Dienemann suggested that it may have been written at Würzburg.<sup>314</sup> Although there was originally blank parchment left between the end of the classical texts with the *Passio S. Sebastiani* (fol. 107a) and the beginning of the *Passio S. Kiliani* (fol. 107b), the latter text does not appear to have been a later addition to the manuscript as the hand is consistent. The intention behind this gap in the manuscript may have been to highlight St. Kilian, showing him as distinct from the classical martyrs but at the same time still intimately connected with them through the shared suffering of martyrdom; linking him, as a native and more local saint, to the great martyr saints of Christianity. Here Kilian is joined with martyrs whose status endured from the earliest days of the cults of saints, thus trying to demonstrate, through the mediumship of the page, that Würzburg had truly ‘arrived’ in a cultic sense because they could claim their own local member of this great saintly pantheon.

We are therefore left with the possibility that, from the second third of the ninth century Würzburg was producing copies of the *Passio minor Kiliani* and that there was a connection with manuscripts intended for royal consumption. This is a reversal of the suggestion that the *Passio minor Kiliani* was written at the royal court and spread from a base there. It takes less in the way of explanation to accept that Würzburg may have promoted its own saint to the royal court. Once again, the focus for the written tradition of the *Passio minor Kiliani* lies east of the Rhine and at those centres in which Würzburg had an interest.

A further connection between early copies of the *Passio minor Kiliani* and the *scriptorium* of Würzburg can be seen in the manuscript now Munich, Bayerisch Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4585.<sup>315</sup> Once again, this is a thematically coherent collection of *vitae* and *passiones*, which was once in the possession of the monastery of Benediktbeuern, in the diocese of Regensburg.<sup>316</sup> The original manuscript may have been produced in Regensburg itself as Bischoff has noted the similarities of its main script to that found in Munich, Bayerisch

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<sup>313</sup> Bischoff, ‘Paläographische Fragen’, p. 103.

<sup>314</sup> Bischoff also cites Dienemann in his argument for the relationship between Vienna 552, St Gall 559 and Munich, Clm. 14098; Dienemann, *Der Kult des heilige Kilian*, pp. 217-219.

<sup>315</sup> München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4585, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00033096-0>. Hereafter known as Munich, Clm. 4585.

<sup>316</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der karolingerzeit, Teil 1: Die Bayerischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 206.

Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14510, a ninth-century Regensburg manuscript containing sermons and liturgical materials, amongst other things.<sup>317</sup> Based on this evidence, he suggested that Munich, Clm. 4585 was also produced at Regensburg before being given to Benediktbeuern. As with the Vienna manuscript, a space seems to have been left at the end of the original manuscript, into which the *Passio minor Kiliani* was later added (fols. 115r-119r).<sup>318</sup>

Bischoff has identified the hand which copied the *Passio minor* as corresponding to known Würzburg examples of the later ninth century, suggesting that the manuscript had the *Passio minor* added to it in Würzburg.<sup>319</sup> Hartmut Hoffmann concurred with this, as he listed it in amongst the products of the Würzburg *scriptorium*.<sup>320</sup> This scenario is highly plausible as Würzburg is known to have furnished Benediktbeuern with a number of manuscripts and books with which to fill its library.<sup>321</sup> Although Hoffmann argued for a waning of Würzburg's own book production in the latter half of the ninth century before a revival in the tenth, adding a text of this nature to a pre-produced codex in order to spread the word about St. Kilian to other communities with which they had existing ties would not have beyond the limits of the *scriptorium's* capabilities.<sup>322</sup>

The final manuscript to be discussed here provides the most northerly and westerly early copy of the *Passio minor Kiliani*. It is also the smallest of the four, but by far the most luxurious and beautiful. Hannover, Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek, I. 189 contains only two *passiones*: those of St. Kilian and St. Margaret of Antioch, in addition to which there are four prayers.<sup>323</sup> The manuscript has been recognised as being a product of the Fulda *scriptorium*, based upon study of the eleven miniatures which it contains for the Passion of St. Kilian (in addition to those for the Passion of St. Margaret) and the strong resemblance which they bear to other known products of that *scriptorium*, notably the Fulda Sacramentary produced around 975.<sup>324</sup> The likeness is particularly apparent if the image of

<sup>317</sup> Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen*, p. 205.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206, no. 39. Unfortunately Bischoff does not specify which Würzburg examples he is referring to.

<sup>320</sup> Hartmut Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts im Südwesten des Deutschen Reich*. MGH Schriften 30.1 (Hannover, 2004), p. 330. Also Bernhard Bischoff und Josef Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani. Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1952), p. 50, § 50.

<sup>321</sup> Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulern*, p. 206.

<sup>322</sup> Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen*, p. 321.

<sup>323</sup> For a facsimile of this manuscript complete with commentary see, *Passio Kiliani, Passio Margaretae, orationes: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat dre Handschrift Ms I 189 aus dem Besitz der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover*, ed, Cynthia Hahn (2 vols; Graz, 1988). Manuscript hereafter known as Hannover, I.189.

<sup>324</sup> *Passio Kiliani, Passio Margaretae*, ed, Hahn, p. 24.

St. Kilian baptizing converts at Würzburg is compared with that found on fol. 87r of the Fulda Sacramentary, which shows St. Boniface baptizing converts, before being martyred.<sup>325</sup> The imagery used in this Hannover manuscript is, therefore, very much in keeping with the ‘Fulda Style’, as described by Henry Mayr-Harting, and the influence of Boniface which loomed over Fulda and its artistic productions is also very apparent in this illustrated *Passio minor Kiliani*.<sup>326</sup> The link with St. Boniface is something which runs throughout the history of the cult of St. Kilian, due to his involvement in the founding of the diocese of Würzburg, his presence at the *elevatio* of 752, and the many textual references which the *Passio minor Kiliani* makes to his *vita*.

That Fulda should be in a position to produce a copy of the *Passio minor Kiliani* can be ascribed not only to the fact that its *scriptorium* was prolific in producing illustrated saints’ Lives in the latter half of the tenth century, but also to the fact that Kilian’s cult had been firmly established there since the time of Hrabanus Maurus († 856).<sup>327</sup> These factors, combined with the specific nature of this text, in particular its illumination and illustrations, account for its production in Fulda, a centre particularly adept at such productions, rather than another eastern or southern German centre. It is likely that Fulda obtained a copy of the *Passio minor Kiliani* either from Würzburg itself or from St Gall, as there were strong connections with both centres.<sup>328</sup> We know that books were lent from Würzburg to Fulda as a Würzburg book list from c. 800 records four volumes as being ‘*ad fultu*’.<sup>329</sup>

Rather than detract from its interest, the small size of this manuscript is one of its most significant features, as Henry Mayr-Harting has identified it as perhaps the earliest surviving example of a *libellus*, or ‘little book’; texts aimed at the edification of their subjects, but which also served as title deeds validating the shrine and property of a saint.<sup>330</sup> Although Fulda did possess relics of St. Kilian, this manuscript was produced for another religious centre. Whilst there is no surviving dedication in the manuscript itself, some clues as to its intended destination come from within as not only do the two texts of St. Kilian and St. Margaret seem to have been deliberately chosen, but the Latin used in the four

<sup>325</sup> For this image from the Fulda Sacramentary see the manuscript now Göttingen, Niedersächischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. Ms. theol. 231 cim: fol. 876, reproduced in Marco Mostert, *754: Bonifatius bij Dokkeum vermoord* (Hilversum, 1999), image no. 22, p. 50. Henry Mayr-Harting has also noted the similarity in the script used in these two manuscripts, see Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination, An Historical Study* (2 vols; London, 1999), Part II: Books, p. 139.

<sup>326</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, II, p. 139.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid*, p. 143 & 139. On cult for Kilian in Fulda and the translation of relics there see Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian*, especially p. 61

<sup>328</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, II, p. 143.

<sup>329</sup> Elias Avery Lowe, ‘An Eighth-Century List of Books’, at pp. 6-7.

<sup>330</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, II, p. 139.

accompanying prayers takes the feminine form.<sup>331</sup> As a result, it was most likely produced for a female community or individual. Although the communities at Kitzingen, Tauberbischofsheim, Ocshenfurt and Essen have all been put forward as possible destinations for this manuscript, Katrinette Bodarwé has convincingly ascribed it to the latter of these: Essen, founded in 852.<sup>332</sup>

Essen is known to have possessed other luxury manuscripts, including illustrated saints' Lives, such as that commissioned from Fulda by the abbess Hadwig (910-951), and also a luxury gospel book once belonging to the abbess Theophanu (1039-1058).<sup>333</sup> That the community was in a position to be able to commission such expensive manuscripts may be due to the fact that Essen, along with the later royal foundation of Quedlinburg, enjoyed a particularly close and beneficial relationship with the Frankish royal household.<sup>334</sup> More importantly, Essen also had a significant relic collection, among which we find a leaden casket containing relics of both St. Kilian and St. Margaret.<sup>335</sup> As a female martyr, the significance of St. Margaret for a female community which had been established in the former Saxon mission field, is clear. As for St. Kilian, however, his presence may be due to the fact that his feast (8<sup>th</sup> July) was also the date of dedication of the church at Essen, as well as the fact that Würzburg had once been active in the Saxon mission field following the death of Fulda's Abbot Sturmī († 779).<sup>336</sup> As a pair, these two saints also complement each other well. Their feasts lie close together in the liturgical calendar, with St. Kilian's on 8<sup>th</sup> July and St. Margaret's on 20<sup>th</sup> July, and they provide complementary examples of male and female martyrdom, following lives and struggles which also show similarities as issues with pagan marriage lay behind the sufferings of both saints.<sup>337</sup>

A manuscript as richly decorated as this may have been displayed proudly, to the credit of both the community and St. Kilian. The manuscript seems to have been part of active cult for both saints at Essen, with liturgical veneration alongside the possession of relics, as

<sup>331</sup> *Passio Kiliani, Passio Margaretae*, ed, Hahn, pp. 30-31.

<sup>332</sup> Katrinette Bodarwé, 'Roman martyrs and their veneration in Ottonian Saxony: the case of the *sanctimoniales* of Essen', *EME* 9.3 (2000), 345-365.

<sup>333</sup> *Passio Kiliani, Passio Margaretae*, ed, Hahn, p. 135; Bodarwé, 'Roman Martyrs', 351.

<sup>334</sup> Jan Gerchow with Katrinette Bodarwé, Susan Marti and Hedwig Röckelein, 'Early Monasteries and Foundations (500-1200): An introduction', in Jeffrey Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds, *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, translated by Dietlinde Hamburger (New York, 2008; originally published in German in 2005), 13-40, at p. 19.

<sup>335</sup> Bodarwé, 'Roman martyrs', p. 354.

<sup>336</sup> 'Ibid'; Alfred Wendehorst, 'Östfrankische Mission in Sachsen', in Johannes Erischen and Evamaria Brockhoff, eds, *Kilian: Mönch aus Irland, aller Franken Patron* (Munich, 1989), 281-285, at p. 282.

<sup>337</sup> See David Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 5<sup>th</sup> edition 2004), p. 303 (for Kilian) and pp. 344-345 (for Margaret).

both St. Kilian and St. Margaret were entered into the earliest of Essen's three surviving sacramentaries; providing further evidence of cultic veneration to complement the possession of relics and hagiographies.<sup>338</sup> It seems that Hannover, I.189 also played a liturgical function as the *Passio minor Kiliani* ends with a prayer which is unique to this manuscript.<sup>339</sup> A luxury manuscript such as this would have been particularly suitable for presentation on the feast day of either St. Kilian or St. Margaret. The miniatures which accompany the *Passio minor Kiliani* also emphasise the importance of liturgy, Christian ritual, and ceremony, particularly that on fol. 4v which shows St. Kilian, garbed in a *pallium*, preaching to a crowd at Würzburg. Such emphasis would have been of instructional use at Essen, but also came about as a result of the nature of the *Passio minor's* narrative, as well as Fulda's own ideas about promoting the cults of saints for its practical example and moral lessons.<sup>340</sup>

The earliest manuscript tradition for the *Passio minor Kiliani* is therefore quite 'local' in its outlook. Far from being a production of the royal court, this evidence instead locates the initial hagiographical component of St. Kilian's cult within Würzburg's own circle of interest and influence in the area east of the Rhine. This manuscript tradition is located within a natural topographical triangle, surrounded on all sides by mountainous or rugged terrain. On a modern-day map of Germany, this triangle encompasses Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and also a sizeable chunk of Thuringia. Capped off by the Thüringer Wald, this triangle's left-hand edge runs down to the ridges of the Schwarzwald, with its right edge formed along Germany's own modern-day south-eastern border with the Czech Republic, and the Swiss and Austrian Alps form its base. Although bisected by the Schwäbische Alb and the Frankische Alb, this triangle nonetheless forms a coherent geographical unit. All four manuscripts, even when they cannot be assigned to a specific *scriptorium*, are products of this area, with Würzburg at the top of the triangle, St Gall in its south-western corner and Regensburg providing the south-eastern corner.

This was an area which had been beyond the bounds of immediate Roman influence and which corresponds to the area of Irish and Anglo-Saxon mission in the east. The world of the Frankish heartlands lay far to the west and there is a considerable amount of geography in the space between the two. In this region, missionaries primarily chose

<sup>338</sup> Bodarvé, 'Roman martyrs', p. 354 and § 51. This sacramentary is now Düsseldorf, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, DI, urn:nbn:de:hbz:061:1-112892, see pp. 264av-265br.

<sup>339</sup> The prayer is edited by Levison in his edition of the *Passio minor*, p. 728 and will be discussed in the following chapter.

<sup>340</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, II, p. 140.

strategic positions for the sites of their new monasteries, something which provides evidence of the challenging nature of the terrain as well as the envisaged challenge of the local population.<sup>341</sup> Whilst David Parsons has cited Fulda as the classic example of a monastery founded at a river crossing, in a strategic position with pre-existing, Iron-Age, defenses, Würzburg also fits this picture quite well. The *castellum* described in the two *passiones* of St. Kilian lay on an imposing promontory which juts out from the surrounding hillsides on the banks of the Main, next to a sharp bend in the river. It boasts a commanding view of the surrounding valley and would seem an appropriate site from which to control a diocese.<sup>342</sup>

Taking the St Gall manuscript as the earliest surviving copy, the most definite date by which the *Passio minor Kiliani* must have been written is the end of the ninth century. In spatial terms the connection with Würzburg seems to be more 'local'. There is a direct link to Würzburg in the case of Munich, Clm. 4585 and Vienna, Cod. 552 raising the possibility that St. Kilian's own community was producing and disseminating manuscript copies of the *Passio minor* even earlier than this. Certainly the Munich manuscript would suggest that Würzburg had been in possession of its own, perhaps original copy of the *Passio* at some point. Whilst we may be no clearer on the precise centre at which the *Passio minor Kiliani* was first composed, the manuscript evidence indicates that the text's own geographical horizons were limited to the area of Anglo-Saxon and Irish mission, within the southern-German topographical triangle. This was the case until such time as the *Passio maior Kiliani* was composed, and we are able to ascribe the production of this second *Passio* to Würzburg with some degree of certainty.

A possible connection to the royal court arises in relation to the Munich manuscript and, perhaps, also Hannover, I.189 with its link to the foundation at Essen, but this is not enough to suggest that the text was first produced by the royal court. Whilst a connection between the genesis of the hagiographical component of cult and the royal court can thus be downplayed, this is not the case in terms of the liturgical elements of St. Kilian's cult. The next chapter will discuss some of the key liturgical documents to feature St. Kilian and will provide evidence for his veneration west of the Rhine, from the late eighth century onwards.

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<sup>341</sup> See especially David Parsons, 'Some churches of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries in southern Germany: a review of the evidence', *EME* 8.1 (1999), 31-67; also idem, 'Sites and Monuments of the Anglo-Saxon Mission in Central Germany', *The Archaeological Journal* 140 (1983), 280-321.

<sup>342</sup> Parsons, 'Sites and Monuments', p. 292.

## 2.5 Conclusion

Early opportunities to produce a hagiographical narrative history and textual witness to the cult of St. Kilian seem not to have been seized upon as we might expect in the period immediately following the translation of 752. The *Passio minor Kiliani* seems, at first glance, to do little as a text beyond functioning as a basic account of events, and one which was chiefly copied from other *vitae*. Attaching the production of the *Passio minor* to an event of cultic significance for St. Kilian and Würzburg is not an easy task. The 752 translation, as we have seen, is too early a date to have prompted its production, whilst the supposed translation of 788 is too ambiguous an event.

Political undertones seem to run throughout not only the hagiographical narrative, but also the course of events surrounding St. Kilian and the development of his cult. The ruling of the synod of Frankfurt in 794 would have added further pressure of both a political and religious nature to Würzburg's need for its own hagiographical witness to its saint, its cult and its community. Given communal relations at the time, as well as Würzburg's own activities in the Saxon mission, there seems to have been more than cultic considerations behind this hagiographical production. The relationship between cult and text was not always a clear-cut one, as is readily apparent from the *Passio minor Kilian*'s early manuscript tradition. This written tradition is also quite late compared to the major cultic events, coming some century and a half later at the outset. Whilst there is some evidence that Würzburg had a role in the production and dissemination of the manuscripts, this must largely be inferred from those which survive. We do, however, see an apparent textual network, focused on a south-east German topographical triangle, within which these manuscripts circulated.

It was not until the mid to late tenth century and the scholarly activities of Stephan of Novara that there was a sustained and coherent attempt to create an account which drew together the saint and the community in a fluent and persuasive history through the use of hagiographical narrative. As transmitted in the manuscripts, this tradition would also have been apparent to centres outside of Würzburg. However, it should not be forgotten that it took the arrival of a renowned scholar from outwith Würzburg's own institutional context to provide this tradition. As discussed in the previous chapter, there are still points of questionable historical veracity in Stephan's narrative, but the story of the saint and the

community, the imagery, and the sense which the hagiography conveyed was what mattered.

The picture which develops from a study of these texts and their manuscripts is not the court-centred view proposed by Joachim Dienemann. Rather, it is of a *locus sanctus* using hagiography to reflect and develop its own 'local' interests; cementing its place and influence in the realm. It is not just the *Passio maior* which should be considered a local Würzburg text. We must now assess whether the aims and spread of hagiography and cult closely corresponded to one another.

### Chapter 3: Würzburg and the Cult of St. Kilian

The hagiographic dossier surrounding St. Kilian of Würzburg needs to be understood within the context of the wider reaches of his cult. The means by which the memory and cult of a saint could be spread beyond the bounds of community were not limited to hagiographical texts or relics. Calendars were essential for the basic functioning of the cults of saints as their pages recorded the feast days of the sanctoral cycle which made up the liturgical year. These texts were readily adapted to suit the more locally orientated activity of the cults of saints, as a community could produce its own calendar to emphasise its own patrons and those saints it held in particular importance, alongside the names of the great heroes and heroines of Christian history.<sup>343</sup> Martyrologies too evolved from their sixth-century beginnings and grew in importance in the Carolingian realm, beginning in earnest with the synods of Aachen in 816 and 817 when their use became fixed in the Frankish liturgy.<sup>344</sup> As their name would suggest, martyrologies indicated a special group of saints within which we can place St. Kilian, as was intended by his tradition in Würzburg. Through the distribution of relics, a network of holy places could also be established across the Frankish world. Along with Sacramentaries, these forms of cultic remembrance fit the parameters of the cults of saints as it was being organised in the Frankish realm. Such collections of saints and their *Natale sancti* or ‘saintly birthdays’ enabled a written record of these celebrations to be kept.

The liturgical evidence for Würzburg is, however, at odds with the hagiographical production and evidence for the commemoration of St. Kilian which survives from elsewhere. This chapter will analyse the surviving evidence in order to build up a picture of the overall spread of St. Kilian’s cult in this period. This will provide the wider backdrop to and indicate the cultic network in which the saint operated. Whilst it was shown in the previous chapter that the *Passio minor Kiliani* was not produced in a court context, the surviving liturgical evidence indicates a strong link between the preservation and dissemination of St. Kilian’s memory and royal interest in the cults of saints. The earliest surviving liturgical evidence for the cult of St. Kilian post-dates the 752 translation of his

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<sup>343</sup> Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, AD. 481-751* (Leiden, 1995), p. 84.

<sup>344</sup> Felice Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627-827* (Notre Dame IN., 2006), especially pp. 117-132.

remains at Würzburg, but likely pre-dates the production of the *Passio minor Kiliani*. Moreover, this evidence comes not from Würzburg itself, but from the court of Charlemagne. Liturgical evidence at the saint's cultic centre does not appear before the mid ninth century. An apparent resurgence in interest in the cult in the mid tenth century is the first time that a more cohesive picture for Würzburg develops, as this is also the period in which the *Passio maior* was written.

In order to examine these issues, the various forms of surviving liturgical and cultic evidence will be studied individually. The survey will begin with an examination of the material surviving in calendars, both because of the central place of this type of source for the cults of saints and also because it is in the Godescalc calendar produced for Charlemagne that the earliest evidence for St. Kilian's cult outside of Würzburg survives. Martyrologies and sacramentaries respectively will then follow. Finally, these written sources and their distribution will be compared with the surviving information of relic distribution for St. Kilian. Whilst relics, whether corporeal or otherwise, must have originated in Würzburg with the saint, they formed additional *foci* of cult wherever they came to be held and venerated. By these means, the following analyses will provide a picture of the framework of St. Kilian's cult as it was manifest in the Carolingian realm and later the Ottonian *Reich*.

### 3.1 Calendars

The earliest surviving non-hagiographical evidence of St. Kilian's prominence for Würzburg also comes from the end of the eighth century. In 799 an Old High German source from Würzburg referred to a monk from that community as belonging to the church of St. Kilian.<sup>345</sup> Given the translation of the saint's remains in 752, it is to be expected that a source from eighth-century Würzburg should provide some further indication of the role of St. Kilian in the community. Clearly there was continued veneration for the saint after his translation, but what is surprising is that we have no further evidence of liturgical veneration for St. Kilian from this period. The *Passio minor Kiliani* may date from around the time of this source, but that still leaves a gap of forty years during which Würzburg sources are silent on the cult.

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<sup>345</sup> *Die Kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, ed. Elias von Steinmeyer (Berlin, 1916), p. 116, no xxiv 2

Around fifteen years before this Old High German source was written we do, however, find the earliest surviving evidence for St. Kilian in a cultic sense.<sup>346</sup> There is an entry for St. Kilian in the calendar which forms part of the famous Godescalc Evangelistary, an extremely beautiful luxury manuscript produced by a scribe named Godescalc, at the royal court in Aachen between 781 and 783 for Charlemagne and his wife Hildegard.<sup>347</sup> A court origin for the *Passio minor* was discussed in the previous chapter, and Kilian's appearance here may seem to support this position, though this is not supported by the manuscript evidence. As with book production at the court in general, a de-luxe manuscript of this calibre would have been produced for a specific occasion, in this instance for the baptism and coronation of the young princes Pippin and Louis.<sup>348</sup> Kilian's appearance in a manuscript such as this signifies the cult's acceptance and adoption west of the Rhine, amongst the highest echelons of power in the realm. This is the opposite of the pattern we might expect for the spread of cult, however, as the saint is here being used in a 'foreign' context, long before we have similar evidence for his cult in more local sources associated with his cultic centre.

This calendar provides an indication of contemporary understanding of St. Kilian's place in the history of the cults of saints and also his importance and use within the Frankish realm. Of the various contemporary saintly figures, only St. Boniface and St. Kilian had been chosen for inclusion in the calendar. St. Boniface seems a more obvious choice, given his status within the realm and his influence in the establishment of Carolingian church structure. Like Boniface, St. Kilian was a martyr and this may have been a key criterion which he met, as patronage of martyr saints was explicitly stated as a defining feature of Frankish self-representation, as expressed in the preface to the *Lex Salica Karolini*.<sup>349</sup> He is also firmly associated with Würzburg and thus with Frankish and Christian expansion east of the Rhine. In this regard, Kilian's cult also corresponds with

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<sup>346</sup> Although the 752 translation was the earliest cultic event we have recorded for St. Kilian, there are no surviving contemporary documents for this event. Its description in the *Passio minor Kiliani*, as has been discussed, dates from long after the it took place.

<sup>347</sup> '*Sanctorum martyrium Kiliani episcopi cum sociis suis*'. See Arno Borst, *Die karolingische Kalendarreform*, MGH Schriften 46 (Hannover, 1998), pp. 119 & 278; Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, translated by Michael M. Gorman (Cambridge, 1994; originally published in German in 1966), pp. 21 & 76; Ferdinand Piper, *Karls des Grossen. Kalendarium und Ostertafel* (Berlin, 1858), p. 26.

<sup>348</sup> Borst, *Kalendarreform*, p. 119; Lawrence Nees, 'Art and Architecture', in Rosamond McKitterick, ed, *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume 2: c. 700-c.900* (Cambridge, 1995), 809-844, at p. 843.

<sup>349</sup> *Lex Salica S*, ed, Karl August Eckhardt, MGH Leges Nationum Germanicarum 4.2 (Hannover, 1969), 197-230, at p. 198; Paul Fouracre, 'The origins of the Carolingian attempt to regulate the cult of saints', in James Howard-Johnston and Paul Anthony Hawyard, eds, *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), 143-165, at p. 150.

those areas where Hildegard's own family had landed interests.<sup>350</sup> Moreover, his cult and tradition did not clash with the claims and achievements of St. Boniface, as would some other saints such as Emmeram or Corbinian. As a, supposedly, seventh-century saint whose cult had developed only in the eighth century, St. Kilian's inclusion also avoided the associations and political connotations which patronage of Merovingian-era saints entailed for the Carolingians, as noted by Paul Fouracre.<sup>351</sup> Sts. Boniface and Kilian and their cults thus fitted together well, representing the western and eastern portions of the realm, presenting the success of Carolingian expansion in both religious and geographical terms.

Godescalc's calendar also provides something of a potted history of the development of sanctity and the changing status of Christianity and the cults of saints, from its formative stages up until the time of the calendar's production. The entry for the 8<sup>th</sup> July states that Kilian and his companions, evangelisers and martyrs, died at Würzburg in 689.<sup>352</sup> St. Kilian is one of only two seventh-century saints recorded in the calendar, the other being Pope Gregory the Great († 604), whilst only one eighth-century saint is listed: Boniface.<sup>353</sup> The luxurious production of the manuscript reasons against a provision for later annotations or additions. Rather it was designed to be complete and fit for purpose from the start, and as such the saints listed in the calendar had been specifically chosen.

The other saints recorded here by Godescalc demonstrate the changing nature of sanctity over the course of late antiquity and the early middle ages. The earliest entry is for the first-century virgin martyr Petronilla, daughter of Peter the Apostle, and the saints who came after her are also almost without exception martyrs.<sup>354</sup> This is the case until the entrants reach mid-way through the fourth century, when, following the persecutions of Diocletian, bishop saints begin to enter the mix. Bishops of Rome appear along with the celebrated saintly bishops Martin of Tours († 400) and Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli († 370); the exception here being St. Anthony 'father of the monastic life' († 356).<sup>355</sup> This shift from martyr saints to episcopal saints appears key in the cults of saints' transition into the early medieval period.

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<sup>350</sup> Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 185.

<sup>351</sup> Fouracre, 'The origins'.

<sup>352</sup> Piper, *Karls des Grossen*, p. 45.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44. Piper has helpfully ordered the saints according to date here, whilst later on (pp. 46-49) he groups them according to geographical region.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

The trend for bishop saints continues through those entries representing the fifth and sixth centuries and it is only with the resumption of missionary activity on the Continent that we see martyr saints rejoin the list with St. Kilian and St. Boniface. These two, along with St. Maximinus, bishop of Trier († 349) are also the sole representatives of the eastern part of the Frankish realm; France is well represented, through the likes of St. Medard, bishop of Noyon († 545/546), as is Rome through its martyrs and popes.<sup>356</sup> The number of Roman saints here, in terms of classical martyrs as well as popes, is testimony to the continuing importance of the see of St. Peter as the heart of the cults of saints in western Europe at this time. The smaller, but nonetheless significant, number of saints from France and Germany demonstrates the vigour which the cults of saints still possessed beyond the see of St. Peter.

The appearance of St. Kilian in this calendar signifies wider acceptance and use of Kilian's cult beyond Würzburg and a growth in status from a merely local saint to a representative of the Frankish kingdom east of the Rhine. As St. Boniface was the contemporary saint chosen to represent the kingdom west of the Rhine (although, through his activities, he could also be seen as bridging the gap between the two halves of the kingdom), St. Kilian's appearance may be in part due to the role of Boniface in the formative stages of his cult and the creation of the bishopric. The presence of St. Kilian in this royal calendar may have influenced his appearance in other calendars and martyrologies from across the empire, as well as the spread of his relics.

As an indication for cult, however, the remaining calendar evidence points to a more distinct local character, even if not one primarily focused on Würzburg. This is at odds with Arno Borsts understanding of the next calendar to mention "*Nat(alis) s(an)c(t) Kyliani epi(scopi) et mar(tyris)*": Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phillipps 1869, which was produced at Prüm in the first half of the ninth century.<sup>357</sup> Borst holds this to be an exact copy of an earlier calendar, produced at Lorsch, in 789 to coincide with the *Admonitio generalis* and which was designed to be a 'Reichskalender'.<sup>358</sup> This calendar does contain entries for Charlemagne's birthday on 2<sup>nd</sup> April, as well as recording the date 789, but Simon MacLean has argued that evidence of royal endorsement does not in turn support the claim that this

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<sup>356</sup> Piper, *Karls des Grossen*, p. 45.

<sup>357</sup> Borst, *Kalenderreform*, pp. 200 & 278; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phillipps 186, [http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/view/sbb-pk\\_msphilipp1869](http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/view/sbb-pk_msphilipp1869).

<sup>358</sup> Borst, *Kalenderreform*, p. 304; see also Arno Borst, ed, *Der karolingische Reichskalender und seine Überlieferung bis ins 12. Jahrhundert*, MGH Libri Memoriales 2 (3 vols; Hannover, 2001).

was a 'Reichskalendar'.<sup>359</sup> Lorsch was close to Würzburg and Fulda and Kilian's appearance here may be as much due to local cultic interests as to the influence of the royal court.

Whilst Lorsch, founded in 764, had been a royal monastery since 772, like Fulda it was what Matthew Innes has described as a local hub which was 'formally connected to the wider Frankish polity'.<sup>360</sup> The picture presented for the monastery is very similar to that of Fulda and the patterns of the donations show that these two houses were supported by opposing local aristocratic factions.<sup>361</sup> Eastward looking in terms of local interests and patronage, this was combined with a view to the Carolingian horizon to the west and it is this interplay between local and wider-Frankish concerns which appears in the make-up of the Lorsch exemplar. In the Lorsch/Prüm entry, no mention is made of St. Kilian's companions, but Kilian himself is listed as both a bishop and a martyr. Although similar to the Godescalc calendar entry in terms of the information it transmits, this was not simply a copy of the earlier court production. Were this to be considered a 'Reichskalendar', it would make more sense for the entry for Kilian to correspond to the earlier court production.

The production of the Lorsch calendar points more to insular as opposed to court models. Borst also noted the addition of various groups of saints and feasts in the calendar, such as that of All Saints (1<sup>st</sup> November), which are not found in the calendar produced for Charlemagne and Hildegard.<sup>362</sup> The Lorsch manuscript marks an important stage in the spread of the feast of All Saints as, before this, it was not known outside of the British Isles, and it seems that the monks of Lorsch took it from a copy of Bede's Martyrology.<sup>363</sup> Bede's text was instrumental in the production and spread of martyrologies in this period and there is no reason to suggest that his calendar was not also the basis for Continental examples. Paul Meyvaert has notably pursued this line of enquiry, suggesting that Berlin, Philipps 1869 is in fact an elaboration of Bede's calendar with saints' names added.<sup>364</sup> The

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<sup>359</sup> Simon MacLean, 'Review: Der karolingische Reichskalender und seine Überlieferung bis ins 12. Jahrhundert. 3 vols. Edited by Arno Borst. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Libri Memoriales, 2.) Pp. liii+738+32 plates; iv+739-1344; iv+1345-906. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2001. €180. 3 7752 0902 6; 0343 4996', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 54.4 (2003), 747-748. For further contributions to this debate, see also Julia Barrow, 'Review: Arno Borst, *Der Streit um den karolingischen Kalender*. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Studien und Texte, 36.) Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004, Pp. xxviii, 200. €25', *Speculum* 81.3 (2006), 812-813; also Wesley M. Stevens, 'Review: Die karolingische Kalenderreform by Arno Borst', *Speculum* 78.1 (2003), 144-147.

<sup>360</sup> Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 187-188.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid*, especially pp. 14-26.

<sup>362</sup> Borst, *Kalenderreform*, pp. 422-423.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>364</sup> Paul Meyvaert, 'Discovering the calendar (*Annalis Libellus*) attached to Bede's own copy of the *De Temporum Ratione*', *Analecta Bollandiana. Revue critique d'Hagiographie* 120 (2002), 5-64, at pp. 7-12.

fact that *De temporum ratione* immediately follows the calendar in this manuscript strongly supports his point.<sup>365</sup> This Lorsch example, written so soon after Godesclac's calendar but with a large number of variants and additions, gives the impression of continued local and regional variation when it came to memorialising and venerating saints. It does, however, show the continued memory, if not veneration, of St. Kilian in the lands west of the Rhine.

In its entry for St. Kilian, the Lorsch calendar seems to combine its local outlook with more westerly trends in calendar entries for St. Kilian. Although his idea of a 'Reichskalender' may be questioned, Arno Borst has identified a further 27 examples from the late eighth century to the twelfth century which contain entries for St. Kilian.<sup>366</sup> These entries record the main feast day of the saint and some have spelling variations, some refer to him as bishop as well as martyr, and some include his companions, whether named or not.<sup>367</sup> These calendars come from across the whole of the Frankish Empire, though as Borst's study shows, entries for Colonatus and Totnan seem to be found primarily in east Frankish calendars, as do references to Kilian as '*martyrum*'.<sup>368</sup> In contrast, mentions of Kilian as both bishop and martyr seem to be a feature more commonly found in west Frankish and Rhine-Frankish calendars.<sup>369</sup> This suggests something of a geographical divide in the way in which the memory of St. Kilian was transmitted.

Of those calendars which Joachim Dienemann listed, the majority are from monastic communities: Fulda, Reichenau, Essen, Echternach, Lorsch and St. Gall.<sup>370</sup> The exceptions are from Mainz and Trier, both major archbishoprics, though a focus around the Middle-Rhine valley and the St. Gall area is still apparent.<sup>371</sup> Würzburg itself seems to have taken some time to produce its own liturgical manuscripts, however. Whilst royal patronage undoubtedly enlivened cultic veneration, this does not mean that this was a court-centred cult. We see a local-network of veneration, spiritually centred upon Würzburg, though with evidence surviving from other, connected centres.

<sup>365</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phillipps 186, [http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/view/sbb-pk\\_msphillips1869](http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/view/sbb-pk_msphillips1869). The calendar is on folios 1r-14v, *De temporum ratione* is on 15r-139r.

<sup>366</sup> See the entry for 8<sup>th</sup> July in Borst, ed, *Der karolingische Reichskalender*.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid*; also Hen, *Culture and Religion*, p. 84.

<sup>368</sup> For Colonatus and Totnan, Borst cites the following manuscripts: Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rhenaugiensis 83; Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, C176 and Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Latinus 21557 (eleventh-century).

<sup>369</sup> Borst, *Der karolingische Reichskalender*. Amongst those Borst lists here are Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Latinus 14101 and Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 343, a ninth-century collection of astronomical treatises, in which Kilian appears on fol. 31v of the calendar it contains, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452589j/f57.item>.

<sup>370</sup> Joachim Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zur Geistigen und Politischen Entwicklung der karolingerzeit* (Würzburg, 1955), pp. vii, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27-30.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 14 and 24.

### 3.2 Martyrologies

Given the fact that St. Kilian was supposedly martyred, we would expect to find evidence for his cult in surviving martyrologies, particularly from his *locus sanctus* in Würzburg. Martyrologies, like hagiographies, were an abundant written source for cult in this period. They had been known in Francia from at least the end of the sixth century and their usage was widespread, so much so that Michael Wallace-Hadrill described this form of literature as one with which every church and monastery in the Carolingian Empire would have been well acquainted.<sup>372</sup> Whilst we do find notices for St. Kilian in Würzburg martyrologies, this evidence does not appear at the cult site until the middle of the ninth century and so we have no view of what was happening at Würzburg in the 750s, at the time of the saint's translation. The surviving martyrological evidence demonstrates the locally and practically orientated features of this type of liturgical material, but it also provides further evidence for a network of veneration for St. Kilian within the area of Lorsch, Fulda and St. Gall, with Würzburg at its notional centre. The episcopate of Gozbald (842-855) has been identified as a high point of production in Würzburg's own *scriptorium* and the appearance of liturgical manuscript evidence for Kilian's cult in the mid ninth century is likely to be connected to this spike in production.<sup>373</sup> Perhaps Würzburg had no such entries for Kilian surviving before this date as its *scriptorium* had not produced much in the way of liturgical material.

The earliest liturgical evidence for St. Kilian in a Würzburg source comes from a copy of Bede's Martyrology in which the details of the saint were added to the original manuscript, demonstrating the local significance of the saint. Now Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.49, the manuscript was most likely produced in the middle of the ninth century during the episcopate of Gozbald († 855), as the entries date to between 838 and 855.<sup>374</sup> The entry for St. Kilian demonstrates the way in which this type of source was adapted for the purposes of local cult and veneration as the saint was not part of the original copy of the Martyrology. No space was left at the end of the original entry for the 8<sup>th</sup> July on folio 16r which recorded St. Procopius, and Kilian's entry has been

<sup>372</sup> John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), p. 355.

<sup>373</sup> Bernhard Bischoff and Josef Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani: Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1952), pp. 18-23 and 170-172; Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Ithaca NY, 2006), pp. 168-169.

<sup>374</sup> <http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/permalink/mpthf49>. The martyrology itself is on fols. 3r–30v; also Knut Schäferdiek, 'Kilian von Würzburg. Gestalt und gestaltung eines Heiligen', in Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach, eds, *Iconologia Sacra. Mythos Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für Karl Haucke zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1994), 313-340, at p. 314.

squeezed in at the end of the line and runs down seven lines in the margin. St. Kilian is nonetheless afforded an historical entry, which reads: “On the same day, the holy bishop Chilianus, with his companions Totmanno the presbyter and Colmanno, suffered martyrdom under duke Gozbert in the castle of Würzburg”.<sup>375</sup> Unlike the hagiographical tradition, this makes no mention of the role of Geilana, indicating her importance to the functioning of the hagiographical narrative, but not to the day to day functioning of cult. As we shall see, however, this focus on Gozbert, may have paved the way for a parallel tradition about the saint’s demise. A martyr ‘celliani’ is also mentioned for the 14<sup>th</sup> Kalends of July, on folio 14v. Although this may be a repeated entry for Kilian, it could also be a confusion of two, similarly-named, saints.

Here we see local concerns combined with institutional memory and an awareness of the community’s place in the realm. Kilian’s name was not the only addition made to this copy of the Martyrology as a further 41 can be counted, dating from various periods and including the addition of other saints as well as noting the deaths of individuals and fellow brethren. There are also three entries relating to the royal household, including a note for the death of Charlemagne on folio 5v and also the death of Irmingarde on folio 24r. These various additions attest to the practical life of this manuscript, as does its small, portable size and the fact that it also contains a list of Roman basilicas containing relics of the saints.<sup>376</sup> The function of the martyrology did not end with the martyrs, as here Bede’s text was elaborated upon and used in a way which gives it more local significance.

Würzburg’s second copy of Bede’s Martyrology reflects its connections and concerns within the remit of the archbishopric of Mainz. Bernhard Bischoff and Josef Hoffmann dated this second manuscript to the middle of the ninth century, though slightly later than M.p.th.f.49, but they also listed it amongst the possessions of Würzburg’s cathedral library which were of doubtful or foreign origin.<sup>377</sup> Detecting insular influence in the hands of the text’s main body, they suggested that the base copy of the Martyrology was the production of a *scriptorium* somewhere in the Mainz area.<sup>378</sup> This likely accounts for the use of a different name-form for the saint, with this manuscript using the ‘K’ spelling, compared to the Irish ‘Ch-’ alternative found in M.p.th.f.49. The two copies of the Martyrology are not

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<sup>375</sup> M.p.th.f.49, fol. 16r, p. 31: “eode[m] die s[an]ct[us] chilianus ep[iscopu]s in castro uuirziburgo cu[m] socis suis totmanno pr[es]b[iter] et colmanno diacono sub gozberto duc? mart?ri?za.”

<sup>376</sup> The list is on folio 33v.

<sup>377</sup> Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, p. 47. The second copy of Bede’s Martyrology is now in Würzburg’s Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.50, <http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/permalink/mpthf50>.

<sup>378</sup> *Ibid*, p. 47.

identical, however, as this version merely states ‘*natale s(an)c(t)e Kilini*’ as opposed to furnishing the saint with a historical entry. As with the earlier copy of the Martyrology, there is an entry for ‘Celiani’, which may have been copied over from the other manuscript, or may reflect a Würzburg tradition which is now lost to us. Würzburg’s first bishop, Burchard, has so far been noticeably absent from the liturgical material, but M.p.th.f.50 does contain an entry for the saint, on folio 26r, reading: “*Eod(em) s(an)c(t)i Burchardi Wirciburgensis ep(iscop)i*”.<sup>379</sup>

Despite these two manuscripts, Würzburg has no more surviving evidence than do Regensburg, Freising or Mainz, all of which had a total of two calendar and/or martyrology entries for St. Kilian recorded between the eighth and the end of the tenth century, as noted by Dienemann.<sup>380</sup> The greatest number of recorded calendar and/or martyrological entries come from Lorsch, Fulda and most especially St. Gall.<sup>381</sup> Perhaps this is a reflection of the relative importance for the liturgical commemoration of saints in monastic and episcopal communities, reflecting the pattern shown by the calendar evidence.

The evidence for veneration or remembrance of Würzburg figures is particularly strong in martyrologies from Lorsch. St. Burchard appears in a Lorsch copy of Bede’s Martyrology, also from the ninth century and now preserved in the Vatican.<sup>382</sup> Henri Quentin noted a triple repetition for St. Burchard on the 11<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of October; entries in the martyrology for St. Kilian, Ss. Colonatus and Totnan; and an entry for Bishop Gozbald, on the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of September in this manuscript.<sup>383</sup> Another Vatican manuscript containing a copy of Bede’s Martyrology, also originating from Lorsch and the abbey of Saint-Nazaire, contains an entry for St. Kilian, which reads: “*Natale sancti Cyliani episcopi et martyris*.”<sup>384</sup> This entry uses the same wording as the entry for the saint in the Lorsch/Prüm calendar, though here beginning the name with ‘Cy’ as opposed to ‘Ky’. There is thus more evidence for Würzburg figures surviving in Lorsch copies of Bede’s Martyrology than there are in Würzburg’s own copies of this text. This demonstrates the

<sup>379</sup> M.p.th.f.50, f. 26r, <http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/permalink/mpthf50>.

<sup>380</sup> Dienemann, *Der Kult des heilige Kilian*, p. vii.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>382</sup> Henri Quentin, *Les Martyrologes Historiques du Moyen Âge, Étude sur la Formation du Martyrologe Roman* (Paris, 1908), pp. 21-22. This manuscript is now Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 833, see fol. 18v, 11v, 16v, [http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/bav/bav\\_pal\\_lat\\_833](http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/bav/bav_pal_lat_833).

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.* 11v, 16v, 18v and 19r.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20. This manuscript is now Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 834, fol. 12r, [http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/bav/bav\\_pal\\_lat\\_834](http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/bav/bav_pal_lat_834).

spread of Kilian's memory in a closely connected area of religious influence, as could be seen from the saint's appearance in the Lorsch calendar.<sup>385</sup>

These manuscripts contribute to evidence of the importance of Bede's Martyrology as a model for the majority of continental martyrologies. At the end of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bede described his Martyrology thus: "A martyrology of the festivals of the holy martyrs, in which I have diligently tried to note down all that I could find about them, not only on what day, but also by what sort of combat and under what judge they overcame the world".<sup>386</sup> Bede's own selectiveness and his emphasis on classical and Roman martyrs, however, made this an ideal text for copyists in monastic centres across the Continent, due to the number of days which had been left blank throughout the liturgical year.<sup>387</sup> The earliest manuscript copies of Bede's martyrology are from the area under the influence of the Archbishopric of Mainz, which also included Würzburg.<sup>388</sup> In these entries, we thus see both the importance of Bede's Martyrology and also the prominence of centres connected to Würzburg in its use and dissemination.

Würzburg's network of connections and its patron saint are both present in the very earliest stages of the process of adapting and utilising Bede's text. perhaps the closest to Bede's original that we have surviving, now St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 451, though it too came from the Mainz area, perhaps Fulda.<sup>389</sup> Arno Borst has dated this copy of Bede's martyrology to c.850, which would make it roughly contemporary with the two Würzburg copies and perhaps also with those from Losch.<sup>390</sup> It may, therefore, be contemporary with the earliest surviving copy of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, and indicate a coordinated attempt to publicise and spread the saint's cult. This manuscript is clear and unadorned besides some rubrication for dates and there is only one noted addition to it, added in the right hand margin of page 43, reading: "*Marty[r]ium sancti Ciliani?*".<sup>391</sup> Unfortunately this manuscript has not survived intact and ends with the 8<sup>th</sup> Kalends of August, so we cannot know if there were other additions made for later in the liturgical

<sup>385</sup> See also Innes, *State and Society*.

<sup>386</sup> Bede, *HE*, 5.24, pp. 570-571: "*Martyrologium de nataliciis sanctorum martyrum diebus, in quo omnes, quos inuenire potui, non solum qua die uerum etiam quo genere certaminis uel sub quo iudice mundum uicerint, diligenter adnotare studui.*"

<sup>387</sup> Bede, *Martyrology*, translated by Felice Lifshitz, in Thomas Head, ed, *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (London and New York), pp. 172-173.

<sup>388</sup> Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, p. 32.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid*; Quentin, *Les Martyrologes*, pp. 18-19; see also St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 451: Martyrology (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0451>).

<sup>390</sup> Borst, *Kalendarreform*, p. 54.

<sup>391</sup> St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 451: Martyrology (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0451>), p. 43; also Quentin, *Les Martyrologes*, p. 18.

year.<sup>392</sup> In terms of Continental saints only an entry for St. Boniface, included in the original copy is noticeable; court priorities which produced the Godesclac calendar, therefore, may also have been an influence here.<sup>393</sup>

The majority of surviving liturgical evidence of cult for St. Kilian thus seems to correspond here with a spike in martyrological production, particularly in the case of copies of Bede's Martyrology in the Middle-Rhine area. The historical information contained in copies of Bede's martyrology also provided much of the background information for a martyrology produced at Fulda by Hrabanus Maurus, who used both insular and Continental versions of the fifth-century *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* to produce his text.<sup>394</sup> This martyrology was also produced around the middle of the ninth century, though it is difficult to date more accurately than this.<sup>395</sup>

Along with Würzburg and Lorsch, Fulda thus represents another point in the network of veneration and the entry for St. Kilian by Hrabanus is the longest of those discussed so far, providing as it does, something more akin to an abbreviated *Passio*. Hrabanus himself had close connections with both Fulda and Mainz, having served as abbot of the former from 822 and archbishop of the latter from 847.<sup>396</sup> This immediate area of ecclesiastical concern was one which also included Würzburg within its horizons and it is therefore highly likely that Hrabanus knew of St. Kilian and his story. Schäferdiek has drawn attention to the close relations between Hrabanus and Würzburg's Bishop Hunbert († 842) as a way in which Hrabanus could have been made aware of the local tradition surrounding the saint.<sup>397</sup> Moreover, this was an area of personal importance and interest to Hrabanus, as his family were major landholders in the Middle-Rhine area, and he himself had been given to the monastery of Fulda as a child oblate.<sup>398</sup>

Rather than beginning with a basic statement about the saint and his death Hrabanus's text provides some background to the story, telling us that it took place in 'the region of

<sup>392</sup> Quentin, *Les Martyrologues*, p. 19.

<sup>393</sup> St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 451: Martyrology (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0451>), p.39.

<sup>394</sup> John McCulloh, 'Historical Martyrologies in the Benedictine Cultural Tradition', in D.W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst, eds, *Benedictine Culture, 750-1050* (Leuven, 1983), 114-131, at p. 127; idem, 'Hrabanus Maurus' Martyrology: The Method of Composition', *Sacris Erudiri* 23 (1978), 417-461, at p. 417; also Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, ed, John McCulloh, *CCCM* 44 (Turnhout, 1979), pp. xxv-xxvi; for the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* or the Martyrology of Pseudo-Jerome, see Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*.

<sup>395</sup> Hrabanus, *Martyrologium*, ed, McCulloh, p. xxxvii-xxxix.

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xv and xx.

<sup>397</sup> Schäferdiek, 'Kilian von Würzburg', p. 335.

<sup>398</sup> Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 65-68 and figure 7 on p. 64.

Austrasia' at the castle called Würzburg which is situated next to the river Main.<sup>399</sup> Hrabanus then mentions St. Kilian the martyr and his two companions, though he does not name either, and says that they had come from Ireland to this aforementioned place in order to proclaim the name of God.<sup>400</sup> On account of this, Hrabanus tells us, they were slaughtered by an 'unjust judge' named Gozbert, following which there were many, presumably miraculous, proofs of the truth of Christ's martyrs.<sup>401</sup> Although, Hrabanus refers to Gozbert as a *iudex* here, as Knut Schäferdiek has noted, this term can be found in some ninth-century hagiography as an alternative for *dux*.<sup>402</sup> The entry itself follows on from that for the martyr Procopius, though it is a much longer notice than that given for the classical martyr.<sup>403</sup>

Although he used the martyrologies of both Bede and Pseudo-Jerome as sources, Hrabanus also made his own additions and the entry for St. Kilian is one of those which John McCulloh has identified as an original compositions.<sup>404</sup> This is significant if we take a closer look at Hrabanus' version of the story, which differs in one small, but nevertheless significant way from the story which we have recounted in the *Passio minor Kiliani* and later in the *Passio maior Kiliani*: Hrabanus blames Duke Gozbert for Kilian's death. Geilana is not mentioned in Hrabanus' version of the story. As we shall see, Geilana and the imagery associated with her forms an important strand running throughout St. Kilian's hagiographic dossier and it is interesting to note here that, whatever purpose this may have had in the *passiones*, it was not something which was always transmitted into other written manifestations of Kilian's cult.<sup>405</sup> When the story of St. Kilian was removed from the particular context of the *passiones*, their production and distribution, the character Geilana may have lost some of her utility within the narrative, and become more surplus to the requirements of cult as opposed to those of hagiography.

Not knowing precisely from where Hrabanus derived his information for his entry about St. Kilian, this basic difference suggests that he did not take it specifically from the

<sup>399</sup> Hrabanus, *Martyrologium*, p. 65: "In pago Austriae et castro nomine VVirziburg iuxta Moin fluium ..."

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*: "... sito natali Kiliani martyris et duorum sociorum eius, qui ab Hibernia Scottorum insula uenientes nomen Christi in praedictis locis praedicaerunt."

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*: "Ibique ob ueritatis confessionem a quodam iudice iniquo nomine Gozberto trucidati sunt, et multis postea signis ueri Christi martyres esse claruerunt."

<sup>402</sup> Schäferdiek, 'Kilian von Würzburg', p. 331.

<sup>403</sup> Hrabanus, *Martyrologium*, p. 65. Kilian's notice reads in full: "In pago Austriae et castro nomine VVirziburg iuxta Moin fluium sito natali Kiliani martyris et duorum sociorum eius, qui ab Hibernia Scottorum insula uenientes nomen Christi in praedictis locis praedicaerunt. Ibique ob ueritatis confessionem a quodam iudice iniquo nomine Gozberto trucidati sint, et multis postea signis ueri Christi martyres esse claruerunt."

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxvi and xxxvi.

<sup>405</sup> See Chapter 5.

*Passio minor Kiliani*. Hrabanus may perhaps have read the earlier of Würzburg's two copies of Bede's Martyrology, which could be seen to ascribe the martyrdom to Duke Gozbert if it were read without the context of the *Passio minor Kiliani*. This could indicate that the *Passio minor* had not yet been written, though this proves problematic in light of the 794 synod of Frankfurt. If the *passio* had been written by this point, as seems likely, Hrabanus may have not read it himself or, if he had, may have disagreed with its version of events. Of course, Hrabanus may have drawn on a combination of sources and, coupled with his own imagination, may have created a parallel tradition here by himself. This version of events was enduring enough to be found transmitted in the early eleventh-century *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Merseberg; although Thietmar does mention 'Geilan', he still attributes the martyrdom to Duke Gozbert whom he describes as 'a second Herod'.<sup>406</sup>

The surviving manuscript tradition for Hrabanus' Martyrology also provides us with the southerly point of the network in the St Gall-Lake Constance region. The earliest surviving copy of the Hrabanus's Martyrology is thought to have been produced at Mainz, possibly by a member of Hrabanus' circle, some time between 847 and 856<sup>407</sup> This is thought to have been the copy dedicated and sent to Grimald of St Gall († 872), where this manuscript now survives.<sup>408</sup> From this manuscript, a further copy was made and dedicated to Ratleik of Saligenstadt (though including the previous dedication to Grimald).<sup>409</sup> Unlike the earlier version, the scribe seems to have taken his time with this work as the script, though also a Caroline minuscule, is much neater and more crisp. John McCulloh has also noted that this later manuscript shows evidence of continued use over the centuries, certainly until the 1400s, including a period in the eleventh century when the martyrology was abbreviated for public reading.<sup>410</sup> According to McCulloh, crosses were placed in the outside margin of the manuscript to indicate to a reader or a scribe trying to make these abbreviations, where they should stop, and one of these crosses can be seen next to the entry for St. Kilian on page 115, right after the note's mention of Würzburg.<sup>411</sup>

<sup>406</sup> Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed, Robert Holzmann, MGH SRG N.S. 9 (Berlin, 1935), I.4, pp. 7-8.

<sup>407</sup> Hrabanus, *Martyrologium*, ed, McCulloh, pp. xl-xli. The manuscript in question is St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 457; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 457: Martyrology (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0457>).

<sup>408</sup> Hrabanus, *Martyrologium*, ed, McCulloh, pp. xl-xli. St Kilian appears on pp. 88-89 of the manuscript.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xliii-xliv. This manuscript is now St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 458; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 458: A martyrology by Hrabanus Maurus (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0458>).

<sup>410</sup> Hrabanus, *Martyrologium*, ed, McCulloh, p. xlv.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid*; St. Gallen, Cod. Sang. 458 (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0458>), p. 115.

As with Bede's martyrology, Hrabanus's work was of 'local' significance. Indeed the five surviving manuscripts attest to a very limited dissemination, just as we saw with the *Passio minor Kiliani*. Although manuscripts are found in Mainz and Vercelli as well as St Gall, their provenience leads back, through St Gall, to Hrabanus' own circle at Mainz or possibly Fulda.<sup>412</sup> Its influence continued at St Gall, however, and it formed one of the sources for the martyrology which was produced by Notker Balbulus († 912), around the turn of the tenth century.<sup>413</sup> That this survives in only one incomplete manuscript from the first half of the tenth century, once again shows a very limited dissemination.<sup>414</sup>

Notker's Martyrology shows the influence of St. Gall's copy of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, in St. Gall, Cod. Sang. 566, cited above. Whilst the entry begins in the same way as that written for St. Kilian by Hrabanus Maurus - telling us that the following takes place in the region of Austrasia, at a castle named Würzburg which stood next to the river Main - the text runs to two and a half pages in the manuscript.<sup>415</sup> The influence of the *Passio minor Kiliani* is also apparent from the fact that Notker mentions Duke Gozbert's 'most incestuous' wife Geilana. Notker, however, takes a middle ground between this influence and that of Hrabanus' earlier Martyrology, as he suggests that Geilana lead Gozbert to commit the murder, thus still implicating the duke.<sup>416</sup> This provides us with evidence that at least one person at St Gall was using the monastery's copy of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, even if we have no way of knowing whether or not Notker's Martyrology as it survives here was used in a liturgical context.

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<sup>412</sup> Hrabanus, *Martyrologium*, ed, McCulloh, p. lxiii, see also p. lxi for McCulloh's suggestion that the Mainz manuscript was not connected to St Gall, but rather copied from a version earlier than that in St Gall, Cod. Sang. 457, which came from either Fulda or Mainz. The other three manuscripts cited by McCulloh are: Vercelli, Bibliotheca Capitolare, codex LXII (which dates to the eleventh century); Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, codex I. 426 (which is also eleventh century); and a twelfth- or thirteenth-century copy, now Vercelli, Bibliotheca Capitolare, codex XXXIII. For a discussion of all the surviving manuscripts and their relation to each other, see *Idem*, pp. xi-lxii.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid*, p. lxiii; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 456: A martyrology by Notker Balbulus (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0456>).

<sup>414</sup> St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 456: A martyrology by Notker Balbulus (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0456>), the suggestion given in the manuscript's description here is that the manuscript is incomplete in part because Notker had never completed his original copy.

<sup>415</sup> The entry in Notker's Martyrology is too long to reproduce fully here, but an edition of the text, under the title 'Ex martyrologio Notkeri cognomento Balbuli monchi S. Gall', can be found in Franz Emmerich, *Der heilige Kilian: Regionarbischof und Martyrer* (Würzburg, 1886), 43-44, which has the entry from Hrabanus' Martyrology alongside it for comparative purposes. I will, however, provide the beginning of Notker's entry, so that it can be compared with the entry from Hrabanus' Martyrology: "*In pago Austriae id est novae Franciae castro, imo civitate, ut Teutonico nomine prodit, Würzburg iuxta Moin fluvium sita, passio sancti Kiliani, primi eiusdem civitatis episcopi, et duorum discipulorum eius Colonati scilicet presbyteri et Totnani diaconi.*"

<sup>416</sup> Notker, 'Ex martyrologio', ed, Emmerich, p. 43; see also Schäferdiek, 'Kilian von Würzburg', p. 332; Geilana is described as: "*incestuosissima*".

St. Kilian does appear in martyrologies from further afield than the southeast German topographic ‘triangle’ which was described above and the Lorsch-Fulda-St. Gall network. One of these appearances is in a martyrology produced by Usuard, a monk of St-Germain-des-Prés and commissioned by Charles the Bald in the later 850s.<sup>417</sup> Given that the Carolingians had already expressed a desire to be associated with the martyr Kilian in the Godescalc calendar, his inclusion in this royally appointed martyrology should not surprise us. It is likely to be a continuation of the tradition rather than any renewed interest or increased veneration, however. The same could perhaps also be said for the appearance of his feast in the manuscript which contains the Sacramentary of Echternach, and was produced in the last years of the ninth century.<sup>418</sup> Here St. Kilian appears in the martyrology which begins the sacramentary, rather than having a specific mass formula in the sacramentary itself, though he is mentioned along with his companions.<sup>419</sup>

The image of the spread of Kilian’s cult is not the court-centred view which Dienemann presented. His analysis of these sources was coloured by his dating of the *Passio minor* to 788 and the influence of Charlemagne’s court, a point not conclusively supported by the sources.<sup>420</sup> The evidence instead points to a closer connection to local concerns of Würzburg and the influence of its wider religious network focused around Lorsch, Fulda, and St. Gall to the south. These are essentially collections of names of saints, however, and even where there was a more elaborate historical entry for St. Kilian of the kind that we see in the Martyrologies of Hrabanus Maurus and Notker, this is not strong enough evidence of any active liturgical veneration.

### 3.3 Sacramentaries

One type of source which can make such liturgical activity more apparent to us is the sacramentary, as they contained the text for celebration of the office.<sup>421</sup> Michael Wallace-Hadrill has described the sacramentary as the liturgical book of most central importance in

<sup>417</sup> Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian*, p. 20; Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, p. 252; Janet L. Nelson, ‘The Franks, The Martyrology of Usuard and the martyrs of Cordoba’, in Janet L. Nelson, *Rulers and Ruling Families in Europe: Alfred, Charles the Bald, and Others* (Aldershot, 1999), 67-80, at p. 78; see also Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 13745, which is thought to be the original copy of the martyrology, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84267850>. Kilian appears on fol. 48v.

<sup>418</sup> *The Sacramentary of Echternach* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9433), ed, Yitzhak Hen, The Henry Bradshaw Society 110 (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 4 & 21.

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid*, p. 66.

<sup>420</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 47-48.

<sup>421</sup> Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London, 2001), p. 12.

the Frankish church and as a source which began to flourish in the eighth century.<sup>422</sup> The period when Würzburg was establishing the cult of St. Kilian also corresponds with an increase in royal patronage of the liturgy and its reform, particularly during the reign of Charlemagne, which was linked to the development of Christian themes in the ideal of kingship.<sup>423</sup> Sacramentaries were of specific local significance to the centre which produced them and Charlemagne in particular sought to ensure correct liturgical practice alongside this diversity.<sup>424</sup> Whilst we cannot rule out the possibility that some saints' names could be added without much cultic or liturgical significance being attached to their presence, it is in this type of source that we can also find mass texts dedicated to specific saints which do provide particularly strong evidence of cult and liturgical veneration.<sup>425</sup>

During the mass of such feasts, a relevant *passio* or *vita*, or, more likely, an excerpt thereof, would be read out. Whilst Yitzhak Hen has noted works such as Gregory of Tours' *Liber in Gloria martyrum*, *Liber vitae patrum*, or *Liber in gloria confessorum* provide ideal short, concise chapters which could be read at such an occasion, not all saints' Lives could be so easily divided up.<sup>426</sup> As demonstrated by the first chapter of this thesis, however, both *passiones* of St. Kilian can be separated out along thematic lines into more manageable portions. This might have made these texts particularly well suited to being used during a mass celebration to commemorate and venerate the saint, but also to fit which ever message the community celebrating wished to convey to the audience of the mass.

Intercession and mercy are called for when reading the mass formula containing prayers and vigils for St. Kilian and his companions at Würzburg. Following the research of Bernhard Bischoff, Josef Hofmann dated the oldest office for St. Kilian to the ninth or tenth century.<sup>427</sup> Now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Codex Laudianus Latinus 102, he suggests that it was written by a scribe of German-Anglo-Saxon origin or schooling, perhaps from Fulda, in the first third of the ninth century.<sup>428</sup> Hofmann suggests that, not long after its production, this manuscript left Fulda along with other codices bound for Würzburg, perhaps indicating that liturgical material of this kind was not being produced in

<sup>422</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, p. 119.

<sup>423</sup> Hen, *Royal Patronage of the Liturgy*, pp. 34-35, 65-67; see also above, Chapter 2.3.

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 65-67, 80, 89; the capitulary of Herstal (779), *Capitulare Haristallense*, ed, Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. I (Hannover, 1883), no. 20, pp. 46-51; *Admonitio generalis* (789), in *Idem*, no. 22, pp. 52-62.

<sup>425</sup> See Katrinette Bodarwé, 'Roman martyrs and their veneration in Ottonian Saxony: the case of the *sanctimoniales* of Essen', *EME* 9.3 (2000), 345-365, at p. 356.

<sup>426</sup> Hen, *Culture and Religion*, p. 86.

<sup>427</sup> Josef Hofmann, 'Die Älteste Kiliansoffizium', *Heiliges Franken, Festschrift zum Jahr der Frankenapostel 1952* (1952), 81-83.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid*, p. 81.

the bishopric's own *scriptorium*.<sup>429</sup> The inclusion of both a vigil and a feast for the saint is evidence of the local character and importance of the text, as is the fact that St. Kilian's companions are also invoked and remembered in the mass formula. The local character is also apparent in Hofmann's suggestion that the features of these formulas show the influence of an earlier Frankish version of the Gelasian Sacramentary, dating from before 900.<sup>430</sup>

Alternative support for the liturgical veneration for St. Kilian at Würzburg comes from the Chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg. In an event which Dienemann dated to 994, Thietmar referred to a mass of St. Kilian which Bishop Bernwald († 995) had invited Margrave Leopold I of Austria to attend in Würzburg on the 8<sup>th</sup> July.<sup>431</sup> The context of this episode was aristocratic in-fighting, whereby Margrave Henry of Schweinfurt had blinded a *miles* of Bishop Bernward's, named Eberger, as retribution for 'injuries' he had inflicted.<sup>432</sup> It was after the matins on Kilian's feast day that Margrave Leopold was shot with an arrow and killed by a friend of the blinded Eberger, who mistakenly thought the margrave responsible.<sup>433</sup> Once again, this incident was one of more local importance to Würzburg as it had involved one of the bishop's men.

The relationship between manuscripts of the *Passio minor Kiliani* and the Alemannic region is reflected in two tenth-century sacramentaries, one from the Bodensee area and one from St. Gall.<sup>434</sup> The Bodensee sacramentary contains a feast entry for St. Kilian and his companions, though in the edition of the mass text provided by Martin Gerbert, Colonatus and Totnan are mentioned by name.<sup>435</sup> The mass provides us with an insight into what people expected or hoped to get from remembering their saints in this way and its contents closely resemble the Würzburg mass for St. Kilian and his companions. The text asks that St. Kilian and his companions protect those who pray for them and that the votive offerings made be recognised by the martyrs.<sup>436</sup> In reference to both red and white martyrdom the three martyrs are also described as flourishing roses and lilies of the Church, which have been drenched with the dew of the blood of Christ.<sup>437</sup> The mass

<sup>429</sup> Hofmann, 'Die Älteste Kiliansoffizium', p. 81

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>431</sup> Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV.21, pp. 155-156, at p. 156; Dienemann, *Der Kult des Heiligen Kilian*, p. 41.

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid.*, IV.21, p. 156.

<sup>433</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>434</sup> Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian*, p. 41.

<sup>435</sup> *Monumenta veteris Liturgicae Alemannicae*, I, ed, Martin Gerbert (1777), p. 148 § 1.

<sup>436</sup> *Monumenta*, p. 148, § 1; compare with no. 7 in Hofmann, 'Die Älteste Kiliansoffizium', p. 82.

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.* "... *rosae et lilia florerunt, quos Christi sanguinis in praelio confessionis roseo colore perfudit.*"; compare with no. 8 in Hofmann, 'Die Älteste Kiliansoffizium', p. 82: "*qui in ecclesiae tuae pratis sicut roae et lilia florerunt, quos Christi*

finishes with a final exhortation, beseeching the Lord to show his mercy once more through the intercession of the martyrs.<sup>438</sup> The sacramentary known to have been from St Gall, however, although contemporary with this, contains an entry for St. Kilian, but not his companions.<sup>439</sup> Although there were no relics of St. Kilian translated to St Gall itself, there was at least one copy of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, perhaps already by the time these sacramentaries were produced.<sup>440</sup>

A lack of relics does not seem to have stopped the people of the Lake Constance region invoking the saints in just the same way and expecting the same level of intercession from them. In this region, perhaps text was just as important as a relic, if not a form of relic in and of itself. St Gall's educational and artistic links with other religious centres may have resulted in St. Kilian's appearance in an Evangeliar belonging to Bishop Erkanbold of Straßburg († 991), as he had summoned a monk of St Gall named Victor to teach at Straßburg's court school.<sup>441</sup> If education and learning could travel in this way, we must wonder if saints could not do so as well.

The importance of a *passio* or *vita* in the celebration of a saint's feast day also indicates that this type of sanctoral liturgical evidence is more likely to correspond to the pattern of manuscript distribution for the *Passio minor* than we perhaps see in the case of surviving calendars and martyrologies. The example of Essen fits this pattern. Mass texts for both St. Kilian and St. Margaret in the earliest surviving sacramentary from Essen indicate liturgical veneration for the saints in a community which also possessed the *passiones* of both saints, as well as relics.<sup>442</sup> It should be emphasised here that these entries were in the form of specific dedicated mass texts for these two saints, thus reflecting a similar level of veneration as demonstrated for Würzburg.<sup>443</sup> In Essen, therefore, we see a combination of elements which we would expect to find for a thriving cult of St. Kilian: a hagiography, relics, and strong evidence of liturgical veneration.

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*snaguinis in proelio confessionis roseo colore perfudit.* Red signifies death for Christ, white represents the daily sacrifice of the ascetic life, see Clare E. Stancliffe, 'Red, white and blue martyrdom', in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick and David N. Dumville, eds, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), 21-46.

<sup>438</sup> *Monumenta*, p. 148 § 1; see no. 9 in Hofmann, 'Die Älteste Kiliansoffizium', p. 82.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407.

<sup>440</sup> St Gall, Cod. Sang. 566, see Chapter 2, pp. 47-48.

<sup>441</sup> See Anna Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 50; and J.M. Clark, *The Abbey of St. Gall as a centre of literature and art* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 242.

<sup>442</sup> Dienemann dates this Essen sacramentary to around 874 or 878, Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian*, p. 41; see Düsseldorf, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, DI; Bodarwé, 'Roman martyrs', p. 354 and § 51.

<sup>443</sup> Bodarwé, 'Roman martyrs', p. 354 and § 51, p. 354.

Although the surviving manuscript evidence does not allow us to prove that Fulda was in possession of its own copy of the *Passio minor* from which it made the luxury production intended for Essen, we know that the community possessed relics of St. Kilian and we also find the martyr entered into the Fulda Sacramentary.<sup>444</sup> This entry is for St. Kilian and his companions and we find both a feast day and a vigil, indicating particularly strong cult for these saints at Fulda.<sup>445</sup> This veneration seems to have continued, as a special mass form for St. Kilian and his companions also appears in a later Fulda sacramentary which dates from the end of the tenth or turn of the eleventh centuries.<sup>446</sup> It is in those communities closely connected with Würzburg that we find the strongest evidence of liturgical veneration. The entries made in court productions such as the Godescalc calendar may have had more symbolic and political functions, in addition to their devotional role.

### 3.4 Relics

The first evidence we have for relics of St. Kilian and his companions comes, as we would expect, from Würzburg: the site of the saints' burial and the focus of their cult. Whilst the translation of the remains of the martyrs is dated to 752, the first written testimony to this event comes from the *Passio minor* itself.<sup>447</sup> The description of the translation does not mention relics or provide any detail about the condition of the saintly bodies, however.<sup>448</sup> For some indication of the nature of Kilian's relics, we must turn back to the description of the martyrdom in chapter 10 of the *Passio minor*. Here we are told that the martyrs were secretly buried "[...] and even their book-satchels, cross, evangelistary and other priestly vestments were placed alongside them in the grave".<sup>449</sup> The cult of St. Kilian and his companions would thus have been furnished with a number of secondary relics from the start. This is also reported by the later *Passio maior*, which states that: "Their clothes were buried along with them at the same time, together with those they used to wear for the

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<sup>444</sup> Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian*, p. 40, citing the manuscript now Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. theol. 231; for Kilian's relics at Fulda, see following section.

<sup>445</sup> Dienemann, *Der Kult des heiligen Kilian*, p. 40.

<sup>446</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42, citing the manuscript now Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 3548, membrane 4<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>447</sup> For a discussion of the date ascribed to the first translation, see Chapter 2, pp. 45-56.

<sup>448</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 15, p. 728.

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 10, p. 726: "[...] sed et illorum capsae, crux et euangelium aliaque pontificaliavestimenta simul cum illis in sepulchro posita sunt."; Dienemann, *Der Kult des Heiligen Kilian*, p. 60.

divine offices, and the holy books, so that no evidence of their murder could be detected”<sup>450</sup>.

These clothes, books and items of liturgical adornment, in addition to the supposed bodies of the martyr and his companions, provided the basic stock of relics. Würzburg could draw upon these in order to disseminate cult and the memory of their patron saint, through the distribution of his relics. Over the course of the eighth to eleventh centuries we find relics of the saint recorded across the east and west Frankish kingdoms. Relics of St. Kilian are documented at Fulda, Hersfeld, Chelles, Essen, Aschaffenburg, Ghent, and also Einselden, south-west of Lake Constance, as can be seen on Figure 1.<sup>451</sup> The notices for Chelles and Ghent represent the most westerly extent of evidence for St. Kilian’s cult, excluding the British Isles. The notice for Einsieden is the furthest south that we find evidence for his cult in the surviving sources. Other than Würzburg itself, all of the recipients of these relics were monastic foundations, of which two – Essen and Chelles – were female communities. It is difficult to ascertain whether this was a specific feature of St. Kilian’s cult or whether relics of missionary figures or martyrs were more commonly exported to monastic and abbey churches than to episcopal centres.

The presence of St. Kilian’s relics at Fulda and Hersfeld are more easily explicable because of the close connections between the communities.<sup>452</sup> Fulda’s veneration of Kilian in the early to mid ninth century is also supported by the liturgical evidence discussed above. Once again, we have the pen of Hrabanus Maurus to thank for our evidence, here in the form of dedication notice he composed for the consecration of the western apse of the St. Salvator church in 818, and a consecration poem for the same occasion.<sup>453</sup> Relics of St. Boniface lay in the eastern apse, along with those of Kilian, and Hrabanus also mentions relics for Ss. Martin, Hilarius, Leo, Sylvester, Dionysius and Alban; a mixture of Roman and more contemporary saints with those of special significance to Frankish rulers.<sup>454</sup> Hrabanus’ notice reports that the relics of St. Alban and St. Kilian were located near to the tomb of St. Boniface, but the type of relic of St. Kilian that was possessed is not

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<sup>450</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 14, p. 19: “*vestimenta quoque cum quibus divina officia peragebant sacrique libri simul cum eis defossa sunt, ne quod indivium necis eorum deprehendi posset.*”

<sup>451</sup> Dienemann, *Der Kult des Heiligen Kilian*, pp. 59-63. The majority of the relics were thus distributed across the east Frankish kingdom, with only Chelles in the west Frankish kingdom and Ghent lying on the border between the two.

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>453</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61 § 8.

<sup>454</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, ‘*Tituli ecclesiae Fuldensis, 10: In absida occidentali ubi martyr Bonifacius quiescit*’, ed, Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poet. Lat. Carol. II (Berlin, 1884), pp. 817-818.

specified.<sup>455</sup> Whilst there is a strong presence of classical saints, there is also some evidence of a distinctively ‘Frankish’ character to this collection. In his dedicatory poem for the church, Hrabanus did not mention all those saints whose relics it housed, but was selective, highlighting those perhaps of most worth and importance to the community. In this he included St. Kilian, along with Ss. Peter, Boniface, Valentinus, Dionysius, Sebastian, Martin, Ambrose, Hilarius, Agatha, Petronella and the Virgin Mary.<sup>456</sup>



Figure 1: Distribution of relics of St. Kilian before 1100

The early royal patronage of the cult of St. Kilian – or at least evidence for the spread of his cult in connection with the royal court and its environs – is also apparent in the list of 139 relic labels to survive from the monastery at Chelles.<sup>457</sup> As it has been edited by Albert Bruckner and Robert Marichal, number 110 on the list of surviving relic labels, a note from

<sup>455</sup> Hrabanus. ‘*Tituli ecclesiae Fuldensis*, 10’: ‘*Quos tumulto hic sacro Bonifacius adsociavit, Albanusque suus et Chilianus est.*’

<sup>456</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, ‘*Tituli ecclesiarum*, 59: *In ecclesia sancti Salvatoris*’, ed, Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poet. Lat. Carol. II (Berlin, 1884), p. 221.

<sup>457</sup> ‘Chelles, (Seine-et-Marne), Église Saint-André’, in *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin charters prior to the ninth-century, Part 18, France 6*, eds, Albert Bruckner and Robert Marichal, CLLA 669 (Dietikon-Zurich, 1985), 84-108; David Ganz and Walter Goffart, ‘Charters Earlier than 800 from French Collections’, *Speculum* 65.4 (1990), 906-932, at pp. 928-932.

the eighth or early ninth century, reads: “*S(an)c(t)o Quilano aposto|lꝛ*”.<sup>458</sup> This must be the label which David Ganz and Walter Goffart have identified as tagging a relic of St. Kilian.<sup>459</sup> Originally founded by Queen Clothild († 545) and subsequently re-founded in the seventh century by Queen Balthild († 680), the community had a strong and enduring royal connection.<sup>460</sup> The 139 surviving early medieval relic labels also attest to the high status of the community at Chelles, as the saints represented come from across the Frankish world, as well as from Rome and Byzantium, and there are a number of relics related to the Old Testament, reflecting a rich and full sanctoral cycle.<sup>461</sup>

The existence of connections between Würzburg and Chelles is supported by the fact that the liturgical manuscript containing the earliest surviving Würzburg book list – Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud Misc, 126 – has been identified as a product of the *scriporium* at Chelles.<sup>462</sup> St. Kilian’s presence in the aforementioned Godescalc calendar also suggests that a royal foundation such as this may have been interested in possessing a relic of the saint. The name form ‘Quilano’ is not a common one, however, and reflects neither the recognised Irish naming-tradition for the saint, nor the Latin version as discussed by Knut Schäferdiek or Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel.<sup>463</sup> Moreover, the label lists the saint as an apostle, but not a martyr. Ganz and Goffart have noted that some of the labels were produced at Chelles whilst some were written at the centre giving the relics.<sup>464</sup> It seems unlikely that Würzburg would not list their patron as a martyr as well as an apostle, and as such we might wonder whether the label was written in Chelles after the arrival of the relics.

The overall nature of the relic collection suggested by these surviving labels has been seen by David Ganz and Walter Goffart as showing: “... the nature of Merovingian cults, networks of prayer and patronage which testify to the status of donor and recipient”.<sup>465</sup>

<sup>458</sup> *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, eds, Bruckner and Marichal, p. 108.

<sup>459</sup> Ganz and Goffart, ‘Charters Earlier than 800’, p. 931.

<sup>460</sup> Hen, *Culture and Religion*, pp. 56 ad 92; *Vita sanctae Balthildis*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hannover, 1888), 484-485, ch. 7, p. 489.

<sup>461</sup> *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, eds, Bruckner and Marichal, 84-108 ; Ganz and Goffart, ‘Charters Earlier than 800’, 906-932; Hen, *Culture and Religion*, pp. 93-106.

<sup>462</sup> Ganz and Goffart, ‘Charters Earlier than 800’, p. 931; Elias Avery Lowe, ‘An Eighth-Century List of Books in a Bodleian MS. from Würzburg and Its Probably Relation to the Laudian Acts’, *Speculum* 3.1 (1928), 3-15.

<sup>463</sup> See Schäferdiek, ‘Kilian von Würzburg’, p. 324; Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, ‘St Kilian and the Irish Network in early Carolingian Europe’, in ‘*A Fantastic and abstruse Latinity?*’ in Wolfram R. Keller and Dagmar Schlütter, eds, *Hiberno-Continental Cultural and Literary Interactions in the Middle Ages, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie* (Münster, Forthcoming).

<sup>464</sup> Examples they cite include the label for the beard of St. Boniface, which suggests by its Insular style that it was written at Fulda, and the *em* and *er* ligatures on the label for St. Emmeram, which have a Bavarian style. Ganz and Goffart, ‘Charters Earlier than 800’, pp. 928 and 931.

<sup>465</sup> ‘Ibid’, p. 929.

The presence of St. Kilian in this collection, as well as in the calendar produced for Charlemagne by Godescalc, may further reflect the ambitions of Würzburg under Bishop Berowelf, as much as an attempt to collect and represent the diverse regions of empire through the medium of the cults of saints.

The presence of the richly illuminated manuscript of the *Passio minor Kiliani* and relics of St. Kilian in Essen may also be representative of Würzburg's desire to represent itself across Francia through its patron.<sup>466</sup> The date at which these relics arrived at Essen is not certain, though it is likely to have taken place in the latter half of the tenth century, after the fire of 946.<sup>467</sup> Kilian's relics may have arrived in conjunction with Essen's receipt of the *libellus* containing the *Passio minor Kiliani* and the *Passio Margaretae*, which was produced at Fulda around 975.<sup>468</sup> This combination of Ss. Kilian and Margaret in the manuscript and in the same relic casket as each other reflects both the Carolingian and Ottonian gathering of Frankish saints alongside classical martyrs, as reflected in the Godescalc calendar, but also the lack of hierarchy or apparent scheme in Essen's own saintly collection, as described by Katrinette Bodarwé.<sup>469</sup>

The additional ending which survives from Essen's copy of the *Passio minor Kiliani* brings the relic and the text together through veneration and remembrance of the saint. The added section begins by referring to the virtuous signs and miracles which occur in Würzburg "up to the present day / [...] *usque in hodiernum diem*", and continues with a fairly standard invocation of the glory of Christ, God and the Holy Spirit.<sup>470</sup> The Hannover manuscript is the only one of the four early manuscripts of the *Passio minor Kiliani* to contain this alternative ending. It is possible that its inclusion was made as part of an envisaged liturgical function for the manuscript, when read out on the saint's feast day. It may also have been a stylistic choice on the part of the copyist in Fulda who might have felt that this was a more fitting way to end a saint's Life. The reason for the exclusion of the reference to Pippin as first king of the East Franks is unclear, but may have been intended to enable St. Kilian to be viewed more in terms of the Ottonian present than the Carolingian past. The precise reason for the addition of this closing passage cannot now be known, but it provides written testimony to the efficacy of the saint's relics housed in the

<sup>466</sup> *Passio Kiliani, Passio Margaretae, orationes: Vollständige Faksimilie-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift Ms I 189 aus dem Besitz der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover*, ed, Cynthia Hahn (Graz, 1988).

<sup>467</sup> Bodarwé, 'Roman martyrs', p. 355.

<sup>468</sup> Hannover, I.189, see Chapter 2, p. 62.

<sup>469</sup> Bodarwé, 'Roman martyrs', p. 353.

<sup>470</sup> This ending is provided, following the explicit, in Levison's edition, *Passio minor*, p. 728. It concludes with a standard "[...] *eadem virtus per immortalia saecula saeculorum. Amen.*"

community, as well as linking them and the minds of the audience back to the *locus sanctus* at Würzburg.

The evidence for Essen, Aschaffenburg, Ghent and Einsiedeln perhaps hints at a resurgence in the cult of St. Kilian in the mid tenth century, something which may have been an additional factor begetting the production of the *Passio maior Kiliani*. From Aschaffenburg, a surviving list of relics possessed by the community, dating from the second half of the tenth century records relics of St. Kilian and his companions in the right-hand altar.<sup>471</sup> The fact that Aschaffenburg was local to Würzburg, lying as it does on the River Main, between Würzburg and Mainz, may be the reason for the inclusion of St. Kilian's companions here. This entry follows a list of relics presented to the community by Otto I of Swabia († 982), which includes relics of popes Leo and Alexander, as well as relics of St. Dionysius and Fortunatus amongst others.<sup>472</sup> Also represented in Otto's gifts are relics of Ss. Boniface, Gallus, Gungolfus and Remigius.<sup>473</sup> These donations testify to the position of the community at Aschaffenburg in the Frankish realm.

One entry which provides us with an idea of the nature of some of St. Kilian's relics which were possessed in communities far from Würzburg, is that noted by Joachim Dienemann for the abbey of St. Pieters in Ghent in a fragment of the *Translationis sanctorum Wandregisili et Ansberti*.<sup>474</sup> The entry states that Ghent was in possession of a part of the finger of St. Kilian bishop and martyr, which had been brought there from the city of Boulonnais (in Picardy) by a count named Erkengerus and a German named Arnoldus.<sup>475</sup> This is repeated in the *Sermo de adventu Ss. Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulfranni*, which states that the community rejoiced in the possession of a relic of part of the hand of St. Kilian, bishop and martyr.<sup>476</sup> Both accounts refer to events which took place in 944 and thus provide an indication of when the community acquired the relics.<sup>477</sup>

<sup>471</sup> *Notae Aschaffenburgensis*, ed, H. Bresslau, MGH SS 30.2 (Leipzig, 1934), 757-760, at p. 758.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid*, p. 758.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>474</sup> *Translationis sanctorum Wandregisili et Ansberti*, ed, Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 30.2 (Leipzig, 1934), 814-820, at p. 818; see also Christoph T. Maier, 'Saints, Tradition and Monastic Identity: The Ghent Relics, 850-1100', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 85.2 (2007), 223-277.

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid*. "Articuli manuum sancti Kiliani episcopi et martiris, que reliquie Erkengerus comes et Arnoldus de Germania Bononiensem civitatem deportaverunt."

<sup>476</sup> *Ex sermone de adventu Ss. Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulfranni*, ed, Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15.2 (Hannover, 1888), 624-631, at p. 629: "Ex sancti enim Kiliani pontificis et martyris articulis manuum gaudemus habere nobiscum; quas reliquias Erkengerus comes et Arnoldus de Germania Bononiensem civitatem deportaverunt". Note the differences in the spelling of Kilian and the terminology between these two accounts.

<sup>477</sup> Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), p. 245.

The more southerly travels of St. Kilian's cult through the liturgical notices and manuscript traditions apparent at St. Gall are given the addition of relics held by the monastery of Tergensee and the abbey of Einsiedeln. The nature of the relic of St. Kilian at Tergensee is not given by the surviving source, as it mentions only '*Kiliani martyris*' in a list of martyrs' relics in Tergensee's possession.<sup>478</sup> Joachim Dienemann has dated the acquisition of this relic and the production of this notice to around the same time as the community of Aschaffenburg obtained their relics of the saint.<sup>479</sup> The date is less certain for the relics at Einsiedeln and could range from 987 to 1039, which is the period provided in a surviving notice giving the known relics in five altars in the abbey.<sup>480</sup> The collection here represents saints from across the spectrum and includes relics of Ss. Benedict, Columba, Gallus, Otmar, Dionysius, Desiderius, Michael the Archangel, and St. Ambrose.<sup>481</sup> We are told that a small cross contained relics of St. Kilian (here 'Chilian'), along with those of Ss. Blasius, Vincent, Pelagius, Magnus, Walpurga, Victoria, and Afra.<sup>482</sup> This list was added to the end of a manuscript produced in St. Gall's *scriptorium* in the tenth century and which contains a copy of the four Gospels, with commentaries by Jerome, as well as some beautiful illuminations in the early part of the manuscript.<sup>483</sup>

Whilst there is a certain amount of correlation between the spread of relics and the distribution of surviving liturgical notices, as well as the known manuscript distribution, St. Kilian's relics also travelled separately from these written materials. This may be attributed to the relative fame which he had acquired in the Frankish realm as a result of his promotion by Würzburg's own community, but perhaps also because of perceived Carolingian attempts to represent their realm through its saints and Kilian's appearance in the calendar produced for Charlemagne.

### 3.5 Conclusion

St. Kilian's presence in a royal calendar naturally motivated the spread of his memory and cult through notices in other calendars produced subsequently in the realm. Though the

<sup>478</sup> *Notae Tergenseenses*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 15.2 (Hannover, 1888), 1066-1068, at p. 1067.

<sup>479</sup> Dienemann, *Der Kult des Heiligen Kilian*, p. 62.

<sup>480</sup> E.A. Stückelberg, *Geschichte der Reliquien in der Schweiz: Schriften der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*. Publications de la Société Suisse des Traditions Populaires 1 (Zurich, 1902), p. 13, no. 69.

<sup>481</sup> Stückelberg, *Geschichte der Reliquien*, p. 13, no. 69.

<sup>482</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>483</sup> Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 17(405): IV Evangelia (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/sbe/0017>). The entry for St. Kilian appears on p. 383 at the very end of the manuscript.

spread of these entries can not be taken as firm evidence of specific veneration of the saint, so much as the dissemination of his memory and his name. The beginnings of this spread are seen in the Lorsch calendar, though in this widening distribution we also see variances in the nature of St. Kilian's remembrance creeping into the sources. Inconsistencies in his representation as a martyr or bishop or both, or whether he was named along with his companions, demonstrate the ease with which the legend of a saint could alter over time. Any concept which there may have been of a *Reichskalendar* was not strong enough to overcome the deeply ingrained local characteristics of the cults of saints.

Some sense of uniformity of practice may have come through the wide adoption of Bede's Martyrology as a base text for subsequent copies across Francia. The nature of Bede's 'original' as far as it survived, however, increased rather than decreased the potential for production of martyrologies of specific significance to individual communities. In Würzburg's martyrologies, no dedicated space was left for St. Kilian, rather his notice was added in around the pre-existing text as it had been copied. These entries do, however, indicate that these manuscripts had a practical use and specifically local significance, as can be seen from the memorial entries for members of the Würzburg community. Würzburg's other founding saint, St. Burchard, is noticeable by his absence, as there is only one entry in Würzburg and a triple notice surviving in a single Lorsch manuscript. The rise in the number of entries for St. Kilian in the middle of the eighth century should be seen as a result of a spike in the number of martyrologies being produced and does not necessarily reflect increased veneration for the saint in a real sense.

We see a parallel tradition of the Kilian story arise from the mid ninth-century martyrology produced at Fulda by Hrabanus Maurus. This suggests the imperfect relationship between liturgical sources and hagiographical material as, whilst Geilana's absence may have had little impact upon the function of these sources, the implications for the uses of the hagiographical narrative without this central figure of blame, are quite significant.<sup>484</sup> Despite this, martyrological evidence largely corresponds to the surviving manuscript distribution of the *Passio minor Kiliani*. A closer connection between the two types of source is visible in the St. Gall tradition and the Martyrology of Notker Balbulus.

It is difficult to prove that a saint's entry in a calendar or martyrology also entailed active, public veneration of the saint. Evidence for such practices is more forthcoming from the surviving sacramentaries. Once again, these sources display an interest in the cult

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<sup>484</sup> See below, Chapter 5.

of St. Kilian in Würzburg and Fulda, though there is also strong evidence for well-developed cult in the Alemannic region and also for the female community at Essen. Würzburg's own evidence in this vein is quite late, dating to the ninth or tenth century. Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon* does, however, provide independent verification that masses for St. Kilian were celebrated into the tenth century.

The distribution of St. Kilian's relics did at least rely more heavily on Würzburg as the centre of his cult and also the site of his tomb. Their scattering, both east and west, north and south, reflects the interests of both Würzburg and of the Carolingian and Ottonian rulers in imposing their authority through the medium of their saints. Some of the communities which possessed relics of the saint were of high standing, notably Chelles, Essen, Aschaffenburg and Fulda, and Kilian's presence correspondingly reflects his increasing status. The inconsistent relationship between elements of St. Kilian's cult and Würzburg does, however, point to a distance between hagiography and cult, as the previous chapter demonstrated the distinctly local interests apparent in the production and distribution of the *passiones*. Perhaps for Würzburg, hagiography and its uses was a wider concern than the daily practices of cult.

## Chapter 4: Mission and Education

The narrative of the *Passio minor Kiliani* makes it clear that St. Kilian was to be understood as a missionary figure, at least until his martyrdom. The text itself has been located within the context of *vitae* about other missionaries by Ian Wood, but in his book *The Missionary Life*, only one short section of less than two pages is dedicated to the *Passio* and the focus is on its relationship to those Lives written in the context of Bavarian mission.<sup>485</sup> St. Kilian is also mentioned several times in Richard Fletcher's survey of the conversion of Europe over the course of the Middle Ages, but little mention is made of his activities in Thuringia or of Würzburg's own role in eighth-century mission.<sup>486</sup>

Such relative lack of attention likely stems from the widely held view that St Kilian was not a real historical figure. As a result, historians have not fully analysed him as a missionary figure alongside well-known individuals like Ss. Boniface and Willibrord, and not with regard to northern mission. Add to this the highly derivative nature of the text and St. Kilian and Würzburg seem to fade into the background of an otherwise vibrant missionary hagiography in modern scholarship. In light of my proposed dating of the *Passio minor Kiliani* to the last decades of the eighth century, around the time of the Synod of Frankfurt in 794, we must consider this text in the context of the episcopate of Berowelf of Würzburg, that is the years 768 or 769 to 800 or shortly thereafter.<sup>487</sup> Würzburg was an active mission centre at the time when this text was most likely written and therefore the *Passio minor* and its representation of St. Kilian need to be better considered in the context of missionary hagiography and activity of the eighth and early-ninth centuries, particularly with regards to the northern mission to Saxony.

This chapter will re-examine the *Passio minor Kiliani* and its function as a hagiographical narrative in light of Würzburg's own involvement with mission, both to the north and also within its own diocese. In this, it will be important to compare it to other texts produced in relation to mission in this period. These texts will be the *Vita Bonifatii* by Willibald (written

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<sup>485</sup> Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 160-162.

<sup>486</sup> Richard Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe: From Paganism to Christianity, 371-1386 AD* (London, 1997), see pp. 202, 204, 209, 232, 283 and 419.

<sup>487</sup> See above, Chapter 2; on Berowelf, see Alfred Wendehorst, *Germania Sacra. Historisch-statische Beschreibung der Kirche des alten Reiches. Herausgegeben vom Max-Planck Institute für Geschichte. Neue Folge 1, Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Mainz. Das Bistum Würzburg, Teil 1, Die Bischofsreihe bis 1251* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 31-34.

circa 763-765), the *Vita Sturmi* by Eigil of Fulda (written late 810s), the *Vita Willibrordi* by Alcuin (written circa 796), and the anonymous *Vita Willebadi* (written circa 839-849).<sup>488</sup> Whilst the manuscript tradition demonstrated the southern-German tradition of the text, it is also important to consider production of the *Passio minor* in light of these 'local' concerns of Würzburg, as the text itself reveals a connection with missionary activity to the north as much as it does to the south.

Preaching and teaching are the two central themes which thread through the *Passio minor*. This chapter will show that the text had practical applications with regard to education and instruction of prospective missionaries, but also provided a narrative which would have been of use in the continuing process of educating the *populus* in correct Christian belief and practice. A specific case-study on this theme will centre on the debates about the nature of Christian marriage and its codification in canon law, which were current in the eighth century. Over the period from the eighth to the tenth century, Würzburg itself also evolved from being a centre of mission to being a centre of education; this is something which is reflected in the developing narrative of the *passiones* of St. Kilian.

The *Passio maior* will also be considered in the context of missionary activity, as the St. Kilian which it describes is styled as an apostle; an elevation of saintly status from a missionary, but one nevertheless connected with the preaching and promotion of Christianity. The late tenth century was a time when Würzburg was flourishing as a centre of education and textual production, but was also a time when 'pagans' and 'barbarians' still lurked on the northern and eastern borders of the Ottonian realm. Mission to pagan Scandinavia in the mid tenth century provides us with one possible context for the re-writing of the story of St. Kilian. Whilst the identity of a cleric named Poppo who supposedly converted the Danish king Harald Bluetooth to Christianity is not entirely clear, there may be a connection to Würzburg through Poppo II († 983) which will be examined as a potentially significant background to the *Passio maior Kiliani*.

The mid tenth century also saw Ottonian drives for mission encapsulated in the newly formed monastery, and later archbishopric of Magdeburg. Whilst many of the historiographical sources of the period remain largely silent on the process of this community's elevation, there is evidence to suggest that it was a hotly contested issue. Magdeburg's expansion may have had a direct impact upon the territorial integrity of the

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<sup>488</sup> For the dating of the *Vita Willebadi* see James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690-900* (Turnhout, 2009), p. 32.

bishopric of Würzburg, but it may also have been seen as challenging the community's historical claim to be a significant centre of missionary activity. As this claim had been clearly laid out in the *Passio minor Kiliani*, this renewed challenge may have prompted the re-casting of the narrative for a tenth-century audience.

#### 4.1 Licence and Authority: Bonifatian tradition

In the latter part of the eighth century, Würzburg became actively involved in mission to the Saxons. As a result, there was a need to establish its credentials and authority as a mission centre. To this end the *Passio minor Kiliani* can be seen to present the community's patron saint as an archetype of the missionary figure represented by Boniface and others. Following the death of Sturmi, Abbot of Fulda in 779, Charlemagne charged Würzburg's bishop Berowelf with heading the mission diocese of Paderborn, the site where Charlemagne had held the first Frankish assembly on Saxon soil in 777.<sup>489</sup> Not only was this situated further north and thus further into Saxony than Fulda's own mission headquarters at the Eresburg, but Paderborn was thus also a place of significance in the history of the Carolingian subjugation of Saxony.<sup>490</sup> The fact that the Eresburg and Paderborn, like Würzburg itself, were both pre-existing fortified sites meant that these mission centres had an imposing presence in the landscape, but it also ensured that they were afforded some degree of protection should the local populace become dissatisfied with Christian Carolingian rule.<sup>491</sup>

The main area of Würzburg's missionary activity and influence in the late eighth and early ninth century seems to have been in the region of Steinheim, to the north of the Teutoburg Forest and just north-east of Paderborn itself.<sup>492</sup> Here there were at least two churches – one at Vörden and one at Lügde – with dedications to St. Kilian, which is in addition to the ten or more parishes of the diocese of Paderborn which listed Kilian as a

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<sup>489</sup> Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, p. 33; Alfred Wendehorst, 'Ostfränkische Mission in Sachsen', in Johannes Erischen and Evamaria Brockhoff, eds, *Kilian: Mönch aus Irland, aller Franken Patron* (Munich, 1989), p. 281; *Annales Regni Francorum inde a. 741 usque ad 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed, G.H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 6 (Hannover, 1895), 777, p. 48. Caspar Ehlers has suggested that it was because of Fulda's involvement in the Saxon mission, as well as proximity to Mainz – which had spearheaded the Saxon mission movement – that Würzburg became involved, see Caspar Ehlers, *Die Integration Sachsens in das fränkische Reich (751-1024)* (Göttingen, 2007), p. 57.

<sup>490</sup> Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, p. 33; Würzburg also followed in the steps of Fulda at Eresburg, as there are two churches dedicated to St. Kilian here: at Löwen and at Welda, idem, 'Ostfränkische Mission', p. 283.

<sup>491</sup> Ehlers, *Integration Sachsens*, p. 21.

<sup>492</sup> Wendehorst, 'Ostfränkische Mission', p. 283.

named patron.<sup>493</sup> Although it is difficult to reconstruct the full expanse of Würzburg's mission in Saxony, the most easterly evidence comes from Stadtoldendorf, at the eastern end of the diocese of Paderborn; whilst the furthest south in Saxony that we find a church dedication to St. Kilian is in Korbach.<sup>494</sup> Whilst the scope of influence may have been relatively small and focused on the area around Paderborn itself, Würzburg's missionary activity in Saxony nevertheless allowed the memory and the cult of St. Kilian to be transported northwards into the newer regions of the Carolingian realm.



Figure 2: Würzburg mission in Saxony

Not only was Würzburg placed in charge of Paderborn, but it was also given responsibility for training missionaries for the centre, in order to continue the work of Christianisation.<sup>495</sup> The first bishops of Paderborn, following the creation of the diocese in 806 or 807 - Mathumar and Badurad - were products of this Würzburg education, as well

<sup>493</sup> Wendehorst, 'Ostfränkische Mission', p. 283; Wendehorst connects the date of these churches with Charlemagne's celebration of Christmas there in 784, see *Annales regni Francorum*, p. 68.

<sup>494</sup> Wendehorst, 'Ostfränkische Mission'; See Figure 1, p. 100.

<sup>495</sup> 'Ibid', p. 282.

as being Saxons by birth.<sup>496</sup> A hagiographical account of Würzburg's own missionary saint and patron would have been ideal material for Würzburg to produce and utilise in this context as it was just as important to properly instruct those who were being sent out to the mission field as it was for them to then educate the *populus*. If a saint and his/her hagiography were supposed to provide a model for behaviour, then the *Passio minor Kiliani* could therefore present St. Kilian and his actions as a model for mission.

To test this, the representation of St. Kilian should be set alongside other notable hagiographies of missionary figures in this period. The *Passio* tells us that, when Kilian had received his religious education and was fired by enthusiasm, so that "[...] he understood everything which pertained to the benefit of souls and the propagation of the faith, and he did not cease with devoted mind and eagerness of pious works", he decided, inspired by divine words, to "[...] follow Christ stripped bare."<sup>497</sup> St. Kilian did not set off on his mission without the proper foundation and instruction and the importance of a proper grounding for mission is reflected in other Lives of missionaries, especially that of St. Boniface. As Peter Brown has put it, Boniface himself was not a charismatic figure and he did not fit the image of the holy man of early Christianity, instead: "[...] he radiated "correct" ecclesiastical order", and was thus akin to a 'poster child' for Carolingian religious *correctio* and renewal.<sup>498</sup> There was a right way and a wrong way of going about missionary work and this is something which was promoted, as one would expect, in the *Vita Bonifatii* where the establishment of diocesan structure and church order is one of the themes of Willibald's narrative.

Mission was something to be embarked upon only when the individual had reached the proper stage of their ecclesiastical career and education. The title of chapter three tells us that Boniface gave instruction to all and became a teacher, "[...] not at his own whim but on the attainment of the proper age", which we are told later in the chapter was at least thirty years old.<sup>499</sup> Similarly, in Eigil's *Vita Sturmii*, written around 794, and thus contemporary with the *Passio minor Kiliani*, we are told at length about the saint's instruction, which included learning the Psalms by heart and 'mastering' many books, after

<sup>496</sup> Wendehorst, 'Ostfränkische Mission', p. 282; Erconrad, *Translatio sancti Liborii*, ed, G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 4 (Hannover, 1841), 149-157, ch. 5, p. 151.

<sup>497</sup> *Passio minor*, chs. 1-2, pp. 722-723: "[...] ut quicquid ad animarum lucrum, quicquid ad propagationem fidei pertinere cognoscebat, devota mente et pio operari studio non cessabat", "[...] nudos sequere Christum."

<sup>498</sup> Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000* (Oxford, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2003), p. 423.

<sup>499</sup> *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 3, p. 11: "Quod doctrinae verbum omnibus praeberet et quod hanc non suo ante tempus aetatis arbitrio arripuerat.", translated by C.H. Talbot, in *Soldiers*, p. 114.

which he was ordained and progressed through the ecclesiastical ranks.<sup>500</sup> Alcuin also tells us that, after twelve years of training in Ireland, St. Willibrord was thirty-three years old when he decided to sail for the Continent; Willehad († 789), whose life was written in the mid ninth century, is also said to have been ordained before setting out to the Frisians and Saxons.<sup>501</sup>

These passages could be seen to form something of a topos in narratives about participants in eighth-century mission, but they also reflect genuine concerns of the missionaries themselves, or at least of St. Boniface. At the Roman synod of 745 Boniface condemned a Frank named Aldebert, who had taken it upon himself to preach and establish chapels without authority from Rome and without any episcopal dignity, and an Irish 'bishop' named Clemens.<sup>502</sup> This case is interesting not so much for what it tells us about Aldebert and Clemens, but for what it says about contemporary ideas on mission and preaching. Whilst Boniface may have been the most openly concerned with restricting such activity, it is apparent from these texts that there could be no room for the charismatic holy men who had been such a feature of ancient Christianity.<sup>503</sup> St. Kilian appears as an antithesis of the *peregrinus* Clemens and his rejection of the canons and advocacy of Old Testament incestuous marriage practices.<sup>504</sup> A connection between condemnation of these heretics and Würzburg in the late eighth or early ninth century can also be seen from a manuscript, most likely produced in the Würzburg area.<sup>505</sup> Amongst other things, this manuscript contains section headings, referencing both Adalbert and Clemens, and referring to those who think to understand scripture without the proper teaching.<sup>506</sup>

When seen in light of Würzburg's own Bonifatian connection, these elements further argue for the *Passio minor Kiliani* having been written in the context of late eighth-century

<sup>500</sup> Eigil, *Vita sancti Sturmii abbatis Fuldensis*, ed, G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 2 (Hannover, 1829), 365-377, at chs. 2-3, pp. 366-367.

<sup>501</sup> Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi, archiepiscopus Traiectensis*, ed, Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 7 (Hannover, 1920), 113-141, chs. 4-5, pp. 118-119. There is a parallel with Christ here, as Jesus was around thirty years old when he began his ministry, see Luke, 3:23; *De Sancto Willebado primo Bremensis episcopo et inferioris Saxoniae apostolo*, ed, Albert Poncelet, AASS 3<sup>rd</sup> November (Brussels, 1910), BHL 8898, ch. 1, col. 0842F.

<sup>502</sup> See Brown, *The Rise*, p. 422; Jeffrey B. Russell, 'Saint Boniface and the Eccentrics', *Church History*, 33.3 (1964), 235-247; *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed, Michael Tangl, MGH Epp. sel. 1 (Berlin, 1916), no. 59, 108-120. This council had followed on from that held at Soissons under the auspices of Boniface and Pippin in 744 see Ephraim Emmerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York, 2000), pp. xx-xxi & xxiii.

<sup>503</sup> See especially Peter Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), 80-101.

<sup>504</sup> *Die Briefe*, no. 59, 108-120, at p. 112. See also below, pp. 108-113.

<sup>505</sup> Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q.31, <http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/permalink/mpthq31>, cited in Sven Meeder 'Boniface and the Irish Heresy of Clemens', *Church History* 80.2 (2011), 251-280, especially pp. 259-265.

<sup>506</sup> Meeder, 'Boniface and the Irish Heresy', pp. 259-265.

mission. Whilst Ian Wood has argued that St. Kilian is essentially presented as a holy man in the *Passio minor Kiliani*, his description in the narrative also accords well with the image of leading missionary figures of the day, casting him in a more Bonifatian mould. The *Passio minor* is very clear that St. Kilian had no intention of attempting mission in the promising Würzburg region until he and his companions had received proper licence and authority to do so.<sup>507</sup> The nature of this grant is stated as we are told that Pope Conon: “[...] hearing of his faith and teaching, [...] gave to him licence and authority to preach and to teach from God and St Peter, Prince of the apostles, and whosoever his teaching was able to convert he should make free and most firm by this authority.”<sup>508</sup>

A vision of more ancient Christian battles is, however, apparent in the way in which the *Passio minor Kiliani* deals with the nature of the people and the beliefs confronted in areas of mission; an aspect of hagiographical tradition which the Lives of missionaries turn to their advantage. Würzburg, upon Kilian’s arrival, is described as: “[...] a place of most wonderful pleasantness with a most sweet multitude there of noble men beset by the ancient enemy”, but shortly before we had been told that, “this Gozbert and all the people subjected to him had hitherto lived according to pagan customs, cultivating the idols of demons; the God of Heaven and Earth was scarcely recognised there”.<sup>509</sup> Würzburg is thus depicted as a place of great potential and its people as ripe for conversion, though currently steeped in error, with an ideal and well-connected location on the banks of the Main.

In a similar manner, the *Vita Sturmi* described the ‘frightful wilderness’ of Thuringia as filled with ferocious Saxons and beasts, as well as Slavs so filthy that the man of God could not bear the stench of them.<sup>510</sup> This was compared with the ‘foreordained’ spot Sturmi came across, on which the monastery of Fulda (in which Eigil was writing this text) was to be founded. The contrast between this place and its surroundings is made plain in the narrative, as Eigil wrote that:

“[...] he walked over the ground and saw all the advantages the place possessed, he gave thanks to God; and the more he looked at it from every angle, the more pleased with it he became. So charmed was he with the beauty of the spot that he spent practically a

<sup>507</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 4, p. 728.

<sup>508</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 5, p. 724: “[...] audita illius fide pariter et doctrina, dedit illi a Deo et sancto Petro principe apostolorum licentiam et potestatem praedicandi et docendi, et quoscumque sua convertere potuisset doctrina, libera adque firmissima hoc faceret potestate.”; see also above, Chapter 1, pp. 27-30..

<sup>509</sup> *Passio minor*, chs. 4 and 3, p. 723: “[...] mirae amoenitatis locum adque pulcherrimam multitudinem nobilem virorum ab antiquo hoste obsessam, ultra quod dici potest”, “Qui etiam Gozbertus, et omnis populus sibi subiectus adhuc paganico vivebant more, idola daemonum colentes, Deum vero caeli et terrae minime agnoscentes.”

<sup>510</sup> Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, ch. 5, p. 367; ch. 7, p. 369; ch. 8, p. 369.

whole day wandering over it, exploring its possibilities. Finally, he blessed it and turned his face towards home.”<sup>511</sup>

Having previously mentioned the rivers along which St. Sturm and his companions travelled, as well as the trade route between Thuringia and Mainz where he encountered the Slavs, the ideal position of the monastery of Fulda becomes apparent; situated on a blessed piece of ground in the midst of ferocious pagans and wild beasts, but also well connected to the rest of the Frankish world.

It was not only the location, but also the people themselves who had to be ripe for conversion if mission was to be successful and worthwhile. In the *Vita Willibrordi*, Alcuin wrote that the saint, “[...] had heard that in the northern regions of the world the harvest was great but the labourers few.”<sup>512</sup> Similar ideas are repeated in the *Vita Willehadi*, as the anonymous author tells us that Willehad had: “[...] heard that the Frisians and Saxons, peoples who up until then had been pagan unbelievers, had rejected the worship of idols and had just begun to seek in small measure the mysteries of the Catholic faith and desired to be cleansed of their former blemishes through the sacrament of baptism.”<sup>513</sup> Once again, we see a picture of a region of great potential, but in need of the right man/men of God to nurture that potential and reap the spiritual rewards. Mission was a calculated affair, however, as the time also had to be right for it to be successful, as Boniface had:

“[...] decided that if at any time he could see his way to approach the people he would minister to them the Word of God. [...] A strange thing in the sanctity of the saints is that when they perceive that their labours are frustrated for a time and bear no spiritual fruit they betake themselves to other places where the results are more palpable, for there is nothing to be gained if one stays in a place without reaping a harvest of souls”.<sup>514</sup>

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<sup>511</sup> Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, ch. 9, p. 369: “[...] per singula quae adspiciebat, Domino gratias referebat; quanto longius et latius gradiabatur, tanto amplius gratulabatur. Cumque ibi loci pulchritudine delectatus, non modicum diei spatium gyrando et explorando exegisset, benedicto loco et diligenter signato gaudens inde profectus est.”, translated by C.H. Talbot, in *Soldiers*, 165-187, at p. 173.

<sup>512</sup> Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, ch. 5, p. 119: “Audivit in borealibus muni partibus messem quidem multam esse, sed operarios paucos.”, translated by C.H. Talbot, in *Soldiers*, p. 195. Here Alcuin is referencing Matthew 9:37, which says “Then he said to his disciples, The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few / *tunc dicit discipulis suis messis quidem multa operarios in messem suam.*”; see also *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 5, p. 24.

<sup>513</sup> *Sancto Willehado*, ch. 1, col. 0842F: “audivit quod Fresones atque Saxones populi hactenus increduli atque pagani, relicta idolorum cultura, fidei catholicae quodammodo iam coepissent ambire mysteria, ac baptismi sacramento vetustatis cuperent maculis emundari.”, translated by Peter J. Potter and Thomas F.X. Noble, in *Soldiers*, 281-291, at p. 282.

<sup>514</sup> *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 4, p. 17: “[...] si quoniam in parte huius populi euangeli umquam aditus claresceret, verbi quidem Dei semina ministraret. [...] Sed quia sanctorum singulare munus est sanctitatis, ut dum ad tempus suum sine spiritalis virore germinis laborem minime potenter perspiciunt, ad alia prorsus loca foecundo laboris cum fructu migrant, - quoniam in cassum inhabitatur locus, si et fructus deest sanctitatis.”

It is perhaps not surprising that the *Vita Sturmi* is the text which the *Passio minor Kiliani* should so closely resemble in this regard, as it was Fulda which had preceded Würzburg in its mission to the Saxons. By presenting the site of the future episcopal see of Würzburg in a similar light to that of the monastic community of Fulda, Würzburg provided itself with just as suitable a missionary background and foundation as its predecessor in the Saxon mission field. Although the *Passio minor* is a contemporary of texts such as the *Vita Sturmi*, it is important in this regard to remember that the narrative is set in the seventh century as opposed to the eighth, and so Würzburg's own missionary background, as described by the *Passio minor*, pre-dated that of Fulda.

Such claims were not without further eighth-century support, however, as, when the diocese was founded, Würzburg was envisaged as a missionary centre for the conversion and education of those Saxons and Slavs who populated the surrounding areas. In Chapter 8 of the *Vita Bonifatii* we are told that when Boniface installed Burchard in the diocese of Würzburg, he had put “[...] under his care all the churches within the borders of the Franks, Saxons and Slavs.”<sup>515</sup> Evidence for active preaching and religious education of the local populace at this time comes from two manuscripts also commonly associated with St. Burchard and now both held by the University library in Würzburg: the ‘Burchard Gospels’ and the ‘Burchard Homiliary’.<sup>516</sup>

The main contents of the Homiliary are copies of sermons of Caesarius of Arles and also a smaller number by St. Augustine, and it finishes with a Life of St. Christopher (fols. 96-99v). The manuscript itself is small, measuring 262×180mm, and the text is continuous, with breaks only indicated by rubricated *incipits* and *explicits* as well as some decorated initials. Little blank space has been left on the pages, as the dimensions of the written space measure 205-225×155-156mm, thus making the most of what was available.<sup>517</sup> In his recent study of the Homiliary, Yitzhak Hen has suggested that the small size of the manuscript, when combined with its contents and the fact that the quality of the parchment and the preparation is quite modest, indicates its intended practical function, perhaps to accompany a preacher on his rounds in the diocese of Würzburg, rather than for use in the cathedral

<sup>515</sup> *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 8, p. 44: “[...] *dignitatis officium delegavit et ecclesias in confinibus Franchorum et Saxonum atque Sclavorum suo officio deputavit.*”; As James Palmer has noted, the fact that Saxony and the Slavic lands were not fully under Frankish control at the time Willibald was writing, suggests that these words reflect the missionary ambitions of Megingoz of Würzburg and Lull of Mainz, who had commissioned the *Vita*, see James T. Palmer, ‘The ‘vigorous rule’ of Bishop Lull: between Bonifatian mission and Carolingian church control’, *EME* 13.3 (2005), 249-276, pp. 268-269.

<sup>516</sup> Now M.p.th.f.68 and M.p.th.f.28 respectively.

<sup>517</sup> <http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/permalink/mpthf28>.

church itself.<sup>518</sup> Of the sermons which it contains, Hen has highlighted a group of six sermons of Caesarius which have their focus on superstitious and pagan practices and another three which focus on the apocalypse and Judgement.<sup>519</sup> The Homiliary, like the *Passio minor Kiliani*, therefore provides evidence of Würzburg's interaction with the challenges and requirements of mission and education through the creation and use of textual information.

The list of pagan and superstitious practices which these sermons prohibit is long and thorough, surely reflecting Burchard's own relationship to Boniface and thus the circulation of Bonifatian ideas and concerns; the apocalyptic-centred sermons, Hen suggests, were intended to focus an audience's mind on their eternal souls.<sup>520</sup> The manuscript was not produced in Würzburg's own *scriptorium*, however, and has been linked, palaeographically with an, as yet unidentified, Bavarian centre.<sup>521</sup> Certainly the sermons of Caesarius of Arles were also influential in the context of Bavarian mission and can be found in the late eighth-century 'Homiliary of St. Corbinian'.<sup>522</sup> The textual connection with Bavaria has been made apparent in the content and form of the *Passio minor Kiliani* and if, as Hen has suggested, Burchard commissioned his sermon collection from Bavaria, it may indicate that, in its first fifty years of existence, the diocese of Würzburg and its *scriptorium* was not well enough suited, trained or stocked, to produce texts such as these and that a monastic *scriptorium* in another centre with missionary experience, such as Regensburg, was better suited to meeting its needs.<sup>523</sup>

Würzburg's first bishop had been concerned to fulfill his pastoral role and that of his diocese in a manner which was in keeping with the practices of Boniface. The continuation of this Bonifatian tradition is apparent in the nature of the *Passio minor Kiliani* and its

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<sup>518</sup> Yitzhak Hen, 'The Content and Aims of the So-Called Homiliary of Burchard of Würzburg', in Maximilian Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen and Marianne Pollheimer, eds, *Sermo Doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2013), 127-152, at p. 133 and § 39; he notes that it does not contain a sermon for the ordination of any members of a cathedral clergy or for monks or nuns.

<sup>519</sup> 'Ibid', p. 131.

<sup>520</sup> Hen, 'The Content and Aims', pp. 136 and 137-138.

<sup>521</sup> <http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/mpthf28/ueber.html?locale=en>; Hen, 'The Content and Aims', pp. 129 and 131.

<sup>522</sup> Now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6298, <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/search?oclcno=644069822&db=100>; Hen 'The Content and Aims', p. 139.

<sup>523</sup> Hen, 'The Content and Aims', p. 140. It is important to note here that a Würzburg origin has also been put forward for the Corbinian Homiliary, based on palaeographic grounds, but given the fact that Würzburg had to apply to a Bavarian centre for the production of the Burchard Homiliary not long before the production of the Munich manuscript, this hypothesis must remain in doubt, see Katharina Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek: Textband* (Wiesbaden, 1990), no. 219; on Bavaria and its many sermons, see Maximilian Diesenberger, 'Introduction: Compilers, Preachers and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West', in *Sermo Doctorum*, 1-24, at pp. 5-7.

representation both of its saint and of mission. In continuing this tradition, it was not merely conforming to it, but rather actively emulating it throughout the narrative, to provide both the text and the community with an authoritative background for its own missionary activities.

#### 4.2 Preaching and Teaching: Alcuin and the Saxons

In addition to the authority which radiated from the personality of Boniface, more immediate and contemporary influences emphasising preaching and teaching can also be perceived in the *Passio minor Kiliani*. Having received his licence and authority, as was proper, from Pope Conon, it was then that St. Kilian returned to the castle of Würzburg where he and his companions “[...] preached the word of God above all”.<sup>524</sup> Rather than go straight to the duke, the text says that Kilian preached to the *populus* first. Clearly, however, a foreign monk preaching Christian doctrine to his people would come to the attention of the duke sooner or later and we are told that, upon learning about this, Gozbert ordered a meeting with the companions.<sup>525</sup> The anonymous author does not go into any detail about what was said and we are only told that “Bishop Kilian and the pre-eminent Duke Gozbert made conversation in turns. Not long afterwards Kilian, the devoted priest of God, persuaded him to become Christian”.<sup>526</sup> What is important to note from these two chapters is the centrality of preaching and of instruction in the faith as a precursor to baptism, which is in accordance with ideas about mission being voiced at the time by figures such as Alcuin.

The division between Christian and pagan may not have been so clear cut as the sources make out, however. Peter Brown has noted that the contents of the *Indiculus superstitionem et paganiarum* of 743 do not point to deeply rooted paganism in the Frankish world which still needed to be tackled head on, but rather to a collection of known or suspected pagan survivals and superstitions which clung on as leftovers of the realm’s pagan past.<sup>527</sup> These missionaries were, for the most part, dealing with lapsed or poorly educated Christians.

<sup>524</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 6, p. 724: “[...] *ibique praedicantes inprimis verbum Domini.*”

<sup>525</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 7, pp. 724–725: “*confabulationem in invicem fecerunt Kilianus episcopus et praeclarus dux Gozbertus. Non multo post tempore persuadebat illum devotus Dei pontifex Kilianus christianum fieri.*”

<sup>527</sup> Brown, *The Rise*, p. 426; ‘*Indiculus superstitionem et paganiarum*’, ed, Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (Hannover, 1883), no. 107, 222–223. Ian Wood has also discussed the evidence for cultural and religious permeations across Christian and ‘pagan’ borders in Frisia, Saxony and Thuringia in ‘Before or after mission. Social relations across the middle and lower Rhine in the seventh and eighth centuries’, in Inge Lyse Hansen and Chris Wickham, eds, *The Long Eighth Century*, TRW 11 (Leiden, 2000), 149–166.

Despite the demise of the Hedenids as recounted in the *Passio minor* and the defamatory portrayal of Heden the Younger in the *Vita Bonifatii*, it seems that this had also been the case in Würzburg.<sup>528</sup> Surviving charter evidence of dedications made to Willibrord, shows that Heden the Younger († circa 717) had been a supporter of the saint, and thus of his foundation at Echternach, before even the Pippinids themselves.<sup>529</sup>

Alcuin's ideas on the correct form of conversion were laid out in the letters which he wrote to Charlemagne, his chancellor Megenfrid and also to Bishop Arn of Salzburg; all in the year 796, and thus reflecting ideas at the time that the *Passio minor Kiliani* was written. It is worth quoting at length from the letter to Charlemagne, so that Alcuin's views can be expressed in his own words. He wrote that:

“Careful thought must also be given to the right method of preaching and baptising, that the washing of the body in baptism be not made useless by lack in the soul of an understanding of the faith (...) The Lord told his disciples in the gospel, ‘Go, teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit (Matt. 28:19). The blessed Jerome in his commentary on St. Matthew’s gospel explained the order of this commandment as follows: ‘First they teach all nations, then dip them in water. The body cannot receive the sacrament of baptism if the soul has not first received the truth of faith [...] we should be careful to keep the order in teaching adults which St. Augustine laid down in his book ‘On teaching the catechism to the uneducated’. A man must first be taught about the immortality of the soul and the future life and rewards for good and evil and both kinds of eternity, later the particular sins for which he must suffer eternal punishment with the devil and the good deeds for which he may enjoy everlasting glory with Christ.’<sup>530</sup>

Alcuin followed this with an ordered list of what should then be taught before baptism could take place. Following baptism, he adds that the task of education did not stop and that, “The teaching of the gospels must be given in preaching frequently at suitable times, till he grows into the perfect man and is made a worthy dwelling for the Holy Spirit and a

<sup>528</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 15, p. 728; *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 6, pp. 32-33.

<sup>529</sup> Wood, ‘Before or after mission’, pp. 155-157.

<sup>530</sup> Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed, Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp. 4 (Berlin, 1895), no. 110, 156-159, at pp. 158-159: “*Illud quoque maxima considerandum est diligentia, ut ordinate fiat praedicationis officium et baptismi sacramentum, ne nihil prosit sacri ablutio baptismi in corpore, si in anima ratione utenti catholicae fidei agnitio non praecesserit [...] et ipse Dominus in evangelio discipulis suis praeciens ait: ‘Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti’. Huius vero praecepti ordinem beatus Hieronimus in commentario suo, quem in evangelium sancto Mathei scripsit, ita exposuit: ‘Primum docent omnes gentes, deinde doctas intingunt aqua. Non enim poteest fieri, ut corpus baptismi accipiat sacramentum, nisi ante anima fidei susceperit veritatem. [...] Igitur ille ordo in docendo virum aetate perfectum, diligenter, ut arbitror, servandus est, quem beatus Augustinus ordinavit in libro, cui de catechizandis rudibus titulum praenotavit. Primo instruendus est homo de animae immortalitate et de vita futura et de retributione bonorum malorumque et de aeternitate utriusque sortis. Postea: pro quibus peccatis et sceleribus poenas cum diabolo patiatur aeternas, et pro quibus bonis vel benedictis gloria cum Christo fruatur sempiterna.’*”, translated by Stephen Allott, in *Alcuin of York, c. A.D. 732 to 804: his life and letters* (York, 1974), no. 56, 72-74, at pp. 73-74.

perfect son of God in works of mercy [...].”<sup>531</sup> This latter aspect was a continual process and forms some of the context for the later *Passio maior Kiliani*.

In both this letter and that which he addressed to Megenfrid, Alcuin suggests that it was the failure to proceed in this manner and the attempts to win the Saxons over by force rather than by reason which had led to their continued obstinacy and rebellion.<sup>532</sup> To Megenfrid, he is more open in his condemnation of the political approach to Saxon subjugation, as he wrote: “If the light yoke and easy load of Christ were preached to the hard Saxon race as keenly as tithes were levied and the penalty of the law imposed for the smallest faults, perhaps they would not react against the rite of baptism.”<sup>533</sup> Alcuin also made the importance of preaching clear in his hagiographical writings as, in the *Life of Willibrord*, he wrote in the centre of the work that: “[...] the ministry of preaching the Gospel is to be preferred to the working of miracles and the showing of signs [...]”.<sup>534</sup> For successful conversion, a *populus* needed to be educated and convinced of the Christian faith, not subdued by violent coercion or seduced by the display of wonders and miracles. This was a message which Alcuin wished to broadcast not only to political leaders, but also to those who would be involved in mission themselves, as he also addressed his letter to Charlemagne to the preachers of God’s word, whilst the *Vita Willibrordi* was produced for the monks at Echternach and their Abbot Beornrad of Sens.<sup>535</sup>

If the *Passio minor Kiliani* was indeed written for a Würzburg audience, at least initially, we can see how the manner and process with which St. Kilian approached the conversion of Gozbert and his people might provide an example to those being trained for the mission diocese of Paderborn. In terms of Würzburg’s own standing as a missionary centre, alongside the concurrent claims of Fulda, these passages also suggest to their audience that Würzburg’s own history was based on the sound foundation of correct and proper preaching and baptism. In further accordance with Alcuin’s ideals, it should be noted that

<sup>531</sup> Alcuin, *Epistolae*, no. 110 at, p. 159: “*Et sic tempore oportuno saepius evangelica praecepta danda sunt per sedulae praedicationis officium, donec aderescat in virum perfectum et digna eddiciatur Spiritui santo habitatio et sit perfectus filius Dei in operibus misericordiae.*”, translated by Allott, *Alcuin*, p. 74.

<sup>532</sup> *Ibid*, p. 157; also no. 111, 159-162, at p. 161.

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid*, no. 111, p. 161: “*Si tanta instatia leve Christi iugum et onus suave durissimo Saxonum populo praedicaretur, quanta decimarum reddito vel legalis pro parvissimis quibuslibet culpis edicti necessitas exigebatur, forte baptismatis sacramenta non abhorrent.*”, translated by Allott, *Alcuin*, no. 57, p. 74; see also a letter of Alcuin to Bishop Arn of Salzburg, no. 113, 163-166, at p. 164, ll. 25-26. Ian Wood has argued that, through his three extensive letters to Arn, which detail the process and topics of mission and preaching, Alcuin essentially provided the bishop with a handbook for his mission to the Avars, see Wood, *Missionary Life*, p. 85.

<sup>534</sup> Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, ch. 14, p. 127: “*Licet omni miraculorum operatione et signorum ostensione ministerium evangelicae praedicationis praegerendum sit [...].*”, translated by Talbot, in *Soldiers*, p. 201.

<sup>535</sup> Alcuin, *Epistolae*, no. 110, p. 156; Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp. 81 and 89.

St. Kilian himself appears as a non-confrontational character in the narrative, engaging in preaching and dialogue rather than coercion and wonder-working.<sup>536</sup> Whilst Kilian's instructions stir the anger of the Duke's wife Geilana, resulting in the saint's martyrdom, the retribution for this crime comes not from the saint himself in the form of a punishment miracle, but instead revenge is enacted by divine agency. This is in accordance with the passage in Romans 12:19, which states: "Revenge not yourselves, my dearly beloved; but give place unto wrath, for it is written: Revenge is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." As can be seen from Alcuin's chastising comments about the coercion which had been practiced in Saxony, this is another aspect in which the *Passio minor Kiliani* emulates contemporary ideas about the correct practice of mission.<sup>537</sup>

The contrast between violent oppression and enlightening preaching in the political and ecclesiastical approach to the problems of Saxony is also something which comes through in Eigil's *Vita Sturmi* and its account of Fulda's missionary activity. Chapter twenty two sets out the way in which the attempted conversion and subjugation was spearheaded by military efforts, combined with a more religious approach, as we are told that Charlemagne set out with not only an army, but also with bishops, abbots and priests.<sup>538</sup> We are then told that Charlemagne converted the majority of the people "[...] partly by conquest, partly by persuasion, partly even by bribes," and that, following on from this, Sturmi was entrusted with mission and preaching to the Saxons.<sup>539</sup> Subsequently, the *vita* reports the 778 rebellion and lapsed faith of the 'depraved and perverse' Saxons, problems which eventually led to Alcuin writing his letters on mission to Charlemagne, Megenfrid and Arn.<sup>540</sup>

Whilst the image of missionary activity presented by the *Vita Bonifatii* places greater emphasis on political process running alongside mission, there are also more actively antagonistic episodes in the saint's encounters with pagans. In Thuringia, Boniface went directly to the leading figures of the region. We are told that he, "[...] spoke to the senators from each tribe and the princes of the whole people with words of spiritual exhortation,

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<sup>536</sup> Lutz E. von Padberg, by contrast, has emphasised the importance of confrontation in mission in his book *Die Inszenierung religiöser Konfrontationen. Theorie und Praxis der Missionspredigt im frühen Mittelalter*. Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 51 (Stuttgart, 2003); it has been argued, however, that von Padberg overemphasises the *Konfrontationen*, see David Parsons, 'Review: Die Inszenierung religiöser Konfrontationen. Theorie und Praxis der Missionspredigt im frühen Mittelalter. By Lutz E. von Padberg. (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 51.) Pp. xii+528. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2003. €184. 3 7772 0324 6', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56.2 (2005), 347-349.

<sup>537</sup> Wood, *Missionary Life*, p. 85.

<sup>538</sup> Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, ch. 22, p. 376.

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid.*: "[...] partim bellis, artim suasionibus, partim etiam muneribus."

<sup>540</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 23, p. 376.

recalling them to the true way of knowledge and the light of understanding.”<sup>541</sup> Boniface also: “[...] reproved, admonished and instructed to the best of his ability the priests and the elders, some of whom devoted themselves to the true worship of Almighty God, while others, contaminated and polluted by unchastity, had forsaken the life of continence to which, as ministers of the altar, they were vowed.”<sup>542</sup> Although preaching is a feature of the *Vita Bonifatii*, against this we must also set those passages which do not fit the model advocated by Alcuin. Following the preaching and instruction just mentioned, chapter five also tells us that, whilst working with Willibrord, Boniface destroyed temples and shrines and built churches and chapels instead.<sup>543</sup> Most famously Boniface, with divine assistance, was said to have cut down the Oak of Jupiter, venerated by the pagans at Gaesmere, in a show of (miraculous) force fitting the coercion model more than the model of reasoned persuasion and education.<sup>544</sup>

Willibald was writing a little before Alcuin and the passage of time and continued cultural and religious exchanges across the borders of Francia and Frisia may have meant that Alcuin’s approach was better suited to the conditions at the time of writing. Clearly Würzburg’s close connections to Boniface and Bonifatian traditions, as evidenced by the influence of the *Vita Bonifatii* on the *Passio minor Kiliani*, had to be balanced with the contemporary impact of Alcuin’s writings. Thus, in its representation of the northern mission, the *Passio minor Kiliani* drew upon both approaches and traditions, actively emulating them. Würzburg’s own, more recent, position as a centre for mission was thus given a strong narrative foundation.

### 4.3 Trouble and Strife: marriage and incest in the eighth century

The *Passio minor Kiliani* was produced in the context of Würzburg’s own missionary activity in the late eighth century. Despite the derivative nature of the text and the lack of overall detail it provides, it is thus part of the rich textual tradition surrounding the missionary

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<sup>541</sup> *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 5, p. 28: “[...] sematpres denique plabis totiusque populi principes verbis spiritalibus affatus est eosque ad veram agnitionis viam et intelligentiae lucem provocavit.”

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*: “Sed et sacerdotes ac presbiteros, - quorum alii relegioso Dei se omnipotentis cultu incoluerunt, alii quidem fornicaria contaminati pollutione, castimoniae continentiam, quam sacris servientes altaribus servare debuerunt, amiserant, - sermonibus ad canonicae constitutionis rectitudine correxit, admonuit atque instruxit.”

<sup>543</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 5, p. 24.

<sup>544</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 6, p. 31; Boniface’s actions here did however agree with those preached by Caesarius of Arles in his sermons, see sermon no. 53, which advocates the destruction of the shrines of idols, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons, Volume 1 (1-80)*, translated by Sister Mary Magdeleine Mueller, O.S.F., *The Fathers of the Church* 31 (Washington D.C., 1956), no. 53, 263-265.

movements to Frisia and Saxony. A closer look at one part of the *Passio* demonstrates Würzburg's engagement with a particular set of problems which mission amongst a formerly pagan people presented, problems which had been faced by both Augustine of Canterbury and by Boniface.

In chapter eight of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, we are told that "Duke Gozbert [...] lived in matrimony with the wife of his brother, just as was the custom of old",<sup>545</sup> with Kilian telling the duke, "[...] if you do one thing which is fitting for you to do greatly, you should renounce the wife with whom you have an unjust union, since it is not fitting for you to have the wife of your brother".<sup>546</sup> To add emphasis and authority to these remarks, here the author has almost directly quoted from Mark 6:18, in which John the Baptist admonished King Herod in a similar manner.<sup>547</sup> St. Kilian did not broach the subject of Christian marriage practices and prohibitions until after Duke Gozbert had been successfully baptised, though other points of Christian doctrine must have already been set out, if correct procedure was being followed.<sup>548</sup>

Alcuin had stressed the importance of not overloading potential converts (or 'beginners in the faith' as he terms them) with the more complicated aspects of Christian doctrine, until after they had received baptism, citing 1 Corinthians 2:1-2: "And I, brethren, could not speak to you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal. As unto little ones in Christ. I gave you milk to drink, not meat: for you were not able as yet. But neither indeed are you now able: for you are yet carnal".<sup>549</sup> It was not until the duke was confirmed for the faith that Kilian addressed the subject of his marriage, which was uncanonical as Gozbert was married to his brother's widow.<sup>550</sup> It would not suit the purpose of the hagiography if the saint should fail to convert Gozbert, but it would also not help the cause of Würzburg's own missionary agenda. A cautionary tale in this regard came from the work and the *vita* of St. Wulfram of Sens († 703) and his attempts to convert the Frisian ruler Radbod. St. Wulfram succeeded in persuading Radbod to convert to the point that he was almost

<sup>545</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 8, p. 725: "*Ipse autem Gozberto dux in matrimonio habuit uxorem fratris sui sicut antiquitus fuit consuetudinis.*"

<sup>546</sup> *Ibid.*: "*[...] quam maxime te oportet facere, ut dimittas coniugem tuam quam iniuste habes tibi copulatam, quoniam non oportet te habere uxorem fratris tui.*"

<sup>547</sup> "For John said to Herod: It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife / *dicebat enim Iohannes Herodi non licet tibi habere uxorem fratris tui?*"; see also Frans Emmerich, *Der Heilige Kilian: Regionarbischof und Martyrer* (Würzburg, 1886), pp. 16-17.

<sup>548</sup> *Passio minor*, chs. 7-8, pp. 724-725.

<sup>549</sup> Alcuin, *Epistolae*, no. 110, p. 158; "*et ego fratres non potui vobis loqui quasi spiritalibus sed quasi carnalibus tamquam parvulis in Christo / lac vobis potum dedi non escam nondum enim poteratis sed ne nunc quidem potestis adhuc enim estis carnales.*"; see for example *Idem*, no. 107, 153-154, at p. 154.

<sup>550</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 8, p. 725.

dipping his toes in the water of baptism when, in response to a question from his catechumen, Wulfram explained that Radbod would be in heaven without his ancestors as they were still pagans and idolators and his baptism could not save their souls retrospectively; dissatisfied, Radbod refused baptism.<sup>551</sup>

The approach of St. Kilian is in accordance with what, according to Gregory the Great, was correct missionary/pastoral practice, as is shown in his reply to questions raised by Augustine of Canterbury regarding problems encountered in his mission to the English. These questions and their answers were reproduced extensively by Bede as the *Libellus responsionum*, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.<sup>552</sup> One of the questions asked of the pontiff related to the exact issue which is discussed in the *Passio minor*: to what degree of kinship should the faithful be permitted to marry and whether it was lawful to marry a stepmother or sister-in-law.<sup>553</sup> In his response, Gregory mentioned that an old law of the Roman State had allowed cousins to marry, but that this was later found to result in genetic complications in the offspring; relations in the third and fourth degrees could marry, but marriage between second-degree kin should be strictly prohibited.<sup>554</sup>

In addition to this more empirical approach Gregory, naturally, also cited Scripture which stated that it was forbidden for a man to uncover the nakedness of his kindred (Leviticus 18:7). He also specified that, as marrying a stepmother was forbidden, so it was also forbidden to marry a brother's wife, as: "[...] by a former union, she had become one flesh with his brother".<sup>555</sup> Gregory then recalled the fate of John the Baptist in that, "He was not bidden to deny Christ nor was he executed for his confession of Christ. But since our Lord Jesus Christ said, 'I am the truth', and John was killed for the sake of truth,

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<sup>551</sup> Jonas of Fontanelle, *Vita Vulframmi episcopi Senonici*, ed, Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hannover, 1910), 657-673, ch. 9, at p. 668.

<sup>552</sup> Bede, *HE*, i. 27, pp. 79-103. Würzburg is known to have possessed a copy of this text by the year 800, see Elias Avery Lowe, 'An Eight-Century List of Books in a Bodleian MS. from Würzburg and Its Probable Relation to the Laudian Acts', *Speculum* 3.1 (1928), 3-15. The *Libellus* is also edited in *Gregory I papae Registrum epistolarum, Libri I-VII*, ed, Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, MGH Epp. 2 (Berlin 1881-1899), 332-43. For the manuscript tradition, see Bill Friesen, 'Answers and Echoes: the *Libellus responsionum* and the hagiography of north-western European Mission', *EME* 14.2 (2006), 153-172, especially pp. 153-158; more recently the three versions of the *Libellus*, their circulation and subsequent reception by Boniface has been discussed by Michael D. Elliot, 'Boniface, Incest and the Earliest Extant Version of Pope Gregory I's *Libellus responsionum* (JE 1843)', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 131. Kanonische Abteilung 100 (2014 - forthcoming), 1-45. I am very grateful to Dr Elliot for allowing me to see a proof copy of this article, for which the pagination may differ from the final published version, due in Autumn 2014.

<sup>553</sup> Augustine's fifth question to Gregory, see *HE*, I. 27, pp. 84-85.

<sup>554</sup> *Ibid*, *Libellus responsionum*, eds, Ewald and Hartmann, p. 335.

<sup>555</sup> Bede, *HE*, I. 27, pp. 84-85: "[...] *quia per coniunctionem priorem caro fratris fuerit facta.*"

therefore he shed his blood for Christ”.<sup>556</sup> It is apparent, therefore, that in setting out this passage of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, the anonymous author took his inspiration from the words ascribed to Gregory the Great as they were transmitted through Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a copy of which Würzburg possessed.

In the context of his time of writing and the Bonifatian tradition of the Würzburg community, the author was also engaging with more contemporary missionary concerns which had been voiced by Boniface with regards to a specific case he had encountered. Questions about correct Christian marriage practices and degrees of affinity are something which surface repeatedly in Boniface’s letters with popes and also with leading church figures both in Francia and in Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>557</sup> It seems that there was genuine confusion and a lack of codification and consensus on still-developing incest laws and marriage legislation in the early medieval period.<sup>558</sup> Boniface himself received differing responses from successive popes as, in 726, Gregory II had suggested that Boniface allow recently converted Thuringians to contract marriages after the fourth degree, whilst less than ten years later, Gregory III forbade marriages within the seventh degree.<sup>559</sup> As the incident mentioned in the *Passio minor Kiliani* would suggest, these matters had become problematic as newly christianised peoples across the expanding Frankish Empire were already in marital unions which did not conform to the morals or precepts of their new religion.

In a letter of 726 Pope Gregory II wrote the following to Boniface, in response to one of a series of questions:

“You ask first within what degrees of relationship marriage may take place. We reply: strictly speaking, in so far as the parties know themselves to be related they ought not to be joined together. But since moderation is better than strictness of discipline, especially toward so uncivilised a people, they may contract marriage after the fourth degree.”<sup>560</sup>

<sup>556</sup> Bede, *HE*, I, 27, pp. 84-85: “*cui non est dicum ut Christum negaret, et pro Christo confessione occisus est; sed quia isdem Dominus noster Iesus Christus doxerat: ‘Ego sum ueritatis’, quia pro ueritate Iohannes occisus est, uidelicet et pro Christo sanguinem fugit.*”

<sup>557</sup> See *Die Briefe*, nos. 26, pp. 44-47; 32, pp. 55-56; 33, pp. 56-58; 51, pp. 97-98; 59 (against Clement), pp. 108-120.

<sup>558</sup> Mayke de Jong, ‘An Unresolved Riddle: Early Medieval Incest Legislation’, in Ian Wood, ed, *Franks and Alemanni in the Merovingian Period, An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1998), 107-140, at p. 107.

<sup>559</sup> ‘Ibid’; *Die Briefe*, no. 26, 44-47, at p. 45, ll. 5-10; *Idem*, no. 28, 49-52. at p.51, ll. 8-9.

<sup>560</sup> *Die Briefe*, no. 26, p. 45, ll. 5-10: “*Igitur in primis legebatur, ut quota progenies propinquorum matrimonio copuletur. Dicimus, quod oportuerat quidem, quamdiu se agnoscunt affinitate propinquos, ad huius copule non accedere societatem; sed quia temperantia magis et presertim in tam barbaram gentem placet plus quam disctrictione censure, condedendum est, ut post quartum generationem inungentur.*”, translated in Emmerton, *The Letters*, XVIII, 31-34, at p. 31.

Unfortunately, Boniface's questions to the pope do not survive, but it seems that this was asked in response to specific issues encountered in the mission field. In a letter of 735 to Bishop Pethelm of Whithorn (Scotland), he asked whether it was permitted for a man to marry a widow whose child was also the man's godchild – again, surely in response to a specific case - for he could find no ruling on it in any writings of the Fathers, church canons, or papal decrees.<sup>561</sup>

This episode also reflects the need to balance practicality with enforcement of Christian beliefs and morals, as advocated by Gregory II here, but also, as has been discussed, by Alcuin. These ideas had also been voiced by Gregory five years before at a Roman synod which focused on the issue of marriage, of which canon nine decreed that kindness in such matters was to be preferred to strictness as the object of mission was to convert and to educate, not to antagonise.<sup>562</sup> Whilst these decrees must be understood as temporary measures in order to achieve the desired ends of mission and conversion and thus the greater overall good, such leniency may not have sat well with Boniface's own obsessions with correctness. This was clearly not helped by the contradiction between these decrees and those found in the *Libellus responsionum*, which had allowed for marriage within the *third* degree, something Boniface found difficult to reconcile with the teachings of the passage's author Gregory the Great.<sup>563</sup>

As Michael Elliot has recently shown, however, what Boniface seems not to have reckoned with was that Gregory the Great had been measuring degrees of kinship by the 'canonical' or 'scriptural' method (counting back the number of generations separating one of the spouses from common stock), whilst he himself followed the Roman system (adding together the number of generations which separated spouses from their common stock).<sup>564</sup> Not only does Boniface therefore seem to have been wrong to question Gregory's writing on this (for it *was* surely Gregory's), but the matter further demonstrates the complications which missionaries of the time faced themselves in trying to reconcile matters of Church doctrine before they were able to properly educate the *populus*.<sup>565</sup>

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<sup>561</sup> *Die Briefe*, no. 32, pp. 55-56, ll. 6-15.

<sup>562</sup> William S. J. Kelly, *Pope Gregory II on Divorce and Remarriage*. Analecta Gregoriana 203 (Rome, 1976), p. 36.

<sup>563</sup> On this see Boniface's letter to Archbishop Nothelm of Canterbury, in which he specifically mentions the controversial passage relating to incest and requests that Nothelm make strict inquiries as to whether this passage was genuinely a work of Gregory the Great. *Die Briefe* no. 33, 56-58, at p. 57, ll. 10-19; Elliot, 'Boniface', pp. 2-5.

<sup>564</sup> Elliot, 'Boniface', pp. 21-25.

<sup>565</sup> For the debate on the authenticity of the incest passage of the *Libellus responsionum*, see Elliot, 'Boniface', and Kelly, *Pope Gregory II*.

The importance of correct and thorough education in these matters was made plain by Gregory the Great's initial response to St. Augustine. He concluded that, whilst converts should be warned of the sins that they had previously, albeit unwittingly committed as unbelievers, if they persisted in such practices after their conversion, they were to be excluded from the communion, "[...] for as the sin is in some measure to be tolerated in those who did it through ignorance, so it must be strenuously prosecuted in those who presume to sin knowingly".<sup>566</sup> The church's own contradictions on the question of marriage and prohibited degrees of affinity were part of the problem, however. In 742, Boniface reported to the new pope, Zacharias, that,

"A certain layman of high station came to us and said that Gregory of sainted memory [...] had granted him permission to marry the widow of his uncle. She had formerly been the wife of her own cousin but had left him during his lifetime. She is known to be related in the third degree to the man who now desires her and who declares that permission was granted him [...] But we do not believe this to be true; for a synod of the church of the Saxons beyond the sea [...] namely the synod of London [...] declared such a marriage union, on the authority of Holy scripture, to be a heinous crime, an incestuous and horrible offense, and a damnable sin."<sup>567</sup>

Michael Elliot has suggested that Boniface's wording here indicates that the layman was of noble, possibly even royal standing, perhaps a Frank or a Bavarian, and had taken his information from the decrees in the *Libellus responsionum*.<sup>568</sup> The layman either had access to a copy through Bede, or some other manuscript or, more likely, had heard this from preachers and missionaries. Zacharias's response is incredulous and yet, as we have seen, the layman may have been correct.<sup>569</sup>

In the *Passio minor Kiliani* we see contribution to this debate in a manner which shows keen awareness of recent, high level ecclesiastical debates on the subject of incest and marriage laws. The apparent use of Bede and the *Libellus responsionum*, as well as the close connections which must be drawn with the recent 'public' ecclesiastical discussions

<sup>566</sup> Bede, *HE*, I.27, p. 87: "[...] quia, sicut in his qui per ignorantiam fecerunt, aliquatenus toleranda est, ita in his fortiter insequenda, qui non metuunt sciendo peccare."

<sup>567</sup> *Die Briefe*, no. 50, 80-86, at pp. 83-84, ll. 28-17: "Quia laicus quidam magne personae ad nos veniens dicebat sibi ad apostolicae sedis pontificae sanctae memoriae Gregorio datam fuisse licentiam, ut in matrimonium acciperet viduam avunculi sui. Quae et ipsa fuit uxor consobrini sui et ipsa illo vivente discessit ab eo; et isti viro, qui nunc eam accipere desiderans adfirmat, sibi licentiam datam, in tertio ienuculo propinqua illius esse dinoscitur et votum vovit Deo castitatis et velata fuit et iterum abiecto velamine maritata. [...] Quod non estimamus esse verum; quia synodus et ecclesia [...] id est in transmarina Saxonia Lundunensis synodus [...] consituta et ordinata fuit, talem copulam et matrimonium maximum scelus et incestum et horribile flagitium et damnable piaculum fieri ex auctoritate sanctae scripture indicabant.", translated by Emmerton, XL, 56-61, at pp. 59.

<sup>568</sup> Elliot, 'Boniface', pp. 12-19.

<sup>569</sup> For Zacharias's response see *Die Briefe*, no. 51, 86-92, at p. 90, ll. 1-19.

and proclamations on these matters provides a narrative and instructive example of dealing with questions about correct Christian practice which could arise in the mission field, but one in which the closeness of affinity between husband and wife was enough to be definitely prohibited. This episode further served to situate the *Passio minor Kiliani* in the context of mission and to bridge the gap between Würzburg's pagan past and its Christian episcopal present, supporting its claim to be a *locus sanctus*.<sup>570</sup>

#### 4.4 Re-writing Mission for the Tenth Century

A good saint was worth an updated hagiography. After arriving at the bishopric around 950, the Italian scholar Stephan of Novara rewrote the story of St. Kilian for a contemporary audience. This updated *passio* not only addressed concerns current in the mid tenth century, but also provided an opportunity for Würzburg to promote its saint and reassert the bishopric's position in the burgeoning Ottonian *Reich*. Stephan's own scholarly background is readily apparent in the text of the *Passio maior Kiliani* and, as well as elevating the language used to describe the saint, he also promoted the saint himself. In this later text, St. Kilian is no longer just a missionary and a martyr, but an apostle of '*Francia Teutonica*', a bishop and a martyr.<sup>571</sup> Stephan compares Kilian, as an apostle, to those other notable Irish figures on the continent, St. Gallus and St. Columbanus, whilst as a martyr comparisons are drawn with both the Prophet Elijah and John the Baptist.<sup>572</sup> The days of mission to the Saxons and Frisians were over, but there were still religious battles, both metaphorical and literal, to be fought to the north and east of the East Frankish realm in the tenth century.

Stephan of Novara's version of the *Passion* of St. Kilian places its emphasis on outward evangelisation and on education. These two aspects, as we have seen, are undeniably linked and this was the case not only in the text itself, but also in the Ottonian realm as a whole. Timothy Reuter has suggested that, under the Ottonians, the focus of educational efforts shifted from closed monastic communities such as St. Gall, Reichenau and Corvey, to episcopal centres such as Würzburg, and the entourages of their bishops.<sup>573</sup> This movement was combined with a greater institutionalisation of missionary activity and perhaps a

<sup>570</sup> See Bill Friesen, 'Answers and Echoes', p. 160.

<sup>571</sup> We are told that Kilian was made a bishop by Pope Conon, see *Passio maior*, ch. 6, p. 14.

<sup>572</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 2, p. 12 & ch. 12, p. 18.

<sup>573</sup> Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages: 800-1056* (Harlow, 1991), p. 247.

renewed emphasis in its importance.<sup>574</sup> Reuter also notes that, in the case of Otto I in particular: “[...] Christianisation was on the agenda from early in the reign”, as can be seen most clearly in his long running focus on the bishopric and later archbishopric of Magdeburg.<sup>575</sup> Given these prevailing conditions, it is clear that Stephan’s tenure as ‘resident scholar’ in Würzburg’s own school would have provided an incentive to re-write the *Passio* of the community’s patron in order to bring it into line with contemporary concerns.

In a change from the *Passio minor Kiliani*, it is therefore notable that the *Passio maior* clearly states that, “[...] with the consensus of the whole city of Rome, he [the pope] established the most blessed man [Kilian] in the office of bishop”.<sup>576</sup> That the saint held the authority of a bishop when he educated the populace in Thuringia and converted its duke, Gozbert, thus paints him as a missionary in a style much more in keeping with the Ottonian ideal. This small, but significant, addition to the story meant that Würzburg could present itself as an episcopal community with suitable precedent to place it at the forefront of tenth-century drives for mission and reform. Indeed the presence of Stephan of Novara in Würzburg at this time is evidence not only of Otto I’s concerns for education in the East Frankish Kingdom, but also of Würzburg’s own position in this regard. Stephan stated that he had been called to Würzburg by Otto I himself and the later Life of St. Wolfgang († 994) by Otto of Freising reported that Stephan’s fame as a scholar was such that the future bishop of Freising was persuaded to leave Reichenau by Henry of Babenburg (himself later bishop of Trier), in order to study under the Italian at Würzburg.<sup>577</sup>

An overtone of instruction and education runs throughout the *Passio maior Kiliani* and the work provides a model for behaviour, preaching and pastoral care in much more explicit tones than the short and noticeably more general *Passio minor Kiliani*. It is worth returning to Stephan’s words to his audience here, as he states his intention in writing this work was to provide his ‘brethren’ with inspiration and “[...] enthusiasm for a task well done”, as well as spiritual nourishment, giving them a path of truth and a ‘harbour of

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<sup>574</sup> Reuter, *Germany*, p. 253.

<sup>575</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>576</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 6, p. 14: “[...] *Tunc ex consensu totius Urbis beatissimum virum in praesulatus officium constituit.*”

<sup>577</sup> Otto Meyer, ‘Der Würzburger Domschlaster Stephan von Novara und seine Gesinnungsgenossen in der geistigen Auseinandersetzung ihrer zeit’, in Dieter Weber and Gerd Zimmerman, eds, *Varia Franconia Historica* 2. Mainfrankish Studien 24/II (1981), 753-763, at p. 754, citing the manuscript now Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare, XXX.66, fol. 1176; Otloh of Freising, *Vita S. Wolfgangi episcopi*, ed, D.G. Waitz, MGH SS 4 (Hannover, 1841), 521-542, at ch. 4, p. 528; see also Meyer, ‘Der Würzburger Domschlaster’, pp. 754-755.

safety' with his story.<sup>578</sup> Stephan's immediate audience may be understood as the brethren of the cathedral community at Würzburg and those who would minister to the parishes and other dependancies of the diocese. In this focus on a clerical audience, the *Passio maior* continued the traditions of Carolingian hagiography and its emphasis on instruction, itself a product of both *correctio* and renaissance, as well as more current missionary demands in the south east and the north of the *Reich*.<sup>579</sup>

Stephan tells his audience that, "although the palm of martyrdom rests upon grace rather than merit, it is still brought to fruition by good works".<sup>580</sup> That St. Kilian not only had a good death, but also a good life was not merely hagiographic trope; this sentence is also addressed directly to Stephan's audience to inspire and motivate them to be industrious in pursuit of the Christian ideal. In this context it is particularly important to remember that Stephan was not writing for a closed monastic community, but rather for a group of clerics who were to be active in the world. This is balanced out in the narrative by an equal stress on the importance of personal piety and continual devotion as, not only were these clerics to be tireless in their preaching and exercise of pastoral care, they were also to remain just as vigilant in their own prayers. St. Kilian himself is described as praying throughout the night, sleeping only "[...] the short time necessity demanded", and it was also whilst gathered in prayer around midnight that St. Kilian and his companions were martyred.<sup>581</sup> Just as St. Kilian was to serve as an example to the community of Würzburg, so the members of that community were also to serve as an example to their flock through their own manner of life.

The relationship between authority, education and inspiration is apparent in the way in which the earnestness and persistence of St. Kilian's mission and preaching is described. Attempting to convert or convince an incredulous mass of people was no easy task, but, because of this, was particularly worthwhile. To this end, Kilian provided: "[...] an unbelieving populace with the food of God's word".<sup>582</sup> In a departure from the earlier *Passio minor*, however, the saint is described as preaching in the vernacular rather than in

<sup>578</sup> *Passio maior*, p. 12: "[...] *ad amorem boni operis incitemus*".

<sup>579</sup> Katrienne Heene, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography: Continuity or Change in Public and Aims?', *Analecta Bollandiana, Revue Critique D'Hagiographie* 107 (1989), 415-428, at pp. 421-424; Wolfert S. van Egmond, 'Converting Monks: Missionary Activity in Early Medieval Frisia and Saxony', in Guyda Armstrong and Ian Wood, eds, *Christianising Peoples and Converting Individuals*. International Medieval Research 7 (Turnhout, 2000), 37-45, at pp. 41-42.

<sup>580</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 3, p. 12: "*Quamvis etenim martyrii palma per gratiam magis quam per meretium constet, bonis tamen adimpletur operibus.*"

<sup>581</sup> *Passio maior*, chs. 13-14, pp. 18-19: "[...] *parvam dormitionem necessitas.*"

<sup>582</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 7, p. 14: "[...] *paulatim coepit pabula divini verbi incredulis populis ministrare.*"

Latin, “for the Lord had granted him so much grace that in a short time he acquired a full knowledge of the people’s speech and, in his own style of speaking, began to broadcast the seeds of truth”.<sup>583</sup> At the time of Stephan’s writing, it had become established practice that if the words of God were to be successfully communicated to the *populus*, the most effective way was to use a language which they could understand; though presented in a manner which emphasised the learning and authority of the preacher.<sup>584</sup>

Charismatic preaching and the ‘truth of God’s word’ were of no use if your audience was unable to understand you. As with any audience, they had to be drawn in. As a result, Stephan’s description of the process of conversion resonates more than its presentation in the *Passio minor Kiliani*, as he does not rush through the process of conversion and baptism, but instead focuses on Kilian’s continued labours and the persistence of his preaching. In the *Passio minor Kilian’s* encounter with Gozbert and his successful conversion and baptism takes place in just under five lines of text (in the printed edition); Stephan uses two full chapters to recount this. By grabbing the attention of the duke through his preaching, the saint is able to snare him and eventually Gozbert is led to actively seek out the saint, desiring instruction.<sup>585</sup>

Stephan’s ability to explain complicated theological matters in a way which is readily understandable can be seen in chapter eight of the *Passio maior Kiliani*. Describing the conversations between Kilian and Gozbert, he describes Kilian:

“[...] teaching that there is one true God, the creator of a visible and invisible creation, and that He consists of a trinity of Persons and a unity of Divinity; that Jesus Christ, crucified by the Jews, is the true God and true human being in one Person, equal to the Father in the nature of his divinity, and made mortal in the nature of His humanity; but that [there is] a third Person in the Trinity, by whom a rational, mortal created being, deceived by the guile of the hateful Enemy may mercifully be restored to life.”<sup>586</sup>

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<sup>583</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 7, p. 14: “*tantem etenim ei Dominus gratiam contulerat, ut in brevi tempore gentis loquelam perdiceret et eis proprio sermone semina veritatis erogaret.*”

<sup>584</sup> For example Owen M. Phelan, ‘The Carolingian renewal and Christian formation in ninth century Bavaria’, in Richard Corradini, Rob Meens, Christina Pössel and Philip Shaw, eds, *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 2 (Vienna, 2006), 389-399, at p. 398.

<sup>585</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 9, p. 16; It should also be noted that Kilian’s preaching is described as having been similarly inspirational to Burgunda, so much so that she lived in a ‘cell’ next to where the saint’s ‘church’ was located, so that she could more easily attend his ‘divine service’. Thanks to this, she was able to witness the martyrdom and thus was able to preserve the memory of the event and their place of burial, *Passio minor*, ch. 14, pp. 19-20.

<sup>586</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 8, p. 15: “[...] *docens: unum esse Deum, visibilis et invisibilis creaturae auctorem, in trinitate personarum et unitate divinitatis consistentem; Jesum Christum a Judaeis crucifixum, in una persona verum Deum verumque mortalisque creatura, invidi hostis fraude decepta, sit misericorditer reparata.*”

Within the narrative itself, this passage breaks up the flow somewhat, but given the clarity with which it expresses the nature of the Holy Trinity, it becomes apparent when reading the text that this section could be removed from the context of the *Passio maior* and used as an aid to preaching.

It is also tempting to see the author appealing to the circumstances and settings which would have been familiar to his students in order to press home the importance of education and persistence, but also the omnipresence of the saints for successful pastoral care and conversion. The miracles which make up some of the final chapters of the *Passio maior* were not present in the earlier *Passio minor* and are a possible invention by Stephan. They serve to reaffirm the power of the saint and, in doing so, also restate the power of the bishopric itself.

The central miracle story begins in Würzburg's own classroom, in which we are told that:

“[...] there was a priest skilled in divine letters, and devoted to divine commands [named Atalongus]; but as we said, he did not know the merits of the holy martyr. When, one day, he told classes of children whom he was instructing in the study of letters to stand in front of him so that he could hear them recite their lesson, the younger [children], driven by the divine spirit began to cry out and say, ‘Kilian produces signs from the place in which he unworthily lies [...]’ When the venerable priest heard this, he was struck dumb; especially because their youthful timidity was not in the least afraid of their teacher’s severity. Nevertheless, he threatened to them that, if ever they dared to say such a thing, which was not of use, then they would be severely beaten. But it happened, while this was going on, that the course of the sun was interrupted by the darkness of night, the priest mentioned above, after having need of food and drink, was able to relax into sleep, and he was so overwhelmed by heavy sleep, that he appeared to be weighed down by the sole of a ghostly foot.”<sup>587</sup>

Because he refused to believe what his students were telling him about St. Kilian, Atalongus was struck with blindness and it was only when he began to search for information about the saint and praying for forgiveness at the site of his burial, that his sight was restored.<sup>588</sup> Whilst learning and devotion to divine commands is important, this

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<sup>587</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 20, pp. 22-23: *Erat tamen sacerdos divinis eruditus litteris divinisque deditus mandatis, sed ut diximus, meritum beati ignorabat martyris. Vermutamen cum quadam die puerorum classes, quas ad studium litterarum erudiebat, ante se, ut marterium dicendi ab eis perquireret, adstare iubaret, coeperunt hi qui iunioris aetatis erant, divino impulsu spiritu vociferari dicentes: ‘Kilianus signa facit, de loco in quo indigne iacet [...]’. Quod cum venerabilis presbyter audisset, stupore repletus est; praesertim quia puerilis timiditas nullatenus austeritatem magistralem verebatur; minas tamen eis intulit, ut si unquam tale fari auderent, quod interpolaretur praefatusque presbyter post cibi potusque necessitatem resolveretur in somnum. Qui tam gravi somno pressus est, ut phantastico videretur premi praestigio.”*

<sup>588</sup> *Ibid*, chs. 21-22, pp. 23-24.

passage also teaches the audience that the saints should never be forgotten as, without them, or more specifically without St. Kilian, they are blind – literally in Atalongus’s case.

Stephan of Novara’s narrative relies much more heavily on Biblical imagery than did the *Passio minor Kiliani*, in particular when contrasting Kilian and his adversary in Würzburg, the duchess Geilana. Not only does Stephan compare Kilian to Elijah and John, but also to more ‘earthly’ figures in the shape of Samson and King Solomon.<sup>589</sup> Although he mentions Samson’s great strength, Stephan also comments that he was the leader of the people of Israel, and of Solomon he refers to his limitless wisdom.<sup>590</sup> It should also be remembered that Samson’s final feat was to destroy the temple of the Philistines, whilst Solomon built the first temple in Jerusalem.<sup>591</sup> Whilst these comparisons serve to set Kilian alongside those great Biblical figures who faced the wrath and wickedness of women, as well as disparaging wicked females, they also provide potent political and religious archetypes in the battle against paganism and the defence of the faith.

The ongoing battle against paganism may indeed provide us with a more specific context for the production of the *Passio minor Kiliani* than merely the presence of Stephan of Novara and the need to update the hagiography. Some time between 960 and 965, Harald Bluetooth, king of Denmark, was converted to Christianity. Our main account for this event comes from the Saxon chronicle written by Widukind of Corvey shortly after these events and subsequently dedicated to Otto I’s daughter Mathilda, in order to educate her in the political conditions pertaining in Saxony in the late 960s and their historical contexts.<sup>592</sup> In the account we are told that, although the Danes had nominally accepted Christianity, they continued to worship their own idols.<sup>593</sup> At a feast of King Harald’s, the nature of the gods was apparently disputed, with the Danes affirming that: “[...] Christ was a god. But they claimed that there were other, greater gods, who manifested themselves to people through even more powerful signs and prodigies”.<sup>594</sup> Significantly, we are then told that: “Against this, a certain cleric named Poppo, who is now a bishop and leads a religious life, proclaimed that there is one true God, the father, along with his only begotten son,

<sup>589</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 12, p. 18.

<sup>590</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>591</sup> Judges 16:25-31 and 2 Chronicles 3-4.

<sup>592</sup> Matthias Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des sächsischen Herzogtum im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, Historische Studien 444 (Husum, 1996), p. 51, citing Gerd Althoff, ‘Widukind von Corvey. Kronzeuge und Herausforderung’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 (1993), 253-272, at p. 267.

<sup>593</sup> Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum Gestarum Saxoniarum Libri Tres*, eds, Georg Waitz and Karl Andreas Kehr, MGH SRG 60 (Hannover, 1935), 1-154, at III, ch. 65, pp. 140-141. This edition lists the date as possibly 965.

<sup>594</sup> Widukind, *Rerum Saxoniarum*, III, p. 140: “[...] *Danis affirmantibus Christum quidem esse deum, sed alios eo fore maiores deos, quippe qui potiora mortalibus signa et prodigia per se ostenderent.*”, translated by Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach, in *Widukind of Corvey: Deeds of the Saxons* (Washington D.C., 2014), III.65, p. 139.

Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. The images, he proclaimed, were of demons and not gods”.<sup>595</sup> Following a miraculous demonstration of the proof of Poppo’s words through an ordeal of hot iron, Harald converted and the kingdom became Christian.<sup>596</sup>

Whilst the account itself may seem relatively straightforward, the precise dating of the event and, in particular, the identity of ‘Poppo’, remain unclear. It is possible, however, that we may draw a connection between these events and the bishopric of Würzburg, as two bishops named Poppo held the episcopate in the latter half of the tenth century: Poppo I (941-961) and Poppo II (961-983).<sup>597</sup> Indeed, Richard Fletcher has gone so far as to say that: “The only Poppo who fits is the Poppo who became bishop of Würzburg in 961”.<sup>598</sup> The dating of his episcopate would certainly fall within the time frame of Stephan of Novara’s time at the community, as he had come there under Poppo I in around 950 and would not leave until around 970.<sup>599</sup> Poppo I had been a kinsman of Otto I, as well as his chancellor, and had been rewarded with the see; so the bishopric of Würzburg had some notable significance to the Ottonian family.<sup>600</sup>

Poppo II may have achieved the bishopric of Würzburg in a similar manner to his predecessor and namesake. The importance of episcopal centres for the Ottonians has already been mentioned and Fletcher has also noted that giving episcopal appointments as a reward to loyal servants of the crown became a way for the rulers to maintain close control of the Church.<sup>601</sup> From this he has further argued that Otto I had both supported the mission to Denmark and rewarded Poppo with the bishopric of Würzburg upon its successful outcome.<sup>602</sup> Widukind’s account does credit Otto with overall responsibility, concluding that: “[...] these events are also to be ascribed to the virtues and merit of your father by whose efforts the churches and orders of priests shined forth in these regions”.<sup>603</sup> Bishoprics, under the authority of the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen, had already been

<sup>595</sup> Widukind, *Rerum Saxoniarum*, III, p. 140: “Contra haec clericus quidam, nunc vero religiosam vitam ducens episcopus nomine Poppa, unum verum deum patrem cum filio unigenito domino nostro Iesu Christo et spiritu sancto, simulacra vero daemonia esse et non deos testatus est.”, translated by Bachrach and Bachrach, in *Widukind*, III.65, p. 139.

<sup>596</sup> Widukind, *Rerum Saxoniarum*, III, ch. 65, pp. 140-141.

<sup>597</sup> See Wendehorst, *Germania Sacra*, pp. 59-67.

<sup>598</sup> Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe*, p. 405; see also Lene Demidoff, ‘The Poppo Legend’, *Medieval Scandinavia* 6 (1973), 39-67.

<sup>599</sup> Meyer, ‘Der Würzburger Domschlaster’, pp. 753-4.

<sup>600</sup> Wendehorst, *Das Bistums Würzburg*, pp. 59-63; Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens*, p. 227.

<sup>601</sup> Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe*, p. 405.

<sup>602</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>603</sup> Widukind, *Rerum Saxoniarum*, III, ch. 65, pp. 140-141: “Sed et haec virtutibus merito patris tui adscribuntur, cuius industria in illis regionibus ecclesiae sacerdotumque ordines in tantum fulsere.”, translated by Bachrach and Bachrach, *Widukind*, III.65, p. 140. Though in reading this, we must not forget that he was writing for the benefit of Otto’s daughter, and so this would have coloured the account.

established in Denmark in the late 940s, though Poppo's mission suggests that their effect may have been limited up to this point.<sup>604</sup>

Otto I was in Italy at the time that this conversion supposedly took place, but certain internal events, encouraged by his absence, might have made the conversion of Denmark a more immediately pressing concern for him.<sup>605</sup> In the chapter preceding the account of Harald's conversion, Widukind recounts the planned rebellion by Count Wichman against his older brother, Hermann Billung, in which he tried to involve the Danish king.<sup>606</sup> Whilst the date of this plot, like the conversion itself, is somewhat uncertain, the potential involvement of Harald Bluetooth in a rebellion against the king's chosen Duke of Saxony is significant.<sup>607</sup> As Rosamond McKitterick has put it, "conversion to Christianity [...] was a decision not merely about religion, but also about political association and cultural alignment".<sup>608</sup> As a result, the Christianisation of Denmark would have placed it in a position of political submission to the *Reich* and therefore limit its potential to contribute to any destabilisation of the realm.<sup>609</sup> It is therefore entirely possible that Otto I had a role to play in overseeing the conversion of King Harald.

A report of the conversion can also be found in the Life of St. Bruno of Cologne († 965) by Ruotger. This account is much shorter but, like Widukind's Saxon chronicle, was also written shortly after the events it describes. Ruotger's account reads as follows: "He [Archibishop Bruno], also appeased the savageness and formerly unbearable ferocity of the barbarians, inasmuch as at that time even their king Harald together with a great number of his people rejected the falsehood of the idols, bowing their necks to Christ, the King of Kings."<sup>610</sup> Whilst trying to reconcile this account with that provided by Widukind, Michael Gelting has also re-dated the conversion to the year 963, which would mean that Poppo II

<sup>604</sup> Reuter, *Germany*, p. 164. He suggests that they may have been confirmed at the 948 Synod of Ingelheim, though this remains unclear and there is no mention of them in Flodoard of Reims's account of the Synod, see *Idem*, p. 167; Flodoard of Reims, *Annales*, ed, G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 3 (Hannover, 1839), 364-407, at pp. 395-397.

<sup>605</sup> Michael H. Gelting, 'Poppo's Ordeal: Courtier Bishops and the Success of Christianization at the turn of the First Millennium', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 6 (2010), 101-133, at p. 111.

<sup>606</sup> Widukind, *Rerum Saxoniarum*, III, ch. 64, p. 139; Gelting, 'Poppo's Ordeal', pp. 105-106 and 112.

<sup>607</sup> The MGH edition tentatively suggests the year 963 for Wichmann's plot, but the chronology of Widukind's account has not been unanimously agreed upon; see also Gelting, 'Poppo's Ordeal', p. 106.

<sup>608</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Church', in Timothy Reuter, ed, *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume 3: c. 900-1024* (Cambridge, 1999), 130-162, at p. 150.

<sup>609</sup> Harald would take advantages of unrest in the 970s and in 983 in order to free Denmark from its obligation to pay tithes to the Ottonians, see Reuter, *Germany*, p. 255.

<sup>610</sup> Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis Archiepiscopi Colonensis*, ed, Irene Ott, MGH SRG N.S. 10 (Cologne, 1958), 1-55, at ch. 40, p. 43: "Ipsorum etiam barbarorum immanitatem et intolerandam dudum ferociam mitigavit. Siquidem eodem tempore et rex eorum Haroldus cum magna suc multitudine gentis regi regum Christo colla submittens vanitatem respuit idolorum.", translated by Gelting, in 'Poppo's Ordeal', p. 104.

was already Bishop of Würzburg and thus unlikely to have been the cleric involved.<sup>611</sup> Instead he has identified the cleric of Widukind's account as Folkmar († 969), then Archbishop of Cologne whose nickname was 'Poppo' and to whom Ruotger had dedicated the Life of his predecessor, Bruno.<sup>612</sup>

Whilst Gelting's argument appears to have some merit, upon closer inspection, it is based upon no less conjecture than any other attempt to ascribe an identity to the cleric named Poppo. Ruotger's account of the conversion is much more brief than that found in Widukind, but one could argue that, had it directly involved both the subject and the dedicatee of his text, it would have deserved more attention. By contrast, however, Gelting has argued that both Bruno and Folkmar were closely involved and that a failure to mention the archbishop of Cologne in Widukind's account comes from his distinctly Saxon focus.<sup>613</sup> Against this, however, we must remember that Widukind's narrative was intended to benefit Otto I's daughter and so it would seem unusual not to mention the fact that her uncle, Bruno, had played a key role in Harald's conversion. Moreover, Gelting's assertion that 'Poppo' was clearly a nickname, seems an unnecessary complication where Widukind would have had no discernable reason not to credit the cleric by his full name.

Two other key sources for this event still leave the cleric's identity open to interpretation, but in doing so provide no strong argument against the assertion that he may be identified as Poppo, future bishop of Würzburg. The account of Thietmar of Merseburg differs little from that given by Widukind as it tells us that a priest named Poppo renewed the Christian faith amongst the Danes and that he was later rewarded by the emperor with a bishopric for his efforts.<sup>614</sup> Adam of Bremen's later version of the story does little but add to the confusion, as, although the events are recounted in much the same way and the name Poppo once again given, Adam identifies him as bishop of Schleswig.<sup>615</sup> A later codex of Adam's history also re-dates the conversion to 996.<sup>616</sup> One

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<sup>611</sup> Gelting, 'Poppo's Ordeal', pp. 101-107.

<sup>612</sup> 'Ibid', p. 108.

<sup>613</sup> 'Ibid', p. 110.

<sup>614</sup> Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed, Robert Holzmann, MGH SRG N.S. 9 (Berlin, 1935), II. 14, pp. 53-54.

<sup>615</sup> Adam of Bremen *History of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, translated by Francis J. Tschan (New York, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2002), II, 35(20), pp. 78-79. Gelting has attempted to demonstrate Adam's knowledge that 'Poppo' was in fact Folkmar, basing this argument on the suggestion that Adam perhaps came across a letter or report in Bremen's archives. It should be noted, however, that there is no evidence to support this supposition, see Gelting, 'Poppo's Ordeal', p. 121.

<sup>616</sup> *Ibid*, II. 25 (22), p. 70. Tschan says that this version appears to have been composed shortly after Adam's death and is derived from the *Chronographia* of Sigebert of Gembloux, although this dates the conversion to 966, see Sigibert of Gembloux, *Chronica a 381-1111*, ed, D.I.C. Bethmann, MGH SS 6 (Hannover, 1844), 300-374, at p. 351.

point in Adam of Bremen's account, which may be in favour of a possible Würzburg connection, is a later chapter in which he stated that the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen could not compete in riches with the Würzburg, whose bishop also held the position of duke.<sup>617</sup>

One more point may be made in support of the case for Poppo II, however, as he seems not to have joined Otto I on his Italian campaigns in either 961-965 or 966-972.<sup>618</sup> As a result, he may have been able to attend King Harald's court in Denmark in 961, before being granted the see of Würzburg by Otto I later in that year, upon the death of Poppo I. The date of Harald Bluetooth's conversion and the identity of the cleric who inspired it through his ordeal of hot iron may never be established conclusively, and arguments in favour of either Folkmar of Cologne or Poppo II of Würzburg can, ultimately, be no more than hypotheses. It remains a strong possibility, however, that the *passio* of this missionary martyr might have been re-written for a community whose bishop had himself been actively involved in the conversion of pagan peoples to the north. It must therefore be borne in mind as a potentially major factor which could help us better understand the interests and themes of Stephan's text.

The context in which Widukind produced his history also relates to another issue which may have inspired, or even necessitated, the re-writing of the story of St. Kilian. Dedicated to Abbess Mathilda of Quedlinburg, in 967/968, Widukind's work was composed at a time when opposition to Otto I's plans for the monastery he had founded at Magdeburg came to a head.<sup>619</sup> When he was crowned at Aachen in 936, Archbishop Hildebert of Mainz had also reminded Otto I of his responsibilities to Christianity and the incomplete work of mission.<sup>620</sup> The following year, Otto founded a monastery at Magdeburg in Saxony, on the eastern frontier of the Ottonian realm, and this community and its continued growth and expansion became something of a pet project for the ruler.<sup>621</sup> With the subsequent intention to elevate the community to an archbishopric, however, it became a highly contentious issue and there was thirty years of opposition from leading religious and political figures in the East Frankish kingdom, before Otto's vision became a reality in 968.

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<sup>617</sup> Adam of Bremen, *History*, translated by Taschan, III. 46 (52), p. 152.

<sup>618</sup> Wendehorst, *Das Bistums Würzburg*, p. 64.

<sup>619</sup> Gerd Althoff, 'Saxony and the Elbe Slavs in the Tenth Century', in Timothy Reuter, ed, *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume 3: c. 900-1024* (Cambridge, 1999), 267-292, at pp. 290-291.

<sup>620</sup> Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe*, p. 419.

<sup>621</sup> *Ibid.*

It is not entirely clear when Otto made the decision to transform Magdeburg into an archiepiscopal see, but the first notable instance of opposition to this idea came at the Synod of Ingelheim in 948, when Otto's own son William, then archbishop of Mainz, raised his objections to the plan.<sup>622</sup> William's opposition continued and in 955, he wrote to Pope Agapet II, further criticising the policy and the perceived threat to his own position of authority, as evident from the pope's confirmation of William's dignity as apostolic vicar and *missus* in Germania and Gaul.<sup>623</sup> This concern was echoed a decade later by Bernhard, bishop of Halberstadt, in his refusal to accept the proposed archbishopric.<sup>624</sup> In order to elevate and expand Magdeburg the consent of both of these figures would be needed, as it would result in a reduction of both of their dioceses.<sup>625</sup> Magdeburg's ecclesiastical province would also expand to incorporate the bishoprics of Hamelberg and Brandenburg.<sup>626</sup> In driving forward the plans for Magdeburg, there was thus a fine balance to be drawn between exercising royal authority and the need to secure and maintain the support of the bishops and archbishops of the East Frankish kingdom.

Whilst these are only the most vocal examples of opposition to Magdeburg's elevation, there is also some suggestion that Otto's mother, Queen Mathilda may have had her own reservations about the scheme, as the east-Saxon Ottonian female communities of Quedlinburg, Gandersheim and Nordhausen all received papal privileges of exemption from the interference of kings, emperors, dukes or bishops.<sup>627</sup> The privilege for Quedlinburg, moreover, came just two days after Pope John XIII had announced the elevation of Magdeburg to archbishopric on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 967.<sup>628</sup> Although Mathilda is not mentioned by name in the privilege, she would not have been the only member of Otto's immediate family to show some concerns about his plans for Magdeburg. Whilst direct references to such opposition in the contemporary historiography are few, Johannes Laudage has suggested that Widukind's close narrative association between Mathilda and

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<sup>622</sup> Johannes Laudage, *Otto der Große (912-973): Eine Biographie* (Regensburg, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2006), p. 209; see also MGH DD O I (Hannover, 1879-1804), no. 278, p. 398. Timothy Reuter has suggested that the scale of Magdeburg's lavish endowments has led to speculation that Otto I intended for it to become an archbishopric from the outset, see Reuter, *Germany*, p. 163.

<sup>623</sup> Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens*, p. 260; Harald Zimmermann, ed, *Papsturkunden 896-104: I. 896-996*. Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission, Denkschriften 174 (3 vols; Vienna, 1984), no. 133, pp. 237-238.

<sup>624</sup> Laudage, *Otto*, p. 212.

<sup>625</sup> *Ibid*, p. 217.

<sup>626</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>627</sup> *Ibid*; for the papal letter regarding Gandersheim see Zimmermann, *Papsturkunden I*, no. 184, pp. 360-362.

<sup>628</sup> Zimmermann, *Papsturkunden I*, no. 178, pp. 349-350; the announcement regarding Magdeburg is *Idem*, no. 17, pp. 347-8.

Bernhard of Halberstadt suggests that she was known to have reservations.<sup>629</sup> Notably, it was not until the deaths of Mathilda, William of Mainz, and Bernhard of Halberstadt, all in 968, that Otto was finally able to successfully push through the elevation of Magdeburg.<sup>630</sup>

The letter by which he announced the establishment is a powerful statement of royal authority, also directed against specific individuals in Saxony. The righteousness of his aims is set out early on in the letter, as it is stated that: “[...] we believe that the augmentation of the divine religion affects the safety and welfare of our kingdom and empire, we intend and desire to amplify it in all possible ways”.<sup>631</sup> It then confirmed that the intended elevation of Magdeburg had been widely known, but that the time was only now opportune for carrying out the plan.<sup>632</sup> Following this, the acquiescence of both Mainz and Halberstadt through Archbishop Hatto and Bishop Hildeward, demonstrates that Otto had been able to win over the new incumbants.<sup>633</sup> The letter then announced that the former missionary to the Rus, Adalbert, had been selected as the first archbishop of Magdeburg and that his spiritual remit covered “[...] all the people of the Slavs beyond the Elbe and Saale, lately converted and to be converted to God”.<sup>634</sup> With the archbishop’s remit established, Otto presented Adalbert to the charity of all his subjects and, notably stated that the archbishop would ordain three suffragan bishops for Merseburg, Zeitz and Meißen “lest his election and his installation in the future be impugned by the envy of others”.<sup>635</sup>

The most notable display of Otto’s authority and the status of his new archbishopric comes in his personal address to margraves Wigbert, Witger and Gunther of the aforementioned region of Meißen, Merseburg and Zeitz respectively, that: “[...] since fealty is owed to us, [they should] not let anything obstruct this ordination of our archbishop, but let it be done according to our direction and his, as he tells you, and you may be sure that

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<sup>629</sup> Laudage, *Otto*, pp. 212-213.

<sup>630</sup> Laudage, *Otto*, pp. 212 and 218; Althoff, ‘Saxony’, p. 290; Thietmar, *Chronicon*, II.11, p. 52, where he states that the plan could not be fulfilled whilst Bishop Bernhard was alive.

<sup>631</sup> MGH DD O I (Hannover, 1879-1884), no. 366, pp. 502-503, at p. 502: “*Quoniam augmentum divini cultus salutem et statum esse regni vel imperii nostri credimus: idcirco cunctis quibus posse suppetit modis hoc amplificare tendimus et desideramus.*”, translated by Boyd H. Hill Jr, in *Medieval Monarchy in Action: The German Empire from Henry I to Henry IV* (London and New York, 1972), no. 12, pp. 162-163, at p. 162.

<sup>632</sup> MGH DD O I, no. 366, p. 502.

<sup>633</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>634</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 502-503: “[...] *totius ultra Albiam et Salam Sclavorum gentis modo ad deum conversae vel convertendae [...]*”, translated by Hill Jr, in *Medieval Monarchy*, p. 162.

<sup>635</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 503: “*Ne vero hec eius electio vel inthronizatio futuris quod absit temporibus aliquorum valeat invidia molestari [...]*”, translated by Hill Jr, in *Medieval Monarchy*, p. 162.

we agree with whatever you may hear from him”.<sup>636</sup> Further evidence that Otto obtained the suffragan sees that Magdeburg required comes from the fact that bishops Dudo of Havelburg and Dodelin of Brandenburg were also admonished to support the election and promise fealty and deference to the new archbishop.<sup>637</sup> This letter, moreover, was also something of a foundation charter and was ordered to be “[...] perpetually retained in the church of Magdeburg and that a future witness be written of those whom we have mentioned above [...]”.<sup>638</sup> As a final statement of authority, the document is signed “[...] Lord Otto, great and invincible emperor augustus”.<sup>639</sup> The place of Magdeburg as leading missionary archbishopric in the Ottonian *Reich* was secured.

The archdiocese of Magdeburg extended up to the borders of the ecclesiastical province of Mainz and the diocese of Würzburg.<sup>640</sup> Whilst Magdeburg’s landed possessions expanded to the north and west, growth to the south meant that any changes to the eastern parts of Mainz’s province would impact upon Würzburg, in terms of prestige and streams of revenue from tithes.<sup>641</sup> It should also be noted that a two grants of immunity were issued to Würzburg between circa 662 and 667 and in 974.<sup>642</sup> There is also some evidence that Otto I may have tried to placate Bishop Poppo I in 961.<sup>643</sup> An immediate connection between these grants and the events surrounding Magdeburg’s elevation would be hard to demonstrate, but another donation was given to the monastic community at Corvey in 976, in what Johannes Laudage has seen as a bid to placate its abbot following the changes to the geography of the East Frankish church structure.<sup>644</sup> Whilst there is no specific mention of Würzburg in connection with the events surrounding the elevation of Magdeburg, a potential link may not be ruled out due to the seismic shift in the episcopal landscape of the Ottonian *Reich* which resulted from Otto’s plans for his foundation.

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<sup>636</sup> MGH DD O I, no. 366: “[...] *fidelitate nobis debita obtestamur et admonemus, ne quid in hac ordinatione archiepiscopo nostro in vobis obsistat, sed secundum dispositionem nostram et suam ut vobis dixerit fiat, et quecumque ab illo audieritis, nos velle sciatis.*”, translated by Hill Jr, in *Medieval Monarchy*, p. 163. These dioceses approximately corresponded to three of the six power structures created from the lands of Margrave Gero I, whose lands were divided up upon his death in 965, see Laudage, *Otto*, pp. 211, 214 and 219.

<sup>637</sup> MGH DD O I, no. 366, p. 503.

<sup>638</sup> Ibid: “[...] *cartam vel noticiam hanc in ecclesia Magdaburgensi perpetualiter permansuram et eorum quae praediximus testem iugiter futuram scribi iussimus [...]*”, translated by Hill Jr, in *Medieval Monarchy*, p. 163.

<sup>639</sup> Ibid: “[...] *domini Ottonis magni et invictissimi imperatoris augusti.*”, translated by Hill Jr, in *Medieval Monarchy*, p. 163.

<sup>640</sup> See the map in Laudage, *Otto*, p. 258.

<sup>641</sup> Reuter, *Germany*, p. 163; see also the maps in Laudage, *Otto*, pp. 220-221.

<sup>642</sup> MGH DD O I, no. 434, pp. 615-617 and no. 454, pp. 615-617.

<sup>643</sup> MGH DD O I, no. 220, pp. 302-303.

<sup>644</sup> Laudage, *Otto*, p. 214.

The *Passio maior Kiliani* may, therefore, reflect feelings current in Würzburg in the 950s or 960s, with regards to its status in the realm if Magdeburg became a missionary archbishopric. The promotion of St. Kilian himself to an apostle of *Francia Teutonica* would certainly be a powerful statement of Würzburg's claim to a position of some importance in the East Frankish Kingdom when it came to the practice of mission.<sup>645</sup> The importance of appeals to the authority of Rome on behalf of both parties proposing and opposing the elevation of Magdeburg may also find its reflection in the importance of Rome in Stephan's version of the text, and the fact that he explicitly states that Kilian had been made a bishop by Pope Conon with the consensus of all Rome.<sup>646</sup> The saint was further made to meet the contemporary requirements of mission when Stephan told of his preaching to the local *populus* of Würzburg, having "[...] acquired a full knowledge of the people's speech".<sup>647</sup> Reuter has noted that there is evidence to suggest that clerics such as Boso of Regensburg learned the Slavic languages in order to aid conversion.<sup>648</sup> As such, this aspect of narrative development may represent an attempt to promote Würzburg's missionary standing not just against the newer claims of Magdeburg, but against continuing claims of other centres.

The memory and influence of St. Boniface also played a role in the history of Magdeburg, as Richard Fletcher has noted that the fledgling monastery looked to Fulda for its books and its educational development; books which he adds, were imbued with the memory of St. Boniface.<sup>649</sup> The memory of the works of St. Boniface and Pope Zacharias is also mentioned in a letter from Pope John XIII, giving the *pallium* and the archbishopric of Magdeburg to Adalbert in 968.<sup>650</sup> The Anglo-Saxon martyr retained his place in the story of St. Kilian in Stephan of Novara's retelling of it, and was given a key role, not only in the translation of Kilian's remains, but also in the elevation of Würzburg to an episcopal see.<sup>651</sup> Thus, Würzburg's connection to the saint was re-stated and, in doing so, so was its connection with and perhaps loyalty to Mainz.

As with the identity of the cleric named Poppo in accounts of Harald Bluetooth's conversion, it is not possible to trace a direct link between the re-writing of the *passio* of St. Kilian and the controversy and potential impact of the elevation of Magdeburg. There is, however, an undeniable concurrence between these two events which may not be

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<sup>645</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 2, p. 12.

<sup>646</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 6, p. 14.

<sup>647</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 7, p. 14: "[...] *gentis loquelam perdisceret*."

<sup>648</sup> Reuter, *Germany*, p. 165.

<sup>649</sup> Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe*, p. 421.

<sup>650</sup> Zimmermann, ed, *Papsturkunden I*, no. 190, pp. 374-376, at p. 375.

<sup>651</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 23, p. 24.

discounted. The dates of Stephan of Novara's tenure as school master at Würzburg do overlap nicely with the main period of contestation between leading church figures in the East Frankish Kingdom, such as Archbishop William of Mainz, and Otto I. Furthermore, a number of narrative developments seen in Stephan's version of the work do seem to sit well in this context. It is certainly an interesting hypothesis, even if it can ultimately be no more than that.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

Whilst the connections between Würzburg and the *Passio minor Kiliani* with Bavarian hagiographic productions and missionary activity is undeniable, this should not be focused on at the expense of Würzburg's own role and interest in mission to the north in Saxony, which represents the more immediate context. If we hold the *Passio minor* up against other hagiographical narratives written about missionaries to Saxony and Frisia in the eighth century, we also find many points of comparison. Rather than being a charismatic holy man, St Kilian was well trained for his task of mission, just as were Ss. Sturm, Boniface, Willibrord, or Willehad. Moreover, the licence to preach and teach which St. Kilian supposedly received from Pope Conon met with contemporary requirements for missionary activity, directed and controlled by the proper authority.

These narratives, however, convey more of the traditional saintly battle against pagans and unbelievers in the wilderness than was in fact the case at the time. Whilst the locations of both Würzburg and Fulda are described as promising oases in an otherwise hostile environment with potentially hostile locals, the chosen sites were situated on well-used trade routes so as to facilitate communication between the religious centres of the region. The authors' desire to represent the exploits of mission in a more traditionally hagiographic mould led to some distortion of the reality encountered, but it also gave the accounts a sense of authority, something which was particularly important to Würzburg as a newcomer to the Saxon mission and itself a site of missionary activity not long before.

In both the *Passio minor* and the *Passio maior Kiliani*, the importance of preaching and pastoral care is conveyed to the audience, which we must assume was the community at Würzburg initially. For the *Passio minor*, the emphasis on the importance of preaching and the way in which Christian doctrine and morals should be taught, was in accordance with practices advocated at the time of writing by Alcuin. In the case of the *Passio maior*, the fact

that Thuringia and Saxony had now long been incorporated into the Frankish Empire meant that there was no longer the need to christianise or convert, but there was still the same requirement for pastoral care.

Through the Burchard Homiliary and the *Passio minor Kiliani*, we also see direct evidence of the impact of mission for the Würzburg community. The Homiliary survives as evidence for pastoral care administered by individuals from Würzburg within its own diocese and perhaps beyond, containing those texts which were thought most beneficial and indicating that pagan survivals and superstitions were considered to be a threat both at home and abroad. In the *Passio minor*'s interaction with current debates and concerns around the nature of Christian marriage, we are afforded a glimpse of the everyday realities and problems encountered in mission, which we also find in the letters of Boniface. As the foundation of a successful dynasty and a common way of contracting alliances in royal and noble circles, the question of what constituted a correct Christian marriage was an important one. Along with the correspondance of St. Boniface, however, the *Passio minor Kiliani* demonstrates the difficulties encountered in mission on this topic, as well as canonical failings which led to further confusion where there would ideally have been consensus.

The need to instruct a Christian populace in theological matters which were complicated by their very nature was something that evolved in the period between the production of the *Passio minor* and the *Passio maior*. From these two texts we are afforded a sense of the shift from mission, christianisation and conversion, to consolidation and education in the East Frankish kingdom. In the tenth century, Würzburg became a centre of education, and this is evidenced by the arrival of Stephan of Novara. It is also reflected in the output of Würzburg's own *scriptorium*, as very few liturgical books were produced there in this period. Instead it became the main centre for production of classical and late antique texts, such as Cicero, Juvenal, Plato and Horace, which would have been geared more towards the teaching of refined and florid Latin prose and poetry.<sup>652</sup> Whether this was in part a result of Stephan's arrival, or one of the factors which led to his arrival there, is hard to say, but the results are certainly evident in the style of the *Passio maior*. Stephan's own position as a scholar and teacher influenced the way in which he approached the re-writing of the story of St. Kilian, however, and can be seen from his address to his brethren in the prologue through to his miracle story set in the Würzburg classroom. That there was

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<sup>652</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, 'Continuity and Innovation in tenth-century Ottonian Culture', in idem, *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1995), XII, 15-24, at p. 23.

still a need to teach the key elements of Christian doctrine and to do so in a codified and organised manner, comes through in his description of St. Kilian's preaching and in Stephan's own exposition on the nature of the Holy Trinity in chapter eight of the *Passio maior*.

Whilst a direct link between Poppo II of Würzburg and the conversion of Harald Bluetooth cannot be conclusively proven, there is a strong argument to be made in favour of this interpretation of the events. As a result, this may not be discounted as a possible motivating factor for the re-writing of the *passio* of St. Kilian. Producing an updated Life of the community's missionary-martyr patron saint would certainly have been a highly appropriate way to celebrate the achievements of their bishop and Würzburg's own continuing association with mission.

A threat, or at least a challenge, to this missionary association, however, may also provide us with a complementary context for the *Passio maior Kiliani*. Otto's plan to elevate Magdeburg to an archbishopric caused notable and well documented consternation from Würzburg's own metropolitan in Mainz. Although much contemporary historical writings remain silent on this long running dispute, what evidence we have suggests such a level of contention that it is difficult to imagine Würzburg not also being effected. Magdeburg's elevation and the necessary expansion of its lands which this entailed would undoubtedly have had a geographical impact upon Würzburg. As Magdeburg's rise threatened to replace older missionary centres, Würzburg may have chosen to respond by reasserting its saintly heritage in this sphere of activity.

## Chapter 5: Geilana

Of the developments and changes which were traced between the *Passio minor Kiliani* and the *Passio maior Kiliani* in the first chapter of this thesis, perhaps the most striking and enduring is in the figure of Geilana, wife of Duke Gozbert. Her character is a wholly negative one and acts as a narrative foil to the hero of the piece, St. Kilian. Her actions and opposition to the saint, more so than his attempts to convert the Würzburg population, provide the central conflict and struggle which result in Kilian's martyrdom and help define him as a saint worthy to be compared to John the Baptist or the Prophet Elijah.<sup>653</sup> From the moment we are introduced to her in chapter 9 of the *Passio minor Kiliani*, the manner in which the anonymous author intended her to be viewed by his audience is immediately apparent, as: "the wife of the most noble duke Gozbert, angry and aroused by the flame of hatred, thought night and day about how she would be able to murder the saint of God".<sup>654</sup> Not only does her anger and hatred result in the murder of St. Kilian, but it also leads to the downfall of the previously 'noble' Duke Gozbert and, as a result, brings about the destruction of the Hedenid ducal line.

The manner in which Geilana was constructed and represented within the two *passiones* of St. Kilian was not unique. She forms part of a rich narrative tradition which casts wicked women, particularly of noble or royal standing, as the most suitable adversary of a holy man, based upon Biblical comparisons with Jezebel and Herodia, and the most effective way to show his steadfastness and greatness in his battle against adversity.<sup>655</sup> If we wish to know the ways in which a woman such as this could be characterised as wicked in this manner, we need only take the list of ideal attributes which Sedulius Scottus suggested Lothar II († 869) look for in a wife, and reverse them. Lothar was told that, ideally, his wife should be of noble lineage, beautiful, rich, virtuous, modest, intelligent, a good counsellor

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<sup>653</sup> *Passio minor*, chs. 9 and 10, pp. 725-726; *Passio maior*, ch. 12, p. 18; see also John Kitchen, *Saint's Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender: Male and Female in Merovingian Hagiography* (New York, 1998), p. 34.

<sup>654</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 9, p. 725: "*coniux Gozberti nobilissimi ducis, ira et invidiae fomite accensa, die noctuque cogitabat, quomodo sanctos Dei perdere potuisset*".

<sup>655</sup> See Janet L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History', in Janet L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), 1-48, at p. 30 – here discussing Jonas of Bobbio's use of the motif.

to her husband, as well as pious and concerned with his salvation.<sup>656</sup> As we shall see, Geilana possesses none of these qualities.

This chapter will analyse the representation and characterisation of Geilana in the *Passio minor* and *Passio maior Kiliani* and set it within the rich textual tradition which surrounds such ‘wicked women’ in order to investigate the way in which these two narratives comment upon contemporary political circumstances and concerns of interest, not only to Würzburg and its wider community, but also to the Carolingians and later the Ottonians, and the area of southern and eastern Germany which was the focus of manuscript circulation.

In the case of the *Passio minor Kiliani* it will be argued that this element of the narrative was driven by anti-Hedenid rhetoric, which had become pertinent in light of the troublesome relationship between the Carolingians and the Agilolfing Dukes of Bavaria, notably Tassilo III († circa 796).<sup>657</sup> Through manipulating its own ducal past, Würzburg was able to use the *Passio minor Kiliani* to put forward a pro-Carolingian stance in this conflict and promote its own local concerns, as well as providing justification for the Carolingian donation and use of formerly ducal lands.

Stephan of Novara portrays Geilana as being much more active in her persecution of the holy men, and he emphasises her wickedness with overt Biblical comparisons to Jezebel and Herodia and the use of apocalyptically-tinged references. Once again, the political context of the time has implications for our understanding of this narrative. The *Passio maior Kiliani* can be placed within a tradition of tenth-century historical and religious writing surrounding the Ottonians which placed its emphasis upon family and the importance of good deeds. This functioned as a potent *Kaiserkritik* for the period, which was to serve both as warning against allowing members of the ‘weaker sex’ to have an overbearing influence in the politics of the realm, but also cast a flattering light on the Ottonian women who were part of a lively hagiographical tradition of noble female sanctity.<sup>658</sup>

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<sup>656</sup> Sedulius Scottus, *Liber de rectoribus Christianis ad Carolum Magnum vel Ludovicum Pium*, PL 103 (1851), ch. 5, cols. 0300B-0301D.

<sup>657</sup> For earlier comments on this, see Chapter 2, p. 57.

<sup>658</sup> That women were seen as belonging to the more fragile sex is apparent from sources such as Thietmar of Merseberg, who wrote about the empress Theophanu and her regency, despite “the weakness of her own sex / *quamvis sexi fragilis*.”, Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed, Robert Holzmann, MGH SRG N.S. 9 (Berlin, 1935), IV. 10, p. 142. Hrotswitha of Gandersheim also refers to the weakness of her sex in the address to Abbess Gerberga in the opening of the *Gesta Ottonis*, see Hrotswitha of Gandersheim, *Gesta Ottonis*, in *Hrotswithae Opera*, ed, Paul de Winterfeld, MGH SRG 34 (Berlin, 1902), III, 201-228, at p. 202

## 5.1 Naming and Shaming

The place to begin an examination of Geilana is with her name. One of the simplest ways to suggest a moral judgement about the duke's wife, would be to give her a name which suggested certain things about her character. Emmerich suggests that the name 'Geilana' is a composite, derived from the Old High German word 'geil', meaning 'wild of force, luxuriant or wanton', with the addition of a standard Latin feminine ending.<sup>659</sup> When later writing about her desire to kill the holy men, Stephan noted the 'desire of female cruelty' which had been supplied with the means to achieve its sought-after end through the powers of the Devil.<sup>660</sup> Such associations with her name are also found in other sources, as Notker Balbulus wrote in his later ninth-century Martyrology that the name meant 'butting' and that her spiteful soul and cruel life had been afforded a fitting end in death.<sup>661</sup> It is highly unlikely that a noble woman would have been given a name such as this, with these connotations, from birth and as such we can assume that her name at least was an invention of the anonymous author of the *Passio minor*.

It may seem unusual to a modern audience for such sexualised references as are apparent in the name 'Geilana' to be found in an ecclesiastical work such as this. Sex itself was not a taboo subject of discussion, however, provided that such discussion focussed on why certain sexual behaviour was wrong and to be prohibited.<sup>662</sup> Explicit stone carvings found on some churches in western Europe have been seen as a way of emphasising the dangers of feminine lust and temptation, rather than mere syncretistic representations of fertility; it was of course Eve who was seduced into eating the apple and thus caused the Fall of man, so these ideas were not without strong Biblical precedent.<sup>663</sup> If such themes were present in public religious imagery, it should not be surprising to find them present in hagiography. Indeed, such imagery was readily exploited by early medieval authors.

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<sup>659</sup> Frans Emmerich, *Der heilige Kilian Regionarbischof und Martyrer* (Würzburg, 1886), p. 111; a modern dictionary definition lists 'geil' as meaning randy, horny or lecherous - Langenscheidt, *Standard German Dictionary* (New York, 1993); Emmerich has also dismissed the suggestion that various versions of Geilana a contraction of the name Geradrude, arguing that a derivative from the Old High German 'geil' makes much more sense in the context, see *Idem*, pp. 111-112.

<sup>660</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 13, pp. 18-19: "Et quia diabolis iniqua cupientibus fomenta militae sibi ministrat [...] pervenerint ad votum femina crudelitatis".

<sup>661</sup> Notker Balbulus, 'Ex martyrologio Notkeri cognomento Balbuli monchi S. Gall', in Franz Emmerich, *Der heilige Kilian: Regionarbischof und Martyrer* (Würzburg, 1886), 43-44, at p. 44: "Geilana quoque etiam ipso nomine petulcam spiritus malignus invasit, et indignam ejus vitam dignissima morte finivit."

<sup>662</sup> Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others* (Abingdon, 2005), p. 18.

<sup>663</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15. This condemnation is also present in the works of classical authors such as St. Ambrose and Tertullian, see Jacques Dalarum, 'The Clerical Gaze', in Christine Klapisch-Zuber, ed, *A History of Women in the West: II. Silences of the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), 15-42, at p. 20.

It may have also been the case that, in addition to the moral element, the author of the *Passio minor* had intended his audience – male clerics in the first instance – to read or hear about a pagan woman whose name meant ‘lusty’ or ‘wanton’, with a knowing smile. Danuta Shanzer notes that, in the minds of many, pagan societies and ‘unspeakable lusts and perversions’ – both sexual and religious – went hand in hand.<sup>664</sup> In giving his female protagonist and ‘murderer’ of the heroic holy man the name ‘Geilana’, the author of the *Passio minor* had thereby managed to combine both elements of this prejudiced view.

This type of humour is bawdy in nature and it may be that in this we find yet further evidence of a Bavarian connection and the influence of the works of Arbeo of Freising on the *Passio minor*’s composition. In one scene from his *Vita Corbiniani*, Arbeo described the saint leaping from his horse to beat, with his hands, an old woman whom he had accused of being a witch.<sup>665</sup> The use of the word ‘*anus*’ for old woman, when alternatives were available, has been seen as a deliberate choice by Arbeo in order to allow the passage to be read jokingly as Corbinian beating the old woman on her buttocks.<sup>666</sup> There are also numerous references to genitalia in both the *Vita Corbiniani* and the *Vita Haimbrammi*, but such jokes were not always taken with good grace. For example, a reference in the *Vita Corbiniani* to the large penis of an emaciated stallion was seen as shameful and gradually removed from the *vita* altogether through later recensions of the work, whilst a carving on the saint’s tomb, which depicted the same, was also removed, as the *vita* itself tells us.<sup>667</sup> Such use of humour, even though it may seem trite to modern readers, was therefore not unknown in hagiographical texts from Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In his *Peristephanon*, Prudentius had St. Lawrence address his torturers, during his martyrdom, with the following words: “It is done [...] eat it up, try whether it is nicer raw or roasted”.<sup>668</sup>

In order to get the joke of Geilana’s name, the audience of the *Passio minor Kiliani* would have needed to grasp the etymology, which relies on an understanding of both Latin and an unrelated Old High German word, indicating linguistic cross-referencing. In the later *Passio maior Kiliani*, however, the joke was made much plainer, as Stephan of Novara wrote: “[...]”

<sup>664</sup> Danuta Shanzer, ‘Laughter and Humour in the Early Medieval Latin West’, in Guy Halsall, ed, *Humour and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2002), 25-47, at p. 29.

<sup>665</sup> Arbeo of Freising, *Vita Sancti Corbiniani*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRG 13 (Hannover, 1920), 188-232, ch. 29, pp. 221-222; see also Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050* (Harlow, 2001), p. 156.

<sup>666</sup> Wood, *The Missionary Life*, p. 156. Wood also noted that both Bruno Krusch and Franz Brunhölzl had failed to note this joke in their editions of the text.

<sup>667</sup> *Vita Corbiniani*, ed, Krusch, ch. 22, pp. 212-214.

<sup>668</sup> Prudentius, *Peristephanon liber*, with a translation by H.J. Thomson, *Loeb Classical Library* 398 (2 vols; London, 1953), II, pp. 132-133, ll. 406-409.

Geilana (for who could deceive a woman in love?)”, where he played on the contrasting images suggested by the name and the more gentle image of a lover.<sup>669</sup>

Aside from the hagiography surrounding St. Kilian we know nothing of Duke Gozbert’s wife save that, as we are told in the *Passio minor*, she had previously been married to his brother, ‘as was the custom of old’.<sup>670</sup> It is also notable that, like Kilian, Geilana’s existence is not attested to in any surviving contemporary documents. This is not, however, the case with other women of the Hedenid ducal line, who appear in surviving charters. For example, a charter of Echternach dated to 704, details a grant of a farm made to Willibrord by Heden (the Younger, † circa 717), his wife Theodrada and their son Thuring († circa 717).<sup>671</sup> Heden the Younger’s daughter Immina († circa 742) appears in the *Vita posterior sancti Burchardi* by Ekkehard, in which we are told of her community dedicated to the Virgin, situated on the Marienburg overlooking Würzburg.<sup>672</sup> By contrast, we know nothing about Duke Gozbert’s wife, though the continuation of the Hedenid ducal line for at least one more generation indicates that he must have been married at some point. Whatever the reality of this woman, it is doubtful whether the character represented by the anonymous author and by Stephan ever existed outside of the tradition of St. Kilian.

Much as the character of Geilana was constructed in order to convey a certain message, the pagan superstitions which she and the people of Würzburg had supposedly practised before Kilian’s arrival were also shaped to convey a particular image. Both the *Passio minor* and the *Passio maior* claimed that these pagan beliefs centred around the goddess Diana.<sup>673</sup> The *Passio minor* first mentions Diana in the context of a punishment miracle in which the murderer of the saint tears at himself with his teeth from madness, demonstrating the superiority of the Christian faith to those doubters in Duke Gozbert’s court.<sup>674</sup> The text says that:

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<sup>669</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 11, p. 18: “(quis enim fallere posset amantem?)”.

<sup>670</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 8, p. 725: “Ipse autem Gozbertus dux in matrimonio habuit uxorem fratris sui, sicut antiquitus fuit consuetudinis”; Emmerich, *Der heilige Kilian*, p. 110; we also know nothing about Gozbert’s brother, see the genealogy table in Hubert Mordek, ‘Die Hedenen als politische Kraft im Austrasischen Frankenreich’ in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter, eds, *Karl Martel in Seiner Zeit*, Beihefte der Francia 37 (Sigmaringen, 1994), 345-366, at p. 365.

<sup>671</sup> *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter*, vol. I.2: *Quellenband*, ed, Camillus Wampach (Luxembourg, 1930), no. 26, pp. 63-65. There is another grant made from Heden and Theodrada to Willibrord of Arnstadt and a nearby manor house, as well as donations to Mühlberg, see *Idem*, no. 8, pp. 27-31.

<sup>672</sup> *Vita posterior Burchardi*, II, 4, pp. 162-166.

<sup>673</sup> On Diana, see for example Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive Originum*, ed, Wallace M. Lindsay (London, 1911), Book 8, ch. 6.56-57 and Book 17, ch. 9.45.

<sup>674</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 13, p. 727.

“[...] there was a certain man, eloquent and prepared, who responded according to the suggestion of the unlucky Geilana, Gozbert’s wife, thus: ‘My lord, Duke Gozbert, consider of yourself and all of us [...] and let it be examined whether the God of them is so strong, so powerful, all knowing, rendering good from good and in the end restoring bad from bad, [...] But if, however, it is otherwise [...] then we want to serve the great Diana, just as our fathers did before us – and they prospered in things up to the present’.”<sup>675</sup>

Here the anonymous author has Geilana as the one calling for the two faiths to be tested and this surely served to further demean her as, in a narrative of this kind, Christianity was the only possible victor. In the *Passio maior*, we are told that the duke: “[...] deferred an audience [with Kilian] for the time being because he wanted to give close consideration to whether the form of worship Kilian was teaching, or that of Diana, should be given preference, for he used to hold Diana in the highest respect”.<sup>676</sup> Hence it was Duke Gozbert who, through means of rational thought and internal debate, weighed up the relative merits of his traditional beliefs and those Christian beliefs preached by St. Kilian.

Such passages further the missionary and hagiographical agenda of these texts as Christianity overcomes the forces of pagan evil. It is notable that the god chosen to represent this adversity was a feminine one – Diana – a fertility goddess whom Franz Emmerich has suggested was the main deity worshipped in pre-Christian Thuringia.<sup>677</sup> There were many other named pagan deities which the anonymous author could have chosen from to represent paganism in Würzburg. Indeed, the opening to Gregory of Tours’s *Liber in Gloria martyrum* mentions no less than twenty classical gods and heroes.<sup>678</sup> In his *Decem Libro Historiarum*, Gregory also made mention of pagan worship of Diana and said that a statue of the goddess had been destroyed by St. Vulfolac, which took place some time before 585.<sup>679</sup> Diana was further mentioned in the widely circulated martyrology of Ss.

<sup>675</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 13, p. 727: “Erat autem ibi quidam homo eloquens paratusque ad respondendum secundum suggestionem infelicis Geilanae, uxoris Gozberti, qui taliter inquit: ‘Domine mi, dux: Gozberte, cogita de temet ipso et de omnibus nobis [...] et proba, utrum Deus worum tamen fortis, tam praepotens sit et omnia sciens retribuensque bona nobis et in novissimis mala restituens malis [...] Sin autem alias [...] tunc volumus servire magnae Dianae, sicut et anteriores nostri fecerunt patres, et prosperati sunt in eo usque in praesens.’”

<sup>676</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 8, pp. 15-16: “[...] ad tempus ejus distullit auditionem, volens frequenti apud se tractare rimatu, utrum, quem Kilianus docebat, an Dianae cultus praeponeendus foret. Diana manque apud illum summa veneratione habebatur.”

<sup>677</sup> Emmerich, *Der heilige Kilian*, p. 108. Diana was also linked to Odin, in that both were associated with the ‘wild hunt’, see Martine de Reu, ‘The Missionaries: The First Contact Between Paganism and Christianity’, in Ludo R.J. Milis, ed, *The Pagan Middle Ages*, translated by Tanis Guest (Woodbridge, 1998; originally published in Dutch in 1991), 13-36, at p. 30.

<sup>678</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria martyrum*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2 (Hannover, 1885), p. 38. Another list can be found in Augustine, see Augustine, *De Civitate Dei, Libri I-X*, , CCSL 47 (Turnhout, 1955), VII. 2, p. 186.

<sup>679</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber Historiarum X*, eds, Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 1.1 (Hannover, 1951), VIII.15, p. 381; Knut Schäferdiek, ‘Kilian von Würzburg. Gestalt und gestaltung eines Heiligen’ in Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach, eds, *Iconologia Sacra. Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der*

Crispin and Crispiniani, where she appeared along with Jove, Apollo, Mercury and Saturn.<sup>680</sup>

The use of Diana in this context also allowed for further comment about Geilana's character, as Diana was also the goddess most associated with leading women astray from their proper roles and behaviour. The close association between Diana and pagan women was still being denounced in the later tenth century, the time the *Passio maior Kiliani* would have been circulating as, in his *Decretum*, Burchard of Worms († 1025), wrote the following:

“Hast thou believed or participated in this infidelity, that some wicked women, turned back after Satan, seduced by illusions and phantoms of demons, believe and affirm: that with Diana, a goddess of the pagans, and an unnumbered multitude of women, they ride on certain beasts and traverse many areas of the earth in the stillness of the quiet night, obey her commands as if she were their mistress, and are called on special nights to her service? But would that these only should perish in their perfidy and not drag many with them into the ruin of their aberration.”<sup>681</sup>

After he decried the foolishness of such beliefs, the penance for such behaviour was set at fasting on feast-days for two years.<sup>682</sup>

The choice of Diana as the pagan goddess worshipped by Geilana was thus based on a strong literary tradition, but one which was itself Christian. As such, Knut Schäferdiek has suggested that in the *passiones's* use of Diana – as with these other texts – we are not reading about true pagan survivals in Würzburg, but rather we are encountering established Christian demonology used here as a means to create a familiar, but also damnable, adversary for the Christian missionary.<sup>683</sup> According to Schäferdiek, it is in this guise that we encounter Diana in other hagiographical works such as the mid sixth-century *vita* of Caesarius of Arles, where she appears as an ‘evil spirit’ who possesses a girl, or in the

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*Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für Karl Hauc, zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1994), 313-340, at p. 322.

<sup>680</sup> *Martyrium S.S. Crispini et Crispiniani*, ii, AASS 11<sup>th</sup> October (Brussels, 1864), BHL 1990, day 25, Col. 053ff.

<sup>681</sup> Burchard of Worms, *Ecclesiae Episcopi Decretum Libri Viginti*, PL 140, (1853), cols. 831-832: “*Illud etiam non omittendum, quod quaedam scleretae mulieres retro post Satanam conversae, daemonum illusionibus, et phantasmatis seductae, credunt se et profitentur nocturnis horis, cum Diana paganorum dea, vel cum Herodiade et innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias, et multa terrarum spatia intempestae noctis silentio pertransire ejusque jussionibus velut dominae obedire et certis noctibus ad ejus servitium evocari. Sed utinamhae solae in perfidia sue perissent, et non multos secum in infidelitatis interitum pertraxissent.*”, translated in, ‘Selections from the Corrector and Physician Burchard of Worms, ca. 1008-12’, in John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, eds, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: a translation of the principal libri poenitentiales and selections from related documents* (New York, 1990), 321-345, at p. 332; see also Ludo R.J. Milis, ‘Purity, Sex and Sin’, in Milis, ed, *The Pagan Middle Ages*, translated by Tanis Guest (Woodbridge, 1998; originally published in Dutch in 1991), 129-149, at p. 134.

<sup>682</sup> Milis, ‘Purity’, p. 134.

<sup>683</sup> Schäferdiek, ‘Kilian von Würzburg’, p. 323.

seventh-century *vita* of St. Eligius in which her name is listed as that of a demon.<sup>684</sup> It is only in hagiographical sources such as the *Passio minor* that the religion of seventh-century Thuringia is mentioned, but that should not mean that the area had in fact been pagan at the time. Much like the works of Arbeo of Freising and hagiographies of St. Boniface's circle, both of which influenced the *Passio minor*, these texts were not responding to actual pagan survivals, but were instead creating the image of a pagan society in need of conversion in order to suit contemporary missionary ends.<sup>685</sup> Diana was a particularly appropriate choice in this latter context, as her name is mentioned five times in the Acts of the Apostles.<sup>686</sup>

## 5.2 Jezebels and Holy Men

Geilana was not a good Christian wife. Not only was she not a bulwark of the true faith of Christianity for her husband, following the words of the Bible, but neither was her husband to her. In this Gozbert instead appears weak for not being able to stand up to her and fight for Christianity without the need for divine proof and inspiration. That Geilana was not to be confused with any sort of heroine is abundantly clear if we compare her representation with that of another, earlier, noblewoman connected to Merovingian Thuringia and whose *vita* is part of what was, in the early Middle Ages, an increasingly strong tradition of noble female piety.

The Merovingian period saw much conflict with the Thuringians, and a Frankish backlash which almost wiped out the ruling house in 531, some 150 years before St. Kilian's missionary activities there. It was through these campaigns that Clothar I († 561) took his wife, Radegund († 587), a Thuringian princess, whose Life was written first by Venantius Fortunatus († 609) and latterly continued by a nun of Radegund's own nunnery of Poitiers, a certain Baudovinia.<sup>687</sup> Baudovinia described an incident in which Radegund ordered her servants to burn down a fane, “[...] because she judged that it was iniquitous to show contempt for God in Heaven and venerate the Devil's instruments”, despite the

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<sup>684</sup> Schäferdiek, ‘Kilian von Würzburg’, p. 323; Cyprian, *Vita Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis Libri Duo*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 3 (Hannover, 1896), 433-501, book II, ch. 18, p. 491; *Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hannover, 1902), 643-761, book II, ch. 16, p. 706.

<sup>685</sup> See especially Jonathan Couser, ‘Inventing Paganism in eighth-century Bavaria’, *EME* 18.1 (2010), 26-42, here at pp. 32-37.

<sup>686</sup> Acts. 19:24, 27, 28, 34 and 35.

<sup>687</sup> Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg and E. Gordon Whately, eds, and translate, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham, 1992), p. 61.

opposition of a crowd of Franks wielding swords and clubs.<sup>688</sup> In scenes such as this, she bears comparison with the classical martyr St. Eugenia, who herself functioned in the narrative as something of a female equivalent to the dominant male archetype, St. Martin.<sup>689</sup> Julia Smith, however, has attributed Radegund's lofty and well maintained position at her husband's court to her own skills in politics, lavish alms giving and a skilful use of patronage; things which certainly cannot be ascribed to Geilana.<sup>690</sup>

Gregory of Tours also dealt with the memory of Radegund, this time in his *Liber in Gloria martyrum*. In a section relating miracles associated with the relic of the True Cross, he compared Radegund to the Empress Helena, "in both merit and faith / *merito et fide*".<sup>691</sup> This was a particularly appropriate comparison to draw as Helena was, after the fourth century, credited with finding the True Cross, and Radegund herself would later obtain this relic for her nunnery at Poitiers.<sup>692</sup> Like Venantius Fortunatus and Baudovinia, Gregory knew Radegund and, in his *Liber historiarum*, wrote that he had attended the funeral of 'saint Radegund' in 587, as well as recounting miracles which occurred at her burial.<sup>693</sup>

In these Merovingian texts, we see a noblewoman from (supposedly) pagan Thuringia who not only retained her power and position at court, but who was also active in combating pagan survivals in her lands. Although an ideal Merovingian example existed, in the Carolingian *Passio minor Kiliani* the view taken is that Thuringian noblewomen of the Merovingian period were not always so pious. Not only does this provide a contrast with these earlier hagiographical traditions, but it is also a negative comment on the memory of the Thuringian past.

Whilst the construction of Geilana's character within the narratives of the *Passio minor* and *Passio maior Kiliani* has been discussed above, it is with examples of noble female sanctity such as those just mentioned that we must compare her behavior towards St. Kilian and towards Christianity. The first direct mention of her feelings in the *Passio minor* is

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<sup>688</sup> *De Vita S. Radegundis libri II*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hannover, 1888), II.2, p. 380: "[...] *iniquum indicans, Deum caeli contempni et diabolica machinamenta venerari*", translated by McNamara, Halborg and Whately in *Sainted Women*, 60-105, II.2, p. 87.

<sup>689</sup> Julia M.H. Smith, 'Radegundis peccatrix: authorizations of virginity in late antique Gaul', in Philip Rousseau and Emmanuel Papoutsakis, eds, *Transformations of late antiquity: essays for Peter Brown* (Aldershot, 2009), 303-326, at p. 317.

<sup>690</sup> Smith, 'Radegundis peccatrix', p. 305.

<sup>691</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Gloria martyrum*, ch. 5, p. 39.

<sup>692</sup> Raymond Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours - Glory of the Martyrs*, TTH 4 (Liverpool, 1988) §5, p. 5; see also Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms: 450-751* (Harlow, 1994), p. 73.

<sup>693</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber historiarum*, IX.2, p. 415; idem, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2 (Hannover, 1885), 294-370 ch. 104, p. 109.

as follows: “Hearing this [Kilian’s proposed dissolution of her marriage to the duke], the wife of the most noble Duke Gozbert, angry and aroused by the flame of hatred, thought day and night about how she would be able to murder the saint of God.”<sup>694</sup> In the following chapter it is flatly stated, with regards to those who carried out the murder, that they had been “[...] fulfilling the order of Geilana, the wife of Duke Gozbert”.<sup>695</sup> This is also the first time that she is called by name in the *Passio minor*. If we compare Geilana’s depiction to those of other ‘wicked’ women in hagiographical examples, we see a number of comparisons which indicate that the author of the *Passio minor* was conscious of the imagery and language which could be used in these cases.

In the *Vita Karoli*, Einhard had blamed the interference of another woman in political affairs for the Bavarian revolt of 788 which resulted in Duke Tassilo’s submission to Charlemagne at the Lech.<sup>696</sup> Einhard explained the revolt thus:

“The war was a product of the pride and foolishness of Duke Tassilo. His wife [Liutberg], who urged him to do it, was the daughter of King Desiderius and she thought that she could take revenge for (Charles’s) expulsion of her father (from the kingdom of Lombardy) through her husband. Thus, after Tassilo had struck a deal with the Huns, who lived to the east of the Bavarians, he attempted not only to disobey the king, but to provoke him to war.”<sup>697</sup>

The events of 788 were the culmination of a long process of removing the Agilolfing family from the politics of Francia, a course complicated greatly by family politics. The ‘walk-on part’ played here by Tassilo and Liutberg came as the result of the use of contemporary historiography aimed at stigmatising Charlemagne’s opponents.<sup>698</sup> As well as further damaging the memory of the Agilolfings, Stuart Airlie has seen their appearance here as serving a more general moralising purpose of the kind that we see in the *passiones* of St. Kilian with regards to the figure of Geilana.<sup>699</sup>

<sup>694</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 9, p. 725: “*His auditis, coniux Gozberti nobilissimi ducis, ira et invidiae fomite accensa, die noctuque cogitabat, quomodo sanctos Dei perdere potuisset.*” Compare this with Radegund’s attempts to separate from her husband and devote herself fully to Christ, as described by Baudovinia in *De Vita S. Radegundis libri II*.

<sup>695</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 10, p. 726: “[...] *complens praecepta Geilanae, uxoris Gozberti ducis.*”

<sup>696</sup> See above, Chapter 2, p. 49.

<sup>697</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 25 (Hannover, 1911), 1-41, at ch. 11, p. 14: “*Quod superbia simul ac socordia Tassilonis ducis excitavit; qui hortatu uxoris, quae filia Desiderii regis erat ac patris exilium per maritum ulcisci posse putabat, iuncto foedere cum Hunis, qui Baioriis sunt ab oriente contermini, non solum imperata non facere, sed bello regem provocare temptabat.*” translated by Paul Edward Dutton, in *Charlemagne’s Courtier: The Complete Einhard* (North York CA-ON., 1998), 15-39, pp. 22-23. Words in parentheses here are Dutton’s own editorial insertions. The addition in square brackets is my own.

<sup>698</sup> See especially Stuart Airlie, ‘Narratives of Triumph and Rituals of Submission: Charlemagne’s mastering of Bavaria’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6.9 (1999), 93-119.

<sup>699</sup> *Ibid*, p. 119.

The entry for 788 in the *Annales regni Francorum*, demonstrates that the wives of Liutberg became a feature of Carolingian rhetoric aimed at the memory of Tassilo.<sup>700</sup> In referring to an assembly held in that year at Ingelheim, the *Annales* report that: “Tassilo came there as well as his other vassals on the order of the Lord King. Loyal Bavarians began to say that Tassilo, egged on by his wife, was breaking his fealty and showing himself as downright treacherous, after he had surrendered his son with the other hostages and taken oaths”.<sup>701</sup> Following a description of the battles against the Avars in the same year, we are told that not only had Tassilo made overtures to them, but that his wife had, once again, had a malevolent influence. Liutberga is described as: “[...] his [Tassilo’s] rancorous wife, Liutberga, a woman hateful to God [...]”.<sup>702</sup> Corresponding to the account given by Einhard, the language used by the *Annales regni Francorum* to describe Liutberga is both strong and damning.

When machinations such as these set a family, however powerful, against the cause of Christianity the result could be the downfall of the entire line, such as in the case of the Agilolfing dukes. This is something which the author of the *Passio minor Kiliani* seems to have had in mind when telling the story of the destruction of the Hedenid ducal line, and may have provided a well-known context to this aspect of the *passio*’s narrative. Having described Geilana being punished through possession by a ‘malign spirit’, which shook her till the end of her days, the penultimate chapter of the work also states that: “Servants killed Gozbert by his own sword; Heden, his son, was ejected from the kingdom by the people of the East Franks. So greatly were their progeny persecuted that not one of that line remained”.<sup>703</sup> This should be compared with Revelations 2:23, which says, regarding Jezebel, that: “[...] I will kill her children with death: and all the churches shall know that I am he that searcheth the reins and hearts.”<sup>704</sup> Bede interpreted the ‘children’ referred to here as Jezebel’s followers, whom she had deceived and led into error; whilst the death which was to be inflicted upon her was interpreted by him as a complete death of the soul.<sup>705</sup>

<sup>700</sup> *Annales Regni Francorum inde a. 741 usque ad 829, qui dicitur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Eihnardi*, ed, G.H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 6 (Hannover, 1895), 788, p. 80.

<sup>701</sup> *Ibid.*: “[...] veniens Tassilo ex iussione domni regis, sicut et ceteri eius vassi; et coeperunt fideles Baioarii dicere, quod Tassilo fidem suam salvam non haberet, nisi postea fraudulens apparuit, postquam filium suum dedit cum aliis obsidibus et sacramenta, suadente uxore sua Liutbergane.”, translated by Bernhard Walter Scholz with Barbara Rogers, in *Carolingian Chronicles. Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard’s Histories* (Michigan, 1881), 35-125, at p. 66.

<sup>702</sup> *Ibid.*, 788, p. 82: “[...] seu malivola uxor eius, Liutberga Deo odibilis [...]”, translated by Scholz with Rogers, in *Carolingian Chronicles*, p. 67.

<sup>703</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 15, p. 727: “Gozbertum vero gladio sui occiderunt servi; Hetanum vero, illius filium, populus orientalium Francorum de regno eiecerunt. In tantem enim illius progeniem persecuti sunt nec unus de illius stirpe remanebat.”

<sup>704</sup> “[...] filios eius interficiam in morte et scient omnes ecclesiae quia ego sum scrutans renes et corda.”

<sup>705</sup> Bede, *Commentary on Revelation*, translated by Faith Wallis, TTH 58 (Liverpool, 2013), pp. 122-123.

Here the whole Hedenid ducal line was punished by God because of their failure to prevent Geilana's actions and to follow St. Kilian and the Christian faith.

An earlier, comparable, hagiographical example of such a warning can be seen in the seventh-century *Vita Columbani*, by Jonas of Bobbio, and in the villain of the piece, Brunhild († 632), grandmother of Theuderic II. Like Geilana, Brunhild was also fearful of losing her power and influence and this brought her into conflict with the holy man.<sup>706</sup> Brunhild is directly compared to a second Jezebel and, through her various clashes with the saint and attempts to remove his influence and punish his followers, she also encouraged King Theuderic to contribute to her persecutions.<sup>707</sup> At two separate points in the narrative, Jonas has the saint recount the dreadful fate that will befall Brunhild, Theuderic and their family, because of their actions, but these warnings are not heeded.<sup>708</sup>

Brunhild continued in her opposition to the cause of Christianity, not just through her opposition to Columbanus, but also by her alleged murder of Bishop Desiderius of Vienne.<sup>709</sup> The author's own words highlight what comes to pass:

“[...] Theuderic, struck by the hand of the Lord, perished in a conflagration in the city of Metz. Brunhilda then placed the crown on the head of his son Sigibert. But Clothar thought of Columbanus' prophecy and gathered together an army to reconquer the land which belonged to him. Sigibert with his troops advanced to attack him, but was captured, together with his five brothers and great-grandmother Brunhilda, by Clothar. The latter had the boys killed, one by one, but Brunhilda he had placed first on a camel in mockery and so exhibited her to all her enemies round about; then she was bound to the tails of wild horses and thus perished wretchedly [...] the whole familie of Theuderic was now exterminated [...] and Columbanus' prophecy had been literally fulfilled.”<sup>710</sup>

Whilst the Biblical parallels are not made explicit in this passage, Brunhild's earlier comparison to Jezebel, brings associations with the fate suffered by the Whore of the Apocalypse and her followers.

<sup>706</sup> Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hannover, 1902), 1-152, I, ch. 18, p. 86.

<sup>707</sup> *Ibid*, and I, ch. 19, p. 88.

<sup>708</sup> *Ibid*, I, ch. 19, p. 88 and I, ch. 22, pp. 95-96.

<sup>709</sup> *Ibid*, I, ch 27, p. 103

<sup>710</sup> Jonas, *Vita Columbani*, I ch. 29, p. 106: “[...] Theudericus poenes Mettensem morans oppidum divinitus percussus inter flagrantes ignis incendia mortuus est. Post quem Brunichildis filium eius Sigibertum in regnum suffecit. Itaque Clotharius memor prophetiae viri Dei, collecto exercitu, fines regni, quae suae ditioni debebantur, conatur recipere; contra quem Sigibertus cum hostium cuneis pugnaturus advenit. Quem Clotharius captum peremit fratresque eius quinque, Theudericus filios, cum proavia Brunichilde coepit. Pueros separatim peremit; Brunichildem vero primo ignobiliter camelo inpositam hostibus girando monstravit, postque indomitum aequorum caudis inretitam miserabiliter vitae privavit. Funditis ergo radicitusque deletam Theuderic stirpem [...] beati Columbae prophetia in omnibus impleta est.”, translated by William C. McDermott, in Edward Peters, ed, *Monks, Bishops and Pagans: Christian Culture in Gaul and Italy, 500-700* (Philadelphia, 1975), 75-113, at ch. 58, p. 111.

Not long before the *Passio minor*'s production, Thuringia had also risen against Charlemagne and, in surviving sources such as Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, the blame for inciting this revolt was laid at the feet of Charlemagne's queen, Fastrada († 794). It has been suggested by Janet Nelson that Fastrada was herself 'of the *gens* of the eastern Franks', perhaps having come from Frankfurt, where she died in 794.<sup>711</sup> As a result, her portrayal is an apt comparison for that of Geilana. Of Fastrada's role in the revolt of 785-6, Einhard wrote: "[...] it is (widely) believed that the cruelty of Queen Fastrada was the cause and the source of these conspiracies, since in both cases these men conspired against the king because it looked as if (Charles) had savagely departed from his usual kind and gentle ways by consenting to the cruel ways of his wife."<sup>712</sup> The other conspiracy to which this passage refers was that later led by his son Pippin 'the Hunchback' in 792. The *Annales regni Francorum* for the year 792 also report that, whilst Charlemagne was at Regensburg, "[...] a conspiracy was made against him by his oldest son Pepin and some Franks, who claimed that they were unable to bear the cruelty of Queen Fastrada and therefore conspired against the king's life."<sup>713</sup> Ironically, it was in order to quell tensions with the eastern Franks that Charlemagne had married Fastrada in 783.<sup>714</sup>

Although Janet Nelson has seen the problem lying in Fastrada's own political influence and her perceived meddling in Carolingian family politics, the fact that she did have some authority and standing can be seen not only from the fact that the *Annales regni Francorum* pay a considerable amount of attention to her – at least in comparison to other royal women – and from a personal letter from Charlemagne of 791, in which he asks her to arrange for the performance of litanies, prayer and fasting, at Regensburg.<sup>715</sup> Fastrada held a great degree of power in the realm and also had a hand in troublesome family politics, as she promoted the cause of Pippin of Italy, whilst simultaneously trying to keep Louis in hand, both of which were actions taken at the expense of the claims of Pippin the

<sup>711</sup> Janet L. Nelson, 'The siting of the council at Frankfurt: some reflections on family and politics', in idem, *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe: Alfred, Charles the Bald, and Others* (Aldershot, 1999), 149-165, pp. 161-162, at p. 162. This hypothesis is based on the fact that archaeological excavation of a seventh-century noble girl's grave under Frankfurt cathedral indicates that a noble family had long been settled there, as well as the fact that Fastrada seems to have chosen to return to Frankfurt when nearing the end of her life.

<sup>712</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ch. 20, p. 26: "Harum tamen coniurationum Fastradae reginae crudelitas causa et prigo extitisse creditur. Et idcirco in ambabus contra regem conspiratum est, quia uxoris crudelitati consentiens a suae naturae benignitate ac solita mansuetudine inmaniter exprimitasse videbatur.", translated by Dutton, in *Charlemagne's Courtier*, at p. 30.

<sup>713</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, 792, p. 91: "[...] agente facta est contra illum coniuratio a filio suo maiore, nomine Pippino, et quibusdam Francis, qui se crudelitatem Fastradae reginae ferre non posse adseverabant atque ideo in necem regis conspiraverant.", translated by Scholz with Rogers, in *Carolingian Chronicles*, p. 71.

<sup>714</sup> Nelson, 'The siting of the council at Frankfurt', p. 154.

<sup>715</sup> 'Ibid', pp. 158-160; the letter is now *Epistolae variorum Carolo magno regnante scriptae*, ed, Ernst Dümmler, MGH EKa. II (Berlin, 1895), no. 20, pp. 528-529.

Hunchback.<sup>716</sup> In these sources, Fastrada is clearly seen to have over-stepped the mark and thus made herself an ideal target for later condemnation when these troubles were reported.

It is therefore apparent that, in Carolingian politics and historical writing, powerful women at court and the potentially negative influence which they could have was a potent weapon. As Janet Nelson has put it, in this period “marriage, women and the family [...] were not things to be relegated to the sidelines of ‘private’ life. They were the stuff of politics.”<sup>717</sup> In this context, therefore, the story of Geilana’s actions and the subsequent destruction of the Hedenid ducal line thus not only served to promote St. Kilian but it also served as a valuable lesson and a warning of what could befall a family which allowed these women to have *too much* influence and control.

### 5.3 Evil Hearted Queens

It was not unusual for there to be a dichotomy in the way women compared to Jezebel were represented if we trace these individuals through other sources. Such disparity is evidence of the enduring narrative power of this motif and of its exploitation to suit political or social agendas current at the time of writing. This can be demonstrated if we return once more to those Merovingian noble women and queens who were subject to such rhetorical criticism.

In her desire to retain her own power and position, against the holy man’s efforts to reform the sexual morals of Theuderic’s court, Brunhild bears many comparisons with the later representation of Geilana in the *Passio minor Kiliani*. Brunhild, however, was not the current queen (or duchess), but rather the leading female figure from a previous generation trying to hold on to her power.<sup>718</sup> By now, this is all familiar imagery to us. Brunhild also appears in this less than flattering light in the third version of the *Vita Sancti Galli*, written by Walahfrid Strabo († 849) some time before 837, where she is also referred to as “That Jezebel [...]”.<sup>719</sup>

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<sup>716</sup> Nelson, ‘The siting of the council at Frankfort’, p. 160.

<sup>717</sup> *Ibid*, p. 154.

<sup>718</sup> For a discussion of Brunhild’s royal and political career, see Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 126-136.

<sup>719</sup> Walahfrid Strabo, *Vita Sancti Galli*, ed Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hannover, 1902), 280-337, ch. 3, p. 287: “*Ille Zezabelis [...]*”.

These hagiographic representations do not accord with contemporary documentation which we have in the form of surviving letters from Gregory the Great to Brunhild. A letter he wrote on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 601 asked her to arrange a synod for the purposes of reforming the Frankish church.<sup>720</sup> This is not the same woman who appears in such opposition to the reforming suggestions of St. Columbanus in the two hagiographical texts just mentioned. Throughout the collection of Gregory's epistles, however, there are many written to Brunhild, sometimes more than one a day, and it seems that the pope held her in high regard and respected her authority in the Merovingian kingdom. The hagiographical representations of Brunhild by Jonas and later Walahfrid Strabo were driven by the same desires which caused the anonymous author of the *Passio minor* and, latterly, Stephan of Novara, to cast Geilana in a specific light; that is, to make the holy man look as good as possible by comparison and to provide him with a suitable adversary and struggle in the narrative. This is not to say that the Brunilde who appears in Gregory's letters was not also a product of the aims of the author – in this case the pope's desire to reform the Frankish church – but it does demonstrate how much the representation of powerful women in hagiographical narratives can skew our view of them.

Unfortunately for Brunhild, it was not the image of her which appeared in Gregory the Great's letters which we repeatedly come across in the sources. Rather it is Jonas's depiction which seems to have been the more enduring (and perhaps the most useful?). The description of her as a second Jezebel is also found in the *Chronicle* of Fredegar, particularly in its fourth book, which suggests that Brunhild and a favourite of hers, Protadius, were 'bedfellows', and when she meets her just comeuppance in the text, the author also listed those kings whose deaths she was held to be responsible for by King Clothar.<sup>721</sup>

Parallel and opposing images are also apparent in the representation of Balthild († 690), wife of Clovis II.<sup>722</sup> Although she had a contemporaneous Merovingian *vita*, in the prologue to the first version of her Life it was noted that she had 'detractors' – something which a later eighth-century version failed to mention – indicating the impact of contemporary

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<sup>720</sup> *Gregory I papae Registrum epistolarum*, eds, Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, MGH Epp. 2 (Berlin, 1901), XI. 46, 318-319.

<sup>721</sup> Fredegar, *Chronicarum*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hannover, 1888), IV.36, p. 135; IV.24, p. 130 and IV.42, pp. 141-142.

<sup>722</sup> For an in-depth and indispensable analysis of the careers and portrayals of Brunhild and Balthild, see Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels'.

politics on the way such women were depicted.<sup>723</sup> The earlier *vita* nonetheless depicts Balthild in glowing terms, even comparing her to other ‘holy’ Frankish queens such as the above mentioned Radegund and Clothild.<sup>724</sup> For the ‘detractors’ and a contrasting representation of Balthild as a killer of bishops, we must, once again, turn to a hagiographical source: the Anglo-Saxon *Vita Wilfridi*, written some time before 720 (and most likely after the death of Balthild) by Stephanus. In this text we find the following description:

“For at this time there was an evil hearted queen named Baldhild who persecuted the church of God. Even as of old the wicked Queen Jezebel slew the prophets of God, so she, though sparing the priests and deacons, gave command to slay nine bishops, one of whom was this Bishop Dalfinus [St. Anemundus], whom the dukes with evil intent summoned to their presence.”<sup>725</sup>

The *Vita Wilfridi* was not transmitted on the Continent, despite the fact that the saint himself had spent time in exile there, but it nonetheless demonstrates the widespread and enduring use of the ‘Jezebel’ image to defame a noble woman in a hagiography.<sup>726</sup>

The change in the story of Balthild with regards to the *Vita Wilfridi* is due to the saints’ own acquaintance with St. Anemundus and his reminiscences of his fate, as well as the fact that the account was written some time after the events which it describes.<sup>727</sup> Balthild, like the other women discussed here, over time, seems to have fallen foul of politics, both courtly and ecclesiastical. It could be, therefore, that we are seeing the result of similar factors in the representation of Geilana in the *Passio minor Kiliani*; though a complete lack of any further evidence for her means that this will have to remain a hypothesis.

One thing of which we can be sure is that the Hedenid ducal line had disappeared from the political scene by the time that the bishopric of Würzburg was founded and thus also by the time that the *Passio minor Kiliani* was written. By the middle of the eighth century, the focus of power had shifted away from local secular rulers and had come to be focused on the religious centres such as Mainz and also Würzburg itself, which had grown up over the

<sup>723</sup> *Vita sanctae Balthildis*, ed, Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hannover, 1888), prologue, p. 482.

<sup>724</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 8, pp. 131-132.

<sup>725</sup> Stephanus, *Vita Wilfridi*, ed, and translated by Bertram Colgrave, in *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 14-15: “*Nam illo tempore malivola regina nomine Baldhild ecclesiam Dei persecute est; sicut opim regina Iezabel, quae prophetas Dei occidit, sit ista, sacerdotibus, ac diaconibus, novem episcopos occidere iussit, ex quibus unus est iste Dalfinus episcopus, quem duces malignissime ad se venire iusserunt.*”

<sup>726</sup> Paul Fouracre, ‘Forgetting and Remembering Dagobert II: the English Connection’, in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz, eds, *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), 70-89, at p. 72.

<sup>727</sup> Nelson, ‘Queens as Jezebels’, p. 36.

course of the preceding century.<sup>728</sup> In the intervening period, however, the Frankish world had seen the Carolingian Mayors of the Palace rise to power, supplanting the Merovingians; a change which resulted in a promotion of a negative view of the past in sources, in order to better promote the present.<sup>729</sup> The picture presented by the *Passio minor* is one which is very much a part of this facet of pro-Carolingian polemic, here at the expense of the Thuringian ducal past, and one which does not chime with the ‘reality’ of the transition as far as we are able to reconstruct it from our sources.

Unfortunately, the area around central and the northern part of southern Germany, in which Würzburg lay, is poorly served in surviving sources. This is partly as a result of the areas earlier lack of an organised church structure and thus also a lack of centres of record-keeping and the elements of administration which tended to produce those records which most survive.<sup>730</sup> There is, however, evidence to suggest that the area was already at least nominally Christian by the time that Kilian arrived, and that, far from opposing the cause of Christianity and his mission, the Hedenid dukes actively supported it; although it would not have served the ends of Kilian’s hagiographers to mention this. This view is reinforced by the remains of a seventh-century church which have been uncovered at Fulda, and, perhaps more significantly for our purposes, there is a surviving grant, dated to 717, in which Heden the Younger donated lands at Hammelberg to St. Willibrord, for the purposes of building a monastery there.<sup>731</sup>

Although Heden the Younger still held his position in 717, the donation to Willibrord is the last mention of him in the sources and, whilst he may not have been “ejected from the kingdom by the people of the East Franks”, as the *Passio minor* suggested, something clearly led to him losing his position and, possibly, his life, in the period immediately following the grant of Hammelburg.<sup>732</sup> Paul Fouracre and Hubert Mordek have cited various arguments as to what may have occurred in this period. Fouracre has suggested that Heden the Younger may have been a close ally of Charles Martel, even fighting alongside him at the battle of Vinchy in March 717, but that he was killed in a subsequent engagement.<sup>733</sup>

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<sup>728</sup> Timothy Reuter, ‘Charlemagne and the World Beyond the Rhine’, in Joanna Story, ed, *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 183-194, at p. 188.

<sup>729</sup> For a discussion of the various representations of ‘bad’ Merovingians in Carolingian texts and the resultant justifications for the Carolingian takeover of power, see Paul Fouracre, ‘The Long Shadow of the Merovingians’, in Joanna Story, ed, *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 5-12.

<sup>730</sup> Paul Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel* (Harlow, 2000), p. 110-111.

<sup>731</sup> Fouracre, *The Age*, p. 111; *Geschichte der Grundbesitzerschaft Echternach: Quellenband*, ed, Wampach, no. 26, pp. 63-65; see also, Wood, ‘Before or after mission’, pp. 155-158.

<sup>732</sup> *Passio minor*, ch. 14, p. 727: “Hetanum vero, [...] *populus orientalium Francorum de regno eiecerunt*”.

<sup>733</sup> Fouracre, *The Age*, p. 114.

Alternatively there is the possibility that the two men had instead fallen out to the extent that Charles had Heden driven from his lands – or ‘ejected’, to use the *Passio minor*’s terminology.<sup>734</sup>

Mordek has, in turn, argued that we should not assume that Heden’s gift of Hammelburg was indicative of good relations between the duke and Charles Martel.<sup>735</sup> This argument has further support if we look at the evidence of grants made by long-established landowners in another region on the borders of the Frankish world: Toxandria. Marios Costambeys has analysed surviving grants from the landowners of this area and has suggested that charters issued to Willibald personally, as opposed to his monastery at Echternach, show the donors wishing to grant property directly to the saint, so as to have it remain under his control and not be subject to the Pippinids.<sup>736</sup> The fact that, upon Thuringia being bequeathed to Carloman in 741, the lands at Hammelburg were re-gifted to Fulda, also suggests that Heden’s earlier gift had not been recognised by the Carolingians and that, once they were in power, it could be discounted by this later action.<sup>737</sup> This would seem to support Mordek’s own suggestion that Heden was removed from his position as duke of Thuringia in a re-shuffle that took place under Charles Martel.<sup>738</sup>

Further evidence for a souring of relations between Heden and the Carolingians can be seen if we compare the image of the dukes as discussed for the *Passio minor Kiliani*, with Heden’s appearance in the *Vita Bonifatii*. In this text, Heden is described as a despotic usurper, plunging the previously Christian population back into the darkness of idolatry. Willibald wrote:

“For after the authority of their kings came to an end, Theobald and Heden had seized the reins of government. Under their disastrous sway, which was founded more upon tyranny and slaughter than upon the loyalty of the people, many of the counts had been put to death or seized and carried off into captivity, while the remainder of the population, overwhelmed by all kinds of misfortunes, had submitted to the domination of the Saxons. Thus when the power of the leaders, who had protected religion, was destroyed, the devotion of the people to Christianity and religion died out also, and false

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<sup>734</sup> Fouracre, *The Age*, p. 114.

<sup>735</sup> Hubert Mordek, ‘Die Hedenen als politische Kraft im Austrasischen Frankenreich’, in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter, eds, *Karl Martel in Seiner Zeit*. Beihefte der Francia 37 (Sigmaringen, 1994), 345-366, at p. 346.

<sup>736</sup> Marios Costambeys, ‘An aristocratic community on the northern Frankish frontier 690-726’, *EME* 3.1 (1994), 39-62, at pp. 40-42.

<sup>737</sup> Fouracre, *The Age*, p. 115; see also Eigil, *Vita sancti Sturmii abbatis Fuldensis*, ed, G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 2 (Hannover, 1829), 365-377, ch. 21, p. 375, where the grant of Hammelburg to Fulda is also mentioned.

<sup>738</sup> Mordek, ‘Die Hedenen’, p. 346.

brethren were brought in to pervert the minds of the people and to introduce among them under the guise of religion dangerous and heretical sects.<sup>739</sup>

This representation, though phrased in order to emphasise Boniface's own religious achievement in the region, accords well with that stated, albeit briefly, in the *Passio minor Kiliani*: that Heden the Younger was not a worthy duke and was deservedly removed from power. However, as we have seen from the above mentioned charter, Heden was a supporter of the missionary movement, and Boniface may in fact have had Heden and Willibrord to thank for laying the groundwork for him to be able to establish a diocesan plan for the area with relative ease compared to neighbouring areas such as Hesse and Saxony.<sup>740</sup>

Carolingian writings aimed at discrediting their predecessors permeated cultural and religious matters as well as more overtly political ones, and we see a combination of these elements in the *Passio minor Kiliani*.<sup>741</sup> It is ironic that the earlier Merovingian strategy of replacing local 'ethnic' leaders with Frankish figures, in order to subjugate those areas which lay beyond the Rhine, should be twisted in this text and it is the Hedenid dukes who appear as irreligious leaders, so that they themselves may be supplanted by the good, christian Carolingians.<sup>742</sup>

#### 5.4 Mothers of Monks and Leaders of Holy Virgins

Stephan of Novara intensified the condemnation of Geilana in the *Passio maior Kiliani*. Here the language used was more fierce and loaded with Biblical imagery. This is something which ran parallel to and complemented his elevation of St. Kilian from a saint and martyr to figure of apostolic authority.<sup>743</sup> Geilana's introduction in the *Passio maior* comes in the physical centre of the work. Stephan describes her anger at Kilian's desire to dissolve her marriage, in the following way:

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<sup>739</sup> *Vita Bonifatii*, ch. 6, pp. 32-33: "quia, facessante suorum regnum dominio, magna quidem eorum comitum multitudo sub Theobaldi et Hedenes periculoso primatu, qui lugubre super eos tyrannici ducatus et infestum vastationis potius quam devotionis obtinebant imperium, vel corporali per eos praeventa morte vel hostili siquidem educatione captivata est in tantumque diversis constricta malis, ut cetera que manebat residua populi turba Saxonum se subiecerat principatu; quoniam, cessante relegiosorum ducum dominatu, cessavit etiam in eis christianitatis et religionis intentio, et flasi seducentes populum introducti eunt fratres, qui sub nomine religionis maximam hereticae pravitatis introduxerunt sectam.", translated by Talbot, in *Solders*, p. 127.

<sup>740</sup> Mordek, 'Die Hedenen', p. 346.

<sup>741</sup> Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, AD. 481-751* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 189-190.

<sup>742</sup> Reuter, 'World Beyond the Rhine', pp. 189-190.

<sup>743</sup> See Chapter 4.4, p. 127.

“When this had reached the ears of Geilana (for who could deceive a woman in love?), she was incandescent with rage, like a lioness whose cubs have been carried off, and for a long time raged like a mad woman. After this, she began to look for a way in which she might kill the holy men: for since her husband was not away, she would have to await the turn of circumstance”.<sup>744</sup>

Here the strength of Geilana’s feeling and her desire for revenge is made clear, as is her cunning. This is contrasted with Stephan’s aside in which he juxtaposes this with the softer image of a lover.

Following on from this highly unflattering description, Stephan loads the clash between saint and wicked woman with numerous Biblical comparisons, which would have been well known to his audience. The next chapter reads as follows:

“Fortunate Kilian, you are worthy to be compared to Elijah and John. For Elijah endured the treacherous attack of Jezebel, John received martyrdom because of Herodia’s deceit, [and] you are being mutilated by Geilana’s jealousy. All three, however, have one reason for their suffering, namely, their attestation to the truth [...] Samson with his invincible strength, the leader of the people of Israel, and Solomon praiseworthy for his limitless wisdom, each died because of women’s deceptions: the latter because he worshipped idols, the former because he showed he could be deprived of his physical strength. Therefore there is no animal in this world like a wicked woman.”<sup>745</sup>

In comparing the struggles between Kilian and Geilana to the fates of great figures of the Old Testament, Stephan presents his saint in the best possible light whilst simultaneously showing Geilana in the worst possible light. In chapter 17, he also refers to her as “the monster herself / *ispa bellua*”.<sup>746</sup> There is also a sense here that the *Passio maior* sees the battle between Christian heroes and pagan wicked women as an age-old one. Jonas of Bobbio included a similar passage in his Life of St. Columbanus, referring to the downfall of Biblical characters at the hands of women.<sup>747</sup> Here Stephan, like Jonas, has notably compared his female antagonist to Jezebel, who appears in the Book of Kings as the

<sup>744</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 11, p. 18: “Haec vero cum ad aures Geilanae pervenissent, - quis enim fallere posset amantem? gravi icanduit ira, ceu raptis catulis leone, diuque secum bachata, ex eo capit querere, quomodo sanctos viros extingueret: neque enim absente marito, tanto cessaret cardine rerum.”

<sup>745</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 12, p. 18: “Felix Kyliane, qui Heliae et Johanni dignus es comparari; Helias namque Jezebelis insidias pertulit, Herodiadis fraude Johannes martyrium accepit, tu Geilanae zelo truncaris, tribus tamen una causa est laboris, testificatio videlicet veritatis [...] Samson invicti roboris, dux Israheliticae plebis et Salomon inexhausta sapientia laudabili, quorum uterque femineis fraudibus cessit, his idola colendo, ille quo privari fortitudine posset

<sup>746</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 17, p. 21.

<sup>747</sup> Jonas, *Vitae Columbani*, I, ch. 3, p. 68: “But do you recall the wiles of Eve, Adam’s fall, how Samson was deceived by Delilah, how David was led to injustice by the beauty of Bathsheba, how the wise Solomon was ensnared by the love of a woman? / Non reminisceris suasa Evae Adam dilapsim, Samsonem a Dalida seductum, David a pristina iustitia pulchritudine Bersabeae corruptum, sapientissimum Salomonem mulierum amore deceptum?”, translated by McDermott in Peters, ed, *Monks, Bishops and Pagans*, p. 77.

adversary of prophets and who is also seen in the guise of the Whore of the Apocalypse in the Book of Revelation. Revelations 2:20 describes her as, “Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce my servants, to commit fornication and to eat of things sacrificed to idols”.<sup>748</sup> This, then is the comparison which the *Passio maior* is making with Geilana.

A brief look at exegetical interpretations of the figure of Jezebel provides a background to Stephan’s strong words of condemnation and demonstrate that this was an ideal comparison to make with a woman like Geilana, a pagan woman whose name meant ‘lustful and wanton’. In his *Etymologiae*, Isidore of Seville († 636) described Jezebel as: “‘Flux of blood’ or ‘she who steams with blood’; but better, ‘where is the dung heap’.”<sup>749</sup> Following this, in his commentary on Revelation 2:19, Bede later wrote that:

“‘The name Jezebel, which means ‘flow of blood’, is fitting for heretics. It was particularly applied to a woman in the above-mentioned church [of Smyrna] who taught notorious villainies. She is a symbol of the whole Jezebel throughout the world, whom (the Spirit) threatens with open vengeance.”<sup>750</sup>

A little later on in his commentary, Bede also wrote that, “By the righteous judgement of God, she who prostrated wretched men on the couch of lust is cast onto a bed of eternal punishment.”<sup>751</sup> In a very literal sense, Jezebel had made her own bed and she would have to lie in it for eternity.

Subsequent commentaries on this part of Revelations also run with a similar theme and use similar language when describing the figure of Jezebel. In his commentary of circa 786, Beatus of Liébana († circa 800) wrote: “For Jezebel it is understood [to mean] a ‘dung heap’ or ‘flowing of blood’”.<sup>752</sup> This phrasing was again repeated in at least two eighth-century commentaries and also the early ninth-century commentary by Theodulf of Orléans (†

<sup>748</sup> See also Bede, *Commentary on Revelation*, translated by Wallis, p. 122.

<sup>749</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive Originum, Libro XX*, ed, Wallace M. Lindsay (London, 1911), Book 7, ch. 6.78: “*Jezebel fluxus sanguinis, uel fluens sanguinem: sed melius, ubi est sterquilinum.*”, translated by Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Oliver Berghof, with Muriel Hall, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2005), VII, vi.72 p. 165. This wording and description seems to have been widely adopted in other commentaries on Revelations.

<sup>750</sup> Bede, *Commentary on Revelation*, translated by Wallis, p. 122. Here Faith Wallis notes the origins in Jerome’s *Liber interpretationes hebraicorum nominum*, as well as the association with heretics as also related in the commentary on Apocalypse by Caesarius of Arles, *idem*, § 91-92.

<sup>751</sup> *Ibid*, p. 122, commentary on Rev. 2:22.

<sup>752</sup> Beatus of Liébana, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, in *Scriptores Graeci et Latini*, ed, E. Romero (2 vols; Rome, 1985), i, p. 336, ll. 10-11: “[...] nam Zezebel interpretatur ‘sterquilinum’ vel ‘sanguinis fluxus’.”

821), who also interpreted her name as meaning a flow of blood and ‘heresies’.<sup>753</sup> The representation of Jezebel in the long tradition of Biblical commentaries on Apocalypse was thus consistent and damning. Importantly for Stephan’s comparison of Geilana with Jezebel and his representation of St. Kilian as an apostle to the Franks, commentaries on Revelation and copies of the Acts of the Apostles appear together in catalogues from libraries such as St. Gall and also in Würzburg itself.<sup>754</sup>

The wanton pagan duchess Geilana appears to have been modelled on the fornicating pagan queen Jezebel. Further parallels with such apocalyptic imagery can be drawn from chapter 11 of the *Passio maior Kiliani*, in which Geilana is described as: “[...] incandescent with rage, like a lioness whose cubs have been carried off”.<sup>755</sup> The choice of a lioness here, to describe Geilana’s rage, may have been deliberate in order to suggest certain Biblical associations as, in the Old Testament Prophecy of Daniel, the first of the four beasts of the Apocalypse he sees rising from the sea is described as: “[...] like a lioness, and had the wings of an eagle (Daniel 7:4)”. In his commentary on this prophecy, Jerome wrote that: “The kingdom of Babylon, on account of its savagery and cruelty, or on account of its luxury and servitude to a life of libidinousness, is called not a lion but a lioness”.<sup>756</sup> In the Book of Revelation itself, Babylon is called: “[...] the mother of fornications and the abominations

<sup>753</sup> Theodulf of Orléans, *Commemoratorium de Apocalypsi Johannis*, in *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannis*, ed. Roger Gryson, CCSL 107 (Turnhout, 2003), 299-337, at p. 309, ll. 42-43: “*Iezabel fluxus sanguinis sive sterquilinium, id est hereses*”.

<sup>754</sup> Some examples from St Gall are, in the ninth-century library catalogue (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 728: Composite manuscript (collection of capitularies of Ansegis, Lex Salica, Lex Ribuaris) (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0728>, p. 4), under the heading ‘*Libri scottice scripti*’: ‘*Actus apostolorum in volumine I*’ and a little further on contains: ‘*Apocalypsis in volumine I / Item apocalypsis in volumine I*’, towards the end of the list, there is also an entry for ‘*Actus apostolorum et apocalypsis in volumine I verter*’, this list also includes the *Passione* of Ss. Marcellinus and Peter and a *Life* of St. Hilarius; the section of the catalogue listing works of Augustine (St Gall, cod. sang. 728, p. 8) contains a copy of ‘*In apocalipsim omeliae XVIII in volumine I*’; in the section for works of St. Ambrose (*Idem*, p. 9) is listed ‘*Item Ambrosii de bono mortis et eiusdem sermo qui dicitur / pastoralis et Heironimi ad Anatolium in apocalipsin Johannis, / volumen I*’, it also lists book II of ‘*Ambrosii et Augustini contra hereticos*’; among Bede’s works listed (St Gall, cod. sang. 728, p. 10) is: ‘*In actus apostolorum liber I et in apocalipsim Johannis / libri III in codice I*’; under the heading ‘*De libris diversiorum auctorum*’ (*Idem*, p. 12) there are listed ‘*Expositio Tichonii Donatistae in apocalypsim, volumen I vetus*’ and ‘*Expositio Primasii in apocalipsim libri V et glosulae Gregorii / in apocalipsim spiritalis intellegentiae in volumine I, corruptus*’, see Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 1: *Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur* (Munich, 1918), ‘St Gallen’, pp. 66-77; in Würzburg’s library, a copy of Acts of the Apostles in Old Latin and Greek was known before 740, whilst under those manuscripts from the first third of the ninth century, Bischoff and Hofmann cited two fragments of Bede, one of which they list as ‘*Expositio Actuum apostolorum*’ (no. 66, Fragm. 10. (without a signature)) and also Bede’s *Explanatio Apocalypsis* (no. 67, Fragm. 11 in M.ch.f.206), of these, the first is also listed under manuscripts of unknown or foreign origin and they suggest that it likely also once contained a copy of Bede’s ‘*Explanatio Apocalypsis*’, see Bernhard Bischoff and Josef Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kiliani: Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1952), pp. 116-117, nos. 66 and 67, and no. 34, p. 55.

<sup>755</sup> *Passio maior*, ch. 11, p. 18: “*gravi incanduit ira ceu catulis raptis leaena.*”

<sup>756</sup> Jerome, *Commentarionem in Daniele*, ed. Franciscus Gloria, CCSL 75A (Turnhout, 1964), II, 7.4, pp. 838-839: “*Regnum Babylonis propter saevitiam et crudelitatem, sive propter luxuriam at vitam libidini servientem, non leo sed leaena appellatur.*”

of the earth (Rev. 17:5)". Thus the imagery of a lioness as one of the four beasts seen at the End of Days, as well as its association with Babylon, wantonness and feminine *crudelitas*, corresponds with Stephan's defaming image of Geilana. By identifying Geilana with Jezebel, Stephan was thereby also associating 'pagan'-era Würzburg with Babylon, which was then saved from itself through St. Kilian's work and, later, through the establishment of episcopal authority there.

Whilst the imagery used for Geilana is carried over into Stephan of Novara's version of the text, as we have seen, it is expanded upon and intensified. It also serves different didactic ends within the work itself. As has been discussed above, the representation of Geilana in the *Passio maior Kiliani* is infused with apocalyptic overtones. Apocalyptic discourses had long been used for political and religious propaganda and could be employed to flatter and promote – notably in the image of the Last World Emperor – but also, as we see here, to criticise and condemn, contributing to drives for change and *correctio*. The famous letter addressed to Gerberga by Abbot Adso of Montier-en-Der († 992) demonstrates an active interest in drives for *correctio* and the ways in which apocalyptic imagery could be used for such ends.<sup>757</sup> Just as Adso depicted the Antichrist as a character who symbolised all the enemies of the Church, rather than as an individual *per se*, as seen from Bede's commentary on Revelations 2:20, the Whore of the Apocalypse could perhaps be seen as a feminine counterpart.<sup>758</sup>

Eschatological discourse surrounding the Last World Emperor and the Antichrist had long been used to shape Christian dynastic ideology, especially by the Carolingians and Ottonians, through the idea of the continuation of the Roman Empire. With women ever more prominent and influential in the political sphere, Jezebel imagery could provide a similarly cautionary and ready-made antithesis to these 'mothers of monks and leaders of holy virgins'.<sup>759</sup> The desired effect, as we shall see, was twofold: firstly, to openly condemn those opponents of the Ottonians and, secondly, to flatteringly contrast the Ottonians with other, less pious, ruling families. In terms of the literary context of the period, the works by

<sup>757</sup> Simon MacLean, 'Reform Queenship and the End of the World in Tenth-Century France: Adso's "Letter on the Origin and Time of the Antichrist" Reconsidered', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire* 86 (2008), 645-675; see also 'Adso's Letter on the Antichrist', in Bernard McGinn, ed, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), pp. 82-87.

<sup>758</sup> "She is the symbol of the whole Jezebel throughout the world, whom (the Spirit) threatens with open vengeance", Bede, *Commentary on Revelation*, translated by Wallis, p. 122.

<sup>759</sup> Adso Dervensis, *De ortu et temporum Antichristi necnon et tractatus qui ab eo dependunt*, ed, D. Verhelst, *CCCM* 45 (Turnhout, 1976), 20-30, at p. 20, ll. 4-5: "*monachorum matri et sanctarum virginum duci.*"

Stephan of Novara and Liudprand of Cremona, offer up stark comparisons to the pious women of the Ottonian dynasty, who themselves had *vitae* produced in this period.

In his *Antapodosis* or ‘Retribution’ Liudprand contrasts the wicked women of Italy, notably Willa, wife of Berengar II, with the female members of the ruling Ottonian dynasty, in whose royal court he was writing.<sup>760</sup> His work is a good temporal fit with Stephan’s *Passio maior Kiliani*, as Liudprand was writing between 958 and 962. This text has been seen as a work in support of Ottonian legitimacy against their rivals and this is certainly something which is suggested by Liudprand’s reference to Otto I as, “[...] the most glorious and unconquered king Otto who now lives and happily reigns”.<sup>761</sup> If we compare this with what Liudprand says about his own motivations for the work, we begin to see the comparisons with the *Passio maior Kiliani*. At the beginning of the third book of the *Antapodosis*, Liudprand wrote:

“The purpose of this work is this: namely, to depict, make public, and complain about the deeds of this Berengar [II] who nowadays does not so much rule as tyrannize in Italy, and of his wife Willa who is appropriately called a second Jezebel on account of the immensity of her despotism and a child-eating witch on account of her insatiable desire for robbery.”<sup>762</sup>

This reference to Jezebel is most obviously connected with the figure in the Book of Kings, who is the adversary of prophets, but there are certain character traits which may deepen such Biblical allusions to encompass not just this Jezebel, but also her Revelatory namesake, the Whore of the Apocalypse. As we saw in the case of the *Passio minor Kiliani* and Jonas of Bobbio’s *Vita Columbani*, such associations held implications not only for the woman concerned, but also for her entire family.

Liudprand reiterated Willa’s supposed sexual depravity a number of times in his text, including a notable, quite humorous passage in Book 5, chapter 32, in which she is

<sup>760</sup> Liudprand of Cremona, *Opera Omnia: Antapodosis, Homelia Paschalis, Historia Ottonis, Relation de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Chiesa, CCCM 156 (Turnhout, 1998), 3-150; see also Karl Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1994), especially chs 8 and 11, pp. 125-142 and 181-188.

<sup>761</sup> Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, I.24, p. 21: “*huius gloriosissimi atque invictissimi regis Ottonis, qui nunc superest et feliciter regnat.*”, translated by Paolo Squatriti, in *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (Washington, 2007), 41-202, I.24, p. 61; Philippe Buc, ‘Italian Hussies and German Matrons, Liudprand of Cremona on Dynastic Legitimacy’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995), 207-225, at p. 212.

<sup>762</sup> Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, III.1, p. 68: “*intentio huius operis ad hoc respicit, ut Berengarii huius, qui nunc in Italia non regnat sed tyrannizat, atque uxoris eius Willae, quae ob immensitatem tyrannidis secunda Iezabel et ob rapinarum insacietatem Lámia proprio appellatur vocabulo, actus designet, p̄stendat et clamitet.*”, translated by Squatriti, in *The Complete Works*, III.1, p. 110.

described as “[...] guilty of the crime of infidelity”.<sup>763</sup> Liudprand tells his audience that the truth of this claim could, moreover, be attested to, and not just by nobles, but “[...] even by bird hunters and gluttons [...]”, so that not only was she guilty of sexual misconduct, she had not been subtle about it either.<sup>764</sup> The object of Willa’s affections is described as a chaplain named Dominic, who was short, hairy, a shameless barbarian, and endowed with a tail, according to Liudprand.<sup>765</sup> Clearly Liudprand is presenting Dominic in as unpleasant a manner as possible, so as to further condemn the wanton actions of Willa. It does not seem that a tail was the only thing with which the chaplain was endowed, however, as, when their liasons were discovered, Willa had Dominic castrated and those who carried out the punishment suggested that it might not have been his sparkling personality that had attracted the queen, but rather the fact that “[...] he proved to have massive priapic weapons”.<sup>766</sup>

This episode and its evident comical qualities have been discussed by Ross Balzaretti. He has described this, and similar passages by Liudprand, as displaying a sense of humour in his writing which was not always to be found in the historical works of his contemporaries such as Widukind of Corvey, but which was perhaps reflective of his earlier education and experience before he came to the royal court.<sup>767</sup> Certainly the explicit nature of the language and the vehemence of the condemnation of sexual misconduct has certain parallels with Stephan of Novara’s use of more violent and gendered imagery to describe Geilana. Moreover, the way in which Liudprand writes of women in this highly gendered and sexualised manner not only echoes Liudprand’s own world view and disregard for women as the equal of men, especially in politics, but also, again, reflects his education and use of ‘tired and very ancient’ gender stereotypes.<sup>768</sup> Whilst male genitalia ranked highly on the list of ‘funny objects’ for Liudprand, this is something which could also be argued for the earlier work of Arbeo of Freising and indeed any work which plays upon gender stereotypes in this manner.<sup>769</sup> In terms of the passage’s political commentary, not only is the disparity in status between Queen Willa and her chaplain lover an important part of the point of this story, but in suggesting the real reason for Willa’s desire for Dominic,

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<sup>763</sup> Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, V.32, p. 142: “[...] *passa est crimen incesti*.”, translated by Squatriti, in *The Complete Works*, V.32, p. 193.

<sup>764</sup> *Ibid.*: “[...] *verum aucupes et cupendenarii clamat*.”, translated by Squatriti, in *The Complete Works*, V.32, p. 193.

<sup>765</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>766</sup> *Ibid.*: “[...] *quem priapeia portare arma constaret*.”, translated by Squatriti, in *The Complete Works*, V.32, p. 194.

<sup>767</sup> Ross Balzaretti, ‘Liutprand of Cremona’s Sense of Humour’, in Guy Halsall, ed, *Humour and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2002), 114-128, at pp. 126-127.

<sup>768</sup> Balzaretti, ‘Liutprand of Cremona’, pp. 124 and 127.

<sup>769</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Liudprand is also able to emasculate Berengar by inferring that he was thereby not suitably endowed to satisfy his queen.<sup>770</sup>

Willi was not the only Italian royal woman whose virtues and sexual morals faced attack from the pen of Liudprand, as her mother and namesake, Willi of Tuscany; Bertha, the mother of king Hugh; the same king's wife, Marozia and her sister Theodora (apparently “a quite shameless prostitute”), did not fare much better.<sup>771</sup> Nor, according to Liudprand, were Italy's churches untainted by this depravity, as they were not even able to act as refuges to those in need of them, “For within them people used to hold dinners, make lewd gestures, sing bawdy songs, have parties and – most hideous! – women actually prostituted themselves there”.<sup>772</sup> Thus, not only were the royal and noble women akin to fornicating Jezebels, but Italy itself, under the rulership of them and their husbands, sounds very much like the unholy kingdom of Bablyon; which St. Peter had said was Rome itself.<sup>773</sup>

Just as biblically the Whore of the Apocalypse is contrasted with the Bride of Christ, so Liudprand contrasts Italy with the Ottonian realm. Whilst confusion and abomination abounds in the ‘pornocracy’ of the former, the latter is ruled by the aforementioned ‘most glorious’ King Otto, who reigns not by tyranny and scandal, but by sacralising, consensus-building power.<sup>774</sup> The Ottonian royal women, in contrast to their Italian counterparts, are presented in the most flattering terms, displaying those traits most desirable in women of their position.<sup>775</sup> This fits in with traditional narrative comparisons with the Book of Kings, but there are apocalyptic overtones to be seen in the depravity, chaos, and apparent abominations ruling in Italy. However, just as both Babylon and Jezebel fail to survive the Apocalypse, so hope and salvation for the Christian world was at hand in the form of the Ottonians and their good Christian Empire.

This resurgent use of Jezebel imagery in the tenth century, as seen in the works of Stephan of Novara and Liudprand, corresponds to a time in which there was also a growing trend for using more monastic terminology when discussing and depicting royal

<sup>770</sup> Balzaretti, ‘Liutprand of Cremona’, pp. 121-122.

<sup>771</sup> Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, I.32, p. 24; I.39, p. 27; II.48, pp. 54-55: “[...] meretrix satis impudentissima.”; III.45, p. 91, and IV.11-12, pp. 103-104, translated by Squatriti, in *The Complete Works*, II. 48, p. 97.

<sup>772</sup> Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, I.33, p. 25: “*Neque enim ecclesiae confugientibus poterant esse asylum. In his namque simbolam faciebant, gestus turpis, cantus ludicres, dibachationes; sed et mulieres eodem publice – pro nefas! – prostituebantur.*”, translated by Squatriti, in *The Complete Works*, I.33, p. 65.

<sup>773</sup> See 1 Peter 5:13.

<sup>774</sup> Buc, ‘Italian Hussies’, p. 213.

<sup>775</sup> For a list of such traits, see P. Bange, ‘The image of women of the nobility in the German chronicles of the tenth and eleventh centuries’, in Aldebert Davids, ed, *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium* (Cambridge, 1995), 150-168, at p. 166; also Buc ‘Italian Hussies’, pp. 217-218.

women and their power.<sup>776</sup> Again, this association between royalty and monastic patronage was nothing new, but here was given greater emphasis and became a key element in female royal ideology. This usage was, however, grounded in reality, as there was a strong connection between Ottonian royal women and monastic foundations. Otto II's sister Mathilda, was abbess of Quedlingburg († 999) and the West Frankish Queen Gerberga († 968/9 or 984?) had close familial links with the Ottonian court, as well as monastic and reforming interests in both realms.<sup>777</sup>

Monastic foundations and patronage also feature in the *Vita Mathildis antiquior*, written around 973, the first of two Lives produced in the second half of the tenth century to celebrate the life of Queen Mathilda († 968), mother of Otto I. Written by an unknown, though possibly female author in around 973 or 974, and so slightly later than the *Passio minor Kiliani* or Liudprand's *Antapodosis*, there is much about this narrative which suggests that all three were produced in a very similar cultural milieu.<sup>778</sup> Mathilda is described as: “[...] wise in her counsel, exceedingly gentle to the good and harsh to the arrogant, generous in her almsgiving, single minded in her prayers, pious to all the needy, and ‘mild in her speech; her love for God and neighbour as well as her chastity remained unsullied’”.<sup>779</sup> The *Vita* also states that every monastery on the royal itinerary was presented with gifts and even those they did not visit benefitted from royal patronage.<sup>780</sup> Not only did Mathilda and Henry I make gifts to pre-existing communities, but “[...] they also heeded divine counsel and devoted themselves to the construction of monasteries”.<sup>781</sup> It is important to note the author's emphasis on the fact that this was a family enterprise, which

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<sup>776</sup> On this see especially Simon MacLean, ‘Monastic Reform and Royal Ideology in the Late Tenth-Century: Ælfthryth and Edgar in Continental Perspective’, in David Rollason, Conrad Leyser and Hannah Williams, eds, *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century. Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2010), 255-274.

<sup>777</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, ‘Ottonian intellectual culture in the tenth century and the role of Theophanu’, *EME* 2.1 (1993), 53-74, at p. 67; MacLean, ‘Reform Queenship’, 645-675.

<sup>778</sup> Sean Gilsdorf, *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid* (Washington, 2004), pp. 16 and 19.

<sup>779</sup> *Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior*, in *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde*, ed. Bernd Schütte, MGH SRG 66 (Hannover, 1994), 107-142, ch. 5, p. 122: “*Prudentius enim erat consilii, mitissima bonis, dura superbis, elemosinis larga, orationibus intenta, cunctis pia indigentibus, eloquia blanda, caritate erga deum et proximum atque continentia permansit pura.*”, translated by Sean Gilsdorf, in *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid* (Washington, 2004), 71-87, at ch. 5, p. 77.

<sup>780</sup> *Vita Mathildis antiquior*, ch. 4, p. 120.

<sup>781</sup> *Ibid.*: “[...] *ipsis quoque cenobia construentibus divino animum indulgebant monitu.*”, translated by Gilsdorf, in *Queenship and Sanctity*, ch. 4, p. 76.

is immediately preceded in the narrative by a flattering description of the royal couple's children and their characters.<sup>782</sup>

The portrayal of Mathilda offers a stark and important contrast with the wicked ruling women discussed above. Whereas Geilana and Willa were characterised by their impiety and depravity, leading to disastrous consequences for their families, the emphasis in the anonymous *Life of Mathilda* is very much upon her concurrent devotions to God and to her family. This focus upon behaviour and deeds, as opposed to miracles, to frame a saint's holiness in life is characteristic of 'hagiography without miracles', a notable feature of the genre in the tenth century, particularly those works about secular figures, and can also be seen in the *Life of another Ottonian, Bruno of Cologne*.<sup>783</sup> A lack of emphasis on the miraculous, such as we also see in the *Passio maior Kiliani*, may also have been of benefit to texts carrying a moral and instructional message which had timeless elements, but which was very applicable for a tenth-century noble audience.

Rather than her political position and her piety being incompatible motivations, their successful combination is a central feature of a new notion of aristocratic female sanctity which Mathilda exemplifies.<sup>784</sup> We are told that:

“[...] although Mathilda was happily married to an earthly ruler and had acquired great temporal power, she sought after obedience to God rather than the exaltation that comes with worldly glory. [...] During the night, she would find some way to leave the king's side and sneak off to the church, for she loved prayer more than her husband's bed”.<sup>785</sup>

Whilst it may appear that Mathilda was forsaking her marriage bed, her prayers here were not interrupting her royal duties or made at the expense of leading an active life in the world. She was equally dedicated to both tasks.

<sup>782</sup> In his important work on Ottonian women and their sanctity, Patrick Corbet has also noted that, although this is a *Life of Mathilda*, the text does not end with her death as we might expect, but rather with that of her son Otto I, in 973. See Patrick Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens: Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'an Mil* (Sigmaringen, 1986), here at p. 121.

<sup>783</sup> Steffen Patzold, 'Laughing at a saint? Miracle and irony in the *Vita Gangulfi prima*', *EME* 21.2 (2013), 197-220, at p. 217, referencing Giulia Barone, 'Une hagiographie sans miracles. Observations en marge de quelques vies du x<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III<sup>e</sup> - XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, *Collectio de l'école française de Rome* 149 (Rome, 1991), 435-446.

<sup>784</sup> Gilsdorf, *Queenship and Sanctity*, pp. 15, 35 and 38.

<sup>785</sup> *Vita Mathildis antiquior*, ch. 3, p. 118: "Nuptam ergo felicem Machtildam terreno principi, cum sibi secularis accessisset potestas, plus dei ad obsequium eam inclinavit voluntas quam mundi gloria ad elationem. [...] nocturno autem tempore regi se aliquo modo occulte subripiens ecclesiam orationibus instando magis sponsi diligebat thalamo.", translated by Gilsdorf, in *Queenship and Sanctity*, ch. 3, pp. 75-76.

Women in this period, notably those from Saxon noble families, acquired an ability to accumulate personal wealth and property and, perhaps most importantly, to dispose of it as they they saw fit.<sup>786</sup> This gave women such as Mathilda, who we are told was well-born of a noble family and well educated, a greater degree of independence.<sup>787</sup> As we have seen, however, rich and powerful women could attract negative attention, even when they were as virtuous as Mathilda. This was particularly the case once Mathilda's husband, Henry I, died and her position in the realm became less well defined. The *Vita Mathildis antiquior* describes how "[...] the instigator of all evil, the jealous enemy, appeared to some of the leading men and spurred them to tell the king and her other sons that she possessed more riches than was fitting".<sup>788</sup> By means of this pressure, Mathilda was driven to relinquish those towns which Henry had given her, which included Quedlinburg and Nordhausen, and subsequently flee.<sup>789</sup>

This cautionary tale once again relates the fundamental relationship between Christianity, family and the well-being of the Ottonian realm. This is something that was implied in Liudprand's *Antapodosis* and a moral which can also be taken from the *Passio maior Kiliani*. Although here Mathilda was the one suffering, her son Otto was punished for allowing this to happen and as his victories became defeats, the realm also began to suffer.<sup>790</sup> Fittingly, the anonymous author has Otto's wife, Edith, show him the error of his ways, telling him that: "You have been scourged by God for driving your esteemed mother from the kingdom as if she were a stranger".<sup>791</sup> This was a defining feature of the hagiographical and historical writings which were produced in order to build and maintain Ottonian dynastic 'cults'.<sup>792</sup> In the *Gesta Ottonis*, written by Hrotswitha of Gandersheim and dedicated to Otto II, the greatest perils which faced the kingdom under Otto I were those which resulted in brother being set against brother or threatened to tear the family apart.<sup>793</sup>

<sup>786</sup> Gilsdorf, *Queenship and Sanctity*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>787</sup> *Vita Mathildis antiquior*, ch. 1, p. 113.

<sup>788</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 5, pp. 122-123: "[...] omnium malorum excitator, invidus hostis, aderat aliquos de principibus stimulat, qui regi ceterisque suis dicebant filius hanc plurimam pecuniarum observasse multitudinem, quam representare debuisset.", translated by Gilsdorf, in *Queenship and Sanctity*, ch. 5, pp. 77-78. The ruler in question here was Otto I, Henry I having just passed away † 936.

<sup>789</sup> *Vita Mathildis antiquior*, ch. 5, p. 123; Gilsdorf, *Queenship and Sanctity*, § 56, p. 177.

<sup>790</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 5, p. 124.

<sup>791</sup> *Ibid*, ch. 6, p. 124: "Divinis enim correptus flagellis, quia matrem optimam de regno pepulisti quasi incognitam.", translated by Gilsdorf, *Queenship and Sanctity*, ch. 6, p. 78.

<sup>792</sup> Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens*, pp. 27, 120, and 121. I use 'cults' in inverted commas here because, as Corbet has noted, there is no record of relic elevation for Mathilda, nor is her supposed sanctity mentioned in sources such as the Quedlinburg annals or necrologies, though her *vitae* were copied and disseminated. See *Idem*, pp. 37-8.

<sup>793</sup> Hrotswitha of Gandersheim, *Gesta Ottonis*, in *Hrotsvithae Opera*, ed, Paul de Winterfeld, MGH SRG 34 (Berlin, 1902), III, 201-228.

Internecine conflict reoccurred throughout the tenth century and so such a warning was grounded in reality and recent experience.

The themes which we have seen in the *Vita Mathildis antiquior* also recur in two later texts, produced shortly after the turn of the millennium, in around 1002 or 1003.<sup>794</sup> The *Vita Mathildis posterior* emphasises the importance of family and lineage, stating that: “[...] it is no less virtuous for you to seek after the pious deeds of your kinsfolk who preceded you, and particularly those of your grandmother”, reiterating her continued importance by saying that: “Any honour or position which comes to one of her progeny should be attributed to her virtue and good deeds”.<sup>795</sup> Mathilda’s good deeds and her conjugal chastity are constantly referred to and she is also described as being humble and pious in her exercise of power.<sup>796</sup> In the Epitaph of Adelheid, we are told that the efforts of the empress Theophanu to undermine Adelheid’s power were prevented from coming to fruition when divine retribution cut her life short.<sup>797</sup>

These texts offer something akin to an Ottonian family history presented as hagiographical narrative. Whilst not directly connected with royal court circles, re-writing the story of St. Kilian and presenting Geilana in this way provided another potent warning of what could befall if powerful women were impious and wicked. Whilst this stands in stark contrast to these portrayals of Ottonian royal women, the moral of the story, in terms of the fate of the Hedenid ducal line, is a complementary one. In this context of hagiography without miracles and an emphasis on the morals and deeds of the leading figures of the realm, the story of St. Kilian could once again be very relevant.

## 5.5 Conclusion

Although the main focus of the *passiones* was St. Kilian, the character of Geilana also played an important role. As a narrative tool, she could be used to emphasise the sanctity of the holy man, but also to further alternative didactic ends and to comment upon political

<sup>794</sup> Gilsdorf, *Queenship and Sanctity*, pp. 19-22.

<sup>795</sup> *Vita Mathildis reginae posterior*, in *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde*, ed. Bernd Schütte, MGH SRG 66 (Hannover, 1994), 143-202, at preface, p. 145: “[...] non minime est virtutis vos pia vestrorum inquirere facta precedentium propinquorum et maxime vestre proave Mathildis illustris rege.” and ch. 5, p. 153: “[...] cuius probitati computatur et meritis, quicquid future soboli evenerit honoris atque dignitatis.”, translated by Sean Gilsdorf, in *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid* (Washington, 2004), 88-127, at p. 88 and ch. 5, p. 94.

<sup>796</sup> See *Vita Mathildis posterior*, ch. 5, p. 153 and ch. 6, p. 157.

<sup>797</sup> Odilo of Cluny, ‘The Epitaph of Adelheid’, translated by Sean Gilsdorf, in *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid* (Washington, 2004), 128-143, at ch. 7, p.134.

concerns of the time. The fact that she was almost certainly an invention of the author of the *Passio minor Kiliani* meant that she could be easily moulded to suit these ends.

Her name appears to have been carefully constructed by the anonymous author of the *Passio minor Kiliani* in order to suggest and reflect negative character traits, combining both her pagan beliefs and her wanton nature. There is a certain playfulness in this which bears comparison with the use of bawdy humour by other contemporary hagiographers, notably Arbeo of Freising. This employed language and imagery which would have been familiar to an educated audience. The Jezebel comparisons and resulting contrasts with good, Christian powerful women, may have been more widely recognisable.

Events such as the conflict between Charlemagne and Duke Tassilo of Bavaria would still have been fresh in the minds of the *Passio minor's* audience and perhaps provides a more immediate and political context for this text. We may also see the *Passio minor* as serving the cause of pro-Carolingian propaganda, which used women such as Liutberg or Geilana in negative rhetoric for the purposes of '*damnatio memoriae*' directed at their enemies and predecessors. In this context, texts combined the causes of Christianity and dynastic politics and memory in a powerful way. The message presented here was that anyone who opposed those beloved of God would face not only a fall from power, but obliteration from the face of the earth and a damaging remembrance in written record, one that was often in stark contrast to the contemporary reality.

This message was still very much part of the *Passio maior Kiliani*. Just as Stephan of Novara's narrative expanded upon the story as told in the earlier *passio*, so his characterisation of Geilana also received greater attention and she becomes a raging and raving lioness intent on destroying the holy man. Biblical comparisons were made more explicit and the clash between the two was compared to Old Testament battles between wicked women and prophets. Once again, there are also apparent links between Geilana and Jezebel, the Whore of the Apocalypse, as well as the Jezebel of the Book of Kings.

Comparisons may be drawn with the work of Liudprand of Cremona and the way in which he described women such as Willa, wife of Otto I's opponent Berengar, as a second Jezebel and a child-eating witch. Liudprand portrayed Italy as being in a state of moral decay, in order to emphasise the pious and just nature of the Ottonian realm. Both Stephan and Liudprand used negative and highly sexualised imagery in their texts. This is in contrast to the Lives of Mathilda, the *Gesta Ottonis* and other works produced as part of a spiritually

orientated Ottonian family history, as the language of these texts positively avows the importance of good deeds and family unity. Whilst the tones and imagery of these works may be very different, the overall message presented by this body of texts and others like them was a complementary one which sought to promote the Ottonian dynasty.

Within the narratives, Geilana served to emphasise the saintly qualities of Kilian. She also allowed these texts and their authors to interact with and comment upon the politics of their time. This was a function of the *Passio minor* and *Passio maior Kiliani* which was largely independent of cultic concerns, but which would not have been incompatible with a desire to promote Würzburg and St. Kilian's standing in either the Carolingian or the Ottonian worlds.

## Conclusion

The cult of St. Kilian spawned two main hagiographical narratives before the year 1000 and the turn of the millenium: the *Passio minor Kiliani*, written by an unknown author, and the *Passio maior Kiliani* written by the Italian scholar Stephan of Novara. The saint was therefore very much a real entity, even if the historical figure was not. To re-emphasise Paul Magdalino's point, hagiography engendered the saint's historicity.<sup>798</sup> If there was the belief that the individual was a saint then they were a saint and if this belief was supported by hagiographical testimony, then the saint and their cult were viable. The existence of the *Passio maior Kiliani* is witness to this as it demonstrates continued veneration for a saint who was seen as worthy of updated and continued hagiographical representation. As a result, St. Kilian of Würzburg provides us with an illuminating example of the ways in which hagiography and cult was formed in this period, as well as what it meant for and how it was used by an episcopal community east of the Rhine.

The *Passio minor* established the saint and the themes of his hagiography and cult. By the time the text was written in the final decade of the eighth century, other hagiographical narratives and traditions were in place which Würzburg could draw upon for the narrative construction of their saint. The most influential of these were the *Vita Bonifatii* by Willibald and the Bavarian tradition exemplified by Arbeo of Freising's Lives of Ss. Emmeram and Corbinian. If the Lives of Emmerman and Corbinian provided the narrative framework for the *Passio minor*, then the Life of Boniface set the 'mood' and tone for the piece about a missionary martyr.

Whilst the overarching narrative of the hagiography did not change with its re-writing as the *Passio maior Kiliani*, we can see developments resulting from the passing of time and also the political and cultural changes which had taken place east of the Rhine. From being a missionary, St. Kilian was moulded into the image of an apostle, making him less of a local figure and more of a saint for *Francia Teutonica*. Throughout these changes, however, the representation of the relationship of St. Kilian and his community with the royal household

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<sup>798</sup> Paul Magdalino, "What we heard in the Lives of the saints we have seen with our own eyes": the holy man as literary text in tenth-century Constantinople', in James Howard-Johnston and Paul Anthony Hayward, eds, *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), 83-112, at p. 85.

endured as a theme of the hagiography. That this continued through the transition from Carolingian rule to a more fractured political structure before the rise of the Ottonians is also testimony to Würzburg's own standing within the realm and the success of its self-promotion.

In focusing on Würzburg, this thesis has also demonstrated problems with the view of individual cult and individual cultic centres. The surviving evidence for the the cult of St. Kilian is at its strongest in a wider network of communities. Würzburg's position as a *locus sanctus* is more detached than we might expect and it appears as a notional centre in a wider and vibrant polycentric network of veneration concentrated around the points of Fulda, Lorsch and St Gall. Based upon these findings, it seems we should re-assess what we think of as 'local'.

This is quite different from the picture presented by other focused studies of early medieval cult on the Continent, notably those of Julia Smith, Thomas Head and Raymond Van Dam. Thomas Head argues that, "... in order to understand the cult of saints for this period, it is necessary to study it in terms of a given locale."<sup>799</sup> He further describes the cults of saints as an 'eminently local phenomenon', in which hagiography was intimately connected to the shrine and relics of a saint. Whilst Julia Smith demonstrated the greater importance of relics and oral traditions in Brittany compared to hagiographical productions, she also argued for the essentially local nature of cult and an interdependence of oral and written traditions.<sup>800</sup> The *passiones* of St. Kilian also lack the rich miracle records which both Head and Van Dam see as crucial evidence for the local importance of these cults.<sup>801</sup> These studies do, however, further demonstrate that there is no such thing as 'one size fits all' for the cults of saints, but rather a variety of forms which can only be better understood on the basis of studying individual hagiographic dossiers and cults in context.

In moving the context of the *Passio minor Kiliani* to circa 794 and drives for reform and renewal during the episcopate of Berowelf, the focus of St. Kilian's presentation as a missionary saint has also moved to the north and Würzburg's activities in the Saxon mission field. Ian Wood's previous discussion of the *Passio minor* in terms of mission had placed it within those hagiographies produced in Salzburg and Freising, and connected to

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<sup>799</sup> Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 5.

<sup>800</sup> Julia M.H. Smith, 'Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850-1250', *Speculum* 65.2 (1990), 309-343.

<sup>801</sup> Head, *Hagiography*; Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, 1993).

Bavarian mission, briefly analysing the narrative in this context.<sup>802</sup> This thesis has also extended examination of this aspect of the narrative representation to include the development of this theme as it appears in the later *Passio maior*. A comparative textual analysis of this kind has also proved fruitful in addressing the interactions of the *passiones* with contemporary political and religious debates.

Whilst connections between the cult of St. Kilian and Bavaria have long been established, the significance of Alemannia and the Middle-Rhine valley for Würzburg's interests and the spread of St. Kilian's cult has been largely overlooked.<sup>803</sup> The re-casting of a late eighth-century dating for the *Passio minor Kiliani* is key to this as it changes the context within which we think about the development of Kilian's cult. This thesis has therefore moved away from the court-centred approach of Joachim Dienemann and, more recently, Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel. Whilst the royal court would naturally have been a factor in any religious centre's approach to self-promotion and the framing of its saints' cults, this influence on the early hagiographical production is not as dominant as Dienemann's reasons for dating the *Passio minor* to 788 would necessitate.

It was in the context of the Carolingian court, however, that evidence for the spread of St. Kilian's cult first appeared, even before the production of a hagiography, with the saint's appearance in the Godescalc calendar. Such patronage influenced the spread of cult across the Frankish realm and, moving east, cult and martyrological entries for the saint grew in the Main-Frankish region, providing further evidence for the importance of texts for the spread of Kilian's cult. It was some ten years after this Carolingian calendar entry and some forty years after the translation of the saint's remains that hagiographical testimony for the life and death of St. Kilian was first produced.

The initial disjuncture between hagiography and cult at Würzburg is made apparent by the fact that the production of the *Passio minor* seems to have been an invention of necessity, which cannot be readily or convincingly tied to any cultic events. This first production was a fairly basic account, but it does everything required of it as a hagiography, even though its initial relation to the cult is more difficult to pin down. The *Passio maior*, however, shows that, by the tenth century, Würzburg had a clear sense of identity and how

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<sup>802</sup> Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 145-167, especially pp. 160-162.

<sup>803</sup> Connections between St. Kilian and St. Gall have been recently examined by Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'St Kilian and the Irish Network in Carolingian Europe', in 'A Fantastic and abstruse Latinity?' in Wolfram R. Keller and Dagmar Schlütter, eds, *Hiberno-Continental Cultural and Literary Interactions in the Middle Ages, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie* (Münster, Forthcoming).

it wished to represent itself and its history as a community supported by its saint. The earliest years of the bishopric were fundamentally tied to its saints and this is expressed in Stephan of Novara's double narrative, using the *Vita antiquior Burchardi* to reflect the idea of saintly continuity as the story of St. Kilian fed into that of Würzburg and his cult. The manuscript dissemination of the *Passio minor Kiliani* before the production date of the *Passio maior* also reflects this use of hagiography within Würzburg's own circle of interests and influences.

There is a notable difference, however, between the spread of hagiography and the spread of cult, which cannot only be due to the comparative ease of transmitting a saint's name as opposed to an entire text. Although there may be sources which no longer survive, the evidence which we do have indicates Würzburg's emphasis on hagiography over cult. The liturgical evidence points to a wider, polycentric network of veneration of which Würzburg was but the formal centre. In the intervening period, however, notices for the martyr are found across the Frankish world, their dissemination highly influenced by Carolingian court promotion.

The continued co-existence of Kilian as the patron saint of Würzburg and Kilian as missionary martyr is evident from the practical nature and ready adaptability of his hagiography, both in the *Passio minor* and the *Passio maior*. Royal desires to subjugate Saxony and bring it into the fold of the Frankish realm proper, as well as the desire for *correctio*, gelled well with Würzburg's own interests in mission. The St. Kilian of the *Passio minor* was a missionary of just as much standing as St. Sturm, St. Willibrord or St. Boniface. Hagiography was a way for Würzburg to announce itself to the realm in its position as a worthy continuator of Bonifatian ideals and traditions which was also readily adapted to more contemporary ideals and realities of mission and education.

The arrival of Stephan of Novara in the mid tenth century suggests that Würzburg's self-promotion had been successful. A connection with the conversion of Denmark may have further contributed to the continuation of this tradition. The importance of learning and education for Ottonian-era Würzburg is clear from the lyrical prose and elevated style of the *Passio maior Kiliani* when compared to its predecessor. This development and improvement is testimony not only to Stephan's own learning, but also to Würzburg's own ambitions for its saint. Both of these hagiographies were practical, adaptable and instructive texts, and their saint was just as suited to countering paganism in the north or the east as he was to instructing the faithful within the diocese or pupils within the episcopal community.

This was something which needed to be reiterated in this period, as the foundation and elevation of Magdeburg threatened to eclipse the traditional missionary claims of centres such as Würzburg.

The way in which the figure of Geilana and her interactions with St. Kilian were utilised in the two *passiones* provides the most striking example of the way in which this hagiography could be used and transformed in subtle ways in order to reflect contemporary concerns of the community and the author, but without losing the integrity of the character's original role in the narrative. The *Passio minor* used Geilana and her demise to unfavourably comment upon Würzburg's supposedly pagan past. Although far from being a realistic reflection of Merovingian-era Thuringia, the intention was to emphasise the Christian and Carolingian identity of Würzburg. Her representation in the *Passio maior Kiliani* developed the 'Jezebel' topos which had a long-standing tradition as a way to make defamatory comments about powerful females. When compared with the work of Liudprand of Cremona and the Lives of Ottonian saints, however, the *Passio maior* also fits in with pro-Ottinian rhetoric which aimed to create a textual dynastic cult.

Whatever wider political or educational aspirations these *passiones* had, however, they were nevertheless always a part of the cults of saints at Würzburg. Hagiography and written materials were the most important aspects of the cults of saints in early medieval world of the Carolingians and Ottonians. In writing and re-writing hagiography, the community had produced a textual tradition which was of as much spiritual significance as a relic, but which could also serve non-cultic ends. Hagiography was a powerful tool in this period and cult could not function without it. This was all underpinned, however, by an enduring belief in the importance and efficacy of saints.

This thesis has sought to provide a firm basis on which to continue further in-depth study of the cults of saints at Würzburg and there is much that could not be discussed due to limitations of space. Cult and hagiography at Würzburg did not end with the *passiones* of St. Kilian, and the *Vita antiquior Burchardi* and eleventh-century *Vita posterior Burchardi* are ripe for this type of textual analysis. Such a study would further complement this work and provide part of the continued story of cult and hagiography at Würzburg. There exists another contemporary St. Kilian, whose own cult and hagiography can be better explored in light of his Würzburg namesake. St. Kilian of Aubigny is also an obscure figure in historical terms and it is likely that there would have been points of crossover, if not confusion, between the two saints in the surviving sources for cult. Whilst education at

Würzburg has also been explored, the surviving library as constructed by Bischoff and Hoffmann could be examined further than the confines of this thesis have allowed. There are therefore many points of departure for further study, which affirm the intricate nature of St. Kilian, his cult and his hagiography. If an in-depth analysis can reveal so much from the two *passiones* of St. Kilian, it is exciting to think what might be revealed in similar analyses for other texts from this period. Compared to the lands further west, we know much less about the eighth to tenth centuries east of the Rhine. This thesis has demonstrated how much new information and ideas we can extract from what may seem like a slender body of evidence.

In the eighteenth century, the bridge across the Main, linking the main city of Würzburg to the spur of land crowned by the Marienburg, was adorned with larger-than-life statues of saints. Represented here are Ss. Burchard, Colonatus, Totnan and, of course St. Kilian. The latter's statue, with its gleaming golden sword, provides one of the most enduring images of the city, with the fortress Marienburg rising up behind him. Standing alongside these saints are statues of Charlemagne and his father Pippin III. The Alte Mainbrücke, or 'Saint's Bridge' is a testament to the enduring importance of these saints and their early medieval context for the community of Würzburg and its identity.

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