

THE OLD ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY

Edition, Translation and
Commentary

CHRISTINE RAUER

Anglo-Saxon Texts

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Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196, p. 24, which shows the characteristic itemised layout of almost all manuscripts of the *Old English Martyrology*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

THE OLD ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY

Edition, Translation and Commentary

Edited with a translation by

CHRISTINE RAUER

D. S. BREWER

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St Andrews, November 2012

Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , 1st edn, 68 vols., ed. Bollandists (1643–1940)
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
ASPR	Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records
BCLL	<i>Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200</i> , ed. M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe (Dublin, 1985)
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> , ed. Bollandists, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1899–1901) and H. Fros, <i>Novum Supplementum</i> (Brussels, 1986)
BL	London, British Library
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
BRASE	Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England
BSS	<i>Bibliotheca Sanctorum</i> , ed. F. Caraffa, 13 vols. (Vatican, 1961–70)
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DMLBS	<i>Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i> , ed. R. E. Latham <i>et al.</i> (London, 1975–)
DOE	<i>Dictionary of Old English: A-G on CD-ROM</i> , ed. A. diPaolo Healey <i>et al.</i> (Toronto, 2008)
DOEC	<i>Dictionary of Old English Corpus</i> , ed. A. diPaolo Healey <i>et al.</i> (Toronto, 2005), http://quodlib.umich.edu/o/oec
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com
EETS	Early English Text Society
os	original series
ss	supplementary series
ePL	Patrologia Latin Database, http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk
Fabricius	J. A. Fabricius, <i>Codex apocryphus novi testamenti</i> , 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1719, 1743)
Gneuss	H. Gneuss, <i>Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100</i> , MRTS 241 (Tempe, 2001)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
Herzfeld	G. Herzfeld, ed., <i>An Old English Martyrology</i> , EETS os 116 (London, 1900)
Ker	N. R. Ker, <i>Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon</i> (Oxford, 1957)

ABBREVIATIONS

Kotzor	G. Kotzor, ed., <i>Das altenglische Martyrologium</i> , Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. ns 88.1–2, 2 vols. (Munich, 1981)
LLASE	<i>Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday</i> , ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985)
MÆ	<i>Medium Ævum</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
AA	Auctores antiquissimi
SRM	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
SRLI	Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum
MJ	<i>Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch</i>
Mombritius	B. Mombritius, <i>Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum</i> , 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Paris, 1910)
MRTS	Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies
NM	<i>Neuphilologische Mitteilungen</i>
NQ	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
PASE	<i>Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England</i> , ed. J. L. Nelson, S. Keynes <i>et al.</i> , http://www.pase.ac.uk (cited by saint's name)
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64)
Rauer, <i>Fontes</i>	C. Rauer, 'The Sources of the <i>Old English Martyrology</i> (Cameron B.19)', 1999, <i>Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World-Wide Web Register</i> , http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
SASLC	<i>Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version</i> , ed. F. M. Biggs, T. D. Hill and P. E. Szarmach, MRTS 74 (Binghamton)
SChr	Sources chrétiennes
SH	Subsidia Hagiographica
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
Whatley	Whatley, E. G., 'Acta Sanctorum', <i>Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: Volume One</i> , ed. F. M. Biggs <i>et al.</i> (Kalamazoo, 2001), pp. 22–548

References to the *Old English Martyrology* are in bold print and indicate section numbers (eg. **45**).

Introduction

The *Old English Martyrology* is one of the longest and most important prose texts written in Anglo-Saxon England; it also represents one of the most impressive examples of encyclopaedic writing from the European Middle Ages. Probably intended as a reference work, it experienced more than 200 years of transmission and usage. Its principal aim must have been to educate Anglo-Saxon readers in their cults of native and foreign saints, but it also presents detailed information on time measurement, the seasons of the year, biblical events, and cosmology. Its range is impressive even by modern standards: the text makes reference to roughly 450 historical and legendary characters, covering more than 6000 years of political, ecclesiastical and saintly history, as the events described range from the creation of the world in the year 5199 before Christ to contemporary cosmological phenomena still observed by the author himself. Geographically, the text covers the British Isles to western, central, and southern Europe, the Middle East, Northern Africa, and India. The complete set of data contained in this encyclopaedia is collected in no other surviving literature from the early Middle Ages, although constituent parts of this information can be found in some 250 earlier texts, many of which may directly have influenced the composition of the *Old English Martyrology*. It is hard to imagine today what difficulties its author or authors must have overcome in the compilation of this knowledge, and even now, in an age where information travels fast and electronically, one is struck by the range and comprehensive nature of this hagiographical database.

1 Date of Composition, Sources

Attempts to identify the likely date of composition (together with the location of composition and the author's ethnicity) have often concentrated on the respective inclusion or exclusion of certain saints or feasts in the *Old English Martyrology*.¹ The recognition that the text seems to attempt an inclusive and comprehensive approach in the selection of its saints has, however, made it harder to base such arguments on the inclusion of given saints; arguments *e silentio*, based on the omission of certain saints, are on the other hand made difficult by the fact that even hagiographical texts which can be securely dated often present unexpected omissions that run counter to their known date of composition.²

Less controversial dating criteria can be gained from the earliest manuscripts of the text. Two early manuscript fragments of the *Old English Martyrology*, London, BL Add. 23211 (s. ix ex.) and London, BL Add. 40165 A2. (s. ix / x), provide an

¹The inclusion of All Saints has often been noted, as well as the omission of several West Saxon saints such as Birinus, Aldhelm and Boniface; see Kotzor, I, 19–20, 22–3, 27–8, 446–8, and 450–54. For a more comprehensive list of secondary literature relating to a possible date of composition, see Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. vv. 'Date, Historical Background' and 'Manuscripts'.

²Rauer, 'The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*', pp. 93–4. For saints unexpectedly omitted by Ælfric, see Lapidge, 'Ælfric's Sanctorale', pp. 119–22; for Aldhelm's omissions in his *De uirginitate*, see Lapidge and Herren, trans., *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, pp. 57–8.

upper limit for its composition, demonstrating that the text was already in circulation by c. 900.³ These two earliest copies, moreover, belong to quite distinct branches of manuscript transmission, and it is therefore possible to say that the text had already experienced an eventful transmission history, and perhaps even a systematic stylistic revision, by the time the two earliest witnesses were copied out. These early manuscripts already present the characteristic structure and wording which the text displays in its later and fuller copies, and there is no reason to doubt that the *Old English Martyrology* existed in what we now know as its full length and detail at the end of the ninth century.

An early limit for a date of composition is sometimes suggested by a number of relatively late historical events mentioned in a text, and the dates of composition of those primary sources on which an author drew to describe these events. But this method brings its own problems. The deaths of a number of saints mentioned in the text are thought to have occurred in the late seventh or early eighth century: John of Beverley (721), Bertinus (698), Audomarus (c. 690), Winnocus (c. 717). For his entries on the last three saints, the martyrologist is thought to have relied, directly or indirectly, on the *Vita S. Bertini* (BHL 763), the *Vita S. Audomari* (BHL 763), and the *Vita S. Winnoci* (BHL 8952), as Günter Kotzor demonstrated.⁴ These three texts, which were often, but not always, transmitted together, form a composite tripartite *vita*, thought to have been composed by a single author c. 800. This date of composition has not been reliably established, but would at least for the moment seem to point to the late eighth or even early ninth century as the point when an English author could plausibly have accessed this material at the earliest. Two other texts probably used by the martyrologist, the second *Passio S. Aefrae* (BHL 108–9), composed c. 770, and the sermon on the feast of All Saints known as ‘*Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis*’, which has in recent years more reliably been assigned to Helisachar of Trier (d. 833x840), would also seem to point to the late eighth or early ninth century as the time when information used by the martyrologist in the composition of his text would first have been available.⁵ Extensive and detailed usage of another relatively late text, the *Vita S. Mariae Magdalenae* (BHL 5453), which has been thought to date from the ninth century, would again support a ninth-century date of composition, and the same could be said for the inclusion of a feast for St Michael on 8 May (which is thought to be a later addition to other, earlier, feasts for that saint).⁶

In his numerous publications on the *Old English Martyrology*, James Cross identified large numbers of Latin hagiographical texts as sources, and was in many cases even able to single out specific text variants as particularly close to the wording in the *Old English Martyrology*. In doing so, he noticed that many of the earliest

³See Kotzor, I, 52–4, 115–116, and 449–50 and pp. 18–25 below for further discussion of all manuscripts.

⁴See Rauer, ‘Female Hagiography’; and Kotzor, I, 452–3 and II, 347–8, 350, and 367–8 for surveys of dating criteria.

⁵Rauer, ‘Female Hagiography’.

⁶For Mary Magdalen, see Rauer, ‘Female Hagiography’; for feasts of St Michael, see the summary in Whatley, s. v. ‘Michael archangelus’ and the literature cited there.

manuscripts of a relevant text variant dated from the late eighth or early ninth centuries. This reinforced Cross's belief that the source material necessary for the compilation of the *Old English Martyrology* would have been complete at some point during the first half of the ninth century, and that a composition in the first half of the ninth century could therefore be just as, or even more, plausible than one assigned to the late eighth century or the second, more 'Alfredian', half of the ninth century.⁷ It is important to remember that periods of poor book survival in earlier centuries could at least have been partially responsible for the fact that so much of the Latin hagiography identified as closest in wording to the *Old English Martyrology* seems to date from the late eighth or earlier ninth century and that no earlier or later manuscripts seem to offer parallels of significant interest. Nevertheless, the cumulative evidence of relatively late source texts, feasts which are relatively late innovations, and text variants which often only appear at a relatively late point make a composition of the *Old English Martyrology* in the late eighth century or ninth century most likely. The earlier arguments presented by Cross and Kotzor have in that sense largely been confirmed by further source studies during recent decades. A relevant caveat, however, arises from the fact that it is in many cases difficult to date anonymous saints' lives; moreover, many of the Latin texts in question have not even been edited reliably. These problems show that the last word may not have been spoken regarding the text's date of composition. At the current stage of research, it would therefore be cautious to suggest that the *Old English Martyrology* was probably composed sometime between c. 800 and c. 900.

The process of composition has likewise been a topic of discussion. One of the most interesting features of the *Old English Martyrology* is its combination of a calendrical arrangement of feastdays and saints' names with substantial narrative material, including vast numbers of abbreviated miracle stories and frequent instances of direct speech.⁸ The register of feastdays and saints' names ultimately derives from one or more liturgical sources (martyrologies, calendars, sacramentaries).⁹ The narrative component can be shown to have been summarised from between 200 and 300 Latin source texts (especially anonymous *passiones* of Continental origin), most of which were identified by James Cross.¹⁰ Michael Lapidge recently argued that this summarised narrative material and the calendrical grid of feastdays and saints' names reached the martyrologist already combined in a hypothetical lost Latin text

⁷See, for example, Cross, 'Mary Magdalen', p. 20; Cross, 'The Apostles', pp. 42–3; Cross, 'Popes of Rome', p. 204; Cross and Tuplin, 'An Unrecorded Variant', p. 168; Cross, '*Passio Symphoriani*', pp. 269 and 275; Cross, 'Cosmas and Damian', p. 18; Cross, 'Pelagia in Mediaeval England', p. 282; and Cross, 'The Use of a *Passio S. Sebastiani*', pp. 39–40.

⁸See Rauer, 'Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*', p. 133 and the literature cited there for similar Continental examples of the *légendier-martyrologe*.

⁹See Rauer, 'The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*', p. 90 and the literature cited there.

¹⁰The precise number depends on definitions of what should be classified as a separate text (as opposed to a text variant) and on whether possible, probable and antecedent sources should all be regarded as sources. See the Commentary section below for the most comprehensive list of source texts to date; earlier surveys can be found in Rauer, *Fontes*; Rauer, 'The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*', pp. 103–9; and Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 233–7. Secondary reading on the topic is collected in Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Sources, Composition'.

composed in eighth-century Northumbria, which the ninth-century martyrologist then translated into Old English, as a *Vorlage* for his own vernacular text.¹¹ Lapidge further explored the composition of that lost Latin text, and identified a number of texts on which this hypothetical source in its turn would have been based; these include the martyrologies of Pseudo-Jerome and Bede, from which the feastdays and saints' names in the *Old English Martyrology* would thus ultimately have been derived.¹² The lost text would also have contained abbreviated narrative material from *passiones* available in early Northumbria. As a scenario of composition for this lost Latin source text, Lapidge suggested that it was composed by Acca of Hexham, sometime between 731 and 740, since Acca is known to have had access to large numbers of *passiones*.¹³ Lapidge also made a case for other material, such as excerpts from Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* and *De temporum ratione*, Adomnán, *De locis sanctis*, and excerpts from a sacramentary to have been integrated in the hypothetical Latin text, material which in that case would not have been used directly by the martyrologist, but indirectly, embedded in the lost text in an abbreviated format.¹⁴ Given this hypothetical component in the composition of the *Old English Martyrology*, it is important to bear in mind that the sources identified for the Old English text (which are listed and discussed in the Commentary below) could have been used directly or indirectly by the martyrologist. An unknown proportion of the source texts identified so far should in that case technically be regarded as so-called antecedent sources, rather than as texts which were directly known to the martyrologist.

2 Language and Origin

Various aspects of the martyrologist's language have already been examined systematically. Given the constraints of this editorial introduction, the aim here is to give an outline of the linguistic research undertaken to date and to indicate where further work is required. The principal focus of linguistic study so far has been phonological, lexicological, and morphological, and has resulted in a longstanding debate regarding the dialectal origin of the text. It was Eduard Sievers (1884) who first suggested an Anglian original for the *Old English Martyrology*; other linguistic observations were made by Georg Herzfeld (for his edition of the text, 1900), by commentators responding to Herzfeld's edition, and by Franz Stossberg (in a short monograph, 1905).¹⁵ The first systematic and reliable linguistic study, however, was undertaken by Kotzor, who examined both the earlier and later manuscripts of the

¹¹Lapidge, 'Acca of Hexham'; for the term *Vorlage* ('model', 'source') used by Lapidge, see the editorial introduction of Kotzor, I, 21n, 35, 39n, 250–1, and 448. See also Gretsche, 'Æthelthryth of Ely', pp. 166–8 for more information on this text.

¹²Lapidge, 'Acca of Hexham', pp. 44 and 57–8.

¹³Lapidge, 'Acca of Hexham', pp. 66–9.

¹⁴Lapidge, pers. comm.

¹⁵Sievers, 'Miscellen zur angelsächsischen Grammatik', p. 299; Stossberg, 'Die Sprache des altenglischen Martyrologiums'; Herzfeld, pp. xi–xxxii. For a survey of early linguistic research on the *Old English Martyrology*, see Kotzor, I, 15–25; further secondary literature on the martyrologist's language can be located with the help of Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. vv. 'Language, Style' and 'Reviews'.

text for their phonology, morphology, syntactical features and dialect vocabulary, and distinguished diverging practices between their scribes. Kotzor applied the dialectological work of Franz Wenisch and Hans Schabram to the vocabulary of the *Old English Martyrology*, and was able to paint a more nuanced picture of the Anglian lexis of the text, by distinguishing between lexical items originally Anglian which later acquired a more supraregional character, and items which more consistently seem to indicate Anglian dialect even throughout the later stages of the Anglo-Saxon period.¹⁶ Syntactical features examined by Kotzor include the usage of *mid*, in the *Old English Martyrology* used variously with dat. or acc., with the latter as an indicator of possible Anglian origin. Among the morphological features considered to be indicative in terms of dialect are the formation of abstract nouns (variously from participles or verb stems, the latter being associated with Anglian usage) and the suffix formation of abstract nouns (varying between *-nes* or *-nis*, with the latter as a possible Anglian feature). Syncope in inflectional morphology was also examined by Kotzor, as unsynopated forms have been regarded as characteristically Anglian, and another feature investigated by Kotzor was allomorphic variation in the conjugation of *seon*. His phonological analysis included an examination of *ǣ* / *ō* before nasals (with *ō* as the predominant feature in Anglian texts) and retraction of *ǣ* to *ǣ̆* before *l* + consonant, instead of breaking to *ĕa* (with the retracted form characteristic of Anglian).¹⁷ Of particular importance in Kotzor's study is also the linguistic analysis of the earliest two manuscripts, A and E, which he examined for West Saxon features, such as the retention of Germanic *ǣ* in West Saxon (as opposed to *ē* in Anglian and Kentish), palatal diphthongisation, and the absence of Anglian smoothing. Kotzor also re-examined instances of possible Kentish features cautiously posited earlier by Celia Sisam.¹⁸

Taken collectively, Kotzor's results indicate that the original text of the *Old English Martyrology* is likely to have been predominantly Anglian, although a West Saxon component even in the language of the original cannot be ruled out, as even the earliest surviving manuscripts, A and E, already present a mixture of Anglian and West Saxon features. The picture differs slightly for the later manuscript B (s. x / xi) which shows even more West Saxon features; the language of C (s. xi²) appears to be the most West Saxonised of all the copies. In sum, the Anglian component seems to have decreased and the West Saxon component seems to have increased during the transmission of the text. Some of this West Saxonisation seems to have gone hand in hand with a radical stylistic revision.¹⁹

Several caveats need to be added. The Anglian group of dialects has traditionally been subdivided into Mercian and Northumbrian. Specifically Northumbrian dialectal features seem to be absent from the *Old English Martyrology*;

¹⁶Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut*; Schabram, *Superbia*. Vocabulary thought to have been Anglian either at the stage of composition or later during transmission is listed in Kotzor, I, 329–67, and Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Glossary'.

¹⁷Kotzor, I, 367–96.

¹⁸Kotzor, I, 396–400 and 403; Sisam, 'An Early Fragment', p. 215; for dialectal features of individual manuscripts, see also pp. 18–25 below.

¹⁹See pp. 7, 9–10, 20 and 24–5 below.

the Anglian features in the text are not necessarily distinctively Mercian; and the manuscript transmission of the text known to modern scholarship is entirely restricted to the south of England. Celia Sisam first pointed out that the north is referred to in the text as a distant and unfamiliar place.²⁰ Taken together, these factors make it unlikely that there is a Northumbrian component in the composition of the *Old English Martyrology*, although it cannot be ruled out entirely.

Moreover, it is clear that the dialectal character of a word or other linguistic feature can change through time, in the sense that a word originally belonging to one dialect can over time become supradialectal, and vice versa. Modern scholarship is trying to establish the dialectal characteristics of a ninth-century text from ninth-, tenth-, and eleventh-century manuscripts, and it is clear that this is difficult.²¹ From an editorial point of view, it is in any case important not to remove features silently from the text which could testify to the presumed early mixture of Anglian, West Saxon and possibly also Kentish features.²²

Moreover, in view of Kotzor's extremely cautious assessment of the phonology and dialect vocabulary of both the presumed author of the *Old English Martyrology* and the scribes of the surviving manuscripts, it is important to remember that it is hard to draw conclusions from the text's dialect features to its place of composition.²³ The intertwined politics of ninth-century Mercia and Wessex, together with the Mercian political influence in Kent, can easily explain why a ninth-century southern English text should present no clear-cut dialectal picture, and could have been formed by varying influence from its author, his patron, and the text's place of composition.²⁴ In sum, it can cautiously be said that the *Old English Martyrology* presents all the phonological features which one could expect from a text suspected to have been composed in a ninth-century environment where persons of Mercian and West Saxon and possibly Kentish linguistic origin mingled. Possible reasons which could account for dialectally ambiguous language include composition by an author whose biography took him through a variety of dialect areas, or an author originating from a dialectal border area, or even an author who wrote in a supradialectal medium mixing Mercian and West Saxon features, as has recently been suggested for the Junius Psalter gloss by Mechthild Gretsch.²⁵ The difficulty of establishing clear boundaries between ninth-century dialects particularly in the south and south-east of

²⁰For the southern transmission of the text, see Rauer, 'Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*', pp. 144–6; for the absence of specifically Northumbrian forms, see Kotzor, I, 400n and 445n. For textual references to the north, see, for example, 37 and 196; Sisam, 'An Early Fragment', p. 214; and Kotzor, I, 28 and 447.

²¹For a survey of relevant research, see Kastovsky, 'Semantics and Vocabulary', pp. 338–51 and Toon, 'Old English Dialects'.

²²For two examples, see Commentary on 41 and 226.

²³Kotzor, I, 445–6.

²⁴For the resulting dialectal and cultural output, see esp. Gretsch, 'The Junius Psalter Gloss'; Wilson, 'The Provenance of the Vespasian Psalter Gloss'; and Brown, 'Mercian Manuscripts'; for further political background, see Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians'; Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 317–25; Keynes, 'The Control of Kent'; and Keynes, 'Between Bede and the Chronicle'.

²⁵Gretsch, 'The Junius Psalter Gloss', pp. 99–106 and 120–1.

England, and the possibility of supradialectal language, currently stand in the way of identifying the martyrologist's geographical and dialectal home.²⁶

The translations of Gregory's *Dialogi* and Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* seem to be those which are most closely related to the *Old English Martyrology* in dialectal terms; from a thematic point of view, the hagiographical interest of the *Dialogi* and the focus on British historiography in Bede's work are also shared by the *Old English Martyrology*.²⁷ The style of Wærferth, to whom the translation of Gregory's *Dialogi* has been ascribed, resembles that of the martyrologist to some extent: 'It is in many respects a very literal rendering, following the order of the Latin as closely as he can and imitating its structures as much as possible. Nothing of substance is added and very little removed'.²⁸ Wærferth's predilection for word pairs is to some degree echoed in the *Old English Martyrology*.²⁹ Like the *Old English Martyrology*, the Old English translation of Gregory's *Dialogi* experienced extensive stylistic and lexical revision during its later transmission, and the same characteristics apply to the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*:³⁰ its original is believed to have been written in an Anglian dialect, displays a preference for doublets and rare vocabulary (often formed from Latin models), and experienced a later revision with changes in lexis and syntax, and overall a greater move towards West Saxon. Given these shared characteristics between the three texts, systematic lexical and stylistic comparison of the *Old English Martyrology* and the Old English translations of the *Dialogi* and *Historia ecclesiastica* would make sense, and more research in this area still needs to be undertaken.³¹

One of the most interesting linguistic aspects of the *Old English Martyrology* is its vocabulary, particularly its more unusual components which are now easier to survey with the help of electronic tools. Especially the searchable electronic corpus of Old English (DOEC) and the progressing *Dictionary of Old English* project (DOE) have helped in the identification of a relatively large proportion of rare vocabulary and hapax legomena in the *Old English Martyrology*, which is signalled as such in the glossary below. Although a systematic study of this rare vocabulary has not yet been undertaken, there are indications that at least some of the more unusual words or semantic preferences in the language of the martyrologist could have been influenced by related Latin vocabulary, or Latin vocabulary which he regards as

²⁶For general background, see Hogg, 'On the Impossibility of Old English Dialectology'; Lowe, 'On the Plausibility of Old English Dialectology'; Anderson, 'The Great Kentish Collapse'; for Kentish in particular, see now Kalbhen, ed., *Kentische Glossen*, pp. 241–258.

²⁷See the early remarks by Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten*, pp. 5–7.

²⁸See Godden, 'Wærferth and King Alfred', esp. pp. 36 and 47. See also Rauer, 'Errors and Textual Problems', for further stylistic similarities.

²⁹See Kotzor, I, 421–5.

³⁰Godden, 'Wærferth and King Alfred', esp. 42–4; Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spätmittelenglische Sprachgebrauch*, pp. 146–9; Waite, 'The Vocabulary'; Waite, *Old English Prose*, pp. 46–8; and Rowley, *The Old English Version*, pp. 41–6.

³¹For some overlap of the rare vocabulary found in the *Old English Martyrology* with that of the Old English translations of the *Dialogi* and *Historia ecclesiastica*, see Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Glossary'.

related.³² One important question which will need to be addressed is whether his predilection for unusual Latinate vocabulary should be seen as an idiosyncratic trait, or whether it could be aligned with similar phenomena found in authors involved in gloss production. Lucia Kornexl has recently again drawn attention to a number of Old English lexical coinages specific to the genre of glosses, namely coinages which seem to imitate Latin vocabulary, and the question arises whether the martyrologist's lexical predilections (together with his generally very literal translation methods and a conspicuous element of Latin vocabulary inserted into his Old English text) could be ascribed to a biographical background in the production or usage of glosses.³³ As part of his examination of Latin vocabulary inserted into the *Old English Martyrology*, Kotzor identified a number of lexical items with connections to the Second Corpus Glossary (CCCC 144, a Mercian production of the first half of the ninth century), but rightly cautioned against the positing of a direct link between the *Old English Martyrology* and the glossary.³⁴ With the help of electronic tools, it is now also possible to trace further rare vocabulary in the text which also appears in glosses or glossaries, but the significance of this lexical overlap still needs to be assessed.³⁵

One characteristic syntactic feature found in the surviving manuscripts of the *Old English Martyrology*, which can be presumed to have been present in the original, is a conspicuous number of anacoluthic constructions, often employing recapitulatory pronouns:³⁶

Se Uictor, **he** wæs Maura cynnes, 83

Þa se man ðe þæt sceolde behealdan þæt hi
man beheafðade, wepende ond swergende,
he sæde þæt he gesawe heora sawla gongan
ut of þæm lichoman fægre gefretwade, 64

Ðone Dioclitianus se casere, he wæs
hæpen, **he** het hine mid strælum ofscotian,
27

That Victor — **he** was a Moor

When the man who was supposed to watch
that they got beheaded, weeping and
swearing an oath — **he** said that he saw
their souls leave the body beautifully
adorned

Him [ie. Sebastian] the emperor Diocletian
— **he** was pagan, he ordered him to he be
shot dead with arrows

³²Rauer, 'Errors and Textual Problems'; for two case studies, see Rauer, 'Pelagia's Cloak' and Rauer, 'Old English *blanca*'.

³³See Kornexl, 'Sprache der Glossen', 'Unnatural Words', and 'The *Regularis Concordia*'. Gneuss describes some of the rare coinages in psalter glosses as vocabulary which 'never really lived' and 'at most migrates from one manuscript to another', and which is 'forgotten again as soon as it is coined', *Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen*, p. 156 (my translations).

³⁴Kotzor, I, 250n, further discussed by Rusche, 'The *Old English Martyrology* and the Canterbury Aldhelm Scholia'.

³⁵See Rauer, 'The *Old English Martyrology* and Anglo-Saxon Glosses'; rare vocabulary which is found in both the *Old English Martyrology* and Anglo-Saxon glosses is signalled as such in Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Glossary'.

³⁶Herzfeld, p. xxxii, 'wherever he tries to build up a longer sentence, he fails signally'.

þes Iacobus ærest monna Hispanius, ða elreordegan þeode ða syndon on middangeardes westdæle neah þære sunnan setlgonge, **he hi** gelærde to Cristes geleafan, **135**

This James was the first man [to introduce] Spain, the barbarian nations who live in the west of the world near where the sun sets — **he** introduced **them** to the Christian faith.

ðone Datianus se casere seofan gear mid unasegendlicum witum **hine** þreade þæt he Criste wiðsoce, **67**

him [ie. George] the emperor Datianus forced **him** for seven years with unspeakable tortures to renounce Christ

On ðone ðreo ond twentegðan dæg ðæs monðes, **ðæt** bið se sexta worolde dæg, **53**

On the twenty-third day of the month — **that** is the sixth day of the world.

It is difficult to say whether constructions of this type would ever have been regarded as a satisfactory form of Old English prose, but it is in any case interesting to see that many examples of this feature are subsequently smoothed out in the revision of the *Old English Martyrology* which survives in the manuscripts CE.

Also conspicuous is the author's preference for paratactic syntax as a default, which, as Kotzor has pointed out, can partially be attributed to the sequential listing of facts inherent in the martyrological genre.³⁷ It is true that not all of the syntax is of this paratactic type, and that the more hypotactic passages tend to summarise Latin sources of a syntactically and narratologically more ambitious type. Nevertheless, there are some quite extreme cases of paratactic sequence:

Ða geseah he sume Godes cyrican. Ða forlet he þa sceap ond arn to þære Godes ciricean. Ða geherde he þær rædan Godes bec. Ða fregn he ænne ealdne mon hwæt þæt wære. Ða cwæþ se ealda mann: 'Hit is monna sawla gestreon, ond þa þeawas ðe mon sceal on mynstre healdan.' Ða eode <he> sona of þære cirican to sumes haliges abbodes mynstre, **136**

Then he saw a church of God. Then he abandoned the sheep and ran to that church of God. Then he heard God's books read there. Then he asked an old man what that was. Then the old man said: 'It is the treasure of human souls and the customs which are to be upheld in a monastery'. Then he soon went from the church to the monastery of a holy abbot.

Another syntactical feature which seems unusual is the martyrologist's positioning of pronouns. It is again noteworthy that the revised version of the *Old English Martyrology* seems to have edited out some of the more extreme examples:

³⁷Kotzor, I, 20 and 407; Herzfeld, p. xxxii; see also pp. 31–1 below for modern reactions to the martyrologist's style.

- B ac is wen þæt englas **mid him hit** læddan to Godes neorxnawonge, **122**
- C ac is wen þæt englas **hyt myd heom** læddon to Godes neorxnawange
but the angels probably took **it with them** to God's paradise
- B (he) het mid monige wite **hi þreagan** from Cristes geleafan, **122**
- C he het **hyg** myd manegum wytum **þreatian** fram Cristes geleafan
(he) ordered **her** with many tortures **to be forced away** from Christ's faith
- B he het **lædan hi** feor on ðone wudu, **98**
- C he het **hig** feor on þone wudu **lædan**
he commanded **them to be led** far into the wood

Anacoluthon and recapitulatory constructions are already apparent in the oldest surviving manuscripts A and E, and seem to go back to the earliest version of the text.³⁸ It is hard to believe that these features could have been considered particularly elegant by the author or his contemporary peers; as the revision of the text shows, his early readers felt the need to improve his language not just in dialectal and lexical terms, but also in terms of syntax. To some extent it would even be fair to say that the text's first editor was the author of the revised CE tradition. The question remains, however, what could have led to language with these syntactical idiosyncrasies being composed and even transmitted, and a number of possible answers suggest themselves: (1) these features could be the result of incomplete authorial editing, that is, circulation of the text before its composition was considered complete by its author; (2) serious difficulties during the translation, encountered by an author who was struggling to summarise long hagiographical texts and translated phrase by phrase, arranging the resulting gobbets in the order in which he translated them; (3) an author not entirely proficient in the target language, such as a non-native speaker of Old English; (4) an author accustomed to working in a medium where idiomatic translation is not necessarily considered to be desirable, in the same way as Anglo-Saxon glossators are known to have tolerated a considerable Latinate element in their choice of Old English vocabulary and syntax.³⁹ The last two possibilities would also account for some of the exotic lexis found in the *Old English Martyrology* and would

³⁸For features of this type in A and E, see, for example, **67 (A)**, **76 (E)** and **83 (E)**.

³⁹In interlinear vernacular glossing of Latin texts, for example, anglicised word order tends to be the exception, not the norm; see Crowley, 'Anglicized Word Order'.

probably repay further investigation but, at the present state of research, all possible scenarios still need to be considered.⁴⁰

The text of the *Old English Martyrology*, as it is found in the seven surviving manuscripts, is in many places defective.⁴¹ This is hardly surprising, given a period of 150–250 years of transmission, but another contributing factor should be seen in the unusual vocabulary used by the martyrologist, which can be shown to have caused problems of comprehension already for Anglo-Saxon readers. The editorial principle of *lectio difficilior potior* usually only makes sense if an original text was linguistically particularly difficult to start with, as is the case, for instance, with poetic texts (often characterised by unusual syntax and specialised lexis), or texts with very complex prose syntax. It is therefore interesting to see that the *Old English Martyrology*, for all its pedestrian prose syntax and relatively concrete narrative content, seems to have been a surprisingly difficult text for Anglo-Saxon scribes and readers, and that mainly because of its lexis.⁴²

3 Historical and Literary Context

The availability of possible source texts and libraries (as discussed above) is an important criterion in identifying historical contexts which could have produced the *Old English Martyrology*, but other factors also need to be considered.

That some ninth-century Old English prose texts are the product of a concerted translation project directed by King Alfred is suggested by several early medieval authors, including Asser, Ælfric and William of Malmesbury.⁴³ Although the *Old English Martyrology* is not among the texts explicitly linked by early medieval sources to Alfred's circle, it has often been compared and associated with the ninth-century translations ascribed to Alfred's circle.⁴⁴ What could be seen to support a link to an Alfredian milieu, as conventionally understood, is the educational aim of the *Old English Martyrology*, with its wide and seemingly comprehensive hagiographical, geographical and literary range, and its flavour of a systematically compiled encyclopaedia.⁴⁵ The conservative and in some ways even antiquarian interests apparent in its selection of materials would also seem to match the backward-looking materials of the texts associated with Alfred's educational programme.⁴⁶ Given its mixture of West Saxon and Anglian language features, with a possible Kentish component, it would not seem far-fetched to link the text with an intellectual circle which had Canterbury, Winchester and Worcester as its most

⁴⁰Herzfeld, p. xxii, suggest that the martyrologist's syntactical problems should be seen as an indication of a pre-Alfredian composition, but this seems unconvincing.

⁴¹See Rauer, 'Errors and Textual Problems', for a survey.

⁴²Idiosyncratic lexis, textual error and the resulting editorial problems will be discussed in Rauer, 'Difficult Readings'.

⁴³Keynes and Lapidge, trans., *Alfred the Great*, pp. 26–35 and 45.

⁴⁴Rauer, 'The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*', esp. pp. 98–102; Kotzor, I, 449–55; Bately, 'Old English Prose'; Bately, 'Did King Alfred'; and Pratt, 'Problems of Authorship'; for further reading, see Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Studies: Date, Historical Background'.

⁴⁵For explicit source references in the text, see Kotzor, I, 252–66; for Latin factoids, see Kotzor, I, 245–8.

⁴⁶Rauer, 'Female Hagiography'.

important centres; that the text is based on Continental, English and Irish sources would, on a very basic level, also match the circle of Mercian, Frankish, Saxon, and Irish collaborators at Alfred's court. Some copies of the *Old English Martyrology* were transmitted side by side with other ninth-century materials.⁴⁷ Internal evidence, such as dialectal and lexical similarities, suggests that some ninth-century texts are more closely related than others, and modern commentators have tended to accept the idea of an Alfredian cluster of texts which share the same intellectual origin. As indicated above further comparative studies, particularly of the language and transmission of the *Old English Martyrology*, the Old English Bede and the Old English translation of Gregory's *Dialogi* ascribed to Wærferth, could be useful for our notion of this cluster of texts.

But Wærferth is not the only ninth-century scholar whose profile is of relevance for the study of the *Old English Martyrology*. Several other persons traditionally associated with King Alfred's circles present either ethnic, linguistic, literary, or biographical characteristics which one could expect to find in the martyrologist. Thus, Plegmund and the priests Wærwulf and Æthelstan were all of Mercian origin; Asser, Grimbold, and John the Old Saxon are all thought to have had scholarly reputations at the time of their selection and could have been able to provide access to foreign textual materials.⁴⁸ There are many reasons, therefore, for furthering comparisons between the *Old English Martyrology* and other ninth-century prose texts.

That the *Old English Martyrology* was probably composed sometime between c. 800 and c. 900 equally allows for an alignment with possible literary contexts earlier in that century. Little is known, for example, about the literary interests or talents of Wærferth, Plegmund, Wærwulf, and Æthelstan *before* they entered Alfredian circles, and about the qualities which highlighted them as candidates for a scholarly advisory board, if such a thing really existed. The question arises whether they would have been acquainted with the Mercian prose traditions of the earlier ninth century, such as those surviving in the Vespasian Psalter glosses, the glosses to Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the Life of Chad, and the Corpus Glossary.⁴⁹ The Life of Chad and the glosses to Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* have obvious thematic parallels with the *Old English Martyrology*, and affinities between the martyrologist's working methods and those at work in glosses and glossaries are still emerging. That

⁴⁷Rauer, 'Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*', pp. 141–2.

⁴⁸Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, 77–9; Keynes and Lapidge, trans., *Alfred the Great*, pp. 26–8; Bately, 'Grimbold of St. Bertin's'; *ODNB*, s. vv. 'John the Old Saxon', 'Asser', and 'Grimbold'; and PASE, s. vv. 'Æthelstan', and 'Wærwulf'. For Grimbold, see also Gretsche, 'The Junius Psalter Gloss', pp. 113–19.

⁴⁹Psalter glossing may even have been a school activity; see Gretsche, 'The Junius Psalter Gloss', pp. 87–8; for general background on Mercian psalter glossing, see Sisam, 'Canterbury, Lichfield'; Wilson, 'The Provenance of the Vespasian Psalter Gloss'; and Kuhn, 'The Dialect of the Corpus Glossary' for Mercian contributions to the compilation of glossaries. Details of texts regarded as of Anglian or Mercian authorship can be found in Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut*, pp. 19–82. The hypothesis of an extensive Mercian Schriftsprache dominant throughout ninth-century England, first posited by Vleeskruyter, ed., *The Life of St. Chad*, is now treated with more caution; see Kotzor, I, 30–3 and Rowley, *The Old English Version*, pp. 41–6.

the *Old English Martyrology* is regarded as a Mercian text is based on its dialectal features, but it is interesting that the text also fits very plausibly into the history of Mercian literary production for other reasons. The Canterbury connection of some of the more prominent Mercian productions, such as the Vespasian Psalter glosses and the Corpus Glossary, and Plegmund's later career as archbishop of Canterbury, serve as an important reminder that Mercian literature need not have been produced in the Mercian heartland.⁵⁰ If Canterbury had a history of using and producing glosses and glossaries, it is also one of the few places where early legendaries, and rare and obsolete information on the Italian sanctorale, are known to have been available in Anglo-Saxon England.⁵¹ In that sense, Canterbury ticks many boxes in the search for a possible centre which could have produced the *Old English Martyrology*. But an important caveat would be that our knowledge of ninth-century literary Canterbury is better informed than that of other centres. In literary history, the most easily understandable scenario does not always apply.

Nor is it clear that an Alfredian project ever existed in the form in which modern literary historians have hypothesised. How much literal weight should be given to the remarks made by medieval commentators like Asser, Ælfric, and Alfred himself remains a matter of dispute, and it would be difficult to say decisively which ninth-century prose texts could be seen as Alfredian productions, and what the king's personal input would have been for each translation.⁵² Malcolm Godden has recently painted an alternative scenario of an early prose production more dissociated from a central figure: 'a variety of prose works, written by various people at different times over the ninth and early tenth centuries and in different contexts, people whom we cannot currently identify, and perhaps never will'.⁵³

In that respect, figures like Wærferth, Plegmund, Wærwulf, Æthelstan, and to a lesser extent Grimbald and Asser, who seem to represent good candidates for an identification with the martyrologist, may just conform to a modern predilection for linking the composition of a text to known historical figures or events. There is no reason for ruling out the idea that the martyrologist could have been 'a less well-known figure whom we cannot currently identify, and perhaps never will'.

There are several other, less obvious, scenarios which present themselves as possible historical and intellectual backgrounds which could have produced the *Old English Martyrology*. Early canonical communities, for example. Manuscripts C and D of the *Old English Martyrology* can be linked in the eleventh century with Leofric, bishop of Exeter, and thus to a canonical environment with an interest in translation, lay preaching, and the recovery of traditional materials. CCC 196, manuscript C of the *Old English Martyrology*, is thought to have been produced as a companion

⁵⁰The connection between the *Old English Martyrology* and Canterbury glosses was explored in an unpublished paper by Rusche, 'The *Old English Martyrology* and the Canterbury Aldhelm Scholia'.

⁵¹Hohler, 'Theodore and the Liturgy', pp. 227–8; for legendaries in Canterbury, see Brown, 'Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861'.

⁵²See Godden, 'Did King Alfred Write Anything?'.

⁵³Godden, 'The Alfredian Project and its Aftermath', esp. pp. 119–22; and Godden and Irvine, ed., *The Old English Boethius*, I, 145–6.

volume to CCCC 191 and CCCC 201, pp. 179–272, all from Exeter.⁵⁴ CCCC 191 contains a bilingual copy of the Rule of Chrodegang; CCCC 201 the bilingual version of the *Theodulfi Capitula*, an instructional work for parish priests compiled c. 800 by Theodulf, bishop of Orléans. Erika Corradini has pointed out that the constellation of texts contained in CCCC 196, 191 and 201 has parallels in similar books produced on the Continent. One of them, Bern, Burgerbibliothek 289, produced in Metz in the early ninth century, similarly juxtaposes a martyrology, a Rule of Chrodegang and the *Theodulfi Capitula*.⁵⁵ There is a possibility that the original Rule of Chrodegang, composed in Metz c. 755, had reached the community of Christ Church Canterbury under Wulfred (d. 832) by the early ninth century.⁵⁶ If he used Chrodegang's Rule for the reform of his community, one wonders whether, like his Continental models, he would have regarded a martyrological handbook (in the vernacular or Latin) as an essential tool for the education of his community, particularly one that would present more information than was contained in conventional martyrologies, and one that was backward-looking and easily accessible.

It needs to be stressed that there is no firm evidence which would link the composition of the *Old English Martyrology* to such a background. But it is important to show that a scenario involving a later ninth-century composition is not the only possibility; an earlier ninth-century composition, for example by one of Alfred's Mercian associates before his appointment to Alfred's circles, or an even earlier composition, for example at Wulfred's behest, are also possibilities. Further scenarios could still present themselves. For example, the *Old English Martyrology* presents a very distinctive Irish element in its source profile and thematic interests, and it may still be possible to link this element to other, known, areas of Irish activity in Anglo-Saxon England, particularly in the areas of homiletic writing or the use of biblical commentaries. As another scenario, the question regarding the potential authorship of Cynewulf needs to be addressed. This author is known to have had hagiographical interests, is associated with an Anglian linguistic background, and has been assigned to the ninth century by most commentators.⁵⁷ Or, to name another possibility, it may be the case that the composition of the *Old English Martyrology* is linked to the tradition of the so-called Cotton-Corpus Legendary: this eleventh-century legendary is thought to be descended from a much earlier northern French import, believed to have entered England sometime between the later ninth and the

⁵⁴The literature on these volumes and their connection is summarised in Rauer, 'Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*', pp. 129–30.

⁵⁵Corradini, 'Leofric of Exeter', pp. 216–17; Hagen, *Catalogus codicum*, no. 289; Gretsche, 'Æthelthryth of Ely', p. 162; Bertram, ed., *The Chrodegang Rules*, p. 24. It is hard to determine the date at which the *Theodulfi Capitula* entered Anglo-Saxon England; see Sauer, ed., *Theodulfi Capitula* in England, pp. 71–5, and p. 21 for Burgerbibliothek 289.

⁵⁶Langefeld, 'Regula canonicorum or Regula monasterialis uitae?', and Langefeld, ed., *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, pp. 15–20; Foot, *Monastic Life*, pp. 58–69; Corradini, 'Leofric of Exeter', pp. 214–23; ODNB, s. v. 'Wulfred'; and Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 155–71.

⁵⁷Cross, 'Cynewulf's Traditions about the Apostles'; McCulloh, 'Did Cynewulf Use a Martyrology'; Fulk, 'Cynewulf: Canon, Dialect, and Date'.

later tenth centuries.⁵⁸ If the precursor of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary and its importation to England could indeed be traced to the ninth rather than the tenth century, a link with a late ninth-century composition of the *Old English Martyrology* (the author of which could conceivably have used that legendary, or one that was related, as a source) would become more interesting.

More general characteristics regarding the authorship of the *Old English Martyrology* remain open. Although male authorship is more likely in view of general Anglo-Saxon patterns of literary production, the text could theoretically have been written by a female author; it could theoretically have been composed by more than one person. The text sections follow a more or less rigid pattern which could easily have been communicated to an author's research assistants or a production committee.⁵⁹ The text contains no internal cross-references or other identifying links where one would perhaps expect them. Whatley points out, for example, that Vitalis (72), who is given a text section of his own, also appears in the section dedicated to Ursicinus (236), anonymously as 'a Christian man'; the two sections are based on the same source, the *Passio S. Geruasii* (BHL 3514).⁶⁰ Similarly, Valerianus, husband of Caecilia, remains anonymous in his wife's text section (227), although he is named in his own (64); both sections are based on the *Passio S. Caeciliae* (BHL 1495). It could therefore be said that the text sections remain relatively independent of each other. Whether that should be interpreted as a sign of multiple authorship, or a sign of one author's determination to focus on one section at a time, remains open.

Certain phrases occur throughout the text; Alexandria, for example, is called 'the great city of Alexandria' in three of the four sections which refer to it; Carthage is called 'the great city of Carthage' in two out of three sections; but similar phrasing occurs in other texts, and could have been used by more than one author. Other consistent or inconsistent phraseology could be listed here, but the fact remains that inconsistent usage can also arise from a single author's work, and consistent phraseological features could also represent the shared language of more than one author, or the language of an Anglo-Saxon editor standardising the work of several assistants. A connected question, namely whether the *Old English Martyrology* could have been accumulated over a long period of time, by more than one author, is similarly difficult to answer.

Several text sections stand out as particularly short and unhelpful. There is a suggestion that these sections are unfinished, and it may be that the martyrologist set out in his task hoping to find detailed narrative information regarding all of his saints, but was in some cases disappointed in his search for relevant literature. It is mainly these shorter sections which lead to the current assumption that the composition of the *Old English Martyrology* began with a list of saints' names and feasts (such as

⁵⁸Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary', p. 134; see also Kotzor, I, 277–8, who points to the fact that the Cotton-Corpus Legendary also preserves the lives of Bertinus, Audomarus and Winnocus, and the 'Legimus' sermon, which are likely to have been among the martyrologist's sources. See also above n. 48 for Grimbold's origin.

⁵⁹For a survey of the formulae used, see Kotzor, I, 409–21.

⁶⁰Whatley, s. vv. 'Gervasius et Protasius'.

could be found in one or more martyrologies or calendars) which were then fleshed out with narrative material derived from other sources.

Some features seem to indicate that the sections were not composed in a linear way, that is, not in the order in which they are preserved in the text. In a small number of cases, the martyrologist seems to be influenced by information which he probably encountered in his work on later text sections. For example, two separate personages called Datianus are referred in the text, one as the persecutor of Vincent and Eulalia (31, 234), the other as the persecutor of George and Alexandria (67, 71). In his entry for Vincent, the martyrologist refers to the persecutor as 'emperor Datianus', 'Datianus se casere'. But only in the Latin hagiography of George and Alexandria is the man of that name referred to as an emperor.⁶¹ If the martyrologist had got that idea from the Latin texts used for his entries on George and Alexandria, the suggestion would be that, in composing a text section which occurs earlier in the text, he was using material which he needed for a text section placed further towards the end of the text. Given the scale of the text in question, it would not seem surprising if the martyrologist fleshed out his text sections in the order in which he accessed their sources, rather than in the order in which the sections occur in the text, which would instead have required him to keep going back to the same source texts. This also means that the martyrologist would not necessarily have needed repeated access to his source texts, but could conceivably and without major problems have collected materials in more than one literary centre.

The *Old English Martyrology* has been aligned with other examples of the martyrological genre, and it is true that it shares many characteristics with Latin martyrologies: the skeletal structure of each section, which tends to provide information about the name of the saint and associated figures, his or her geographical origin, place and nature of the martyrdom, and details of any place of burial.⁶² The arrangement of the entries by feastday, and the fact that not all days are allocated a text section whilst others have several, are also common characteristics of martyrological texts. But the *Old English Martyrology* goes beyond what is normally contained in a martyrology: many entries are concerned with time measurement and cosmology, interests which are frequently found in calendars.⁶³ Like the *Old English Martyrology*, the calendar in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 63, for example, presents parallels for the birth of Adam, astronomical and cosmological events, feasts of the Easter cycle, the beginning of summer and winter, and the length of day and night in a given month (e.g. 'nox horas .xiii. dies x', end of February).⁶⁴

The narrative detail of the *Old English Martyrology*, with its frequent direct speeches (as one can find in saints' lives), and its habit of interpolating explanations of difficult vocabulary in a second language, are also not often encountered in

⁶¹From a historical point of view, neither Datianus was in fact an emperor; see de Gaiffier, '*Sub Daciano praeside*' and Kotzor, I, 287 and 302.

⁶²Kotzor, I, 290–311 and 'The Latin Tradition of Martyrologies'; McCulloh, 'Historical Martyrologies'.

⁶³Rauer, 'Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*', pp 132–3. For further secondary reading, see also Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Studies: Hagiography, Liturgy, Function'.

⁶⁴For further discussion, see Rauer, 'Usage', pp. 132–3.

martyrologies; as a consequence, the communal or ceremonial reading which other martyrologies experienced seems less likely in the case of the *Old English Martyrology*.⁶⁵ It seems doubtful that the sanctorale of the *Old English Martyrology* reflects the liturgical practice of any single Anglo-Saxon religious house. Whatever the martyrologist's aim was, there can be no doubt that he must have used one or more Latin martyrologies as a model and starting point, but went well beyond a martyrological scope in the composition of his text.

If the *Old English Martyrology* presents features from more than one genre, such as martyrology, calendar, saints' life, and glossary, its usage may have been similarly versatile, both at the point of composition and during its long transmission. Herzfeld suggested that the text was intended as a collection of materials for preachers, and although there are signs that the text was used by homilists, it would be difficult to show that it had been intended and composed specifically for such a readership.⁶⁶ Similarly, the modest evidence that there is for the usage of the *Old English Martyrology* seems to suggest that the text was used by relatively competent Latinists, but this again need not mean that it was intended or composed for such a group.⁶⁷ Ado thought of his own ninth-century martyrology as a one-volume devotional reader intended for clerics who could not manage to read more extensively, and in that sense the collection of materials in the *Old English Martyrology* compares very well with its compact format.⁶⁸

The inclusive approach to the selection of saints, which has already been mentioned, makes it hard to identify geographical points of gravity. Similarly problematic for enquiries into the text's historical origin is the fact that its thematic focus would seem to fit into a vast multitude of possible backgrounds. The most common nouns used in the text relate to the saints themselves, their persecutors, feastdays and martyrdoms, as could be predicted for a text with a martyrological focus. But particularly common are also references to the Holy Spirit ('gast', c. 60 occurrences), heaven ('heofon', c. 50 occurrences), pagans ('hæþen', c. 50 occurrences), miracles ('wundor', c. 50 occurrences), night ('niht', c. 50 references), belief ('geleafan', c. 50 occurrences), prayer ('gebed', c. 40 occurrences) and angels ('engel', c. 40 occurrences); Kotzor also pointed to the frequent miraculous appearance of voices from heaven, angels leading souls to the next world, doves, pleasant smells and heavenly lights.⁶⁹ It is interesting that even in very short text sections, which give very little information on a saint, the martyrologist frequently reassures the reader of the saints' general association with miracles, either during their lifetime, or posthumously at their place of burial: **7, 36, 72, 81, 98, 129, 141, 171, 201**. Also conspicuous are a number of long appeals, in the form of prayers,

⁶⁵But see Dolbeau, 'Notes sur l'organisation' for other hybrid texts and books combining features of the martyrology, the saint's life, and the calendar. For speech patterns in the text, see Rauer, 'Direct Speech, Intercession, and Prayer'.

⁶⁶Herzfeld, p. xi; and Rauer, 'Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*'.

⁶⁷Rauer, 'Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*', pp. 135–7.

⁶⁸de Gaiffier, 'De l'usage', pp. 57–8.

⁶⁹See Kotzor, I, 408–9. I am currently preparing a comprehensive motif index for the *Old English Martyrology*.

given by George (67), Christopher (73), Marina (122), and Cyricus and Iulitta (127).⁷⁰ Shortly before their martyrdom, these saints request reassurance from God that future believers appealing to them (in case of need, danger or distress) will be rewarded. These prayers may have been expanded from their source, and seem to have been particularly important to the author as examples of potential interaction between worshippers and saints, notwithstanding the somewhat suspect character of these prayers in theological terms. In sum, all of these characteristics tell us something about the author's interest in numinous revelations, or the 'spectacularly miraculous', as David Rollason put it. But such an interest in the miraculous can be suspected to have been at work in many religious houses in Anglo-Saxon England, where audiences and readers had to be enthused for their interaction with the saintly world.⁷¹

4 Manuscripts

Six medieval manuscripts (ABCDEF) and one early modern witness (C*), survive of the *Old English Martyrology*.⁷² All manuscripts are fragments; A, B, C, and E seem to have been accidentally fragmented in the course of transmission, whereas the text appears to have been left incomplete intentionally in D and F. The fact that all but two text copies are acephalous has made it difficult to determine the intended beginning of the text, which may be 25 December (based on internal evidence and as presented in D), or 1 January, for which there are also internal indications; it may also be the case that the text was formulated to allow either of these two dates to function as the opening of the text.⁷³ All manuscripts except for C* and F present the same characteristic layout of the text, which allocates a new line and large initial for the opening of most text sections.⁷⁴

Put together, the manuscripts present contents for almost the entire course of the year, except for apparently lost parts from 25 January to ?27 February and perhaps also late December. It is hard to speculate what could have been contained in any lost sections, but arguments have been put forward for a number of saints with feastdays in the relevant months: Agatha, Brigida, Candida, Dorothy, Juliana, Scholastica, Victoria, Crispinus, Eutychianus, Fructuosus, Polycarp, Polychronius, Valentinus Interamnensis, Valentinus Presbiter, Vedastus, and the Purification of Mary.⁷⁵ These

⁷⁰For further discussion of these passages, see Rauer, 'Direct Speech, Intercession, and Prayer'. On the general overlap between the genres of prayers and charms or magic, see the interesting studies by Fisher, 'Genre, Prayers and the Anglo-Saxon Charms' and 'Writing Charms', esp. pp. 7–37.

⁷¹Rollason, Review of Kotzor, p. 224.

⁷²Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Manuscripts'; for the conspectus of manuscript contents, see the same website, s. v. 'An Index of Reference Nos., Saints, Feasts and Manuscript Contents'. For the sake of convenience, this edition uses the sigla which have been used since the first critical edition, see Herzfeld, pp. xi–xviii.

⁷³'On þone forman dæg on geare', 1 (25 December); 'Þæt bið se æresta geares monað mid Romwarum ond mid us', 8a (1 January); Rauer, 'Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*', pp. 143–4; and Tupper, 'Anglo-Saxon Dæg-Mæl', pp. 208–12.

⁷⁴See the facsimile pages of individual manuscripts cited below; F has a thematic arrangement and C* is an early modern transcript.

⁷⁵See Rauer, 'Female Hagiography'; Lapidge, 'Acca of Hexham', p. 39n; Rauer, 'The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*', p. 94; and Whatley (under the names of the saints mentioned).

saints (and possibly others with feastdays in the relevant portions of the liturgical year) may have been included in the original *Old English Martyrology*.

Since detailed descriptions already exist for all manuscripts, only brief introductions are given below, together with updated bibliographical references.

A: London, BL Add. 23211 (c. 871x899), fol. 2; Ker no. 127; Gneuss no. 282

A is a damaged fragment which contains only a short sequence of text from the *Old English Martyrology*: 14, 18, 21 and 23 April.⁷⁶ The importance of this witness lies in the fact that it represents one of the two earliest manuscripts of the *Old English Martyrology*, and seems to have been copied not long after the presumptive composition of the text in the ninth century. In this fragment, the text is transmitted alongside computistical verse and genealogies of West Saxon and East Saxon kings; the copying of this manuscript has conventionally been dated to 871 x 899.⁷⁷ David Dumville has urged caution, however, emphasising that the dating is based on the 'not wholly conclusive evidence of its text of the West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List to the reign of Alfred of Wessex (it could in principle be later than his time)'.⁷⁸

The few fragmented entries of the *Old English Martyrology* contained in this manuscript are in any case not thought to be directly copied from the original *o*, nor the archetype *z*.⁷⁹ Comparison of its content and phrasing with those found in the later manuscripts shows an overwhelming agreement with the later tradition. The language of the fragment (copied by a single scribe) can be regarded as largely Anglian, but Kotzor importantly points to an admixture of West Saxon features, possibly also a small number of Kentish characteristics.⁸⁰ A mixture of Anglian and West Saxon features with possible traces of Kentish features has also been postulated for the presumptive original Old English text, and the assumption is that manuscript *A* represents a relatively accurate line of transmission. Because its early phonology and orthography differ so much from those of the later and more complete manuscripts, most editors have chosen to edit the entire fragment separately, a tradition which is followed here (see Appendix 1 below). The fragment was used, in post-medieval times, as a paste-down in an octavo volume, and suffered truncation on three sides. The written space is damaged particularly on one side.⁸¹

⁷⁶For the most detailed assessment of this fragment of the *Old English Martyrology*, see Kotzor, I, 43–55; for more recent secondary literature and a complete bibliography, see Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Manuscripts'.

⁷⁷For a summary of dating criteria, see Kotzor, I, 52–54. More recent discussions include Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List', pp. 2–3 and Dumville, 'English Script in the Second Half of the Ninth Century'.

⁷⁸Dumville, 'English Script in the Second Half of the Ninth Century', p. 310.

⁷⁹Kotzor, I, 143 and 444; see also the *stemma codicum* below, p. 24.

⁸⁰Kotzor, I, 323–4, 396–405 and 445–6, and Sisam, 'An Early Fragment', pp. 216–17.

⁸¹A microfiche facsimile of this manuscript can now be found in Doane, *Saints' Lives, Martyrologies*; for facsimile pages see Kotzor, I, 46, and Dumville 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List', p. 3 (genealogy only). Codicological and palaeographical descriptions can be found in Kotzor, I, 45–52, Doane, *Saints' Lives, Martyrologies*, pp. 1–4, and Ker, p. 160;

B: London, BL Cotton Julius A. x (s. x/xi), fols 44–175; Ker no. 161; Gneuss no. 338 *B* represents the most extensive of the surviving manuscripts of the *Old English Martyrology*, containing 229 text sections (31 December to 25 January, 27 February to 13 March, 18 March to 24 June, 2 July to 11 November; the textual gaps are due to missing leaves).⁸² *B* presents a text which is thought to be closer to the original than the revised version transmitted in *C* and *E*. For this reason, *B* has formed the *Leithandschrift* for the editions by Herzfeld and Kotzor, and is also used as such here. It should be remembered, however, that *B* too has its textual problems, some of which can be solved with recourse to the CE branch of transmission. The other contents of this manuscript were added in early modern times, and provide no information on the codicological context for this copy of the *Old English Martyrology*, but internal evidence points to Glastonbury as a possible provenance or origin for *B*.⁸³ Kotzor was able to distinguish four different pre-Conquest hands responsible for the copying of the original text (*Ba*, *Bb*, *Bc*, *Bd*), and two further pre-Conquest hands inserting corrections (*Be*, *Bf*); dialectal differences between the scribes were also traced by Kotzor.⁸⁴ The manuscript contains numerous marginalia from medieval and early modern times which provide clues concerning the post-Conquest reception of the *Old English Martyrology*.⁸⁵

C: CCCC 196 (s. xi², Exeter), pp. 1–110; Ker no. 47; Gneuss no. 62

C contains 207 sections of the *Old English Martyrology* (19 March to 21 December), and, like *B*, represents one of the more complete witnesses; the text was probably copied by a single scribe.⁸⁶ *C* is thought to belong to a branch of transmission which presents an early revision of the text, and details of this stylistic, lexical and dialectal revision can be identified through comparison of *AB* and *CE*. Although most variants in *C* seem to be due to this revision, it must not be forgotten that *C* also preserves a number of readings which appear to be original and which can be used to highlight textual problems in *B*. The codex, which has been associated with Bishop Leofric, also contains the *Vindicta Saluatoris* (pp. 111–22) and was probably produced as a companion volume to CCCC 191 (containing the Bilingual Rule of Chrodegang) and CCCC 201, pp. 179–272 (containing the *Capitula Theodulfi*, and a fragment of Usuard, *Martyrologium*). Most of the recent literature on this manuscript has concentrated on the relationship between these manuscripts and possible lay or parish

⁸²For a systematic description of this manuscript, see Kotzor I, 56–74, and Doane, *Saints' Lives, Martyrologies*, pp. 37–50. Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Manuscripts' lists related secondary literature. For a facsimile page, see Kotzor, I, 60–3; and Roberts, *Guide to Scripts*, p. 72; the entire text can now be found on microfiche facsimile in Doane, *Saints' Lives, Martyrologies*.

⁸³Rauer, 'Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*', pp. 130–1.

⁸⁴Kotzor, I, 58–71, and 404. Rob Getz points out (pers. comm.) that scribe *Ba* distinguishes himself with a number of phonological features which could be interpreted as south-eastern, including *æ* before nasal, see Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, § 193d. Unfortunately, no connection can at this stage be made between *Ba*'s phonology and the origin of *B* or the *Old English Martyrology*.

⁸⁵Kotzor, I, 56–7; Rauer, 'Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*', pp. 137–8; Ker, p. 206.

⁸⁶See Kotzor, I, 75–88 for a very detailed palaeographical analysis of this manuscript; cp. also Treharne's description for the project *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060–1220*; Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Manuscripts' lists related secondary literature.

usage. An online digital version of this witness has recently been made accessible to researchers.⁸⁷

*C**: London, BL Cotton Vitellius D. vii. (s. xvi), fols 131r–132r

*C** is an early modern transcript made by John Joscelyn (1529–1603) of parts of manuscript *C*.⁸⁸ The transcript is contained in Joscelyn's notebook of transcriptions known as the *Collectanea Joscellini* and consists of 24 text sections which are transcribed wholly or partially: The End of March, The Beginning of April, The Beginning of May, The Beginning of Summer, The End of May, The Beginning of June, Summer Solstice, The End of June, The Beginning of July, The End of July, The Beginning of August, The End of August, The Beginning of September, The End of September, The Beginning of October, The End of October, The Beginning of November, The Beginning of Winter, The End of November, The Beginning of December, and 17 March.⁸⁹ The last entry, that for St Patrick, is transcribed twice and is of particular importance, as this text section survives in no other witness. Joscelyn is thought to have copied this entry from an already loose leaf in *C* which was subsequently lost.⁹⁰ It was Kotzor who first recognised the connection between Joscelyn's transcript and *C*.

D: CCCC 41 (s. xi^l – xi med., prob. S England, prov. Exeter by s. xi³⁻⁴), pp. 122–32; Ker no. 32; Gneuss no. 39

Manuscript *D* contains only a brief sequence of text sections (25 to 31 December) and is perhaps the most idiosyncratic of the six witnesses. The text of the *Old English Martyrology* is copied (together with other texts) probably by single scribe into the margins of an Old English Translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁹¹ Previous commentators have perhaps not sufficiently emphasised how careless the copying appears to be: although all manuscripts present their own textual problems, *D* presents the greatest density of errors, which range from missing initials and chaotic corrections to textual lacunae, defective concordance, missing endings, nonce words, calendrical confusion and names which are garbled to the point of causing misunderstandings.⁹² Despite its poor standards of copying, *D* is an important

⁸⁷*Parker Library on the Web*, <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu>; a printed facsimile page can also be found in Kotzor, I, 78.

⁸⁸*ODNB*, s. v. 'Jocelin, John'; secondary literature relating to this manuscript is listed in Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Manuscripts'. See also Kotzor, I, 75, 87–8; Kotzor, 'St. Patrick in the Old English 'Martyrology''; and Page, 'The Lost Leaf of MS. C.C.C.C. 196' regarding its relationship with *C*.

⁸⁹See Sanders Gale, 'John Joscelyn's Notebook', pp. 216–18; and Rauer, 'Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*', pp. 139–40.

⁹⁰Sisam, Review of Kotzor, p. 68, speculates that the leaf may have been loosened by 'constant thumbing in Glastonbury'.

⁹¹Kotzor, I, 89–108, presents a detailed description of the *Old English Martyrology* sections in this manuscript; see also Jolly, 'On the Margins of Orthodoxy' for a recent survey of the codicological and literary context. Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Manuscripts' lists related secondary literature. For the unusual layout and digital images, see now the *Parker Library on the Web*, <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu>; a facsimile page can also be found in Kotzor, I, 95.

⁹²See Commentary below, sections 1–7.

witness, as it alone preserves the text sections for the Christmas Octave. The relationship between D and other witnesses remains unclear, as there is no overlapping content between D and other witnesses; D is for this reason usually excluded from the *stemma*. Recent research on this witness has focused on the thematic or generic connections between the marginalia, several of which may point to an Irish component in their composition or transmission.⁹³ The codex is one of the books given to Exeter by Bishop Leofric.

E: London, BL Add. 40165 A.2, fols. 6–7; Ker no. 132; Gneuss no. 298

E represents a badly damaged, short fragment of the *Old English Martyrology*;⁹⁴ part of its text was lost when the top part of the written space was cut down to a smaller size. The manuscript was in medieval times also used as a paste-down, and much of the written space was damaged and made partly illegible when glue or a similar substance was applied.⁹⁵ The fragment contains only eleven entries of the *Old English Martyrology*, copied by a single original scribe (Ea), with corrections in what seems to be a second hand (Eb); the text sections are those for 2 and 3 May, Rogation Days, and 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 May. It was Celia Sisam who discovered the manuscript and first noted that, notwithstanding its minimal length, the text preserved in E is important in establishing several original readings, mainly by supporting readings in C against B.⁹⁶ The survival of E is also important on account of its late ninth- or early tenth-century date of production, which, together with A, confirms a ninth-century composition of the *Old English Martyrology*.⁹⁷ The linguistic characteristics of the text fragment preserved in E can be regarded as largely Anglian, although West Saxon and possibly Kentish features are also attested.⁹⁸ Because the language of the fragment differs substantially in its phonology and orthography from the later and more substantial manuscripts which preserve the bulk of the *Old English Martyrology*, E has several times been edited separately, which is also the case here (see Appendix 2 below).

F: London, BL Harley 3271 (s. xi^l), fol 92v; Ker no. 239; Gneuss no. 435

The text of the *Old English Martyrology* contained in F consists of parts of two short entries only, 9 May (The Beginning of Summer) and 7 November (The Beginning of

⁹³See particularly Olsen, 'Thematic Affinities'; and Jolly, 'On the Margins of Orthodoxy'; for a recent study of the use of this manuscript, see Rowley, *The Old English Version*, pp. 164–73.

⁹⁴For the fullest description, see Kotzor, I, 109–17, Sisam, 'An Early Fragment', and Doane, *Saints' Lives, Martyrologies*, pp. 5–13. A facsimile page can be found in Kotzor, I, 111, and the entire manuscript is now available in manuscript microfiche in Doane, *Saints' Lives, Martyrologies*. Secondary reading is listed in Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Manuscripts'.

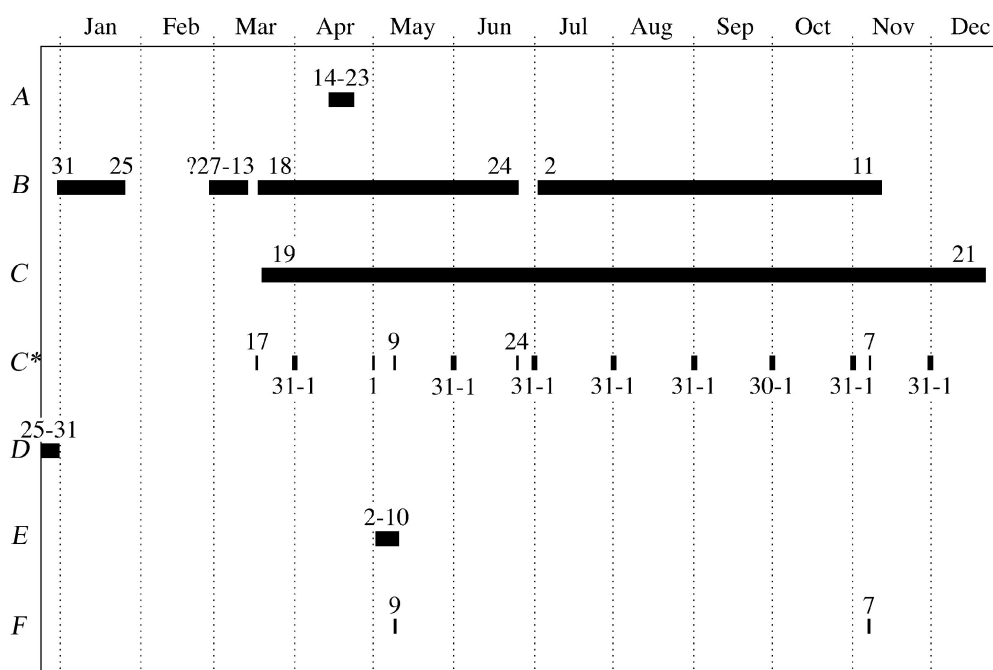
⁹⁵Ker, pp. 163–4.

⁹⁶See the Commentary section, and the *stemma codicum* p. 24; Sisam, 'An Early Fragment', and Kotzor, I, 26–30, for an assessment of Sisam's work.

⁹⁷Kotzor, I, 115–16.

⁹⁸Kotzor, I, 323–4, 396–405; Sisam, 'An Early Fragment', 214–17.

Winter), copied by a single hand.⁹⁹ Both of these text sections survive in several other manuscripts, and F is therefore of modest value for the reconstruction of the text. The manuscript is, however, an important indicator for the usage and codicological context in which the *Old English Martyrology* was transmitted.¹⁰⁰ It is interesting to see that this manuscript juxtaposes two text sections which are situated far apart in the *Old English Martyrology*, and it is clear that their position within Harley 3271 is linked to their thematic content, since in that manuscript they are preceded and followed by other items which also concern themselves with chronology and the sequence of months and seasons.¹⁰¹ In the *Old English Martyrology*, the two entries are preceded by an introductory formula which links the information given to a day of the month ('On the ninth day of the month is the beginning of summer'; 'On the seventh day of the month is the beginning of winter'); this formula is not attached to the entries in Harley 3271, as the surrounding texts have no calendrical arrangement. A Winchester origin has been suggested for this manuscript, whose relationship with other manuscripts remains unclear; F is therefore excluded from the *stemma* here.



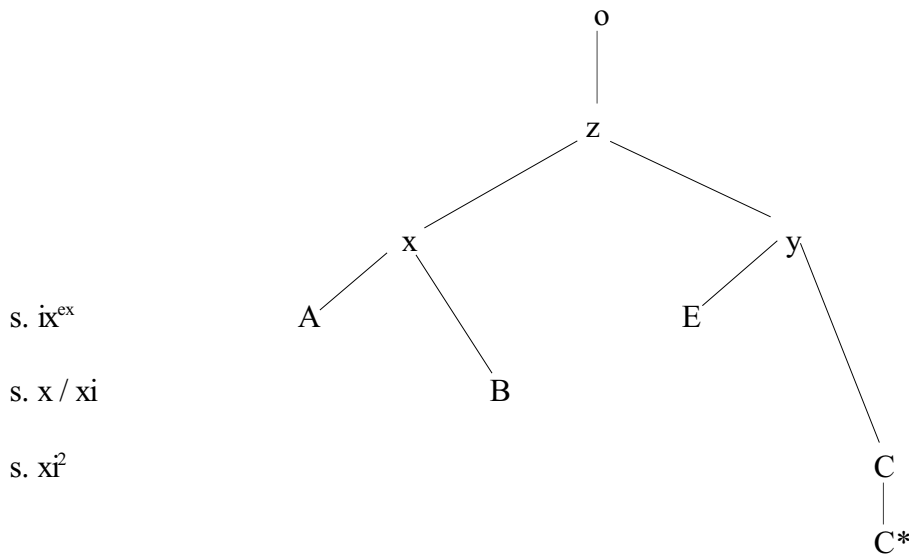
⁹⁹Previously edited in Henel, 'Altenglischer Mönchsaberglaube'. Since this edition is now relatively inaccessible, the text of F is presented separately in Appendix 3 below. The manuscript was known to Kotzor, without being classified by him as a separate witness, see Kotzor, I, 3n. The *DOE* refers to F under the name 'Mart 6 (Henel)'; it is listed as B.19.6 in Frank and Cameron, *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*.

¹⁰⁰See Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Manuscripts'.

¹⁰¹A detailed list of its contents can be found in Chardonnens, 'London, British Library, Harley 3271', pp. 28–34.

As the diagram of manuscript contents demonstrates, B and C represent the two most important witnesses in terms of textual extent.¹⁰² Following her discovery of E, Sisam corrected Herzfeld's *stemma codicum* to the one on which this edition is based.¹⁰³ The current hypothesis is that there are two main branches of transmission (AB and CE), both derived from lost hyparchetypes (x and y) sharing a lost common ancestor z, which is not thought to have been the original (o). The hypothesis which was first put forward by Sisam is based on shared readings and errors, and was corroborated in Kotzor's detailed comparison of variants.¹⁰⁴

It is important to stress that the relationships between the witnesses need not be direct; further copies could have functioned as intermediaries. An eleventh-century booklist contained in CCCC 367 refers to a text of the *Old English Martyrology* apparently kept at Worcester, which could represent a copy unknown to modern scholarship.¹⁰⁵



One of the most interesting features of the *Old English Martyrology* and its transmission is the notion that it underwent an early and major revision (resulting in the branch represented by CE), which seems to have gone far beyond the normal degree of reinterpretation inherent in the manual copying of medieval texts. The text presented in CE is frequently clearer in style, often edits out difficult lexis and clumsy syntax, and has a greater West Saxon dialectal component in its language than the tradition preserved in AB.¹⁰⁶ Several revised features are shared by both C and E; the revision is therefore thought to have occurred before the production of E (and thus

¹⁰²The diagram is adapted from Kotzor, I, 167.

¹⁰³Sisam, 'An Early Fragment'; see also Kotzor, I, 26–30 for an assessment of Sisam's work.

¹⁰⁴Kotzor, I, 118–44.

¹⁰⁵Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 62–4; and Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England*, pp. 81–2.

¹⁰⁶Kotzor, I, 133–65. To what extent this stylistic and dialectal revision resembles later revisions of other ninth-century Old English prose texts, such as the Old English translations of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and Gregory's *Dialogi*, has not yet been explored.

at an early stage), but the process of West Saxonisation seems to have progressed further in C. As a consequence of this revision, the CE tradition is less prone to misunderstandings by the reader, but also represents a text further removed from the presumed original and the Latin source material.¹⁰⁷ It is hard to speculate on the possible historical context for such a revision. Given how early this redaction was apparently undertaken, it is worth considering whether the author himself, or persons in the author's circle, were responsible for producing a revised version, perhaps as a planned part of the translation project, which could have consisted of a first stage of translation from Latin, where accuracy was an important criterion, followed by a second stage of editing and smoothing over of the text in the new target language. Such a scenario, which places the two versions close together, however, has to deal with the fact that the revision in several places appears to have problems understanding the original text, and presents reinterpretations of the text which are in themselves elegant, but have only little to do with the older Old English version or the Latin sources. In other words, the communication between the original author and the reviser seems to have been problematic at least in some ways, and for this reason it is perhaps unlikely that the author himself or a person in his closer literary or linguistic environment is responsible for the revision. It is important to bear in mind that the revision could have been triggered either by dissatisfaction with the sometimes very difficult lexis, syntax and style of the first version, or by the needs of a new audience, or indeed by both factors. A redaction of an Anglo-Saxon text need not be linked to a historical movement known to modern scholarship, and could have been motivated by nothing more than the initiative of a single reader.

This raises the interesting question of which version should be regarded as the real *Old English Martyrology*. It is clear that a text based on B as a *Leithandschrift*, like the one presented here and in previous editions, is closer to the Latin sources, and therefore to the intentions of the author of o.¹⁰⁸ If the revised version really does originate from an environment which was no longer in touch with the author of the original, the revised version has to be regarded as derivative. Given that the two versions are the same for long stretches of text, a separate edition of the CE tradition is probably not justified, although its deviations from the AB tradition certainly present interesting areas for further study.

5 Previous Editions, Editorial Policy

Modern interest in the text of the *Old English Martyrology* started early, often concentrating on the non-hagiographical text sections (especially those related to Anglo-Saxon time measurement and medieval English historiography). Thus, early partial transcripts were made by John Joscelyn (1529–1603, from C) and Francis Junius (1591–1677, from B and C).¹⁰⁹ A complete text of the *Old English Martyrology* was assembled for the first time in 1869 by Thomas Oswald Cockayne

¹⁰⁷For examples, see Rauer, 'Errors and Textual Problems'.

¹⁰⁸Kotzor, I, 144–65.

¹⁰⁹Kotzor, I, 9–12; for more recent literature on Joscelyn, see above nn. 88–9; for a contextualisation of Junius' transcriptions, which were intended to aid Old English lexicography, see Dekker, 'That Most Elaborate One'.

(1809–1873), although this publication too resembles a transcript more than a critical edition.¹¹⁰ Cockayne's text did not draw on the manuscripts E and F, and presented no systematic collation of the manuscripts that were known to Cockayne. A particular focus of his publication was source study, which, despite Cockayne's overestimation of Eastern influences, led to many correct source identifications still regarded as valid today. Cockayne recognised the ninth-century date of the text and posited a link to Alfredian circles, referring to the *Old English Martyrology* as 'King Ælfred's Book of Martyrs'.¹¹¹ Cockayne's edition leaves a very eccentric impression today, but its influence should not be underestimated; it was Cockayne's text which was used by Eduard Sievers for his phonological and morphological work, by Thomas Northcote Toller for his *Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon* (1882–98, based on the work of Joseph Bosworth), and by John Clark Hall for his *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1894).¹¹² The *Supplement* to Bosworth and Toller's Dictionary (1908–21) was already based on a new edition of the *Old English Martyrology* which could be said to be the first critical edition, namely that undertaken by Georg Herzfeld for the Early English Text Society (1900), although that editor too remained unaware of E and F.¹¹³ Herzfeld's edition was seen in the years following its publication as something of a curate's egg, but it would be fair to say that it did not deserve the critical reaction it received and still represents a considerable achievement, given the research tools available to scholars working at the time.¹¹⁴ Without the help of the *Bibliotheca Hagiographia Latina* (published 1899–1901), Herzfeld nevertheless identified an impressive number of Latin texts which seemed to resemble sections of the *Old English Martyrology* in content and wording.¹¹⁵ Although his linguistic and editorial approach was in many ways unsystematic, Herzfeld also delivered a good number of informed textual conjectures, not all of which have so far received the necessary attention. Herzfeld correctly identified many corrupt passages in the text, and attempted relatively useful emendations. He also speculated about the possible use of the text by homilists, an idea which has more recently received support from emerging links with homiletic texts, traced with the help of the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* project.

The edition published by Günter Kotzor as an *Abhandlung* of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (1981) was based on his doctoral dissertation and can certainly be regarded as exemplary for the time at which it was published, both in its careful detail and the wide range of textual aspects it covers. Particularly systematic

¹¹⁰Cockayne, ed., *The Shrine: A Collection of Occasional Papers on Dry Subjects*, with editions of A, B, C (pp. 46–156) and D (pp. 29–33). A fascinating biographical account of Cockayne can be found in Van Arsdall, *Medieval Herbal Remedies*, pp. 1–34. For a list of incomplete editions, see Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Editions and Translations'.

¹¹¹Kotzor, I, 12–14.

¹¹²Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, p. 270, and see above, n. 15 for 'Miscellen zur angelsächsischen Grammatik', p. 299; Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. xi; and Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. xi.

¹¹³Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Supplement*, p. iii; Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*.

¹¹⁴For reviews of Herzfeld's edition, see Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'Reviews'. See Kotzor, I, 5–6 and 16–23, for a detailed summary and critique of Herzfeld's work.

¹¹⁵Herzfeld, pp. xxxvi–xlii, presents a list of sources which is now largely superseded, but represented a great step forward in the study of the *Old English Martyrology*.

and to this day not superseded are Kotzor's palaeographical and codicological examinations of the manuscripts and scribal hands, and his work on the language of the text, which included systematic studies on dialectal features, vocabulary, and phonology.¹¹⁶ Kotzor also identified a good number of further sources and produced the first stylistic studies of the text. It is unfortunate that Kotzor's editorial work and Cross's source work coincided, so that in the reconstruction of his text Kotzor was not able to draw on the full range of Latin sources which were then being identified by Cross, who in turn was unable to use Kotzor's accurate text.

The need for a new edition of the *Old English Martyrology* at this stage arises from the substantial amount of research which has been undertaken since the publication of Kotzor's edition. Cross's work on the Latin sources of the text has furthered modern knowledge of the text considerably. Consulting vast numbers of unprinted versions of Latin saints' lives, Cross was able to identify not only related source texts, but particular versions of such texts, which testifies to the unusually close translation technique of the martyrologist.¹¹⁷

Since the completion of Kotzor's editorial work, many important new research tools have become available, several of them electronic. The availability of a searchable *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* has greatly facilitated lexical, morphological and syntactical comparison.¹¹⁸ The ongoing *Dictionary of Old English* project is able to provide authoritative interpretation and contextualisation of at least part of the text's vocabulary. The searchable corpus of Latin material accessible through the electronic *Acta Sanctorum* and *Patrologia Latina* databases have similarly contributed to a refining of previously known Latin sources.¹¹⁹ The many new editions and related publications which have emerged in the field of Anglo-Saxon saints' lives since the early 1980s can now be controlled with the help of the compendious 'Acta Sanctorum' by Gordon Whatley, the product of another collaborative research project, *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*.¹²⁰ Other more recent developments in hagiographical research include new editions of Anglo-Saxon litanies and calendars, both published by the Henry Bradshaw Society, and a supplement volume to the *Bibliotheca Hagiographia Latina*.¹²¹ The electronic database produced by the project *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* has for the first time collected all source references to the *Old English Martyrology* in one place, facilitating access and enabling fresh searches and comparisons.¹²² Publications on the text have tended in recent decades to focus on individual sections of text rather than the *Old English Martyrology* as a whole, and a comprehensive new bibliography

¹¹⁶Kotzor, I, 43–117.

¹¹⁷See esp. Cross, 'On the Library' and 'The Latinity' and his publications cited in the Bibliography below. For a recent study of the martyrologist's translation skills, see Rauer, 'Errors and Textual Problems'.

¹¹⁸diPaolo Healey, ed., *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*.

¹¹⁹*Acta Sanctorum* at <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk> and *Patrologia Latina* at <http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk>

¹²⁰Whatley, 'Acta Sanctorum'.

¹²¹Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*; Rushforth, ed., *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*.

¹²²Rauer, *Fontes*; for further information on the project, see *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World-Wide Web Register*, <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>

in electronic format now makes it possible to remain up to date on research relating to the *Old English Martyrology*.¹²³

The aim of this new edition is make use of these recent resources in the reconstruction of the text, with particular focus on the many Latin texts which have been linked to the *Old English Martyrology*. The text that follows is based on a re-examination of the text, combined with a fresh comparison with some 200 Latin texts which have been identified as containing the closest verbal correspondences with the Old English wording.¹²⁴ The intention is to present the results in a single volume, together with a new translation, updated textual and explanatory notes, appendices containing separate editions of the shorter manuscripts, a glossary, and indices for persons, texts and geographical terms.

The editorial policies which govern this edition can be outlined as follows. I have used all seven manuscripts ABCC*DEF to reconstruct the main text; separate editions of manuscripts A, E and F are presented in appendices, in the case of A and E on account of their ninth-century phonology which would render systematic reporting difficult in the apparatus of the main text, and in the case of F because this witness is not easily accessible in previous editions. For the reconstruction of the main text, B is used as the *Leithandschrift*; all variant readings contained in C are reported in the apparatus. Variants in A, E, and F are reported only in cases of textual uncertainty; interested readers can consult the relevant appendices for the complete text of these manuscripts. The diagram above shows which text sections are preserved in each manuscript.¹²⁵ Changes of manuscripts are indicated both in the page headers of the main text below, and in more detail also in the apparatus.

I have presented the apparatus criticus without subdivision into sections for textual notes, lexical variants and other variants. Although a subdivided system does have its merits (particularly with regard to lexicography and the ongoing production of a *Dictionary of Old English*), and certainly presents a maximum of information in relatively clear terms, it also creates problems of classification which may not always be appreciated by the reader; it also presents no advantage for the reconstruction of the edited text. Other editors working in Anglo-Saxon studies have more recently highlighted the difficulties inherent in following such a system, and the priority here is to be economical in presenting information in a more compact type of apparatus.¹²⁶ The apparatus is thus intended to indicate textual content of the various manuscripts, to record palaeographical and codicological features where they impinge on the reconstruction of the text, and to signal points where the text deviates from that of previous editors.

The editorial principle here involves negative reporting in the apparatus, which is unproblematic in the case of a text that is preserved in a maximum of four

¹²³Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography'.

¹²⁴See Rauer, 'Errors and Textual Problems' and Torkar, 'Die Ohnmacht der Textkritik' for the importance of source study in textual criticism.

¹²⁵A list of text sections and the manuscripts in which they are preserved can also be found in Rauer, 'An Annotated Bibliography', s. v. 'An Index of Reference Nos., Saints, Feasts and Manuscript Contents'.

¹²⁶See Gneuss, 'Guide to the Editing and Preparation of Texts', pp. 8–9, and Kotzor, I, 458–61.