Understanding the Church's Past: Usuard's Martyrology in Tenth-and Eleventh-century England

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The ninth century witnessed the compilation of martyrologies in both the Latin Frankish world of the Carolingians and the vernacular world of Anglo-Saxon Wessex. Yet this phenomenon has been treated very differently by modern scholars of these two cultures. For Carolingianists these martyrologies represent a public, shared text, one which was read aloud in chapter as part of the daily life of religious communities across the Frankish kingdoms, and which, as Rosamond McKitterick has suggested, should be viewed as contributing to those communities' understanding of their Christian past. For recent Anglo-Saxon scholars, the vernacular text known as the *Old English Martyrology* is rather a work compiled to support private, devotional reading, and better understood as an encyclopaedia of arcane information. This article investigates the reception of one Frankish compilation in tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England, that of Usuard, and compares it to that of the *Old English Martyrology*. It asks how far both texts should in fact be viewed as historical texts. It concludes with a case study of how they were both read in one late eleventh-century community, Exeter, and suggests that this community, at least, was able to maintain two overlapping but different views of its past and its place in wider Church history.

Martyrological texts have generally been treated as ancillary works; lumped with calendars, they are plundered as evidence for the location and dissemination of individual cults. But in the last two decades, scholars of the early medieval worlds of both Francia and Anglo-Saxon England have begun to recognise the potential of historical martyrologies in particular to reveal much more about the thought worlds of their compilers and readers.[1]

Historical martyrologies must be distinguished from the earlier, enumerative martyrologies. Compiled from at least the sixth century, enumerative martyrologies are lists of the names of those martyrs and saints to be remembered, often with a brief mention of their place of burial or execution, recorded across the liturgical year. From Bede in the eighth century onwards, enumerative martyrologies were developed into historical martyrologies

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1 The pioneer in this regard was Jacques Dubois in the editorial apparatus to his two editions of key Frankish ninth-century martyrological texts: Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois; Ado, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois and Renaud. See also McCulloh, Historical martyrologies; Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*; McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 52-54; Rauer, Usage; Thacker, Bede; Maskarinec, *City of Saints*, 154-168.

through the inclusion of brief historical entries for each saint, listing, in Bede's words, »not only on what day, but also by what sort of combat or under what judge they overcame the world.« Frankish writers, including Hrabanus Maurus, Ado of Vienne and Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, developed the genre much further over the course of the ninth century. Yet, as Rosamond McKitterick observed in 2004, this »particular type of history book ... still has not been adequately assessed«. Despite her own work over a decade ago, which situated various Carolingian historical martyrologies within a more general ninth-century preoccupation with Christian history, this remains the case. Building on Ado and Hrabanus Maurus's martyrologies, she suggested that the Franks' creation of a range of historical texts across various genres points to their being »historically minded« in a way which distinguished them from their Anglo-Saxon and Byzantine contemporaries. She thus highlighted the significance of Ado's martyrology as both a historical text and a geographic one: a form of »hagio-historio-geography«. Like Bede, Ado located individual saints' relics at a particular place, and established his accounts of martyrs' lives and deaths in historical time, be it that of the Roman, Gallo-Roman, seventh-century English or early medieval Frankish worlds. She thus demonstrated how through the retelling of saints' deaths these texts transmitted an account of Christian history, framed around its heroes and heroines. My aim in this article is to investigate how far the »historical mindedness« of Carolingian churchmen was passed to their tenth-century and eleventh-century successors in Anglo-Saxon England. I will do so first by investigating the late Anglo-Saxon reception of a Frankish martyrology, and secondly by comparing it to an indigenous martyrological text.

I

Only two historical martyrologies are known to have circulated in Anglo-Saxon England in the tenth and eleventh centuries. These are the Frankish Latin martyrology compiled by Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the third quarter of the ninth century, and the vernacular *Old English Martyrology*, composed in southern England in the second half of the ninth century.[2] The attitude of modern scholars to these two works has been rather different, as we shall see, and perhaps explains why their potential to reveal a good deal about how Anglo-Saxon churchmen understood their past, and their place within it, has not yet been fully realised.

Usuard's Martyrology

First, the Latin martyrology composed by Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Usuard seems to have begun work on it c. 850 and continued updating it until the time of his death c. 879.[3] It is an impressive and encyclopaedic undertaking, based on extensive research; Jacques Dubois's researches suggest Usuard drew on the work of at least five earlier martyrologists (the Hieronymian martyrology as well as those of Bede, Florus, and Ado and the metrical martyrology of Wandelbert); various calendars; the Old and New Testaments; some twenty-seven late antique and early medieval texts; potentially 263 saints' lives and passions, as well as various now lost sources. Usuard's text is also the earliest evidence for some sixteen saints' cults.[4] Unlike earlier martyrologists, Usuard set out to ensure that saints' cults were

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2   See the entries under *martyrologium* and martyrology in the index to Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 921.

3   Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 134-139.

4   Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 53-74.

recorded for *every* day of the calendar year. His entries are generally pithier, less detailed and less discursive than those of his sources, and include several saints for each day.[5] They often include much abbreviated entries taken from earlier texts. Their concise nature helps explain why Usuard's text was not considered in detail by McKitterick; it is much shorter than Ado's text. Nevertheless, Usuard's text mentions some 2,000 saints, and ranges over Christian time, starting with Old Testament prophets such as Elisha (June 14th) and Moses (September 4th) before moving on to the Maccabees (August 1st). Sometimes he acknowledged his debt to earlier authors, as with his decision to locate Elisha's death and cult at Samaria, on the authority of Jerome.[6] Other times, as for the feast of Moses and that of the death of the Maccabees, he did not cite any authority, but seemingly drew on earlier martyrological texts.[7] He includes several feasts marking events in the New Testament, including his account of the birth of Christ (December 25th), which was again based upon the earlier Carolingian martyrological texts of Florus and Ado and reveals a preoccupation with historical time:

> »Jesus Christ, the son of God, was born in Bethlehem in Judea, in the forty-second year of Caesar Augustus, in the sixty-sixth week according to the prophecy of Daniel, and the one hundred and ninety-third Olympiad.«[8]

He recorded the lives and deaths of apostolic saints including SS Peter and Paul, as well as other martyrs of the early Church. But he also noted the more recent cults of the ninth-century Cordoban martyrs, SS George and Aurelius, whose relics Usuard brought back from Cordoba to Paris on 20th October 858. He later added to his second recension on 20th September an entry for Bishop Eulogius of Cordoba, killed on 11th March 859 (see below).[9] Usuard's text thus moves from Biblical Palestine to the eastern Mediterranean of the early Church, to Rome, to early medieval Francia (east as well as west), Italy and Spain, to seventh-century England and ninth-century Spain.[10] The houses owning copies of Usuard's martyrology subsequently added their own more local cults.[11] As a consequence, this Frankish text links the local to more distant places and present time to both the recent and more distant past. The result is a text which locates each local church where it was read and updated within the wider framework of a shared Christian history. Usuard's martyrology is a work of salvation history in its own right, and became a standard text in the later Middle Ages.

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5   Usuard, *Martyrologe,* ed. Dubois, 103-121.

6   »*XVIII Kl. Iul: Elisei prophetae, qui apud Samariam Palestinae, ut beatus scribit Hieronimus, situs est, ubi et Abdias propheta quiescit*«: Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 246.

7   Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 276, 296.

8   »*VIII Kl. Ian. Iesus Christus filius dei in Betleem Iudae nascitur, anno Caesaris Augusti quadragesimo secundo, ebdomada iuxta Danielis prophetiam sexagesima sexta, Olympiadis autem centesimae nonagesimae terciae.*«, Usuard, *Martyrologe,* ed. Dubois, 147.

9   »*... XII KL. Oct. ... Civitate Corduba, beati Eulogii presbiteri, ob Christi martyrium decollati*«, »*XIII Kl. Nov ... Ipso die, exceptio sanctorum martyrum Georgii diaconi et Aurelii*«: Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 306, 325. On Usuard's role in introducing the cult of the Cordoban martyrs to Francia, see Nelson, Martyrology of Usuard and the Martyrs of Cordoba; Christys, St-Germain-des-Prés, St-Vincent and the Martyrs of Córdoba.

10   Usuard, *Martyrologe,* ed. Dubois, 75-102.

11   Dubois discusses this issue, and the challenges it poses for editing Usuard's text, in *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 13-15.

A far from static text, its gradual evolution and dissemination across the Frankish world was closely associated with the Carolingian court of Charles the Bald. Its modern editor, Jacques Dubois, identified three main recensions:

a) a primitive recension which is the version of the text Usuard completed post 20th October 858.[12] On this day Usuard recorded the cult of Saints George and Aurelius, whose relics he brought to Paris from Cordoba.[13]

b) The most widely circulated recension is the so-called first recension, completed post 20th September 859.[14] This recension was usually prefaced by a letter in which Usuard dedicated his work to the Frankish ruler Charles the Bald. In it Usuard set out his aims in compiling the text and his sources. He reported he had written it at the king's request: Charles the Bald had asked him to collect all the anniversaries of the saints, currently scattered across various records, into one work.[15] Usuard gave his sources as the martyrologies of Jerome, Bede and Florus, and wrote that where feasts had previously been omitted from earlier works, he had corrected and added them. It is perhaps not surprising that this version of Usuard's text which included the *imprimatur* of Carolingian royal authority was that which circulated most widely across the Latin West in succeeding centuries, from the north-west to Italy and Catalonia.[16]

c) There is, however, a second recension which is based on the authorial text kept at Usuard's own community of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and which he continued to revise between 859 and his death. The manuscript now survives as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 13745.[17] This version is not always accompanied by the letter-preface to Charles the Bald, nor, indeed, the other prefatory material which often accompanied Usuard's text, namely an Augustinian text on how the feasts of the apostles and martyrs should be celebrated, known from its incipit as *Festivitates*, and commonly found in other ninth-century martyrological texts as well.[18] This second recension had a much a more restricted circulation, confined mainly to Normandy and England.[19]

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12 Dubois, Recherche de l'état primitif; Overgaauw, Deux recensions.

13 Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 325.

14 See n. 9 above.

15 *»Domino regum piissimo Karolo Usuardus indignus sacerdos ac monachus perennem in Christo coronam. Minime vestram latet celsitudinem, o sapientissime princeps, qualiter monemur imitandis antiquorum studiis, ut quicquid in gestis praecipue ecclesiastico dogmati congruis minus perfectum inventum fuerit, debeamus vel pro posse supplere vel certe suppleri obtare. Quae res pia quidem sollicitudine, vestro, si recordamini, iussu dignanter admoto, me ad hoc etsi indignum compulit, quatinus sanctorum sacras atque anniversario recolendas festivitates ex quibusdam praecedentium patrum martyrologiis in quandam colligerem unitatem«:* Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 145. On the different versions of this text see Overgaauw, Deux recensions.

16 Overgaauw identified some fifty eleventh- and twelfth-century versions of the first recension in the dioceses of Utrecht and Liège: *Martyrologes.*

17 A digitised copy of the manuscript is available at gallica.bnf.fr, accessed 27 June 2019.

18 Usuard, *Martyrologe,* ed. Dubois, 144-146; cf. Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, XX.21, PL 42, cols. 384-385.

19 Andersen, Second recension.

There now survives only one manuscript of Usuard written in England before 1050, although there is good reason to believe the text circulated more widely within the late Anglo-Saxon Church.[20] This manuscript is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 57 (hereinafter CCCC MS 57); it is a copy of the authorial second recension.[21] Its contents are a testament to the monastic reforms of the early ninth century under Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane, and evidence for their influence on the tenth-century English reforms.[22] Usuard's text is included in a collection of other texts as follows:

1. *Regula Sancti Benedicti* (fols. 2r-32v) (post-Aachen recension)
2. Pseudo-Fulgentius (fol. 32v) (admonition not to deviate from the *Rule of Benedict*)
3. *Memoriale qualiter* (fols. 33r-37v) (anonymous eighth-century text which circulated with the Aachen acta; customary supplementing the *Rule of Benedict*)
4. *De festivitatibus anni* (fol. 37v) = Council of Mainz (813), c. 36 (which feasts should be celebrated in all the churches of the Frankish empire); attributed here to Louis the Pious
5. *Collectio capitularis* (fols. 37v-40v) i.e. Aachen texts.
6. *Martyrologium of Usuard* (fols. 41r-94v)
7. Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Diadema monachorum* (cc.1-84; breaks off at end of quire) (fols. 95r-163v) (c. 810: commentary on the *Rule of Benedict*)

One of the requirements of the Aachen reforms was the daily reading of the martyrology in chapter, alongside chapters from the *Rule*.[23] This requirement thus explains the presence of Usuard's text in this manuscript. CCCC MS 57 is a chapter book, intended to support communal reading in chapter, and, in particular, to provide support for interpretation and reflection upon the *Rule of Benedict*.[24] Smaragdus's commentary on the Benedictine *Rule* was intended to be read aloud to the community before Compline, a service described in the ninth century as »evening chapter«.[25]

The text of Usuard in CCCC MS 57 is remarkably close to the authorial second recension text. Only six cults have been added to the base second-recension text (i.e. to the version kept at Saint-Germain-des-Prés), and these entries have all been copied in the manuscript's main hand. In addition, a further twenty-one entries for southern English and Flemish saints were added in later Anglo-Saxon hands in blank spaces and in the margins.[26] The most recent scholars to work on this manuscript, Timothy Graham and Mechtild Gretsch, have therefore suggested that CCCC MS 57 is based on a Frankish exemplum brought back to Glaston-bury from his exile in Flanders in the 940s by the monastic reformer, Dunstan.[27] He then

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20 Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithin*, 30; Andersen, Second recension, 388; Hamilton, Liturgy as history.

21 A digitised copy of the manuscript is available at the Parker Library on the Web, parker.stanford.edu/parker/, accessed 27 June 2019. On this manuscript, see Graham, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57, and Gretsch, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57.

22 For an introduction to the Aachen reform councils, see now Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*.

23 *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae*, ed. Hallinger, 235, 480: *Memoriale Qualiter,* c. 2, ed. Morgand; *Synodi Secundae Aquisgranensis Decreta Authentica* (817), c. 36, ed. Semmler; de Gaiffier, »De l'usage et de la lecture du martyrolo-ge«.

24 Gretsch, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57. On chapter books, see Lemaître, *Liber Capituli.*

25 Gretsch, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57, 135, n.124.

26 Graham, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57; Andersen, Second Recension.

27 Graham, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57; Gretsch, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57, 144-146; Andersen, Second Recension.

took the exemplar to Canterbury when he became Archbishop in 959. CCCC 57 was most likely copied there in the late tenth century; it subsequently passed to the reformed house of Abingdon where palaeographical evidence suggests obits were added in its margins in the 1040s.[28] Although Graham and Gretsch investigated the evidence of the six cults added into Usuard's base text after it left Saint-Germain-des-Prés to help with the provenance and dating of the exemplar for the Corpus codex – they can all be associated with Flanders – they were much more interested in investigating parallels with other versions of the other contents, especially the *Rule of Benedict*, and therefore did not investigate Usuard's text in any detail, accepting it as a necessary element of a collection which was clearly intended to serve as a chapter book within a reformed community.

The Old English Martyrology

The second text to circulate in England is a vernacular text, now known unimaginatively as the *Old English Martyrology*.[29] This has been dated on linguistic grounds to southern England in the ninth century, and its earliest manuscript is from late ninth-century, Alfredian Wessex. It continued to be copied in the tenth and eleventh centuries and now survives in some six medieval and one early modern manuscripts, although none of these includes a complete text, and some, such as the earliest manuscript, are very fragmentary indeed.[30] Like Usuard's *Martyrology*, the copying of this text can also be linked to the tenth-century monastic reform movement in England. One of the more extensive copies, now London, British Library, Ms Cotton Julius A.x, is associated with Glastonbury, an early centre of the reform movement, and the house which is also the postulated home of the exemplum for the earliest surviving copy of Usuard from Anglo-Saxon England.[31]

The *Old English Martyrology* is much smaller in scale than Usuard's text. It made no attempt to include entries for each day of the year, including entries for just 450 figures. Generally the entry for each day includes just one abbreviated account of a saint's life; each entry is therefore generally longer than those in Usuard where there may be three or four, as can be seen from a comparison of the entries for 31st May in these two works:

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28 Gerchow, *Gedenküberlieferung*, 233-252.

29 *Old English Martyrology,* ed. Rauer.

30 London, British Library, MS Additional 23211; on this and other manuscripts, see *Old English Martyrology,* ed. Rauer, 1-4, 18-25.

31 London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius A.x, fols. 44-175; on its Glastonbury provenance, see the summary in *Old English Martyrology*, ed. Rauer, 20, based on her account in: Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*, 130-131.

Old English Martyrology
31 May: Petronilla
On the thirty-first day of the month is the feast of the virgin Saint Petronilla. She was
the daughter of Saint Peter, the first of the apostles, and she was a very beautiful virgin
in Rome. Then the reeve of the city, who was called Flaccus, asked for her hand to
marry her; then she asked him, that after seven days he should send her all the noble-
women and the noble virgins who were there, so that she might go to her wedding
ceremony with them. Then she spent all of seven days standing in prayers, asking God
that she might end her life in virginity. Then on the seventh day the priest Nicomedes
came to her and gave her the Eucharist, and she gave up the ghost to God soon there-
after. And all the noblewomen and the virgins, who had arrived there, organised her
funeral and led her to her grave.[32]

Usuard's Martyrology
II KL. Iun (31 May)
At Rome, Saint Petronilla, who afterward worked many miracles of healing, when a
certain count came to her as he wished to marry her, asked for a stay of three days,
which she spent fasting and praying, and on the third day she accepted the sacrament
of Christ and immediately gave up her spirit.
At the city of Aquileia, the anniversary of the holy martyrs Cantius, Cantianus and
Cantianilla, siblings, who were of the lineage of the Anicii family, because of their
constancy in the Christian faith, all had their heads cut off, together with their tutor,
Protus.
In the towers of Sardinia, Saint Crescentianus the martyr.[33]

Whereas Usuard had deliberately abbreviated the loquaciousness of his sources, in parti-
cular those by Florus and Ado, in order to increase the number of saints, the anonymous
compilers of the *Old English Martyrology* adhered to principles more similar to Bede, Florus
and Ado in providing a précis of the life and passion of a single saint to be remembered on that
day. The saints chosen by the compilers of the *Old English Martyrology* are generally drawn
from the early Church and, unlike Usuard, the compilers chose not to include entries from
the more recent past, that is the ninth and tenth centuries. Nor do the surviving manuscripts
of the *Old English Martyrology* include the addition of regional or local cults which is such
a usual feature of martyrologies.[34] Even once allowance has been made for the fragmentary
nature of the record, the result is a text which, as its most recent editor, Christine Rauer, has

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32 »*On ðone an ond þritegðan dæg þæs monðes bið Sancta Petranellan tid ðære fæmnan. Heo wæs Sancte Petres dohtor,
    ðara apostola aldres, ond heo wæs swiðe wlitegu fæmne on Rome. Ða ongann þære burge gerefa hire biddan to wife,
    se wæs on noman Flaccus: þa onbead heo him, þæt he þæs æfter seofan dagum hire to onsænde all ða gesiðwif ond ða
    æþelan fæmnan, þe þær wæron, þæt heo mid þæm mihte feran to þæm brydþingum. Ða stod heo ealle þa seofon dagas
    on gebedum ond God bæd, þæt heo on mægðhade hire lif geendade. Ða on þæm seofoðan dæge com hire to Nicomedes se
    mæssepreost ond hire sealde husl, ond heo sona onsende hire gast to Gode. Ond eall þa gesiðwif ond ða fæmnan, ðe þær
    to coman, dedan hire licþenunge ond læddon hi to byrgenne.*« Old English Martyrology, ed. and trans. Rauer, 108-109.

33 »*Romae, sanctae Petronillae, quae post multa miracula sanitatum, cum eam quidam comes suo vellet coniugio sociare,
    tridui inducias postulans, ieiuniis atque orationibus vacans, tertio die mox ut Christi sacramentum accepit emisit
    spiritum. Apud urbem Aquileiam, natalis sanctorum martyrum Cantii, Cantiani et Cantianillae fratrum, qui cum
    ducerent prosapiam de genere Aniciorum, ob christianae fidei constantiam, una cum pedagogo suo Proto, capite plexi
    sunt. Turribus Sardiniae, sancti Crescentiani martyris.*« Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 237-238.

34 An exception is the attribution of Saint Cuthbert to Glastonbury in one manuscript for the entry on 31st August
    which is generally viewed as a tenth- or eleventh-century addition made as a consequence of the translation of
    Cuthbert's relics there in the 940s: *Old English Martyrology,* ed. Rauer, 172-173, 287. For a more extensive discus-
    sion of this entry, see Rauer, Usage of the *Old English Martyrology,* 130-131.

observed, is remarkably static across the tenth- and eleventh-century surviving manuscripts. There is no evidence of new entries being made across its manuscript tradition, nor indeed of ninth or tenth-century saints being mentioned. Indeed, the inert nature of the text is one of the features which has led Rauer to suggest that it is not really a martyrology at all but rather a much more hybrid text, »combin[ing] the characteristics of a martyrology, calendar, legendary, homiliary and encyclopedia«.[35] Her careful work on its manuscript context and reception suggests that it was regarded as a work for education and devotional personal reading rather than being used daily in chapter to support the community's understanding of the *sanctorale.* She drew support for this interpretation from the fact that later readers generally cited the more encyclopaedic passages about cosmology or astronomy rather than saints' cults. Indeed the entry in one thirteenth-century catalogue from Exeter to a *»liber utilis exceptis omnibus expositionibus in anglico«* (»a useful book of all sorts of extracted information, written in English«), which seemingly refers to this text, reinforces this view of the text as a sort of encyclopaedic miscellany rather than martyrology.[36]

Rauer emphasised the preoccupation of the compiler(s) of the *Old English Martyrology* with arcane information as part of her argument for the text's hybrid nature: there are entries including information about cosmology, astronomy, zoology, animal husbandry, and agriculture, much of it based upon material from Bede's *De tempore*. But what she did not highlight is the compilers' preoccupation with historical time. The preface to the month of May reads:

> »Then in the fifth month of the year there are thirty-one days. The month is called *Maius* in Latin and in our language Three Milkings because there used to be such abundance in Britain and also in Germany, from where the Angles came to this Britain, that in that month they milked their cattle three times a day.«[37]

This entry combines a guide to the Roman calendar with an explanation of the etymology of the Old English term for May, Þ*rimilce*. In doing so it makes the distinction between current Christian time, and that of pre-Christian time, and reminds the English audience of their own conversion history and past.

Several of these temporal features reoccur in its more straightforwardly martyrological entries as well. On 12 March Gregory the Great's death was remembered in an entry which begins:

> »On the twelfth day of the month is the death of our father Saint Gregory, who sent us baptism here to Britain. He is our *altor* and we are his *alumni*: that means he is our foster father in Christ, and we are his foster children in baptism.«[38]

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35   Rauer, Usage of the *Old English Martyrology,* 144.

36   Ker, *Catalogue*, 75, cited by Rauer, Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*, 141; the translation is taken from Rauer.

37   *»Þonne on þone fiftan monað on geare bið an on þritag daga. Se monað is nemned on Læden Maias, ond on ure geðeode Ðrymylce, forðon swylc genihtsumnes wæs geo on Brytone ond eac on Germania lande, of ðæm Ongla ðeod com on ðas Breotone, þæt hi on þæm monðe þriwa on dæge mylcedon heora neat.«* Old English Martyrology, ed. and trans. Rauer, 92-93.

38   *»On ðone twelftan dæg ðæs monðes bið Sancte Gregorius geleornes ures fæder, se us fullwiht onsænde on ðas Brytene. He is ure altor ond we syndan his alumni: Ðæt is ðæt he is ure festerfæder on Criste, ond we syndon his festerbearn on fullwihte.«* Old English Martyrology, ed. and trans. Rauer, 64-65.

Amongst the English saints recorded is Saint Alban, »who suffered martyrdom here in this Britain for Christ«, on 22nd June. This entry ends »The place where Alban suffered is near the city which the Britons called *Verolamium*, and the English now call Wætlingceaster«.[39] The use of »now« again draws attention to the historical dimensions of this text. The compilers' unacknowledged source here was almost certainly Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Their debt to Bede was acknowledged much more overtly in the entry for St Chad on 2nd March which begins:

> »On the second day of the month is the death of the bishop Saint Chad. And Bede the scholar wrote about his miracle and life in the books about the English.«[40]

Bede is also the source for the entry about Benedict Biscop, »who was English«, readers are told.[41] The entries in the *Old English Martyrology* are grounded in the history of the early church and, especially, the conversion of the English in the seventh century. Its view of a historic and secure past, one anchored in part in the golden age of Anglo-Saxon England's Christian past, is thus rather different to Usuard's more universalising and up-to-date view of the Church's past. Like Usuard, however, the compilers of the *Old English Martyrology* aspired to cover the whole of Christian history, starting on 25th December with an account of Christ's birth:

> »On the first day of the year, that is on the first day of Christmas, all Christians cele- brate Christ's birth. Saint Mary gave birth to him during that night in a rocky cave outside the town of Bethlehem ... 5199 years had passed since the beginning of the world.«[42]

It is to that extent a work of salvation history similar to Usuard, but the picture it presents of the Church and its past is rather more narrow.

II

Whilst this comparison of how the past was treated in these two texts reveals more parallels than first suspected, nevertheless it has also highlighted some considerable differences. Usuard set out to present a universalising interpretation of the Church's past, ranging across the whole of the Christian world and across time, whilst that depicted in the *Old English Martyrology* is more parochial, and grounded in the origins of the English Church in the seventh-century conversion period. Aside from the obvious matter of language, they also vary in the scale of the coverage: Usuard included some 2,000 cults, ranging from the uni- versal to the local, whilst the compiler of the *Old English Martyrology* records only 450 universal cults.

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39 »*... se þrowade on þisse Breotone martyrdom for Criste ... Seo stow þær Albanus ðrowade is neah ðære ceastre þe Brytt- walas nemdon Uerolamium, ond Ængla þeod nemnað nu Wætlingaceaster.*« Old English Martyrology, ed. and trans. Rauer, 120-121, 244 on problems of identifying the source for this entry.

40 »*On þone æfteran dæg þæs monðes bið þæs biscopes geleornes Sancte Ceaddan. Ond þæs wundor ond lif Beda se leornere wrat on Angelcynnes bocum.*« Old English Martyrology, ed. and trans. Rauer, 60-61, 243; Rauer, Sources.

41 »*se wæs angelcynnes man*«, Old English Martyrology, ed. and trans. Rauer, 46-47, 235.

42 »*On þone forman dæig on geare, þæt is on þone ærestan geoheldæig, eall Cristen folc worþiað Cristes acennednesse. Sancta Maria hine acende on þære nihte on anum holum stanscræfe beforan Bethlem ðære ceastre....Þa wæs agangen fram middangeardes fruman fíf þusend geara and ane geare læs þonne twa hund, ða Crist was acenned.*«, Old English Martyrology, ed. and trans. Rauer, 34-35.

They differ in their focus, ambition and length: Usuard included brief entries for several cults for every day of the year, whilst the *Old English Martyrology* did not include an entry for every day of the year, and generally focused on only one cult, albeit in greater detail. Usuard's text was composed for daily, public recitation in chapter, and as such its entries were revised and updated to reflect the cultic spirituality of individual houses; the contents of the *Old English Martyrology* were, by contrast, much more static, reflecting its use as the subject of devotional, private reading. In the final section of this article I will therefore investigate how both texts were read and understood within the context of a single community, that of the canons of Exeter Cathedral in the later eleventh century. What can such a case study tell us about how eleventh-century churchmen in south-western England thought about their history, and the version of it they had inherited from their ninth-century predecessors?

Although there is reason to think both Usuard's and the vernacular English martyrological texts circulated relatively widely in later tenth and eleventh-century southern England, late eleventh-century Exeter is the one community which we can be relatively certain had access to both of them. When in 1050 its founder, Bishop Leofric (d.1072), transferred the south-western see from its seat on a rural estate outside Exeter to the tenth-century minster church of St Peter's on the site of the Roman forum, he established a new community of reformed canons, under the rule of Chrodegang, »after the Lotharingian manner«, and endowed the new cathedral community with numerous churchly treasures.[43] These treasures included what is an unusually well-documented library of books in both Latin and Old English; it was recorded in an inventory made c. 1070 to commemorate Leofric's achievements and a significant proportion of Exeter cathedral's library survived the English Reformation.[44] The inventory includes some fifty-nine works in both Old English and Latin. Some fifteen manuscripts now survive which can be linked to Leofric's episcopate.[45] Amongst the books Leofric endowed the canons with was a text described in the inventory as a *»martyrologium«*.[46] But quite which work this refers to remains unclear, for there now survive two copies of the *Old English Martyrology* which both have a late eleventh-century Exeter provenance, together with a mid-twelfth century almost complete copy of Usuard's Latin martyrology, and a late eleventh-century partial copy of the prefatory texts to Usuard's text.[47]

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43   *»Hic Lefricus, eiectis sanctimonialibus a sancti Petro monasterio, episcopatum et canonicos statuit, qui contra morem Anglorum ad formam Lotharingorum uno triclinio comederent, uno cubiculo cubitarent.«:* William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. Winterbottom, 314-315.

44   For text of the inventory, see Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter,* 226-235. Written in Old English, two copies survive now in two Exeter Gospel Books: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D.2.16, fols 1r-2v, and Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11. There has been a good deal of research on Leofric's library in recent years, focusing in particular on the vernacular texts, including Drage, *Bishop Leofric*; Hill, Leofric of Exeter; Treharne, Producing a library; Treharne, Bishop's book; Gameson, Origin; Gameson, Manuscrits normands; Billett, Divine office.

45   Gameson, Origin, 144-146.

46   Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, 232. On the Old English vocabulary for martyrologies, see Gneuss, Liturgical books, 128-129.

47   *Old English Martyrology:* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196, pp. 1-110, and MS 41, pp. 122-132, *Old English Martyrology,* ed. Rauer, 20-22; Usuard's *Martyrology*: Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3518; on this manuscript, see now Hamilton, Liturgy as history. The text of Usuard's Preface and part of the Augustinian *Festivitates* text were copied on the inner sides of a bifolium written in a late eleventh-century hand which was seemingly added to a copy of Bishop Theodulf of Orléans's *Capitulary*, in Latin and Old English, and a homily in Old English, both of which were written in the same scriptorium as that which copied other manuscripts for Bishop Leofric: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 260-261, on which, see Ker, *Catalogue*, 90-91; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* 88; on this manuscript, see now Hamilton, Liturgy as history.

As I have argued elsewhere, there are good grounds for suggesting that the twelfth-century Exeter copy of Usuard is based on a late eleventh-century English exemplum.[48] It is also clear that Exeter's surviving copy of Usuard was used as a chapter book: some 400 obits were added in the margins in various hands, together with a note about how to deal with a situation when events in the *temporale* clashed with those in the *sanctorale*, as they did on at least two occasions when the most important feast in the community's calendar, the feast of the translation of relics to Exeter on 22nd May, occurred on the feast of Pentecost.[49] This is not the case for the *Old English Martyrology*. Rauer suggests, on the basis of both manuscript and textual evidence, that it was instead reserved for private study and devotional reading.[50] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196, pp. 1-110, is an almost complete copy of the *Old English Martyrology* with an Exeter provenance. Although earlier scholars suggested that this text might be linked to the bilingual Exeter version of the *Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, on the grounds that the rule for canons precedes the martyrology in the inventory, and that the two were linked together for reading in chapter, such a connection seems highly unlikely on both codicological and textual grounds.[51] The other Exeter copy is a much more fragmentary version: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, pp. 122-132. Here passages from the martyrological text were copied into the margins of an Old English version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[52] The juxtaposition of these two texts reinforces the point that the *Old English Martyrology* was read by »historically minded« churchmen in eleventh-century Exeter. This and other copies of the *Old English Martyrology* are associated with prognostic texts, which in themselves also reflect a concern with time.[53]

Usuard's was never a static text. It evolved over the course of his life, and continued to be revised by individual communities. All the eleventh-century English copies of Usuard testify to how their owners incorporated local as well as recent cults, anchoring the story of the past it told in their locality. This is true for Exeter where some sixteen local cults were added to Usuard's base text.[54] Exeter is unusual in lacking a focus around a particular local cult, preferring to focus its identity around its collection of some around 150 relics, which its canons remembered as being donated by King Athelstan to their predecessor community.[55] The Exeter relic collection, like Usuard's text, ranged over Christian time, and Christian geography, from relics associated with Christ's person (beginning with the blood of Christ), to apostolic relics, to those of the early Christian martyrs, to more recent confessor saints, and from the eastern Mediterranean to south-west England. The evidence of the relics and martyrology needs to be placed alongside the evidence of litanies copied in late

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48   Hamilton, Liturgy as history.

49   Exeter, Cathedral Libary, MS 3518, fol. 22v.

50   Rauer, Usage.

51   Ker, Catalogue, nos. 46-47, 74-76; *Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule*, ed. Langefeld.

52   Old English Martyrology, ed. Rauer, 20-22.

53   In addition to CCCC MS 41 see London, British Library, Harley MS 3271. On the connection between prognostics and temporality, see Liuzza, Sense of time. On prognostics and *Old English Martyrology*, see Rauer, Usage.

54   *Ordinale Exon.*, ed. Doble.

55   This argument is developed further in Hamilton, Liturgy as history. Athelstan's donation is remembered in both the eleventh-century Old English (lists 146 relics) and Latin (lists 159 relics) versions of Exeter's relic list: ed. in Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter,* 176 (Old English), 192 (Latin): »*Haec sunt nomina sanctarum reliquiarum quae habentur in Exoniensi monasterio sanctae Mariae et sancti PETRI apostoli, quarum maximam partem gloriosissimus et uictoriosissimus rex Athelstanus, eiusdem scilicet loci primus constructor, illuc dedit.*«

eleven-century Exeter under Leofric: the litany copied in a psalter associated with Leofric, now London, British Library, MS Harley 863, is enormous, and mentions some 300 saints by name; its most recent student, Michael Lapidge, described it as a »scholarly compilation.«[56] Taken together, these three texts suggest that Exeter's late eleventh-century community of canons had a universalising approach to saints' cults. This attitude underlay three different kinds of text. This contrasts with other copies of Usuard made under early Norman church-men in the late eleventh century where additional cults are focused around the patron of the community: that made for Saint Augustine's Canterbury incorporates various lengthy entries for feasts associated with Saint Augustine and his companions[57] while that made for Durham incorporates a good deal of material on Cuthbert and other northern cults.[58] In all three communities it is clear that Usuard's Martyrology was intended to serve as a public, communal text and was used as such in chapter on a daily basis. The text of the *Old English Martyrology* was, by contrast, unchanging. The two copies of this vernacular text available in Exeter by the late eleventh century were both seemingly used for private, devotional reading rather than in chapter. Whilst read in different ways, and displaying different views of the past, both the Frankish Latin and indigenous vernacular text contributed to, and reinforced, the historical understanding of their readers.

Modern scholars have tended to treat the ways in which Usuard and the *Old English Martyrology* were read by late Anglo-Saxon churchmen as very different, but in fact they reveal a rather similar attitude to the Church's past on the part of their compilers and their readers. Both fit into a world in which churchmen sought to fit their own church into its wider history. It was a past in which churchmen drew comfort from their understanding of their place in salvation history, situating their own locality and past in a wider under-standing of Christian time. And it was a past focused not around individual cults, but around wider church history. To that extent, the tenth and eleventh-century churchmen of Exeter clearly inherited from their ninth-century predecessors a well-developed sense of »historical mindedness«.

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56 *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, no. XXIII, ed. Lapidge, 193-202.

57 London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius C.xii, fols. 114-157.

58 Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.IV.24; Piper, Durham Cantor's Book.

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Abbreviations

PL = Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1844-1890).

Manuscripts

CCCC MS 41 = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, pp. 122-132.

CCCC MS 57 = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 57.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196, pp. 1-110.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 260-261.

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.IV.24

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