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# ANGLO-SAXON MARTYROLOGISTS AT WORK: NARRATIVE PATTERN AND PROSE STYLE IN BEDE AND THE *OLD ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY*

By GÜNTER KOTZOR

This essay is not about sources: I will neither try to establish a source relationship between Bede's martyrology (Bede) and the *Old English Martyrology* (OEM), nor will I try to identify sources for sub-sections of the two works.<sup>1</sup> Instead, I intend to demonstrate how the two martyrologists, one of them known and deservedly celebrated, the other anonymous and unjustifiably forgotten, in compiling 'narrative' (or 'historical') martyrologies, used different techniques for presenting their information in a textual genre which, due to its genesis as well as its general characteristics, has a tendency towards a high degree of formalism.<sup>2</sup> I would also like to show the effect of the methods of compilation on the prose style (especially the syntax) in both works, and to draw conclusions from a comparative analysis of a number of selected entries on martyrs, paying particular attention to the similarities between the two works, and the distinctive qualities present in each.<sup>3</sup>

In Bede as well as in OEM (and in other martyrologies of the 'narrative' type also, for that matter), we find the influence of a traditional pattern of basic detail beside the individual selection of more specific information from various sources by the martyrologist concerned.<sup>4</sup> First of all I shall attempt to demonstrate the tradition of the basic pattern of information contained in martyrology entries, in its genesis, form and transformational possibilities, before turning to the second, and more important, aspect of the individual modification of the traditional pattern by Bede and the compiler of OEM.

## (a) Calendars and 'enumerative' martyrologies:

The earliest martyrologies belong to the type of 'enumerative' martyrology and, when we look at the history of the form, we find that hagiologists have considerable difficulty distinguishing this early type from saints' calendars. Hippolyte Delehaye states the terminological problem as follows:<sup>5</sup>

Bien que l'usage ne soit pas absolument fixé sur ce point, on donne souvent le nom de calendrier aux martyrologes locaux et l'on réserve plus volontiers la dénomination de martyrologe à ceux qui ont un caractère moins exclusif. Il n'y a pas lieu d'adopter cette distinction et de donner aux termes une précision qu'ils n'ont pas.

The important fact to be noted in our context is that later martyrologies, as well as liturgical calendars, have a common source, i.e. lists of saints' and martyrs' festivals arranged in the order of the calendar. A look at the entry on St James the Great (Iacobus Zebedaei, July 25) in two early Anglo-Saxon calendars will show the amount of information on specific saints customarily found in liturgical calendars:<sup>6</sup>

- (1) MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10837, f.37v  
(Willibrord's Calendar; s. viii inc.):<sup>7</sup>  
. . . viii [kalendas agusti] iacobi apostoli fratris  
iohannis
- (2) MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 63, f.43r  
(s. ix ex.):<sup>8</sup>  
viii kl [AUGUSTI] Sancti Iacobi apostoli.

These quotations, as well as our knowledge of the textual genre, can help us formalize the pattern of textual information found in calendars:<sup>9</sup>

DATE - NAME(S) - [DESIGNATION(S)] - [ADDITIONAL INFORMATION]

If we move on to martyrologies of a predominantly enumerative character, most impressively represented in the various forms of the *Martyrologium (Pseudo-)Hieronymianum*, the basic calendar pattern is modified in two ways: firstly, PLACE (which occasionally occurs as ADDITIONAL INFORMATION in calendar entries) becomes a regular feature of the martyrology pattern (after DATE), and secondly, the pattern is repeated many times to include a great number of saints for a specific date. To demonstrate this, I shall again use the entry for July 25 (including St James the Great):<sup>10</sup>

DATE: VIII KAL.AUG.

PLACE:	NAMES:	DESIGNATION AND/OR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:
Romae Portu.....	natale Canti et Nonni.	
Hierosolimis.....	Iacobi.....	apostoli fratris Iohannis evangelistae
	Iacobi	
	Agathonis.....	de nativitate sua.
et alibi.....	Stercori Clementis	
	Iuliani Caritonis Emeriti	
	Severi Suticiani.	
et in Licia		
civitate Samon..	natale sancti Cristofori.	

(b) Bede's martyrology and OEM:

The information pattern of 'enumerative' martyrologies (or even that of calendar entries) remains recognizable in the type of prose martyrology generally believed to have been created by Bede, the

'narrative' or 'historical' martyrology.<sup>11</sup> In martyrologies of this type, to which *OEM* also belongs as a very early vernacular example, biographical and other details are frequently added to the basic information of calendars and 'enumerative' martyrologies. In both our martyrologies, however, a number of short entries remain which do not contain more than the amount of information customarily found in the enumerative type. The following quotations may serve as examples:<sup>12</sup>

## Bede I

DATE: X KL.IUL. - NAME: Iacobi Alfei - DESIGNATION: apostoli  
DATE: VI NON.IUL. - PLACE: Romae - NAMES: Processi et Martiniani

*OEM* (September 3)

DATE: On ðone þryddan dæg þæs monþes - DESIGNATION 1: biþ þæs  
bisceopes tid - NAME 1: Sancti Aristome - DESIGNATION 2: ond  
þara martyra - NAMES 2, 3: Sanctę Paterniane ond Sancti Feliciani.

The characteristic difference, however, between the 'enumerative' and the 'narrative' types of martyrology lies in the various textual additions to the basic information pattern in a large number of entries. The following quotation from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* shows how Bede intended to expand the traditional pattern:

Martyrologium de nataliciis sanctorum martyrum  
diebus, in quo omnes, quos inuenire potui, non  
solum qua die uerum etiam quo genere certaminis  
uel sub quo iudice mundum uicerint, diligenter  
adnotare studui.<sup>13</sup>

This quotation seems to suggest the following structural pattern for Bede's 'narrative' entries on martyrs:

DATE - NAME - TORMENTS - MARTYRDOM - PERSECUTOR (i.e. judge)

If, on the other hand, we take into account that the traditional pattern of 'enumerative' martyrologies is still present in Bede, as well as in other 'narrative' martyrologies, we can modify the basic information pattern for Bede's extended entries on martyrs as follows:<sup>14</sup>

DATE - [PLACE] - NAME(S) - [DESIGNATION(S)] - PERSECUTOR(S) -  
TORMENTS - MARTYRDOM - [ADDITIONAL INFORMATION]

We can now move on to examine the way in which Bede's intention is realized in selected entries of his own work, and the way in which the method of compilation used by the Old English martyr-ologist can be shown to be similar to, or different from, that of Bede. This will also include a discussion of stylistic features in the entries concerned. For this purpose I have chosen the following 'narrative' entries of the two martyrologies:

- (1) FOcas (Phocas, July 14)
- (2) Romanus (August 9)
- (3) John and Paul (June 26)
- (4) Justina and Cyprianus (September 26)
- (5) Marcellinus and Petrus (June 2)
- (6) Mark the Evangelist (April 25)
- (7) Ypolitus (Hippolytus, August 13)
- (8) July 7: Procopius (in Bede July 8).

## (1) St Phocas (Focas, July 14):

This entry is reproduced in its entirety from both martyr-ologies, to serve as an example of the detailed presentation of information.<sup>15</sup>

Bede	OEM
DATE: II IDUS JULII	On ðone feowertegðan dæg þæs monðes
DESIGNATION 1: ----	bió þæs miclan martyres gemynd
NAME: Sancti Focatis	se is nemned Sanctus Focas.
DESIGN. 2: episcopi	He wæs biscop
PLACE: Ponti,	on ðære mægðe ðe Pontus is nemned;
PERSECUTOR(S): qui sub Trajano	ac Traianus se casere
imperatore, praefecto	
Africano,	
TORMENTS & carcerem, vincula,	hine ðreade mid unaseggendlicum
MARTYRDOM: ferrum, ignem etiam	wítum for Cristes geleafan; ond
pro Christo super-	ætnehstan he het hine sendan on
avit.	byrnendne ofn, ond on ðæm he
	onsende his gast.
ADD.INFO.1: ----	Onð ðrym dagum æfter þæm he
PUNISHMENT	æteawde beforan þæs caseres dura
OF PERSECUTOR	ond cleopade to þæm casere ond him
	sæde þæt him wære hell ontýned ond
	hire wite gegearwad, ond hine het
	efstan to þæm; ond þa sona æfter
	þæm swealt se casere
ADD.INFO.2: Cujus reliquiae in	Þeosses biscopes reliquias syndon
RELICS basilica Apostolorum,	on Galwala mægðe on Mennia [ <i>sic</i> ]
in Gallia, civitate	ðære ceastre, ond þa reliquias
Vienna, habentur.	syndon swiðe mære geond middan-
	geard.

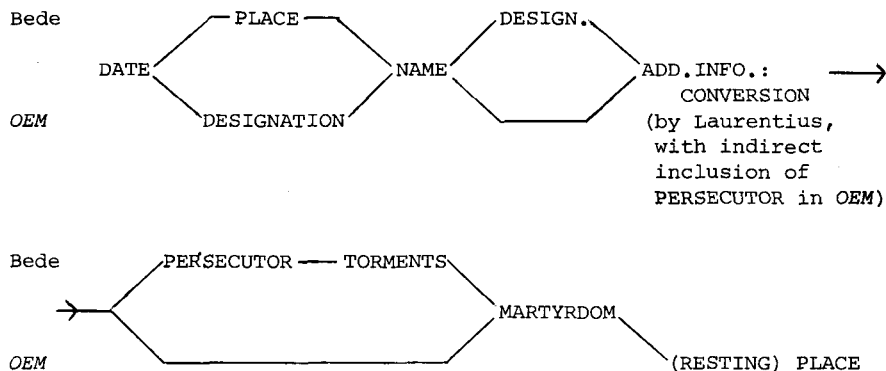
If we examine the categorized Bede entry, we find that it corresponds closely to the structural pattern suggested above. The additional information here only concerns the location of the bishop's relics. If on the other hand we look at the OEM entry, we see that the basic Bede pattern is clearly noticeable there as well. But there are two general differences which need stating. First, Bede is more specific in a number of details, although his entry is much more concise than that in OEM. This applies to Bede's list of torments compared with the unspecific persecution formula followed by the description of the saint's death in OEM,<sup>16</sup> to the more precise location of the martyr's relics in Bede, as well as to the more

detailed information about the persecutors. Secondly, *OEM* adds narrative material which is not in Bede, especially the passage on the punishment of the emperor Traianus.

A comparison of the prose style of the two entries yields the following conclusions:<sup>17</sup> Bede's style is marked by conciseness and brevity. Syntactically, the whole of the entry, except for the date, can be interpreted as one complex syntactic unit with an elliptical genitival construction as syntactic head (the missing nominative is the *natale* of many other Bede entries),<sup>18</sup> on which two relative clauses depend. Apart from its syntactic structure, the stylistic effect of the Bede entry is also due to the complete lack of qualifying adjectives, and the asyndetic string of nouns summarizing the torments leading to the martyr's death. A characteristic of the style in *OEM*, on the other hand, is its tendency towards over-explicitness in its presentation of detail, together with an overall syntactic simplicity. This tendency to be over-explicit is reflected in expressions such as "on ðære mægðe ðe Pontus is nemned" (vs. Bede's "Ponti"), or "se is nemned Sanctus Focas" (vs. Bede's "Sancti Focatis"). The syntactic simplicity of *OEM* manifests itself in the predominance of conjunctive parataxis, i.e. apart from the beginning of the entry, and in the indirect speech referring to the persecutor's punishment, we only find simple main clauses, most frequently connected by the conjunction *and*.

(2) St Romanus (August 9):<sup>19</sup>

The entries on St Romanus, as well as the rest of the entries discussed in this essay, will not be included in their entirety but will be reduced to their basic informational categories, with a discussion of their salient features and the way they modify the basic information pattern.



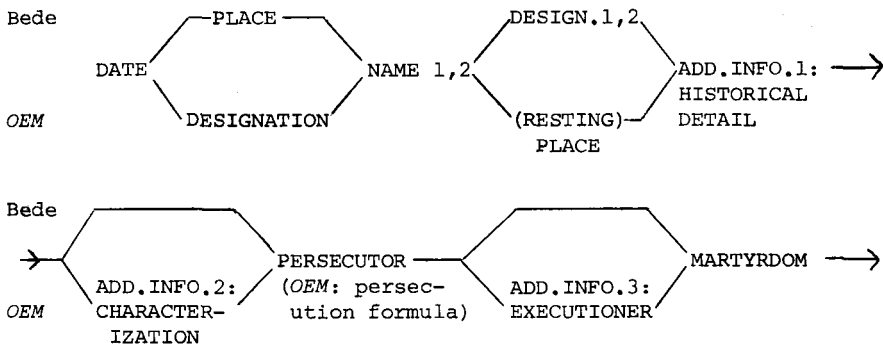
The additional information in Bede's entry, one of twelve narrative entries from the so-called *Gesta Laurentii*, refers to Laurentius' influence in the conversion of Romanus in fairly general terms only: "qui in confessione sancti Laurentii compunctus, petiit ab eo baptizari".<sup>20</sup> *OEM*, on the other hand, has a much more detailed presentation of the situation leading to Romanus' conversion:

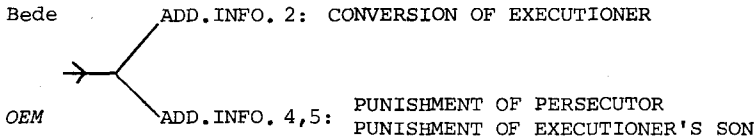
"se gelifde forþon ðe he geseah Godes engel stondan ond drygan mid sceatan Sancti Laurentius limu, þa Decius se casere hine het stingan mid irenum gyrdum tyndehum. Ond he ða onfeng fulwihte . . .".<sup>21</sup> As in the Phocas entry, Bede includes specific detail as regards the martyr's torments and death ("cum fustibus exhibitus ac decollatus est"), for which *OEM* only gives the frequently used formulaic expression "ond geprowode martyrdom for Criste".<sup>22</sup> *OEM*, however, also includes information which is not in Bede, i.e. the detailed reference to the saint's resting place ("æt Rome on ðam londe Ueranum") and, more significantly, the miraculous narrative detail of the angel drying St Lawrence's limbs quoted above.

As regards syntactic structure, Bede's entry on Romanus is similar to the entry on Phocas, although it is slightly more complex. The whole entry consists of one sentence with an elliptical syntactic head after DATE and PLACE, on which two relative clauses with embedded participial constructions depend. In *OEM* the martyr-ologist's predilection for parataxis (with three instances of the conjunction *ond*) can again be seen, but here we also have greater variation in the use of subordinate clauses than in the Phocas entry: a relative clause ("se gelifde . . ."), a causal clause ("forþon ðe he geseah . . ."), and a temporal clause ("þa Decius se casere hine het stingan . . ."). Nevertheless, the difference in stylistic effect between the two martyrologies is similar to that of the Phocas entry, i.e. complexity and brevity in Bede due to the syntax and the lack of qualifying epithets vs. greater simplicity with a tendency to elaborate on detail in *OEM* (e.g. "sancti Romani" Bede / "se is nemned Sanctus Romanus" *OEM*). In general terms we might say that Bede's technique is that of producing a mere summary, while the Old English martyr-ologist, by including selected narrative detail (in this case, the miraculous conversion of Romanus), tends more towards telling a story.

(3) Sts John and Paul (June 26):<sup>23</sup>

The entry on John and Paul is our first example of an entry commemorating two martyrs, which necessitates modification of the basic structural pattern.



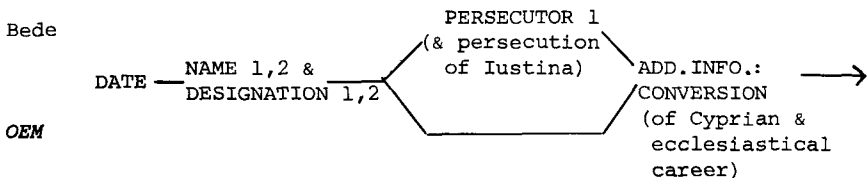


In addition to the necessary duplication of information, in the case of John and Paul we have a greater number of extensions to the basic pattern in both martyrologies than in the entries discussed before. Bede adds detail concerning the historical setting ("Constantiae virginis, filiae Constantini"), and refers to the executioner's conversion ("per Terentianum campi doctorem, qui deinde christianus factus est"), while *OEM* has a larger number of additions: the pseudo-historical information "Hig wæron acennede of Constantines sidan þæs miclan caseres, þæt ys of gestreonde", a short characterization of the martyrs ("and hig wæron swyðe Crystene weras"), and especially details concerning the direct punishment of the persecutor Julianus ("... com an stræl of heofenum and hyne gewundode on hys oðer gewenge, and he þa swealt sona"), and the indirect punishment of the executioner Terrentianus in the form of his son's madness.<sup>24</sup> *OEM* also describes the saints' martyrdom in greater detail than Bede, but omits the fact of the executioner's conversion.

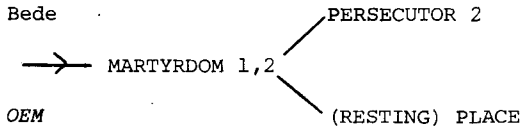
Syntactically the beginning of this entry in Bede exactly corresponds to that of the entry on Romanus. Again, the Bede entry can be regarded as one complex sentence without epithets, compressing most of the information into relative clauses. The manner of presentation in *OEM* is equally familiar. The information, including narrative, descriptive and miraculous detail ("stræl of heofenum"), is presented in a more explicit, less condensed form than in Bede, e.g. "þara lychoma restað on Romebyrig" *OEM* / "Romae" Bede. Although *OEM* has relative, temporal and complement subordinate clauses in this entry, the overall syntactic structure remains simple, with the conjunction *and* as the predominant linking device.<sup>25</sup>

(4) Sts Iustina and Cyprianus (September 26):<sup>26</sup>

This is a different type of entry commemorating two martyrs: while in the John and Paul entry there is parallel treatment of both martyrs, the situation in the entry on Iustina and Cyprian bears a certain similarity with the Romanus entry where Romanus was a heathen converted by the example of Laurentius.<sup>27</sup> Here, too, the conversion (of Cyprian by Iustina) is presented in the course of the entry in both martyrologies.





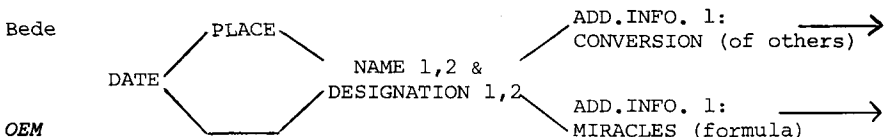


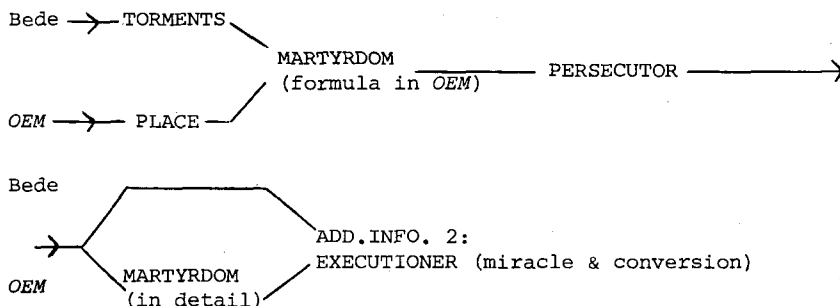
The looser handling of the basic pattern in Bede's martyrology, as well as in *OEM*, is due to the fact that a chronological development is given in the detail on the conversion and further career of the erstwhile sorcerer Cyprian, which is subordinated to, and at the same time linked with, the persecution and martyrdom of Iustina. Comparing Bede with *OEM*, there are instances in both of detail not contained in the other (e.g. "sub Claudio principe" Bede / "ond heora lichoma resteð in ðære ceastre þe is nemned Antiochia" *OEM*), but this entry is also a good example of the different handling of narrative detail by the two martyrologists in the description of Cyprian's conversion; cp. "cum esset magus" Bede / "Se Cyprianus wæs aryst ealra dry se wyrsta" *OEM* (i.e. a bare statement in Bede vs. a qualified statement in *OEM*), "eam dementare conaretur" Bede / "ond he wolde þære fæmnan mod on his scincraftum onwendan to hæðendome ond to unclænum hæmede" *OEM*, and especially the inclusion of the poetical simile in *OEM* which has no correspondence in Bede: "Ac ða gedwinon his drycraftas for hyre halignesse swa swa r'e/c þonne he togliðeð, oððe weax þonne hit for fyre gemelteð".<sup>28</sup> To sum up, *OEM* adds descriptive and narrative material where Bede contents himself with giving the bare outline of the story.

The syntactic framework of the Bede entry is similar to that of the entries discussed before, although there is a greater number of embedded constructions in this entry, which adds to the effect of syntactic complexity. In the noun phrases of Bede's entry, we find one qualifying adjective ("nobili"), but this can hardly be interpreted as modifying the terseness of Bede's style. *OEM*, again, gives the general stylistic impression of greater, sometimes possibly exaggerated, explicitness, as in "Sancta Iustinan . . . þære fæmnan" or "in ðære ceastre þe is nemned . . .". Syntactically, the *OEM* entry consists of a series of main clauses, with only a few subordinate clauses, as in the case of the two coordinated clauses in the twofold simile quoted above. The stylistic effect, predominantly created by the syntax of the passage, is that of a simple narrative.

(5) Sts Marcellinus and Petrus (June 2):<sup>29</sup>

This is the third example of a double entry included in this discussion, for which the following is the 'narrative' pattern:



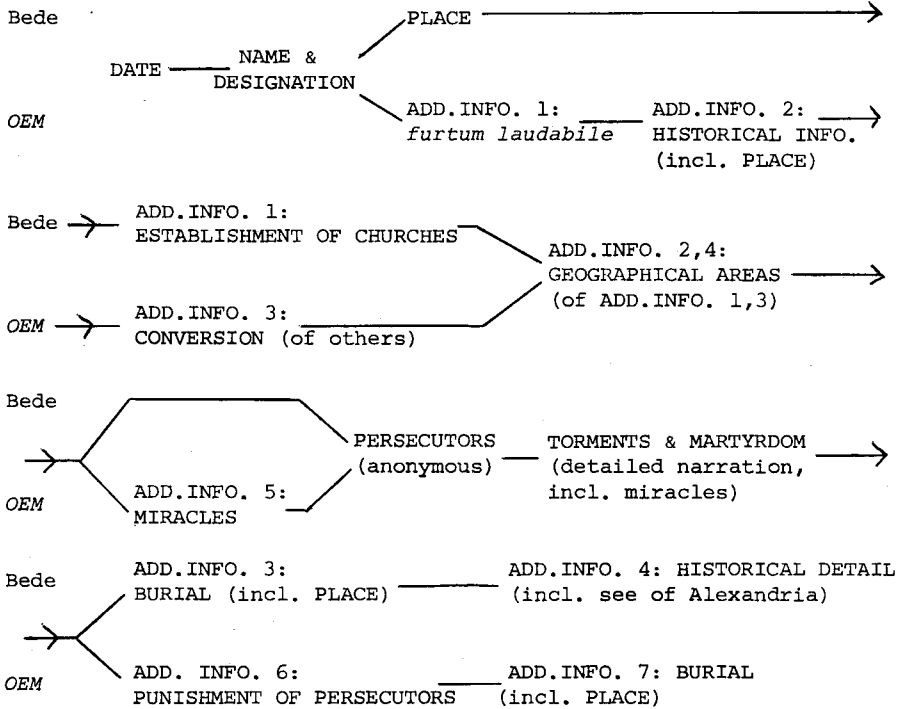


One of the striking features of this entry is the detailed inclusion of extensive additional information in both martyrologies, especially with reference to the executioner Dorotheus' conversion. Although both texts describe the miracle seen by Dorotheus, and his subsequent conversion, the narrative detail included is very different, and shows the divergent approaches of the two martyrologists. While in Bede the miraculous element is presented only briefly ("vidit animas eorum splendide ornatas, ab Angelis ferri ad caelos") before Bede moves on to historical and biographical detail ("sub Julio papa, baptizatus est in senectute sua"), the Old English martyrologist does not include the latter information, and instead presents the miraculous element in much greater detail: "Ond þa sægde se mon eallum folce, se þe hi beheafdade, þæt he gesege heora sawle ða hi uteodon of þam lichoman swelce [hig] wære\`n' mid gimnum gefretwade ond mid golde [ond] beorhtum hreglum gegereðe, ond englas mid heora hondum heo gefeonde bæren to heofonum".<sup>30</sup> The over-explicitness already observed in other OEM entries is again present here, e.g. in the expression "ðe Serenus wæs nemned" instead of the mere name in Bede, and this entry again includes examples of another characteristic of the Old English martyrologist's technique: the use of unspecific formulaic expressions as a shorthand for repetitive descriptive contexts ("ða dydon manego wundor", "ond ðrowedon monigfealdne martyrdom").<sup>31</sup>

The syntax in Bede is necessarily more varied in this case than in the entries previously discussed because of the addition of the Dorotheus story. Nevertheless, Bede's basic syntactic pattern is still to be seen (ELLIPTICAL HEAD, "qui . . . decollati sunt . . .").<sup>32</sup> The syntactic structure of the OEM entry is very similar to that of the other entries discussed, with the exception of the sentence describing the miracle seen by Dorotheus (cf. the quotation above), which is among the most complex syntactic units in OEM. Apart from this, we only find four short subordinate clauses in this entry: one complement clause ("þæt hi mon þær beheafdade") and three relative clauses, two of these with the function of naming (e.g. "se wæs genemned *Silua Nigra*, se swearta wudu") and one with the function of clarification ("se þe hi beheafdade" OEM 116, 2).

(6) St Mark the Evangelist (April 25):<sup>33</sup>

The entry on Mark the Evangelist is, in the context of our previously presented material, an exceptional case:



In accordance with the importance of Mark the Evangelist, the entries in both martyrologies are unusually long, and include many details by which the basic structural pattern, which is still recognizable in both texts, is modified and extended. The story of the genesis of Mark's gospel (the *furtum laudabile* story)<sup>34</sup> occurs in OEM only. Both texts name the geographical areas in which Mark carried out his missionary work (with more detail in Bede, cf. "per Lybiam, Marmaricam, Ammoniacam, Pentapolim, Alexandriam atque Aegyptum universam" Bede / "Egypta mægpe, ond Libia mægðe, ond Armarice, ond Pentapalim" OEM), but the Old English martyrologist, as a consequence of his fondness for the miraculous and unsavoury, includes details which are not to be found in Bede: "On þissum mægðum wæron ær swa unclæne men þæt hi . . . astorfen æton. Ðes Sanctus Marcus hæalde untrume men ond hreofe, ond deaðe men of deaðe awehte".<sup>35</sup> The most substantial part of the text in both martyrologies, however, consists of the treatment of Mark's torments and martyrdom at the hands of his anonymous Alexandrian persecutors. In this case both Bede and the Old English martyrologist have detailed information including the miraculous element (an angelic visitation and an appearance of Christ himself).<sup>36</sup> Both texts also contain (different) direct speech taken from the source:<sup>37</sup> "In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum" Bede / "Sibb sy þe, ure godspellere Marcus" OEM. In the presentation of the events after Mark's death, Bede concentrates on historical detail by referring to the future history of the see of Alexandria ("Ordinaverat autem pro se Alexandriae

episcopum Annianum"), while *OEM* concentrates on the more sensational aspect of the punishment of the persecutors by thunderstorm ("Ða com þunor ond regn, ofslogon monige þara hæpenra, ond þa opre flugon onweg").

As far as syntax is concerned, this entry - although constructed in a much more complex way than the entries discussed previously - again includes Bede's basic syntactic pattern (HEAD . . . qui . . . qui . . .).<sup>38</sup> But, although Bede has other long entries, this is the only one included in this essay which has something like a real narrative structure, indicative of the way in which later Latin martyrologists (especially Ado of Vienne) were to extend many of Bede's briefer entries.<sup>39</sup> Here, too, the difference in syntactic structure reflects the basic stylistic difference between the two martyrologies: Bede has a complex syntax alternating subordination and coordination in a skilful way which makes the time structure of the entry transparent (cf. "Qui videntes eum die sancto Paschae, VIII Kl. Maii . . .", "Vespere autem facto . . .", "ubi circa mediam noctem . . .", "Et mane, dum traheretur . . ."). *OEM*, on the other hand, has 28 main clauses (as opposed to 7 short subordinate clauses, and 13 instances of the conjunction *ond* as syntactic link), which - taking into account the simple structure of most of the main clauses (e.g. "He wæs Sancte Petres godsunu on fulwihte, ond he leornode at him") - confirms the basic simplicity of *OEM*'s prose syntax.<sup>40</sup> In order to demonstrate the different stylistic effect generated by the two martyrologists, I shall use the episode of the miraculous visitations which is included in both texts:<sup>41</sup>

## Bede

...ubi circa mediam noctem  
primo angelica visitatione  
confortatus est,  
deinde ipso Domino sibi  
apparente, ad caelestia  
regna vocatus.

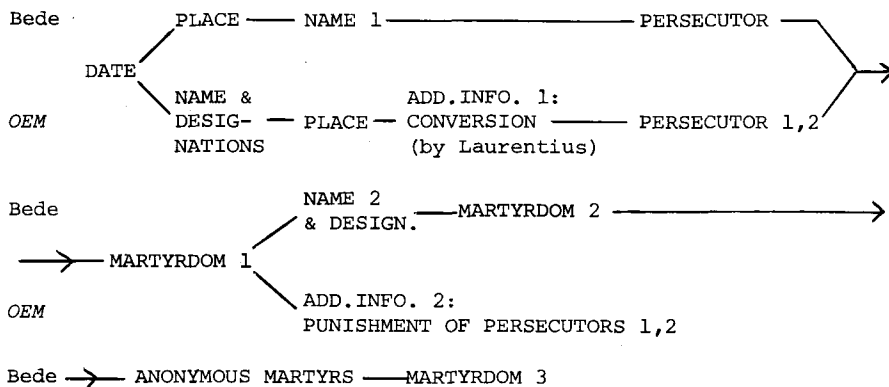
*OEM*

...þær him on niht atýwde Godes engel  
ond him sæde þæt he sceolde þæs on  
mergen leoran on ða ecean reste.  
Ond þa ætnehstan Crist seolfa him  
atýwde ond him cwæð to: 'Sibb sy  
þe, ure godspellere Marcus.'

Again we can observe greater precision and conciseness in Bede's style, as opposed to the presentation of a simple narrative structure in *OEM*.

(7) St Hippolytus (Ypolitus, August 13):<sup>42</sup>

This is the second entry on a martyr from the *Gesta Laurentii*<sup>43</sup> to be included in this essay, although Bede's text makes no mention of Laurentius who is, however, referred to in the *OEM* entry. Instead, Bede includes a second martyr (Concordia), as well as nineteen anonymous martyrs, who are not mentioned in *OEM*. The information pattern of the two entries is as follows:



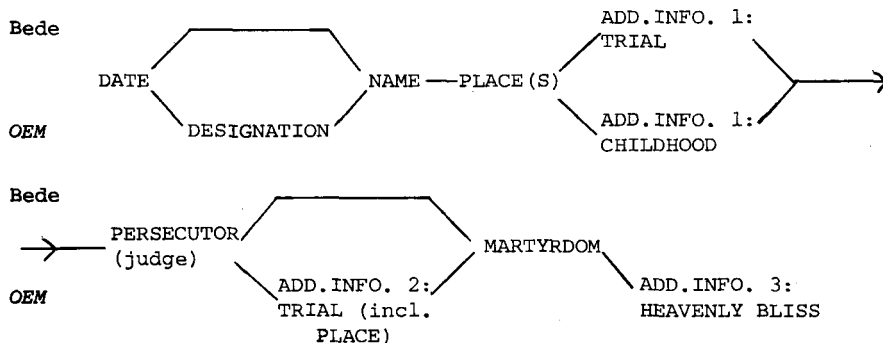
In this case the information content and patterns are very different in the two texts. While Bede has no more than a reduced basic pattern (without *TORMENTS*) which is applied three times for Hippolytus himself, for his nurse Concordia and for the nineteen anonymous martyrs, *OEM* has the basic pattern (for Hippolytus only), with two major additions: it includes Hippolytus' conversion by Laurentius ("ac he gelyf\`d\`e Gode `purh' `pa w[u]ndor þe he geseah æt Sancti Laurentie þam deacone, ond he onfeng fulwihte . . ."),<sup>44</sup> and a detailed reference to the punishment of the persecutors Valerianus and Decius, in both cases including direct speech. There is also other detail only found in *OEM*, e.g. in connection with Hippolytus' martyrdom: "ond ða hors forleton ðone lichoman" (i.e. 'and the horses left the body'). This is typical of the method of the Old English martyrologist who is often more concerned with giving a few selected, often miraculous, narrative details from the longer hagiographical texts used as sources, while Bede, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with giving a very brief summary following his basic pattern, with modifications to suit the specific case.<sup>45</sup>

Due to the threefold nature of the Bede entry, the syntactic pattern which we generally find in Bede is repeated three times, with the second and third genitival heads introduced by *Et*. In all three cases we have relative clauses containing the information not included in the NAME (& DESIGNATION) parts of the syntactic heads, in the first and second cases with additional embedded participial constructions. The *OEM* entry also has the syntactic features already observed in the other entries, although here the initial part of the entry has a certain similarity with Bede's NAME / *qui* pattern (Sancti Ypolitii; se was . . .).<sup>46</sup>

(8) St Procopius (*OEM* July 7 / Bede July 8):<sup>47</sup>

The last entry to be looked at in this context was selected as a final example in which Bede adheres fairly closely to his basic information pattern as indicated in the quotation from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* given in the initial part of this essay, while in *OEM* - as might be expected - the basic pattern is extended to include

various additions by which it is turned into a simple narrative:



While Bede has a more precise geographical setting than *OEM* ("in Palestina, qui ab Scythopoli ductus Caesaream" Bede / "se was on Palestina ðære mægpe", and later "on Cessaria ðære ceastre" *OEM*), the Old English text (whose wrong name form "Proconi" is easily explained as a scribal error) extends the basic pattern by including an account of Procopius' self-castigation by living on bread and water in his childhood (*OEM* 140,14-141,5). *OEM* also includes a detailed narrative account (with direct speech) referring to Procopius' trial and his martyrdom by beheading on the order of the judge Flavianus (*OEM* 141,5-12).

In the syntax of Bede's entry there is only slight variation of the familiar pattern: the syntactic head (with name and place, on which a relative clause with further embedded constructions depends) includes the nominative "Natale" which is only present by implication in most of the other entries discussed.<sup>48</sup> The conciseness of Bede's style is again clearly noticeable if we compare Bede's entry with the entry in *OEM*, but also if we compare Bede with his longer narrative source.<sup>49</sup> The narrative technique of the Old English martyrologist, as opposed to the hypotactic summary technique most frequently found in Bede, is marked by the use of straightforward syntactic linking devices in order to present a consecutive story ("ond sona", "Ond þa ætnehston", "Ond þa for ðeossu").<sup>50</sup>

I shall now attempt to draw general conclusions from the above investigation:

(a) In the case of both martyrologies, we are dealing with a highly formalized presentation of information which makes use of a basic information pattern appropriate to the textual genre as set out by Bede in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, with additional elements which can be explained by examining the genesis and the development of the genre.<sup>51</sup>

(b) The most striking difference between Bede and *OEM* in the structure of comparable entries lies in the individual methods of selecting and including additional information used by the two martyrologists. Although there are variations in accordance with the demands of the entry concerned, general principles can be

observed. While Bede's aim is normally stylistic brevity with a marked preference for summary form including multiple detail at the cost of descriptiveness and explicit narrative,<sup>52</sup> the Old English martyrologist often concentrates on the presentation of a few selected episodes from his sources, with a tendency towards including the sensational or miraculous. In general, Bede's technique is more deserving of the label 'historical', while that of the Old English martyrologist can, with more justification, be called 'narrative'.

(c) The different methods of the two martyrologists are particularly discernible in their prose style, especially their syntax. Bede's tendency towards a brief and concise presentation can be seen in the comparative lack of epithet. The decisive stylistic feature of his work, however, is the compressed syntax of an entry type very frequently used, where most of the information is found in a single complex sentence.<sup>53</sup> *OEM*, on the other hand, normally has a predominantly paratactic structure with short syntactic units and simple narrative linking devices. The Old English martyrologist also makes use of a number of descriptive formulae when he does not want to include narrative detail, or when such detail may not have been accessible to him.<sup>54</sup> Another striking feature of the Old English martyrologist's style is his tendency to be over-explicit in his inclusion of explanatory detail which may often seem redundant to the modern reader.<sup>55</sup>

In trying to draw further conclusions from these observations, it might be tempting to transfer the comparative stylistic simplicity of *OEM* to a simplicity of mind in the public for which *OEM* was intended. But this stylistic simplicity may also be a consequence of the high degree of formalism intrinsic in the textual genre, which is expressed by different means in the Latin and the Old English texts. It is certainly dangerous to use the syntactic structure of *OEM* as a means for dating the text in the way Georg Herzfeld attempts to: "We may feel certain that he [i.e. the Old English martyrologist] had not King Alfred's work as an example before him, and, although we cannot arrive at a definite result with the material before us, the earlier date (850) is perhaps more probable".<sup>56</sup> There is a significant difference between the free prose of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the repetitive formalized prose in Bede's martyrology due at least partly to the different functions of the texts; and functional differences may also provide an explanation for stylistic and syntactic variation in other early extant texts written in a new medium for literary expression, English prose.<sup>57</sup> There is one certain conclusion to be reached, namely that Bede as a martyrologist, and the Old English martyrologist, building on similar basic structural patterns, used different techniques for different aims, which gives each of their works a distinctive original character.

There is a final question to be asked: is it likely that the Old English martyrologist used Bede's text as a model? In view of the differences in the overall structure of the two works,<sup>58</sup> of the different textual detail in individual entries, and of the different stylistic techniques used by the two martyrologists, this does not

at first sight seem very likely. On the other hand, if we consider that a similar basic information pattern was used by Bede as well as the Old English martyrologist for the new type of 'narrative' or 'historical' martyrology, it does not seem improbable that Bede's work was used by the compiler of *OEM* to provide a framework for his entries which he very often filled with additional textual material more suited to his taste or his intentions.





NOTES

- 1 Bede's prose martyrology, extant in interpolated form only, is edited in H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1908; repr. Aalen, 1969) pp.48-111, and in Jacques Dubois, G. Renaud, *Edition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l'anonyme lyonnais et de Florus* (Paris, 1976); Quentin's date for Bede is "peu avant 735" (p.683). On the problems concerning the establishment of Bede's original text, cf. Jacques Dubois, *Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin* (Turnhout, 1978) pp.38-9. For *OEM*, I shall refer to my edition: *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, ed. Günter Kotzor, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen, N.F. 88/1, 2, 2 vols. (München, 1981); for the date of *OEM*, cf. below, n.56. On general differences in the entry structure between Bede and *OEM*, cf. Kotzor, vol. I, pp.196-9, and G. Kotzor, "The Latin Tradition of Martyrologies and the *Old English Martyrology*", to be published in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Binghamton, 1985).
- 2 On the terms 'narrative' and 'historical' martyrology, cf. Kotzor, *Martyrology*, vol. I, p.177 and n.6. I am aware that I am over-simplifying by referring to the 'Old English martyrologist' in the course of this essay. It has not yet been established whether the original compilation was a Latin text subsequently translated into Old English (in which case some of the stylistic features discussed below would be attributable to the translator), or whether the compilation was an original Old English text using Latin sources; cf. J.E. Cross, "The Latinity of the Ninth-Century Old English Martyrologist", to be published in Szarmach, *Studies*. The possibility of multiple authorship is also not to be excluded.
- 3 In addition to entries on martyrs, Bede, as well as *OEM*, also includes entries on confessors, church festivals, and computistical material; cf. Kotzor I, p.175, n.2.
- 4 Bede's sources are presented and discussed in Quentin, pp.56-112. In this context I need hardly refer to the comprehensive and exemplary investigation into the sources of *OEM* which is being carried out by J.E. Cross. On other Latin prose martyrologies (such as the 9th century compilations of Florus of Lyons, Ado of Vienne, Usuard of St Germain, and Rhabanus Maurus), cf. Dubois, *Les martyrologes*.
- 5 H. Delehaye, "Le témoignage des martyrologes", *Analecta Bollandiana* 26 (1907) pp.79-80. On the terminological problem and the early history of calendars and martyrologies, cf. also Dubois, *Les martyrologes*, pp.16-17, and René Aigrain, *L'hagiographie. Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Paris, 1953) pp.13-50.
- 6 One fact to be noted here is that earlier liturgical calendars often contain more textual information than later texts, cf. also Kotzor I, pp.261-2. In the context of this essay I have excluded non-verbal information also contained in calendars, e.g. indications of the liturgical rank of saints' festivals.
- 7 *St. Willibrord's Calendar*, ed. H.A. Wilson, HBS 55 (London, 1918) p.9.
- 8 *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, ed. Francis Wormald, HBS 72 (London, 1934) p.8.
- 9 Square brackets are used to indicate textual elements which may not be included in specific entries. The label DESIGNATION is used for expressions characterizing the saints concerned, such as "episcopi", "apostoli", "exorcistae", as well as (in the case of *OEM*) "pæs miclan martyres", "pæs

cempan", "þære fæmnan". The informational categories do not necessarily occur in individual texts in the order suggested by the formalized pattern.

- 10 The quotation is from the textual type found in the Echternach MS of the *Martyrologium (Pseudo)Hieronymianum* (MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10837), i.e. "Willibrord's martyrology", ed. H. Quentin, *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. II, ii (1931) p.395. The Hieronymian martyrology very rarely includes narrative information, e.g. in the entry on St Stephen ". . . qui lapidatus est a Iudaeis" (p.10). The expression 'natale' (for 'festival') is treated as part of the NAME category in the course of this essay.
- 11 On the possibility of an earlier 'historical' martyrology used by Bede, cf. Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, pp.683-4.
- 12 The examples from Bede I are taken from Quentin, p.52. According to Quentin (p.684) Bede I, the earlier of the two extant interpolated versions of Bede's martyrology, was composed after 755. The best MS containing Bede I is the fragmentary MS St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 451, s.ix inc. The OEM example is taken from my edition, p.198.
- 13 HE V.24: "A martyrology of the festivals of the holy martyrs, in which I have diligently tried to note down all that I could find about them, not only on what day, but also by what sort of combat and under what judge they 'overcame the world', quotation and translation from *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969) pp.570, 571.
- 14 I have changed the order suggested in the quotation by putting PERSECUTOR before TORMENTS & MARTYRDOM to suit the logical order, but also to conform to the order found in the majority of Bede's entries. The category TORMENTS is the one most frequently omitted by Bede in his realization of the basic pattern.
- 15 Dubois/Renaud, p.127 (Quentin, p.88). Kotzor II, pp.147-8. A translation of Bede's text runs: 'July 14. (The festival) of St Phocas, bishop of Pontus, who overcame (torments by) fetters, iron(?) and fire for (the love of) Christ under the emperor Trajanus (and) the prefect Africanus; whose relics are (to be found) in the church of the Apostles, in Gaul, in the town of Vienne'. For the OEM entry, I shall use an unpublished translation by J.E. Cross: 'On the fourteenth day of the month is the *memoria* of the great martyr who is called Saint Phocas. He was bishop in the province which is called Pontus; but the emperor Traianus threatened him with unspeakable punishments for (his) belief in Christ; and, finally, he ordered him to be sent into a burning oven, and, in it, he sent forth his spirit. And three days after this he showed (himself) before the emperor's door, and called the emperor, and told him that hell was opened and its torments prepared for him and ordered him to hasten to it. And then, the emperor died immediately after this. The relics of this bishop are in the province of Gaul in the city of Vienne and the relics are very famous throughout the world .
- 16 For a discussion of the descriptive formulae frequently used by the Old English martyrologist, cf. Kotzor I, pp.409-21.
- 17 In comparing the prose style of a Latin text with that of an Old English text we have to take into account that some of the stylistic features may be due to structural differences between the two languages, and will not necessarily reflect differences attributable to the individuality of the authors.

- 18 Cf. below, n.38.
- 19 Dubois/Renaud, p.147 (Quentin, p.79). Kotzor II, p.175.
- 20 Cf. Quentin, pp.77-81, Kotzor I, p.274 n.406 and J.E. Cross, "The *Passio S. Laurentii et aliorum*: Latin Manuscripts and the *Old English Martyrology*", *Medieval Studies* (45) 1983, pp.200-13. Another martyr from the *Gesta Laurentii* discussed in this essay is Hippolytus, cf. below, pp.162-3. The quotation from Bede may be translated as 'who, compelled by the confession of St Lawrence, asked to be baptized by him'.
- 21 "He believed because he saw an angel of God stand and dry St Lawrence's limbs with a cloth, when the emperor Decius ordered him to be pierced with spiked iron clubs; and then he received baptism . . ." (translation by J.E. Cross, "The *Passio S. Laurentii* . . .", n.32).
- 22 Cf. Kotzor I, p.416 and above, n.16.
- 23 Dubois/Renaud, p.114 (Quentin, p.75). Kotzor II, pp.133-4.
- 24 On the pseudo-historical detail in *OEM*, cf. Kotzor II, p.324, and J.E. Cross, "Latinity". The *OEM* quotation on the emperor's punishment reads in translation: ". . . an arrow came from heaven and wounded him in one of his cheeks, and he died at once" (Herzfeld, p.107); Herzfeld attributes this part of the story to the punishment of the executioner, but the context in *OEM* suggests that the person referred to is the emperor Julianus.
- 25 The text of the John and Paul entry is extant in MS C (CCCC 196) of *OEM* only, which expands the tironic note 7 as *and*, as opposed to *ond* in MS B (BL Cotton Julius A.x), the base MS of my edition.
- 26 Dubois/Renaud, p.177 (Quentin, p.71). Kotzor II, pp.220-1.
- 27 Cf. above, pp.156-7.
- 28 "But then his magic arts vanished before her holiness like smoke when it glides away, or wax when it melts from the fire" (Herzfeld, p.181). The origin of the double image is discussed in an unpublished article by J.E. Cross (it occurs, for example, in Aldhelm's prose *De Virginitate*, which was used as a source by the Old English martyrologist, cf. Kotzor I, pp. 256-7).
- 29 Dubois/Renaud, p.100 (Quentin, p.82). Kotzor II, pp.114-16.
- 30 Translation by J.E. Cross, "A *Virgo* in the *Old English Martyrology*", *Notes and Queries* 29 (1982) p.104 (the emendation *ond* is suggested by Cross, n.14): "And the man who beheaded them told all the people that he saw their souls when they went out of the body, as if they were adorned with gems and clothed in gold and in shining garments and angels, rejoicing, bore them in their hands to heaven".
- 31 Cf. above, n.16.
- 32 Bede's entry also includes one qualifying adjective ("*dira vincula*"), and one adverb qualifying a participial adjective ("*splendide ornatas*").

- <sup>33</sup> Dubois/Renaud, p.71 (Quentin, pp.85-6). Kotzor II, pp.64-6.
- <sup>34</sup> Cf. J.E. Cross, "The Influence of Irish Texts and Tradition on the Old English Martyrology", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 81 (1981) pp.188-9.
- <sup>35</sup> "Among these nations were men so unclean that they worshipped idols and ate dead bodies. This St. Mark healed sick men and lepers and awakened dead people from death" (Herzfeld, pp.63, 65). For examples of the miraculous element in *OEM*, cf. Kotzor I, pp.408-9. For unsavoury detail cf. e.g. the entry on Lawrence, Kotzor II, p.176 (the detailed description of the roasting of the martyr).
- <sup>36</sup> Cf. below, p.162 and n.41.
- <sup>37</sup> The *Passio Marci* (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* 5276), cf. J.E. Cross, "Irish Texts", p.188 and n.78.
- <sup>38</sup> In this case, the syntactic head includes *Natale*, cf. below, p.164.
- <sup>39</sup> For a detailed analysis of Ado's method, cf. Quentin, pp.465-649. In the later Latin prose martyrologies up to Ado, Bede's text is normally retained (with slight modifications), and expanded by including additional detail from the longer hagiographical texts (*passiones* etc.), or from other sources. This method is used by Ado to such an extent that his work sometimes reads more like a short legendary than a martyrology.
- <sup>40</sup> The time structure is also recognizable in the *OEM* entry, but it is presented with less precision than in Bede; cf. the beginning of the quotations given below, p.162 (with a translation in n.41). There are rare examples of complex syntax to be found in *OEM*, cf. above, p.157, and Herzfeld, p.xxxii.
- <sup>41</sup> Bede: 'where around midnight he was at first comforted by an angelic visitation, and then by an appearance of the Lord himself he was called to the heavenly kingdom' Dubois/Renaud, p.71 (Quentin, p.86). *OEM*: "There (Herzfeld: "where") God's angel appeared to him at night and told him that in the morning he would enter into eternal rest. At last Christ himself appeared to him at night and said to him: Peace be with thee, Mark, our evangelist (Herzfeld: "apostle"); translation from Herzfeld, p.65 (my modifications).
- <sup>42</sup> Dubois/Renaud, p.149 (Quentin, p.80). Kotzor II, pp.179-80.
- <sup>43</sup> Cf. above, p.156 and n.20.
- <sup>44</sup> ". . . but he believed in God through the miracles which he saw from the deacon, St. Lawrence, and he received baptism . . ." (translation by J.E. Cross, "The *Passio S. Laurentii* . . .", n.36).
- <sup>45</sup> This is especially noticeable in the case of the entry on Mark. It has to be pointed out, however, that there is a greater number of lengthy entries in Bede than is suggested by the random selection discussed in this essay, e.g. the entries on St Sebastian (Quentin, p.91), Sts Victor and Corona (Quentin, pp.94-5).

- <sup>46</sup> This is also true for the entry on Procopius. The essential syntactic difference is that the relative clauses in *OEM* are short and followed by predominantly paratactic structures, while in Bede they frequently contain additional embedded constructions.
- <sup>47</sup> Dubois/Renaud, p.121 (Quentin, p.89). Kotzor II, pp.140-1.
- <sup>48</sup> Cf. also above, n.38 and n.10.
- <sup>49</sup> For a comparison of Bede's entry with its source (BHL 6949), cf. Quentin, p.89.
- <sup>50</sup> We also find the Old English martyrologist's fondness for adding explanatory detail in this entry, i.e. "se was on Palestina ðære mægpe" *OEM* / "in Palestina" Bede.
- <sup>51</sup> Cf. above, pp.153-4, and the table of formalized information patterns on p.167.
- <sup>52</sup> This is a general tendency in Bede, although there are counter-examples, cf. the discussion of the entry on Mark the Evangelist, and n.45.
- <sup>53</sup> E.g. in the entries on Romanus and Procopius.
- <sup>54</sup> Cf. above, n.16.
- <sup>55</sup> This may be caused partly by the difficulties involved in turning Latin constructions into Old English syntax, and partly by the martyrologist's (or his expected audience's) unfamiliarity with the material presented (e.g. in the Phocas entry, "He was biscop" *OEM* compared with "episcopi" Bede, and "on ðære mægðe ðe Pontus is nemned" *OEM* "Ponti" Bede).
- <sup>56</sup> Herzfeld, p.xxxii. My reaction to Herzfeld's suggestion is intended as a methodological caveat. I do not mean to imply that *OEM* is a contemporary of the 'Alfredian' translations, as this is still an open issue, cf. the discussion of dating alternatives in the introduction to my edition (pp.453-4), and Celia Sisam's review of my edition (*Notes and Queries* 30 (1983) p.67). Cf. also, for the date tentatively suggested for the composition of *OEM* by J.E. Cross (before the middle of the ninth century), "Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis", A Sermon for All Saints, and its Use in Old English Prose", *Traditio* 33 (1977) p.134, and "Popes of Rome in the *Old English Martyrology*", *ARCA, Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs* 3, *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 2 (Liverpool, 1979) p.204. The predominance of (conjunctive) parataxis in Old English texts is traditionally regarded as an indication of 'primitive style', cf., for example, Georg Rübens, *Parataxe und Hypotaxe in dem ältesten Teil der Sachsenchronik* (Halle, 1915) pp.52-3, and C. Sprockel, *The Language of the Parker Chronicle*, vol. II (The Hague, 1973) p.73.
- <sup>57</sup> For the different presentation of textual material by Bede in the *Historia Ecclesiastica (HE)* and in his martyrology (in entries where he may have used *HE* as a source), cf. Quentin's comparison of the Bede entry on St Alban with its source (p.105); for the difference between *OEM* and Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues* (where Gregory's Latin text is the source of the *OEM* entry), compare, e.g., the *OEM* entry on Benedict of Nursia (Kotzor II, p.40) with Wærferth's text (ed. Hans Hecht, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* 5 (Leipzig, 1900; repr. Darmstadt, 1965) pp.175-6): *OEM* " . . . his broðra twegen geseagon ænne weg fram his mynstre rihte east on ðone heofon, se was bebræded mid hwitum ryftum, ond þar was on unrim scinendra leochtfaða, ond þar stod an beorht wer ond cwæp to him: 'Dis is

se weg midþy þe Drihtnes se leofa Benedictus astag on heofon'." / GD "hi  
 3esawon be3en, þæt an scinende we3 7 lyxende was astreht mid 3odwebbenum  
 pællum 7 unarimðum leohtfatum ymbseted 7 mid rihtre sti3e eastweardes was  
 aþaned to heofonum fram Benedictes cytan. 7 ofer þam we3e was standende  
 swiðe beorht wer mid arwyrðlicum 3e3yrelan, se acsode þa broðra, hwæs we3  
 þæt wære, þe hi sceawedon. hi andetton, þæt hi nyston, se beorhta wer cwæð  
 to þam: 'þis is se we3, on þam drihtnes deorling 3 Benedictus 3estah to  
 heofonum'". Hecht's text is from MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 322  
 (s.xi<sup>2</sup>). On syntactic and stylistic variation in the transmission of GD,  
 cf. David Verkes, *Syntax and Style in Old English: A Comparison of the Two  
 Versions of Wærfeth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues* (Binghamton,  
 1982).

<sup>58</sup> On structural differences between OEM and Bede, cf. the references at the  
 end of n.1. On similarities between Bede and OEM in the initial part of  
 some entries, cf. p.163 and n.46, but cf. also the 'narrative' entry of  
 the Hieronymian martyrology referred to in n.10 which has a similar syntac-  
 tic pattern.