The Manuscript Circulation and Use of Bede's Martyrology and Religious Practice in Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Europe, to c. 1250

Kate Rebecca Falardeau

King's College

September 2023

This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration, except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted before for any degree or other qualification, except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the Faculty of History Degree Committee.

Abstract

Kate Rebecca Falardeau, 'The Manuscript Circulation and Use of Bede's Martyrology and Religious Practice in Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Europe, to c. 1250'

Bede's Martyrology is the earliest known historical example of a calendrical list of martyrs, or martyrology, composed by Bede c. 725–731. All surviving manuscript copies are Continental and date to the ninth century or later. Historical martyrologies were popular in ninth-century Francia. Thus far, most scholars have focussed on Usuard's Martyrology (c. 850–879), which would eventually form the basis of the modern Roman Martyrology. The nature of the so-called Carolingian reforms has been reconceptualised in recent scholarship. The role of liturgical manuscripts within this context has also received renewed analysis. Following these historiographical developments, the manuscript circulation and use of Bede's Martyrology provide a case study for the application and long-term effects of Carolingian *correctio*. I examine manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology to clarify ninth-century developments in religious practice and their consequences.

In the first chapter of the dissertation, I focus on the compilation of Bede's text and the attribution of manuscript copies. In chapter two, I discuss one component included in top-down efforts at reform, the use of a martyrology in chapter, to ascertain the extent to which manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology reflect the prescriptive sources. In chapter three, I analyse *correctio* in the localities through the use of Bede's text by ninth-century bishops and local priests in education and pastoral care. In chapters four and five, I examine copies of Bede's Martyrology in the former Carolingian lands and Montecassino and Rome, respectively, to characterise uses of the Carolingian inheritance 900–1250. I argue that the presentation, circulation, and use of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology reveal not only the entwined liturgical creativity and

historical consciousness of ninth-century Carolingian Francia but also the subsequent influence of Franco-Roman liturgical practice in the Latin West.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations and Conventions

BAV	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	London, British Library
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
CCM	Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum
CLA	E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–1966)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PL	Patrologia Latina

The first reference to a manuscript primary source in each chapter is given in full, excepting the abbreviations for libraries listed above; subsequent references are abbreviated. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own. As it was not possible to consult the hardcopy of Carine van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven: Pastoral Care and Salvation in the Carolingian Period*, The Medieval World (London: Routledge, 2022), references refer to a full URL through Perlego.

Tables

Introduction

Bede's Martyrology is an understudied but influential text upon liturgical practice and religious culture in the Latin West. Bede composed his Martyrology in Northumbria during the eighth century (c. 725–731). As with any martyrology, Bede's text is a collection of entries on the saints that is organised according to the calendar. Each saint included is recorded on the day on which they died, their heavenly birthday (*dies natalis*). As the earliest known historical martyrology, Bede's Martyrology provides contextualising information about the martyrdom of each saint included. Bede's Martyrology subsequently acted as a precedent and source for the martyrology composed by Usuard, a monk of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, in the second half of the ninth century.[1] Usuard's Martyrology would come to be widely used as part of the Latin liturgy of Western Europe for centuries. The long shadow of influence cast by Bede's Martyrology is apparent in the Roman Martyrology used in the modern Catholic Church, which is itself derived from Usuard's Martyrology.[2] Surviving manuscript copies of Usuard's text are numerous.[3] The text has been analysed in two modern editions.[4] Single manuscript copies have been examined for what they may reveal about the use of the text and its readers.[5] The historiography of Bede's Martyrology differs significantly, as I survey

---

[1] On Usuard's Martyrology, see Henri Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Âge: étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain*, 2nd edn, Études d'histoire des dogmes et d'ancienne littérature ecclésiastique (Paris: J. Gabalda & Cie, 1908), 675–7; Usuard, *Le Martyrologe d'Usuard: texte et commentaire*, ed. Jacques Dubois, Subsidia Hagiographica 40 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1965).

[2] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 4.

[3] A large selection is listed in ibid., 675–7.

[4] Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois; Eef A. Overgaauw, *Martyrologes manuscrits des anciens diocèses d'Utrecht et de Liège*, 2 vols, Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen 30 (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993).

[5] Including Timothy Graham, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57 and Its Anglo-Saxon Users', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Their Heritage*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 21–70; Mechthild Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57: A Witness to the Early Stages of Benedictine Reform in England?', *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 (2003): 111–46; Sarah Hamilton, 'Understanding the Church's Past: Usuard's

below. There is no critical edition of Bede's Martyrology.[6] Despite acknowledgement that Usuard's text derives from Bede's earlier martyrology and that Bede indeed pioneered the historical form seen in subsequent martyrologies, Bede's Martyrology has remained largely undiscussed in historical scholarship.[7] Where Bede's Martyrology is examined in published scholarship, the questions asked focus on the text and/or its author.

The significance of Bede's Martyrology, however, extends beyond its influence upon Usuard and other subsequent martyrologists. There are two broad issues to consider here: (1) the interest in and use of manuscript copies of historical martyrologies including Bede's as representations of the past and contributing to collective memory and identity formation, stemming initially from the particular historical consciousness of ninth-century Francia, and (2) the potential for manuscript copies of historical martyrologies to illuminate changes in liturgical practice from the ninth century onwards.[8] Copies of

---

Martyrology in Tenth-and Eleventh-Century England', *Medieval Worlds* 10 (2019): 46–60; idem, 'Liturgy as History: The Origins of the Exeter Martyrology', *Traditio* 74 (2019): 1–44.

[6] However, on the text, see Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 47–111 and Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique des martyrologes de Bède de l'Anonyme lyonnais et de Florus*, ed. Jacques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976).

[7] But see John M. McCulloh, 'Historical Martyrologies in the Benedictine Cultural Tradition', in *Benedictine Culture 750–1050*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 114–31; Felice Lifshitz, 'Bede, Martyrology', in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), 169–78; Victoria A. Gunn, 'A Case of Innovation within Generic Boundaries: Bede's Martyrology', in *Bede's Historiae: Genre, Rhetoric and the Construction of Anglo-Saxon Church History* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 131–43; Alan Thacker, 'Bede and His Martyrology', in *Listen, O Isles, unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, ed. Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully (Cork: Cork University Press, 2011), 126–41; Paul C. Hilliard, 'Bede's Martyrology: A Resource and Spiritual Lesson', in *Bede the Scholar*, ed. Peter Darby and Máirín MacCarron (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023), 265–83.

[8] On the former, see Rosamond McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, The Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies 2004 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 51–5; Felice Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627–827* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 129–30; Hamilton, 'Understanding'; idem, 'Liturgy as History'.

Bede's text had probably reached Carolingian Francia by the mid- to late eighth century.[9] The historical focus of the Martyrology seems to have prompted the efforts of ninth-century Frankish martyrologists, complementing and perhaps even contributing to the 'historical curiosity' of the time.[10] Bede's Martyrology would have been one of only a few martyrologies available before the 817 Council of Aachen, during which daily recitation from a martyrology in the morning meeting after Prime was stipulated.[11] Even after the 816 and 817 Councils of Aachen, liturgical practice remained diverse throughout the Carolingian Empire.[12] The earliest copies of Bede's Martyrology, produced in the ninth century, therefore reflect a period during which the uses of martyrologies were in flux.

The manuscript corpus of Bede's Martyrology is especially well suited for a long-term case study of the effects of Carolingian attempts to reform religious life and liturgical practice. Manuscript copies of Bede's text datable to between the ninth and mid-thirteenth centuries show variation in presentation, circulation, and use, perhaps to a greater degree than any other historical martyrology. One cannot assume intended function or actual use based solely on the scholarly attribution of a martyrology manuscript to Bede. Ekaterina Novokhatko has posited that this may also be the case for manuscript copies of Ado's Martyrology (ninth-century) produced in Catalonia and Septimania between the tenth and twelfth centuries, in which copies for monastic use may have been used in daily reading and copies for canonical use may have been used for major feasts.[13] Copies of Usuard's Martyrology have been overwhelmingly associated

---

[9] See ch. 1, 39–41.

[10] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 130; ch. 1, 38–40.

[11] Including the enumerative Hieronymian Martyrology and the historical martyrology of the anonymous martyrologist of Lyon. See ch. 2, 94–6.

[12] Rosamond McKitterick, 'Unity and Diversity in the Carolingian Church', *Studies in Church History* 32: Unity and Diversity in the Church (1996): 59–82.

[13] Ekaterina Novokhatko, 'At the Crossroads of Textual Transmission: Catalano-Septimanian Martyrologies and New Research Questions', *Gazette du livre médiéval* 65 (2019): 16–43, at 26.

with the morning chapter assembly from which developed the so-called chapter office.[14] Copies of the Old English Martyrology (ninth-century) have been understood as encyclopaedic resources for study.[15] As explored in the chapters of this dissertation, manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology illustrate the multiplicity of uses to which this text was put, even during periods of religious reform. Indeed, the largest peak in the production of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology took place in ninth-century Francia after the 817 Council of Aachen.[16] The manuscript circulation and use of Bede's Martyrology from the ninth to mid-thirteenth centuries therefore reveals not only how Carolingian historical consciousness interfaced with Franco-Roman liturgical practice but also the longer-term influence of this comingling.

Franco-Roman Liturgical Practice

This dissertation takes as its starting point Carolingian Francia because the surviving manuscript evidence for the presentation, circulation, and use of Bede's Martyrology begins in ninth-century Francia. The production of the earliest surviving manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology coincides approximately with the legislation promulgated at the 816 and 817 Councils of Aachen. Ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology therefore have much to tell us about concern with 'correct' liturgical practice in ninth-century Francia, including the veneration of saints and use of the martyrology.

The 817 Aachen legislation, however, drew upon efforts to ensure religious competence begun decades earlier. The *Admonitio generalis* (789) outlined

---

[14] See n. 5 above.

[15] Christine Rauer, 'Usage of the Old English Martyrology', in *Foundations of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker, Medievalia Groningana New Series 9, Storehouses of Wholesome Learning 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 125–46; idem, ed. and trans., *The Old English Martyrology: Edition, Translation and Commentary*, Anglo-Saxon Texts 10 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013).

[16] See ch. 1, 65–8 and ch. 2, 112–14.

Charlemagne's approach to the reform of religious life throughout the Frankish realms.[17] Susan Rankin has posited that 'in the face of swathes of ignorance, and with liturgical ritual as a key element in reform, it might be argued that the *Admonitio generalis* recognized that expectations should be realistic. Its requirements might therefore represent some sort of liturgical minimum'.[18] The central concern of this legislation was liturgy, and by extension the books in which it was contained, in service of collective salvation.[19] Between the late eighth and mid-ninth centuries the concern for corrected texts and correct liturgical practice seen in the *Admonitio generalis* was further developed by conciliar legislation and episcopal capitularies.[20]

By the ninth century these concerns clearly extended to the martyrology, which had previously been only sparsely attested to in prescriptive sources.[21] Felice Lifshitz has argued that the inclusion of the martyrology in the 817 Aachen decree concerned with chapter 'perfectly served the interests of unity and uniformity, for the cult of names, and its instrument', a martyrology, 'rendered it possible to offer the very same sacred to all the inhabitants of the Empire'—at least in theory.[22] In practice, however, a particular martyrology is not specified in any of the extant evidence, and communities used a

---

[17] Charlemagne, *Die admonitio generalis Karls des Grossen*, ed. Hubert Mordek, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, and Michael Glatthaar, MGH Fontes Iures Germanici Antiqui 16 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2012).

[18] Susan Rankin, *Sounding the Word of God: Carolingian Books for Singers*, The Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2022), 3.

[19] Rankin, *Sounding the Word of God*; Carine van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven: Pastoral Care and Salvation in the Carolingian Period*, The Medieval World (London: Routledge, 2022).

[20] Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977); Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007). See also Zachary Guiliano, *The Homiliary of Paul the Deacon: Religious and Cultural Reform in Carolingian Europe*, Sermo 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021).

[21] Baudouin de Gaiffier, 'De l'usage et de la lecture du martyrologe: témoignages antérieurs au XIe siècle', *Analecta Bollandiana* 79 (1961): 40–59, at 47 (*Ordo* XVII, no. 60) and 55 (Council of *Clofesho* (747), canon 13). See ch. 3, 121–6.

[22] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 121.

variety of martyrologies, including Bede's.[23] A martyrology is also included in ninth-century episcopal capitularies that specify which books a priest should own and/or know.[24] For the Carolingians, historical martyrologies including Bede's were useful resources on Christian history, sanctity, and liturgical observance.

These broad premises are fairly uncontroversial. However, the nature, efficacy, uniformity, and terminology of Carolingian efforts to standardise religious life have been matters of scholarly debate. I use the term 'Franco-Roman liturgical practice' in this dissertation to acknowledge the degree to which Carolingian efforts to restructure religious observance looked to Rome, or what was believed to be Roman. However, this does not mean that non-Roman liturgical practice was suppressed or died out, or that there was a concerted effort to 'Romanise' the entirety of Frankish liturgical practice.[25] Rather, Rome was employed 'as a marker of authority, orthodoxy, and unity' in the continuous renegotiation of Carolingian political and religious thought.[26] Whilst normative sources do attest to the desire for unity, in actuality liturgical creativity and diversity of practice abounded in Carolingian Francia.[27] Carolingian manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology attest to this diversity.

Scholars have struggled to find a term that accurately describes the changes to religious thought and the intention to effect shifts in religious practice seen in Carolingian Francia. What was once the 'Carolingian renaissance' was renamed the 'Carolingian

---

[23] Acknowledged in ibid., 123.

[24] See ch. 3, 126–36.

[25] Yitzhak Hen, 'The Romanization of the Frankish Liturgy: Ideal, Reality, and the Rhetoric of Reform', in *Rome across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c.500–1400*, ed. Claudia Bolgia, Rosamond McKitterick, and John Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 111–24.

[26] Ibid., 123.

[27] Hen, 'Romanization'; McKitterick, 'Unity and Diversity'; Arthur Westwell, 'Ordering the Church in the Ordines Romani', in *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (780–840): Categorizing the Church*, ed. Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward, Medieval Monastic Studies 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), 425–46.

reforms' and has also been described as '*correctio*'.[28] The word 'reform' must be critically examined, as it was not commonly used to refer to institutional change prior to the tenth century.[29] I consider reform as implied in Carolingian sources (for it is never explicitly named using the term) as a rhetorical device indicative of a larger political and social identity, much like Rome may be considered within Carolingian discussions of liturgical practice. The editors of *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (740–840)* understand what has been termed the Carolingian reforms as 'an ongoing debate, arbitrated by those with a stake in the improvement of the *ecclesia*, with a view towards establishing a mutually agreed-upon bandwidth within which salvation could be pursued'.[30] Carine van Rhijn prefers to eschew terminology altogether as the 'phenomenon… is considered to be so central to Carolingian politics, religion and culture that it cannot be usefully considered as a clearly identifiable, separate sphere'.[31] It is nevertheless possible to pinpoint shifts in liturgical practice from liturgical evidence.[32] For instance, Rankin's study of the material characteristics of Carolingian

[28] See Carine van Rhijn, 'Renaissance, Reform, or Correctio? The Carolingians and the Quest for Salvation', in *Leading the Way to Heaven: Pastoral Care and Salvation in the Carolingian Period*, The Medieval World (London: Routledge, 2022), 25–51; Arthur Westwell, Ingrid Rembold, and Carine van Rhijn, eds, *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023).

[29] Julia Barrow, 'Developing Definitions of Reform in the Church in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham*, ed. Ross Balzaretti, Julia Barrow, and Patricia Skinner, Past & Present Book Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), DOI:10.1093/oso/9780198777601.003.0037.

[30] Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward, 'Institutions, Identities, and the Realization of Reform: An Introduction', in *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (780–840): Categorizing the Church*, ed. Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward, Medieval Monastic Studies 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), 13–32, at 18.

[31] Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way*, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch10__507&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.

[32] Jesse D. Billett, 'Discerning "Reform" in Monastic Liturgy (c. 750–1050)', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 415–31.

chant books has done so.[33] I examine manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology in much the same manner.

Following the recent discussions cited above, I consider the phenomenon meant by the term 'Carolingian reforms' to be a discourse,[34] a fertile medium in which ideas about religious life and, crucially, salvation propagated. Many different people, and different sorts of people, from across the Frankish realms were involved in this dialogue about what it meant to be properly Christian. In other words, this was not solely a top-down initiative emanating from the court. For the purposes of the dissertation, I use *correctio* as a convenient shorthand. This term is itself not without its problems, but avoids some of the conceptual pitfalls of 'reform' or the even more value-laden 'renaissance'.[35] I do not intend to imply that the liturgy was corrected to a uniform standard, set by the court or otherwise. Arguably, however, the emphasis in the ninth century was indeed on the shoring up of practice to what Rankin has referred to as a 'liturgical minimum'.[36] This can be seen in the 817 Aachen legislation that promulgated the use of at the very least a martyrology during chapter. The details were left up to individual bishops or religious communities, but the outline of the larger picture was provided. Where I use *correctio* in this dissertation, I intend to convey the full collaborative endeavour of making decisions about liturgical practice in Carolingian Francia. I must acknowledge, however, that other scholars have used the term *correctio* to convey broader shifts in monastic and pastoral practice.[37]

---

[33] Rankin, *Sounding the Word of God*.

[34] See Rutger Kramer, *Rethinking Authority in the Carolingian Empire: Ideals and Expectations during the Reign of Louis the Pious (813–828)*, The Early Medieval North Atlantic (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 24.

[35] For a full discussion of the historiography of the three terms, see van Rhijn, 'Renaissance, Reform, or Correctio?'.

[36] See n. 18 above.

[37] For instance, Julia M. H. Smith, '"Emending Evil Ways and Praising God's Omnipotence": Einhard and the Uses of Roman Martyrs', in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing*, ed. Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, Studies in Comparative History 4 (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 189–223; Mayke de Jong, *The*

The chronological remit of this study, guided by the extant manuscript evidence, extends to the mid-thirteenth century. The final two chapters of the dissertation examine how developments in Franco-Roman liturgical practice seen in the ninth century continued to affect Latin religious culture. The effects of Continental religious thought and practices upon early medieval England in the tenth and eleventh centuries have been studied, especially in the context of England's own religious 'reform'.[38] Efforts to ensure correct liturgical practice on the Continent after the ninth century also drew upon Carolingian precedents; Constance Bouchard has even suggested that the reforming activities of Cluny in the tenth and eleventh centuries may be considered Carolingian.[39] The interpretation of the Carolingian past has been analysed in a growing number of recent studies.[40] The subject of liturgical practice is, however, not discussed in the majority of this scholarship.[41] Much of the specific, long-term effects of ninth-century Franco-Roman liturgical practice remain to be described. The latter portion of this study aims to use manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology as evidence for how the

---

Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[38] For instance, Veronica Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual, and Artistic Exchanges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). See also Hamilton, 'Understanding' on the later reception of Usuard's Martyrology in England.

[39] Constance B. Bouchard, 'Merovingian, Carolingian and Cluniac Monasticism: Reform and Renewal in Burgundy', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41, no. 3 (1990): 365–88.

[40] Simon MacLean, 'The Carolingian Past in Post-Carolingian Europe', in *'The Making of Europe': Essays in Honour of Robert Bartlett*, ed. John Hudson and Sally Crumplin (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 11–31; Sarah Greer, Alice Hicklin, and Stefan Esders, eds, *Using and Not Using the Past after the Carolingian Empire c. 900–c.1050* (London: Routledge, 2019); Maximilian Diesenberger, 'Introduction. Making the Past in Late and Post-Carolingian Historiography', *Medieval Worlds* 10 (2019): 2–16.

[41] With the exception of Megan Welton, 'Orchestrating Harmony: Litanies, Queens, and Discord in the Carolingian and Ottonian Empires', in *Using and Not Using the Past after the Carolingian Empire c. 900–c.1050*, ed. Sarah Greer, Alice Hicklin, and Stefan Esders (London: Routledge, 2019), 134–53; Sarah Hamilton, 'Law and Liturgy: Excommunication Records, 900–1050', in *Using and Not Using the Past after the Carolingian Empire c. 900–c.1050*, ed. Sarah Greer, Alice Hicklin, and Stefan Esders (London: Routledge, 2019), 282–302; idem, 'Understanding'.

Carolingian inheritance, including *correctio*, was interpreted in post-Carolingian religious communities and by post-Carolingian bishops.[42]

Methodology

Two approaches frame my study of Bede's Martyrology. The first concerns the Latin liturgy. Medieval Latin liturgy has been increasingly subject to manuscript based historical analysis. Additionally, liturgical sources have been recently recognised in a number of fields for their close relationship to how medieval people thought about, wrote, and constructed history. The second concerns the manuscript form itself. A long-established body of scholarship, with its roots in the late nineteenth century, draws conclusions on the use and significance of medieval European manuscripts from their compilation, presentation of text, annotations, and material characteristics. The combination of these two approaches allows for in-depth analysis of not only the intended functions and actual uses of manuscript copies of Bede's text, but also of what this may tell us about the effects of Franco-Roman liturgy upon religious culture writ large.

I draw upon a growing, interdisciplinary awareness of the historical significance of the Latin liturgy of Western Europe. As a result, I make use of scholarship from a variety of fields in addition to history, including history of art, literary studies, and musicology. Such a perspective allows me to examine manuscript copies of the text more holistically. Moreover, recent scholarship on medieval liturgy is increasingly making use of manuscript copies not only as carriers of texts but as reflections of and influences upon culture. Scholars of the early Middle Ages have long used manuscript evidence in this manner; their example is beginning to be followed by scholars of later periods, notably Cecelia Gaposchkin on the Crusades and Johanna Dale on twelfth-century coronation

---

[42] To my knowledge, there is no extant example of a post-Carolingian book that may be inferred to have been for the use of a local priest that contains Bede's Martyrology.

rites, which itself draws on earlier scholarship on ritual and kingship.[43] In light of this intersection between the history of liturgy and the history of the book, manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology have the potential to reveal how the development of Franco-Roman liturgy during the ninth century was influenced by and subsequently affected religious culture.

A subset of the recent scholarship on medieval Latin liturgy understands liturgy as itself crucial to and influenced by historical consciousness, rather than solely as a body of sources for historical developments. Musicologists Margot Fassler and Susan Boynton first articulated the close relationship between liturgical activity and the construction of history, which was implicit in much of the work of Rosamond McKitterick.[44] More recently, historians including Sarah Hamilton and Arthur Westwell have used this approach in the study of aspects of the intellectual and religious cultures of early medieval England and Carolingian Francia, respectively.[45] This perspective informs my

---

[43] See, for example, McKitterick, *Perceptions*; Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens, eds, *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Henry Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950–1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Society and The Boydell Press, 2001). See Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017); Johanna Dale, *Inauguration and Liturgical Kingship in the Long Twelfth Century: Male and Female Accession Rituals in England, France and the Empire* (York: York Medieval Press, 2019); Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997 [1957]).

[44] See Margot E. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010); idem, 'The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History', in *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 149–72; Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); idem, 'Writing History with Liturgy', in *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 187–200. On the latter point, see for instance McKitterick, *Frankish Church*; idem, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[45] Hamilton, 'Understanding'; idem, 'Liturgy as History'; Arthur Robert Westwell, 'The Dissemination and Reception of the Ordines Romani in the Carolingian Church, c. 750–900'

methods of investigation. Within this framework, manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology can signify phenomena beyond the development of the martyrological genre or the use of historical martyrologies. Instead, manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology are indicative of more macro-level developments, including how their producers, owners, and users grappled with changes to religious life and employed different understandings of the past between the ninth and mid-thirteenth centuries. Indeed, throughout the dissertation the diversity of religious life emerges as a major theme, despite waves of enthusiasm for reform and concurrent attempts to 'correct' liturgical practice.

The associated contents, presentation of text, and traces of use seen in manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology provide the main sources of evidence for this dissertation. The import of associated contents for the study of the use of manuscripts including martyrologies was first recognised in the 1980s. Jean-Loup Lemaître discussed the formation of *libri capituli* or chapter books, manuscripts specially produced for use in the morning meeting after Prime that would subsequently become the chapter office.[46] The scholarly identification of such books was based upon the presence of multiple texts for use in the morning chapter assembly, such as the Rule of St Benedict, the martyrology, and/or the necrology.[47] The layout and other aspects of the visual articulation of the text

---

(DPhil, Cambridge, University of Cambridge, 2018); idem, 'Ordering the Church'. See also Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, Margot E. Fassler, and A. B. Kraebel, eds, *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800–1500*, Writing History in the Middle Ages 3 (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2017); Andrew J. M. Irving, 'Lector, si adesses! Liturgy and Strategies of History Writing in Medieval Southern Italy', in *Political Liturgies in the High Middle Ages: Beyond the Legacy of Ernst H. Kantorowicz*, ed. Pawel Figurski, Johanna Dale, and Pieter Byttebier, Medieval and Early Modern Political Theology 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 165–92.

[46] Jean-Loup Lemaître, 'Liber capituli, le livre du chapitre, des origines au XVIe siècle. L'Exemple français', in *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48 (Munich: Fink, 1984), 625–48.

[47] Discussed further in ch. 2, 102–3. See Prosper Schepens, 'L'Office du chapitre à Prime', *Recherches de science religieuse* 11 (1921): 222–27; Michel Huglo, 'L'Office de Prime au chapitre', in *L'Église et la mémoire des morts dans la France médiévale: communications*

seen in martyrologies have also been used as evidence for use in chapter, usually in the discussion of particular manuscript copies.[48] A recent body of scholarship on books owned and used by early medieval local priests draws more implicit conclusions on the uses of martyrologies found in priests' books based on associated contents and traces of use.[49] Studies that consider paratextual elements and traces of use including annotations, although not necessarily focussed on martyrologies, provide frameworks to understand reader interaction with the manuscript form.[50] When considered together, the associated contents, presentation of text, and traces of use seen within a manuscript copy of Bede's Martyrology have the potential to reveal: intended function and actual use of the manuscript copy and/or the entire codex, including change over time; the perceptions of Bede's text where the copy was owned or used; and the concerns of its readers. When all extant manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology are examined in this manner, a data set encompassing around thirty manuscripts with potentially hundreds of users emerges,

---

présentées à la table Ronde du C.N.R.S., le 14 juin 1982, ed. Jean-Loup Lemaître (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1986), 11–18.

[48] See Graham, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57'; Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57'; Hamilton, 'Understanding', especially 56–7.

[49] For instance, Helen Gittos, 'Is There Any Evidence for the Liturgy of Parish Churches in Late Anglo-Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the Status of Old English', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti, Anglo-Saxon Studies 6 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 63–82; Steffen Patzold, 'Correctio an der Basis: Landpfarrer und ihr Wissen im 9. Jahrhundert', in *Karolingische Klöster: Wissentransfer und kulturelle Innovation*, ed. Julia Becker, Tino Licht, and Stefan Weinfurter, Materiale Textkulturen 4 (Berlin, Munich, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 227–54; Gerald P. Dyson, *Priests and Their Books in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 34 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019); Bastiaan Waagmeester, 'Priests, Pastoral Compendia and the Laity in the Carolingian Local Church. The Case of Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste, Ms. 132', in *Kleriker und Laien. Verfestigung und Verflüssigung einer Grenze im Mittelalter*, ed. Jonathan Reinert and Volker Leppin, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 17–35; van Rhijn, *Leading*.

[50] Recent studies include: Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude, eds, *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017); Rosalind Brown-Grant et al., eds, *Inscribing Knowledge in the Medieval Book: The Power of Paratexts*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Culture 66 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter; Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2019); Elaine Treharne, *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts: The Phenomenal Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).

given documented user engagement with the manuscript form in many of the copies throughout the period studied.[51] This allows one to think broadly about Franco-Roman liturgy and Western religious life over a sustained period of time.

Throughout the dissertation, I compare the material characteristics of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology with manuscript copies of Usuard's Martyrology. I discuss copies of Usuard's text produced during the same period and in a similar location to the copies of Bede's text considered in each chapter. Where possible, I consider manuscript copies of the two martyrologies that show a similar association of texts or use context. Usuard's Martyrology is preferable for this comparative work, as opposed to that of other Carolingian martyrologists such as Florus, Ado, or Hrabanus Maurus, for three reasons.

First, Usuard's Martyrology has a restricted and demonstrably emphatically liturgical use. The majority of surviving manuscript copies I have inspected are bound with texts for use in chapter, contain traces of use related to chapter, and/or the text is laid out in such a manner to facilitate ease of recitation in chapter. It is generally accepted that most extant copies of Usuard's Martyrology were primarily intended to be and/or actually used in chapter after Prime. As I mentioned above, manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology show a high degree of variation in layout and visual articulation of text. Comparison with Usuard's Martyrology therefore has the potential to clarify the possible use of Bede's text in chapter. Manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology problematise the assumption that any martyrology that is used liturgically is necessarily used in chapter. Certain copies show evidence of liturgical applications outside of chapter.[52]

Second, Usuard's Martyrology became the most widely used historical martyrology during the period considered in this dissertation. The use of Bede's Martyrology was in no way a foregone conclusion, but neither was its subsequent disuse.

---

[51] The copy within Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS F. 85 (1024–1043; Rome) includes a particularly high number of additional obits written in numerous hands, some of which do not show evidence of much if any formal training.

[52] See ch. 3, 136–58.

Copies of Bede's Martyrology that postdate the widespread adoption of Usuard's text therefore pose the questions: why continue to own and/or use Bede, and in which contexts? The authority of Bede presumably influenced the use of his Martyrology, but this cannot entirely explain the surviving manuscript circulation. Comparison with manuscript copies of Usuard's Martyrology provides evidence for what Bede's Martyrology could have provided medieval users that Usuard's text would not have.

The third point draws upon the first two. Broadly, Usuard's Martyrology eventually became *the* martyrology for use in chapter, a practice first stipulated by Carolingian legislation of the ninth century. One could look to Usuard's text for the long-term influence of that legislation. The variable uses of Bede's Martyrology, conversely, allow one to examine not only the long-term influence of the Carolingian addition of the martyrology to the texts read in the chapter assembly but also of prescriptions concerning the mass and the knowledge required of priests. Moreover, copies of Bede's text appear to show liturgical creativity such as the insertion of historical texts into Bede's Martyrology or the development of a self-referential compilation type containing Aachen legislation alongside Bede's Martyrology (and usually not another martyrology).[53] The manuscript presentation, circulation, and use of Bede's Martyrology therefore also illustrate less obvious uses of the Carolingian liturgico-historical inheritance.

Historiography of Bede's Martyrology

Evidence for the medieval circulation and use of Bede's Martyrology and its implications has not been seriously or systematically considered. Despite scholarly interest in Bede and his works, especially the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (c. 731) but also his other historical, computistical, and exegetical texts, his Martyrology has received little attention outside Francophone studies of the martyrological genre.[54] Henri

---

[53] See chs 4–5, 161–259.

[54] On Bede's *oeuvre* and its reception and influence, see Parts II and III of Scott DeGregorio, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). For Francophone scholarship on martyrologies, including Bede's Martyrology, see Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*; Jacques Dubois, *Les Martyrologes du Moyen Âge latin*, Typologie des

Quentin's work on Bede's Martyrology is excellent but focusses on reconstructing the lost original text rather than looking to the manuscript evidence for its role within medieval religious culture.[55] There is no critical edition of the text. Jacques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud had produced an edition, but it falls short of a full critical edition and was adapted to conform to modern Roman liturgical practice.[56] This forms the basis for Felice Lifshitz's English translation.[57] One probable reason for the current lack of a critical edition is the difficulty of editing a text as fluid as Bede's Martyrology. M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King had noted that Bede's Martyrology 'was added to and worked over in different localities, until the Bedean core was scarcely recognisable under the mass of later accretions'.[58] In terms of analysis, Günter Kotzor and Victoria Gunn have examined stylistic elements of the text and Bede's innovation within generic boundaries, respectively.[59] Historical, as opposed to literary, analysis specifically focussed on Bede's Martyrology is largely absent. Historians have, however, studied other martyrologies for what they can tell us about saints and their cults, the uses of the past in the Middle Ages, the conceptions of their authors, and the identities of their users.[60]

Although there is much that still remains unclear about the original and subsequent function and use of Bede's Martyrology, some association with liturgical

---

sources du Moyen Âge occidental 26 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978); idem, *Martyrologes d'Usuard au martyrologe romain: articles réédités pour son soixante-dixième anniversaire* (Abbeville: F. Paillart, 1990); idem and Jean-Loup Lemaître, 'Les Martyrologes', in *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1993), 103–34.

[55] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 17–119.

[56] Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique*, ed. Dubois and Renaud.

[57] Bede, 'Bede, Martyrology', trans. Felice Lifshitz, in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head, (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), 179–97.

[58] M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1943), 90–1.

[59] Günter Kotzor, 'Anglo-Saxon Martyrologists at Work: Narrative Pattern and Prose Style in Bede and the Old English Martyrology', *Leeds Studies in English* 16 (1985): 152–73; Victoria A. Gunn, 'Case of Innovation'.

[60] See McKitterick, *Perceptions*, 51–55; McCulloh, 'Historical Martyrologies', especially 116–17; Novokhatko, 'Crossroads of Textual Transmission'; Hamilton, 'Understanding'; idem, 'Liturgy as History'.

practice is assumed in all scholarship on the text, and indeed the genre. Such a relationship is indeed demonstrable by the eighth century.[61] As a result, I draw upon a well-established tradition of scholarship on medieval liturgy. A full historiography of the Latin liturgy of medieval Western Europe is outside the scope of this study.[62] Any examination of Bede's Martyrology, however, necessarily relies upon scholarship on historical martyrologies that is itself the result of traditional approaches to liturgy. Scholars writing prior to the late twentieth century were largely monks and clerics who assumed their audience knew the liturgy. As I discuss below, these scholars largely focussed on texts other than Bede's Martyrology, with the exception of Quentin. Studies of martyrologies conducted in the early twentieth century prioritised the origins of current liturgical practice or the history of the early Church. Another historical martyrology descended from Bede's text, Usuard's Martyrology, was of greater relevance to the

---

[61] See Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, eds, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 3: English Church during the Anglo-Saxon Period A.D. 595–1066, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), 367. As edited by Haddan and Stubbs, the thirteenth decree of the Council of *Clofesho* (747) reads: 'Ut uno eodemque modo Dominicae dispensationis in carne sacrosanctae festivitates, in omnibus ad eas rite competentibus rebus, id est, in Baptismi officio, in Missarum celebration, in cantilenae modo celebrantur, juxta exemplar videlicet quo scriptum de Romana habemus Ecclesia. Itemque ut per gyrum totius anni natalitia sanctorum uno eodemque die, juxta martyrologium ejusdem Romanae Ecclesiae, cum sua sibi convenienti psalmodio seu cantilena venerentur'.

[62] See the bibliography and contributions within Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2001). Other introductions to the study of medieval Latin liturgy, its texts, and its books include Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William G. Storey, Niels Krogh Rasmussen, and John K. Brooks-Leonard (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986); Aimé-Georges Martimort, *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, Principles of the Liturgy 1 (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1987); Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, trans. John Halliburton, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). For a historiography of liturgical books, see Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 25–38. On individual categories of liturgical book, see fascicles of *Typologie des sources*, for example Dubois, *Martyrologes du Moyen Âge*.

Roman Martyrology used in the modern Catholic liturgy. The Hieronymian Martyrology was considered a more reliable source for church history because of its comparatively early date.

The predominant approach from the late twentieth century to the present hinges upon the books that contain medieval liturgical texts. Cyrille Vogel's survey of liturgical sources, first published in 1981, provided fresh inspiration regarding source material that continues to structure scholarship on the liturgy;[63] individual categories of liturgical book have been treated in the fascicles of *Typologie des sources*. Around the same time, Andrew Hughes published his guidebook to the sources of the later Middle Ages.[64] Subsequently, Eric Palazzo's *History of Liturgical Books* surveyed early medieval liturgical manuscripts, recognising that later norms did not necessarily apply to the earlier Middle Ages.[65] These scholars wrote for those studying the Middle Ages who needed practical guides to liturgical books. At around the same time, a small proportion of historical scholarship used manuscript sources as primary evidence. Richard Pfaff, for instance, has used manuscript evidence to study how the liturgy was practiced in medieval England and its wider historical context.[66] The current, interdisciplinary turn (introduced above) likewise focusses on manuscripts as the material products of liturgical practice.

This particular subfield of scholarship on liturgy makes use of manuscripts, including copies of martyrologies, to understand the relationship between liturgy and history.[67] Sarah Hamilton has been especially prolific in this regard, going beyond the

---

[63] For the English translation of this original edition, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, trans. Storey, Krogh Rasmussen, and Brooks-Leonard.

[64] See Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

[65] See Palazzo, *History*, trans. Beaumont.

[66] See Richard William Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) and idem, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[67] See especially Fassler, 'Liturgical Framework'; Boynton, 'Writing History'. The current turn is discussed further above, 11–12.

close study of single manuscripts that has characterised much recent work in this area.[68]
Within this framework, liturgical activity is understood to be inflected by and
contributing to a community's sense and understanding of their place in Christian time.
The study of martyrologies has been given some attention within this new direction. I
have noted Hamilton's work in this area, largely on Usuard's Martyrology.[69] Lifshitz has
applied a similar approach to the study of the Hieronymian Martyrology within Frankish
culture between the seventh and ninth centuries.[70] Although not strictly a part of the
current turn in scholarship on medieval liturgy, Pádraig Ó Riain has briefly touched upon
the larger cultural contexts, influence, and cultural significance of a number of
martyrologies in editions for the Henry Bradshaw Society.[71] Whilst not directly related to
the study of martyrologies, Henry Parkes has applied a material methodology to the study
of liturgical manuscripts that problematises the monumental editions of the twentieth
century, warning against an overreliance on printed editions as opposed to manuscript
evidence.[72] Bede's Martyrology has yet to be examined in this manner.

  The study of liturgy did not always show such a preoccupation with manuscripts
in their own right. All modern scholarship is indebted to the work of Francophone
liturgists between the sixteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. For these scholars, the texts

---

[68] See, for example, Hen and Meens, eds, *Bobbio Missal*; Maximilian Diesenberger, Rob Meens, and Els Rose, eds, *The Prague Sacramentary: Culture, Religion, and Politics in Late Eighth-Century Bavaria* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016); Hamilton, 'Liturgy as History'; idem, 'Understanding'.

[69] See n. 67 above.

[70] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*.

[71] Pádraig Ó Riain, ed., *Four Irish Martyrologies: Drummond, Turin, Cashel, York*, Henry Bradshaw Society 115 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 1–24, 121–32, 162–94; idem, ed., *A Martyrology of Four Cities: Metz, Cologne, Dublin, Lund*, Henry Bradshaw Society 118 (London: The Boydell Press, 2009), 1–26; idem, ed., *The Martyrology of the Regensburg Schottenkloster*, Henry Bradshaw Society 124 (London: The Boydell Press, 2019), 1–15.

[72] For a material approach to liturgical manuscripts, see Parkes, *Making of Liturgy*. On the problems with printed editions of liturgical texts and their relationship to manuscripts as physical objects, see idem, 'Questioning the Authority of Vogel and Elze's Pontifical Romano-Germanique', in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2016), 75–102.

found within manuscript copies superseded the books themselves. Liturgists applied textual criticism, theological knowledge, and personal experience within religious life to their study of medieval liturgy. Scholars crucial to the identification, analysis, and publication of liturgical and paraliturgical sources include: J. Mabillon, E. Marténe, Jacques de Joigny de Paméle, J. Tomasi, L. A. Muratori, and F. A. Zaccaria.[73] The aim of such liturgists—to trace the development of the monastic traditions and Roman liturgy of their time—and the editions produced through their efforts came to dominate scholarship on medieval liturgy.[74] One may identify the traces of this initial impetus to uncover the earliest, and consequently 'correct', form of the Latin liturgy in most scholarship on medieval liturgy up until the end of the twentieth century. As texts associated with the Roman Martyrology used within Catholic religious practice, historical martyrologies were subject to the same historiographical trends from the seventeenth century onwards.[75] According to Henri Quentin, scholarly study of the martyrological genre began with Héribert Rosweyde's 1613 edition of the Martyrology of Ado and the *Parvum romanum*.[76] Historical martyrologies including Bede's text would not be examined in detail with a view to textual criticism until the work of Quentin and Jacques Dubois in the twentieth century.[77]

Bede's Martyrology was set apart from other historical martyrologies by virtue of the early scholarly attention granted to its author. The sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries saw a number of editions of the Martyrology created out of a desire to identify and reproduce the complete works of Bede. These editions were not part of liturgists' study of the martyrological genre. In 1563, the *editio princeps* of Bede's

---

[73] Palazzo, *History*, trans. Beaumont, 26–7.
[74] Ibid., 20.
[75] For a detailed historiography of historical martyrologies up until the early twentieth century, see Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 1–16.
[76] Ibid., 4.
[77] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*; Dubois, *Martyrologes du Moyen Âge*; idem, *Martyrologes d'Usuard*; idem and Lemaître, 'Martyrologes'.

Martyrology was printed in Basel by Johannes Hervagius as part of a larger edition purporting to reproduce the entirety of the early English scholar's *oeuvre*.[78] The 1612 Cologne printing of the Martyrology was likewise only a single section of a comprehensive undertaking.[79] The text of the Martyrology printed in this work reproduces Hervagius's *editio princeps*. John Smith's edition, published in 1722 and drawing upon a 1688 edition of Bede's Martyrology by the Bollandists (discussed below), is the last of the editions that attempt to reconstruct Bede's body of works.[80] In all three editions, the Martyrology is included because to omit it would negate the comprehensive quality of the project, given that Bede lists it in the self-bibliography within his *Historia ecclesiastica*.[81]

Bede's Martyrology first caught the attention of liturgists in the late seventeenth century. Between the seventeenth and nineteenth century, the earlier printings of Bede's text listed above were consulted and re-edited. In 1688, the Bollandists published an edition of Bede's Martyrology in *Acta Sanctorum* (reprinted in 1865 in the same location).[82] As part of their investigation of the Christian cult of the saints and hagiography, this edition was more critical than previous editions of the text that privileged the integrity of Bede's *oeuvre*. Rather than printing the text of the Martyrology

---

[78] Bede, *Opera Bedae Venerabilis Presbyteri. Anglosaxonis: Viri in Diuinis Atque Humanis Literis Exercitatisssimi: Omnia in Octo Tomos Distincta, Prout Statim Post Præfationem Suo Elencho Enumerantur. Addito Rerum & Verborum Indice Copiosissimo*, ed. Johannes Hervagius, vol. 3, 8 vols (Basel: Per Ioannem Heruagium, 1563), cols 380–486; see Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 4.

[79] Bede, *Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis Viri Sua Aetate Doctissimi Opera Quotquot Reperiri Potuerunt Omnia*, pr. Antonius Hieratus and Ioannes Gymnicus, vol. 3 (Cologne: Sumptibus Antonij Hierai & Ioannis Gymnici, 1612), cols 277–362.

[80] Bede, *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum: Libri Quinque, Auctore Sancto & Venerabili Bæda Presbytero Anglo-Saxone, Una Cum Reliquis Ejus Operibus Historicis in Unum Volumen Collectis*, ed. John Smith (Cambridge: Typis Academicis, 1722), 323–460.

[81] Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 570–1 (bk V, ch. 24).

[82] Bede, 'Martyrologium Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri Ex Octo Antiquis MSS. Acceptum, Cum Auctario Flori Ex Trium Codicum Collatione Discreto', in *Acta Sanctorum Martii*, ed. Godefroid Henskens and Daniel Papebroch, vol. 2, 3 vols (Paris and Rome: Victor Palmé, 1865), v–xl.

without mention of manuscript copies, Godefroid Henskens and Daniel Papebroch referenced eight manuscripts from which they constructed their edition.[83] In the mid-nineteenth century, Jacques-Paul Migne (a Catholic priest) reprinted Bede's Martyrology in PL 94, reproducing the 1612 Cologne printing, John Smith's 1722 edition, and the 1688 edition by the Bollandists.[84] One may therefore observe two distinct categories of printed edition coalescing by the end of the nineteenth century: those following the 1563 edition and those following the 1688 edition.[85] These printed offerings are distinct and have been assigned varying importance by Quentin: the Bollandists' edition identified as the printed edition closest to what Quentin has posited as the original text and the 1563 edition and its reprinting in Cologne in 1612 dismissed as the 'Pseudo-Bede of Cologne'.[86] At the beginning of the twentieth century there was still, however, no critical examination of Bede's text.

The twentieth century saw more scholarly interest in the martyrological genre. In his important study of historical martyrologies, *Martyrologes historiques*, Quentin had described the poor state of the scholarship at the end of the nineteenth century:

> le texte de Bède est incertain, Florus reste totalement inconnu, la valeur du Petit Romain, sa date de composition, son origine demeurent des problèmes auxquels on propose toujours des solutions très diverses, Adon lui-même, enfin, malgré les éditions multiples qui ont été données de son texte, et malgré d'excellentes observations publiées sur lui dans ces dernières années, attend toujours que l'on discute les principes qui ont guidé son dernier éditeur.[87]

---

[83] See the preface of ibid., v–viii.

[84] Bede, 'Martyrologium, Cum Auctario, Notis et Appendicibus', in *Venerabilis Bedæ Anglosaxonis Presbyteri Opera Omnia. Tomus Quintus*, pr. Jacques-Paul Migne, PL 94 (Paris: Apud editorem, 1850), cols 797–1148. For more on Migne and the PL series, see Claude Langlois and François Laplanche, eds, *La Science catholique: l''encyclopédie théologique' de Migne (1844–1873) entre apologétique et vulgarisation* (Paris: Cerf, 1992).

[85] John M. McCulloh, 'Did Cynewulf Use a Martyrology: Reconsidering the Sources of Fates of the Apostles', *Anglo-Saxon England* 29 (2000): 67–83, at 68–9.

[86] Cited in ibid., 69; see Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 119 and 468 n. 1.

[87] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 16.

Martyrologes historiques sought to remedy these various issues, primarily of a textual nature. The scholarly import of historical martyrologies, including Bede's, was a matter of debate at the time. Hans Achelis, who had published a study of martyrologies in 1900, did not hold a high opinion of historical martyrologies nor Bede's text.[88] Achelis had identified the Hieronymian Martyrology as the richest source of information about the early Christian Church, and therefore the most important example of the genre.[89] He had declared 'das Interesse der Kirchengeschichte haftet am MH, nicht an den späteren Werken', although did acknowledge that 'Beda versuchte einen neuen Anfang zu machen, und sein Werk hat eine Zeit lang im Vordergrunde gestanden'.[90] Quentin did not agree with this assessment, nor did Albert Poncelet.[91] Rather, Quentin argued for the relevance of historical martyrologies including Bede's to the history of liturgical practice. This is probably because he approached historical martyrologies not as sources on the early Church but as sources on the development of modern liturgy. Despite this guiding emphasis on the import of medieval historical martyrologies for the liturgical practices of the modern Catholic Church, Quentin examined each text in exacting detail.

This represented a significant departure from previous discussion of Bede's Martyrology. Quentin approached the text as a philologist and then as a Benedictine monk—with an awareness of the manuscript evidence, a meticulously researched understanding of the text, and minimal overt discussion of its relevance to modern Catholicism. In his chapter on Bede's Martyrology Quentin included the first attempt at a comprehensive identification of all manuscript copies and recensions and discussed Bede's sources, the rationale behind the dates given to each saint, and the attribution of

---

[88] Hans Achelis, *Die Martyrologien: ihre Geschichte und ihr Wert*, Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse: Abhandlungen. Neue Folge 3 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1900).
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., 239, 233.
[91] Bernard Joassart, ed., *Éditer les martyrologes, Henri Quentin et les Bollandistes, Correspondance*, Tabularium Hagiographicum 5 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2009), 53: Quentin approvingly alludes to disparaging reviews of Alchelis's study.

the Martyrology to Bede.[92] The discussion of Bede's text within *Martyrologes historiques* reflects research undertaken by Quentin since 1899 in collating an edition of historical martyrologies for the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*.[93] In a letter to Albert Poncelet dated June twelfth, 1901, Quentin wrote: 'J'ai reçu et copié ou collationné tous les mss de Bède qui ont servi à vos anciens et beaucoup d'autres encore (une 30ᵉ environ, rien que pour Bède)'.[94] On June fifteenth, Poncelet replied enthusiastically: 'voilà des années que je regrette de n'avoir pas sous la main un texte sûr Adon… et plus encore un texte authentique de Bède'.[95] This edition was never to be completed. Although *Martyrologes historiques* is an invaluable text for historians studying the martyrological genre and/or Bede's text, especially given the absence of a critical edition, its methodology does not go beyond textual criticism.

What other scholarship there was, still largely carried out by liturgists at this stage, more overtly aimed to reconstruct the text of the Roman Martyrology currently in use within the Catholic Church. Moreover, the study of martyrologies remained the purview of those with personal experience of religious life. Following Quentin, Dubois (also a Benedictine monk) was the most influential scholar working on the Roman Martyrology in the twentieth century.[96] In 1976, Dubois and Renaud published an edition of Bede's text alongside those of Florus and an Anonymous of Lyon.[97] This edition, although useful for the study of Bede's text, is not a critical edition. While the scholarship of the twentieth century was much more cognizant of the manuscript evidence than that of previous centuries,[98] current historians will find it remains subject

---

[92] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 17–119.
[93] Joassart, ed., *Éditer les martyrologes*, 16–23; on the dating, 53.
[94] Ibid., 53. 'Vos anciens' here refers to the seventeenth-century edition of Bede's text by the Bollandists.
[95] Ibid., 55.
[96] Palazzo, *History*, trans. Beaumont, 30.
[97] See Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique*, ed. Dubois and Renaud.
[98] For discussion of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology at the time, see Charles H. Beeson, 'The Manuscripts of Bede', *Classical Philology* 42, no. 2 (1947): 73–87, at 75 and Laistner and King, *Hand-List*, 90–1.

to some of the implicit biases of the work of earlier liturgists, including the overwhelming focus on the Roman Martyrology. Achelis, as cited by Quentin, had characterised the Roman Martyrology as 'le produit d'additions et de remaniements imposés au texte d'Usuard'.[99] The emphasis on the Roman Martyrology in the work of Quentin, Dubois, and their contemporaries may therefore partially explain the attention given to Usuard's Martyrology in the work of historians.

Most recent scholarship on Bede's Martyrology has largely been written by scholars of medieval Latin and Old English literature. Kotzor compared narrative and prose style in Bede's text and the Old English Martyrology.[100] Michael Lapidge raised the possibility that the hypothetical Latin exemplar for the Old English Martyrology used Bede's Martyrology as a major source.[101] Gunn examined the innovative historical characteristics of the text of Bede's Martyrology.[102] Frederick Biggs analysed the relationship between the short entries found in manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology and the enumerative Hieronymian Martyrology.[103] Most recently, Biggs and George Hardin Brown authored an introductory chapter on Bede's Martyrology within a volume on his works.[104] Most of these studies do not mention manuscript copies. All are primarily concerned with the text. It is important to note that only two published studies focus on Bede's Martyrology in its own right.

Historical scholarship on Bede's Martyrology is comparatively rare. Lifshitz had raised the potential of Bede's Martyrology to enrich historical study. In the preface to her English translation of the text, Lifshitz highlighted the possible relevance of Bede's

---

[99] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 4.

[100] Kotzor, 'Anglo-Saxon Martyrologists'.

[101] Michael Lapidge, 'Acca of Hexham and the Origin of the Old English Martyrology', *Analecta Bollandiana* 123, no. 1 (2005): 29–78.

[102] Gunn, 'Case of Innovation'.

[103] Frederick M. Biggs, 'Bede's Martyrologium and the Martyrologium Hieronymianum', *Analecta Bollandiana* 134, no. 2 (2016): 241–78.

[104] George Hardin Brown and Frederick M. Biggs, 'Martyrology', in *Bede: Part 2, Fascicles 1–4*, Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 279–92.

Martyrology to historians studying torture and martyrdom.[105] Such proposed analysis—which would view Bede's Martyrology as evidence to argue for or against the place of martyrdom and torture within medieval culture—follows the prevailing attitude of historians toward liturgical sources as supporting evidence up until the recent, interdisciplinary turn.[106] It does not appear, however, that this line of enquiry has been followed. The only published historical studies to focus exclusively on Bede's Martyrology are a chapter by Thacker on Bede's aims and methods in writing his Martyrology, the aforementioned work done on the text's historical focus by Gunn, and a chapter by Paul Hilliard on Bede's Martyrology as a product of Bede's thought and methods of composition which may be especially related to his Biblical commentaries and his conception of the suffering of the saints.[107] McCulloh had earlier proposed an approach, drawn from intellectual history, in which historical martyrologies including Bede's reveal their authors' historical methods and understandings of sanctity which appears to have been taken up by Hilliard.[108] Whilst valuable, these contributions again focus on the text and its author. Bede's Martyrology has yet to be examined in a longer study nor in a manuscript focussed study. How medieval people used manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology, why they did so, and what the answers to those two questions might tell us about religious culture in the West remain to be examined.

Following earlier work done by Quentin, I have identified twenty-nine extant manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology. All surviving manuscript copies were produced on the Continent between the ninth and mid-thirteenth centuries. As I discuss in

---

[105] Lifshitz, 'Bede', 177.

[106] For a selection of more recent, interdisciplinary methodologies, see Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton, eds, *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2016) and four of the contributions in Robert A. Maxwell, ed., *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010). See above, 11–12.

[107] Thacker, 'Bede'; Gunn, 'Case of Innovation'; Hilliard, 'Bede's Martyrology'.

[108] McCulloh, 'Historical Martyrologies'.

the following chapter, even the earliest copies contain material not composed by Bede.[109] Moreover, later copies show practices of supplementation with entries from other sources and/or abbreviation that further complicate the attribution of manuscript copies of martyrologies as Bede's Martyrology. There is some question as to when a copy of Bede's text becomes so added to or otherwise altered that it is no longer Bede's Martyrology.[110] I subscribe to an expansive definition of 'Bede's Martyrology', elaborated in the following chapter. This allows for the analysis of manuscript copies for what they reveal about the initial and long-term effects of Carolingian *correctio* and Franco-Roman liturgical practice, rather than what they reveal about Bede's composition of the text itself.

In this dissertation, I examine the initial and long-term effects of the liturgical priorities articulated in ninth-century Francia. Manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology produced in the ninth century provide a case study for not only the implementation, or not, of court pronouncements on religious life, but also for the local formulation and interpretation of ideal liturgical practice. Following recent scholarship on the so-called Carolingian reforms, I interpret the Carolingian project as both a pervasive spiritual and intellectual environment and a dialogue—between actors ranging from the court circle, to bishops, to religious communities, and even to local priests—that constituted and perpetuated this milieu. Manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology produced and/or used between the tenth and early thirteenth centuries provide a case study for the long-term influence of this discursive negotiation of what religious life, and most crucially liturgical practice, should look like. In the following chapters, I examine the material characteristics of manuscripts of Bede's text alongside normative or documentary evidence to outline how shifts in liturgical practice worked in actuality. In chapter one, I provide an overview of the scholarship on the text of Bede's Martyrology and describe

---

[109] See ch. 1, 31, 42–5.
[110] Explored in ch. 1, 42–9.

the manuscript copies in which it survives. In chapter two, I explore the mechanisms of top-down *correctio* in Carolingian Francia, focussing on the use of a martyrology in chapter, through analysis of ninth-century copies of Bede's text. In chapter three, I examine *correctio* in the localities through analysis of the use of Bede's text by ninth-century bishops and local priests for reference, education, and pastoral care. In chapter four, I use later copies of Bede's Martyrology to analyse the reception of Franco-Roman liturgical practice and the uses of the Carolingian past in Germany and Austria between 900 and 1250. Finally, in chapter five I explore what manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology produced and used at Montecassino and in Rome from the tenth to mid-thirteenth centuries may suggest about how shifts in commemorative practice and papal reform of clerical life may have drawn upon earlier precedents. I argue that the presentation, circulation, and use of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology reveal not only the entwined liturgical creativity and historical consciousness of ninth-century Carolingian Francia but also the subsequent influence of Franco-Roman liturgical practice in the Latin West.

1. The Text of Bede's Martyrology

Bede's Martyrology differs from all known previous martyrologies in its historical focus.[1] Rather than a list of names of the saints, Bede included contextualising information. This format became popular in ninth-century Francia, inspiring other martyrologists including Usuard to compose their own historical martyrologies (as the subgenre is now termed). There is evidence that from the mid-eighth century martyrologies were used to inform liturgical practice.[2] By the early ninth century, this had been formalised in a customary practice by which martyrologies were read in the chapter assembly after Prime.[3] Bede would not have envisaged his Martyrology to be used within this context, but the long shadow of his text's influence is at least partly tied to the institution of this meeting in Carolingian Francia and the significance of martyrologies in this context. This, in turn, contributes towards what manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology can tell us about Carolingian *correctio* and its long-term effects.

In this chapter, I survey the scholarship on the text of Bede's Martyrology and its influence and describe the manuscript copies in which it is today preserved. An understanding of the text as composed by Bede is necessary in order to investigate its use and significance from the ninth century on, and is the aspect of the work that has received most attention to date. As will become clear below, the ninth century is not an arbitrary starting point, since the earliest surviving manuscript copies date from this century. I first survey scholarship on Bede's sources and processes of compilation. I then consider the subsequent influence of the text and the avenues through which it may have come to the Frankish lands. In the middle three sections of this chapter, I discuss my methods of attributing the surviving copies, their geographic and temporal distributions, and the

---

[1] See Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 18; Gunn, 'Case of Innovation'. For an overview of scholarship on Bede's Martyrology, see Hilliard, 'Bede's Martyrology', 267–71.

[2] See ch. 3, 121–6. On the use of martyrologies before the eleventh century, see de Gaiffier, 'L'Usage'.

[3] See ch. 2, 83–98.

codices in which they are extant. I argue that the manuscript corpus of Bede's Martyrology is well-suited as a lens through which to analyse Carolingian *correctio*, given the focusses of the text and the distribution of manuscript copies. Moreover, Bede's Martyrology and its dissemination and reception shed light upon the long-term significance of Carolingian *correctio*.

The Sources and Compilation of Bede's Martyrology

Three points relating to the original compilation of Bede's Martyrology are unclear. First, there has been disagreement as to the date of the text. The *terminus ante quem* for the Martyrology is 731, the date of the *Historia ecclesiastica* in which it is listed.[4] The Martyrology contains material relating to SS Anastasius and Æthelthryth that is found in *De temporum ratione* (725).[5] Bede's Martyrology has consequently been dated to after 725.[6] This provides a potential six year period towards the end of Bede's career during which he composed the Martyrology. However, others have argued that the Martyrology was instead the source for *De temporum ratione* and hence might predate 725.[7] The entry for St Almachus in the *Codex epternacensis*, a copy of Hieronymian Martyrology produced in the early eighth century for Archbishop Willibrord, likely reflects the early influence of Bede's work on his Martyrology.[8] But Bede's Martyrology also contains a notice for the relic translation of St Augustine of Hippo to Pavia, dated in the *Chronica maiora* of *De temporum ratione* to 725.[9] It is therefore most likely, as Alan Thacker, Frederick Biggs, and George Hardin Brown have argued, that the Martyrology

---

[4] Brown and Biggs, 'Martyrology', 282–3.
[5] Ibid., 280. See Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 106. Bede, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, trans. Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians 29 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), xvi n. 4: *De temporum ratione* has been dated to 725 based on the events recorded at the end of its chronicles and illustrative calculations within the work.
[6] Brown and Biggs, 'Martyrology', 280.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid. See BnF MS lat. 10837.
[9] Brown and Biggs, 'Martyrology', 282.

was composed throughout Bede's lifetime.[10] Second, it is unclear if short notices that do not align with Bede's description of the Martyrology in his *Historia ecclesiastica* were authored by Bede or if these portions of the text are later accretions.[11] For my purposes, it is sufficient to note that (1) Bede's Martyrology prompted the insertion of additional saints' entries potentially from very early on and (2) these accretions were faithfully entered into subsequent manuscript copies, perhaps in deference to the authority of Bede. Third, the original intended purpose of Bede's Martyrology is not known. Its composition predates the use of a martyrology within the morning chapter assembly, which can be dated to the ninth century given the surviving evidence.[12] Consequently, it is not probable that Bede composed his Martyrology for use in the morning meeting in chapter. Bede's Martyrology also predates surviving evidence that points toward the use of martyrologies as clerical reference guides to the calendar of festal observance; the earliest extant text recommending this practice dates from the mid-eighth century.[13] Other problems for inferring intended purpose include the lack of an authorial copy, or indeed any copy datable to the eighth century, and uncertainty surrounding what was included within the original text.

Bede's Martyrology is the first surviving example of the martyrological genre written in a historical mode. As such, the text represents an innovative departure from surviving previously existing examples.[14] At the most fundamental level, a martyrology is a calendrical list of martyrs.[15] Although mainly focussed on late antique martyrs, surviving martyrologies often came to include local martyrs and other categories of saint,

---

[10] Biggs, 'Bede's Martyrologium', 275; Brown and Biggs, 'Martyrology', 280, 282–3; Thacker, 'Bede', 129, 140–1.

[11] Discussed with references in Brown and Biggs, 'Martyrology', 281–2.

[12] See ch. 2, 83–98.

[13] See ch. 3, 121–6.

[14] See Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*; Gunn, 'Case of Innovation'.

[15] On the relationship between martyrologies and calendars, see Walter Howard Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, vol. 1: The Kalendar, Alcuin Club Collections 28 (London: Oxford University Press, 1930); John Hennig, 'Kalender und Martyrologium als Literaturformen', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 7.1 (1961): 1–44.

such as confessors and virgins. In the mid-fifth century, an unknown author (identified as St Jerome within prefatory letters attached to the text) was the first to compile a universal list of martyrs organised by day of death and subsequent celebration and commemoration: the Hieronymian Martyrology.[16] From the outset, in so far as it is possible to tell, this text included multiple entries for each day; despite the density of entries, later additions of names and localising information were made, particularly in Gaul.[17] All subsequent martyrologies produced in early medieval Western Europe, including Bede's text, are ultimately dependent on the Hieronymian Martyrology.[18] Bede's Martyrology, however, differs from its prototype in a number of fundamental aspects. Whereas the Hieronymian Martyrology maps a list of martyrs onto the cyclical temporality of liturgical observance, Bede's text places the emphasis upon historical time; entries therein point to specific, historical moments (i.e., the reign of a political figure and the particular circumstances of martyrdom) instead of days of the year.[19] Rather than beginning with Advent, Bede's Martyrology begins on the first of January.[20] In marked contrast to the density of entries in the earlier text, Bede was exceedingly deliberate in his choice of entries and left most days blank.[21] These structural innovations may point toward the aims that motivated Bede's compilation of his Martyrology.

Bede dealt with his sources in a distinctive manner. He would paraphrase but not quote, nor would he compose 'extended passages without some verbal reliance on his

---

[16] Lifshitz, 'Bede', 169–70; for more on the nature, functions, and later circulation of the Hieronymian Martyrology, see Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*. On the ascription to St Jerome, Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 3–4, 156 n. 17.

[17] Lifshitz, 'Bede', 169–70.

[18] Ibid., 171; for more on the relationship between Bede's Martyrology and the Hieronymian Martyrology, see Biggs, 'Bede's Martyrologium' and Lapidge, 'Acca', 47–69.

[19] Thacker, 'Bede', 126–7.

[20] The practical edition begins on 24 December, and therefore does not follow the organisation of Bede's text, in so far as this may be assumed from the earliest surviving manuscripts. See Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique*, ed. Dubois and Renaud.

[21] Lifshitz, 'Bede', 173.

source'.[22] Although Bede's Martyrology does contain fifteen saints, largely confessors or virgins, who were not martyred such as Æthelthryth, the overall emphasis of the text is on martyrdom defined in the strictest sense.[23] This possibly reflects the lack of English martyr cults up until the eleventh century; martyrs of the early Church were venerated in England in the absence of more local examples.[24] Bede also did not dwell on why each saint he wrote about was persecuted, preferring to detail the torments.[25] The overall effect is a 'historical tract on the nature and physical expression of martyrdom'.[26] Such a resource would have been fit for the early English, fairly recently converted themselves, to learn about the early Church, its martyrs, and what martyrdom entailed, as well as specific details about particular saints.

Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* provides more information on his reasons for and methods of compilation. Chapter twenty-four of the fifth book of his *Historia ecclesiastica* contains a bibliography of his own works. Thacker has noted that Bede took great pains to separate his Martyrology from his hagiographical works in this list, listing it after the *Historia abbatum* and the *Historia ecclesiastica* rather than after the group of saints' lives that precede the *Historia abbatum*, thereby emphasising its historical qualities.[27] The entry reads: 'Martyrologium de nataliciis sanctorum martyrum diebus, in

---

[22] McCulloh, 'Historical Martyrologies', 128–9.
[23] Ibid., 126–7. These are: St Paul the first hermit; St Hilary of Poitiers; St Felix; St Marcellus; St Pachomius; St Urban; St Æthelthryth; St Arsenius; St Lupus of Troyes; St Germanus; St Augustine of Hippo; St Thecla; St Jerome; St Luke the Evangelist; St Hilarion. SS Felix and Thecla, although they suffered, are not depicted as being martyred in the strictest sense in Bede's Martyrology.
[24] See Sarah Foot, 'Why Were There No Martyrs in the Early English Church?' (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 31, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge, 2020), https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:b276ff5e-66d9-426d-9a6c-5b93b14f9d83; Alan Thacker, 'In Search of Saints: The English Church and the Cult of Roman Apostles and Martyrs in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M. H. Smith, The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 247–78.
[25] McCulloh, 'Historical Martyrologies', 128.
[26] Thacker, 'Bede', 140–1.
[27] Ibid., 127.

quo omnes, quos inuenire potui, non solum qua die uerum etiam quo genere certaminis uel sub quo iudice mundum uicerint, diligenter adnotare studui'.[28] The text of the entry itself foregrounds Bede's innovative additions to the martyrological form.[29] The main elements of each notice within the Martyrology, as noted by Thacker, follow Bede's description of the work closely: 'some indication of date, usually taking the form of the reigning emperor or the judge; the location of the martyrdom; the name and status of the person commemorated… ; some accounts of the torments suffered; and the moment of death' and sometimes include information on the burial.[30] Bede's brief description of the Martyrology in his *Historia ecclesiastica* accurately describes the text known to historians today and, more importantly, defines what sort of information Bede considered historical.

The demonstrable focus on Rome present in Bede's Martyrology is also suggestive of his process of compilation.[31] Over half of the saints in the Martyrology have strong links to Rome or the papacy.[32] The number of dates left without an entry in

---

[28] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. Colgrave and Mynors, 570; ibid., 571: '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'.

[29] Thacker, 'Bede', 127.

[30] Ibid., 129.

[31] For more on Bede's conception of Rome, see Lifshitz, 'Bede'; Paul Hilliard, 'Bede and the Changing Image of Rome and the Romans', in *Writing the Early Medieval West: Studies in Honour of Rosamond McKitterick*, ed. Elina Screen and Charles West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 33–48. On early medieval England, Rome, and the papacy, see Yann Coz, *Rome en angleterre: l'image de la rome antique dans l'angleterre anglo-saxonne, du VIIe siècle à 1066*, Bibliothèque d'histoire médiévale 5 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2011); Francesca Tinti, 'England and the Papacy in the Tenth Century', in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947)*, ed. David Rollason et al. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010), 163–84; idem, 'Introduction: Anglo-Saxon England and Rome', in *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 1–16; Veronica Ortenberg, 'The Anglo-Saxon Church and the Papacy', in *The English Church & the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. H. Lawrence (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999), 29–62.

[32] Thacker, 'Bede', 131.

the Martyrology may reflect a selective process of compilation, rather than a lack of access to source material. That Bede did not include St Oswald, despite the fact that he included information about Oswald in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, points toward particular criteria for inclusion.[33] Bede had access to the Hieronymian Martyrology, but selected specific saints for inclusion, perhaps based upon what further evidence he had available from which he could provide historical evidence and his conception of martyrdom.[34] Paul Hilliard has suggested that this is in keeping with Bede's broader methods of composition, in which he 'took a base text as a skeleton for his project', in this case the Hieronymian Martyrology, 'and then mustered many of the sources available to him to create a fuller, more complete treatment of the subject'.[35] In the libraries of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, Bede would have had access to books and artefacts brought back by Benedict Biscop from Rome and Ceolfrith from Gaul.[36] Chapter four of Bede's *Historia abbatum* mentions that Benedict returned from his third pilgrimage to Rome with books for the community.[37] Chapter six of the same text lists 'innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam' among the results of Benedict's fourth pilgrimage to Rome; their contents can be inferred from the identification of Bede's sources.[38] Bede's process of selecting entries for inclusion in his Martyrology may have been accretive: over time, Bede composed new entries for his Martyrology as he read more widely from *Passiones* brought to Monkwearmouth-Jarrow.[39] Biggs has argued so, based on the influence the entries on SS Alamachus and Anastasius had on the *Codex epternacensis*

---

[33] See Victoria A. Gunn, 'Bede and the Martyrdom of St Oswald', in *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 57–66; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. Colgrave and Mynors, 376–81 (bk IV, ch. 14).

[34] See Lapidge, 'Acca', 48–9; Hilliard, 'Bede's Martyrology', 274–8.

[35] Hilliard, 'Bede's Martyrology', 273.

[36] Ortenberg, 'Anglo-Saxon Church', 43.

[37] Bede, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and I. N. Wood, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), 30–1.

[38] Ibid., 34; ibid., 35: 'a countless number of books of every sort'.

[39] Biggs, 'Bede's Martyrologium', 275.

and the later date of the translation of relics of St Augustine.[40] Quentin has identified fifty such *Passiones* as one body of source material consulted by Bede.[41] Another major source is the fifth-century Hieronymian Martyrology, as mentioned above. Michael Lapidge has estimated that nearly seventy percent of the total notices in Bede's Martyrology result from his use of this text.[42] It is probable that the Hieronymian Martyrology came to Monkwearmouth with John the Arch-Chanter in 679.[43] Arguably, Bede's text is a historicised redaction of the Hieronymian Martyrology to which he had access and may have even acted as a supplement to the earlier text; perhaps the dates left without an entry by Bede were those on which a saint known at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, for whom no historical elaboration was required, was to be commemorated. Further study is outside the scope of this dissertation.

As I explore below, the subsequent influence of Bede's Martyrology, and therefore the composition of other martyrologies directly or indirectly related to Bede's, in part led to the supplementation of Bede's Martyrology with material from later martyrologies, as well as with material from the earlier Hieronymian Martyrology. In this way, a text possibly intended as a supplemental resource was itself supplemented. Furthermore, the accretion of saints' entries from other sources seen in copies of Bede's Martyrology datable to between the ninth and mid-thirteenth centuries problematises not only the identification of Bede's original intentions but also the attribution of manuscript copies of martyrologies to Bede by modern scholars. Arguably, the influence of Bede's Martyrology, including but not limited to its apparent stimulation of this practice of accretion to a degree not seen in manuscript copies of other martyrologies, and its dissemination to Carolingian Francia allow one to use the manuscript corpus of Bede's

---

[40] Ibid.
[41] Cited in Lapidge, 'Acca', 70; for more on *Passiones* as a source of Bede's Martyrology, see Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 57–97.
[42] Lapidge, 'Acca', 48–9.
[43] Brown and Biggs, 'Martyrology', 283.

Martyrology as a case study for Carolingian *correctio* and the long-term significance of Franco-Roman liturgical practice.

Influence and Dissemination

There are no extant copies of Bede's Martyrology that were produced or used in England. Within the early English context, the influence of Bede's Martyrology is most apparent in the Old English Martyrology.[44] However, the precise nature of the relationship between Bede's Martyrology and the Old English Martyrology is unclear, especially if accepted that the latter is based, in part, upon an earlier Latin text compiled by Bishop Acca.[45] Twenty-four notices found in Bede's Martyrology may have been the model for the putative Latin exemplar of the Old English Martyrology, attributed hypothetically by Michael Lapidge to Bede's contemporary, Acca, bishop of Hexham, and now lost.[46] Eighty-six of the notices found in the extant Old English Martyrology correspond with entries found in Bede's Martyrology; nine notices are uncertain, and eighteen show no correspondence between the two texts.[47] It would therefore appear that the Old English Martyrology drew extensively upon Bede's Martyrology. This may have taken place through direct recourse to an exemplar or through the use of an intermediary, possibly Bishop Acca's Latin text on the saints.

From the surviving evidence, Bede's Martyrology was most influential in stimulating the production of subsequent martyrologies in the Frankish lands. Bede's Martyrology acted directly or indirectly as a source, and perhaps also stimulus for, numerous subsequent compilations including Usuard's Martyrology, which was widely

---

[44] Ibid.

[45] For the most recent printed edition of the Old English Martyrology, see *Old English Martyrology*, ed. and trans. Rauer; for an earlier edition, see Günter Kotzor, ed., *Das altenglische Martyrologium* (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften München, 1981); on the origin of the Old English Martyrology and the possible involvement of Bishop Acca, see Lapidge, 'Acca'; for a comparison of the literary characteristics of Bede's Martyrology and the Old English Martyrology, see Kotzor, 'Anglo-Saxon Martyrologists'.

[46] Lapidge, 'Acca', 58.

[47] Brown and Biggs, 'Martyrology', 284.

used in medieval Western Europe and would subsequently form the basis of the Roman Martyrology in use in the modern Catholic Church.[48] The selective character of Bede's Martyrology, in which many days of the year are void of notices, does not seem to have been influential upon later examples of the genre. The authors of later martyrologies, and even scribes of copies of Bede's text, often interpolated notices from the Hieronymian Martyrology where Bede had included none.[49] The historicised aspects of his text, however, appear influential. Bede's Martyrology prompted a West Frankish textual tradition. Prior to 806, an anonymous compiler of Lyon practically doubled the length of Bede's text, and Florus of Lyon and Ado of Vienne later extended the text even further.[50] In the mid-ninth century, Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés turned to Bede's Martyrology as one of the many sources used to compile his own Latin martyrology.[51] Usuard also drew upon Florus's and Ado's texts (themselves having expanded upon Bede's Martyrology) and reduced the length of notices found therein.[52] Wandalbert of Prüm drew upon Bede's Martyrology in the composition of his metrical martyrology (c. 830–850).[53] Bede's Martyrology was used as a source by Hrabanus Maurus (b. c. 780–d. 856), who included most of the historical entries within Bede's Martyrology verbatim in

---

[48] For the printed edition of Usuard's Martyrology, see Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois; on its recensions, see Eef A. Overgaauw, 'Les Deux recensions de la lettre-préface d'Usuard à Charles le chauve et les trois recensions de son martyrologe', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin Du Cange)* 48–49 (1988–1989): 85–101; on manuscript copies, see Overgaauw, *Martyrologes manuscrits*; see also Janet L. Nelson, 'The Franks, the Martyrology of Usuard, and the Martyrs of Cordoba', in *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 67–80.

[49] Lifshitz, 'Bede', 173.

[50] McCulloh, 'Cynewulf', 72.

[51] Hamilton, 'Understanding', 47; see Usuard, *Martyrologe d'Usuard*, ed. Dubois.

[52] McCulloh, 'Cynewulf', 72–73.

[53] See the facsimile edition of BAV MS Reg. lat. 438: Wandalbert of Prüm, *Das Martyrologium für Kaiser Lothar I: entstanden nach 855 auf der Insel Reichenau*, ed. Hans-Walter Stork, 2 vols, Codices e Vaticanis selecti 83 (Zurich: Belser, 1997).

his own martyrology (840–854).[54] Notker Balbulus's Martyrology (c. 900) drew upon the martyrologies of Ado and Hrabanus Maurus extensively, and therefore was indirectly indebted to Bede; Notker also had access to an early ninth-century copy of Bede's text at St Gallen.[55] Preference for historicised, narrative martyrologies over the enumerative Hieronymian Martyrology was far-reaching, which Felice Lifshitz has attributed to a 'historical curiosity' particular to the ninth-century Frankish context.[56] Bede's text may have been considered particularly suitable as a source for subsequent martyrologists due to his near-patristic authority in Francia from the late eighth or early ninth century.[57] Although this is not a comprehensive survey of the influence of Bede's text upon subsequent compilations, the historical mode first used therein clearly caught the attention of future compilers. Moreover, the larger part of the influence of Bede's Martyrology is therefore seen in the Frankish realms.

How was Bede's Martyrology disseminated from Northumbria to Francia? The movement of people, manuscripts, and knowledge back and forth between England and the Continent in the eighth and ninth centuries is well-documented.[58] Liudger (b. 742–d.

---

[54] Hrabanus Maurus, *Rabani Mauri: Martyrologium, De Computo*, ed. John McCulloh and Wesley M. Stevens, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis 44 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), xxv–xxvi; the critical apparatus within the edition of Hrabanus Maurus's Martyrology in ibid., 1–134 indicates notices probably derived from Bede's text.

[55] Susan Rankin, 'Notker Bibliothecarius', in *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800-1500*, ed. Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, Margot E. Fassler, and A. B. Kraebel, Writing History in the Middle Ages 3 (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2017), 41–58, at 52–3. St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 451.

[56] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 130.

[57] Joyce Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede', in *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio, Medieval European Studies 7 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2006), 227–49.

[58] See Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); Rosamond McKitterick, *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Personal Connections and Local Influences*, Vaughan Papers in Adult Education 36 (Leicester: University of Leicester, 1991); Janet L. Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: I, Ends and Beginnings', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 1–21; Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, 'The Anglo-Saxon Continental Mission and the Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge', in *Foundations of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*,

809), missionary to Saxony, had studied at York in the 760s and returned to the Continent 'well supplied with books'.[59] As I discuss below, Boniface (d. 755) and Lull (d. 786) both wrote from the Continent to England between the mid- and late eighth century asking for copies of treatises, homilies, and biblical commentaries by Bede.[60] Alcuin (b. c. 735–d. 804) may have known of Bede's Martyrology. It has been noted that the work(s) of 'Beda magister (Bede the master)' amongst the personal library given by Archbishop Ælberht to Alcuin, referred to in the verse text today known as the *Poem on the Bishops, Kings, and Saints of the Church of York*, could have included Bede's Martyrology.[61] Alcuin spent considerable time at the court of Charlemagne in the late eighth century and brought works by Bede with him.[62] Alcuin may have even sent for the Moore Bede for the library at Charlemagne's court, probably from York if so.[63] Early English devotional practice likely influenced Carolingian prayerbooks based on the presence of *loricae* and prayers attributed to Patrick, Columban, and Bede in Carolingian manuscripts, possibly as a result of Alcuin's presence at court.[64] Thomas Bestul has noted that in Carolingian

ed. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Cornelis Dekker, Medievalia Groningana New Series 9, Storehouses of Wholesome Learning 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 19–50; Joanna Story, 'Insular Manuscripts in Carolingian Francia', in *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections*, ed. Claire Breay and Joanna Story (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021), 66–85; Rosamond McKitterick, 'Anglo-Saxon Links with Rome and the Franks in the Light of the Würzburg Book-list', in *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections*, ed. Claire Breay and Joanna Story (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021), 89–97.

[59] Joshua A. Westgard, 'Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age and Beyond', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 201–15, at 205.

[60] With reference to the extant distribution of ninth-century manuscript copies: 67–9.

[61] Brown and Biggs, 'Martyrology', 285; Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, ed. and trans. Peter Godman, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 124–5.

[62] Sharon M. Rowley, 'Bede in Later Anglo-Saxon England' in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 216–28, at 216.

[63] Westgard, 'Bede and the Continent', 205, citing George Hardin Brown. Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.5.16.

[64] Thomas H. Bestul, 'Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Virginia Darrow Oggins, Studies in Medieval Culture 20 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 1986), 103–26, at 112.

Francia Bede was particularly highly regarded as a writer of devotional texts, including hymns and the *Collectio Psalterii*.[65] It is therefore probable that knowledge of Bede's Martyrology came with Alcuin—or if not him, a figure like him—to the Frankish lands.[66] This would not have been unusual. There were plenty of opportunities for the exchange of manuscripts or even religious practices in the eighth century. It is most probable that Bede's Martyrology had arrived in the Frankish lands within one or two generations after his death.[67] Its historical emphasis and the authority of its writer granted the Martyrology a period of direct influence in the ninth century and a far longer period of indirect influence even after the Carolingians.

Issues of Attribution

It is difficult to identify which of the notices within manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology are indeed part of Bede's original text. Henri Quentin had identified two surviving recensions of Bede's Martyrology, based on slight variances in the text of eight historical notices and differences in the character and quantity of the shorter, more enumerative notices included.[68] The first recension is preserved in the now fragmentary St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 451 (s. ix$^{1/4}$; Mainz or Fulda), containing notices from January first to July twenty-fifth.[69] Quentin had identified this manuscript as the

---

[65] Ibid.

[66] On surviving early English manuscripts that show evidence of having travelled, see Francesca Tinti, 'Anglo-Saxon Travellers and Their Books', in *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections*, ed. Claire Breay and Joanna Story (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021), 168–77.

[67] Westgard, 'Bede and the Continent', 201–2.

[68] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 46–7: Id. Ian., XVII Kal. Feb., XVI Kal. Feb., Non. Apr., XII Kal. Aug., VII Kal. Sep., III Kal. Sep., and II Id. Oct. For a full discussion of the text, see ibid., 47–112.

[69] Ibid., 18–19. Described in Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen,* vol. 2, part III/2: Codices 450–546: Liturgica, Libri Precum, deutsche Gebetbücher, Spiritualia, Musikhandschriften 9.–16. Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 8–9; Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Birgit Ebersperger, vol. 3: Padua-Zwickau, 3 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 324; Albert Bruckner, *Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz, St. Gallen II*, Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica 3

surviving copy that is the closest to Bede's original text.[70] For Quentin, the copy within Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15818 (Martyrology: s. ix$^{2/4}$; Salzburg) represented an intermediate stage between this original recension, which includes brief notices derived from an Insular copy of the Hieronymian Martyrology and a resource on Greek saints (perhaps a calendar?), and a later second recension which includes the brief notices from the first recension as well as notices drawn from a Continental version of the Hieronymian Martyrology and the Gregorian Sacramentary.[71] The text of Munich Clm. 15818 contains brief notices from both recensions, as well as from an abbreviated version of the Hieronymian Martyrology.[72] Quentin's second recension encompasses all remaining extant copies.

It is evident from the surviving copies that Bede's text attracted additions and became the basis or major source for subsequent martyrologies. This greatly complicates the task of identifying copies as Bede's Martyrology rather than a separate martyrology. Certain of the factors that complicate the attribution of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology to Bede are inherent to the martyrological genre.[73] Bede's Martyrology, in common with other early medieval martyrologies, was a fluid text. Rosamond

---

(Genf: Roto-Sadag, 1938), 105–6. The manuscript is digitised at http://dx.doi.org/10.5076/e-codices-csg-0451.

[70] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 19.

[71] Ibid., 47 n. 1. Described in Johann Andreas Schmeller et al., *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis: Secundum Andreae Schmelleri Indices / Composuerunt Carolus Halm, Fridericus Keinz, Gulielmus Meyer, Georgius Thomas*, Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis 2, part 3 (Munich: Sumtibus Bibliothecae Regiae, 1878), 36–7 and Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Birgit Ebersperger, vol. 2: Laon-Paderborn, 3 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 266. The manuscript is digitised at https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00065520-5. The differences between Quentin's two recensions and the place of Munich Clm. 15818 are summarised in Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, ed. McCulloh and Stevens, xxv–xxvi.

[72] See Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, ed. McCulloh and Stevens, xxv.

[73] On historical martyrologies, see René Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie: ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1953), 51–68; Dubois and Lemaître, 'Martyrologes'; Dubois, *Martyrologes du Moyen Âge*; McCulloh, 'Historical Martyrologies'; Hennig, 'Kalendar und Martyrologium'.

McKitterick has noted the difficulty in reconstructing the transmission of martyrologies, manuscript copies of which often preserve text of a much earlier date.[74] Each manuscript copy of a martyrology may thus contain saints copied in the original hand that were received from an earlier exemplar, themselves accretions to the original texts of martyrologists such as Bede, Florus, or Usuard. Scribes and readers could, and often did, add the saints particularly venerated at the religious institution and/or in the local area where each manuscript was copied and/or used, both at the time of production and during a subsequent period of use. McKitterick has remarked upon the 'different saintly past' contained in each manuscript copy of a martyrology, by virtue of the inclusion of local saints.[75] Illustrative of both of McKitterick's observations is the second fragmentary martyrology within BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 (produced immediately before 1079, somewhere in the area of influence of Montecassino), which is derived from a Le Mans exemplar of Bede's Martyrology that was supplemented with Beneventan saints at the time of copying.[76] Where copies have been subject to multiple instances of the addition of local saints at the outset, as with the above example, the proportion of material within each manuscript copy that may be identified as Bede's Martyrology shrinks.

The uncertainty surrounding the original contents of Bede's text complicates the identification of martyrology manuscripts as copies of Bede's Martyrology. Nine ninth-century manuscript copies are of especial importance to the dissemination of Bede's Martyrology because they preserve the dates originally not provided with an entry by Bede, rather than supplementing these intentional blank entries with material from another martyrology or martyrologies during the original phase of production.[77] Although

---

[74] McKitterick, *Perceptions*, 52.
[75] Ibid.
[76] BAV MS Barb. lat. 646, fols 9r–44. The first fragmentary martyrology of the current compilation, fols 1r–8v, is only very distantly derived from Bede's text and is therefore excluded from this dissertation. Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 35.
[77] Five are listed in addition to the copy within St Gallen MS 451 in Lapidge, 'Acca', 48: within BAV MS Pal. lat. 834; BAV MS Pal. lat. 833; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXV (63); BAV MS Ott. lat. 313; BL Add. MS 19725. BAV MS Pal. lat. 834 is digitised at http://nbn-

we can therefore look to early copies to attempt to reconstruct the lost authorial copy, the original form of the text is not known. As mentioned above, St Gallen MS 451, the surviving manuscript that is closest to the original text according to Quentin, no longer includes entries from July twenty-sixth to December thirty-first. All surviving copies include an entry for St Boniface, whose death postdates Bede by about twenty years.[78] There has also been scholarly disagreement over whether or not short notices found throughout the entire extant manuscript corpus were originally included by Bede, given his own characterisation of the Martyrology in the self-bibliography within his *Historia ecclesiastica*.[79] As discussed above, even the dating of Bede's Martyrology has been subject to debate. It would be a massive undertaking to peel back layers of adaptation and accretion to discover Bede's authorial copy, one which I will not attempt here. Rather, I focus on surviving manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology. For my purposes, the creation of a 'new' compilation, such as Usuard's Martyrology, requires a high level of adaptation. For instance, manuscript copies in which scribes merely added entries to dates left without an entry by Bede arguably represent altered copies of Bede's Martyrology

---

resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-diglit-45203. BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 is digitised at http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-diglit-45191. BL Add. MS 19725 is digitised at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_19725. To this number should be added Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Car. C. 176, described in Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 539; Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, vol. 1: mittelalterliche Handschriften (Zurich, 1951), 146–9; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts im südwesten des Deutschen Reichs*, Schriften der MGH 53 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004), 359–60; Milan, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, MS M 15, described in Mirella Ferrari, 'La biblioteca del monastero di S. Ambrogio: episodi per una storia', in *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo: Convegno di studi nel XII centenario: 784–1984, 5–6 novembre 1984*, Bibliotheca erudita: studi e documenti di storia e filologia 3 (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1988), 82–164, at 84–92; and Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H 410, discussed in Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 27–8. The blank entries within Montpellier BiSM MS H 410 were subsequently filled by a later reader.

[78] Lifshitz, 'Bede', 174.

[79] Brown and Biggs, 'Martyrology', 282 argues against including these notices, but Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique*, ed. Dubois and Renaud includes them. On Bede's description of his Martyrology, see above 33–4.

rather than entirely separate compilations. Admittedly, the question of what may be considered a copy of Bede's Martyrology and what may be considered a different text remains open to interpretation.

The adaptation of Bede's Martyrology included supplementation and/or abridgement in extant manuscript copies, especially those not amongst the earliest to survive. Manuscript copies that show these activities are more difficult to identify as copies of Bede's Martyrology, depending on the level of supplementation and/abridgement. Scribes of copies of Bede's text could interpolate notices from the Hieronymian Martyrology where Bede had included none.[80] An example of this practice is the copy within El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS L.III.8 (s. ix$^{3/3}$; Senlis), in which empty dates have had notices provided from the enumerative martyrology and dates with entries have been supplemented using the same.[81] The copy within Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 179 (s. xi$^{1/2}$; Beneventan zone) shows evidence of both supplementation (in that Bede's text was complemented with additional saints during the original phase of production, either from an exemplar or at the point of copying) and abridgement (in that entries contain little more information than the name and type of each saint, whether martyr, virgin, or confessor).[82] A different example of supplementation is the martyrology of Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 159 (s. xii$^{1/2}$;

[80] Lifshitz, 'Bede', 173.

[81] Described in Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Birgit Ebersperger, vol. 1: Aachen-Lambach, 3 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 252; Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, vol. 2, 2 vols (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 19–23. The manuscript is digitised at https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/rbme/item/14619.

[82] Described in C. Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', in *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 177–289, at 185–6 and Charles Hilken, ed., *The Necrology of San Nicola Della Cicogna*, Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana II, Studies and Texts 135 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2000), 21–5; the martyrology and its accompanying obits are edited in Hilken, ed., *Necrology*, 71–134.

Michelsberg Abbey, ?Hirsau).[83] The intended patron and/or scribes of this martyrology seem to have preferred Florus's text over Bede's: where Florus and Bede both included an entry on a saint, the notice from Florus was usually the one included. Entries for dates for which Bede did not provide an entry were drawn from Florus's Martyrology. Dates where Bede's text is included received supplemental notices derived from the anonymous martyrologist of Lyon and from Usuard. However, I consider the copy within Bamberg MS Lit. 159 to be Bede's Martyrology because the insertion of another historical text, a source known to Bede, arguably shows awareness of Bede's treatment of papal saints.[84] As discussed fully in a later chapter, this manuscript copy also includes insertions from the *Liber pontificalis* (sixth-century, continued up to the late ninth century) and Frutolf of Michelsberg's universal *Chronicle* (c. 1099).[85] These two later manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology illustrate the complexity of identifying Bede's Martyrology, a malleable text in the hands of later scribes. Separating entries derived from Bede's (as Florus's, Ado's, and Usuard's Martyrologies contain) from entries that are Bede's Martyrology also becomes more difficult the further the manuscript copy is from the presumed original text. This is seen especially in copies that postdate the ninth-century

---

[83] Described in Friedrich Leitschuh, *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*, vol. 1, part 1, series 2: liturgische Handschriften (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), 312 and Karin Dengler-Schreiber, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*, Studien zur Bibliotheksgeschichte 2 (Graz: Akademische Druck- U. Verlagsanstalt, 1979), 122–3; see also Elmar Hochholzer, 'Paläographische Beobachtungen', in *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*, ed. Johannes Nospickle et al., MGH Libri Memoriales et Necrologia Nova Ser. 6 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004), 21–50, at 23–5. The manuscript is digitised at https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:22-dtl-0000024713.

[84] On the papal saints within Bede's Martyrology, see Thacker, 'Bede', 131.

[85] See ch. 4, 202–4: as does Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1942 (s. xii^in; Melk) and Lambach, Benediktinerstift, CmL CXXXI (s. xii^1/2; Lambach). On these texts, Rosamond McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy: The Liber Pontificalis*, The James Lydon Lectures in Medieval History and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020) and Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronicles of the Investiture Contest: Frutolf of Michelsberg and His Continuators*, trans. Thomas John Henry McCarthy, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Thomas John Henry McCarthy, *The Continuations of Frutolf of Michelsberg's Chronicle*, MGH Schriften 74 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018).

peak in the composition of historical martyrologies, many of which drew upon Bede's Martyrology.

Furthermore, it is especially difficult to identify post-ninth-century abridged copies that may only preserve the barest details about each saint included. For instance, St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 453 (twelfth-century; St Gallen) contains a martyrology that has been characterised as a dual martyrology of Bede and Usuard.[86] Upon examination of the manuscript, the grounds for combining the two become clear. The martyrology begins with January first, as Bede's text does, rather than with December twenty-fourth, as ninth-century manuscripts of Usuard's text do.[87] However, the notices themselves are abridged to an enumerative extent, making it extremely difficult to distinguish between notices by Bede and Usuard for the same saint. These notices are many, given Usuard's use of Florus and Ado, martyrologies that had themselves used Bede's Martyrology as a source. We know that St Gallen had access to Bede's Martyrology from the ninth century at the latest, given the survival of St Gallen MS 451 and the inclusion of Bede's Martyrology within medieval booklists from St Gallen, presumably referring to the aforementioned codex in one case. The mid-ninth-century booklist within St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 728 (s. ix$^{2/2}$; ?eastern Francia and St Gallen) lists 'Eiusdem martyr<o>logium in volumine I' under 'DE LIBRIS BEDAE PRESBYTERI'; a later hand added 'ad sacrarium' to this entry, indicating that at one point the codex was to be kept in the sacristy.[88] The list of the private library of Abbot Hartmut of St Gallen (d. 905) from 883, preserved in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 614

---

[86] See Scarpatetti, *Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, II.III/2, 11–18, especially 16 for discussion of the martyrology. The manuscript is digitised at http://dx.doi.org/10.5076/e-codices-csg-0453.

[87] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 453, p. 126. See Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 147.

[88] See St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 728, pp. 9–10. The manuscript is described in 'St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 728', UCLA Reichenau-St Gall Virtual Library, 2012, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/csg/0728/Hendrix and digitised at http://dx.doi.org/10.5076/e-codices-csg-0728. Booklist entry printed in Paul Lehmann, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 1, 4 vols (Munich: Beck, 1918), 75. 'The martyrology of the same in one volume'; 'concerning the books of Bede, priest'.

(consisting of codicological units copied from the ninth to twelfth centuries; St Gallen), pp. 126–7, records 'Regula sancti Benedicti et martyrologium Bedae et ymnarius necnon et omeliae Caesarii in volumine I'.[89] This would seem to indicate that St Gallen MS 451, which now survives as a standalone copy, was at one point bound with other texts, or that St Gallen held two copies of Bede's text, or that the booklist does not refer to a genuine copy of Bede's Martyrology. The copy within St Gallen MS 453 was probably made from the martyrology added to St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 915 (consisting of codicological units copied during the ninth-, tenth-, and eleventh-centuries; martyrology copied at St Gallen) in the eleventh century. A much later manuscript copy of the same martyrology is also found in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 452 (1542/43; St Gallen). Given the surviving evidence, one sees this abridged martyrology at St Gallen first in the eleventh century, then recopied in the twelfth century, and again for the final time in the sixteenth. Surviving manuscripts from St Gallen indicate that the community owned a great number of other martyrologies between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, including the Hieronymian Martyrology and those of Ado, Hrabanus Maurus, and Notker Balbulus.[90] Usuard is not amongst these, raising the possibility that the abridged martyrology within St Gallen MSS 915, 453, and 452 adapts not Bede and Usuard but Bede and Ado, used extensively by Usuard. However, certain phrasing, such as 'Octaua

---

[89] Lehmann, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, I, 87. The manuscript is described in Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen,* vol. 1, part 4: Codices 547–669: Hagiographica, Historica, Geographica, 8.–18. Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 198–206 and digitised at http://dx.doi.org/10.5076/e-codices-csg-0614. 'The Rule of St Benedict and Bede's Martyrology and a hymnary and also the homilies of Caesarius in one volume'.

[90] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MSS 914 (Hieronymian Martyrology; martyrology copied eighth or ninth century), 457 (Hrabanus Maurus; martyrology copied ninth century), 458 (Hrabanus Maurus, two copies; martyrologies copied mid- and late ninth century, respectively), 454 (Ado; martyrology copied c. 880–890), 456 (Notker Balbulus; martyrology copied first half of the tenth century), 455 (Ado; martyrology copied late eleventh or early twelfth century), 620 (excerpts from Ado's and Notker's martyrologies, copied thirteenth century). These manuscripts are all available in digital reproduction on e-codices - Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en.

natiuitatis et circumcisio d*omi*ni n*ost*ri ie*s*u chr*ist*i s*ecund*u*m* carne*m*' on January first, suggests Usuard rather than Ado.[91] The comparable text within the martyrologies of Bede, Florus, and Ado reads 'octaue domini'.[92] The martyrologies within St Gallen MSS 915, 453, and 452 would seem to preserve an abridged adaptation of Usuard that may also have been influenced by Bede and/or Ado. As the connection to Bede's text appears particularly tenuous in these three St Gall copies, I exclude them from consideration in the dissertation. Other abridged copies that do not appear to have been so demonstrably derived from Usuard's text have been retained within the scope of this study.

To further complicate matters, medieval scribes misattributed the work of other martyrologists to Bede. Manuscript copies of martyrologies erroneously ascribed to Bede in their rubrication survive from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This perhaps reflects awareness of the authority earlier granted to Bede by the Carolingians as equivalent to a Church Father, discussed above.[93] The metrical martyrology within Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit, MS Voss. lat. 8° 15 (s. xi[1/4]) is labelled 'martilogiu*m* Bedae' (Bede's Martyrology).[94] The earlier of the two martyrologies within Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, MS 332 (twelfth-century; provenance: Suben am Inn) begins 'Incipit martirlogiu*m* uen*erab*i*lis* Bede p*res*b*yte*ri'.[95] The text is not Bede's, but a Bavarian recension of the Martyrology of Hermann the Lame of Reichenau (d. 1054).[96] This

---

[91] St Gallen MS 453, p. 126. 'Octave of the nativity and circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh'.

[92] See Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 152–3. 'Octave of the Lord'.

[93] See Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives'.

[94] Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit, MS Voss. lat. 8° 15, fol. 20v. Described in K. A. De Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini III: Codices in Octavo* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1977), 31–42 and fols 20v–21r digitised at http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1944139.

[95] Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, MS 332, fol. 1r. The manuscript is described in Konrad Schiffmann, *Die Handschriften der öffentl. Studienbibliothek in Linz* (Linz, 1935), https://digi.landesbibliothek.at/viewer/image/AC04987957/1/LOG_0001/, 190 and digitised at https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:at:AT-OOeLB-1978847. 'Here begins the martyrology of the venerable Bede, priest'.

[96] Pádraig Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies*, Subsidia Hagiographica 86 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2006), 229–44.

practice of ascription to Bede continued beyond the time period considered in this dissertation. The rubric for the copy of Usuard's Martyrology within Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 821 (late fourteenth-century; England) reads 'Inci*pi*t martilog*iu*m uen*era*bilis Bede p*resbyte*ri'.[97] Similarly, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. e. 43 (s. xv$^{1/2}$; England, ?East Anglia) contains a copy of Usuard's Martyrology labelled *Incipit martilogium venerabilis Bede presbiteri*.[98] The attribution to Bede in later English manuscripts highlights two points. First, at the very least there was awareness in late medieval England that Bede had written a martyrology. The misattribution may even point to earlier ownership and/or use of Bede's Martyrology in England, despite the lack of extant manuscript copies.[99] Second, the attribution of copies of Usuard's text to Bede may reflect the authority of Bede in England as a 'homegrown' Church Father. In this scenario, a martyrology would gain more prestige or perhaps utility if attributed to Bede rather than Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, who was not considered a Church Father. Usuard's Martyrology often circulated anonymously, without its preface; perhaps the attribution to Bede reflected both knowledge that he wrote a martyrology and a desire to attribute authoritative authorship to what might have otherwise seemed an anonymous text. Moreover, Bede came to be himself commemorated as a saint, and Usuard did not. Richard Pfaff has analysed the commemoration of Bede in English liturgical manuscripts, concluding that despite 'relatively little hard liturgical evidence' the eighth-century scholar was probably considered a patristic author and was certainly placed in a class of

---

[97] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 821, fol. 1r. An image is available at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/54e7a2f0-739b-4935-a2c0-e9eca6201f68/. See the translation in n. 95 above.

[98] Peter Kidd and Bodleian Library Staff, 'MS. Lat. liturg. e. 43', Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries: A catalogue of Western manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries and selected Oxford colleges, 7 January 2017, https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6507. See the translation in n. 95 above.

[99] See Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

his own.[100] From the late thirteenth century, Bede is called 'doctor' in some English martyrologies.[101] The authority of Bede even up until the early fifteenth century is therefore apparent in these misattributions.

Despite the work done by Quentin, then, the identification of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology is often problematic. Both the handlist compiled by M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, published in 1943, and Michael Lapidge's more recent discussion of manuscripts of the text directly follow Quentin, whose careful scholarship and the detail with which he discusses each manuscript permit confidence in his identifications.[102] Although reference to copies of Bede's Martyrology not discussed by Quentin appear in passing in scholarship on medieval Europe,[103] no study has attempted to add to Quentin's group of twenty-one manuscripts. Laistner and King had remarked that 'extant MSS professing to contain Bede's *Martyrology* are very numerous, but the majority do not offer his original and uninterpolated work'.[104] I view manuscript copies showing interpolation, adaptation, supplementation, and even abridgement as examples of Bede's Martyrology and as witnesses to its dissemination and use.

Although the most recent edition is not a full critical edition, for my aims it is sufficient to determine whether or not a manuscript copy bears a strong relationship with Bede's text. For the edition here I have compared each putative copy with Quentin's work on the notices of the text and the practical edition edited by Jacques Dubois and

---

[100] Richard William Pfaff, 'Bede Among the Fathers? The Evidence from Liturgical Commemoration', in *Studia Patristica XXVIII: Papers Presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1991*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 225–29, at 229.

[101] Ibid., 228.

[102] Laistner and King, *Hand-List*, 90–2 and Lapidge, 'Acca'. For Quentin's attribution of copies, see Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 18–47.

[103] For instance, Miriam Rita Tessera, 'A Fragmentary Story: Episcopal Culture in Milan during Lothar I's Reign?', in *Networks of Bishops, Networks of Texts. Manuscripts, Legal Cultures, Tools of Government in Carolingian Italy at the Time of Lothar I*, ed. Gianmarco De Angelis and Francesco Veronese (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2022), 33–65.

[104] Laistner and King, *Hand-List*, 90–1.

Geneviève Renaud. If the 'scaffold' of the text within a manuscript conforms to Bede's Martyrology as represented in Quentin's discussion of the text and the practical edition, then I include the manuscript copy for consideration in this dissertation. I began with the twenty-one copies discussed by Quentin, all of which I included after examination of the text. To this number, I added a further eight manuscript copies. All copies are listed alphabetically by repository in table 1; the copies not featured in *Martyrologes historiques* are listed in table 2, as well as four copies of which Quentin had varying levels of awareness but had not been able to examine. I excluded two abridged copies mentioned by Quentin as distantly derived from Bede's text and one calendar probably derived from Bede's Martyrology, but hope to return to these in further revisions of this project.[105] Although I do not discuss these two distantly related manuscript copies and the calendar in detail in the dissertation, I have included information on them in appendix A for readers' reference. The twenty-nine manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology, identified in this way, have defined the chronological remit of the dissertation. I begin in the ninth century, during which the earliest surviving copies were produced, and end in the middle years of the thirteenth century, when the latest copy that may be attributed to Bede was produced.

Recent scholarship on early medieval liturgical manuscripts emphasises the fluidity of texts and liturgical creativity.[106] As I hope to show in analysis of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology, the wider scholarship on Latin liturgy and religious culture needs to give more sustained attention to the crucial evidence provided by the visual and material characteristics of manuscript copies. Consequently, the adaptation of

---

[105] See Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 45 n. 5. Metz, Bibliothèque-médiathèque, MS 1154 (1157; SS Ilario e Gregorio, Venice); Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS X 6 sup. (eleventh-century; fifteenth-century provenance at Santa Giustina, Padua). The Metz MS is digitised at https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/23205/manifest.

[106] Parkes, 'Questioning'; idem, *Making of Liturgy*; Westwell, 'Dissemination and Reception'; idem, 'Ordering the Church'; Rankin, *Sounding the Word of God*.

text seen in, for instance, the twelfth-century copy within Bamberg MS Lit. 159 does not render it worthless for analysis of the manuscript corpus of Bede's Martyrology as a case study for the initial and long-term effects of Carolingian reform efforts. Variation in presentation, circulation, and use between copies comprises a rich body of evidence for the provision and use of liturgical books during the ninth century and how this may have shaped later instances of the same. There is necessarily a grey area between which manuscripts are copies of Bede's Martyrology and which are not, given the issues of textual identification discussed above. Moreover, it is probable that manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology continued to be used, either instead of or alongside the martyrologies explicitly compiled by others, such as Ado and Usuard. The later chapters of this dissertation in particular analyse the use of Bede's Martyrology within a context where Usuard's Martyrology had become the 'norm'.

Codicology of Manuscript Copies

The manuscript codices in which Bede's Martyrology survives today are not necessarily illustrative of the physical form in which it circulated between the ninth and mid-thirteenth centuries. I have therefore had to determine which portions of each extant manuscript were produced as or came to be bound as a single codex between 800 and the mid-thirteenth century, including later additions. In most of these cases, the codices comprise more than one production unit and are thus complex rather than unitary in their construction (see table 3). In several cases it is impossible to determine when each codex's current components were aggregated. In the dissertation I largely restrict discussion to the manuscript copy of Bede's Martyrology where the larger codex is not datable, but do assess the possibility that the constituent components were brought together by the mid-thirteenth century. Establishing where compilation took place is similarly problematic. I indicate where possible below the probable location of compilation.

The texts with which Bede's Martyrology was copied and/or bound provide a rich body of evidence for analysis of the use and circulation of manuscript copies of the text

in subsequent chapters of the dissertation.[107] However, codices that show evidence of change over time must be treated with care. Where manuscript copies of the Martyrology survive as the only or only pre-1250 text of a manuscript, as with St Gallen MS 451, it is in most cases unfortunately impossible to determine whether other texts have been either lost or intentionally detached between production and the present day. Bamberg MS Lit. 159 provides a notable exception. The current compilation contains Bede's Martyrology on folios 1v to 69r and a general absolution held for thirty days after a brother dies on folios 69v to 70r.[108] Bamberg MS Lit. 159 was originally bound with Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 144, which today includes the Rule of St Benedict, a lectionary, and a necrology, amongst other texts.[109] In the following section, I examine the compilations of extant manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology that show evidence of multiple units of production (see table 3), noting only components that date from the period within the scope of the doctoral project.[110] I define compilation as any grouping of originally separate codicological units; later additions inserted into existing units are not here discussed. Compilations are grouped chronologically, and strategies of compilation that arise are identified.

Eight of the fifteen extant ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology were brought together with other texts after their initial periods of production. BnF MS lat. 5552 (s. ix$^{2/4}$; Francia and southern Francia) consists of two units of production: (1) a fragmentary copy of Bede's Martyrology and (2) the *Libri Salomonis*, both datable to the second quarter of the ninth century.[111] BAV MS Reg. lat. 435 (s. ix and s. xi, xii, xiii;

---

[107] On the methodology of associated contents, see the introduction, 12–14; for a partial listing of the contents of extant manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology, see appendix A, 264–82.
[108] See n. 83 above.
[109] See Hochholzer, 'Paläographische Beobachtungen'. Bamberg MS Lit. 144 is digitised at https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:22-dtl-0000003895.
[110] I do not include the flyleaves of Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 because the text has clearly been used as binding waste, rather than included for use of a reader.
[111] Bischoff, *Katalog,* ed. Ebersperger, III, 109–10; Jean-Loup Lemaître, *Mourir à Saint-Martial: la commémoration des morts et les obituaires à Saint-Martial de Limoges du XIe au XIIIe siècle*

Sens or Reims and ?) consists of (1) an abbreviated copy of Bede's Martyrology produced in the ninth century, (2) an exposition on the mass copied in the eleventh century, (3) a dialogue between Hugo, archdeacon of Tours, and Fulbert about a miracle occurring upon the translation of St Martin and the beginning of a dialogue by Fulbert on the three essentials of the Christian religion copied in the twelfth century, and (4) a glossary of legal terms copied in the thirteenth century.[112] Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.49 (s. ix^2 and just before 838; ? and Würzburg and ?Regensburg) contains (1) two leaves containing excerpts from Augustine's *epistula* 130, entitled *Ex epistola sancti Augustini ad probam uiduam de oratione dominica* (From the letter of St Augustine to Proba the widow on the Lord's Prayer) and (2) two units copied in the same hand and probably originally bound together, Bede's Martyrology and Augustine's *Soliloquies*.[113] Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Car. C. 176 (s. ix$^{2/2}$, s. ix$^{3/3}$ to s. x, s. ix$^{3/4}$ and s. x; Alsace or eastern Francia, (?south)eastern Francia, northeastern Francia, and St Gallen) contains: (1) amongst other texts, the penitentials of Halitgar and of pseudo-Bede copied in the second half of the ninth century, (2) Bede's Martyrology copied between the last third of the ninth century and the tenth century, (3) canons from the Council of Mainz (847) copied in the last quarter of the ninth century, and (4) a

---

(Paris: De Boccard, 1989), 232–3. The manuscript is digitised at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078343h.

[112] Pierre Salmon, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 4, 5 vols, Studi e Testi 267 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1971), 100; Joachim Kirchner, *Scriptura Latina Libraria: A Saeculo Primo Usque Ad Finem Medii Aevi; LXXVII Imaginibus Illustrata* (Munich: In Aedibus R. Oldenbourg, 1955), 41–2; Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 429. The manuscript is digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.435.

[113] Bernhard Bischoff and Josef Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani: die würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg 6 (Würzburg: F. Schöningh, 1952), 124–5; Hans Thurn, *Die Pergamenthandschriften Der Ehemaligen Dombibliothek*, vol. 3, part 1: Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), 38–9. The manuscript is digitised at https://doi.org/10.48651/franconica-1571567407704.

calendar, excerpts from Bede, and computistical texts.[114] BL Add. MS 19725 (s. ix[4/4]; eastern Francia, ?sphere of influence of Reims) contains two units of production: (1) an *ordo* for Palm Sunday and an anonymous sermon directed to fellow priests and (2) Bede's Martyrology and texts with pastoral applications, including Gennadius of Marseille's *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* and the penitential of pseudo-Bede-Egbert.[115] Both units of production were copied in the last quarter of the ninth century in a *scriptorium* in eastern Francia, probably within the sphere of influence of Reims.[116] I discuss the compilations of BAV MSS Pal. lat. 834 and 833 and Munich Clm. 15818 in detail below.

Conclusions about when compilation took place may be drawn for three of the five manuscripts introduced above. Josef Hofmann and Bischoff had concluded that the excerpts from Augustine's *epistula* 130 within the current manuscript UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.49 were inserted during the twelfth century.[117] Given that the texts of both units within BL Add. MS 19725 would be of use to a local priest, one may theorise that the

---

[114] Scholars disagree as to whether the manuscript contains three, four, or five units of production. Reinhold Haggenmüller, *Die Überlieferung der Beda und Egbert zugeschriebenen Bussbücher* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1991), 115–16 identifies three. Haggenmüller and Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 539 identify the first two units listed above as one unit. Elias von Steinmeyer, ed., *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916), 389 and Mohlberg, *Katalog*, 149 identify five. Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen*, 359–60 identifies four. I have not examined the manuscript in person but follow Hoffmann as the most detailed and up to date description. The origin of the Martyrology follows Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 539. For computistical texts within this codex misattributed to Bede, see Charles Williams Jones, *Bedae Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1939), 50, 55, 57, 63, 78, 86, 87; for those accurately attributed to Bede, see Bede, *On the Nature of Things and On Times*, trans. Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians 56 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), 56, 64.

[115] Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, II, 98; Haggenmüller, *Überlieferung*, 70; Sarah Hamilton, 'Educating the Local Clergy, c. 900–c. 1150', *Studies in Church History* 55 (2019): 83–113, at 107–8. The manuscript's pastoral contents are analysed throughout van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*.

[116] Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, II, 98.

[117] Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, 125.

manuscript was bound in its current state in the late ninth or tenth century, a period of heightened concern for priests' education, knowledge, and pastoral practices.[118] That both units of production were copied during the same time period in the same *scriptorium* further suggests that they were combined early on, possibly in this unknown *scriptorium*. Zurich MS Car. C. 176 was probably brought together as a resource for a tenth- or eleventh-century priest or canon in Zurich, given its texts on penance, the calendar of festal observance, conciliar legislation, and *computus*.[119] I largely exclude the compilations of BnF MS lat. 5552 and BAV MS Reg. lat. 435 from discussion in the dissertation: there is no way of knowing when these codices in their present form were compiled, and the resulting effects do not reflect trends in associated texts found in manuscripts not consisting of multiple units of production.[120]

Two codices including Bede's Martyrology have medieval provenance at Lorsch, where it is probable their constituent components were compiled. BAV MS Pal. lat. 834 (s. ix$^{1/2}$ and s. ix$^{2/2}$; mid (?south)western Germany and ?eastern Francia) is comprised of two units of production: (1) Bede's Martyrology and *computus* and (2) Isidore's *De natura rerum*.[121] The fascicle containing the Martyrology was at Lorsch by the tenth or eleventh century, given the ownership inscription on folio 1r in a tenth- or eleventh-century hand.[122] This fascicle was possibly at Lorsch as early as the ninth century: it has been argued that the drawing of the crucifixion on the same folio, dated to the last third of the ninth century, may have been based on a mural at Lorsch.[123] BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 (840–855 and s. ix$^{1/2}$; Worms, Lorsch, or Würzburg and northeastern Francia/Lotharingia

---

[118] See ch. 3, 115–60.

[119] See n. 114 above.

[120] Including the so-called 'chapter book' compilation and the 'priest's book' compilation: ch. 2, 98–111, and ch. 3, 136–58.

[121] Bischoff, *Katalog,* ed. Ebersperger, III, 417. For a detailed description, see Michael Kautz, 'Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. Lat. 834', Virtuellen Klosterbibliothek Lorsch (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg), 2014, https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_834.pdf.

[122] See Kautz, 'Pal. Lat. 834', 4.

[123] Ibid., 3.

(?) and Lorsch) also consists of two fascicles: (1) Bede's Martyrology and (2) *syllogae inscriptionum Laureshamenses*.[124] The two Lorsch ownership inscriptions within this manuscript, on folio 22v and folio 26r, date to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, respectively.[125] The fascicle containing the Martyrology may have been copied at Lorsch or at Lorsch early on, then owned by Neuhausen near Worms, then eventually returned to Lorsch.[126] The translation of 's*anctu*s cyprianus [sic?]' (St Cyprianus) is recorded on folio 9v in an original hand, and on folio 18v a vigil for St Dionysus has been added.[127] The church at Neuhausen, dedicated to St Dionysus, was refounded as a monastery dedicated to St Cyriacus by Bishop Samuel of Worms (840–856) and provided with books from Lorsch.[128] The ninth-century Lorsch booklists within BAV MSS Pal. lat. 1877 and Pal. lat. 57 suggest that the components of BAV MSS Pal. lat. 834 and Pal. lat. 833 were combined in the tenth century or later, given that they do not include codices matching the current compilations.[129] Although the texts of each codex were copied during the period considered in this project, it is not possible to determine precisely when the present codices were created.

However, I find it probable that the compilations of BAV MSS Pal. lat. 834 and Pal. lat. 833 were extant in their current form before the mid-thirteenth century. The combination of Bede's Martyrology and computistical texts with Isidore's *De natura rerum* suggests that the compiler(s) not only desired to complement the *computus* already

---

[124] Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 416–17. For a detailed description, see Michael Kautz, 'Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. Lat. 833', Virtuellen Klosterbibliothek Lorsch (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg), 2014, https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_833.pdf.

[125] See Kautz, 'Pal. Lat. 833', 3 and 6.

[126] Ibid., 3.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid.

[129] See Angelika Häse, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse aus Kloster Lorsch: Einleitung, Edition, und Kommentar*, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 42 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002). BAV MS Pal. lat. 1877 is digitised at http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-diglit-45561. BAV MS Pal. lat. 57 is digitised at http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-diglit-44337.

found in fascicle one, but were perhaps also aware that Bede had used Isidore's earlier treatise as a source in writing his own *De natura rerum*.[130] Moreover, the combination of computistical texts with a martyrology suggests the possible intended use of that martyrology as a guide to the calendar of festal observance.[131] This use context is compatible with, but not necessarily suggestive of, the consultation of the manuscript by a priest, as raised more substantively by the compilation of BL Add. MS 19725 discussed above. BAV MS Pal. lat. 833, on the other hand, conforms to a strategy of compilation seen between the ninth and mid-thirteenth centuries where Bede's Martyrology is found in a manuscript also containing texts on the geography of Rome. Other examples include: a text on the graves of martyrs outside Rome and the churches in Rome found in UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.49; the dedicatory poem of Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 143 (s. xi[1/4]; Seeon Abbey), which compares the new foundation of Bamberg to Rome; and a thirteenth-century addition to Bamberg MS Lit. 159 listing the twelve roads of Rome.[132] Consequently, I include all components of BAV MSS Pal. lat. 834 and Pal. lat. 833 for analysis in this dissertation.

The manuscript context of the intermediary version of Bede's text between Quentin's first and second recensions further illustrates how the methodology of associated contents may be used to hypothesise when compilation took place. Munich Clm. 15818 (842–855 and s. ix[2/4]; Würzburg and Salzburg) consists of two codicological units of production: (1) Gennadius of Marseille's *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis* and texts attributed to Church Fathers including Augustine and John Chrysostom concerning heretics, the Creed, and penance, copied between 842 and 855 at Würzburg and (2) Bede's Martyrology, copied in the second quarter of the ninth century at Salzburg.[133] It is

---

[130] See Bede, *On the Nature of Things and On Times*, trans. Kendall and Wallis.

[131] See ch. 3, 115–60.

[132] UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.49, fols 31r–33v; Bamberg MS Lit. 143, fols 4v–5r; Bamberg MS Lit. 159, fol. 1r.

[133] Texts of the manuscript listed in Schmeller et al., *Catalogus*, II.3, 36–7; origin and codicological structure noted in Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, II, 266. The best detailed

probable that the Martyrology now within Munich Clm. 15818 was once a standalone copy.[134] The two units of production were probably combined at Salzburg rather than Würzburg. Despite the Würzburg origin of the first unit, the manuscript does not include any indications of Würzburg provenance.[135] Würzburg saints and obits have not been added to its Martyrology. Moreover, the fourteenth-century binding of the manuscript is probably of Salzburg origin.[136] It is not possible to determine definitively whether the two units were already together before the fourteenth-century binding (a fifteenth-century table of contents on the front pastedown includes Bede's Martyrology).[137] The possibility that the contents of the current manuscript were associated with Bede's text during the period under consideration should not be discounted. The contents of the current manuscript are markedly similar to those of BL Add. MS 19725, Zurich MS Car. C. 176, and BAV MS Pal. lat. 834, where texts on penance, *computus*, and/or Church doctrine are found in various combinations. Munich Clm. 15818 may have been compiled in its current form for consultation by a priest, probably a canon at Salzburg. Moreover, this probably took place between the ninth century and the mid-eleventh century, the broader period to which episcopal and priestly codices of this compilation type have been dated.

Intriguingly, the prevalence of copies found in such compilations raises the possibility that a significant proportion, up to over half, of the surviving ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology may have been produced as standalone copies. This would certainly fit with the liturgical possibilities at the time. The meeting in chapter had only been recently developed and was not yet a more formalised chapter

---

description is Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, 41–2 and 132–3. As the 800–1250 provenance of the manuscript is impossible to determine, I have not indicated provenance in table 1 below.

[134] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 186 n. 19; Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, 41.

[135] Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, 132.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid.

office.[138] Episcopal statutes stipulating which books priests should own and the texts priests should know are also approximately contemporaneous with these early copies. It is possible that as Carolingian reforming legislation and episcopal attempts to ensure the competence of priests began to circulate throughout the Frankish lands, previously unattached copies of Bede's Martyrology were incorporated into compilations developing alongside or in the wake of (if not influencing and being influenced by) such normative texts. The most common strategy of compilation combines ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology with other texts copied in the ninth century, largely concerning *computus*, liturgy, and the history and ordering of the Church. This is certainly not the case for all copies found in compilations that postdate the original period of production, but nevertheless suggests patterns in the use and circulation of Bede's text that are explored in further chapters of the dissertation.

One of the perhaps two extant tenth-century manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology possibly was once part of another compilation, or possibly a standalone copy. BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 (tenth- or mid-eleventh-century; Montescaglioso or the Lateran, mid-eleventh-century provenance at the Lateran) consists of two units of production: (1) a fragmentary copy of Bede's Martyrology datable to the tenth or mid-eleventh century and (2) the *Regula Aquisgranensis* promulgated in 816, datable to the mid-eleventh century, with refutations of certain points (largely in chapters 115 and 122) by one *praestantissimus uir Hildebrandus*, datable to immediately after 1059.[139] The

---

[138] Lemaître, 'Liber capituli', 631–2: an early example of a chapter book is BnF MS lat. 13745 (after 858; Saint-Germain-des-Prés), which contains Usuard's Martyrology.

[139] Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 85 dates the manuscript copy to the tenth century and does not attribute origin; Maria Alessandra Bilotta, 'I codici miniati in Laterano conservati nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: una prima ricognizione', *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 10 (2003): 7–50, at 16–20 dates the entire codex to the shortly before or immediately after 1059 and attributes origin to the Lateran; Giacomo Baroffio, 'Catalogare manoscritti liturgici: tipologie semplici e complesse', in *La catalogazione dei manoscritti miniati come strumento di conoscenza: esperienze, metodologia, prospettive: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Viterbo, 4–5 Marzo 2009*, ed. Silvia Maddalo and Michela Torquati, Nuovi Studi Storici 87 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2010), 115–26, at 125 dates the entire codex

Martyrology is copied in multiple hands. A particularly striking change of hand begins at the start of folio 19r, in the middle of the entry for St Cornelius on XVIII Kal. Oct.; this hand continues up until the end of the text on folio 24v. The computistical text that immediately follows the Martyrology on folio 24v and ends immediately before the *Regula* begins in the bottom third of folio 25r was copied by a different scribe. Pierre Salmon had suggested that the Martyrology had been removed from a compilation for use in chapter, but this is speculative.[140] The quire structure of the manuscript is difficult to determine from the digital reproduction, and I have not yet been able to consult the manuscript in person. For the purposes of this dissertation, it is sufficient to note that the Martyrology of this manuscript may not be situated in its original codicological context. However, as the codex of which it is currently a part consists of texts copied within the temporal remit of the doctoral project and probably brought together during the eleventh century,[141] the entire codex is analysed.

Three surviving manuscript copies dated to the eleventh century are extant in compilations consisting of multiple units of production. Two such compilations are excluded from discussion in this dissertation. Two leaves containing ordinances of an Italian city written in a fifteenth-century hand were added to BL Add. MS 14801 (s. xi; ?Rome); this is outside of the chronological scope of this dissertation.[142] BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 (s. xi and immediately before 1079; ?San Paolo fuori le Mura and area of influence of Montecassino) contains two fragmentary martyrologies that have been later combined to form one complete martyrology: (1) only distantly related to Bede's

---

to the second half of the eleventh century and attributes origin to Montescaglioso in far southern Italy. I have not yet examined the current codex in person to determine whether or not it consists of two different units of production. BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 is digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.lat.38.

[140] Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 85.

[141] Given the prevalence of a compilation type in eleventh-century Rome that combines Bede's Martyrology with the *Regula Aquisgranensis*: ch. 5, 249–55.

[142] BL Add. MS 14801, fols 2–3; British Museum, 'List of Additions to the Department of Manuscripts 1844', in *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1841–1845* (London: George Woodfall and Son; The Trustees, 1850), 1–155, at 7.

Martyrology and therefore excluded from this dissertation and (2) Bede's Martyrology.[143]

As the combination of the two codicological units of production within this manuscript

represents an attempt to reconstruct one text, it is not pertinent to this study beyond that it

indicates an incomplete martyrology was not considered suitable. BAV MS Arch. Cap. S.

Pietro. H. 58 (s. xi[med] and c. 1000; Rome) consists of two units of production: folios 81 to

121 were copied around 1000 in one hand and folios one to 80 and 122 to 150 were

copied shortly after in another hand.[144] The Martyrology of the manuscript is part of the

later unit of production, which includes *ordines* for the mass, canons, epistles of the early

Church (especially the early papacy), and patristic texts.[145] The earlier part of the

manuscript includes the Passion of St Lucy, a homily of Haimo of Auxerre (d. c. 865),

and a penitential.[146] Sarah Hamilton has argued that the two units of production within

the current compilation were bound together soon after their copying, based on the close

relationship between the manuscript's texts and contemporary understandings of priestly

---

[143] On the martyrologies, Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 31. The manuscript is described in Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 79–80; Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 190–1. On the origin of the first fragmentary martyrology, see Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 182 n. 308. The remainder of the first fragmentary martyrology is found in BAV MS Vat. lat. 4885: Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 79–80. BAV MS Vat. lat. 4885 is digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4885.

[144] Described in Adriaan Gaastra, ed., *Paenitentialia Italiae Saeculi XI–XII*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 156 C, Paenitentialia Franciae, Italiae et Hispaniae Saeculi VIII-XI tomus 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), xlvii–lii; see Hamilton, 'Educating', 109–10.

[145] Hamilton, 'Educating', 110. Contents listed in Pierre Salmon, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 2, 5 vols, Studi e Testi 253 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1969), 106–7; idem, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 3, 5 vols, Studi e Testi 260 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1970), 60; idem, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 10 and 77; idem, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 5, 5 vols, Studi e Testi 270 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1972), 78. Detailed description in Gaastra, ed., *Paenitentialia Italiae*, xlvii–lii.

[146] See n. 144 above.

responsibilities.[147] I therefore include the entire extant codex in discussion of texts associated with Bede's Martyrology.

Three extant twelfth-century manuscript copies of Bede's text are today bound with different units of production. I exclude one compilation from detailed discussion for much the same reason as BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 above and another due to the difficulty in determining the date of compilation. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 (s. xii^{ex}–xiii^{in} and s. xiii–xiv; Italy (?Rome) and San Saba, Rome) includes a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century unit of production that replaces the first few leaves of its Rule of St Benedict and a repurposed leaf from an earlier San Saba obituary that precedes the obituary original to the manuscript.[148] Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1942 (s. xii^{in}, s. xii$^{2/2}$ and s. xiv; Melk) contains two units of production: (1) Bede's Martyrology and other texts including the *Breviarium apostolorum* and the Rule of St Benedict copied at the beginning of the twelfth century and (2) a fragment of a sequence copied in the second half of the twelfth century.[149] It is impossible to determine precisely when the sequence was added to the compilation, so it is largely excluded.[150] BAV MS Ott. lat. 3 (s. xi^{ex}–xii and s. xii–xiii; Beneventan zone and Montecassino) contains (1) a front endleaf from a Milanese (also known as Ambrosian) antiphonary copied in Beneventan script of the late

---

[147] Hamilton, 'Educating', 109–10. Hamilton compares stipulations of the *Admonitio synodalis* with the contents of BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 in ibid., 110 (table 1) and idem, 'The Rituale: The Evolution of a New Liturgical Book', *Studies in Church History* 38 (2004): 74–86, at 83–6.

[148] Peter Kidd and Bodleian Library Staff, 'MS. Lat. liturg. d. 43', Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries: A catalogue of Western manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries and selected Oxford colleges, 7 January 2017, https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6477.

[149] Christine Glaßner, *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Melk*, Tiel 1: Von den Anfängen bis ca. 1400, Katalog- und Registerband, Denkschriften (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse) 285 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 502–3. Ibid., 503: a fragment of a calendar copied in the fourteenth century is used as the back pastedown.

[150] Ibid., 502: the binding is mid-fifteenth-century, so presumably prior to then.

eleventh or twelfth centuries and (2) an abridged copy of Bede's Martyrology.[151] The material characteristics of the endleaf suggest that it was inserted to be read, rather than as binding waste. The endleaf is much larger than the Martyrology, but has been folded instead of trimmed; it is included in the correct orientation for reading. The codex was in the library at Montecassino in the fifteenth century, based on the ownership inscription on folio 1r.[152] It is probable that the endleaf was originally bound with the Martyrology. The endleaf would not have been of liturgical use because Ambrosian chant was abolished at Montecassino in 1057 or 1058, but it may possibly have seemed a useful reference resource.[153] I discuss the implications of its inclusion in a subsequent chapter of this dissertation.

Temporal and Geographic Distribution of Manuscript Copies

I have identified three phases in the temporal and geographic distribution of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology. There is evidence for a peak in the copying of Bede's Martyrology during the ninth century. Fifteen out of the twenty-nine extant manuscript copies are datable to the ninth century. All of this number was produced within the Carolingian lands, largely in the Frankish heartlands but also in more recently incorporated areas such as Bavaria and northern Italy. These manuscript copies represent the first phase in the circulation of Bede's Martyrology for which manuscript evidence survives. St Gallen MS 451, which Quentin considered the closest to Bede's original text,

---

[151] On the endleaf, see Henry Marriott Bannister, *Monumenti Vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*, Codices e Vaticanis Selecti 12 (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1913), 124; Klaus Gamber, *Codice Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, 2nd edn, Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia I (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1968), 239. The texts of BAV MS Ott. lat. 3 are listed in Pierre Salmon, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 1, 5 vols, Studi e Testi 251 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1968), 208; idem, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, II, 77; idem, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 85. See also Virginia Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries: Collected Manuscript Catalogues, 1978–2008*, ed. Roger E. Reynolds, Studies and Texts 179 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012), 40. The manuscript is digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.lat.3.

[152] Bannister, *Monumenti Vaticani*, 124.

[153] Ibid.; see Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 183.

is agreed by most scholars to be the earliest surviving copy.[154] Bischoff had dated the manuscript to the beginning of the first quarter of the ninth century.[155] Earlier assessments made by Gustav Scherrer and Albert Bruckner dated the manuscript to the ninth century.[156] Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti, however, had dated the manuscript to the ninth or tenth century.[157] I follow Bischoff's dating of the manuscript, given Quentin's assessment of the text of its Martyrology. The second phase takes place in the former Carolingian Empire between 900 and the middle years of the thirteenth century. Six copies survive from this region during the period. The mid- and late ninth-century composition and circulation of other historical martyrologies, especially Usuard's Martyrology, can here be seen to affect the production of new copies of Bede's text. However, existing ninth-century copies continued to be used.[158] The third phase takes place at the same time as the second, but in a different region. Seven manuscript copies produced in Rome or the area of influence of Montecassino survive, as well as one possibly copied at Montescaglioso in the far south of Italy and possibly copied at the Lateran. Six of these eight copies would come to be used in Rome before the beginning of the thirteenth century. The manuscript copies produced and used in this region are treated as a distinct phase in the circulation of Bede's Martyrology because they show different presentation of text and compilations from those included in the simultaneous second phase.

The areas around Reims, Mainz, and Würzburg appear to have been significant locations of production during the first phase, where the origins of particular copies have been suggested. Reims was the site of the coronations of the Frankish kings and a centre

---

[154] Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXV (63) has also been dated to the first quarter of the ninth century: Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 468.

[155] Ibid., 324.

[156] Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1875), 147; Bruckner, *Schreibschulen*, 105.

[157] Scarpatetti, *Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, II.III/2, 8–9.

[158] See ch. 4, 174–87.

of scholarly activity during the ninth century. St Remigius, bishop of Reims from c. 458, is included in the second recension of Bede's Martyrology on October first, the date of the translation of his relics.[159] This perhaps suggests that copies had circulated near Reims early in the ninth century, after which point the entry commemorating St Remigius was added. Two manuscript copies thought to have been produced in the vicinity of Reims include this notice.[160] Mainz and Würzburg had links with the Insular world. Boniface, an early English missionary, was the first archbishop of Mainz. Around the middle of the eighth century, Boniface wrote to Archbishop Ecgbert of York and Abbot Hwætberht of Wearmouth asking for treatises and homilies by Bede.[161] Lull, Boniface's student and successor to the archbishopric of Mainz, had also travelled to the Continent from England. Like Boniface, Lull wrote to England to request manuscripts of Bede's texts.[162] One might assume that Insular connections at Würzburg could have precipitated similar encounters with the work of Bede.[163] Bishop Burchard of Würzburg (d. c. 752) was previously an early English missionary in Francia; he had been appointed to the bishopric by Boniface. Würzburg Cathedral housed the relics of SS Kilian, Colmán, and Totnan, Irish missionaries martyred in Würzburg in 689, and was dedicated to St Kilian. Many ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology show the veneration of these saints, particularly Kilian.[164] The early copy of Bede's Martyrology within Munich Clm. 15818,

---

[159] Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique,* ed. Dubois and Renaud, 180.

[160] Montpellier BiSM MS H 410, fol. 31v and BL Add. MS 19725, fol. 23v. The notice in the later BL Add. MS 19725 appears to show the influence of Florus, given Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique,* ed. Dubois and Renaud, 180. BAV MS Reg. lat. 435, perhaps also of Reims origin, is fragmentary and does not include October first.

[161] Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives', 229–30. See Boniface and Lull, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. Michael Tangl, MGH Epistolae Selectae 1(Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916), 158–9 (*epistulae* 75 and 76) and 207 (*epistula* 91).

[162] Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives', 230; Boniface and Lull, *Briefe*, ed. Tangl, 263 (*epistula* 125) and 264 (*epistula* 126), as well as references to such requests in correspondence from Abbot Cuthbert of Wearmouth-Jarrow to Lull: 250–2 (*epistula* 116) and 264–5 (*epistula* 127).

[163] See McKitterick, 'Anglo-Saxon Links'.

[164] Mentioned throughout chs 2 and 3 of this dissertation, 77–160.

although not itself copied at Würzburg, is bound with other texts copied there.[165] It is also worth noting that Joanna Story has suggested that Insular script used in the *scriptoria* of Würzburg, Fulda, and Echternach 'must at some level have reflected the maintenance of a communal identity that self-consciously recalled the "homelands" of the founders'.[166] St Gallen MS 451, Quentin's first recension example, was copied at either Mainz or Fulda in Insular minuscule.[167] Joshua Westgard has argued that once a Bedean text had reached the Frankish lands, 'continental *scriptoria* took the leading role in the local dissemination of the work. As a result, a single exported copy might eventually populate an entire region with its descendants'.[168] This sort of regional pattern of production is seen in and around Reims, Mainz, and Würzburg, although I do not necessarily suggest that this stems from a single copy.

There are two identifiable centres of ownership and use of Bede's Martyrology in the two later phases. These may both reflect the dissemination and reception of Bede's text as an alternative to Usuard's Martyrology at a time when Usuard's text had become widely used in northern Europe and was circulating on the Italian peninsula; the later circulation and use of Usuard's Martyrology therefore perhaps had some bearing upon the later circulation and use of Bede's Martyrology. During the second phase, Bamberg appears as a centre that influenced the production of copies of Bede's text in the surrounding area. Four of the six copies produced in the former Carolingian Empire between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries have connections to Bamberg. This probably stems from the commission of a luxury copy from the *scriptorium* of Seeon Abbey by Henry II (b. 973–d. 1024) for the foundation of the bishopric of Bamberg in the early eleventh century or for the subsequent foundation of Michelsberg Abbey, Bamberg soon after.[169] This copy has been assigned provenance at Michelsberg Abbey on the basis

---

[165] See n. 133 above.
[166] Story, 'Insular Manuscripts', 69.
[167] See n. 69 above.
[168] Westgard, 'Bede and the Continent', 206.
[169] Bamberg MS Lit. 143. See discussion in ch. 4, 189–201.

of documents entered in the twelfth century recording grants and donations to Michelsberg. During the twelfth century, the Michelsberg *scriptorium* produced another copy of Bede's text.[170] A twelfth-century copy made and used at Melk Abbey and a twelfth-century copy made and used at Lambach Abbey reflect the dissemination of the contemporary Michelsberg copy, either directly or through an intermediary copy or copies, to Melk and Lambach.[171] The production of manuscript copies in Rome and the area of influence of Montecassino in the third phase has been noted above. It is worth reiterating that the subsequent Roman provenances of three quarters of these manuscripts indicate a centre of ownership and/or use in Rome.

Although manuscript copies could remain close to their areas of production, some circulated further to varying degrees. As discussed above, St Gallen MS 451 came to be owned at St Gallen, after its production at Mainz or Fulda. The copy within BL Add. MS 19725 (s. ix$^{4/4}$; eastern Francia, ?sphere of influence of Reims) was at Tegernsee Abbey in Bavaria by about a century after its production.[172] The Martyrology of Zurich MS Car. C. 176 (s. ix$^{3/4}$; (?south)eastern Francia) came to Zurich during the tenth century.[173] Two manuscript copies produced in southern Italy, one possibly in the tenth century at Montescaglioso (but also possibly at the Lateran) and the other probably in the eleventh century near Montecassino, came to be in use at Rome.[174] Although multiple copies were owned in Rome, these were within different religious communities. Communities that subsequently came to hold multiple copies of Bede's Martyrology given the extant evidence include Lorsch Abbey from the tenth century and Michelsberg Abbey from the twelfth century.[175] In addition, two copies of Bede's Martyrology were held at Würzburg:

---

[170] Bamberg MS Lit. 159.
[171] Melk Cod. 1942 and Lambach CmL CXXXI. See ch. 4, 195–201.
[172] Franz Kerff, 'Frühmittelalterliche pharmazeutische Rezepte aus dem Kloster Tegernsee', *Sudhoffs Archiv* 67, no. 1 (1983): 111–16, at 113.
[173] Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 539.
[174] BAV MSS Ott. lat. 38 and Barb. lat. 646 (second fragmentary martyrology), respectively.
[175] BAV MSS Pal. lat. 833 and Pal. lat. 834; Bamberg MSS Lit. 143 and Lit. 159.

one in use at the cathedral chapter from the ninth century and the other probably owned and used there in the ninth century but by the tenth century at the latest, given numerous additions in a tenth-century, Würzburg hand.[176] Implications of the ownership and circulation of Bede's Martyrology are discussed in detail in subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

The geographic and temporal distribution of extant manuscript copies suggests that manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology were produced in greater numbers during or shortly after movements of religious reform. This observation has guided the aim of the dissertation: to examine the initial and long-term effects of what has been in the scholarship variously termed Carolingian renaissance, reform, *renouatio*, or *correctio*, using the manuscript corpus of Bede's Martyrology as a case study.[177] The initial and longer-term influence of Franco-Roman liturgical practice shaped the liturgy of the medieval Latin West—for instance, in the use of Usuard's Martyrology in chapter. The ways in which Bede's text was presented, bound, and used during the ninth century reflect interest in 'correct' liturgical practice—and therefore the provision of suitable liturgical books—as promulgated in the Aachen Councils of 816 and 817 and toward which ninth-century episcopal statutes gestured.[178] Manuscript copies of the Martyrology produced and used in the former Carolingian Empire between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries illustrate the interpretation of the Carolingian past and continued, yet distinct, concern with religious life and liturgical practices.[179] Copies produced and used

---

[176] Respectively, UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.49: see Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 126; UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50: see Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, 135; Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen*, 345.

[177] On Carolingian renaissance, reform, and/or *correctio*, see van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, especially ch. 1; Westwell, Rembold, and van Rhijn, eds, *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms*.

[178] See chs 2 and 3, 77–160. Rankin, *Sounding the Word of God*; Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 101–22; van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*.

[179] See ch. 4, 161–208. On the historiographical use of monastic reform 'systems' or 'movements', Steven Vanderputten, 'Monastic Reform from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I.

in the Rome-Montecassino region during this later period reflected and participated in the circulation of Carolingian reforming legislation, transmitted through links with Cluny, the papacy, and/or the Frankish lands.[180] Surviving manuscript copies indicate that Bede's Martyrology, in its useful encompassment and historicisation of the cult of the saints, had a continued presence in religious life up until the middle years of the thirteenth century, despite increasingly widespread ownership and use of Usuard's Martyrology in Latin Europe.

Conclusion

In this chapter I introduced the text of Bede's Martyrology and the manuscript copies in which it survives. Bede likely composed his Martyrology throughout his lifetime as he encountered more sources on the martyrs of the early Church, concluding his work around 731. He probably considered the text and its function to be historical in nature and supplementary, rather than replacing the earlier Hieronymian Martyrology. Indeed, the historical mode of Bede's Martyrology was groundbreaking and influential, directly or indirectly influencing other martyrologists in the ninth century. The majority of these figures, including Florus, Ado, Usuard, Hrabanus Maurus, Wandalbert, and Notker Balbulus, were Frankish. It is probable that the Martyrology first came to the Frankish lands in the mid- to late eighth century along networks of exchange between early England and Carolingian Francia. Although the suggestion is speculative, Alcuin is a possible figure who may have been instrumental in the dissemination of Bede's Martyrology to the Continent. Twenty-nine manuscript copies of the Martyrology are known to survive. The work of Quentin, Dubois, and Renaud has been invaluable in identifying manuscript copies of the text. The majority of copies was produced in the Carolingian Empire during the ninth century. Centres of production and use in the ninth century include Reims, Mainz, and Würzburg. After the ninth century, Bamberg and

---

Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 599–617; see also Barrow, 'Developing Definitions of Reform'.

[180] See ch. 5, 209–59.

Rome emerge as locations where manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology were copied, owned, and used. I discussed instances where codices today including Bede's Martyrology were subject to change over time, including codices probably created between 800 and the middle years of the thirteenth century in the scope of this project and excluding those that were probably later creations.

Having surveyed the Martyrology as Bede composed it and the manuscript copies in which it survives, I now depart from the text. The chronological focus of the dissertation, guided by the extant manuscript corpus, removes us from eighth-century Northumbria and takes us to locations where Bede himself never visited. The inclusive attitude I hold when attributing manuscript copies illustrates that in this dissertation I focus on the manuscript copies, their presentation of text, where they were made, where they came to be owned and/or used, and what these pieces of evidence may reveal when viewed holistically. As I demonstrate in the following two chapters, the material afterlife of Bede's Martyrology is inextricably linked with Carolingian efforts towards reform of religious life in the ninth century. More than just showing the effects of such efforts, manuscript copies of the Martyrology help explain how Carolingian *correctio* worked in practice, where it was implemented, and the variety of ways in which it could be interpreted by local figures outside of the court.

Table 1. Manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology, 800–1250[181]

Current Location and Shelfmark	Date	Origin	Provenance
1. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 143	s. xi$^{1/4}$	Seeon Abbey	Bamberg; Michelsberg Abbey
2. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 159	s. xii$^{1/2}$	Michelsberg Abbey; ?Hirsau	Michelsberg Abbey
3. BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58	s. xi^{med}	Rome	SS XII Apostoli, Rome
4. BAV MS Barb. lat. 646	Immediately before 1079	Area of influence of Montecassino	Rome
5. BAV MS Ott. lat. 3 (abridged)	s. xii–xiii	Montecassino	Montecassino
6. BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 (abridged)	s. x (Bilotta: s. xi^{med})	Montescaglioso (Bilotta: the Lateran)	The Lateran (c. 1059)
7. BAV MS Ott. lat. 313	s. ix	Saint-Germain-des-Prés	Saint-Germain-des-Prés
8. BAV MS Pal. lat. 833	840–855	Worms, Lorsch, or Würzburg	Lorsch
9. BAV MS Pal. lat. 834	s. ix$^{1/2}$	Mid (?south) western Germany	Lorsch (s. x)
10. BAV MS Reg. lat. 435 (abridged)	s. ix	Sens (Lobrichon: Reims)	
11. BL Add. MS 14801	s. xi (Quentin, *Martyrologes*	?Rome	S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome

[181] For references and further information, see appendix A, 264–82. Date, origin, and provenance refer to the manuscript copy of Bede's text within each compilation where the larger codex consists of separate units of production. This table does not include distantly derived copies, which are largely excluded from this dissertation but mentioned as such in appendix A. Of note is Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1245-597 8° (ninth-century; made for St Salvator at Prüm), which has been identified as a copy of the Hieronymian Martyrology with interpolations from Bede: Max Keuffer and Gottfried Kentenich, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, Handschriften des historischen Archivs 8, 1914 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), 256–7. However, this attribution is questionable given the text excerpted from the martyrology in the manuscript description.

	historiques: 1061–1091)		
12. BL Add. MS 19725	s. ix$^{4/4}$	Eastern Francia, ?sphere of influence of Reims	Tegernsee Abbey (c. 1000)
13. BnF MS lat. 5552	s. ix$^{2/4}$	Francia	Limoges (late tenth- or early eleventh-century)
14. Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv, Aachen Marienstift, Repertorium und Handschrift, MS 4a	s. xiii$^{1/2}$	Aachen	Aachen
15. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS L.III.8	s. ix$^{3/3}$	Senlis	?Senlis (s. ix)
16. Lambach, Benediktinerstift, CmL CXXXI	s. xii$^{1/2}$	Lambach	Lambach
17. Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1942	s. xii^{in}	Melk	Melk
18. Milan, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, MS M 15	s. ix$^{2/4 \text{ or } 2/3}$	Pavia	Sant'Ambrogio, Milan (s. ix)
19. Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 179 (abridged)	s. xi$^{1/2}$ (Hilken, ed., *Necrology*: 1031–1071)	Beneventan zone (written in Beneventan script)	San Nicola della Cicogna
20. Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H 410	s. ix$^{3/4 \text{ or } 4/4}$	Vicinity of Reims	
21. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15818	s. ix$^{2/4}$	Salzburg	
22. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 27305	After 957 (Krüger: 962–994)	Freising or Swabia (Krüger: St Gallen)	Freising, Dombibliothek (by s. xii) (Krüger: Freising)
23. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 (abridged)	s. xii^{ex}–xiii^{in}	Italy (?Rome)	San Saba, Rome
24. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS F. 85	1024–1043	Rome	SS Ciriaco e Nicolò, Via Lata, Rome

25. St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 451	s. ix$^{1/4}$ (Scarpatetti: s. ix–x)	Mainz or Fulda	St Gallen (s. ix)
26. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXV (63)	s. ix$^{1/4}$ (Spagnolo: s. ix or x)	Verona	Verona
27. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.49	Just before 838	Würzburg and ?Regensburg (Thurn: Würzburg)	Würzburg (s. ix)
28. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.50	s. ix^{med}	Mainz	Würzburg (s. x)
29. Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Car. C. 176	s. ix$^{3/4}$ (Hoffmann: s. ix$^{3/3}$ to s. x; Mohlberg: s. x to xi)	(?South)eastern Francia	Zurich (s. x)

Table 2. Manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology not analysed in Quentin,

Martyrologes historiques

Not Included	Mentioned But Not Examined
Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 143	El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS L.III.8 (45 n. 5)
Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 159	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 (45 n. 5)
Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv, Aachen Marienstift, Repertorium und Handschrift, MS 4a	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.49 (23 n. 1)
Lambach, Benediktinerstift, CmL CXXXI	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.50 (possibly included in 'au moins un, peut-être deux exemplaires' of Bede's text dated to the ninth century held at Würzburg, 23)
Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1942	
Milan, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, MS M 15	
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 27305	
Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Car. C. 176	

Table 3. Manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology consisting of multiple units of production

Current Location and Shelfmark	Date of Martyrology	Date(s) of Other Unit(s)	Date Compiled	Other Unit(s) Considered in Project?
BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58	s. xi^{med}	c. 1000	?s. xi	yes
BAV MS Barb. lat. 646	Immediately before 1079	s. xi		no
BAV MS Ott. lat. 3	s. xii–xiii	s. xi^{ex}–xii		yes
BAV MS Ott. lat. 38	s. x	s. xi^{med}, c. 1059		yes
BAV MS Pal. lat. 833	840–855	s. ix$^{1/2}$		yes
BAV MS Pal. lat. 834	s. ix$^{1/2}$	s. ix$^{2/2}$		yes
BAV MS Reg. lat. 435	s. ix	s. xi, s. xii, s. xiii		no
BL Add. MS 14801	s. xi	s. xv		no
BL Add. MS 19725	s. ix$^{4/4}$	s. ix$^{4/4}$	?s. ix^{ex}/x	yes
BnF MS lat. 5552	s. ix$^{2/4}$	s. ix$^{2/4}$		no
Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1942	s. xii^{in}	s. xii$^{2/2}$	prior to the mid-fifteenth century	no
Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15818	s. ix$^{2/4}$	842–855	prior to the fourteenth century	yes
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. d. 43	s. xii^{ex}–xiii^{in}	s. xiii–xiv	?s. xiii–xiv	no
Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.49	Just before 838	s. ix^2	s. xii	yes
Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Car. C. 176	s. ix$^{3/4}$	s. ix$^{3/3}$, s. x		yes

2. Bede's Martyrology and the Morning Chapter Assembly in the Ninth Century

The 817 Council of Aachen provides direct evidence for the role of martyrologies within the efforts of Louis the Pious and the Carolingian court circle to improve the standard of religious practice. One of the prescriptions of this Council was the institution of a morning chapter meeting within all religious communities in the Carolingian lands, during which texts including the martyrology were to be read. Recent scholarship, however, has questioned the extent to which *correctio* was wholly a top-down initiative.[1] In this chapter, my study of Bede's Martyrology and martyrologies as texts potentially read in chapter in general sheds light upon the extent to which more widespread interest in liturgical practice, exemplified by the morning meeting in chapter, was indeed stemming from the upper echelon of the Carolingian ecclesiastical hierarchy. Much remains unclear about both the readings and practices involved in early forms of the morning chapter assembly and the dating of the written references to that meeting. I set out what can be inferred about the late eighth- and ninth-century morning chapter assembly and, in doing so, examine the mechanisms of *correctio* from above.

During the late eighth and early ninth centuries, Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and the Carolingian court circle articulated a desire to ensure the salvation of the Franks as a Christian people. This circle systematised a focus on correct religious practice and its texts in the form of legislation concerning religious life and liturgy. Emphasis on corrected texts and proper practice issuing from the ruler and the court resulted in a flourishing of manuscript culture, learning, and artistic production throughout the Frankish lands. This brief sketch demonstrates the prevailing view of the period until fairly recently.[2] Such an account of late eighth- and ninth-century initiatives in culture

---

[1] Most recently, Westwell et al., eds, *Rethinking*.

[2] For instance, compare the emphasis upon Charlemagne in Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Carolingian Renaissance of Culture and Learning', in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005), 151–66 with McKitterick, 'Unity and Diversity'.

and religious practice takes as its focal point Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and the court circle.[3] Within this framework, literary and artistic achievement are inextricably linked to the figure of the ruler, the role of the localities is deemphasised, and wider diversity of thought and practice is obscured by the priorities of the court circle.

To argue otherwise, however, is not to say that Charlemagne was not concerned with discerning correct liturgy and fulfilling a duty of royal patronage of learning. One cannot disregard the efforts of Charlemagne and the court circle. Texts such as the well-known *Admonitio generalis* (789) and the *Epistola de litteris colendis* (c. 780–800) show that Charlemagne was personally interested in the salvation of his people through proper religious practice.[4] The reform councils that took place under Louis the Pious in the second decade of the ninth century represent a continuation of such concern for the organisation of the Frankish church and the salvation of the Franks.[5] Clearly, then, it is not incorrect to state that the Carolingian court circle, steered by both Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, did attempt to bring about changes in religious practice.

The point of contention lies in the extent to which the efforts of the court were complemented, shaped, or even contradicted by efforts in the localities. Bishops, other heads of religious communities, and local priests took an active role in ensuring the salvation of those to whom they ministered, as will be discussed in the following chapter.[6] In this chapter, I aim to examine the traditional court-centred model of the Carolingian project. Although the reign of Charlemagne provides necessary context for my analysis, I largely focus on the period between the reign of Louis the Pious and the

---

[3] Mayke de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 103–35 acknowledges that although taking a palace-centred perspective, this is not the only possible approach.
[4] Charlemagne, *Admonitio generalis*, ed. and trans. Mordek et al.; Charlemagne, 'I. Karolus Magnus De Litteris Colendis', in *Fuldaer Studien neue Folge*, ed. Paul Lehmann, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse 2 (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 1927), 3–13.
[5] See Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*, 31–122.
[6] See ch. 3, 115–60. See also van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*; Patzold, 'Correctio an der Basis'; Carine van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*.

end of the ninth century.[7] This is due to the nature of the sources; no manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology produced prior to the ninth century are extant, and even the earliest copies cannot be dated more securely than the first quarter of the ninth century.[8] The Council of Aachen of 817 held under Louis the Pious is a major source of evidence for the use of a martyrology in the chapter meeting after Prime. The majority of my analysis of Louis's and his court's reforming activities relates to this Council. Discussion of the period following the death of Louis the Pious, on the other hand, focusses on the effects of this legislation over the remainder of the ninth century. I examine the extent to which the 817 pronouncement, its antecedents, and its influence during the ninth century are reflected in extant ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology. To do so, I compare normative and descriptive evidence for the use of a martyrology in chapter with the colocation of texts and presentation of text seen in ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology.

The manuscript evidence shows that top-down *correctio* was not immediately or uncritically implemented. Local communities made use of the martyrology or martyrologies that they already had at first. From the surviving evidence, manuscript copies of Bede's text that seem purposely created for use in chapter only appear several decades after the 817 Council of Aachen. Actors taking part in *correctio*—defined in the introduction to this dissertation as both dialogue and pervasive, generative medium— appear to have ruminated on the use of martyrologies for some time. This fact necessitates a re-examination of the goals and methods of the court circle of Louis the Pious more generally. Was *correctio* exclusively a court initiative to begin with? Did Louis the Pious and his circle truly intend uniformity of practice, and if so, by what means?

---

[7] See de Jong, *Penitential State*; Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*.
[8] See ch. 1, 65–6.

A growing body of scholarship questions the top-down model of the Carolingian project summarised above. My approach in this chapter owes much to recent reassessments of the nature of the Carolingian endeavour.[9] Matters of source survival mean that the local perspective on *correctio* has been more difficult to discern than that of the ruler and court. This has perhaps resulted in overemphasis on the agency of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and a few court luminaries, such as Alcuin and Benedict of Aniane. It is impossible to determine from whence, exactly, the concern for corrected texts and correct practice came—and whether or not any local feeling was involved in the initial impetus to correct texts and practice expressed by Charlemagne in the *Epistola de litteris colendis* and *Admonitio generalis*. Charlemagne and Louis the Pious are indeed pivotal figures, but the most recent scholarship on the so-called Carolingian reforms moves away from narratives of the solitary (male) genius marshalling his people to their own salvation and toward a more collaborative understanding, in which bishops and even local priests were participants in the discussion of religious practice prompted by the elite and also led their own separate but similar initiatives.[10] As manuscript evidence is interpreted in novel ways to uncover local concerns,[11] the role and influence of the court in changes in religious culture must also be reassessed for a more holistic picture.

The issue of the role of the court within the Carolingian project is inseparable from the issue of what this project was: a programme of reforms, a renaissance, and/or a quest for collective salvation. The terminology with which one should describe the Carolingian endeavour has recently been the subject of renewed discussion. As Carine van Rhijn has put it, 'each term [here she refers to renaissance, reform, and *correctio*]

---

[9] Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*; Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward, eds, *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (780–840): Categorizing the Church*, Medieval Monastic Studies 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022); Westwell et al., eds, *Rethinking*.

[10] Kramer et al., 'Institutions, Identities, and the Realization of Reform'; Westwell et al., eds, *Rethinking*.

[11] Discussed in ch. 3, 115–60; most recently, see van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*.

carries connotations that inevitably steer our thinking. The idea of a Carolingian reform, for instance automatically leads to ideas of politics and top-down directives, while the term renaissance evokes ideas of flawless Latin and intellectual debates'.[12] *Correctio*, of course, calls to mind the texts that must be corrected to properly convey the Word. Reform and *correctio* can both be incorporated under the umbrella of a desire for salvation, as can the Latin literacy implied by the term renaissance. The manuscript circulation and use of Classical texts is, however, more difficult to explain solely in terms of salvation. Discussion of conciliar legislation in particular has used the term reform. Reform was first used to describe the 816 and 817 Councils of Aachen in the sixteenth century, was then used by Louis Halphen in the 1940s to refer to ecclesiastical legislation under Charlemagne, and had become commonplace through the 1970s and 1980s.[13] *Correctio* was envisaged as an alternative that had been used by the Carolingians themselves, but has been itself questioned more recently.[14] My own definition of and rationale for using *correctio* are articulated in the introduction.[15] Each term, however, has implied the involvement of the ruler and the court circle. This elite group has been seen to instigate reform (often in a programmatic manner), mandate and oversee processes of correction, and inspire a flourishing of cultural production. The vertical relationship has been discussed at length, to the detriment of horizontal understandings of how changes to religious culture were devised and how they were intended to work; van Rhijn has argued that vertical and horizontal understandings of 'the distribution of texts and ideas' should

---

[12] Carine van Rhijn, 'Introduction: Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms', in *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms*, ed. Arthur Westwell, Ingrid Rembold, and Carine van Rhijn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023), 1–31.

[13] Julia Barrow, 'Ideas and Applications of Reform', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c.1100*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith, Cambridge History of Christianity (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 345–62, at 350; van Rhijn, 'Rethinking', 12–16.

[14] Barrow, 'Ideas and Applications', 350; see van Rhijn, 'Renaissance, Reform, or Correctio?'; van Rhijn, 'Rethinking', 16–18.

[15] Introduction, 6–8.

be integrated.[16] I agree that the role of the court in attempts to change religious life should be part of a larger understanding of Carolingian culture. Reliance on prescriptive texts should also be complemented by a wider range of sources, which may reveal the tensions and disjunction masked by prescriptive sources.[17] The court responded to a larger, and quite diverse, religious and intellectual environment as much as it had a role in creating it.[18] In attempting to nuance top-down understandings, recent reassessments of the so-called Carolingian reforms have either examined the prescriptive sources with fresh eyes or have turned to the manuscript evidence.[19] In this chapter, I synthesise analysis of ecclesiastical legislation and normative texts with examination of the manuscript corpus of Bede's Martyrology.

In doing so, I draw upon a growing body of scholarship that interprets Carolingian manuscripts for liturgical use as themselves historical sources. Arthur Westwell argued in his doctoral thesis that the *ordines romani* in their manuscript context can reveal the aims and methods of those effecting and responding to changes in Franco-Roman liturgical practice between 750 and 900.[20] In a more recent book chapter, Westwell again turned to manuscripts of the *ordines romani* as evidence for local 'liturgical creativity and priorities' within the larger Carolingian Church.[21] Zachary Guiliano has analysed the composition, manuscript circulation, and use of the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon in light of the cultural and religious shifts from Charlemagne's rule onwards.[22] Most recently, Susan Rankin has situated the presentation of text and material characteristics of

---

[16] See van Rhijn, 'Rethinking', 27.

[17] Ibid., 27–8; Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*, 23–4.

[18] See Jennifer R. Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch10__507&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.

[19] Including Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*, on prescriptive texts; van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven* and Guiliano, *Homiliary of Paul the Deacon* on manuscript evidence.

[20] Westwell, 'Dissemination and Reception'.

[21] Westwell, 'Ordering the Church', 426.

[22] Guiliano, *Homiliary of Paul the Deacon*.

Carolingian books of ecclesiastical chant and intoned texts within changes to religious practice between the eighth and ninth centuries.[23] There is a distinction to be made here between liturgical manuscripts seen to respond to Carolingian *correctio* and liturgical manuscripts seen as the products of those taking part in *correctio*, as objects which influence the larger cultural context. Westwell has been most explicit in framing the producers and users of liturgical manuscripts as themselves integral components of efforts to restructure religious life.[24] In this chapter, I outline ways in which manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology respond to the legislative outputs of *correctio* but also investigate whether the producers and users of such manuscripts could themselves have contributed to shaping the Carolingian project.

Legislating the Use of Martyrologies in the Chapter Meeting after Prime

Chapter nine of the *Gesta Sanctorum Patrum Fontanellensis Coenobii* (823x867) records donations made to the Abbey of St Wandrille by Abbot Wandon in the mid-eighth century.[25] The anonymous chronicler makes note of the large number of books given to the community: 'codicum etiam copiam non miniman, quot dinumerare oneri essi uidetur. Sed aliquos ob memoriam illius inserere placuit'.[26] One of the listed volumes is a codex 'in quo continetur regula sancti Benedicti et sancti Columbani et martirologium'.[27] By the mid-eighth century the community allegedly possessed a manuscript consisting of two texts read in the morning chapter assembly, a martyrology and monastic rules; these are often colocated in books for use in chapter, as I will discuss

---

[23] Rankin, *Sounding the Word of God*.

[24] Westwell, 'Ordering the Church'.

[25] See F. Lohier and R. P. J. Laporte, eds, *Gesta Sanctorum Patrum Fontanellensis Coenobii (Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensis)*, Société de l'histoire de Normandie (Rouen: A. Lestringant, 1936), beginning on 63.

[26] Ibid., 66. 'No small quantity of codices, so many that it seems to be a burden to enumerate. But it has been decided to insert some for the sake of his memory'.

[27] Ibid., 67. 'In which is contained the Rule of St Benedict and of St Columbanus and a martyrology'.

in detail below.[28] It is unclear from this brief entry to which martyrology the chronicler refers.[29] It is telling that the martyrology is documented at all, given the quantity of books said to have been donated by Wandon. Although the authority of the Rules of Benedict and Columban with which it was bound could have motivated its mention in the booklist, it is probable that the martyrology itself was considered to be of some importance to the community. The inclusion of a martyrology amongst this list, and perhaps one bound with other texts read in chapter, is arguably more reflective of the ninth-century composition of the chronicle than the eighth-century events it putatively records. As will be seen below, there is little evidence for the inclusion of martyrologies in morning chapter assemblies during the eighth century. Indeed, eighth-century evidence for the meeting itself is limited to the Rule of Chrodegang (c. 755) and perhaps the early customary *Memoriale qualiter*, dated to the late eighth or ninth century. There is, however, clear evidence for the use of a martyrology in the daily morning meeting in chapter from the ninth century onwards.[30] Inherent in this episode is the question of the larger status of martyrologies in the Carolingian world.[31] Although the use of martyrologies comprised only a small component of the legislation that attempted to organise and regulate religious life writ large, examining the evidence for the use of martyrologies in the morning meeting in chapter in detail can illuminate the priorities of those at the helm of the Carolingian project after Charlemagne.

The institution of a daily meeting in chapter itself was dependent upon the institution of the canonical hour of Prime in the fifth century. Prime was the final hour appended to the Divine Office, perhaps at the initiative of Abbot John Cassian to prevent

---

[28] On manuscripts for use in chapter, see Lemaître, 'Liber capituli'.

[29] See Lohier and Laporte, eds, *Gesta Sanctorum*, 67 n. 155: 'Il n'y a pas lieu de croire que ce martyrologe soit à l'origine de la recension dite *de Fontenelle*; c'était selon toute vraisemblance un volume à l'usage particulier de saint Wandon; la communauté avait certainement le sien depuis longtemps'.

[30] On the morning chapter assembly, see Schepens, 'L'Office du chapitre'; more recently, see Huglo, 'L'Office de Prime'.

[31] On the Hieronymian Martyrology within this context, see Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*.

his monks from returning to bed between the office beginning at dawn and Terce.[32] In the ninth century, Amalarius of Metz gave a rationale for the addition of a daily meeting in chapter after Prime in his *Liber officialis* (823): 'Primam namque iuxta morem nostrum praetulimus sine lectione. Si illa non habuerit lectionem, non erunt nostrae lectiones tot quot fuerunt in illo antiquo populo Dei. Quapropter procuratum est a sanctis patribus ut in capitulo legeretur illa lectio quae silentio praetermissa est in Prima'.[33] According to Amalarius, the institution of the morning meeting in chapter is inherently related to monastic conceptions of the purpose of the communal practice of the Divine Office. Ultimately, however, the reasoning behind the creation of the morning chapter assembly remains unknown.

It is similarly unclear when, exactly, the assembly in chapter came to be included after Prime. Pierre Salmon lists *Ordo Casinensis* I, *Memoriale qualiter*, and *Ordo* XIX as eighth-century sources attesting to the meeting in chapter after Prime.[34] More recent

---

[32] Huglo, 'L'Office de Prime', 11; on the formation of the Divine Office, see Pierre Salmon, *L'Office divin au Moyen Âge. Histoire de la formation du bréviaire du IXe au XVIe siècle*, Lex Orandi 43 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967).

[33] Amalarius of Metz, *On the Liturgy*, ed. and trans. Eric Knibbs, vol. 2, 2 vols, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 36 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 334–5; ibid., 335: 'Now we have said above that it is our custom to have no reading at Prime. If it has no reading, the number of our readings will not be as great as the number among that ancient people of God. It was therefore established by the holy fathers that the reading that was passed over in silence during Prime should be read in chapter'.

[34] Salmon, *L'Office divin*, 113–4. Cited by Salmon on *Ordo Casinensis* I, see D. T. Leccisotti, ed., 'Ordo Casinensis I., Dictus Ordo Regularis (post 750)', in *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 93–104, at 101–2. Cited by Salmon on *Memoriale qualiter*, see Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 215, 234, and 269. Cited by Salmon on *Ordo* XIX, see Michel Andrieu, ed., *Les Ordines romani du haut Moyen Âge*, vol. 3, 5 vols, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Etudes et Documents, fasc. 24 (Leuven: 'Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense' bureaux, 1951), 205 and K. Hallinger, ed., 'De Cursu Diurno Uel Nocturno', in *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 45–50, at 47. *Ordo Casinensis* I survives in six manuscript copies, two of which are ninth-century: St Gallen MS 914 (s. ix²/⁴; St Gallen), digitised at https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0914, and Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. Hist. 28 (s. ixᵉˣ; Reichenau). The earliest extant manuscript evidence for *Memoriale qualiter* is discussed below,

scholarship has argued that the date and location of the composition of *Memoriale qualiter* cannot be definitively determined from extant manuscript copies.[35] Baudouin de Gaiffier had cautiously dated *Memoriale qualiter* to possibly before the beginning of the ninth century, C. Morgand had dated the text to the second half of the eighth century in his critical edition, and Matthew Mattingly, drawing upon Morgand, dated the customary to the late eighth century.[36] Furthermore, Henry Parkes's research on the so-called Romano-German Pontifical has drawn attention to problems with the printed editions of its constituent *ordines* and the so-called *ordines romani* more generally.[37] In the same vein, Westwell has further examined and assessed the significance of the manuscript witnesses of certain of the *ordines romani*.[38] As printed editions do not take the material characteristics of manuscript copies into account, one must consult printed editions of *ordines* carefully.[39] *Ordines romani* also do not necessarily reflect shared practices. The early manuscript survival of *Ordo Casinensis* I and *Ordo* XIX would suggest regional practice west of the Rhine, and especially at St Gallen.[40] Morgand had located the composition of *Memoriale qualiter* to what is now central Germany.[41] It is possible, given the uncertain nature of the eighth-century evidence, that the morning meeting in chapter was initially added to the Divine Office during the eighth century but was limited to the areas mentioned above at the time.

93–4. *Ordo* XIX survives in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 349 (s. viii^2; St Gallen), digitised at https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0349.

[35] Matthew Mattingly, 'The Memoriale Qualiter: An Eighth Century Monastic Customary', *The American Benedictine Review* 60, no. 1 (2009): 62–75, at 62–3.

[36] De Gaiffier, 'L'Usage', 51; Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 224–5; Mattingly, 'Memoriale Qualiter', 62–3.

[37] Parkes, 'Questioning'.

[38] Westwell, 'Dissemination and Reception'; Westwell, 'Ordering the Church'.

[39] Parkes, 'Questioning', 92; for a manuscript-centred approach to *ordines*, see Westwell, 'Dissemination and Reception' and Westwell, 'Ordering the Church'.

[40] See n. 34 above.

[41] Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 224–5.

Little is known of the earliest form of the morning meeting in chapter, including where it was to take place. The Rule of St Benedict stipulated frequent meetings of the entire community as business required, but did not specify a schedule or location.[42] Various activities and customs mentioned elsewhere in the Rule of St Benedict would, however, subsequently come to take place in that specially designated room known as the chapter room. By the tenth century, a morning chapter assembly took place in this location—along with other communal activities, perhaps but not necessarily as part of the same meeting.[43] The early medieval evidence, however, for exactly what happened when and where is incomplete. Despite the discussion of the necessity of frequent meetings in the Rule of St Benedict, a specially designated room appears to be a late eighth- or early ninth-century accretion to the physical structures of Western monastic communities.[44] This is during the same period that descriptive or normative texts begin to mention or require the institution of a morning chapter meeting, suggesting that morning chapter meetings probably did not regularly take place prior to the late eighth century. The vocabulary used to denote this area of a religious community was not standardised from its origins, nor is the chronology of its more widespread adoption over the following two

---

[42] On the necessity of communal meetings, see St Benedict of Nursia, *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. and trans. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1981), 178–9; ibid., at 178: 'Quotiens aliqua praecipua agenda sunt in monasterio, convocet abbas omnem congregationem et dicat ipse unde agitur'; ibid., at 179: 'As often as anything important is to be done in the monastery, the abbot shall call the whole community together and himself explain what the business is'.

[43] See Hildemar of Corbie's *Commentary on the Rule of Benedict* (c. 845): for instance, Hildemar of Corbie, 'Ch. 2, What Kind of Person the Abbot Should Be', trans. Mariël Urbanus, Corinna Prior, and Bruce Venarde, The Hildemar Project, 2014, http://www.hildemar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=146&catid=15&Itemid=102; Hildemar of Corbie, 'Ch. 48, On Daily Manual Work', trans. David Ganz, The Hildemar Project, 2014, http://www.hildemar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=99&catid=15&Itemid=102.

[44] Isabelle Cochelin, 'Monastic Daily Life (c. 750–1100): A Tight Community Shielded by an Outer Court', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 542–60, at 547.

centuries known. The earliest source that refers to the construction of such a room is an account of the deeds of the abbots of Fontenelle written by Abbot Ansegisus (d. 833) c. 822–3.[45] In this account, the monks refer to this structure as *bouleuterion*, *curia*, and *conventus*.[46] The lack of mention of a chapter house or chapter room prior to the ninth century may not reflect the absence of the structure or a designated space itself within earlier communities, but rather the lack of a set term to refer to this location and the practices that took place therein.

One can be fairly confident in asserting that the morning chapter meeting was probably developed in the Frankish lands and had some connection with the Carolingian court. The earliest surviving firmly datable evidence for the existence of the morning meeting, as Felice Lifshitz has observed, is the Rule of Chrodegang of Metz (c. 755).[47] Chrodegang was well-connected and owed his episcopal appointment at Metz in c. 747 at least in part to his links with the court.[48] It has been noted by M. A. Claussen that 'Chrodegang lays the greatest stress on the importance of this institution… contrasting the importance of this gathering with his easy-going attitude toward daily office'.[49] Chrodegang states three times that canons must attend chapter every day (*cotidie*) and stipulates that clergy based outside the enclosure must come to chapter every Sunday.[50] It is worth emphasising that despite Chrodegang's concern with the chapter meeting after Prime, he did not provide the sort of comprehensive accounting of the structure of the

---

[45] Ibid., 549.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 113. See Chrodegang of Metz, *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Critical Texts with Translations and Commentary*, ed. and trans. Jerome Bertram, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 33–4, 60–1.

[48] Stephen Ling, 'Analysing Attigny: Contextualising Chrodegang of Metz's Influence on the Life of Canons', in *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms*, ed. Arthur Westwell, Ingrid Rembold, and Carine van Rhijn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023), 65–95, at 68.

[49] M. A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonicorum in the Eighth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 70.

[50] Ibid.; see Chrodegang of Metz, *Chrodegang*, ed. and trans. Bertram, 33–4, 60–1.

meeting that is found in later customaries.[51] Handbooks and surveys have tended to apply the evidence of the subsequent structure of the meeting from the tenth century onwards to this earlier period. In his handbook on liturgical manuscripts, Eric Palazzo has remarked that readings during eighth-century iterations of the morning chapter assembly included a chapter from the Rule, a sermon or homily, and a martyrology.[52] Prior to this statement, Palazzo references the Rule of Chrodegang. The original text of Chrodegang's Rule, however, mentions the reading of the Rule and a sermon or homily, but does not mention a martyrology;[53] the portion of the text that calls for reading from a martyrology is only found in an interpolated recension dated to the second half of the ninth century that borrows from *Memoriale qualiter*.[54] The portion of the interpolation concerning the use of a martyrology states: 'Et post lectionem [of a chapter of the interpolated Rule, homilies, or other texts, depending on the date] recitetur etas mensis et lune, et nomina sanctorum quorum festum crastinus excipiet dies'.[55] This is especially similar to the second recension of *Memoriale qualiter*, dated to the tenth century, and the Cassinese *Ordo qualiter*,[56] a major source for the chapter of the interpolated Rule that concerns Prime in which the morning chapter assembly is described.[57] *Ordo qualiter* states: 'Post lectionem [of which text(s) is not stated] vero recitata nomina sanctorum, quorum festa

---

[51] For the use of a martyrology in chapter within later customaries, see ch. 4, 163–8.

[52] Palazzo, *History*, trans. Beaumont, 161.

[53] See Chrodegang of Metz, *Chrodegang*, ed. and trans. Bertram, 33–4, 60–1.

[54] De Gaiffier, 'L'Usage', 51; Albrecht Diem, 'Choreography and Confession: The Memoriale Qualiter and Carolingian Monasticism', in *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (780–840): Categorizing the Church*, ed. Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward, Medieval Monastic Studies 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), 59–98, at 61.

[55] Chrodegang of Metz, *Chrodegang*, ed. and trans. Bertram, 197; ibid., 245: 'Then after the reading should be declared the day of the month and the names of the saints whose feasts should be celebrated on the following day'.

[56] The earliest surviving copy of which is preserved in Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 175 (c. 914–934). See Bruno Albers, ed., 'Incipit ordo in monasterio qualiter a fratribus religiose ac studiose conservare vel domino militari oportet ad ipsum cottidie repetendo', in *Consuetudines Monasticae*, vol. 3 (Montecassino: Typis Montis Casini, 1907), 26–49.

[57] Chrodegang of Metz, *Chrodegang*, ed. and trans. Bertram, 244 n. 49.

crastinus dies excipiet'.[58] The interpolated Rule of Chrodegang also adds 'et sollempnitates sanctorum' to the portion of Chrodegang's Rule that lists Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays as occasions when 'tractatus et alias omelias, uel quod edificet audientes' should be read in chapter instead of a chapter of the Rule.[59] Palazzo also asserts that prior to the ninth century, the structure of the assembly in chapter after Prime 'was completely established' and included, in order of appearance, the office of the readings, the chapter of faults, and the assignment of manual labour.[60] This characterisation of the meeting in chapter likewise parallels the description found in *Memoriale qualiter*.[61] As discussed above, however, the date of this source is not certain. Similarly, the evidence on the readings included in the earliest form of the morning meeting in chapter is not straightforward. For instance, Chrodegang provided some latitude for the inclusion of different readings in the morning chapter assembly. His Rule states: 'Necesse es ut [cotidie] omnis clerus canonicus ad Capitulum veniant… fecimus uno quoque die aliquod capitulum exinde relegant, praeter tantum die Dominico et feria quarta et sexta tractatos et alias omelias vel quod edificet audientes ad Capitulum legant'.[62] It is possible that a martyrology, at this point in time limited to the enumerative Hieronymian Martyrology or Bede's text, could have been considered edifying for the canonical clergy at Metz. By the second half of the ninth century, when the interpolated recension of Chrodegang's Rule was composed, the set of readings for the morning meeting in chapter was not complete without a martyrology.

---

[58] Albers, ed., 'Incipit ordo in monasterio qualiter', 30. 'After the reading, indeed the names of the saints whose feasts should be celebrated on the following day will be recited'.

[59] Chrodegang of Metz, *Chrodegang*, ed. and trans. Bertram, 196; ibid., 244: 'and the feasts of the saints', 'some tracts and other homilies or whatever may edify the hearers'.

[60] Palazzo, *History*, trans. Beaumont, 161.

[61] See Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 269ff.; for an English translation, see Mattingly, 'Memoriale Qualiter', 67–9.

[62] Chrodegang of Metz, *Chrodegang*, ed. and trans. Bertram, 33; ibid., 60: 'It is required that all the canonical clergy come to Chapter… Every day they should read one chapter, except on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays when they shall read at Chapter some tracts and other homilies or whatever may edify the hearers'. The chapter referred to is of Chrodegang's Rule.

By the beginning of the ninth century at the latest, texts stipulated reading from a martyrology as part of the morning chapter assembly. The earliest extant example of a monastic customary, *Memoriale qualiter* (introduced above), stipulates: 'Hoc expleto, conuenientes ad capitulum, uersa facie ad orientem salutent crucem humiliterque se girantes inclinent se alterutum… Deinde recitetur [etas mensis et lunae et] nomina sanctorum quorum festa crastinus excipiat dies, et postea surgentes pariter dicant uersum *Preciosa est in conspectu domini*'.[63] The second recension dated to the tenth century, here indicated by the use of square brackets, adds computistical information concerning the day of the month and the age of the moon corresponding to that often included as part of the textual apparatus of martyrology manuscripts (discussed below).[64] The date is necessarily included in manuscript copies of martyrologies, the age of the moon is often indicated by lunar letters, and computistical rubrics at the beginning of each month usually give at a minimum the number of days and days of the moon for each month. 'Recitata nomina sanctorum' can therefore be understood by the tenth century at the latest as reading from a martyrology. Arguably this sense may have been intended in the original version, with the clarifying information added subsequently. According to Morgand, Benedict of Aniane himself instigated the circulation of this customary.[65] This is probable, as the majority of early copies of the text are bound with Benedict of Aniane's *Collectio capitularis*.[66] Albrecht Diem has even suggested that 'a "mass

---

[63] Mattingly, 'Memoriale Qualiter', 62; Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 269–70; Mattingly, 'Memoriale Qualiter', 68: 'When this is completed, they assemble for the chapter. With faces turned to the east they reverence the cross, and the rest of the brothers bow wherever they may be… After reading aloud the names of the saints whose feast days will be observed on the following day, they arise together and say the verse "Precious in the sight of the Lord" (Ps 115:15)'.

[64] According to Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 263, *Memoriale qualiter* II dates to the tenth century, and was composed for the use of nuns (extant in Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H 85 (twelfth-century)).

[65] Cited in Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57', 116; see Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 224–5.

[66] Diem, 'Choreography and Confession', 65–6.

production" of copies of the *Memoriale qualiter* would have taken place soon after the Aachen council of 817 as part of the process of disseminating Benedict of Aniane's work'.[67] Whether or not he himself composed the text has been a matter of debate. Most recently, Diem has considered this attribution impossible to definitively rule out but unlikely.[68] It is probable that the author, Benedict of Aniane or another, had encountered Chrodegang's Rule for the canons of Metz and therein learned of the daily meeting that would become known as the chapter office; the 'one innovation' was the addition of reading from a martyrology.[69] This portion of *Memoriale qualiter* was reprised in a number of statutes.[70] The use described in *Memoriale qualiter* may perhaps be interpreted as an elaboration of the practice outlined in *Ordo* XVII, which stipulated the use of a martyrology as a formal guide to festal observance and which explicitly refers to *coenobii*, but in chapter rather than during mass after the Eucharist as stipulated in *Ordo* XVII.[71] *Memoriale qualiter*, probably from the outset but at the very least in its later recension, represents the first of a series of prescriptive texts that created a long-standing association between martyrologies and the daily morning meeting in chapter.

Particular local initiative gave way to top-down pronouncements at this juncture. Although Chrodegang had close ties with the Frankish court,[72] he had composed his Rule for the group of canons under his supervision at Metz. The institution of a daily meeting in which edifying texts are heard and contemplated collectively fit well with his overall

---

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., 60.

[69] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 117.

[70] See de Gaiffier, 'L'Usage', 51–2.

[71] Discussed in detail in ch. 3, 121–2. *Ordo* XVII survives in two medieval copies, both east Frankish, datable to the eighth or ninth century, and written in pre-Caroline minuscule: BAV MS Pal. lat. 574, fols 152–65, medieval provenance at Lorsch (CLA, I, 96; for more on provenance, see Bernhard Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften* (Lorsch: Verl. Laurissa, 1989)) and Gotha, Forschungbibliothek, MS Membr. 1.85, fols 107v–12v, Weißenburg origin, and later (fifteenth century) at Murbach (CLA, VIII, 1209; for attribution of origin, see Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, I, 1421).

[72] Ling, 'Analysing Attigny', 68.

goal of creating a unified community.[73] Claussen has identified the major themes within Chrodegang's Rule as 'the role of the bishop as father, shepherd, guide, and leader, the need for a new kind of community which has at its heart the cathedral Chapter, but extends outward to embrace the whole of the Metz church community, and the constant recognition that all church reform must be solidly based on an eschatology'.[74] Church reform for Chrodegang primarily focussed on the canons under his auspices as bishop and his local area. Conversely, the promotion of *Memoriale qualiter* by Benedict of Aniane was part of a larger effort to disseminate and explicate the Rule of St Benedict throughout the Carolingian lands. This effort, although drawing upon dialogue with more local figures such as bishops, issued from Louis the Pious and his court. Diem has argued that the manuscript circulation of *Memoriale qualiter* reveals that this customary

> became part of a portfolio of texts that was disseminated after the Aachen reform councils, serving the purpose of explaining and expanding the *Regulae Benedicti* and resolving the problems resulting from turning a text that was 250 years old and hopelessly anachronistic into a unifying norm for monastic life in the Carolingian kingdoms.[75]

Indeed, three early copies of the customary produced at Bobbio, Canterbury, and Fulda are bound with Benedict of Aniane's *Collectio capitularis* (c. 818/19).[76] Arguably, the

---

[73] See Claussen, *Reform*, 71.

[74] Ibid., 92.

[75] Diem, 'Choreography and Confession', 61.

[76] Using the Monastic Manuscript Project website, which itself draws upon Morgand's edition: Albrecht Diem, 'Memoriale qualiter in monasterio religiose ac studiose conversare vel Domino militare oportet idipsum cotidie repetendo', Monastic Manuscript Project, 2019, http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/texts/Memoriale-Qualiter.html. These three manuscripts are: Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS G.V. 4 (s. x; Bobbio); BL MS Harley 5431 (s. x^ex/xi^in; Canterbury), digitised at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5431; Merseburg, Bibliothek des Domkapitels, MS 136 (*olim* 58) (s. x; Fulda). These three earliest extant copies are dated to the tenth century on the Monastic Manuscript Project website, but the original texts of the Fulda manuscript have been dated to the ninth century elsewhere: Steinmeyer, ed., *Kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, 23–5. Bernhard Bischoff dated five different units of production within Merseburg MS 136 to the ninth century including the unit that contains *Memoriale qualiter*, which he dated to the third quarter of the ninth century;

inclusion of a martyrology within the set of readings for the morning chapter meeting responds first and foremost to the concerns of court reformers.

The 817 Council of Aachen, building upon the 816 Council of Aachen, formally promulgated the use of martyrologies during chapter for both monks and canons. Decree thirty-six reads: 'Vt ad capitulum primitus martyrlogium legatur et dicatur uersus, deinde regula aut omelia quaelibet legatur'.[77] The 817 decree may represent the origin of the custom of the reading of the Gospel pericope and homily on the Gospel to which customaries give this context.[78] The earlier Rule of Chrodegang had mentioned the delivery of a homily instead of reading a chapter of the Rule on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays.[79] It is also important to note the allowance of different customs inherent in the 817 decree. This text presents a compressed list of the possible repertoire of ninth-century components of the morning chapter assembly, the first of which is a martyrology. Given the evidence of *Memoriale qualiter*, the verse said immediately after a martyrology is read is probably *Pretiosa*. After this verse, *Memoriale qualiter* also stipulates prayer, the recitation of *Deus in audiutorium* (Ps. 69:1) and *Respice in servos tuos* (Ps. 89:16), and the assignation of faults as part of the same meeting.[80] One can assume that the structure outlined in detail in *Memoriale qualiter* was implied by the compressed list of readings included in decree thirty-six as that to be followed by medieval religious. The concluding portion of the morning chapter meeting as described in decree thirty-six is not mentioned in *Memoriale qualiter*: reading from the Rule or

---

however, Bischoff attributed origin of this codicological unit of production to Germany rather than Fulda specifically: Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, II, 184.

[77] J. Semmler, ed., 'Synodi Secundae Aquisgranensis Decreta Authentica (817)', in *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 470–81, at 480. 'That in chapter first a martyrology is read and a verse is said, then the Rule or any homily is read'.

[78] Thomas Symons, ed. and trans., *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, Medieval Classics (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953), 17.

[79] See n. 62 above.

[80] Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 270–1; for an English translation, see Mattingly, 'Memoriale Qualiter', 68.

delivery of a homily, depending upon the day. Here, the Aachen legislation refers to the Rule of St Benedict. It is not clear if the homily referred to in decree thirty-six is a homily on the Rule or not; this ambiguity may have allowed for the reading of a homily on the Gospel of the day that one sees at a later date. The reading of a chapter of the Rule or a homily is henceforth widely associated with the daily morning chapter assembly.

Rosamond McKitterick has argued that, 'in the royal capitularies and ecclesiastical conciliar decrees the aims and programme for the development of Frankish society as a Christian society were outlined, and the specific obligations of clergy and people defined'.[81] Decree thirty-six, and by extension the larger reform legislation, would appear to have ramifications for religious practice across the Frankish lands. Decree thirty-six elaborated, with some latitude for local practice, the 'liturgical minimum' to which every religious community, monastic and canonical, was expected to conform.[82] Louis the Pious and the Aachen reformers saw the morning chapter assembly as one small but pivotal component of their aim to build an empire-wide textual community, focussed on salvation; this was Chrodegang's aim but effected on a much larger scale.[83] A Christian society, according to the Aachen decrees of 817, must use a martyrology within its religious communities. Lifshitz has characterised this 'establishment of martyrologies as an essential part of the liturgical outfit of a Christian church' as 'the most successful and lasting aspect of the 817 Aachen legislation'.[84] The daily reading stipulated by the 817 Council had a larger political function: the unification of an empire.[85] The functions and uses apparent in such a normative text, however, cannot be taken at face value. Scholarship on the 817 decrees and the use of martyrologies had often conflated text and practice, variously arguing that the decrees sanctioned an established custom, provoked an increase in the production of manuscript copies, or

---

[81] McKitterick, *Frankish Church*, 1.
[82] Rankin, *Sounding the Word of God*, 3.
[83] See Claussen, *Reform*, 71.
[84] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 12.
[85] Ibid., 118.

merely reified the practice of reading from a martyrology.[86] More recently, Lifshitz has argued that rather than reflecting common practice, the Aachen decrees were innovative.[87] Within this framework, as envisioned by the Aachen reformists, the martyrology 'rendered it possible to offer the very same sacred to all the inhabitants of the Empire'.[88] Religious practice, however, can be shown to have been not so uniform in eighth- and ninth-century Francia.[89] In the next section, ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology provide a case study to gauge the practical reach and impact of texts associated with the court circle such as *Memoriale qualiter* and the Aachen decrees.

Although the stipulations of the Aachen legislation may not have uniformly influenced actual religious practice, they generated a number of subsequent texts. Given the extant textual evidence, the influence of this legislation was felt throughout the Frankish lands and over the course of the first half of the ninth century. Josef Semmler has edited five subsequent prescriptive or descriptive texts influenced by the 816 and 817 Councils of Aachen.[90] Three of these texts include provision for the use of a martyrology in the morning chapter assembly. Benedict of Aniane's *Collectio capitularis*, the *Legislationis monasticae Aquisgranensis collectio Sancti Martialis Lemovicensis* (before 850), and the *Collectio capitularis* of one 'Benedict Levita' (an assumed name) (850 or shortly before) stipulate reading from a martyrology during the morning meeting in chapter, using wording almost identical to the 817 Aachen decree.[91]

---

[86] For a brief survey of the scholarship, see Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 118.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid., 121.

[89] See McKitterick, 'Unity and Diversity'; for a similar perspective questioning how far early medieval monastic rules were followed as prescriptive texts, see Albrecht Diem and Philip Rousseau, 'Monastic Rules (Fourth to Ninth Century)', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 162–94.

[90] See Kassius Hallinger, ed., *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 483–582.

[91] J. Semmler, ed., 'Regula Sancti Benedicti Abbatis Anianensis Sive Collectio Capitularis (818/819?)', in *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 503–36, at 532; idem, ed., 'Legislationis

It is clear from the circulation of *Memoriale qualiter* following the 817 Council, the promulgation of the conciliar decrees themselves, and Benedict of Aniane's *Collectio capitularis* that martyrologies were not an incidental component of the chapter meeting. The court circle aimed for the Franks as a Christian people to know of the saints on whose intercessory efforts they relied and when they were to be venerated at a minimum but also probably intended the deeds and martyrdoms of the saints to provide edifying examples to those in religious life. The communal and textual emphases of the morning chapter assembly provided the perfect setting to realise this aim. The 817 Council of Aachen did indeed prompt the creation of customaries or normative texts that included similar descriptions of the readings for the morning meeting in chapter. One might also connect the earliest surviving evidence for the use of chapter rooms or chapter houses as well as Amalarius's rationale for the creation of the morning meeting with the earlier 817 decree concerning the chapter assembly after Prime. It is worth emphasizing that the 817 decree focussed on the readings, and not the practices, of this meeting. *Memoriale qualiter*, circulated following the Council, contained a more detailed account of what was to take place as well as what was to be read. Analysis of the key prescriptive texts associated with the court circle reveals two fundamental characteristics of the Carolingian project: (1) a focus on texts as a means of effecting widespread salvation, much documented and discussed in the scholarship, and (2) a strategic ambiguity.[92] 'Local discretion' and liturgical creativity were *features* of the intended project, rather than unintended consequences.[93] The court circle was fully aware of the exigencies of the

---

Monasticae Aquisgranensis Collectio Sancti Martialis Lemovicensis (ante 850)', in *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 555–62, at 561; idem, ed., 'Collectio Capitularis Benedicti Levitae Monastica (850 vel paulo ante)', in *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 537–54, at 552.

[92] On the latter point, see Ling, 'Analysing Attigny', 71–2; Rankin, *Sounding the Word of God*, 3.

[93] Ling, 'Analysing Attigny', 72. On *correctio* and the interdependence of court and region, see Rutger Kramer, 'Monasticism, Reform, and Authority in the Carolingian Era', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin,

religious communities that they addressed in prescriptive texts and even facilitated diversity, albeit within accepted and mutually agreed upon bounds.

Evidence for the Use of Bede's Martyrology within the Morning Chapter Assembly

The manuscript circulation and use of Bede's Martyrology shed light upon the extent to which religious communities responded to the requirement that a martyrology be read in the morning chapter assembly. The preceding discussion demonstrated that surviving evidence for the meeting in chapter after Prime is sparse prior to the ninth century. The earliest securely datable evidence for this practice, the Rule of Chrodegang, does not include a martyrology in its list of constituent readings. Moreover, all normative or descriptive evidence prior to the tenth century that does include reading from a martyrology on this occasion is Frankish, excepting the Cassinese *Ordo qualiter* (mentioned above). Most subsequent historical martyrologies postdate the promulgation of the 817 Aachen decrees.[94] Because Bede's Martyrology was composed before prescriptions stipulating reading from a martyrology during the morning meeting in chapter are attested to in the extant sources and because the intended purpose of the text may not have been widely known to its ninth-century readership,[95] producers and users of copies of this text working after Bede's time had a great deal of latitude in deciding which purpose any one copy was to serve. The proportion of manuscript copies of Bede's text for which evidence of intended or actual use in chapter survives can therefore illustrate where communities implemented this small part of the court circle's participation in *correctio*. I will briefly touch upon documentary evidence for ownership

---

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 432–49, at 433. On liturgical creativity, see Westwell, 'Ordering the Church'; Els Rose and Arthur Westwell, 'Correcting the Liturgy and Sacred Language', in *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms*, ed. Arthur Westwell, Ingrid Rembold, and Carine van Rhijn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023), 141–75.

[94] Florus composed his martyrology c. 837, Hrabanus Maurus c. 845, Ado between 850 and 860, and Usuard between c. 850 and c. 879. The exception is the martyrology composed by the Anonymous of Lyon prior to 806.

[95] Given the great variety of presentation and manuscript context amongst copies of Bede's Martyrology when compared to other historical martyrologies.

of Bede's text by religious communities, rather than by individuals.[96] I then outline characteristics of manuscript copies of martyrologies intended for use in chapter. I conclude with analysis of the manuscript copies of Bede's text that appear to have been made for and/or used within this context during the ninth century.

The evidence of booklists indicates that religious communities in ninth-century Francia owned Bede's Martyrology. Drawing upon the information in Gustav Becker's *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Baudouin de Gaiffier listed the following mentions of a martyrology from catalogues preceding the tenth century: 'Et martyrologium per anni circulum; Regula sancti Benedicti cum martyrologiis; martyrologium Bedae; martyrologium Hieronymi; martyrologium metro compositum'.[97] The evidence of booklists is not limited to one martyrology; rather, Bede's appears to have been one choice amongst many by the tenth century. A full survey of Carolingian booklists and library catalogues that include a martyrology is outside the scope of this chapter.[98] Booklists are problematic sources given the typically limited detail provided in entries found in booklists of the earlier Middle Ages. It is often impossible to match extant manuscripts to the contents of a booklist. It is also important to remain aware that writers of booklists employed varying amounts of detail and would not necessarily mention every text of a manuscript or attribute a text to its author. In the case of martyrologies, one could not match general mentions such as the first and second examples in de Gaiffier's list to the work of a specific martyrologist. The dating of the booklist itself,

---

[96] Books possibly owned by local priests are treated in the following chapter, on local forms of *correctio* and Bede's Martyrology for the use of bishops and priests: ch. 3, 115–60.

[97] De Gaiffier, 'L'Usage', 54. 'And a martyrology throughout the course of the year; the Rule of St Benedict with martyrologies; Bede's Martyrology; the Hieronymian Martyrology; a martyrology composed in meter'.

[98] See Gustav Heinrich Becker, ed., *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn: Apud M. Cohen et Filium (Fr. Cohen), 1885), 4–13, 24–8, 45–53, and 64–73; Königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 4 vols (Munich: Beck, 1918–2009); Buford Scrivner, 'Carolingian Monastic Library Catalogs and Medieval Classification of Knowledge', *The Journal of Library History (1974–1987)* 15, no. 4 (1980): 427–44.

rather than the manuscript in which it is preserved, can be difficult; there is always a possibility that the booklist is a later copy reflecting earlier holdings. Moreover, Becker's edition of booklists and catalogues must be used with caution, although by no means all of the booklists used by Becker have been edited in a modern edition. For instance, Becker did not provide much information about the manuscripts in which the booklists are found, listing instead the religious community whose holdings each list reflects and a date. Nevertheless, entries within a small number of ninth-century booklists can be taken to refer to Bede's text. A ninth-century catalogue from St Gallen and a late ninth-century booklist of the private library of Abbot Hartmut of St Gallen list Bede's Martyrology.[99] A mid-ninth-century catalogue from Murbach also includes Bede's Martyrology; Bede's list of his own works within his *Historia ecclesiastica* was here used as a finding aid.[100] Although extant ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's text provide much more reliable evidence of ownership, where possible to determine, it is clear that Bede's Martyrology was owned by religious communities during this period. In their ownership of Bede's and other martyrologies, communities may have been responding to pronouncements on the use of a martyrology in chapter issued or disseminated by the court circle. To clarify this matter, one must turn to the manuscript evidence.

There are a number of features whose presence in combination might indicate intended use of a copy of Bede's Martyrology within the morning chapter assembly. Perhaps the most apparent of these, yet the least unambiguous, is a page layout that privileges clarity to ensure ease of public reading.[101] Citing the text's 'large format' and 'clear script' in conjunction with the other texts within the manuscript and added obits,

---

[99] See ch. 1, 47–8.

[100] Dorothy Whitelock, 'After Bede', in *Bede and His World: The Jarrow Lectures 1958–1978*, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 35–50, at 43; see Wolfgang Milde, *Der Bibliothekskatalog des Klosters Murbach aus dem 9. Jahrhundert. Ausgabe und Untersuchung von Beziehungen zu Cassiodors "Institutiones"*, Beihefte zum Euphorion, Zeitschrift für Lituraturgeschichte 4 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1968).

[101] Palazzo, *History*, trans. Beaumont, 164.

Timothy Graham, for example, concluded that the copy of Usuard's Martyrology within Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 57 was undoubtedly intended for public reading during the chapter assembly.[102] The marginal apparatus of CCCC MS 57 is another feature indicative of intended use in chapter; in this manuscript, red Dominical letters allow the reader to determine the day of the week of each day of the year, Roman numerals denote the golden numbers that designate the first days of the moon within the nineteen-year cycle that underpinned most *computus*, and lunar letters allow the calculation of the day of the moon for any date.[103] This apparatus reflects (or is reflected in) instructions in prescriptive texts to announce the date and day of the moon before reading from a martyrology. The final sign of use during the morning meeting in chapter is the inclusion of necrological notices.[104] This last piece of evidence is related to a later incorporation to the structure of the meeting in chapter after Prime, which calls for reading from the community's necrology after the martyrology.[105] Although this stipulation is not extant in ninth-century prescriptive or descriptive texts, it is recorded in the tenth-century second recension of *Memoriale qualiter* and a tenth-century customary of Fleury.[106] It is probable that these texts record an established, rather than a completely novel, practice; a ninth-century copy of Usuard's Martyrology bound with a necrology, as

---

[102] Graham, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57', 34. The obits are printed in Jan Gerchow, ed., *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen: Mit einem Katalog der Libri Vitae und Necrologien*, Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung 20 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1988), 335–8, cited in Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57', 113.

[103] Graham, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57', 37–8.

[104] Charles Hilken, 'The Scribal Record of Prayer and Work in the Chapter Room', in *Classica et Beneventana: Essays Presented to Virginia Brown on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Frank T. Coulson and Anna A. Grotans, Textes et études du Moyen Âge 36 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 311–31, at 316.

[105] Schepens, 'L'Office du chapitre'; Huglo, 'L'Office de Prime'.

[106] Lemaître, 'Liber capituli', 632, citing Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter'; Kassius Hallinger, ed., *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII Monumenta Non-Cluniacensia*, CCM 7.3 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1984), 49.

well as other texts read in chapter, survives.[107] I consider manuscript copies in use in the later ninth century with a high density of necrological content to be at the very least possibly related to the reading of such in the morning chapter assembly. It is important to note that a liturgical apparatus to aid use in chapter developed over time, as did norms of presentation of martyrologies. Consequently, it is more difficult to query the use of copies produced earlier in the ninth century using the evidence of presentation of text.

Manuscripts that combine some or all of the texts of the so-called chapter office have been characterised by modern scholars as chapter books. It is likely (although requires closer scrutiny) that copies of martyrologies (and the other chapter office texts) found within such chapter books were used in the chapter assembly.[108] In his study of French chapter books, the first to use the term, Jean-Loup Lemaître noted four crucial texts: a martyrology, a lectionary composed of Gospel *pericopes*, a Rule, and a necrology or obituary.[109] Books containing two or three of the listed texts, however, may still be considered chapter books.[110] Palazzo has emphasised the Rule, martyrology, and necrology/obituary-lists as the core texts of this sort of manuscript, with the more variable inclusion of a lectionary.[111] In most cases the necrological content of a chapter book follows the martyrology or the Rule.[112] Sarah Hamilton, however, has highlighted the martyrology and the Rule as texts usually occurring together within chapter books, a necrology not always being present.[113] One cannot assume that all martyrologies were once part of chapter books, and the category of chapter book will itself require critical assessment.[114] General summaries such as those offered by Palazzo, while still useful for

---

[107] BnF MS lat. 13745 (after 858; Saint-Germain-des-Prés), digitised at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84267850. See Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 15–27; Lemaître, 'Liber capituli', 631–2.
[108] See Lemaître, 'Liber capituli'.
[109] Ibid., 626.
[110] Huglo, 'L'Office de Prime', 14–15.
[111] Palazzo, *History*, trans. Beaumont, 163.
[112] Ibid., 165.
[113] Hamilton, 'Liturgy as History', 16.
[114] Palazzo, *History*, trans. Beaumont, 164.

getting to grips with the meeting in chapter, elide the gradual development of the programme of readings and practices for the meeting in chapter after Prime into a more formalised chapter office. During the eighth century, a manuscript for use in chapter could have contained the Rule and homilies, and possibly a martyrology (depending on the date of composition of *Memoriale qualiter*).[115] Gospel readings and necrological material would become possible components of our hypothetical chapter manuscript during the tenth century at the latest.[116] For my purposes, a manuscript containing both Bede's Martyrology and any one of the other texts read in the morning meeting in chapter during the ninth century (securely the Rule and homilies, and possibly a necrology) may be considered a codex likely intended for use within this context. Examination of the presentation of the text in each copy may identify evidence to support or contradict this initial classification.[117]

If one assumes that the morning meeting in chapter as outlined in the 817 Aachen decree was adopted fairly quickly, the codicological contexts of ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology are surprising. None of the ninth-century manuscripts may be considered a chapter book in its current state. Two copies do, however, include extensive necrological material within their Martyrologies, perhaps indicating use in chapter. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.49, datable to just before 838, includes a copy of Bede's Martyrology with necrological and historical entries that were added immediately after the completion of the Martyrology, between 838 and 855.[118] The combination of necrological entries with the Martyrology within this manuscript would

---

[115] The former two readings based on the stipulations of the Rule of Chrodegang and the latter on those of *Memoriale qualiter*. See above, 88–94.

[116] Given the evidence of the *Regularis concordia* (c. 973) for reading from the Gospels during the morning chapter assembly and the tenth-century customary of Fleury mentioned above for reading of obits during the same. See *Monastic Agreement*, ed. and trans. Symons, 17; Hallinger, ed., *Consuetudinum Monumenta Non-Cluniacensia*, 49.

[117] See Zachary Guiliano, 'Tradimus: The Use of Paul's Homiliary', in *The Homiliary of Paul the Deacon: Religious and Cultural Reform in Carolingian Europe*, Sermo 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 199–243.

[118] Thurn, *Pergamenthandschriften*, III.1, 38.

seem to indicate possible use during the morning chapter assembly. The presentation of the text within this copy indeed substantiates intended use in chapter. The Martyrology of UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.49 (fols 3r–30v) includes a computistical apparatus on the left side of each leaf, indicating the date for each entry, and golden numbers. This apparatus is not in red. Most suggestive of use in chapter is the presence of obits throughout; on fol. 3v, 'Depositio baturici epi[scopi]' (deposition of Baturicus, bishop) fills the space originally left blank next to II Id. Ianuarii. Consequently, it is probable that UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.49 was used, or at the very least intended to be used, during the morning meeting in chapter. BAV MS Ott. lat. 313, datable on palaeographical grounds to the ninth century, contains Bede's Martyrology and a sacramentary within the same unit of production, raising the possibility of use within the context of the mass.[119] The Martyrology, however, 'est enrichi d'obits en marge, dans les interlignes et dans les espaces laissés blancs par le texte' indicating possible use in chapter, and on the basis of this evidence has been referred to as the ninth-century necrology of Notre-Dame de Paris.[120] The presentation of text, however, includes only an apparatus indicating the date and basic computistical rubrics specifying the number of days per month. This in combination with the sacramentary within the same unit of production suggests that the Martyrology of BAV MS Ott. lat. 313 was probably intended for use of a priest, but that necrological material was seen to be a fitting addition to the Martyrology. UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.49 and BAV MS Ott. lat. 313 indicate that necrological material may occur in copies of Bede's Martyrology for differing reasons; such evidence must therefore be complemented by other indicators of use. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.50,

---

[119] Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 404; for more on the sacramentary, see Victor Saxer, 'Observations codicologiques et liturgiques sur trois sacramentaires grégoriens de la première moitié du IXe siècle: Paris Latin 2812, Vatican Ottoboni Latin 313 et Reginensis Latin 337', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen Âge - temps modernes* 97, no. 1 (1985): 23–43, at 31–3.

[120] Marc Dykmans, 'Les Obituaires romains: une définition suivie d'une vue d'ensemble', *Studi Medievali* 19 (1978): 591–652, at 600.

datable to the mid-ninth century, must also be considered based on its textual contents. This copy is preceded by a prayer for the forgiveness of sins that would be suitable for use in Prime, although the codex does not include the other texts stipulated for chapter in normative texts associated with the court circle.[121] The multiple interlinear and marginal additions to this manuscript, mostly additional saints' entries and obituary notices for the ordinary dead, also suggest use in the morning meeting in chapter. Additionally, it is not outside the realm of possibility that the list of criminals in the area around Mainz that was added to the codex soon after its production relates to the morning meeting in chapter.[122] The assignation of faults, in which community members confessed to and sought pardon for misdeeds, took place as part of this meeting from an early date.[123] The presentation of text would seem to confirm the intended use of this manuscript copy in chapter, with a rubricated apparatus indicating the date, computistical rubrics, and golden numbers.

One notes that despite the increasing prominence of martyrologies within normative or descriptive texts concerning the morning chapter assembly over the course of the ninth century, the codicological contexts of only two of the fifteen ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology seem to reflect the evidence of normative sources stipulating readings for the morning chapter assembly. Conversely, manuscript copies of other martyrologies datable to the ninth century are found in what may be termed chapter books. St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 914 (822–833; Reichenau) contains the Rule of St Benedict, normative texts associated with the 817 Aachen decrees, the Hieronymian Martyrology, and a 'marturlogium [sic]' that takes the form of a calendar exclusively populated with obituary notices.[124] BnF MS lat. 13745 (after 858; Saint-

---

[121] UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50, fol. 1r; Thurn, *Pergamenthandschriften*, III.1, 39; Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 126.

[122] UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50, fol. 1v; Thurn, *Pergamenthandschriften*, III.1, 39.

[123] See Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 271; translated in English in Mattingly, 'Memoriale Qualiter', 68.

[124] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 124; see 'St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 914', UCLA Reichenau-St. Gall Virtual Library, 2012, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/csg/0914/Hendrix.

German-des-Prés) includes Usuard's Martyrology, the Rule of St Benedict, and a necrology.[125] In most cases, the codicological structures of the surviving ninth-century manuscript corpus of Bede's Martyrology do not seem to correspond with stipulations for the public reading of martyrologies in chapter.

The remaining twelve manuscript copies are fragmentary, are not currently bound as so-called chapter books, and/or it is otherwise unclear whether or not they were intended to be used during the morning meeting in chapter. The earliest surviving copy of Bede's text, St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 451 (datable to the first quarter of the ninth century), problematises the automatic association between historical martyrologies and the morning chapter assembly. The layout of the page is clear, with large script but no necrological additions. An apparatus indicates the date; for significant feastdays such as Epiphany (on pg. 5), this apparatus is in red. The text has no computistical rubrics, Dominical letters, lunar letters, or golden numbers. There are a number of possibilities. St Gallen MS 451 may have been intended for private study, instruction, reference for festal observance (as required, for example, by *Ordo* XVII),[126] or devotion. Conversely, the Martyrology may have been created for use during the meeting in chapter, but never actually used for this purpose. It is more likely, however, that the liturgical apparatus that is more securely associated with use in the morning chapter assembly developed over time. As discussed above, the morning meeting in chapter itself underwent substantial shifts between the mid-eighth and early tenth centuries. The earliest extant manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology are consequently the most difficult to determine possible intended function within this context. The Hieronymian Martyrology of St Gallen MS 914, of approximately comparable date, provides an instructive point of comparison.[127] This martyrology includes a rubricated apparatus giving the date and highlighting important feastdays, basic computistical rubrics that indicate the number of days per

---

[125] Lemaître, 'Liber capituli', 632.
[126] See ch. 3, 121–2.
[127] St Gallen MS 914, pp. 240–278 (incomplete, ends with IX Kal. Ian.).

month, and lunar letters, as well as additional necrological and saints' notices.[128] At least certain features of the apparatus for use in chapter, then, had been introduced before the mid-ninth century but perhaps not yet widely applied. Another copy most probably used in morning chapter assemblies, however, does not include most aspects of this presentation. This later copy of Usuard's Martyrology in BnF MS lat. 13745, datable to after 858, includes only a date apparatus (usually in red but sometimes inked in other colours) and computistical rubrics indicating the number of days per month. One must therefore be cautious when determining use of ninth-century martyrologies from the presentation of text alone.

The colocation of texts read in chapter or associated with chapter with a manuscript copy of a martyrology appears to be the most reliable indicator of intended use at this early stage. In this chapter I therefore limit discussion of the presentation of text in the remaining ninth-century copies to only those that were not originally bound in manuscripts that from their other contents have been or can be agreed to have been priests' books, bishops' manuals, or educational codices. There is evidence that Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXV (63) (s. ix$^{1/4}$), Milan, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, MS M 15 (s. ix$^{2/4 \text{ or } 2/3}$), El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS L.III.8 (s. ix$^{3/3}$), Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Car. C. 176 (s. ix$^{3/4}$), Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H 410 (s. ix$^{3/4 \text{ or } 4/4}$), and BL Add. MS 19725 (s. ix$^{4/4}$) were intended for one or more of these purposes; these copies will therefore be discussed in the following chapter. BAV MS Pal. lat. 834 (s. ix$^{1/2}$), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15818 (s. ix$^{2/4}$), BnF MS lat. 5552 (s. ix$^{2/4}$), BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 (840–855), and BAV MS Reg. lat. 435 (s. ix) were not originally bound in their current codicological contexts, and the martyrology in each appears originally to have been a standalone copy.[129] From the surviving evidence it thus

---

[128] I am grateful to Dr Anthony Harris for corresponding with me about the lunar letters within this manuscript.

[129] See discussion in ch. 1, 54–61.

appears more likely that a copy of Bede's Martyrology produced before or during the mid-ninth century would have been produced as a standalone copy than was the case by the late ninth century. This may relate to the wider circulation of texts on the functions and uses of martyrologies alongside other sorts of texts or readings, including but not limited to in the morning chapter assembly.[130] Examination of the presentation of text and traces of use within these five copies has the potential to reveal whether or not they were intended to be used and/or were actually used in the morning chapter assembly.

Three of these copies include a comprehensive apparatus that would have facilitated but should not necessarily be assumed to imply public reading during chapter. Within Munich Clm. 15818, BAV MS Pal. lat. 834, and BAV MS Pal. lat. 833, Bede's Martyrology includes computistical rubrics, golden numbers, and a rubricated apparatus indicating the date. In addition, Munich Clm. 15818 includes Dominical letters. Given the presentation of the text, it is therefore probable that Munich Clm. 15818, BAV MS Pal. lat. 834, and BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 were intended to be used during the morning chapter meeting. The evidence of subsequent compilation, however, would not seem to substantiate this observation. The current compilation of Munich Clm. 15818 (consisting of two fascicles: Gennadius's *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis* (fols 1–96: Würzburg, datable to 842–855) and Bede's Martyrology (fols 97v–144v: Salzburg, second quarter of the ninth century)) may indicate a focus on pastoral concerns.[131] Van Rhijn has argued that Gennadius's *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis* would have been of use to a Carolingian priest because of the text's concern to clarify not only correct doctrine but also heresy.[132] The two fascicles of BAV MS Pal. lat. 834 (Bede's Martyrology (fols 1v–25v), computistical and astronomical texts (fols 26–46); and Isidore's *De natura rerum* (fols 47–92)) indicate

---

[130] For the functions and uses of martyrologies outside the context of chapter, see ch. 3, 115–60.
[131] Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, II, 266. For discussion of when these fascicles may have been brought together, see ch. 1, 59–60.
[132] Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch18__171&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.

an interest in *computus* and possibly an awareness of the relationship between Bede's *De natura rerum* and Isidore's earlier text.[133] It is possible that the computistical texts were copied with Bede's Martyrology because of the requirement to read computistical information before reading from a martyrology in the morning meeting in chapter. It is more probable, however, that the ninth-century compiler of the first fascicle was aware that Bede had authored compustical works as well as a martyrology.[134] The emphasis on Rome seen in the two fascicles of BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 (Bede's Martyrology (fols 1r–25v) and *syllogae* written at Lorsch (fols 26v–84v)) provides insight into the motivations behind the compilation of these textual units.[135] The Martyrology contains later additions, including an entry for 'the holy king Oswald' (Oswald of Northumbria).[136] It is more likely that this copy was consulted for information on the saints and their feasts than read in the morning chapter assembly. These three copies demonstrate that the use of a copy of Bede's Martyrology could change over time. The evidence for use in chapter during the ninth century is most compelling in Munich Clm. 15818, but it is probable that this copy subsequently became part of a codex for pastoral or educational use during the later ninth or tenth century.[137] The evidence for the use in chapter of BAV MSS Pal. lat. 833 and 834 is less compelling. Although one cannot entirely rule out that these manuscript copies were intended for such use, I find it more probable that these copies were in use as authoritative educational resources on the saints, particularly Roman martyrs.

The remaining two copies do not contain many strong indications of intended function or actual use in morning chapter assemblies. The copy within BnF MS lat. 5552

---

[133] See Kautz, 'Pal. Lat. 834'; Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 417.

[134] See Westgard, 'Bede and the Continent'.

[135] Kautz, 'Pal. Lat. 833'; Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 416–7; Michael Lapidge, 'Some Remnants of Bede's Lost Liber Epigrammatum', *The English Historical Review* 90, no. 357 (1975): 798–820, at 809. For discussion of when these fascicles may have been brought together, see ch. 1, 57–9. On Bede and Rome, see Hilliard, 'Bede and the Changing Image of Rome'. Bede's Martyrology and Rome is discussed in ch. 1, 34–6.

[136] Gunn, 'St Oswald', 64; Gunn notes that it is unusual that Bede does not refer to Oswald as a martyr in his Martyrology.

[137] Discussed in detail in ch. 3, 145–6.

is more difficult to read than other early copies; the apparatus indicating the date occurs in-line, rather than to one side of the leaf. This copy includes golden numbers and computistical rubrics but not Dominical letters or lunar letters. Additional crosses in the margin appear to indicate significant saints. It is possible that this copy was used in the morning chapter assembly, but not probable. I return to this manuscript in the following chapter. The Martyrology of BAV MS Reg. lat. 435 features a clear layout, a rubricated apparatus signifying the date, and computistical rubrics. Additional obits, entered through the eleventh century, are present but not extensive. The results of examination of this copy are inconclusive. The Martyrology of BAV MS Reg. lat. 435 may well have been intended to be used or actually used in chapter, but this must remain speculative.

The codicological contexts and presentation of ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology demonstrate that Carolingian uses for the text were more varied than one might have assumed, given the promulgation of the 817 Aachen legislation. The evidence of ninth-century booklists shows that some religious communities owned copies of Bede's Martyrology. The booklist of Abbot Hartmut even refers to a putative copy of Bede's text within what modern scholars would term a chapter book.[138] One cannot assume, however, that this was the case for all copies mentioned in booklists. Conversely, as this section has shown, relatively few ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology contain substantial evidence of intended and/or actual use in chapter. Only three out of the fifteen surviving copies were probably intended for use in chapter: UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.49, UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50, and Munich Clm. 15818. A further three copies were possibly intended for use in chapter, but the evidence is less compelling: BAV MSS Pal. lat. 833, Pal. lat. 834, and Reg. lat. 435. The crux of the issue is the development of: (1) the morning meeting in chapter, (2) a compilation type of texts to be read in chapter, and (3) a liturgical apparatus within martyrology manuscripts that aimed to facilitate public reading in chapter. We have seen that the major constituent readings of the

---

[138] See ch. 1, 47–8.

morning chapter assembly familiar to modern scholars of liturgy are attested by the end of the tenth century. Manuscripts combining texts to be read in chapter that include martyrologies are extant from the first half of the ninth century, contemporary with the promulgation of material relating to the 817 Aachen decrees. The liturgical apparatus, however, appears to have been applied inconsistently throughout the ninth century, even in manuscript copies where colocation of texts strongly suggests use in chapter, as with the copy of Usuard's Martyrology within BnF MS lat. 13745. Discussion of the intended and actual use of Bede's Martyrology in chapter during the ninth century is therefore more speculative than discussion of later centuries. Nevertheless, as reflected in a small number of extant copies, Bede's Martyrology was part of the wider response to pronouncements on the use of martyrologies in chapter issuing from the Carolingian court circle. The choice of local scribes and communities to produce and use Bede's Martyrology, or not, in this context reveals that these figures were as central to the realisation of *correctio* in their reactions to changes from above as the court circle.[139]

Conclusion

Normative and descriptive evidence for the use of a martyrology in the morning chapter assembly reveals that the Carolingian court circle was involved in the development of this daily meeting from the outset. Chrodegang, author of the earliest securely datable evidence for the morning meeting in chapter, had connections to Charlemagne's court. *Memoriale qualiter*, the earliest source of evidence to mention use of a martyrology in chapter, was probably circulated at the instigation of Benedict of Aniane. The 817 Council of Aachen held under Louis the Pious articulated a minimum standard for religious life, to include reading from a martyrology in the morning chapter assembly. This portion of the 817 Aachen legislation had considerable influence on other normative or descriptive texts composed in the Frankish lands up until the mid-ninth

---

[139] Here, I follow Kramer on 'reactions to initiatives taken by the court': Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*, 24.

century. The strategic ambiguity inherent within the 817 decree, preserved in subsequent normative texts, was very much intentional.

Despite the efforts of the court circle to disseminate rapidly the 816 and 817 Aachen decrees and associated texts including Benedict of Aniane's *Collectio capitularis* and *Memoriale qualiter*, *correctio* was not instantaneous. The earliest manuscript copy of Bede's Martyrology that was probably copied for use in chapter, UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.49, was produced just before 838. This is roughly contemporary with the initial period of production of the Martyrologies now within Munich Clm. 15818, copied in the second quarter of the ninth century, and UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50, copied in the mid-ninth century. The copies for which use in chapter is more speculative have been dated to a similar period. From the surviving evidence, the production of manuscript copies of Bede's text that responded to the 817 Aachen legislation was limited largely to the period between 825 and the middle of the ninth century. Intriguingly, this was also the period during which the 817 Aachen decree had the greatest influence upon the substance of other normative or descriptive texts. The manuscript evidence reveals that the use of Bede's Martyrology in the morning chapter assembly did not leave traces of having caught on immediately following the activities of the court circle. Rather, there was a delay of between one and four decades before surviving manuscripts show signs that Bede's text was put to this use—with the caveat that the gradual development of the liturgical apparatus itself may obscure earlier copies of the Martyrology that were created for use in chapter. The existence of the Hieronymian Martyrology in a chapter book copied between 822 and 833 reveals that some communities did implement the legislative stipulation concerning chapter soon after its promulgation. From this it may be inferred that at this date Bede's Martyrology was perhaps not an automatic choice for chapter readings. If the prescribed reading were expected to take place every day, the days left

without an entry in Bede's original text and in some early copies would have presented an issue.[140]

The delayed incorporation of Bede's Martyrology into the morning meeting in chapter illuminates the aims and methods of Louis the Pious and his circle. Lifshitz has argued that the Aachen reformers intended the martyrology read in the morning meeting in chapter to be the Hieronymian Martyrology based upon, among other evidence, the early chapter book St Gallen MS 914.[141] This manuscript contains a large number of texts related to the Aachen legislation and the promulgation of the Rule of St Benedict: the letter from Abbot Theodomar of Montecassino to Charlemagne that accompanied an early copy of the Rule of St Benedict, Benedict of Aniane's *Collectio capitularis*, and Smaragdus's commentary on the Rule of St Benedict.[142] Additionally, this codex contains a letter from Grimald and Tatto to Reginbert, the librarian of Reichenau, 'informing him that they have copied and are sending back to the monastery the Martyrology of Jerome'.[143] Although Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane may have therefore had the Hieronymian Martyrology in mind when stipulating reading from a martyrology in chapter, there is no evidence that they specified so in writing. Not to do so implies that the court circle could not have truly intended strict uniformity of practice when at least three martyrologies, one enumerative and two historical, were circulating in the Carolingian lands prior to the 817 Council of Aachen.[144] Rather, the Aachen reformers intended that all in religious life were to be reminded of the saints commemorated on each day through communal use of a martyrology. Paradoxically, the latitude within the legislative prescriptions contributed to efforts to ensure a minimum acceptable standard. Giving communities the choice of martyrology brought the bigger picture into sharp

---

[140] Raised in Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 126.

[141] Ibid., 124.

[142] Ibid.; 'Cod. Sang. 914'.

[143] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 124.

[144] The Hieronymian Martyrology (enumerative, fifth-century), Bede's Martyrology (historical, c. 725–731), and that of the Anonymous of Lyon (historical, prior to 806).

relief: the morning meeting in chapter as part of a collective effort towards salvation. *Correctio* in the first quarter of the ninth century focussed on the big picture, the salvation of a Christian empire. This was itself behind the emphasis on corrected texts. The court circle had definitive ideas about when uniformity of observance at the most detailed level was necessary and when very detailed prescription was not required and might hinder efforts at *correctio*. For Charlemagne and his contemporaries, corruption of the Word recorded in manuscript form by fallible scribes was a dire threat. By the time of Louis the Pious, this had become complemented by a related and growing emphasis on the organisation and textual milieu of religious life. The use of Bede's Martyrology in chapter during this attempted renegotiation of religious life reveals that the court circle of Louis the Pious had a flexible understanding of what 'success' ultimately meant for the Carolingian project.

3. Bede's Martyrology and *Correctio* in the Localities in the Ninth Century

In the previous chapter, I investigated connections between ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology, the morning meeting in chapter referred to in many Carolingian normative texts, and top-down understandings of *correctio*. I now turn to what manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology may reveal about *correctio* in the localities. A growing body of scholarship analyses the Carolingian project through the activities of local priests and bishops.[1] Such studies reframe the local priest, once considered a passive recipient of top-down directives, as an active participant in the so-called Carolingian reforms. The books owned and used by priests in private study and ministering to the laity, as well as the books used by bishops for personal reference or to educate priests in training, have provided a fruitful source of evidence for how those in the localities interpreted the overall aims of *correctio*.[2] Rather than just responding to the court circle, however, bishops and the local priests whom they oversaw also formulated their own understandings of the minimum standard of competence required to ensure salvation. As I discuss below, earlier normative sources had attested to the use of martyrologies by priests within the mass. During the ninth century, and perhaps in response to these precedents, bishops included ownership and/or knowledge of a martyrology in statutes directed to local priests.[3] In the localities martyrologies played a role in the larger endeavour of *correctio* that is not documented in sources related to the court circle. In this chapter, I clarify the nature of this role and, consequently, the priorities of those in the localities involved in *correctio* as a dialogue and a pervasive religious and intellectual environment. What was expected of local priests? How did they respond to those expectations? How did the localities fit into the Carolingian project?

---

[1] Most recently, van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*.

[2] Including ibid.; Waagmeester, 'Priests, Pastoral Compendia and the Laity'; Patzold, 'Correctio an der Basis'.

[3] On episcopal statutes, see van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*.

Late eighth- and ninth-century prescriptive texts show concern for ecclesiastical knowledge as a cornerstone of the Carolingian endeavour. In the *Admonitio generalis* Charlemagne articulated the importance of bishops and the priests whom they oversaw in the localities to achieving the goals of *correctio*: 'Ut episcopi diligenter discutiant per suas parrochias presbiteros, eorum fidem, baptisma et missarum celebrationes, ut fidem rectam teneant et baptisma catholicum observent et missarum preces bene intellegant'.[4] Archbishop Arn of Salzburg's *Instructio pastoralis* (c. 800) warns that bishops should ensure that the priests under their care are not ignorant (*idiothae*), so that they are able to correctly educate laypeople, celebrate the mass, and baptise:

> Et hoc consideret episcopus ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiothae, sed sacras scripturas legant et intellegant, ut secundum traditionem romanae ecclesiae possint instruere, et fidem catholicam debeant ipsi agere et populos sibi commissos docere, missas secundum consuetudinem caelebrare sicut romana traditio nobis tradidit. Baptismum publicum constitutis temporibus per duos uices in anno fiat, in Pascha, in Pentecosten, et hoc secundum ordinem traditionis romanae debet facere.[5]

Arn also stresses that the practices followed are to be those of the Roman tradition. The *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis* (802) issued by Charlemagne stipulates that just as bishops should examine priests, *missi* should in turn assess bishops' and priests'

---

[4] Charlemagne, *Admonitio generalis*, ed. and trans. Mordek et al., 220; translated into German in ibid., 221. 'That bishops should diligently examine the priests through their parishes on their faith, baptism, and the celebration of masses, so that they might keep the correct faith, observe catholic baptism, and know the mass prayers well'.

[5] Raymond Étaix, 'Un manuel de pastorale de l'époque Carolingienne (Clm. 27152)', *Revue Bénédictine* 91 (1981): 105–30, at 117. 'And let the bishop give consideration to this matter, [namely] that the priests themselves should not be ignorant, but read and understand the sacred scriptures, so that they can instruct according to the tradition of the Roman church, and they must practice the catholic faith themselves and teach the people entrusted to them, and celebrate masses according to custom as the Roman tradition has handed down to us. Public baptism should take place at appointed times twice a year, at Easter and at Pentecost, and this should be done according to the order of Roman tradition'. See also Carine van Rhijn, '"Et hoc considerat episcopus, ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiothae": Carolingian local correctio and an unknown priests' exam from the early ninth century', in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. Rob Meens et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 162–80, at 163–4.

knowledge and performance of their duties: 'Omnes ecclesiasticos de eorum eruditione et doctrina diligenter examinare, et in eadem examinatione nos quamvis imperiti simus per provinciam istam, et non solum aeclesiasticorum dogma, sed etiam laicorum investigare iussa sunt nutrimenta vel benevolentia sanctae exercende iustitiae'.[6] The laity to whom local priests ministered were to be similarly assessed, as reflections of the competence of both priests and the bishops supervising them. Matters such as baptism were seen as having the potential to affect the souls of the people if performed incorrectly, with all the resulting baggage this carried for what van Rhijn has termed the Carolingian 'quest for collective salvation'.[7] A two-pronged effort can therefore be seen throughout the Carolingian lands in the ninth century: firstly, the attempt to regulate the possession of such books so that those who need to use them, can; secondly, the endeavour to monitor the knowledge of bishops and priests, as those who must be experts in order to impart correct understanding of not only the basics of Christian practice (in addition to Christian doctrine), but also its nuances to the laity. In the first section of this chapter I outline the normative evidence for the role of martyrologies within the former, and in the second section that for the latter. I will first survey the evidence for the ownership and use of martyrologies in general by priests and bishops in the ninth century, including the

---

[6] Alfred Boretius, ed., *Capitularia regum Francorum*, MGH Capitularia regum Francorum 1 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1883), 109; ibid., 109 n. a: the text of the prologue is evidently corrupt. In its present form the text might be translated: 'To carefully examine all churchmen on their knowledge and learning, and in that same examination, we though we are unskilled […] through that province, and to investigate the doctrine not only of churchmen but also of laypeople, the sustenance or kindness of exercising holy justice have been ordered'. This last clause could perhaps be a deformation of 'those exercising the sustenance or kindness of holy justice have been ordered', or words to that effect. See also Étaix, 'Manuel de pastorale', 113–14.
[7] Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch10__528&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego. On baptism and *correctio*, see Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002); Yin Liu, 'Baptismal Renunciation and the Moral Reform of Charlemagne's Christian Empire', *Traditio* 76 (2021): 117–55.

influence of earlier prescriptions. This discussion will introduce two interrelated themes of this chapter: (1) the martyrology, the mass, and the ecclesiastical calendar and (2) knowing the martyrology.

Following Yitzhak Hen,[8] I consider books characterised as for pastoral use and/or education that contain Bede's Martyrology as crucial evidence, supplementing that of local inventories, for the implications of normative texts. I first analyse the characteristics of two copies that appear to have no great association with the morning chapter assembly. Following these examples of what a manuscript possibly used in pastoral and/or educational contexts may look like, I reassess the remaining ninth-century copies through this lens. As with the previous chapter, discussion of the intended function of individual copies relies upon the evidence of original compilation and the presentation of the text. Discussion of actual use will draw upon evidence of ownership and reading practices found within the group of manuscripts, such as later additions, whenever these appear. Although I hypothesised that some ninth-century copies may have been intended to be used and/or have been used in the morning meeting in chapter, the subjective nature of such an assessment requires that I entertain the possibility of other uses, as well—with the caveat that, of course, the use of any one manuscript may not have remained the same over the course of the Middle Ages. During the ninth century, Bede's Martyrology was considered highly adaptable, a resource that did not neatly fit into any one context— making it particularly useful in relation to pastoral care, defined here as the work of clergy to care for the spiritual wellbeing of those to whom they ministered, within the ninth-century project of *correctio* and the concurrent emphases on time reckoning and Christian history as knowledge required of local priests. This investigation reveals the extent to which local priests and bishops shaped and responded to *correctio*.

---

[8] Yitzhak Hen, 'Knowledge of Canon Law among Rural Priests: The Evidence of Two Carolingian Manuscripts from around 800', *Journal of Theological Studies* 50, no. 1 (1999): 117–34, at 122.

The local priest and his required books have often been assessed in light of the logistics of early medieval pastoral care, focussing on the institution of the local church. As Carl Hammer showed in his discussion of church and clerical inventories, normative texts stipulating the ownership of certain sorts of book had local impact, although martyrologies were not often mentioned.[9] His treatment of this evidence lent more weight to a positive interpretation of Carolingian interest in (pastoral) education. Within this framework, the flurry of episcopal capitularies and other normative texts concerning the priesthood reflects a desire to improve education, rather than widespread shortcomings in pastoral care and education necessitating a comprehensive overhaul.[10] More recent scholarship has expanded upon this assessment, in discussions of both the local church in the Carolingian period and the real-world applications of normative texts.[11] Whereas Hammer looked at inventories to determine the 'descriptive value' of episcopal statutes, Hen examined the manuscript evidence in his discussion of whether or not Carolingian legislation requiring priests' knowledge of canon law affected actual practice.[12] Discussion of 'small handbooks for the use of rural priests' in this manner provided the impetus for a large number of studies focussing on books for pastoral use, especially

---

[9] Carl I. Hammer, 'Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria', *Church History* 49, no. 1 (1980): 5–17.

[10] Ibid., 6.

[11] For a general overview, see Sarah Hamilton, 'Local Churches and Their Communities', in *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900–1200* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), 31–59; on the Carolingian local church, see Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn, 'The Carolingian Local Ecclesia as a "Temple Society"?', *Early Medieval Europe* 29, no. 4 (2021): 535–54; on local priests and churches, see Thomas Kohl, 'Presbyter in parochia sua: Local Priests and Their Churches in Early Medieval Bavaria', in *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 50–77. For discussion of the local church that centres manuscript evidence, see Carine van Rhijn, 'The Local Church, Priests' Handbooks and Pastoral Care in the Carolingian Period', in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto Medioevo: Spoleto, 4–9 aprile 2013*, vol. 2 (Spoleto: Fondazione centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2014), 689–706.

[12] Hammer, 'Country Churches', 8; Hen, 'Knowledge'.

those probably used by priests, and their relationship to *correctio*.[13] Fundamental to this avenue of inquiry are the identification and classification of manuscripts for pastoral use, including those used by priests.[14] There is a danger, however, of circular reasoning in which a manuscript is identified as a priest's book because it contains texts identified as being of use to priests because they are found in priests' books. One must carefully examine putative priests' books with an eye to more substantive evidence including the presence of texts addressed to priests within a codex, rather than solely relying on other characteristics such as size and lack of decoration. Other than Niels Krogh Rasmussen, Susan Keefe, and, for the post-Carolingian period, Sarah Hamilton, scholars have focussed on the priest and his book, rather than books made for or used by bishops for similar purposes.[15] Moreover, despite numerous studies on the pastoral and educational

---

[13] Hen, 'Knowledge', 122; Keefe, *Water and the Word*; van Rhijn, 'Local Church'; Patzold, 'Correctio an der Basis'; Carine van Rhijn, 'Manuscripts for Local Priests and the Carolingian Reforms', in *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 177–98; most recently, see van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*. On priests' books outside the Carolingian period, see Yitzhak Hen, 'Priests and Books in the Merovingian Period', in *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 162–76; Dyson, *Priests and Their Books*.

[14] See Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), with a table of manuscripts on 160–3; Niels Krogh Rasmussen, 'Célébration episcopale et célébration presbyterale: un essai de typologie', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale* (Spoleto: Presso la sede del centro, 1987), 581–603; Hen, 'Knowledge'; Rudolph Pokorny, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 4 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2005), 9; Patzold lists ninth-century manuscripts mentioned by Keefe as 'instruction-readers' and by Pokorny as 'Handbücher für den Landpfarrer' in Patzold, 'Correctio an der Basis', 249–50; most recently, van Rhijn provides a list of Carolingian priests' manuscripts discussed in *Leading the Way to Heaven*, Appendix 1, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch20__3&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego. Note, however, that van Rhijn examines only manuscripts compiled or written for priests, rather than all manuscripts which show signs of having been used by priests: ibid., https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch11__138&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.

[15] See Rasmussen, 'Célébration episcopale et célébration presbyterale'; Keefe, *Water and the Word*; idem, *A Catalogue of Works Pertaining to the Explanation of the Creed in Carolingian*

value of texts such as canon law, baptismal expositions, explanations of the Creed, mass commentaries, and clerical exams, historians have not yet examined the analogous status of martyrologies as texts in priests' books, pastoral manuals, and/or schoolbooks (the typology of which will be discussed below).[16] My discussion of the extent to which ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology were owned and used by bishops or priests represents a preliminary effort to fill this gap.

Martyrologies, the Mass, and the Ecclesiastical Calendar

Our earliest evidence for the expectation that clergy use a martyrology as a guide to festal observance survives from the mid- to second half of the eighth century. An *ordo* for a monastic community concerning the celebration of the mass (Andrieu's *Ordo* XVII) dating from the second half of the eighth century states: 'Postea quidam accipiens diaconus calicem in dexteram partem altaris, eleuans eum in manibus suis, pronuncians natalitia sanctorum in ipsa ebdomata uenientia ita dicendo: *Illa feria ueniente natalis est sancta Maria aut confessore aut alio sancto*, qualis euenit secundum martirilogium'.[17]

Manuscripts, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); Hamilton, 'Educating'.

[16] See Hen, 'Knowledge'; Keefe, *Water and the Word*; idem, *Explanation of the Creed*; Steffen Patzold, 'Pater noster: Priests and the Religious Instruction of the Laity in the Carolingian populus christianus', in *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 199–221; Carine van Rhijn, '"Ut Missarum Preces Bene Intelligent". The Dominus Vobiscum, a Carolingian Mass Commentary for the Education of Priests', *Revue Mabillon* 31 (2020): 7–28; idem, '"Et hoc"'. Outside of the Carolingian context, scholars have recognised the educational value of the Old English Martyrology: Rauer, 'Usage of the Old English Martyrology'; idem., ed. and trans., *Old English Martyrology*, 1; John Joseph Gallagher, 'Liturgy and Learning: The Encyclopaedic Function of the Old English Martyrology', *Religions* 13 (2022): 236.

[17] J. Semmler, ed., 'Breviarium Ecclesiastici Ordinis (Ordo Romanus XVII)', in *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 23–44, at 35–6; James McKinnon, ed. and trans., *Source Readings in Music History*, revised edn, vol. 2 (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1998), 61–5: 'Afterwards the deacon takes the chalice to the right side of the altar, holding it up in his hands, and announces the festivals of the saints for the coming week in the following manner: "That approaching day is the feast of the holy Mary, or of a confessor, or of some other saint," whatever is to come according to the Martyrology'. See also de Gaiffier, 'L'Usage', 47.

Ordo XVII is extant in two medieval copies, both east Frankish, dating to the eighth or ninth century, and written in pre-Caroline minuscule.[18] According to this *ordo*, at least one grade of the clergy was expected to regularly use a martyrology within the context of the celebration of the mass within a monastic (or clerical) community. The task was assigned to the deacon rather than the celebrant. As described by *Ordo* XVII, a martyrology is a source of information on festal observance, specifically the *sanctorale*. Moreover, a martyrology within this context would provide information on upcoming saints' feasts not only for the deacon who used it during mass but also for the audience present, probably members of a monastic community but potentially including laity. This reveals a crucial function of the clergy, as intermediaries who must have liturgical knowledge not only for their own salvation but also for that of those to whom they ministered. Although the use described in *Ordo* XVII is liturgical, the boundary between the liturgical and the pastoral is porous indeed. The principal pastoral duties of a priest in particular were the performance of liturgies.

The prescription within the east Frankish *Ordo* XVII concerning the use of a martyrology may relate to approximately contemporary developments in early medieval England. Canon thirteen of the Council of *Clofesho* (747) dictates that a martyrology, specified as the martyrology of the Roman Church, be used as a guide to the days on which each saint should be celebrated: 'Itemque ut per gyrum totius anni natalitia sanctorum uno eodemque die, juxta martyrologium ejusdem Romanae Ecclesiae, cum sua sibi convenienti psalmodio seu cantilena venerentur'.[19] Canon thirteen and *Ordo* XVII both prescribe use of a martyrology as a resource for information on the liturgical

---

[18] BAV MS Pal. lat. 574, fols 152–165; Gotha MS Membr. 1.85, fols 107v–112v. See ch. 2, 92 n. 71.

[19] Haddan and Stubbs, eds, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, III, 367; Jesse D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England 597–c. 1000* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2014), 99: 'the feast days of the saints throughout the whole circle of the year [i.e. the Sanctorale] be venerated on one and the same day, according to the martyrology of the same Roman Church, with the psalmody and chant appropriate to them'. See also de Gaiffier, 'L'Usage', 49.

calendar, but with differing emphases. Canon thirteen shows concern for the standardisation of the ecclesiastical calendar, according to (supposed) Roman practice, and of the veneration of the saints. Not only must the feast day of a particular saint be commemorated on a particular date, rather than on different dates depending on local practice, but the liturgy of commemoration must also be appropriate. Whilst *Ordo* XVII prescribes reading the names of saints to be commemorated on the following day from a martyrology, it is not clear if the use intended in canon thirteen could include reading aloud either from or using a martyrology. Finally, canon thirteen in its entirety includes the entire calendar of festal observance, not just the *sanctorale* as referred to in *Ordo* XVII. Nevertheless, the stipulations of both texts concerning the use of a martyrology as a resource illustrate eighth-century concern for the correct veneration of the saints in both east Francia and England, particularly in the context of the mass.

 Clofesho canon thirteen should, as with *Ordo* XVII, be considered a prescription addressed to clergy concerning the mass. Catherine Cubitt has argued that, if followed, canon thirteen, which in its entirely refers to both the *temporale* and *sanctorale*, would have affected the masses performed and the daily office honouring the feast days of the church.[20] *Clofesho* canon thirteen may be read as part of the definition and clarification of the clerical duties when considered alongside the 'comprehensive programme of reform' represented by the thirty canons as a group.[21] Cubitt has split the canons into five thematic groups: canons one through seven concern the duties of bishops, eight through twelve refer to the responsibilities of priests, thirteen through eighteen concern the liturgy, nineteen through twenty-four regulate 'the communal life of the religious', and twenty-five through thirty discuss 'miscellaneous matters which were perhaps added to

---

[20] Catherine Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–c. 850* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 146; on this canon's implications for the office, see also Billett, *Divine Office*, 99–100.

[21] Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, 99; the *Clofesho* canons are edited in Haddan and Stubbs, eds, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, III, 360–85.

the draft of the decrees after the deliberations of the council'.[22] Canon thirteen, then, is right on the border between the thematic group referring to the priesthood and that concerning liturgical practice. Canon twelve, referred to by Cubitt as 'the last of the canons to deal exclusively with priests', prescribes that priests follow liturgically-appropriate intonations during church services rather than 'the style of secular poets'.[23] Given that canon twelve also refers to liturgical matters, it might make sense to do away with the boundary drawn in modern scholarship between canons twelve and thirteen. Canon twelve and the entire liturgical group including canon thirteen concern the most important responsibility of priests, the performance of liturgies.

Furthermore, the attendance of the mass in local churches by the laity opens up the pastoral implications of both eighth-century prescriptions, but certainly that of *Clofesho*. The portion of canon thirteen that refers to the use of a martyrology does, indeed, at least obliquely concern the mass—which in local churches would presumably have been performed by a priest rather than a bishop and attended by laypeople. In her discussion of *Clofesho* canon twelve, Cubitt even referred to liturgy, especially the mass, as 'a vehicle for the instruction of the laity'.[24] I consequently examine the role of using a martyrology in this manner, first and foremost a guide to regulate the church calendar, within local initiatives to attain salvation and also examine the other uses to which martyrologies were put during the ninth century in the localities. The example of the Council of *Clofesho* shows how interconnected provisions for the 'correct' performance

---

[22] Catherine Cubitt, 'Pastoral Care and Conciliar Canons: The Provisions of the 747 Council of Clofesho', in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 193–211, at 195.

[23] Ibid., 196; Haddan and Stubbs, eds, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, III, 366–7: 'Ut presbyteri saecularium poetarum modo in ecclesia non garriant, ne tragico sono sacrorum verborum compositionem ac distinctionem corrumpant vel confundant, sed simplicem sanctamque melodiam secundum morem Ecclesiae sectentur: qui vero id non est idoneus adsequi, pronunciantis modo simpliciter legendo, dicat atque recitet quicquid instantis temporis ratio poscit, et quae episcopi sunt non praesumant. Interea quoque presbyteri de his quae propria sunt episcoporum in quibusdam ecclesiasticis officiis, nihil omnino temptant et praesumant agere'.

[24] Cubitt, 'Pastoral Care and Conciliar Canons', 198.

of the liturgy could be with provisions for responsibilities of priests. Although the Council of *Clofesho* predates the ninth century, it has been argued that its provisions respond to issues that were subsequently likewise identified as crucial by Frankish rulers and churchmen.[25] As I discuss below, the Carolingians responded to concerns surrounding pastoral matters with normative texts on how priests should behave, what they should know, and on what subjects they should be sure to educate the laity.[26] As sources such as the *Admonitio generalis* emphasise, the faith, baptism, and the mass were of paramount importance and were entrusted to priests, who were to be examined for competence concerning such subjects by bishops.[27] The broad descriptions of episcopal and priestly responsibility discussed above were followed in the ninth century by more detailed prescriptions, outlined below. In addition, the manuscript evidence reveals a number of more practical subjects about which priests would be qualified to dispense advice, such as medicine, marriage, and dispute settlement; the identification of possible priests' books and attendant methodological issues are discussed below.[28] The *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis* mentioned above shows that this effort to regulate priestly

---

[25] Joseph H. Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018 [1998]), 177. Lynch makes this point when discussing the reform of the liturgy of baptism, arguing that canons ten and eleven reflect larger matters that also concerned Frankish reformers, ibid.: 'the desire that all Christians know the Creed and the Lord's Prayer and the special responsibility of sponsors to know them in order to participate in the liturgy of baptism'.

[26] See Peter Brommer, *Capitula Episcoporum: Die bischöflichen Kapitularien des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 43 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985); van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*. On education in the Carolingian world, see John J. Contreni, *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992); M. M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society* (Leiden; New York: E. J. Brill, 1992); Rosamond McKitterick, *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th–9th Centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994). On clerical education, see Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800–c. 1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), especially chapters six and seven.

[27] See 116–18 above.

[28] See van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch17__158&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.

knowledge is also, of course, intimately related to the wider educational endeavour of the time, in terms of both the clergy and the lay population to whom they ministered.

Ninth-century texts provide more plentiful evidence for the requirement that priests own a martyrology. Episcopal capitularies, as discussed extensively by Carine van Rhijn in *Shepherds of the Lord*, are the most common sort of source recommending ownership of a martyrology in relation to the priesthood.[29] The second *Capitula* of Gerbald of Liège (c. 801/2x809) recommends 'Ut unusquisque secundum possibilitatem suam certare faciat de ornatu ecclesiae, scilicet in patenam et calicem, planetam et albam, missalem, lectionarium, martyrologium, paenitentialem, psalterium vel alios libros, quos potuerit, crucem, capsam, velut diximus iuxta possibilitatem suam'.[30] Gerbald's stipulations were intimately related to *correctio* in its wider context. A letter from Charlemagne to the bishop dated to the first decade of the ninth century tells Gerbald to ensure that 'unusquisque presbyterorum missam cantet, et alterius ordinis clericus vel monachus sive Deo sacrata, qui psalmos didicit, L psalmos similiter cantet' as part of measures to prevent famine.[31] The implication is that each priest, monk, or consecrated for whom Gerbald is responsible should be able to correctly perform the mass and chant

---

[29] For a chronology of Carolingian episcopal statutes, see van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, 32–3; on the manner in which priests are depicted in the two main groups of episcopal statutes, see ibid., chs 3 and 4; on under what circumstances and for whom such texts were written, see ibid., ch. 5. The statutes are edited in MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1–4 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1984–2005).

[30] Peter Brommer, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1984), 39–40; 'That each should according to his ability strive to provide for the equipment of the church, that is, as regards the plate and the chalice, the chasuble and the alb, the missal, the lectionary, the martyrology, the penitential, the psalter, or other books that he could, the cross, the tabernacle, just as we have said according to his ability'. See Hamilton, 'Educating', 106.

[31] Boretius, ed., *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, MGH Capitularia regum Francorum 1, 224. 'Each priest sings the mass, and a cleric of another order or a monk or rather one consecrated to God who has learned the psalms similarly sings fifty psalms'. See Carine van Rhijn, 'Carolingian Rural Priests as Local (Religious) Experts', in *Gott handhaben: Religiöses Wissen im Konflikt um Mythisierung und Rationalisierung*, ed. Steffen Patzold and Florian Bock (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 131–46, at 131.

psalms, for liturgical incompetence would presumably not result in the prevention of famine. Similarly, a martyrology is included in Gerbald's recounting of the essential accoutrements of a local church because without it, or the other listed items, the priest responsible for the church would not be able to fulfil his duties.

The unattributed and unlocalised *Capitula Florentina* (after 820) also includes a list of books a priest is required to own. Chapter seven of the episcopal capitulary states: 'Ut unusquisque pleniter suum ministerium habeat et suos libros, id est sacramentarium, evangelium, lectionarium, antiphonarium, psalterium, omelia beati Augustini vel sancti Gregorii, martyrologium sive compotum, quomodo officium sum devote adimplere posit. Et ipsos prefatos libros absque vitio optime correctos habeat'.[32] In this capitulary, a reason is given for why a local priest should own these types of books—to enable him to carry out his responsibilities. It is emphasised that these books must be corrected. For the anonymous author of this capitulary, a martyrology is interchangeable with *computus*. The primary function of a martyrology as included in this list is as a guide to the ecclesiastical calendar.

The *Capitula* of Walter of Orléans (869 or 870) lists 'missalem videlicet, evangelium, lectionarium, psalterium, antiphonarium, martirologium et homeliarium' as 'libros ęcclesiasticos' a priest should own.[33] It is possible that a martyrology is included within this list as a type of book related to the mass. To Walter, the mass book is the most

---

[32] Brommer, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1, 223. 'That each have entirely his ministry and his books, that is a sacramentary, an evangeliary, a lectionary, an antiphonary, a psalter, homilies of blessed Augustine or Saint Gregory, a martyrology or *computus*, so as to be able to fulfil his duty devotedly. And he shall have the aforesaid books very well corrected without fault '.

[33] Brommer, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1, 189. 'Namely, a mass book, an evangeliary, a lectionary, a psalter, an antiphonary, a martyrology, and a homiliary'; 'ecclesiastical books'. For the problems or difficulties of translating 'missale', see Helmut Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 91–141, at 99–100.

obvious and perhaps most important type of book to name. This reveals the centrality of the mass amongst the responsibilities of priests under Walter's supervision. Moreover, all of the types of books listed could have been used during the mass, albeit not exclusively for those such as the martyrology, lectionary, and homiliary. I will return to Walter's *Capitula* below, in discussion of the books a priest should know.

The first *Capitula* of Willebert of Châlons (868–878) is unique in devoting an entire chapter to ownership of a martyrology, albeit briefly. Chapter eight in its entirety reads 'Ut unusquisque martyrologium suum habeat'.[34] It is curious that a martyrology is not listed amongst other liturgical books or objects to outfit a local church. The preceding and following chapters stipulate 'Ut de compoto kalendas et lunam et terminos adinvenire possit' and 'Ut dominicas et festivitates precipuas excolere per gradale suum et nocturnalem canticum non ignoret', respectively.[35] Similarly to the *Capitula Florentina*, as intended by Willebert the primary function of a martyrology for a local priest may be inferred to be a guide to festal observance and the ecclesiastical calendar.

The *Capitula* of Riculf of Soissons (889) also includes a martyrology amongst books necessary for the proper fulfilment of the duties of a local priest. Chapter eight requires

> Item pręmonemus, ut unusquisque vestrum missalem, lectionarium, evangelium, martyrologium, antiphonarium, psalterium et librum XL omeliarum beati Gregorii correctum atque distinctum per nostros codices, quibus in sancta matre ecclesia utimur, habere laboret. Et libros quidem divinos et ecclesiasticos, quoscumque potestis habere, non emittite. Ex ipsis enim cybus et condimentum animarum percipitur dicente domino: *Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo, quod procedit de ore dei*. Si quis autem omnes veteris testamenti libros habere nequiverit, saltem hoc studiosius elaboret, ut primum totius divinę historię librum,

---

[34] Rudolph Pokorny, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 2 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2005), 93. 'That each have his martyrology'.
[35] Ibid. 'That he may discover the kalends and the moon and the terminus from computus'; 'That he should not be unaware of observing Sunday and the chief festivals by means of his graduale and chanting the nocturns'.

> Genesim videlicet, sibi correcte transcribat, cuius lectione totius munde creationem dinoscere valeat.[36]

Riculf recognises the exigencies of local churches, whose priests may or may not have ready access to all of the books listed. His minimum standard includes at least Genesis, if not the entire Old Testament. The reference to *sancta matre ecclesia* (holy mother church) raises the possibility that Riculf looks to Rome as a source of 'corrected' liturgy. It is also possible that Riculf refers to his church in Soissons, a source of guidance for the priests placed in local churches. This chapter also shows concern for the preservation of the holdings of local churches. *Divinos et ecclesiasticos* (divine and ecclesiastical) books are not to be sent away. Paradoxically, this may reveal the extent to which books including martyrologies were actually circulating between local churches in the ninth century. Local priests would have had to receive or gain access to copies of the required books before they could use them in their local churches.

An anonymous capitulary found in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 679 (c. 900; eastern Francia) includes the requirement that clergy must possess a martyrology, but for a specific reason. Chapter seven lists vestments, church accoutrements, and liturgical books including a martyrology that are required to 'fungi sacro officio'.[37] This probably refers to the clerical responsibility for the proper performance of liturgies, especially the

---

[36] Pokorny, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 2, 103–4. 'Also, we warn that each should strive to have a mass book, a lectionary, an evangeliary, a martyrology, an antiphonary, a psalter, and a book of the forty homilies of blessed Gregory, correct and punctuated by means of our books which we use in the holy mother church. And indeed, do not send away the divine and ecclesiastical books, whatever you may have. For from these things is acquired nourishment and seasoning of souls, with the Lord saying: Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God. If, however, one cannot have all the books of the Old Testament, he should at least strive more assiduously to transcribe the first book of the whole divine history, that is, Genesis, correctly for himself, by reading which he will be able to learn about the creation of the whole world'.

[37] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 679, p. 220. The manuscript is digitised at https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0679. 'Perform a sacred duty'. See also de Gaiffier, 'L'Usage', 53.

mass. The liturgical books listed suggest this context.[38] They all are or could be used in preparing for or delivering the mass: missal, martyrology, *computus*, and a book of preaching (*libellus predicationis*), which probably refers to a homiliary.

The subsequent *Capitula* of Ruotger of Trier (915–929) similarly includes a martyrology amongst a list of items to be owned by priests. Chapter five of the capitulary, *De libris et de vestimentis ecclesiasticis et de vasis* (Concerning the books, ecclesiastical vestments, and utensils), states 'Ut sacerdotes libros sibi necessarios correctos habeant, psalterium scilicet, lectionarium, evangelium, missalem, capitula, XL omelias et martyrologium; et sacerdotalia vestimenta et calicem ac patenam pro posse optima et munda habeant et ea in alios usu nullatenus transire patiantur'.[39] 'Forty homilies' here probably refers to Gregory's forty homilies on the Gospels mentioned in the earlier *Capitula* of Riculf of Soissons discussed above. Ruotger not only included a martyrology within a list of books that a priest should own, but also specified that all such books should be corrected. Similarly to the prescriptions found in the *Capitula* of Riculf of Soissons, the local priest is responsible for ensuring that his vestments and key church equipment are kept clean and are not used by anyone other than him. This may be a comparable attempt to protect the holdings of local churches from depredation.

Other normative texts provide further evidence of required ownership of martyrologies through the ninth century and into the early tenth century. The *Homelia* of Pope Leon IV (847–855) states 'Exorcismos quoque et preces super salem et aquam, cantum nocturnum et diurnum, compotum, si non maiorem saltem minorem,

---

[38] See St Gallen MS 679, pp. 219–20.

[39] Brommer, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1, 63. 'That priests may have the books necessary for them corrected, a psalter, of course, a lectionary, an evangeliary, a mass book, a collectar, forty homilies, and a martyrology; and the priestly vestments and the chalice and the plate should be kept as clean as possible, and they must not be allowed to pass into the use of others'. On the translation of 'capitula', see Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books', 112–13.

martyrologium, poenitentialem unusquisque habeat'.[40] This text again emphasises the close relationship between a martyrology and *computus* for a Carolingian priest, listing the two books successively. It is suggestive of a priestly pastoral function that a penitential is listed after a martyrology. The prologue to the penitential of pseudo-Egbert found in Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, MS 132 addresses priests: 'Inprimis propter deum coginet et preparet arma eius antequam manus episcopi tangerit capud. Id est psalterium, lectionarium, antyphonarium, missalem, baptisterium, martirologium et conpotum cum ciclo in anno circuli ad predicationem cum bonis operibus'.[41] The penitential itself again draws an association between a martyrology and *computus*. The second recension of the *De ecclesiasticis disciplinis* of Regino of Prüm (c. 906; second recension soon after) also mentions a martyrology, as part of an exam for the use of bishops in inspecting priests.[42] Chapter twenty-nine of the *Inquisitio de his quae episcopus vel ejus ministri in suo districtu vel territorio inquirere debeant per vicos, pagos, atque paroechias suae diocesios* (An investigation into what the bishop or his ministers should inquire into in their district or territory, through the villages, cantons, and parishes of their dioceses) asks 'Si habeat Martyrologium, ex quo certis diebus natalitia sanctorum populo annuntiet'.[43] This probably refers to a similar practice to that

---

[40] De Gaiffier, 'L'Usage', 53. 'Each should also have exorcisms and prayers over salt and water, chants for night and day, computus (if not a greater one, at least a lesser one), a martyrology, a penitential'.

[41] Waagmeester, 'Priests, Pastoral Compendia and the Laity', 32 n. 64. Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, MS 132, fol. 78 (cited in ibid.). 'First of all, for God's sake, he must assemble and prepare his weapons before the hands of his bishop touch his head. That is, a psalter, a lectionary, an antiphonary, a mass book, a manual, a martyrology and *computus* with a calendar [and homiliary] organised in the circle of the year, for preaching with good works'. For this interpretation of 'cum ciclo in anno circuli', I draw upon a fuller list given by Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*: see ch. 4, 168. On the translation of 'baptisterium', see Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books', 134–5.

[42] See de Gaiffier, 'L'Usage', 53.

[43] Regino of Prüm, 'De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis et Religione Christiana, Collectus', in *Reginonis Prumiensis Abbatis, Hucbaldi Monachi Elnonensis, Opera Omnia*, pr. Jacques-Paul Migne, PL 132 (Paris: Excudebat Migne, etc., 1853), cols 185–455, at col. 191. 'If he has a martyrology, from which on certain days the [heavenly] birthdays of the saints are announced to the people'.

prescribed in *Ordo* XVII, in which a martyrology was used during the mass to announce which saints were to be commemorated on the following day. This text, however, refers to *populo* (to the people). This more strongly suggests the use of a martyrology in the performance of the mass to an audience of laypeople by priests within local churches.

Not all ninth-century episcopal capitularies include a martyrology in their account of books priests are required to own. However, the number of such texts that do so is suggestive of the importance of martyrologies for determining the calendar of festal observance in the localities. A significant number of bishops intended that the priests under their supervision own a martyrology and, consequently, equip their local churches with a resource on when to commemorate which saint(s). For bishops including Gerbald of Liège, a martyrology was as important for any local church as, for instance, a chalice, cross, or tabernacle. It is probable that at least some of these references to martyrologies intend use in the mass similar to that described in the earlier *Ordo* XVII. The majority of the books listed in these capitularies could have been used in the mass, if not exclusively so.

There is evidence that some priests did respond to the requirement to provide the local church they oversaw with a martyrology. Two inventories from the Frankish heartlands list a martyrology, and one Bavarian church inventory twice records a 'passionale', which Hammer argues refers to a martyrology.[44] It is, indeed, reasonable to assume that these references to a passionale at this date probably are to a martyrology. The term 'passionale' is not present in episcopal capitularies.[45] Moreover, the longer notices within historical martyrologies could be described as synopses of the passions of the saints they contain. Martyrologies are not the most numerous book found in the inventories discussed by Hammer. As he points out, however, inventories might not have listed books that were the personal property of the local priest (discussed below).[46] The

---

[44] Hammer, 'Country Churches', 11, 13.
[45] Based upon MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1–4.
[46] Hammer, 'Country Churches', 10.

martyrology found in the Bavarian inventory perhaps speaks to the extent to which prescriptive texts issued from the centre of the Carolingian lands affected peripheral regions. The *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis* mentioned earlier is found twice in a manuscript written near Freising dated to the beginning of the ninth century, indicating that its regulations had made their way to the edge of the empire remarkably quickly in at least one instance.[47] As Thomas Kohl has noted, there is a greater body of extant source material concerning local churches and their priests in Carolingian Bavaria than anywhere else in the empire, except certain areas of Italy.[48] It is intriguing that most evidence for the role of local priests, then, is drawn from regions brought under Carolingian control fairly recently (although this could, of course, be a matter of source survival). This would seem to support recent reassessments of priests as agents of *correctio*, who were perhaps most zealously employed in the most recently incorporated or far-flung areas.[49] I will discuss the evidence that manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology were owned by priests or bishops below.

Knowing the Martyrology

A martyrology owned by a bishop or priest as a reference guide would presumably not necessarily have needed to be memorised to be used in the mass or in personal familiarisation with the calendar of festal observance. A subset of normative sources, however, required that priests not only own a martyrology but that they know a martyrology. The *Admonitio synodalis*, closely related to the ninth-century capitularies of

---

[47] Étaix, 'Manuel', 114 n. 1; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 28135, fols 1r, 109v–114r. The manuscript is digitised at https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00047308-7.

[48] Kohl, 'Presbyter', 50.

[49] Patzold, 'Correctio an der Basis', 229–30; for a brief historiography of the status of the local priest in the scholarship on Carolingian 'reforms', see ibid., 228–30. Carine van Rhijn has written extensively on this matter: van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*; idem, 'Manuscripts for local priests'; idem, 'Royal Politics in Small Worlds: Local Priests and the Implementation of Carolingian Correctio', in *Kleine Welten: Ländliche Gesellschaften Im Karolingerreich*, ed. Thomas Kohl, Steffen Patzold, and Bernhard Zeller, Vorträge und Forschungen 87 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2019), 237–54; idem, *Leading the Way to Heaven*.

Bishops Theodulf of Orléans, Hincmar of Reims, the same Gerbald of Liège whom we encountered above, and the tenth-century clerical *Inquisitio* of Regino of Prüm, prescribes priestly ownership of a martyrology.[50] This text has been variously dated to the early ninth century or the early tenth century, depending on whether Regino's text drew upon the *Admonitio* or vice versa, or whether both result from another text.[51] Regardless of whether the *Admonitio* is itself Carolingian or synthesises Carolingian texts and ideas, it articulates a crucial point related to the place of martyrologies within Carolingian *correctio* in the localities. Whereas three manuscript traditions stipulate that priests should *possess* a martyrology and penitential (*martyrologium et poenitentiale habeat*), another states that priests should *know* the martyrology and penitential (*martyrologium et penitentialem sapiat*).[52] Possession of a martyrology and knowledge of its contents are distinct, and different textual variants prioritise one or the other.

The *Capitula* of Waltcaud of Liège (811/12–831, most probably 812–814) includes a prescription that may be inferred to refer to knowledge of a martyrology. The final chapter of this capitulary states 'De praecipuis festis atque sollemnitatibus anni circuli, quomodo adnuntiantur vel qualiter celebrantur et quomodo plebs observatur'.[53] A martyrology would certainly help fulfil the requirement that priests know the calendar of festal observance, especially pertaining to how upcoming occasions are to be announced. This may be related to the earlier stipulation of *Ordo* XVII that a martyrology be used to read out the names of saint(s) to be commemorated on the next day during the mass. This

---

[50] See Charles West, 'The Earliest Form and Function of the "Admonitio Synodalis"', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 57, no. 1 (2023): 347–80; Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, 64; for the printed edition, see Robert Amiet, 'Une "Admonitio Synodalis" de l'époque Carolingienne. Étude critique et édition', *Mediaeval Studies* 26 (1964): 12–82 (cited in ibid.).

[51] Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, cited in ns 82–4.

[52] Amiet, '"Admonitio Synodalis"', 68 (c. 97): the four manuscript traditions in relation to c. 97 are G, JNPS, EFQX, A, with the EFQX group containing *sapiat*; on the manuscripts and their *sigla*, ibid., 13–24, with *stemma*, ibid., 30, 33.

[53] Brommer, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1, 49. 'Of the principal feasts and solemnities of the cycle of the year, how they are announced or how they are celebrated and how the people observe them'.

stipulation shows that prescribed knowledge of a martyrology could be intended within the context of the mass, as well as in a general sense. For Waltcaud, the mass is framed in an almost pastoral sense. A priest must know the ecclesiastical calendar to perform masses and must know how people are supposed to observe saints' feasts and holy days. In the final clause of this chapter, Waltcaud emphasises the people to whom priests minister.

The *Capitula* of Walter of Orléans (869 or 870), introduced above, stipulates both ownership of and knowledge of a martyrology. After listing the books that priests should own, including a martyrology, Walter explains 'per quos se et alios informare debent… Et unusquisque capitula (habeat) de maioribus vel minoribus vicis seu etiam virtutibus, per que cognoscere possit vel praedicare subditis suis, ut caveant ab insidis diaboli'.[54] A martyrology, as well as the other liturgical books listed, was to be used not only for the priests' learning but for the edification of those to whom they ministered. Clerical learning and the duty of preaching are here closely entwined. The ultimate result of clerical competence in this instance is protection from the devil and therefore, to put it in positive terms, the salvation of both priest and his flock.

Fewer normative texts stipulate that priests must know a martyrology when compared to those texts that stipulate that priests must own a martyrology. The latter two examples discussed above show that what priests were supposed to do with the knowledge of a martyrology varied in emphasis. For Waltcaud of Liège, a martyrology could provide information to assist priests in celebrating the mass and guiding their flock on how to properly commemorate the feasts of the *temporale* and *sanctorale*. This is similar to the prescriptions that stipulated ownership of martyrologies as guides to festal observance, discussed in the previous section. For Walter of Orléans, a martyrology would be useful for ministering to laypeople in a more direct manner. Within this

---

[54] Ibid., 189. 'By which they ought to inform themselves and others… and each (should have) chapters on greater or lesser vices or even virtues, by which he may learn or preach to his subjects, so that they may beware of the snares of the devil'.

framework a local priest's knowledge of the martyrdoms of the saints collected in a martyrology would trickle down to the people who attended services at the local church he oversaw through his preaching, hopefully to thereby ensure the salvation of all involved. Ultimately, the pastoral and educational functions of the martyrologies referred to in the normative sources discussed in this and the preceding section of this chapter were to be inextricably linked to the liturgical duties of priests.

Manuscript Copies of Bede's Martyrology for Reference, Education, and/or Pastoral Use

In order to discuss how ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology may have been used by priests or bishops for pastoral or other functions, I will first briefly survey prevailing approaches to identify books for reference, education, and/or pastoral use. Pedagogical codices of this form appear to be a largely ninth-century phenomenon, 'squarely in the context of the Carolingian reform movement and its ambitions to create well-educated priests and well-instructed Christian lay flocks' across the empire.[55] Earlier manuscripts may have been made for, owned, or used by priests, but were not necessarily pastoral in function: for instance, a seventh- or eighth-century manuscript copy of Fredegar's Chronicle (BnF MS lat. 10910) bears a colophon identifying a certain Lucerios *presbyter monacos* but based on its textual contents was probably not used for pastoral care.[56] Identifying books which were intended for and/or used by pastors to that end is not therefore as straightforward as associating a manuscript with a priest. In his classification of liturgical manuscripts for priestly or episcopal use, Rasmussen recommended assessing two factors: material characteristics and presentation; liturgical content.[57] To this, Hen added that 'the combination of canonical material with liturgical prayers' and 'the combination of several different types of liturgical books' were

---

[55] Van Rhijn, 'Manuscripts for local priests', 181; ibid.: van Rhijn notes that while most instruction-readers for priests were written in northern or northeastern France, a number were also copied in Bavaria, Switzerland, northern Italy, and central Germany.
[56] Hen, 'Priests and books', 174. The manuscript is digitised at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10511002k.
[57] Cited in Hen, 'Knowledge', 129 n. 67.

suggestive of priestly ownership or use.[58] Keefe listed numerous sorts of texts—

penitentials, liturgical *ordines*, Carolingian legislation, sermon collections, canon law

collections, computistical tables/*computus*, *interrogationes sacerdotes*, expositions on the

clerical grades, and prayers and hymns (as well as the subject of her study, baptismal

expositions)—that are often found together in varying combinations in manuscripts that

she characterises as educational and/or pastoral.[59] Following from Rasmussen's first

point, it is accepted that most books for individual priests (and to a lesser extent, bishops)

might be small, scrappy, and not necessarily well-copied in terms of either script or

orthography.[60] Keefe split these pedagogical codices into four groups: 1) 'instruction-

readers for priests', 2) 'bishops' pastoral manuals', 3) 'bishops' reference works', and 4)

'schoolbooks'.[61] Rather than adhere to these categories, van Rhijn preferred to view such

books 'in terms of a sliding scale' from instruction-reader on one end to schoolbooks and

bishops' manuals on the other.[62] For my purposes, I will combine the two approaches. As

my study of Bede's Martyrology does not focus exclusively on priests, I draw upon the

nuances of Keefe's categories of compilation. For instance, instruction-readers do not

contain texts extraneous to the local priest, whilst bishops' manuals do; bishops'

reference works contain complete texts rather than 'miscellaneous excerpted sentences

and canons' and are of a good size, condition, and degree of sophistication; and

schoolbooks combine 'miscellaneous excerpts from pagan authors, alphabets, glosses,

marginalia, catalogues of names, parts of chronicles, and *probationes pennae*'.[63] As van

---

[58] Ibid., 129.
[59] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, 16–21.
[60] Most recently, see van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven* (ch. 2: Manuscripts for Priests) https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch11__5&utm_medium=share &utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.
[61] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, 22.
[62] See van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch11__341&utm_medium=sha re&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.
[63] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, 23–4, 27–9.

Rhijn did not, however, I will not attempt to classify ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology into rigid categories.

Two ninth-century examples of Bede's text occur within manuscripts that have been characterised as pastoral or educational compilations in recent scholarship: El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS L.III.8 and BL Add. MS 19725. El Escorial MS L.III.8, the earlier of the two, has been termed a bishop's pastoral manual by Keefe, a 'clerical study book' or manuscript used to train aspiring clerics by van Rhijn, a *Sammelhandschrift* by Peter Brommer and Raymund Kottje, a local priest's handbook by Rudolph Pokorny, and a 'master copy for the production of priestly "instruction-readers"' by Steffen Patzold.[64] Keefe argued that the manuscript was likely to be a bishop's pastoral manual based on the evidence of its texts, especially two letters—one from Bishop Herpuin of Senlis to Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (fol. 1v) and the other a short form letter from the same Herpuin to Archbishop Wenilo of Rouen (fol. 9)—and a baptismal exposition contained therein (fols 25–29v).[65] The El Escorial manuscript also contains sermons not corresponding to the liturgical calendar, but instead as a 'collection of moral instruction'.[66] Raymund Kottje had argued that the letters are especially suggestive of the use of the manuscript by a bishop for the *cura animarum* of

---

[64] Ibid., 27, 134 discusses the manuscript as a bishop's pastoral manual; for a detailed description of the manuscript's contents, see Keefe, *Water and the Word*, II, 19–23; van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*,
https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch18__127&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego settles on a more educational purpose; see also idem, 'Pastoral Care and Prognostics in the Carolingian Period: The Case of El Escorial, Real Biblioteca di San Lorenzo, MS L III 8', *Revue Bénédictine* 127, no. 2 (2017): 272–97, at 273; Brommer, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1, 24 and Pokorny, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 4, 9, cited in van Rhijn, 'Pastoral Care and Prognostics', 273 n. 7; Raymund Kottje, 'Zur Herkunft der Handschrift Escorial, Bibl. de S. Lorenzo L III 8, aus Senlis', *Francia - Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte* 13 (1985): 623–24, at 623 (*Sammelhandschrift für die seelsorgliche Praxis*); Patzold, 'Pater noster', 211–12. See appendix A, 266–7.
[65] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, 27, 134; on the letters, see Kottje, 'Herkunft', cited in ibid., 27 n. 12; foliation from Keefe, *Water and the Word*, II, 19–21.
[66] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, 18.

his flock.[67] The baptismal exposition, Keefe's text three, is one of four *florilegia* derived from John the Deacon, and it has been argued it was probably intended to fulfil a pedagogical function.[68] In El Escorial MS L.III.8, however, the text is missing the portion of the Council of Laodicea that stipulates the faithful must recite the Creed to the bishop or priests on Holy Thursday, a fitting lacuna for a compendium of texts compiled for the pastoral use of a bishop.[69] The manuscript is of a larger size, longer length, and higher level of scribal skill than would be expected for a local priest's book.[70] The wide variety of texts contained therein, presence of drypoint additions, pen trials, doodles, and what appear to be a reader's effort to practice writing his or her letters, however, point toward potential use by students in an instructional context, to judge from van Rhijn's recent discussion of the manuscript and Keefe's own framework for identifying schoolbooks.[71] My impression, given the original and additional content of the manuscript (including a prose prognostic text and a tenth-century sample marriage contract),[72] is that El Escorial MS L.III.8 was originally compiled for the pastoral use of Bishop Herpuin, but then came to be used in the education of clerics.

The presentation of the text within the Martyrology provides further support for a period of pastoral use followed by a period of educational use. Whilst Bede's Martyrology would have originally been included for Herpuin's 'essential and urgent needs as a pastor', perhaps setting the festal observance of his flock, in a schoolroom context it became a reference guide to or mnemonic resource on the feastdays of the

---

[67] Kottje, 'Herkunft', cited in Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, 27 n. 12.

[68] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, 134.

[69] Ibid.

[70] See van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch18__127&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.

[71] Ibid.; Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, 28–9.

[72] See van Rhijn, 'Pastoral Care and Prognostics', 272–3. On the latter, van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch17__229&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego, n. 32.

saints, a reader on their *Lives*, and/or a text contrasting pagans and Christians within a larger narrative of Christian history.[73] A reader of this manuscript even added drypoint Dominical letters throughout the Martyrology, perhaps as a sort of crib sheet to enhance understanding of its liturgical application.[74] The lack of necrological notices and liturgical apparatus, however, would imply that these were added for pedagogical purposes rather than for recitation in the morning meeting in chapter—dates within the Martyrology are not listed down one side of the page for ease of public reading in the morning chapter assembly, but within the body of the text.[75] The density and quality of entries contained in Bede's historical notices would perhaps facilitate memorisation, education, or succinct, yet detailed explanation—making them well-suited for both pastoral education of laypeople and training of future priests when compared to, for instance, the terse notices of the Hieronymian Martyrology or the lengthy notices found in Ado's Martyrology.

The London manuscript exemplifies a different sort of compilation altogether, and therefore a distinct context for the copy of Bede's Martyrology which it contains. It is agreed that the late ninth-century manuscript is probably a priest's book based upon its small size, lack of decoration, and compilation of texts that would have been of use to a local priest.[76] BL Add. MS 19725 is smaller than El Escorial MS L.III.8; Hamilton has described the former as 'eminently portable'.[77] The priest's book is approximately 30,000

---

[73] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, 28; on the last point, see van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch18__245&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.

[74] For instance, fol. 161v, where a drypoint F is visible in the digitised manuscript: https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/rbme/item/14619#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-1483%2C-130%2C4618%2C2598.

[75] Bede's Martyrology begins on fol. 127v; see the digital reproduction linked in the previous note.

[76] See Pokorny, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 4, 9; Hamilton, 'Educating'; Patzold, 'Correctio an der Basis', 249; van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*.

[77] Hamilton, 'Educating', 107.

lines shorter than the El Escorial manuscript.[78] It contains a variety of original texts
(including Bede's Martyrology, a *computus*, the penitential of pseudo-Bede/Egbert,
Gennadius of Marseille's *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, and early ninth-century episcopal
capitula) and additions (including medical recipes, a prayer for Palm Sunday, an
anonymous sermon, an incomplete version of a prayer for ordeal by boiling water, and
the Sunday Letter).[79] There has been some disagreement surrounding the identification of
its martyrology and description of its codicological structure.[80] Although the martyrology
does contain some additional information, the underlying structure consists of Bede's text

---

[78] Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*,
https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch18__127&utm_medium=sha
re&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.
[79] Hamilton, 'Educating', 107–8; van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven* (throughout, but see
especially appendix on the contents of instruction-readers at
https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch21__3&utm_medium=share
&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego). For a description, see Bischoff,
Katalog, ed. Ebersperger, II, 98. On its martyrology, see Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 26–
7; Brommer, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1, 34–5. On the
penitential, see Reinhold Haggenmüller, *Überlieferung der Beda und Egbert* and Rob Meens,
Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 232.
On its computistical content, see Jones, *Bedae Pseudepigrapha*, 2, 119. On its medicinal
additions, see Kerff, 'Frühmittelalterliche pharmazeutische Rezepte'; Ria Paroubek-Groenewoud,
'Transfer of Medical Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages. Medical Texts in the Margins of a
Ninth Century Non-Medical Manuscript (London BL Add 19725)', (RMA-thesis, University of
Utrecht, 2019), cited in van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*,
https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch17__462&utm_medium=sha
re&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego. On the prayer related to ordeal by
hot water, see van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*,
https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch17__734&utm_medium=sha
re&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego. On the Sunday Letter, see
Dorothy Ina Haines, ed. and trans., *Sunday Observance and the Sunday Letter in Anglo-Saxon
England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010). On the manuscript, see ch. 1, 56, and appendix
A, 268.
[80] Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, II, 98 (Hieronymian); *Capitula Episcoporum*, ed.
Brommer, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1, 34–5 (Usuard); Quentin, *Martyrologes
historiques*, 26–7 and Lapidge, 'Acca of Hexham', 48 (Bede). I discuss my method of attribution
in ch. 1, 51–2.

(including his original blank entries).[81] Bernhard Bischoff saw the prayer and anonymous sermon on fols 2–4 as one unit of production, and the remainder of the manuscript as another.[82] Van Rhijn, however, identifies the first eighty-eight folios as one unit and the last forty folios as a previously independent manuscript.[83] Following my own examination of the manuscript's codicological structure, I subscribe to Bischoff's analysis, in which a short *libellus* containing the prayer for Palm Sunday and unattributed sermons was bound to the Martyrology and the other texts original to the manuscript during the late ninth or early tenth century.[84] It is likely that the sermon in the London manuscript was included for a similar reason to those included in the El Escorial manuscript for moral edification. The concluding portion of the sermon seems especially geared toward priests, referring to its audience as 'we, who preach in the priestly order' (*nobis qui sacerdotali ordine predici sumus*).[85] The communal appeal to priests suggests that the sermon may have been copied following a diocesan synod in which (arch)bishops educated and examined parish priests, or made from an exemplar copied during this context.[86] Due to the content of the prayer and sermons, then, we have a possible example of material appended to a codex in an effort to enhance its practical applications and edifying characteristics for a local priest. Moreover, that these texts were inserted directly preceding Bede's Martyrology draws relationships by proximity between, on the one

---

[81] Following comparison with Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique*, ed. Dubois and Renaud; see ch. 1, 43 n. 77.

[82] Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, II, 98.

[83] Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch18__120&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.

[84] In ibid. van Rhijn states that the manuscript contains no sermons.

[85] BL Add. MS 19725, fol. 4v.

[86] See Rutger Kramer, 'Order in the Church: Understanding Councils and Performing Ordines in the Carolingian World', *Early Medieval Europe* 25, no. 1 (2017): 54–69, at 65–7.

hand, the prayer and the Martyrology and, on the other, the pastoral sermon and the Martyrology.[87]

The presentation of the text within the Martyrology and small number of obits would seem to argue in this instance against use in the chapter assembly. Although Bede's text as it appears in BL Add. MS 19725 does have more of a liturgical apparatus than seen in the El Escorial manuscript, the manner in which dates are listed is not congruent with later manuscript copies that may be more securely associated with chapter. For, for instance, 'VII Kal. Feb.', the London manuscript preserves only 'VII K.', even on folios where it is not clear to which month reference is being made.[88] This seems incompatible with public reading of the date and other computistical information before reading the martyrology in chapter, as attested in normative sources by the tenth century at the latest.[89] It is more likely that within the London manuscript Bede's Martyrology was a reference guide or pastoral resource for a ninth-century priest associated with a local church, who, given the evidence of two obits (one written in the same hand as the Martyrology), may have ministered to a north Frankish female community.[90] We can see, then, related purposes for El Escorial MS L.III.8 and BL Add. MS 19725, occurring within separate contexts.

One ninth-century copy of Bede's Martyrology would seem to have been created to serve as a reference guide to festal observance within the context of the mass. The

---

[87] To my knowledge, the sermon has not been edited or discussed in detail. It warns against pride, envy, greed, falsehood, fornication, and adultery and encourages love for one's neighbours. My transcription in appendix B, 283–7 (with translation) does not correct the Latin and preserves the original punctuation. On the prayer, also found in the tenth-century Sacramentary of Ratoldus (BnF MS lat. 12052) and an eleventh-century English pontifical-benedictional associated with Archbishop Wulfstan of York (now bound as part of BL MS Cotton Claudius A iii), see Hamilton, 'Educating', 108 n. 104.

[88] BL Add. MS 19725, fol. 6v.

[89] See ch. 2, 83–98; ch. 4, 163–8.

[90] Hamilton, 'Educating', 108, especially 108–9 n. 107. See BL Add. MS 19725, fol. 7r (Odrada). The other obit cited by Hamilton is written in a lighter ink and a different hand, but seems roughly contemporary: BL Add. MS 19725, fol. 14r (Osanna).

fragmentary Martyrology of BAV MS Ott. lat. 313 was probably copied as part of a clerical reference manual, perhaps for a bishop. The codex contains a sacramentary, including an *ordo missae*, ordinations for a bishop, priest, and deacon, penitential and baptismal *ordines*, and an *ordo ad cathecumenum faciendum*.[91] This could represent an instance of the use of Bede's Martyrology as a clerical resource on festal observance within the context of the mass, given its codicological context. The inclusion of penitential and baptismal *ordines* could also suggest the use of the manuscript by a bishop or priest in ministering to his flock. Marc Dykmans, however, has noted a high density of necrological notices added to the Martyrology, which may suggest a later or perhaps simultaneous use in commemoration of the ordinary dead.[92] This copy does not contain a liturgical apparatus other than that denoting the date and rubrics giving the number of days in each month. Based on its codicological context, however, it is most probable that this copy was used by clergy in determining the *sanctorale* and possibly in announcing such information during the mass.

A group of five copies contain marginal references suggesting the use of Bede's Martyrology in organising liturgical observance. These manuscripts are: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15818 (Salzburg origin); BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 (Worms, Lorsch, or Würzburg origin); Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H 410 (origin near Reims); Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.49 (Würzburg origin); and Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Car. C. 176 ((?south)eastern Frankish origin). The references take the form GR, GR EU or GR EUG, NOC, NOC PR, and MIS PR or MISSA P in the margin next to the entries for certain saints. Rainer Leng has noted that this apparatus may indicate a schoolroom context, but

---

[91] See Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 404; Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, I, 208; idem, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, II, 12–13; idem, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, III, 68, 25; idem, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 87. On the sacramentary, see Saxer, 'Observations codicologiques et liturgiques'.
[92] Dykmans, 'Obituaires romains', 600.

145

it may also be suggestive of liturgical use in chapter.[93] Henri Quentin had earlier commented upon the apparatus within BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 and concluded that the notes referred to 'soit une partie de l'office liturgique s'écartant du commun, soit un livre spécial à préparer pour le chœur'.[94] I follow Quentin's understanding of the reading notes, which I take to refer to other liturgical books or readings for the veneration of certain saints. Under this framework, GR refers to the graduale, EU or EUG to the evangeliary, NOC to the night office, PR to proper, and MIS or MISSA to mass. A martyrology containing this apparatus would be well-suited indeed for organising the liturgical observance of a religious community or local church. This system possibly reflects the kind of use context to which Waltcaud referred in his capitulary, for instance. Leng has noted that the use of this system seems to be associated with Würzburg, given the surviving manuscript evidence.[95] This would substantiate the influence of prescriptive texts stipulating the use of martyrologies as guides to the ecclesiastical calendar, at least in Würzburg and the other areas of origin listed above. It is curious, however, that I am not aware of a manuscript copy of a martyrology other than Bede's containing such an apparatus from the ninth century. The ninth-century copy of Usuard's Martyrology within BnF MS lat. 13745 later received annotations with an analogous purpose, but this did not occur during the ninth century.[96]

The textual contents of four of this group of manuscripts, Munich Clm. 15818, BAV MS Pal. lat. 833, Montpellier BiSM MS H 410, and Zurich MS Car. C. 176, provide further evidence for the possible use of Bede's Martyrology as a clerical reference guide to festal observance. The first fascicle of Munich Clm. 15818 is a ninth-century compilation which could conceivably have been associated with either clerical education or episcopal reference due to its contents, including Gennadius's *De*

[93] Rainer Leng, 'Ein würzburger Necrolog aus dem 9. Jahrhundert', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, no. 63 (2007): 1–40, at 5–6 (especially 6 ns 18 and 19).
[94] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 21.
[95] Leng, 'Würzburger Necrolog', 6 n. 18.
[96] See ch. 4, 184–6.

dogmatibus ecclesiasticis, sermons, material on penance, and episcopal letters; this was later brought together with a ninth-century copy of Bede's Martyrology, probably during the ninth- and tenth-century period of heightened concern for the competence of priests.[97] As discussed below, Bede's Martyrology is found with *computus* in BAV MS Pal. lat. 833. Montpellier BiSM MS H 410 includes an *ordo* of readings for the night office and a prayer *ante lectionem* ascribed to Bede.[98] The reading to take place using this copy of the Martyrology may have been during the mass. The copy of the Martyrology within Zurich MS Car. C. 176 may have been used for reference in pastoral care or the education of clerics. This manuscript contains *dicta* of Benedict of Aniane, penitential texts, and hymns within the same codicological unit as Bede's Martyrology, as well as canon law in the other ninth-century fascicle and a vernacular charm (tenth-century, in an Alemannic dialect) in the later third fascicle.[99] It is possible that this charm reflects pastoral interactions between priest and laity, during which the priest would translate and explain Latin texts in the vernacular.[100] Overall, I find it probable that this entire group of manuscript copies was used to assist in setting or correctly following the ecclesiastical

---

[97] Schmeller et al., *Catalogus*, II.3, 36–7; Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, II, 266.

[98] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 27–9. The prayer is possibly related to Bede's *Capitula Lectionum*, on which, see Paul Meyvaert, 'Bede's Capitula Lectionum for the Old and New Testaments', *Revue Bénédictine* 105, no. 3–4 (1985): 348–80. I have transcribed and translated the prayer in appendix B, 288.

[99] See Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 539; Mohlberg, *Katalog*, I, 146–49. On the charm (fol. 154r), see Carol Lynn Miller, 'The Old High German and Old Saxon Charms. Text, Commentary and Critical Bibliography' (PhD, Washington University in St. Louis, 1963), 152–4. On its computistical texts, see Jones, *Bedae Pseudepigrapha*, 50, 55, 57, 63, 78, 86–7, 140.

[100] On how this may have worked for sermons, see Bernhard Zeller et al., 'Shepherds, Uncles, Owners, Scribes: Priests as Neighbours in Early Medieval Local Societies', in *Neighbours and Strangers: Local Societies in Early Medieval Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 120–49, at 123–4 and for explanations of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, 129–30. An explanation of the Lord's Prayer in a Bavarian dialect, for instance, is found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6330, fols 70v–71r (cited in ibid., 130 n. 36). The manuscript is digitised at https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00054500-5. Within the early English context, see Francesca Tinti, 'Looking for local priests in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 145–61, at 161.

calendar, in some cases possibly during the mass or in others possibly in a pastoral capacity.

Similarly, the copy within Milan, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, MS M 15 contains texts on *computus* and astronomy (such as *De anno et partibus eius*) and texts on the faith and the Trinity (such as Fulgentius's *De fide ad Petrum*), as well as Bede's Martyrology.[101] It is consequently highly probable that this copy was used as a resource on the liturgical calendar. This would not necessarily have been by a local priest, however. Provenance has been assigned on the basis of additions to the codex to the monastery of St Ambrose in Milan, before the manuscript subsequently passed into the ownership of the canonical community there during the eleventh or twelfth century.[102] This manuscript copy would therefore not appear to have been used by a priest responsible for a local church in the first instance, but by a monk or perhaps bishop or priest responsible for ministering to the monastery. Analysis of this codex therefore illustrates that one cannot assume that all manuscripts containing texts of use for clerical education or pastoral care were owned or used by priests based in local churches. Rather, this copy was perhaps used in manner analogous to that described in the earlier, monastic *Ordo* XVII, in which a martyrology was a resource on festal observance.

Not all copies of Bede's Martyrology appear to have been reference guides in the same manner. Another copy appears to have been produced and used as a resource on Christian history. The Martyrology of Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXV (63) would have provided information on the deaths and burials of the martyrs of the early Church. Similarly, Isidore of Seville's *De ortu et obitu patrum* may have been bound with Bede's Martyrology in this manuscript for its value as an informational source on

---

[101] Ferrari, 'Biblioteca del monastero di S. Ambrogio', 84–92.
[102] Ibid.

the resting places of Biblical figures from Adam to Titus.[103] This manuscript also includes a list of the names of those whose burial places are unknown after the *De ortu et obitu patrum*, beginning with Abel and ending with the Maccabees.[104] Later additions to this copy of Bede's Martyrology insert saints particularly venerated in Verona, such as St Zeno.[105] A later hand has also numbered in the margin the torments of SS Victor and Corona and of St Symphorosa with her seven sons.[106] Taken together, this evidence reveals an interest in the particularities of martyrdom, death, and burial. It is possible that the readers of this copy of the Martyrology used the manuscript in its entirety as a reference guide to the same within Christian history.

The clerical use of BnF MS lat. 5552 must remain speculative, but it does not seem to have been produced for use in the morning chapter assembly. It includes a similar reading apparatus to that of El Escorial L.III.8, is of relatively small size and poor condition, and is bound facing a spurious epistolary exchange between St Jerome and Bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus that was occasionally bound with Bede's or other martyrologies, usually as a preface.[107] One may only speculate that this copy may have been used as a reference guide in the manner prescribed by *Clofesho* canon thirteen or *Ordo* XVII. Ultimately, interpretation of this copy remains inconclusive but more indicative of use(s) outside of the morning chapter assembly, probably as a reference guide as attested to in early normative sources.

One ninth-century copy shows signs of use as part of a reference manual during the three centuries after it was copied. The martyrology of BAV MS Reg. lat. 435 has a clear layout, a liturgical apparatus, and was written by a competent scribe. There is

---

[103] On its contents, see Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 468; Antonio Spagnolo, *I manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona: catalogo descrittivo*, ed. Silvia Marchi, 1st edn (Verona: Casa Editrice Mazziana, 1996), 126.

[104] Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXV (63), fols 57v–59r.

[105] Ibid., fol. 14r.

[106] Ibid., fols 18v–19r and 26r–26v.

[107] See Bischoff, Katalog, ed. Ebersperger, III, 109–10; BnF MS lat. 5552, fol. 15r. For other instances of this colocation of texts, see appendix A, 264–82.

nothing in its copy of Bede's text itself that would indicate that it was not intended for use during the meeting in chapter, as discussed in the previous chapter. The evidence of compilation, however, may tell a different story. Pierre Salmon describes the texts with which it was bound as 'divers textes non liturgiques' of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; each is written in a different hand.[108] The first of these is a mass exposition (fols 25r–32v). This is followed by a text termed *Hugonis Archidiaconi Turonensis dialogus ad Fulbertum amicum suum de quodam miraculo, quod contigit in translatione Sancti Martinis* (fols 33r–40v) by Jean Mabillon and Luc d'Achery, perhaps suggesting a later association with Tours.[109] As this text is in the form of a dialogue, it may have been especially suited for didactic purposes.[110] Next, towards the bottom of fol. 40v, is another instructional dialogue related to the faith: *Incipit quod dialogus scriptum Fulberti de eo quod tria maxime sunt necessaria christianae religionis* (incomplete). The final text of the manuscript is a *summulae seu definitiones de legalibus verbis*;[111] similarly, the Martyrology of UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.49 was likely originally a standalone text with a liturgical purpose but also contains excerpts from a glossary, perhaps showing a pedagogical purpose or a reader so inclined at one point.[112] One must keep in mind that Bede's Martyrology was not originally bound with the texts currently found within BAV MS Reg. lat. 435; given the presentation of the text and the lack of pastoral and educational additions or other traces of use within, it is wholly possible that this copy was originally written for public reading in chapter. Nevertheless, the current

---

[108] Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 100.

[109] Jean Mabillon and Luc d'Achery, eds, 'Hugonis Archidiaconi Turonensis dialogus ad Fulbertum amicum suum de quodam miraculo, quod contigit in translatione Sancti Martinis', in *Vetera Analecta* (Paris: Montalant, 1723), 213–17.

[110] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, 20 discusses ninth-century *interrogationes sacerdotes* as dialogues with instructional purposes, rather than necessarily actual exams.

[111] Federico Patetta, ed., 'Summulae seu definitiones de legalibus verbis'*,* in *Bibliotheca juridica medii aevi* II (Bologna: In Aedibus Petri Viranum Olim Fratrum Treves, 1892), 132–37.

[112] Printed in Gustav Loewe and Georg Goetz, eds, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, vol. 5 (Lipsiae: In aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1884), 387. See ch. 2, 105–6; Thurn, *Pergamenthandschriften*, III.1, 38–9.

compilation of the manuscript points toward an association between the mass and the martyrology as a reference guide that the post-ninth-century compiler of the codex seems to have recognised. Moreover, it appears that between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, this copy was thought to speak to sanctity, the cult of saints, and Christian history more broadly (given Fulbert's dialogues), as well as legal definitions (I will return to this last, seemingly-puzzling relationship below). As a whole, it is safest to assume that the codicological context of this martyrology was not extant during the Carolingian period, but the codex perhaps reveals some of the longstanding associations initiated during this time.

Bede's Martyrology is presented in association with *computus* within many of the ninth-century codices. *Computus* played a role in the organisation of the liturgy of the year, but this was not its sole function. The scribes of Bede's text within Munich Clm. 15818 included a greater degree of computistical information than within other contemporary examples. For instance, on fol. 108v the equinox is labelled, and the computistical rubric for each month names the number of days, the Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek, Latin, and/or Old English names, the days of the moon, and the zodiac sign.[113] The apparatus of Bede's text therein also includes lunar letters. The explicit of the Martyrology on fol. 144v, however, is of a markedly pedagogical character, reading 'Explicit Martirumlogus Baedae Presbyteri continet hic plures Christi per nomina testes . ultima praeclarae designans tempora uitae'.[114] This explicit firmly places Bede's text within the context of Christian history, seemingly for a didactic purpose when considered alongside the computistical information therein and the content of the first fascicle. Later copies of Usuard's Martyrology also contain computistical information such as lunar

---

[113] The latter example is mentioned in Schmeller et al., *Catalogus*, II.3, 37. See Munich Clm. 15818, fol. 142r: 'Mensis December habet dies xxxi . hebraicae . casleu . grecae apileus aegyptiae choech latinae caricornus uel guilibus lunae xxviii'.

[114] 'The end of the martyrology of Bede, priest. This contains many witnesses of Christ by name, marking the last times of a glorious life'.

letters and Dominical letters.[115] The relationship between *computus* and Christian history is emphasised in a more obvious manner in the example of Bede's Martyrology within BAV MS Pal. lat. 834. The two, ninth-century fascicles of the manuscript contain: 1) Bede's Martyrology and *computus*/astronomy, including a paschal table; 2) Isidore's *De natura rerum*.[116] Montpellier BiSM MS H 410 includes a Dionysian *horarium* for looking up the hours of the day in each month as well as Bede's Martyrology.[117] The high prevalence of computistical information alongside or within Bede's Martyrology may relate to the close relationship drawn between martyrology and *computus* in episcopal capitularies such as the *Capitula Florentina*.

Bede's Martyrology could have been included in codices with pedagogical features because of its relationship to Christian temporality, the importance of *computus* within Carolingian clerical education, and the potential application of both *computus* and a martyrology in setting the calendar of liturgical observance. The *Admonitio generalis* (789) and numerous episcopal statutes stipulated that the clergy must know *computus*.[118] Carolingian computistical manuscripts were produced for courtly, monastic, and episcopal contexts.[119] This would seem to substantiate the broader significance of

---

[115] For instance, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 57, fols 41r–94v. The manuscript is digitised at https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/xd738fw2393. See Graham, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57'; Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57'.

[116] See Kautz, 'Pal. Lat. 834'.

[117] Montpellier BiSM MS H 410, fols 2v–3r.

[118] Van Rhijn, 'Pastoral Care and Prognostics', 282. See Charlemagne, *Admonitio generalis*, ed. and trans. Mordek et al., 222–24 and, for instance, the episcopal capitulary of Waltcaud of Liège, c. 10 in Brommer, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum*, MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1, 47 (both cited in van Rhijn, 'Pastoral Care and Prognostics', 282 n. 34). On the importance of *computus* for Carolingian educational efforts, see also Ivana Dobcheva, 'The Umbrella of Carolingian Computus', in *La compilación del saber en la edad media/la compilation du savoir au Moyen Âge/The Compilation of Knowledge in the Middle Ages*, ed. María José Muños, Patricia Cañizares, and Cristina Martín (Porto: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales, 2013), 211–30.

[119] Dobcheva, 'Umbrella of Carolingian Computus', 228; for instance, BnF MS lat. 7530 (for elementary education) and St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 225 (for clerical use), discussed in ibid., 218–20. The former is digitised at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84900617 and the latter at https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0225.

computus to Frankish Christians; van Rhijn has stressed that *computus* 'presupposes a thoroughly Christian conception of time', centring on 'the Christian calendar, and the urgent need to calculate its central dates correctly'.[120] Moreover, Faith Wallis has highlighted the tendency of *computus* to pull other texts tangentially related to time reckoning and/or the Christian calendar into its orbit.[121] It is no great feat to recognise, as scribes and compilers of medieval manuscripts clearly did, the association between *computus* and the calendar, on the one hand, and martyrologies, on the other.[122] As well as a martyrology, Bede authored computistical texts, and numerous such works were erroneously attributed to him during the Middle Ages.[123] It is suggestive that Bedean or pseudo-Bedean computistical texts are found in multiple codices including ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology, such as BL Add. MS 19725, BAV MSS Pal. lat. 833 and 834, and Zurich MS Car. C. 176. Carolingian compilers and later owners of copies of Bede's Martyrology recognised the educational value of his Martyrology as a text associated with *computus* and salvation history.

Medicinal and prognostic material can also be found alongside Bede's Martyrology. BL Add. MS 19725, as mentioned above, contains additional medical remedies for human and, in one instance, animal disease.[124] Three were added to the margins of the Martyrology (fols 5r, 8v).[125] El Escorial MS L.III.8. likewise includes

---

[120] Van Rhijn, 'Pastoral Care and Prognostics', 282.

[121] Faith Wallis, 'Medicine in Medieval Calendar Manuscripts', in *Manuscript Sources of Medieval Medicine: A Book of Essays*, ed. Margaret R. Schleissner (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), 105–44.

[122] On the relationship between martyrologies and calendars, see Hennig, 'Kalendar und Martyrologium'; for discussion of a manuscript copy of a calendar in relation to Bede's Martyrology and the copies within UB Würzburg M.p.th.f. 49 and 50, see Joachim Wollasch, 'Des fragments d'un manuscrit inédit du ixe siècle', *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France* 1987 (1989): 229–40, at 232–35.

[123] See, for instance, Bede, *Reckoning of Time*, trans. Wallis; Jones, *Bedae Pseudepigrapha*.

[124] See n. 79 above.

[125] Printed in Kerff, 'Frühmittelalterliche pharmazeutische Rezepte', 115.

additional medicinal content, on fols 187v–188r, following computistical texts.[126] Van
Rhijn has noted that the ingredients within the recipes of both manuscripts would not
have been difficult to obtain, suggesting practical use in pastoral care.[127] The El Escorial
manuscript also contains prognostic texts: an additional prose version of the twenty-four
Egyptian Days, as well as a lunary, the *Subputatio Esdrae*, and predictions for the parents
of newborn children original to the manuscript.[128] To the Martyrology of Würzburg,
Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.50 a later reader has inserted two lines of a verse text on
the twenty-four Egyptian Days (those for January and February), inserted in the top
margin at the beginning of each month.[129] As with *computus*, prognostic texts—such as
De flebotomia, a guide on the best and worst days for bloodletting—were falsely
attributed to Bede beginning during the Carolingian period.[130] As later readers of BL
Add. MS 19725 and UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50 inserted medical and prognostic texts
directly into the margins of the Martyrology, it is probable they saw the Martyrology as
an instructive or even pastoral text related to *computus*, which could be associated as a

---

[126] As discussed in van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, although the folios she gives in n. 60
differ:
https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch17__462&utm_medium=sha
re&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.

[127] Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*,
https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch17__462&utm_medium=sha
re&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.

[128] See ns 64 and 72 above; on the prediction for parents, see van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to
Heaven*,
https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch17__25&utm_medium=shar
e&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego, n. 2.

[129] UB Würzburg M.p.th.f. 50, fols 3r, 6v. On this version of the Egyptian Days, see Roy M.
Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context: A Survey and Handlist of Manuscripts', *Anglo-
Saxon England* 30 (2001): 181–230, at 185. This text and others on the Egyptian Days are edited
in Lázló Sándor Chardonnens, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics, 900–1100: Study and Texts*
(Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), 330–92. On the Egyptian Days in general, see Don C. Skemer,
'"Armis Gunfe": Remembering Egyptian Days', *Traditio* 65 (2010): 75–106; Heather Stuart, 'A
Ninth Century Account of Diets and Dies Aegyptiaci', *Scriptorium* 33, no. 2 (1979): 237–44;
Robert Steele, 'Dies Aegyptiaci', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 12, Suppl.
(1919): 108–21 (to be consulted with caution).

[130] Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics', 202.

result of this understanding with the closely related fields of medicine and prognostics.[131] This would not, however, preclude use in chapter, at least for the Würzburg manuscript (given the prayer related to this context added to the first folio of the manuscript).[132] Nevertheless, the contours of a Carolingian field of knowledge interrelating time, the body, and Christian history can be perceived in the examples of Bede's Martyrology discussed above.[133] This complex, moreover, is intimately related to the role of priests and, to a lesser extent, perhaps bishops, as experts to be consulted by the laity on all manner of issues.[134]

---

[131] On the relationship between medicine and time reckoning, see Faith Wallis, 'The Experience of the Book: Manuscripts, Texts, and the Role of Epistemology in Early Medieval Medicine', in *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions*, ed. Don Bates (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 101–26; idem, 'Medicine'.

[132] Discussed in more detail in ch. 2, 104–5; see also Kate H. Thomas, *Late Anglo-Saxon Prayer in Practice: Before the Books of Hours* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter; Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2020). On the prayers of intercession added to fol. 1r, see Paul de Clerck, *La Prière universelle dans les liturgies latines anciennes: témoignages patristiques et textes liturgiques* (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1977), 271f.; Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958), 40, who remarks upon a possible association with litanies of the saints. Compare to Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 27305, p. 102; Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs 3224, fol. 42v (manuscript digitised at http://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs3224); Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 510, fol. 88v (manuscript digitised at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452617d); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 272, fol. 171v: Orationes maiores ad matutinas uel ad uesperas (manuscript digitised at https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/gv751fq0828). On the latter, see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College*, vol. 2, part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 27–32, at 31.

[133] Much of the association with Christian history is perhaps due to the tension between 'pagan' prognostication and accepted, or even encouraged, prognostication in Christian Francia. On this, see Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, ch. 6, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch17__56&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego. For a historiography of approaches to medieval prognostics, see van Rhijn, 'Pastoral Care and Prognostics', 275–80.

[134] Patzold and van Rhijn, 'Local Ecclesia', 551; most recently, van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, ch. 6, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch17__56&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego.

Finally, texts related to crime and social order, often with an implied association with penance and the involvement of the priesthood, can be found in close proximity to Bede's text in certain of the manuscripts.[135] As mentioned above, BL Add. MS 19725 contains a fragmentary version of a prayer for ordeal by hot water (fols 31v–32r), occurring between *computus* and an episcopal statute and original to the manuscript.[136] This text is missing a title, the opening invocation, and any mention of a crime or person accused; the London manuscript only preserves 'the essence of the matter: that God helps in finding *veritas*, the truth, that a guilty person may be saved by penance, and that attempts at obfuscation of the truth be revealed'.[137] One observes here the relationship between penance and social order, with the intermediary figure of the priest. Penance, moreover, was associated with medicine in medieval texts (and perhaps, by extension, the Christian medico–prognostic–*computus* complex, the outlines of which have been suggested in this chapter). The prologue of the penitential within BL Add. MS 19725, for instance, 'emphasises how in the same way that "doctors of the body" prescribe different medicines for different ailments, different sins require different kinds of penance. The crucial factor was a "right diagnosis" (*recte iudicium*), so that "the wounds of the soul are not worsened by an ignorant doctor"'.[138] The El Escorial manuscript, on the other hand,

---

[135] On priests and social cohesion, see Zeller et al., 'Shepherds'.

[136] See van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch17__734&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego. Transcribed in ibid., n. 96: 'Manum miserit salvam et inlesam educat. Ita Domine omnipotens si quis est culpabilis, ingravante diabolo induratum, presumpserit manum suam mittere, Tua iustissime sicut veritas hoc declarat huius in corpore suo tua veritate manifesta. Ut animam penitentia salvet, et si quis culpabilis per aliquo malefacio aut per herbas peccata sua tenere voluerit, tua dextera hoc evacuare dignetur. Per unigenitum Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum filium Tuum, qui Tecum semper vivit et regnat. Per'.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid., https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/3264036/9?element_plgo_uid=ch15__445&utm_medium=share&utm_campaign=share-with-location&utm_source=perlego, transcribed in n. 51: 'Quae diversitas culparum, diversum facit penitentibus medicamentum, sicut medici corporum diversa

contains several unnumbered canons centring on the crimes, and implicitly indicating the correct conduct, of clerics (fol. 6v).[139] Fol. 1v of UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50 contains what Hans Thurn termed a criminal directory (*Übeltäterverzeichnis*), the place names within which led Bischoff and Josef Hofmann to argue an origin near Mainz.[140] The list reads: '… girihesheim sunt latrones II Cucil Uillibrandat (?) Gersuuind. Kirhheim, ubi Balduuin. Bossenheim Albgis. Rihgis. Otheri. Griman. Gunduuin. Eberhart. Uuilliurit. Meginhart. Ello'.[141] It is possible that this list is related to the role of priests within trials by ordeal, exorcism, or baptism.[142] Parallels are found in other manuscripts discussed as priests' books: in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14508, a list of those owing tithes; in BnF MS lat. 4995, a list of dues; and in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS 10127-10144, an additional list of payments due to the bishop and the archdeacon of the diocese (fol. 89v), entered in the late ninth century.[143] Munich Clm. 14508, perhaps even more suggestively, also includes blessings for use of a priest during trials of ordeal by both boiling water and red-hot ploughshares.[144] Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, MS 132 contains a list of names that Bastiaan Waagmeester has hypothesised may be related to exorcism or baptism, given that they were inserted between a baptismal *ordo* and an additional exorcism entered in the tenth century.[145] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library,

---

medicamina vel pociones solent facere contra diversitatem infirmitatum. … ne per stultum medicum vulnera animarum fiant peiora'.

[139] See Keefe, *Water and the Word*, II, 19–20.

[140] Thurn, *Pergamenthandschriften*, III.1, 39.

[141] Cited in ibid.: Ernst Dümmler, 'Karolingische Miscellen', *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* 6 (1866): 113–30, at 118. '[In] Girihesheim there are two thieves, Cucil Uillibrandat [and] Gerswind. Kirhheim, wherein Baldwin. [In] Bossenheim, Albgis, Rihgis, Otheri, Griman, Gundwin, Eberhart, Williurit, Meginhart, Ello'.

[142] As Professor Charles West kindly pointed out to me, albeit with the caveat that he was not suggesting the manuscript was a priest's book *per se*.

[143] Ibid.; Hen, 'Knowledge', 130. The Munich MS is digitised at https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0004/bsb00046287/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&id=00046287&seite=1; the Paris MS is digitised at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9066600w.

[144] Munich Clm. 14508, fols 146v–147v. See Zeller et al., 'Shepherds', 132 n. 43.

[145] Waagmeester, 'Priests, Pastoral Compendia and the Laity', 17–18.

MS G. 33 (early ninth-century; northern Francia) contains an anathema against those who steal church goods, as well as other texts which may have been useful for a priest, such as Athanasius's exposition on the faith.[146] Regardless of whether it can be determined if the ninth- or tenth-century list in UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50 is related to trial by ordeal, it is arguably related to Bavarian disputing practices of the time, which intersected to a degree with notions of sanctity. The theft of horses from Freising by one Hermperht and the dispute's eventual resolution with a gift of land by the guilty party in 807, for instance, conform to a pattern of theft and extra-judicial, often divine resolution seen in the *Vita Corbiniani*.[147] In these three manuscript copies of Bede's text, then, sanctity is brought into conversation with not only morality, but justice—and in a decidedly practical manner, as well.

In this examination of early manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology I have highlighted the text's perceived educational, practical, and moral value to ninth-century pastors. Furthermore, local assessments of the text in this manner were influenced by the larger discussion of the use of martyrologies within clerical education and pastoral care, ongoing in episcopal statutes and other normative texts during the ninth century and beyond, as crucial facets of the Carolingian religious project. I would like to conclude with some thoughts on why Bede's Martyrology, specifically, might have been seen in this way. First, the historical content of Bede's notices on martyrs above all other sorts of saints fit in nicely with pedagogical discussions of Christian history. Ninth-century martyrologists like Hrabanus Maurus focussed to a greater extent than Bede on

---

[146] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS G. 33, fol. 1.

[147] Warren Brown, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society*, Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 130–1. On Carolingian judicial and extra-judicial dispute processes, see Patrick Geary, 'Judicial Violence and Torture in the Carolingian Empire', in *Law and the Illicit in Medieval Europe*, ed. Ruth Mazo Karras, Joel Kaye, and E. Ann Matter (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 79–88; idem, 'Extra-Judicial Means of Conflict Resolution', in *Writing History: Identity, Conflict, and Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta and Cristina Spinei (Bucureşti - Brăila: Editura Academiei Române, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, 2012), 113–34.

confessors.[148] El Escorial MS L.III.8 largely supplements Bede's Martyrology with enumerative entries, the majority for confessors. This suggests interest in density of saints coexisting with interest in historical information, but the latter centres primarily on a certain few, usually martyrs. It follows that Bede's text may have been chosen due to historical interest in late antique martyrs, Christian persecution, and the challenges posed by paganism—interest which could be eminently pastoral during the ninth century, as van Rhijn raised in her discussion of heretics and pagans referenced in priests' books.[149] Second, the deliberate composition of Bede's Martyrology (and therefore its distinctive dates devoid of notices) may have made it an attractive option for those looking for mnemonic resources on the saints for the education of either clerics or laypeople, and perhaps especially for those who were not (or not yet) fully proficient in Latin. The Carolingian inclusion of a chapter from the Rule of St Benedict that consists of short statements on how to best live a Christian life (termed the 'Instruments of Good Works') in priests' books provides a point of comparison. The short, memorable form of this excerpt influenced its pastoral function, adapted for priestly use outside of the cloister: 'The result was a cascade of discrete messages that was not only emphatic in its expression, but also easy to remember for the preacher and his listeners alike'.[150] Like this chapter of the Rule, Bede's Martyrology was probably not originally intended for pastoral use. During the ninth century, however, it became clear that it was an emphatically adaptable and therefore useful text, and it was considered in liturgical, educational, and pastoral contexts.

Conclusion

During the mid-eighth century, normative sources defined the function of a martyrology as a reference guide to the liturgical calendar. In *Clofesho* canon thirteen, the

---

[148] McCulloh, 'Historical Martyrologies', 126–7.

[149] See n. 73 above.

[150] Scott G. Bruce, 'Textual Triage and Pastoral Care in the Carolingian Age: The Example of the Rule of Benedict', *Traditio* 75 (2020): 127–41, at 136–7.

use of a martyrology in this manner was to bring wider practice in line with what was considered to be the Roman custom. In *Ordo* XVII, a deacon was to use a martyrology to announce upcoming feasts during the mass. Our earliest evidence, then, draws an association between a martyrology and the clergy, those who could direct the liturgy of the mass. These initial articulations of how one was to use a martyrology coincided with the growth of the Carolingian project of *correctio*, which included concern for the competence of local priests and the responsibility of bishops to oversee these men. As seen in the *Admonitio generalis*, much of the earlier stages of this concern also related to the mass, as well as baptism and the explanation of the faith.

During the ninth century, episcopal capitularies delineated expectations bishops held for the local priests whom they oversaw. Some such texts stipulated ownership of a martyrology by priests and as one of the essential accoutrements of a church. Some even went as far as to specify knowledge of a martyrology, as well as ownership. Certain capitularies drew an explicit connection between the priest's possession, use, and knowledge of liturgical books including a martyrology and his responsibility to educate, minister to, and ultimately ensure the salvation of the laypeople for whom he was responsible. The evidence of church inventories as analysed by Hammer shows that local churches did record ownership of martyrologies, although not in great numbers.

My analysis of ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology reveals that local priests responded to the expectations of their bishops with great care. The majority of extant ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology shows much greater evidence for use as a reference guide, potentially with pastoral applications, than for use in the morning chapter assembly. Moreover, the few ninth-century manuscript copies that are found within codices probably for the use of bishops, such as El Escorial MS L.III.8, illustrate that some bishops responded to requirements from the court circle that they educate and examine their priests by themselves turning to a martyrology as an edifying resource. I hope to have shown that for this facet of Carolingian *correctio* the localities were driving shifts in religious practice, rather than solely responding to top-

down directives. *Correctio* in the localities was made possible by networks, both vertical and horizontal, between and amongst bishops, local priests, and laypeople, whose participation is unfortunately usually obscured by the available body of sources (except, in this chapter, for Cucil Uillibrandat and his ilk). The local areas for which bishops were ultimately responsible and for which priests were responsible on the ground were somewhat of an arena for experimenting to achieve the larger aim of salvation inherent to *correctio*.

4. Bede's Martyrology in the Former Carolingian Empire, 900–1250

By the end of the ninth century, the use of a martyrology in chapter or for clerical reference had been thoroughly incorporated into Carolingian *correctio*. The Carolingian contribution to the continued or revived use of Bede's Martyrology thus largely took the form of its inclusion within these two initiatives, stemming from dialogue between and within the court circle of Louis the Pious and the localities. In this chapter, I explore how the uses and significance of Bede's Martyrology evolved between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries in the former Carolingian Empire, specifically what is now Germany and Austria, in order to contribute to our understanding of the longer-term effects of the Carolingian endeavour. How did owners and readers of Bede's Martyrology in the former Carolingian Empire respond to or adapt Carolingian normative texts and even Franco-Roman liturgical practice itself? What were the perceptions of the Carolingian past?

Surviving examples of Bede's Martyrology copied during the ninth century are more numerous than those datable to the period between 900 and 1250. Ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology show evidence of continued use between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries, or indeed in some cases even beyond the temporal scope of this project. One does, however, observe a sharp reduction in the number of extant manuscript copies produced in this later period. This may result from the continued use of ninth-century manuscripts after the Carolingians, which may have reduced the need to produce further copies in the tenth and later centuries. I discuss manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology produced at Montecassino and in Rome in the following chapter, as certain characteristics localisable to these regions merit their own analysis. When one compares the number of extant copies produced in the Carolingian context (here including northern Italy) with only those *not* produced at Montecassino or in Rome between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries, the discrepancy is even more

striking: fifteen Carolingian and six later copies.[1] I will return to the geographic distribution of these later manuscripts—largely from the region now consisting of Bavaria and northern Austria, with an exception copied at Aachen.

The increasing circulation and use of Usuard's Martyrology (composed c. 850–c. 879) in the former Carolingian Empire may have shaped the distribution of the extant manuscript corpus of Bede's text. For example, approximately seventy martyrology manuscripts dating from between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries survive from the dioceses of Utrecht and Liège; forty-eight were derived from Usuard, and twenty were derived from Bede or Ado.[2] These twenty manuscripts were all held by Benedictine houses or collegiate churches.[3] Drawing upon his analysis of these manuscripts, Eef Overgaauw has argued that Usuard's Martyrology was widely used in the dioceses of Utrecht and Liège for daily reading in chapter.[4] Timothy Graham, Mechthild Gretsch, and Sarah Hamilton have analysed tenth- and eleventh-century English copies of Usuard's Martyrology that were probably used in chapter.[5] Comparison with manuscript copies of Usuard's Martyrology produced and/or used between 900 and 1250 may show the ways in which the production and use of copies of Bede's Martyrology were affected by the subsequent popularity of Usuard's text.

This chapter consists of three portions: a survey of post-Carolingian evidence for the ownership and use of martyrologies in general; examination of the evidence for continued use of ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology; analysis of the copies produced during this later period. I survey the normative and descriptive evidence not only to describe intended shifts in the use of martyrologies but also to juxtapose these

---

[1] The latter number here excludes the abridged Venetian copy, Metz MS 1154 and the abridged copy, Milan MS X 6 sup., which was at Padua by the fifteenth century.
[2] Eef A. Overgaauw, *Martyrologes manuscrits des anciens diocèses d'Utrecht et de Liège*, vol. 1, 2 vols, Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen 30 (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993), 37.
[3] Ibid.
[4] See Overgaauw, *Martyrologes manuscrits*, I, 19–78.
[5] See Graham, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57'; Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57'; Hamilton, 'Understanding the Church's Past'.

sources with the liturgical creativity seen in the continued use of ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology and in the production of new manuscript copies during this later period. I aim to characterise the reception of Bede's Martyrology both within wider understandings of correct liturgical practice and by those in particular locales. Bamberg especially emerges as somewhat of a centre for the later production and use of Bede's Martyrology, perhaps influenced by the liturgical patronage of Henry II (as I argue below). I conclude with a comparison of the copies of Bede's Martyrology datable to between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries with contemporary examples of Usuard's Martyrology. Certain copies reflect the increasingly formalised nature of the morning meeting in chapter during the period under discussion, as it became the so-called chapter office. Consequently, readers of Bede's text between 900 and the early 1200s responded to notions of both Christian history writ large and the liturgical 'reform' of the more recent past. Both later additions to ninth-century copies and freshly copied examples of Bede's text reveal preoccupations with Christian history, often hinging upon its relationship to the liturgy. In the contemporary production and use of Bede's Martyrology the history of the Christian church, its martyrs, and its liturgical practices was related to historical consciousness in a different manner than that seen in earlier copies.

Post-Carolingian Evidence for Ownership and Use of Martyrologies

Monastic customaries compiled after the ninth century drew upon Carolingian precedents in stipulating reading from a martyrology during the morning meeting in chapter.[6] The *Regularis concordia* (c. 973) prescribes that 'hoc expleto, facto signo a

---

[6] On monastic customaries, see, for instance, Anselme Davril, Lin Donnat, Dominique Iogna-Pratt, and Eric Palazzo, 'Moines et chanoines: règles, coutumiers et textes liturgiques', in *L'Histoire des moines, chanoines et religieux au Moyen Âge: guide de recherche et documents*, ed. André Vauchez and Cécile Caby, L'Atelier du médiéviste 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 71–98; Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, eds, *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny = Du coeur de la nuit à la fin du jour: les coutumes Clunisiennes au Moyen Âge*, Disciplina Monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Krijn Pansters, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 93 (Leiden,

priore, conuenientes ad Capitulum ipso praecedente, uersa facie ad orientem salutent crucem et ceteris undique fratribus se uultu inclinato humilient; cuius humiliationis ratio et in omni conuentu custodienda est. Tunc residentibus cunctis legatur martyrologium'.[7] The late tenth-century customary of Fleury states 'congregatis sane in capitulum omnibus analogium puer bene disciplinatus adit lecturus. Signante abbate pronunctiantur kalende sequentis diei et natalitia sanctorum simul et etas lune necne et anniversaria fratrum'.[8] The inclusion of 'natalitia sanctorum… et etas lune' ([heavenly] birthdays of the saints… and age of the moon) may be taken to indirectly refer to the reading of a martyrology. The eleventh-century Fulda-Trier customary stipulates that during the morning chapter assembly 'indicata primitus ibi luna censentur nomina sanctorum <vel> natalitia, horum pro reverentia surgit congregatio tota'.[9] As with the earlier customary of Fleury, the mention of the names of the saints after announcing the moon most probably refers to the reading of a martyrology.

Not all customaries set out a general prescription for the reading of a martyrology in chapter; some mention it only in the course of setting out the customs for Christmas Eve and Holy Saturday. Although Ælfric did not list a martyrology among required books

---

Boston: Brill, 2020); Isabelle Cochelin, 'Discipline and the Problem of Cluny's Customaries', in *A Companion to the Abbey of Cluny in the Middle Ages*, ed. Scott G. Bruce and Steven Vanderputten, Brill's Companions to European History 27 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2022), 204–22.

[7] Symons, ed. and trans., *Monastic Agreement*, 17; ibid.: 'After the Morrow Mass, at a sign from the prior, all shall come together for the Chapter, the prior leading. Turning to the east they shall salute the Cross and with bared heads abase themselves before one another: this act of humility is to be observed whenever the brethren are assembled together. When the brethren are seated, the Martyrology shall be read'.

[8] Hallinger, ed., *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII*, 49. 'Having indeed gathered together in chapter, a well-disciplined boy approaches the lectern to read to all. On the abbot's signal he announces the *kalend* of the following day, the [heavenly] birthdays of the saints, and the age of the moon, at the same time or not, and the anniversaries of the brothers'.

[9] Hallinger, ed., *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII*, 276. 'Having first announced there the moon, the names of the saints or [heavenly] birthdays are given, and the entire congregation rises for their reverence'.

for a priest,[10] the section of his letter to the monks of Eynsham (after 1004) on the chapter readings for Christmas Eve and Holy Saturday corresponds with the *Regularis concordia* in that 'Sabbato quoque Sancto Pasce idipsum agendum est, quamuis in martirlogio hoc non habeatur'.[11] The principal recensions of the Cluniac *Consuetudines antiquiores* (tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-century) indirectly refer to the use of a martyrology in chapter in their description of Christmas Eve.[12] The mid-eleventh-century Cluniac customary from Farfa known as the *Liber tramitis* indirectly refers to the use of a martyrology in multiple instances. Chapter five of the customary, *De tempore Quadragesimae*, mentions that the forty-seven *plena officia* of the year are recorded in the martyrology.[13] This text also recommends that 'Frater qui alicubi fuerit ueniens in capitulum usquedum puer / legerit martyrologium cum sanctis, non intret. Dum infans dixerit *Et aliorum plurimorum sanctorum*, tunc eat. Ad lectionem euangelii uel quando brevis legitur, poterit introire'.[14] Similarly, the Cluniac customary of Ulrich of Zell (b. c. 1029–d. 1093) recommends that *pueri* read from a martyrology during chapter.[15] The

---

[10] See Teresa Webber, 'Books and Their Use across the Conquest', in *Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest*, ed. Tom Licence (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), 160–89, at 166–7. For the text of the list, see ibid., 166 n. 30. On the English and Continental sources of this list see C. A. Jones, 'Ælfric's Pastoral Letters and the Episcopal Capitula of Radulf of Bourges', *Notes and Queries* 240 (1995): 149–55, cited in ibid.

[11] Hallinger, ed., *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII*, 160; compare with Symons, ed. and trans., *Monastic Agreement*, 28. 'On Holy Saturday also the same thing must be done, although this is not given in the martyrology'.

[12] See Kassius Hallinger, ed., *Consuetudines Cluniacensium Antiquiores cum Redactionibus Derivatis*, CCM 7.2 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1983), 27, 165.

[13] Peter Dinter, ed., *Liber Tramitis Aevi Odilonis Abbatis*, CCM 10 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1980), 58.

[14] Ibid., 222. 'A brother who has been elsewhere coming to chapter shall not enter until the boy has read the martyrology with the saints. As long as the child says "And of many other saints", then let him pass. He may enter at the reading of the Gospel or when the mortuary roll is read'. The translation for *brevis* provided here is given in the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: see 'Brevis', Logeion, https://logeion.uchicago.edu/brevis.

[15] Ulrich of Zell, 'Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis', in *Victoris III Romani Pontificis, Sancti Anselmi Lucensis, opera omnia*, pr. Jacques-Paul Migne, PL 149 (Paris: Excudebatur et venit apud J.-P. Migne, 1853), cols 635–778, at col. 746 (bk III ch. 8: *De pueris, et eorum magistris*).

eleventh-century ordinal of Montecassino and Benevento mentions reading from a martyrology during chapter on Christmas and Good Friday.[16] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4928, a manuscript witness of the ordinal with provenance at S. Sofia, also contains an *ordo* for chapter in which a martyrology is read.[17] Twelfth-century statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter explicitly call for readings from the martyrology on the second and third days of the General Chapter; assembly in chapter, however, occurs on all five days.[18] The Cistercian *Ecclesiastica officia* itself does not explicitly mention the use of a martyrology in the morning chapter assembly, but it is probable that this sense is intended by reference to the 'first reading'.[19] This is open to interpretation, however, as a surviving manuscript of the *Ecclesiastica officia*, Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 114 (1184/6; Notre Dame, Cîteaux), includes a calendar but not a martyrology as one of its exemplar texts.[20] Finally, the second preface to the Dominican 'Prototype' manuscript (thirteenth-century) *De prologis diversis siper opus Martyrologii* states, 'Notandum quod licet multi dederint operam ad compilandum Martyrologium, tantum tres fuerint maioris autoritatis, qui opus huiusmodi tradiderunt'—these being Jerome, Bede, and Usuard.[21] The conclusion of the

---

[16] Thomas Forrest Kelly, ed., *The Ordinal of Montecassino and Benevento: Breviarium Sive Ordo Officiorum, 11th Century* (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2008), discussed 116, 142–3; edited 283–4, 378–9.

[17] Kelly, ed., *Ordinal*, 574: 'Lector vero pronuntiet ex more datarium lunam et festivitates sanctorum sequentis diei'. Ibid., 60: the manuscript has been dated to after 1114, but the text dates from after 1071. BAV MS Vat. lat. 4928, digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4928. See Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 312–16.

[18] Chrysogonus Waddell, ed., *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter: Latin Text with English Notes and Commentary* (Brecht: Citeaux, 2002), 37–8.

[19] See Danièle Choisselet and Placide Vernet, eds, *Les Ecclesiastica officia cisterciens du XIIème siècle*, La Documentation Cistercienne 22 (Reiningue: Documentation Cistercienne, 1989), 202–3 and 440 n. 132.

[20] Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 114, fols 140v–141v. The manuscript is digitised at http://patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr/pleade/img-viewer/MS00114/viewer.html.

[21] Eef A. Overgaauw, 'L'Office du chapitre dans l'ordre dominicain d'après le "prototype" et d'autres sources du xiiie siècle', in *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine: le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1*, ed. Leonard E. Boyle and Pierre-Marie Gy, Collection de l'École française de Rome 327; Documents, études et répertoires 67 (Rome; Paris: École française de Rome; CNRS,

preface indicates that the Dominicans used an Usuardan martyrology in chapter. The prototype manuscript itself, Rome, Santa Sabina, MS XIV L 1 (1259; St Jacques), indeed contains Usuard's Martyrology.[22] From this evidence one may surmise that the daily reading of a martyrology in chapter was firmly established for all monastic traditions, including communities of regular canons, by the twelfth century.

It is also important to note that earlier monastic customaries are attested in later manuscripts. This perhaps reflects the inspiration drawn from Carolingian material seen in tenth- and eleventh-century movements of reform. The similarities seen between, for instance, the tenth-century customary of Fleury and the *Regularis concordia* on the one hand, and *Memoriale qualiter* on the other, suggest that Carolingian stipulations were adapted in the compilation of later customaries. Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 179, an eleventh-century Cassinese chapter book discussed in the following chapter, contains Benedict of Aniane's *Collectio capitularis* and *Memoriale qualiter* as well as an abridged copy of Bede's Martyrology.[23] Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv, Aachen Marienstift, Repertorium und Handschrift, MS 4a (first half of the thirteenth century; Aachen) includes the 816 Aachen decrees immediately following its late copy of Bede's text.[24] This manuscript represents the only surviving example of a codex containing Bede's Martyrology produced outside of Rome or Montecassino between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries that incorporates Carolingian normative material alongside it.

2004), 301–18, at 305. 'It should be noted that although many have worked to compile a martyrology, only three who have handed down a work of this kind have been of great authority'.

[22] Rome, Santa Sabina, MS XIV L 1, fols 13r–40v. The manuscript is available in digital reproduction at https://archive.org/details/rome_santa_sabina_xiv_l1.

[23] See Hallinger, ed., *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae*, 185–6; Hilken, ed., *Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*, 20–3.

[24] Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv, Aachen Marienstift, Repertorium und Handschrift, MS 4a, fols 41r–109v. The manuscript is digitised at https://dfg-viewer.de/show?tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.landesarchiv-nrw.de%2Fdigitalisate%2FAbt_Rheinland%2FAA_0104_Aachen_St_Marien_Rep_u_Hs%2F~000%2F00004-a%2Fmets.xml&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&cHash=7ec5409ea0b19b83e2a53ddf59f852b0.

Although no extant church councils held in Francia or Italy between 900 and 1059 mention martyrologies, clearly earlier texts on the subject were available and continued to inform practice.

Early normative sources had stipulated use of martyrologies as guides to festal observance, and numerous Carolingian episcopal statutes had gone further to recommend that priests own a martyrology. Later texts for the use of bishops and/or priests absorbed and built upon these prescriptions. Although the scale of the Carolingian project was not replicated by tenth- and eleventh-century bishops, efforts to educate and examine local clergy did not cease.[25] As discussed in the previous chapter, the *Admonitio synodalis* may date to the early tenth century, and other early tenth-century episcopal capitularies also included ownership and/or knowledge of a martyrology.[26] Similarly, Burchard of Worms's *Decretum* (c. 1012–1023) lists books that a priest must possess in order to preach to the people: 'Psalterium, Lectionarium, cum Evangeliis, Sacramentorum librum, Baptisterium: et computum, cum cyclo cum commendationibus animarum, martyrologium, homelias per circulum anni plebibus prædicandas'.[27] The reference to 'computum, cum cyclo cum commendationibus animarum' (*computus* with the cycle [of the year] with the committal of souls) may be related to the expansion of the commemoration of the ordinary dead from the ninth century onwards, especially at Cluny.[28] As I explore below, later copies of Bede's Martyrology can be shown to reflect

---

[25] Hamilton, 'Educating'; on tenth-century bishops, see also Charles West, 'Bishops between "Reforms" in the Long Tenth Century: The Case of Verdun', *The Medieval Low Countries* 6 (2019): 75–94.

[26] Discussed in Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, 64. See ch. 3, 129–30 and 133–4.

[27] Burchard of Worms, 'Decretorum', in *Burchardi Vormatensis Episcopi Opera Omnia, Tomus Unicus*, pr. Jacques-Paul Migne, PL 140 (Paris: Excudebat Migne, etc., 1853), cols 537–1058, at col. 979. 'A psalter, a lectionary, with the Gospels, a sacramentary, a manual: and *computus* with the cycle [of the year] with the committal of souls [a necrology?], a martyrology, and homilies through the circle of the year to preach to the people'.

[28] See Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1990); Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); Frederick S. Paxton, *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle*

this development. Wills, church inventories, and monastic sign lexicons provide direct evidence for the ownership of martyrologies in the former Carolingian Empire between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.[29] The two booklists within the eleventh-century *Chronicle of Montecassino* include a *martyrologium* and *sacramentorum cum martirologio*, respectively.[30] It is worth noting that certain ninth-century episcopal statutes, as with Carolingian customaries and normative texts, continued to circulate after the fragmentation of the Carolingian Empire.[31] The compilation of BnF MS lat. 4613 (tenth-century; northern Italy) reveals continued interest in Carolingian *capitula*.[32] The capitulary of Theodulf of Orléans (b. 750–d. 821) was translated into Old English twice during the eleventh century.[33] In the early eleventh century, moreover, Carolingian normative material was included in the *Collection in Five Books*, a canon law collection composed in southern Italy.[34] One may conclude that prescribed ownership of martyrologies as reference resources for priests not only did not disappear after the fragmentation of the Carolingian Empire but also found new audiences further afield.

Ages = Le Rituel de la mort à Cluny au Moyen Âge central, trans. Isabelle Cochelin, Disciplina Monastica 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

[29] For Cluniac sign lexicons including signs for 'martyr' or 'martyrology', see Scott G. Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism: The Cluniac Tradition, c. 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 75, 127, 130, 180. See also de Gaiffier 'L'Usage', 54.

[30] Leo Marsicanus et al., *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, MGH Scriptores 34 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1980), 266 (bk II ch. 53), 445 (bk III ch. 63). See Francis Newton, 'The Desiderian Scriptorium at Monte Cassino: The "Chronicle" and Some Surviving Manuscripts', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976): 35–54; idem, *Scriptorium and Library*, 23.

[31] On post-Carolingian interpretations and uses of Carolingian material see MacLean, 'Carolingian Past'; Greer et al., eds, *Using and Not Using the Past*.

[32] Sarah Hamilton, 'Inquiring into Adultery and Other Wicked Deeds: Episcopal Justice in Tenth- and Early Eleventh-Century Italy', *Viator* 41 (2010): 21–43, at 26 n. 24; see Hubert Mordek, *Bibliotheca Capitularium Regum Francorum Manuscripta: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*, MGH Hilfsmittel 15 (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1995), 469–76 (cited in ibid.). BnF MS lat. 4613, digitised at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9066866b.

[33] Bruce, 'Textual Triage', 140.

[34] Hamilton, 'Inquiring', 26 n. 24.

A sermon composed by Peter Comestor (b. 1100–d. 1178) shows the potential didactic use of Bede's. Martyrology for those in the priesthood. Comestor writes:

> Patres antiqui sudarium ferebant ad tergendam lacrymarum affluentiam, quibus dictum est: *Beati, qui nunc fletis*, etc. (*Matth*. v), Beda dicit in Martyrologio suo, quod Pater Arsenius semper sudarium ferebat, aut in sinu, aut in manu propter lacrymarum affluentiam. Quocirca intellige, o fili, ex sudario, quantos exitus aquarum deducere debent oculi tui, flere namque debes pro excessibus propriis, pro excessibus gregis tui, pro incolatus prolongatione et pro patriae desiderio.[35]

For Comestor, Bede's Martyrology was a source of information on the saints to be used in preaching. It is possible that he indeed had access to Bede's Martyrology. St Arsenius is included in Bede's Martyrology on XIV Kal. Aug., described in the manner that Comestor recounts.[36] It is also possible that Comestor was working from a historical martyrology derived from Bede's text.[37] Nevertheless, this is exactly the sort of use of a martyrology that is referred to in Burchard of Worms's *Decretum* and earlier episcopal capitularies, in which a martyrology is one of the books required for preaching.[38] Manuscript evidence suggests that this sermon was intended for clerical synods; the most common rubrics are *in synodo* and *ad sacerdotes*.[39] It would appear that the authority of Bede, combined with prescriptions on the priestly use and knowledge of martyrologies,

---

[35] I thank Patrick Cowley for bringing this to my attention and providing an English translation: 'The ancient Fathers carried a cloth (*sudarium*) to wipe away the flow of their tears; about whom it is said "Blessed are those who weep now, et cetera" [Luke 6:21]. Bede says in his martyrology that father Arsenius always carried around a cloth either about his breast or in his hand due to the flow of his tears. Understand then, sons, from the cloth, the great amount of water your eyes should bring forth: you should weep over your excesses, the excesses of your flock, for the extension of your tenure (*incolatus prolongation*e) and for desire for your country (presumably the heavenly country?)'. Peter Comestor, 'Petri Comestoris Sermones', in *Adami Scoti Canonici Regularis Ordinis Praemonstratensis Opera Omnia… Magistri Petri Comestoris Historia Scholastica, Sermones*, pr. Jacques-Paul Migne, PL 198 (Paris: Excudebatur et venit apud J.-P. Migne, 1855), cols 1721–1844, at col. 1820. See P.H. Tibber, 'The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c.1130–c.1210' (DPhil, University of Oxford, 1983), 305.

[36] Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique*, ed. Dubois and Renaud, 131.

[37] Florus, Ado, and Usuard include a similar entry for St Arsenius on the same date: see Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 269.

[38] See ch. 3, 126–36.

[39] I am grateful to Patrick Cowley for making this point.

ensured that Bede's Martyrology remained a useful reference resource in twelfth-century France.

In a departure from the continued transmission, redaction, and recontextalisation of Carolingian descriptive and normative material, later descriptive texts also began to document a novel use. A growing number of monastic customaries mention the use of the martyrology in the commemoration of the ordinary dead, as a book in which the obits of those whose anniversaries were to be commemorated should be recorded. The chapter on *quando obitus nuntiatur* of a tenth-century customary from Einsiedeln stipulates '*nomenque eius notetur in breuiario et in martirologio, ne tradatur obliuioni eius anniuersarium*'.[40] This is also the case in the eleventh-century Fulda-Trier customary chapter *si obitus nuntiatur*, with some additions: '*Nomen* vero *eius notetur in breuiario et martirologio, ne eius anniuersarius obliuioni tradatur*, quatenus per singulos annos ad eius anniuersarium missa et Vigilia elemosinaque celebretur'.[41] The contemporary Helmstadt-Fulda customary also stipulates that a martyrology be used in this way, in *de breui et agenda mortuorum*: 'Nomen autem eius ne obliuiscatur, ea die in martirlogio scribatur et per omnia nota monachorum et canonicorum monasteria ad memorandum eius obitus litteris denuntietur'.[42] The *Liber tramitis*, a mid-eleventh-century Cluniac customary from Farfa, implies the use of a martyrology for the insertion of necrological entries upon multiple occasions. During the season of Lent, the *armarius* should present two tables detailing the weekly work of the brothers, 'quarum unam cella<ra>rius sub sua cura in promtuario teneat, <qui> et in ipsis tabulas quasdam membranas habeat cum martilogio anni uertentis', so that alms to be given on each day in honour of the deceased

---

[40] Hallinger, ed., *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII*, 199. 'And his name shall be recorded in the mortuary roll and in the martyrology, lest his anniversary be consigned to oblivion'.

[41] Ibid., 320. 'Also, his name should be noted in the mortuary roll and the martyrology, lest his anniversary be consigned to oblivion, in as much as every year for his anniversary a mass, a vigil, and almsgiving are performed'.

[42] Ibid., 363. 'And lest his name should be forgotten, on that day he shall be recorded in the martyrology, and in order to commemorate his death, it will be announced with letters throughout the monastery to all known monks and canons'.

may be calculated.[43] Chapter thirty-five of this customary, *De officiis defunctorum*, prescribes that the martyrology be consulted for the dates of offices of the dead for parents and relatives of the brethren, the emperor, the abbot, and *pro aliquo amico*, as well as alms to be given.[44] Another portion of this chapter includes detailed instructions for how *monachi* (monks) or *amici* (friends) should be entered into the martyrology, with examples; this information was incorporated as a final layer to the *Liber tramitis* by Martin, a monk sent to Farfa in 1049 by Abbot Hugh.[45] The *Ordo Cluniacensis* within BnF MS lat. 13875 mentions that it is the *armarius* whose duty it was 'nomen defuncti in memoriali fratrum scribere'.[46] As with the *Ordo Cluniacensis*, the chapter *de breui et agenda mortuorum* within the twelfth-century Cluniac customary of Valumbrosa does not explicitly name a martyrology, but requires that 'nomen autem defuncti in unoquoque monasterio in matricula scribatur' in chapter.[47] Where normative sources refer to a *matricula* (register) or *memoriale fratrum* (memorial of the brothers), this could in some instances refer to a martyrology with accompanying interlinear or marginal necrological material. It is also possible that the *matricula* or *memoriale fratrum* may be a free-standing necrology or a *liber vitae*, a confraternity book kept on the high altar and read from during the mass.

---

[43] Dinter, ed., *Liber Tramitis*, 53. 'One of which the *cellarius* shall keep under his care in the vestibule, and in these tables themselves he should have certain parchment [leaves] with the martyrology of the turning of the year'. On the connection between necrologies and almsgiving, see Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Pretiosa est in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius. The Chapter Book Necrologies of Mont Saint-Michel, Avranches, Bibl. patrimoniale, ms 214', *Tabularia*, 2022, https://doi.org/10.4000/tabularia.6029, at paragraph four.

[44] Dinter, ed., *Liber Tramitis*, 285. On commemoration of the dead and the *Liber tramitis*, see Frederick S. Paxton, 'Death by Customary at Eleventh-Century Cluny', in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny = Du coeur de la nuit à la fin du jour: les coutumes Clunisiennes au Moyen Âge*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, Disciplina Monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 297–318.

[45] Dinter, ed., *Liber Tramitis*, 286–7.

[46] Paxton, *Death Ritual*, 124–5. 'To write the name of the deceased in the memorial of the brothers'.

[47] Hallinger, ed., *Consuetudines Cluniacensium Antiquiores*, 372. 'Also, the name of the deceased is written in the register of each monastery'.

The strong association between martyrologies and the morning meeting in chapter, combined with new developments in the office of the dead, affected the insertion of necrological material into martyrologies, the binding of martyrologies with lists of the dead, and the creation of martyrologies in which the presentation of the text intentionally encouraged necrological additions from the outset. The Usuardan martyrology of Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, MS 37 (the so-called Guta-Sintram Codex: twelfth-century; Alsace) is a particularly visually striking example.[48] A less deluxe example is the thirteenth-century copy of Usuard's Martyrology within the composite manuscript Avranches, Bibliothèque patrimoniale, MS 214 (codicological units copied between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries; Mont Saint-Michel), which was also used as a necrology.[49] The Martyrology of Usuard within New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 1173 (thirteenth-century; St Nicolas, Beauvais) contains marginal obits in numerous hands.[50] However, necrological use as documented in the customaries mentioned above does not seem common for copies of Bede's Martyrology produced in the former Carolingian Empire and dated to between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries (as elaborated further below). One must note that necrological additions to existing ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology are common. Although Cassinese and Roman examples of Bede's Martyrology were produced to be used in this manner from the outset, and will be discussed in the following chapter, little evidence survives for this type of use in copies from what is now Germany and Austria. Only two copies produced between 900 and 1250 that accreted a significant quantity of obituary notices survive from this area. The fragmentary Martyrology of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 27305 (after 957; Freising or Swabia) includes necrological

---

[48] Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, MS 37, digitised at https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=13717, from fol. 7v.

[49] See Keats-Rohan, 'Pretiosa est in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius'.

[50] New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 1173, digitised at https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/17277455.

additions in multiple hands of the tenth to thirteenth centuries.[51] The late copy of Bede's text within Düsseldorf MS 4a includes original and additional obits, some of which are in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century hands.[52] It is worth noting that the inclusion of dense interlinear and/or marginal necrological material is more prevalent in Cassinese or Roman manuscript copies of the Martyrology than in manuscript copies produced between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries in what is now Germany and Austria. It is possible that other martyrologies or codicologically independent necrologies were preferred for commemoration of the ordinary dead north of the Alps.

Continued Use of Early Copies of Bede's Martyrology

The above chronology impresses upon us the number, variety, and character of normative texts on the functions of martyrologies between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, especially when compared to the evidence of the eighth and ninth centuries. To what degree were copies of Bede's Martyrology produced before the widespread circulation of such pronouncements adapted for use for any one or more of these various purposes: as reference guides, use in chapter, and/or use as repositories of the dead? Conversely, does the continued use of ninth-century copies of Bede's text show patterns not so obviously reflecting the normative evidence? How does the continued use of ninth-century copies of Bede's text compare with the continued use of a ninth-century copy of Usuard's Martyrology? Eight ninth-century examples of Bede's Martyrology include additions dated to the tenth century onward: Milan, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, MS M 15; Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H 410; BAV MS Pal. lat. 833; Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.50; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXV (63); BAV MS Reg. lat. 435;

---

[51] Elisabeth Klemm, *Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, vol. 1, Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München 2 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 77.

[52] See Odilo Gatzweiler, *Die liturgischen Handschriften des aachener Münsterstifts*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 10 (Münster in Westf.: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926), 188–92.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Car. C. 176; and BL Add. MS 19725. The content of these later traces of use varies between manuscripts, but the majority of the later traces of use within this group of manuscripts is of a liturgical or devotional character.[53] Three manuscript copies include few later additions: Milan MS M 15, Verona MS LXV (63), and BAV MS Reg. lat. 435. The copy of Bede's text within Milan MS M 15 includes additional saints' notices in a hand of the eleventh or twelfth century and in a hand of the twelfth or thirteenth century.[54] A prayer to St Ambrose was also appended to the end of the manuscript during the second half of the eleventh century in a Milanese hand.[55] A tenth- or eleventh-century reader added saints associated with Verona, such as St Zeno, to the Martyrology of Verona MS LXV (63), as well as an entry recording the dedication 'of the church of that [saint, i.e. Zeno]' (*illius ecclesiae*).[56] Obits were entered in the margins of the Martyrology of BAV MS. Reg. lat. 435 through the eleventh century, some of which relate to the Carolingian dynasty.[57] The remaining manuscript copies show a greater degree of subsequent adaptation. The copy of Bede's text in Montpellier BiSM MS H 410 includes supplemental saints' notices in multiple post-ninth-century hands. The Martyrology within BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 contains a neumed trope dated to the tenth or eleventh century, a late medieval marginal addition (unfortunately now illegible due to trimming), and a handful of additional obits.[58] The Martyrology of UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50 includes additional saints' entries and necrological notices entered between the eleventh and twelfth centuries and a prayer for intercession inserted in the tenth century.[59] The copy of Bede's text found in Zurich MS Car. C. 176 was later

---

[53] On liturgy and devotion, see Susan Boynton, 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters', *Speculum* 82, no. 4 (October 2007): 896–931, at 896–7.
[54] I thank Dr Miriam Tessera for assistance concerning this manuscript. Ferrari, 'Biblioteca del monastero di S. Ambrogio', 91. For a full description see ibid., 84–92.
[55] Ibid., 92.
[56] See Verona MS LXV (63), fols 14r (St Zeno) and 18r (dedication).
[57] Including BAV MS Reg. lat. 435, fols 5v, 7r, 8r, 8v, 10v, 16r, and 17r.
[58] BAV MS Pal. lat. 833, fols 24r and 2r, respectively. See Kautz, 'Pal. Lat. 833'.
[59] For the intercessory prayer, see UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50, fol. 32v. Thurn, *Pergamenthandschriften*, III.1, 39.

supplemented with a select amount of necrological additions and additional saints' entries.[60] Finally, the Martyrology found in BL Add. MS 19725 includes marginal pharmaceutical remedies inserted around 1000, examples of which occur throughout the manuscript.[61] Two later texts were appended to the larger compilation: a tenth-century *ordo* for Palm Sunday and a twelfth-century copy of the *Sunday Letter*, a text on Sunday observance.[62]

Examination of the additions within Montpellier BiSM MS H 410 and UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50 reveals a preoccupation with the completeness of the calendar of festal observance. In the former, the original page layout reserves only a single line for entries left blank by Bede. None of these dates left without an entry were allowed to remain. Later readers attempted to fit supplemental entries into the blanks, but in most cases inevitably had to turn to the ample space in the margins. The first leaf of the Martyrology, for instance, contains two original entries (Kal. Ian. and III Non. Ian.) and five supplemental entries in later hands.[63] The shortest of these, an entry for VIII Id. Ian., is in a tenth- or early eleventh-century hand. Entries for IV Non., II Non., Non., and VIII Id. Ian. are written in an late eleventh- or early twelfth-century hand. The state of conservation of the manuscript, especially the nature of its sixteenth-century binding, has unfortunately made it impossible to get an adequate digital image of this page. This manner of presentation continues throughout the entire Martyrology, to which at least eight later hands contributed (a couple of which are late medieval, but which only contributed a correction here or there). The vast majority of supplemental entries are written in the late eleventh-century or early twelfth-century hand. This suggests that it was during this period that a martyrology with blank entries was not considered suitable by at least one corrector, kicking off a veritable campaign of supplementation. Dates

---

[60] For instance, Zurich MS Car. C. 176, fol. 121r: 'Liutprit p*resbyte*r obiit'.
[61] BL Add. MS 19725, fols 5r, 8v; see Kerff, 'Frühmittelalterliche pharmazeutische Rezepte'.
[62] BL Add. MS 19725, fol. 2r and fols 87v–88r, respectively. Hamilton, 'Educating', 107–8; see Haines, ed. and trans., *Sunday Letter*.
[63] Montpellier BiSM MS H 410, fol. 4r.

originally with one or more entry were not also supplemented. The level of detail present in the entries for which this person was responsible, despite the cramped space often available for an additional entry, suggests a need for more than just a record which matched the name of a saint to particular day.

The possible sources for the entries added to fol. 4r are likewise suggestive. The addition of St Isidore and SS Argeus, Narcissus, and Marcellinus for IV Non. Ian. largely corresponds to the first two entries for the date in Usuard's Martyrology, the first of which was drawn from the Hieronymian Martyrology and the second from Florus and Ado.[64] The addition for II Non. Ian. of St Titus is an abbreviation of a notice for the date in Usuard or possibly derived from his source, Ado's *Libellus de festivitatibus Apostolorum et reliquorum*, which circulated with his Martyrology.[65] The addition for Non. Ian. of St Telesphorus is likewise similar to Usuard or indebted to his sources Florus and Ado.[66] Finally, the eleventh-century additions of St Macra and St Melanius for VIII Id. Ian. are also derived from Usuard or his sources Florus and Ado.[67] The entry for St Melanius reveals that the person responsible for the majority of the supplemental entries certainly had direct access to a copy of Usuard's Martyrology. Whereas Ado places the consecration of this saint on VIII Id. Ian. and his day of martyrdom on 12 November, in Usuard the *die natalis* is VIII Id. Ian.[68] One may therefore conclude that the supplementer was working from Usuard, not from copies of his sources, at least on this page. This corrector abbreviated the notices for insertion into Montpellier BiSM MS H 410, preserving a good level of detail but not fully copying from the other martyrology. A comprehensive examination of the textual sources of the later additions to the Martyrology is outside the scope of this study. One should note, however, that Henri Quentin had concluded that whilst all additions to January were derived from Usuard,

---

[64] Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 153.
[65] Ibid., 154.
[66] Ibid., 155.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.

additions from February to VIII Id. Mai. were derived from the *Parvum romanum* (the seventh- or eighth-century Roman martyrology that Ado claimed to have used as a source for his Martyrology but which was more probably composed in the ninth century, possibly also by Ado),[69] with Ado and the *Parvum romanum* alternating for the additions to the remainder of the martyrology.[70] The sources of these additions suggest one of two possibilities: the community that owned the manuscript either also had copies of Usuard, Ado, and the *Parvum romanum* or was lent these for the purpose of supplementing its own martyrology.[71] If Usuard was used for January and other sources consulted for the remainder of the year, this would seem to indicate that the copy of Usuard used was incomplete, travelled there with a guest, or had to be returned. Nevertheless, that this later corrector of Montpellier BiSM MS H 410 would add to the Martyrology using other martyrologies rather than wholly replace it with a different copy reveals the significance and authority granted to this ninth-century copy, or even to Bede's text itself. Montpellier BiSM MS H 410 exemplifies the fluid nature and enduring, albeit at this point waning, influence of Bede's Martyrology.

Blank entries in UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50 are likewise filled with notices from other sources, but the Würzburg manuscript differs from the similarly expanded Montpellier manuscript in the production, length, and content of its notices inserted during the period under consideration. Rather than the result of largely a single scribe, as

---

[69] See Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 409–64.

[70] Ibid., 27–9.

[71] The textual contents of the Martyrology and its additions unfortunately do not provide much indication of origin and/or provenance, beyond a general attribution to Francia. Henri Quentin remarked upon notices for SS Cyricus and his mother (rubricated and original), Dalmatius of Pavia (original), the deposition of St Philibert of Jumièges (in a later hand), Leodegar of Poitiers (in a later hand), Martial of Limoges (in a later hand), and Eparchius of Angoulême (in a later hand): ibid., 29. Relics of SS Cyricus and Julitta, to whom Nevers cathedral was dedicated, were held at Nevers and Saint-Amand, Tournai. See David Farmer, 'Cyricus (Cyriacus, Quiriac, Quiricus, Cyr) and Julitta', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-415.

is the case for the Montpellier manuscript, additions continued in multiple phases through to the twelfth century; a great number of these were added prior to the tenth century. Additionally, the supplemental entries seem rather terse when compared to those inserted into the Martyrology of Montpellier BiSM MS H410. Fol. 15v, for instance, contains two post-ninth-century supplemental notices for II Non. Iun., written in the same hand: 'S*anct*i Qurini ep*iscop*i ; Chonradus imp*eratoris* : o[*biit*]'. The Chonradus here commemorated is most likely Conrad II (b. c. 990–d. 4 June, 1039), Holy Roman Emperor and founder of the Salian dynasty. Certain of these later additions are of a more local character, as well. These entries were written in various Würzburg hands during the tenth and eleventh centuries, after the death of Bishop Thioto (d. 932).[72] The same Thioto, bishop of Würzburg from 908 to 931, is commemorated in a notice for XVII Kal. Dec. added to fol. 29v: 'In affrica . nat*ale* s*anct*i Secundini . Thioto . ep*iscopu*s ob*iit*'. Other entries associated with Würzburg include St Kilian; the translation of St Symphorian to Würzburg; the dedication of the basilica of St Kilian (possibly original or an addition of the ninth or tenth century); St Burchard, the first bishop of Würzburg; and St Boniface, who appointed Burchard.[73] Unlike in Montpellier BiSM MS H410, the Martyrology of UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50 contains necrological notices as well as supplemental saints' notices.[74] Less exalted entries than that commemorating Conrad II include, for instance, the tenth-century additional notice for III Non. Ian. on fol. 3r: 'arn obiit'.

To what ends did the readers of these two manuscript copies require a comprehensive arrangement of saints' feasts? Quentin concluded, based on the text and additions of Montpellier BiSM MS H410, that 'ce manuscrit ne semble pas avoir jamais servi à une lecture publique'.[75] The supplementer of Montpellier BiSM MS H410 may

---

[72] UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50, fols 22r, 27r, 27v, 28v, 29r, 29v, 31r, 32v. See Thurn, *Pergamenthandschriften*, III.1, 39; Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, 135.
[73] See Thurn, *Pergamenthandschriften*, III.1, 39.
[74] Printed in Dümmler, 'Karolingische Miscellen', 119 (cited in ibid.).
[75] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 29.

have been acting on behalf of a community to organise the calendar of festal observance, possibly including reading from a different martyrology manuscript in the morning chapter assembly. It would be possible in this scenario that the supplementer was the *armarius* of the community, to judge from the evidence of the customaries surveyed above. It is also possible that the Martyrology of Montpellier BiSM MS H 410 was supplemented for private study or personal devotion. Although the supplemented Martyrology would have been at that point complete and therefore fit for daily recitation in chapter, it is more likely that the liturgical apparatus of the Martyrology would have facilitated later use as a guide to the *sanctorale*.[76] The original reading notes would have been helpful in remembering which saints were granted a proper mass, for instance.[77] The complete absence of necrological additions, during a period when the commemoration of the dead was becoming more formalised and when normative texts more closely associate the martyrology with memorial practices, suggests that this manuscript copy was not used in chapter during the tenth and eleventh centuries. This is not to say, however, that the Martyrology had not been once intended or adapted for chapter reading. The prayer *ante lectionem* (before the reading), ascribed to Bede in the manuscript, that directly precedes the Martyrology implies at least some sort of reading aloud, given the use of the word *pronuntiare* (pronounce); the supplicant, however, also asks for a good memory 'ut possim ea quae ad eruditionem doctrinae pertinent citius retinere'.[78] The absence of additional obits makes it more probable that if the Martyrology were read from during its period of later use it would have been in the context referred to in the priests' exam in Regino of Prüm's *De ecclesiasticis disciplinis*, in which priests were to announce saints'

---

[76] See ch. 2, 107.
[77] See ch. 3, 144–5.
[78] See appendix B, 288 for a full transcription and translation of the prayer.

feasts.[79] Another possibility is that an eleventh-century *armarius* or cantor consulted and updated the Martyrology as a commemorative directory for each day.[80]

UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50, by contrast, as Felice Lifshitz has argued, was more demonstrably used not only for recording the names of saints from the ninth to the twelfth century but also for reading aloud during the morning chapter assembly.[81] The process of supplementation revealed in the manuscript supports her suggestion. The later insertion of Würzburg saints, moreover, suggests the continued adaptation of the original (likely produced in the ecclesiastical province of Mainz) for use in this location.[82] Furthermore, the presence of necrological notices implies an association with chapter, as it would be convenient to read entries for the commemoration of saints and the ordinary dead from the same manuscript. The ninth-century additional content had certainly been designed for this context, as shown in chapter two.[83] The prayer for intercession appended to the lower margin of fol. 32v may point to continued use in chapter.[84] The reference therein to spiritual healing through divine intercession is perhaps suggestive of the penitential element of the morning chapter assembly, the assignation of faults.[85] There was a longstanding conception of penance and confession as medicine for the soul.[86] During the period under consideration, the preface of Burchard of Worms's *Corrector*, the nineteenth book of his *Decreta* that concerns penance, states that the work is named *corrector* or *medicus* because it comprises 'a full statement of corrections for bodies and

---

[79] See ch. 3, 131–2.
[80] On non-liturgical commemoration that went beyond the local calendar, such as reading in the refectory, see Teresa Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory at Reading in the Twelfth Century', *Reading Medieval Studies* XLII (2016), https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.35550 and idem, 'Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries', John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture, School of Advanced Study, 18 February 2010, London, recorded lecture, 51:32, https://youtu.be/8TRI5KrQ8FI?feature=shared.
[81] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 126.
[82] On the origin of the manuscript, see Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, 47.
[83] See ch. 2, 104–5.
[84] For a transcription and English translation, see appendix B, 288–9.
[85] See ch. 2, 105.
[86] See ch. 3, 155.

medicines for souls'.[87] Customaries also cast confession in medical terms. For instance, the *Regularis concordia* refers to confession as a *salubre remedium* (healing remedy).[88] Moreover, the prayer in UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50 appears designed for communal use. The text entreats the Virgin Mary, the saints included in the Martyrology, and all other saints to intercede *pro nobis* (for us). This differs from the prayer *ante lectionem* preceding the Martyrology of Montpellier BiSM MS H410, which is written in first person.[89] One might speculate that the prayer to the Virgin Mary within UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50 was inserted at the end of the Martyrology to encapsulate materially the saints therein, *isti sancti*. The continued efforts of the community at Würzburg to add to their Martyrology reveal a desire for comprehensiveness that was motivated by communal aims of salvation, perhaps alongside that comprehensiveness in service of individual edification, liturgical study, and/or competence in *cura animarum* that is seen in the Montpellier copy.

Unlike the manuscripts with additional saints' entries discussed above, the additional content in BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 and BL Add. MS 19725 does not appear to have aimed for a complete calendar of festal observance. Although later entries for saints were not supplied for all dates without an entry, the Martyrology in BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 includes some brief supplemental entries and obits. For instance, the tenth-century addition for V Non. Mar. on fol. 5r reads only 'lantbreht'. Many of the additional entries have been supplied for saints or other individuals associated with Worms or Würzburg:[90] an entry on fol. 21r for the Bishop Thioto mentioned earlier reads 'anniuersaria thiotonis uenerabilis adq*ue* nobilissim<?>' (the anniversary of Thioto the venerable and most noble). The fascicle originally containing the Martyrology also included a *Concordia mensium et horarum*, a computistical text for calculating the length of the hours in each

---

[87] Oscar D. Watkins, *A History of Penance: Being a Study of the Authorities*, vol. 2, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920), 735.

[88] Symons, ed. and trans., *Monastic Agreement*, 18.

[89] See appendix B, 288.

[90] Discussed with references in Kautz, 'Pal. Lat. 833'.

month.[91] A neumed trope customising the introit *vultum tuum* for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was entered between the Martyrology and this computistical resource in the tenth or eleventh century.[92] It is perhaps significant that both BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 and UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50 contain additional content pertaining to the Virgin Mary in the lower margin of the final leaf of their Martyrologies. As the liturgical celebration of the Virgin developed between the tenth and twelfth centuries, it is possible that these additions served a similar purpose to the additions within Montpellier BiSM MS H 410 that expanded Bede's Martyrology as a commemorative resource. However, the final leaf of each of the two copies of Bede's Martyrology may have been simply a convenient place to record in writing a new piece of chant or a new prayer. Although there are obits in the Martyrology of BAV MS Pal. lat. 833, the presence of unfilled blanks suggests that this Martyrology was probably not used for daily recitation in chapter, although this cannot be determined definitively. It was, however, utilised by at least one tenth- or eleventh-century scribe with an interest in liturgical commemoration, revealed by their entry of the neumed trope for safekeeping or posterity on the pages of the Martyrology. The *ordo* for Palm Sunday and the *Sunday Letter* appended to BL Add. MS 19725 in the tenth and twelfth century, respectively, reveal a similar connection drawn between the Martyrology and the mechanics of liturgical practice.

Additions entered into the margins of Bede's Martyrology in BL Add. MS 19725 reveal both institutional and universal concerns. An entry commemorating the deposition of St Maximin was supplied on fol. 14r, and is datable from the script to the tenth century. The manuscript's pharmaceutical remedies were added at the turn of the millennium at Tegernsee Abbey.[93] Although these separate interventions would not seem to have much to do with each other, the manuscript's additional content reveals its

---

[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Kerff, 'Frühmittelalterliche pharmazeutische Rezepte', 113.

probable movement between the tenth and eleventh centuries. The Martyrology possibly came to Tegernsee when it was refounded in 979 under Abbot Hartwig—formerly a monk of St Maximin's Abbey in Trier.[94] The supplemental addition for St Maximin, much like the other examples of entries for local saints here discussed, deftly integrates the local history of a particular community and its saints with the universal history of the Christian church and its martyrs. These histories large and small were to be called upon in seeking intercession, either communal or personal. The reason for the addition of the recipes and what light this might shed upon how the Martyrology was being used at that time are less obvious but a case may be hypothesised. As noted above in discussion of the intercessory prayer on fol. 32v of UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50, the distinction between physical and spiritual wellness was a fine one. More specifically, the three pharmaceutical remedies inscribed in the margins of the Martyrology may reflect the association between *computus*, prognostication, and bloodletting, and perhaps by extension other medical remedies as well.[95] Although it is not likely that the BL Martyrology was used in chapter at Tegernsee, given the book's other contents and the character of its additions, the pharmaceutical remedies perhaps respond to a similar desire for healing, defined broadly, through intercession. The Martyrology of BL Add. MS 19725 therefore throws the interaction of Christian history, faith, and the fate of the body into sharp relief.

The later use of a ninth-century copy of Usuard's Martyrology suggests that these adapted copies of Bede's text are illustrative of larger phenomena. BnF MS lat. 13745 (after 858; Saint-Germain-des-Prés) contains a copy of Usuard's Martyrology, the Rule of St Benedict, and a necrology; its martyrology was once considered an autograph copy.[96] I have chosen this manuscript copy as a point of comparison because it is a rare

---

[94] Hamilton, 'Educating', 107–8; Kerff, 'Frühmittelalterliche pharmazeutische Rezepte', 113.
[95] BL Add. MS 19725, fols 5r and 8v; printed in Kerff, 'Frühmittelalterliche pharmazeutische Rezepte', 115. See Wallis, 'Experience of the Book'; idem, 'Medicine'.
[96] Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 15–27; Overgaauw, *Martyrologes manuscrits*, I, 27. BnF MS lat. 13745, digitised at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84267850.

early copy of Usuard's text that may be dated to the ninth century. In the tenth century, a later reader inserted the hymn *De sancto martire Vincentio: O miles invictissime* on the final leaf of the Martyrology.[97] Later additions within the text itself are largely marginal, but occasionally original text was erased and overwritten.[98] Some marginal notes are computistical, as seen on fol. 26r (recording an embolism, or additional intercalated lunation). The majority of additions to the martyrology commemorates events of significance for the community itself: dedications and consecrations of the altar, dedications of the monastery church, translations, and even the revelation of the body of St George.[99] The tenth-century addition of the hymn to St Vincent further illustrates this emphasis. St Vincent was especially venerated at Saint-Germain-des-Prés because the community received a relic of his tunic at its foundation. The acquisition of this relic and St Vincent's jawbone (received in the early thirteenth century) were commemorated in stained glass at the abbey in the thirteenth century.[100] Devotion to the saint therefore influenced both the literal space of the community and the shape of its liturgical calendar, in additions to its martyrology. BnF MS lat. 13745 shows a local and intracommunal focus in the majority of its later additions, reflecting its probable use in chapter assemblies at one time. Over time BnF MS lat. 13745 was probably replaced as the martyrology in use at Saint-Germain-des-Prés for chapter readings, but the old copy seems to have still been useful as a liturgical repository. The inverse of what is seen with the later uses of ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology, in which original purpose appears to have structured subsequent use, can be shown to have been the case with a comparable ninth-century copy of Usuard's Martyrology: the manuscript was adapted for a purpose for which it probably was not originally intended. The margins of this manuscript copy show the marking up of liturgical observance with reference to the

---

[97] BnF MS lat. 13745, fol. 88v; Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 18.
[98] For instance, BnF MS lat. 13745, fol. 59v.
[99] For example, BnF MS lat. 13745, fols 10r, 18r, 27v, 29r, 37r, 79v.
[100] Mary B. Shepard, 'The Relics Window of St. Vincent of Saragossa at Saint-Germain des Prés', *Gesta* 37, no. 2 (1998): 258–65.

number of matins lections: three or twelve. This would have been information of significance for liturgical performance, to be used by the precentor.

Ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology with traces of continued use have a greater density of additional entries than the copy of Usuard's Martyrology within BnF MS lat. 13745. This seems a natural consequence of the amount of space available in early copies of Bede's text with blank entries. Indeed, tenth- to mid-thirteenth-century insertions are not observed to the same degree in surviving ninth-century copies of Bede's text that were comprehensive *ab initio*. Instead, copies with blank entries attracted later intervention even in cases where the blanks were never filled, such as BAV MS Pal. lat. 833 and BL Add. MS 19725.[101] While BnF MS lat. 13745 seems to have been copied for use in chapter and subsequently expanded upon as a result of use as a reference tool, the ninth-century multiplicity of function of Bede's Martyrology gave rise to later adaptation that did not, on the whole, alter manuscript copies for chapter to serve another purpose.[102] Rather, copies of Bede's Martyrology that seem to have been intended to serve as reference guides appear to have continued to serve this purpose, but more expansively. Bede's Martyrology was not, after all, intended from the outset for use in chapter. Usuard's text, however, became widely used in chapter between the ninth and eleventh centuries and was subsequently adopted by religious orders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for this purpose.[103] Of the ninth-century copies of Bede's Martyrology, only UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.50 was probably used in chapter assemblies during this later period. The other copies to receive a significant number of additions became a comprehensive calendar of festal observance (Montpellier BiSM MS H 410), a volume for consultation on liturgical matters (BAV MS Pal. lat. 833), and a primer on Christian history and observance including material related to physical and spiritual

---

[101] And also including Milan MS M 15, Verona MS LXV (63), and Zurich MS Car. C. 176, although these three copies did not accrete as many later additions.

[102] On the use of Usuard in chapter, see Sarah Hamilton, 'Understanding'.

[103] Overgaauw, *Martyrologes manuscrits*, I, 34–8.

wellbeing (BL Add. MS 19725)—although these copies may, of course, have had multiple uses. All copies here discussed reflect continuity rather than transformation of purpose after the Carolingians. The presentation and structure of the existing manuscript copies of Bede's text shaped their later accretions and reinterpretations.

Bede's Martyrology: Liturgy and History after the Carolingians

Whether read in chapter or used in other contexts, post-Carolingian copies of Bede's Martyrology synthesised local and Christian history. It has been acknowledged that ninth-century Frankish martyrologies shaped not only the liturgical observance of religious communities but also the understanding of the Christian past.[104] Hamilton has examined the analogous use of martyrologies within the tenth- and eleventh-century English context.[105] The material collected in Munich Clm. 27305 suggests that Bede's Martyrology could be of use as a liturgical resource; this manuscript perhaps represents a bridge between Carolingian copies that include the Martyrology for consultation on the liturgy and later copies that reinterpret the Martyrology's value as a history with liturgical inflections.[106] Additions entered in the margins of the Martyrology during the late tenth or early eleventh century by a single scribe record conflict between the Bavarians and the Hungarians. On III Non. Iul., this later writer recorded 'Bell*um* baioariorum ungariis moriente'.[107] This refers to the Battle of Pressburg (now Bratislava) on 4 July, 907, in which Hungarian forces soundly defeated the Bavarians. Another entry on II. Non. Aug. reads 'Ungarii aecclam sci stephani atq*ue* sci uiti hora vi igni deder*um* in die ueneris'.[108] This entry may be related to the Battle of Eisenach on 3 August, 908. Four other entries of this sort were added to the Martyrology by the same scribe, on VII Kal. Aug., IV Id.

---

[104] For instance, McKitterick, *Perceptions*, 51–5.
[105] Hamilton, 'Understanding'; idem, 'Liturgy as History'.
[106] On the overall compilation, see Klemm, *Ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften*, 77.
[107] Munich Clm. 27305, p. 4. 'Fatal battle of the Bavarians by the Hungarians'.
[108] Munich Clm. 27305, p. 9. 'The Hungarians gave the church of St Stephen and St Vitus to the fire at seven o'clock on Friday'.

Aug., III Id. Aug., and XII Kal. Dec.[109] The presentation of text within the Martyrology, when considered with the association of texts within the codex, suggests use for commemoration and reference. The liturgical apparatus within the Martyrology includes a rubricated apparatus indicating the date, computistical rubrics prior to the first day of each month that give the days of the month and of the moon, and Roman numerals I through VII next to each date that may serve an analogous function to Dominical letters. The text immediately following the Martyrology is *De vii numeralibus litteris*, a guide to how to read Roman numerals. This may be related to the unusual apparatus seen in the Martyrology of Munich Clm. 27305. There is a large number of additional obits within the Martyrology, but this was not provided for in the original apparatus. Although the presentation of text in the Martyrology would not preclude use in chapter, use for reference and recording the ordinary dead seems most probable. The additional entries on the conflict between Bavaria and Hungary foreground both local history, as the manuscript was produced in Freising or Swabia and in use at the Dombibliothek at Friesing by the twelfth century, and a larger political conflict.[110] This tenth-century manuscript may be seen to represent a preliminary phase in the incorporation of historical content into manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology, which I explore further below.

The following section focusses on five manuscript copies datable to between the early eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries. The Martyrology of Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 143 (early eleventh-century; Seeon)—commissioned by Henry II (b. 973–d. 1024), given to his new foundation at Bamberg, and later held at Michelsberg Abbey—became the physical embodiment of a foundation narrative. The twelfth-century Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 159, Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1942, and Lambach, Benediktinerstift, CmL CXXXI reveal how developments in history writing around 1100 altered the significance of Bede's Martyrology at Michelsberg,

---

[109] Munich Clm. 27305, pp. 10, 20, and 23.
[110] See Klemm, *Ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften*, 77.

Melk, and Lambach. Finally, the early thirteenth-century chapter book of the canons at Aachen provides an example of how Bede's Martyrology was used as a vehicle for interpreting Frankish history after the Carolingians. All three of the twelfth-century manuscript copies can be shown to have connections with Bamberg. Arguably the use of Bede's Martyrology by Henry II for his new foundation at Bamberg in the early eleventh century sparked local dissemination and use of the text. The Aachen copy suggests an interest in the Carolingian past at the centre of the former Empire, especially related to the cult of St Charlemagne.

The copy in Bamberg MS Lit. 143 illustrates the significance of Bede's Martyrology as a resource for an eleventh-century religious community. Henry Parkes has recently argued that Henry II, 'was not only a keen lay practitioner and observer of religious ritual, but also an unsung scholar and patron thereof, to whose initiative we may attribute a significant programme of liturgical creativity'.[111] He sought to supply his nascent foundation at Bamberg with the liturgical resources for which he felt an affinity, including the copy of Bede's Martyrology found in Bamberg MS Lit. 143.[112] Henry II commissioned multiple volumes for this purpose from the scriptorium at Seeon, including a notated cantatorium (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 7); a Gospel lectionary (Bamberg, Staatsbibiliothek, MS Bibl. 95); and the earliest securely datable example of the so-called Romano-German Pontifical (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 53).[113]

---

[111] Henry Parkes, 'Henry II, Liturgical Patronage and the Birth of the "Romano-German Pontifical"', *Early Medieval Europe* 28, no. 1 (2020): 104–41, at 106.

[112] See ibid., 123–8.

[113] Ibid., 124; see Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, 'Die Buchmalerei in Seeon zur Zeit Kaiser Heinrichs II', in *Kloster Seeon: Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der ehemaligen Benediktinerabtei*, ed. Johannes von Malottki (Weissenhorn: A. Konrad, 1993), 177–204, at 177–8 (cited in ibid.); Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, vol. 1, 2 vols, Schriften Der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 30 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986), 402–5, with a description of Bamberg MS Lit. 143 on 407. Bamberg MS Lit. 143 is most recently described in Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg*, vol. 1, Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 114–16.

Karin Dengler-Schrieber posited another three given by Henry II to Michelsberg, founded a few years later: a lectionary (Pommersfelden, Graf von Schönborn–Wiesentheid, Schloßbibl., MS 340); the Rule of Caesarius of Arles, formerly at Niedermünster (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 142); and possibly another lectionary (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23630).[114] The gilded dedicatory poem on fols 4v–5r of Bamberg MS Lit. 143 makes this royal patronage explicit, praising both Henry II and the new foundation at Bamberg.[115] As befitting a royal commission, this Martyrology is indeed the most deluxe of the surviving corpus, with a decorated and gilded initial at the beginning of each month.[116] The computistical rubrics are detailed, as would befit a resource for consultation: for March, 'Mens*is* mar*tius* hab*et* dies xxx . i . Heb*raice* adar . Grece distros . Aegip*te* famenoth . Lat*ine* aries . vel hredmonad . Luna xxx'.[117] As well as the Martyrology, the original contents of the larger compilation include the Rules of Benedict, Columbanus, and Macarius and a sermon for All Saints' attributed to Alcuin: *Hodie dilectissimi omnium sanctorum sub una sollempnitatis lęticia celebramus*

---

[114] Dengler-Schreiber, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek*, 21. Dengler-Schrieber categorises these three books *and* Bamberg MS Lit. 143 as gifts to Michelsberg, but as Parkes points out in Parkes, 'Henry II', 132–3, Michelsberg Abbey was founded a few years after the latter book's production. The most probable scenario in my estimation is that Bamberg MS Lit. 143 was given to the library of Bamberg at the foundation of the bishopric and then moved to Michelsberg Abbey at some point between the foundation of this community in 1015 and the twelfth century, when documents pertaining to the monastery began to be entered.

[115] Printed in Karl Strecker, ed., *Die Ottonenzeit*, MGH Poetae 5.1 (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1937), 397–8. See Carl Joachim Classen, *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes urbium in der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 2 (Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1980), 46–9; Dengler-Schreiber, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek*, 18.

[116] For instance, Bamberg MS Lit. 143, fol. 96v. On the main scribe of the manuscript, see Karl Forstner, 'Beiträge zur Erschliessung des salzburger Verbrüderungsbuches', *Scriptorium* 57, no. 2 (2003): 173–93, at 188–9; idem, 'Ergänzungen zu B. Bischoffs Hss Katalog (salzburger Fragmente)', *Scriptorium* 62, no. 1 (2008): 122–38, at 126.

[117] Bamberg MS Lit. 143, fol. 96v. 'The month of March has thirty-one days. In Hebrew, Adar. In Greek, Distros. In Egyptian, Famenoth. In Latin, Aries. Or *Hredmonad*. Thirty [days of] the moon'.

festivitatem.[118] It has been suggested that Henry II commissioned multiple monastic rules within this manuscript because he was himself interested in texts on religious reform and monastic life.[119] The range of Rules therein, much like the probable commission and/or donation of multiple lectionaries, would also seem to indicate his collecting and donating of material related to religious practice to furnish Bamberg, termed 'liturgical spoliation' by Parkes.[120] I find it likely, to judge from the presence of multiple Rules and the lack of indicators of heavy use such as many necrological additions or dirt on the pages within the Martyrology of Bamberg MS Lit. 143 was consulted as part of a deluxe resource on monastic observance, rather than read daily in chapter.

The dedicatory poem provides further information to contextualise the inclusion of the Martyrology within this compendium. In its praise of Bamberg, the poem foregrounds the foundation's relics and commemoration of the saints:

> Haec Iebusaicę partem capit inclita doxae, / Aucta salutiferi pretioso sanguine Christi, / Condit et aureolis crucis almę fragmina thęcis. / Arcem Romanam se gestit habere coaequam, Archilegato dans prima cubilia Petro / Plaudit et agiae loca ferre secunda Mariae, / In medio magnum gaudet sustollere Iesum, / Estque domus dominus martyr Georgius almus / Undique congestis solidis numero sine sanctis, / Quorum pręsido clarebit honoribus aevo, / In fundamentis redimitur nunc quia tantis, / Matribus ut priscis sit filia maior opellis / Ornatus cunctim quibus utitur area mundi.[121]

---

[118] Dengler-Schreiber, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek*, 99. See Bamberg MS Lit. 143, fols. 82r–85v.
[119] Parkes, 'Henry II', 132–3.
[120] Ibid., 128–33.
[121] Strecker, ed., *Ottonenzeit*, 398. 'This place of renown takes a share of Jerusalem's glory, / Enriched by the precious blood of salvation-bearing Christ / It encloses within its sacred vaults fragments of the holy Cross, / It exults to be a citadel the equal of Rome / The first chambers it gladly offers to Peter, the Archlegate, / And bestows the second to the holy Mary. / In its midst, it joyfully raises up Jesus, the sublime, / And the noble martyr George is the lord of this shrine. / Around, countless relics are carefully preserved, / Their honor throughout the ages, deservedly observed. / Now, it stands fortified with such great esteem, / Greater than the ancient matrons' cherished dream. / Adorned with treasures from all corners of the Earth, / This sanctuary, in its glory, shows its priceless worth'.

It is at least in part through the veneration of the saints that the new bishopric at Bamberg seeks to equal Rome.[122] This might also explain why Henry II chose Bede's Martyrology, with its original emphasis on Roman saints, for the collection of monastic Rules to be given to Bamberg.[123] It is also possible that Henry II wanted to emulate and perhaps surpass Charles the Bald, to whom Usuard directed the preface of his Martyrology, in the use of an authoritative martyrology.[124] Charles's Codex Aureus was the model for Henry II's own sacramentary (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4456).[125] Bede arguably had greater authority than Usuard because he had been elevated to almost the level of a Church Father in the ninth century.[126] Twelfth-century martyrology manuscripts such as St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 453 (Usuard) and Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, MS 332 (Hermann the Lame of Reichenau) were misattributed to Bede by medieval scribes, perhaps indicative of the authority he still held.[127] Moreover, Henry II perhaps had access to a copy of Bede's text at Regensburg, where part of Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.49 was possibly copied.[128] The *De locis sanctis martyrum* added to this manuscript was written in a ninth-century Regensburg hand.[129] In selecting Bede's Martyrology as the *only* example of the genre thought to have been made for Bamberg at its foundation, Henry II provided a resource to study a specific collection of saints, putatively those selected by a venerable patristic scholar.

Once at Michelsberg, twelfth-century additions to the manuscript constructed a foundation narrative that further emphasised the patronage of Henry II and outlined a

---

[122] Classen, *Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes urbium*, 47.
[123] See Thacker, 'Bede', 130–1.
[124] The two recensions of this preface are printed in Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 144–5.
[125] Parkes, 'Henry II', 107.
[126] Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives'. See also Pfaff, 'Bede Among the Fathers?'.
[127] St Gallen MS 453, digitised at http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/it/list/one/csg/0453#details; Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, MS 332, digitised at https://digi.landesbibliothek.at/viewer/image/332/1/LOG_0000/.
[128] Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 522.
[129] Thurn, *Pergamenthandschriften*, III.1, 38–9.

history of the community. Bamberg MS Lit. 143 had originally included blank leaves between its texts, an indication of the expensive nature of the royal commission.[130] During the twelfth century, these leaves were used to record documents that largely validate donations from Henry II to Michelsberg Abbey.[131] These later insertions are: a document of Bishop Herold of Würzburg (1169); a copy of the donation of Rattelsdorf and Etzelkirchen to Michelsberg Abbey by Henry II (copied c. 1150); a copy of documents surrounding the donation of the *praedia gestineshusen* by Bishop Otto to Michelsberg Abbey; an agreement between Bishop Otto and Count Berthold on the *vogtei* beyond Michelsberg Abbey; a list of the abbey's income from various villages; a donation from the Würzburg canon Friedrich (1127); a document recording gift exchange between Bishop Otto and Abbot Wolfram; a donation of Hermann of Weikendorf and Bishop Otto; records of places that Henry II bequeathed to the cathedral donation fund (copied c. 1170).[132] The great majority of the documents are entered between folio 86 and folio 91v, immediately preceding the Martyrology on folio 92r. The number of these records that concern either the royal patronage of Henry II or the activities of Bishop Otto is immediately apparent. Michelsberg Abbey was the burial place of Otto, who was appointed bishop of Bamberg in 1102 and canonised as a saint in 1189. The documents therefore not only preserve records of the community's possessions but also collect material pertaining to the royal founder of Bamberg and its local saint.

Documentary material was often entered into or alongside other martyrologies, whatever the primary use made of each. Perhaps the proximity of the document(s) to the

---

[130] Dengler-Schreiber, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek*, 19.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., 99–100. See Hans-Ulrich Ziegler, 'Das Urkundenwesen der Bischöfe von Bamberg von 1007 bis 1139. Mit einem Ausblick auf das Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Diplomatik: Schriftgeschichte, Siegel, und Wappenkunde* 28 (1982): 58–189; Marie-Luise Laudage, 'Die Urkunden Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg (1102–1139). Mit einer Edition ausgewählter Stücke', in *Vera Lex Historiæ: Studien zu mittelalterlichen Quellen: Festschrift für Dietrich Kurze zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 1. Januar 1993*, ed. Stuart Jenks, Jürgen Sarnowsky, and Marie-Luise Laudage (Cologne, Vienna, Weimar: Böhlau, 1993), 457–94.

saints commemorated in a martyrology was seen to be more important than the specific use of any one martyrology manuscript; this must remain speculative. The copy of Usuard's Martyrology within Orléans, Bibliothèque-médiathèque municipale, MS 322 (eleventh-century; Fleury) includes charters and relic translations.[133] Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 634 (twelfth-century; provenance at Saint-Bénigne), another compilation for use in chapter including a copy of Usuard's Martyrology, also contains additional documentary material pertaining to the community within which it was used.[134] Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 633 (1224–1235; Cîteaux) includes a list of churches associated with Cîteaux Abbey, as well as Usuard's Martyrology.[135] Bamberg MS Lit. 143 and the examples above reflect a wider context, in which documents were often entered within liturgical or devotional manuscripts for preservation and perhaps sanctification.[136] Even given that this was a widespread practice, the sheer number of documents within Bamberg MS Lit. 143, entered in close proximity to its martyrology, is noteworthy. It has been suggested that within the early English context this practice is most apparent in surviving tenth- and eleventh-century gospel books owned or donated by royalty, with the sanctification of the record taking place through association with the ruler as well as with the book itself.[137] The association between Bamberg MS Lit. 143

---

[133] Orléans, Bibliothèque-médiathèque municipale, MS 322, digitised at https://mediatheques.orleans-metropole.fr/ark:/77916/FRCGMBPF-452346101-01A/D18012475/v0001.simple.selectedTab=thumbnail.

[134] Dijon, Bibliothéque municipale, MS 634, digitised at http://patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr/pleade/img-viewer/MS00634/viewer.html.

[135] Dijon, Bibliothéque municipale, MS 633, digitised at http://patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr/pleade/img-viewer/MS00633/viewer.html.

[136] Discussed in detail for the early English context: David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 119–25; Mark Faulkner, 'The Uses of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, c. 1066–1200' (DPhil, University of Oxford, 2008), 163–6; David Pratt, 'Kings and Books in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 43 (2014): 297–377, at 310–13. Outside of England, see Rosamond McKitterick, 'Social Memory, Commemoration and the Book', in *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 156–73.

[137] Pratt, 'Kings and Books', 302.

and Henry II, made explicit by its dedicatory poem, conceivably motivated the subsequent insertion of documents within this manuscript to reassert the interests and possessions of Michelsberg. Moreover, I have suggested elsewhere that documentary material concerning a royal founder that was entered into a liturgical or devotional manuscript constructed a commemorative foundation narrative.[138] The number of documents within Bamberg MS Lit. 143 is therefore testament to the strength of the community's identification with its royal patron and local confessor saint, and perhaps also reflects the particularly accretive force of Bede's Martyrology.

This royal copy of Bede's Martyrology could explain the geographic distribution of the extant twelfth-century copies, which are all linked to Bamberg to varying degrees. Bede's Martyrology at Bamberg may be comparable in its persistence to the Romano-German Pontifical tradition there, albeit on a smaller scale: 'The particular strength of the Bamberg connection also explains why in later centuries, when *PRG* volumes had long since lost their relevance, this cathedral was one of the few places where the memory flickered on'.[139] Bamberg MS Lit. 159 was produced at Michelsberg in the first half of the twelfth century; its Martyrology was once bound with the Rule of St Benedict, a Gospel lectionary, and a necrology (now Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 144).[140] The original construction of this manuscript makes it extremely likely that its Martyrology was read in chapter at Michelsberg Abbey. The contemporary Melk Cod. 1942 would also have been suited for use in chapter, as it includes the Rule of Benedict alongside its Martyrology.[141] In another example of the documentary practices discussed above, this

---

[138] See Kate Falardeau, 'Gender, Space, and Communal History in Tenth-Century Additions to the Book of Nunnaminster', *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 11 (2022): 69–96.

[139] Parkes, 'Henry II', 140.

[140] Leitschuh, *Katalog*, I.1.ii, 312; Hochholzer, 'Paläographische Beobachtungen', 23–5. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 144, digitised at http://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:22-dtl-0000003895.

[141] Described in Glaßner, *Inventar*, 502–3. I thank Joseph Bernaer for bringing this manuscript to my attention, providing images for personal study, and sharing his transcription of the Martyrology.

manuscript also includes two letters written from Abbot Wolfram of Michelsberg to Abbot Conrad and the community at Melk, immediately preceding the Martyrology.[142] The letters not only record the confraternity between Michelsberg and Melk, but also provide an explanation for how Melk may have come to have a copy of Bede's Martyrology. Lambach CmL CXXXI is a second copy of Bede's Martyrology that is related to Bamberg MS Lit. 159.[143] This codex is a chapter book, containing the Martyrology, the Rule of St Benedict, and a necrology.[144] The Lambach codex does not contain direct evidence of a Bamberg connection, such as the letter seen in the Melk codex. Additional saints' entries within the Lambach Martyrology, however, may suggest connections with both Bamberg and Melk. On folio 58v a scribe writing in a thirteenth-century hand has added: 'Eode*m* die t*r*ansl*atio* s*anct*ę chunigundis uirg*inis* et reginę apud pabenbereh'.[145] Empress Cunigunda was reinterred at Bamberg Cathedral in 1201 after her canonisation; she was buried next to her husband Emperor Henry II. Although speculative, this may suggest a perceived connection between Henry II, founder of Bamberg and Michelsberg, and Bede's Martyrology in twelfth-century northern Austria. Another additional entry may suggest that Bede's Martyrology was transmitted to Lambach by way of Melk. On folio 19r an additional entry for VI Kal. Apr., not closely datable but probably from the later twelfth century, commemorates 'sancti Rudperti

---

[142] Melk Cod. 1942, fol. 1r. An image is accessible at https://manuscripta.at/images/AT/6000/AT6000-1942/AT6000-1942_001r.jpg.

[143] Described in Dietmar Straub, ed., *Tausend Jahre Oberösterreich. Das Werden eines Landes. Katalog- und Beitragsteil. Ausstellung des Landes Oberösterreich 29. April bis 26. Oktober 1983 in der Burg zu Wels*, vol. 2, 2 vols (Linz: Amt der Oö. Landesregierung, Abteilung Kultur, 1983), 80–1. On the script, see Kurt Holter, 'Die Handschriften und Inkunabeln', in *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Gerichtsbezirkes Lambach. Mit Beiträgen von Kurt Holter und Walter Luger*, ed. Erwin Hainisch, Österreichische Kunsttopographie 34/2 (Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co, 1959), 213–70, at 214–15. On the relationship between the Melk and Lambach copies, see Glaßner, *Inventar*, 502. I am grateful to the Lambach Benediktinerstift and the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, Saint John's University, Collegeville, MN for providing images of Lambach CmL CXXXI for consultation.

[144] Straub, ed., *Tausend Jahre Oberösterreich*, 80.

[145] 'On the same day, the translation of St Cunigunda, virgin and queen, at Bamberg'.

epi*scopi* et c*onfessoris*'.[146] This notice most probably refers to St Rupert of Salzburg. The entry is not found in Bamberg MS Lit. 159 but is found in Melk Cod. 1942 on folio 18r, also as an addition, but in a hand closely similar to that of the original scribe. The most probable route of dissemination of this version of Bede's Martyrology may be from Bamberg to Melk, and then from Melk to Lambach.

Although critical analysis of the texts of the three Martyrologies is outside the scope of the present study, it is worth noting that the three copies appear to have a direct relationship. The three Martyrologies are Bedean, supplemented with entries from Florus and historical asides from Frutolf of Michelsberg's (d. 1103) *Chronicle*. It is most probable that Bamberg MS Lit. 159 was or provided the exemplar for the Melk and Lambach copies. There were two textually independent copies of Bede's Martyrology at Michelsberg during the twelfth century, and the inclusion of material from Frutolf suggests a Michelsberg connection. The earlier, royal commission of Bamberg MS Lit. 143 at Seeon for Bamberg, and potentially for Michelsberg, may explain why the community copied and used Bamberg MS Lit. 159 rather than Usuard's text or that of another martyrologist. It is probable that Michelsberg had access to a copy of Usuard's text. Uniquely for an extant copy of Bede, the Martyrology of Bamberg MS Lit. 159 is preceded by a preface (one must note, however, that seven surviving copies of Bede's Martyrology are incomplete at the beginning of the text; martyrologies often saw heavy use).[147] This preface take the form of an extract from Augustine's *Contra Faustum*: *Festivitates sanctorum apostolorum seu martyrum antique patres in venerationis ministerium celebrari sanxeter*, which was sometimes included with copies of Usuard's Martyrology.[148] It seems to have been a conscious choice, therefore, to copy Bede's

---

[146] 'St Rupert, bishop and confessor'.
[147] Bamberg MS Lit. 159, fol. 1v.
[148] Printed from BnF MS lat. 13745 in Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 146. The second preface to the Dominican Prototype manuscript reveals that, by the thirteenth century, some attributed this preface to Bede and connected it with his Martyrology: see n. 21 above. This is suggestive

Martyrology instead of Usuard's and subsequently share this Martyrology with Melk Abbey and Lambach Abbey. Melk Abbey would eventually obtain a copy of Usuard's Martyrology in the fourteenth century.[149] During the twelfth century, however, it appears that the community's version of Bede's Martyrology with Bamberg augmentation was sufficient.

Excerpts from historical sources found within the three twelfth-century Martyrologies reveal interest in the universal history of Christian liturgical practice and the popes who had instituted such customs. Frutolf had used Bede's Martyrology as a source for his *Chronicle*, which began with creation and was continued after his death by others at Michelsberg. For instance, in discussing papal succession it is clear that Frutolf had consulted Bede's Martyrology because he cites the text by name: 'cum Beda in martyrlogio suo dicat'.[150] Scribes at Michelsberg in the twelfth century probably knew of the connection between Bede's Martyrology and the *Chronicle* penned by their fellow monk. The hands of the J and C continuations of the *Chronicle* and Bamberg MS Lit. 159 are those of different scribes within the same *scriptorium*.[151] The Martyrology within Bamberg MS Lit. 159 might be interpreted as constituting a self-conscious reference not only to universal history itself but to the writing of universal history at Michelsberg—and thus may have represented a conception of history with liturgical overtones because it was incorporated into daily readings in chapter. This is perhaps what motivated the marginal addition of a notice for Bede himself as the authoritative source for both the Martyrology and this local, universal history.[152] Entries within the Martyrology drawn

---

given that Bamberg MS Lit. 159 is the only extant copy of Bede to preserve any preface, and it is indeed the *Contra Faustum* extract. Further discussion is outside the scope of this dissertation.

[149] Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 836.

[150] Ekkehard of Aura, 'Ekkehardi Chronicon Universale ad a. 1106', ed. Georg Waitz, in *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH Scriptores 6 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1844), 33–231, at 99. This edition misattributes the chronicle to Ekkehard of Aura, but there is no updated version for the pre-1001 portion of the *Chronicle*. 'As Bede says in his martyrology'.

[151] McCarthy, *Continuations*, 117–20.

[152] Bamberg MS Lit. 159, fol. 29r.

from the *Chronicle* and the *Liber pontificalis* reveal a preoccupation with the ordering of the Church, the regulation of liturgical practice, and the early papacy.[153] For instance, within the notice for Pope Telesphorus: 'Hic c*on*stituit ut septe*m* ebdomadib*us* ante pascha ieiuniu*m* celebraret*ur* . et in nativitate d*omi*ni n*ost*ri ih*es*u chr*ist*i . nocte misse celebrarent*ur* . *et* . ymnus angelicus id est gl*ori*a in excelsis d*e*o . hora sacrificii misse celebret*ur*'.[154] This is a combination of excerpts from corresponding notices for Pope Telesphorus within the *Chronicle* and the *Liber pontificalis*.[155] Other entries, like that for Pope Gaius, appear to be derived from the *Liber pontificalis* alone: 'Hic c*on*stituit . ut p*er* om*ni*s gradus p*rimu*m ascenderet si q*ui*s ep*iscopu*s fieri mereret*ur* . ut esset hostiarius . lector . exorcista . subdiaconus . diacon*us* . p*resbyte*r'.[156] Bede's Martyrology here became not only a history of the Christian church and its martyrs, but an emphatically papal history.

---

[153] On the *Liber pontificalis*, see McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy*.

[154] Transcription from Bamberg MS Lit. 159, fol. 2v; see Melk Cod. 1942, fol. 2r; Lambach CmL CXXXI is fragmentary and does not include the leaf on which Telesphorus would have been recorded. 'This was established so that a fast would be performed seven weeks before Easter. And on the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, masses would be celebrated at night. And the Angelic Hymn, that is, "Glory to God in the highest", would be performed at the hour of the sacrifice of the mass'.

[155] Theodore Mommsen, ed., *Libri pontificalis*, MGH Scriptores Gesta pontificum Romanorum 1 (Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1898), 12: 'Hic constituit, ut septem ebdomadas ante pascha ieiunium celebraretur et natalem domini Christi noctu missas celebrarentur: nam omni tempore ante horae tertiae cursum nullus praesumeret missas celebrare, qua hora dominus noster ascendit crucem; et ante sacrificium hymnus diceretur angelicus, hoc est: Gloria in excelsis deo et cetera, tantum noctu natale domini.'; Ekkehard of Aura, 'Ekkehardi Chronicon', ed. Waitz, 104: 'Thelesphorus papa 7ᵘˢ ordinatur, sedensque annis 10, patitur sub Adriano, Nonas Ianuar. Hic constituit, missas in sancta dominicae nativitatis nocte celebrari, et tempore sacrificii gloria in excelsis cantari'.

[156] Bamberg MS Lit. 159, fols 20v–21r; see Melk Cod. 1942, fol. 21v; Lambach CmL CXXXI is missing the folio on which Gaius would have been recorded, fol. 25. Mommsen, ed., *Libri pontificalis*, 39: 'Hic constituit, ut ordines omnes in ecclesia sic ascenderetur: si quis episcopus mereretur, ut esset ostiarius, lector, exorcista, sequens, subdiaconus, diaconus, presbiter et exinde episcopos ordinaretur'. 'This established that through all the [clerical] grades, if anyone deserved to become a bishop, they should first ascend in this order: acolyte, lector, exorcist, subdeacon, deacon, priest'.

These copies of Bede's Martyrology reflect a period of religious reform and conflict. On a local level, Hirsau monks reformed Michelsberg in 1112.[157] Interest in the origins of current liturgical practice, inevitably tied to the search for a 'correct' liturgy, would have conceivably increased at Michelsberg Abbey around this time. Moreover, Thomas McCarthy has remarked upon the importance of monastic networks in driving liturgical reform in the area.[158] Continuations of the *Chronicle* circulated beyond Michelsberg, within monastic friendship networks.[159] Perhaps such a network is implicated in the early twelfth-century Martyrologies of Michelsberg, Melk, and Lambach. Frutolf himself, however, reminds us that interest in liturgy and religious practice was current among members of a south-German circle during the eleventh century.[160] His *De officiis divinis* and *Breviarium de musica* are practical texts explicitly concerned with monastic liturgy.[161] The broader context of the Investiture Controversy emphasised liturgical practice and papal prerogatives on a larger scale. Frutolf's *Chronicle* was wary of the Gregorian papacy, while his continuators were less pro-imperial.[162] Even as his universal history responded to the current papacy in its documentation of the early popes, the overall focus of the *Chronicle* was the ordering of time—much as his liturgical and musical treatises 'sought perfection in Gregorian chant and in the liturgy through the proper ordering of their elements'.[163] With such order achieved, the monks of Michelsberg could turn to his *Chronicle* for both 'historical

---

[157] Thomas John Henry McCarthy, *Music, Scholasticism and Reform: Salian Germany, 1024–1125*, Manchester Medieval Studies (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), 13–15.

[158] Ibid., 15–8.

[159] McCarthy, *Continuations*, 8.

[160] Ibid., 11–54 (ch. 1).

[161] Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronicles*, trans. McCarthy, 18.

[162] Ibid., 14; Thomas John Henry McCarthy, 'Denis Bethell Prize Essay: Frutolf of Michelsberg's Chronicle, the Schools of Bamberg, and the Transmission of Imperial Polemic', *The Haskins Society Journal* 23 (2011): 51–70.

[163] Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronicles*, trans. McCarthy, 20.

context' and 'moral instruction'.[164] Bede's Martyrology must have seemed a similar resource for the ordering of the calendar of festal observance to the early twelfth-century monks of Michelsberg. When supplemented with universal history around 1100, the Martyrology came closer to ordering the past itself, rather than only its commemoration in the present.

The copy datable to the first half of the thirteenth century in use at Aachen further illuminates the relationships between Bede's Martyrology, the meeting in chapter, and the understanding of the Carolingian past through liturgical commemoration. The Martyrology in Düsseldorf MS 4a shows evidence of intended and actual use in chapter, with a liturgical apparatus, an entry for each day, and additional necrological notices up to the fifteenth century. Statutes from the 816 Council of Aachen, immediately following the Martyrology, may have been consulted by the canons and/or read in their daily chapter meetings.[165] Whilst the 816 statutes do not mention the use or ownership of martyrologies, there is evidence that canons used a martyrology in the morning meeting in chapter from relatively early on and continued to do so during the thirteenth century. A ninth- or tenth-century interpolation to Chrodegang's Rule for the canons of Metz calls for reading from a martyrology in chapter.[166] Manuscript evidence shows that the canons of Exeter used Usuard's Martyrology in chapter by the twelfth century, and possibly during the eleventh century; secular canons at Salisbury read from the martyrology in chapter by the thirteenth century at the latest.[167] As with other martyrologies likely used

---

[164] Ibid.

[165] This has been suggested in the case of a Roman copy of the Martyrology bound with the 816 statutes: Dykmans, 'Obituaires romains', 614. I discuss this manuscript in the following chapter. A Roman copy excluded from this project because it is only very distantly derived from Bede's text is also bound with the statutes from the 816 Council of Aachen: BAV MS Vat. lat. 4885, digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4885. See discussion of canonical books for use in chapter in ch. 5, 247–8.

[166] De Gaiffier, 'L'Usage', 51; see ch. 2, 89.

[167] Hamilton, 'Understanding', 56; see also Hamilton, 'Liturgy as History'. I thank Professor Teresa Webber for bringing the second point to my attention.

in chapter, local facets of sanctity fit within a larger, universalising narrative of Christian history.

The entry commemorating Charlemagne within the Aachen manuscript is a particularly rich example. Charlemagne is not included in the Martyrology on 29 December, the date of his canonisation in 1165.[168] A lengthy notice original to the manuscript for V Kal. Feb., however, reveals that at Aachen he was to be commemorated in chapter on the date of his death:

> Eode*m* die aq*ui*sgrani basilica natale s*ancti* karoli c*onfessori* p*r*imi de stirpe francor*um* ordinatione diuina romanor*um* imp*erato*ris aug*us*ti q*ui* ab ineunte etate sua sec*uli* po*mpam* de spiciens i*m*perial*us* potentie glado *et* s*ancte* p*r*edicationis u*er*bo uiteq*ue* salutaris exe*m*plo co*n*ue*r*tit guasconiam *et* hispaniam atq*ue* galicia*m* . In ea na*m*q*ue* corp*us* beati iacobi ap*osto*li nefandis ydolat*r*ie ritib*us* opp*ressum* hodierno honori restituit cui te*m*plu*m* fundauit i*n* q*u*o canonicos disposuit *et* ep*iscopu*m ordinauit . Co*n*ue*r*tit q*uoque* ad d*omi*n*um* frisia*m* . [erasure] alemannia*m* atq*ue* t*r*iplici t*r*opheo saxonia*m* . Edificauit q*uoque* p*r*op*r*iis su*m*ptib*us* ad laude*m et* honore*m* s*ancte et* i*n*diuidue t*r*initatis . xxvii . eccl*esi*as : q*uarum* excellentie typu*m* obtin*et* aq*u*ensis eccl*esi*a . suffragiis p*r*esentib*us* ; gloriosa.[169]

This notice emphasises his role as king of the Franks, successor to the legacy of Rome, convertor of peoples, and founder of churches. The Martyrology also includes a later

---

[168] On the canonisation, see Vedran Sulovsky, 'The Sanctity of the State under Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190): Saint Charlemagne and the Sacrum Imperium' (DPhil, University of Cambridge, 2020), 72–163. There appears to be a drypoint note entered above IV Kal. Ian., but I am not able to determine whether or not this is related to Charlemagne due to the reproduction available; see Düsseldorf MS 4a, fol. 41r.

[169] Düsseldorf MS 4a, fol. 20v. 'On the same day, at Aachen, the [heavenly] birthday of St Charles, confessor, the first of the Frankish lineage, by divine ordination, crowned Roman Emperor Augustus. From his early youth, he turned away from the splendors of secular power, wielding the sword of imperial might, and with the word of holy preaching and the example of a life devoted to salvation, he converted Gascony, Hispania, and Galicia. In Gascony, he restored to honor the body of St James the Apostle, which had been oppressed by abominable idolatrous rituals. He founded a temple for it, appointed canons, and ordained a bishop. He also brought Frisia, Alemannia, and the threefold trophies of Saxony to the Lord. Additionally, at his own expense, he built twenty-seven churches in praise and honor of the holy and undivided Trinity, amongst which the Church at Aachen stands out, with the presence of its suffragan glory'.

addition on VI Kal. Aug. for the translation of Charlemagne: 'translatio s*ancti* karoli'.[170]
These two entries link the community at Aachen itself with the sanctity of its royal saint.
Similar notices are present on the same dates in the thirteenth-century copy of Ado's
Martyrology also held at Aachen.[171] This manuscript may not have been used in chapter
as it is bound only with a homiliary for the period from the last Sunday before Advent to
Holy Saturday, and it therefore may not have been suitable for chapter readings for the
entire year.[172] However, it is possible that the community at Aachen read different
martyrologies in chapter during different parts of the year. The length of Ado's text
would be somewhat unwieldy for daily recitation in chapter, as well, but does not
necessarily preclude this possibility. The notice for V Kal. Feb. commemorating
Charlemagne in the Aachen copy of Ado is brief: 'Eodem die natale sanctissimi Karoli
confessoris et imperatoris'.[173] The narrative, historical entry for Charlemagne is reserved
for the community's copy of Bede's text. Although both martyrologies respond to the
liturgical needs of the community, this is especially historicised in its copy of Bede. The
Bedean Martyrology not only inserts the canons of Aachen into a history of the Christian
martyrs, but also into a history of the Franks. The Aachen copy of Bede's text further
differs from the Aachen copy of Ado's Martyrology in the historical and dynastic
emphases of its manuscript context.

The remaining texts within Düsseldorf MS 4a reveal a claim to a specifically
Carolingian history. The first original text of the manuscript is the *Annales Aquenses*,
continued up to 1196.[174] The *Annales* begin with the birth of Christ; this and other entries

---

[170] Ibid., fol. 30v. 'Translation of St Charles'.

[171] Aachen, Domarchiv, MS 11 (XXII). See Gatzweiler, *Liturgischen Handschriften*, 68–74.

[172] Gatzweiler, *Liturgischen Handschriften*, 69.

[173] Ibid. 'On the same day, the [heavenly] birthday of the most holy Charles, confessor and emperor'.

[174] Düsseldorf MS 4a, fols 3r–16r; Gatzweiler, *Liturgischen Handschriften*, 189. The *Annales Aquenses* are printed in Georg Waitz, ed., 'Annales Aquenses', in *Annales Aevi Suevici (Supplementa Tomorum XVI et XVII). Gesta Saec. XII. XIII. (Supplementa Tomorum XX-XXIII)*, MGH Scriptores 24 (Hannover: Hahn, 1879), 33–39. As a source for the liturgical cult of

concerning Christ are rubricated.[175] For the first few folios of the text, years without

entries greatly outnumber years with entries. On folio 8v, the visual appearance of the

text drastically changes. Events begin to fill nearly every space from the entry recording

the foundation of the Carolingian dynasty with Pepin II (b. c. 635–d. 714), who became

ruler of the Franks in 687: 'pippin*us* p*rim*us regn*are* cep*it*'.[176] The presentation of the text

in the *Annales* distinguishes entries pertaining to Charlemagne (b. 742/7/8–d. 814).[177] His

birth is rubricated, and his name is thereafter rubricated, as well.[178] The notice for his

death is rubricated and especially detailed, giving a location, date, day of the week, and

hour of death: 'O*biit* beat*us* Karol*us* imp*erator*us* aq*u*is in palacio . v . k*al*ends februarii

die sabb*at*o hora te*r*tia'.[179] The only other people who receive rubricated entries in the

Annales are Christ and SS Peter, Paul, Leopardus, and Martinus, revealing the reverence

the canons of Aachen had for their founder and royal saint. The final instance of

rubrication within the *Annales* is the translation of Charlemagne.[180] After the death of

Arnulf of Carinthia (b. c. 850–d. 899), entries are relatively sparse until Henry V (b.

1081/6–d. 1125) became Emperor.[181] The presentation of the text within the *Annales*

references the local history of Aachen as the German royal seat, the burial place of

Charlemagne, and the subsequent birthplace of his cult. The canons were, however, very

much aware of the larger context to this local history. The formulae and lections

following the *Annales* include a genealogical diagram beginning with Pepin I (b. c. 580–

d. 640) and ending with the sons of Louis the Pious (b. 778–d. 840): in order of

---

Charlemagne, see Sulovsky, 'Sanctity of the State', especially 198–248 (ch. 4, 'The Reliquary Shrine of Saint Charlemagne: The High Point of the Sacrum imperium?').

[175] Waitz, ed., 'Annales Aquenses', 34.

[176] Recorded for 688 in Düsseldorf MS 4a, fol. 8v. 'Pippin the first began to reign'.

[177] On the scholarly debate surrounding his birth year, see Janet L. Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), 28–9.

[178] See Düsseldorf MS 4a, fols 9v–10v.

[179] Ibid., fol. 10v. 'The blessed Emperor Charles died at Aachen in the palace on the fifth day before the kalends of February, on Saturday, at the third hour'.

[180] Recorded for 1166; see ibid., fol. 14v.

[181] Ibid., fols 11r–13r.

appearance in the diagram, Charles the Bald (b. 823–d. 877), Lothar I (b. 795–d. 855), and Louis the German (b. c. 806/10–d. 876).[182] Although the *Annales* include a high number of entries from 1099 onwards, this genealogy ends before the division of the Carolingian Empire in 888. The Aachen canons looked foremost to a past that shaped and was shaped by their royal saint, whom they perceived as successor to the glory of Rome and its martyrs.[183] The martyrs of Rome are, of course, the primary subject matter of Bede's Martyrology. It is suggestive that this genealogy occurs in the middle of formulae and lections. The text immediately preceding Bede's Martyrology, for instance, is penitential: *In absolutione penitentie*.[184] The canons arguably looked to Christian history and the history of the Franks as a Christian people in chapter, for the salvation of their souls. The liturgical life and the historical consciousness of the community appear very close indeed.

Conclusion

Two larger developments may be reflected in surviving, post-Carolingian manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology from northern Europe. In the three centuries after the Carolingians, desire for historical legitimacy underlying saints' cults only grew. In the ninth-century Frankish context, historical martyrologies reflected an abiding interest in history itself, mapped onto the cult of the saints during efforts toward liturgical reform.[185] After the fragmentation of the Carolingian Empire, the further regulation of sanctity in turn further emphasised the historical prerequisites for saintly cult. Whereas in the earlier period there was no formal canonisation process, from the late tenth century

---

[182] Ibid., fol. 17r.

[183] On annals and social memory, see Rosamond McKitterick, 'Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of the Royal Frankish Annals', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 7 (1997): 101–29.

[184] Düsseldorf MS 4a, fol. 18r.

[185] On the Carolingians and history, see, for instance, McKitterick, *History and Memory*. On historical martyrologies within this context, see idem, *Perceptions*, 51–5; McCulloh, 'Historical Martyrologies'.

saints began to be canonised.[186] By the early thirteenth century, only the papacy had the power to officially proclaim a person a saint.[187] This formalisation led to a more explicit linkage between liturgical commemoration, memory, and history.[188] It was, after all, the historical evidence of sanctity, as assessed by the papacy, that potentially led to canonisation. One should not venerate a saint outside the bounds of the legitimacy conveyed by historical documentation and liturgical tradition.[189] For instance, the chronicler Bernold of Constance (b. c. 1054–d. 1100) writes in his liturgical commentary *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus* (c. 1085) that the names of saints not traditionally included must not be recited during the Canon of the mass, but instead are permitted after the *Pater noster*.[190] Secondly, interpretations and reinterpretations of the past did not cease after the Carolingians.[191] Indeed, historiography flourished during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[192] As well as Frutolf of Michelsberg, authors such as Wipo of Burgundy (b. c. 995–d. c. 1050), Anselm of Liège (b. 1008–d. c. 1056), Sigebert of Gembloux (b. c. 1030–d. 1112), and William of Malmesbury (b. 1080–d. 1143) come

---

[186] Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 57.

[187] On this development, see ibid., 57–64; E. W. Kemp, 'Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints: The Alexander Prize Essay', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (1945): 13–28; Donald S. Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2015).

[188] See David Falvay, 'Memory and Hagiography: The Formation of the Memory of Three Thirteenth-Century Female Saints', in *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lucie Dolezalova (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 347–64.

[189] A study of conflict centring on the legitimacy of saints is Felice Lifshitz, 'The Politics of Historiography: The Memory of Bishops in Eleventh-Century Rouen', *History & Memory* 10, no. 2 (1998): 118–37.

[190] Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus de Ecclesiasticis Observationibus*, ed. Jacobus Pamelius (Antwerp: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1565), 35–6: 'Aliorum vero sanctorum nomina annumerare non debemus, nisi quos in Canone inuenimus antiquitus descriptos,excepto post, Pater noster, in illa oratione, ubi iuxta ordinem quantumlibet sanctorum nomina internumerare possimus'.

[191] Diesenberger, 'Introduction. Making the Past'.

[192] See Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, ed., *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003); for an overview of the scholarship, see Justin Lake, 'Current Approaches to Medieval Historiography', *History Compass* 13, no. 3 (2015): 89–109.

to mind. These parallel developments in saintly cult, on the one hand, and historical consciousness, on the other, inflected the use and significance of Bede's Martyrology as both liturgical resource and historical document after the Carolingians. The manuscript copies themselves reveal the different ends to which the Martyrology was put as an encapsulation of universal, Carolingian, and local pasts, whether in chapter or for reference.

Copies of Usuard's Martyrology produced between the tenth and mid-thirteenth century in the former Carolingian Empire do not show the same historical emphasis. The compilations of such manuscript copies of Usuard were explicitly designed for chapter, as the following examples illustrate. BL Add. MS 16918 (1129; Saint-Gilles) and BL Add. MS 16979 (1129; Saint-Gilles), once bound together, contain Usuard's Martyrology, a lectionary, the Rule of St Benedict, and a necrology.[193] The abbreviated copy of Usuard attributed to Bede in St Gallen MS 453 is bound with the Rule of St Benedict.[194] BnF MS lat. 13746 (twelfth-century; provenance at Conches) includes Usuard's Martyrology, Rules of St Benedict in Latin and the vernacular, and a lectionary.[195] The compilations of Dijon MSS 634 and 633 (introduced above) are much the same. Historical content is strictly limited to institutional history in these manuscripts, rather than universal history or the history of liturgical practice itself. The saintly history alluded to in the text of Usuard's Martyrology proper is, of course, not included in this characterisation. It is worth reiterating that this more universal history was not extrapolated upon as in copies of Bede's Martyrology. Additions such as monastic documents and entries pertaining to local saints occur in both Usuard and Bede. To my knowledge, however, the copies of Bede's Martyrology interleaved with Frutolf's historiography and the *Liber pontificalis* represent the only extant examples of a

---

[193] BL Add. MS 16918, digitised at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_16918; BL Add. MS 16979, digitised at https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_16979.
[194] See n. 127 above.
[195] BnF MS lat. 13746, digitised at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10076489r.

martyrology supplemented with a chronicle throughout, and in the original phase of production. The widespread use of Usuard in chapter allowed space for the more expansive historical tendencies seen in late copies of Bede's Martyrology copied and used in what is now Germany and Austria—the preservation for posterity of events in the Bavarian-Hungarian conflict of the early tenth century, the foundation history of Bamberg and its royal associations, the universal history deftly integrated in Bavaria, and the Frankish history referenced at Aachen. Arguably, Bede's Martyrology became a repository for historical experimentation after the Carolingians *because of* the liturgical dominance of Usuard's text, combined with Bede's authority as a historian himself.

5. Bede's Martyrology at Montecassino and in Rome, 900–1250

A number of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology were produced and used at Montecassino and in Rome between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries. Indeed, the majority of the surviving manuscript evidence dating from after the ninth century points to interest in and use of Bede's Martyrology in these locations. Why did Bede's Martyrology remain relatively popular at Montecassino and in Rome, and especially during the eleventh century, when in northern Europe it was Usuard's Martyrology that became widely adopted? The continuing formalisation of the so-called chapter office in the period under consideration, including the later reception of Carolingian normative texts on the subject, could explain a general increase in the production of martyrologies for use in chapter. This does not, however, explain why Bede's Martyrology persisted at Montecassino and in Rome. As I discussed in the previous chapter, customaries and other descriptive or prescriptive sources dated to the period between 900 and 1250 from both the former Carolingian heartlands and central and southern Italy detailed the structure of the morning meeting in chapter.[1] Moreover, normative sources on the use of a martyrology as a reference guide likewise continued to be written after the end of the ninth century.[2] Few copies of Bede's Martyrology produced in the heartlands of the former Carolingian Empire between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries are known to survive. Conversely, Usuard's Martyrology came to be widely used in this area. Although Usuard's Martyrology was also used in medieval Italy, the affinity for Bede's Martyrology at Montecassino and in Rome is striking.

In this chapter, I analyse the place of Bede's Martyrology at Montecassino and in Rome to reveal what was particular about the use of martyrologies and, more broadly, the reception of Franco-Roman liturgical practice in central and southern Italy. Eleventh-century concern for the regulation of clerical life, the involvement of the papacy in this

---

[1] See ch. 4, 163–8.
[2] Ibid., 168–71.

endeavour, and shifts in the commemoration of the ordinary dead affected the production and use of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology. A type of chapter book that I term a self-referential chapter book—in which Carolingian normative texts pertaining to the Rule of St Benedict and the structure of the morning chapter assembly and/or the clerical life are found alongside the texts that are read in chapter—although also attested elsewhere, was produced in greatest numbers at and near Montecassino and in Rome to judge from the surviving evidence. Bede's Martyrology, the Hieronymian Martyrology, and Usuard's Martyrology may be found within self-referential chapter books, but Bede's Martyrology seems to have been preferred in these two centres. Bede's Martyrology was also abridged and adapted in presentation of text to accommodate necrological content at Montecassino and in Rome. Manuscript copies of this format, as I explore below, may have been used in chapter in conjunction with a manuscript copy of another martyrology, probably Usuard's Martyrology, that provided unabbreviated saints' entries. Between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries Bede's Martyrology underwent changes in form and function that synthesised the Carolingian past with tenth- and eleventh-century movements of reform. The original emphases in Bede's Martyrology upon the martyrs of late antique Rome and papal saints were arguably factors in the Martyrology's dissemination to and subsequent production and use in Rome. Consequently, I examine whether Bede's Martyrology was used in Rome as a mental map of the city and its sacred spaces. I hope to show that Bede's Martyrology in particular was adapted to different use contexts to a greater degree than Usuard's Martyrology. This malleability of purpose, combined with the authority of Bede and eleventh-century concern for regulating religious life, greatly contributed to the production and use of Bede's Martyrology at Montecassino and in Rome.

Dissemination of Bede's Martyrology to Montecassino

It is possible that Bede's Martyrology first came to Montecassino via reciprocal avenues of religious and intellectual exchange that connected Carolingian Francia with the region. Although the surviving evidence does not allow a detailed reconstruction, one

may infer logical routes of transmission. From eighth-century Northumbria, Bede's Martyrology travelled to Francia with early English religious.[3] From Carolingian Francia, Bede's text came to areas more recently incorporated into the Carolingian lands including Bavaria and northern Italy.[4] Surviving manuscript evidence and contextual information allow for three possible routes of dissemination of Bede's Martyrology to Montecassino.

Bede's Martyrology may have travelled directly from Francia to Montecassino in the late eighth century, when the links between the Carolingian court circle and Montecassino were the strongest. Montecassino's spiritual and political influence north of the Alps is most apparent in the gift of an 'uncorrupted' copy of the Rule of St Benedict to Charlemagne by Abbot Theodomar of Montecassino (777/778–796).[5] During a time of heightened concern for the quality of texts used in religious life, Montecassino could leverage its connection to St Benedict and the rule that went under his name. Accordingly, this gift represented 'the powerful closing act of Monte Cassino's push to be the Rule's champion and dominant interpreter'.[6] Despite the inherent power imbalance, the exchange between the Carolingian court circle and Montecassino was not unidirectional. Charlemagne himself visited the area in 787, during an effort to challenge the duchy of Benevento in southern Italy.[7] Charters issued by Charlemagne in Rome shortly afterwards illustrate the reciprocity of the relationship between the abbey and the

---

[3] See ch. 1, 39–41.

[4] On the geographical and temporal distribution of extant copies, see ch. 1, 65–71.

[5] Sven Meeder, 'Monte Cassino and Carolingian Politics around 800', in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. Rob Meens et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 279–95, at 279.

[6] Ibid., 294.

[7] Ibid., 284. It is worth noting that Benevento was not incorporated into the Empire after the conquest of the remainder of Lombard Italy, although tribute was paid: Caroline Goodson, 'Urbanism as Politics in Ninth-Century Italy', in *After Charlemagne: Carolingian Italy and Its Rulers*, ed. Clemens Gantner and Walter Pohl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 198–218, at 211. On the connections between the abbey and Charlemagne's efforts in southern Italy, see also G. V. B. West, 'Charlemagne's Involvement in Central and Southern Italy: Power and the Limits of Authority', *Early Medieval Europe* 8, no. 3 (1999): 341–67, at 351; on Montecassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno, ibid., at 350–61.

Emperor, which strengthened the political and spiritual claims of both parties.[8]

Montecassino may have even petitioned Charlemagne to confirm preexisting grants and immunity and allow internal control of abbatial succession, as effected by the charter; Charlemagne 'declares his belief "that the greatest bulwark of the realm is strengthened" when the petitions of priests and servants of God are heard with a willing heart and acted upon' in the document's unusual formula.[9] It was not to last beyond the final few years of the eighth century. The abbacy of Theodomar, himself a Frank, came to a close and Gisulf became abbot in 796, 'effectively sever[ing] the ties between the abbey and the Carolingians'.[10]

Given the temporal distribution of surviving manuscript copies and the ninth-century popularity of historical martyrologies as a genre,[11] it is also possible that Bede's Martyrology came to Montecassino during or shortly following the ninth century by a less direct route. Montecassino was destroyed by the Arabs in 883. As a result, the community was in exile at Teano and then Capua until 979. The Martyrology may have therefore arrived in the south via Rome. Although produced under the influence of Montecassino for one of its dependencies, the text of the abridged copy within Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 179 (s. xi$^{1/2}$; martyrology dated to 1031–1071) reflects use at Rome, with the addition of southern and Cassinese saints; further evidence for transmission of Bede's text to Rome is discussed below.[12]

The third possibility, which must remain speculative, is that Bede's Martyrology was brought to Montecassino in the eleventh century by or through connections with Emperor Henry II (b. 973–d. 1024). Henry II had visited Montecassino between 995 and 1002 whilst he was duke of Bavaria and had intervened in the abbatial election at

---

[8] Meeder, 'Monte Cassino and Carolingian Politics', 285–6.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., 295.
[11] See ch. 1, 65–6 and 37–9, respectively.
[12] Hilken, ed., *Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*, 43.

Montecassino in 1022, as Emperor.[13] Henry II had provided the bishopric of Bamberg, which he founded in the first decade of the eleventh century, with liturgical manuscripts. It has been argued that Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 143 (s. xi[1/4]; Seeon Abbey) was commissioned by Henry II either for this occasion or for the subsequent foundation of Michelsberg Abbey, Bamberg in 1015.[14] Bamberg MS Lit. 143 contains a supplemented copy of Bede's Martyrology. As discussed in chapter four, the choice of Bede's Martyrology for this codex, rather than another historical martyrology, probably influenced the subsequent status and use of Bede's text in the region; three textually related twelfth-century copies with links to Bamberg survive from Bamberg, Melk, and Lambach.[15] The three copies of Bede's Martyrology produced in the area of influence of Montecassino post-date Henry II's visit to the abbey in 1022. The martyrology of Montecassino MS 179 has been dated to 1031 at the earliest, the Bedean martyrology of BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 was copied immediately after 1079, and the martyrology of BAV MS Ott. lat. 3 is twelfth- or thirteenth-century. However, there does not appear to be a direct or indirect textual connection between Bamberg MS Lit. 143 and the Cassinese manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology.[16]

The dissemination of ninth-century Frankish normative material to Montecassino reveals links between *correctio*, the Rule of St Benedict, and Cassinese understandings of 'correct' religious practice in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The majority of early copies of *Memoriale qualiter* are bound with the *Collectio capitularis* of Benedict of Aniane; it has therefore been argued that mass copying took place following the 817 Council of Aachen, 'as part of the process of disseminating Benedict of Aniane's

---

[13] Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, 3 vols (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1986), 15–17; Charles Hilken, 'The Origin and Function of the Medieval Chapter Room of Montecassino', *The American Benedictine Review* 73, no. 2 (2022): 143–62, at 145.

[14] Discussed in detail in ch. 4, 189–92.

[15] Bamberg MS Lit. 159; Melk Cod. 1942; Lambach CmL CXXXI. See ch. 4, 195–201.

[16] Further analysis of the textual relationships between manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology is outside of the scope of this study.

work'.[17] The manuscript transmission of *Memoriale qualiter* reveals that Montecassino took part in this process: a relatively early (tenth-century) group of related manuscript copies of *Memoriale qualiter* are Cassinese.[18] Montecassino MS 179, one of this group, also contains Bede's Martyrology (discussed in further detail below). Bede's Martyrology, however, probably did not accompany the Cassinese dissemination of *Memoriale qualiter* from the outset. Other copies of *Memoriale qualiter* within this group do not include a martyrology, but do include texts related to the Rule of St Benedict.[19] Rather, the other manuscripts within this textually related group suggest that *Memoriale qualiter* first came to Montecassino as a resource on religious practice related to the Rule that was not itself used in chapter assemblies. The compilations of these copies of *Memoriale qualiter* reveal an awareness of the centrality of the Benedictine Rule within Carolingian *correctio* and a consequent desire for texts associated with this programme of reform. Although Benedict of Aniane promoted the use of the Rule beyond the Alps, the manuscript evidence reveals that to the south the Cassinese claimed not only ownership of the Rule itself but even came to adopt ninth-century material associated with *correctio* that concerned the Rule. It is this sense of ownership, based upon the foundation of the abbey by St Benedict himself, that is seen in compilations for use in chapter including Carolingian normative material—and, occasionally if not exclusively, Bede's Martyrology.

However, the dating of the extant manuscript evidence suggests that, rather than Carolingian initiatives, the production of a type of codex for use in chapter that also contains Carolingian normative material reflects later, tenth-century movements of

---

[17] Diem, 'Choreography and Confession', 65–6. There has been disagreement as to the authorship of *Memoriale qualiter*: see ch. 2, 92.

[18] Diem, 'Choreography and Confession', 86.

[19] Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MSS 175 (tenth-century) and 442 (eleventh-century); BAV MS Vat. lat. 13501 (late eleventh-century), which is a fragment of *Memoriale qualiter*. Group three in Morgand's edition: on the manuscript tradition, see Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 177–228.

reform. Although some codices of this type were produced during the ninth century and are therefore more directly associated with Carolingian *correctio*, those involved in or influenced by later reform movements also bound texts for chapter with Carolingian normative texts, not only in Italy but elsewhere.[20] For instance, the producer(s) of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 57 (late tenth-century; Canterbury or Abingdon) responded to the concerns of the English Benedictine reform in including Carolingian normative texts alongside texts suited for use in chapter.[21] The contents of CCCC MS 57 include the Rule of St Benedict, *Memoriale qualiter*, the *Collectio capitularis*, and Usuard's Martyrology.[22] There is no extant evidence of the dissemination of Carolingian normative texts to Montecassino during the ninth century. It is possible that earlier exemplars may have been lost in the destruction of the abbey in the late ninth century. It is equally possible and perhaps more likely that the tenth- and eleventh-century manuscript evidence reflects new initiatives that drew upon Carolingian materials. Carolingian normative texts informed Cluniac customaries, the tenth-century customary of Fleury, and the *Regularis concordia* (c. 973), amongst others. The influence of renewed attempts to reform religious life in the tenth century seems to have been a greater factor than that of eighth-century exchange between the Carolingian court circle and southern Italy. This is especially so when one considers the links between Montecassino and Cluny from the late tenth century, when monastic life was reestablished at the former. Abbot Aligern (948/50–985) had transferred monks from Capua to Montecassino following a period of flight from Arab raids.[23] Aligern had entered religious life under and eventually succeeded Abbot Baldwin (943/44–946), a follower of Odo of Cluny.[24] Carolingian normative material would have been of interest

---

[20] An example of the former is St Gallen MS 914. See ch. 2, 105.
[21] See Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57'; Graham, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57'.
[22] The manuscript is digitised at https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/xd738fw2393.
[23] Hilken, 'Origin and Function', 145.
[24] Ibid.

at Cluny due to both its continued utility within religious life and its imperial associations, despite the changed political context. At Montecassino the centrality of the Rule of their founder St Benedict to much of the ninth-century prescriptive texts would have conceivably only served to compound the influence of Cluny in their further circulation in southern Italy.

More difficult to account for in relation to the possible role played by Cluny is the presence of Bede's Martyrology alongside the Carolingian normative texts. Bede's Martyrology does not appear to have been owned or used at Cluny or widely used by communities following Cluniac customs as far as one can tell from the surviving manuscript evidence. An exception is the manuscript copy within Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 (s. xii^{ex}–xiii^{in}; Italy (Rome?)), which was in use at the Cluniac monastery of SS Andrew and Saba in Rome.[25] It would therefore seem unlikely that Bede's Martyrology was disseminated to Montecassino along links with Cluny. Instead, the producers of codices containing Bede's Martyrology copied and used in the area of influence of Montecassino independently synthesised the influence of tenth- and eleventh-century reform movements with the interpretation of Carolingian *correctio*.

Copying and Compilation in Southern Italy

The evidence of surviving manuscript copies generally shows a preference for Usuard's Martyrology in southern Italy but nevertheless did not preclude the copying of other martyrologies. Out of the fourteen martyrologies copied in the Beneventan script listed by Virginia Brown, nine are Usuard's Martyrology, one is the metrical 'Martyrologium Erchemperti', two are the Hieronymian Martyrology, and two are Bede's Martyrology.[26] Of the four martyrologies copied at Montecassino itself listed by Brown, three are that of Usuard. Surviving examples of Usuard copied at Montecassino include:

---

[25] Dykmans, 'Obituaires romains', 616–22.

[26] Virginia Brown, 'A New Beneventan Calendar from Naples: The Lost "Kalendarium Tutinianum" Rediscovered', in *Terra Sancti Benedicti: Studies in the Paleography, History and Liturgy of Medieval Southern Italy*, ed. Roger E. Reynolds (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005), 275–360, at 288–289.

BAV MS Vat. lat. 4958, fols 2v–93r (c. 1087); Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VIII C 4, fols 2v–90v (s. xi[ex]); Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 47, pp. 61–264 (c. 1159–1173).[27] The fragmentary copy of Bede's Martyrology within BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 (immediately after 1079) was copied in the Beneventan zone, although not in the Beneventan script, and was later in use at Rome.[28] Pierre Salmon had assigned provenance in the Rome-Montecassino region, presumably on palaeographical grounds.[29] Montecassino also produced an abridged copy of Bede's Martyrology: BAV MS Ott. lat. 3 (twelfth-/thirteenth-century).[30]

It appears to have been common practice in the Beneventan zone and at Montecassino to abridge the martyrologies of Bede and Jerome. By the tenth century, the dates with no entries seen in certain early copies of Bede's text had disappeared.[31] This perhaps reflects the growing use of martyrologies during the morning meeting in chapter, or possibly for reference purposes. Supplementation of Bede's text would build a more comprehensive martyrology for daily recitation in chapter or consultation. The abridgement seen in a number of copies produced in the Rome-Montecassino region is upon first examination more difficult to explain. In such copies, the 'scaffold' is Bede's Martyrology, but the historical information that originally distinguished his text has been trimmed. This redacting activity problematises the theory that following the proliferation of historical martyrologies in the ninth century, enumerative martyrologies were no

---

[27] Ibid.

[28] BAV MS Barb. lat. 646, fols 9r–44. On the basis of the text of the martyrology, which seems to have supplemented an exemplar from Le Mans with Beneventan saints: Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 35. The manuscript also includes Beneventan interrogation signs and later additions: Roger E. Reynolds, 'South Italian Liturgica and Canonistica in Catalonia (New York, Hispanic Society of America Ms. HC 380/819)', *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987): 480–95, at 491; Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 320. On the dating of the manuscript, see Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 190.

[29] See Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 79–80.

[30] Brown, 'New Beneventan Calendar', 288.

[31] See chs 2–3 for discussion of the copying and ninth-century uses of manuscripts of this early group.

longer considered fit for purpose.[32] It is worth noting that the practice of abbreviation was not restricted to southern Italy; St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 453 (twelfth-century; St Gallen) also contains an abridged martyrology.[33] Abbreviated copies of Bede's Martyrology, however, are more common in the Rome-Montecassino region than elsewhere. In addition to BAV MS Ott. lat. 3, produced at Montecassino, one of two other copies of Bede's Martyrology produced under the influence of Montecassino is abridged. Montecassino MS 179 (martyrology dated to 1031–1071) truncates notices to an almost enumerative extent. The section of the notice for Kal. Ian. that is derived from Bede reads simply 'Natale Almachi martyris'.[34] The later BAV MS Ott. lat. 3 is also heavily abridged; the comparable entry for the same date reads 'Rome . s*anct*i almachii p*resbyte*ri et mar*tyris*'.[35] Both extant copies of the Hieronymian Martyrology thought to have been copied in the region received the same treatment. BAV MS Barb. lat. 421 (early eleventh-century) includes an abridged copy of the Hieronymian Martyrology, in which the number of saints listed per date has been reduced.[36] The copy of this text within Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 37 (late eleventh-century) is similarly abridged.[37] To my knowledge, copies of Usuard's Martyrology produced at Montecassino or in the Beneventan zone were not abridged.

The process of making Bede's martyrology more enumerative may have been derived from Carolingian northern Italy. An abridged copy is known to survive from the

---

[32] Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*, 129–30; Hamilton, 'Understanding', 46.

[33] See ch. 1, 47–9.

[34] Hilken, ed., *Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*, 73; compare with Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique*, ed. Dubois and Renaud, 5. 'The [heavenly] birthday of Almachus, martyr'.

[35] BAV MS Ott. lat. 3, fol. 1r; compare with Bede and Florus, *Édition pratique*, ed. Dubois and Renaud, 5. 'Rome, saint Almachius priest and martyr'.

[36] Brown, 'New Beneventan Calendar', 288. On early abbreviation of the Hieronymian Martyrology, see Felice Lifshitz, 'Abbreviation: The Sacramentaries of Burdgundy', in *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627–827* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 57–72.

[37] Brown, 'New Beneventan Calendar', 289.

ninth-century Carolingian lands: BAV MS Reg. lat. 435 (s. ix; Sens).[38] The copy within Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS XC (85) (s. ix^2/x; Monza? Verona?) is so abstracted from Bede's text that it should properly be considered a calendar.[39] This copy does, however, include blank entries reminiscent of early copies of Bede's Martyrology, perhaps suggesting that an early copy of Bede's text available in northern Italy, as is found in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXV (63) (Verona) and Milan, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, MS M 15 (Pavia), was adapted in the copying of this manuscript's calendar.[40] Two later abridged copies, distantly derived from Bede, survive from northern Italy: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS X 6 sup. (eleventh-century) and Metz, Bibliothèque-médiathèque, MS 1154 (1157).[41] To this number, in addition to the two Cassinese examples discussed above, should be added two examples of similar dates copied at Rome: BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 (s. x or xi^{med}) and Bodleian MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 (s. xii^{ex}–xiii^{in}) (discussed in detail below). Intriguingly, the copy within Metz MS 1154, in use in Venice at SS Ilario e Gregorio, is ascribed in the manuscript to Bede and Jerome: 'Beda 7 hieronim*us* fecer*unt* istu*m* martirlogiu*m*'.[42] In this instance there may have been, therefore, a desire to refashion Bede's historical martyrology to align with its enumerative predecessor. Michael Lapidge has argued that

---

[38] Digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.435.

[39] It is therefore largely excluded from this dissertation. The manuscript is described in Spagnolo, *Manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona*, ed. Marchi, 163–7; Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 469. The calendar is edited in Ferdinando Dell'Oro and Placido M. Bresciani, 'Un calendario del secolo X in uso nella basilica di San Giovanni Battista in Monza', *Aevum* 78, no. 2 (2004): 277–340. On 'plenary calendars' and abbreviated martyrologies, see Brown, 'New Beneventan Calendar', 280–1. For extant Italian calendars, see Giacomo Baroffio, 'Kalendaria Italica inventario', *Aevum* 77 (2003): 449–72.

[40] Such analysis is outside the scope of this chapter, but it is sufficient to note that Verona did possess an early copy with Bede's original blank entries.

[41] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 45; the latter is digitised at https://portail.biblissima.fr/fr/ark:/43093/mdata1a4bf3c6f77a006561655da50c26fd89fea4838c. These manuscript copies are likewise excluded from detailed discussion, as their relationship to Bede's original text is tenuous.

[42] Metz MS 1154, fol. 1r. 'Bede and Jerome composed this martyrology'.

almost seventy percent of the entries in Bede's Martyrology were derived from the Hieronymian Martyrology.[43] Perhaps the similarity between Bede's text and its prototype prompted this sort of activity. I discuss another possible motivation for abridgement below, in the section on actual use in chapter at Montecassino. Nevertheless, the number of surviving abridged copies of Bede's Martyrology from the Rome-Montecassino region is striking.

The compilatory manuscripts in which copies of martyrologies produced in Benevento are found are largely suggestive of intended use in chapter.[44] I here exclude Montecassino MS 439 because it contains a metrical martyrology, the intended use of which is outside the scope of this dissertation. BL Add. MS 23776 (twelfth-century) and Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VIII C 5 (s. xii²), in which Usuard's Martyrology is the sole original text of the manuscripts, are likewise excluded.[45] BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 includes a martyrology (consisting of a fragmentary copy distantly derived from Bede's text and a fragmentary copy of Bede's Martyrology combined), the Rule of St Benedict, and a Gospel lectionary and homilies.[46] BAV MS Barb. lat. 421 includes the Rule of St Benedict as well as the Hieronymian Martyrology.[47] BAV MS Vat. lat. 5949 (late twelfth-century) includes an epistolary exchange between Bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus and Jerome as a preface to its martyrology, Usuard's text, the Rule of St Benedict, and a necrology.[48] The martyrology of Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VIII

---

[43] Lapidge, 'Acca of Hexham', 48–9.

[44] Hilken, 'Scribal Record' surveys features of manuscripts for use in chapter copied in the Beneventan script or with Beneventan characteristics. These do not differ substantially from features indicative of use in chapter discussed in ch. 2, 100–2, the exception being Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 312: 'a set of temporal feasts, most often written in red letters, which are found with martyrologies and are meant for recitation in the chapter room. The feasts are *Cena domini; Parasceve; Sabbato in sepulchro; Resurrectio; Ascensio;* and *Adventus spiritus sancti*'.

[45] Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 321; Brown, 'New Beneventan Calendar', 288–9.

[46] Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 190–1; Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 31–6.

[47] Digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.421; Brown, 'New Beneventan Calendar', 288.

[48] Digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.5949; see Charles Hilken, ed., *Memory and Community in Medieval Southern Italy: The History, Chapter Book and Necrology of Santa*

C 13 and the necrology, homiliary, and Rule of St Benedict within BAV MS Vat. lat. 5419 (twelfth-century; provenance at Santa Cecilia in Foggia) were once a single manuscript.[49] The Usuardan martyrology of New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 642 (1075–1099), produced under the influence of Montecassino (given the characteristics of its script) for a monastery dedicated to St Bartholomew, is bound with the Rule of St Benedict and a homiliary.[50] Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 26 (early twelfth-century) includes Usuard's Martyrology, the Rule of St Benedict, and a homiliary.[51] The Hieronymian Martyrology of Benevento MS 37 is bound with the Rule of St Benedict.[52] The majority of Beneventan martyrologies is therefore found in compilations intended for use in chapter.

The various martyrologies copied at Montecassino also accompany, or came to be accompanied by, compilations of texts suggestive of intended use in chapter assemblies.[53] The only exception is BAV MS Ott. lat. 3, which originally contained only its abridged copy of Bede's Martyrology.[54] Montecassino MS 47 includes an abbreviated *Chronicle*

Maria del Gualdo Mazzocca, Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana IV, Studies and Texts 157 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2008).

[49] Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 320.

[50] K. Hallinger and M. Wegener, eds, 'Theodomari Abbatis Casinensis Epistula Ad Karolum Regem', in *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 139–75, at 140–1; Brown, 'New Beneventan Calendar', 289.

[51] Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 317–18; Brown, 'New Beneventan Calendar', 289.

[52] Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 318; Brown, 'New Beneventan Calendar', 289.

[53] On book production at Montecassino, see Newton, 'Desiderian Scriptorium'; idem, *Scriptorium and Library*. More recent discussions of particular types of book copied at Montecassino include: Andrew J. M. Irving, 'Mass by Design: Design Elements in Early Italian Mass Books', in *Scribes and the Presentation of Texts (from Antiquity to c. 1550): Proceedings of the 20th Colloquium of the Comité international de paléographie latine*, ed. Consuelo Dutschke, Raymond Clemens, and Barbara Shailor, Bibliologia 65 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 251–74; Marilena Maniaci and Giulia Orofino, 'Making, Writing and Decorating the Bible. Montecassino, a Case Study', in *Scribes and the Presentation of Texts (from Antiquity to c. 1550): Proceedings of the 20th Colloquium of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine*, ed. Consuelo Dutschke, Raymond Clemens, and Barbara Shailor, Bibliologia 65 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 61–94.

[54] Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 85.

of Montecassino, homilies, the Rule of St Benedict, and a necrology as well as Usuard's Martyrology, with the epistolary preface discussed above.[55] Two other martyrologies copied at Montecassino, one of which has been classified as a chapter book and the other of which was probably once found within a chapter book, are bound with the epistolary preface discussed above and documentary or liturgical texts related to Montecassino. The former, BAV MS Vat. lat. 4958 includes the *Epistola Chromatii et Heliodori episcoporum ad beatum Hieronymum et responsio eiusdem ad eodem*, a list of the abbots of Montecassino, and vow formulas alongside its martyrology.[56] The latter, Naples MS VIII C 4 also includes the *Epistola Chromatii et Heliodori episcoporum ad beatum Hieronymum et responsio eiusdem ad eodem* and a list of the abbots of Montecassino, as well as an *ordo* for a procession in Montecassino; the manuscript presumably once contained the Rule of St Benedict, of which only the *incipit* page is currently extant.[57] Although not copied at Montecassino, Montecassino MS 179 was produced in its area of influence, perhaps from a Cassinese exemplar or exemplars. The formula for child oblates on page 63 was evidently copied from a manuscript in use at the abbey, given mentions of the abbot and of relics of St Benedict.[58] The other contents of this manuscript include Bede's Martyrology, capitular *ordines*, and the Rule of St Benedict.[59] The majority of these manuscripts shows a profound local emphasis, whether this be in the form of a chronicle, abbot lists, monastic privileges, or a procession *ordo*.

---

[55] Mauro Inguanez, *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus: Cura et Studio Monachorum S. Benedicti Archicoenobi Montis Casini*, vol. 1: codd. 1–200 (Montecassino, 1915), 60–1; Hilken, 'Origin and Function', 157–8.

[56] Digitised at https://spotlight.vatlib.it/overview/catalog/Vat_lat_4958. The manuscript is included in Hilken's list of Beneventan chapter books: Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 319.

[57] Maria Rosaria Grizzuti with Claudia Greco, 'Napoli, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Nazionale, ms._VIII.C.4 <Biblioteca farnesiana>', *ManusOnline*, 2020, https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/cnmd/0000181865 (based on an unpublished description); Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 319.

[58] Hilken, ed., *Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*, 26.

[59] Ibid., 21–2.

Four compilations produced at Montecassino or in the Beneventan zone that were intended for chapter were self-referential, including the Carolingian reforming legislation that formally promulgated the daily meeting in the early ninth century: Montecassino MS 179, Morgan MS M. 642, and BAV MSS Barb. lat. 646 and Barb. lat. 421. Two of these codices, Montecassino MS 179 and BAV MS Barb. lat. 646, contain Bede's Martyrology. In the eleventh century, the compilers of these codices connected the structure of their codices with the stipulations of texts related to the reforming efforts of Louis the Pious: namely, a morning meeting in chapter should occur each day, during which texts including the Rule, the martyrology, and the necrology should be read.[60] The 817 Aachen decrees, *Memoriale qualiter*, and the *Collectio capitularis* had not specified which martyrology this was to be.[61] Just as the Carolingian reform legislation had not stipulated the use of a particular martyrology, communities in southern Italy appear to have been free to choose which martyrology was to be included. Usuard's Martyrology and the Hieronymian Martyrology also circulated in southern Italy, as seen above. The martyrologies of Bede, Usuard, and Jerome were incorporated into these reform-oriented compilations for use in chapter. Both Morgan MS M. 642 (Usuard) and Montecassino MS 179 (Bede) include material from the 817 Council of Aachen and the letter from Abbot Theodomar to Charlemagne alongside texts more traditionally associated with the morning chapter assembly.[62] The compilation of BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 (Bede) is of a markedly similar character to Montecassino MS 179 and Morgan MS M. 642, including *Memoriale qualiter* and material from the 817 Council of Aachen.[63] BAV MS Barb. lat. 421 (Jerome) is another Beneventan example of this compilation, including the letter of Abbot Theodomar and Benedict of Aniane's *Collectio capitularis*.[64] The martyrologies of

---

[60] See ch. 2, 94–6.

[61] See ibid., 83–98.

[62] On the letter from Theodomar to Charlemagne, see Hallinger and Wegener, eds, 'Theodomari abbatis casinensis'.

[63] Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 190–1; Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 31–6.

[64] Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 320.

Usuard and Bede were preferred over other historical martyrologies and the Hieronymian Martyrology within this subset of so-called chapter books, to judge from the surviving manuscript evidence. It is significant that the compilers of Montecassino MS 179 and BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 selected Bede's text over that of another martyrologist. One may infer from the surviving evidence that Bede's Martyrology was not the natural choice but was nevertheless copied at Montecassino and in its area of influence, perhaps especially as part of self-referential chapter book compilations.

This combination of texts is only present in extant manuscripts produced in the Beneventan zone for monastic use. Montecassino MS 179 and Morgan MS M. 642 are of monastic provenance, at San Nicola della Cicogna and a monastery dedicated to St Bartholomew (possibly San Bartolomeo di Carpineto in the Abruzzo region), respectively. Notes of donations made to the monastery of San Nicola della Cicogna were recorded in Montecassino MS 179, within the codex's copy of *Memoriale qualiter*.[65] Morgan MS M. 642 contains monastic forms of profession.[66] The obits inserted into the margins of BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 suggest that the martyrology of this manuscript was also in use in a monastic community, probably in Rome.[67] For instance, a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century scribe inserted 'obiit petrus monachus nostre congregationis' on Id. Dec., and a large number of obits throughout the martyrology include the phrase 'monachus nostre congregationis'.[68] BAV MS Barb. lat. 421 includes an *ordo* for the acceptance of the monks' habit.[69] Conceivably this type of compilation diffused outward from Montecassino, the authority on 'correct' monastic practice from St Benedict's time

---

[65] Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 185.
[66] Morgan MS M. 642, fol. 73.
[67] On the martyrology's use in Rome, see discussion of additional saints and obits in Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 35.
[68] BAV MS Barb. lat. 646, fol. 42r. 'Peter, monk of our congregation, died'; 'monk of our congregation'.
[69] Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 320.

through to the eighth century and, as the Cassinese monks perhaps would have attempted to argue, throughout the eleventh century when such manuscripts were copied.

It would appear from the surviving evidence that this phenomenon was characteristic of this region of southern Italy, although not exclusive to it, between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The copying of such manuscripts for use in central and southern Italy may be interpreted as representing an attempt by Montecassino to reassert its status as an authority on monastic life during the eleventh century as a response to earlier turmoil and new developments in religious reform. The earliest of the four manuscripts, BAV MS Barb. lat. 421, is datable to the early eleventh century. The latest of this group, Morgan MS M. 642, is datable to the last quarter of the eleventh century. As discussed above, in the creation of this compilation type Montecassino claimed not only the Benedictine Rule but also later interpretations of the Carolingian programme of reforms concerning the Rule, largely those associated with Cluny. The four extant compilations for use in chapter that incorporate ninth-century normative material represent an attempt to reinterpret the Carolingian past with Montecassino firmly at the centre of discussions on correct religious practice. For instance, eleventh-century monks at San Nicola della Cicogna may well have considered the reform efforts gestured towards in their own Carolingian compilation their history as well.

It is worth questioning why these compilations began to appear in the eleventh century and ceased to be produced in the twelfth, to judge from the surviving evidence. It is certainly possible that by the end of the eleventh century those living in religious communities did not need justification for the readings and practices of the morning chapter assembly in the same manner that earlier religious had. In southern Italy, however, this type of codex could have responded to a specific moment of crisis. Instability caused by Norman incursions in Benevento and Montecassino's connections with papal efforts toward religious reform prompted the search for legitimacy to secure the abbey's own place within a rapidly evolving political and religious climate. It has been argued that Norman incursions and papal reforms 'together put an end to

Beneventan chant'.[70] Indeed, Benevento had been part of a Lombard 'political and cultural sphere of influence' that disintegrated under pressure from the Normans and the papacy in the eleventh century.[71] Its subsequent cultural and liturgical practices shifted accordingly.

Arguably, connections between the abbey itself and the papacy in the eleventh century provided the greater portion of the stimulus for copying self-referential chapter compilations. Montecassino 'came fully into its own just when the eleventh-century reform papacy was beginning to exercise its authority with renewed vigour'.[72] During this period, two abbots of Montecassino and one of its monks would become pope; 'reform papacy' and monastic life at the abbey were intimately connected.[73] Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino, later Pope Victor III (1085–1087), was an especially important figure in the papal reform of religious life.[74] Alongside Peter Damian (d. 1072) and Odo of Cluny, later Pope Urban II (1088–1099), Desiderius was one of three abbots of Montecassino, Fonte Avellana, or Cluny who would eventually be significantly involved in papal reforms.[75] During the eleventh century, 'there emerged a growing desire to have all clerics live more like monks, in celibacy, community, and with devotion to correct liturgical practice, and monastic ideals and leadership would transform the Latin Church. With the election of Leo IX [in 1049] , the papacy came to the fore in promoting these ideals'.[76] Although the issues of simony, clerical celibacy,

---

[70] Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 3.

[71] Ibid. On the earlier significance of Benevento, see Goodson, 'Urbanism as Politics', 211.

[72] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), xv.

[73] Ibid. These are Popes Stephen IX (1057–1058), Victor III (1085–1087), and Gelasius II (1118–1119).

[74] See Cowdrey, *Age of Abbot Desiderius*; G. A. Loud, 'Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino and the Gregorian Papacy', in *Montecassino and Benevento in the Middle Ages: Essays in South Italian Church History*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 363 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 305–30.

[75] Louis I. Hamilton, *A Sacred City: Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh-Century Italy*, Manchester Medieval Studies (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 3.

[76] Ibid.

and the holding of private property were a focus of much attention, correct liturgy and liturgical competence were indeed core tenets of eleventh-century papal reforms,[77] as they had been during the ninth century in the Carolingian lands. The context was different, however; the question of purity rather than education underlay concerns about priestly competence at this date. Some thought that the 816 decrees did not go far enough, since they had permitted canons to hold private property (discussed below). The creators of the Carolingian compilations produced at Montecassino and in its area of influence foregrounded the relationship between the liturgy and historical consciousness in southern Italy.[78] It is no surprise, given this context, that the production of self-referential chapter compilations appears markedly Cassinese. As seen in the later provenance of BAV MS Barb. lat. 646, this compilation type would circulate more widely throughout southern and central Italy—including a canonical equivalent in Rome (discussed below).

Use of Bede's Martyrology at Montecassino and its Dependencies

The evidence of compilation would seem to suggest that descriptive sources further associating the use of a martyrology with the formalisation of the chapter office reflected and possibly affected the use of Bede's Martyrology at Montecassino.[79] Were manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology actually used in chapter in the abbey's area of influence? Montecassino MS 179 and BAV MS Ott. lat. 3, both of which are abridged, are the only surviving copies of Bede's text that were both copied and used in this region. Abridgement could theoretically be advantageous for recitation in chapter, if density of saints were privileged over quantity of information on each saint. This seems to have been the case in the copy within Montecassino MS 179. The presentation of the text includes an apparatus indicating the date, Dominical letters, and brief computistical rubrics. This copy would have therefore been well-suited for public reading in chapter, or

---

[77] Explored in Hamilton, *Sacred City* with respect to the rite for the dedication of a church.
[78] See Irving, 'Lector, si adesses!'.
[79] See ch. 4, 163–8.

perhaps a calendrical function.[80] The opening rubric of the martyrology foregrounds its intercessory and salvific function, reading 'In nomine s*anct*ae et indiuiduae trinitatis. Incipit martyrologium expositu*m* a uenerabile ueda [Bede] presbitero'.[81] This rubric is particular to Montecassino MS 179, rather than common to copies of Bede's Martyrology. Similar rubrics, however, are found within four of the five extant Roman manuscript copies.[82] The rubric preceding the Martyrology of Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS F. 85 (1024–1043) reads: 'In Chr*ist*i nomine. Incipit martyrologium anni circulo bede p*res*byte*r*i feliciter'.[83] Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 includes an eleventh-century entry in the Beneventan script, so it is possible that the rubric preceding the Martyrology reflects exchange between Rome and southern Italy; this could also be unrelated.[84] The rubrics of BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 (s. xi^{med}) and BL Add. MS 14801 (s. xi) both include the phrase 'In nomine domini'.[85] The analogous rubric within Bodleian Library MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 (s. xii^{ex}–xiii^{in}) contains the phrase 'In nomine summe et indiuidue trinitatis'.[86] In addition, the copy within Montecassino MS 179 includes a set of temporal feasts found in Beneventan martyrologies for use in chapter, usually entered in red ink: *Cena domini*, *Parasceve*, *Sabbato in sepulchro*, *Resurrectio*, *Ascensio*, and *Adventus spiritus sancti*.[87] Montecassino MS 179 also contains an *ordo* for the announcement of these feasts in chapter, *Qualiter pronuntiandum sit secundum*

---

[80] I received an image of the first leaf of the manuscript and am otherwise working from the printed edition: Hilken, ed., *Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*, 71–134.

[81] Ibid., 73. 'In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity. Here begins the martyrology expounded by the Venerable Bede, priest'.

[82] One must note that the copies of Bede's Martyrology within BAV MSS Ott. lat. 38 (Montescaglioso or the Lateran) and Barb. lat. 646 (area of influence of Montecassino) are incomplete at the beginning of the year.

[83] Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS F. 85, fol. 1r. 'In Christ's name. Here begins the martyrology according to the circle of the year of Bede, priest *feliciter*'.

[84] Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 321–2. See Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85, fol. 2r.

[85] BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58, fol. 59r; BL Add. MS 14801, fol. 5v.

[86] 'In the name of the supreme and indivisible Trinity'. Bodleian Library MS Lat. liturg. d. 43, fol. 49r.

[87] Listed in n. 44 above. Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 312 n. 4.

consuetudinem monasterii.[88] The presentation of the text within BAV MS Ott. lat. 3 also substantiates a liturgical purpose: the manuscript contains a numerical alternative to lunar letters beneath each entry, Dominical letters, and an apparatus indicating the date. Given these features, it is also possible that the abridged martyrology within was used in chapter. The lack of additions and its later compilation, however, perhaps lend more credence to use in study or for reference, especially when one considers the large number of martyrologies within chapter book compilations also held at Montecassino.[89] The front endleaf of BAV MS Ott. lat. 3 preserves Milanese (known as Ambrosian) chant, but written in Beneventan script. As Beneventan chant was also called 'Ambrosian' at Montecassino, the leaf may have been copied 'to add a reference work to the important library of Montecassino, to find out what the "pure" Ambrosian music was, to seek the source of what presumably was a local representative'.[90] As a result, it is most probable that BAV MS Ott. lat. 3 was used for private study of the *sanctorale* at Montecassino. The extant evidence suggests that at Montecassino, Usuard's Martyrology was more likely to be read in chapter than Bede's Martyrology.

Abbreviated copies that also contain extensive necrological information could reflect or be reflected in the growing emphasis within certain monastic customaries on the commemorative function of martyrologies. Montecassino MS 179 is the single extant example of this sort of copy from the area of influence of Montecassino. From the outset, provision was made for the inclusion of obits: the scribe of the original text left ample space underneath the entry for each date, in which users of the martyrology indeed

---

[88] Hilken, 'Scribal Record', 312–13: the office manual of Santa Sofia confirms that these feasts are indeed to be announced in the chapter assembly.

[89] Kelly, ed., *Ordinal*, 142 n. 207; on the growth of more permanent communal libraries in the religious communities of Latin Europe between the Carolingians and the twelfth century, see Teresa Webber, 'The Libraries of Religious Houses', in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 103–21.

[90] Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 183.

inserted names through the thirteenth century.[91] Individuals commemorated in this way include 'Iuliana de gualtereta', 'glislerius episcopus' of Osimo (d. 1051–1065), 'florentia, soror nostra', and 'frater thomas sacerdos et mo. de albaneta', as well as individuals at San Nicola della Cicogna and abbots and monks of Montecassino.[92] The inclusion of those from outside the community alludes to networks of commemoration similar to, for instance, those seen in *libri vitae* such as the eleventh-century example from New Minster, Winchester.[93] Charles Hilken has suggested that the 'frater thomas sacerdos et mo. de albaneta' included on XVI Kal. Ian. in Montecassino MS 179 may, in fact, be one of the three instances of 'Thomas' recorded in the *liber vitae* of Santa Maria de Albineta, showing overlap between the confraternity book of one community and the necrology of another.[94] Similar provision for necrological content is seen in copies of Bede's text in use in Rome, as discussed below.

On the other hand, copies of Usuard's Martyrology produced at Montecassino do not show the recording of the commemoration of the ordinary dead within the martyrology itself. The necrology of Montecassino MS 47 is separate from its martyrology. The layout of BAV MS Vat. lat. 4958 does not have additional interlinear

---

[91] Page layout that anticipates subsequent necrological additions is, however, also seen in St Gallen MS 453 (twelfth-century; St Gallen), which contains a highly abbreviated martyrology (Usuard/Ado?). On its abbreviation, see ch. 1, 47–9.

[92] Hilken, ed., *Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*, 71–134, with identification of individuals where possible. 'Juliana of Gualtieri[?]'; 'Glislerius, bishop'; 'Florentia, our sister'; and 'brother Thomas, priest and monk of Albaneta'.

[93] London, British Library, MS Stowe 944. Digitised at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Stowe_MS_944. See Simon Keynes, ed., *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 26 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996). Select examples of the extensive body of scholarship on *libri vitae*, commemoration of the dead, and/or *memoria* include: Jan Gerchow, *Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen*; Patrick Geary, 'Archival Memory and the Destruction of the Past', in *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 81–114; David Rollason et al., eds, *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004); McKitterick, 'Social Memory'.

[94] Hilken, ed., *Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*, 132 n. 123. 'Brother Thomas, priest and monk of Albaneta'.

space for obits, and indeed there are no obits in the martyrology of this manuscript.[95] Moreover, although Montecassino MS 179 and Morgan MS M. 642 both share the same self-referential chapter book compilation type examined above, the presentation of the text within the Usuardan martyrology of Morgan MS M. 642 does not provide for necrological content.[96] These two codices were possibly both used in chapter, but for different purposes. Bede's Martyrology may have been considered especially suited for recording the commemoration of the dead by the monks of San Nicola della Cicogna. It may also be significant that both Morgan MS M. 642 and BAV MS Vat. lat. 4958 are more deluxe martyrologies than Montecassino MS 179, with better quality parchment and decorated initials. The latter could represent an abbreviated martyrology used in chapter primarily for its commemorative recording of the ordinary dead, which would seem a more natural place for systematic and indeed pre-planned insertion of obits, that would have complemented a separate book used for reading saints' entries. This premeditated focus on obits may even have steered the abridgement of the martyrology, in which saints' entries and commemorative entries are of similar length and character.

The commemorative context is intimately related to the morning meeting in chapter and the location in which it took place, the chapter house or room.[97] The *Ordo Cluniacensis* within BnF MS lat. 13875 (twelfth-century), for instance, stipulates that a monk on his deathbed should confess to his abbot or prior in chapter (here, a place) if he feels able.[98] Montecassino MS 179 provides an illustrative case study, as a martyrology with extensive necrological content used within a dependency of Montecassino. The

---

[95] I am unfortunately limited to digitised copies.

[96] See selected images at http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/thumbs/126590.

[97] On the chapter house or chapter room, see Pierre Gillon, 'Un exemple de la communion du pratique et du sacré: la salle du chapitre en Occident', in *Actes du colloque de Liessies-Maubeuge 26, 27 et 28 septembre 1997: 'pratique et sacré dans les espaces monastiques au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne'*, ed. Philippe Racinet (Amiens; Lille: CAHMER; CREDHIR, 1999), 259–344; Isabelle Cochelin, 'Discussions au chapitre (IXe-XIe siècle): la place (réelle et symbolique) de l'abbé était-elle si dominante?', *Memini. Travaux et Documents* 19–20 (2015–2016): 337–61; idem, 'Monastic Daily Life'; Hilken, 'Scribal Record'; Hilken, 'Origin and Function'.

[98] Paxton, *Death Ritual*, 56–7.

'independence of the tradition of Montecassino and Benevento with respect to a wide range of European sources' concerning the office of the dead has been noted.[99] It is therefore fitting that the commemorative use of Bede's Martyrology in and around Montecassino would diverge from the text's usual uses elsewhere. Moreover, the physical spaces in which chapter assemblies were held would have differed in the region. The community at Montecassino, as well as other houses of southern Italy, 'was a latecomer to the use of chapter rooms' due to turmoil in the area including Arab raids.[100] In medieval Latin Europe in general, although the evidence from the Frankish heartlands is most clear, written records referring to the chapter house or chapter room survive from the ninth century and archaeological evidence of the same from the eleventh century.[101] During a period of conflict between the Holy Roman and Byzantine Empires, Emperor Henry II visited the Cassinese chapter room in 1022 and intervened in the election of the community's new abbot, as mentioned above.[102] Following this, the intercession of St Benedict healed the emperor, who then gave Montecassino opulent gifts in thanks for the miracle.[103] The chapter room and the activities that took place therein therefore appear central to both political and spiritual life within the community during the eleventh century. The martyrology of San Nicola della Cicogna, with numerous entries

---

[99] Kelly, ed., *Ordinal*, 20; Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993).

[100] Hilken, 'Origin and Function', 148–50. On the history of the broader region, see G. A. Loud, *Montecassino and Benevento in the Middle Ages: Essays in South Italian Church History*, Collected Studies CS673 (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2000); Virginia Brown, *Terra Sancti Benedicti: Studies in the Paleography, History and Liturgy of Medieval Southern Italy*, ed. Roger E. Reynolds (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005). On chapter houses elsewhere, see Roberta Cerone, '"Regula in capitulo pronunciata fuerit": la sala capitolare nei monasteri medievali (secc. IX–XIII)', in *Gli spazi della vita comunitaria: atti del Convegno internazionale di studio: Roma-Subiaco, 8–10 giugno 2015*, ed. Letizia Ermini Pani, Incontri di Studio 13, De re monastica 5 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2016), 51–83. See ch. 2, 87–8.

[101] Hilken, 'Origin and Function', 148. See also Cochelin, 'Monastic Daily Life', 547–50.

[102] Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, I, 15–17.

[103] Ibid., 17.

commemorating individuals associated with Montecassino, defines the commemorative activities of the priory in relation to Montecassino.

This copy reveals deployment of the Martyrology as a text of a fundamentally commemorative character, a departure in terms of emphasis from its use in chapter in ninth-century Francia. Perhaps Bede's Martyrology was being used as a commemorative repository in conjunction with the use of Usuard for chapter readings. The emphasis on the commemoration of all dead, not only saints, appears to have been derived from Cluny or, at the very least, the local interpretation of Cluniac material relating to the commemoration of the ordinary dead. Cluny here mediated Carolingian material on the subject. Montecassino had access to ninth-century normative material, given the circulation of *Memoriale qualiter* and the *Collectio capitularis* in the area, which was subsequently built upon to call for reading of necrological material in chapter after the martyrology. This was clearly drawn upon, to judge from the San Nicola della Cicogna codex. It is possible that this manuscript reflects local conceptions of the importance of the commemoration of the dead. As mentioned above, Cassinese and Beneventan sources concerning the office of the dead differ from those produced elsewhere. The *ordo* for chapter datable to after 1071 within BAV MS Vat. lat. 4928 (after 1114; provenance at Santa Sofia) describes reading the names of the deceased to be commemorated with an office for the dead on the following day, after the martyrology but before the Rule or homily for the day.[104] In a departure from earlier sources, this *ordo* describes not only reading from a list of ordinary dead but also reveals the practice of indicating ahead of time which deceased individuals were to be commemorated with an office for the dead. This practice appears similar to the use of a martyrology as guide to the calendar of festal observance, in which the names of saints to be commemorated on the following day were

---

[104] Kelly, ed., *Ordinal*, 60 on the dating of the text; edited in ibid., 574–5. Ibid., 574: 'Tunc si die altero debet fieri officium pro defunctis, lector pronuntiet nomina ipsorum'. 'Then if on the next day an office for the dead should be performed, the reader shall announce their names'. The manuscript is digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4928.

read out.[105] Similar practices are, however, described in Cluniac customaries that were very widespread by 1100.[106] Local practices in southern Italy therefore may have been influenced by Cluny. As discussed above, it is probable that Carolingian normative material was disseminated to Montecassino through connections with Cluny. The initial emphasis on chapter and commemoration of the dead may also have been transmitted from Cluny. Charles Hilken has even suggested that the presence of a chapter room at Capua, where the monks of Montecassino spent some of their exile, may be the result of Cluniac influence.[107] The *Chronicle* of Montecassino mentions the election of an abbot in this Capuan chapter room, the earliest known reference to such a practice.[108] The presentation of text seen within Montecassino MS 179, produced in the area of influence of Montecassino and used at San Nicola della Cicogna, however, represents a restructuring of the commemorative possibilities of the martyrological genre and the manuscript form itself that was rarely seen outside of the Rome-Montecassino region.[109] At Montecassino, Bede's Martyrology appears essential to this activity given the lack of copies of Usuard's Martyrology produced in the region with comparable presentation of text.

Dissemination of Bede's Martyrology to Rome

Five manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology were probably produced in Rome, as opposed to the three extant manuscript copies that were produced in the area of influence of Montecassino. The surviving copies of probable Roman origin are: BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 (s. x or xi[med]), which, however, may have originated in Montescaglioso; BL Add. MS 14801 (s. xi); Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 (1024–1043); BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 (s. xi[med]); and Bodleian MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 (s. xii[ex]–xiii[in]). The majority of

---

[105] See ch. 3, 121–36.
[106] See ch. 4, 171–2.
[107] Hilken, 'Origin and Function', 145.
[108] Ibid., with references in n. 9. See Leo Marsicanus et al., *Chronik von Montecassino*, ed. Hoffmann.
[109] St Gallen MS 453 is a notable exception.

these manuscript copies is datable to the eleventh century, similarly to the Cassinese copies. BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 may be an earlier exception, but there has been scholarly disagreement as to the dating of the martyrology within this codex.[110] Maria Bilotta has dated the entire codex to just before 1059 because it contains the original recension of the *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis*, rather than the version put forth in the Lateran synod of 1059 and confirmed in the Roman synod of 1063; Pierre Salmon has dated the martyrology to the tenth century (presumably on palaeographical grounds).[111] Further clarification is contingent upon access to the manuscript to examine its codicological structure.

The Carolingian political elite had looked to Rome and the papacy to bolster their claims of legitimacy since the mid-eighth century. The Carolingian court circle had a strong presence south of the Alps from Charlemagne's establishment of Carolingian rule in Italy in 774 up until the end of Carolingian political and social control in the region in 875.[112] It is possible that Bede's Martyrology travelled to Rome along avenues of exchange with the Carolingian heartland during the eighth or ninth centuries. The manuscript evidence, however, suggests that Bede's Martyrology did not reach Rome until after the ninth century, excepting issues of source survival. As discussed above in the case of Montecassino, the dating of the extant manuscript evidence suggests that connections with tenth-century movements of reform and the tenth- and eleventh-century papacy, which itself had links to, for instance, Cluny, provide a more probable explanation.

---

[110] Discussed in ch. 1, 61–2.

[111] Bilotta, 'Codici miniati', 16 n. 18; Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 85.

[112] A useful synopsis of Carolingian rule in Italy is Clemens Gantner, 'A Brief Introduction to Italian Political History until 875', in *After Charlemagne: Carolingian Italy and its Rulers*, ed. Clemens Gantner and Walter Pohl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 5–16. See also François Bougard, 'Was There a Carolingian Italy?: Politics, Institutions and Book Culture', in *After Charlemagne: Carolingian Italy and its Rulers*, ed. Clemens Gantner and Walter Pohl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 54–82; Neil Christie, 'Charlemagne and the Renewal of Rome', in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005), 167–82.

The direction and chronology of the dissemination of Bede's Martyrology to and/or between Montecassino and Rome must be clarified. Two manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology with Beneventan aspects held by Roman communities, BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 and Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85, attest to eleventh-century links between Rome and Montecassino through which scribes, manuscripts, and texts travelled.[113] Moreover, five Italian copies of the Martyrology, including some copied and/or used at Montecassino, preserve what Henri Quentin had identified as a Roman or central Italian recension of Bede's Martyrology.[114] All but one of the copies dates to the eleventh century.[115] It should be noted, however, that BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 is not part of this Roman recension; this perhaps lends credence to the assignation of origin for the manuscript copy of Bede's Martyrology which it contains at Montescaglioso in the far south of Italy, rather than the Lateran (although it is probable the codex in its current form was at the Lateran from at least the mid-eleventh century). The presence of a Roman recension in the area of influence of Montecassino but not a Cassinese recension in Rome suggests that the dissemination of Bede's Martyrology took place from Rome to Montecassino. As the palaeographical features and provenances of BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 and Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 reveal, however, the influence of Rome upon Montecassino was not unidirectional. Rather, reciprocal exchange of manuscripts, texts, and practices between Rome and Montecassino facilitated the continual development of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology within codices for use in chapter and pastoral care that were particular to these areas.

---

[113] Newton, *Scriptorium and Library*, 182 n. 308; Reynolds, 'South Italian Liturgica and Canonista', 491; Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries*, ed. Reynolds, 83. On Cassinese book production, see Newton, *Scriptorium and Library*; E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2nd edn, vol. 2, 2 vols (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1980); Irving, 'Mass by Design'; Maniaci and Orofino, 'Making, Writing and Decorating the Bible'.

[114] Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 36–8: BL Add. MS 14801; BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58; Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85; Montecassino MS 179; and BAV MS Ott. lat. 3.

[115] The martyrology of BAV MS Ott. lat. 3 is datable to the twelfth or thirteenth century: Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 85.

Bede's Martyrology and the Sacred Geography of Rome

The Roman emphasis inherent in Bede's Martyrology is another aspect that may have had a bearing on its reception in Rome between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries. As discussed in more detail earlier in the dissertation, the majority of the saints included in the eighth-century, authorial version of Bede's text were associated with Rome. Alan Thacker counted forty-seven saints from Rome, a large figure when compared to the next greatest area of emphasis, the twenty-six saints from the Eastern Empire.[116] Moreover, fifty-nine saints—greater than half of the total number of saints included—have strong Roman and/or papal associations.[117] Only fifteen saints from other areas of Italy are included in the original version.[118] This bias is illustrative of the cultural importance of Rome as place, idea, and identity, a theme discussed extensively in modern scholarship.[119] Bede drew upon the *Liber pontificalis* and its 'geographical takeover of the city'; in documenting saints' relics and places of burial within his Martyrology, Bede cast Rome as a 'dwelling place of the saints' for a new audience, the relatively recently converted English.[120] Within the ninth-century Frankish context, martyrologies, the *Liber pontificalis*, and interest in saints' relics participated in furthering awareness of Roman martyrs, 'and thereby a very particular perception of the Roman past among the Franks'.[121] It has been argued that the reception of the *Liber pontificalis* between the sixth and tenth centuries illustrates the interplay of 'liturgical memory' and 'historical

---

[116] Thacker, 'Bede', 130.
[117] Ibid., 131.
[118] Ibid., 130.
[119] For instance, Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar, eds, *Roma Felix—Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Claudia Bolgia, Rosamond McKitterick, and John Osborne, eds, *Rome Across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500–1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Walter Pohl et al., eds, *Transformations of Romanness: Early Medieval Regions and Identities* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018).
[120] Hilliard, 'Bede and the Changing Image of Rome', 43–4. On this text, see McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy*.
[121] McKitterick, *Perceptions*, 51.

imagination'.[122] More broadly, in Western Europe between the tenth and twelfth centuries 'the history makers were inventing a past for their constituents through the liturgical arts: texts, chants, artworks, shrines, and ceremonies'.[123] In eleventh- and twelfth-century southern Italy, Leo Marsicanus, Amatus of Montecassino, Abbot Alexander of Telese, and Falco of Benevento described and alluded to the liturgy in recounting events of local significance within their historical writings.[124] Perhaps the manuscript evidence for the later reception of Bede's Martyrology in Rome—itself a text with geographic focusses at a remove from its author in Northumbria—may be demonstrated to combine awareness of the significance of its liturgical applications with its use as a temporally layered landscape. Not so evident from the surviving manuscripts is how Bede's Martyrology in eleventh- and twelfth-century Rome may have been interpreted as a landscape of the past, a 'virtual Rome', onto which present understandings of the city's geographic spaces could be superimposed.[125]

Interest in Rome's sacred geography from both within and without predates the earliest evidence for the dissemination of Bede's Martyrology to Rome. Early medieval topographical-hagiographical sources delineated and described the city through reference to its churches and the bodies of its martyrs.[126] Medieval itineraries of Rome include: the

---

[122] Rosamond McKitterick, 'Liturgy and History in the Early Middle Ages', in *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800–1500*, ed. Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, Margot E. Fassler, and A. B. Kraebel (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2017), 23–40, at 27; see idem, 'Transmission, Reception, and Audiences: The Early Medieval Manuscripts of the Liber Pontificalis and their Implications', in *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy: The Liber Pontificalis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 171–223.

[123] See Fassler, *Virgin of Chartres*, vii–viii and throughout; Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*; most recently, Irving, 'Lector, si adesses!'.

[124] Analysed in Irving, 'Lector, si adesses!'.

[125] On the *Liber pontificalis* as an imagined map of Rome, see Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Liber Pontificalis and the City of Rome', in *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy: The Liber Pontificalis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 38–67. On Rome between the tenth and mid-twelfth centuries, see Chris Wickham, *Medieval Rome: Stability and Crisis of a City, 900—1150* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[126] See Caroline Goodson, 'Building for Bodies: The Architecture of Saint Veneration in Early Medieval Rome', in *Roma Felix—Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó

Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae (625x642); the *De locis sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris civitatis Romae* and *Ecclesiae quae intus Romae habentur* (625x645), probably parts of one document; the seventh-century source of the *Itinerarium Malmesburiense* (twelfth-century); and the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* (late eighth- or early ninth-century).[127] One Carolingian copy of the *De locis sanctis*/*Ecclesia quae intus Romae habentur* text was entered directly following Bede's Martyrology by a Regensburg scribe writing at approximately the same time as the copying of the Martyrology, which may indicate that Frankish interest in the Roman past and sacred geography was associated with the ninth-century reception of Bede's text.[128] The six extant copies of Bede's Martyrology that were written or used in Rome do not include itineraries.[129]

The topography of Rome, seen in this way, was an embodied landscape. Caroline Goodson has examined the ways in which early burial of saints and relic translations affected Rome as a city.[130] Following Peter Brown, an extensive body of scholarship has analysed the importance of place to saintly cult, including proximity to or distance from the bodies of saints.[131] Roman relics, as substitutes for and/or fragments of the holy

---

Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 51–80. On hagiography and urban space elsewhere in Italy between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Diana Webb, trans., *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy*, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

[127] Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, eds, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, vol. 2, 4 vols (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1942), 67–99; Stefano Del Lungo, ed., 'Itinerarium Einsidlense', in *Roma in età carolingia e gli scritti dell'anonimo augiense: Einsiedeln, Bibliotheca Monasterii ordinis sancti Benedicti, 326 [8 nr. 13], IV, ff. 67v–86r* (Rome: Presso la società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2004), 66–76. See Dennis Trout, 'A Readers' Guide', in *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 53–68, at 61–3. See also Dale Kinney, 'Fact and Fiction in the Mirabilia Urbis Romae', in *Roma Felix— Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 235–52.

[128] UB Würzburg M.p.th.f.49, fols 31r–33v; see Thurn, *Pergamenthandschriften*, III.1, 38.

[129] BAV MSS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58, Barb. lat. 646, Ott. lat. 38; Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85; Bodleian MS Lat. liturg. d. 43; BL Add. MS 14801.

[130] Goodson, 'Building for Bodies'.

[131] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). For instance, Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe, eds, *Local*

bodies of the martyrs, circulated elsewhere in Europe from the ninth century onwards.[132] Following the relic translations of Pope Paschal I (817–24), 'the flow of bodies of saints out of Rome to foreigners, and into Rome, into urban shrines' began 'and did not cease throughout the rest of the Middle Ages'.[133] Carolingian legislation regarding the cult of the saints required that: monasteries with relics should have an *oratorium* for celebration and commemoration in their honour; only saints with hagiographical authority should be venerated; and relic translations should be approved by rulers and/or an episcopal synod.[134] Francesco Veronese has observed that north Italian bishops 'made local saints into Carolingian saints' during the ninth century, to 'make them usable in the new ideological and institutional context of Carolingian Italy'.[135] The evidence is limited, but following Carolingian involvement in Italy, there are small indicators that manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology could have been seen to legitimise veneration and perhaps even relic transfers. The Bedean martyrology of San Nicola della Cicogna found within

---

Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Robert Bartlett, 'Relics and Shrines', in *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 239–332.

[132] See Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. edn. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); Patrick Geary, 'The Ninth-Century Relic Trade–A Response to Popular Piety?' and 'Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics', in *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 177–220; Julia M. H. Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M. H. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 317–40; Francesco Veronese, 'Rome and the Others: Saints, Relics and Hagiography in Carolingian North-Eastern Italy', in *After Charlemagne: Carolingian Italy and Its Rulers*, ed. Clemens Gantner and Walter Pohl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 219–49; Julia M. H. Smith, 'The Remains of the Saints: The Evidence of Early Medieval Relic Collections', *Early Medieval Europe* 28 (2020): 388–424.

[133] Goodson, 'Building for Bodies', 55; for a list of relic translations from Rome to Francia, see Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults', 335–9.

[134] Discussed in Veronese, 'Rome and the Others', 220. On Italian hagiographical writing within this context, see Giorgia Vocino, 'Under the Aegis of the Saints: Hagiography and Power in Early Carolingian Northern Italy', *Early Medieval Europe* 22 (2014): 26–52.

[135] Veronese, 'Rome and the Others', 229–30.

Montecassino MS 179, for instance, includes an additional entry on II Id. Mai. listing relics held by the community: 'In altare sancti Nycolay sunt reliquiee sancti andree apostoli. Sancti Georgii martyris. Sancte Lucie uirginis. Sancti Apollinari martyris. Sancti Blasii episcopi et martyris. Sancti Athanasii episcopi. Alesandrini. Oleum sancte Ecaterine'.[136] Many copies of Bede's text include the insertion of local and more recent saints as well as those originally included. The authority of Bede perhaps further legitimised these saints, nestled as they were between late antique martyrs. Moreover, as relics left Rome, a martyrology listing numerous saints of Rome and, in some cases, documenting their burial, may have helped bridge the gap between the material loss of relics and their growing importance in authorising the cult of those saints from the ninth century onwards.

Two Roman copies of Bede's Martyrology show a preoccupation with the sacred space of the city not seen in earlier examples. An entry within the martyrology of BL Add. MS 14801 commemorates the dedication of the basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere on XI Kal. Iun.[137] BL Add. MS 14801 also contains a twelfth-century marginal notice for Kal. Ian. recording the granting of a *statio* to S. Maria in Trastevere:

> Anno d*omi*nicę incarn*ationis* mill*esimo* . c . xxiii . Indic*tione* . i . data e*st* statio diei octaui natal*is* d*omi*ni . ęccl*esię* . S*ANCTAE* . MAR*IAE* trans tyberi*m* a d*omi*no romanę ęccl*esię* pontifice CALIXTO . et hoc assensu , beneplacito , p*r*ecib*usque* o*mni*u*m* ep*iscop*oru*m* . cardinaliu*m* . diaconor*um* . totiusq*ue* romani

---

[136] Montecassino MS 179, p. 23; transcription from Hilken, ed., *Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*, 95. 'In the altar of St Nicholas are the relics of St Andrew the Apostle, St George, martyr, St Lucia, virgin, St Apollinarus, martyr, St Blasius, bishop and martyr, St Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and oil of St Catherine'.

[137] See Pietro Egidi, ed., *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana*, vol. 1, 2 vols, Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall' Istituto Storico Italiano 44 (Rome: Forzani e C. Tipografi del Senato, 1908), 94. BL Add. MS 14801, fols 19v–20r. 'In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1123, indiction one, the station was given on the octave of the Lord's birth to the church of St Mary across the Tiber by the lord of the Roman Church, pontiff Calixtus, and this with the assent, good pleasure, and prayers of all the bishops, cardinals, deacons, and the entire Roman clergy. Which he first celebrated solemnly with the aforesaid prelates and all the Lateran *scolae* and surrounded with a great crowd of the Roman people! And he especially commanded that concerning the rest it be done every year solemnly by the Roman pontiffs'.

cleri . Qua*m* ipse p*r*imu*m* cu*m* p*r*efatis d*omi*nis . o*m*nib*us*que lateranensib*us* scolis . solle*m*pnit*er* : et maxima romani p*opul*i tu*r*ba circundatus cęlebrauit . et ut de cęt*er*o a romanis pontificib*us* annuati*m* sole*m*pnit*er* ageret*ur* p*r*ecipue mandauit.[138]

Here, then, one gets a sense of the place of S. Maria in Trastevere within the sacred geography of Rome, as experienced by a wide range of its citizens, *maxima romani populi turba* (a great crowd of the Roman people).[139] Moreover, the contemporary material and visual structures of the church allude to its place within the liturgical life of Rome; the apse mosaic of S. Maria in Trastevere (dated to the early 1140s) directly references the procession of 15 August for the Assumption.[140] The necrology of Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 includes a thirteenth-century addition to Non. Aug. recording 'Debemus facere oficium [sic] de Anuntiatione s. Marie et ita etiam constituit pp. Honorius'.[141] In these two copies, Bede's Martyrology accreted this sort of information, at once hagiographical, topographical, liturgical, and historical.

The sacred geography of Rome alluded to in these examples carried strong papal overtones. Eighth- and ninth-century popes transformed Rome into a papal city through modification of its built environment, the creation and display of artworks, 'Herrschaftszeichen' including coins, and communal events.[142] From the tenth century, processions 'created a liturgical geography which tied the whole of the city together',

---

[138] BL Add. MS 14801, fol. 6r; edited in Egidi, ed., *Necrologi*, I, 88–9; see Dykmans, 'Obituaires romains', 614. I have not standardised or corrected the Latin in my transcription.

[139] See Chris Wickham, 'The Geography of Ritual and Identity', in *Medieval Rome: Stability and Crisis of a City, 900—1150*, Oxford Studies in Medieval European History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 321–84, at 324–5.

[140] Ibid., 327. See also Ernst Kitzinger, 'A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art', *The Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 6–19 and John Osborne, 'Framing Sacred Space: Eleventh-Century Mural Painting in the Churches of Rome', *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 30 (2004): 137–51 (cited in ibid.).

[141] Egidi, ed., *Necrologi*, I, 51. 'We should perform an office of the Annunciation of St Mary and Pope Honorius also decreed so'.

[142] Thomas F. X. Noble, 'Topography, Celebration, and Power: The Making of a Papal Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws, and Carine van Rhijn (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 45–92, at 45.

during which the pope was emphatically visible.[143] Chris Wickham has argued that *laudes*, the Easter Monday and other such ceremonies, and the Testaccio games built cohesion not only within the *urbs*, but between *urbs* and pope, who even distributed money to the people in a ritualised manner on some occasions.[144] S. Maria in Trastevere, as also recorded in its copy of Bede's Martyrology in the margin next to VIII Kal. Oct., was rebuilt on the direction of Pope Innocent II (1130–1143) between 1139 and 1143.[145] BL Add. MS 14801 shows a strong focus on the papacy and the papal city throughout, from its compilation to its marginal additions. The entry within the martyrology recording the dedication of the basilica records that this was done 'per manum Alexandri pontificis' with four bishops, two cardinals, and 'scole Lateranensis omnibus' in attendance.[146] These papal and/or urban entries are more detailed and of a greater length than the obituary notices found within the martyrology of Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85. Compare, for instance, two entries from November. An entry added to XVII Kal. Dec. within BL Add. MS 14801 reads: 'Eodem die d. Innocentius papa III consecravit eccl. S. Marie Transtiberim'.[147] An entry within Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 for XVI Kal. Dec. reads: 'Ob. Pretiosa'.[148] This is representative of the general contrast between the style of entries inserted within the two martyrologies between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. The former manuscript, moreover, also contains historical information pertinent not only to the canons of S. Maria in Trastevere, but also the Roman *populus* at large. One entry, for instance, documents an earthquake: 'Anno D. .MXCI., ind. .XIIII. in hac quippe die noctisque silentio trans Tiberim et Rome ingens terre motus fuit'.[149] Rather than a

---

[143] Wickham, 'Geography', 330.

[144] Ibid., 330–2.

[145] Ibid., 360–3; see Egidi, ed., *Necrologi*, I, 98. BL Add. MS 14801, fol. 34v.

[146] Egidi, ed., *Necrologi*, I, 94. BL Add. MS 14801, fols 19v–20r. Curiously, this entry has been crossed out. 'At the hands of Pope Alexander'; 'all the Lateran *scolae*'.

[147] Egidi, ed., *Necrologi*, I, 100. BL Add. MS 14801, fol. 40r. 'On the same day of the Lord, Pope Innocent III consecrated the church of S. Maria in Trastevere'.

[148] Egidi, ed., *Necrologi*, I, 74. 'Pretiosa died'.

[149] Egidi, ed., *Necrologi*, I, 88. BL Add. MS 14801, fol. 9r. 'In the year of the Lord 1091, indiction fourteen, indeed during this day and silent night there was a great earthquake across the

necrology strictly for use in chapter, then, the additions within the British Library manuscript are illustrative of another function: as a repository for information on Rome, the popes, and the relationship between papal *urbs* and church. Although not all copies of Bede's Martyrology used in Rome include such entries, it is reasonable to speculate that Roman copies of Bede's Martyrology would have been evocative of the city's spaces, ecclesiastical institutions, and holy dead for their readers between the eleventh century and the middle of the thirteenth.

Copying and Compilation in Rome

Three of the five manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology produced in Rome are bound with Carolingian normative material. These are: BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 (s. x or xi[med]; Montescaglioso or the Lateran), BL Add. MS 14801 (s. xi; Rome?), and Bodleian MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 (s. xii[ex]–xiii[in]; Italy (Rome?)).[150] BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 and BL Add. MS 14801 include the Aachen legislation promulgated by Louis the Pious in 816; this was part of the codicological structure of BL Add. MS 14801 from the outset, whereas disagreement as to the codicological structure of BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 allows one to say only that the conciliar material was either present from the outset or was added during the mid-eleventh century.[151] Bodleian MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 includes material from both the 816 and 817 Councils of Aachen.[152] Two of these three manuscript copies were intended for and/or used by canons. BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 was at the Lateran by the mid-eleventh century at the latest.[153] BL Add. MS 14801 was in use at S. Maria in Trastevere.[154]

Tiber and Rome'. For discussion of similar historical notes within a Cassinese martyrology, see Hilken, ed., *Memory and Community*, 113.

[150] On the place of origin and codicological structure of BAV MS Ott. lat. 38, see ch. 1, 61–2.

[151] See Albertus Werminghoff, ed., 'Concilium Aquisgranense 816', in *Concilia Aevi Karolini (742–842). Pars I (742–817)*, MGH Concilia 2.1 (Hannover and Leipzig: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1906), 307–464. I have not been able to examine BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 in person.

[152] The influence of the latter on subsequent ninth-century prescriptions calling for use of a martyrology in chapter assemblies is discussed in ch. 2, 96–8.

[153] See Bilotta, 'Codici miniati', 16–20.

[154] See Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 42–4.

Amongst this group there is a clear preference for the inclusion of material from the 816 Council of Aachen rather than other Carolingian normative texts. Moreover, the one Roman codex that also includes material from the 817 Council of Aachen was in use at the Cluniac community of SS Andrew and Saba, not within a canonical community. There is a distinction here between manuscripts for canonical use that include the 816 material and a manuscript for monastic use that includes the 817 material as well as the earlier conciliar decrees.

This association of texts should also be contrasted with the type of self-referential chapter book compilations seen in the area of influence of Montecassino. As discussed above, codices of this type copied at or near Montecassino include Carolingian monastic customaries such as *Memoriale qualiter*, the epistolary exchange between Theodomar and Charlemagne, and/or the 817 decrees. Codices that were copied in Rome instead include material from the 816 Council of Aachen, especially the *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis*. This regional variation in practices of compilation may result from the difference of institution, monastic or canonical, for which each codex was intended. As argued above, Cassinese connections to tenth-century movements of reform, especially Cluny, and knowledge of the centrality of the Rule of St Benedict to Carolingian *correctio* of monastic life led to the creation of self-referential compilations for use in chapter. BAV MS Barb. lat. 646, a codex of this type that was copied in the area of influence of Montecassino, later came to be used in a Roman monastic community.[155] However, evidence for the production of this type of monastic chapter compilation in Rome is not extant. The later provenance of BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 demonstrates that manuscripts, texts, and ideas circulated between Rome and Montecassino. The preference for material from the 816 Council of Aachen cannot be due to lack of access to the Carolingian normative texts included in the Cassinese codices discussed above. The *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis* would have been a useful resource for canons

---

[155] See above, 223 and 227.

within Roman communities, but the compilation of Bodleian MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 shows that interest in the 816 capitulary was not entirely limited to codices for canonical use. This codex may reflect dissemination from a Roman exemplar including the 816 decrees, supplemented with monastic materials.

The presence of material from the 816 Council of Aachen within Roman codices is best explained by eleventh-century efforts to regulate ecclesiastical institutions, especially the clerical life. Bilotta has remarked that BAV MSS Ott. lat. 38, Vat. lat. 4885, and Vat. lat. 1351 witness early efforts to codify 'usi e consuetudini attuati dall'ambiente canonicale romano' during the last quarter of the eleventh century.[156] A text added to BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 almost immediately after its canonical texts were copied is especially illustrative of this context. Folios 224v–227 of the codex contain minutes of the Lateran synod of 1059, written by a cleric from Metz or Toul in the 'Reformergruppe' of Leo IX and Humbert of Silva Candida.[157] This text documents the arguments of Hildebrand, archdeacon of the Apostolic See (the future Pope Gregory VII), against many points of the *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis*, especially chapters 115, *Quod canonica institutio, evangelica atque apostolica auctoritate fulta, ceteris superemineat institutionibus* (That the canonical institution, supported by evangelical and apostolic authority, is superior to other institutions), and 122, *De mensura cibi et potus* (On the measure of food and drink).[158] Within these particular chapters, clerics were

---

[156] Bilotta, 'Codici miniati', 16 n. 19. BAV MS Vat. lat. 1351 is digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1351. On the papal reform of clerical life, see Colin Morris, 'The Papal Reform 1046–1073', in *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 79–108. See also Barrow, 'Developing Definitions of Reform'; John Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). An examination of liturgy, sacred space, and reform is Hamilton, *Sacred City*.

[157] Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Italienische Handschriften in Deutschland', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 65 (2009): 29–82, at 70.

[158] Bilotta, 'Codici miniati', 16–17; Werminghoff, ed., 'Concilium Aquisgranense 816', 317.

allowed personal property.[159] Rachel Stone has noted that in early medieval Tuscany 'permanent *clerici*, mature men who might play a prominent role in their local communities' were problematic for those seeking to sharpen the lay/clerical divide; eleventh-century reformers from further north, like Leo IX and Humbert of Silva Candida, may have thus encountered perceptions of the fundamental differences between laity and clergy that were contingent upon the particular local situations south of the Alps.[160] The minutes within BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 stretch the boundaries of clerical life to assuage elite anxieties over the clergy as a social group. Prohibiting personal property would limit the agency of clerics—for instance, that of the combined father/son and uncle/nephew kinship groups that could have maintained long term control of churches in early medieval northern Italy—and clearly separate laity from clergy.[161] The intellectual and moral standpoint taken in BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 is emblematic of the focus on defining the clerical life seen in the two Roman manuscripts for the use of canons that include material from the 816 Council. Perhaps the 816 Council of Aachen was the text chosen for this purpose not only because the legislation specifically concerned clerics but also because of its imperial authority at a date (1059) when the emperor and the papacy were not yet in conflict.

It is possible that Bede's Martyrology was bound with Carolingian normative material on the clerical life because the canons of Rome read from Bede's Martyrology during chapter assemblies. It has been suggested that the *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis* within BL Add. MS 14801 may have been read in this context, on the evidence of the added obits.[162] Although the *Institutio* itself does not mention the use or ownership of martyrologies, an interpolated ninth- or tenth-century recension of the Rule

---

[159] Bilotta, 'Codici miniati', 17 n. 24.

[160] Rachel Stone, 'Exploring Minor Clerics in Early Medieval Tuscany', *Reti Medievali Rivista* 18 (2017): 67–97, at 92. For a comprehensive study of *clerici* elsewhere in Europe, see Barrow, *Clergy in the Medieval World.*

[161] Stone, 'Exploring Minor Clerics', 91.

[162] Dykmans, 'Obituaires romains', 614.

that Chrodegang composed for the canons of Metz, probably influenced by *Memoriale qualiter*, does call for reading from a martyrology.[163] It is also worth reiterating that the 817 Council of Aachen, circulating in central and southern Italy at the time given the examples discussed above, formally promulgated the use of martyrologies during the morning chapter assembly for canons as well as monks. The Roman manuscripts, then, perhaps represent a class of chapter book containing a Rule for canons rather than the Rule of St Benedict. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1553 (twelfth-century; Brescia, S. Giovanni di Foris) contains a copy of Ado's Martyrology that was used by regular canons, possibly in the morning meeting in chapter.[164]A note of ownership entered following the conclusion of the martyrology states: 'Iste liber est Canonicorum Regularium monasterii S. Iohannis de foris Brixie'.[165] One must also note that a martyrology was read in the morning meeting in chapter by secular canons by the thirteenth century at the latest. Additionally, the *Institutio* may have been included in the Roman codices here discussed as a resource rather than a Rule *per se*.

It is also possible that the Carolingian origins of many historical martyrologies and the authority of Bede in Carolingian lands were known to Roman compilers, who then placed Bede's Martyrology as a text composed by an author held in high esteem by the Carolingian political and intellectual elite in conversation with Carolingian normative material. Usuard would perhaps have held less authority than Bede, who came to be considered on par with patristic authors.[166] François Bougard added Bede to the list of approximately ten otherwise Carolingian authors known in Italy but did not include Usuard.[167] There were close links between Rome, especially the papacy, and the

---

[163] De Gaiffier, 'L'Usage', 51. See ch. 2, 89–90.
[164] Lodovico Frati, 'Indice dei codice latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna', *Studi Italiani di filiologia classica* 16 (1908): 103–432, at 352.
[165] Ibid. 'This book is the regular canons' of the monastery of S. Giovanni di Foris of Brescia'.
[166] See Pfaff, 'Bede Among the Fathers?'; Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives'.
[167] Bougard, 'Was There a Carolingian Italy', 69–70: Alcuin, Smaragdus, Hrabanus Maurus, Florus of Lyon, Paschasius Radbertus, Haimo of Halberstadt, Eginhard, Gregory of Tours, Fredegarius, and Bede.

Carolingian past. Wickham has argued that the *Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma* (877x962) 'shows that there were people at the start of the tenth century who could see the popes as simply bishops in the Carolingian state'; the *Chronicle* of Benedetto of Monte Soratte (after 970) presents 'imperial-Roman and Lombard-Frankish legitimism'.[168] Moreover, following 'the papal legitimation of the Carolingian *coup d'état* in 751, Rome had a particular importance for rulers in the Carolingian tradition'.[169] If Bede's Martyrology was disseminated to Rome with the Carolingians either directly or by way of northern Italy, as is probable, Roman manuscript makers would have recognised the Roman and papal slant of Bede's Martyrology, on the one hand, and the authority its author held for the Carolingians, on the other.

A final possibility is that eleventh-century conceptions of martyrdom in Italy influenced perceptions of Bede's Martyrology as a list of martyrs. As H. E. J. Cowdrey has remarked, in the 'struggle between *sacerdotium* and *regnum*' of the time,

> propaganda concerning martyrdom and the rigours of the eremitical life helped to encourage those who were loyal to the Gregorian papacy by holding up the examples of those who had witnessed to the faith under the pagan emperors… Like the struggle against simony and unchastity, the ideal of martyrdom was a call to the service of St. Peter against his foes wherever they might be found.[170]

Because one had a significantly lower chance of being martyred in eleventh-century Rome when compared to late antiquity, contemplation of martyrdom as an ideal rather than a present reality could be used to inspire action against heterodoxy. The emphasis in Bede's Martyrology on the martyrs of the early Church and papal saints may have

---

[168] Wickham, 'Geography', 377–8; see Giuseppe Zucchetti, ed., *Il Chronicon di Benedetto monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma* (Rome: Tip. del Senato, 1920).

[169] Chris Wickham, 'The Romans According to Their Malign Custom: Rome in Italy in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M. H. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 151–68, at 162. For a recent assessment of northern rulers in Italy, see Levi Roach, 'The Ottonians and Italy', *German History* 36 (2018): 349–64.

[170] Cowdrey, *Age of Abbot Desiderius*, 88–90, especially at 90.

seemed an effective resource for those looking to inspire clerics under their supervision. It is, of course, probable that a combination of the three factors—canonical use of martyrologies during chapter, the long shadow of Carolingian cultural production, and reform-oriented perceptions of martyrdom—cast Bede's Martyrology as a useful and inspiring text for those in religious life in eleventh-century Rome, thereby associating the text with the 816 Aachen decrees.

A second type of compilation reflected continued efforts to ensure a minimum standard of clerical education between the tenth and eleventh centuries. Codices of this sort show, however, a greater emphasis on canon law than the Carolingian priests' books discussed in a previous chapter.[171] BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 is an eleventh-century pastoral and educational compilation *par excellence*.[172] The manuscript contains pastoral rites, an *ordo missae*, Bede's Martyrology, *passiones* of SS Lucy and Eustratius, computational texts, a homily of Haimo of Auxerre, canon law, and two penitentials.[173] It is possible, given its hagiographical content, that the manuscript was used by the canons

---

[171] See discussion of episcopal compilations including BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 in Hamilton, 'Inquiring'.

[172] See Sarah Hamilton, 'Pastoral Care in Early Eleventh-Century Rome', *Dutch Review of Church History* 84 (2004): 37–56; idem, 'Rituale'.

[173] The most detailed description is Gaastra, ed., *Paenitentialia Italiae*, xlvii–lii. See Hamilton, 'Inquiring', 41; idem, 'Educating', 109–11; idem, 'Rituale', 83–6; Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, II, 106–7; Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, III, 60; Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 10, 77. Certain of its texts are discussed in detail in Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, 48–9; Roger E. Reynolds, 'A South Italian Liturgico-Canonical Mass Commentary', *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988): 626–70; Bernhard Bischoff, 'Eine karolingische "Vita Pastoralis": "Sedulius, Carmen Alpha"', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 37 (1981): 559–75; Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*, History of Medieval Canon Law 1 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 76–7, 189, 198; Ludger Körntgen, 'Ein italienisches Bussbuch und seine fränkischen Quellen. Das anonyme paenitentiale der Handschrift Vatikan, Arch. S. Pietro H 58', in *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken: Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Hubert Mordek (Frankfurt Am Main: P. Lang, 1992), 189–205; Maurice Coens, 'Martyrologium e codice basilicale Vaticanae nunc primum editum', *Analecta Bollandiana* 49 (1931): 51–97.

of SS XII Apostoli in Rome.[174] Sarah Hamilton has shown that its contents correspond to the duties required of priests listed in the *Admonitio synodalis*.[175] The poem on the 'Vita pastoralis' within the manuscript provides further evidence of possible educational use; to read this short text, one would need only a very basic understanding of Latin.[176] Bernhard Bischoff theorised that the poem may have been memorised and read aloud at synods or on other occasions where priests met.[177] It has been suggested that BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 may have therefore been used at SS XII Apostoli 'in training boys to become priests using (amongst other didactic tools) simple, mnemonic texts'.[178] Another possibility is that the manuscript was (perhaps concurrently) a priest's handbook.[179] Although in other areas of Europe most ninth-century penitential codices were produced for pastoral use by local clergy and most tenth-century examples were composed for episcopal and/or legal use, in Italy penitential codices for pastoral use continued to be copied during the tenth and eleventh centuries.[180] It has been argued that the 'liturgical' character of BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 implies practical use in a pastoral context (probably not by a bishop, given its lack of pontifical rites).[181] Hamilton has suggested that the *rituale* portion of this codex may have provided an exemplar from which more portable *libelli* were copied for use of the clerics of SS XII Apostoli in fulfilling their pastoral duties to the local laity.[182] As in other contemporary Italian examples, its penitential texts are predominately concerned with serious sins, specifically 'homicide, fornication, perjury, theft, and crimes committed through drunkenness',

---

[174] Hamilton, 'Educating', 109.
[175] Ibid., 110 (table 1).
[176] Ibid., 109; edited in Bischoff, '"Vita Pastoralis"', 564–75.
[177] Bischoff, '"Vita Pastoralis"', 564.
[178] Hamilton, 'Educating', 109, 111.
[179] Hamilton, 'Inquiring'; Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, 49; for discussion of ninth-century examples and the extensive scholarship on Carolingian books for pastoral use, see ch. 3, 138–61.
[180] Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, 48.
[181] Ibid., 49; Hamilton, 'Inquiring', 41.
[182] Hamilton, 'Rituale', 81.

including penances for clergy and both genders of laity.[183] We have here, then, a collection that is simultaneously suited for clerical education, private study (given contemporary interest in material concerning grave offences),[184] and ministering to laypeople. BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 therefore reveals eleventh-century efforts to reform clerical life in Rome at the local level, as well as the reforming activities of the papacy attested to by the codices discussed above.[185] One of the reasons why Bede's Martyrology was perhaps included within such a codex was as a primer on the calendar of festal observance, crucial to the proper education of clergy and therefore the correct delivery of pastoral care.

Detailed rubrics containing not only computistical but also quasi-medicinal information within Roman copies of Bede's Martyrology may also reflect the education of clerics for pastoral purposes. The martyrologies of BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 and BL Add. MS 14801 contain very similarly worded rubrics at the beginning of each month. The rubric preceding the beginning of the month of February within BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 contains in addition to conventional computistical material (the number of days of the month, the days of the moon, when the moon rises, the date of the beginning of spring (on VII Id. Feb.), information on the zodiac sign), a method for telling time using one's shadow and medico-prognostic material including instructions for bloodletting in the form of a regimen.[186] Prognostic and medico-prognostic texts of comparable function are found in a number of Carolingian copies of Bede's Martyrology likely made for educational and/or pastoral use, as discussed in chapter three.[187] Clerics and monks could be medical experts in medieval southern Italy

---

[183] Hamilton, 'Inquiring', 42–3.

[184] Ibid., 43.

[185] Hamilton, 'Rituale', 83; idem, 'Pastoral Care', 46–56.

[186] BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58, fols 61r–v; edited in Coens, 'Martyrologium', 56–7. Compare with BL Add. MS 14801, fols 9v–10r.

[187] See ch. 3, 152–4.

and elsewhere in Europe.[188] The sort of monthly regimen found in the martyrologies of BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 and BL Add. MS 14801 is common in Continental manuscripts. Similar examples include a ninth-century text on diet and the Egyptian Days preserved in French manuscripts copied between the ninth and eleventh centuries, the regimen of BL MS Harley 3271, fols 122v/29–123v/25, and the regimen erroneously attributed to Bede in BL MS Sloane 475, fols 4v–6r.[189] The medieval ascription of authorship of similar regimens to Bede possibly prompted the inclusion of monthly regimens within two copies of his Martyrology.[190] In pre-Conquest England, regimens are known to have been used within educational contexts; BL MS Harley 3271, for instance, is a schoolbook designed for Latin instruction.[191] It is worth emphasising the length and level of detail seen in the Roman computistical rubrics, characteristics not derived from earlier copies and not preserved in other Italian examples of Bede's text. A cleric studying from Bede's Martyrology would consequently internalise a wealth of information related to the months and time-reckoning as well as the structure of the festal calendar and deeds of the saints. Moreover, readers of BL Add. MS 14801 could also consult legislation associated with Carolingian *correctio* and a catalogue of popes and emperors (updated in multiple hands) without retrieving another volume.[192] These aspects

---

[188] See Elma Brenner, 'The Medical Role of Monasteries in the Latin West, c. 1050–1300', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 865–81.

[189] Stuart, 'Diets and Dies Aegyptiaci'; Chardonnens, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, 471–5, with the regimen of BL MS Harley 3271 edited at 473–5. BL MS Sloane 475, digitised at http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100056170680.0x000001.

[190] The martyrology of BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 is ascribed to Bede within the manuscript; the martyrology of BL Add. MS 14801 is not. See BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58, fol. 59r; BL Add. MS 14801, fol. 5v.

[191] See Lázló Sándor Chardonnens, 'London, British Library, Harley 3271: The Composition and Structure of an Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Miscellany', in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6–8 April 2006*, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari, and M. A. D'Aronco (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 3–34.

[192] Dykmans, 'Obituaires romains', 614.

of the compilation suggest an interest in both efforts to reform religious life and historical information from closer to home.

Given the surviving evidence, Roman copies of Bede's Martyrology primarily circulated in codices probably designed for use in chapter, clerical education, or a combination of the two. The broad functions of these codices correspond to the established use contexts for martyrologies in general and Bede's in particular, as I have demonstrated in earlier chapters. A canonical subtype of the self-referential chapter book compilation, however, appears largely a Roman phenomenon to judge from the surviving evidence. Conversely, the monastic self-referential chapter book appears to have circulated more widely to the south in the area of influence of Montecassino (although matters of source survival may have influenced the current picture). Bodleian MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 is the sole surviving example of a self-referential chapter book of probable Roman origin containing Bede's Martyrology for monastic use, and even this manuscript contains material pertaining to the 816 Council of Aachen. BAV MS Barb. lat. 646, however, is an example of a self-referential monastic chapter book that was produced near Montecassino but was used in Rome. To my knowledge, no copy of another martyrology produced in Rome between 900 and 1250 is extant within a self-referential chapter book, for either monastic or clerical use.[193] Although at Montecassino the Hieronymian Martyrology and Usuard's Martyrology were included in this sort of codex, in Rome only Bede's Martyrology is found in surviving codices of this type. Furthermore, as BL Add. MS 14801 illustrates, codices that may have been used in chapter could also be of value as clerical reference resources and repositories for historical information.

---

[193] Based upon cross-referencing manuscripts listed under any variation of 'martyrologium' in Iter liturgicum italicum: répertoire des manuscrits liturgiques italiens établi par Giacomo Baroffio, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, http://liturgicum.irht.cnrs.fr/fr/ with catalogue descriptions and digital reproductions, where possible.

Use of Bede's Martyrology in Rome

The colocation of texts within Roman codices containing Bede's Martyrology suggests that in the majority of cases Bede's Martyrology was copied for use in chapter, excepting the pastoral compilation seen in BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58. Analysis of presentation of text and traces of use within the remaining manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology in use in Rome allows one to determine the likelihood that Bede's Martyrology was read during the morning chapter assembly. The manuscript copy within Bodleian MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 contains brief computistical rubrics, golden numbers, and Dominical letters. Moreover, entries within the martyrology referring to St Saba and documents related to the monastery of SS Andrew and Saba also found within the manuscript foreground local, communal concerns resonant with the communal aspects of the so-called chapter office.[194] This manuscript copy was almost certainly designed for and actually used in the morning meeting in chapter. The use of two other manuscript copies in chapter is more speculative, but still possible. The Martyrology of BAV MS Ott. lat. 38 includes brief computistical rubrics before each month and Dominical letters. The presentation of text within this manuscript could facilitate use in chapter. Although ultimately impossible to determine definitively, arguably the Martyrology was included alongside the *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis* for this very purpose. The Martyrology of BL Add. MS 14801 contains detailed computistical rubrics, Dominical letters, marginal annotations indicating the Egyptian Days, and the insertion of marginal obits. Similarly to BAV MS Ott. lat. 38, the presentation of text in BL Add. MS 14801 could certainly suggest use in chapter. As discussed above, a multifaceted purpose for this manuscript copy is probable. One copy does not contain many aspects that point to use in chapter. The copy of Bede's Martyrology found in Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 includes a

---

[194] See Hilken, 'Scribal Record'; Teresa Webber, 'Monastic Space and the Use of Books in the Anglo-Norman Period', in *Anglo-Norman Studies 36: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2013*, ed. David Bates (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), 221–40, at 233–4.

computistical rubric specifying the number of days of the month and of the moon for each month but does not contain Dominical letters, golden numbers, or lunar letters.

However, the necrological content seen in this manuscript and other Roman copies of Bede's Martyrology suggests a use analogous to that of Montecassino MS 179 (discussed above). The single necrological entry of BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 ('Crescentius') is here excluded from discussion, as it does not seem to be indicative of a systematic practice.[195] Three manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology in use in Rome contain a significant number of necrological entries. The necrological notices within BL Add. MS 14801, some of which are discussed above, are an outlier. There are far fewer entries than in the other examples. BAV MS Barb. lat. 646, for instance, includes approximately two hundred obits.[196] The necrological entries of BL Add. MS 14801 and BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 have been entered in the margins, suggesting that provision was not made for such content from the outset. This arguably indicates that the use of these two copies in chapter would not have complemented a separate martyrology, as may have been the case for Montecassino MS 179. It is highly likely, given both the original presentation of text suited for chapter and the subsequent addition of necrological entries, that the Martyrology of BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 was designed for use in chapter near Montecassino and then actually used in chapter in Rome. The presentation of text and continued entry of necrological content into the Martyrology of Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85, conversely, shows a comparable type of use as is evident in the format of Montecassino MS 179. Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 includes an apparatus in red ink ('ob.') for entering three lines of obits underneath the lines used for saints' entries within the Martyrology. Marc Dykmans has suggested that the copy of Bede's Martyrology within Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 was copied from an exemplar that already included necrological notices; some of the obits are indeed entered in an original hand.[197] Numerous hands with varying degrees of

---

[195] Dykmans, 'Obituaires romains', 633.
[196] Ibid., 633–4.
[197] Ibid., 611.

training entered notices for the ordinary dead on almost every leaf of this manuscript copy. Unlike Montecassino MS 179, however, the Martyrology of Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 is neither abridged nor found within a chapter book. It is possible that the female religious at SS Ciriaco e Nicolò in Via Lata used Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 for reading saints' entries and commemorating the ordinary dead in chapter. They may have also used this copy as a commemorative register that complemented another martyrology (perhaps the hypothetical earlier exemplar?). On balance, the use of Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 in chapter in some capacity is probable.

The necrological notices entered in significant numbers within three Roman copies of Bede's Martyrology reveal links between religious houses and with those not in religious life between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. Obits postdating the fourteenth century are not extant in any of the copies under discussion. As well as obits related to the canons of S. Maria in Trastevere, necrological notices added to BL Add. MS 14801 commemorate popes and individuals such as 'Nicolaus Antonii qui rel. libb. .xx. pro reparatione piscarie' and 'Comitissa de Orciano'.[198] Those from Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 commemorate individuals including 'Bartholomeus scriniarius fr. d. Lavinie m.', 'Iacoba Paura abb. mon. Ciriaci de Tibure', 'Iohannes Gisii canonicus S. Petri', 'Romanus cler. eccl. S. Marie in Via Lata', 'pbr. Tadeus de Sancti Apostolorum', and 'Ota natione Saxone', as well as the nuns of SS Ciriaco e Nicolò.[199] The entries seen in Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 and Montecassino MS 179 do not focus on popes to the extent seen in the obits of BL Add. MS 14801. BL Add. MS 14801, then, seems a markedly papal codex when the papal saints of Bede's Martyrology and its inventory of popes are

---

[198] Egidi, ed., *Necrologi*, I, 85–103. 'Nicolaus Antonius who left twenty libra for the repair of the fishery'; 'Countess of Orciano'.

[199] Ibid., 3–83; for discussion of the manuscript's necrological content, see Pietro Egidi, 'Per la datazione del cod. Vallic. F. 85', *Bullettino della Società Filologica Romana* 7 (1905): 10–12. 'Bartholomew, archivist, brother of Lavinia, nun'; 'Iacoba Paura, abbess and nun of S. Ciriaco on the Tiber'; 'Iohannes Gisius, canon of S. Peter's'; 'Romanus, cleric of the church of St Mary in Via Lata'; 'priest Tadeus of SS Apostolorum'; 'Ota of the Saxon nation'.

considered alongside the ordinary dead commemorated in the margins of its Martyrology. Moreover, the inclusion of those from outside the particular community in which each manuscript copy was in use suggests networks of commemoration also evident in *libri vitae* from northern Europe (as mentioned above). However, the necrological content of BAV MS Barb. lat. 646 is of a markedly more communal emphasis. The majority of the necrological additions with this manuscript copy refers to members of *nostre congregationis* (our congregation), with some entries referring to those presumably outside the community, such as 'obiit leo p*resbyte*r et mo*nachus*'.[200] Increased mentions of the use of a martyrology in the commemoration of the ordinary dead within religious communities between the tenth and twelfth centuries, as discussed in chapter four, perhaps affected and/or reflected the commemorative uses that one may infer from certain Roman and Cassinese manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology.

Conclusion

In this study of Cassinese and Roman manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology I have suggested that the reception of Franco-Roman liturgical practice and the interpretation of the Carolingian past were subject to local concerns. For instance, I showed in the preceding discussion that the criteria scholars use to determine whether or not a manuscript copy of a martyrology may have been used in the morning chapter assembly do not neatly map onto the local situations seen at Montecassino and Rome. Abridgement of martyrologies was not exclusive to Montecassino and Rome, but it would seem to have been practised there to a greater extent than in northern Europe. Similarly, the provision for necrological entries from the outset seen within Montecassino MS 179 and Bibl. Vall. MS F. 85 is not unique, but there is a demonstrable emphasis on necrological content within Bede's Martyrology itself (rather than within a separate necrology) in Cassinese and Roman copies that from the surviving evidence is not seen to a similar extent north of the Alps.

---

[200] BAV MS Barb. lat. 646, fol. 13v. 'Leo, priest and monk, died'.

The greater portion of these differences may be related to the particular form the circulation of ideals of reform took in southern Italy and Rome, especially those linked to the papacy. As mentioned above, during the tenth and eleventh centuries Montecassino had strong links with both Cluny and the papacy. Cassinese manuscripts containing copies of Bede's Martyrology, especially self-referential chapter books for monastic use, reveal the long-term influence of Carolingian *correctio*, seen through a Cluniac lens. The Roman canonical self-referential chapter books reflect mid-eleventh-century papal attitudes toward the clerical life that took as a starting point the earlier example set by Louis the Pious and other members of the Carolingian court circle with the 816 Council of Aachen, although some reformers felt that the 816 decrees did not go far enough. Moreover, BAV MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58 reflects a more local attitude toward establishing 'correct' religious practice that concerned the salvation of laypeople as well as clerics, similarly to *correctio* seen in the Carolingian localities in the ninth century. The manuscript evidence suggests that those who copied and used Bede's Martyrology at Montecassino and in Rome responded to the papal and Roman emphases of the text, especially during the eleventh century. Perhaps Bede's Martyrology particularly flourished at Montecassino and in Rome, when compared to other regions, because these facets of the Martyrology made it suitable for use according to the frameworks of reform of the eleventh century.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I drew upon the methodologies of medieval manuscript studies and a developing body of scholarship on medieval Latin liturgy to analyse manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology. Through such analysis, I demonstrated the mechanisms, initial effects, and long-term influence of the 'liturgical creativity and priorities' seen in ninth-century Francia and subsequently interpreted during later attempts to 'reform' religious life and ecclesiastical practice.[1] In the first half of this dissertation, I showed the nature of Carolingian *correctio* to be a pervasive environment and collaborative dialogue by exploring what the earliest manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology, datable to the ninth century, may suggest about Carolingian *correctio* as enacted by the court circle and by figures such as bishops and priests in the localities. In the second half, I found that the longer-term effects of Carolingian *correctio* and Franco-Roman liturgical practice varied regionally in the reasons for the incorporation of Carolingian texts and practices into subsequent movements of liturgical and religious 'reform', through analysis of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology copied and/or used between 900 and 1250.

In chapter one, I surveyed scholarship on the text of Bede's Martyrology, outlined its early dissemination and influence upon subsequent martyrologists, explored the attribution of manuscript copies as copies of Bede's text, and noted patterns in the temporal and geographic distributions of extant manuscript copies. In this chapter, I highlighted how the material afterlife of Bede's Martyrology may be used as a case study for the immediate and longer-term effects of Carolingian *correctio*. In the remaining chapters of the dissertation, I drew upon this initial accounting of the manuscript survival of Bede's Martyrology.

---

[1] Westwell, 'Ordering the Church', 426.

In chapter two, I explored the aims, mechanisms, and initial results of top-down *correctio*, focussing on the use of Bede's Martyrology in the morning meeting in chapter. My analysis of ninth-century manuscript copies of Bede's text revealed the strategic ambiguity intentionally practised by the Carolingian court circle in implementing *correctio*. In this chapter, I also raised questions for the identification of the uses of ninth-century martyrology manuscripts based on presentation of text, as I showed that the liturgical apparatus for use in the meeting in chapter after Prime described by scholars of later periods developed gradually (as I demonstrated to be the case for the structure of the morning chapter assembly itself). In chapter three, I examined the local portion of the dialogue of *correctio* by focussing on the role of Bede's Martyrology within ninth-century efforts to ensure the competence of priests, especially in the performance of liturgical duties. In this chapter, I showed that not only did local priests use Bede's Martyrology as a reference guide in fulfilling this expectation, but also that the localities as an arena for experimentation drove shifts in religious practice. Moreover, my work in chapter three signalled a new direction for further research into clerical education and pastoral care: the role of martyrologies. In both chapters, I highlighted the coexistence of diversity of practice and articulation of a minimum acceptable standard seen in *correctio*, especially concerning the liturgy.

In chapter four, I analysed the tenth- to mid-thirteenth-century reception of *correctio* and the interpretation of the Carolingian past in what is now Germany and Austria. I explored how the manuscript circulation and use of Bede's Martyrology may have been affected by the formalisation of the meeting in chapter, continued concern for the education of priests, and new developments in the commemoration of the ordinary dead. I this chapter, I found that manuscript copies produced here between 900 and 1250 gestured towards the historical consciousness seen in the region after the Carolingians, which looked to Christian and imperial history to legitimise saintly cult and document the origins of liturgical practices. I showed how Bamberg in particular was a centre of

liturgical creativity between the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the liturgical activity seen there is deserving of further study.

In chapter five, I explored what the production and use of Bede's Martyrology at Montecassino and in Rome between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries suggest about the circulation and influence of Carolingian ideals of religious reform in central and southern Italy. I identified and described a category of book in which Carolingian normative texts on monastic or clerical life were incorporated into books for use in chapter, termed the self-referential chapter book. The creation of this type of codex during the ninth century and its wider dissemination during the tenth and eleventh centuries remain to be analysed in more detail than possible in this study. My examination of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology in this chapter revealed the Martyrology's potential value within tenth- and eleventh-century frameworks of reform as a text with papal and Roman emphases.

By analysing the material afterlife of Bede's Martyrology in this dissertation, I have demonstrated the long shadow of the Carolingian endeavour. Although the long-term influence of *correctio* and Franco-Roman liturgical practice is often noted, the particular intervention of this study was my specific focus on manuscript evidence over a sustained period of time. In doing so, I traced the development of facets of Franco-Roman liturgy and their inclusion within subsequent practices. The incorporation of ninth-century manuscript copies within top-down and local *correctio* guided the later production and use of Bede's Martyrology within initiatives that responded to Carolingian precedents. When taken together, the normative and descriptive evidence for the use of martyrologies in general detailed in chapters two, three, and four shows just how much later descriptions and stipulations drew upon ninth-century *correctio*.

The scribes, owners, readers, and users of extant copies of Bede's Martyrology between 800 and 1250 engaged with the material form of a text that was abstracted both geographically and chronologically from their own contexts. This level of abstraction facilitated the adaption of Bede's Martyrology to suit differing conceptions of history and

sanctity as Christian historical consciousness shifted between the ninth and mid-thirteenth centuries. The diversity seen in the uses and significance of manuscript copies of Bede's Martyrology provides a lens through which to conceptualise the activities of those involved in setting, altering, and/or carrying out the mass, the office, and chapter in Carolingian and post-Carolingian Europe to c. 1250.

Appendix A: A Handlist of the Manuscripts Containing Bede's Martyrology

This handlist contains a greater number of manuscripts than identified in the text as Bedean because I here include distantly derived and considerably abridged copies for reader reference. Manuscripts that I have consulted in person are marked with an asterisk; all other manuscripts have been consulted from photographic reproduction alone. Manuscripts are listed in alphabetical order by location and repository. Where possible, a link to the digital reproduction is included. I have indicated where Henri Quentin has discussed a particular copy of Bede's Martyrology in his *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Âge: étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain*, 2nd edn, Études d'histoire des dogmes et d'ancienne littérature ecclésiastique (Paris: J. Gabalda & Cie, 1908). This handlist draws upon the work of Quentin, the earlier handlist in M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1943), 91–2, and discussion in Michael Lapidge, 'Acca of Hexham and the Origin of the Old English Martyrology', *Analecta Bollandiana* 123, no. 1 (2005): 29–78, at 47–8, as well as the cited manuscript descriptions. Where a codex is composed of multiple fascicles, the date given here refers only to the codicological unit of production in which is found a manuscript copy of Bede's Martyrology. For reasons of space, I give only the texts immediately surrounding each copy of the Martyrology rather than a full contents list.

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 143

s. xi$^{1/4}$

Seeon Abbey

Digital reproduction: https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-sbb00000135-2

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols 86r–91v Michelsberg documents from the time of Bishop Otto I (1102–1139) and specification of monastery income
>
> Fols 92r–119r Bede's Martyrology

Fol. 119v extracts from documents added around 1170 detailing bequests from Henry II to Bamberg

Description: Hans Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*, vol. 1, part 3: Nachträge und Indices (Bamberg: Buchner, 1908), 14–16, 26, 193–94.

Detailed description: Friedrich Leitschuh, *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*, vol. 1, part 1, series 2: Liturgische Handschriften (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), 294–96; Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg*, vol. 1, Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 114–16.

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 159

s. xii$^{1/2}$

Michelsberg Abbey, Bamberg; fols 60v–61r: Hirsau (?)

Digital reproduction: https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:22-dtl-0000024713

Texts immediately surrounding:

Fol. 1r *duodecim Vie que sunt Rome* and various mostly illegible additional entries

Fol. 1v–69r Bede's Martyrology (incomplete)

Fol. 69v *Pro Fratre nuper defuncto agatur per XXX dies communis absolutio. Absolue domine* etc.

Detailed description: Leitschuh, *Katalog*, I.1.ii, 312; Elmar Hochholzer, 'Paläographische Beobachtungen', in *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*, ed. Johannes Nospickle et al., 21–50, MGH Libri Memoriales et Necrologia Nova Ser. 6 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004), 23–5.

Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv, Aachen Marienstift, Repertorium und Handschrift, 4a (olim A 224)

s. xiii$^{1/2}$

Aachen

Digital reproduction: https://dfg-viewer.de/show/?tx_dlf[id]=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.landesarchiv-nrw.de%2Fdigitalisate%2FAbt_Rheinland%2FAA_0104_Aachen_St_Marien_Rep_u_Hs%2F%7E000%2F00004-a%2Fmets.xml

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fol. 17r Carolingian genealogy
>
> Fol. 18r *Ad mandatum*
>
> Fols. 18v–41r Bede's Martyrology
>
> Fols 41r–109v statutes of the 816 Council of Aachen

Detailed description: Odilo Gatzweiler, *Die liturgischen Handschriften des aachener Münsterstifts*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 10 (Münster: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926), 188–92.

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS L.III.8

s. ix$^{3/3}$

Senlis

Digital reproduction: https://rbme.patrimonionacional.es/s/rbme/item/14619

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fol. 127r *In prima parte libelli omnium beatorum apostolorum conscripsimus… a pontificibus templi occisi sunt*
>
> Fol. 127v–164r Bede's Martyrology
>
> Fol. 164v *Incipit compotus latinorum siue grecorum quod nos victorium apellamus*

Description: Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Birgit Ebersperger, vol. 1: Aachen-Lambach, 3 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 252; Astrid Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften der Karolingerzeit*,

MGH Hilfsmittel 24 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2007), 338; Susan A. Keefe, *A Catalogue of Works Pertaining to the Explanation of the Creed in Carolingian Manuscripts*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 89–90, 184; Pope Gregory I, *Rescriptum beati Gregorii papae ad Augustinum episcopum quem Saxoniam in praedicatione direxerat, seu, libellus responsionum*, ed. Valeria Mattaloni, Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini d'Italia 43 (Firenze: SISMEL, 2017), 66–7.

Detailed Description: Guillermo Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial* (Madrid: Imprenta Helénica, 1910), 28–34.

Lambach, Benediktinerstift, CmL CXXXI

s. xii$^{1/2}$

Lambach

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fol. 1 no longer extant but may have been pseudo-Jerome, preface to martyrology
>
> Fols 2r–96r Bede's Martyrology (incomplete)
>
> Fol. 96v monastic document
>
> Fols 97r–152v Rule of St Benedict

Description: Dietmar Straub, ed., *Tausend Jahre Oberösterreich. Das Werden eines Landes. Katalog- und Beitragsteil. Ausstellung des Landes Oberösterreich 29. April bis 26. Oktober 1983 in der Burg zu Wels*, vol. 2, 2 vols (Linz: Amt der Oö. Landesregierung, Abteilung Kultur, 1983), 80–1; Helga Litschel, ed., *900 Jahre Klosterkirche Lambach: oberösterreichische Landesausstellung 1989. Historischer Teil. 20. Mai bis 8. Oktober 1989 im Benediktinerstift Lambach veranstaltet vom Land Oberösterreich* (Linz: Amt der Oö. Landesregierung, Abteilung Kultur, 1989).

**London, BL, Add. MS 14801*

s. xi (Quentin: 1061–1091)

?Rome

Texts immediately surrounding:

    Fols 4r–5v pseudo-Jerome, preface to martyrology

    Fols 5v–44v Bede's Martyrology

    From fol. 45r canons on clerical life, followed by material related to the 816

    Council of Aachen

Description: British Museum, 'List of Additions to the Department of Manuscripts 1844', in *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1841–1845* (London: George Woodfall and Son; The Trustees, 1850), 1–155, at 7–8.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 36–8, 42–4.

London, BL, Add. MS 19725

s. ix$^{4/4}$

Eastern Francia, ?sphere of influence of Reims

Digital reproduction:

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_19725

Texts immediately surrounding:

    Fols 2r–4v unattributed sermon (see Appendix B; part of originally separate

    unit)

    Fols 5r–30r Bede's Martyrology (incomplete)

    Fols 30r–32r pseudo-Bede, *computus*

Description: Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Birgit Ebersperger, vol. 2: Laon-Paderborn, 3 vols, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 98.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 26–7.

Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1942 (*olim *947, R 24)

s. xii^{in}

Melk

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fol. 1r two letters from Abbot Wolframus II of Michelsberg to Abbot Conrad of Melk
>
> Fols 1v–81r Bede's Martyrology
>
> Fols 81v–82r pseudo-Jerome, preface to martyrology

Detailed description: Christine Glaßner, *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Melk*, vol. 1: Von den Anfängen bis ca. 1400, Katalog- und Registerband, Denkschriften (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse) 285 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 502–3.

Metz, Bibliothèque-médiathèque, MS 1154 (abridged, largely excluded)

1157

Venice (SS Illario e Gregorio)

Digital reproduction:

https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/23205/manifest

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols 1–28v martyrology (ascribed to 'Beda 7 hieronymus')
>
> From fol. 28v Rule of St Benedict

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 45.

Milan, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, MS M 15

s. ix[2/4 or 2/3]

Pavia

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fol. 133r Alcuin, *Litania*
>
> Fols 134r–162v Bede's Martyrology

Fol. 163 *Ordo recitandi canones in ecclesia romana* (addition of s. ix$^{2/4 \text{ or } 2/3}$)

Detailed description: Mirella Ferrari, 'La biblioteca del monastero di S. Ambrogio: episodi per una storia', in *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo: Convegno di studi nel XII centenario: 784–1984, 5–6 novembre 1984*, various authors, Bibliotheca erudita: studi e documenti di storia e filologia 3 (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1988), 82–164, at 84–92.

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS X 6 sup. (abridged, largely excluded)

s. xi

Includes a martyrology, the Rule of St Benedict, and excerpts from Jerome (catalogue description: https://ambrosiana.comperio.it/opac/detail/view/ambro:catalog:102630)

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 45.

Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 179 (abridged)

s. xi$^{1/2}$ (Hilken: 1031–1071)

Beneventan zone (copied in the Beneventan script)

Texts immediately surrounding:

> pp. 1–62 Bede's Martyrology of San Nicola della Cicogna
>
> pp. 62–3 *ordines* for chapter (announcing weekly duties, announcing major feasts, child oblation)

Detailed description: Mauro Inguanez, *Codicum casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus: cura et studio monachorum S. Benedicti archicoenobi Montis Casini*, vol. 1: codd. 1–200 (Montecassino, 1915), 262–63; C. Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', in *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 177–289, at 185–6; Charles Hilken, ed., *The Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*, Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana II, Studies and Texts 135 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2000), 21–4.

Printed Edition: Hilken, ed., *Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*, 68–134.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 36–8, 44–5.

*Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H 410

s. ix$^{3/4 \text{ or } 4/4}$

Vicinity of Reims

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols. 1–3r *ordo* of readings from the night office; theory of ΠΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ
> *horarum per cursum solis mensuratum*
>
> Fol. 3v short prayer *ante lectionem* ascribed to Bede (see Appendix B)
>
> Fols 4–41 Bede's Martyrology

Description: Ministre de l'instruction publique, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1849), 448; Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, II, 209.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 27–9.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15818

s. ix$^{2/4}$

Salzburg

Digital reproduction: http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00065520-5

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols 86–96v excerpts from Augustine's letter to Dardanus *De praesentia dei* (part
> of originally separate unit)
>
> Fols 97v–144v Bede's Martyrology

Description: Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, II, 266.

Detailed description: Johann Andreas Schmeller et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae monacensis: secundum Andreae Schmelleri indices / composuerunt Carolus Halm, Fridericus Keinz, Gulielmus Meyer, Georgius Thomas*, Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis 2, part 3 (Munich: Sumtibus Bibliothecae Regiae, 1878), 36–7.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 30–1, 47.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 27305

After 957 (Krüger: 962–994)

Freising or Swabia (Krüger: St Gallen)

Texts immediately surrounding:

      pp. 1–28 Bede's Martyrology (incomplete)

      pp. 29–32 computistical texts

Description: Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, 352; David Juste, *Les Manuscrits astrologiques latins conservés à la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Munich*, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes: documents, études et répertoires 81 (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2011), 177.

Detailed description: Hermann Hauke, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Clm 27270–27499*, Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis 4.5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), 23–8; Elisabeth Klemm, *Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, vol. 1, Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München 2 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 77–8.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. d. 43 (abridged)

s. xii^ex–xiii^in

Italy (?Rome)

Texts immediately surrounding:

      Fol 48 monastic documents of San Saba

      Fols 49–71v Bede's Martyrology (incomplete)

      Fol. 72 calendar; monastic documents of San Saba

      Fols 73–84v obituary

Description: Marc Dykmans, 'Les Obituaires romains: une définition suivie d'une vue d'ensemble', *Studi Medievali* 19 (1978): 591–652, at 616–22.

Detailed description: Peter Kidd and Bodleian Library Staff, 'MS. Lat. liturg. d. 43', Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries: A catalogue of Western manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries and selected Oxford colleges, 7 January 2017, https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6477.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 45.

*Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5552

s. ix$^{2/4}$

Francia

Digital reproduction: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078343h

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols 1–14v Bede's Martyrology (incomplete)
>
> Fol 15 pseudo-Jerome, preface to martyrology (possibly originally part of separate unit)

Description: Guillaume de Villefroy, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae*, vol. 4, part 3 (Paris: E Typographia Regia, 1844), 130; Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Birgit Ebersperger, vol. 3: Padua-Zwickau, 3 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 109–10.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 31.

*Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS F. 85

1024–1043

Rome

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols 1–80 Bede's Martyrology

Description: Virginia Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries: Collected Manuscript Catalogues, 1978–2008*, ed. Roger E. Reynolds, Studies and Texts 179 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012), 83.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 36–9.

St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 451

s. ix$^{1/4}$ (Scarpatetti: s. ix–x)

Mainz or Fulda

Digital reproduction: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/it/list/one/csg/0451

Standalone copy:

> pp. 5–50 Bede's Martyrology (incomplete)

Description: Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1875), 147; Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 324.

Detailed description: Albert Bruckner, *Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz, St. Gallen II*, Scriptoria medii aevi helvetica 3 (Genf: Roto-Sadag, 1938), 105; Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, vol. 2, part III/2: Codices 450–546: Liturgica, Libri Precum, deutsche Gebetbücher, Spiritualia, Musikhandschriften 9.–16. Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 8–9.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 18–19.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58

s. xi^{med}

?Rome

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols 58v–59r *Collection in Five Books*, extracts from bks one, two, and three
>
> Fols 59r–79r Bede's Martyrology
>
> Fol. 79 Easter table

      Fol. 80r excerpts from Isidore

      Fol. 80v *computus*

Digital reproduction: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Arch.Cap.S.Pietro.H.58

Description: Pierre Salmon, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol 2, 5 vols, Studi e Testi 253 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1969), 106–7; Pierre Salmon, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 3, 5 vols, Studi e Testi 260 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1970), 60; Pierre Salmon, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 4, 5 vols, Studi e Testi 267 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1971), 10, 77; Pierre Salmon, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 5, 5 vols, Studi e Testi 270 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1972), 78.

Printed edition: Maurice Coens, 'Martyrologium e codice Basilicale Vaticanae nunc primum editum', *Analecta Bollandiana* 49 (1931): 51–97.

Detailed description: Adriaan Gaastra, ed., *Paenitentialia Italiae saeculi XI–XII*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 156 C, Paenitentialia Franciae, Italiae et Hispaniae Saeculi VIII–XI 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), xlvii–lii.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 36–42.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Barb. lat. 646

Immediately before 1079

Area of influence of Montecassino

Texts immediately surrounding:

      Fols 1–8 martyrology (incomplete; Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 31: only distantly derived from Bede)

      Fols 9–44 Bede's Martyrology (incomplete)

      Fol. 44 *computus*

Detailed description: Morgand, ed., 'Memoriale Qualiter', 190–1; Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 79–80.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 7, 31–6.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Ott. lat. 3 (abridged)

s. xii–xiii

Montecassino

Digital reproduction: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.lat.3

Texts immediately surrounding:

Front endleaf Milanese/'Ambrosian' chant

Fols 1–31 Bede's Martyrology

Description: Henry Marriott Bannister, *Monumenti Vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*, Codices e Vaticanis Selecti 12 (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1913), 124; Klaus Gamber, *Codice liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2nd edn, Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia I (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1968), 239; Pierre Salmon, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 1, 5 vols, Studi e Testi 251 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1968), 208; Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, II, 77; Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 85; Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries*, ed. Reynolds, 40.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 36–8, 45.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Ott. lat. 38 (abridged)

s. x (Bilotta: s. xi^med)

Montescaglioso (Bilotta: the Lateran)

Digital reproduction: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.lat.38

Texts immediately surrounding:

Fols 1–24 Bede's Martyrology (incomplete)

Fols 24v–25r *computus*

Fols 25r–31v canons on clerical life

Description: Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 85.

See also: Maria Alessandra Bilotta, 'I codici miniati in Laterano conservati nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: una prima ricognizione', *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 10 (2003): 7–50, at 16–20. The origin of Montescaglioso is given in Giacomo Baroffio, 'Catalogare manoscritti liturgici: tipologie semplici e complesse', in *La Catalogazione dei manoscritti miniati come strumento di conoscenza: esperienze, metodologia, prospettive: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Viterbo, 4–5 marzo 2009*, ed. Silvia Maddalo and Michela Torquati, Nuovi Studi Storici 87 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2010), 115–26, at 125.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 45.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Ott. lat. 313

s. ix

Saint-Germain-des-Prés

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols 1–6 Bede's Martyrology (incomplete)
>
> Fol. 6v *Gloria in excelsis deo*; prayers to St Genevieve; Nicene Creed (likely all additional)
>
> From fol. 7 sacramentary

Description: Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, I, 208; Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, III, 25, 68; Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 87; Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 404; Victor Saxer, 'Observations codicologiques et liturgiques sur trois sacramentaires grégoriens de la première moitié du IXe siècle: Paris Latin 2812, Vatican Ottoboni Latin 313 et Reginensis Latin 337', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen Âge - temps modernes* 97, no. 1 (1985): 23–43, at 31–3; Edward Kennard Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, Publication (Mediaeval Academy of America) 3 (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929), 173.

Detailed description: Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, II, 12–13.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 24–6.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. lat. 833

840–855

Worms, Lorsch, or Würzburg

Digital reproduction: http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn%3Anbn%3Ade%3Absz%3A16-diglit-45191

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols 1–24r Bede's Martyrology
>
> Fol. 24r trope to the introit *Vultum tuum* for the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (additional; incomplete)
>
> Fols 24v–25r *computus*

Description: Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 93; Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, V, 7, 16; Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 416–17.

Detailed description: Enrico Stevenson, *Codices Palatini latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome: Typ. Vaticana, 1886), 292; Michael Kautz, 'Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. Lat. 833', Virtuellen Klosterbibliothek Lorsch (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg), 2014, https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_833.pdf.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 20–3.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. lat. 834

s. ix$^{1/2}$

Mid (?south) western Germany

Digital reproduction: http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn%3Anbn%3Ade%3Absz%3A16-diglit-45203

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols 1v–25v Bede's Martyrology
>
> Fols 26r–26v *computus*

Description: Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 93; Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 417.

Detailed description: Stevenson, *Codices*, 293–4; Michael Kautz, 'Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. Lat. 834', Virtuellen Klosterbibliothek Lorsch (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg), 2014, https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_834.pdf.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 19–20.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Reg. lat. 435 (abridged)

s. ix

Sens (Lobrichon: Reims)

Digital reproduction: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.435

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols 1–24 Bede's Martyrology
>
> Fols 25–32 exposition on the mass (eleventh-century, originally part of separate unit)

Description: Salmon, *Manuscrits liturgiques*, IV, 100; Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 429.

See also: Guy Lobrichon, 'Moines et clercs à Sens et Auxerre au Xe siècle: culture et société', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 24/25 (1989/1990): 277–94, at 289.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 45.

*Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXV (63)

s. ix$^{1/4}$ (Spagnolo: s. ix or x)

Verona

Texts immediately surrounding:

> Fols 2r–48v Bede's Martyrology
>
> Fols 49v–57v Isidore, *De ortu et de obitu patrum*

Description: Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 468.

Detailed description: Antonio Spagnolo, *I manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona: catalogo descrittivo*, ed. Silvia Marchi (Verona: Casa Editrice Mazziana, 1996), 126.

Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 23–4.

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS XC (85) (properly a calendar derived from Bede's text, excluded)

s. ix$^{2/2}$–x (Spagnolo: 859)

?Monza, ?Verona

Texts immediately surrounding:

>   Fols 90v–96r *orationes*

>   Fols 97r–109v calendar derived from Bede's Martyrology

>   Fols 110–130 *computus*

Description: Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 469.

Detailed description: Ernst Dümmler, *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der lateinischen Dichtungen aus der Zeit der Karolinger*, vol. 1, 3 vols (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, 1881), 152–5; Spagnolo, *Manoscritti*, ed. Marchi, 163–7.

Printed edition: Ferdinando Dell'Oro and Placido M. Bresciani, 'Un calendario del secolo X in uso nella basilica di San Giovanni Battista in Monza', *Aevum* 78, no. 2 (2004): 277–340, at 328–37.

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.49

Just before 838

Würzburg and ?Regensburg (Thurn: Würzburg)

Digital reproduction: https://doi.org/10.48651/franconica-1571567407704

Texts immediately surrounding:

Fols 1v–2r excerpts from Augustine, *epistula* 130, *ad probam uiduam de oratione dominica* (Bischoff and Hofmann: unit added during the twelfth century)

Fols 3r–30v Bede's Martyrology

Fols 31r–33v *De locis sanctis* (additional)

Fols 31r–73v Augustine's *Soliloquies*

Description: Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 522.

Detailed description: Bernhard Bischoff and Josef Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani: Die würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg 6 (Würzburg: F. Schöningh, 1952), 34–5, 125; Hans Thurn, *Die Pergamenthandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek*, vol. 3, part 1: Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), 38–9.

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.50

s. ix^{med}

Mainz

Digital reproduction: https://doi.org/10.48651/franconica-9198896131982

Texts immediately surrounding:

Fol. 1r prayers (additional)

Fol. 1v list of thieves in the area of Mainz (additional)

Fols 2r–32v Bede's Martyrology

Description: Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 522.

Detailed description: Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, 47, 135; Thurn, *Pergamenthandschriften*, III.1, 39.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Car. C. 176

s. ix^{3/4} (Hoffmann: s. ix^{3/3}–x; Mohlberg: s. x–xi)

(?South)eastern Francia

Texts immediately surrounding:

>   Fols 102r–112r Pope Gregory I, *Libellus responsionum*
>
>   Fol. 112v *Hymnus in palmis: Rex Christe factor omnium*
>
>   Fols 113–136 Bede's Martyrology (incomplete)
>
>   Fols 137–143 canons of 847 Council of Mainz (incomplete)

Description: Bischoff, *Katalog*, ed. Ebersperger, III, 539.

Detailed description: Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, vol. 1: mittelalterliche Handschriften (Zurich, 1951), 146–9; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts im südwesten des deutschen Reichs*, Schriften der MGH 53 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004), 359–60.

Appendix B: Transcriptions and Translations

BL Add. MS 19725, fols 2v–4v

Cum igitur fere in omnibus paginis eloquentie diuine hoc inditum fore co*n*perim*us* . ut d*eu*m ex tota affectione anim*e*\i/ diligamus . ut ex proximu*m* s<i>cut nosmet ipsos caritatis amplectemus amore studeamus omnimodis ut ne sup*er*bia qu*ę* mater est omniu*m* uicioru*m*. Inrep*et* animum n*ostru*m . et dicatur nobis . D*eu*s sup*er*bis resistit . Et iteru*m* . D*ominu*s alta a longe cognoscit . Sed econtra sermo diuinus ad nos humiliatos dirigat dicens . Su*per* humilem et quiete*m* . et tremente*m* sermones meos requiescam . et illud . Humilibus inquit . dat d*eu*s gratia*m* . Cauenda nec minus est inuidia . p*ro* qua . cain . abel primu*m* fratre*m* interemit . Quia putredo uirtutu*m* . est inuidia . Iuxta q*uo*d scriptu*m* est . Putredo ossum . inuidia . De qua et dicit . Inuidia . diaboli . mors in hunc mundu*m* intrauit . Detestanda e*st* enim . p*er*nitiosa discordia . qu*ę* bona*m* caritate*m* fraternitatis . uidetur resistere . Utiq*ue* qui caritati resistit . d*e*o resistere non ambiguu*m* e*st*. Quia io<ha>nne adtestante . d*eu*s caritas est. Nam idem ioh*ann*es de tali facinore . Est ait peccatum da mortem . Non dico ut quis oret pro eo . Heu qua*m* duru*m* peccatu*m* e*st* uiolacio caritatis . Si se non correctus ad satisfaccione*m* penitentie cito confluxerit . pro quo nec dignu*m* uideatur . d*e*i implorare . clementia*m* . Respuenda deniq*ue* est nefaria pollutio sordidissime fornicacionis et luxur<i>e de qua manifestissime ap*ostolu*s dicit . Fornicatores . et adulteros . d*eu*s iudicabit . Et iteru*m* . Omne peccatu*m* quodcu*mq*ue fecerit homo . extra corpus e*st* . Qui aute*m* fornicatur . in corpus suu*m* peccit . De quibusda*m* ista sectantibus . sub ordine constituti ecl*ę*siastico . dicit beatus agustinus . Quid inquit tibi re uera cu*m* feminis . qui ad altare cu*m* d*omi*no fabularis ? Cu*m* proximat stipula igne*m* . Incendit ferinas mentes . libido domat . Nec dauid sanctior . es . nec salomone sapiencior . nec quia memb*u*\r/u*m* es Chr*ist*i . membru*m* esse contendat diaboli . Sicut ap*ostolu*s dicit . Qui adheret meretici . unum corpus facit . Qui aute*m* ad*d*\h/eret d*omi*no unus sp*iritu*s est . Ebrietas absit a nobis . Quia ebriosi . regnu*m* d*e*i non

possidebunt . Et beato agustino teste . Graue uicium est . In quo ita nequam homo sensu alienatus efficitur ut nec creatorem suum agnoscere queat . et maculas delicti . deflere minime curet . Et dies ultimus . tamquam fur in nocte ueniens quem dominus dormientem in sopore . nequitię inuenerit . Necat . et ad tartara inferi nescientem subito rapiat . Nam qui fornicatur . mortuus et sepultus est . De ipsis enim qui penitentiam agere recusant . euangelicus sermo . sub certa assertione dicit . Quod eis non remittetur . neque in hoc seculo . neque in futuro - noxu his peccatii . Uana gloria . procul a nobis fiat . de qua diabolus Christum ausus est temptare . quando illi suasit de pinnaculo templi in aera suspendi . et de qua protoplastum nostrum adam fefellit . promittens eidem futurum esse dicens . Eritis sicut dii . Quia quantum e\s/e quisque esse meliorem ceteris putauerit . tanto deterior inuenietur . Sicit ille phariseus qui supra publicanum de meritis suis se extollebat . repudiatus a deo est . et publican<...?> confitens . iustificatus . Pestis auaricie . non nominetur in nobis . que excecat . homines . ne pura caritate studeant uidere deum . Quid auaro infelicius est . de quo scriptum est . semper auarus eget ? Et omnis auarus . cecus est . Quia quicquid uidetur abere . ad id animum non reflec<ti>t . sed semper anhelat ad cetera adquirenda . Etiam si totum mundum sub dicione sua teneret . nec suffecisset ei Nec mirum cum deus qui est totius bonitatis summa in quo omnes thesauri sapientię et scientie dei reconditi sunt non ei sufficit . quanto minus mundiales diuicię ! Fraus uel aliquod ingenium turpe erga quemquam . nec machinare aliquis presumat . Quia de talibus dicit psalmographus . Uiri sanguinum et dolosi non dimidiabunt dies suos . Falsitas et mendacium . non adhereat nobis . Quia ut scriptum est testis fallax . non erit inpunitus . et mendacium . a diabolo processit . quia ipse ab inicio mendax est . Et in ueritate non stetit . Detractiones uel uerba obscęna . nobis omnimodis uitanda sunt . quia iuxta domini uocem . de omni uerbo ocioso quod locuti fuerint homines . reddent racionem in die iudicii . Sepi etiam iuxta hieronimum aures tuas spin<i>s . id est . ne alios detrahis . nec alios detrahentes audias Hec et his similibi perpenden<t>es fratres . karissimi . mundemus nos ab omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus . ut in die terribili examinis . cum domino <g>audere merea<mur?> per secula semper. Quapropter quia

antiquus hostis inuidie cęcitatis adstrictus . die noctu *que* non cessat fideles p*er*sequi . Uigilemus operibus bonis et c*om*mendantes nosmet ipsos in oracionib*us* et elemosinis assiduis . ut iuxta ap*ostolu*m . alter alterius onera portemus . Et item . alias dicit . frater a fratre adiuetur . et ambo consolabuntur . ut ad p*ro*missam felicitate*m* p*er*hennis uitę . expeditius currere ualea<us?> . Qua*m*uis ergo dilectissimi fr*atre*s . co*m*muniter ab omni<bus?> qui censentur uocabulo Chr*isti*ano . hec que p*er*strinsin<i> satagendu*m* e*st* . precipue tamen a nobis qui sacerdotali ordine predici sumus . qui secundu*m* dominica*m* uoce*m* . sumus sal terre debe\i/mus esse ceteris condim<entam?> et exemplu*m* bonoru*m* accionu*m* . Ne simus mercenna<rii?> sed pastores . pascentes oues Chr*isti* . Talia quippe honera . et poene inportabilia . animaduescentes k*arissi*mi . congregatis nobis in unu*m* . statuimus ut circu*m*quaq*ue* degentes . In unu*m* nos sacerdotes conuenire<t?> …

Since therefore we know that into almost every page divine eloquence has been included that we love God with all the affection of our soul, and that we embrace our neighbour just as ourselves with the affection of love, and that we avoid in every possible way pride which is the mother of all vices. It (divine speech) should creep into our minds and tell us. God resists the proud. And again. The Lord knows proud things from afar. But instead the divine word should direct us who are humbled, saying: I will rest upon the humble and the meek and the one trembling at my words. And again, to the humble, he says: God gives grace. No less to be avoided is envy, for which Cain for the first time killed his brother Abel. For envy is the putrefaction of virtue. In accordance with which is written: envy is the rottenness of the bones. About which is also said: by the envy of the Devil death came into this world. It is to be detested, namely, the pernicious discord which seems to resist the good love of brotherhood. Certainly it is not doubtful that he who resists love resists God. For John attests: God is love. For the same John concerning such a crime says it is a deadly sin. I say that nobody should pray for him. Alas, how harsh a sin is the violation of love. And if he having been corrected does not turn himself quickly to the satisfaction of penance, for which it does not seem worthy to implore the

compassion of God. To be rejected indeed is the wicked pollution most foul of fornication and luxury, about which the apostle says most clearly: God will judge fornicators and adulterers. And again. Every sin that a man does, is without the body. But he who fornicates, sins against his own body. Of those who follow these things in ecclesiastical office, blessed Augustine says: what indeed do you have to do with women, you who talk with the Lord at the altar? When straw draws near fire, it kindles. Lust conquers the minds of beasts, lust masters them. Nor are you more venerable than David nor more wise than Solomon, nor because you are a member of Christ you should strive to be a member of the Devil. As the apostle says: he who is joined to a harlot, is made one body. But he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit. Keep us from drunkenness. Because drunks will not possess the kingdom of God. And from blessed Augustine's testimony it is a serious vice. In which thus the wicked man brings about the alienation of sense so that he cannot recognize his creator and does not weep at all to address the blemishes of sin. And the last day comes as a thief in the night. He whom the Lord finds sleeping in the sleep of wickedness, he kills and suddenly carries off the unknowing to the flames of Tartarus. For he who fornicates is dead and buried. Of those who refuse to repent, the Bible in a sure assertion says that the stain of this sin will not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come. Let empty glory be made far from us, regarding which the Devil dared to tempt Christ when he urged him to hang in the air from the pinnacle of the temple, and regarding which he deceived our first man Adam promising that the same would be, saying: you shall be as gods. Because how much anyone might believe himself to be better than others, he will be found so much worse. Just as that Pharisee who extolled his virtues above the tax collector was rejected by God and the tax collector, confessing, was forgiven. Let not the pestilence of covetousness be named in us, which blinds men so that they do not desire to see God with pure love. Who is more unhappy than a greedy man, about whom is written: greed is never satisfied? And every covetous man is blind. Because he does not turn his mind to whatever he seems to have, but always gasps to acquire other things. Even if he held the whole world in his

power, it would not be sufficient for him. No wonder since God, who is the sum of all goodness, in whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge of God are hidden, does not suffice for him, much less mundane wealth! Let no one presume to devise trickery or some base plot towards anyone. Because about such the Psalmist says: bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days. Let not falsehood and lying cling to us. Because as it is written, false witness will not go unpunished and falsehood advances by the Devil, because he himself was deceitful from the beginning. And did not remain in truth. We must avoid slander or obscene words by every means, because according to the voice of the Lord, for every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give a reckoning on Judgment Day. Hedge also, according to Jerome, your ears with thorns; that is, do not disparage others nor hear others disparaging this and the like. Dearest brothers, let us cleanse ourselves of every stain of flesh and spirit, so that on the terrible day of judgment, we deserve to rejoice with the Lord forever and always. It is for this reason that our ancient enemy, bound by the blindness of his envy, by day and by night does not cease to persecute the faithful. Let us keep watch for good works and commending ourselves in constant prayers and almsgiving that according to the apostle we may bear one another's burdens. And similarly he says elsewhere, a brother should be helped by his brother and both are consoled, so that we might prevail to run unencumbered to the promised happiness of eternal life. Although, dearest brothers, we should strive together, all Christians, for these things which I have touched upon, especially so we who are endowed with the priestly order, we, who according to the voice of the Lord, are the salt of the earth and ought to be the seasoning for the others and an example of good actions. Let us not be hirelings but shepherds, feeding the sheep of Christ. Dearest brothers, recognising such almost unbearable responsibilities once we have gathered together, we should decide that we should pay attention to those others living round about. He would gather us priests into one…

Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H 410, fol. 3v

ORATIO BEDAE UENERABILIS PRESBITERI ANTE LECTIONEM .

D*omi*ne d*eu*s quies uera et aeterna et infinita sapientia depelle a me misero ignorantiae et stultitiae tenebras et tribue mihi capacitate*m* et intellectum acumen atq*ue* memoria*m* . ut possi*m* ea quae ad erudatione*m* doctrinae p*er*tinent citius retinere et retenta n*am* obliuisci . et ea ipsa bene pronuntiare . quatinus nocte*m* insipientiae euadens p*er* tuae uoluntatis semitas gradiar . aliis q*ue* etia*m* tuae rectitudinis tramite*m* insinuans uita*m* ualea*m* consequ*am* sempiternam . p*er* te chr*iste* ie*s*u qui cum d*e*o patre uiuis *et* regnas in unitate sp*iritu*s s*anct*i d*eu*s p*er* omnia saecula saeculorum . AMEN .

Prayer of Bede, venerable priest, before the reading.
Lord God, true peace and eternal and infinite wisdom, drive away from me the misery of ignorance and the blindness of stupidity. And grant me the capacity and intellect, cunning and memory, that I may retain those things which pertain to the learning of doctrine more quickly, and hold back, on the other hand, forgetfulness. And to pronounce them well, since in avoiding the night of foolishness walking along the paths of your will, even hinting at the course of your rectitude to others, I may attain eternal life. Through you Jesus Christ, who with God the father lives and reigns in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God, forever and ever. Amen.

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.50, fol. 32v (lower margin)

S*anct*a maria d*e*i genitrix et isti s*anct*i atq*ue* om*ne*s s*anct*i d*e*i in cælis et in terris intercedent p*ro* nobis ut mereamur adiuuari mundari defendi sanari . saluari . et consolari ab eo qui uiuit et regnat in s*aecu*la s*aecu*lor*um* amen .

Holy Mary, mother of God, and these saints, and all the saints of God in heaven and on earth intercede for us, so that we may deserve to be helped, cleansed, defended, healed, saved, and comforted by him who lives and reigns forever and ever, amen.

Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

Aachen, Domarchiv, MS 11 (XXII).

Avranches, Bibliothèque patrimoniale, MS 214.

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Bibl. 95.

———, MS Lit. 7.

———, MS Lit. 53.

———, MS Lit. 142.

———, MS Lit. 143.

———, MS Lit. 144.

———, MS Lit. 159.

Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 26

———, MS 37.

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1553.

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS 10127-10144.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 57.

———, MS 272.

Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.5.16.

Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 114.

———, MS 633.

———, MS 634.

Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv, Aachen Marienstift, Repertorium und Handschrift, MS 4a.

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS L.III.8.

Gotha, Forschungbibliothek, MS Membr. 1.85.

Lambach, Benediktinerstift, CmL CXXXI.

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit, MS Voss. lat. 8° 15.

Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, MS 332.

London, BL, Add. MS 14801.

——— Add. MS 16918.

——— Add. MS 16979.

——— Add. MS 19725.

——— Add. MS 23776.

——— MS Cotton Claudius A iii.

——— MS Harley 3271.

——— MS Harley 5431.

——— MS Sloane 475.

——— MS Stowe 944.

Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 836.

———, Cod. 1942.

Merseburg, Bibliothek des Domkapitels, MS 136.

Metz, Bibliothèque-médiathèque, MS 1154.

Milan, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, MS M 15.

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS X 6 sup.

Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 47.

———, MS 175.

———, MS 179.

———, MS 439.

———, MS 442.

Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H 85.

———, MS H 410.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4456.

———, Clm. 6330.

———, Clm. 14508.

———, Clm. 15818.

———, Clm. 23630.

————, Clm. 27305.

————, Clm. 28135.

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VIII C 4.

————, MS VIII C 5.

————, MS VIII C 13.

New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 1173.

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS G. 33.

————, MS M. 642.

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs 3224.

Orléans, Bibliothèque-médiathèque municipale, MS 322.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 821.

————, MS Lat. liturg. d. 43.

————, MS Lat. liturg. e. 43.

Paris, BnF, MS lat. 4613.

———— MS lat. 4995.

———— MS lat. 5552.

———— MS lat. 7530.

———— MS lat. 10837.

———— MS lat. 10910.

———— MS lat. 12052.

———— MS lat. 13745.

———— MS lat. 13746.

———— MS lat. 13875.

Pommersfelden, Graf von Schönborn–Wiesentheid, Schloßbibl., MS 340.

Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS F. 85.

Rome, Santa Sabina, MS XIV L 1.

Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, MS 132.

St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 225.

———, MS 349.

———, MS 451.

———, MS 452.

———, MS 453.

———, MS 454.

———, MS 455.

———, MS 456.

———, MS 457.

———, MS 458.

———, MS 614.

———, MS 620.

———, MS 679.

———, MS 728.

———, MS 914.

———, MS 915.

Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, MS 37.

Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS G.V.4.

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1245-597 8º.

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 510.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. H. 58.

——— MS Barb. lat. 421.

——— MS Barb. lat. 646.

——— MS Ott. lat. 3.

——— MS Ott. lat. 38.

——— MS Ott. lat. 313.

——— MS Pal. lat. 57.

——— MS Pal. lat. 574.

——— MS Pal. lat. 833.

——— MS Pal. lat. 834.

——— MS Pal. lat. 1877.

——— MS Reg. lat. 435.

——— MS Reg. lat. 438.

——— MS Vat. lat. 1351.

——— MS Vat. lat. 4885.

——— MS Vat. lat. 4928.

——— MS Vat. lat. 4958.

——— MS Vat. lat. 5419.

——— MS Vat. lat. 5949.

——— MS Vat. lat. 13501.

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXV (63).

———, MS XC (85).

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.49.

———, M.p.th.f.50.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Car. C. 176.

———, MS Rh. Hist. 28.

Printed Sources

Albers, Bruno, ed. 'Incipit ordo in monasterio qualiter a fratribus religiose ac studiose
 conservare vel domino militari oportet ad ipsum cottidie repetendo'. In
 Consuetudines Monasticae, 3:26–49. Montecassino: Typis Montis Casini, 1907.

Alcuin. *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*. Edited and translated by Peter Godman.
 Oxford Medieval Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Amalarius of Metz. *On the Liturgy*. Edited and translated by Eric Knibbs. Vol. 2. 2 vols.
 Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 36. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University
 Press, 2014.

Amiet, Robert. 'Une "Admonitio synodalis" de l'époque carolingienne. Étude critique et
 édition'. *Mediaeval Studies* 26 (1964): 12–82.

Andrieu, Michel, ed. *Les Ordines romani du haut Moyen Âge*. Vol. 3. 5 vols. Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Etudes et Documents, fasc. 24. Leuven: 'Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense' bureaux, 1951.

Becker, Gustav Heinrich, ed. *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*. Bonn: Apud M. Cohen et Filium (Fr. Cohen), 1885.

Bede. *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*. Edited and translated by Christopher Grocock and I. N. Wood. Oxford Medieval Texts. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013.

———. 'Bede, Martyrology'. Translated by Felice Lifshitz. In *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, edited by Thomas Head, 179–97. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000.

———. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Edited and translated by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford Medieval Texts. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

———. *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum: Libri Quinque, Auctore Sancto & Venerabili Bæda Presbytero Anglo-Saxone, Una Cum Reliquis Ejus Operibus Historicis in Unum Volumen Collectis*. Edited by John Smith. Cambridge: Typis Academicis, 1722.

———. 'Martyrologium, Cum Auctario, Notis et Appendicibus'. In *Venerabilis Bedæ Anglosaxonis Presbyteri Opera Omnia. Tomus Quintus*, printed by Jacques-Paul Migne, cols 797–1148. PL 94. Paris: Apud editorem, 1850.

———. 'Martyrologium Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri Ex Octo Antiquis MSS. Acceptum, Cum Auctario Flori Ex Trium Codicum Collatione Discreto'. In *Acta Sanctorum Martii*, edited by Godefroid Henskens and Daniel Papebroch, 2:v–xl. Paris and Rome: Victor Palmé, 1865.

———. *On the Nature of Things and On Times*. Translated by Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis. Translated Texts for Historians 56. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010.

———. *Opera Bedae Venerabilis Presbyteri, Anglosaxonis: Viri in Diuinis Atque Humanis Literis Exercitatisssimi: Omnia in Octo Tomos Distincta, Prout Statim Post Præfationem Suo Elencho Enumerantur. Addito Rerum & Verborum Indice Copiosissimo*. Edited by Johannes Hervagius. Vol. 3. 8 vols. Basel: Per Ioannem Heruagium, 1563.

———. *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*. Translated by Faith Wallis. Translated Texts for Historians 29. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999.

———. *Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis Viri Sua Aetate Doctissimi Opera Quotquot Reperiri Potuerunt Omnia*. Edited by Antonius Hieratus and Ioannes Gymnicus. Vol. 3. Cologne: Sumptibus Antonij Hierai & Ioannis Gymnici, 1612.

Bede and Florus. *Édition pratique des martyrologes de Bède de l'Anonyme lyonnais et de Florus*. Edited by Jacques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1976.

Bernold of Constance. *Micrologus de Ecclesiasticis Observationibus*. Edited by Jacobus Pamelius. Antwerp: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1565.

Boniface, and Lull. *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*. Edited by Michael Tangl. MGH Epistolae Selectae 1. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916.

Boretius, Alfred, ed. *Capitularia regum Francorum*. MGH Capitularia regum Francorum 1. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1883.

Brommer, Peter, ed. *Capitula Episcoporum*. MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 1. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1984.

Burchard of Worms. 'Decretorum'. In *Burchardi Vormatensis Episcopi Opera Omnia, Tomus Unicus*, printed by Jacques-Paul Migne, cols 537–1058. PL 140. Paris: Excudebat Migne, etc., 1853.

Chardonnens, Lázló Sándor, ed. *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics, 900–1100: Study and Texts*. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 153, Brill's Texts and Sources in Intellectual History 3. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007.

Charlemagne. *Die admonitio generalis Karls des Grossen*. Edited by Hubert Mordek, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, and Michael Glatthaar. MGH Fontes Iures Germanici Antiqui 16. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2012.

———. 'I. Karolus Magnus De Litteris Colendis'. In *Fuldaer Studien neue Folge*, edited by Paul Lehmann, 3–13. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse 2. Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 1927.

Choisselet, Danièle, and Placide Vernet, eds. *Les Ecclesiastica Officia cisterciens du XIIème siècle*. La Documentation Cistercienne 22. Reiningue: Documentation Cistercienne, 1989.

Chrodegang of Metz. *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Critical Texts with Translations and Commentary*. Edited and translated by Jerome Bertram. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Coens, Maurice. 'Martyrologium e codice basilicale Vaticanae nunc primum editum'. *Analecta Bollandiana* 49 (1931): 51–97.

Comestor, Peter. 'Petri Comestoris Sermones'. In *Adami Scoti Canonici Regularis Ordinis Praemonstratensis Opera Omnia… Magistri Petri Comestoris Historia Scholastica, Sermones*, printed by Jacques-Paul Migne, cols 1721–1844. PL 198. Paris: Excudebatur et venit apud J.-P. Migne, 1855.

Del Lungo, Stefano, ed. 'Itinerarium Einsidlense'. In *Roma in età carolingia e gli scritti dell'anonimo augiense: Einsiedeln, Bibliotheca Monasterii ordinis sancti Benedicti, 326 [8 Nr. 13], IV, Ff. 67v–86r*, 66–76. Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria 48. Rome: Presso la Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2004.

Dell'Oro, Ferdinando, and Placido M. Bresciani. 'Un calendario del secolo X in uso nella Basilica di San Giovanni Battista in Monza'. *Aevum* 78, no. 2 (2004): 277–340.

Dinter, Peter, ed. *Liber Tramitis Aevi Odilonis Abbatis*. CCM 10. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1980.

Dümmler, Ernst. 'Karolingische Miscellen'. *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* 6 (1866): 113–30.

Egidi, Pietro, ed. *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana*. Vol. 1: Necrologi della citta de Roma. 2 vols. Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall' Istituto Storico Italiano 44. Rome: Forzani e C. Tipografi del Senato, 1908.

Ekkehard of Aura. 'Ekkehardi Chronicon Universale ad a. 1106'. Edited by Georg Waitz. In *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, edited by Georg Heinrich Pertz, 33–231. MGH Scriptores 6. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1844.

Frutolf of Michelsberg. *Chronicles of the Investiture Contest: Frutolf of Michelsberg and His Continuators*. Translated by Thomas John Henry McCarthy. Manchester Medieval Sources. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.

Gaastra, Adriaan, ed. *Paenitentialia Italiae Saeculi XI–XII*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 156 C, Paenitentialia Franciae, Italiae et Hispaniae Saeculi VIII-XI 4. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016.

Gerchow, Jan, ed. *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen: Mit einem Katalog der Libri Vitae und Necrologien*. Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung 20. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1988.

Haddan, Arthur West, and William Stubbs, eds. *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. 3: English Church during the Anglo-Saxon Period A.D. 595–1066. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871.

Haines, Dorothy Ina, ed. and trans. S*unday Observance and the Sunday Letter in Anglo-Saxon England*. Anglo-Saxon Texts 8. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010.

Hallinger, Kassius, ed. *Consuetudines Cluniacensium Antiquiores Cum Redactionibus Derivatis*. CCM 7.2. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1983.

———, ed. *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII Monumenta Non-Cluniacensia*. CCM 7.3. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1984.

———, ed. 'De Cursu Diurno Uel Nocturno'. In *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, edited by Kassius Hallinger, 45–50. CCM 1. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963.

———, ed. *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*. CCM 1. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963.

Hallinger, Kassius and M. Wegener, eds. 'Theodomari Abbatis Casinensis Epistula Ad Karolem Regem'. In *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, edited by Kassius Hallinger, 139–75. CCM 1. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963.

Häse, Angelika, ed. *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse aus Kloster Lorsch: Einleitung, Edition, und Kommentar*. Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 42. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002.

Hilken, Charles, ed. *Memory and Community in Medieval Southern Italy: The History, Chapter Book and Necrology of Santa Maria del Gualdo Mazzocca*. Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana IV, Studies and Texts 157. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2008.

———, ed. *The Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*. Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana II, Studies and Texts 135. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2000.

Joassart, Bernard, ed. *Éditer les martyrologes, Henri Quentin et les Bollandistes, correspondance*. Tabularium Hagiographicum 5. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2009.

Kelly, Thomas Forrest, ed. *The Ordinal of Montecassino and Benevento: Breviarium Sive Ordo Officiorum, 11th Century*. Spicilegium Friburgense: Texts Concerning the History of Christian Life 45. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2008.

Keynes, Simon, ed. *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*. Vol. 26. Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996.

Kotzor, Günter, ed. *Das altenglische Martyrologium*. Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften München, 1981.

Leccisotti, D. T., ed. 'Ordo Casinensis I., Dictus Ordo Regularis (post 750)'. In *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, edited by Kassius Hallinger, 93–104. CCM 1. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963.

Lehmann, Paul, et al., eds. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*. 4 vols. Munich: Beck, 1918–2009.

Leo Marsicanus et al. *Die Chronik von Montecassino*. Edited by Hartmut Hoffmann. MGH Scriptores 34. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1980.

Loewe, Gustav, and Georg Goetz, eds. *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*. Vol. 5. Leipzig: In aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1884.

Lohier, F., and R. P. J. Laporte, eds. *Gesta Sanctorum Patrum Fontanellensis Coenobii (Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensis)*. Société de l'Histoire de Normandie. Rouen: A. Lestringant, 1936.

Mabillon, Jean, and Luc d'Achery, eds. 'Hugonis Archidiaconi Turonensis dialogus ad Fulbertum amicum suum de quodam miraculo, quod contigit in translatione Sancti Martinis'. In *Vetera Analecta*, 213–17. Paris: Montalant, 1723.

Maurus, Hrabanus. *Rabani Mauri: Martyrologium, De Computo*. Edited by John McCulloh and Wesley M. Stevens. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis 44. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979.

McKinnon, James, ed. and trans. *Source Readings in Music History*. Revised edn. Vol. 2: The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages. New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1998.

Mommsen, Theodore, ed. *Libri pontificalis*. MGH Scriptores Gesta pontificum Romanorum 1. Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1898.

Morgand, C., ed. 'Memoriale Qualiter'. In *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, edited by Kassius Hallinger, 177–289. CCM 1. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963.

Ó Riain, Pádraig, ed. *A Martyrology of Four Cities: Metz, Cologne, Dublin, Lund*. Henry Bradshaw Society 118. London: The Boydell Press, 2009.

———, ed. *Four Irish Martyrologies: Drummond, Turin, Cashel, York*. Henry Bradshaw Society 115. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002.

———, ed. *The Martyrology of the Regensburg Schottenkloster*. Henry Bradshaw Society 124. London: The Boydell Press, 2019.

Patetta, Federico, ed. 'Summulae seu definitiones de legalibus verbis'. In *Bibliotheca juridica medii aevi* II, 132–37. Bologna: In Aedibus Petri Viranum Olim Fratrum Treves, 1892.

Pokorny, Rudolph, ed. *Capitula Episcoporum*. MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 2. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2005.

———, ed. *Capitula Episcoporum*. MGH Leges, Capitula episcoporum 4. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2005.

Pope Gregory I. *Rescriptum Beati Gregorii Papae Ad Augustinum Episcopum Quem Saxoniam in Praedicatione Direxerat, Seu, Libellus Responsionum*. Edited by Valeria Mattaloni. Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Mediolatini d'Italia 43. Firenze: SISMEL, 2017.

Rauer, Christine, ed. and trans. *The Old English Martyrology: Edition, Translation and Commentary*. Anglo-Saxon Texts 10. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013.

Regino of Prüm. 'De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis et Religione Christiana, Collectus'. In *Reginonis Prumiensis Abbatis, Hucbaldi Monachi Elnonensis, Opera Omnia, Tomus Unicus*, printed by Jacques-Paul Migne, cols 185–455. PL 132. Paris: Excudebat Migne, etc., 1853.

Semmler, J., ed. 'Breviarium Ecclesiastici Ordinis (Ordo Romanus XVII)'. In *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, edited by Kassius Hallinger, 23–44. CCM 1. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963.

————, ed. 'Collectio Capitularis Benedicti Levitae Monastica (850 vel paulo ante)'. In *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, edited by Kassius Hallinger, 537–54. CCM 1. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963.

————, ed. 'Legislationis Monasticae Aquisgranensis Collectio Sancti Martialis Lemovicensis (ante 850)'. In *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, edited by Kassius Hallinger, 555–62. CCM 1. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963.

————, ed. 'Regula Sancti Benedicti Abbatis Anianensis Sive Collectio Capitularis (818/819?)'. In *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, edited by Kassius Hallinger, 503–36. CCM 1. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963.

————, ed. 'Synodi Secundae Aquisgranensis Decreta Authentica (817)'. In *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines Saeculi Octavi et Noni*, edited by Kassius Hallinger, 470–81. CCM 1. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963.

St Benedict of Nursia. *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*. Edited and translated by Timothy Fry. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1981.

Steinmeyer, Elias von, ed. *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916.

Strecker, Karl, ed. *Die Ottonenzeit*. MGH Poetae 5.1. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1937.

Symons, Thomas, ed. and trans. *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*. Medieval Classics. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953.

Ulrich of Zell. 'Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis'. In *Victoris III Romani Pontificis, Sancti Anselmi Lucensis, Opera Omnia*, printed by Jacques-Paul Migne, cols 635–778. PL 149. Paris: Excudebatur et venit apud J.-P. Migne, 1853.

Usuard. *Le Martyrologe d'Usard: texte et commentaire*. Edited by Jacques Dubois. Subsidia Hagiographica 40. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1965.

Valentini, Roberto, and Giuseppe Zucchetti, eds. *Codice topografico della città di Roma*. Vol. 2. 4 vols. Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1942.

Waddell, Chrysogonus, ed. *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter: Latin Text with English Notes and Commentary*. Studia et Documenta 12. Brecht: Citeaux, 2002.

Waitz, Georg, ed. 'Annales Aquenses'. In *Annales Aevi Suevici (Supplementa Tomorum XVI et XVII). Gesta Saec. XII. XIII. (Supplementa Tomorum XX-XXIII)*, 33–9. MGH Scriptores 24. Hannover: Hahn, 1879.

Wandalbert of Prüm. *Das Martyrologium für Kaiser Lothar I: entstanden nach 855 auf der Insel Reichenau*. Edited by Hans-Walter Stork. 2 vols. Codices e Vaticanis selecti 83. Zurich: Belser, 1997.

Webb, Diana, trans. *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy*. Manchester Medieval Sources. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.

Werminghoff, Albertus, ed. 'Concilium Aquisgranense 816'. In *Concilia Aevi Karolini (742–842). Pars I (742–817)*, 307–464. MGH Concilia 2.1. Hannover and Leipzig: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1906.

Zucchetti, Giuseppe, ed. *Il Chronicon di Benedetto Monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*. Fonti per la storia d'Italia, scrittori, secolo X–XI, pubblicate dall'Istituto Storico Italiano 55. Rome: Tip. del Senato, 1920.

Printed Secondary Literature

Achelis, Hans. *Die Martyrologien: ihre Geschichte und ihr Wert*. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse: Abhandlungen. Neue Folge 3. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1900.

Aigrain, René. *L'Hagiographie: ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire*. Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1953.

Antolín, Guillermo. *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*. Madrid: Imprenta Helénica, 1910.

Bannister, Henry Marriott. *Monumenti Vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*. Codices e Vaticanis Selecti 12. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1913.

Baroffio, Giacomo. 'Catalogare manoscritti liturgici: tipologie semplici e complesse'. In *La catalogazione dei manoscritti miniati come strumento di conoscenza: esperienze, metodologia, prospettive: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Viterbo, 4–5 marzo 2009*, edited by Silvia Maddalo and Michela Torquati, 115–26. Nuovi Studi Storici 87. Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2010.

———. 'Kalendaria Italica inventario'. *Aevum* 77, no. 2 (2003): 449–72.

Barrow, Julia. 'Ideas and Applications of Reform'. In *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c.1100*, edited by Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith, 345–62. Cambridge History of Christianity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

———. *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800–c. 1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Bartlett, Robert. *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Beeson, Charles H. 'The Manuscripts of Bede'. *Classical Philology* 42, no. 2 (1947): 73–87.

Bestul, Thomas H. 'Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing'. In *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, edited by Paul E. Szarmach and Virginia Darrow Oggins, 103–26. Studies in Medieval Culture 20. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 1986.

Biggs, Frederick M. 'Bede's Martyrologium and the Martyrologium Hieronymianum'. *Analecta Bollandiana* 134, no. 2 (2016): 241–78.

Billett, Jesse D. 'Discerning "Reform" in Monastic Liturgy (c. 750–1050)'. In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, edited by Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 415–31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

———. *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England 597–c. 1000*. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2014.

Bilotta, Maria Alessandra. 'I codici miniati in Laterano conservati nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: una prima ricognizione'. *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 10 (2003): 7–50.

Bischoff, Bernhard. *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften*. Lorsch: Verl. Laurissa, 1989.

———. 'Eine karolingische "Vita Pastoralis": "Sedulius, Carmen alpha"'. *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 37 (1981): 559–75.

———. *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*. Edited by Birgit Ebersperger. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–2014.

Bischoff, Bernhard, and Josef Hofmann. *Libri Sancti Kyliani: Die würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg 6. Würzburg: F. Schöningh, 1952.

Bloch, Herbert. *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1986.

Bolgia, Claudia, Rosamond McKitterick, and John Osborne, eds. *Rome Across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500–1400*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Bouchard, Constance B. 'Merovingian, Carolingian and Cluniac Monasticism: Reform and Renewal in Burgundy'. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41, no. 3 (1990): 365–88.

Bougard, François. 'Was There a Carolingian Italy?: Politics, Institutions and Book Culture'. In *After Charlemagne: Carolingian Italy and its Rulers*, edited by Clemens Gantner and Walter Pohl, 54–82. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Boynton, Susan. 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters'. *Speculum* 82, no. 4 (2007): 896–931.

———. *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.

———. 'Writing History with Liturgy'. In *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, edited by Robert A. Maxwell, 187–200. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.

Boynton, Susan, and Isabelle Cochelin, eds. *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny = Du coeur de la nuit à la fin du jour: les coutumes Clunisiennes au Moyen Âge*. Disciplina Monastica 3. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

Bremmer Jr, Rolf H. 'The Anglo-Saxon Continental Mission and the Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge'. In *Foundations of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Cornelis Dekker, 19–50. Medievalia Groningana New Series 9, Storehouses of Wholesome Learning 1. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.

Brenner, Elma. 'The Medical Role of Monasteries in the Latin West, c. 1050–1300'. In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, edited by Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 865–81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

British Museum. 'List of Additions to the Department of Manuscripts 1844'. In *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1841–1845*, 1–155. London: George Woodfall and Son; The Trustees, 1850.

Brommer, Peter. *Capitula Episcoporum: Die bischöflichen Kapitularien des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*. Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 43. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985.

Brown-Grant, Rosalind, Patrizia Carmassi, Gisela Drossbach, Anne D. Hedeman, Victoria Turner, and Iolanda Ventura, eds. *Inscribing Knowledge in the Medieval Book: The Power of Paratexts*. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Culture 66. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter; Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2019.

Brown, George Hardin, and Frederick M. Biggs. 'Martyrology'. In *Bede: Part 2, Fascicles 1–4*, 279–92. Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Brown, Virginia. 'A New Beneventan Calendar from Naples: The Lost "Kalendarium Tutinianum" Rediscovered'. In *Terra Sancti Benedicti: Studies in the Paleography, History and Liturgy of Medieval Southern Italy*, edited by Roger E. Reynolds, 275–360. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005.

———. *Beneventan Discoveries: Collected Manuscript Catalogues, 1978–2008*. Edited by Roger E. Reynolds. Studies and Texts 179. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012.

———. *Terra Sancti Benedicti: Studies in the Paleography, History and Liturgy of Medieval Southern Italy*. Edited by Roger E. Reynolds. Storia e Letteratura 219. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005.

Brown, Warren. *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society*. Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Bruce, Scott G. *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism: The Cluniac Tradition, c. 900–1200*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Ser 68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

———. 'Textual Triage and Pastoral Care in the Carolingian Age: The Example of the Rule of Benedict'. *Traditio* 75 (2020): 127–41.

Bruckner, Albert. *Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz, St. Gallen II*. Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica 3. Genf: Roto-Sadag, 1938.

Bugyis, Katie Ann-Marie, Margot E. Fassler, and A. B. Kraebel, eds. *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800–1500*. Writing History in the Middle Ages 3. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2017.

Cerone, Roberta. '"Regula in capitulo pronunciata fuerit": la sala capitolare nei monasteri medievali (secc. IX–XIII)'. In *Gli spazi della vita comunitaria: atti del Convegno internazionale di studio: Roma-Subiaco, 8–10 giugno 2015*, edited by Letizia Ermini Pani, 51–83. Incontri di Studio 13, De re monastica 5. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2016.

Chardonnens, Lázló Sándor. 'London, British Library, Harley 3271: The Composition and Structure of an Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Miscellany'. In *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6–8 April 2006*, edited by Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari, and M. A. D'Aronco, 3–34. Textes et études du Moyen Âge 39. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.

Christie, Neil. 'Charlemagne and the Renewal of Rome'. In *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, edited by Joanna Story, 167–82. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005.

Classen, Carl Joachim. *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes urbium in der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts*. Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 2. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1980.

Claussen, M. A. *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonicorum in the Eighth Century*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Clerck, Paul de. *La Prière universelle dans les liturgies latines anciennes: témoignages patristiques et textes liturgiques*. Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 62. Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1977.

Cochelin, Isabelle. 'Discipline and the Problem of Cluny's Customaries'. In *A Companion to the Abbey of Cluny in the Middle Ages*, edited by Scott G. Bruce and Steven Vanderputten, 204–22. Brill's Companions to European History 27. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2022.

———. 'Discussions au chapitre (IXe-XIe siècle): la place (réelle et symbolique) de l'abbé était-elle si dominante?'. *Memini. Travaux et Documents* 19–20 (2015–2016): 337–61.

———. 'Monastic Daily Life (c. 750–1100): A Tight Community Shielded by an Outer Court'. In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, edited by Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 542–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Contreni, John J. *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts*. Variorum Collected Studies Series 363. Aldershot: Variorum, 1992.

Cowdrey, H. E. J. *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.

Coz, Yann. *Rome en angleterre: l'image de la rome antique dans l'angleterre anglo-saxonne, du VIIe siècle à 1066*. Bibliothèque d'histoire médiévale 5. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2011.

Cubitt, Catherine. *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–c. 850*. Studies in the Early History of Britain. London: Leicester University Press, 1995.

———. 'Pastoral Care and Conciliar Canons: The Provisions of the 747 Council of Clofesho'. In *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, edited by John Blair and Richard Sharpe, 193–211. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992.

Dale, Johanna. *Inauguration and Liturgical Kingship in the Long Twelfth Century: Male and Female Accession Rituals in England, France and the Empire*. York: York Medieval Press, 2019.

Davis, Jennifer R. *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Davril, Anselme, Lin Donnat, Dominique Iogna-Pratt, and Eric Palazzo. 'Moines et chanoines: règles, coutumiers et textes liturgiques'. In *L'Histoire des moines, chanoines et religieux au Moyen Âge: guide de recherche et documents*, edited by André Vauchez and Cécile Caby, 71–98. L'Atelier du médiéviste 9. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

DeGregorio, Scott, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Deliyannis, Deborah Mauskopf, ed. *Historiography in the Middle Ages*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003.

De Meyier, K. A. *Codices Vossiani Latini III: Codices in Octavo*. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1977.

Dengler-Schreiber, Karin. *Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*. Studien zur Bibliotheksgeschichte 2. Graz: Akademische Druck- U. Verlagsanstalt, 1979.

Diem, Albrecht. 'Choreography and Confession: The Memoriale Qualiter and Carolingian Monasticism'. In *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (780–840): Categorizing the Church*, edited by Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward, 59–98. Medieval Monastic Studies 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 2022.

Diem, Albrecht, and Philip Rousseau. 'Monastic Rules (Fourth to Ninth Century)'. In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, edited by Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 162–94. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Diesenberger, Maximilian. 'Introduction. Making the Past in Late and Post-Carolingian Historiography'. *Medieval Worlds* 10 (2019): 2–16.

Diesenberger, Maximilian, Rob Meens, and Els Rose, eds. *The Prague Sacramentary: Culture, Religion, and Politics in Late Eighth-Century Bavaria*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016.

Dobcheva, Ivana. 'The Umbrella of Carolingian Computus'. In *La compilación del saber en la edad media/la compilation du savoir au Moyen Âge/The Compilation of Knowledge in the Middle Ages*, edited by María José Muños, Patricia Cañizares, and Cristina Martín, 211–30. Porto: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales, 2013.

Dubois, Jacques. *Les Martyrologes du Moyen Âge latin*. Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 26. Turnhout: Brepols, 1978.

———. *Martyrologes d'Usuard au Martyrologe romain: articles réédités pour son soixante-dixième anniversaire*. Abbeville: F. Paillart, 1990.

Dubois, Jacques, and Jean-Loup Lemaître, 'Les Martyrologes'. In *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale*, 103–34. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1993.

Dümmler, Ernst. *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der lateinischen Dichtungen aus der Zeit der Karolinger*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, 1881.

Dumville, David N. *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies*. Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 5. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992.

Dykmans, Marc. 'Les Obituaires romains: une définition suivie d'une vue d'ensemble'. *Studi Medievali* 19 (1978): 591–652.

Dyson, Gerald P. *Priests and Their Books in Late Anglo-Saxon England*. Anglo-Saxon Studies 34. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019.

Egidi, Pietro. 'Per la datazione del cod. Vallic. F.85'. *Bullettino della Società Filologica Romana* 7 (1905): 10–12.

Étaix, Raymond. 'Un manuel de pastorale de l'époque Carolingienne (Clm. 27152)'. *Revue Bénédictine* 91 (1981): 105–30.

Falardeau, Kate. 'Gender, Space, and Communal History in Tenth-Century Additions to the Book of Nunnaminster'. *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 11 (2022): 69–96.

Falvay, David. 'Memory and Hagiography: The Formation of the Memory of Three Thirteenth-Century Female Saints'. In *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, edited by Lucie Dolezalova, 347–64. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010.

Fassler, Margot E. 'The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History'. In *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, edited by Robert A. Maxwell, 149–72. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.

———. *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010.

Faulkner, Mark. 'The Uses of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, c. 1066–1200'. DPhil, University of Oxford, 2008.

Ferrari, Mirella. 'La biblioteca del monastero di S. Ambrogio: episodi per una storia'. In *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo: Convegno di studi nel XII centenario: 784–1984, 5–6 novembre 1984*, 82–164. Bibliotheca erudita: studi e documenti di storia e filologia 3. Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1988.

Fischer, Hans. *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*. Vol. 1, part 3: Nachträge und Indices. Bamberg: Buchner, 1908.

Flint, Valerie I. J. *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Forstner, Karl. 'Beiträge zur Erschliessung des salzburger Verbrüderungsbuches'. *Scriptorium* 57, no. 2 (2003): 173–93.

———. 'Ergänzungen zu B. Bischoffs Hss Katalog (salzburger Fragmente)'. *Scriptorium* 62, no. 1 (2008): 122–38.

Frati, Lodovico. 'Indice dei codice latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna'. *Studi Italiani di filologia classica* 16 (1908): 103–432.

Frere, Walter Howard. *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*. Vol. 1: The Kalendar. Alcuin Club Collections 28. London: Oxford University Press, 1930.

Gaiffier, Baudouin de. 'De l'usage et de la lecture du martyrologe: témoignages antérieurs au XIe siècle'. *Analecta Bollandiana* 79 (1961): 40–59.

Gallagher, John Joseph. 'Liturgy and Learning: The Encyclopaedic Function of the Old English Martyrology'. *Religions* 13 (2022): 236.

Gamber, Klaus. *Codice Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*. 2nd edn. Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia I. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1968.

Gantner, Clemens. 'A Brief Introduction to Italian Political History until 875'. In *After Charlemagne: Carolingian Italy and its Rulers*, edited by Clemens Gantner and Walter Pohl, 5–16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Gaposchkin, Cecilia. *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017.

Gatzweiler, Odilo. *Die liturgischen Handschriften des aachener Münsterstifts*. Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 10. Münster in Westf.: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926.

Geary, Patrick. 'Archival Memory and the Destruction of the Past'. In *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, 81–114. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.

———. 'Extra-Judicial Means of Conflict Resolution'. In *Writing History: Identity, Conflict, and Memory in the Middle Ages*, edited by Florin Curta and Cristina Spinei, 113–34. Florilegium Magistrorum Historiae Archaeologiaeque

Antiquitatis et Medii Aevi 10. Bucureşti - Brăila: Editura Academiei Române, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, 2012.

———. *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*. Revised edn. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

———. 'Judicial Violence and Torture in the Carolingian Empire'. In *Law and the Illicit in Medieval Europe*, edited by Ruth Mazo Karras, Joel Kaye, and E. Ann Matter, 79–88. The Middle Ages Series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

———. 'Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics'. In *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, 194–220. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994.

———. 'The Ninth-Century Relic Trade–A Response to Popular Piety?'. In *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, 177–193. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Gillon, Pierre. 'Un exemple de la communion du pratique et du sacré: la salle du chapitre en Occident'. In *Actes du colloque de Liessies-Maubeuge 26, 27 et 28 septembre 1997: 'pratique et sacré dans les espaces monastiques au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne'*, edited by Philippe Racinet, 259–344. Amiens; Lille: CAHMER; CREDHIR, 1999.

Gittos, Helen. 'Is There Any Evidence for the Liturgy of Parish Churches in Late Anglo-Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the Status of Old English'. In *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, edited by Francesca Tinti, 63–82. Anglo-Saxon Studies 6. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005.

Gittos, Helen, and Sarah Hamilton, eds. *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*. Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2016.

Glaßner, Christine. *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Melk*. Vol. 1: Von den Anfängen bis ca. 1400. Katalog- und Registerband, Denkschriften (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische

Klasse) 285. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000.

Glaßner, Christine, and Alois Haidinger. *Die Anfänge der melker Bibliothek: neue Erkenntnisse zu Handschriften und Fragmenten aus der Zeit vor 1200: Präsentiert im Rahmen der Sonderausstellung aus Anlass '1000 Jahre Ostarrichi'*. Melk: Stift Melk, Geistliches Kulturelles Zentrum, 1996.

Gneuss, Helmut. 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology'. In *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, edited by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, 91–141. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Gneuss, Helmut, and Michael Lapidge. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.

Goodson, Caroline. 'Building for Bodies: The Architecture of Saint Veneration in Early Medieval Rome'. In *Roma Felix—Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, edited by Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar, 51–80. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

———. 'Urbanism as Politics in Ninth-Century Italy'. In *After Charlemagne: Carolingian Italy and Its Rulers*, edited by Clemens Gantner and Walter Pohl, 198–218. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Graham, Timothy. 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57 and Its Anglo-Saxon Users'. In *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Their Heritage*, edited by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne, 21–70. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.

Greer, Sarah, Alice Hicklin, and Stefan Esders, eds. *Using and Not Using the Past after the Carolingian Empire c. 900–c. 1050*. London: Routledge, 2019.

Gretsch, Mechthild. 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57: A Witness to the Early Stages of Benedictine Reform in England?'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 (2003): 111–46.

Guiliano, Zachary. *The Homiliary of Paul the Deacon: Religious and Cultural Reform in Carolingian Europe*. Sermo 16. Turnhout: Brepols, 2021.

Gunn, Victoria A. 'A Case of Innovation within Generic Boundaries: Bede's Martyrology'. In *Bede's Historiae: Genre, Rhetoric and the Construction of Anglo-Saxon Church History*, 131–43. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009.

———. 'Bede and the Martyrdom of St Oswald'. In *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, edited by Diana Wood, 57–66. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993.

Haggenmüller, Reinhold. *Die Überlieferung der Beda und Egbert zugeschriebenen Bussbücher*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1991.

Hamilton, Louis I. *A Sacred City: Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh-Century Italy*. Manchester Medieval Studies. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.

Hamilton, Sarah. 'Educating the Local Clergy, c. 900–c. 1150'. *Studies in Church History* 55 (2019): 83–113.

———. 'Inquiring into Adultery and Other Wicked Deeds: Episcopal Justice in Tenth- and Early Eleventh-Century Italy'. *Viator* 41, no. 2 (2010): 21–43.

———. 'Law and Liturgy: Excommunication Records, 900–1050'. In *Using and Not Using the Past after the Carolingian Empire c. 900–c.1050*, edited by Sarah Greer, Alice Hicklin, and Stefan Esders, 282–302. London: Routledge, 2019.

———. 'Liturgy as History: The Origins of the Exeter Martyrology'. *Traditio* 74 (2019): 1–44.

———. 'Local Churches and Their Communities'. In *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900–1200*, 31–59. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013.

———. 'Pastoral Care in Early Eleventh-Century Rome'. *Dutch Review of Church History* 84 (2004): 37–56.

———. *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050*. Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Society and The Boydell Press, 2001.

———. 'The Rituale: The Evolution of a New Liturgical Book'. *Studies in Church History* 38 (2004): 74–86.

———. 'Understanding the Church's Past: Usuard's Martyrology in Tenth-and Eleventh-Century England'. *Medieval Worlds* 10 (2019): 46–60.

Hammer, Carl I. 'Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria'. *Church History* 49, no. 1 (1980): 5–17.

Harper, John. *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Hauke, Hermann. *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Clm 27270–27499*. Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis 4.5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975.

Heffernan, Thomas J., and E. Ann Matter, eds. *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2001.

Hen, Yitzhak. 'Knowledge of Canon Law Among Rural Priests: The Evidence of Two Carolingian Manuscripts from Around 800'. *Journal of Theological Studies* 50, no. 1 (1999): 117–34.

———. 'Priests and Books in the Merovingian Period'. In *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, edited by Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn, 162–76. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.

———. 'The Romanization of the Frankish Liturgy: Ideal, Reality, and the Rhetoric of Reform'. In *Rome across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500–1400*, edited by Claudia Bolgia, Rosamond McKitterick, and John Osborne, 111–24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Hen, Yitzhak, and Rob Meens, eds. *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*. Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Hennig, John. 'Kalendar und Martyrologium als Literaturformen'. *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 7.1 (1961): 1–44.

Hildebrandt, M. M. *The External School in Carolingian Society*. Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 1. Leiden; New York: E. J. Brill, 1992.

Hilken, Charles. 'The Origin and Function of the Medieval Chapter Room of Montecassino'. *The American Benedictine Review* 73, no. 2 (2022): 143–62.

———. 'The Scribal Record of Prayer and Work in the Chapter Room'. In *Classica Et Beneventana: Essays Presented to Virginia Brown on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, edited by Frank T. Coulson and Anna A. Grotans, 311–31. Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 36. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.

Hill, Joyce. 'Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede'. In *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, edited by Scott DeGregorio, 227–49. Medieval European Studies 7. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2006.

Hilliard, Paul. 'Bede and the Changing Image of Rome and the Romans'. In *Writing the Early Medieval West: Studies in Honour of Rosamond McKitterick*, edited by Elina Screen and Charles West, 33–48. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

———. 'Bede's Martyrology: A Resource and Spiritual Lesson'. In *Bede the Scholar*, edited by Peter Darby and Máirín MacCarron, 265–83. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023.

Hochholzer, Elmar. 'Paläographische Beobachtungen'. In *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*, edited by Johannes Nospickle, Dieter Geuenich, Elmar Hochholzer, and Joachim Wollasch, 21–50. MGH Libri Memoriales et Necrologia Nova Ser. 6. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004.

Hoffmann, Hartmut. *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Schriften der MGH 30. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986.

———. 'Italienische Handschriften in Deutschland'. *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 65 (2009): 29–82.

———. *Schreibschulen des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts im südwesten des deutschen Reichs*. Schriften der MGH 53. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004.

Holter, Kurt. 'Die Handschriften und Inkunabeln'. In *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Gerichtsbezirkes Lambach. Mit Beiträgen von Kurt Holter und Walter Luger*, edited by Erwin Hainisch, 213–70. Österreichische Kunsttopographie 34/2. Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co, 1959.

Hughes, Andrew. *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Huglo, Michel. 'L'Office de Prime au chapitre'. In *L'Église et la mémoire des morts dans la France médiévale: communications présentées à la table Ronde du C.N.R.S., le 14 juin 1982*, edited by Jean-Loup Lemaître, 11–18. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1986.

Howe, John. *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons*. Middle Ages Series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Inguanez, Mauro. *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus: Cura et Studio Monachorum S. Benedicti Archicoenobi Montis Casini*. Vol. 1: codd. 1–200. Montecassino, 1915.

Irving, Andrew J. M. 'Lector, si adesses! Liturgy and Strategies of History Writing in Medieval Southern Italy'. In *Political Liturgies in the High Middle Ages: Beyond the Legacy of Ernst H. Kantorowicz*, edited by Pawel Figurski, Johanna Dale, and Pieter Byttebier, 165–92. Medieval and Early Modern Political Theology 4. Turnhout: Brepols, 2021.

———. 'Mass by Design: Design Elements in Early Italian Mass Books'. In *Scribes and the Presentation of Texts (from Antiquity to c. 1550): Proceedings of the 20th Colloquium of the Comité international de paléographie latine*, edited by Consuelo Dutschke, Ray Clemens, and Barbara Shailor, 251–74. Bibliologia 65. Turnhout: Brepols, 2021.

James, M. R. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College*. Vol. 2, Part 1: Nos. 251–350. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911.

Jones, C. A. 'Ælfric's Pastoral Letters and the Episcopal Capitula of Radulf of Bourges'. *Notes and Queries* 240 (1995): 149–55.

Jones, Charles Williams. *Bedae Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1939.

Jong, Mayke de. 'Charlemagne's Church'. In *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, edited by Joanna Story, 103–35. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

———. *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Juste, David. *Les Manuscrits astrologiques latins conservés à la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Munich*. Centre national de la recherche scientifique, institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes: documents, études et répertoires 81. Paris: CNRS éditions, 2011.

Kantorowicz, Ernst Hartwig. *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958.

———. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997 [1957].

Keefe, Susan A. *A Catalogue of Works Pertaining to the Explanation of the Creed in Carolingian Manuscripts*. Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 63. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.

———. *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*. 2 vols. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002.

Kelly, Thomas Forrest. *The Beneventan Chant*. Cambridge Studies in Music. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Kemp, E. W. 'Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints: The Alexander Prize Essay'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (1945): 13–28.

Kerff, Franz. 'Frühmittelalterliche pharmazeutische Rezepte aus dem Kloster Tegernsee'. *Sudhoffs Archiv* 67, no. 1 (1983): 111–16.

Kéry, Lotte. *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*. History of Medieval Canon Law 1. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999.

Keuffer, Max, and Gottfried Kentenich. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*. Handschriften des Historischen Archivs 8. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973.

Kinney, Dale. 'Fact and Fiction in the Mirabilia Urbis Romae'. In *Roma Felix— Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, edited by Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar, 235–52. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Kirchner, Joachim. *Scriptura Latina Libraria: A Saeculo Primo Usque Ad Finem Medii Aevi; LXXVII Imaginibus Illustrata*. Munich: In Aedibus R. Oldenbourg, 1955.

Kitzinger, Ernst. 'A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art'. *The Art Bulletin* 62, no. 1 (1980): 6–19.

Klauser, Theodor. *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*. Translated by John Halliburton. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Klemm, Elisabeth. *Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*. Vol. 1. Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München 2. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004.

Kohl, Thomas. 'Presbyter in parochia sua: Local Priests and Their Churches in Early Medieval Bavaria'. In *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, edited by Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn, 50–77. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.

Körntgen, Ludger. 'Ein italienisches Bussbuch und seine fränkischen quellen. Das anonyme Paenitentiale der Handschrift Vatikan, Arch. S. Pietro H 58'. In *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken : Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Hubert Mordek, 189–205. Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte 3. Frankfurt Am Main: P. Lang, 1992.

Kottje, Raymund. 'Zur Herkunft der Handschrift Escorial, Bibl. De S. Lorenzo L III 8, aus Senlis'. *Francia - Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte* 13 (1985): 623–24.

Kotzor, Günter. 'Anglo-Saxon Martyrologists at Work: Narrative Pattern and Prose Style in Bede and the Old English Martyrology'. *Leeds Studies in English* 16 (1985): 152–73.

Kramer, Rutger. 'Monasticism, Reform, and Authority in the Carolingian Era'. In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, edited by Alison

I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 432–49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

———. 'Order in the Church: Understanding Councils and Performing Ordines in the Carolingian World'. *Early Medieval Europe* 25, no. 1 (2017): 54–69.

———. *Rethinking Authority in the Carolingian Empire: Ideals and Expectations during the Reign of Louis the Pious (813–828)*. The Early Medieval North Atlantic. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019.

Kramer, Rutger, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward. 'Institutions, Identities, and the Realization of Reform: An Introduction'. In *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (780–840): Categorizing the Church*, edited by Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward, 13–32. Medieval Monastic Studies 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 2022.

———, eds. *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (780–840): Categorizing the Church*. Medieval Monastic Studies 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 2022.

Krüger, Astrid. *Litanei-Handschriften der Karolingerzeit*. MGH Hilfsmittel 24. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2007.

Laistner, M. L. W., and H. H. King. *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1943.

Lake, Justin. 'Current Approaches to Medieval Historiography'. *History Compass* 13, no. 3 (2015): 89–109.

Langlois, Claude, and François Laplanche, eds. *La Science catholique: L''Encyclopédie théologique' de Migne (1844–1873) entre apologétique et vulgarisation*. Paris: Cerf, 1992.

Lapidge, Michael. 'Acca of Hexham and the Origin of the Old English Martyrology'. *Analecta Bollandiana* 123, no. 1 (2005): 29–78.

———. 'Some Remnants of Bede's Lost Liber Epigrammatum'. *The English Historical Review* 90, no. 357 (1975): 798–820.

Laudage, Marie-Luise.'Die Urkunden Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg (1102–1139). Mit einer Edition ausgewählter Stücke'. In *Vera Lex Historiæ: Studien zu mittelalterlichen Quellen: Festschrift für Dietrich Kurze zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 1. Januar 1993*, edited by Stuart Jenks, Jürgen Sarnowsky, and Marie-Luise Laudage, 457–94. Cologne, Vienna, Weimar: Böhlau, 1993.

Leitschuh, Friedrich. *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*. Vol. 1, part 1, series 2: liturgische Handschriften. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966.

Lemaître, Jean-Loup. 'Liber capituli, le livre du chapitre, des origines au XVIe siècle. L'Exemple français'. In *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, edited by Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, 625–48. Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48. Munich: Fink, 1984.

———. *Mourir à Saint-Martial: la commémoration des morts et les obituaires à Saint-Martial de Limoges du XIe Au XIIIe siècle*. Paris: De Boccard, 1989.

Leng, Rainer. 'Ein würzburger Necrolog aus dem 9. Jahrhundert'. *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, no. 63 (2007): 1–40.

Levison, Wilhelm. *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

Lifshitz, Felice. 'Bede, Martyrology'. In *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, edited by Thomas Head, 169–78. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000.

———. *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627–827*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006.

———. 'The Politics of Historiography: The Memory of Bishops in Eleventh-Century Rouen'. *History & Memory* 10, no. 2 (1998): 118–37.

Ling, Stephen. 'Analysing Attigny: Contextualising Chrodegang of Metz's Influence on the Life of Canons'. In *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms*, edited by Arthur Westwell, Ingrid Rembold, and Carine van Rhijn, 65–95. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023.

Litschel, Helga, ed. *900 Jahre Klosterkirche Lambach: Oberösterreichische Landesausstellung 1989. Historischer Teil. 20. Mai bis 8. Oktober 1989 im Benediktinerstift Lambach veranstaltet vom Land Oberösterreich*. Linz: Amt der Oö. Landesregierung, Abteilung Kultur, 1989.

Liu, Yin. 'Baptismal Renunciation and the Moral Reform of Charlemagne's Christian Empire'. *Traditio* 76 (2021): 117–55.

Liuzza, Roy M. 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context: A Survey and Handlist of Manuscripts'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2001): 181–230.

Lobrichon, Guy. 'Moines et clercs à Sens et Auxerre au Xe siècle: culture et société'. *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 24/25 (1989/1990): 277–94.

Loud, G. A. *Montecassino and Benevento in the Middle Ages: Essays in South Italian Church History*. Collected Studies CS673. Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2000.

Lowe, E. A. *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*. Vol. 1. 11 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934.

———. *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*. Vol. 8. 11 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.

———. *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd edn. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 34. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1980.

Lynch, Joseph H. *Christianizing Kinship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018 [1998].

MacLean, Simon. 'The Carolingian Past in Post-Carolingian Europe'. In *'The Making of Europe': Essays in Honour of Robert Bartlett*, edited by John Hudson and Sally Crumplin, 11–31. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Maniaci, Marilena, and Giulia Orofino. 'Making, Writing and Decorating the Bible. Montecassino, a Case Study'. In *Scribes and the Presentation of Texts (from Antiquity to c. 1550): Proceedings of the 20th Colloquium of the Comité international de paléographie latine*, edited by Consuelo Dutschke, Ray Clemens, and Barbara Shailor, 61–94. Bibliologia 65. Turnhout: Brepols, 2021.

Martimort, Aimé Georges. *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy*. Translated by Matthew J. O'Connell. Principles of the Liturgy 1. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1987.

Mattingly, Matthew. 'The Memoriale Qualiter: An Eighth Century Monastic Customary'. *The American Benedictine Review* 60, no. 1 (2009): 62–75.

Maxwell, Robert A., ed. *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.

McCarthy, Thomas John Henry. 'Denis Bethell Prize Essay: Frutolf of Michelsberg's Chronicle, the Schools of Bamberg, and the Transmission of Imperial Polemic'. *The Haskins Society Journal* 23 (2011): 51–70.

———. *Music, Scholasticism and Reform: Salian Germany, 1024–1125*. Manchester Medieval Studies. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009.

———. *The Continuations of Frutolf of Michelsberg's Chronicle*. MGH Schriften 74. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018.

McCulloh, John M. 'Did Cynewulf Use a Martyrology: Reconsidering the Sources of Fates of the Apostles'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 29 (2000): 67–83.

———. 'Historical Martyrologies in the Benedictine Cultural Tradition'. In *Benedictine Culture 750–1050*, edited by W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst, 114–31. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983.

McKitterick, Rosamond. 'Anglo-Saxon Links with Rome and the Franks in the Light of the Würzburg Book-list'. In *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections*, edited by Claire Breay and Joanna Story, 89–97. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021.

———. *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Personal Connections and Local Influences*. Vaughan Papers in Adult Education 36. Leicester: University of Leicester, 1991.

———. *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th–9th Centuries*. Variorum Collected Studies Series 452. Aldershot: Variorum, 1994.

———. 'Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of the Royal Frankish Annals'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 7 (1997): 101–29.

———. *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

———. 'Liturgy and History in the Early Middle Ages'. In *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800–1500*, edited by Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, Margot E. Fassler, and A. B. Kraebel, 23–40. Writing History in the Middle Ages 3. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2017.

———. *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*. The Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies 2004. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006.

———. *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy: The Liber Pontificalis*. The James Lydon Lectures in Medieval History and Culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

———. 'The Carolingian Renaissance of Culture and Learning'. In *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, edited by Joanna Story, 151–66. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005.

———. *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895*. Royal Historical Society Studies in History. London: Royal Historical Society, 1977.

———. 'Unity and Diversity in the Carolingian Church'. *Studies in Church History* 32: Unity and Diversity in the Church (1996): 59–82.

McLaughlin, Megan. *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Meeder, Sven. 'Monte Cassino and Carolingian Politics around 800'. In *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, edited by Rob Meens, Dorine van Espolo, Bram van den Hoven

van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn, 279–95. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

Meens, Rob. *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Meyvaert, Paul. 'Bede's Capitula Lectionum for the Old and New Testaments'. *Revue Bénédictine* 105, no. 3–4 (1985): 348–80.

Milde, Wolfgang. *Der Bibliothekskatalog des Klosters Murbach aus dem 9. Jahrhundert*. Beihefte zum Euphorion, Heft 4. Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag, 1968.

Miller, Carol Lynn. 'The Old High German and Old Saxon Charms. Text, Commentary and Critical Bibliography'. PhD, Washington University in St. Louis, 1963.

Ministre de l'instruction publique. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*. Vol. 1. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1849.

Mohlberg, Leo Cunibert. *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*. Vol. 1: mittelalterliche Handschriften. Zurich, 1951.

Mordek, Hubert. *Bibliotheca Capitularium Regum Francorum Manuscripta: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*. MGH Hilfsmittel 15. Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1995.

Morris, Colin. 'The Papal Reform 1046–1073'. In *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, 79–108. Oxford History of the Christian Church. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Nelson, Janet L. 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: I, Ends and Beginnings'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 1–21.

———. *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne*. London: Allen Lane, 2019.

———. 'The Franks, the Martyrology of Usuard, and the Martyrs of Cordoba'. In *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, edited by Diana Wood, 67–80. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993.

Newton, Francis. 'The Desiderian Scriptorium at Monte Cassino: The "Chronicle" and Some Surviving Manuscripts'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976): 35–54.

———. *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*. Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Noble, Thomas F.X. 'Topography, Celebration, and Power: The Making of a Papal Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries'. In *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws, and Carine van Rhijn, 45–92. Transformation of the Roman World 6. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Novokhatko, Ekaterina. 'At the Crossroads of Textual Transmission: Catalano-Septimanian Martyrologies and New Research Questions'. *Gazette du livre médiéval* 65 (2019): 16–43.

Ó Carragáin, Éamonn, and Carol Neuman de Vegvar, eds. *Roma Felix—Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Ó Riain, Pádraig. *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies*. Subsidia Hagiographica 86. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2006.

Osborne, John. 'Framing Sacred Space: Eleventh-Century Mural Painting in the Churches of Rome'. *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 30 (2004): 137–51.

Ortenberg, Veronica. 'The Anglo-Saxon Church and the Papacy'. In *The English Church & the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, edited by C. H. Lawrence, 29–62. Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999.

———. *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual, and Artistic Exchanges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Ottosen, Knud. *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993.

Overgaauw, Eef A. 'Les Deux recensions de la lettre-préface d'Usuard à Charles le chauve et les trois recensions de son martyrologe'. *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin Du Cange)* 48–49 (1989–1988): 85–101.

———. 'L'Office du chapitre dans l'ordre dominicain d'après le "prototype" et d'autres sources du xiiie siècle'. In *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine: le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1*, edited by Leonard E. Boyle and Pierre-Marie Gy, 301–18. Collection de l'École française de Rome 327, Documents, études et répertoires 67. Rome; Paris: École française de Rome; CNRS, 2004.

———. *Martyrologes manuscrits des anciens diocèses d'Utrecht et de Liège*. 2 vols. Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen 30. Hilversum: Verloren, 1993.

Palazzo, Eric. *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*. Translated by Madeleine Beaumont. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998.

Pansters, Krijn, ed. *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 93. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020.

Parkes, Henry. 'Henry II, Liturgical Patronage and the Birth of the "Romano-German Pontifical"'. *Early Medieval Europe* 28, no. 1 (2020): 104–41.

———. 'Questioning the Authority of Vogel and Elze's Pontifical Romano-Germanique'. In *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*, edited by Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton, 75–102. Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2016.

———. *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950–1050*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Paroubek-Groenewoud, Ria. 'Transfer of Medical Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages. Medical Texts in the Margins of a Ninth Century Non-Medical Manuscript (London BL Add 19725)'. RMA-thesis, University of Utrecht, 2019.

Patzold, Steffen. 'Correctio an der Basis: Landpfarrer und ihr Wissen im 9. Jahrhundert'. In *Karolingische Klöster: Wissentransfer und kulturelle Innovation*, edited by

Julia Becker, Tino Licht, and Stefan Weinfurter, 227–54. Materiale Textkulturen 4. Berlin, Munich, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015.

———. 'Pater noster: Priests and the Religious Instruction of the Laity in the Carolingian populus christianus'. In *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, edited by Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn, 199–221. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.

Patzold, Steffen, and Carine van Rhijn. 'The Carolingian Local Ecclesia as a "Temple Society"?'. *Early Medieval Europe* 29, no. 4 (2021): 535–54.

Paxton, Frederick S. *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1990.

———. 'Death by Customary at Eleventh-Century Cluny'. In *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny = Du coeur de la nuit à la fin du jour: les coutumes Clunisiennes au Moyen Âge*, edited by Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, 297–318. Disciplina Monastica 3. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

———. *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages = Le Rituel de la mort à Cluny au Moyen Âge central*. Translated by Isabelle Cochelin. Disciplina Monastica 9. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

Pfaff, Richard William. 'Bede Among the Fathers? The Evidence from Liturgical Commemoration'. In *Studia Patristica XXVIII: Papers Presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1991*, edited by Elizabeth A. Livingstone, 225–29. Leuven: Peeters, 1993.

———. *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England*. Oxford Theological Monographs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

———. *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Pohl, Walter, Clemens Gantner, Cinzia Grifoni, and Marianne Pollheimer-Mohaupt, eds. *Transformations of Romanness: Early Medieval Regions and Identities*. Millennium-Studien / Millennium Studies 71. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.

Pratt, David. 'Kings and Books in Anglo-Saxon England'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 43 (2014): 297–377.

Prudlo, Donald S. *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2015.

Quentin, Henri. *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Âge: étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain*. 2nd edn. Études d'histoire des dogmes et d'ancienne littérature ecclésiastique. Paris: J. Gabalda & Cie, 1908.

Rand, Edward Kennard. *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*. Publication (Mediaeval Academy of America) 3. Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929.

Rankin, Susan. 'Notker Bibliothecarius'. In *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800–1500*, edited by Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, Margot E. Fassler, and A. B. Kraebel, 41–58. Writing History in the Middle Ages 3. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2017.

———. *Sounding the Word of God: Carolingian Books for Singers*. The Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies 2017. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2022.

Rasmussen, Niels Krogh. 'Célébration episcopale et célébration presbyterale: un essai de typologie'. In *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, 581–603. Spoleto: Presso la sede del centro, 1987.

Rauer, Christine. 'Usage of the Old English Martyrology'. In *Foundations of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker, 125–46. Medievalia Groningana New Series 9, Storehouses of Wholesome Learning 1. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.

Reynolds, Roger E. 'A South Italian Liturgico-Canonical Mass Commentary'. *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988): 626–70.

———. 'South Italian Liturgica and Canonistica in Catalonia (New York, Hispanic Society of America Ms. HC 380/819)'. *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987): 480–95.

Rhijn, Carine van. 'Carolingian Rural Priests as Local (Religious) Experts'. In *Gott handhaben: Religiöses Wissen im Konflikt um Mythisierung und Rationalisierung*, edited by Steffen Patzold and Florian Bock, 131–46. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016.

———. '"Et hoc considerat episcopus, ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiothae": Carolingian local correctio and an unknown priests' exam from the early ninth century'. In *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, edited by Rob Meens, Dorine van Espolo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn, 162–80. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

———. 'Introduction: Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms'. In *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms*, edited by Arthur Westwell, Ingrid Rembold, and Carine van Rhijn, 1–31. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023.

———. *Leading the Way to Heaven: Pastoral Care and Salvation in the Carolingian Period*. The Medieval World. London: Routledge, 2022. [accessed on Perlego].

———. 'Manuscripts for Local Priests and the Carolingian Reforms'. In *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, edited by Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn, 177–98. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.

———. 'Pastoral Care and Prognostics in the Carolingian Period: The Case of El Escorial, Real Biblioteca Di San Lorenzo, MS L III 8'. *Revue Bénédictine* 127, no. 2 (2017): 272–97.

———. 'Royal Politics in Small Worlds: Local Priests and the Implementation of Carolingian Correctio'. In *Kleine Welten: Ländliche Gesellschaften Im Karolingerreich*, edited by Thomas Kohl, Steffen Patzold, and Bernhard Zeller, 237–54. Vorträge und Forschungen 87. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2019.

———. *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*. Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 6. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.

———. 'The Local Church, Priests' Handbooks and Pastoral Care in the Carolingian Period'. In *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto Medioevo: Spoleto, 4–9 aprile 2013*, 2:689–706. Settimane 61. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2014.

———. '"Ut Missarum Preces Bene Intelligent". The Dominus Vobiscum, a Carolingian Mass Commentary for the Education of Priests'. *Revue Mabillon* 31 (2020): 7–28.

Roach, Levi. 'The Ottonians and Italy'. *German History* 36, no. 3 (2018): 349–64.

Rollason, David, A. J. Piper, Margaret Harvey, and Lynda Rollason, eds. *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*. Regions and Regionalism in History. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004.

Rose, Els, and Arthur Westwell. 'Correcting the Liturgy and Sacred Language'. In *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms*, edited by Arthur Westwell, Ingrid Rembold, and Carine van Rhijn, 141–75. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023.

Rowley, Sharon M. 'Bede in Later Anglo-Saxon England'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, edited by Scott DeGregorio, 216–28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Salmon, Pierre. *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*. 5 vols. Studi e Testi 251, 253, 260, 267, 270. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1968–1972.

———. *L'Office divin au Moyen Âge, histoire de la formation du bréviaire du IXe au XVIe siècle*. Lex Orandi 43. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967.

Saxer, Victor. 'Observations codicologiques et liturgiques sur trois sacramentaires grégoriens de la première moitié du IXe siècle: Paris Latin 2812, Vatican Ottoboni Latin 313 et Reginensis Latin 337'. *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen Âge - temps modernes* 97, no. 1 (1985): 23–43.

Scarpatetti, Beat Matthias von. *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*. Vol. 1, part 4: Codices 547–669: Hagiographica, Historica, Geographica, 8.–18. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008.

———. *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*. Vol. 2, part III/2: Codices 450–546: Liturgica, Libri Precum, deutsche Gebetbücher, Spiritualia, Musikhandschriften 9.–16. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008.

Schepens, Prosper. 'L'Office du chapitre à Prime'. *Recherches de science religieuse* 11 (1921): 222–27.

Scherrer, Gustav. *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1875.

Schmeller, Johann Andreas, Karl Felix von Halm, Friedrich Keinz, Wilhelm Meyer, and George Thomas. *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis: Secundum Andreae Schmelleri Indices / Composuerunt Carolus Halm, Fridericus Keinz, Gulielmus Meyer, Georgius Thomas*. Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis 2, part 3. Munich: Sumtibus Bibliothecae Regiae, 1878.

Scrivner, Buford. 'Carolingian Monastic Library Catalogs and Medieval Classification of Knowledge'. *The Journal of Library History (1974–1987)* 15, no. 4 (1980): 427–44.

Shepard, Mary B. 'The Relics Window of St. Vincent of Saragossa at Saint-Germain des Prés'. *Gesta* 37, no. 2 (1998): 258–65.

Skemer, Don C. '"Armis Gunfe": Remembering Egyptian Days'. *Traditio* 65 (2010): 75–106.

Smith, Julia M. H. '"Emending Evil Ways and Praising God's Omnipotence": Einhard and the Uses of Roman Martyrs'. In *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing*, edited by Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, 189–223. Studies in Comparative History 4. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003.

———. 'Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia'. In *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*,

edited by Julia M. H. Smith, 317–40. The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453 28. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

———. 'The Remains of the Saints: The Evidence of Early Medieval Relic Collections'. *Early Medieval Europe* 28, no. 3 (2020): 388–424.

Spagnolo, Antonio. *I manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona: catalogo descrittivo*. Edited by Silvia Marchi. 1st edn. Verona: Casa Editrice Mazziana, 1996.

Steele, Robert. 'Dies Aegyptiaci'. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 12, Suppl. (1919): 108–21.

Stevenson, Enrico. *Codices Palatini Latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae*. Rome: Typ. Vaticana, 1886.

Stone, Rachel. 'Exploring Minor Clerics in Early Medieval Tuscany'. *Reti Medievali Rivista* 18, no. 1 (2017): 67–97.

Story, Joanna. 'Insular Manuscripts in Carolingian Francia'. In *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections*, edited by Claire Breay and Joanna Story, 66–85. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021.

Straub, Dietmar, ed. *Tausend Jahre Oberösterreich. Das Werden eines Landes. Katalog- und Beitragsteil. Ausstellung des Landes Oberösterreich 29. April bis 26. Oktober 1983 in der Burg zu Wels*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Linz: Amt der Oö. Landesregierung, Abteilung Kultur, 1983.

Stuart, Heather. 'A Ninth Century Account of Diets and Dies Aegyptiaci'. *Scriptorium* 33, no. 2 (1979): 237–44.

Suckale-Redlefsen, Gude. 'Die Buchmalerei in Seeon zur Zeit Kaiser Heinrichs II'. In *Kloster Seeon: Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der ehemaligen Benediktinerabtei*, edited by Johannes von Malottki, 177–204. Weissenhorn: A. Konrad, 1993.

———. *Die Handschriften des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg*. Vol. 1. Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004.

Sulovsky, Vedran. 'The Sanctity of the State under Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190): Saint Charlemagne and the Sacrum Imperium'. DPhil, University of Cambridge, 2020.

Teeuwen, Mariken, and Irene van Renswoude, eds. *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 38. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.

Tessera, Miriam Rita. 'A Fragmentary Story: Episcopal Culture in Milan during Lothar I's Reign?'. In *Networks of Bishops, Networks of Texts. Manuscripts, Legal Cultures, Tools of Government in Carolingian Italy at the Time of Lothar I*, edited by Gianmarco De Angelis and Francesco Veronese, 33–65. Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2022.

Thacker, Alan. 'Bede and His Martyrology'. In *Listen, O Isles, unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, edited by Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully, 126–41. Cork: Cork University Press, 2011.

———. 'In Search of Saints: The English Church and the Cult of Roman Apostles and Martyrs in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries'. In *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, edited by Julia M. H. Smith, 247–78. The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453 28. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Thacker, Alan, and Richard Sharpe, eds. *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Thomas, Kate H. *Late Anglo-Saxon Prayer in Practice: Before the Books of Hours*. Richard Rawlinson Center Series for Anglo-Saxon Studies. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter; Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2020.

Thurn, Hans. *Die Pergamenthandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek*. Vol. 3, part 1: Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.

Tibber, P.H. 'The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c.1130–c.1210'. DPhil, University of Oxford, 1983.

Tinti, Francesca. 'Anglo-Saxon Travellers and Their Books'. In *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections*, edited by Claire Breay and Joanna Story, 168–77. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021.

———. 'England and the Papacy in the Tenth Century'. In *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947)*, edited by David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williams, 163–84. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

———. 'Introduction: Anglo-Saxon England and Rome'. In *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, edited by Francesca Tinti, 1–16. Studies in the Early Middle Ages 40. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.

———. 'Looking for Local Priests in Anglo-Saxon England'. In *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, edited by Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn, 145–61. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.

Treharne, Elaine. *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts: The Phenomenal Book*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021.

Trout, Dennis. 'A Readers' Guide'. In *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry*, 53–68. Oxford Early Christian Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Vanderputten, Steven. 'Monastic Reform from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century'. In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, edited by Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 599–617. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Veronese, Francesco. 'Rome and the Others: Saints, Relics and Hagiography in Carolingian North-Eastern Italy'. In *After Charlemagne: Carolingian Italy and Its*

Rulers, edited by Clemens Gantner and Walter Pohl, 219–49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Villefroy, Guillaume de. *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*. Vol. 4, part 3. Paris: E Typographia Regia, 1844.

Vocino, Giorgia. 'Under the Aegis of the Saints: Hagiography and Power in Early Carolingian Northern Italy'. *Early Medieval Europe* 22, no. 1 (2014): 26–52.

Vogel, Cyrille. *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*. Translated by William G. Storey, Niels Krogh Rasmussen, and John K. Brooks-Leonard. Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986.

Waagmeester, Bastiaan. 'Priests, Pastoral Compendia and the Laity in the Carolingian Local Church. The Case of Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste, Ms. 132'. In *Kleriker und Laien. Verfestigung und Verflüssigung einer Grenze im Mittelalter*, edited by Jonathan Reinert and Volker Leppin, 17–35. Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 121. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021.

Wallis, Faith. 'Medicine in Medieval Calendar Manuscripts'. In *Manuscript Sources of Medieval Medicine: A Book of Essays*, edited by Margaret R. Schleissner, 105–44. Garland Medieval Casebooks 8. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995.

———. 'The Experience of the Book: Manuscripts, Texts, and the Role of Epistemology in Early Medieval Medicine'. In *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions*, edited by Don Bates, 101–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Watkins, Oscar D. *A History of Penance: Being a Study of the Authorities*. Vol. 2: The Western Church from A.D. 450 to A.D. 1215. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920.

Webber, Teresa. 'Books and Their Use across the Conquest'. In *Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest*, edited by Tom Licence, 160–89. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014.

———. 'Monastic Space and the Use of Books in the Anglo-Norman Period'. In *Anglo-Norman Studies 36: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2013*, edited by David Bates, 221–40. Anglo-Norman Studies. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014.

———. 'The Libraries of Religious Houses'. In *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, edited by Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson, 103–21. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Welton, Megan. 'Orchestrating Harmony: Litanies, Queens, and Discord in the Carolingian and Ottonian Empires'. In *Using and Not Using the Past after the Carolingian Empire c. 900–c.1050*, edited by Sarah Greer, Alice Hicklin, and Stefan Esders, 134–53. London: Routledge, 2019.

West, Charles. 'Bishops between "Reforms" in the Long Tenth Century: The Case of Verdun'. *The Medieval Low Countries* 6 (2019): 75–94.

———. 'The Earliest Form and Function of the "Admonitio Synodalis"'. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 57, no. 1 (2023): 347–80.

West, G. V. B. 'Charlemagne's Involvement in Central and Southern Italy: Power and the Limits of Authority'. *Early Medieval Europe* 8, no. 3 (1999): 341–67.

Westgard, Joshua. 'Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age and Beyond'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, edited by Scott DeGregorio, 201–15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Westwell, Arthur. 'Ordering the Church in the Ordines Romani'. In *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World (780–840): Categorizing the Church*, edited by Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward, 425–46. Medieval Monastic Studies 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 2022.

———. 'The Dissemination and Reception of the Ordines Romani in the Carolingian Church, c. 750–900'. DPhil, University of Cambridge, 2018.

Westwell, Arthur, Ingrid Rembold, and Carine van Rhijn, eds. *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023.

Whitelock, Dorothy. 'After Bede'. In *Bede and His World: The Jarrow Lectures 1958–1978*, 1:35–50. Aldershot: Variorum, 1994.

Wickham, Chris. *Medieval Rome: Stability and Crisis of a City, 900–1150*. Oxford Studies in Medieval European History. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

———. 'The Romans According to Their Malign Custom: Rome in Italy in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries'. In *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, edited by Julia M. H. Smith, 151–68. The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453 28. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Wollasch, Joachim. 'Des fragments d'un manuscrit inédit du IXe siècle'. *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1987 (1989): 229–40.

Zeller, Bernhard, Charles West, Francesca Tinti, Marco Stofella, Nicolas Schroeder, Carine van Rhijn, Steffen Patzold, Thomas Kohl, Wendy Davies, and Miriam Czock. 'Shepherds, Uncles, Owners, Scribes: Priests as Neighbours in Early Medieval Local Societies'. In *Neighbours and Strangers: Local Societies in Early Medieval Europe*, 120–49. Manchester Medieval Studies. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020.

Ziegler, Hans-Ulrich. 'Das Urkundenwesen der Bischöfe von Bamberg von 1007 bis 1139. Mit einem Ausblick auf das Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts'. *Archiv für Diplomatik: Schriftgeschichte, Siegel, und Wappenkunde* 28 (1982): 58–189.

Electronic Resources

Barrow, Julia. 'Developing Definitions of Reform in the Church in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries'. In *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham*, edited by Ross Balzaretti, Julia Barrow, and Patricia Skinner. Past & Present Book Series. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. DOI:10.1093/oso/9780198777601.003.0037.

'Brevis'. Logeion. https://logeion.uchicago.edu/brevis.

Diem, Albrecht. 'Memoriale qualiter in monasterio religiose ac studiose conversare vel Domino militare portet idipsum cotidie repetendo'. Monastic Manuscript Project, 2019. http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/texts/Memoriale-Qualiter.html.

E-codices - Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland. https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en.

Farmer, David. 'Cyricus (Cyriacus, Quiriac, Quiricus, Cyr) and Julitta'. In *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-415.

Foot, Sarah. 'Why Were There No Martyrs in the Early English Church?'. H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 31, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge, 2020. https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:b276ff5e-66d9-426d-9a6c-5b93b14f9d83.

Grizzuti, Maria Rosaria, with Claudia Greco. 'Napoli, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Nazionale, ms._VIII.C.4 <Biblioteca farnesiana>'. ManusOnline, 2020. https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/cnmd/0000181865.

Hildemar of Corbie. 'Ch. 2, What Kind of Person the Abbot Should Be'. Translated by Mariël Urbanus, Corinna Prior, and Bruce Venarde. The Hildemar Project, 2014. http://www.hildemar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=146&catid=15&Itemid=102.

———. 'Ch. 48, On Daily Manual Work'. Translated by David Ganz. The Hildemar Project, 2014. http://www.hildemar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=99&catid=15&Itemid=102.

Iter liturgicum italicum: répertoire des manuscrits liturgiques italiens établi par Giacomo Baroffio. Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes. http://liturgicum.irht.cnrs.fr/fr/.

Kautz, Michael. 'Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. Lat. 833'. Virtuellen
   Klosterbibliothek Lorsch (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg), 2014.
   https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-
   katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_833.pdf.

———. 'Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. Lat. 834'. Virtuellen
   Klosterbibliothek Lorsch (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg), 2014.
   https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-
   katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_834.pdf.

Keats-Rohan, Katharine S. B. 'Pretiosa est in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius.
   The Chapter Book Necrologies of Mont Saint-Michel, Avranches, Bibl.
   Patrimoniale, Ms 214'. *Tabularia*, 2022. https://doi.org/10.4000/tabularia.6029.

Kidd, Peter, and Bodleian Library Staff. 'MS. Lat. liturg. d. 43'. Medieval Manuscripts
   in Oxford Libraries: A catalogue of Western manuscripts at the Bodleian
   Libraries and selected Oxford colleges, 7 January 2017.
   https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6477.

———, 'MS. Lat. liturg. e. 43', Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries: A catalogue
   of Western manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries and selected Oxford colleges, 7
   January 2017, https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6507.

Schiffmann, Konrad. *Die Handschriften der öffentl. Studienbibliothek in Linz*. Linz,
   1935. https://digi.landesbibliothek.at/viewer/image/AC04987957/1/LOG_0001/.

'St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 728'. UCLA Reichenau-St Gall Virtual Library,
   2012. https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/csg/0728/Hendrix.

'St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 914'. UCLA Reichenau-St. Gall Virtual Library,
   2012. https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/csg/0914/Hendrix.

Webber, Teresa. 'Reading in the Refectory at Reading in the Twelfth Century'. *Reading
   Medieval Studies* XLII (2016). https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.35550.

———. 'Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England from the Eleventh to
   the Thirteenth Centuries'. John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture, School of

Advanced Study, 18 February 2010, London. Recorded lecture, 51:32. https://youtu.be/8TRI5KrQ8FI?feature=shared.