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Constructing institutional identity through the cult of royal saints, c.1050-c.1200

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Abbreviations

ASC – The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

BN – Breviarium Nidrosiense

BO – Breviarium Othoniense

CN – Canones Nidrosiense

DH – De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum

EK – Epitaphium Kanuti

GH – Gesta Hamaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum

GND – Gesta Normannorum Ducum

GS – Gesta Swenomagni

HA – Historia antiquitate Regum Norwagiensum

HM – De Miraculis by Herman

HN – Historia Norwegie

GM – De Miraculis by Goscelin

NHB – Old Norwegian Homily Book

ON – Ordo Nidrosiense

PE – Passio Eadmundi

PK – Passio Kanuti

PO – Passio Olavi

TO – Tabula Othoniensis

Acknowledgements

The present thesis is the result of the contributions of many people who have provided me with practical help, with knowledge and experience, and with advice. Their kindness and generosity have shaped the progress of my studies and the final outcome, and without them I would not have been able to put together my thesis. The gratitude expressed in these acknowledgements is but a fragment of what I owe.

First of all, I want to thank my two PhD advisors, Lars Bisgaard and Lars Boje Mortensen, for their crucial role in shaping my thesis, and refining my arguments, for their good advice and for the experience and the literature they have kindly provided, and also for allowing me the possibility of beginning this thesis. I also thank my MA advisor Roman Hankeln for his enduring generosity, his assistance, his expertise, and for the skills he has taught me that allowed me to undertake this project. I thank Pilar Herráiz Oliva for the many kindnesses she has bestowed upon me in the thesis process, ranging from proofreading to help with translations, to say nothing of the insight and ideas that have helped me formulate my arguments, and without which I would have been at a loss several times.

Many people have also provided me with invaluable help in obtaining source material that allowed me to actually do the research I planned to do. In particular, I am indebted to Tore Gustavsson, Sebastián Salvadó, John Vincler and Fiona Fritz for providing me with editions, scans and pictures of primary sources that have made it possible to do this project. Others have also contributed with advice, and tips, and have offered generously of their own scholarship and their expertise, and discussed matters which have helped me in my work. I especially thank Sara Ellis Nilsson, Irene Bischoff, Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn, Christian Høgel, Rosa Rodriguez Porto, Marek Thue Kretschmer, Elizabeth Tyler, Eleanor Warren, Øystein Ekroll, Hedi Anett Øvergård Beistad, Lisa Colton and Susanna Torres Prieto.

I have also benefitted from a thriving environment of medieval studies at the Centre for Medieval Literature in Odense and I remain grateful to my colleagues for their many and various contributions to my progress. In particular, I give my thanks to Réka Forrai, Kristin Bourassa and Christian Etheridge for their kindness. I am also thankful for the help and support of my friends and family, and in particular I wish to thank Terje Breigutu Moseng, Susann Anett Pedersen, Ingrid Lunnan Nødseth, and Ragnhild Hope Birkeland. I am also deeply grateful to my parents.

Steffen Hope
Odense, September 2017

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the thesis

Introduction

This thesis takes as its starting point the cults of three royal saints in Northern Europe, which saw a surge in textual production in the period 1050-1200. These three saints are, in chronological order, Edmund Martyr of East Anglia (d.869), Olaf Haraldsson of Norway (d.1030), and Knud Svendsson of Denmark (d.1086) (henceforth called Knud Rex to distinguish him from his sainted nephew Knud Lavard whom I refer to as Knud Dux).¹ These kings all came to be venerated as saints at the religious institutions where their bodies were placed, namely at the abbey of Bury St Edmunds, the cathedral of Trondheim, and the cathedral of Odense, respectively. As the cults of these saints grew, so did the importance as cult centres for the respective religious houses which came to see themselves under the patronage of the saint in question. For the veneration of a saint's cult, texts were written which sought to extol and expound the life, death, and the qualities of the saint, and which also provided examples of the miracles that God wrought in order to demonstrate the saint's holiness. These texts – chronicles, saint-biographies, miracle accounts and liturgical offices to mention only the most important ones – belonged to different textual categories. These categories, and their methodological requirements, will be explained in detail in chapter two. That a religious institution became the cult centre of a saint meant that the saint became an intrinsic – and often primary – part of the institution's identity. Consequently, the textual production which served the cult of the saint and in which the saint was formulated by the authorities of the cult centre, also served to formulate the identity of that institution.

Thesis objectives

This thesis has two main objectives which have moved and shaped the analysis, and two secondary objectives which have informed, but neither moved nor shaped, the analysis. The first and perhaps most immediate main objective is to analyse the texts composed for the veneration of the three

¹ This is in keeping with Danish historiographical tradition: Gertz 1908-1912: 170-247.

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saints. The purpose of this analysis is to see how the saints are formulated in their respective traditions and then to see how these formulations evolve with the production of new texts and the transmission of the saint's story from one type of text to another. The foundation for this analysis is the idea that when the story of a saint is transmitted from one type of text to another, the process allows – and sometimes forces – the authorities of the cult centres to leave out those features about a saint which are retained in historiographies, but which are not useful, or which are perhaps contrary, to the way the saint is understood and formulated at the cult centre. The transmission of the saint's story, in other words, opens up for editorial processes by which the representation of the saint can be altered to suit the way the saint is understood and formulated at the cult centre. Thus, these editorial processes help to solidify an authoritative representation of the saint. This authoritative representation finds its clearest, most refined expression in the liturgical office. As Andrew Hughes points out: “In the texts of these musical genres [i.e. the liturgical chants] the essence of the liturgical celebration is crystallized and often, it seems, the most distinctive characteristics of the saint are emphasized”.²

For the way in which the saint is depicted in various texts, I talk about the saint's textual iconography, and of the saint's textual images. By textual iconography I mean those motifs and features concerning the saint which are found in texts. By textual images I mean the way the saint is formulated in specific types of texts, and since there were several types of texts in which the saint could be formulated, I here talk about textual images in plural. These terms are based on my previous work on the cult of St. Edward the Confessor,³ and are intended to underline how a textual representation of a saint is carefully constructed by the authors of the texts. The reliance of terms from art history is deliberate, and this is an attempt to highlight the relationship between text and image within a saint's cult. A similar approach has been established by Cynthia Hahn, who writes about “pictorial hagiography”.⁴ Consequently, even though my research focusses on texts rather than art, it is important to keep in mind that the way a saint is formulated in authoritative texts can sometimes manifest in the way the saint is depicted in various forms of art, such as tapestries, altar pieces, book illumination, stone carvings, and reliquaries. Since the saint's textual iconography was carefully formulated at the cult centres, my research aims to present how the changes in the iconography from one type of text to another allow us to understand in greater detail how the saint

² Hughes 1993: 375.

³ Hope 2012.

⁴ Hahn 2001: 16ff. I thank Doctor Rosa Rodriguez Porto for drawing my attention to this term.

was formulated at the cult centre, and thus to see which aspects of the saint's qualities, life, death, and associated miracles were most important in the authoritative image of the saint. This first objective of the thesis follows the work of scholars who have similarly investigated the cult of a saint through a careful textual analysis of texts written for the veneration of an institution's patron saint. I am here indebted to Kay Brainerd Slocum's monograph study of the liturgy of Thomas of Canterbury, *Liturgies in honour of Thomas Becket*, and M. Cecilia Gaposchkin's monograph study of the early formation of the cult of Louis IX of France, *The Making of Saint Louis*.⁵

While the first objective of the thesis serves to expand our understanding of the three cults, the second objective of the thesis aims at a more overarching, general purpose. This objective is to use the texts produced at these cult centres in order to identify the ways in which these texts served to formulate the institutional identity of the cult centre. Underlying this objective is the notion that a religious institution of the Middle Ages was at the same time a centre for a community as well as one member among many within the worldwide Christian church whose centre – at least in Western Christendom – was in Rome. Due to this double role of a centre and a more or less peripheral member, the institutional identity of a religious institution was shaped both by features which made it stand out among other institutions, as well as by features which connected it to other institutions and to the general history of Christianity.⁶ The religious institutions that I research in this thesis all had a role as a cult centre for a saint-king. For this reason this cult was in all three cases the most important factor which made each institution a centre for a community. I therefore analyse the texts composed at this institution in order to map how the institution itself appears in the story of its patron saint, since this would be controlled by the authorities of the cult centre. However, the cult of saints in the Middle Ages also emphasised shared features, i.e. the ways in which one patron saint could be identified according to its group, i.e. martyrs, confessors, etc. The formulation of a saint at a cult centre therefore depended to some extent on intertextuality by making use of such shared features, the nature of which will be explained in chapter 2. This intertextuality could manifest itself in borrowings from saint-texts from other cults, or it could manifest itself through musical and iconographic borrowings. Such borrowings served in part to formulate the saint of the cult centre, but also served to show that the cult centre was part of a more general Christian tradition. In this

⁵ Slocum 2004; Gaposchkin 2008.

⁶ Much valuable and important research has been done concerning the relationship between centres and peripheries within the Western, Latin Middle Ages (cf. contributions in Mortensen 2006; Antonsson and Garipzanov 2010; Garipzanov 2011; Ellis Nilsson 2015). It was also at the centre of the project Symbols that Bind and Break: <http://cultsymbols.net/project>. In my thesis, however, it is not an issue I will address extensively.

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way, an institution's double role as an individual house which also was a member of a wider tradition shaped the institution's identity. My objective is to map how the formulation and construction of this identity can be found in the texts which the institution composed for the veneration and commemoration of its patron saint. This second objective is more overarching than the first objective, and it will also be more incompletely fulfilled. This is because the identity of a saint's cult centre can not be thoroughly mapped by recourse to the cult of the patron saint alone. As shown in Susan Boynton's monograph study of the monastery of Farfa, *Shaping a monastic identity*, institutional identity is found through a holistic investigation of art, architecture, liturgy, legal texts, saint-biographies and historiographies which extend beyond the cult of the patron saint and include the veneration of other saints as well. Consequently, the present thesis will only map one aspect of the institutional identity, but a very central aspect of it. Hopefully, this investigation will then facilitate a more complete study of the ways the three institutions crafted their institutional identities. In short, I wish to explore the relationship between the formulation of the saint's story and the institutional identity of their cult centres.

As for the two secondary objectives, the first of these is the production of translations and editions for some of my primary sources. Although most of the sources I have used are available in modern editions and translations, for the liturgical sources I have mostly had to do the editing and the translating myself. These sources are the liturgical offices of Edmund, Olaf and Knud Rex, as they have been put together at their respective cult centres.⁷ In addition, I have also translated the first saint-biography of Edmund, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* (hence *PE*). For further details concerning these translations and editions, see the appendices. It has been necessary to carry out this work in order to have a solid basis for my analysis. Furthermore, through these editions and translations it will also be easier for readers and later scholars to follow my arguments, and also to correct or disagree with them. However, since the production of these editions and translations have informed but not guided the research, I consider them as a secondary objective to my thesis.

⁷ The office of Saint Olaf that I have edited and translated is put together from three thirteenth-century manuscripts, and this office – the Nidaros office, as it was used in the church province of Nidaros – is here translated and edited for the first time. A translation into English of the office for Saint Olaf in the Skara Breviary from Sweden has recently been transcribed, edited and translated by Professor Roman Hankeln, published in the booklet for the CD recording of a performance of the office by Consortium vocale Oslo and Graces & Voices, released by LAWO Classics, 2016. I am indebted to Professor Hankeln for sharing this work with me and allowing me to use that as a reference for my own work. The Nidaros office for Saint Olaf, however, differs in some ways from that in the Skara Breviary, and I my edition of the Nidaros office is therefore a needed addition to the edition of the Skara office prepared by Professor Hankeln.

My thesis does also have a second secondary objective, namely to further a reassessment of how we understand, how we talk about, and how we translate the terminology of medieval sainthood. The cult of saints as a field of study within medieval and classical studies is relatively new in a university context. Although the texts and cults of saints had by the early twentieth century been researched for centuries by the Bollandist monks in shaping the *Acta Sanctorum*, it was perhaps first with the publication of *The Legends of the Saints* by the Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye in 1905 that the saints became a subject of scholarship for their own sake.⁸ Despite the Catholic roots of the study of saints, much of the later scholarship has been marked by the Protestant backgrounds of scholars from the United Kingdom, Scandinavia, and the USA, leading to an Anglophone terminology of sainthood that is sometimes at odds with what the medieval texts themselves display. This is first of all a problem in the Anglophone world, whereas scholarship in countries with a strong Catholic tradition – such as Germany, Italy, Spain and France – is less marked by this issue. Since this thesis is in English and since I have therefore been dealing with a lot of scholarship from the Anglophone academic world, I have often found that translations into English of medieval saint texts are often not attentive enough to the complexity of the Christian vocabulary of sanctity and sainthood. My research has led me to emphasise the complexity of this vocabulary throughout my analysis. Since this issue is not one that has driven the analysis itself, but rather informed it, I consider this issue to be a secondary objective. I must also emphasise that for this issue I am indebted to Giselle de Nie's translations into English of some of the miracle collections written by Gregory of Tours.⁹ For further details, see my note on the translations in the appendices.

The selection of case studies for the present thesis

Having described the objectives of this thesis, it is time to explain why I have chosen these three case studies in order to meet the objectives presented here. I have chosen these three saint-kings, Edmund, Olaf and Knud, for four main reasons. First of all, they all embody the paradoxical role of kings who became saints, and moreover they all belong to the saint-type martyr, a saint-type whose popularity was particularly strong in Northern Europe.¹⁰ In this way, they had to be formulated in very similar ways in order to conform to their shared typology, even though these formulations came about at different times and at different localities. In this way, it should be fruitful to

⁸ Delehaye 1962.

⁹ Gregory of Tours 2015.

¹⁰ Vauchez 1997: 147ff.

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investigate both the similarities and the differences between the ways the respective cult centres have chosen to formulate their patrons. Secondly, the cults of these saints all experienced their greatest popularity and a significant textual production within a period of about hundred and fifty years, from c.1050 to c.1200. The cult of Edmund had already been founded prior to this period, but it was first in the latter half of the eleventh century that the cult was furnished with a proper liturgical office and that Bury gained its status as one of the most important cult centres of medieval England. The cult of Olaf also began slightly before this timeframe, but it was not until the establishment of the Norwegian archbishopric in the latter half of the twelfth century that his cult underwent a surge in textual output. Knud's cult was established near the middle of this timeframe and also experienced its eclipse only decades after its inception. Thirdly, these cults inhabit a shared cultural and literary geography, namely the North Sea world. Because of this, the centres of these three cults all existed within a network of mercantile, royal and ecclesiastical connections, and there was extensive contact between the three countries in question: England, Norway and Denmark. In this way, these three cults make for natural points of comparison since it might be possible to see or suggest influences, either directly or indirectly, between these cult centres. Fourthly, although these three saints are of the same type, the martyr, and of the same social standing, the king, their cult centres occupy very different roles within their respective geographies: Bury St Edmunds was a regional abbey independent from episcopal control, Trondheim was the metropolitan see for the entire Norwegian church province and with strong ties to the Augustinian order, while Saint Knud's Church in Odense was a Benedictine abbey church connected to the bishop of Odense. In this way, although these institutions had similar saints, their geographical remit and their institutional fabric differed in several ways from each other. I will be exploring the ways in which these different ecclesiastical institutions went about in constructing their institutional identity around the same type of patron saint, the martyred king.

Canon and canon formation in the texts of saints

This thesis has come about within the framework of the Centre for Medieval Literature at Syddansk Universitet in Odense, where it has been part of the research strand of canon and canon formation. In my thesis, I look at this issue from the point of view of the cult of saints, and I posit that within the various and co-existing traditions and versions of a saint's story, we can see the development a tiered canon formation, one part of which I call "high canonicity", the other part of which I call

“low canonicity”. These terms are intended to show where the different canons emerge within the hierarchy of those who venerate and participate in a saint’s cult. By “high canonicity” I mean the authorities of the cult centre itself, those who are the editors of old texts, the authors and instigators of new texts, and who are responsible for the saint’s liturgical image, which – as I posit – is the purest expression of the saint as understood and formulated at the cult centre. This thesis is, therefore, mainly concerned with the formation of the high-canonical image. By “low canonicity”, on the other hand, I mean the formulation or formulations of a saint which we find either 1) to be a result of a relatively unguided development of the saint’s story, often preceding the establishment of the high-canonical version, or which we find 2) in one way or another contrary to the high-canonical version, either only in certain details or in a more extensive fashion. That there existed simultaneously a plurality of versions of a saint’s story is common in the history of the cult of saints. But this plurality might sometime become clearer or more pronounced with the formation of authoritative, high-canonical traditions which emerged at the centre of the cult. I call those versions which are not authoritative “low-canonical”, even though this might sound like something of an oxymoron. I use this term to highlight that even those versions which are not accepted by the authorities of the saint’s cult centre, did have a coherence of its own and was adhered to by writers who continued this version either prior to or instead of the high-canonical image. The purpose of these two terms is to demonstrate that how people understood the saints in the Middle Ages was not static, but subject to changing and sometimes conflicting stories.

Throughout the thesis I will address issues of high and low canonicity, and we shall see how the high canon sometimes seeks to replace the low canon, and how sometimes the low canon emerges in contradiction with the high canon. We shall see how there came to exist two separate canons for the story of Saint Olaf in the way the cult centre at Trondheim did not manage to replace previous traditions even though they established their own high-canonical image of Olaf. Similarly, we shall see how Knud Rex came to be interpreted in a negative light in some of the historiographic output that was produced only a few decades after the establishment of the high canon in Odense. As for Edmund Martyr, the emergence of a low canon appears somewhat after the period covered in the chapter concerning him, but we shall nonetheless see how the high-canonical image came to be changed through impulses from texts produced outside Edmund’s cult centre at Bury St Edmunds.

Background for the thesis – historical context and key concepts

Saints in the Middle Ages

The cult of saints is a ubiquitous feature in the Christian Middle Ages and has roots going back to at least the second century of our era.¹¹ Due to this ubiquity, the cult of saints is a great vantage point for investigating several aspects of life and society in the Middle Ages, as it was something that was a part of every Christian's life regardless of his or her place in the social hierarchy. The cult of saints emerged among the Christians of the Roman Empire in the second and third centuries, and it began with the anniversaries held for those Christians who had been executed by the pagan authorities. In the earliest period of Christianity it appears that all followers of Christ were considered holy, and that "holy", *hagios*, was just what the Christians called themselves.¹² The term *hagios* is translated into Latin as *sanctus*, and it is from this term we now have "saint". With the persecutions of Christians, those who were executed by the authorities came to be regarded as having a special status and were called martyrs, witnesses, who had given their life for the faith. With time, the term "holy", once applicable to all Christians, came to be reserved for those who had shown their faith by giving their life for it, and the holy became separate from Christians in general.

The role of the saint in early Christianity was that of an ambassador between humans living on earth and God residing in Heaven. The saint listened to the prayers and supplications of the living, and then pleaded their case before God. If God was moved by the saint's presentation of the case, God would respond to the prayer and this response from God was understood as a miracle, and only God could work miracles. These miracles were often performed with the saint as the vessel for the divine power.¹³ This view of the saint as a go-between, an intercessor, between humans and God is formulated in terms of the Roman system of patrons and clients. According to this system, a man of means and education in the law would plead the cases for others as a benefice, *beneficium*, in exchange for a reward, either of money, of goods, or of public protection, i.e. an *officium*, an obligation. This system was transferred to the cult of saints, and the term *beneficium* came to represent the favour which the saint carried out for the living, in exchange of an *officium*, typically

¹¹ For overviews of the early history of the cult of saints: Brown 1981; Bartlett 2013.

¹² This is suggested by the Epistle to the Hebrews 3:1 in which the author addresses the holy brothers, and also in Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians 1:1 which is addressed to all the holy of Ephesus, presumably meaning the entire Christian congregation.

¹³ Athanasius 1980: 89.

the celebration of the saint's anniversary. From this terminology we have the liturgical office, which is the veneration performed in exchange for the benefices, the favours, of the saint. This view of the role of the saint remained a fixture in the cult of the saints throughout the Middle Ages, and remains even today.

The formulation of the saint as an intercessor and as an *advocatus* is clearly pronounced both in early Christian and medieval sources. The saint was understood as an intercessor or a consul, and Heaven was formulated as God's senate, or God's court.¹⁴ This was a transposition of the worldly order onto Heaven, and this imagery has remained since. Accordingly, the saint was not a divinity and the saints in Heaven were not a pantheon but a collegium. They were not worshipped but venerated for their support and favour towards mankind. Throughout the Middle Ages the theology of sainthood remained fairly stable, at least as it was understood by those educated in the issue. We have little way of knowing how the saints were understood outside the ecclesiastical estate until rather late in the medieval period, but the extent of pilgrimages, the votive offerings and thanksgiving donations presented at the shrines, the gathering of people of all estates at the shrine of a saint on his or her feast day, and the custom of naming children after the saint of the day they were born, all show that the saints were understood to be protectors and patrons who could affect the outcome of their prayers.

From Late Antiquity onwards up until the twelfth century, the proclamation of sainthood rested on the authority of the bishops or the episcopal synods. Before the strengthening of the political role of the Papacy following the Investiture Controversy in the 1070s, the bishops were often the most powerful ecclesiastical figures throughout Christendom. Following the common practice of the early Christian period, it was the bishop who usually proclaimed a person to be a saint. However, since the question of sainthood was a serious matter and since venerating a sinner as a saint was considered a grave offense, the proclamation of sainthood became increasingly centralised through the convening of episcopal synods. At the start of the period with which we are concerned in this thesis, the bishop had sufficient authority to proclaim someone to be a saint – this is what happened with Olaf. Increasingly, however, it was seen as an extra benefit to have papal acknowledgement of

¹⁴ In book II of his *Liber Peristephanon*, the poet Prudentius (d.c.405) refers to Heaven as a senate and St. Laurentius as an eternal consul (Prudentius 1953: 140). The term *curia celestis* is ubiquitous in saint-texts from the Middle Ages, especially in liturgical chant. Cf. the following chants in the CANTUS database: CID 203929 (antiphon for St. Nicasius in an MS from Cambrai c.1230; CID 206121 (antiphon for St. Emeric in an MS from Esztergom c.1360); and CID 830429 (hymn for the 11 000 virgins in an MS from St. Gallen c.980).

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a local saint's sanctity, and in the case of Knud Rex we see that even though he was already proclaimed a saint by the Danish bishops, envoys were sent to the pope to obtain papal acknowledgement of Knud's status as a saint. This meant that Knud Rex was listed in the canon of saints, hence the term "canonisation". For the significance of this, see the section on the canonisation of Knud in chapter 5. In the course of the twelfth century, the papacy increasingly sought to control the veneration of new saints, and with the papacy of Alexander III (1159-81) new saints were required – by custom if not by canon law – to have papal recognition.¹⁵ Papal approval for sainthood was not codified by canon law until 1234.¹⁶

Royal saints

A saint was a person who had been elected to become holy by God already before the person was born. This was in keeping with the words of God to Jeremiah in Jeremiah 1:5, namely that before Jeremiah was formed in the womb, he was known by God. However, to be recognised as a saint by humans, the saint needed to display certain incontrovertible signs of holiness. Consequently, even though a saint was a saint while still living, the signs needed could only securely be set down after the saint was dead. Such signs could be a life of good works in accordance with Christ's teachings in the gospels, often marked by charitable deeds, self-negation, and displays of Christian qualities such as humility, generosity, truthfulness and sexual constancy. To be a saint one had to imitate the life and – especially – the death of Christ. Since the cult of saints had emerged from the persecution of Christians, martyrdom was the primary form of *imitatio Christi*, the imitation of Christ. Due to the Christianisation of the Roman Empire and the spread of Christianity throughout Europe, the persecutions ceased and martyrdoms became very rare. Consequently, new saints emerged such as the doctors of the church (theologians), and the confessors who, in the words of Gregory the Great, displayed their faith in Christ through the quality of their life but were prohibited from martyrdom due to the lack of persecutions.¹⁷

Christian sainthood put an emphasis on asceticism and humility, and for this reason sainthood was at odds with temporal kingship in which opulence and hierarchical status were crucial factors. Paradoxically, however, it was often thought that saints belonged to families of royal extraction.

¹⁵ For the history of papal canonisation: Kemp 1948; Vauchez 1997.

¹⁶ Ellis Nilsson 2015: 36.

¹⁷ Gregory the Great 2002: 160-61.

This was because qualities of holiness were understood in the same terms as the dignity of one's station, it was something that was imprinted in one's person and could not be infused at a later date. Those saints who more directly belonged to royal families were mostly women such as queens or daughters of kings, since it was considered easier for a royal woman to conform to Christian living than a royal man. Even so, kings who were considered saints appear already in the sixth century with St. Sigismund of Burgundy (d.523).¹⁸ The reason why Sigismund could bridge the gap between temporal kingship and eternal sainthood was that he was martyred and thus relinquished – however involuntarily – his temporal kingship. This relinquishing of royal power was what allowed later kings to be recognised as saints as well.¹⁹

Although to give up one's life for the sake of Christ was the ultimate relinquishing of royal power, this was often preceded by a relinquishing of royal comforts, of royal pride, of royal riches, and in the saint-biographies a royal saint was presented as having lived a life of asceticism, humility and generosity. This also allowed kings who were not martyred to be recognised as saints, namely the confessor-kings. The holiness of a king's kingship, however, was in either case measured by its conformity to the biblical ideal of the *rex iustus*, the just king, who was based on the good qualities of Old Testament kings such as David's piety, Solomon's wisdom, peacemaking and prosperity, the building and restoration of temples and churches of Josiah, and the removal of heathen practices of Hezekiah.²⁰ By adhering to the standards set out by the Old Testament king, a Christian king could be recognised as a saint. As with other saints, however, the best proof of someone's sainthood were the miracles which God performed in order to confirm the sainthood of someone. These miracles could be performed by God in the saint's lifetime, but it was usually the miracles worked after the saint had died which were considered the ultimate proofs.

Saint-kings had long had a place in the medieval catalogue of saints, but never as a type of its own. Saint-kings were saints as confessors or martyrs who happened to have been saints – and whose relinquishing of royal status had made the sanctity perhaps more impressive. The emergence of new saint-kings was often related to historical contexts of conflict. The cult of Edmund emerged in the context of the Danish raids and settlements in England in the late ninth century. The cult of Olaf

¹⁸ Folz 1984: 23.

¹⁹ Ridyard 1988: 74ff.

²⁰ David, Josiah and Hezekiah were listed by Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel (c.760-c.840) in his treatise *Via Regia*, considered to be an early example of the *speculum regale* genre (Eberhardt 1977: 225; 523). Cf. Foerster 2009: 84ff.

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came about in the aftermath of a battle for the Norwegian throne and due to the quickly rising opposition against the Danish overlordship of Norway.²¹ The cult of Knud Rex came about after the death of the ostensibly unpopular King Oluf Hunger. In many cases, the cult of royal saints can be connected to conflicts in areas where Christianity had relatively recently been introduced and where polarisation between Christianity and the old religion or old customs was a source of conflict. This can be seen in the case of St. Stephen of Hungary (d.1038) and SS Boris and Gleb (early eleventh century) in Kievan Rus. The martyrdom of Knud Rex belongs to this interpretation to some extent, as his introduction of the tithe-system, which broke with established custom, was seen as a major cause for the rebellion which resulted in his death in 1086. His murderers were, however, not pagan. Also, the martyrdom of Saint Olaf was also understood in this light in the high-canonical version of his story, but, as we shall see in chapter 4, the polarisation between Christianity and heathendom was not as pronounced in the historical conflict, but rather a construct of the image of Saint Olaf in twelfth-century Trondheim.

In the twelfth century, which saw a significant number of canonisations of king-saints, the conflicts in which these new royal saints emerged were different from those in the eleventh century. First of all, the conflicts within which the cults arose were often not conflicts in which the saint-kings themselves had participated, and these were often dynastic conflicts, or conflicts between powers rather than conflicts between religions. Secondly, this meant that the canonisation of these kings were sought as a form of help to those who petitioned for the canonisation, so that those who petitioned would have an advocate in Heaven who could provide help in temporal matters, and also the status and respect – and perhaps also fear – from the opponents which a patron saint from one's own family or dynasty demanded. Having a saint in one's dynasty was namely both a question of status, but also a practical question of having an intercessor in Heaven.²²

The surge in the canonisation of saint-kings in the second half of the twelfth century is not covered in this thesis. Although Knud Rex was canonised in 1101, this is an anomaly rather than part of this trend that emerged in the wake of the canonisation of Edward the Confessor in 1161. This period,

²¹ Interestingly, in the cases of Edmund and Olaf, those who had been enemies of the kings – Danes and members of the Norwegian aristocracy – seem to have been among the first to have embraced the cult, possibly as a form of expiation (Ridyard 1988). A similar case can be seen in the embrace of the cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury by the Plantagenet dynasty.

²² Traditionally, the canonisations of kings in the twelfth century have been understood only or predominantly in terms of political expediency (Scholz 1961). As important as the political factors are, one should not forget that the princes who sought the canonisations of saints did so believing firmly in the reality of saints' intercession.

however, saw the rise of the cult of Olaf and the eclipse of the cult of Knud Rex in favour of his martyred nephew, Knud Dux. Knud Rex and Olaf also saw their cults being established within the framework of ecclesiastical institutions in the course of the twelfth century. Furthermore, the conflicts that ushered in the new canonisations of the twelfth century also affected the cults of the three saints of my thesis. For instance, the dynastic conflicts that came about following the death of Knud Dux – and which laid the foundation for his canonisation in 1169 – affected the standing of Knud Rex in twelfth-century Denmark. Similarly, the aftermath of the English civil war called the Anarchy saw King Henry II lobby for the canonisation of Edward the Confessor and saw him also engage with the cults of other English saints, including Edmund, presumably for support among the saints and those who venerated them. Furthermore, it was the canonisation of Edward the Confessor that seemingly inspired the canonisation of Charlemagne by the antipope Paschal III in 1165.²³ Moreover, in Norway, the civil war that raged between King Magnus V and Sverre Sigurdsson between 1177 and 1184, and Sverre's subsequent reign, was also a conflict between Archbishop Eystein Erlendsson (reigned 1161-88) and King Sverre, and it was this period in which the major texts regarding Saint Olaf were produced. It is against the backdrop of this historical development of the cult of saints, as well as the conflicts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that we must understand the history of the cults of the saints researched in this thesis.

Previous scholarship

Royal saints

The figure of the royal saint has been subject to many studies and several interpretation throughout the past hundred years. A lot of this work has investigated individual saints, in particular kings, within the interpretative framework of national histories, and often with a focus on the royal saints as historical agents rather than subjects of cultic veneration. This is the case with all the three saints studied in my thesis. In my investigation, however, I explore these saints solely through their roles as subjects of cultic veneration. I am therefore not concerned with their historical lives but instead with their afterlives as saints, as figures formulated through the cult of saints and as centre points in the fabric of institutional identity. Royal saints have also received much scholarly attention for their roles as cultic figures, and much scholarship has attempted to formulate overarching explanatory

²³ Hughes 1993: 408.

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models for the royal saint as phenomenon. Some early studies sought to explain the figure of the royal saint as a Christian rendition of pagan ideas of kingship. This idea was promoted by Karl Hauck who argued that the king's sanctity was connected to the bloodline.²⁴ Similarly, William Chaney argued that the saint-king was rooted in the sacral kingship of the age of migrations, thus emphasising the presumed pagan origin of the saint-king.²⁵ Hauck's thesis was challenged and refuted by Frantisek Graus,²⁶ while Chaney's argument was likewise proved to be untenable by Susan Ridyard's reappraisal of the figure of the royal saint.²⁷

Aside from question of the origin of the cult of royal saints, most scholarship has been focussed on the relationship between the king-saint and the dynasty to which he belonged. Karol Górski suggested that the cult of royal saints was a vehicle for the church to bolster weak monarchies, but Susan Ridyard has shown that this conclusion can not be supported. This is partly because the cults were not supported by the church as a nebulous monolithic figure, but rather by individual churches and abbeys operating as individual actors within an ecclesiastical and political framework. Secondly, Ridyard has demonstrated that the cult centres often bolstered these cults for their own sake, not for the sake of the monarchy.²⁸ The dynastic focus has also been prevalent in other important studies of the saint-king. In Erich Hoffmann's comparative analysis, for instance, he explained the figure of the saint-king largely in dynastic terms, interpreting the saint-king more as a legitimising figure than an agent within the medieval world-view.²⁹ This pragmatic interpretation has also been challenged by Ridyard's study, in which it becomes very clear that the saint-biographers of these royal saints – both kings and royal women – were seen as entities who still had operational impact in the world of the living.³⁰ Other studies that have also contributed to the understanding of the royal saint have often retained this dynastic focus, such as Gábor Klaniczay's landmark comprehensive study.³¹ This means that the institutional perspective on the cult of saints has not been explored in depth or with a more singular focus in the cases of the royal saints. Susan Ridyard includes the institutional perspective, but only as a part of the focus. In the most prominent studies regarding institutional identity in the cult of saints, the cults that have been investigated have

²⁴ Hauck 1958: 187-240.

²⁵ Chaney 1970.

²⁶ Graus 1965: 434ff.

²⁷ Ridyard 1988: 234ff.

²⁸ Ridyard 1988: 247ff.

²⁹ Hoffmann 1975: 205ff.

³⁰ Ridyard 1988: 96ff.

³¹ Klaniczay 2002.

not been saint-kings, and kings have mostly been important as figures of secular patronage. This can be seen in Gabrielle Spiegel's examination of the role of St. Denis and the Capetian dynasty, Amy Remensnyder's comprehensive examination of monasteries in southern France, and Susan Boynton's study on the imperial abbey of Farfa.³² One exception to this, however, is Victoria Jordan's study on the role of kingship in the legends of Edmund Martyr (as well as Edward the Confessor).³³

Another strand of scholarship concerning royal saints has approached them from the perspective of musicology, with a focus on the liturgical material composed and performed for these saint-kings, and often with a view to how kingship was formulated in a liturgical setting. A foundational study in this strand is Ernst Kantorowicz's study on *Laudes Regiae*.³⁴ Even though this study focussed on the liturgical celebration of a secular ruler, it paved the way for the consideration of liturgical expressions of kingship both secular and saintly. Examinations of the liturgical repertoires for the individual case studies of this thesis, however, did not begin with Kantorowicz. The liturgical material for the saints of this thesis was subject to investigation from the late nineteenth century, but usually within the framework of national history. These studies will be referred to in the subsections detailing the scholarship on the individual cults. As for the phenomenon of the royal saint, the first holistic, but preliminary, comparison of the liturgical repositories was undertaken by Andrew Hughes,³⁵ which provided the information available at that time, and which was based on the catalogue and study published by Robert Folz.³⁶ An essay collection examining the relationship and interfaces between kingship, sainthood and liturgical veneration was published by Roman Hankeln.³⁷ Another collection of essays exploring the liturgy of saints, among them royal saints, was published by John Bergsagel, David Hiley and Thomas Riis.³⁸ Furthermore, in the past two decades, some studies have been done into one saint's cult with a holistic perspective including both institutional identity, the role of the secular monarchy, as well as the liturgical and saint-biographical repertoire of the cults. The aforementioned studies by Slocum and Gaposchkin have provided an important methodological foundation both for my MA thesis which focussed on the

³² Spiegel 1983; Remensnyder 1995; Boynton 2006.

³³ Jordan 1995.

³⁴ Kantorowicz 1958.

³⁵ Hughes 1993: 375-424.

³⁶ Folz 1984.

³⁷ Hankeln 2009.

³⁸ Bergsagel et. al. 2015.

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texts of the cult of Saint Edward the Confessor,³⁹ and also the present work.

Edmund

The scholarship on Edmund Martyr can roughly be divided into three main strands. The first strand has been concerned with the historical context of the cult of Saint Edmund, largely focussing on the trajectory of the cult itself and the history of Bury St Edmunds. This strand is represented by studies undertaken by Blunt, McLachlan, and Ridyard, and essay collections edited by Gransden, and Licence.⁴⁰ The second strand has been concerned with the representation of Edmund in the cult material, predominantly the saint-biographies and the art historical sources. This strand is represented by studies by Whitelock, Gransden, an essay collection edited by Bale, essays by Tom Licence, and a comprehensive study by Pinner.⁴¹ The third strand has been concerned with the liturgical material of the cult of Saint Edmund. This strand is represented by studies by Thomson, Colton, and Parkes.⁴² A study comparing the liturgical material of martyr-kings Edmund and Oswald in light of the representations of violence is in preparation by Sebastián Salvadó.⁴³ These three strands have all, to various degrees, been concerned with the ways in which Saint Edmund was constructed by those who venerated him at Bury and beyond. No overarching research question has been dominating in the scholarship on Saint Edmund. The trend has rather been to work towards a more complete overview of the many sources representing the saint. In the present thesis, I touch on all of these strands by exploring both the liturgical and saint-biographical material with a view towards the community at Bury itself. I hope in this way to tie these three strands together in a way that will help future research on the cult of Saint Edmund.

Olaf

In the scholarship on Olaf there have been two focal points that has attracted the most attention. The first focal point is the several questions surrounding the saint-biography of Olaf, *Passio et Miracula beati Olavi* (hence *PO*), namely the questions of authorship, of text history, and of dating. I will flesh out the arguments of this scholarship in more detail in chapter 4, but on the whole I do not

³⁹ Hope 2012.

⁴⁰ Blunt 1969; McLachlan 1986; Gransden 1998; Licence 2014A.

⁴¹ Whitelock 1969; Gransden 1972; Gransden 1985; Bale 2009A; Licence 2014B; Licence 2014C ; Pinner 2015.

⁴² Thomson 1984; Colton 2003; Colton 2009; Parkes 2014.

⁴³ Salvadó forthcoming.

engage in the discussion itself since studies of the last two decades have provided evidence and hypotheses that are now more or less commonly accepted, though certain details might still be contentious. Important contributions to the debate concerning *PO* were made by Ekrem, Mortensen, Mortensen and Mundal, and Jirousková.⁴⁴ Another contribution by Fritz is in preparation.⁴⁵

The second focal point is the liturgical repertory for the medieval celebration of Saint Olaf. This debate is not marked by any great controversies, but is instead concerned with recovering and mapping the sources for the liturgy of Saint Olaf through investigations of fragments and analysis of the surviving liturgical texts. Through several important studies, the knowledge of the content and the geographical spread of the liturgical celebrations of Olaf in the medieval period has increased significantly in the last two decades. This recent work builds on the pioneering efforts of Reiss, Eggen, and above all Gjerløw.⁴⁶ Recent contributions were undertaken by Attinger, Iversen, Østrem, Kruckenberg and Haug, Hankeln, Brunius, and Ommundsen.⁴⁷ Scholarship on the liturgy of Saint Olaf has made several new discoveries in very recent years. This means that the cutting edge of this research is constantly moving, which in turn has as one of its result that the several of the conclusions – including my own – are in constant flux and depend on discoveries to come. The present thesis seeks to add to the discussion of this focal point by tying the liturgy into a more holistic debate on the institution of the Norwegian metropolitan church and the textual production that were a part of the same cultural programme as the liturgy.

Knud

Most scholarship centred on the figure of Knud Rex has been focussed on his historical life rather than his afterlife as a saint, and a summary of the scholarship and its interpretations up to 1986 has been provided by Carsten Breengaard.⁴⁸ The most recent scholarship on the emergence of the cult is by Sara Ellis Nilsson.⁴⁹ Those scholars who have been concerned with Knud as a saint can roughly be divided into two main strands. The first main strand is represented by studies focussing on the

⁴⁴ Ekrem 2000; Mortensen 2000; Mortensen 2006B; Mortensen 2010; Mortensen 2012; Mortensen and Mundal 2003; Jirousková 2010; Jirousková 2014A and 2014B.

⁴⁵ Fritz forthcoming.

⁴⁶ Reiss 1912; Eggen 1968; Gjerløw 1968; Gjerløw 1979.

⁴⁷ Attinger 1998; Iversen 2000; Østrem 2000; Østrem 2001; Kruckenberg and Haug 2006; Hankeln 2007; Hankeln 2009; Hankeln 2012; Ommundsen 2009; Ommundsen 2013.

⁴⁸ Breengaard 1986.

⁴⁹ Ellis Nilsson 2015.

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saint-biographies, as can be seen in the studies by Conti, Gelting, Marchlewski, Winterbottom, Fritz and Sønnesyn.⁵⁰ The second main strand has focussed on the scant liturgical material of Knud that has survived, as can be seen in studies by Bergsagel, Rasmussen, Hankeln,⁵¹ and – with an overlap between the two strands – by Sønnesyn in 2016.⁵² My present thesis is concerned with both of these strands, attempting to tie them together into a holistic representation of the early cult period.

The Present Thesis

As stated in the opening of this chapter, the present thesis is concerned with two main issues: 1) the transition of the textual image of a royal saint from saint-biography to liturgical office, and 2) how this transition, and the way in which the liturgical image contrasts with other formulations, can tell us something about the construction of institutional identity in the respective cult centres. As such, my thesis draws on previous scholarship with two key questions in mind: 1) what are the liturgical and saint-biographical repertoires of the saint in question, and 2) what do we know of the establishment and sustaining of the saint's cult at the institution where the relics of the saint were kept. In the subsequent chapters, I hope to demonstrate how my thesis engages with previous scholarship in these two recurring issues, and I hope that in the conclusions it will be clear both how my own research builds on previous scholarship and how it moves it slightly forward. My contributions to the scholarship on the three saints in question are as follows:

1) For Edmund I have made two primary texts available with translations, and I have shown – through a careful analysis of the liturgical office – how the image of Edmund formulated by Abbo of Fleury has been altered and refined according to the needs of the institution at the time of the composition of the office. This can particularly be seen by the inclusion of material later than Abbo.

2) For Olaf I have put together an edition of the liturgical office in its earliest form, mid-thirteenth-century, that we have access to today. I have shown how the image of Saint Olaf as formulated at the cult centre differs significantly from the previous tradition, and also from the later texts, and as such I have clarified the relationship between the liturgical texts and other texts.

⁵⁰ Conti 2010; Gelting 2011; Marchlewski 2012; Winterbottom 2016; Sønnesyn forthcoming.

⁵¹ Bergsagel 1980; Rasmussen 1986; Hankeln 2015; Hankeln 2016.

⁵² Sønnesyn 2016.

3) For Knud Rex I have put together an edition of his office based on the breviaries of late-medieval Odense, and also on the research by Roman Hankeln. I have furthermore brought the liturgical texts more closely into discussion with the saint-biographical material, which has been particularly needful when it comes to the texts written prior to Aelnoth's *Gesta Swenomagni* (hence *GS*).

Outline of the thesis chapters

In chapter 2, I present the methodological foundation for my thesis. Here, I describe the different types of sources I have used, and which methodological considerations they require. This means that I also go into detail about what distinguishes the different types of texts from each other, with a particular emphasis on the difference between saint-biographies and liturgy. I also provide a description and explanation of the most important liturgical text types. In chapter 3, I present my research on the cult of Saint Edmund. Since this is the case study which contains the most complete liturgical repertory, most of the chapter is dedicated to a thorough analysis of the liturgy and its relationship with the saint-biographical texts such as *PE* and Herman the Archdeacon's *De Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi* (hence *HM*). This focus is facilitated by the limited textual output prior to the composition of Edmund's liturgical office, and also by the rather uncomplicated trajectory of the development of Saint Edmund's cult. The transition from saint-biography to liturgy took place in the eleventh century, and although the cult of Saint Edmund also experienced increased textual output in the twelfth century, I have had to limit my focus to the period shortly before and around c.1100. In chapter 4, I present my research on Saint Olaf. In the case of Olaf, there emerged a significant textual tradition prior to the composition of the liturgy, and the genesis of his first saint-biography has traditionally been subject to much speculation. Due to the late consolidation of an authoritative image of Saint Olaf, and due to the disparity between the image of Saint Olaf in the first texts and the image cultivated at the court of the Norwegian archbishop, this chapter considers the development of the cult of Olaf from the mid-eleventh century to the end of the period of this thesis, i.e. c.1200. Due to the fragmentary survival of the Olaf liturgy, moreover, less material is available for a thorough discussion. In chapter 5, I present my research on Saint Knud. In this case, there is a very short period between the saint's death and the emergence of saint-biographical texts. These early texts have all survived and present a window into the early establishment of the cult. The only manuscript survivals from the liturgy of Knud Rex, however, are fragmentary, and the most comprehensive outline of the chants of the office of Saint Knud is found in late-medieval

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breviaries. This situation has limited the research into the liturgical image of Knud Rex, and so the chapter is dedicated in more detail to the texts that were composed prior to the office of Saint Knud. In chapter 6, I present the images of the saints together and compare them with each other, and how each of them display evidence for the construction of institutional identity at their respective cult centres.. In chapter 7, I present my conclusions to my research. Towards the end of the thesis are the appendices which contain the editions for *PE* and the liturgical offices for the three case studies. These are intended to make it easier to follow the discussions in the various case studies. In the analyses of the offices, I will refer to each liturgical item by numbers assigned to them in the editions in the appendices.

CHAPTER 2 – METHODOLOGY AND THEORY

Introduction

The method of this thesis is one of comparisons. First, I examine three religious institutions by comparing how they all engage with the same phenomenon: the royal saint. Secondly, in examining the way in which the individual institutions formulate their respective royal saints, I compare the types of sources used in these formulations, roughly divided into historiographical sources, saint-biographical sources, and liturgical sources. Each text type has its own modern academic tradition, and in this thesis I rely on these traditions and disciplines in order to present a more holistic approach to these cults, rather than to focus on one single aspect or theoretical framework. The comparison of these text types is founded on the theoretical assumption that different types of texts allow for – and necessitate – different textual frameworks for how to engage with saints. Furthermore, the comparative study takes the following starting point: that to take the story of the saint from one textual framework into another requires an adaptation that affects the selection of features in the formulation of the saint, and which also prepares the story for a different audience (and in the case of the liturgy, a very different performative setting). In order to explain how this adaptation is necessitated by different textual categories, I will in this chapter expound the particulars of the types of texts with which this study is engaged, to show how the frameworks of formulating a saint changes from one type of text to another, in a process that can be described as a distillation of material. Moreover, since this thesis is focussed on the ways in which these saints are used for constructing institutional identity, it will also be necessary to understand that the this construction – and the formulation of a patron saint – was a historical enterprise, one which sought to anchor an institution in the wider history and geography not only of its immediate region but of Christendom as a whole. I will therefore also provide an overview of how historical thought played a role in the cult of saints.

Institutional identity and historical thought

In the construction of its identity, a medieval religious institution – be it a monastery, the centre of a church province or a cathedral – had a wide range of methods through which its institutional

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identity could be established. An institutional identity was comprised of many facets and many aspects. Taken together, these facets and aspects sought to show both the ways in which an institution was connected to the wider world of Christendom, and also the ways in which it had features of its own which made it stand out among the other institutions in Christendom. A medieval religious institution needed to demonstrate both a connection to something that had greater antiquity – and therefore greater authority and venerability – as well as those of its features which conferred some uniqueness or individuality upon the institution in question. This double necessity had its foundation in the historical thought of medieval Christianity, and I will give a brief exposition of this thought before addressing the ways in which an institution could establish connections to other institutions and at the same time highlight those of its features which were unique.

Medieval historical understanding was heavily influenced by the way biblical history was treated in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* and Orosius's *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*. Augustine's approach to history is commonly referred to in scholarship as *Heilsgeschichte*, history of salvation. Augustine is concerned with the work of God and the deeds of holy men and women within the linear narrative of history going from Creation to Judgement Day.⁵³ Orosius' approach to history is commonly referred to as *Weltreichslehre*, the teaching of the worldly kingdoms or empires, and is concerned with the rising and passing of temporal kingdoms as is described in the biblical Books of Kings, Chronicles, and Daniel.⁵⁴ At the core of both these approaches to history is the idea that history is made up of types and anti-types, of forerunners and those who follow after, of new configurations of what has once been.⁵⁵ It was this web of typological connections which united the Jewish Tanakh with the Christian New Testament, and showed that God's plan for history could be understood in light of types and anti-types. For instance, Christ was understood as a new Adam coming to redeem what had been lost due to Adam's transgression. Since the history of the created world was subject to God's plan, this typological understanding of history also continued into the Christian centuries, and informed how medieval scholars made sense of contemporary history.⁵⁶ This understanding of history as a web of types and anti-types also affected how a medieval

⁵³ Kretschmer 2007: 232.

⁵⁴ Kretschmer 2007: 232. Cf. Goetz 1980:51; A. T. Fear's introduction in Orosius 2010: 18ff.

⁵⁵ Kretschmer 2014B.

⁵⁶ An example of this is how St. Thomas of Canterbury was depicted as a new Abel in the twelfth-century liturgical office for his feast-day according to the Sarum Breviary. In Lesson 9 of the office, it is said that the blood of a new Abel cries from the earth (Slocum 2004: 220-221).

religious institution sought to interpret its own place within the history of Christianity.⁵⁷ However, this is not to say that medieval writers of history consciously modelled themselves on either Augustine or Orosius, or that every medieval history writer knew both of them, or either. Rather, Augustine and Orosius are useful as models for how these approaches to history were systematised, and so I have mentioned them here.

There were several ways in which an institution could seek to connect itself to a forerunner. It could be done by emphasizing how an institution emulated the forerunner in question.⁵⁸ An institution could also present itself as a new configuration of an older one.⁵⁹ For instance, we see this in the liturgy of the feast of the dedication for a church, a feast celebrated throughout Western Christendom. The texts for this feast were drawn largely from the Old Testament and invoked the Temple of Solomon, which typologically connected the new church with its forerunner the temple. In addition to these typological connections, an institution could seek to draw on elements from the art, the architecture, or the liturgy of another institution in order to have some of that institution's aura of authority and antiquity conferred upon itself. Susan Boynton has very clearly shown this to be the case at the imperial monastery of Farfa which emulated Cluniac ritual seemingly to present a connection to the venerable monastery of Cluny, even though the two monasteries were independent of each other.⁶⁰ Similarly, a connection to other institutions could be established by celebrating saints whose cult centres were situated in other monasteries or cathedrals, thus establishing a link to that saint in the hope that he or she would also extend part of their patronage to an institution outside of their cult centre.

In addition to the aspects which emphasised how an institution was similar to its forerunners, there are also the aspects which were aimed to underline that which brought some degree of uniqueness or individuality to the institution in question. This can for instance be done in art and architecture by adding constructional features or works of art which make one institution stand out among others. Another way to construct institutional identity through uniqueness is by way of the cult of saints, and especially the cult of a saint who has its cult centre in that institution. Such a cult could

⁵⁷ Cf. Ganz 2017: 13.

⁵⁸ For example, some medieval churches were built to emulate the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, including the cathedral of Trondheim (Ekroll 2012; Ekroll 2016).

⁵⁹ An example of this can be seen in the cult of St. Cuthbert. The cathedral of Durham – Cuthbert's resting place after his translation from Jarrow – was presented as a new Jarrow on account of its role as Cuthbert's shrine in Symeon of Durham's (d. after 1129) *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie* (Rozier 2017: 206).

⁶⁰ Boynton 2006: 106-43.

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engender a significant corpus of texts in which the saint and its relationship to the institution would be expounded to various degrees. Such texts would include works of legal texts, historiography, saint-biographies and miracle collections, and liturgical texts for the celebration of the saint's feast-days. In this thesis, my main focus is on the latter three types of texts, for these are usually composed with some degree of interdependency: Saint-biographies and miracle collections are often used as the foundation for a liturgical office, and they are often composed with an eye towards the future composition of a liturgical office. In addition, I am dealing to some degree with historiography, since historiographical works could often build on, or inform, saint-biographies and place the stories of the saints within a wider historical context.

This thesis touches on several types of texts, and the various types of texts have particular methodological demands. Even though these texts are all parts of a unified whole of institutional identity, the individual textual categories nonetheless require different approaches. In the following sections, I wish to enter into greater detail about the methodological requirements for the three main types of text, 1) historiography, 2) saint-biographies and miracle collections, and 3) liturgical texts. I have not entered into a discussion with the way pictorial depictions of the saints add to the construction of institutional identity, simply because I do not have the space to enter into a discussion with this source material, and because most of the relevant pictorial material falls outside the timeframe of my study.

Before I go into detail about the methodological challenges posed by the different types of source material, I will emphasise one important aspect that underlies the tripartite division of sources into historiography, saint-biographies and miracle collections, and liturgical texts. Each of these groups has a different potential for how much of the saint's story can be included in a work belonging to that group. This difference comes in part down to matters of length, but it mostly depends on the issue of purpose. Simply put: A historiography and a saint-biography can be of equal length, but since the saint-biography aims to extol the qualities of the saint, the less flattering or the more mundane aspects of that saint's life – a problem especially pertinent when it comes to kings becoming saints – are likely to be excluded from the saint-biography.⁶¹ The liturgical texts are not only composed to extol the saint, they often contain less space for the story of the saint to unfold, especially the chants due to their textual brevity, and so the liturgical office tends to exclude those

⁶¹ Hope 2012: 87ff..

details which might be unproblematic enough to be part of the saint-biography, but are not needed for the more precise formulation of the saint's image that is sought by the cult centre. It is therefore the liturgical office – and the development of the story from saint-biography to liturgical office – which offers the most precise image of how the institution of the saint's cult centre understood and formulated the saint, and therefore this is a great source for the construction of institutional identity through the cult of a saint.

Historiography

The term “historiography” is a term that covers a wide variety of texts from the Middle Ages. Most commonly, this term is associated with works such as chronicles, annals, and biographies of kings or bishops, and is often set apart from works that focus more singularly on one or more saints. History was “never a formal discipline in classical or medieval education”, but instead sorted under grammar, rhetoric or ethics.⁶² The writing of history in the Middle Ages drew on a joint heritage of Hebrew and Graeco-Roman history writing, a heritage that included the Bible, Sallust, Cicero, Josephus, and also poets such as Virgil, Horatius and Lucan.⁶³ Historiography was often understood as a particular approach to writing history, subject to rules of brevity, chronology, truthfulness, and clarity inherited from Roman commentators such as Cicero.⁶⁴ However, in addition to these chronicles and biographies – annals were not subject to the same narratological considerations due to their form⁶⁵ – there were also other types of texts that gave an insight into history and the interpretation of history. Among these other forms of history writing we find the saint-biography, the miracle list, and also the adaptation of these two types of texts for liturgical use. After all, the term *historia* is understood as the texts of the divine office by which a saint's life is expounded in prose readings and chants.⁶⁶ Moreover, legal texts such as charters, donations and papal decrees were often inserted into a saint-biography because such legal texts very clearly served a purpose for the formulation of the history of the institution where the saint-biography was written. One example of the use of such texts can be found in the office for the feast of the canonisation of St. Kunigunde (can. 1200), where the canonisation decree of Pope Innocent III is used for the readings of Matins.⁶⁷

⁶² Ganz 2017: 8; 10; 14.

⁶³ Ganz 2017: 11; Haskins 1968: 224-29.

⁶⁴ Ganz 2017: 11ff.

⁶⁵ Ganz 2017: 8ff.

⁶⁶ Hughes 1982: 22; Jonsson 1968: 9. See also Petersen 2016.

⁶⁷ Hankeln 2001: 8.

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Similarly, we see in Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita Sancti Edwardi* from c.1163, where he includes a decree from Pope Leo IX which absolved Edward the Confessor from his promise to undertake a pilgrimage.⁶⁸ Aelred included this decree – genuine or forged – into the narrative to explain why the saint-king had not undertaken a pilgrimage when he had given a promise to do so.

As we see, the term history writing encompasses a wide array of texts from many different textual categories. Furthermore, the writing of history is not subject to a single textual form, or a single language. Historiographical texts were written both in Latin and in the various medieval vernaculars. Moreover, historiography could be written both in prose and in rhyme. Because of this wide variety in medieval history writing, the various texts that sort under this rather broad definition are subject to very different rules. Similarly, although both a saint-biography and a chronicle of contemporary events might be written in the same form (prose) and the same language (most often Latin), the approach to history found in each of them might differ to some extent. This is where we come back to the points made earlier about the two approaches to history as laid out by Augustine and Orosius.⁶⁹

Chronicles of contemporary events or biographies of temporal, non-sainted rulers are not void of an exegetical function and do not refrain from elaborating on God's place in history, and these features are shared between what we often call secular or worldly history and a saint-biography. However, a contemporary chronicle – such as Eadmer of Canterbury's *Historia Novorum in Anglia* or William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella* – would most frequently have as its focus the vicissitudes of kings and kingdoms in the manner of Orosius. Saint-biographies, on the other hand, followed more closely the Augustinian approach of focussing on the deeds of holy men and women, and God's performance of miracles in their honour. It is therefore chiefly in this way it makes any sense to talk separately of chronicles and saint-biographies, namely as a matter of approaching historical interpretation. In the following, therefore, I use "historiography" to talk about those texts with a wider historical and thematic scope, whose main focus is on the changing of temporal events and which thus follow more closely the Orosian approach to history, whether intentionally or not. This is then separate from the texts such as saint-biographies, miracle collections and liturgical offices, who all exemplify the Augustinian approach to history as a focus on the deeds of the holy and the works of God.

⁶⁸ Aelred of Rievaulx 2005: 157-58.

⁶⁹ Sønnesyn 2012: 78ff.

In this thesis, I engage with some historiographical writings, both in prose and in verse, both in Latin and in the vernacular. Writings such as these – chronicles, poems, worldly biographies – are important to the study of the cults of saints. Historiographical works can be used to inform a saint-biography (and subsequently a liturgical *historia*) as we see in the case of Saint Olaf where a central point of the liturgy had its foundation in Theodoricus Monachus' *Historia antiquitate Regum Norwagiensum*. Alternately, historiographical works can draw on a saint-biography and place the story of this saint within the framework of a worldly history, as we see in the case of Saint Knud Rex in works such as *Chronicon Roskildense* and Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*. Conversely, a historiographical work can add a new strand to the story of a saint, as later happened in the tradition of Edmund Martyr, whom historiographers later came to render as more active in war than the early saint-biographies had mentioned.⁷⁰ Furthermore, historiographical texts could present an image of a saint that is contrary to the image presented in saint-biographies, miracle collections and liturgical offices. An example of this is, as we shall see, how the worldly historiographies concerning Saint Olaf emphasise his engagement in warfare, while *PO* and related texts are practically completely silent on the matter.⁷¹

Historiographical works are therefore important texts when mapping the development of how a saint is understood and formulated by various authors and institutions. These historiographical works have usually an approach to history which sets them apart from the texts written for the veneration of a saint, and in this lies the main methodological issue: A worldly historiography has a purpose which is not entirely similar to that of a saint-biography, and although the two might often correspond very closely their function as texts might differ. For instance, a historiography is often more elaborate and has a wider historical vista in which the saint's story is just one part of a wider whole. They must therefore be read accordingly. Moreover, it should be added that since historiographies come in so many forms, the audiences of the various texts also vary from text to text. Often we do not know the intended audience of a historiography, and in many cases the actual audience of a historiographical text would not differ significantly from the actual audience of a saint's text. On the whole, however, a historiography would likely have a more restricted readership than a saint-biography.

⁷⁰ Pinner 2015: 86ff. This change in the understanding of Saint Edmund begins in the twelfth century and becomes more pronounced in later centuries. As such it falls outside the scope of this thesis, and I will not get into the details of it in this thesis.

⁷¹ Cf. Hope 2012: 40.

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Saint-biographical material

Texts such as saint-biographies (often collectively called *vita*), miracle-collections (often called *miracula*) and sermons were written with a purpose to extol the qualities, the deeds, the life, the death, and the piety of a saint. Moreover, their treatment of miracles associated with a saint was intended to demonstrate the favour with which God sanctified the memory of the saint in question. I therefore call these texts as a category “saint-biographical”, as they contribute to the dissemination of the biographical details of the saint. As such, they came closer to the Augustinian approach to history, focussing on the deeds of holy men and women and the works of God in their honour. These texts were written for the context of a saint’s cult, and were intended to be used in the cultic veneration of a saint. For instance, a saint-biography was read on the feast-day of the saint during chapter, in the refectory at meal-times, and of course for the readings in the liturgical office, on which I will elaborate in the next section.

Similarly, miracle-collections would also serve as reading material in chapter and in the refectory, and would often provide the basis for the liturgical chants at the office of Lauds.⁷² Such miracle-collections were often fused with the saint-biography to comprise a textual unit, as in the case of *PO*, or they could be later works written as complementary texts for the original saint-biography, as in the case of the two miracle collections of Edmund written close to a hundred years after *PE*. These miracle collections were often based on catalogues of miracles, called *schedulae*, which recorded what was reported by pilgrims or noted by clerics during the saint’s feast-days. Such catalogues would sometimes be placed at the shrine of a patron saint to serve the same purpose as the placing of various votive offerings and gifts of thanksgiving brought by pilgrims, namely to demonstrate the efficacy of the saint’s intercessions before God.⁷³ When the miracles associated with a saint recorded in the *schedula* were put into the more narrative textual framework of a saint-biography or a miracle collection these were often selections from a larger corpus of recorded healings. In this way, the narrative account would select miracles that displayed the range and also main focus of the miracles which God performed for the honour of the saint. The selection could also demonstrate the geographic range of the miracles performed for the saint, showing thereby that

⁷² It was common for posthumous miracles to be presented in the Lauds antiphons (Caldwell 2015: 281).

⁷³ Cf. Mortensen 2000.

the saint listened to prayers in places outside the cult-centre, or conversely that the saint must be approached for help at the cult centre. In most of the period covered by this thesis, it was not common to include a lengthy catalogue of miracles in a saint-biography – the exception being *PO* – since this practice only began to be necessary from the later twelfth century in those cases where the saint-biographies were presented to the Papacy with the purpose of achieving the pope's acknowledgement of the status of the saint-biography's protagonist as a saint. This was not an issue for Edmund and Olaf, who both were acknowledged as saints by local bishops in a period when this was enough to be regarded as a saint. Knud Rex, on the other hand, was acknowledged by the pope as a saint – more on this in chapter 5 – but this was an acknowledgement of what had already been established by local bishops, as it was not at that time, c.1100, customary to send for the pope's acknowledgement in the proclamation of saints. A lengthy miracle list was therefore not needed at that stage. In addition to the saint-biographies and the miracle collections, there were sermons which were given during mass on a saint's feast-day. These were based on a saint-biography and perhaps also on a miracle collection, and had an educational purpose similar to the reading of a saint-biography in chapter or the refectory. The sermon was performed during mass.

The texts I have touched on in this section were, as we have seen, all composed with an eye towards performance in a liturgical setting, either as the basis for chants and readings, or, as in the case of the sermon, for performance prefaced and followed by chants of the mass and liturgical ritual. This is also how these texts must be understood. Consequently, when we talk of the audience for texts such as saint-biographies, sermons, and miracle-collections, this is a complicated matter. On the one hand, these texts could be read and listened to as books or texts outside a liturgical setting, especially because such texts were often translated or rendered in the vernacular and could be read aloud outside monastic or ecclesiastical settings. However, since these texts were written with an eye towards liturgical performance, the texts were most certainly intended for an audience at the institution in which the saint's feast was venerated with greatest importance, i.e. at the saint's cult-centre. Texts intended for performance at the cult-centre would commonly be in Latin, although sermons could be in the vernacular, as we see with Ælfric's sermon of Saint Edmund, and also the sermon for the feast of Saint Olaf contained in the *Old Norwegian Homily Book* (hence *NHB*).

Before moving on to the next section, I will dwell a bit on the terminology used when talking about texts of the type described here. Commonly, saint-biographies, miracle-collections and sermons are

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referred to as “hagiographic texts” or “hagiographies”, words drawn from the Greek words *hagios* + *graphein* – writings of the holy. Although the term “hagiography” serves as an effective shorthand for texts treated in this section, I have avoided it in my thesis as it is problematic for three reasons: 1) The term is not a medieval term used for saint-biographies. Its earliest recorded use in English is a reference to those books of the Bible that are not labelled as the Law and the Prophets, i.e. the books of poetry and the books of history.⁷⁴ The earliest use in English for “hagiography” denoting saint-biography comes from the early nineteenth-century.⁷⁵ 2) The term “hagiography” might be used too narrowly and also too widely. It might be used too narrowly by only focussing on saint-biographies of the type traditionally called a *vita*, a description of the life, qualities and death of a saint, with some miracles usually included as evidence of sanctity. This use of “hagiography” might overlook shorter panegyric or epigraphic poetry, and also other texts that have the same purpose of veneration as a *vita* but does not fulfil the same formal expectations. On the other hand, “hagiography” might be used too widely to be used accurately, since the term might also be said to include liturgical texts and sermons, thus overshadowing the formal expectations that separate liturgy from *vitae*.⁷⁶ 3) “Hagiography” is problematic because it has often been used in scholarship in a way that is synonymous with “panegyric”, a usage that obliterates the distinction between worldly panegyric and panegyric aimed at venerating and extolling saints. The term “hagiography” is most commonly used about biographies of the saints, but this was not a term known to medieval writers of texts intended to be used in the setting of veneration of saints. Consequently, medieval writers did not compose their *vitae*, *miraculae* or sermons thinking that this was hagiography. I have therefore tried to avoid this term, and instead I refer to the types of texts by way of their function, such as “miracle collection” and “miracula”, and “sermon”. For biographies of the saints I will use “saint-biography” when talking about that textual category, and for the individual works I will use names relevant for the language in which the biography has been written, meaning “*vita*” and “*passio*” for works in Latin, *vie* for Anglo-Norman and French, *life* for Middle English, or *saga* for Old Norse.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/83243#eid2184414> – accessed 03.08.17.

⁷⁵ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/83248#eid2184756> – accessed 03.08.17.

⁷⁶ I am grateful to Doctor Sara Ellis Nilsson for reminding me that there is no sharp distinction between liturgy and hagiography.

⁷⁷ I am familiar with Thomas Heffernan’s argument in favour of substituting “hagiography” with “sacred biography” (Heffernan 1992: 15-18). I do not agree with his definitions, both because the term as he presents it does not catch the complexity of the texts written for the veneration of saints, but also because the term “sacred” confers onto the saint-biography a status as text and book it did not have (cf. Berschin 1986:3-8). Holy and sacred are not entirely synonymous, and the distinction between these two terms is obscured by the replacement of “hagiography” with “sacred

The methodology of saint-biographies, miracle collections and sermons, therefore, is to read these texts with an eye to the following issues: 1) how they are written and organised, 2) what purposes they serve within the context of a saint's cult, 3) the historical circumstances of their compositions, 4) their foundation for later texts, such as translations, adaptations and liturgical offices, and 5) their relationship to other texts related to the saint in question. These issues must be addressed in order to understand the role of a saint-biography, a miracle collection or a sermon within the cult of a saint.

Liturgical texts

The term "liturgy" comes from the Greek term *leitourgia*, whose literal meaning is "the people's public service" and is a term that has been understood very differently throughout the Christian period.⁷⁸ Most commonly, perhaps, liturgy refers to "the whole body and practice of corporate worship",⁷⁹ meaning the rituals and feasts celebrated within a religious body, such as a monastery or an ecclesiastical unit, such as a church province. Liturgy entails a combination of text and music performed in the honour of God and God's saints within the annual cycle of the church year, beginning in Advent and running through the months until the next church year. Unlike the types of text hitherto discussed, liturgical texts are subject to very strict, if varied, formal constraints, and they are usually in Latin. The liturgical texts are highly specialised in their form and their function within the general liturgical framework, and in this section I aim to provide an outline of the liturgical texts most relevant to my research and my analysis, and to demonstrate how various types of liturgical texts necessitate different methodological considerations. Before I go into detail about the types of liturgical texts themselves, I will provide an outline of the medieval liturgy, touching on those issues which are most pertinent for my analysis.

Within the cult of a saint, there are some days of the church year which are of major importance, namely the days that commemorate the anniversary of the saint's death (*dies natalis*, the heavenly birthday), and the anniversary of the saint's translation, *translatio*, which is the moving of the saint's relics to a new shrine or a new tomb. There could also be other occasions, but these were the two most important ones. Most commonly, the *dies natalis* would be the most important date,

biography" (I am deeply indebted to Doctor Pilar Herráiz Oliva for pointing me to the different meanings of "sanctus" and "sacer").

⁷⁸ Harper 1996: 11-12.

⁷⁹ Harper 1996: 12.

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although sometimes the *dies translatio* garnered greater importance.⁸⁰ During the saint's feasts the community at the saint's shrine celebrated the anniversary with a cycle of songs and readings divided among those hours of the day which had been set aside for divine service according to the monastic life. The exact time when the hours began would depend on the season, as in the winter the night is longer than in the summer. This cycle is called the divine office, and was carried out every day of the church year. The texts sung and read on a specific day would depend on the feast of that day. Within the daily cycle there was also the service of the mass, in which the sermon was performed, and which had its own cycle of chants specific to the rituals of the mass, and which allowed for some texts to commemorate the saint of the day. The mass, however, is not part of my analysis, as most of its textual repertory was common to every mass and taken from an established textual corpus. The only texts specific to the individual saints in the mass are the sequences, which are not included in this analysis.

The structure of the divine office

For my analysis the key issue is the office cycle, since this is where the saint-biography and the miracle collection are adapted into chants and readings. The celebrations of a saint's feast-day would begin at Vespers on the night before (around six in the afternoon), and at the following hours of Compline, Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None and then the second Vespers of the day itself, the community of monks or clerics would perform a series of chants and readings in honour of the saint. These hours are divided into the greater and the lesser hours, a division based on the length of their respective services. Vespers, Matins and Lauds belong to the greater hours, while the rest belong to the lesser. Of all the hours of the day, Matins was the longest and the most important hour.⁸¹ Matins begins three hours after Compline (i.e. usually at three in the morning), and is divided into three parts called nocturns. If the feast was celebrated by a monastic community, Matins would be longer than if it was celebrated by the secular clerics, i.e. clerics who served at a non-monastic ecclesiastical institution. We speak here of the monastic use and the secular use, and the difference is most often marked in the number of lessons, which in a monastic use would be twelve, and which in a secular use would be nine. During Matins, the community would perform a cycle of chants and readings in which the saint's life, death, and qualities would be addressed and

⁸⁰ Cf. Edward the Confessor (can.1161) whose *translatio* became the most important feast of his cult in the thirteenth century.

⁸¹ Hughes 1993: 375.

recounted, punctuated with the performance of psalms. After the service of Matins, there would be the service of Lauds around sunrise, and in the chants of this hour the miracles associated with the saint would be performed. The lesser hours commonly contain very little material pertaining to the saint of the day, and are therefore not considered further here. This office cycle providing an overview – and sometimes perhaps also an interpretation or exegesis – of the saint’s life, death and associated miracles is collectively known as the saint’s *historia*.

The audience for this cycle of chants and readings was threefold, and has been described by Roman Hankeln as a triadogue.⁸² The audience of the Matins cycle – and also for the entire divine office – was first of all the saint who was the ambassador of the community before the throne of God, which meant that the liturgical texts ought to address the saint in a suitable way, by pointing out his or her qualities and by providing the correct epithets. The second part of the audience was God whose omniscience would guarantee that He would note the message of the service as well. The third part of the audience would be the community of monks or clerics who performed the liturgy. These monks and clerics were the keepers of the saint’s cult, whose liturgical supplication to the saint and services and honours for him or her ensured the saint’s patronage. It was through the collective performance of the liturgical office, as well as through the readings at chapter or in the refectory that the monks became educated in the history and the qualities of their patron saint. The texts of the liturgy was instilled into the monks through their own performance of them, and their memory of that performance was aided by the multisensorial quality of the Matins office: the smell of incense and candles, the sound of the music and the reading, the sight of the liturgical vestments such as copes and albs, the sight of the shrine in candlelight – all these served to bind the memory of the monks in the commemoration of the saint. Susan Boynton has very accurately described this aspect of the performative dimension of liturgy “a type of active exegesis”.⁸³ Through the performance of and listening to texts expounding and addressing the saint’s qualities and abilities as a celestial ambassador, the monks were educated in the focal point of the identity of the religious institution, namely the cult of its patron saint. In this way, the cult of the patron saint imbued the monks with a sense of community centred on the saint and the institution which housed his or her relics. For this reason, the way the saint is formulated in the cycle of the divine office is one of the best ways to learn how that saint was understood and formulated by the institution in question. This is perhaps most easily seen in chants referring to the miracle-stories, as “Chants of this kind (...)”

⁸² I am indebted to Professor Hankeln for discussing the use of this term with me.

⁸³ Boynton 2006: 64.

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show the position these communities claim for themselves, not least by addressing very clearly the entral role the saints play not only for the community but for the whole realm”.⁸⁴

Finally, it should also be mentioned that people from outside the monastic community, farmers, merchants, noblemen, paupers, men and women alike, were also present by the shrine during the celebration of Matins, since this was the vigil of the saint’s feast. These people who were not community members but nonetheless subjects to the saint’s patronage, were not an audience to whom the text of the liturgy was directed. They were not addressed through the liturgy. Nonetheless, they would hear the songs and the readings, and those who had some education in Latin might follow some of the readings, and even those who were not thoroughly schooled in Latin might recognise the saint’s name and some attributes and therefore come away from Matins with a deeper sense of understanding of the saint. Even those who could not grasp the verbal aspect of the service, would nonetheless appreciate the mystery of the service through hearing, seeing and smelling. In this way, the people outside the monastic community served as an actual audience as opposed to an intended audience. Consequently, they were not intended as addressees by the composers of the liturgy, but their place in the liturgical drama of the office is nonetheless to be expected.

Liturgy and saint-biographies

Before we go on to the finer details of the various text types of the office, we must dwell a bit on the relationship between liturgy and saint-biographies (and also miracle accounts). I have already mentioned that saint-biographies and miracle accounts were from the onset composed with a mind that these works might serve the foundation of a liturgical office. However, due to the significant differences in the formal constraints of liturgy on the one hand and *vitae* and *miraculae* on the other, the transition of the *vita* into the liturgical *historia* was subject to significant editorial decisions on the part of those who composed the office. These formal constraints will be demonstrated in the following sub-sections, but in short we can note that the two main types of liturgical texts – chants and prose readings – facilitate different ways to adapt a *vita* into a liturgical *historia*. For chants, this adaptation takes place in the composition of short texts in which episodes or details from the *vita* are presented in verse. Since the *vita* which serves as the basis for a

⁸⁴ Hankeln 2016: 162.

liturgical *historia* most commonly is in Latin prose, the adaptation of the story into chant most often means a versification through which the prose text is retold in verse.

The prose readings, the lessons, do not necessitate a rewriting of the *vita* into a different form, and the text can be transmitted verbatim. The text can also be reorganised so that the structure of episodes as it is found in the *vita* is altered in the prose readings, either by splitting an episode between two lessons, or by fusing two episodes into one lesson. Material from the *vita* could also be omitted, either a word or a sentence, or an entire section or chapter. Material could also be rewritten, for instance making a small-scale change to the text of the *vita* which nonetheless had important ramifications for how the saint is presented. By altering the words of the opening of a chapter, or by substituting some words with synonyms that give the same meaning but in a stronger fashion, the rewriting of passages is a strategy of adaptation by which the formulation of an institution can be emphasised. This is also, as we will see in chapter 3, how a key word of the passage, such as *sanctus* or *rex* might be made to open a lesson and thus be available to even the unaddressed audience of the vigil, i.e. the commoners who might have just enough Latin to recognise such key terms. In this way, rewriting of the *vita* passages is not a significant adaptation of the *vita* into liturgy, but it is nonetheless an important one.

The types of liturgical texts

Having seen the ways in which a *vita* might be adopted into the prose lessons, it is time to look more closely at the function of the lesson and its place within the structure of Matins, in addition to the liturgical chants. In the following, therefore, I will provide an explanation of the three types of liturgical text most important to our purpose here. These are the lessons, the responsories, and the antiphons. I will also explain the role of the psalms in the Matins service, since the antiphons are composed to be sung in connection with the psalms.

Lessons and responsories

As already stated, the lessons are prose readings divided among the three nocturns of Matins. A monastic office had four lessons per nocturne, while a secular office had three. The text of the lessons was most often taken from the *vita* and the *miracula*, with a majority of the lessons

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commonly being drawn from the *vita*. The lessons were read with an accompaniment of chanted music, but it was in itself not sung as opposed to the chants and the psalms.

Each lesson is followed by a responsory, and together they formed what Susan Boynton has called “a complex nexus of meaning”.⁸⁵ The name “responsory” indicates how the two categories of texts relate. When the lesson has been read, the choir sings a short chant as a response to what has just been read. The lesson and the responsory are therefore thematically linked. This means furthermore that the responsory becomes a venue in which the most important parts of the preceding lesson can be emphasised. This emphasis is made even clearer because of the structure of the responsory itself. Even though the responsory is a small liturgical item, it is divided into three parts. The first part is the responsum [R] which contains the opening lines, often around four in number. The responsum is then followed by the verse [v] which is usually one single line. Finally, the verse is followed by the repetenda [r] which repeats the last one or two lines of the responsum. The responsory thereby has the following outline:

[R]esponsum

[v]erse

[r]epetenda

Due to this structure, the responsory is a great source for mapping the iconography of the saint, and to see which aspects of this iconography mattered the most to those composing the liturgy. From the beginning, the responsory itself picks up on the most important content of the preceding lesson, and this is then repeated and thus further emphasised in the repetenda.

Antiphons and the psalmody

The antiphons and the psalmody have a relationship similar to that of the lessons and the responsories, in the sense that the antiphon usually, but not always, engages thematically with the psalm to which it is connected. Like the responsory, the antiphon is a proper text, composed for the saint in question, although some antiphons can be taken from the repository of the *commune sanctorum* (we will return to the *commune sanctorum* after this section). The antiphons are

⁸⁵ Boynton 2006: 208.

performed before or after the psalm, or potentially both. While the responsory has a complex three-part structure and is often comprised of six to eight lines in total, the antiphon is a simpler chant-type and most often contains two to four lines in total, although this is not a fixed number and variations and differences can be found.

Another important difference between the responsory and the antiphon is the type of text they are connected to. The responsory responds to the lesson which most often is proper and written in prose, although there are cases where the lesson is taken from the *commune* and/or where the text is written in verse. The antiphon, on the other hand, responds to a psalm which is a biblical text with a long tradition and which is common to all of Christendom, and which is also canonical, belonging as it does to the sacred scripture. This means that the antiphon is a way for the liturgists to connect the saint to certain pre-written, established motifs and themes, and thus tie the saint into the imagery of the Bible. In other words, an antiphon can show us which part of the iconography of its connected psalm it wants to extract and tie into the iconography of the saint for whom the antiphon was composed. The connection between antiphons and psalms, and thus the psalm imagery and the saint, is made stronger by the fact that different types of saints used established psalm sequences, so a martyr is celebrated with psalms typical for the celebration of martyrs.⁸⁶

The performing of the psalms was the heart of the daily liturgical round, and a monastic community had as its duty to perform all the 150 psalms in the course of the week. The sequence of the psalms could be rearranged according to need and practical issues, such as the celebration of saints. Throughout the office for the feast-day, there are numerous psalms. In the office of Vespers there are four antiphons called Vespers antiphons, plus one antiphon for the Magnificat. The Magnificat is a set feature of Vesper, and this is the text of the Virgin Mary's prayer on the Annunciation as given in Luke 1:38ff. At Matins, there is one antiphon to Psalm 94 which is a fixed opening to the office of Matins and which is called the Invitatory. The corresponding antiphon is therefore called the Invitatory antiphon. Then there are twelve antiphons divided among the two nocturns, and these are performed consecutively in groups of six before the reading of the lessons.

⁸⁶ Harper 1996: 260-261.

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The methodology of liturgical texts

Having seen in detail how the various types of liturgical texts function within the divine office, we can also see the methodological issues when researching the way the saint is presented in these texts. For instance, when it comes to the responsories, they serve to extract the core message of the lesson. By examining the responsory we can see more closely both which aspects of the lesson were deemed most relevant by the composers of the liturgy, but also which aspects were repeated in the repetenda of the responsory. By examining the antiphons we can see how the iconography of the saint was aligned with the iconography of the psalms. Such an alignment was not always carried out, however, but even in those cases where there is no very clear relationship between the iconography of the antiphons and the iconography of the saints, the antiphons themselves show which aspects from the episodes they present were seen as most pertinent by the composers of the liturgy.

Common and proper texts – liturgy and identity

Another methodological issue to consider in detail here is the issue of how liturgy can be used to construct identity. That the formal constraints of liturgy allows for a distillation of the saint's legend and iconography overseen by the institution of the cult centre, makes the texts of the liturgical office an opportunity to shape how the saint is understood and formulated. This makes the texts of the divine office a great example of how the patron saint of a particular institution is understood. A religious institution could construct its identity by emphasis on those aspects which were individual or particular about it, such as its patron saint (although often a patron saint could be shared among several institutions). However, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, a religious institution also constructed its identity by connecting itself to other institutions within Christendom, to cults of other saints, and also by making use of the shared liturgical textual material known as the *commune sanctorum*. In this section, I will elaborate on these issues and explain why and how they are relevant to the research on royal saints. There are two main points here: 1) how the patron saints of these institutions were connected to other saints, and 2) how to understand the use of material common to all Western Christendom.

These two points can be explained in conjunction with each other, because both tie in with the place of the saints in the medieval world-view. The saints were ambassadors of the living in the court of God, thus reflecting the order of the temporal world. Even though an institution had its patron saint who was particularly ready to listen to pleas from the community of that institution, that institution could also appeal for the intercession of other saints. Similarly, they knew that their own patron saint was a member of a collegium which was divided into various types, such as martyrs, virgins, confessors, apostles and doctors. When a patron saint had recently joined the ranks of the heavenly court, it was of some importance to that saint's cult centre to address the saint in a fitting manner, and a way that showed how the saint was placed within the holy collegium, and which saints he could be associated with. This was done in part to assess the saint's credentials, as it were. If a saint were to be expected to be efficient as an ambassador, it was important that he or she could demonstrate that they shared the traits of the saints of other groups, such as martyrs or confessors, since those shared features demonstrated the saint's efficacy. Moreover, a saint could also be presented as having a special relationship with other saints, which thus meant that the patron saint could also be asked for issues which belonged to an issue whose patronage was traditionally ascribed to one particular saint. For a patron saint to have a good relationship with their colleagues, as it were, was a mark of their ability to intercede on behalf of the living.⁸⁷

For this reason, it became important to make use of texts common to a particular type of saints, the *commune sanctorum*, to which the patron saint belonged. For the same reason, it also became important to construct the liturgy in such a way that the links of the patron saint to other saints – and thus to the cult centres of those other saints – became clear. In order to highlight the group to which the patron saint belonged, the earliest liturgical office would usually not be composed specifically for that saint, but instead be based on chants from the *commune sanctorum*, a pool of chant texts that had accumulated in the course of the centuries, and which was available and known to all Latin Christendom, and where the names of the saints could be placed according to an institution's needs. Very often, it was only later – sometimes considerably later as in the cases of both Olaf and Edmund – that an office was especially composed for the patron saint.⁸⁸ Such an

⁸⁷ Cf. Hankeln 2016: 157.

⁸⁸ The cases where a proper office is composed very close in time to the canonisation of a saint are relatively rare, at least in the period before 1200, and are often responses to a precarious political situation. A case in point is the office *Studens livor* for Thomas of Canterbury, which was “[p]robably written soon after his canonization (1173)” (Slocum 2004: 136. This speedy development was caused by the uniqueness of that particular situation, and the speed with

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office would be called a proper office, since it relied mostly – though not always exclusively – on material that was specifically written or composed for the saint, i.e. proper to the saint. Roman Hankeln summarises this process accordingly: “At first, the office was celebrated with a preponderance of chants from the *commune* with only few chants specific to the feast itself. New chants were gradually added, as, for example, when a complete block of responsories or antiphons was inserted as a group, until finally all of the requirements of the liturgy came to be supplied by an especially composed repertory”.⁸⁹ By using the *commune sanctorum* in formulating the liturgical image of their patron saint, an institution demonstrated how its patron saint could aid his or her community. As Susan Boynton puts it: chants from the *commune* “signalled the membership of the saint in a group, reaffirming through this typology the saint’s possession of virtues [i.e. qualities] characteristic of that group”.⁹⁰ As with the epithets, this was an issue of addressing the saint properly and correctly, to ensure their continued assistance.

Similarly, the composers of a saint’s office could draw on both music and texts from the offices of others saints.⁹¹ In this way, the composers constructed a complex intertextuality that relied both on music and texts. For instance, by performing a chant whose text extolled the qualities of one saint to the music taken from the office of another, older, and perhaps more universal saint, the younger saint would be presented with a touch of the aura belonging to his senior in sanctity.⁹² The audience for this intertextuality would be the saint (and God) and the community of ministrant monks. Like the reading and performing of the liturgical *historia*, the recycling of music for the purpose of highlighting the typology and collegial relationships of the patron saint sought to educate the community whose main task it was to perform the services for the saint in exchange of his or her intercession in Heaven. That the music was also used for the performance of another office would become evident to the community of monks, because in the cycle of the church year they would be performing that music on the feast of the saint from whose office the music was borrowed.⁹³ This recycling of music was a very important part of the construction of institutional identity. Not only did it emphasise a bond between an institution’s patron saint and another – usually more senior – saint, it also could construct or formulate a bond – actual or desired – between the community of the

which Thomas’ associates and friends composed a sizeable corpus of biographical texts aimed to further Thomas’ canonisation within the brief period of 1170-73.

⁸⁹ Hankeln 2001: 20.

⁹⁰ Boynton 2006: 208.

⁹¹ Hankeln 2016: 157f.

⁹² Hankeln 2007: 275ff.

⁹³ Hankeln 2012.

cult centre and the community of the cult centre of the saint whose music was recycled in this way. For the research of this thesis, however, I have had to focus on the texts alone and not the music, but where it is possible I will be pointing out the important scholarship on this issue done by others.

Memory and identity

The *vitae*, miracle collections and the liturgical offices which were produced, composed and edited at a cult centre all had as their function to inform and sustain the memory of its patron saint in the unforeseeable future. Veneration of a saint was an act of performative commemoration in which the community of monks or secular clergy rehearsed the *historia* of their patron on days of particular importance, so that the patron would continue to be their representative in the heavenly court of God. The institutional authorities who oversaw the production of saint-biographical and liturgical material intended for this commemoration to continue through the centuries, and as such they undoubtedly viewed these works as lasting tools for the veneration of the patron saint, and also for the construction and upkeep of the institution's identity. In other words, they knew that they were formulating an image of the patron saint that they thought would remain the canonical formulation, and that image would persevere through acts of commemoration that would root the saint's image in the memory of generations of the cult's ministrants. The memory of a saint as upheld by textual works overseen by an institution's authorities, is a memory intended primarily for the community itself, and secondarily for the wider community of farmers, merchants, nobles, and craftsmen who were somehow bound to the cult centre. The memory of a saint was meant to last, and it was communicated through a wide range of media and through the invocation of multiple senses. Through the composition and performance of the memory of the saint, there was effectively constructed a memory for the institution and its adherents, what we today might call collective or cultural memory.⁹⁴

The material analysed in this thesis can be understood as belonging to the beginning of the establishing of a cultural memory, in that the material in question was overseen and cultivated by the authorities of the cult centre. In the cases of Edmund and Olaf, we see how traditions and stories that have existed and circulated for decades are refined into high-canonical versions that are authorised and sanctioned by their respective cult centres. At Bury St Edmund this was done by

⁹⁴ Hankeln 2016: 164.

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expanding the historical gap between the first *vita* and the time when the new texts, such as the miracle collections and the liturgical office, were composed. At Nidaros this was done by rejecting significant aspects of the existing traditions, thereby establishing a new starting point for the cultural memory of Saint Olaf. In the case of Knud, however, the establishment of the cult and the production of saint-biographical texts began very shortly after Knud's death and as such did not have to contend with an existing tradition. In all three cases, however, it is clear that the authorities of the cult centre set out to formulate a high-canonical image of their respective saints that was supposed to become embedded into the religious fabric of the region or the province, and as such lay the foundation for what modern scholarship calls cultural or collective memory.

The present thesis does not engage with questions of cultural or collective memory in the analysis. This is partly due to the short timeframe, which does not allow for an in-depth exploration of how the images of these saints retained their place in the memories of their respective communities. We do know that in all three cases the high-canonical image of the saint became subject to alterations or deviations. In the case of Edmund, his role as a warrior became part of the image. In the case of Olaf, the high-canonical image of the church was practically overshadowed by the continuation of Olaf as he had been described in the low-canonical image drawn from skaldic verse and early historiography. In the case of Knud, dynastic disputes in twelfth-century Denmark caused his reputation to fall into disrepair. All these cults would therefore make for interesting cases in light of the ideas and terminology of cultural memory studies, but the present thesis is confined to the starting points of the respective cults.

CHAPTER 3 – EDMUND MARTYR OF EAST ANGLIA

The historical foundation and the early cult (869-c.987)

The earliest evidence

Very little is known about the historical King Edmund of East Anglia, later called Edmund Martyr. Our closest textual source is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (hence *ASC*), whose first redaction was compiled c.890,⁹⁵ and even here the information is rather scant. In the C manuscript of *ASC* – a manuscript of mid-eleventh-century date⁹⁶ – we read the following in the entry for the year 871: “In this year the raiding army rode across Mercia into East Anglia, and took up winter quarters at Thetford. And that winter King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes had the victory, and killed the king and conquered all the land.”⁹⁷ This is the narrative of Edmund’s life and death which probably lies closest in time to the actual events. We can see this by comparison with another source which is fairly close in time to Edmund’s life, namely *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, written by Asser of Sherborne (d.909). In this work, we read the same story: Edmund *Orientalium Anglorum rex* fought against the aforementioned army and lost.⁹⁸

It is important to note that there are no traces of a cult around the dead king in the pages of the *ASC*, nor in the pages of Asser, and that the oldest evidence for the veneration of Edmund as a saint can be found on coins. These coins were probably issued in East Anglia at the turn of the ninth century, and most likely before 903 which is the estimated dating of the Cuerdale hoard in which were found c.1800 coins with the legend *SCEADMVNDREX* or slight variants thereof on the obverse. It is possible that they were minted as early as 892. According to Blunt, these coins were likely issued in East Anglia at a time when it was under Danish control, and it circulated mainly within the Danelaw. Interestingly, the same legend can also be found on coins bearing the name of King Alfred on the reverse, and Blunt argues that these might have provided an early template for the later majority of the Saint Edmund coinage, meaning that the first appearance of material evidence

⁹⁵ Ridyard 2008: 61.

⁹⁶ Whitelock 1961: xiii.

⁹⁷ Whitelock 1961: 46.

⁹⁸ Stevenson 1904: 26.

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“points to the king having been recognized as a saint a little more than 20 years after his death”.⁹⁹

Evidence to the cult of Saint Edmund from Passio Eadmundi

From the evidence of Edmund’s cult towards the end of the ninth century, there is a gap of close to hundred years until we find the next document that provides us with any information of the cult’s trajectory. This document, *PE*, was written c.985-87 by the Benedictine monk Abbo of Fleury (d.1004) who had been invited to England by Oswald, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York.¹⁰⁰ I will go into greater detail about the legend of Edmund itself in the section on Edmund’s saint-biographical image. Here it will be enough to address what information can be found about the cult of Edmund up to c.987 in *PE*. This information can be gleaned from the prefatory letter and three miracle stories.

Abbo’s letter to Dunstan

According to the prefatory letter to Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury (909-988), Abbo was lodging at the monastery of Ramsey after he had spent some time at the archbishop’s court. When Abbo told the monks at Ramsey what Dunstan had told him about Saint Edmund they exhorted him to write it down for posterity since no one had yet written the life of Edmund, and since his story was unknown by many. It is not clear whether the legend of Edmund was indeed unknown by many, or whether this is more of a rhetorical ploy to heighten the importance of Abbo’s literary endeavour. In the letter, Abbo also addresses the issue of the historicity of Dunstan’s account. He recounts how the archbishop himself had learned the story about Edmund when he as a young man was at the court of Athelstan (reigned 924-939),¹⁰¹ and heard the story from “some feeble old man who had told about him with simplicity and great faith”, and who “swore by way of oath that he that very day had been the arms-bearer of that blessed man who had died as martyr for Christ”.¹⁰² This invocation of an eyewitness is a very common *topos* of saint-biographical texts, which goes back to 1 Corinthians 15:3-9, and addresses an expectation of verisimilitude common to the genre. As Susan Ridyard has pointed out, however, it is possible that Dunstan was recounting a story he had

⁹⁹ Blunt 1967-69: 239-253.

¹⁰⁰ Ridyard 2008: 62.

¹⁰¹ Athelstan’s reign is divided into two periods. As king of the Anglo-Saxons from 924 to 927 and then as king of the English from 927 to his death in 939.

¹⁰² Abbo, prologue: *iureiurando asserens quod eadem die fuisset armiger beati viri qua pro Christo martyr occubuit.*

heard at Athelstan's court,¹⁰³ so we cannot relegate the figure of the arms-bearer entirely to the status of a *topos*, but this *topos* does explain why Abbo finds it necessary to present this line of historicity from his writing and back to the death of Edmund itself. The story that Dunstan has recounted to Abbo is presumably what makes up the core of Edmund's passion story. This core has then been formulated and sculpted according to various literary conventions by Abbo, and this core is most likely that legend which is believed by the Ramsey monks to not have been widely known.

The miracle accounts, however, all seem to be from the tenth century with varying degree of closeness to Abbo's writing of *PE*. We do not know the sources for these miracle accounts. It might have been Dunstan himself who relayed the information to Abbo, or there might have been other routes of transmission out of Bury St Edmunds. It could be that the miracles were recorded in *schedulae*, miracle lists, at Bury, which would thus constitute the first Latin record of cult material pertaining to Edmund, but this is mere conjecture. It could also be that the information had passed through oral traditions that had spread beyond Bury St Edmunds, which makes sense when considering that one of the miracle accounts features the participation of Bishop Theodred of London (first half of the tenth century). I will in the following address briefly how these three miracle stories add some knowledge regarding the cult of Saint Edmund in the tenth century.

The miracle stories of Passio Eadmundi

The three miracle accounts all take place at the shrine of Saint Edmund at Bury, and they thus demonstrate that some cult must have been in place after the *terminus post quem* provided by the Saint Edmund coinage. Information about the first cult can be briefly gleaned from the passion narrative itself. In the thirteenth chapter of my edition (appendix 1) we are told how the English who had survived the raids of the Vikings who killed Edmund regrouped and set out to find the head of the king. When the head was found, head and body were interred in a tomb of sorts, over which they erected a chapel or small church, which Abbo describes as "a mean cottage".¹⁰⁴ However, when God had displayed Edmund's merits through "repeated signs of miracles",¹⁰⁵ the people of the province – both commoners and nobles – "constructed a church of wood panels most extraordinary" in Bedricsworth, i.e. in Bury St. Edmunds. To this church they translated the body of

¹⁰³ Ridyard 2008: 63.

¹⁰⁴ [*S*]ub uili tugurio. Abbo, chapter 13.

¹⁰⁵ [*M*]anifestabat miraculorum signis. Abbo, chapter 13.

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Edmund, by that time miraculously reintegrated.¹⁰⁶ It is not clear when this second church was erected, nor is it clear how long time passed between the first interment and the translation. It is only in the miracle stories that we begin to enter a more clearly defined timeframe. Judging from the arrangement of the miracle stories by Abbo, they do seem to progress chronologically, but this cannot be ascertained completely.

The first miracle story is recounted in chapter 14 and has as its central point the incorruption of Edmund's body, already referred to in the letter.¹⁰⁷ Abbo tells of a religious woman called Oswen, "who performed her fasts and prayers at his sacred grave through the passing of many years".¹⁰⁸ Oswen's dedication is such that she eventually establishes a ritual on Maundy Thursday, where she opens the shrine of Edmund and cuts off hair and nail clippings which she then places in ampullas deposited at the altar as relics. As a window into the early cult of Edmund, this passage is particularly interesting for two reasons. First of all, Abbo places this episode "shortly before these our present times",¹⁰⁹ which suggests a tenth-century date. Secondly, at the time of Oswen the abbey of Bury was big enough to house religious women. Indeed, Oswen might herself have been instrumental in strengthening the cult, and, as Elisabeth van Houts points out, "her actions were a significant contribution to the persistent belief that the saint's body (...) had been preserved incorrupt".¹¹⁰ In this story, Abbo refers to a translation of Edmund which is prepared for in chapter 15, suggesting that Oswen performed her caretaking in the mid-tenth century.

The second story is recounted in chapter 15, and its central point is Edmund's protection of his shrine which – as we shall see – later grew to be the most salient feature of Edmund's textual iconography in the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries. This account is set in the time when Theodred was bishop of London, which means the first half of the tenth century.¹¹¹ Chapter 15 tells how eight thieves broke into the mausoleum of Edmund, but due to God's intervention on behalf of Edmund, the thieves suddenly became motionless and stood stock still until the morning came. This chapter is particularly interesting for what it tells us about the cult of Edmund in this period. The

¹⁰⁶ [C]onstruxit permaximam miro ligneo tabulatu aecclesiam. Abbo, chapter 13.

¹⁰⁷ Abbo, prologue: *Siquidem tu, qui nix capitis credi compellit, quando referebas de ea quae nunc est incorruptione regis, quidam diligentius requisivit utrum haec ita esse possent.*

¹⁰⁸ Abbo, chapter 14: *[Quae] apud eius sacrosanctum tumulum ieiuniis et orationibus vocans multa transaegit annorum curricula.*

¹⁰⁹ Abbo, chapter 14: *paulo ante haec nostra moderna tempora.*

¹¹⁰ Van Houts 2014; 54.

¹¹¹ Cf. Wareham, 2005: 52.

story begins with Theodred “preaching at the place of the martyr’s interment” and Abbo notes that “many donations and ornaments in precious gold and silver were brought together”.¹¹² Although it is not specified where within the episcopacy of Theodred this story takes place, it does show that towards the middle of the tenth century the cult of Edmund was sufficiently popular to attract people to the feast day celebrations, and also sufficiently popular to compel people to give donations to the shrine. In addition, we should expect that the abbey had begun to amass more money thanks to the liberties granted to Bury by King Edmund I in 945, the saint’s namesake. By these liberties the abbey was given complete jurisdiction within a geographically defined area later known as the *banleuca* or the Liberty of Bury St Edmunds.¹¹³ Chapter 15 also establishes the tradition of Edmund being a protective patron who punished those who sought to transgress against his patrimony. This account, moreover, is given credence by the fact that bishop Theodred “drew up his statement of testamentary intentions in the 940s”, a copy of which was kept at the Bury armoury of charters.¹¹⁴ This connection between Theodred and the community at Bury strengthens the claim of *PE* that Theodred had given a sermon there on Edmund’s feast-day, and it also suggests that by c.950 Bury St Edmunds had indeed received a number of valuable donations. Moreover, this will allow us to set the second miracle within the timeframe 940-953, and as Sarah Foot points out we have no evidence of a clerical community at the shrine before the 940s.¹¹⁵ Thus, the story of Oswen is likely datable to a timeframe corresponding to that of Theodred, but possibly extending into the 960s or 970s.

The third story is recounted in chapter 16 and also has as its main feature a punitive miracle, showing Edmund protecting his reputation (by God’s intervention). Here, a man of power and nobility called Leofstan wishes to see the incorrupt body of Edmund, and he commands the monks to show it to him. This presumption is taken as a transgression, and Leofstan is turned mad as a punishment.¹¹⁶ Abbo does not provide any clues to its dating beyond the name of Leofstan. However, in his collection of miracles of Saint Edmund written more than a hundred years later, Goscelin of Saint-Bertin states that Leofstan was a courtier in the time of King Aethelred.¹¹⁷ Since Aethelred’s rule began in 978 and lasted beyond Abbo’s writing of *PE*, we can date this miracle to

¹¹² Abbo, chapter 15: *prefato loco martyris tumulatione congruo a quibusque religiosis multa conferrentur donaria et ornamenta in auro et argento pretiosissima.*

¹¹³ Pinner 2015: 2.

¹¹⁴ Foot 2014: 38.

¹¹⁵ Foot 2014: 43.

¹¹⁶¹¹⁶ Cf. the punitive miracle account in *PO*, MXII (Jirousková 2014B: 44-45).

¹¹⁷ Goscelin 2014: 142.

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978-987, providing Goscelin was correct.

Overview of the early cult

The cult of Saint Edmund in the tenth century can be summarised as follows: By the beginning of the century there circulated many coins on which Edmund was referred to as one of God's holy. At this time there was a chapel raised above Edmund's tomb, but on account of miracle reports his body was translated to a new resting-place at Beodricsworth, which resulted in the place being re-named Bury St Edmunds. At the dead king's new shrine there might have been a community of secular clerics. We know that a community of clerics looked after the shrine in the 940s, and it was not yet elevated to the rank of monastic community (as, we shall see, was to happen in the eleventh century). It is possible that the establishment of a community of secular clerics might have been in response to the cult's increased popularity following Oswen's display of the relics she had collected. By the early 950s the cult had gained sufficient popularity for Bury to receive several donations of lands and moveable goods. By the mid-980s there had still not been written an account of Edmund's life, nor of the miracles at his tomb at Bury. Abbo does refer to the reports of several miracles – many of which he deliberately omits – and this might suggest that the clerics at Bury kept a *schedula*, a list of miracles, in the tenth century, provided Abbo is telling the truth. If so, this document does not seem to have survived, and its existence is completely hypothetical. Moreover, Edmund was also commemorated in a tenth-century calendar at Ramsey, where a Latin couplet was written in his honour.¹¹⁸ Having seen a cursory overview of how Edmund's cult developed up until the end of the 980s, it is time to turn our attention to how the cult and its literature developed in the time after *PE* had been written.

The second stage of the cult of Saint Edmund (c.1000-c.1100)

The sources

Abbo of Fleury's *PE* marks a shift in the history of the cult of Edmund because with this saint-biography the legend of Edmund could be disseminated more widely, and – perhaps most importantly – there was one canonical version which became the basis for how Edmund was

¹¹⁸ Pinner 2015: 38.

understood and formulated by later venerators and by later writers. Perhaps the earliest example of the impact of *PE* can be seen in a homily on the feast of Saint Edmund by Archbishop Aelfric (d.1005). In the preface to his homily, Aelfric states that Abbo put the story of Edmund in a book, and that this book came into the hand of Aelfric “within a few years”.¹¹⁹ *PE* was then, Aelfric tells us, turned into English. It is difficult to measure the impact and audience of Aelfric’s homily, but the survival of his homilies in several manuscripts attests to some popularity.¹²⁰ For the further development of the cult of Saint Edmund in the eleventh century, our best – but in no way unproblematic – sources are the two miracle collections written at Bury St Edmunds towards the end of the century. These two collections were written by Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin. We do not know what sources they used beyond *PE* and *ASC*, but it is likely that they both relied on oral traditions at Bury and perhaps also the archive of the monastery which contained the charters and wills – and forgeries – by which the monks at Bury hedged their privileges and rights. The charters documenting transactions of property concerning the abbey also provide some very valuable insights to the standing of the abbey.

The two saint-biographical sources, however, are problematic both because they are written late in the eleventh century – although Herman seems to have worked on his for a longer time¹²¹ – and because both collections serve as vehicles for asserting the history of Bury St Edmunds in accordance with its own historical traditions. This combination of distance in time and programmatic tilt in favour of what seems to be an emerging historical tradition at Bury, sometimes results in confusion. One important example of this is the statement put forth by Herman, namely that it was during the reign of Aethelred that God displayed the merits of Edmund through miracles and that Edmund then was *declaratur sanctus*, declared to be holy, or declared to be a saint.¹²² Goscelin states that it was at this time that a long-fallow veneration of Edmund resumed.¹²³ Herman’s statement is at odds with the veneration of Edmund in the time of Bishop Theodred of London, when the amount of donations attracted the eight thieves, which is recorded in *PE*. Goscelin might be correct when he claims that there was a new surge of veneration in the time of

¹¹⁹ [*S]eo bōc com to ūs binnan feawum gearum*. I here use Walter Skeat’s translation of the Old English text as printed in Aelfric 1966: 314-15. It is not clear whether this happened before or after Aelfric received the pallium as Archbishop of Canterbury in 997.

¹²⁰ For the manuscripts: Needham 1966: 1-2. Needham further states that Aelfric’s homilies were not intended only for monastic reading (Needham 1966: 13).

¹²¹ Tom Licence suggests that the work was written over a longer period of time, from c.1070 to c.1090 (Licence 2014: liv.lvii).

¹²² Herman 2014: 8.

¹²³ Goscelin 2014: 141.

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Aethelred, since *PE* leaves a gap of about thirty or forty years between Bishop Theodred and Leofstan the courtier who served Aethelred. After all, it is very common that the veneration of a saint undergoes periods of little activity, so it is not at all surprising that this also happened with the cult of Edmund. However, it is worth considering that such a narrative of resurgence might also be understood as a literary ploy which adumbrates the possibility of the cult's disappearance. The fact that the cult did not disappear could then be taken to understand that the cult of Edmund was divinely destined not to succumb to oblivion. In any case, it is unclear whether Herman's statement regarding the declaration of Edmund's holiness comes from confusion or whether it is part of Bury's own canonical version of its history. In any case, despite this uncertainty, the two saint-biographers do provide us with several important details that allow us to formulate a history of the cult of Edmund in the eleventh century.

The cult of Edmund in the eleventh century

The reign of King Aethelred II (978-1016) saw a series of renewed attacks by Danish Vikings. The upheavals of the period set their mark on the legend of Saint Edmund, whose cult was still overseen by secular clerics, and the detailed accounts of miracles associated with the cult provide a late but interesting view of the cult as it was understood towards the end of the century, if not as it actually developed during the last years of Aethelred's reign. We are told by Herman and Goscelin how the Danes under the leadership of King Svend I Forkbeard invaded England in 1013 and gained control of the kingdom following Aethelred's exile in Normandy. King Svend imposed taxes on the religious houses, and according to the legends of Bury it was as a punishment for this taxation that Svend died in February 1014. Herman and Goscelin both record how the lay cleric Aelfwine was sent as Bury's ambassador to Svend's encampment to persuade the king to repeal the taxation of Saint Edmund's house. When the Danish king refused, Edmund appeared to him in person and thrust a spear through him. Svend's death was then revealed to a dying man in Essex in a vision, who lived long enough to testify to the miracle before he breathed his last.¹²⁴ This legend has grown up around the death of Svend, which must have been seen by the clerics at Bury as most timely and has therefore been attributed to the intervention of Edmund and God's miracle through him. Aside from the miracle itself, this account also depicts some details of the cult, such as the report that the lay brother Aelfwine used to cut Edmund's nails and hairs in the manner of Oswin as told in *PE*,

¹²⁴ Herman 2014: 14-27.

and also to wash the body.¹²⁵ We are also told by Herman that the shrine of Edmund had the status of sanctuary, as is mentioned in a miracle story immediately preceding the account of Svend's death.¹²⁶ Although these details might very well be later projections onto the past, it is also possible that these details are rooted in traditions at Bury which grew up in the aftermath of Svend's death. Despite the divine aid against the encroachments of Danish overlordship, we are also told of how fear of further Danish attacks caused Aelfwine, on the orders of his superiors, to transport the body of Saint Edmund away in a cart. The body of Edmund was lodged in London, in the Church of St. Gregory, for some time after 1016 and during the reign of Bishop Ælfhun of London (died before 1018).¹²⁷ The body was later transported back to Bury, and the episode was by Goscelin cast as an exile narrative, as it is directly compared with how Mary and Joseph had to flee into Egypt. To avoid any accusations that Edmund cannot protect his own, Goscelin thus frames it as a kind of *imitatio Christi* by applying the well-known topos of exile, a common motif in the legends of several saints, such as both Olaf and Knud.

After the period of disrepair and upheaval, the abbey of Bury enjoyed a prosperous period during the relative stability that came with the government of Knud II (r.1016-35) and after him Edward the Confessor (r.1042-66). Both Herman and Goscelin describe Knud's patronage of ecclesiastical centres, and they emphasise his close ties with Bury. Herman, for instance, describes how Knud went to visit Edmund who was Knud's protector next to God, *protecorem suum post Deum*. During this visit, Knud gave Bury a royal grant, donated gifts and revenue, and issued a charter that freed the abbey from every financial obligation that had until then been custom.¹²⁸ We are also told that it was Knud who established a monastic community at Bury which replaced that of secular clerics, and that this was done to properly honour Saint Edmund, whose cult – Herman avers – blossomed under the government of Earl Thorkell, who was Knud's deputy over East Anglia. The change to a monastic community, also referred to as the enthronement of the monks, occurred in 1020, and Ufi became the first abbot.¹²⁹ Goscelin also adds the claim that it was in this time that the old wooden basilica was torn down, and a stone basilica was erected in its place. He also claims that there was an increase in veneration for Saint Edmund in this period, which is a claim that corresponds well

¹²⁵ Herman 2014: 18-19.

¹²⁶ Herman 2014: 10-15.

¹²⁷ Goscelin 2014: 156-87.

¹²⁸ Herman 2014: 40-41.

¹²⁹ Herman 2014: 42-45; Goscelin 2014: 190-91.

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with the installation of a monastic community better trained in the upkeep of a saint's cult.¹³⁰

Bury's prosperity continued during the reign of Edward the Confessor, whom both Herman and Goscelin describe as a very devout venerator of Saint Edmund, who donated land to the abbey and who showed great personal reverence to the saint. Herman describes how Edward dismounted from his horse to walk the last stretch to the Abbey, and Goscelin adds that this was done after his coronation.¹³¹ Herman also stresses Edward the Confessor's kinship with Edmund, and Goscelin's invocation of Edward as a witness to a punitive miracle also shows Edward's partaking in the liturgical celebration of Saint Edmund.¹³² It was also in the early reign of Edward the Confessor that Leofstan became abbot of Bury, a man whom Herman describes as being of a perceptive nature, and who had been placed at the abbey as an oblate, i.e. being given over to the abbey as a child.¹³³ It was during Leofstan's abbacy that the casket of Saint Edmund was opened, and Herman tells of how Abbot Leofstan tugged at Edmund's head and found it still attached to the body. For this display of distrust in Edmund's unified body he was punished with paralysis in his hands.¹³⁴ Leofstan remained abbot until his death in 1065, when Baldwin was appointed to the post by Edward the Confessor.

Baldwin's abbacy lasted until his death in 1097, and his abbacy saw a volatile period marked by various conflicts, especially between Bury and Bishop Herfast of Thetford who sought to relocate his episcopal seat to Bury as a part of the ecclesiastical reform plans instigated by Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury. Baldwin travelled to Rome in 1071 to ensure Bury St Edmund's liberty from episcopal control, which was obtained and honoured by William I who issued a charter of privilege to Bury, which Herman emphasises is still in the possession of the abbey's archives.¹³⁵ On his way to Rome, Abbot Baldwin is said to have distributed relics of Saint Edmund at Lucca.¹³⁶ It is also likely that it was Baldwin who was responsible for the veneration of Edmund at Saint-Denis, since it was at this abbey that Baldwin had served before he became Edward the Confessor's physician, and then abbot of Bury St Edmunds. Evidence for the veneration at Saint-Denis can be seen in the manuscript København Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1588 quarto, to be discussed below,

¹³⁰ Goscelin 2014: 244-45.

¹³¹ Herman 2014: 44-45; Goscelin 2014: 192-93.

¹³² Herman 2014: 60-61; Goscelin 206-07.

¹³³ Herman 2014: 50.

¹³⁴ Herman 2014: 50-55.

¹³⁵ Herman 2014: 80.

¹³⁶ Herman 2014: 80.

although this manuscript is only known to have belonged to the abbey of Saint-Denis as early as the thirteenth century, although it is possible that it arrived earlier.¹³⁷

Despite conflicts with ecclesiastical authorities, Baldwin had a relatively good relationship with the post-conquest kings, and both Herman and Goscelin state that William I was a patron of Bury St Edmunds. Goscelin further claims that it was during the reign of William I that Baldwin first suggested to have the stone basilica at Bury enlarged. This occurred towards the end of William's reign, since his death is recorded by Goscelin shortly thereafter.¹³⁸ King William I was, according to Goscelin, very enthusiastic about the undertaking, and Baldwin subsequently brought in stonemasons, architects, concrete builders and sculptors to enlarge the basilica.¹³⁹ After the passing of William I, Baldwin approached William II (r.1087-1100) to have the basilica consecrated despite it being unfinished, and also to have Edmund's relics translated to the newly completed presbytery. This was in 1094, according to Herman.¹⁴⁰ William II consented to this, but the dedication was put off. Herman merely states that the king changed his mind, but Goscelin attributes the change of mind to a courtier's vocalised disbelief in Edmund's incorruption. According to Herman, this disbelief came only after the dedication had been postponed.¹⁴¹ The translation itself, however, was allowed to go ahead. Goscelin asserts that the courtier did not go unpunished, but he does not provide any details of any such punitive miracle.¹⁴²

The translation of Edmund's body took place on April 29 1095 in the presence of Bishop Walkelin of Winchester (d.1098) and Ranulf the king's chaplain. Judging from Herman's reference to this day as the Lord's Day, this was likely Resurrection Sunday.¹⁴³ Herman tells us that during the translation the monks performed the antiphon *Iste Sanctus*, which is from the Common of One Martyr. This is probably the earliest literary reference to the specific liturgy performed for Saint

¹³⁷ The manuscript is described on the website of the Danish Royal Library: <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/107/eng/> (accessed 29.06.17). In Pinner 2015: 46 the manuscript is given as MS GI. Kgl. 1558. Pinner draws on Ellen Jørgensen's description from *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafnauensis* (two volumes, Copenhagen 1923-26), so this manuscript number is either outdated or misspelled. It is now listed as København Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1588. Furthermore, during the rebuilding of the cathedral in the mid-twelfth century, scenes of Edmund's martyrdom were commissioned for eight column capitals in Saint-Denis (Pinner 2015: 46-47).

¹³⁸ Goscelin 2014: 246.

¹³⁹ Goscelin 2014: 246.

¹⁴⁰ Herman 2014: 112.

¹⁴¹ Herman 2014: 112-15; Goscelin 2014: 246.

¹⁴² Goscelin 2014: 246-249.

¹⁴³ Herman 2014: 116; Goscelin 2014: 278.

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Edmund.¹⁴⁴ Herman states that Bishop Herbert of Losinga, bishop of East Anglia 1091-1119, was excluded from the translation, presumably owing to the then on-going conflicts between the bishop and Abbot Baldwin regarding the exempt status of Bury St Edmunds. Herman refers to Herbert only in passing, stating that he was written out of the story.¹⁴⁵ Goscelin does not mention Herbert at all, presumably owing to Herbert's patronage of him.¹⁴⁶

Due to the various conflicts in the sphere of post-conquest ecclesiastical politics, Rebecca Pinner has interpreted the emphasis on punitive miracles in the miracle collections of Herman and Goscelin as “part of a broader strategy developed in the wake of the Norman Conquest by which monastic houses sought to defend themselves against the prospect of wholesale social and ecclesiastical change”.¹⁴⁷ As we will see in the next section, the saint-biographical image of Saint Edmund did develop in such a way that by the end of the eleventh century he was seen as a protector of his people and house at Bury, a feature of his patronage that seems to have been favoured over the curative results of his intercessions before God. While it is likely that this aspect of Saint Edmund became very relevant to the monks embroiled in conflicts with various East-Anglian bishops, who were in turn fuelled by the reformist ideals brought over from Continental Europe, the image of Edmund as a protective and punitive patron saint seems to build most strongly on the tradition surrounding the death of Svend Forkbeard in 1014. We do not know when this tradition began, whether it was a more or less immediate response to the Danish king's premature death, or whether it was a retrospective interpretation which emerged more strongly in the period after Danish rule. If the tradition goes back to the more immediate aftermath of Svend's death, we must then understand Herman's employment of this facet of Edmund's saint-biographical image not only in light of the post-conquest ecclesiastical scene, but also in light of the turbulent periods that came before it.

¹⁴⁴ Herman 2014: 116. There are two antiphons from the Common of One Martyr with the incipit *Iste sanctus*, namely CID 003434 (favoured by Licence) and CID 003435. Other chants with this incipit from the Common of One Martyr are not antiphons.

¹⁴⁵ Herman 2014: 112-15.

¹⁴⁶ Goscelin 2014: 238, n.241.

¹⁴⁷ Pinner 2015: 53.

The saint-biographical image of Saint Edmund

Passio Eadmundi

PE survives in several medieval manuscripts. In his 1972 edition of the Latin text, Michael Winterbottom mentions three eleventh-century manuscripts which are of particular interest to us here because these are the oldest and among the best preserved manuscripts, and because they also shed some important light on the formation of a canon of the Saint Edmund legend. Antonia Gransden has made the claim that there is no text of *PE* dating from before the Norman Conquest.¹⁴⁸ The first manuscript is Lambeth palace MS 362 from the mid-eleventh century. It contains “three hymns and a mass in honour of St. Edmund”, and this is the oldest extant manuscript containing *PE*.¹⁴⁹ The second manuscript, BL MS Cotton Tiberius B. ii, is a manuscript written at Bury “in the last decade of the eleventh century”. It contains *PE* and also a copy of *De Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi* by Herman (hence *HM*).¹⁵⁰ This shows that both *PE* and *HM* belonged to the canon of Saint Edmund’s legend as the legend was supervised at its cult centre at Bury St Edmunds. The third manuscript is København Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1588 quarto which was written in the timeframe 1050-1100, and whose exact dating is a matter of controversy.¹⁵¹ This manuscript contains an incomplete version of Saint Edmund’s office. A fourth manuscript needs to be mentioned here as well, namely Pierpont Morgan MS. M.736, in which *PE* occupies fol. 77-86. This manuscript was written at Bury St Edmunds c.1125-30, and also contains *HM*, the office for the vigil of Saint Edmund, and the office for his feast day. The manuscript will be discussed in greater detail below, but it is worth emphasizing that its inclusion of both *PE* and *HM* again points to these works forming a canon authorised by the cultivators of Saint Edmund’s cult.

The text of *PE* has been edited three times. The first edition was prepared by Thomas Arnold in his *Memorials of St Edmund’s Abbey* and here Arnold put together the text of *PE* from four different manuscripts, only one of which, Lambeth palace MS 362, appears to be from the eleventh

¹⁴⁸ Gransden 1985: 4, n.1.

¹⁴⁹ Pinner 2015: 46.

¹⁵⁰ Pinner 2015: 63.

¹⁵¹ Parkes 2014: 138-39; Pinner 2015: 46; Winterbottom 1972: 8; <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/107/eng/> (accessed 29.06.17).

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century.¹⁵² The second edition is found in *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, an anthology of materials for Saint Edmund, including a translation of *PE*, was printed by Lord Francis Hervey.¹⁵³ The third edition is the one by Michael Winterbottom mentioned above, and it presents the text of MS. Cotton Tiberius B.ii.

The Image of Saint Edmund in Passio Eadmundi

In order to discuss *PE* in an orderly manner, I am here using Winterbottom's division of the book into a prologue and seventeen chapters. This division is based on BL MS Cotton Tiberius B. ii, which formed the basis for Winterbottom's edition in 1972, which I have used for my own edition with translation in Appendix 1. The content can be seen in the table below.

Chapter	Content	Description of Edmund
Prologue	Abbo's letter to Archbishop Dunstan	Edmund as king and martyr; his incorrupt body compared with St. Cuthbert
Chapter 1	Historical presentation of East Anglia; how the Germanic tribes assumed government of all England	N/A
Chapter 2	Topographical description of East Anglia ¹⁵⁴	N/A
Chapter 3	Edmund's characteristics	Edmund as "most holy and by God accepted"; ¹⁵⁵ raised from the noble stock of the Saxons; pious from boyhood; set on the throne by unanimous decision of the people; his face exuded authority; serene heart; mild-mannered; of gentle speech; kind; humble, gentle, just judge; educated in religion; had vision of his martyrdom when he was young
Chapter 4	Edmund's government	Edmund as kind; gentle but cunning; good acts for the church; patient like Job; humble

¹⁵² Arnold 1890: lxiv. Arnold does not provide a date for the three other MSS which formed the basis for his edition of *PE*, but he singles out Lambeth Palace MS 362 as being from the eleventh century, which suggests that the other three are of a younger provenance.

¹⁵³ Hervey 1907: 6-59.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Bede 1969: 14ff.

¹⁵⁵ [*S*]anctissimus deoque acceptus.

Chapter 5	Description of the Danes	N/A
Chapter 6	Coming of the Danes	Edmund as <i>rex gloriosus</i> ; strong in arms
Chapter 7	Hingwar sends a messenger to Edmund	N/A
Chapter 8	Edmund discusses Hingwar's treat with a bishop	Edmund as most holy and most blessed king;
Chapter 9	Edmund's response to the messenger	N/A
Chapter 10	Edmund seized, tortured and killed	Edmund as holy king; <i>imitatio Christi</i> ; compared to Sebastian
Chapter 11	Edmund's head is taken into the woods	Edmund's <i>imitatio Christi</i>
Chapter 12	The English look for the head; the miracle of the speaking head; miracle of the wolf ¹⁵⁶	Edmund's kindness and clemency; holy king; athlete of God (by reference); ¹⁵⁷ blessed king and martyr
Chapter 13	The head is brought back; the interment of Edmund's body; God performs miracles ¹⁵⁸	Edmund's head as a precious pearl; ¹⁵⁹ most blessed king and martyr; his merit before God
Chapter 14	The story of Oswen	Edmund's body is incorrupt; holy king and martyr; blessed martyr
Chapter 15	The miracle of the thieves; Theodred's penitence; Edmund's body is incorrupt	Edmund as holy king; holy martyr; protective of his shrine; his incorrupt body
Chapter 16	The punishment of Leofstan	Edmund as holy king and martyr; his incorruption
Chapter 17	Summary; meditation on Edmund's incorruption as a sign of his virginity	Edmund as incorrupt; as a virgin; his humility as a king;

Having seen this overview, I wish to elaborate on some sections of *PE*. For instance, chapter three presents Edmund as a typical *rex iustus* figure, covering his pleasant manner and gentleness, his humility, his sense of justice and equity, and also his descent from a line of kings, which Abbo makes clear by way of a quotation from Horatius, *Ode* 1.1.1.¹⁶⁰ It should also be noted that Abbo's description of Edmund's accession to the kingship by unanimous election with a undertone of hesitation on the part of the one being elected, is reminiscent of the story of how St. Martin became

¹⁵⁶ Abbo explains this typologically with a reference to Balaam's donkey (Numbers 22:21-23). In *HM* the miraculous healing of a mute is compared to the divinely-given speech of Balaam's donkey (Herman 2014: 50).

¹⁵⁷ Abbo notes that Edmund's most holy body was found *in eodem campi ubi rex occubuit, completo cursu sui certaminis*, in the same field where the king was killed, having finished the race of his contest (2 Timothy 4:7).

¹⁵⁸ *[O]perum exhibitione multipliciter propalevit*, made visible through the display of numerous works.

¹⁵⁹ It is described as *inestimabilis pretii margaritam*, inestimably precious pearl.

¹⁶⁰ Winterbottom notes that Abbo also employs this allusion in *Patrologia Latina* CXXXIX 470. The allusion is found in an *Apologeticus* addressed to Hugh Capet and his son Robert II who were joint kings of France from 987 to 996. Abbo addresses the quotation to Robert and renders it *atavis regibus editum*. Interestingly this phrase from Horatius is also found in an antiphon of the second nocturne of Matins in the office of Edward the Confessor (Hope 2012: X).

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bishop of Tours.¹⁶¹ Although there are no overt textual similarities to show this, we do know that elsewhere in *PE* Abbo does insert phrases taken from the *Vita Martini* by Sulpicius Severus, as noted by Winterbottom.¹⁶²

Moreover, in chapter four, we are told that Edmund was a kind king, and that he “combined a dove-like simplicity of gentleness with a serpent-like shrewdness of cunning”.¹⁶³ This is taken from Matthew 10:16, where Christ exhorts his disciples to cultivate those two qualities to ensure that they exercise good works but are not duped by the Devil. Edmund thus fulfils Christ’s prerequisite for a good disciple. This was also how Edmund ensured that justice was fulfilled, as he was not tricked by false testimony. He also sought to increase his knowledge, and he was humble. Moreover, he was “a most clement father to the widows and orphans”,¹⁶⁴ he excelled in good acts for the church and for Christ, and he was patient like Job – all traits that belong to a typical *rex iustus*. Furthermore, Abbo underlines Edmund’s lack of pride by a quotation Ecclesiasticus 32:1, but with a slight change to make it better fit the case of Edmund. The original passage reads *Rectorem te posuerunt? noli extolli: esto in illis quasi unus ex ipsis*. In *PE* this is changed to *Principem te constituerant? Noli extolli, sed esto in illis quasi unus ex illis*.¹⁶⁵ In this way, the equity of Edmund’s government and his refusal to let his title of prince make him prideful.

The Christological aspect of Edmund is also hinted at in chapter five, even though Edmund is not mentioned by name, as the satanic dimension of the Danes elevates the passion story from a conflict between two rulers to a typological repetition of the passion of Christ.¹⁶⁶ In light of this, it is interesting that in chapter six Abbo describes how Edmund, *rex gloriosus*, was powerful of arms and most vigorous of all warlike men. In other words, Edmund waged war against the Danes, but Abbo merely mentions this in passing, choosing not to provide any details about Edmund’s feat of

¹⁶¹ Sulpicius Severus, *De Vita Beati Martini Liber Unus*, chapter IX (Patrologia Latina XX 165).

¹⁶² Winterbottom 1972: 70, 71 and also 72 (though the latter is based upon Sulpicius Severus’ *Dialogi* rather than *Vita Martini*). The allusions to St. Martin seem to be limited to these chapters, which suggest that Abbo had Martin in mind while writing this part of *PE*. This in turn strengthens the idea that the election of Edmund is modelled on that of Martin.

¹⁶³ *Siquidem ita columbinae simplicitatis mansuetudine temperavit serpentinae colliditatis astutiam*.

¹⁶⁴ *[P]upillis viduis dementissimum pater*. This is perhaps one of the strongest links to the biblical typology of the *rex iustus*. In the New Testament, this is perhaps expressed most strongly in James 1:27. In the Old Testament, the best example might be found in Psalm 67:5-6 (in *Vulgata*). See also Deuteronomy 14:29; Job 22:9; Isaiah 10:2; and Malachi 3:5.

¹⁶⁵ “They set you as ruler? Refuse to be praised, but be among them as one of them” (Ecclesiasticus). “They elevated you as prince? Refuse to be praised, but be among them as one of them” (*PE*).

¹⁶⁶ Chapter five of *PE* contains an erudite and complex portrayal of the Danes which combines biblical and classical imagery. I have treated this in greater detail in Hope 2017A and Hope forthcoming.

arms. It appears as if Abbo included Edmund's participation in warfare out of necessity due to historiographical record – such as *ASC* – had firmly established his participation in battle against the Danes, but that he chose to pass over it very quickly as the image of Edmund as a new Christ was at odds with any military engagement. It is also interesting to see that Edmund is the one who lectures the bishop on the proper behavior of a Christian king, and that this is backed up with the statement that it is honourable to die for the fatherland – possibly alluding to Horatius' Ode III, 2.13.¹⁶⁷ Edmund's reference to the thrice confirmed commitment to Christ through baptism, confirmation, and coronation serves to present Edmund more strongly.

Edmund's passion story is also full of important details. Edmund is seized with his arms outstretched like Christ, and he is bound and put before the impious leader as Christ before Pilate (explicitly compared). Edmund wishes to follow in Christ's path, and he is mocked and beaten while calling out for Christ. This is an *imitatio Christi* where Abbo describes the Christological typology of Edmund in great detail. Abbo also connects Edmund with St. Sebastian by way of torture, since Edmund was perforated with arrows in the manner of the famous martyr Sebastian. The connection with Sebastian might also be a way to facilitate an even stronger typological connection between the Danes and the Romans, and thus between Edmund and the early Christian saints, since it was the Romans who tortured Sebastian. The representation of the Danes as pagan Romans is also strengthened by the reference to them as *lanistis*, since in Classical Latin this refers to a trainer of gladiators. One further reference deserves to be addressed here, and that is Abbo's reference to Edmund as the ram of the elect, an image which invokes the ram which Abraham sacrificed in place of Isaac in Genesis 22:2, a connection which is lexically further strengthened by Abbo's description of Edmund's martyrdom as a *holocaustum*, which is the term found in the Vulgate for the sacrifice of the ram. The *imitatio Christi* is further heightened in chapter eleven by Abbo's alternating references to Edmund and Christ, making it difficult for the reader or listener to distinguish clearly between the two. Of other elements, it bears emphasising that the miracle of the eight thieves in chapter fifteen is probably the foundation for the formulation of Edmund as a protective patron, which finds its most forceful formulation in *HM*. Moreover, we should note that abbo creates a link between Edmund and another of old saints, namely St. Laurentius with a

¹⁶⁷ Abbo's phrase *gloriosum est enim mori pro domino* is reminiscent of Horatius' Ode III, 2.13: *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. There are obvious differences between the ode and the responsory, but I would argue that *gloriosum est* and *decorum est* are similar enough to suggest a deliberate intertextuality. Similarly, *mori pro domino* and *pro patria mori* are very close in how they sound. This argument is buttressed by the fact that we already do have references to Horatius in *PE*.

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reference to Gregory the Great's account in *Dialogi*. This is also presumably included to provide Edmund with some of the authoritative aura of Laurentius. Another interesting detail is that in chapter 10, Edmund is said to have received a vision of Heaven just before his death. This is a common feature of saint-stories, and can also be seen in the story of Olaf's vision on the night before his martyrdom (cf. chapter 4).

Briefly put, we see that the aspect of Edmund's textual iconography which is most important to Abbo is, unsurprisingly, his *imitatio Christi*, which is presented in a way that leaves no room for doubt as to Edmund's likeness to Christ. We also see that Abbo frequently makes the reference to Edmund as a holy king and martyr. Furthermore, Edmund fulfils the typical image of the *rex iustus* through his clemency, his mildness, his care for the church, his justice, and his care for the widows and orphans. Edmund is unanimously elected by his people, and he is also a virgin as shown by the incorruption of his body. He also embraced Christ from an early age, and was told of his martyrdom in a childhood revelation. Other references such as the possible connection to Saint Martin, the overt comparison to St. Sebastian, the simile with the sacrificial ram of Abraham, and his military capability all go together to add detail to the image, but these are of lesser importance.

Herman and Goscelin's miracle collections

As mentioned above, two collections of miracles associated with Edmund were written at Bury or for its monastic community towards the end of the eleventh century. The eldest of these was *HM*, written by Herman. The identity of the younger of the two collections has long been a matter of some discussion, but in his edition and translation of the two works from 2014, Tom Licence has identified the author of this second collection (hence *GM*) as the professional saint-biographer Goscelin of Saint-Bertin (d. c.1107).

As told in its prologue, *HM* was written on the behest of Abbot Baldwin, in order to preserve the miracle accounts for posterity.¹⁶⁸ Goscelin's motivation for writing *GM* is not as clear, but judging from his references to how Herman fell into disgrace for allowing people from outside the abbey to see Edmund's clothes, it appears that there might have been some desire to substitute the work of a disgraced monk with that of another monk.¹⁶⁹ However, it is clear from the dissemination of *HM*

¹⁶⁸ Herman 2014: 1-2.

¹⁶⁹ Goscelin 2014: 294-95.

and, as pointed out by Rebecca Pinner,¹⁷⁰ its frequent appearance alongside *PE* in manuscripts, that *HM* retained the authoritative status intended by its commissioner, Abbot Baldwin. The most important testimony to the central position of *HM* in the Bury material is that *HM*'s account of the punishment of Svend Forkbeard and the exile in London provides the readings for the office of Edmund's vigil as recorded in Pierpont Morgan MS 736. In the following, I wish to give an overview of how these two miracle collections fit into and contribute to the high canon of the Edmund legend as cultivated at Bury. I will briefly touch on the iconographical features of Saint Edmund which can be found in these two works, both to demonstrate how they continue the saint-biographical image as set down in *PE*, but also how new features are implemented. Since *HM* is the collection which clearly had the greater impact, this work will receive most attention.

Edmund in Herman's De Miraculis

HM provides an overview of what Herman apparently considered the most central miracle stories concerning Edmund from after the time of Abbo to his own days. In chapter 2, Herman presents a list of the kings of England after Edmund, and as such the story of Edmund is provided a more clearly pronounced historical framework. The most important contribution that Herman made to the legend of Saint Edmund, however, can be found in chapters 4 to 10, in which we are told how Svend Forkbeard was divinely punished for his taxation of Bury St Edmunds. This presentation of Edmund's ability to acquire divine retribution for offences against him can be said to build on what Abbo established in chapter 15 of *PE*, as mentioned above.¹⁷¹ *HM*'s account, however, has a far greater ramification for the iconography of Saint Edmund. In *PE*, the thieves were killed by a bishop overreaching his jurisdiction, but in Herman's story Edmund himself has divine licence to punish the Danish king. Edmund is thus rendered as a protective patron who causes punishment to be brought on those who trespass against him, being the agent of God's punishment. Throughout *HM*, it is this feature of Saint Edmund which is most frequently mentioned, with the obvious exception of the multiple references to him as martyr and holy king. Herman emphasises that

¹⁷⁰ Pinner 2015: 46. Cf. Thomas Arnold's list of MSS for his edition of *HM* in Arnold 1890: lxiv.

¹⁷¹ It is important here to note that although this story is often presented as Edmund being the performer of the miracle, we must remember that according to medieval theology of miracles, it is God who is the performing part, acting through the saints by His divine power. In Herman's account Edmund is described as piercing Svend Forkbeard through the heart, but this is Edmund functioning as the vessel for God's *virtus*, or power.

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Edmund is the defender of East Anglia, the patron of the counties.¹⁷² Edmund is also described as punishing those who transgress by disrespect towards him and his merits with God, as we saw in *PE*, but this form of patronage seems less important to the more protective form of Edmund's patronage.¹⁷³

Rebecca Pinner has suggested that this emphasis on Edmund's protective patronage can be understood in light of the ecclesiastical climate of the post-conquest period, in which continental churchmen like Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury sought to reform the English church and the cult of saints in England.¹⁷⁴ It makes perfect sense to understand why Herman, and also Goscelin, were both very concerned with the protection of Bury's ecclesiastical liberty. As Herman tells us, Abbot Baldwin went to Rome to obtain exemption from episcopal control in 1071, and the later decades of the eleventh century was marked by conflicts between the abbots of Bury and the bishops of East Anglia, such as Herfast and Herbert of Losinga. This is possibly also why both Herman and Goscelin emphasise the patronage of kings towards Bury, and why Knud II and Edward the Confessor are such important figures in Bury's representation of its own history. However, the question remains whether the image of Edmund as a protective, punitive patron was one that was projected onto the recent past of Svend Forkbeard's brief reign from the vantage point of Bury's conflicts with post-conquest bishops, or whether it was an image that had emerged as a consequence of Svend's abrupt death and was then later used in post-conquest Bury to enhance its standing vis-à-vis the bishops of East Anglia. This question cannot be answered. In any case, it is difficult to overestimate the shift in Edmund's image that this story represents, and the presentation of Edmund as a much more active saint can be seen as a predominant feature of later texts. As we will see in the section on the office, this shift can be seen in how the liturgists at Bury adapted *PE* for the office readings in such a way that Edmund becomes a more active figure.

Another miracle account in *HM* which appears to have been very popular is the story of how the monk Aelfwine brought Edmund's body to London in a cart out of fear of Danish ravagings, and how the cart seemed to be moved by divine power to such an extent that it could even cross a bridge that was too narrow. As mentioned, in Goscelin's retelling of the story it is overtly cast as an

¹⁷² For Edmund's patronage and protection: Herman 2014: 10-11, 14-27, 40-41 (defender of East Anglia), 72-73 (patron of these counties), 80-81, 84-85, 96-97.

¹⁷³ For this feature: Herman 2014: 36-37, 54-59.

¹⁷⁴ Pinner 2015: 87-88.

imitatio Christi by way of its similarity to the flight into Egypt.¹⁷⁵ The use of this episode in the office for the vigil, together with the introduction of the exile *topos* in the third responsory of the office for Edmund's feast day (see below), does suggest that the feature of exile becomes an added part of Saint Edmund's legend in this period (as it is not found in *PE*). The episode also has an interesting echo of the legend of St. Cuthbert, since Cuthbert's body was also carried in a cart that was moved by divine power. Beyond the presentation of Edmund as a more actively protective patron, Herman largely continues the saint-biographical image of Edmund as it had been drawn up by Abbo. Edmund is a martyr and a holy king, he is a *miles Christi*, an athlete of God, and he is depicted as having a noble, handsome and youthful appearance.¹⁷⁶ It should be mentioned that although Abbo does not himself apply the term "athlete of God" in *PE*, his reference in chapter 12 to Edmund having won the race is an invocation of this *topos*. The term is also used in the liturgical office, for example in the seventh antiphon of Matins (MA7).

Some further minor features do nonetheless seem to appear for the first time in Edmund's legend in *HM*. Herman describes Edmund as a healing physician on account of the curative miracles brought about at his shrine, and Edmund is seen in dream visions to personally administer the medicine.¹⁷⁷ This might be understood in the rise in medical knowledge and activity at Bury which followed the appointment of Abbot Baldwin, former physician to Edward the Confessor.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, Herman provides a miracle account in which Edmund is said to intervene on behalf of seafarers about to suffer shipwreck, a patronage that was previously – as both Herman and Goscelin point out – the patronage of St. Nicholas.¹⁷⁹ Herman also likens Edmund's destruction of Svend Forkbeard to how St. Mercurius brought about the death of Julian the Apostate, but this is not a detail that is dwelt upon to any great length.¹⁸⁰ These minor features do not, however, seem to affect either the saint-biographical or the liturgical images of Saint Edmund.

Edmund in Goscelin's De Miraculis

Although *GM* is both later and more expansive, it does not seem to have had a significant impact on

¹⁷⁵ Herman 2014: 28-41; Goscelin 2014: 184-85.

¹⁷⁶ Herman 2014: 12-13 (*miles Christi*), 90-91, 94-95, 106-07 (his appearance), and 118-19 (athlete of God).

¹⁷⁷ Hermanus 2014: 46-47, 106-07.

¹⁷⁸ For details: Banham 2014 and Gullick 2014.

¹⁷⁹ Herman 2014: 88-91; Goscelin 2014: 264-271, 298-303

¹⁸⁰ Herman 2014: 20-21.

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later formulations of Saint Edmund, and there is nothing in the liturgical image which can be traced to *GM* rather than *HM*. Accordingly, I will only briefly give an outline of the image of Saint Edmund in *GM* here. Goscelin's presentation of Edmund builds on both *PE* and *HM*. Accordingly, Edmund is presented as a martyr and holy king, a *miles Christi*, an athlete of God, an imitator of Christ, a healing physician, a man of noble and beautiful appearance, a pearl, a protective patron, an a saint with patronage of seafaring. As mentioned above, Goscelin provides a more pronounced interpretation of Edmund's journey to London as an exile in the manner of the flight into Egypt, but this is not in and of itself new. Goscelin does also formulate Edmund as the patron of all of England, *totus Anglie patronum*,¹⁸¹ but this does not seem to have left an imprint on the liturgical image as it can be found in antiphons composed by Warner of Rebas prior to the writing of *GM*. Some references in *GM* do compare or connect Edmund with other saints, such as the comparison of one miracle with a miracle associated with St. Zeno of Verona, a healing miracle that occurred on the feast of John the Baptist, and a comparison with the patriarch Jacob.¹⁸² These seem to have had no effect on later texts, however.

Summary remarks to the saint-biographical image of Saint Edmund

The saint-biographical image of Edmund underwent some significant developments in the course of the eleventh century, yet it still retained the core features as formulated in *PE*. Edmund is shown as a martyr, a holy king, a *rex iustus* (which entails a whole range of characteristics), a man of noble and handsome appearance, a soldier of Christ, an athlete of God, and a saint who imitated Christ in death. Furthermore, the miracle stories included in *PE* present Edmund as a patron who brings about protection for his shrine, and as a saint who brings about punishment for insults.

In *HM*, Edmund's role as a patron is accentuated due to the stories of Svend Forkbeard's death and the punishment of Osgod Clapa, for instance.¹⁸³ Moreover, Herman presents Edmund as a *defensor*, and it is clear that his patronage extends not only to his shrine but to the abbey, whose inhabitants are Edmund's special friends, and also to all of East Anglia. Edmund has become a patron saint of the entire region, and a saint that has taken a much more active part in the miracles associated with him. He has now become the vessel through whom God metes out the miracles that benefit

¹⁸¹ Goscelin 2014: 300-01.

¹⁸² Goscelin 2014: 268-69 (compared with Zeno), 272-73 (John the Baptist), 290-91 (the patriarch Jacob).

¹⁸³ Herman 2014: 56.

Edmund's reputation, his *fama sanctitatis*. In this we can see how Bury St Edmunds has reformulated Edmund as a more active patron and intercessor in matters of conflict. Rebecca Pinner has already pointed out how this is shown in the high percentage of punitive miracles associated with Edmund in *HM*.¹⁸⁴ In addition to Edmund's more active patronage, the depictions of him as a healing physician, as a saint in exile, and as a patron of seafarers, contribute to an expanded saint-biographical image. As for the new features introduced in *GM*, it does not seem that they have been retained.

The liturgical iconography of Saint Edmund

The most extensive primary source for the liturgical veneration of Saint Edmund at Bury is the manuscript Pierpont Morgan M. 736, which was written in the early twelfth century, possibly in the period 1125-35.¹⁸⁵ This manuscript contains a copy of *PE* and of *HM*, with lavish illuminations depicting some of the most important scenes in the narrative. From f87r to f100r the manuscript contains liturgical chants and readings for the office of Edmund's vigil (f.87r-89v) and the office for Edmund's feast-day (f.89v-100r). The manuscript is incomplete as it breaks off during the chants for Lauds, and thus only three chants from the Lauds office have survived. Although the manuscript itself is roughly dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century, the liturgy itself is most likely entirely from the eleventh century. The chants and the readings from the feast-day office are drawn from *PE*, while the office for the vigil takes its material from *HM*. Henry Parkes has suggested that the vigil office was composed in the 1090s, and he also suggests that it was Herman himself who undertook the conversion of his own prose into liturgical verse.¹⁸⁶ Andrew Hughes suggests 1097 as the date of composition for the vigil, two years after the translation of Edmund's relics.¹⁸⁷ As for the office for the feast-day, Parkes suggests that the Vespers material was largely composed in the 1070s, while the remaining office chants were composed in the period 1020-60.¹⁸⁸ This dating is based on the hypothesis that the manuscript København Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1588 quarto – in which thirty-two chants for the feast-day office survive incompletely – was written c.1060. The

¹⁸⁴ Pinner 2015: 51-58.

¹⁸⁵ Parkes 2014: 138. For the more precise dating: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?SC=Author&SA=Pierpont%20Morgan%20Library%2E%20Manuscript%2E%20M%2E736%2E&PID=ESKc0pK2xoMhPN42VJK6mYpLsIN7&BROWSE=1&HC=50&SID=1>.

¹⁸⁶ Parkes 2014. For the dating: 38-39; for the suggested identification of Herman as the composer of the vigil office: 152-57.

¹⁸⁷ Hughes 1993: 382.

¹⁸⁸ Parkes 2014: 139.

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Copenhagen Royal Library, however, allows for a dating within 1050-1100.¹⁸⁹ As the chants are written in Anglo-Saxon neumes the liturgy was unquestionably composed in the eleventh century.¹⁹⁰ This does not mean, however, that the liturgy was composed in the early part of Baldwin's abbacy. Neither does it automatically follow that the use of Anglo-Saxon neumes necessitates a pre-conquest date of composition.¹⁹¹ Andrew Hughes, in his characterisation of the chants of MS Pierpont Morgan 736, suggests that the Vespers antiphons were composed before 1087 by the visiting Abbot Warner of Rebais in Normandy, and the remaining chants "probably 1065-87".¹⁹² I follow Hughes's hypothesis, since this allows for a composition at a post-conquest date, suggesting that the changed ecclesiastical climate of the period gave the impetus to developments in the cult of Saint Edmund, such as the building of the new church, the translation of Edmund's relics, and indeed the composition of *HM* and *GM*. The office also contains readings taken from *PE*. These readings have not yet been subject to scholarly analysis, and in the following I will examine them together with the chants.

The oldest textual evidence for a liturgy for Saint Edmund are hymns, a prayer, and a collect found in four early-eleventh-century manuscripts. This material is presented in some detail by Henry Parkes.¹⁹³ The manuscripts in question are Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 12 (a psalter which contains a prayer), London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 362 and London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D xii (both containing hymns for Edmund's feast), and finally Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391 (contains a single collect for Edmund, MS dated to the 1060s).¹⁹⁴ The scant surviving Anglo-Saxon material suggests that the liturgical celebration for Edmund was initially restricted to a handful of items, and we should expect that the lessons as well as the antiphons and the responsories for the feast-day were taken from the common of one martyr. The hymns, however, are based on *PE*, and this illustrates the close connection between a saint-biographical *vita* and the liturgical texts, even at a very early stage.

The office for the vigil of Edmund's feast day - analysis

¹⁸⁹ <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/107/eng/> (accessed 29.06.17).

¹⁹⁰ Parkes 2014: 138.

¹⁹¹ Andrew Hughes makes the same point about the music of the Edmund office (Hughes 1993: 394).

¹⁹² Hughes 1993: 382; 392.

¹⁹³ Parkes 2014: 137-38.

¹⁹⁴ Parkes 2014: 137-38.

The vigil antiphons – items [1], [3], [4], [5], [6]

The vigil magnificat antiphon, item [1], summarises the miracle story of Svend Forkbeard's death. Edmund is hailed as very strong and magnificent king and martyr, who destroys the most wicked Svend. It is particularly interesting to see how the destruction of Svend is compared with how Svend wrought destruction upon Edmund's farmers, *colonos*. This reference suggests Edmund avenges his people, and casts Edmund as a patron of not just the monks but the people of the region. The invitatory antiphon, item [3], proclaims that the feast of Edmund is arriving, and by venerating Edmund they venerate God. This fits well with the theme of coming together to exult God which we find in the Invitatory Psalm (94). The vigil also contains three further antiphons for Matins. According to the manuscript they belong to the first nocturne, but there is no text indicating the start of the second nocturne, and these antiphons are the only Matins antiphons of the vigil. The corresponding psalms for the antiphons are not provided. Together the three Matins antiphons continue the story of Svend Forkbeard's death. We are told that Edmund punished the invader of England because of his taxes (item [4]), how Edmund, the martyr, relieves the people, his *familia*, of their fear and their tribute through the help of holy power (item [5]),¹⁹⁵ and how the monks at Bury – the cultivators at Beodricsworth – gather before Edmund's shrine and are aided by God's power and mercy (item [6]). The material is taken from Herman. We should note the Roman connotations of *colonos* and *familia*.

The vigil lessons and the responsories – items [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14]

The lessons take their material directly from *HM*, and together they tell the account of Svend Forkbeard's death. The elements covered in the lessons are elaborated upon in the corresponding responsories. Together, these items present as a *historia* for the Matins of the vigil how Edmund brought about the death of Svend. The story is compartmentalised into episodes according to the lessons and their responsories. The vigil *historia* begins with how Aelfwine was chosen as the ambassador after the cultivators at Bury had presented their lament at the shrine to their father Edmund (items [7-8]). The next episode concludes the explanation for why Aelfwine is chosen and gives the account of how happy Edmund came to Svend in a dream and commanded him to cease exacting tribute from Edmund's people (items [9]-[10]). This breaks up the narrative of *HM* since

¹⁹⁵ It is worth noting that the holy power, *sancta potens*, is not said to belong to Edmund, and should be understood to come from God.

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Svend's vision of Edmund appears before Aelfwine's embassy. The embassy is instead recounted afterwards, and it is told how Aelfwine was spurned and how – as told in the responsory – Edmund punished Svend even though he was far away in Heaven, next to God (items [11]-[12]). The breaking up of the narrative might be a mistake in the transmission and copying, since there is no clear reason how this alteration of the narrative brings about change in the image of Edmund. The final episode tells of the vision of the dying man, a vision given so that the “triumph of eminent Edmund” should not be hidden (items [13]-[14]).

The vigil laudes antiphons – items [15], [16], [17], [18], [19]

The antiphons for the laudes of the vigil take their material from two different accounts from *MH*, but these two accounts are fused together in such a way that the first two antiphons gives material from the beginning of the account of Svend Forkbeard's death and continues with how Aelfwine put Edmund's body in a cart to escape from Danish attacks. The rest of this latter miracle story is then continued in the following three antiphons. It appears as if the material from the first story is included to explain why Aelfwine was given the mission to transport Edmund's body. The remaining three antiphons each tell part of the account of the journey in the cart in such a way that each antiphon tells its material as an individual miracle account. The first two antiphons recount the devotions that Aelfwine paid to the incorrupt body of holy Edmund, mentioning how he washed the body (item [15]), and how he combed Edmund's hair and preserved the individual hairs in a box (item [16]). Then it is told, still in item [16], that the Danes invaded and that the body of Christ's witness Edmund was taken away on a cart lest it should fall prey to the Danes. The next antiphon, item [17], then tells of how Edmund's merit was made known when a bright light illuminated the cart in the night. The remaining two antiphons, items [18] and [19] recount how Edmund's cart crossed the river aided by divine power. Edmund is here described as most holy, and his journey over the water is likened to the walking on the Sea of Genesareth by Peter (Matthew 14:22-33).

The office for Edmund's feast day – analysis of the lessons and responsories

First lesson, first responsory – items [40] and [41]

The first lesson for Matins (ML1) is based on chapter 3 of *PE* and contains the image of Edmund as

a *rex iustus*, the just king who combines kingship and Christian virtues, and who manages to retain his god-given holiness despite being placed in a worldly office. In the responsory (MR1) the text opens with a reference to the inborn holiness of the boy Edmund, and continues by referring to his lineage and how God shaped him into *sue milicie*, his soldier. Edmund is then referred to as God's "coinheritor". The verse [v] continues on the theme of Edmund's holiness from childhood, which "shone with the gifts of the Holy Spirit".¹⁹⁶ The repetenda [r] repeats the image of Edmund as the coinheritor of Heaven.

The most salient feature of ML1 and MR1 is that of Edmund's holiness from an early age. Indeed, MR1 goes one step further than ML1, calling the holiness inborn. Furthermore, MR1 presents the course of Edmund's life as predetermined, and that he was shaped by God to become His coinheritor and His soldier.¹⁹⁷ MR1 elaborates on the imagery of Edmund's childhood piety and adds unto it the militant image of *miles Christi*. The idea of Edmund as soldier of Christ is repeated throughout the office. In addition to the inborn holiness and the image of the soldier of Christ, MR1 also picks up ML1's treatment of Edmund's royal lineage. MR1 contains three points of interest: Edmund's inborn holiness, his royal lineage, and the imagery of the soldier of Christ.

Second lesson, second responsory – items [42] and [43]

The second lesson (ML2) speaks of Edmund's government according to chapter 4 of *PE*. The lesson ends with a description of how the goodness of Edmund aroused the envy of Satan, which in turned caused him to send the Danes into Britain.¹⁹⁸ We see typical traits of the *rex iustus*, both through the justice and humility of his judgement but also through his close connection with the Church.¹⁹⁹ The responsory (MR2) retains the *rex iustus* imagery of ML2 in the reference to Edmund as *princeps dei*. MR2 begins by talking of Edmund's glory and prosperity with which he "rose to the throne of the kingdom when in the temple of God and shone like a pillar of light". The verse then mentions Edmund's glorious powers, his holiness and his piety. The repetenda repeats "when in the temple of God and shone like a pillar of light".

¹⁹⁶ Possibly a reference to the gifts of the Holy Spirit presented to Isaiah (Isaiah 11:2-5).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Jeremiah 1:5. "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, before you were born I set you apart"

¹⁹⁸ Cf. the devil's role in stirring up the Danes against Knud Rex.

¹⁹⁹ Vauchez 2005: 164.

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In MR2, Edmund's kingship is expressed in terms strongly reminiscent of important figures of the Old Testament. This is most clearly seen in the idea of Edmund like a pillar of light, which evokes the image of the pillar sent by God to lead the Israelites through the wilderness (Exodus 13:21-22).²⁰⁰ That Edmund is made king "when in the temple of God" is presumably a nod to the idea that kings only receive their authority as secular rulers from the Church and thus ultimately from God. Although this is treated very briefly we see that it is emphasised through a repetition in the repetenda, and this strengthens its position in MR2. The idea of kingship conferred through the authority of priests has strong roots in the Old Testament, and is seen perhaps most clearly in the figures of Saul and David.²⁰¹ This ideal of kingship is further expressed in the letter of Pope Gelasius I to Emperor Anastasius, in which the authority of the Church is claimed to be superior to that of the king.²⁰² In sum, MR2 retains the imagery of Edmund as a *rex iustus*, but elaborates upon it and provides it with a more biblical dimension through its references to Exodus and the Old Testament kingship through divine authority.

Third lesson, third responsory – items [44] and [45]

The third lesson (ML3) deals mostly with the invasion by the Danes, and provides a detailed description of their ravages in England. About Edmund we are told that he is glorious, in the prime of his life and powerful of arms. He is also described as "the most vigorous of all warlike men". But the description of Edmund is framed by the account of the Danish attack. Consequently, at the end of the lesson, the text returns to the Danish attackers and concludes with Hingwar leading his men to the royal longhouse in Haegilisdun. The responsory (MR3) takes as its starting point Hingwar's order to his soldier. Hingwar is not mentioned by name, but only referred to as "the cruel tyrant". In this way, Edmund becomes the only named character in MR3, and even though the first part of the responsory proper is a summary of Hingwar's orders and Edmund is only mentioned passively in that part, there is no other name to distract from Edmund becoming the centre of attention to the performers of the liturgy. In ML3, Hingwar's threats are not yet known, but they will be in ML4. These threats are, however, anticipated in the opening of MR3. Thus, in MR3 the threats are brought into play earlier than in the original narrative. Thus, MR3 points to Edmund's eventual

²⁰⁰ Since Edmund is not a missionary king as is the case with some royal saints, this is not to be taken as a metaphor for Edmund leading his people out of the pagan darkness. Instead, we should perhaps see this as an expression of Edmund's secular government, which is an example for others.

²⁰¹ Cf. 1 Samuel 9:17 for the salving of Saul; 1 Samuel 16:13 for the salving of David.

²⁰² For translations of this letter: Robinson 1905: 72-73; <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/gelasius1.asp>.

martyrdom. After Edmund's options have been disclosed, the text goes on to say that Edmund gained victory in the end. The verse then tells how Edmund, "with all constancy of heart", despised Hingwar's offer, while the *repetenda* repeats the statement that Edmund in the end gained victory.

The primary emphasis of MR3 is Edmund's choice of martyrdom, and that no threat could sway him. But MR3 also adds one *topos* which is not present in *PE* at all, namely that of exile. For in MR3 it is stated that Edmund will be given the choice of exile or death, whereas in *PE* the choice stands between submission or death. The *topos* of exile is an old and widespread motif of saints' lives,²⁰³ and it is also a *topos* which has a strong echo of biblical typology. There are two main archetypes of exile in the Bible. In the Old Testament this is the patriarch Jacob, son of Isaac and Rebekah, who is sent away from his fatherland in Genesis 28ff. In the New Testament, the archetype of exile is the flight into Egypt as told in Matthew 2. Exile is therefore a *topos* that links Edmund both to Jacob and Christ, and even though Edmund does not take this option and never goes into exile, the reference of the word alone is enough to invoke this typology. This idea of exile is a novelty of the office, and its mention in MR3 echoes its first appearance in the third antiphon of Matins (item [31]), in addition to *HM* and *GM*. In the context of MR3 as a whole, exile occupies only a small part and the main emphasis is Edmund's choice of martyrdom. This is found both in the responsory proper, the verse, and the *repetenda*.

Fourth lesson, fourth responsory – items [46] and [47]

The fourth lesson (ML4) is a very long text and its narrative can be divided into two parts. In the first, Hingwar instructs the messenger he sends to Edmund and the messenger delivers his embassy. The second part is a long monologue by Edmund, formed as a reply to the messenger. In Edmund's monologue, the holy king delivers in effect a sermon on how baptism binds Christians to the love of Christ – perhaps to be understood as a conversion attempt. Edmund concludes this sermon by saying that he will follow the example of Christ – i.e. perform an *imitatio Christi* – and accept death from the Danes. The responsory (MR4) begins by addressing Edmund as a soldier of Christ, *miles Christi*, saying that he was full of the Holy Spirit. The text then moves on to Edmund's refusal to bend for threats – as was expounded in MR3 – and the responsory proper ends with the words "for it was glorious to die for the Lord". The verse then states that "Fire and iron is more pleasant to me

²⁰³ Other royal saints such as Olaf. Knud and Edward the Confessor were also sent into exile.

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than honey and honeycomb” and ends on the doxology, i.e. *gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto*. The repetenda repeats that it is glorious to die for the Lord.

MR4 is solely concerned with martyrdom, and in the repetenda the benefit of martyrdom is repeated in the clearest, most unequivocal manner: it is glorious, a sentiment strengthened by the inclusion of the lesser doxology in the verse. This inclusion is noteworthy, because the lesser doxology is not commonly used in responsories, but instead “recited at the end of psalms, canticles, and hymns, and near the beginning of most Offices”.²⁰⁴ Possibly, its inclusion here is meant to buttress the conclusion of the responsory proper. The main content of the verse itself is also an evocation of martyrdom, and refers to two typical manners of torture recounted in classical martyr stories. There is also another reference to martyrdom in MR4, namely that Edmund, when he spoke, was filled with the Holy Spirit. This is most likely a reference to Matthew 10: 19-20, where Christ says to his disciples that when they are persecuted and brought to trial “do not worry about what to say or how to say it (...) it will not be you speaking, but the Spirit of your Father speaking through you”.²⁰⁵ It is noteworthy that the opening of MR4 and its verse has already been used in a responsory at Vesper, item [24], although with a possible different rendition in which Edmund is called to wash away the sins of his devotees. The verse’s reference to honey and honeycomb, *mel et fauum*, comes from Psalm 18:11.²⁰⁶

Fifth lesson, fifth responsory – items [61] and [62]

The fifth lesson (ML5) recounts how Hingwar received Edmund’s reply, and how the Danes seized the king and tortured him, concluding with the famous comparison with St. Sebastian. Edmund’s *imitatio Christi* is here made as explicit as possible by a direct comparison between him and Christ. In ML5, the holiness of Edmund is emphasised more strongly than in *PE*, since ML5 contains two references to Edmund as a holy king, compared to one in *PE*. The responsory (MR5) begins with a description of Edmund’s passion. In this section he is referred to as an “invincible martyr” and also as a “veteran knight”, meaning that the soldier of Christ has now fought the battle and become a veteran. The verse describes his blood streaming down, and the repetenda repeats how Edmund

²⁰⁴ Harper 1996:297.

²⁰⁵ Note also that the many references in the chants – as well as the text from the *vita* – to Matthew 10 casts a certain Apostolic light on Edmund, since Matthew 10 recounts Christ’s advice to his apostles as he sends them into the world to preach.

²⁰⁶ As noted in Licence 2014C: 130, n.12.

endured the pains, being an invincible martyr and a veteran knight. Both ML5 and MR5 are solely concerned with martyrdom. In ML5 this meditation on martyrdom is done by a direct comparison with Christ and Sebastian. What is noteworthy, however, is that MR5 only picks up on the Christological imagery, and this is done by explaining that Edmund was set at a stake, like Christ was bound to a pillar and scourged. This leaves the Sebastian imagery out of MR5.

Sixth lesson, sixth responsory – items [63] and [64]

The sixth lesson (ML6) continues directly with the narrative of Edmund's passion and concludes with Edmund's death by beheading. In the adaptation from the *vita* to the *historia*, once more we see that Edmund's holiness is emphasised by adding in the beginning *sanctus dei martyrem*. The responsory (MR6) continues in the same vein, opening with a description of Edmund's martyrdom and confession in Christ. Hingwar – mentioned by name this time – orders the head to be cut off, and Edmund consummates – *consummavit* – the martyrdom and goes to God. The verse states that the "Head full of holiness rose to in the beheading amongst words of prayers". The repetenda picks up at Edmund's consummation and his ascent to God. ML6 and MR6, are solely concerned with martyrdom. What is particularly noteworthy about the responsory, is that the liturgists have taken the word *consummavit* from chapter eleven – which is the basis for lessons 7 and 8 – and used it in ML6. This word is a direct reference to John 19:30, where Christ exhales on the cross saying *consummatum est*. In other words, MR6 very effectively summarises Edmund's *imitatio Christi* in this one word. This word is repeated in the repetenda. The verse of MR6 is also noteworthy for its play on a paradox, which in itself is a very typical trait of Christian literature. The verse presents the decapitated head of Edmund as rising (to Heaven), a motion that counteracts the trajectory of the falling head.

Seventh lesson, seventh responsory – items [65] and [66]

The seventh lesson (ML7) continues with an elaboration of the extent of Edmund's *imitatio Christi*, and here we see Abbo's original use of *consummavit* also retained. Moreover, we see that Edmund's holiness is emphasised by the liturgists with the addition of *sanctus itaque dei martyr eadmundus* in the opening of the lesson. After having described in details the various points in which Edmund's passion resembled that of Christ, the text moves on to describe how Edmund's

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decapitated head is taken into the woods with the purpose of hindering the Christians in giving Edmund a burial.²⁰⁷ The responsory (MR7) does not dwell on the Christological imagery of Edmund's passion, but begins straightaway with the Danes taking the head into the forest. The responsory proper is concluded with a hint at the later part of the story with the statement "which Christ gloriously revealed". The verse refers to the head of Edmund as "the sign of glory and fame of the martyr". The repetenda repeats "which Christ gloriously revealed", which makes the transition from the verse to the repetenda more fluid and smooth than it often is in this office.

Eighth lesson, eighth responsory – items [67] and [69]

The eighth lesson (ML8) tells how the Christians started to look for the remains of Edmund once the Danes had moved on. The lesson ends with a reference to the donkey of Balaam (Numbers 22:21-23), which in the reorganisation of the liturgy becomes a pointer what unfolds in the next lesson (ML9). The responsory (MR8) summarises the search in accordance with the strictures of the form. The head is referred to as "reaped from the body" and the people are described as weeping and calling out to Edmund, calling him good shepherd, *pastor bone*, and pious father, *pater pie*. The verse tells how God received the sights of the faithful, and the repetenda then repeats the exclamations of the people.

Ninth lesson, ninth responsory – items [70] and [71]

The narrative of the ninth lesson (ML9) can also be divided into two parts. In the first, the text tells the story of the wolf who guarded Edmund's head. Then begins the second part, which describes the interment of Edmund's body and head in a chapel, and how in time the body was translated to a somewhat grander structure at Bedricsworth. Like ML9, the responsory (MR9) is predominantly narrative, and contains little in terms of iconography. The responsory proper contains the martyr's speech, in which Edmund refers to himself as erstwhile king and present patron before God. The verse then states that the pious father, Edmund, "grieved [for] his dear beloved whom he reinforced with this kind address", whereupon the repetenda reiterates the second half of Edmund's speech.

²⁰⁷ This resembles the fear of Roman officials that a cult might spring up around the body of a new martyr, and this fear then moves them to order the body destroyed. We have already seen how the Danes have been given the role of pagan Romans by use of the term "lanistis", and the removal of the king's head might be serving the same purpose.

From the emphasis of the responsory we see that Edmund's image as patron is made completely clear. Edmund is made to refer to himself as erstwhile king and now patron before God, and the verse adds to this the epithet "pious father". MR9 is in this way a strong reinforcement of the patriarchal imagery which already has been developed in the proper texts.

Tenth lesson, tenth responsory – items [72] and [73]

The text of the tenth lesson (ML10) conveys the first of the three miracle stories in *PE*. ML10 tells the story of Edmund's reintegrated body, "looking as if alive", and how Oswen began a practice of cutting the saint's nails and his hairs every Maundy Thursday, and then display these relics at the altar in the church, where they became objects of veneration.²⁰⁸

Eleventh lesson, eleventh responsory – items [74] and [75]

In the eleventh lesson (ML11) we are told the beginning of the second of the miracle stories in *PE*. ML11 describes how the thieves broke into the chapel of Edmund to rob it, and were seized by the power, *potentia*, of Edmund. In the responsory (MR11), on the other hand, we see once more that the narratives diverge. MR11 tells of the "distinguished body of the precious martyr" and its translation. The story itself is set in Edmund's own time since it describes how he was interred, and so it follows on directly from MR10. The responsory proper describes how the body appears as if it was still live. This is followed by the verse, which states that the only sign of martyrdom was a subtle red vein, while the *repetenda* repeats that the body looked as if it were alive.

Twelfth lesson, twelfth responsory – items [76] and [77]

The twelfth lesson (ML12) concludes the story of the thieves, and can be divided into two parts. The first part tells of the capture of thieves and their death-sentence given by Bishop Theodred. The second part, which is the longest, contains a criticism of Theodred's judgement and a narrative of how the bishop regretted his action and repented together with the entire populace. Thus, ML12 contains almost nothing that touches on the iconography of Edmund. However, the criticism of bishops overstepping their jurisdiction might have been understood during the performance of the

²⁰⁸ That hairs and nails continued to grow even in death is a motif also applied to Saint Olaf.

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liturgy as a reference to the fact that it was Edmund, not any bishop, who was the patron of Bury. Such a reference might have been more clearly present in the minds of the choristers in the eleventh century, due to the conflicts with local bishops. As with MR10 and MR11, this responsory (MR12) does not take its narrative from the lesson, but continues on the theme of Edmund's strength which is shown in the story of the thieves and how they were arrested by Edmund, as it were. The responsory proper of MR12 is a panegyric directed at Edmund himself, calling him invincible martyr and indomitable witness – another way of saying martyr. The responsory proper concludes with a supplication to Edmund, member of the heavenly senate, to intercede for us “who sigh after you on earth”. The verse then iterates a similar supplication to the “pious father”, concluding “we pray”. The repetenda then repeats “who sigh after you on earth”. The iconography of MR12 is a repetition of the theme of Edmund as father and patron, elaborated with some honourable epithets, possible because this is intended to be a direct speech. And it is important to remember that this is in fact direct speech: The “us” who are mentioned in the text, are the same persons who perform the chant, namely the choristers of Edmund's own flock at Bury. As a final remark, it is interesting to note the use of “court of the heavenly senate” in MR12. The idea of Heaven as a senate – i.e. as a mirror image of the earthly institution – goes back to the earliest century of Roman Christianity, and can be found in Prudentius' *Liber Peristephanon* from the end of the fourth century. This term is found several times throughout the office, and also appears in *PE*.

The Office for the feast of Edmund – analysis of antiphons and the psalmody

There exists already a discussion on the antiphons and the psalms of the first nocturne by Henry Parkes.²⁰⁹ I will acknowledge Parkes' observations in due course. In the analysis of the antiphons I will also follow my previous experience with such comparison, and I will out of necessity talk about some of the same features that have been dealt with by Parkes.

The Vespers antiphons (by Warner of Rebas) and the Magnificat antiphon

The first Vespers antiphon, item [20], opens as a greeting to Edmund: *Ave rex gentis anglorum, miles regis angelorum*, in which the king of the people of the Angles is also the knight of the king

²⁰⁹ Parkes 2014.

of the Angels, i.e. God.²¹⁰ The antiphon goes on to hail Edmund as the flower of martyrdom, “like the rose or the lily”. This flower imagery is of interest because it unites the two aspects of the virgin martyr, namely the blood of the rose with the virginal quality of the lily. The lily is seen in the iconography of many virgins, most famously of course Virgin Mary who in Annunciation scenes is depicted as receiving a lily from the hand of Gabriel the Archangel. The idea of Edmund as not only a martyr but as a virgin martyr, both links him more closely to the martyrs of the early church and elevates his standing since virginity was held in high regard in the hierarchy of saints. We have seen earlier that presenting Edmund in terms reminiscent of the martyrs of the early church is something that occurs in *PE*, and it is also Abbo who first refers to Edmund as a virgin. Indeed, we might read Edmund’s reintegrated body as a symbol or manifestation of that virginal intactness,²¹¹ and Edmund’s privilege of virginity is expressly stated in chapter 17 of *PE*.²¹² In the surviving office material, nothing from chapter 17 can be found, but that Edmund was held to be a virgin might have been known to Warner. The antiphon concludes with an exhortation for prayers unto God, a typical patron motif which is one of the main iconographical features of the office, unsurprisingly.²¹³

The second antiphon, item [21] refers to Edmund’s purple martyrdom, a reference to his royalty, and continues with calling him a gem and a pious martyr. It concludes with an exhortation to be well-inclined towards his family, which means his community at Bury, and which also evokes the idea of Edmund as a father. The epithet “gem” is not uncommon, and sometimes it is elaborated with the added *Dei*, underlining the saint’s closeness to God.²¹⁴ This imagery might be seen in connection with the reference to Edmund’s head as a precious pearl in ML9.

The third antiphon, item [22], opens with praise for the dignity of “the twinned king and martyr”. Edmund’s martyrdom is also referred to more circuitously by saying that Edmund passed away *sine remedio digno*, without the proper medicine, which presumably refers to the extreme unction, a sacrament martyrs often have to do without. This martyrdom, furthermore, will make Edmund an assistant and intercessor at the final judgement, thus once more invoking Edmund’s role as patron.

²¹⁰ Toivo Haapanen has pointed out similarities between this chant and a chant for the office of St. Erik of Sweden. (Nilsson 2015: 202, n.28).

²¹¹ Cf. Edward the Confessor’s beard (Huntingdon 2003).

²¹² Abbo, chapter 17.

²¹³ This antiphon “was quite widely used in a number of late medieval English offices, including Alban, Edmund Rich, and Kings Ethelbert and Oswin” – Hughes 1993: 392; see also 412.

²¹⁴ See Goscelin in Rosalind Love’s translation, page 28.

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The fourth antiphon, item [23], opens with a reference to Edmund as prince and father of the fatherland. It is not clear to us now how far that fatherland extended, but in light of Edmund's title *rex gentis Anglorum* in item [20], it is tempting to understand this as all of England. Moreover, it is also tempting to read this epithet as a reference to Horatius *Ode* III, 2.13, which concludes *pro patria mori*, which can arguably be said about Edmund as well. Further on in the antiphon, Edmund is hailed as an invincible warrior, a *bellator*, who will conquer the fortress of Satan at the final battle, *agone novissimo*. Agone is an interesting choice of words here. Henry Parkes has pointed out that invokes the idea of struggle as transmitted in the epistles of Paul, most famously in 1 Timothy 6:12 (and also in 2 Timothy 4:7).²¹⁵ However, in the *Vulgate*, the word *agonia* is translated as *certamen*, and this was presumably the most accessible term for it in eleventh-century England. This makes the choice of *agonia* particularly interesting.

The last antiphon of Vesper, the Magnificat antiphon, item [25], is a panegyric over Edmund's martyrdom, and an exhortation for the "church of the entire English people" to rejoice in the martyrdom of Edmund. He is here referred to as illustrious king and invincible martyr, who triumphed over the prince of the world. Edmund is also here addressed as father and patron. Despite this antiphon being connected to the Magnificat and thus tied into a distinctly Marian iconography, little of this can be seen clearly in item [25], and there seems to be no linguistic connections between the text of the antiphon and the text of the Magnificat.

The Invitatory antiphon

In the office of Saint Edmund, the invitatory antiphon, MIA, item [26], is performed before the invitatory psalm itself [item 26B]. The invitatory psalm is always Psalm 94, and this is a fixed feature of every divine office.²¹⁶ MIA begins with "we adore the king of kings in his glorious soldier Edmund". It then concludes by say that through Edmund, God exalts the church and enriches the heavenly senate. We have seen the senate imagery on previous occasion, and this is a typical formula for addressing the celestial court. Similarly, the image of Edmund as a soldier of God is also one of the main features of the iconography of Edmund in the office.

What is of particular interest to us here is the opening of item [26], i.e. its *incipit*. By opening the

²¹⁵ Parkes 2014: 148-49.

²¹⁶ Harper 1996: 93.

antiphon with *regem regum adoremus*, the invitatory antiphon replicates to a significant degree the rhythm and the vocabulary of the invitatory psalm, *Venite exsultemus Domino*. The similarity in sound of *adoremus* and *exsultemus* makes this connection particularly strong. Furthermore, by addressing God as *regem regum* in the antiphon, it also connects firmly to the theme of Psalm 94, which is a song of praise for God as the great king over all other gods. This biblical imagery is changed with one more reflective of Christian monotheism, by placing Him as king of kings. Since Psalm 94 is a psalm of praise, the predominant imagery is one of lordship. This theme is resounded, or perhaps rather anticipated, in the antiphon through its royal imagery.

The antiphons for the nocturnes

In the office for Saint Edmund, the antiphons are listed before the psalms. This is not at all uncommon. The psalms and their antiphons were sung in blocks of six in the beginning of each nocturne. As will become clear, the texts of several antiphons present imagery and phrasings that anticipate the depiction of Edmund in the lessons and the responsories. This means that when the lessons were being read and the responsories were being performed, in many cases their themes had already been touched upon in the antiphons. In this way, the choristers at Bury would be able to connect the messages of lessons and responsories to what they themselves had already performed in the antiphons, and this would create a stronger mnemonic link to the iconography of Edmund. Again we should remember that the sequence of the psalms was a fixture for the feast of martyrs, and so it is the task of the composers of the liturgy to connect their antiphons to the psalms to which they belong.

The first antiphon for Matins, MA1, deals with holy Edmund's lineage and his embrace of Christ in his childhood. These are themes that would later be picked up in ML1 and MR1, as we have seen. MA1 is performed before Psalm 1, *Beatus vir*, a psalm whose theme is the blessed man who shuns iniquity and bad counsel, and who instead follows the laws of God and meditates on them day and night. As we see, MA1 fits well with this theme in its statement that Edmund followed Christ from the earliest years.

The second antiphon for Matins, MA2, tells of how Edmund rose to the throne as a mature man with the favour of God, and that in elevating Edmund to the throne God had provided His church

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with a defender, who later fought until death. This corresponds well with ML2 and MR2, which treat Edmund's government and his accession to the throne. MR2 echoes perhaps more strongly the text of MA2 which is unsurprising since they most likely were part of the same compositional programme and composed by the same person or persons. MR2's echo of MA2 is suggested by the fact that MA2 mentions God's favour while MR2 says that Edmund rose to the throne "when in the temple of God". The antiphon, however, hints at the martyrdom in a way not found in either ML2 or MR2. The second antiphon is performed before Psalm 2, *Quare fremuerunt*, whose theme is the struggle against heathen kings and an exhortation to God for their destruction. This theme is not particularly clearly echoed in MA2 and might be said to be more strongly linked thematically to the next antiphon, MA3. The strongest thematic link between MA2 and Psalm 2 might be the foreshadowing of Edmund's martyrdom at the end of the antiphon.

The third antiphon for Matins, MA3, tells of the ultimatum which Hingwar gave to Edmund, either death or exile. This anticipates the exile imagery of MR3. The third antiphon is performed before Psalm 3, *Domine quid multiplicati*, which is a prayer in time of war, where the psalmist begs God to destroy those who have risen up against him. This theme of war is very well echoed in the antiphon since MA3 presents exactly that: the "cruel king Hingwar" (mentioned by name) threatens King Edmund.

The fourth antiphon for Matins, MA4, picks up from MA3 and contains Edmund's answer to Hingwar, rendered in the antiphon as direct speech, a speech that came from the Holy Spirit. Edmund then states that he will not be moved by threats of exile or any blandishments, and he concludes by saying it is pleasing to die for God and that Edmund in this way has been granted to perform a sacrifice. This anticipates the content of ML4 and MR4, and in particular the responsory which states that he would not be moved, and that it was glorious to die for God. The fourth antiphon is performed before Psalm 4, *Cum invocarem*, which is a psalm of thanksgiving to God for having heard the psalmist's prayers, and an exhortation to mankind to render due services unto the Lord. The antiphon picks up on this theme through the theme of anticipated martyrdom, which resonates particularly strongly with this line from Psalm 4: *mirificavit Dominus sanctum suum*, the Lord has made his holy one wonderful.

The fifth antiphon for Matins, MA5, describes the capture and torture of Edmund, and concludes

with his embrace of death. This anticipates the content of ML5 and MR5. The fifth antiphon is performed before Psalm 5, *Verba mea*, which is a prayer to God which mirrors the man of God against the wicked. The theme of martyrdom in MA5 resonates with certain key passages in Psalm 5, especially since the psalmist says “I will come into thy house”, which in its original context meant the temple, but which in the Christian context easily can be understood as a metaphor for the martyr’s entrance to Heaven.

The sixth antiphon for Matins, MA6, describes the martyrdom of Edmund in some greater detail, mentioning that he is covered in darts, and that he prayed to the Lord “with a clear face”. This anticipates ML6 and MR6, and the responsory in particular which states that Edmund was beheaded “amongst words of prayers”. The sixth antiphon is performed before psalm 8, *Domine dominus noster*, which is a psalm of praise for God’s magnificence and his elevation of man who is “crowned (...) with glory and honour”. This theme of exultation and God elevating man can be seen echoed in MA6 by way of martyrdom, which in the Christian context is God’s way of elevating the martyr among his holy.

The seventh antiphon for Matins, MA7, continues with the description of martyrdom. The thrown spears, mentioned in MA6, were “increased by the tyrant” (not named here). Then Edmund’s head is cut off, and his soul is brought to Heaven. In this way MA7 anticipates the content of the first part of ML7, which deals with Edmund’s passion. The second part of ML7, however, and the entire MR7 have as their theme the removal of Edmund’s head into the forest. Another noteworthy feature in this regard is MA7’s description of Edmund as *dei adletam*, athlete of God. This is an old term to describe martyrs, and invokes 1 Timothy 6:12, where Paul describes the Christian life using a metaphor from the world of athletic games, saying *bonus certamen certavi, cursum consummavi*, I have fought the good fight, I have completed the race.

The seventh antiphon is performed before Psalm 10, *In domino confido*, whose main themes are the assault of the wicked, how God tries the just, and how the just is rewarded. These themes resonate in MA7 through its description of Edmund’s martyrdom. Edmund becomes the just of the psalm who is avenged by God. Interestingly, Psalm 10 also contains references to the bows and arrows of the enemy, an image that suits the story of Edmund remarkably well, and which can be seen in the references to *misso spiculatore*, the thrown stabs. It should also be noted that this antiphon is

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probably a reworking on the antiphon for the feast of the decapitation of John the Baptist, the *Decollatio*. The similarities can be seen in the following table.

MA7 (item [48]), Saint Edmund [CID: 203146]	Antiphon for the beheading of John the Baptist [CID: 003790]
Misso spiculatore de crevit tyrannus dei adletam eadmundus dum capite detruncari sicque ymnum deo personuit et animam celo gaudens intulit.	Misso Herodes spiculatore praecepit amputare caput Joannis in carcere quo audito discipuli ejus venerunt et tulerunt corpus ejus et posuerunt illud in monumento

Although the two chants contain very few lexical overlaps, the *incipit* and the content are sufficiently in agreement to suggest that the antiphon for Edmund is loosely based on the antiphon for the *Decollatio*. In addition, it is worth noting that although the *tyrannus* of the Edmund antiphon is the Danish Hingwar, the word *tyrannus* is often synonymous with the Herodes of the antiphon for John the Baptist, and to a liturgist the connection between the two antiphons might also suggest itself in *tyrannus*.²¹⁷ Since both Edmund and John the Baptist were beheaded, it makes sense to base the antiphon for Edmund on the archetype of beheaded saints. In this way, the antiphon formulates a typological connection between Edmund and John the Baptist.²¹⁸

The eighth antiphon of Matins, MA8, is an antiphon of praise for Edmund and a supplication for his aid, addressing the holy king as “invincible martyr” and “indomitable witness” and ending with the exhortation that he, in the heavenly senate, will intercede for those sighing for him on earth. This has no connection to ML8 or MR8 which deal with the recovery of Edmund’s head. However, what is remarkable is that the text of MA8 is identical to the response of MR12. The eighth antiphon is performed before Psalm 14, *Domine quis habitabit*, which is a description of the just man who will rest in Heaven, the lord’s “holy hill”. This resonates strongly in the theme of MA8 in which Edmund’s position is Heaven as intercessor, and therefore as the just man, is central to the text. This presumably explains why, as in the case with MA7, the antiphons seem to diverge from the numerically corresponding lessons and responsories – it is simply because the sequence of the psalms leads in a different thematic direction. This is not surprising at all, due to the fixed nature of the psalm sequences for the feasts of saints.

The ninth antiphon for Matins, MA9, moves on from the narrative of the martyrdom and deals with the restoring of Edmund’s head, concluding with the Christians calling out for Edmund in the

²¹⁷ For example, in a hymn for the Vespers of the Holy Innocents (CID: 008389b), Herod is referred to as *tyrannus*. Moreover, Tom Licence has pointed to how Herman the Archdeacon in *HM* models Svend Forkbeard on Herod as Herod is presented by Caelius Sedulius in *Carmen Paschale* ii.83 (Licence 2014: 19, n. 87).

²¹⁸ Another link between Edmund and John the Baptist is shown in *GM*. Goscelin tells of a miracle that occurred on the feast of John the Baptist, where Saint Edmund is said to have deferred to his *commilitioni*, his fellow-soldier, in bringing about the cure of a crippled woman (Licence 2014: 272). This connection is not clearly typological, although they are both called soldiers of Christ which is an epithet that is not linked to one particular type of saint. Rosalind Love has also noticed an allusion in Goscelin’s recording of the miracle “to the opening of the Vespertinal hymn for the Nativity of John the Baptist” (Licence 2014: 272, n.365).

forest, using the epithets good shepherd and pious father. Here, MA9 uses the same call which is found in MR8, *heu pastor bone heu pater pie eadmunde ubi es*. The ninth antiphon is performed before Psalm 20, *Domine in virtute tua*, whose theme is God's reward to the just and the punishment of the just man's enemies. This fits with MA9 in the sense that the text of the antiphon has moved past the martyrdom, and even though it does not refer to the rewards as such, it does at least foreshadow them.

The tenth antiphon for Matins, MA10, continues the narrative of the finding of Edmund's head and tells of how the head started calling out to the seekers. This anticipates the content of ML9 and MR9, in particular the responsory whose text *adsum fili ecce regem quondam vestrum* corresponds with *ecce inquiring filii mei regem vestrum* of MA10. The tenth antiphon is performed before Psalm 23, *Domini est terra*, whose theme is the Lord's dominion of the earth and the blessing of the just. This is not very clearly seen in the antiphon, except that God's dominion over nature can be seen as an explanation of a decapitated head talking. A similar explanation can be seen in *PE* in the text transmitted in ML8, where God's ability to make a decapitated head is argued to be no less credible than God's ability to make a brute beast of burden talk to the prophet Balaam.

The eleventh antiphon for Matins, MA11, states that the God who gave the prophet Elijah (not named) a raven as a servant, gave Edmund (not named) a wolf as guardian. This anticipates the text of ML9 (but not its responsory) which tells of the finding of Edmund's head and dwells on the miracle of the wolf guardian. The connection to Elijah, however, is a novelty of MA11, and makes clear the typological connection between the prophet and the martyr-king. The eleventh antiphon is performed before Psalm 63, *Exaudi deus*, which is a supplication for aid against enemies. It also contains some archery imagery, which fits the Edmund narrative, but which is not addressed in MA11. The antiphon nonetheless echoes the theme of the psalm quite fittingly through its treatment of the guardian wolf, sent by God to protect Edmund's head.

The twelfth antiphon for Matins, MA12, tells of the translation of Edmund's body, and states that it had already then been reintegrated, and this was a divine sign. The only indication of the martyrdom was a small, radiant red vein. This anticipates the text of MR11, and like the responsory the antiphon conflates two parts of the story of Edmund, i.e. they make the reintegration and the vein (elements from the story of Oswen, treated in ML10) contemporary with the translation (treated in ML9). The twelfth antiphon is performed before Psalm 91, *Bonum est confiteri domino*, whose theme is God's conquest of the unjust. One of its lines, *Justus ut palma florebit, sicut cedrus Libani multiplicabitur* is frequently used as a versicle in offices. The antiphon echoes the theme of God's victory in its text precisely by conflating two important events in the story of Edmund, namely the translation and the reintegration.

The office for Matins also contains one final antiphon, item [69], followed by a versicle taken from the *commune* material (item [69B]). I'm as of now not certain of the meaning of this antiphon, but it could be that initiates the third nocturne – this would fit with the third group of lessons. This antiphon has no psalm ascribed to it. The text of the antiphon tells the story of Oswen, and thus

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anticipates ML10 (but not its responsory).

The antiphons of Lauds

The first antiphon of Lauds, LA1, is a summary of the first part of the story of the thieves, and as such echoes ML11. This antiphon does not mention Edmund by name, but by his title martyr. The story continues in the second antiphon, LA2, which is a summary of the various ways in which Edmund (here unnamed) stopped some of the thieves, and how their hopes turned against them.

The third antiphon, LA3, survives incompletely in Pierpont Morgan MS M.736. From this MS we know that the antiphon deals with the story of Leofstan in chapter 16. In the MS we can follow the story as far as him wanting to have Edmund's tomb opened. The rest of the text for LA3 survives in other sources, however.²¹⁹ The story of Leofstan is not included in the lessons, and it is possible that the original complete manuscript once contained lessons for Lauds in which this story is recounted.

Concordances between Abbo's Passio and the liturgical office

As stated, the feast-day office is based on *PE*, both for its lessons and its chants. However, the textual material has undergone significant alterations. As discussed in chapter 2, this is the inevitable result when the text of a saint's life is transformed into a liturgical office. Some of these alterations can be seen as primarily the result of the transmission itself, such as the rendering of parts of the narrative in liturgical verse, or the omission of chapters which are considered extraneous to the main narrative. Other alterations, however, are not necessitated by the transmission from the *vita* into the *historia*. These alterations are, for instance, the rewriting of passages, the reorganisation of the narrative, and the excision of certain passages which then alters the flow of the narrative in a significant way. The latter group of alterations is not necessitated by the transmission from *vita* to *historia*, and can therefore not solely be explained by that transmission. Consequently, these alterations are acts of deliberate editing, and that means in turn that the image of Saint Edmund emerging from these editions is an image which is deliberately shaped by those who composed the liturgy. In other words, these alterations provide a key to how

²¹⁹ The text in Pierpont Morgan 736 ends with *sancti*. The conclusion of the antiphon is taken from the third antiphon for Laudes as found in GB-Cu Mm.ii.9 (CID 204168), a thirteenth-century Sarum antiphoner.

Edmund was understood by the mid-eleventh-century community at Bury, and how that image differed from the one formulated in *PE*. In the following discussion, therefore, I will explain how the narrative of *PE* is altered in the lessons for Matins on Edmund's feast-day. To better understand the changes made to the image of Saint Edmund, we must closely compare the narrative of *PE* with that of the office. First of all, I will begin by comparing how the text of *PE* is applied to the lessons of Matins. In the following examination, I compare the office of MS. Pierpont Morgan 736 with *PE* as it is contained in MS. Tiberius B.ii. I have chosen this MS because it is the one transmission of *PE* which contains the fewest number of errors, compared to MS Kopenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1588 and Lambeth Palace MS. 362. In this practice I follow Michael Winterbottom in his 1972 edition of *PE*.²²⁰

ML1

As we saw above, the prefatory letter to Archbishop Dunstan and the first two chapters of *PE* do not add to the narrative of Edmund and are therefore excised from the *historia* of Matins. Instead, in *ML1* the text is taken from chapter 3 of *PE*, in which Abbo tells of Edmund's lineage, how he came to be king, and how he behaved. This has natural consequences for how the text is phrased in lesson 1, as can be seen in the table below.

<i>PE</i>	<i>ML1</i>
<p><i>Sed ut at propositum revertamur: huic provinciae tam feraci quam diximus Eastengle vocabulo nuncupari, praefuit sanctissimus deoque acceptus Eadmundus, ex antiquorum Saxoni nobili prosapia oriendus, a primevo suae etatis tempore cultor veracissimus fidei Christianae</i></p> <p>But so that we are brought back to our objective: this province of such fertility - which we said to be called East Anglia in [its] language - was governed by the most saintly and by God accepted Edmund, descended from a lineage of Saxon nobility, from the time of his earliest age a worshipper of the most true Christian faith.</p>	<p><i>Sanctissimus deoque acceptus rex orientalium anglos Eadmundus ex antiquos saxonum nobili et sapia oriundus a primevo sue etatis tempore. Cultor extitit versacissimus fidei Christiane qui atavis regibus editus .</i></p> <p>The most holy and by God accepted Edmund, descended from a lineage of Saxon nobility, from the time of his earliest age a worshipper of the most true Christian faith. He [came from] elevated forefathers, kings.</p>

²²⁰ Winterbottom 1972: 8.

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This text would be read aloud in the choir of the abbey church in the middle of the night after the singing of Psalm 8 and its antiphon *Scuto bone*, proper to Saint Edmund. The first word, and the first indication of Edmund’s iconography in prose, is *sanctissimus*, and in this way the first lesson establishes right away that Edmund was most holy. Even the brethren less fluent in Latin, such as the novices, would be able to catch that word. Perhaps even some of the laymen who would flock in the nave of the church outside the choir might be able to grasp this opening and know its meaning – especially if that word, *sanctus*, was written anywhere in the church interior. Right from the start, in other words, the status of Edmund is set down in precise clarity, thanks to the excision of extraneous material from the original text. Whether this was an intended result, or just the natural consequence of removing non-relevant parts of *PE*, we cannot say. For the rest of ML1, the text follows that of *PE* verbatim, with only a few differences in spelling.

ML2

As we saw, ML1 follows its corresponding chapter in *PE* verbatim, but incompletely since the first half of the first line has been omitted. This resulted in an emphasis on Edmund’s holiness in the opening of the lesson. In ML1 this could have solely been the result of a logical omission, but the changes made to the opening of ML2 suggest that the editors of the liturgical readings made alterations to emphasise Edmund’s characteristics in the opening of a lesson. ML2 contains the whole of chapter 4, but also the first paragraph of chapter 5. The text from *PE* is transmitted verbatim, with the exception of the opening.

<i>PE</i>	ML2
<p><i>Nactus vero culmen regiminis, quantae fuerit in subiectos benignitatis, quante in perversos distractionis non est nostrae facultatis evolvere qui eius minima quo conveniret sermone non possumus expedire.</i></p> <p>Truly obtaining the height of government, to what degree was he placing under kindness, to such degree the wicked strictness is not our ability to explain, him whose small speech which was agreed on, we cannot expound.</p>	<p><i>Beatus eadmundus consecutus culmen regiminis. Quante fuerit in subiectos benignitatis quante in perversos distractionis non est nostre facultatis evolvere.</i></p> <p>The blessed Edmund obtaining the height of government, to what degree was he placing under kindness, to such degree the wicked strictness is not our ability to explain.</p>

The change is small, but significant. While Edmund of *PE* passively obtains government, Edmund

of the office actively follows, pursues or achieves government. While rendering Edmund as a more active, forceful figure, this edition also has a result that the first two words of the lesson which are heard among the audience are *beatus eadmundus*, blessed Edmund. This follows the same pattern as in ML1, where the holiness of the saint is emphasised by opening the entire lesson. And in the case of ML2, this result seems deliberate since it was not achieved merely by removing preceding words but by actually and actively inserting words that were not there in the original source.

As mentioned above, there is another important consequence of the editorial process, namely that ML2 extends beyond chapter 4 and also contains the opening paragraph of chapter 5. This alteration also has significant consequences for the role of Edmund in the narrative of the Matins office. In *PE*, Edmund is not mentioned at all in chapter 5, as it only describes the evil of the Danes. In ML2, however, the Devil's dispatch of the cruel Danes follows immediately after the exposition of Edmund's good, Christian government. In this way, the causality between Edmund's government and the ravages of the Danes is highlighted and the characters of the narrative become representatives of the cosmic struggle between God and the Devil. God raises up Edmund, so the Devil sends his ministers to bring him down. In this way the enmity between Edmund and the Danes become couched in salvific, apocalyptic terms where this struggle is a part of the greater salvation history. Another consequence of this emendation is that Edmund's likeness to Job is similarly highlighted. The text overtly says of Edmund that "his patience - in the manner of holy Job - being attacked, put to the test by the enemy of the human race".²²¹ In *PE*, the Devil's response is left for the next chapter, chapter 5, but in the office it is presented right away. Therefore, just as it was Job's devotion that attracted the Devil's envy of God, it is Edmund's Christian government that prompts the Devil to send his evil servants from the north. An important point here is also that Abbo's elaboration on the inherent wickedness of the north is not included in the office, which downplays the biblical, satanic connotations of the north as a place of evil, but which creates a greater focus on Edmund as the agent of the narrative.

ML 3

In ML3, the narrative of *PE* becomes increasingly fragmented. While ML2 contains the first paragraph of chapter 5, ML3 opens with the fourth and penultimate paragraph of that same chapter.

²²¹ Abbo, chapter 4: *eius patientiam sicut et sancti Iob, aggressus est experiri inimicus humani generis.*

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The only snippet of text which has been removed from that paragraph is the opening *Ex eorum ergo genere*, these [men] from the aforementioned people, because this line refers to the preceding exposition on the savagery of all northmen, which is not included in the office and therefore redundant in its narrative. Consequently, ML3 begins by recounting how the Danes ravaged Northumbria, and it contains the fourth and fifth paragraphs of chapter 5, with the omission of the last line in paragraph five which reads as follows:

*Furebat impius miles lustrata urbe, ardendo ad flagitium quo posset placere tyranno, qui solo crudelitatis studio iusserat perire innoxios.*²²²

Why this last line was omitted we cannot say, but it is perhaps significant to note that with this omission, the narrative of the Danish raids moves from the description of the victims and straight to a reference to the Achaemenian, or Persian, rage of the Danes, which opens the first paragraph of chapter 6. The brief meditation on tyranny that closes chapter 5 is thus substituted by further elaborations on the atrocities of the Danes, which might be said to fuse the texts of the two chapters together in a smoother way than had the final line of the fifth paragraph been retained. Following the text of the first paragraph of chapter 6 we find the second paragraph, which is transmitted verbatim and which ends the text for ML3 with the Danes marching on the king's residence in Haegilisdun in order to kill the king. Since the text of ML3 ends with the second paragraph of chapter 6, the third and final paragraph of that chapter is not included. This is probably because that paragraph comments on the military tactics of the Danes. Without this paragraph, the narrative of ML3 ends with the Danes marching on the king, and we might imagine that in the context of the liturgical office this might have created some suspense in those listeners able to follow the reading of the Latin text.

ML4

In the structure of ML4, the fragmentation and reorganisation of the narrative of *PE* becomes much more complex. As can be seen from Appendix 2, ML4 takes its material from three chapters, namely 7, 8 and 9. ML4 opens with the first two paragraphs of chapter 7, with the omission of the final line of the paragraph. The third paragraph of chapter 7 is omitted. Then follows the first half

²²² The evil soldier raged, cleaning the burning city to the shame which can please tyrants who only through eagerness of evil had ordered the harmless to be destroyed.

of the first paragraph of chapter 8, which is concluded by a novel addition, to which I will return shortly. Then the text of ML4 continues with the text from paragraph 5 and the first line of paragraph 6 of chapter 6. The text in between is omitted entirely from the office text, and so is paragraph 7 of the same chapter. The text of the office then moves on and concludes with the first paragraph of chapter 9, which is rendered almost verbatim with the exception of the paragraph's opening line. The remaining five paragraphs of chapter 9 are omitted.

Having seen in general terms how the structure of *PE* differs from that of the office, we need to turn our attention to how these changes affect the narrative of the story of Edmund. In *PE*, the three chapters on which ML4 is based provide the following account: Hingwar sends a messenger to Edmund to give him the option of surrender or death (included). The messenger gives his message (omitted). In chapter 8, Edmund confers with a bishop who is fearful of the king's life (included). The rest of chapter gives an account of the debate between the king and the bishop (mostly omitted). Chapter 9 opens with Edmund addressing the messenger (included). From the ten paragraphs of chapters 7 and 8, only three paragraphs and two lines from two other paragraphs are included in the text of ML4.

What then of the content? In short, in ML4 the messenger is sent, delivers his response and Edmund reacts. But instead of conferring with the bishop, Edmund delivers his response immediately to the messenger, and this response is part of his original response to the bishops, namely paragraph five from chapter 8, in which Edmund talks of the pledge he made to God through baptism, confirmation and coronation. Then comes the first line of chapter 6 which speaks of the three ways in which he was saved as a king. From Edmund's exposition on Christian kingship the narrative of the office then goes the first paragraph of chapter 9 where Edmund sends the messenger back to Hingwar. Most of the text here is transmitted verbatim, with a few alterations that serve to connect the fragments of the narrative more smoothly. Some aspects of these alterations deserve some commentary. The first editorial alteration to the text itself is found already in the opening of ML4.

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PE	ML4
<i>Quapropter circumspectus plurimum, accito uno ex commilitionibus eum ad regem huiusmodi curarum tumultibus expeditum dirigit</i>	<i>Dirigit impius hingwar dux ad sanctum eadmundu accito uno ex commilitionibus</i>
Wherefore, as he was surveying the multitude/the many, summoning one of the fellow soldiers he directs him to the king.	The impious duke Hingwar directed one of the soldiers to the holy Edmund.

As we see, the office text provides a more direct telling of the story, omitting Hingwar's surveying of the multitude and getting straight to the point. Another significant addition is that the king, *regem* is now rendered as *sanctum eadmundu[m]*. This might be a way to emphasise the king's holiness to the listeners of ML4, and provides an opportunity for the composers of the liturgy to highlight both Edmund's role and his holiness, as I have suggested is the case in emendations done in previous lessons.

Another significant omission is the messenger's question to Edmund in the second paragraph of chapter 7: *Et quis tu, ut tante potentiae insoleter audeas contradicere.*²²³ By omitting this question, the role of the messenger is less vocal, thus amplifying the role of Edmund. Furthermore, by only retaining the first line of the first paragraph of chapter 8 and adding *et directo nuncio ait*, Edmund's response fits well with the narrative, even though it is taken from further down in the chapter. Also, the bishop is removed from the story and the whole lesson contains only Edmund and the messenger. Moreover, the part of chapter 8 which is retained in ML4 provides a summary of Christian duty towards God and the renunciation of the Devil, which might be understood a part of the way in which the narrative of the office emphasises Edmund's battle with the Danes in apocalyptic terms. The same passage also underlines the connection between Christian faith and kingship, when Edmund states that being saved he dedicated himself to his people. This is given more force, perhaps, when the narrative then moves directly to his dismissal of the messenger, ending ML4 by his statement that he will follow Christ's example. In chapter 9 his response to the messenger is much lengthier, but those remaining five paragraphs are omitted from the narrative of the office.

ML5

²²³ And will you dare to contradict insolently such power?

ML5 is a relatively short lesson, and takes its text more or less verbatim from the first three paragraphs of chapter 10. Accordingly, ML5 recounts how the messenger meets up with the Danish force, captures the king and leads him to a tree where he is tortured. All the while he is being tormented he calls on Christ, and is in the end pierced with arrows in the same way St. Sebastian was tortured. This account is rendered verbatim in ML5. The alteration which we encounter first is more important and also less speculative, namely the opening of ML5. This first line tells of Edmund's dismissal of the messenger and how the messenger right away encounters Hingwar's army.

<i>PE</i>	ML5
<p><i>Vix sanctus vir verba compleverat et renuntiaturus miles pedem domo extulerat cum ecce Hingwar obuius iubet breuiloquio ut utatur, ulli pandens per omnia archana regis ultima</i></p> <p>Barely had the holy king finished announcing these words and the soldier exited the house on foot when lo Hingwar stood nearby, and ordered [him] to use a concise speech when spreading out to all the king's last missive.</p>	<p><i>Sanctus vir et rex vix verba compleverat et renuntiaturus miles iniquus response gloriosi regis suo iniquio domino pedem de domo extulerat cum ecce obuius iniquissimus iudex hingwar iubet breuiloquio ut utatur. Illi pandens per omnia archana regis ultima</i></p> <p>The holy man and king had barely finished announcing these words and the soldier exited the house on foot when lo Hingwar stood nearby, and ordered [him] to use a concise speech when spreading out to all the king's last missive.</p>

We see once again how the opening word has been changed in such a way that it emphasises right away the holiness of Edmund, here formulated as “the most holy man”. Edmund's holiness is also bolstered by the additional insertion of *gloriosi regis*. Furthermore, Edmund's good qualities are underlined by the contrasting double reference to the iniquity of the Danes. In this way both the messenger and Hingwar become foils for Edmund's holiness and glorious kingship. The messenger acquires this role by a reference to him as *miles iniquus*, which might be a play on *miles Christi*, further highlighting the difference between Edmund and the Danes. As for Hingwar, he is presented as “the most iniquitous judge”, which serves as a mirror image of Edmund, “the most holy man”. Even though ML5 is a short lesson, it is nonetheless packed with imagery and contains part of the climax of Edmund's passion, although ending with him still alive. This might be also why ML5 is as short as it is, to better focus on Edmund's *imitatio Christi*.

ML6

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ML6 is also a short lesson, and possibly for the same reason as in ML5, namely that this is the dramaturgical apex of Edmund's story, and brevity commands more focus. ML6 takes most of its text from the final two paragraphs of chapter 10, number four and five, with the omission of the last line of the chapter. As such, ML6 continues almost directly from ML5, except that the opening of ML6 contains some new text. ML6 concludes Edmund's passion story, and contains the scene of his decapitation and a comment on how Edmund happily received the crown of martyrdom. The only alteration of the text of *PE* in ML6 is the opening lines, and the alteration is significant.

<i>PE</i>	ML6
<p><i>Cumque nec sic Hinguar furcifer eum lanistis assensum prebere conspiceret, Christum inclamantem iugiter, lictori mandat protinus ut amputet caput eius</i></p> <p>When he did not even seem to notice this, the scoundrel Hingwar, approving to a trainer while continually reviling Christ, he ordered an attendant to cut off his head.</p>	<p><i>Casi autem sanctus dei martyrem eadmundus[?] conspiceret iniquus hinguar nec sic prebere lanistis assensam. Sed viva voce iugiter in clamantem christum lictori mandate protinus ut amputet caput eius</i></p> <p>But falling, holy Edmund, martyr of God, attracted the attention of iniquitous Hingwar [who saw that] nor could his trainers make him submit in any other way. But continuously with a living voice called upon God, he ordered an attendant to cut off his head.</p>

In *PE*, Edmund is depicted as seemingly oblivious to the pains brought by his torture. In ML6, however, Edmund is described as looking as if he were dying. But the perhaps most important difference is that again Edmund's holiness is emphasised with the novel addition of "God's holy martyr Edmund". Even though Edmund's holiness does not begin the first sentence, it follows shortly after and is a novel addition inserted by the composers of the liturgy. Furthermore, we see again that Hingwar is presented with the added adjective *iniquus*, which also here serves as a foil to the holiness of Edmund.

ML7

ML7 is another short lesson. ML7 takes its opening from the last line of chapter 10, and its main text from the first three paragraphs of chapter 11. The opening thus states right away the time of Edmund's death, and says that he entered into the celestial court of God. The subsequent text, taken from chapter 11, is a meditation on the typological significance of Edmund's passion. In ML7 we

see that the text has been reorganised with some significant results. First of all, the lesson once again opens with the term *sanctus*, which, as discussed above, would be audible to the widest possible audience, and which brings Edmund's holiness to the forefront of the narrative. His death and admission into heaven is made to open the lesson, while in *PE* this information closes a chapter. Secondly, the lesson focusses almost entirely on the typological and mystical significance of Edmund's passion. By letting the typological explanation follow directly from the statement that Edmund entered into heaven, his holiness is further accentuated. By concluding the text with the account of Edmund's head being taken away, the text finishes with an emphasis on Edmund's martyrdom and kingship. Thirdly, the lesson ends with an unresolved situation, with Edmund's head lost in the forest. Such a conclusion adds a certain dramaturgical nerve to the liturgical performance, which we should assume was felt by those of its participants who could follow the narrative. This creates a dramatic tension, and it is possible to see this as a parallel with the passion story of Christ as found in the gospels.

ML8

ML8 is a long lesson. It contains the fourth and last paragraph of chapter 11, and then the four first paragraphs of chapter 12, plus the first line of the fifth paragraph. In this reorganisation of the text of *PE*, the narrative begins by telling about the man who witnessed the Danes' removal of Edmund's head, and continues with the Christians going into the forest to retrieve it. ML8 includes the iconic episode with the head shouting *her her her*, rendered in the vernacular by Abbo which is then kept in the office text.²²⁴ In *PE*, the episode of the retrieval of Edmund's head includes the part where the head is found, guarded by a wolf. In ML8, however, this part of the story is only suggested, as the lesson concludes by meditating on the marvel of a speaking head with a reference to God being able to give the gift of speech to beasts of burden, a reference to Balaam's donkey in Numbers 22:22-28. Through the emendations to the structure of the narrative, ML8 is made to focus entirely on the story of the Christians searching for the head of the Edmund, and the call from the head itself. By ending on a subtle, but very familiar reference to the next part of the narrative, this lesson also concludes with a sort of suspension, suggestive of a hopeful outcome. We see again how

²²⁴ The iconic status of this episode is attested to by a reference to it in *Speculum Stultorum* (c.1180) by Nigel Wireker. Nigel claims that the Cistercians break their own rule about not eating meat, but that the bones from their meals are buried, lest they cry *her, her* from the grave into which they are tossed (line 2136: *Ne clament, her her, ossa sepulta jacent* (Nigel de Longchamps 1960: 78).

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the narrative is manipulated in the liturgical context, and how the dramatical nerve of the narrative is heightened. ML8 is the last of the lessons where any significant changes in the narrative can be found as they take the text from *PE* mostly verbatim, and so I have not included the remaining four lessons in this discussion.

The liturgical image of Saint Edmund

We have now seen first of all how the text of *PE* was adapted to the lessons of the office for Matins. Secondly, we have seen how the iconography from the prose text of the office is dealt with in the chants. It is now time to summarise our findings in the analysis of these texts. As has become clear, both the *vita* and the *historia* contain a rich mosaic of iconographical features. Some of these features pertain to Edmund's characteristics – his behavior, his appearance – while others pertain to biographical episodes, and yet others pertain to his imitation of holy forebears from the Old Testament, the New Testament and post-biblical Christian history. When the liturgists sat down to adapt the mosaic of the *vita* to that of the *historia*, they made certain changes and these are the ones that concern us most here. In the iconography, these changes were not omissions as such – as we have seen, most of the text of *PE* survives in the text of the lessons. Instead, the iconographical changes were additions, and changes in the emphasis. The latter is most clearly seen in the responsories, which in many cases function as a kind of listener's digest of the lessons – this is the case in all but the three last responsories of Matins.

The liturgical image of Saint Edmund is more composite, and more complex, but perhaps also more unified than the image contained in *PE*. I say more unified because the emphasis of certain features made possible by the repetitive nature of the responsories, and the echoing nature of the antiphons, allow certain features to stand out more clearly than in *PE* and be subject for greater reflection. Plus, we must not forget that the chants – in which these stand-out features are contained – were performed differently from the prose lessons. The chants were chanted by the entire choir, and the repetition of material and even verbatim phrases made the features of the chants perhaps more easily remembered if not necessarily more easily grasped. In this summary of the analysis and the commentary, my aim is to show these features which were emphasised in the liturgical texts. I do not intend to provide a complete survey of all the different features. These are all commented on and mentioned in the discussion above, and not all of them are sufficiently salient to be brought into

the discussion of the main features.

Martyrdom and imitatio Christi

The most salient feature of the liturgical texts is of course Edmund's martyrdom and his imitation of Christ. The martyrdom is mentioned in 17 of 31 liturgical units in the feastday office, when we treat the lesson and the succeeding responsory as one iconophoric or image-bearing unit. He is also referred to as martyr in 3 of 19 items in the vigil office. In the feastday office, the theme of martyrdom makes its first appearance already in the first antiphon for Vespers and makes its last appearance – at least in the surviving material – in the second antiphon for Lauds. In some cases the martyrdom is referred to as a past event, particularly in the Vespers antiphons where Edmund is hailed as a martyr, or in the descriptions of his dead body. In some cases the martyrdom is anticipated, particularly in ML3-MR3 and MA3 and MA4, where it is said that Edmund was threatened with martyrdom or exile, and that he selected martyrdom. These units are more narrative than the panegyric Vespers antiphons. In other cases, again in more narrative units such as MA5, MA 6 and their numerically corresponding lessons and responsories, the martyrdom is happening in the liturgical here-and-now, and the choristers follow the fate of Edmund in an illusion of what we today would perhaps call real-time. This aspect of liturgy has been beautifully expressed by Henry Parkes as liturgy's capacity of "collapsing time, making the past vividly present".²²⁵ Although the Martyrdom is mentioned very frequently, we must distinguish between the martyrdom as such and Edmund's *imitatio Christi*. In Christian typology, all martyrs are ultimately imitating Christ through their sacrifice. But martyrdom can also be an imitation of other martyrs who themselves imitated Christ but are then subjects of imitation. This is seen in the story of Edmund through his comparison to St. Sebastian. Therefore, direct comparisons between Edmund's martyrdom and the passion of Christ are a distinct section of the martyr iconography. Such a comparison between Edmund and Christ is only made three times (MA5; ML5-MR5; ML6-MR6) out of the seventeen references to martyrdom in the texts of the office, and often through very subtle references.

The importance of martyrdom is of course unsurprising, and owes much to the narrative function of several of the liturgical items, since these items follow the story of the martyrdom in great detail. What is noteworthy, however, is to see how the theme of martyrdom is combined with certain

²²⁵ Parkes 2014: 134.

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features and motifs. For instance, we have seen that through descriptions of Edmund's torture, the texts invoke a passion similar to that of Christ. It is significant to note that in the description of Edmund's torments, the imitation of St. Sebastian is heavily downplayed: Although it does appear in ML5, it is not repeated in MR5. Aside from the Christological imagery of Edmund's martyrdom, his role as martyr is also connected to his roles as patron and father, but these particular roles will be discussed next. Furthermore, in the Vespers antiphons we also see that Edmund's martyrdom is connected to his role as king, as expressed in the imagery of the purple martyrdom of VA2, and his role as a virgin, as expressed in the rose and lily imagery of VA1.

Patron, father, shepherd

Throughout the office, Edmund is several times presented as a leading figure, but this figure is formulated in different ways. I will here distinguish between the paternal figure – to be discussed here – and the royal figure, which entails a slightly different iconography and will be discussed later. Although the medieval iconography of kingship frequently entails a paternal dimension, in the office texts these two aspects, the paternal leader and the king, are treated differently. Edmund is described as a paternal figure in 9 of the 31 liturgical units. This paternal figure takes on different guises, namely the father (mentioned in 5 of 8 items), the patron (mentioned in 5 of 8 items, often but not always together with the father), and the good shepherd (mentioned in 2 of 8 items). I have set these figures aside from that of the king because these figures are not necessarily royal, but instead invoke images of family (father) and farm (shepherd), combining in a sense the pastoral imagery of the Bible with that of the patriarchal imagery. In the end, both these two figures are avatars of Christ, which means that in the ultimate typology these figures are imitations of Christ. In addition there is the role of the patron or the intercessor, an imagery derived more from the early Church and its projection of the Roman society onto Heaven than the Bible. In this figure, Edmund is the ambassador of his people in the celestial Senate of God. (One might also argue that a certain patriarchal role is inherently connected to the theme of exile, but this will not be included in this discussion.) What is of particular interest to us here, however, is that this paternal imagery is in most cases new to the liturgy. The paternal features occur predominantly in the chants and are expressly stated in terms of *pastor bone* and *pater pie*, and these images are repeated in several of the chants. Edmund's role as patron is expressly stated by himself in MR9, to make it completely evident. Even the imagery of Moses found the reference to Edmund as a pillar of light in MR2 goes

towards a paternal/patriarchal imagery. This is highly significant for our purpose, since this paternal imagery is mostly a liturgical novelty, and its frequency in the texts suggests that this was a highly important feature to the eleventh-century liturgists.

Kingship and lineage

As stated above, the royal figure is different from the paternal figure, even though the medieval iconography of kingship did have a certain paternal dimension. Edmund's royal iconography is nonetheless treated separately from the paternal iconography, although he is sometimes referred to as king and father in the same unit, though separately, as in the Magnificat antiphon. All in all, references to Edmund's royalty features in 8 of 31 items. Edmund's royalty is referred to in different ways. For instance, in ML1-MR1 his royal lineage is emphasised, while in MR2 his government is described in terms of the Christian *rex iustus*. Sometimes he is addressed directly as a king, while in VA2 his royalty is given more poetically through the reference to his purple martyrdom.

Miles Christi

Another salient feature is the image of Edmund as *miles Christi*, the soldier of God, which is sometimes expressed through the explicit use of the title, or sometimes through a description of Edmund as a distinctly Christian soldier – this latter is for instance seen in VA4 where Edmund is referred to as a *bellator* rather than *miles Christi*, but the meaning is the same. References to Edmund as Christ's soldier occur in 5 of the 31 liturgical items, not counting MA7 where he is referred to as God's athlete. The epithet "soldier of Christ" can be applied to practically any saint and it need not be restricted only to martyrs. As has been mentioned, the source of this image is the epistles of Paul and is often used as a militant description of non-militant individuals, saints who submitted to pain and torture and fought through prayer, patience and endurance rather than with material weapons, and whose victory is not of this earth but in Heaven. This imagery is connected to one of the great paradoxes of the Christian religion, namely that death is life and loss of life is gaining life, as expressed in Matthew 16:25. The soldier of Christ therefore uses prayers as weapons and conquers death by dying. However, as seen in VA4, the soldier of Christ is only de-militarised in this life and in this time – in the final battle at the end of times, Edmund is said to join forces

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with God's army and conquer Satan.

Protector

Edmund's role as protector is similar to his roles as paternal figure and king, in the sense that these latter roles also entail care for his people. But the role of protector in the story of Edmund is specifically applied to the miracle stories in which Edmund protects his shrine against thieves, and consequently Edmund the protector is more territorial than he is as king or paternal figure. Edmund as a protector is mentioned in 4 out of 31 items, all of which tell the story of the thieves whom Edmund stopped. In the vigil office, this feature appears through the story of Svend's punishment, which is stretched out in 8 of 19 items (when taking the lessons and responsories as one unit). In the complete version of the feastday office, it must have also featured in antiphons or lessons elaborating on the story of Leofstan. The story of Edmund as protector is balanced between the lessons and the Lauds antiphons, and as we have seen it is a core issue in the vigil office, so the monks would have already performed a text about Edmund's protection the day before. Edmund is also named *defensor* in MA2.

Exile

As mentioned in the analysis, the theme of exile is a frequently-used *topos* in the lives of the saints. In the liturgical office, this theme features in 3 out of 31 items in the feastday office, and in 3 of 19 items in the vigil office. Edmund was never himself an exile, so in those three items where exile is featured it appears as an alternative presented to Edmund by Hingwar. As such, it might be another way of expressing that Hingwar wanted Edmund to submit to his overlordship. What is of some significance to us, is that the theme of exile is a novelty introduced into the liturgy. *PE* does not contain any reference to this, and therefore we must assume that the liturgists deliberately chose to invoke the great subtext of the exile *topos* in the liturgical office.

Devoted since childhood

The last salient feature to be mentioned in this summary is the representation of Edmund as devoted to God since childhood. This is a typical *topos* in saints' lives, and is typically applied to saints who

grew up in a Christian family or society – although not all saints who grew up as Christians were devoted to God since childhood, some instead underwent some sort of conversion. The theme of devotion since childhood features only in 2 out of 31 items and therefore appears to be less important than the other themes or features listed here.

Summary – from vita to historia

When we look at how the iconography of Edmund in *PE* and *HM* is transmitted in the liturgical lessons, and when we then see which aspects of the iconography are emphasised in the responsory, we get a fairly good notion of which iconographic features and themes were important to the liturgists when composing the proper material for Edmund. Furthermore, if we also look at the antiphons and see which features emphasised in the responsories also receive emphasis from the antiphons, the image becomes even clearer. In the office for Saint Edmund, many of the chants not only emphasise features from the iconography of the lessons, they also add new material, such as the theme of exile, the image of Edmund as a good shepherd, and the image of Edmund as a pious father. Among the themes ultimately derived from *PE* which are amplified through the chants, we see that the image of *miles Christi* is particularly strengthened as it is mentioned in more chants than lessons (whose text is taken from *PE* without significant iconographical alterations). The image of Saint Edmund which emerges from the liturgy, is first of all that of a martyr, unsurprisingly, but also that of a father figure and a patron, a shepherd, a king, and a soldier of Christ who was devoted to God from childhood. Furthermore, we see a protector of his house, and a man who although not exiled did have to face the threat of exile, and who died for God in imitation of Christ. Of the features, the patron, the father and the shepherd – plus the exile imagery – are novelties of the chants, and ones that appear to have been important to the composers of the liturgy. In addition, we see that the reorganisation of the material makes him a more active figure in the liturgy.

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CHAPTER 4 - OLAF HARALDSSON OF NORWAY

The historical foundation and the early cult

The historical figure of Olaf Haraldsson is, compared to what we have seen in the case of Edmund, very well documented in a number of contemporary and near-contemporary textual sources. These sources are found both in the Norse vernacular, as skaldic poems, and in Latin chronicles from outside Norway. When taken together, these sources present a biographical outline which the scholarly consensus has long accepted as historically accurate.²²⁶ According to this outline, Olaf was born in 995 as the son of Ásta Gudbrandsdotter and Harald Grenske who was a petty king in Vestfold in the Viken area. Harald died when Olaf was young, and his mother married the petty king Sigurd Syr in Ringerike further north from Viken. With Sigurd Ásta got her second son, Harald, later known as Hardråde. From the age of twelve, Olaf participated in Viking raids from the Baltic rim to Normandy and possibly further south. From 1009 to 1013 he served as a mercenary for the Danes during their campaigns in England, and after that he was in the service of King Æthelred II of England. In 1013 he served as a mercenary for Duke Richard II of Normandy, the father of William the Bastard, and during this period he received baptism. In 1015 he returned to Norway in two ships and garnered local support in the eastern part of Norway, his family's ancestral stronghold. He is believed to have brought with him English bishops to aid the spread of Christianity in Norway. Following Olaf's victory against a coalition of Norwegian chieftains at Nesjar in 1016, he was in that year declared king of Norway at the Eyrating in modern-day Trondheim. Olaf ruled the country until he was driven into exile in 1028 after King Knud the Great of Denmark and England joined forces with the Norwegian opposition and came to Norway with a large fleet to oust him from the throne.

During Olaf's period of government, he strengthened the role of Christianity in Norway and it is believed that a country-wide church organisation was established at the ting of Moster in 1024.²²⁷ Olaf also strengthened his position as king, both through the development of a more sophisticated secular government and through the confiscation of property and riches from his political opponents. It was perhaps in particular this latter point which angered local chieftains and drove them into the

²²⁶ For examples of this consensus: Østrem 2001: 4-11; Bagge 2010: 25-32; Jirousková 2014: 1-12.

²²⁷ Bang 1912: 47.

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coalition with the Danish king. His aggressive intolerance towards non-Christian religious practice might also have played a role in this, although - as we will see later - this feature has likely been exaggerated by later medieval writers in order to magnify the image of Olaf as an apostle. After all, Knud was a Christian and had undertaken a pilgrimage to Rome in 1027, and several Norwegian aristocrats are also likely to have been Christian. Olaf was ousted from the throne and went into exile in Russia, but returned in 1030 with the intention of reclaiming the Norwegian throne. He marched from Sweden with an army comprised in part of Christians and in part of pagans, and met the army of the Norwegians and the Danes at Stiklestad north of Trondheim. On July 29 he fought and was killed, and later he was taken from the battle scene to Trondheim and there he was buried in secret. The next year, however, after reports of miracles occurring at the burial site, his body was exhumed and - under the auspices of Bishop Grimkell whom Olaf had brought with him from England - the body was placed in the church of St. Clement. This took place on August 3, and this day was later celebrated as his *dies translatio*.²²⁸ Later, with the erection of the Church of Christ by Olav Kyrre in the 1070s – situated where the stone cathedral would later be built – the shrine of Saint Olaf was moved there.²²⁹ Grimkell's translation of Olaf's remains was a formal recognition of Olaf's place in Heaven among God's holy men and women, but, as we saw in chapter 1, this was not a canonisation

Following the translation of Olaf's remains, his shrine and his sainthood became rallying points for the Norwegian nobility, and even Svend Alfivason, Knud's son and Danish viceroy of Norway, embraced the cult of the fallen king - perhaps at the advice of his mother Alfiva who was his guardian. Svend's adherence to a potentially antagonistic cult is not a unique occurrence. As Lenka Jirousková has pointed out, Svend's father Knud also embraced several Anglo-Saxon saints,²³⁰ although none of those saints had a similarly direct and directly antagonistic relationship with the Danish king as Olaf did with Svend. An example of this has already been seen in Knud's patronage of Bury St Edmunds, which established the monastic organisation there.²³¹ We might understand Svend's acceptance of Olaf's sainthood in political terms, but such an act also carries with it a significant element of expiation which would presumably not be lost on Svend or at least his mother. The skald Thorarin Loftunga, who was attached to Svend's court, composed one of the best sources

²²⁸ The location of this church has long been unknown, but might have been unearthed in a dig by Trondheim archaeologists in the autumn of 2016 (<http://www.adressa.no/tv/#!/video/3001296/her-jaa-olav-den-hellige>).

²²⁹ Ekroll 2003: 340.

²³⁰ Jirousková 2014: 9.

²³¹ Herman 2014: 40-43.

for the early cult of Olaf already in 1032, the poem known as *Glælognskvida*, to which we will return. Whether Svend's embrace of the cult of Olaf was political, pious or a mixture of the two, it should be understood in light of the tense relationship between the viceroy and his Norwegian subjects. It was this tension that helped make Olaf a rallying point for the political fractions of Norway, even those who had just a short while earlier helped to bring about his demise at Stiklestad. Svend and Alfiva were both driven out of Norway in 1035 when Olaf's bastard son Magnus the Good returned to the country and acceded to the throne.²³²

Contemporary sources

Among our earliest sources to the historical Olaf are a number of poems written by the Icelandic skald Sigvat Tordarson (d.1045). Two of these are centred on Olaf's exploits as a Viking and a military leader. In *Vikingarvísur*, Sigvat enumerates the battles he fought. Although the poem is a celebration of a strong warrior and part of a tradition celebrating military prowess, it also contains epithets celebrating Olaf's royal lineage and his oppression of thieves.²³³ The theme of Olaf the warrior is also at the heart of *Nesjavísur*, which commemorates the battle of Nesjar in 1016, and the poem hails Olaf not only as a strong warrior but as a generous king. In this poem, Sigvat - who took part in the fight - informs us that the battle took place on Palm Sunday.²³⁴ A third poem composed during Olaf's reign, this one in 1025, is *Olafsdrápa*, a short poem comprised of one stanza in which Olaf is hailed as a lawmaker.²³⁵ References to Olaf's exploits can also be found in Latin chronicles from Normandy and France. These references are not as detailed as those seen in works written some time after Olaf's death, but they might have served as source materials for the more expansive accounts. As mentioned, in 1013 Olaf entered into Norman service and although he is not singled out by name, the northern mercenaries were mentioned by Dudo of Saint Quentin who completed his *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum* (also known as History of the Normans, hence *DH*) sometime in the period 1015-26.²³⁶ Likewise, an attack on Aquitaine led by Olaf was included in Ademar de Chabanne's *Chronicon Aquitanicum et Francicum* which recounts historical events up until 1028.²³⁷ As in *DH*, Olaf is not mentioned by name by Ademar.

²³² Jirousková 2014: 7-8.

²³³ Whaley 2012: 532-536.

²³⁴ Whaley 2012: 556-78.

²³⁵ Whaley 2012: 614.

²³⁶ Dudo of St Quentin 1998: 156ff.

²³⁷ Ademar of Chabannes 1999: 140ff; Van Houts, volume 2, 2003: 25, n.4.

Early posthumous sources - the first cult

Glælognskvida and Erfidrápa Oláfs helga

The most important sources to the early cult of Olaf can be found in two skaldic poems. These poems survive in later historical accounts, such as Snorri Sturlusson's *Heimskringla* from c.1230. The oldest of these two poems is the aforementioned *Glælognskvida*, the song of the calm sea, which was composed c.1032 by the Icelandic skald Thorarin Loftunga, and which contains nine stanzas.²³⁸ As mentioned, Thorarin was in the service of the Danish viceroy Svend. The poem is a testimony to the quick acceptance of Olaf's sainthood by Svend and Alfiva, as it seems to gloss over the previous enmity between Svend's father and Olaf, by emphasizing the continuity in residence, stating that Trondheim was first Olaf's seat before it became Svend's residence. *Glælognskvida* also presents us with the earliest elements of the image of Olaf as a saint, and the earliest descriptions of the cult. Thorarin states that Olaf's dead body looked alive due to the growing of his hairs and nails, which is a *topos* we have seen in the legend of Edmund. Furthermore, Thorarin states that the bells of the church ring by themselves every day, another *topos* from saint-stories. We are also told of the candles burning in the church (though perhaps not miraculously), that the sinless Olaf has saved his soul before he died, and that a throng of people seeks the holy king on bended knees, while the blind and the mute leave the shrine healed. Thorarin concludes his poem by exhorting Svend to pray to Olaf so that Svend will be granted *grundar sinnar*, i.e. the Olaf's soil. For Olaf, it is said, is God's man, and can obtain "prosperity and peace for all people".

The other poem to be considered here is *Erfidrápa Olafs helga*, composed c.1042 by Sigvat Tordarson who by then was in the service of Olaf's son and successor Magnus the Good. The poem, "the memorial song of holy Olaf", is comprised of twenty-eight stanzas which together provide a biographical sketch of Olaf from his time as a warrior to the first cult practice at his shrine.²³⁹ Sigvat blends features of Christian kingship and Norse warrior culture in his presentation of Olaf, and the saint-king is depicted as at once merciful and a slayer of thieves. Olaf is also an active missionary, he refuses bribery, and he is a glorious king who excels in battle. In his description of

²³⁸ Whaley 2012: 863-76.

²³⁹ Whaley 2012: 663-98.

the final battle at Stiklestad, Sigvat records the wonder, [*u*]ndr, of a solar eclipse during the battle itself, taken to be a portent of the death of Olaf, and possibly drawing on the solar eclipse during Christ's crucifixion in Matthew 27:45. After the battle Sigvat also records how Olaf's hair and nails continue to grow, and also that he brought about the recovery of the sight of Valdemar of Russia, a healing miracle that is not found elsewhere and whose source is unknown. Sigvat then goes on to describe the cult itself, mentioning that the body of holy Olaf was placed in a golden shrine, and that many people came away from it healed of their blindness. There is also a reference to Sigvat honouring the feast of Olaf, *Ôleifs messu*, in his own house.

Cult and historiography in the latter half of the eleventh century

Olaf is also included in historiographies from the latter half of the eleventh century, and three such works are of particular interest to us here, in part because they provide information of how Olaf was formulated outside Norway, and in part because they also provide significant, if sparse, details concerning his cult. The first is *ASC*, which is interesting for its close proximity to the development of the English cult of Saint Olaf. The next two historiographies are works that have influenced Norwegian texts in the twelfth century, and which therefore have an important place in the continuum of sources that help construct the iconography of Olaf as a royal saint. These are the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* (c.1067-70) by William of Jumièges (hence *GND*), and *Gesta Hamaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (c.1070) by Adam of Bremen (hence *GH*).

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

I am here only concerned with two versions of *ASC*, commonly known as the C version (BL Cotton MS Tiberius B I) whose first half is from the eleventh century, and the D version (BL Cotton MS Tiberius B IV) from the mid-eleventh century. Together, these two versions provide a very rudimentary overview of the story of Olaf, and references to the Norwegian king can only be found in three entries. The first reference is from the entry for the year 1028. The C version mentions that King Knud the Great left for Norway with fifty ships, and the D version complements this information by stating that Knud drove out King Olaf and reclaimed Norway.²⁴⁰ The second reference is found in the entry for the year 1030, where both versions agree that Olaf was killed by

²⁴⁰ Whitelock 1961: 100-01.

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the Norwegians, but they differ somewhat in the details. The C version states that after his death, Olaf was seen as holy, while the D versions supplies the additional detail that Olaf returned to Norway from exile before his death. The third reference is found only in the D version, and is included in the entry for the year 1055, namely that Earl Siward was buried in the minster he himself had built, at Galmanho in York. Siward had had the church consecrated “in the name of God and Olaf”.²⁴¹ This provides us with a significant detail from the early cult of Olaf in the British Isles. Even though the earliest evidence of a cult of Saint Olaf comes from Norway and the skaldic poems, there are many pieces of evidence for a very early cult also in England.²⁴² Furthermore, it is from England that we find the first liturgical evidence for the cult of Olaf. A mass is found in MS CCCC 422, a service book from Sherborne called *The Red Book of Darley*, from the early 1060s. An office with mostly common chants are found in *The Leofric Collectar*, c.1050-60, a book donated to Exeter Cathedral by Bishop Leofric (d.1072).²⁴³ These sources are important, but I do not engage with them in my analysis since I focus on the new material from Nidaros in the late twelfth century.

Gesta Normannorum Ducum by William of Jumièges – the baptism of Olaf

William of Jumièges completed *GND* after the Norman Conquest. The work is primarily a vehicle for legitimizing the Norman rule of England, and aims to provide a solid historical foundation for the Norman dukes. The work was later continued by Robert de Torigny and Orderic Vitalis.²⁴⁴ Even though *GND* is a work of dubious precision when it comes to the circumstances of the Norman Conquest and William the Bastard’s legitimacy as king of the English, the role of Olaf is divorced from any such concerns and can therefore be read without applying the same filter as when reading about the Conquest. Olaf makes an appearance in the fifth book of *GND*, in which William chronicles the conflict between Robert duke of Normandy and Count Odo. The first reference to the Norwegian king comes in chapter 8, where William states that Knud the Great summoned two kings to aid him in his war against Æthelred of England, namely Lacman of the Swedes and *Olauum*

²⁴¹ Whitelock 1961: xv. The C version states that this church is said to have been dedicated to “God and all his saints”. Due to the D version’s strong interest in northern affairs, we should consider the claim that Siward consecrated his minster to God and Olaf as the most factual.

²⁴² Dickins 1939: 53-80.

²⁴³ Gjerløw 1968: 124.

²⁴⁴ Van Houts 2003, vol. I: xxxii-xxxv.

Noricorum, Olaf of the Norwegians.²⁴⁵ In chapter 11, Lacman and Olaf are brought to Normandy to help Duke Robert against Count Odo, and William provides details about the warfare of the heathen chieftains against the count.²⁴⁶ Despairing of the heathendom of the Norwegian mercenary chieftain, Robert persuades Olaf to receive baptism. Olaf is here referred to as *rex Olauus*, and in describing his baptism it is clear that William relies on sources in which Olaf's sanctity is already established, i.e. sources other than those from which he draws his information about Normandy. William's sources to Olaf's martyrdom and status as a saint are not known. The baptism of Olaf is described as follows in chapter 12 (my translation):

*Furthermore, King Olaf, delighted by the Christian religion, despised the cult of idols, [together] with several of his own, encouraged by Archbishop Robert, is turned to the Christian faith, and in this same spot is anointed with baptism and the holy chrism, rejoicing in the teachings of [God's] gifts, and returns to his own kingdom. Which, after [it had] betrayed him and killed him from unjust perfidy, he – king and glorious martyr – entered the heavenly court, shining now among that people in signs and powers.*²⁴⁷

What is important to note here is that Olaf is described through formulations typical of the legends of saints. Olaf is delighted by the Christian teachings and despises the cult of idols, and as a saint he is a king and glorious martyr. This shows very clearly that only about forty years after his death, Olaf had already received a formulation in accordance with the traditional lexicon of sainthood. The fact that such a formulation appears in the work of a Norman writer – working at this point in England – is a significant manifestation of how strong the cult was already in the mid-eleventh century. The episode of Olaf's baptism is also important for another reason, aside from being a witness to the early normalisation of Olaf's legend in Latin literature. Even though William has most likely taken the information about the baptism from *DH*,²⁴⁸ Olaf is not mentioned by name in this work, and therefore William's account is the first – and for a long time the only – source in

²⁴⁵ Van Houts 2003, vol. II: 18-21.

²⁴⁶ As Elizabeth van Houts points out, however, the chronology of *GND* is somewhat confused, and the description of the siege of Dol is dated to 1013-14, while it took place during Olaf's earlier days as a Viking. Van Houts 2003, vol. II: 24, n.3.

²⁴⁷ *Rex etiam Olauus super Christiana religione oblectatus, spreto idolorum cultu, cum nonnullis suorum, ortante archiepiscopo Rodberto, ad Christi fidem est conuersus, atque ab eo baptisate lotus sacroque chrismate delibutus, de precepta gratia gaudens, ad suum regnum est regressus. Qui, postea a suis proditus et a perfidis iniuste peremptus, celestem regiam intrauit rex et martyr gloriosus, choruscans nunc apud gentem illam prodigiis et uirtutibus.*

²⁴⁸ William relied on Dudo for the history of his first four books, but mostly not for book five and onwards (Van Houts 2003, vol. 1: xxxv-xlv). The baptism of the Northmen, however, bears striking resemblance to the episode in Dudo's history as mentioned above.

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which the baptised Viking is identified as the later king of Norway. As we will see in more detail later, this episode was discovered by the twelfth-century Norwegian chronicler Theodoricus Monachus and reintroduced into the legend of Olaf as it was being formulated in the late twelfth century under the auspices of Eystein Erlendsson, the second archbishop of Nidaros.

Gesta Hamaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum by Adam of Bremen - pilgrim routes, conflicting stories

GH is a history in four books which chronicles the history of the metropolitan church of Hamburg-Bremen. It was completed in the early 1070s, at a time when the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen extended from Northern Germany to encompass all of Scandinavia and also Iceland and Greenland. *GH* must be read first and foremost as a history intended to solidify the claims of the Hamburg church to the Scandinavian missionary lands. At this point in time, the supremacy of the Hamburg church was challenged by the close cooperation between the infant Norwegian church and English missionaries and bishops. This tension between Hamburg and the English archdioceses can be seen in Adam's treatment of the English contribution to Norwegian Christianity.²⁴⁹ Olaf occupies an important place in this ecclesio-political game, and we see this for instance in the story of Olaf's reign in book 2, chapters 56-59 and 71. In these two chapters, the conflict between Olaf and Knud the Great is a central feature, and Adam states outright that in the struggle between the Danes and the Norwegians, the Danes fought for power and the Norwegians fought for their freedom. For this reason, Adam judges the cause of Olaf to be the more just since he entered a war out of necessity, unlike Knud who sought to increase his power.²⁵⁰

Throughout book 2 of *GH*, Olaf is described as a king who governs his realm in peace and justice, who had a great zeal for God, and who persecuted sorcerers.²⁵¹ In order to strengthen Christianity in Norway, Olaf brought bishops from Norway and submitted to their guidance and through that guidance turned his heart to God. Among these bishops we find Grimkell, the organiser of Olaf's translation in 1031. Olaf is described as being "most blessed king", *beatissimus rex*. Adam describes Olaf's return from exile and his final battle as a struggle against both King Knud the Great and also the husbands of the sorceresses he had executed, which presents Olaf's martyrdom as a battle between Christianity and paganism. However, Adam states that there are conflicting versions about

²⁴⁹ Garipzanov 2011B: 13-21.

²⁵⁰ Adam of Bremen 1876: 78-81; 89.

²⁵¹ Adam 1876: 79-80 .

Olaf's death. Some say Olaf fell in battle, some say he was placed in the middle of the people and scorned by the sorcerers, and some say he was assassinated on the orders of King Knud. Adam considers the third version to be the most plausible.²⁵² This is significant, since Adam is the only writer I know who testifies to the existence of three conflicting stories about Olaf, and that so close to the historical event.

GH also provides information regarding Olaf's cult in chapter 59 of book 2 and in chapter 32 of book 4. Adam states that after Olaf's death, his body was buried (*tumulatum*) in Trondheim, which is referred to as "a great city in his kingdom" (book 2, chapter 61) and "the main city of the northmen" which is decorated with many churches and visited by many people (book 4, chapter 32).²⁵³ In book 2, chapter 60, Adam states that the feast of Olaf is on the fourth kalends of August (July 29), and that at his grave occur several miracles and healings by which God shows the dignity of Olaf and his merit in Heaven. Olaf, we are told, is cultivated by all the peoples of the northern ocean, namely the Norwegians, the Swedes, the Goths, the Danes and the Slavs, although this should be taken with a grain of salt.²⁵⁴ Adam also provides a cursory description of the two major pilgrim routes to the shrine of Olaf, which is both a significant testimony to the spread of the cult of Olaf by the 1070s, as well as evidence that Adam deemed the cult of Olaf to be an important part of the religious fabric of the Hamburg-Bremen archbishopric.²⁵⁵ Moreover, an addition to the text, *scholia* 42, states that Olaf kept the high feasts carefully, and that on the eve of battle he had a dream vision in which he climbed a ladder reaching to the skies, and when he was about to enter into Heaven he was called back. Having received this vision, Olaf then took martyrdom without resisting.²⁵⁶ We don't know the exact age of this addition, but the episode of the dream vision is one that we find in later renditions of the Olaf legend, and this might be the earliest written testimony to that episode.

The primary value of *GH* to our purpose here, is what Adam can tell us about the state of Olaf's cult by the beginning of the 1070s. It is evident from Adam's reports – which he has received from

²⁵² Adam 1876: 80-81.

²⁵³ Book 2, chapter 59: *civitate magna in regni sui* (Adam 1876: 81); book 4, chapter 33: *Metropolis civitas Nortmannorum est Trondemnis* (Adam 1876: 181). The "many churches" is probably a pious exaggeration.

²⁵⁴ Adam 1876: 80-82.

²⁵⁵ Adam 1876: 181. It should be noted that Olaf's cult seems to have remained important also with the establishment of the archbishopric of Lund, as his feast of July 29 is noted together with the feast of St. Felix the pope in the *Necrologium lundense as Olavi Regis et martiris* [sic] (Weibull 1923: 84).

²⁵⁶ Adam 1876: 81.

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others, as he points out himself – that Olaf was enshrined in a church in Trondheim, and that his shrine was a cult centre to which pilgrims travelled in the hope of healing, and to which there seems to have been established pilgrim routes from Denmark and Sweden. It is also interesting to note the three conflicting versions of Olaf's death, which suggests that there was already at this time some confusion as to the particulars of the legend.

Olaf at the establishment of the archbishopric

The establishment of the Norwegian archbishopric

The most important period for the development of the literature and the formulation of a more detailed iconography for Olaf the saint was the archiepiscopate of Eystein Erlendsson, the second metropolitan of Norway, who was appointed bishop in 1157, received the pallium in Rome in 1161 and reigned as archbishop until his death in 1188. Aside from its establishment by Grimkell, this period is the most important period in the history of Olaf's cult. The reason for this is that Olaf then became a figurehead for the recently-established archbishopric and one of the major pillars in the political and religious enterprise of the Norwegian archbishops. It was in this period that the first texts that we might call saint-biographical appeared, and they were – as we will see – composed under the careful auspices of Eystein Erlendsson himself. From this literature there emerges an image of Saint Olaf which was formulated in accordance with the reform ideals to which Archbishop Eystein and his successors and collaborators subscribed. The details of this formulation will become clear as the discussion of the sources progresses. But it should be borne in mind throughout this chapter that in the first half-century of the Norwegian archdiocese, we see that the legend and the iconography of Olaf is cultivated within an ecclesiastical milieu, and this high-canonical image is at times at odds with the image presented in the older sources. The disagreement between the ecclesiastical image of Olaf and that which we might label traditional and low-canonical – since it did not come about as the result of a deliberate process with a clear purpose in aim – can be perhaps best seen in the story of Olaf as told in Snorri's *Heimskringla* written c. 1230.

Background – the establishment of the archbishopric

The archbishopric of Nidaros was established in either 1152 or 1153 during the legation of cardinal

Nicholas Brekespear. Nicholas had been sent to Norway by Pope Eugene III to prepare the establishment of one archbishopric in Norway and one in Sweden.²⁵⁷ According to the Icelandic annals, the papal legate arrived in Norway in the summer of 1152, and might have left for Sweden sometime in 1153.²⁵⁸ Both these years are given as the founding year of the Nidaros archbishopric in the saga material, and it is impossible to decide when exactly, in the course of his mission, Cardinal Nicholas established the metropolitan seat.²⁵⁹ Either way, on November 30 1154, Pope Anastasius IV and a series of cardinals and bishops – among them Nicholaus Brekespear – signed the foundation letter for the archbishopric of Nidaros, or Trondheim as it is called in the early letters. The letter was issued from the Lateran.²⁶⁰ Pope Anastasius IV died the same year, and was succeeded by Cardinal Nicholas who took the name Hadrian IV. Pope Hadrian, like his predecessor Eugenius III and presumably also Anastasius IV, was a cleric strongly invested in the reform ideas of his time.²⁶¹

The Norwegian monarchs were also deeply invested in the religious life in the first part of the twelfth century. According to Snorri Sturlusson, the royal chapel at Konghelle (today Kungälv in Sweden) was consecrated in 1127 and in it was placed the relic of the true cross, the *lignum crucis*, which King Sigurd had received in Jerusalem from King Baldwin, along with other relics. The chapel was therefore called the Church of the Cross.²⁶² Christopher Norton has suggested that the relics from Konghelle were later transported to the cathedral of Trondheim and displayed in the chapter house which was built during the archepiscopate of Eystein.²⁶³ In the skaldic poem *Geisli* by Einarr Skúlason, performed in the Church of Christ before the king and the archbishop in 1153, this relic had already then been taken to Trondheim – presumably to mark the inception of the new archbishopric.²⁶⁴ It has also been said that King Sigurd was the one who introduced the tithe practice in Norway.²⁶⁵

The cult of Olaf provided a natural centre for the new archdiocese, and it was a cult which had

²⁵⁷ For this purpose he carried with him two palliums: https://snl.no/Hadrian_4.

²⁵⁸ Storm, Gustav 1888: 115.

²⁵⁹ Bagge 2003: 52-53.

²⁶⁰ Vandvik1959: 50-59.

²⁶¹ https://snl.no/Hadrian_4.

²⁶² Snorri Sturlusson 1994, vol. II: 263.

²⁶³ Norton 2012: 204-05.

²⁶⁴ In stanza 65 of the poem, Einarr refers to *heilagr viðr (...) piningr krossi*, the holy wood of the cross of torture. See Chase 2005: 115.

²⁶⁵ Bagge 2003: 53.

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enjoyed the support of several kings already. We should, however, be careful to overestimate the importance of the cult to the Norwegian monarchy, but it was of great significance to the Norwegian church. The shrine of Saint Olaf has been called the most important site of pilgrimage in Scandinavia,²⁶⁶ but even if this is somewhat of an exaggeration it is clear that it was popular among pilgrims and more likely the most popular site in Norway. A similar cult could not be found in any other Norwegian diocese – or in any Swedish diocese for that matter – and this must have made it an easy choice for Cardinal Nicolaus when placing the metropolitan seat in Trondheim.

The image of Saint Olaf at the establishment of the archdiocese – the evidence from Geisli

The skaldic poem *Geisli* was composed by the Icelandic priest Einarr Skúlason. Einarr belonged to the retinue of Eystein Haraldsson (d.1157), one of the three joint kings of Norway together with his brothers Sigurd Haraldsson (d.1155) and Inge Haraldsson (d.1161). As we see in the last stanza, it was King Eystein who commissioned the poem, or *drápa*.²⁶⁷ From information within the poem itself, we know that it was performed in the Church of Christ, the cathedral church in Trondheim, before the three joint kings and the first archbishop of Nidaros, Jon Birgersson (d.1157).²⁶⁸ We do not know the exact date of its performance, but given the character of the work, it is likely to have been composed for one of the feasts of Saint Olaf, most likely July 29, his *dies natalis*, which was the major feastday.²⁶⁹ We can furthermore expect that the poem was written in honour for the establishment of the archbishopric, which means that Einarr's performance took place in 1153. *Geisli* is of significant value as the first textual evidence – at least from Norway – which mentions Trondheim as the seat of the archbishop. In stanza 65, Einarr refers to the arch-seat, *erchistóli*, and he has by then already mentioned, in stanza 9, that the shrine of the *heilagr konungr*, the holy king Olaf, increases the *hæð*, the standing, of the bishop's seat.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ Bagge 2003: 53.

²⁶⁷ Chase 2005: 121.

²⁶⁸ Stanza 64 mentions the shrine as something that can be seen, as if in the present (Chase 2005: 114). Stanzas 8 and 9 refer to the three kings and the archbishop, and states that it is performed where the holy king rests (Chase 2005: 58-59).

²⁶⁹ The day of the saint's death, the *dies natalis* or heavenly birthday, is usually the primary liturgical feast in the cult of a saint. There are exceptions, but in most cases the *dies natalis* begins as the most important day. That July 29 was the most important day in the cult of Olaf is shown by the several miracles in *PO* which take place on that day, which proves that it was at that day the pilgrims from near and far gathered at the shrine in the cathedral.

²⁷⁰ Chase 2005: 114.

As pointed out by Martin Chase, *Geisli* combines ideas and motifs from Norse poetic conventions and Christian theology.²⁷¹ In its language, syntax and poetics, the poem draws on the poetic inheritance of the Norse tradition, and Einarr acknowledges his debt to this tradition in stanza 12, when he refers to the works of the skalds Sigvat Tordsson and Ottar the Black and states that these men have also described the deeds, *dáðir*, of Olaf.²⁷² In terms of iconography, the influence from the Norse tradition is most clearly seen in the kennings by which Olaf is described. The Norse influence is not only seen in the paraphrastic descriptions themselves, but also in Einarr's unhesitant portrayal of Olaf as a warrior. Einarr negotiates this double role of Olaf as warrior and holy king throughout the poem, mixing features of saint-biography with the prosodic historiography of the skaldic tradition.

The miracle accounts of Geisli

One of the big questions in the scholarly debate is the relationship between *Geisli* and *PO*. As we will see further on, there is great uncertainty about how much of the Olaf legend as it is contained in *PO* was in place prior to the reign of Eystein Erlendsson. Lars Boje Mortensen has pointed out that one miracle which appears both in *Geisli* and *PO*, about an English priest who is mutilated by some Norwegians and then later healed through the supplication of Olaf, also can be found in an entry in annals from the Egmond monastery in modern-day Netherlands, dated to 1165.²⁷³ This shows clearly that there has been a collection of Olaf miracles in circulation prior to the composition of *PO* in the 1180s, and most likely prior to the composition of *Geisli* as well.²⁷⁴ I will not go into great detail about this here. However, it must be emphasised that *Geisli* is an important stage in the development of the iconography and the legend of Saint Olaf, since this is the earliest narrative of the saint since the establishment of the Nidaros archbishopric, but also since it suggests the existence of an earlier coherent tradition of miracle stories, which then made their way into the image of Saint Olaf as constructed by the Nidaros metropolitan see. The similarities between the two works in their miracle selections can be seen in the following table.

²⁷¹ Chase 2005: 14-15.

²⁷² Chase 2005: 62.

²⁷³ Mortensen 2000: 89. The annals are contained in BL MS Cotton Vitellius C.XI.

²⁷⁴ As argued in Mortensen 2000: 97.

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Episode	<i>Geisli</i>	<i>PO</i>
Olaf's dream vision	Stanza 15-16	M1
Solar eclipse at Stiklestad	Stanza 19	N/A
Light over Olaf's body	Stanza 20	N/A
Blind man healed through blood	Stanza 22-24	M2
Coffin pressed through ground	Stanza 25	N/A
Magnus' dream vision	Stanza 27-30	N/A
Guthorm's victory	Stanza 31-34	M3
Miracle of the breads	Stanzas 35-36	M5
The restored tongue	Stanzas 37-38	M6
Miracle at Pezinavollar	Stanzas 42-56	M4
Miracle of the English priest	Stanzas 57-62	M9
M = "Miracula Beati Olavi", according to the edition of Jirousková 2014.		

In this way we see how *Geisli* straddles the slowly accumulated, low-canonical tradition of the eleventh century and the authoritatively edited, high-canonical image established at Archbishop Eystein's court in the 1180s. The solar eclipse recorded by Sigvat Thordarson is included in *Geisli*, but not in the ecclesiastical image.²⁷⁵ The light over Olaf's body, the coffin that was pressed upwards to show God's favour of Olaf, and the vision of Magnus the Good on the eve of the battle of Hlyrskog Hede are all episodes that have been left out in the construction of the ecclesiastical image. These omissions are deliberate, since *Geisli* must have been known to at least some of the archbishop's men in Nidaros. We can only speculate why these miracle stories were left out. What we can say for certain, however, is that the stories were not left out because they are contrary to the *topoi* of Christian saint-stories. As mentioned above, the solar eclipse harks back to the Gospel of Matthew, whereas a light shining over or around the dead body of a saint was established by Gregory the Great in his life of Saint Benedict, a work well-known in the Nordic world. (It is possible that this miracle is referred to in the Matins hymn *Tardi quidem* (item [20]).) The coffin being pressed through the surface is, however, not a *topos* from the Christian saint-biographical tradition, but might be an orally transmitted episode.

When we compare the miracles of *Geisli* with those of what Lenka Jirousková calls Recensio 1 of *PO*, i.e. the version composed at the archbishop's court, we see that with some exceptions, the order of the shared miracles is very similar. The first miracle of *PO* is the first miracle listed in *Geisli*, and although *Geisli* has miracles not included in *PO* the trend is nonetheless the same: They both seem

²⁷⁵ Sigvat is likely Einarr's source for this. In stanza 12, Einarr refers to Sigvat's poetry (Chase 2005: 62).

to follow an existing pattern. This strongly suggests that Mortensen's hypothesis of the core miracles is correct. As for the discrepancies between *Geisli* and *PO*, this might simply be because *Geisli* draws on two types of sources. On the one hand, there seems to have been some form of written document in Latin containing miracle stories of Saint Olaf, founded perhaps on a homiletic tradition established by Grimkell. It is here interesting to remember that one of the miracles also found in *PO* was – as mentioned above – included in a *scholia* to *GH*. It is also found in Theodoricus Monachus' *Historia antiquitate Regum Norwagiensum* (hence *HA*).²⁷⁶ On the other hand, there is the skaldic, orally transmitted tradition, which appears to be left out of *PO*. As such, *Geisli* is important because it displays the breadth of the low-canonical image of Saint Olaf in the period leading up to the formulation of Saint Olaf's high-canonical, ecclesiastical image.

The Nidaros foundation letter

The oldest document from the history of the Norwegian archdiocese should also be expounded in some detail to provide some information about the early stage of the archbishopric, and the way Saint Olaf was formulated and understood prior to the archiepiscopacy of Eystein Erlendsson. This document is the letter of foundation for the new metropolitan seat, authored by Pope Anastasius IV and signed by him and a number of cardinals – including Nicholas Brekespear – on November 30, 1154, the last year of Anastasius' short papacy. The letter states that Trondheim “is for all perpetuity to be held as the superior metropolitan city”.²⁷⁷ Of particular importance to the question of the cult of Saint Olaf, are some notes on liturgical celebration. Pope Anastasius lists the liturgical feasts that are the only days, or occasions, during which the Norwegian archbishop should carry his pallium. These are the most important universal celebrations of the Roman church, with the addition of *festis (...) sancti Olavi*, the feasts of Saint Olaf.²⁷⁸ This reference to feasts of Olaf in plural either suggests that there was by that time an established celebration of the both the *dies natalis* (July 29) and the *dies translatio* (August 3), or that the pope sought for both days to be celebrated. The fact that the feasts of Olaf are placed on a level with the most important feasts in the liturgical *temporale*, the calendar of feast-days following the life of Christ, and with some of the most important days of the *sanctorale*, the calendar of saint-feasts, clearly shows the importance of the cult of Olaf for the establishment of the archbishopric in Trondheim. Pope Anastasius displays awareness about Olaf's

²⁷⁶ Storm 1880: 40.

²⁷⁷ Vandvik 1959: 54. [*S*]tatuentes ut Trudensis civitas temporibus supradictarum urbium metropolis habeatur.

²⁷⁸ Vandvik 1959: 54.

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standing in the Norwegian realm, and confirms the liturgical importance of the feast – no doubt informed by Cardinal Nicholas' own testimony from his experiences of the cult centre.

The reign of Eystein Erlendsson

The first Norwegian archbishop, Jon Birgersson, died in 1157 and was succeeded by Eystein Erlendsson. The appointment was made by Inge Haraldsson, one of the kings of the joint monarchy, and Eystein had been Inge's chaplain and *féhirði*, a kind of royal treasurer.²⁷⁹ Upon his appointment to the archiepiscopacy, Eystein travelled to Rome to receive the pallium which was the mark of the metropolitan office, and he returned to Norway in 1160 or 1161. We know very few details from his journey, but Vandvik suggests that he stopped in Paris on his way back to Norway and there came in touch with the heart of the Augustinian movement, i.e. the monastery of Saint-Victor.²⁸⁰ This suggestion is uncertain, but we know that Eystein – whose latinised name was Augustinus – had strong connections to the Augustinian order, since he oversaw the establishment of an Augustinian priory at Helgeseter, and probably also in Konghelle.²⁸¹ It has become something of an accepted truth that Eystein had received his education at Saint-Victor, and although this is highly probable – and would explain both his attachment to the Augustinians and his connections in the ecclesiastical world – we do not have any definite evidence. But we do know that Eystein's successor Tore Gudmundsson (archbishop from 1206 to 1214) and Tore, later bishop of Hamar (1189/90-96) both studied at Saint-Victor from references to them in an obituary of the monastery, where they are referred to as *frater noster* and *canonicus noster* respectively.²⁸²

When Eystein returned to Norway, he was the metropolitan of an archdiocese that, as Heidi Anett Øvergård Beistad puts it, still was a church province in the name only.²⁸³ It was in the course of Eystein's reign that Nidaros became a centre of ecclesiastical power, and during his reign we see very clearly the signs of his effort to bring his archdiocese up to the standards of the reformist ideals to which he subscribed. In the course of his period as archbishop (1161-88), Eystein not only sought to assert the power of the church in the midst of a politically turbulent period, he also was deeply

²⁷⁹ Imsen 2012: 14.

²⁸⁰ Vandvik 1959: 22.

²⁸¹ Vandvik 1959: 21. This is shown in an undated letter, so we do not know either the sender or the addressee, but Vandvik argues convincingly for Alexander III and Eystein Erlendsson, respectively.

²⁸² Bagge 2011: 71, n.2.

²⁸³ Beistad 2012: 114.

engaged in what we might call a cultural or religious programme which sought to bolster the religious life of the archdiocese. The political and the cultural activities are not to be understood as separate of each other, but rather as complimentary aspects of Eystein's archiepiscopacy. This is seen perhaps most clearly in Eystein's engagement in the cult of Saint Olaf. However, even though the political and the cultural programmes are only parts of the same, I will here briefly treat them separately for the sake of convenience, and in order to focus more on the results of the cultural programme.

Eystein Erlendsson and the political programme

In this section, we are talking not only of the political situation in the Norwegian kingdom, but also of the political aspect of Eystein's government of his church province. When Eystein returned to Norway, the archiepiscopal organisation was probably not very well developed, both due to the short reign of his predecessor and the recent establishment of the archbishopric.²⁸⁴ The Norwegian church organisation counted five bishoprics by the inception of Nidaros archbishopric, as confirmed by Pope Anastasius' foundation letter, namely Bergen, Oslo, Stavanger, Trondheim, and the newly-established Hamar. The metropolitan see was, however, the centre of a province that extended far beyond the kingdom of Norway. In addition to the five Norwegian dioceses, the Nidaros archbishop had the responsibility for the the dioceses in Iceland (Hólar and Skálholt), the Faroe Islands, the Orkneys (including Shetland), Man (including the Hebrides), and Greenland. These areas were also culturally and politically connected to Norway.²⁸⁵ From the reign of Eystein Erlendsson there survive several important Latin documents that should be treated in some detail to provide an outline of both the political and the cultural programmes of the second Norwegian archbishop. As Steinar Imsen has pointed out, it is artificial to divide between Eystein as an archbishop and Eystein as a politician, and here I include aspects that pertain both to temporal and ecclesiastical politics.²⁸⁶

Canones Nidrosienses

The first text to be considered is the so-called *Canones Nidrosienses* (hence *CN*), a list of rules of ecclesiastical practice and conduct within the Norwegian archdiocese. The content has been

²⁸⁴ Imsen 2012: 15.

²⁸⁵ Imsen 2012: 13-14.

²⁸⁶ Imsen 2012: 20.

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described by Eirik Vandvik as a mixture of older and younger canon law, some of which is drawn from the *Decretals* of Gratian or older collections.²⁸⁷ Unsurprisingly, *CN* confirms a reformist view of the church, and they touch, for example, on the prohibition of concubinage, of armed participation in war by clerics, and of lay investiture. Furthermore, *CN* contains rules regarding baptism, burial, the election of archbishops, and questions of church property.²⁸⁸ There has been much discussion about the date and the authorship of *CN*. Eirik Vandvik, voicing the then contemporary consensus, suggested that it was authored by Cardinal Nicholas and should be dated to 1152, and that this was a legal programme for the incipient archbishopric.²⁸⁹ Later scholarship has rather tended to see *CN* as a statute for the Norwegian church province authored by Eystein Erlendsson. Arguments for a date after Eystein's return from his exile in England, i.e. after 1183, have been put forward by Odd Sandaker and Steinar Imsen, among others.²⁹⁰ I do not wish to provide any opinion on the issues of authorship and dating. What is important here is to point out how clearly *CN* shows that the ecclesiastical politics of the Norwegian metropolitan church was steeped in reformist ideas, and whether they came into this written form at the inception of the archbishopric or during the reign of its second metropolitan, these ideas must be understood as underlying the ecclesiastical politics of Eystein Erlendsson, and also his relationship to the temporal powers.

Magnus Erlingsson's coronation oath and letter of privilege

Magnus Erlingsson (1156-84) was the son of Erling Skakke, a Western Norwegian earl, and Kristin Sigurdsdotter, the legitimate daughter of King Sigurd Magnusson. Eystein favoured the young Magnus as a candidate for the throne since he was of legitimate birth, unlike Håkon Sigurdsson the illegitimate son of King Sigurd Munn. Eystein's bypassing of Håkon's candidacy should probably be seen as deeply anchored in reformist ideals of legitimacy. The coronation of Magnus Erlingsson was performed in Bergen in 1163, two years after Eystein's return from Rome. This was the first coronation of a Norwegian monarch, and its architect must be considered to be Eystein Erlendsson, who through the implementation of a coronation ritual presumably sought to make the Norwegian monarchy conform to the standard practice already in place among Latin kingdoms on the continent.

²⁸⁷ Vandvik 1959: 141.

²⁸⁸ Vandvik 1959: 42-51. The *Canones* also contains points that are specific to Norway (cf. canons 2 and 15).

²⁸⁹ Vandvik 1959: 141.

²⁹⁰ Imsen 2012: 21.

In other words, the coronation and the choice of the candidate who was not an illegitimate child are powerful examples of Eystein's European orientation. From this period, two important sources survive. These are the coronation oath and the letter of privilege to the Norwegian metropolitan church. The letters are in Latin and were authored by Eystein Erlendsson.

The coronation oath is a short document in which Magnus swears faithfulness and obedience to the papal church and Pope Alexander III, and pledges to uphold the *censu beati Petri*, the Peter's pence, which was instituted in Norway by Cardinal Nicholas. Furthermore, Magnus pledges to protect the widows and the orphans – thus following the Old Testament *rex iustus* ideal cultivated by the medieval church²⁹¹ – and also promises not to impose on the liberty of the church, neither in questions of money or war.²⁹²

The letter of privilege to the Trondheim church is not only a statement of the *libertas ecclesiae* to which the reformist movement was so dedicated. It also functions as a kind of treatise on Christian kingship, and it is primarily in this light that the text is of great significance to my thesis. The letter opens with a statement on the submission of royal power to the power of the church, and it says that the greater the power and the greater the freedom to rule, the more humble should a man be in deeds and customs.²⁹³ This embrace of humility at the height of power is typical of Christian ideals of kingship, and is therefore only to be expected in such a manifesto of reformist thought. Moreover, the emphasis on humility is also important in light of the literature that emerges later in the reign of Eystein Erlendsson, as that is one of the key aspects of the iconography of Saint Olaf formulated by the church. This formulation finds its clearest expression in the idea that the royal saint himself was humble in the midst of riches.²⁹⁴ The letter of privilege further states that kings receive their power from God, and because of this the king wishes to be aided by God so that he can rejoice like David in the face of trouble.²⁹⁵ This reference to David is of course of great importance. As Magnus was crowned by a priest, so was David anointed by the prophet Samuel, and they both mark the

²⁹¹ The protection of widows and orphans (*viduas et pupillos*) is seen as a hallmark of the just, and can be found in several books of the Bible. Among these are Deuteronomy 14:29, Psalm 67:6, Isaiah 10:1-2, Zachariah 7:10, Malachi 3:5, 2 Machabees 3:10, and James 1:27.

²⁹² Vandvik 1959: 62-65.

²⁹³ Vandvik 1959: 58. [*U*]t quo potentatus sublimior, quo libertas imperandi maior, eo in omnibus moribus et vita conformer humilior.

²⁹⁴ Such a formulation can be found in *HA*, where it is stated that Olaf was “so humble, so sublime, and this not in the condition of a slave, but at the peak of royal [power]”, *quam humilis, quam sublimis, et hoc non in servili conditione, sed in regali fastigio*” (Storm 1880: 40). This very line is repeated in the youngest redaction of *PO*, and from here it has entered the liturgy for Saint Olaf (Jirousková 2014B: 18).

²⁹⁵ Vandvik 1959: 59.

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beginning of a new, God-given, line of kingship. Granted, the first anointed king of the Hebrews was Saul, but for obvious reasons he does not provide a good typological model for the king of the new Norwegian monarchy.

The liberty of the Norwegian church is further illustrated by references to the tithe, the church's right to jurisdiction over churches, the right to send flour to Iceland (given "in reverence for the blessed martyr"),²⁹⁶ and the protection of pilgrims.²⁹⁷ But the most significant aspect of Magnus' submission to the church is to be found in the central passage of the letter in which he submits himself to the protection of Saint Olaf. The text of the letter states the following: "[I commend], on this day of the glorious resurrection, myself and the kingdom to God and the glorious martyr king Olaf in perpetuity, [to whom] in total and particular devotion – next after the Lord – I assign the kingdom of Norway and its rule – as far as it pleases God – as the hereditary possession of the glorious martyr, which I guard, holding it under his dominion and as his representative".²⁹⁸ This is followed by a promise to be the *imitator* of Olaf, so that just as the martyr fearlessly fought for the faith, so will Magnus imitate the power of the martyr and protect the country as the possession of *sancti Olavi*, and that he shall be a soldier for Olaf, *eius miles*.²⁹⁹ As testimony of his subjection to Saint Olaf, the king accedes the following privilege to the church, on behalf of all his successors: That on the death of King Magnus, his crown shall be donated to the metropolitan church, both the crown that Magnus himself offers to its holy altar, and the all the crowns of his successors. What we see here is a subjection to the church by which the king admits that the spiritual power of the church, the spiritual sword in the parlance of the Gelasian doctrine, is hierarchically inferior to the temporal power of the monarchy. Even more astoundingly, it states that the true king of Norway is Saint Olaf, and that every king holds the kingdom as his vassal. Consequently, in order to become king, the king has to receive the kingship from Olaf, and presumably from the shrine of Saint Olaf, hinting perhaps at Trondheim as the site for all future coronations (which it still is).

Even though the vision contained in the letter of privilege was short-lived in face of the historical vicissitudes, the letter is nonetheless an important statement of the reformist ideals that drove

²⁹⁶ Vandvik 1959: 60, *in reuerenciam beati martyris*.

²⁹⁷ Vandvik 1959: 60-63.

²⁹⁸ Vandvik 1959: 60, *Deo namque in hac die gloriose resurrectionis me cum regno in perpetuum et glorioso martyri regi Ola[u]o [cui] integraliter speciali deuocione secundo post dominum regnum assigno Norwegie, et huic regno, quantum deo placuerit, velut eisudem gloriosi matyris possessioni hereditarie sub eius dominio tamquam suus vicarius et ab eno tenens presidebo*.

²⁹⁹ Vandvik 1959: 1960.

Eystein's archiepiscopate. It also shows the fundamental ecclesiastical formulation of Olaf as a saint. Olaf is still king of Norway and the Norwegian kingship is a Biblical kingship of Davidic proportions. This could be said to make the shrine of Saint Olaf – as a repository for the crowns of the Norwegian kings – effectively the centre of temporal power in Norway. It is hard to understate the radical nature of this form of kingship. That the king received the emblems of office from the priest after they had been sanctified by a consecrated altar is something we find in earlier medieval history. But to effectively appoint a king who now is situated in Heaven, as an ambassador to mankind under God, as the still-reigning king of Norway, in perpetuity, is to confer the upper hand to the church in a way that was perhaps unprecedented in twelfth-century political history.

We should of course question how widely shared among the Norwegian aristocracy this idea of Olaf was shared. The formulation of Olaf as the king of Norway in perpetuity belongs squarely within the context of the reformist ideals of the twelfth-century church, and might probably not have been shared by the men of temporal power (although the idea that Norway is Olaf's ground is, as we saw, found in *Glælognskvida*). Most likely we see in this formulation one of the earliest examples of that reconfiguration of the figure of Saint Olaf that Eystein and other members of the Norwegian metropolitan church would perform throughout the literature of the latter half of the twelfth century. This anticipates, in other words, the divergence from the traditional Norwegian idea of Olaf which we find expressed in *Geisli* and later in *Heimskringla*. However, that the idea of Olaf as the actual king of Norway, seems to have been firmly embedded in the ecclesiastical circles of Norway very shortly after the letter of privilege was signed. And this is not to be marvelled at, since we should expect that copies of the letter might have been issued to all the Norwegian dioceses (and perhaps even those overseas as well). A testament to this assumption can be found in the anonymous Latin chronicle *Historia Norwegie* (hence *HN*). I will describe this chronicle in detail shortly, but suffice it to say here that Saint Olaf is referred to as *perpetuum regem Norwegie*.³⁰⁰ We can say with great certainty that the letter of privilege is the primary source of this formulation of Olaf as *rex perpetuus Norwegie*, and that the one formulating this idea was the archbishop himself.

Eystein Erlendsson and the cultural programme

An important part of Eystein Erlendsson's office was the performance and upkeep of the religious

³⁰⁰ Ekrem and Mortensen 2003: 86.

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life of the archdiocese. This religious life found its expressions in the daily masses, the liturgical offices, special liturgical occasions such as the anointment of a king or the consecration of churches, and the establishment and management of church buildings. In this section, I will briefly consider some details that provide us with a backdrop and rationale for the composition of texts which later will be analyzed. Among our most important sources to Archbishop Eystein's concern for the religious life, are eleven letters, or decretals, written by Pope Alexander III and addressed to the archbishop of Trondheim. These letters are collected in one volume with Norwegian translation by Eirik Vandvik, and Vandvik has dated the letters to have been issued in the period 1159-81.³⁰¹ When discussing these sources, I use Vandvik's numbering (11-22). These letters have been analysed in detail by Heidi Anett Øvergård Beistad, who concludes that the letters show a very active and detail-oriented archbishop.³⁰² For our purposes here, however, I will confine myself to comment on those details which pertain to the cult of saints or liturgical practice.

The letters of Pope Alexander III, as pointed out by Beistad, testifies to Eystein Erlendsson's concern with integrating the Nidaros church province into the wider world of Latin Christendom, and to ensure that the performance of rites, the teaching of religion, and the enactment of canon law all conform to the standards of the reformist papacy. As we will see later, this desire to conform to the the Roman norm also had a significant impact on how the ecclesiastical image of Olaf was formulated in the latter half of the twelfth century. Of particular importance is letter 21, in which the pope answers queries regarding the feast of Saint Olaf. Eystein has asked whether he is allowed to grant indulgences to pilgrims who come to *beati Ol[au]i lim]ina*, the threshold of blessed Olaf, from several places. Alexander responds that normally, popes only give license to grant indulgences to places they themselves have visited, or to the Templars and the Knights Hospitallers. However, due to Eystein's emphasis on the needs of his province, Pope Alexander nonetheless allows him to grant indulgences to those pilgrims who donate part of their land to the metropolitan church.³⁰³ Pope Alexander's license of indulgences is a significant testament to the importance attached to the shrine of Olaf as a site of pilgrimage, and to Norway as a frontier of Christianity. Other details that are of significance to the subsequent discussions can be found in letter 12. Along with the aforementioned liturgical details, Alexander III also responds to a query about who gave baptism to Emperor Constantine the Great, as there has been some confusion about whether this was done by

³⁰¹ Vandvik 1959: 13.

³⁰² Beistad 2012: 113-34.

³⁰³ Vandvik 1959: 80-83.

Eusebius or Pope Sylvester I. Alexander confirms that this was Sylvester.³⁰⁴

Eystein Erlendsson and the cult of saints

Archbishop Eystein's concern with Constantine has to do with how Eystein sought to connect Norway to Christian history. Eystein also sought to position the cult of Olaf within the common cult of saints, a point which harks back to what I explained in chapter 2 regarding the double aspect of individuality and commonality in saints' cults. It was therefore important to connect Olaf with saints of chronological seniority. Eystein's desire to connect other saints with the *locus* of Saint Olaf's shrine can be seen in the building of the new cathedral. Shortly after Eystein's return to Trondheim from Roma, the first chapel of the new cathedral was consecrated. The new cathedral was meant to gradually replace the old Church of Christ which had been built by Olaf Kyrre, and Øystein Ekroll has pointed out that the first stage of the building appears to have progressed speedily.³⁰⁵ It is even possible that the construction was initiated prior to Eystein's departure for Rome in 1157.³⁰⁶ The first chapel, commonly referred to as the chapel of Saint John and situated in the southern transept of the cathedral, was consecrated on November 26 1161, and along its three walls was carved an inscription that still survives today. Its text reads:

*This altar was dedicated by Augustinus archbishop in the first year of his episcopate to the glory of our lord Jesus Christ in the honour of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Vincent Martyr and Saint Silvester, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 1161, in the sixth kalends of December [26th of November]*³⁰⁷

Since this was the first part of the cathedral to be finished, and since it was consecrated in honour of these three saints, they must all have had a particular importance in Eystein's vision for his archbishopric. These saints were not picked randomly, but by careful deliberation – and neither of them were chosen because of the date, as none of them have their feasts on November 26. The exact reason for Eystein's choices cannot be ascertained. John the Baptist (feast June 24) was one of the

³⁰⁴ Vandvik 1959: 66ff.

³⁰⁵ Ekroll, 2012: 52-53.

³⁰⁶ Imsen 2012: 13-14.

³⁰⁷ *Altare hoc dedicatum est ab Augustino archepiscopo anno primo episcopatus eius ad laudem d[omi]ni n[ost]ri I[es]u Xp[ist]i in honore S[an]c[t]i Johannis Baptiste et S[an]c[t]i Vincentii M[arty]ris et S[an]c[t]i Silvestri anno ab incarnatione D[omi]ni Millesimo Centesimo LXI sexto kalendas decembrium.*

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foremost saints of the Roman *sanctorale* as the forerunner of Christ. As for Vincent (feast January 22), he was one of the oldest Christian martyrs and his legend places his death in 304. He was the protomartyr of Spain, and as such he might be said to provide a typological antecessor for Olaf who was the protomartyr of Norway. Why Vincent was selected remains obscure.³⁰⁸ An office with proper chants for his feast day is included in *Ordo Nidrosiense* (hence *ON*),³⁰⁹ and music from the office of St. Vincent was also used in three chants for Saint Olaf in *ON* (no such links are seen with John the Baptist or Silvester).³¹⁰ When it comes to St. Silvester (feast December 31), on the other hand, the rationale behind the selection is fairly evident. As confirmed by Pope Alexander III in letter 12, it was established history that Silvester had baptised Emperor Constantine the Great, and as such Silvester symbolised to Eystein the supremacy of spiritual power over temporal power as expressed so clearly in the letter of privilege signed by King Magnus Erlingsson. Moreover, at the time of Eystein the Donation of Constantine, whereby the emperor conferred temporal overlordship of Western Europe to the Roman Church, had still not been proved to be a forgery and was accepted as historical truth. Eystein's consecration of the chapel to Silvester, among the others, was a clear and significant public statement of the church's superiority over the monarchy.³¹¹

The Chapel of St. John was the first chapel to have been constructed and consecrated, but Øystein Ekroll estimates that the second chapel – situated above the chapel of St. John – was completed just a few years later.³¹² This chapel also bears a joint dedication, namely to SS Stephen and Olaf.³¹³ The connection between these saints is also evident, since Stephen was the protomartyr of all martyrs, whereas Olaf was the protomartyr of Norway. This connection is also picked up by Theodoricus Monachus, and in his account of Olaf's martyrdom he makes an overt link between the two saints, to which we will return in the section on *HA*.³¹⁴ Stephen's place in Eystein's hagiological

³⁰⁸ To this day, no research that I know of has been made into any possible connection between the early Norwegian archbishopric and the Spanish archbishoprics. The inclusion of an ambulatorium in the octagon of the new cathedral might suggest an inspiration from the pilgrim churches along the route to Santiago de Compostela, as pointed out by Øystein Ekroll (Ekroll 2012: 56).

³⁰⁹ Gjerløw 1968: 308-09.

³¹⁰ Hankeln 2012: 139.

³¹¹ I use the term "public" here with caution, as the public sphere of the Middle Ages does not correspond to modern ideas of the public. However, since the consecration was marked by a special service, and since the knowledge of the dedication must have been widespread at least among the royal circle, the statement should be understood as public according to medieval standards.

³¹² Ekroll 2012: 53.

³¹³ Gjerløw 1979: 235.

³¹⁴ Storm 1880: 41. It might be this feature which lies behind Eystein's inquiry about the legend of Stephen as responded to by Pope Alexander III in letter 12 (Vandvik 1959: 66-69). The feast of the finding of Stephen's relics,

programme in Nidaros is therefore not surprising.

In addition, there were also two important christological relics deposited in the Nidaros cathedral.³¹⁵ First of all, we have the *lignum crucis* brought to Norway by Sigurd Jorsalfare and whose presence in the Nidaros church is evidenced by its mention in *Geisli*.³¹⁶ The second one is a relic of the holy blood of Christ, which according to the Icelandic annals arrived in Nidaros in 1165.³¹⁷ A complete office for the feast of this relic is contained in København, Kongelige Bibliotek MS Add. 47, which is comprised of “ten leaves of a choir antiphoner, written for Nidaros Cathedral”.³¹⁸ Most of our knowledge of the feast and its importance comes from thirteenth century sources, and we cannot make any statements as to its status during the archiepiscopacy of Eystein.³¹⁹

The Cathedral

The most monumental and the most visible testament to the cult of Saint Olaf was the cathedral which was begun under the auspices of Archbishop Eystein. The cathedral was intended to supplant the stone church erected by Olaf Kyrre in the eleventh century, and to provide a house for the shrine of Saint Olaf in the modern architectural style. The desire for architectural modernity is evidenced by the fact that the twelfth-century layers of the cathedral exhibit a shift from romanesque to gothic, showing that as the commissioners became aware of new developments they had them embedded in the ongoing work.³²⁰ While the work was ongoing, the nave of Olaf Kyrre’s church was retained, presumably in order to allow for religious services to proceed unimpeded by the construction work.³²¹ The new cathedral was a response to the elevated status of Trondheim as the metropolitan seat. In addition to its established function as a royal mausoleum and the cult centre of Saint Olaf and the saint’s *martyrion* or grave church, it would also now be the centre of the entire archbishopric and the house of a cathedral chapter.³²² Moreover, the expansion of the church space was also either a response to an existing or an expected rise in the number of visiting pilgrims, and

Inventio Stephani, was also commemorated on the feast of Olaf’s *translatio*, August 3, and this commemoration was part of the Nidaros liturgy (Gjerløw 1968: 375).

³¹⁵ Ekroll 2012: 56.

³¹⁶ Cf. Norton 2012: 197.

³¹⁷ Storm 1888: 117.

³¹⁸ Gjerløw 1979: 230.

³¹⁹ For the details of this feast: Gjerløw 1979: 233ff.

³²⁰ Harrison 2012: 100.

³²¹ Ekroll 2012: 53; Harrison 2012: 97.

³²² Ekroll 2012: 53.

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so was the building of a hospital to the north of the cathedral, a hospital whose erection might have begun earlier than that of the cathedral.³²³ That there were numerous pilgrims is suggested by the fact that Pope Alexander allowed Eystein to grant some of them indulgences.³²⁴ Eystein's engagement in the building work is attested to by a miracle story in *PO* which was included on the archbishop's own behest and written on his dictate.³²⁵

One of the most striking features of the new cathedral was the octagon which was raised over the shrine of Saint Olaf, and contained an ambulatorium which was a novel element in contemporary ecclesiastical architecture.³²⁶ It is likely that the octagon was finished in the period 1210-20.³²⁷ The octagonal shape is uncommon in Scandinavian cathedral architecture, and it has resulted in a lot of academic speculation. Several scholars have attempted to draw a link between the architecture of the octagon and that of English and French churches, most notably Harry Fett, Anders Bugge and Gerard Fischer.³²⁸ Recently, however, Øystein Ekroll has convincingly argued that the octagonal shape together with its function as a *martyrion* for Saint Olaf should rather point to a link with the ecclesiastical architecture of medieval Jerusalem, and in particular – but not exclusively – the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the church erected above the burial site of Christ.³²⁹ Ekroll's arguments for a – strongly symbolic – link between the Jerusalem churches and the Nidaros octagon are as follows: 1) The central position of Olaf's shrine and tomb which resembles that of Christ's empty tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 2) the well-attested christological aspect of the Olaf iconography (which would easily facilitate a connection with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on typological grounds), and 3) the strong Augustinian element in the Nidaros archbishopric.³³⁰ By the time the Nidaros cathedral was begun, the four major churches in Jerusalem had Augustinian communities attached to them, and in the Nidaros archbishopric the Augustinian presence was also remarkably strong by c.1180. We know that Eystein – or Augustinus in the Latin form – established the Augustinian community of Helgeseter in Trondheim, and – judging from letter 14 by Alexander III – it appears that it was Eystein who established the

³²³ Ekroll 2012: 53.

³²⁴ Vandvik 1959: 80-83.

³²⁵ The chapter tells us that Eystein was summoned by the master builder to discuss matters regarding the construction, and on the way up the scaffolding – followed by a crowd of people – a gangway broke and sent the archbishop tumbling down. He was later healed, following prayers to *patronum meum beatum Olauum*, my patron the blessed Olaf (Jirouskova 2014B: 65).

³²⁶ Ekroll 2012: 56.

³²⁷ Ekroll 2012: 57.

³²⁸ Ekroll 2012: 46-48.

³²⁹ Ekroll 2012: 69-71.

³³⁰ Ekroll 2012: 70-71.

Augustinian community at Konghelle, as well.³³¹ The Augustinian communities in Bergen and Halsnøy are likewise attributed to Eystein, and possibly also Ulstein Monastery and the Monastery of Saint Olaf in Tønsberg.³³² Eystein's bond to the Augustinian order is often ascribed to his studying at Saint-Victor in Paris, a supposition that has not yet been firmly established. The bond nonetheless existed, and this is not only testified to by his patronage of the Augustinian communities, but also through the application of music from the office of St. Augustine in some of the chants in the office for Saint Olaf – a process which certainly was monitored by Eystein himself.³³³ We will return to this issue in the section on the liturgy. It is now time to turn towards the textual evidence for the cult of Saint Olaf and how this evidence demonstrate the ecclesiastical formulation of the Olaf iconography.

Saint Olaf and twelfth-century Norwegian Latin historiography

The latter half of the twelfth century witnessed a surge in textual production in Norway, and especially in the composition of Latin texts. It is not that the textual output itself was particularly massive, but rather that due to the scarcity that preceded it we can describe the development as a veritable surge. Due to the low survival rate of Norwegian medieval manuscripts, we have today only a very incomplete picture of the texts that were composed in twelfth-century Norway, and we should expect that the output was somewhat bigger than we can see solely from surviving texts.³³⁴ There are two important features of the twelfth-century Norwegian Latin literature that need to be emphasised. First of all: this literature came about within an ecclesiastical framework. This is only to be expected, given that there were no non-ecclesiastical centres for Latin textual production in Norway at the time. As a consequence, many of these narratives either exhibit what we might call a distinctive ecclesiastical slant, either through the choice of subject matter (such as legends of the saints), its treatment of worldly material (such as the pre-Christian past), or its relationship to other texts (influencing or being influenced by religious texts). Ecclesiastical literature does not encompass purely religious texts, but also chronicles of political events. Secondly: a significant portion of these texts are either centred on or have some connection to Saint Olaf. In some cases, this owes to the fact that the texts were produced at the metropolitan see and under the auspices of

³³¹ Vandvik 1959: 68-69.

³³² Ekroll 2012: 71.

³³³ Hankeln 2012:138-44; Hankeln 2016: 149ff.

³³⁴ For an overview of manuscript survival from medieval Norway: Karlsen 2013: 27-36.

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the archbishop and his closest associates. But as we will see, the importance of Saint Olaf can also be found in texts from other dioceses in Norway, and this suggests very clearly that the cult of Olaf – although centred in Nidaros – was important throughout the Norwegian church. This ecclesiastical literature can also be seen as making a deliberate departure from established Norse traditions about Olaf.³³⁵ In this section, I wish to examine how texts from the latter half of the twelfth century depict Olaf. My argument, as previously stated, is that in this period the Nidaros archbishopric formulated an iconography of Saint Olaf that in some aspects departed from that iconography which the low-canonical tradition already had brought about. The purpose of this reformulation must be understood in light of the establishment of the Norwegian archbishopric, the reformist ideals of its high-ranking clerics, and the virtual promotion of Olaf as the patron of the kingdom. This formulation finds its purest expression in the liturgy, to which we will return. The most important texts in the present section are *HA*, *PO*, and *NHB*, since these exhibit most clearly a connection to the cultural programme of the Saint Olaf cult. However, I will also examine other texts which are of some significance to the overall argument.

Historia Norwegie (1165-70)

The arguably earliest of the two Latin chronicles written in twelfth-century Norway is *HN*. There are numerous uncertainties concerning this work and its genesis, and these have engendered much debate among scholars.³³⁶ The state of the surviving text has also caused much confusion, since its eighteenth and ultimate chapter ends after the author has very briefly described Olaf's return to Norway from England with two boats and four bishops. The latest, and in my opinion, most convincing attempt to settle the issue of time and place for the writing of *HN*, has been put forth by Lars Boje Mortensen in the introduction to the most recent edition of the work. Mortensen suggests that the work was composed within the diocese of Oslo in the period 1165-75.³³⁷ *HN* survives in three manuscripts. The oldest of these is Stockholm, Riksarkivet, A8, which is a compilation of materials pertaining to the Swedish metropolitan church of Uppsala, and a short excerpt from *HN*'s ninth chapter can be found on f.163. The main part of the compilation was written in 1344. A slightly longer excerpt from the chronicle can be found in Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, B 17 –

³³⁵ Jon Gunnar Jørgensen argues that the Norwegian church used the legend of Olaf to promote its cause in the latter half of the twelfth century, and that there therefore are two “literary lines” in the Olaf legends (Jørgensen 2000: 157).

³³⁶ Ekrem and Mortensen 2003: 11.

³³⁷ Ekrem and Mortensen 2003: 10-24.

II, a compilation from the fifteenth century mostly focussed on legal texts. The only extensive copy of *HN* comes from Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, Dalhousie Muniments, GD 45/31/ - II. This is a Scottish MS copied around 1500. The text of *HN* appears to be complete until “a lacuna of uncertain extent” appears between ff.23/24. This lacuna appears in the narrative of Olaf Haraldsson after his marriage to Astrid Olafsdotter, and is followed by the brief note on Olaf’s return to Norway. In the MS, this is followed by the rubric “explicit”. As Michael Chesnutt points out, this shows that the MS has copied an already incomplete account.³³⁸ The work itself, as it survives today, can be divided into three: The prologue, the first eight chapters, and the last ten chapters. In the prologue, the author presents his work and describes as one of his tasks “to explain the advent of Christianity and likewise the fleeing of paganism, and the [present] standing of both”.³³⁹ In other words, the author attempts to put Norway within the general history of Christianity. This is one of the features that illustrate the ecclesiastical slant of the work. For the purposes of this thesis, the last two chapters, 17 and 18, are of particular importance. These deal with Olaf Tryggvason (hence Tryggvason) and Olaf Haraldsson respectively.

Since *HN* has the conversion of Norway to Christianity as one of its core issues, Tryggvason’s role in this process is elaborated in language redolent with biblical typology. The narrative of Tryggvason consequently presents him as suffering in exile, as undergoing a *conversio*, and he is repeatedly referred to as *beatus*, blessed. This is not to say that Tryggvason was a saint, but that he was a kind of forerunner for Saint Olaf.³⁴⁰ The treatment of Tryggvason in *HN* is interesting and complex, but for the present thesis I am particularly interested in the story of the *conversio*, since it ties in with the ecclesiastical image of Saint Olaf. The story goes that while in England, Tryggvason hears of a prophetic Christian hermit, and decides to put the man to the test by sending his armsbearer to the hermit dressed as Tryggvason. The hermit sees through the ruse, so the impressed Tryggvason visits him and is told the outcome of a pending battle. When the outcome happens in accordance with the prophecy, Tryggvason converts to Christianity. The story is interesting for two main reasons. First of all, it resembles a story from Gregory the Great’s life of Saint Benedict in *Dialogi*, where a Gothic king sends his armsbearer dressed as the king to Saint Benedict, who sees through the ruse.³⁴¹ Secondly, the essentials of the story is found in the later and independently

³³⁸ Ekrem and Mortensen 2003: 28-32.

³³⁹ Ekrem and Mortensen 2003: 50, *aduentum christianitatis simul et paganismi fugam ac utriusque statum exponere*.

³⁴⁰ Inger Ekrem suggested *Historia Norwegie* as a way to formulate Olaf Tryggvason as a saint, but the narrative’s ambiguity concerning his death prohibits such a possibility (Ekrem 1998: 47-64).

³⁴¹ Gregory the Great 2002: 79-81.

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written *HA*, except in *HA* the story is about Saint Olaf's conversion. Theodoricus states that Saint Olaf visited a hermit when he was in England, and that this hermit foretold him of his future martyrdom.³⁴² This is later taken up in *PO* as Olaf being taught the truth of the Gospel in England.³⁴³ It might be that we in *HN* are seeing a confused version of the tradition that states Olaf was baptised in England. Or it might be that the version in *HN* was widely known but appropriated for the legend of Saint Olaf.

The surviving narrative of Olaf in *HN* is very brief, but must have been significantly longer in the original manuscript. The first mention of Olaf occurs before the narrative itself, namely in Chapter 15, in which the author lists the descendants of Harald Hárfagri. Here Olaf is mentioned as the son of Ásta, and is referred to as *Olauum perpetuum regem Norwegie*, Olaf the perpetual king of Norway.³⁴⁴ This is significant since it resembles the formulation of the aforementioned letter of privilege to the Nidaros church, penned by Archbishop Eystein. This idea has, in other words, its most precise expression in *HN*, and this shows that the image of Olaf according to the letter of privilege was speedily disseminated among the Norwegian churches. *HN* is the only Norwegian Latin account of Saint Olaf which elaborates, or even acknowledges, his past as a *bellator* and *pyraticam*.³⁴⁵ He is also described as *beatissimi tiranni*, a most blessed tyrant.³⁴⁶ His adventures in the Baltics, England, Bretagne and Spain are described, but at the point where he leaves England the aforementioned lacuna breaks off the narrative. The lacuna is followed by a short paragraph on how Olaf returned to Norway with two big cargo ships and the bishops Grimkell, Bernard, Rodolf and Sigfrid. Saint Olaf is not depicted as a saint in the surviving part of *HN*, but due to the reference to him as *rex perpetuus* – and also the unequivocal status of Olaf as a saint in mid-twelfth-century Norway – the story of Olaf's martyrdom was undoubtedly part of the original book. What is interesting here, however, is partly to see how quickly the idea of Olaf as Norway's eternal king spread from its first formulation in the letter of privilege.³⁴⁷ Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, we see how the detailed depiction of Olaf's warrior background contrasts to its absence in the high-canonical ecclesiastical formulation of his legend. This suggests that the reformulation undertaken by Archbishop Eystein and his court was not yet in place, but would be in the 1180s.

³⁴² Storm 1880: 26.

³⁴³ Jirousková 2014: 17.

³⁴⁴ Ekrem and Mortensen 2003: 86; 14.

³⁴⁵ Ekrem and Mortensen 2003: 100-02.

³⁴⁶ Ekrem and Mortensen 2003: 100.

³⁴⁷ Whaley 2012: 875.

Historia antiquitate Regum Norwagiensum (1176-88), by Theodoricus Monachus

HA survives only in transcripts of a medieval manuscript made by the Lübeck librarian and schoolmaster Jakob Kirchmann (1575-1643). Kirchmann found *HA* among other works in a codex in the 1620s.³⁴⁸ In the prologue, the author gives his name as Theodoricus and dedicates the work to Archbishop Eystein Erlendsson. Theodoricus is most likely a latinised form of the Norse name Tore, or Thorir, and, according to text as it has been transmitted to us, he gives himself the appellation *monachus*.³⁴⁹ Contemporary scholarly consensus identifies Theodoricus as either Tore Gudmundsson who was archbishop of Nidaros from 1206 to 1214, or as Tore who was bishop of Hamar (d.1196).³⁵⁰ These men were both canons at the Augustinian priory of Saint-Victor in Paris.³⁵¹ I also want to argue for Tore Gudmundsson as the most likely candidate, since *HA* and its later impact on the Nidaros literature – as we will see – suggests an author who was much closer to the intellectual environment at Nidaros, and to the cult centre of Saint Olaf, than could be the case for a bishop of Hamar. The dating of *HA* can be safely put within the period 1176-1188. The *terminus post quem* is a reference to the death of Nikulás Sigurdsson (1176) in chapter 31, while the *terminus ante quem* is the death of Archbishop Eystein himself.³⁵² David and Ian McDougall have argued persuasively for the work to be dated to before Eystein's exile to England which began in 1180, and I hold this to be the most likely solution.³⁵³ It should be noted, however, that the history covered in *HA* only goes as far as the 1130s.

As Theodoricus himself tells us, the purpose for writing *HA* is to provide a monument to the past kings, since this is for Theodoricus a hallmark of a cultured and erudite nation.³⁵⁴ Furthermore,

³⁴⁸ For a more detailed overview of the source situation: Storm 1880: I-VI; McDougall and McDougall 1998: xxx-xxxii.

³⁴⁹ This appellation has made several scholars identify him as a Benedictine monk and placed him at Nidarholm Monastery in the Trondheim fjord (Storm 1880: VII; McDougall and McDougall 1998: ix). The argument has usually been that the term "monk" does not allow for an identification of the author as an Augustinian, since he then would have been a "canon". Personally, I find this argument very unsatisfactory, partly since we do not know how strongly the term "monk" would be tied to the Benedictine order in late twelfth-century Norway, and partly because we don't know whether this appellation is found in the original manuscript or whether it is an intended clarification on the part of Jakob Kirchmann. Moreover, when we consider the dedication in the prologue, the close association with Archbishop Eystein and the Augustinian order, and the fact that Eystein founded an Augustinian priory at Helgeseter in Trondheim, I will argue that the most likely conclusion is that Theodoricus was an Augustinian.

³⁵⁰ Cf. McDougall and McDougall 1998: x; Mortensen and Mundal 2003: 368.

³⁵¹ We know this due to their inclusion in obits from St. Victor (Bagge 2011: 71, n.2).

³⁵² McDougall and McDougall 1998: xi.

³⁵³ McDougall and McDougall 1998: xii-xiii; Mortensen 1993: 22.

³⁵⁴ Storm 1880: 1. Compare with Aelnoth's epilogue of *GS*.

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throughout the chronicle, in imitation of continental historiographers and of Paulus Diaconus in particular,³⁵⁵ there are inserted several digressions. These serve to connect Norwegian history with world history – both Roman and biblical history – and the highest density of these digressions are to be found in the narrative of Olaf, as shown in the table below.

Chapters	Content
13	The baptism of Olaf
	The baptism of Constantine the Great
15	Olaf returns to Norway
16	Olaf flees to Russia
17	Charybdis
	The Longobards
	The Huns, their origin, and their killing of saints
18	Olaf returns to Norway
	On the decrease of bodies of men; the body of Pallas
19	Olaf's death in battle
20	The age of the world

Theodoricus begins his narrative of Olaf in chapter 13, which is practically a digression,³⁵⁶ in the narrative of Tryggvason. We are told that there are three versions of the story of Olaf's baptism, and I will return to this shortly. Here, I merely note that by beginning the narrative of Olaf with his baptism, Theodoricus omits his entire pre-Christian past and presents him to the reader as a converted and newly baptised believer. This is the first time this happens in the surviving texts dealing with Saint Olaf. To have the conversion as the starting point for a narrative is followed in *PO*, the liturgical office for Matins, and *NHB*. This suggests that the archbishop's court and its satellites, as Munkeliv in Bergen where *NHB* was written,³⁵⁷ deliberately sought to reformulate the image of Saint Olaf by omitting his pagan and violent past, and present him as a saint more in tune with reformist ideals.

In addition to these digressions, *HA* is also full of quotations from classical poets such as Lucan and Horatius, and references to philosophers and historiographers including Plato, Chrysippus, Jerome,

³⁵⁵ Storm 1180: 1; 32.

³⁵⁶ Mortensen 1993: 30-31.

³⁵⁷ Haugen and Ommundsen 2010.

Jordanes, Sigebert de Gembloux and Hugh of Saint-Victor. These references – together with digressions – can be seen as serving not only to educate and delight, but also to place the history of Norway within the framework of the apocalyptic Christian history which begins with Creation and concludes with Judgement Day. Through these diverse forms of intertextuality, Theodoricus connects Norway and Norwegians with the history of the Israelites and the history of the Roman Empire, and thus constructs Norway as an antitype to various types of historical antecedents. At the core of this programme of establishing Norway's place in the history of Christendom, we find the figure of Saint Olaf, whose passion story is clearly the climax of the *HA*. This is not surprising, since Olaf serves perfectly as the main protagonist in a history seeking to embed Norway in the history of Christianity. Theodoricus' narrative of Saint Olaf is full of typological connections which comprise a strongly ecclesiastical image of Saint Olaf.

The baptism of Olaf

As stated above, the account of Olaf's baptism comes as a digression within the narrative of Tryggvason, and it fills the entirety of chapter 13. The account of the baptism is important because it highlights the divergence from the existing Norse tradition in that reformulation of Olaf which was actively done at the court of Archbishop Eystein Erlendsson and propagated through the production of literature and cult material. Theodoricus states that there is an uncertainty regarding the when and where of Olaf's baptism, and he goes on to describe the three existing traditions. The first one, which is why this chapter is inserted into the narrative of Tryggvason, states that according to some, Olaf was baptised as a child in Oppland, and that he was baptised by Tryggvason as the king was passing through that area.³⁵⁸ Others, however, say that Olaf was baptised in England, and Gustav Storm remarks in a footnote in his edition that "this tradition is no longer known".³⁵⁹ As stated above, this might be a confusion of the story of Tryggvason's conversion in *HN*. Theodoricus then mentions the third tradition and states that "I have read in *Historia Normannorum* that [Olaf] was baptised in Normandy by Robert, the archbishop of Rouen."³⁶⁰ Theodoricus then goes on to explain Olaf's service to the Norman duke, and provides an overview which muddles the names and the details of the account. However, based on the information cited above, it is clear that

³⁵⁸ Storm 1880: 22.

³⁵⁹ Storm 1880: 22, n. 3; McDougall and McDougall 1998: 71, n.101.

³⁶⁰ *Sed et ego legi in Historia Normannorum quod a Roberto in Normandia Rothomagensi metropolitano baptizatus fuerit.* Storm 1880: 22.

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Theodoricus has encountered the story of Olaf's baptism in *GND*. Theodoricus confuses this title with *DH*. Since Dudo does not provide the name of Olaf it is evident that William is his source. This information, which Theodoricus might have come across in his days as a canon at Saint- Victor, has a significant impact on the later literature about Saint Olaf, and shows clearly that the archbishop's circle sought to reformulate Olaf in this period.

The claim that Olaf was baptised in Rouen is recorded for the first time in Norwegian literature by Theodoricus, but it is found as a fixture in the later literature about Saint Olaf. Because the texts pertaining to Saint Olaf that emerged from the intellectual centre of Trondheim and the archbishop's court all contributed to the cultural programme of the archbishopric and to the propagation of the cult of Olaf, we can detect a clear succession of impact in the literature produced after *HA* and clearly affected by it. We see this in the first part of *PO*, where it states that Olaf, after having learned of the Gospel truth in England, "permitted the entire faith into his heart and assembled quickly with the eagerness of a devout heart to the gift of baptism in the city of Rouen".³⁶¹ Since Theodoricus dedicates *HA* to Archbishop Eystein, and since Eystein was the overseer of the literary programme at Trondheim, it is evident that the detail about Rouen must have entered *PO* from the *HA*, not the other way around.³⁶² For as a canon or monk at Trondheim, presumably used to perform the liturgy of Saint Olaf for his feast day – in whatever state the liturgy was in by then – Theodoricus must have known the legend of Olaf and the redaction of *PO* then in use very well. Therefore, since Theodoricus points to the *DH*, even though it is in fact *GND*, as his source for this story, we should believe him and therefore accept that the detail of Rouen enters into the final redaction of *PO* from *HN*. The impact of *HA* can further be seen in the works that grew out of *PO*.³⁶³ For instance we see this in *NHB* from c.1190, a translation of the *vita* of *PO* into Old Norse, where Rouen is included,³⁶⁴ but most importantly we see it in the liturgical office for the feast of Saint Olaf. This office was most likely composed in the period 1185-1200, and it contains the story of Olaf's baptism in the third, fourth and fifth antiphons in the office of Matins.³⁶⁵ The text is taken directly from *PO*.

³⁶¹ *Hic euangelice ueritatis sinceritate in Anglia comperta fidem toto admisit pectore et ad baptismi gratiam in urbe Rotomagi deuota animi alacritate conuolauit* (Jirousková 2014B: 17).

³⁶² Mortensen 2000: 96; Olsen 1965: 50.

³⁶³ For remarks: Mortensen 2000: 96.

³⁶⁴ Hope 1972: 83.

³⁶⁵ Gjerløw 1979: 183.

Towards the end of chapter 13, Theodoricus refuses to draw a conclusion in the question of the time and place of Olaf's baptism, but he notes that it is most likely that "whether in England or in Rouen", Olaf was most likely baptised when he was an adult.³⁶⁶ This dismisses the Norse tradition entirely.³⁶⁷ When we then see how Theodoricus' new find is incorporated into the literature produced in Nidaros, or at the Munkeliv Abbey in Bergen in the case of *NHB*, this shows clearly that Eystein Erlendsson and his circle was appropriating the figure of Saint Olaf and formulating a tradition following ecclesiastical tastes and objectives. The importance of Theodoricus' new find to the literary programme of the Nidaros archdiocese is borne out by one more textual witness. This witness is a manuscript called the Anchin manuscript written in the 1170s or the 1180s. Here, a short version of *PO* is followed by an excerpt from *GND* which relates the story of the baptism, and this is also written in the same hand that wrote the text of *PO*. As has been pointed out by Lars Boje Mortensen and Else Mundal, this shows that that was a concerted effort in within the archiepiscopal environment to disseminate this version of the baptism story.³⁶⁸

Finally, it is noteworthy that Theodoricus does not draw a conclusion in the question of the when and where of the baptism, especially considering that the later texts are unequivocal about where Olaf was baptised. This can be understood by the remark that a similar lack of agreement can be found concerning the baptism of Constantine the Great. This statement is surprising given that Pope Alexander III, in a reply to a letter from Archbishop Eystein, stated that the Church believed it to have been Pope Sylvester who baptised Constantine.³⁶⁹ Theodoricus is likely to have known this, and his dedicatee had a letter to show him as much. When Theodoricus nonetheless leaves the matter undecided, this is most likely because in that way there will be a clear typological link between Constantine the Great and Olaf. Just as there are multiple traditions concerning Constantine, so are there multiple traditions concerning Olaf, and for the connection to be made these traditions have to be acknowledged as at least possible, even though in both cases there clearly is an officially accepted version. Olaf becomes the Constantine of Norway.³⁷⁰

The image of Saint Olaf in Historia antiquitate

³⁶⁶ Storm 1880: 22.

³⁶⁷ For this tradition: Røthe 2000: 170-85.

³⁶⁸ Mortensen and Mundal 2003: 368.

³⁶⁹ Vandvik 1959: 68-69; 174; Mortensen 2012: 82.

³⁷⁰ Sverre Bagge has also elaborated on the connection between Olaf and Constantine (Bagge 2011: 76-88). For further remarks on the place of Roman history in *HA*: Mortensen 1993: 17-35.

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Theodoricus paints a composite but coherent picture of Norway's first saint. From the very first chapter, we see that Olaf is presented as the Constantine the Great of Norway.³⁷¹ This is not only an important statement about Olaf's place in the line of Christian kings, but also a statement about the relationship between the Norwegian monarch and the Norwegian church. As we have seen above, King Magnus Erlingsson's letter of privilege is redolent of the reformist ideals of Eystein Erlendsson, according to which the monarch was subordinate to the crown. By presenting Olaf as the new Constantine, Theodoricus also implicitly presents the Olaf as a king who subjected himself to the sovereignty of the Church. We should probably understand Theodoricus' parallel not only as a way of showing that Norway had produced kings on par and typologically equal to those of the Roman Empire, but also that the Norwegian monarch has historically subjected himself to the Norwegian Church. This latter point is further supported by the fact that in chapter 15, Theodoricus points out that Olaf was elected king *more antiquorum Romanorum*, in the manner of the ancient Romans.³⁷²

The narrative of Olaf depicts him in strongly christological terms, and Theodoricus overtly states that Olaf is one of God's holy and that he is typologically connected to the Christian passion story. In chapter 16, for instance, Olaf is described as deliberately seeking to following in the footsteps of Tryggvason, and that he waters what the former planted, an image that might be understood as an *imitatio Christi* with Tryggvason as a typical antecessor figure akin to John the Baptist.³⁷³ Theodoricus furthermore states that Olaf was a man of justice and that he oppressed no one (except those whose own wickedness had condemned them). Moreover, having been admonished in dreams to return, *admonitus in somnis redire*, comes back to Norway from his Russian exile (cf. Matthew 2:19-20). Similarly, in chapter 19, before the battle of Stiklestad, Olaf also dreams about his future – an episode which, as we saw, goes back a *scholia* in *GH* – and accepts his fate in a scene that bears some resemblance to Christ in Gethsemane (Luke 22:39-46). Another part of this imagery are the miracles, to which Theodoricus refers in chapters 16, 19 and 20. Theodoricus is here absolutely clear that it is God who performs these miracles at Olaf's shrine, and that they are performed for his

³⁷¹ Theodoricus typologically connects Norway and the Roman Empire in many ways throughout *HA*. Olaf Tryggvason is for instance compared to Jovian in chapter 8.

³⁷² Storm 1880: 27. Cf. the elections of Edmund and Knud.

³⁷³ Storm 1880: 28. Note that the imagery of planting and sowing is also used in *HN* where it is Tryggvason who plants and the priest Ragnvald who waters (Ekrem and Mortensen 2003: 100). For Tryggvason as a John the Baptist figure in *HN*: Mortensen 2011: 59.

merit. All miracles are in a way an imitation of Christ – even though God is the one performing them – but the Christological connection is made particularly clear in chapter 20 where it says that many blind received their sight at Olaf’s shrine, and that many sick men were healed. Of particular importance here is the blind receiving sight, *caecus visum reddendo*, which is mentioned as one of the primary forms of healing performed by Christ, and one that confirms him as the Messiah. This is made explicit in Matthew 11:5, which draws on Isaiah 35:2-6 and serves as its antitype.

In addition to the Christological imagery, *HA* also presents Olaf as a *rex iustus*, the Christian model of kingship which draws on the model of Old Testament kingship set down in the accounts of Saul and David.³⁷⁴ The *rex iustus* was a man of justice, equity and peace, all of which are qualities ascribed to Olaf in chapters 16, 18 and 19. In the latter chapter, Theodoricus even explicitly calls Olaf God’s anointed, *Christum ejus*.³⁷⁵ It is also stated in the same chapter that Olaf gave alms for the praying of the enemy souls, and that he was careful to uphold the dictum of loving your enemies (Matthew 5:44). Olaf’s peacefulness is emphasised by Theodoricus’ assertion that he himself did not want war, but was forced into it because of his enemies. In this way, we might understand Theodoricus as balancing a Christological kingship of peace with the Roman kingship of war to which Olaf can be said to have belonged when his men elevated him to the position of king in the Roman manner. Olaf is, therefore, both a Christian king and a Roman emperor in Theodoricus’ account. It should also be noted that Olaf’s role as a military leader bears strong resemblance to Gideon in that Olaf sends away those soldiers who will not abandon their paganism in favour of Christianity, similar to Gideon who sent away those soldiers who were afraid and who showed lack of restraint when drinking from a pool (Judges 7:1-8). Olaf also shone forth like a star, even though he himself was from the north and belonged to a barbarous people. Olaf is also overtly compared to St. Stephen in chapter 19, where Theodoricus says that Olaf was devoted and diligent in following the standard-bearer of the Saviour, the blessed protomartyr Stephen. Theodoricus here explains that just as Stephen prayed for those who stoned him, Olaf gave alms for the souls of those who fought against him. Olaf is the protomartyr of Norway, a new St. Stephen. This typological connection was, as we have seen, very clearly in the minds of Eystein Erlendsson and his circle.

To summarise, in *HA* Theodoricus presents a two-fold image of Olaf as a king, namely both as a Roman emperor (a new Constantine, elected in the Roman manner) and a Christian *rex iustus*

³⁷⁴ 1 Samuel 10 (Saul); 1 Samuel 16 (David).

³⁷⁵ Storm 1880: 39.

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(anointed by God, just, peace-loving, merciful). Furthermore, Olaf is a military leader in the fashion of Gideon, and Olaf is imitating Christ not only through his sacrifice but also through the miracles which God works at his shrine, and because he follows Tryggvason like Christ followed John the Baptist, and because he returns from exile in a manner similar to Christ in Egypt. Moreover, Olaf is the protomartyr of Norway and therefore an antitype of Stephen Protomartyr. The emphasis on the *rex iustus* type, the submission of empire to the church as evoked by the reference to Constantine, and the deliberate abandonment of the existing tradition in which Olaf's warrior past is mentioned all go provide a historiographical foundation for the reformist image, the high-canonical image, of Saint Olaf which would find its most refined formulation in *PO* and, even more so, in the liturgical office.

Passio Olavi and the iconography of Saint Olaf

In this section we come to one of the two main sources for my investigation, namely the work known as *Passio et Miracula beati Olavi*. The first edition of the saint-biography of Olaf was issued in 1880 as a part of Gustav Storm's collection of Latin texts from medieval Norway, *Monumenta Historica Norvegiae*.³⁷⁶ This edition of the saint-biography was assembled from several different sources, and Storm borrowed the title given to the saint-biography in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, namely *Acta Sancti Olavi Regis et Martyris*.³⁷⁷ The title *Passio et Miracula beati Olavi* was first used to describe a saint-biography of Saint Olaf that was followed by a list of 49 miracles which is found in MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Cod.209, fols.57r-90r, from Fountain's Abbey in Yorkshire, written in the twelfth century.³⁷⁸ Since Metcalfe's publication of this text in 1881, this title has become the standard when talking about the Olaf's Latin saint-biography, although it should be noted that this title is not the only one used for this account in medieval sources. As an example, we see that in the index of MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cod.Rawlinson C 440, fol.187v-194r, a manuscript from Yorkshire written sometime after 1250, the biography of Saint Olaf is referred to as "*Vita sancti Olavi regis et martyris*".³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶ Storm 1880.

³⁷⁷ Storm 1880: 125-44.

³⁷⁸ Jirousková 2014, vol. 1: 36; 39.

³⁷⁹ Interestingly, the martyr accounts inserted before and after Olaf's *vita* are both titled "*Passio*", namely *Passio sancti Edwardi regis et martyris* and *Passio sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris*. I am indebted to Fiona Fritz for sharing pictures of this MS with me, which allowed me to make this observation.

It is important to keep in mind from the onset that Olaf's Latin saint-biography has an immensely complex history, and has been the subject of a lot of academic debate in the past 150 years. This debate has been marked by three major issues: 1) what constitutes *PO*, 2) when was the first version written, and 3) who is the author. Many scholars have voiced their opinions about these matters, and it will take too long here to provide a comprehensive overview of the various positions and their respective merits. As noted in chapter 1, the most comprehensive study of the history of Olaf's saint-biography has been done by Lenka Jirousková in her monograph *Der heilige Wikingerkönig Olav Haraldsson und sein hagiographisches Dossier* from 2014. I take Jirousková's finding as a starting point for my own research, and for many of the details concerning the academic debate and the historical development of the legend of Saint Olaf and its literature, I will refer to her work. A brief overview of the most recent academic contributions to the debate will nonetheless be necessary here.

The central issues in the debate on Passio Olavi

1) What constitutes Passio Olavi

It is now generally accepted that Olaf's saint-biography comprises a *vita* and a *miracula*, in other words an account of Olaf's life on earth up until his death, and a catalogue of miracles that has been expanded at various points in the evolution of the legend. In addition to the different versions of the catalogue of miracles, there are also two versions of the *vita* section, one which is longer than the other, and they are commonly referred to as the short and the long *vita*.³⁸⁰ In her monograph from 2014, Lenka Jirousková identifies three recensions of the legend of Saint Olaf, recensions that have such significant differences between themselves that they should be separated as different versions of the fundamental text. Jirousková has labelled them Recensio 1, Recensio 2, and Recensio 3.³⁸¹ Of these three recensions, only Recensio 1 is from the High Middle Ages, and accordingly it is only this recension that will be of any concern in my thesis. Recensio 1 is further divided into versions A and B, which is the long and the short version mentioned above. These differences pertain only to the *vita* section.³⁸² As for the miracles, each of the surviving sources of Recensio 1 combines the

³⁸⁰ Jirousková 2014A: 33-34.

³⁸¹ Jirousková 2014A: 32.

³⁸² Jirousková 2014A: 34.

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vita and the *miracula* differently.³⁸³ Recensio 1 can be found in seven manuscripts, of which five contain the long *vita* and two contain the short *vita*. Three of these seven manuscripts are from the twelfth century, two are from the thirteenth century, one is from c.1400, and one is from the early 16th century. None of these manuscripts are of Norwegian provenance. An overview can be found in the table below.³⁸⁴

Sigla	Manuscript	Date	Provenance	Version
CCC	Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Cod.209	Late twelfth century	Fountains Abbey	A
H	Helsinki, Nationalbiblioteket, Fragmenta membrane III, 61	Twelfth century	Possibly Swedish	A
O	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cod. Rawlinson C 440	After 1250	Yorkshire	A
Dr	Dresden, Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mscr. Dresd. A. 182	c.1400	Possibly Linköping	A
B*	Böddeken, Codex monasteriensis 2o (Catal. 214, I)	Thirteenth century	Diocese of Paderborn	A
D	Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, Cod. 295	Last quarter of twelfth century	Anchin	B
N	Heiligenkreuz-Neukloster, Cod. XII.D.21	1500-1512	Holstein/Northern Germany	B

These sources are the foundation for Jirousková's edition of Recensio 1, and it is that edition which will form the basis of my analysis of the text and the iconography of Saint Olaf later in this chapter. The fact that the three oldest sources to *PO* are found within such a wide geographical remit, suggests that there was an active dissemination of cult material pertaining to Saint Olaf already during the reign of Eystein Erlendsson. This shows that the Norwegian church under the aegis of

³⁸³ Jirousková 2014A: 34.

³⁸⁴ The details are taken from Jirousková 2014A: 36-43.

Archbishop Eystein sought to actively reformulate the iconography and legend of Saint Olaf and supplant existing versions and traditions with its own.

2) *When was the first version of Passio Olavi written*

As we have seen, several of the miracles referred to in *Geisli* are also found in *PO*, and these, together with a version of miracle number 9 dated to 1165 and found in the annals of the monastery of Egmond,³⁸⁵ led Lars Boje Mortensen to suggest that prior to the composition of *Geisli*, and thus prior to the establishment of the Norwegian archdiocese, there existed a group of ten core miracles which comprised one literary unit.³⁸⁶ I agree that the so-called core-miracles must be understood as the first stage towards an authoritative written dossier for Saint Olaf, and we can say with great certainty that these miracles were written down prior to 1153. That the legend of Saint Olaf existed in some form in Latin is supported by references to earlier works by two texts from the archiepiscopal milieu. First, Theodoricus Monachus states that not few, *nonnullis*, have written about the exhumation and translation of Saint Olaf, which he sees as a reason to be brief about this issue himself.³⁸⁷ The second reference is found in *PO*, where, in miracle 37, Archbishop Eystein Erlendsson, who dictated the story, makes a reference to older sources: “reading these [accounts] which about the life and miracles of blessed Olaf [which] antiquity has entrusted us”.³⁸⁸ Although it is not clear what constitutes “antiquity” to Archbishop Eystein, the passage strongly suggests two main points. First of all, the text – or texts, as he notes the plural – to which Eystein is adding his brief account is one that antedates his own archiepiscopacy. Secondly, the text or texts that Eystein makes a reference to are expected to be continuously updated, since Eystein clearly has license to do so. We can understand this first stage towards the authoritative saint-biography composed in the 1180s to be a redaction of *PO*, or we can simply understand it as a work that was incorporated into

³⁸⁵ For the miracle: Jirousková 2014B: 39-40. *Annales Egmondenses* are found in BL Cotton Vitellius C.XI, and the hand that wrote the contemporary version of the miracle, the so-called F annalist, was active around 1170 (Mortensen 2000: 94).

³⁸⁶ Mortensen 2000: 89-98.

³⁸⁷ Storm 1880: 43-44. Cf. Phelpstead 2001: xxxv. Gustav Storm interpreted this to mean the existence of an account of the translation itself, which he titled “*translatio S. Olavi*” (Storm 1880: XXXIV). As Jirousková correctly points out, however, there is no guarantee that Grimkell’s declaration of Olaf’s holiness would result in a Latin account (Jirousková 2014B: 7). Storm’s hypothetical Ur-Vita is now dismissed. The invocation of previous records as a reason for brevity is somewhat of a *topos* in medieval literature, but it should be assumed that Theodoricus is here telling the truth since he is careful to elaborate on issues that he considers novel.

³⁸⁸ *Perlectis his, que de uita et miraculis beati Olai nobis antiquitas commendauit*. My translation (Jirousková 2014B: 64).

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what became *PO* but which at the time had a title now lost to us (if any at all).³⁸⁹

The debate about the trajectory of *PO* is clouded by our understanding of the editorial process. In an article from 2000, Lars Boje Mortensen drew on the cases of Thomas of Canterbury and Anno of Köln to show how miracle accounts were recorded in cases contemporary to the cult of Olaf, namely that miracles were recorded consecutively in *schedulae*, and from these *schedulae* miracle accounts were selected for inclusion in more high-end compendium designed to serve as, in Jirousková's words, a dossier for the saint.³⁹⁰ A similar trajectory had been suggested already in 1912 by A. C. Bang.³⁹¹ Mortensen argues that clusters of miracle accounts occurred following a bout of increased expectation among the venerating faithful, and that this expectation was boosted by the cultivators of the shrine.³⁹² The major point to take away from this is that the catalogue of miracles was subject to emendation over a long period of time. This is also seen in Eystein's reference to accounts passed on from earlier times. In other words, the differences between the various versions of the *miracula* in Recensio 1 do not allow us to pinpoint the number of redactions of *PO*. Most likely there has been a continuously updated record in a rough hand, from which a number of miracles were appended to the book we know as *PO*. We do not know how the *PO* was updated. It might have happened one miracle account at a time, or it might be that several accounts were included in at various stages. In any case, this uncertainty with regards to the very process of recording makes it difficult to speculate about redactions.

Another question in this issue is the relationship between the short and the long *vita* version. Inger Ekrem suggested that the short version belonged to the so-called first redaction, and that it was expanded already in the second redaction.³⁹³ This thesis has, however, been disproved by Eyolf Østrem, who noted in his survey of liturgical and non-liturgical sources for the *vita* that both the short and the long version can be found in liturgical sources from c.1200. Østrem stated that "no distinction can be drawn between the two *vitas* on chronological grounds on the basis of the age of sources only".³⁹⁴ Another important point here is that the short *vita* includes the baptism of Olaf,

³⁸⁹ Inger Ekrem suggested that the core-miracles, together with a short *vita*, comprised the first out of four redactions of *PO* (Ekrem 2000: 122). While the idea is well argued, we now know that her ideas about the redactions and the short and long versions have been disproved by the Douai MS (Jirousková 2014A: 39).

³⁹⁰ Mortensen 2000: 98-102.

³⁹¹ Mortensen 2000: 102.

³⁹² Mortensen 2000: 101-03.

³⁹³ Ekrem 2000: 120.

³⁹⁴ Østrem 2001: 56.

which serves as the opening of the short version.³⁹⁵ As I have argued above, the baptism of Olaf can only have entered the legend of Saint Olaf under influence from *HA*. This gives us 1176 as a *terminus post quem* for both the short and the long version of the *vita*. Considering the fact that the Douai manuscript both contains the short version and also includes a passage from *GND* to highlight the veracity of the baptism story, we should probably understand both the short and the long *vita* as part of the deliberate dissemination and the cultivation of the Olaf material that occurred in Trondheim during Eystein Erlendsson's reign. Eyolf Østrem suggests that the two versions served different purposes, and that the short *vita* was an abbreviation intended for use in the liturgical celebration.³⁹⁶ Lenka Jirousková, however, suggests that the short version is the first version of *PO*, while the longer version is a later and enlarged version of the short one, and that this amplification has to do with the cult centre at Nidaros inserting itself more clearly in the story of Saint Olaf, rather than liturgical use affecting the length.³⁹⁷ I follow Jirousková in this, since the Invitatory antiphon (item [21]), is from the long *vita*, but with the caveat that I believe the *vita* of *PO* was written after *HA*.³⁹⁸

3) *The question of authorship*

Much scholarship on *PO* has been concerned with the idea of Eystein as the sole author. The first to suggest that it was Eystein who had written the saint-biography was Frederick Metcalfe in his edition from 1881.³⁹⁹ Eiliv Skard later argued that Eystein had not only written the *vita* of *PO*, but also the entire *miracula*. This is no longer the accepted view. Lars Boje Mortensen argues for the understanding of Eystein's role in the composition of *PO* as a project leader, as the overseer of the compilation process. He also suggests that Eystein "composed or coordinated the *Passio* part as a natural aspect of his position as 'project leader' in a campaign in which the later bishop/archbishop Tore [i.e. Theodoricus Monachus] was also involved".⁴⁰⁰ This is a very important point, because it presents the idea that the *vita* of Olaf as a textual and literary unit was composed as a part of Eystein's over-arching cultural programme, and as a part of the reformulation of Saint Olaf which was being done at the archiepiscopal centre. This also explains why we find a long and a short *vita*

³⁹⁵ Mortensen and Mundal 2003: 366.

³⁹⁶ Østrem 56-58.

³⁹⁷ Jirousková 2010: 232ff.

³⁹⁸ For a comparison of the texts of the two versions: Jirousková 2014B: 15-31.

³⁹⁹ Metcalfe 1881: 54ff.

⁴⁰⁰ Mortensen 2012: 83

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in different sources from the same period.

It appears that Eystein and the rest of his project members 1) composed a *vita* in accordance with the standards for saint-biographical writing,⁴⁰¹ 2) composed two versions, possibly one that was more specifically aimed for liturgical use,⁴⁰² 3) disseminated the biography of Olaf quite widely across Scandinavia and the North Sea world (as exemplified by the width of geographic provenance for the surviving sources), and 4) let *PO* serve as the foundation for a literary culture centred on the church (as exemplified by the liturgical office and *NHB* where the Olaf legend was translated into the vernacular and into a homily). It is in these four points that we see the outline of Eystein's programme for the cultivation of Saint Olaf. No doubt, Theodoricus Monachus' *HA* was part of this programme. We can never know whether the composition of *PO* was already under way while Theodoricus was composing his chronicle, but we do know that *HA* served as part of the foundation for the finished product and therefore must have collaborated closely with the archbishop and other members of this cultural programme. In other words, *PO* is a new product of the late twelfth-century. Eystein's aforementioned reference to an ancient text is probably, as Mortensen suggests, a nod to the core of ten miracles which also serves as a foundation for *Geisli*. And we need to bear in mind that the legend of Olaf itself was by the beginning of Eystein's archiepiscopacy already well known through works in both the vernacular and in Latin, such as Sæmund Frode's now lost Latin account of the Norwegian kings and *HN* which appears to have had no influence from *PO*.

The relationship between *HN* and *PO* is also a point which strengthens the argument for a *vita* part that was finished and disseminated only in the late 1170s or early 1180s. As we have seen, *HN* refers to Olaf as *rex perpetuus Norwegie*, and as such must have been familiar with the ideology contained within Magnus Erlingsson's letter of privilege authored by Archbishop Eystein. This means that the ideology of the letter must have spread very quickly after its signing by Magnus in 1163/64, and it suggests that the Norwegian bishops must have been in some accord as to Olaf's role of patronage. However, since the surviving part of *HN* does not follow the narrative established in the Nidaros tradition, namely starting Olaf's biography around the time of his

⁴⁰¹ Mortensen and Mundal 2003: 365.

⁴⁰² There are offices whose lessons for Matins are taken from the long *vita* (see Østrem 2001: 266-72). However, these are from Swedish sources, and might indicate that the short version was not distributed to the Swedish dioceses, meaning that the lessons had to be drawn from the long version instead. The content of the lessons is namely one of the least stable features in the surviving sources for the Olaf liturgy, and it appears that there were several different versions of the lessons at Matins. See for instance Østrem 2000: 190-219; Østrem, 2001: 53-58; Mortensen and Mundal 2003: 366.

baptism and thus omitting his violent past, we should expect that this Nidaros tradition had not yet been finalised or disseminated widely by the time *HN* was written. Simply put, *HN* could not have drawn inspiration from *PO* because *PO* was not yet composed when the anonymous author was writing *HN*.

Having provided an overview of the probable history of *PO*, it is time to look closer at how Olaf appears in this text. I have already stated that the *vita* is a part of the reformulation which was undertaken by Eystein and his circle, and that the majority of the text itself – the *vita* and the majority of the miracles – were additions to an early core of miracles. We also see that even though the saint-biography is treated as one unit, it is a unit comprised of two parts, the *vita* and the *miracula*. In the following part, I wish to explore these two parts separately when trying to map the iconography of Olaf as contained in *PO*. It is necessary to keep in mind that both the short and the long versions of the *vita* are intended to provide the same formulation of the saint.

Saint Olaf in the vita of Passio Olavi

When dealing with *PO*, the long and the short version are investigated as versions of the same formulation. It should be emphasised that the surviving office uses material from the long version, as seen most clearly in the Invitatory antiphon's use of the geographical setting of the long version. A comparison of how the narrative of Olaf is presented in the two versions has already been undertaken by Lars Boje Mortensen and Else Mundal in an article from 2003. This outline is based on a comparison between the CCC and D manuscripts, but is nonetheless a very good sketch of what is happening in the two versions. I will present their overview in a table below, and I follow their division of the narrative into ten distinct elements (though the formulations are sometimes my own).⁴⁰³ A good comparative overview is also provided by Lenka Jirousková in her edition of the *PO* from 2014, where the two versions are printed together.

⁴⁰³ Mortensen and Mundal 2003: 366.

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	Long version (MS CCC)	Short version (MS D)
1	Description of the North; conversion of Norway	Olaf is converted in England and baptised in Rouen
2	Olaf is converted in England and baptised in Rouen	Olaf flees to Jaroslav in Russia; returns
3	Olaf's missionary activity in Norway (first mention)	Olaf's enemies; King Knut; the Battle of Stiklestad
4	Olaf's enemies	Martyrdom in 1028
5	Olaf's missionary activity in Norway (second mention)	
6	Olaf as a <i>rex iustus</i> (lawmaking, building churches, humility, justice)	
7	Olaf flees to Jaroslav in Russia; <i>rex iustus</i> (charity, piety, patience, model of honest living); persecution and exile as refining agents	
8	Olaf returns; <i>miles Christi</i>	
9	Olaf's enemies; King Knut; the Battle of Stiklestad	
10	Martyrdom in 1028	

I will in the following elaborate on five aspects of the iconography of Saint Olaf in *PO* based on this outline.

1) *The north*

The long version begins by setting the stage for its narrative. Its protagonist is introduced as the “most illustrious king Olaf” who reigned over Norway, a country to the north with Denmark south of it. Despite early efforts of christianizing missionaries, most Norwegians stuck to the rites of “sacreligious idolatry” and the “superstitious errors” by which they were deluded.⁴⁰⁴ This is explained through invocation of the biblical typology of the north as a place of evil, with specific references to Jeremiah 1:13-14 and Isaiah 14:13-14. The warm southern winds of faith, however,

⁴⁰⁴ Jirousková 2014B: 15. The text speaks of *sacrilegis ydolorum* and *supersticionis erroribus*.

are then brought north to thaw the ice of unbelief, and the Lord sent more missionaries, presumably the bishops following Olaf to Norway in 1016.⁴⁰⁵ The description of the north and its biblical typology has a long usage in medieval history writing (including saint-biographies).⁴⁰⁶ What is noteworthy in that regard, however, is the point made in the text that the Norwegians live close to, but not in, the farthest north. In light of the hypothesis that this text was composed at the metropolitan seat of Norway, we might understand it in part as an assessment of the work still to be done in the expansion of Christendom of which the Norwegian church now is a part. Another way to understand this description of Norway – aside from setting the stage for Olaf as the great missionary and apostle (to which we will return) – is the Norwegian church's formulation of its own role in Norway. The Norwegian church is the frontier of Christendom, but the Norwegian church also looks after a stubborn and perverse nation and this might be understood as a way for the ecclesiastical elite to mark their distance from the secular elite and to justify its position in Norwegian society. That the imagery of North is important to the iconography of Olaf can we see how the passage from *PO* about God building his city at the sides of the north – a metaphor for the missionary efforts – is used in the invitatory antiphon for the office of Saint Olaf.

2) *The baptism of Saint Olaf*

After the stage has been set for the Christological drama of *PO*, the text turns to its protagonist. Even though Olaf was a pagan, he was of a kindly, benevolent nature, his mind had a nobility of character, and he sought to follow righteousness. This is a typical *topos* of saints who convert to Christianity. Their innate – and implicitly God-given – goodness ensures a future sainthood. The text then moves on to the baptism, skipping every aspect of his pagan life, and describes how he freely admitted the faith into his breast, and how he was changed into another man when he was thus purified in baptism. The phrase *mutatus est in alium virum* is drawn from 1 Samuel 10:6. A rendition of this phrase can also be found in an antiphon for Thomas of Canterbury, (though no connection between those two can be proved).⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵ Mortensen and Mundal also note that the connection of Norway with the north, *aquilo*, might draw on *GS* (Mortensen and Mundal 2003: 367). They also point to the connection between the Olaf legend and the Old Testament prophets in a sequence of Saint Olaf that has as its incipit *Postquam calix Babylonis* (Mortensen and Mundal 2003: 368; Gjerløw 1968: 127, n.1; Eggen 1968, vol. I: 222-29).

⁴⁰⁶ Hope forthcoming.

⁴⁰⁷ Slocum 2004: 170. Compare opening of MR12, *Jesu bone*, in *Studens livor* with MR4 of the office of Olaf (Slocum 2004: 202). A similar formulation can be found in *GM*, in which he refers to Bishop Walkelin of Winchester being *in*

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3) *Saint Olaf as rex iustus*

Following the baptism story, Olaf is portrayed according to typical *rex iustus* imagery drawn from the Old Testament, which is only to be expected for a royal saint. According to *PO*, and drawing verbatim on *HA*, Olaf's humility is shown by his disdain for worldly rank and riches, and despite his kingship he is poor of spirit (one of the beatitudes from Matthew 5:3). He meditated on heavenly matters and disdained everything that is prohibited by divine law. Olaf is not only content with his own salvation, but also that of the province which he governs by divine dispensation.⁴⁰⁸ Therefore, Olaf took upon himself the lot of the apostle, *apostoli vice fungens*, and he himself preached the gifts of Christ and converted many, by his preaching, and also by his example and his devotion and knowledge of spiritual matters, to love of the heavenly fatherland and contempt for the temporal world. Interestingly, Olaf's preaching is said to be a new order of things, *novo rerum ordine*, which should perhaps be understood as an expression of the reformist ideal of the authors of *PO* and the clearest expression of their ideal king.

The text then tells that Olaf met with opposition from men who favoured desire over piety, custom over reason, and by fury of the soul rather than love of the truth. They fought the preaching and holy works of God's martyr. But Olaf faced this opposition as a righteous, just man, with the boldness of a lion – the symbol of kingship – and with the patience of blessed Job. Olaf sought to win the crown of martyrdom, but his time had not yet come. This is explained in a lengthy passage expounding the theme of his devotion and steadfastness in the word of God. After this exposition, the narrative turns to the more concrete aspects of his ecclesiastical munificence. We are told of a daily increase in believers following Olaf's works. Pagan idols or statues are smashed, sacred groves are felled, and temples or shrines are destroyed. Priests are ordained and churches are built, and idolaters and unbelievers were silenced.⁴⁰⁹

Moving on from Olaf's ecclesiastical munificence the narrative continues to his secular affairs. The

uirum alterum permutauit, turned into another man (Licence 2014: 264). Since this formulation also seems to draw on 1 Samuel 10:6, there is no suggestion of any relationship between the cases of Edmund, Thomas or Olaf.

⁴⁰⁸ The use of province here and in Jirousková 2014B: 22, might be intended as a reference to the archiepiscopal province of Norway.

⁴⁰⁹ This passage should, however, not be taken as any evidence of historical pagan practice, because the destruction of pagan paraphernalia is an old *topos* in Christian literature, and the felling of sacred groves is particularly well known from Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini* which in turn inspired St. Benedict according to Gregory the Great.

text is careful to point out that he did not have the pride of a king or a tyrant, but provided an example of humility and mildness. He made laws for both secular and ecclesiastical matters, and these laws displayed his discernment and wisdom, and the text elaborates on the justice of these laws. Olaf was also just when judging, and he sought to restrain the licence of royal dignity by strict laws. In this, we are told, Olaf is different from the typical king, who often abuses his power, and it is said that “words cannot explain how many benefices the king of frequent mention bestowed upon his people”, and then the text goes on to tell about his promulgation of laws, his support of the poor, his preaching, and his holy living.⁴¹⁰ It should also be noted that the image of Olaf as a lawmaker was also established in the various Norwegian lawcodes for the regional assemblies. For instance, in the Gulathing Law it was Saint Olaf and Bishop Grimkell who were said to have established the saints’ feasts in Norwegian law, although this is most likely a twelfth-century addition, and thus a legal fiction.⁴¹¹

To sum up, Saint Olaf is presented as a typical biblical king, a *rex iustus*, a king anointed by God. He is humble, patient, just, mild, generous, but also bold like a lion. He preaches, he builds churches, he gives good laws, and he cares for the poor. All these are typical characteristics of the *rex iustus* iconography. This iconography is further strengthened by the statement that Olaf was the apostle of Norway, something that - according to the text itself – was unheard of for a king. In other words, the image of Saint Olaf in *PO* up until this point fuses the iconography of the *rex iustus* with that of an apostle.

4) *Olaf’s exile in Russia*

The authors are clearly concerned with how to reconcile this exile with Olaf’s desire for martyrdom, and to overcome this seeming contradiction the text states that Olaf was a most bold and steadfast athlete of Christ and he did not flee for his own sake, but for the sake of others and in order that he might be able to bring better fruits to his master (cf. Matthew 20:1-16), God, and in a better way increase the worth of the talent he had received (Matthew 25:14-30). During his exile, Olaf is taken in by King Jaroslav of Russia, and here he provides the people with a “pattern for an honest life, and his religiosity, charity, kindness and patience”, i.e. some of the attributes of the *rex iustus*.⁴¹²

⁴¹⁰ Jirousková 2014B: 23-24, *Explicari uerbis non potest, quanta beneficia populis illis rex sepe nominatus contulerit.*

⁴¹¹ Ommundsen 2010: 75; Vandvik 1959: 162.

⁴¹² Jirousková 2014B: 25, *honestam vite formam et sue religionis, caritatis, benignitatis et patientie celebre.*

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Olaf's return to Norway was due to divine inspiration, when Olaf had been found acceptable and sufficient after he had been smelted, *decoctus*, in the fire of persecution and exile.⁴¹³ From this fire, Olaf emerges "clad in the breastplate of faith, girded with the sword of the spirit which is the word of God".⁴¹⁴ On his way back to Norway, he spread the word of faith and was ready to face persecution.

The brief passage on Olaf's return from his exile invokes many important features from biblical typology. First of all, his exile is described as a time of trial by which the holy man is strengthened. The archetypal exile in the typology of sainthood is of course Christ's exile in Egypt (Matthew 2:13-15) but also Christ's forty day in the desert which also served to strengthen him (Luke 4:2). The exile is, in other words, a form of *imitatio Christi*.⁴¹⁵ Secondly, the imagery of the Christian soldier, *miles Christi*, which abounds in this passage is drawn from the epistles of Paul. The breastplate of faith is mentioned in 1 Thessalonians 5:8, while the sword of the spirit is mentioned in Ephesians 6:17 (which also refers to the breastplate of justice in verse 14). This militant imagery is the basis of the *miles Christi* typology. We see here how the authors of the *vita* have fused biblical references into a more coherent image, similar to the way in which the prophecies of Jeremiah and Isaiah were merged in the opening of the *vita*. It should also be noted that in the description of the new Olaf, emerged from his exile and the refining fire, we see a transition from the old to the new testament. Before his exile, Olaf was described in the iconography of Old Testament kingship, the *rex iustus*, and following his exile he becomes the Christian soldier of the Pauline epistles, fitted with iconography of the New Testament. This should perhaps be interpreted as a form of progress which point towards the martyrdom. Naturally, in this new state Olaf has not shed his Old Testament iconography, but he has added to it the arms of Christ. Of course, he has been a Christian since conversion and as such always followed both testaments, but as a holy man he has now undergone a progress which infuses in him the iconography of both the old and the new covenant. It should also be noticed, however, that the idea of Olaf as a *miles Christi* is not a novelty

⁴¹³ For this idea in the liturgy of Thomas of Canterbury: Hope 2014.

⁴¹⁴ Jirousková 2014B: 26, *Indutus igitur lorica fidei et accinctus gladio Spiritus quod est uerbum Dei*.

⁴¹⁵ A similar imagery of exile as a period of strengthening holiness can be found in the office *Studens livor* for Thomas of Canterbury. In MR3 Thomas is likened to a gem hardened by fire (Slocum 2004: 178). The parallel is interesting and has led to some speculation about possible connections between the saint-biographies of Thomas and of Olaf. The theme of exile in the two hagiographies has been explored by Háki Antonsson (Antonsson 2004:131-44). Although such a connection is possible and tempting, we lack any concrete evidence. (For the celebration of Thomas' feast days in Scandinavia: Hope 2015 and Toy 2015.)

of *PO*. In *Geisli*, Einarr Skúlason often refers to Olaf as *Guðs riðari*, God's knight.⁴¹⁶

5) *Olaf's martyrdom*

The section of the *vita* that covers the martyrdom, begins with another allusion to the workers in the vineyard. The text states that since the worker was deserving of his salary it pleased the Lord to lead his combatant, *agonistam suum*, out of the prison of flesh. The word *agonista* refers to a combatant in sports, and is a reference to 2 Timothy 4:7 where Paul describes himself in sportsmanlike terms, which is the foundation of the idea of the athlete of Christ, a title already given to Saint Olaf earlier in the text.⁴¹⁷ In its description of Olaf's return to Norway, the text of the *vita* presents this not as an attempt to reclaim the Norwegian throne. Instead, Olaf's return is him resuming his efforts to convert the Norwegians, who are still intransigent and stubborn – especially in that place where his most sacred body now rests.⁴¹⁸ The text then states that Olaf, God's martyr, came into this particular province by chance, *forte*, which appears as an attempt to completely dissociate Olaf with any retaking of the kingship – after all, he treated secular pomp as dirt, as we have been told. Olaf's preaching, however, angered the unbelievers and they gathered against him. They were joined by others who were corrupted by gifts from Olaf's enemy, “a certain Cnut”, i.e. Knud of Denmark. Olaf's adversaries gathered an army and marched on Stiklestad where they surprised the martyr-to-be. This should possibly be understood as an evocation of the arrest of Christ in Gethsemane (Luke 22:39-46). Like Christ is attacked by the Roman soldiers, so Olaf is attacked by the unbelieving Norwegians who – perhaps reminiscent of Judas – have been bribed by King Knud, i.e. Caiaphas. It is interesting to note how this subverts the traditional narrative of the battle of Stiklestad. Instead of seeking a battle, Olaf is forced into a situation he did not desire. For even though he wishes martyrdom, he is a lover of peace, an *amator pacis*, yet he will nevertheless fight for faith and justice.⁴¹⁹ This must be understood in the light of Olaf as unconcerned with secular rank, and demonstrates the extent of the reformulation of the saint undertaken by the Nidaros metropolitan church. Olaf as the apostle of Norway and an antitype of Christ is probably what is at play here. The description of Olaf's death is remarkably brief. The details of the story were obviously known to the authors of the *vita* since they were familiar with *HA*. Yet it seems that the account of the battle is

⁴¹⁶ Chase 2005: 68; 71; 74; 77; 80; 83; 86; 89; 92; 95.

⁴¹⁷ See also the reference to *agone novissimo* in VA4 for Saint Edmund. Note that Olaf is referred to as *agonista* in the hymn for Vesper, item [12], in *BN*.

⁴¹⁸ Jirousková 2014B: 27.

⁴¹⁹ Jirousková 2014B: 28.

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only of interest for its typological implications. Olaf's death is described in general terms, stating that God decided to grant Olaf the martyrdom since he had endured the entire race, *tot agones*, thus fulfilling the imagery of the *athleta Domini* from 2 Timothy 4:7. Olaf is then crowned with glory of martyrdom after having been killed by the spears of the iniquitous. The text then gives his date of death as July 29 1029 for the defense of the faith against the enemies of the faith, and he migrated from war to the palace of the eternal king for the honour of God.

6) Summary remarks

The *vita* part of *PO* is a complex set of iconographical features that work together to form the image of Saint Olaf as it was reformulated by the curators of his cult at the cathedral of Nidaros. The three most distinctive aspects of this image are the apostle, the *rex iustus* and the *athleta Christi* which seem to merge together in order to evoke both the Old Testament and the New Testament, and to suggest a certain progression leading to the ultimate *imitatio Christi*, the martyrdom of Olaf. The text also provides a handful of Christological features, such as the exile, references to several of Christ's parables, and of course the preaching, the sacrifice and its imitation of the passion story. The *vita* of Saint Olaf displays a radical reformulation of the figure of Norway's patron saint. His past as a marauding pirate is completely omitted, and his narrative starts at baptism, i.e. the *vita* is only concerned with his new life as a Christian. His role as a king is only emphasised in order to show how untypical he was as a king, and how much he despised secular pomp. His exile to Russia is cast as a necessary exile that would turn him into the soldier of Christ. His return to Norway is explained not as an attempt to reclaim the throne, but as a mission to continue his conversion of the recalcitrant Norwegians. His martyrdom is void of details and evokes the passion story of Christ. The reformulation of Saint Olaf in the *vita* must be understood in light of the Norwegian church's attempt at propagating ideas of the reformist church, and the *vita* therefore is a reformulation of Olaf as an ecclesiastical saint, as an apostle, as a Christological figure, and presumably as a model for the Norwegian monarchs and a statement in favour of the Church's superiority over the king.

Saint Olaf in the miracula of Passio Olavi

The *miracula* of Saint Olaf came together in stages, and, as we have seen, the process began before Eystein's archiepiscopacy. Although these various stages were all incorporated into a final, coherent

product, due to the piecemeal genesis of the miracle collection in *PO*, we do not find a coherent, authoritative image of Saint Olaf in this part of the biography (unlike what we see in the miracle collections of Edmund). For instance, since the core-miracles antedate Archbishop's Eystein's efforts to reformulate Saint Olaf and do away with his violent past, we still find traces of Olaf's past as a warrior in some of the miracles in which Olaf interceded before God to ensure victory for his supplicants. These do not show Olaf as a warrior himself – which is presumably why it was not a problem for Eystein to include them – but they do echo the low-canonical iconography of Saint Olaf the warrior. Consequently, in this section I am not concerned with the image of Olaf, but rather how we can read the selection of miracles to try to understand how Archbishop Eystein sought to establish the identity of his church and his church province. In order to establish a frame for talking about identity construction on the basis of a miracle collection, we must remember two things. First of all, a miracle collection is the result of an editorial process, the miracles are selected deliberately. Secondly, by mapping the social, ethnic and geographical positions of the recipients of the miracles, we can apprehend how the institution in question understood the remit of the saint's intercession.⁴²⁰

Although the miracles of *PO* are put together from several stages of recording at the shrine in Nidaros, we can nonetheless make a distinction between the core-miracles and the later ones. Primarily, this distinction lies in the wide geographical scope of the locations in which Olaf's intercession results in miracles. Although most of the core-miracles take place in Norway, and most of them more specifically in at Olaf's shrine in Trondheim, we also see him listening to prayers from people in Ireland (M3), Byzantium (M4), Denmark (M5) and an unspecified Slavic location (M7). This geographical scope, however, belies the ethnicity of the supplicants, since the first three are all identified as Norwegians, while the fourth is not specified. This is not to say that Olaf only helps Norwegians, since one of the miracles (M9) concerns the healing of an English priest, but in this case the miracle is performed by God in Norway. For the rest of the miracles, the later, authoritative additions, the geographical location is in most cases seen to be in Norway, and particularly Olaf's shrine, regardless of whether the supplicants were Norwegian or from somewhere else, like Chartres (M25) or Galicia (M31). But there are also cases where Olaf intercedes beyond Norway, such as in the case of a Dane imprisoned in a Slavic place (M13), the prevention of fire in Holmgard (Novgorod) (M15), or the case of a merchant in Iceland (M24). It is also worth noting that these supplicants are men and women, and members of all the estates of

⁴²⁰ For the inspiration of this approach: Bale 2009B.

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medieval society, farmers, merchants, knights, priests, and so on.

By considering the selection of miracles in *PO*, the emphasis is clearly on the shrine of Saint Olaf as a *locus* for God's miracles, but also that Olaf extends his intercession beyond the Norwegian metropolitan see, and even beyond mainland Norway. Olaf listens to prayers in Russia, Estonia, Iceland, Denmark, Byzantium and Ireland, and he heals Norwegians, Danes, Icelanders, Spaniards, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and so on. It is tempting to say that the selection of miracles in *PO* is an attempt to establish Olaf as a versatile saint who intercedes for many different people, in many different places, showing that he is not only a local saint, or a Norwegian saint, but a saint of a much more impressive calibre.

The iconography of Saint Olaf in the Nidaros office

Although very little of the medieval liturgical material for Saint Olaf has survived until our times, what does survive indicates three important main points: 1) The liturgy for Saint Olaf originated at the archiepiscopal court in Trondheim in the course of the last three decades of the twelfth century, quite possibly in the course of the 1180s. 2) Liturgical material for the feast of Saint Olaf – chants and versions of the newly-completed *PO* – was distributed widely by a cult centre which was heavily invested in the wide dissemination of the veneration of Olaf. The material was disseminated not only within the Nidaros archbishopric, but also to Sweden (from whence it also came to Finland), England, and Northern France. This might have happened in different stages, and we don't know when the earliest liturgical celebration of Saint Olaf commenced in Sweden. 3) Within Scandinavia, at least, there emerged local varieties of the lessons for Matins.⁴²¹ Even though these versions appear to have been based on *PO*, they nonetheless differ from the surviving material from Nidaros. It should be noted that this comparison is based on the lessons found in the printed *Breviarium Nidrosiense* from 1519 (hence *BN*), and the methodological issues with using this late source will be addressed in due course. Nonetheless, the fact that Eyolf Østrem discovered an unknown version of the legend of Saint Olaf in two Swedish fragments from the thirteenth century, shows that the liturgy and the legend of Saint Olaf was subject to local alterations.⁴²² It is also necessary to emphasise here that in the following discussion I am only addressing material

⁴²¹ Østrem 2000: 190; Østrem 2001.

⁴²² Østrem 2000: 191ff.

pertaining to Recensio 1 of *PO*. I am therefore not concerned with dissemination of liturgical or saint-biographical material to Germany via the Hansa in the later Middle Ages, nor with the Norwegian material from the Salvator Church in Utrecht.⁴²³ In this thesis, I am interested in the office material that is based on Recensio 1, and which might have been the office composed during – or shortly after – the reign of Eystein Erlendsson.

However, due to the poor survival rate of Norwegian manuscripts we are today unable to reconstruct the office for Saint Olaf as it was around 1200. Instead, I have had to rely on three thirteenth-century fragments, which only provide us with the outline of the chants of the office as it existed around 1275.⁴²⁴ The chants of these fragments correspond perfectly with the chants in the *BN*, and together the fragments provide a near-complete selection of the chants for Vespers and Matins.⁴²⁵ A comparison with the Olaf office from the *Antiphonale Upsaliense* (1520-30) surviving in MS SK *A96, recently transcribed by Roman Hankeln, show that these chants were also used in Sweden.⁴²⁶ Due to the very conservative nature of liturgical material, however, it is reasonable – although it can never be conclusively be proved – to work from the hypothesis that the chants from the surviving thirteenth-century fragments do faithfully represent the chants composed during or shortly after the archiepiscopate of Eystein Erlendsson.

The fragments from Nidaros are from antiphonaries and therefore do not contain the lessons for Matins. In fact, no lessons have survived in Norwegian sources younger than *BN*. In a recent article, Roman Hankeln has demonstrated very convincingly that due to the conservative nature of liturgical offices, the printed breviaries from the turn of the fifteenth century should not be dismissed as potential sources for high-medieval offices,⁴²⁷ and I have indeed used *BN* as a control text for the chants contained in the fragments. For the lessons, however, it is less certain that they have remained the same, partly because it is easier to change and replace prose texts than chants, and partly because we see that the lessons in other Scandinavian offices for Olaf are so different. Furthermore, since this thesis aims to address questions of identity, I have decided to only focus on material originating in the Nidaros province, and I have therefore not included the lessons for Matins from *BN* in my analysis.

⁴²³ Jirousková 2014: 43.

⁴²⁴ Østrem 2001: 240.

⁴²⁵ I am indebted to Professor Roman Hankeln for pointing me in this direction.

⁴²⁶ Hankeln, forthcoming.

⁴²⁷ Hankeln 2015: 166ff.

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Due to the uncertainty regarding the lessons, the most important part of my analysis will be the analysis of the chants. These chants together with the lessons comprise the *Historia Sancti Olavi*. The term *historia* refers to the biographical narrative of the saint contained in the office.⁴²⁸ Due to the concordance between the thirteenth-century fragments – which only contain the incipits of the chants – and the chants provided in full by *BN*, we know that the *Historia Sancti Olavi* remained stable throughout the later Middle Ages. This stability might even reach back to the very composition of the office, which we can tentatively suggest to have been between 1180 and 1200. We know that the surviving *historia* for Saint Olaf is based on *PO*, and since that in turn relies on *HA*, we should not expect a date for the completion of the *Historia Sancti Olavi* any earlier than 1180. Before we move on to a presentation of the sources used in the following analysis, it should be noted that the present thesis is in no way an attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of the surviving liturgical material for the veneration of Saint Olaf. The analysis for my thesis is concerned with the office of Saint Olaf for the feast of his *dies natalis*, July 29. As stated in chapter 1, important work has been done on the hymns and material of the mass for Saint Olaf, but these fall outside of the scope of the present investigation. My main point of reference is the work by Lilli Gjerløw.

Overview of the sources

The edition of the office for Saint Olaf in Appendix 3 is compiled from four sources, all of which have their provenance from the Nidaros archdiocese. The only Norwegian source for the complete office is *BN*, printed in Paris in 1519. This printing was initiated and financed by Archbishop Erik Valkendorf (d.1522). For my edition I have relied on the facsimile of *BN* from 1964 by Børsums forlag, Oslo, and the transcription of *BN* by Jacob Langebek in volume II of his *Scriptores rerum danicarum medii ævi*, printed in Copenhagen, 1773. His transcription has been compared with the facsimile edition, and I have departed from Langebek's more modernised orthography. The chants of *BN* have been compared with the content of three fragments from the Nidaros province.

The first manuscript source is the fragment København Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Add 47. This fragment comprises “ten leaves of a choir antiphoner, written for Nidaros Cathedral”.⁴²⁹ It is dated

⁴²⁸ Hughes 1982: 22-23.

⁴²⁹ Gjerløw 1979: 230.

to the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and contains also the office of *De susceptione sanguinis*. MS. Add 47 contains antiphons 1-5 for Vespers, the Magnificat antiphon, the invitatory antiphon, antiphons 1-3 for the first nocturne and 4-5 for the second nocturne, and responsories 1-3. The fragment is described in detail by Lili Gjerløw.⁴³⁰ A facsimile of the fragment was printed by Lili Gjerløw as an appendix to *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*.⁴³¹

The second source is a fragment from an antiphoner, Oslo, Riksarkivet, N-Ora, lat.fragm. 1018. It is dated to the second third of the thirteenth century, thought to antedate the antiphoner of MS. Add 47. The fragment contains antiphons 1-5 for Vespers, the invitatory antiphon, antiphons 1-3 for first nocturne, antiphons 4-6 for the second nocturne, antiphons 7-8 for the third nocturne, responsories 1-6, and the Benedictus antiphon for Laudes. The fragment is described in detail by Lili Gjerløw.⁴³² Gjerløw also printed a facsimile of this fragment.⁴³³

The third source is an unnumbered Icelandic fragment, hence Isl.fr, from Þjóðskjalasafn Íslands, Reykjavík. The fragment is from a thirteenth-century monastic antiphonal and is comprised of a double leaf. It is described in some detail by Attinger and Østrem.⁴³⁴ Østrem points out that the office is from the monastic *cursus*.⁴³⁵ There exists no facsimile for this fragment, and I have consulted a photocopy of the manuscript, kindly provided by Roman Hankeln. The fragment contains two antiphons and six responsories. The antiphons correspond to antiphon 4-5 for Vespers found in the other sources, but in the fragment they are put in the place of what appears to be the antiphon 6 for the second nocturne and antiphon 7 for the third nocturne. This conjecture is based on the fact that the first antiphon precedes responsories 4-6 and the second precedes responsories 7-9. The following sections will provide overviews of these chants.

The chants for Vesper

The Vespers antiphons

⁴³⁰ Gjerløw 1979: 230-242; Østrem 2001: 240.

⁴³¹ Gjerløw 1979: plates 39-43.

⁴³² Gjerløw 1979: 242-50; Østrem 2001: 241.

⁴³³ Gjerløw 1979: 55-59

⁴³⁴ Attinger 1998. Østrem 2001: 240.

⁴³⁵ Østrem 2001: 240.

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The antiphons for Vespers, VA1-5, contain very little in terms of iconography, and are of a chiefly supplicatory nature, addressing Olaf as a patron and mediator for the prayers of the living. In the first four antiphons, (items [1], [3], [5], [7]) Olaf is addressed as *sancte martyr*, while the fifth antiphon (item [9]), addresses Olaf as *beate pater*. All five antiphons exhort Olaf to intercede for the supplicants and to provide expurgation for their sins. These antiphons are all very brief and comprise from two to four lines. As Roman Hankeln has demonstrated in an article from 2012, these antiphons take their incipits from the *commune sanctorum*, and can therefore not be expected to have any proper iconography.⁴³⁶

The Magnificat antiphon

The Magnificat antiphon (item [14]) is more expansive. It consists of twelve lines of eight syllables each. The lines follow a rhyme scheme of ABAB with a proparoxytone stress, i.e. with the emphasis on the antepenultimate syllable. The antiphon is a chant of praise for the celebration of Olaf's *dies natalis*. It refers to this day, *adest die* and *hodie*, and it is called a day of happiness. The antiphon goes on to give an overview of this rejoicing, stating that the voice of the church will reverberate and the heavens will vibrate with hymns. Olaf, called famous martyr, *martyr insignis*, is described as - on this day - to carry the banner of the palm, symbol of martyrs, from the battlefield to the palace in exchange of the victorious crown and the garment of glory.⁴³⁷

The description of Olaf's martyrdom in the Magnificat antiphon does bear a strong resemblance to the description in *PO*. The crown of victory and the garment of glory appear like echoes of the passage *ut gloriosius eum coronaret*, to have him crowned in glory, from *PO*.⁴³⁸ The line from the antiphon *traductus in palacia*, transferred to the palace, resembles the passage *ad eterna regis palatia de bello migrans*, migrating to the palace of the eternal king from the war, from *PO*.⁴³⁹ Although the Magnificat antiphon does bear strong resemblance with passages from *PO*, and although it is likely that this antiphon is based on the *vita*, we must be cautious when attempting to connect this antiphon specifically to *PO*. The reason is that the description of Olaf's martyrdom as contained in the Magnificat antiphon is very generic and points to nothing specific. Furthermore, as

⁴³⁶ Hankeln 2012: 138-41.

⁴³⁷ Cf. Hankeln 2016: 150-51.

⁴³⁸ Jirousková 2014B: 29.

⁴³⁹ Jirousková 2014B: 29.

pointed out by Roman Hankeln, the music for the Magnificat antiphon is taken from the office of St. Augustine.⁴⁴⁰ The incipit of the Magnificat also resembles the Benedictus antiphon from the office of Augustine, which begins *Adest die celebris*. Although the incipits are similar, however, the rest of the chant text for *Adest die celebris* has no connections to *Adest die leticie*.⁴⁴¹ A final point should be made regarding the date of the Magnificat antiphon. It cannot be specifically dated in relation to *PO* and might therefore be older than the redaction based on *HA*. However, the connection with the office for St. Augustine is strong evidence for the suggestion that the antiphon has been included in the office of Saint Olaf during the time of Eystein Erlendsson, due to his strong connection with the cult of Augustine (see above).⁴⁴² What we do not know, however, is whether the Magnificat antiphon – or indeed the entire office for Vespers – was used for the liturgical veneration of Saint Olaf before the completion of the office based on *PO*.

The chants for Matins

The following is a commentary and analysis of the antiphons and responsories included in the office for Matins. I have chosen to present the antiphons first in the order in which they appear, before moving on to the responsories. I have chosen to cover all the antiphons in succession in order to gather the analyses of one chant type in one place, rather than going back and forth between different types and different methodological requirements for analysis. The references to passages in *PO* follows the division set up by Jirousková, and I use her abbreviated references. The office is of the long version of Recensio 1.

The Invitatory antiphon

The music of this antiphon (item [17]) has been identified as belonging to the office for St. Augustine.⁴⁴³ The incipit is identical to the Invitatory antiphon of the Augustine office, but this does not apply for the rest of the chant text.⁴⁴⁴ Even though the incipit for the Invitatory is found in many offices (as the Invitatory antiphon), the text is proper to Olaf, and it provides a very significant

⁴⁴⁰ Hankeln 2012: 136-39; Hankeln 2007.

⁴⁴¹ Compare with the CID 200121. It is interesting to note that *Adest die leticie* is also found in the later office material for St. Erik of Sweden, and Ann-Marie Nilsson has suggested that this is due to a Dominican influence (Nilsson 2015: 202).

⁴⁴² Hankeln 2012; Hankeln 2007.

⁴⁴³ Hankeln 2012: 139.

⁴⁴⁴ CID 100192.

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connection to the *vita* of *PO*. The Invitatory text of item [17] states that God, through the diligence of Olaf, founded his city against the sides of the north. This is a clear reference to the passage in *PO*, the long version of the *vita*, following the reference to Isaiah 13, which tells of how Satan plans to establish his throne in the north. The *vita* then continues “Moreover, the great and exceedingly praiseworthy Lord builds his city on the sides of the north”.⁴⁴⁵ This is a striking similarity in vocabulary. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the word *nimis*, which we see in *PO*, is used in several versions of the incipit.⁴⁴⁶ That the invitatory antiphon of the Olaf office substitutes *nimis* with *valde*, on the other hand, is found in the Invitatory antiphon from the office of St. Augustine.⁴⁴⁷ This suggests a deliberate effort to conform to the Augustine antiphon.

The text of item [17] is not only interesting for its properisation of the Magnus Dominus incipit. Its resemblance to the passage from *PO* also suggests that the *vita* and the antiphon are aimed at presenting the same iconography of Saint Olaf. In the *vita* it is God who builds the city against the side of the north, and it is Olaf who takes up the lot of the apostles. The Invitatory antiphon, on the other hand, merges these two images by stating that God founded his city with the help of Olaf’s diligence. Although the term “apostle” is not used, the fact that the city of God is founded through Olaf’s diligence, suggests apostolic imagery. Moreover, it is perhaps significant that the Invitatory uses the word *fundavit* rather than the *vita*’s *edificat*. God’s agency becomes less direct, and it is Olaf who assumes the greater proxy to the next stages of the process following the founding. This might be understood as a way to refer to Olaf’s building of churches which the *vita* refers to so many times, but which the antiphon apparently does not have the space to include in any other way. However, it is also possible that the substitution of *edificat* with *fundavit* is simply due to the different number in syllables, and that *fundavit* with its three syllables suited the music better.

The Invitatory antiphon begins the narrative of Olaf in the same way as does the *vita* in *PO*. The antiphon sets the geographical and the typological stage: The north has sinister connotations, but God sends his apostle to build His city at its edges. This city might be understood literally as Trondheim, and the performers of the liturgy might have this in mind as they were performing the office at the shrine of Saint Olaf, that God’s city and Saint Olaf’s city was one and the same, and it

⁴⁴⁵ *Ceterum magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis qui de lateribus aquilonis edificat ciuitatem suam* (Jirousková 2014: 16).

⁴⁴⁶ CID 003680, among many others. (<http://cantusindex.org/id/003680>.)

⁴⁴⁷ CID 100192. (<http://cantusindex.org/id/100192>.)

was Trondheim. Saint Olaf's apostolic role is not explicitly stated, but can be understood from the context. The similarities between the texts of the Invitatory and the *vita* suggest that the two rely on each other. However, we can not say for certain which of the two texts is the first to have been written. Is the Invitatory a way of adapting the text and message of the *vita* to the music from the Augustine office? Or is the *vita* written as an elaboration of an existing antiphon? Personally I favour the former option, but I can not say that it definitely is the case.⁴⁴⁸

The antiphons for the first nocturne – items [21], [23], [25]

The first antiphon, MA1, tells that while the most illustrious king Olaf was reigning in Norway, there came heralds of the word of God. The antiphon is thus a summary of the first part of the *vita* in *PO*, which was touched on in the Invitatory antiphon. MA1 takes its first six words straight from the *vita*, and then skips the lengthy exposition of the geographical position of Norway and the biblical references, and continues with *precones uerbi sui* which is in the middle of ultimate paragraph of the first part of the *vita* (P.II.6).⁴⁴⁹ The antiphon only substitutes *sui* which refers to *Domino* earlier in the text with *Dei* to bring about the same meaning. The first part of the *vita* has, in other words been liturgically distilled to its core: Christian preachers came into Olaf's kingdom. MA1 is an antiphon followed by Psalm 1, which is an exposition of the blessed man who follows the ways of God. Although – as we will see – the conversion of Olaf only comes later, the content of MA1 already presents Olaf as a man adhering to God's ways and one that presumably would be open to the preaching of God's heralds.

The second antiphon, MA2, describes how Olaf, even though he was a pagan, was of a benevolent nature and sought to follow righteousness due to his nobility of mind. The text of MA2 is a reworking of the opening to P.II.1 in the *vita*.⁴⁵⁰ The reworking is so careful that it is practically verbatim, and the words *licet gentilis, natura benignus erat, et ad honesta queque sequenda quadam mentis ingenuitate promptissimus* are taken straight from the *vita*. This antiphon is an answer to Psalm 2, which begins “why do the heathens rage and the people imagine a vain thing”. MA2 appears very appropriate in this regard, and could perhaps be understood as an explanation of

⁴⁴⁸ In *BN* there is also included an alternate Invitatory antiphon (item [19]), which can – like the Magnificat antiphon – be divided into four lines of eight syllables each with a proparoxytone stress. However, since this antiphon is not included in any of the three thirteenth-century fragments, I will not include it in the present analysis.

⁴⁴⁹ Jirousková 2014B: 16.

⁴⁵⁰ Jirousková 2014B: 17.

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why Olaf could not remain a heathen when his nature sought the righteous and the heathens only imagine vain things.

The third antiphon, MA3, tells of how Olaf learned of the faith and then sought out the gift of baptism with eagerness of devotion.⁴⁵¹ This is also taken more or less verbatim from the *vita* (P.II.2).⁴⁵² The only difference is that the placenames, Anglia and Rotomagi, are omitted, as is the phrase “he admitted the faith fully in his heart” which links his learning of the faith in England and his seeking of the baptism in Rouen. This omission is probably due to the constrictions of the antiphon as a textual genre. It is usually a brief chant and as such has little room for repetitions or superfluous details. These details, however, might have been picked up again in the lessons, as indeed is the case in *BN*. MA3 is an answer to Psalm 3, which is an address to the Lord by a desperate believer asking why his enemies increase. The link between the psalm and the antiphon seems not to have been established.

Antiphons for the second nocturne – items [34], [36], [38]

The fourth antiphon, MA4, consists of two lines which describe how Olaf was purified in the health-giving bath and was suddenly changed into another man. This is a passage taken verbatim from the beginning of P.II.3 in *PO*.⁴⁵³ The connection between this passage and 1 Samuel 10:6 has been mentioned above. This antiphon is an answer to Psalm 4, which begins “When I called upon him, the God of my justice heard me” and continues as an invective against those who do not follow the ways of God. No clear connection between the two can be seen.

The fifth antiphon, MA5, continues the narrative of Olaf’s baptism. The text is taken almost verbatim from P.II.3 with only a few emendations and omissions. The line which in the *vita* connects the text of MA4 with the text of MA5 is omitted as it does not contribute to the narrative. Similarly, a line has been omitted between *mortem* and *in nouitate*, while *suscepte* is substituted with *quam suscipereat* to make the edited text work grammatically. MA5 tells of how Olaf was buried together with Christ through baptism, an image from Romans 6:4, and how after receiving

⁴⁵¹ The word *gratia* is often translated as grace, as indeed is how Devra Kunin renders it in her translation of *PO* (Phelpstead 2001: 27). This is a problematic rendition because the English word “grace” does not accurately correspond to *gratia*. Instead, I have translated this as “gift”.

⁴⁵² Jirousková 2014B: 17.

⁴⁵³ Jirousková 2014B: 17.

the new life of religion he will observe the faith most perfectly. MA5 precedes Psalm 5, which is a supplication to God asking for the chastisement of the psalmist's enemies. No clear connection between the two can be seen.

The sixth antiphon, MA6, also takes its text from *PO*, but in the *vita* the text does not follow the baptism narrative of P.II. Instead, the text is taken from P.III.2, where it follows from the description of Olaf's humility beginning *In regali fastigio*. The text of MA6 is not taken verbatim from the *vita*. In the *vita*, the text goes like this: *Quicquid diuina lex prohibet, uehementer abhorrebat, quicquid precipit, ardentissimo complectebatur affectu*. In MA6, *abhorrebat* is substituted with *cavebat*, he "avoided" instead of he "abhorred", and the verb is moved to the beginning of the passage. Furthermore, *prohibit* (prohibits) is substituted for *vetat* (forbids). The verb *fieri*, to be done, is added, making the text of the antiphon begin with "He avoided vehemently each thing to be done that divine law forbids". The text goes on to say that all that which the divine law teaches, he seized with most ardent affection. MA6 is an answer to Psalm 8 which is a song of praise to God for the majesty of Creation and for the elevated position of man as crowned with glory and honour. The connection between the antiphon and the psalm is not clear, although the praise of Olaf's affection for the divine law as the endpoint of the baptism narrative can be said to fit with the meditation on man's place in Creation. However, most likely MA6 is also not made to fit with the imagery of the corresponding psalm, as has been the case throughout the baptism narrative.

Antiphons for the third nocturne – items [47], [49], [51]

The seventh antiphon, MA7, continues from MA6. While MA6 takes its text from P.III.2, MA7 takes its text from P.III.3. The opening passage is taken verbatim from the *vita* until *quibus*, and the antiphon substitutes *diuina dispensante prouidentia prestitutus erat* with *preerat*, both of which indicates Olaf's government of the people, and the change is presumably done for the sake of brevity. The text then concludes with a verbatim passage from the *vita*. MA7 tells of how Olaf was not only concerned with his own salvation, but also with the salvation of those whom he governed, and so he diligently sought to convert them all to the faith. This passage is from the part of the *vita* which describes Olaf's kingship, and the apostolicity of his reign is here emphasised – although the word "apostle" is not applied. MA7 is an answer to Psalm 10 which is a meditation on the

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destruction brought on by the wicked. No connection between the antiphon and the psalm can be clearly seen.

The eighth antiphon, MA8, continues the *rex iustus* narrative of the *vita* by taking its text from P.III.4. The text is taken almost verbatim from the *vita* with the exceptions of *vicem*, lot, is rendered in the accusative, and the verb *fungens*, performing or executing, is substituted with *gerens*, taking up.⁴⁵⁴ The text conveys the apostolicity of Olaf's kingship and here this apostolicity is stated overtly by the words *vicem apostoli*, the apostle's lot. Olaf's apostolicity is that of a preacher, and this apostolicity of preaching is emphasised – here and in *PO* – by the phrase *ipse dux verbi*, the chief preacher, which is a title given to Paul in Acts 14.11. Olaf is thus a new Paul and his apostolicity is Pauline. Furthermore, the substitution of *fungens* with *gerens* might be said to express a greater volition on the part of Olaf. Instead of just performing the apostle's lot, he actively takes it up. Furthermore, by its incipit “a new order of things”, the novelty of a king performing a preaching apostolicity is emphasised, and – as mentioned above – this might be understood as a formulation of the kind of kingship which subordinates to the Church. MA8 is an answer to psalm 14 which is a meditation on the holy man who dwells in God's tabernacle. Thematically, this fits well with the image of the preaching apostle, but this might not be deliberate on the part of the liturgists considering the disparity between antiphon and psalm that has been the case hitherto.

The ninth antiphon, MA9, continues the narrative by taking its text from P.III.5 but with some emendations. The *nonnullo*, some, which opens the passage in the *vita* is substituted with *plurimos*, many, later in the text. Furthermore, *a nefandis demonum cultibus* is rendered as *a demonum nephandis cultibus*, the following text is in MA9 rendered with more brevity, and *reduxit* is substituted with *revocabat* (but this does not add meaning to the text). The antiphon and the *vita* nonetheless convey the same message: With the gift of preaching, which poured forth from his lips, he called back many men to the truth of God from the evil cult of demons. Olaf's preaching is here described by the phrase *gratia, que difusa erat in labiis eius* which is from Psalm 44.3. Olaf's preaching thus also invokes the kingship and devotion of David, one of the archetypal examples of the *rex iustus*. The apostle and the just king is here brought together. MA9 precedes Psalm 20, which is a song of praise, stating that the king shall rejoice in the Lord's strength. This fits very well with the *rex iustus* and apostolic imagery of MA9, although as stated above this might be a matter

⁴⁵⁴ Also, the *et* of the opening is omitted, but that has no effect on the text.

of some coincidence rather than deliberation.

Responsories for the first nocturne – items [29], [31], [33]

The first responsory, MR1, contains a partially rewritten passage from P.III.1. The subject is Olaf's humility as a king, that he was of poor spirit in the midst of royal riches, and while being involved in the business of a king, he gave himself freely to the contemplation of heavenly matters.⁴⁵⁵ This message is also found in the passage in the *vita*, but *erat* is in MR1 followed by *rex Olavus*, possibly in order to create a rhyme with *implicatus*. The words *et terrenis* are substituted with *licet regni*, which might be understood as a way to emphasise the gap between the king and heavenly matters, since it was not only because of his worldly, royal affairs that Olaf's heavenly meditations seem so surprising. It might also be a change caused by the rhythm of the music for the responsory, since *et terrenis* has the emphasis on the ultimate syllable, while *licet regni* puts the stress on the penultimate syllable. Furthermore, the word *nichilominus* is substituted with *mentis devote libera*, as if to emphasise that Olaf turned to heavenly matters of his own volition.

The verse of MR1 takes its verse from P.II.4 and thus alters the structure of the text of the *vita*. The text of the verse is a slight reworking of the passage in the *vita*. The verse states that all vain hope and seemed unworthy to him and the glory of earthly government and pleasure, became worthless to him. The opening of the verse is taken verbatim from the *vita*, but whereas the *vita* speaks of *uana delectatio* the verse says *uana spes*, possibly for purposes of rhythm. The verse keeps *terreni regni gloria* but substitutes *pre dulcedine celestis* with *ac uoluptas*. The result is that the verse embellishes that which seemed worthless to Olaf instead of emphasizing that it was due to the sweetness of Heaven that it appeared worthless. Again, this change is possibly due to the metrical constrictions of the responsory. The repetenda continues from *Ac licet*, and thus the main message of the responsory is how Olaf freely turned his mind to meditation on heavenly matters. The image contained in MR1 is thereby that of the king who spurns the secular power in favour of Heaven as a typical *rex iustus*.

The second responsory, MR2, is a reworking of P.V.4. In the responsory, the text hails the fervour of faith that was kindled in the breast of the invincible martyr, who was set amidst a savage people

⁴⁵⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this responsory: Hankeln 2016: 152ff.

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and yet did not cease to preach the word of salvation. The text from the *vita* is changed by substituting *excellentissimi* with *invictissimi* and omitting *Christi*, presumably for reasons of rhythm. The people have gone from *indomitarum*, untamed, to *efferrarum*, savage, which is also a change probably wrought by metrical considerations. After *constitutus*, the responsory omits several lines and continues from P.V.5 whose opening is then made to be the conclusion of the response, with only the following alteration: Instead of *salutare fidei verbum*, the responsory text says *salutis verbum cunctis predicare*. The change does not alter the message of Olaf's preaching, it only abbreviates the narrative, which is natural in a responsory. The verse takes part of its text from P.IV.2, where it says Olaf's enemies sought to make him stray from the right paths of God.⁴⁵⁶ The phrase *uias domini rectas* is found in Acts 13:10, but also invokes similar passages in Wisdom 10:10 (a text often used as a versicle in offices), Isaiah 40:3, and Matthew 3:3,⁴⁵⁷ to mention only a few. In the verse of MR2, this passage is reworked into "Many adversaries did he have who sought to make him stray from the right paths of God". The repetenda picks up from *Non cessabat* and thus the message of MR2 is how Olaf did not cease his preaching, again emphasizing the apostolic imagery we saw in MR1.

The third responsory, MR3, takes its text verbatim from P.IV.3, which is a compound of Proverbs 28:1 and Job 31:34. The text depicts Olaf as being truly just and bold and without fear as a lion (Proverbs),⁴⁵⁸ and that he was not afraid of the multitude or the contempt of families, thus following the example of blessed Job. Olaf is, in other words, a bold, fearless, just and patient man, all qualities of a typical *rex iustus*. The verse takes its text from P.VIII.6, but substitutes *obiciebat*, presented, with *offerebat*, offered, which might be for purposes of rhythm, but also heightens the eagerness of Olaf who not only presents but actively offers himself. Olaf offers himself of his own free will to the dangers of martyrdom, should it please God. The repetenda picks up from *Non expavescebat* and therefore underlines Olaf's fearlessness as it has just been described in the verse, stating that Olaf did not fear martyrdom. The image of MR3 is therefore not primarily the *rex iustus* but the martyr, although that is here connected with the *rex iustus*.

Responsories for the second nocturne – items [42], [44], [46]

⁴⁵⁶ Jirousková 2014: 20.

⁴⁵⁷ The Gospel of Matthew does on many occasions function as an antitype to Isaiah.

⁴⁵⁸ Compare this with the formulation of Knud Dux in the responsory for first Vespers in his office, where he is described as *iudex iustus sevis leo*, a just judge and a fierce lion (Bergsagel 2010: 2-3).

The fourth responsory, MR4, has its responsum not taken directly from *PO*, but picks up on the Pauline iconography. The text states that Olaf most devotedly executed the office of the evangelist, and that he was girded in the breastplate of faith (1 Thessalonians 5:8) and the helmet of faith (Ephesians 6:17). He then wandered through the cities, villages and farms to spread the doctrine of salvation. The references to the Pauline epistles and their military iconography have already been mentioned above, but it bears repetition to state that MR4 presents Olaf as a *miles Christi*. The verse takes its text from P.V.1 of the *vita* with some changes. The text is taken verbatim from the *vita* until *incredulum*, with the omission of *quantas persecuciones* which probably owes to reasons of rhythm. *Convertere* is added to the text, and *posset* can be found as the main verb in P.V.1. The verse thus presents Olaf as a man who had to endure much hard work before he could convert an unbelieving people. It is worth noting that *populum incredulum* is taken from Romans 10:21, and so the verse presents Olaf as a Pauline apostle, an imagery we have already seen in the depictions of his apostolicity of preaching. This reference to Romans strengthens also the *miles Christi* imagery which is taken from Paul's epistles. The repetenda picks up from *Circuibat*, and the most important iconography from MR4 is thus the preacher.

The fifth responsory, MR5, follows the fifth lesson. The text is partly taken from P.V.7 and follows the *vita* verbatim until *populi*. The rest of the responsum appears to be written for MR5. The text says that many people eagerly flocked to be baptised, and in many parts of Norway. Because of the faith flowing from Olaf's mouth, many gave up all their iniquities. The text of the verse states that on that day the number of believers increased, and this text also appears to have been written specifically for MR5. The response then picks up from *Propter*, and thus reiterates that the preaching of Olaf made the multitude give up its iniquities. Olaf is again the preacher-king who is more apostle than king. It appears that even though the office text presents both the *rex iustus* and the apostle, it is the image of the apostle which is favoured in the chant texts.

The sixth responsory, MR6, appears to be written specifically for the responsory, at least in the responsum, although its theme does echo some of the passages from P.V. MR6 states that faith flowered and the word of God sprouted forth abundantly after having been planted anew [by Olaf]. He built churches to which the people offered gifts with eagerness and devotion. This is the first hint in the *historia* to any form of Christianisation having occurred prior to Saint Olaf. The

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agricultural imagery might be seen as drawing on the references to the workers of the vineyard found in *PO*. The reference to the building of churches might also draw on P.V.9, where the building of churches is mentioned. The apostolic iconography of Olaf is here continued. The text of the verse is partly taken from P.V.12, and follows the *vita* verbatim until *potest*.⁴⁵⁹ From there the text of the verse is a slight reworking of the *vita*. Instead of *laborum suorum gratissimos*, the verse has *iam laboris sui suavissimos*, where *iam* has been moved from its place in the original passage (after *fructus*). *Fructus* is kept, *iam* is moved, and *in presenti percipiens* has been substituted with *pregustans*. In other words, the text of the verse states that the king rejoiced and could hardly believe that the sweet fruits of his labours could already be tasted. The apostolic imagery of Olaf has here been infused with the agricultural imagery of the Gospels. The repetenda picks up from *Fabricandis*, and the text thus presents Olaf as the church-building apostle. Since church-building is also a trait belonging to the *rex iustus*, we are also dealing with this iconography here.

Responsories for the third nocturne – items [55], [57], [59]

The seventh responsory, MR7, is partly taken from P.IX.2, but with small emendations. The opening verb *devenerat*, he arrived at, is not used in the *vita*, but the application in MR7 corresponds to *uenit* in P.IX.3, where it says that Olaf arrived at Stiklestad. In MR7, however, Stiklestad is not mentioned. The theme of the response is that Olaf arrived in that place where his most holy body now rests. In this place dwelled the inexorable enemies of Olaf, who were obstinate in their malice. This corresponds to P.IX.2, but with some reformulation of the text, mostly as an abbreviation of the passage in the *vita*. In the transition from *vita* to responsory, Olaf's body has gone from *sacratissimum* to *sanctissimum* which might be for purposes of rhythm, although it also is a stronger formulation of holiness, from sacred to holy. The rest of the response takes *incole*, dwelled, *in malicia*, in malice, and *hostes erant inexorabiles* from the *vita*, while the remaining words are new. The verse continues the narrative, but does not appear to take its text from *PO*. The text states that the army gathered in this place, i.e. Trondheim, and convened as one against God and against Christ. The repetenda continues from *Veritatis*, and thus the emphasis of MR7 is on the inexorable nature of Olaf's enemies. The transgression of the Norwegians can be said to have been heightened in the verse, as they are not marching against Olaf, but against God and Christ. The response underlines this transgression by highlighting their innate viciousness.

⁴⁵⁹ Jirousková 2014B. 22.

The eighth responsory, MR8, is taken from the *miracula*, namely from M.I.1-2. The response is a retelling of Olaf's dream on the night before the battle, and the text of MR8 tells that the night before his passion, Christ appeared in splendour to his contemplator and said, come, my dear, it is time for you to learn of the fruits of your labour. The incipit *Egregius martyr Olavus* is new. Then follows a brief passage almost verbatim from the *miracula*, *nocte precedente diem*, with the omission of *igitur*. This is then followed by *sue passionis*, which is a new addition, and which is a strongly Christological formulation. Instead of *accede (...) ad me, dilecte mi* in the *miracula*, Christ says *veni chare meus* in MR.8. The following text is also new, until *tempus est, ut laborum tuorum* which is taken verbatim from the *miracula*, and then *fructus dulcissimos accipias* is substituted with *dulcissimos percipias fructus*. The verse has a text composed specifically for MR8. Here it says that he with astonished gaze beheld the heavenly prophecy. The repetenda continues from *Veni*, and underscores that Olaf was beloved by Christ. The image of Olaf in MR8 is that of the martyr and friend of Christ, who is granted a foretaste of his posthumous reward.

The ninth responsory, MR9, is strongly based on M.I.3, but is a significant rewriting which only retains the words *confortatus* and *uisionis*.⁴⁶⁰ The response tells of how the illustrious king Olaf, the precious martyr of God, was strengthened by the divine vision, and exulting continued to the place of his martyrdom. And through the shedding of his blood, he went with the palm [of martyrdom] to eternal joy. The verse also contains text written specifically for MR9, and in this case there is no obvious connection to the text of *PO*. The verse states that he happily exchanged earthly business for the kingdom of Heaven. The king beheld the face of the King [of kings] and His great glory. In this way, the verse both repeats Olaf's dismissal of the earthly kingship, and also underscores the Pauline imagery so prevalent in the chants for Matins by stating that Olaf beheld God's face, presumably an allusion to 1 Corinthians 13:12, where it is stated that the Christian will see God face to face. The repetenda picks up from *Et per effusionem* and thus concludes with and emphasises the martyrdom of Olaf and his sacrifice.

The chants for Laudes

In *BN* there are six antiphons for the office of Laudes. These are the five Laudes antiphons (items

⁴⁶⁰ Jirousková 2014B: 30.

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[62]-[66]) and the antiphon for the Benedictus (item [68]). Of these six, only the Benedictus antiphon survives in a thirteenth-century manuscript (ORA MS 1018), and consequently I will only be analyzing this particular chant. However, it is necessary to point out that the five Laudes antiphons in *BN* each describes one miracle belonging to what Mortensen described as the core miracles. Since we saw that the last two responsories, MR8 and MR9, took their material from the *miracula*, and since we see that the Benedictus antiphon also takes its material from the core miracles, the most probable scenario seems to be that the Laudes antiphons in *BN* are in fact those which were used in the office as it was performed in the thirteenth century. This is furthermore supported by the fact that the Uppsala antiphoner, SK *A96, contains the exact same collection of Laudes antiphons. This suggests that the Laudes antiphons belong to the original office for Saint Olaf, since the melodic variants between Uppsala and Nidaros – according to Eyolf Østrem – suggests that the two metropolitan sees had their own traditions from a very early stage.⁴⁶¹

The Benedictus antiphon

The Benedictus antiphon precedes the Benedictus, the canticle sung with the text from Luke 1:68. The text is based on the fourth miracle in *PO* (M.IV), but the antiphon is a retelling of the miracle story rather than a reformulation of passages taken directly from the *miracula*. The Benedictus antiphon tells the story of the miracle in Byzantium, where Olaf aided the the Varangian guards against pagan enemies. In the antiphon the story is presented accordingly: The Greek emperor was pressed by the barbarous enemies in battle and was delivered through the works of the glorious martyr. When the holy Christian suddenly appeared as the noble standardbearer and drove away the army of enemies. The image of Olaf as a warrior saint and *schlachtenhelfer*⁴⁶² is at odds with the image presented through the chants for Matins. The reason for this is that the basis for the Benedictus antiphon is a text which is older than the reign of Eystein Erlendsson and therefore does not conform to the reformulation of Saint Olaf. That the miracle nonetheless is included in the office despite being at odds with the rest of the chants, might suggest that the chants for Laudes were composed before the composition of the new office, and that they are included because by the time the new office was composed these chants had already become an integral part of the celebration. However, it is equally possible that in composing the chants, the liturgists have followed the narrative of *PO*, and therefore had to continue with the miracles which were first in the

⁴⁶¹ Østrem 2001: 260.

⁴⁶² Cf. Graus 1965: 455-62.

succession.

The liturgical image of Saint Olaf

I have already demonstrated how the *vita* of *PO* exhibits clear evidence of a deliberate reformulation of the image of Saint Olaf as it had been formulated through various sources in both Latin and Old Norse within the timeframe 1031-1154. The reformulation that occurred in the latter half of the twelfth century had the archiepiscopal court at Trondheim as its centre, and Archbishop Eystein Erlendsson and his closest associates as the driving force. As such, this is a construction of a high-canonical image of Saint Olaf. The reformulation must therefore be understood in light of Eystein's reformist attitudes and in light of the Norwegian archbishopric's very recent establishment. The most striking differences between the ecclesiastical image of Saint Olaf and the traditional image are as follows: 1) Olaf's military background is practically omitted; 2) Olaf becomes an apostle of Norway; 3) Olaf is depicted as a *rex iustus*, but his role as a king is overall downplayed; 4) Olaf becomes an adult convert rather than a life-long Christian. In the following, I will briefly comment on the most important features of this new formulation, the so-called ecclesiastical, high-canonical formulation.

1) Olaf as an adult convert

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the story of Olaf's baptism in Rouen as an adult is a new feature of the high-canonical image. This was not the only version of the story in which Olaf converted late in life, but it was the version which was favoured in the ecclesiastical reformulation – quite possibly out of respect for the source material, since *GND* provides evidence which is lacking in the other cases. That this late conversion was important is testified to by the fact that the story is told in MA2, MA3, MA4 and MA5. We see in MR3 that the text comes from the passage following the story of the baptism in the *vita*, which suggests that the baptism might have been the subject of the first lesson – as indeed is the case in *BN*. I would also like to suggest that the late conversion of Olaf might also have spurred the composers of the *vita* and the liturgy to emphasise the Pauline aspect of his apostleship, and this explains the prevalence of references to Paul and the Pauline epistles. However, these references are quite common in saint-biographies, and need not entail an intended depiction of Olaf as a new Paul.

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2) *Olaf as a rex iustus*

As we saw in the *vita*, Olaf's role as a *rex iustus* occupied an important section of the *vita*. Under this label we find a range of attributes and characteristics, namely humility, the building of churches, justice, equity, the promulgation of laws, patience, mildness, kindness, and meditation of heavenly matters. The *rex iustus* is a king who sets God higher than himself, and who spurns secular affairs and riches. In the office, these characteristics are important, and they are found in MA1, MA2, MR1, MR3, MR6, and MA6. We should also expect references to these characteristics in ML1, ML3 and ML6 since the characteristics feature in the responsories, and since the responsories are aimed for repeating features from the preceding lesson.

3) *Olaf as the apostle of Norway*

That the archbishop and his associates understood Olaf as the apostle of Norway is already seen in the *vita* where it is expressly stated that he took up the lot of the apostles. The *vita* also states the eagerness with which Olaf preached, and that he returned to Norway from Russia to convert more Norwegians. Olaf's apostleship is marked by his preaching, and it is expressly stated that it is Olaf himself who converts the Norwegians through the sweetness of his own words, and his own skill at proselytising. In the office, this image of Olaf as an apostle appears to be the most important one, as it is featured in the highest numbers of chants. Olaf's apostleship of preaching is featured in MIA, MR2, MR4 (which refers to taking the office of the evangelist), MR5, MR6, MA7, MA8, and MA9. In addition, we should expect the apostleship to be featured in ML2, ML4, ML5 and ML6. Throughout the office, Olaf's role as an apostle and preacher overshadows all other features, and Olaf the apostle is more important than Olaf the king. This is suggested by MA8, where Olaf's preaching is described as a new order of things, a king who has become an apostle. In MR6 it is stated that the faith blossomed in Norway thanks to Olaf. As mentioned above, this apostleship does seem to be of a distinctive Pauline nature due to the many references to the Pauline epistles, but this might be more strongly demonstrated in the *vita* rather than in the office since the *vita* presents the narrative more clearly as a progression from the Old Testament kingship to the New Testament soldier and athlete of Christ. The *miles Christi* imagery is retained in MR4 by references to the breastplate of faith and the helmet of salvation, and this imagery is emphasised in the repetenda of

MR4, while the athlete imagery is found in the Matins hymn (item [20]). The Pauline dimension of Olaf's apostleship as presented in the office, the sheer number of chants presenting the apostolic image proves that the most important aspect of the ecclesiastical formulation of Olaf was the apostle.

4) *Olaf as martyr*

Olaf's martyrdom is of course the main event in his progression towards sainthood, and it has been an important feature in the traditional depiction of Saint Olaf before the formulation of the ecclesiastical image. In the *vita*, we have seen how the martyrdom provided a quandary for the composers of the ecclesiastical image since it happened in a battle. This is why the *vita* presents the martyrdom as a gift by God, but the battle which brought it about was an accident due to the machinations of his enemies – all strongly reminiscent of the capture of Christ in Gethsemane. It should also be mentioned that in the *vita* the exile of Saint Olaf offers a difficulty for his status as a martyr since it appears contradictory – a contradiction understood by the authors of the *vita* since they provide arguments against it. The exile is not mentioned in the chants, and it is possible that this is a way to avoid this contradiction – although it is also possible that the exile featured in the lessons (as it does in ML5 of *BN*). Olaf is addressed as a martyr in VA1-VA4 and MagA, but since these are taken from *commune sanctorum* they are of less importance to us here. In the chants for Matins, Olaf is referred to by the title martyr in MR2, is said not to be afraid of martyrdom in MR3, and his passion story is told in MR7, MR8, and MR9. This suggests that all the lessons of the third nocturne were dedicated to the topic of his martyrdom, and as such it is clearly an important part of the ecclesiastical image. But in terms of epithets found in the antiphons and responsories, his role as a king and his role as an apostle are more frequently referred to, and as such must have been more important in the eyes of the liturgists.

5) *Olaf the warrior*

As mentioned above, the Benedictus antiphon does portray Olaf as a warrior. This imagery is, however, practically contrary to the image of Olaf as formulated in the texts for Matins, and bears witness to the image as formulated by tradition, rather than providing any information about the ecclesiastical image.

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Summary remarks

It appears from the distribution of iconographic characteristics and attributes that the liturgists – composed under the aegis of the archbishop and his associates – had as the following priority in their formulation the liturgical image of Saint Olaf: 1) Olaf the apostle, 2) Olaf the just king, 3) Olaf the martyr, 4) Olaf the adult convert. I do not count Olaf the warrior among these features, since that appears rather as a remnant from the tradition image which the composers of the new image could not avoid.

CHAPTER 5 – KING KNUD SVENDSSON OF DENMARK

Historical overview – reign and early cult

Following the death of King Svend Estridsen (1047-74/76) two of his many sons, Knud and Harald, both sought to become his predecessors.⁴⁶³ The question of who were to become the next king of Denmark was ultimately settled by an assembly of the Danish nobles at Isøre (modern day Rørvig) in northern Sjælland. The nobles elected Harald, and as a result Knud left Denmark. According to the account of Aelnoth of Canterbury, *GS*, written in Odense more than thirty years after the assembly at Isøre, the aristocrats chose Harald because he promised them a peaceful reign. Even though *GS* is a later source and marked by its purpose as a panegyric history there is little reason to doubt that Harald was chosen because he was seen as the more peaceful of the two. What is more unlikely, however, is Aelnoth's claim that Knud decided to step aside for the sake of the kingdom's stability. Judging from a letter sent by Pope Gregory VII to the Norwegian king Olaf III Kyrre in 1079, Knud sought to topple his brother from the Danish throne. In this letter, we are told that the pope has been informed of Knud's attempts to rally the Norwegian king to his cause, and the pope implores King Olaf Kyrre to forbear any move that might destabilise the Christian kingdom of Denmark.⁴⁶⁴ In the end, there was no insurrection on the part of Knud, and following the death of Harald in 1080, Knud became his brother's successor.

The scant source material from the reign of Knud (1080-86) is predominantly comprised of charters, royal donations and coins. Judging from some of this evidence, such as a charter to the church of St. Laurentius in Lund,⁴⁶⁵ it appears that Knud continued his father's and his brother's royal support of the Danish church organisation, still largely in its infancy at this time.⁴⁶⁶ As part of this ecclesiastical munificence, Knud brought English priests from England to Odense.⁴⁶⁷ These clerics served at the Church of St. Alban, dedicated to the English protomartyr whose relics were housed there, and whose relics Knud is believed to have brought from England himself - possibly

⁴⁶³ Since Danish law neither practiced primogeniture nor distinguished between those sons born in or out of wedlock, all his sons were theoretically eligible to become kings. In this case, however, the candidacy was quarreled over by two of them.

⁴⁶⁴ Vandvik 1959: 30-35.

⁴⁶⁵ Gazzoli 2013: 70-71.

⁴⁶⁶ Fenger 2017.

⁴⁶⁷ Mortensen 2006-09.

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after his participation in his uncle Asbjørn's raid on England in 1069-70.⁴⁶⁸ Aelnoth also remarks that the church contained relics of St. Oswald of Northumbria.⁴⁶⁹ Judging from Aelnoth's account of the *translatio* of Knud's bones in *GS* (c.1110-17), Knud had begun the erection of a limestone church in Odense at some point during his reign, possibly as a future replacement for the wooden church and thus presumably intended to be dedicated to St. Alban, or as a monastic church which it later became. The crypt and foundation of this new church were completed by 1095. One might easily think – especially after reading Aelnoth's characterisation of King Oluf I – that work on the building had halted following the murder of Knud, and this would certainly account for why the work had not progressed further more than nine years after its commencement. It is also possible that work on the new church continued in the reign of Oluf I. Whatever the case might be, the intended dedication of the church was substituted for a dedication to the new patron, Saint Knud. English monks became the guardians of his cult, and the cult centre became a monastic church. Later, during the reign of Erik Ejegod, more monks were brought to the cult centre in Odense, and it is commonly thought that they were brought from the Benedictine monastery of Evesham.⁴⁷⁰

In addition to the strengthening of the ecclesiastical complex in Odense, Knud's support of the church also said to have included donations, the erection of church buildings, the legal protection of the clergy, and the introduction of the tithe. These claims are found in the anonymous *Passio Sancti Kanuti Regis et Martiris* (written c.1100, hence *PK*) and in Aelnoth's *GS*, and should of course be read in light of these authors' effort to portray Saint Knud in accordance with the traditional image of the *rex iustus*, an image that included ecclesiastical munificence and respect for the clergy. Nonetheless, even when we consider the possible exaggeration of Knud's ecclesiastical policy, it is clear that the discontent which led to his eventual murder in part grew out of economic concerns. These concerns might have been caused in part by the introduction of the tithe. However, there are also other aspects of the royal policy which seem to have alienated parts of the Danish populace against their king. One of the factors in this development was no doubt the aborted military expedition to England, which saw a great assembly of resources and men that ultimately came to nothing. In addition, as Paul Gazzoli has convincingly argued, there seems also to have been a debasement of the coinage during the reign of King Knud, and this might have stoked the resentment even further. As Gazzoli points out, the murder of the king in 1086 “could thus be

⁴⁶⁸ That it was Knud who brought the relics of Alban to Odense is first stated in *TO*.

⁴⁶⁹ Aelnoth 1984: 85.

⁴⁷⁰ Albrechtsen 1984: 10; Gazzoli 2013.

understood not as a spontaneous outbreak of mass fury but part of a longer history of events”.⁴⁷¹

In the present dissertation, the historical reign of King Knud is of little importance and I will not engage with it to any great length here. What is at the centre of my discussion, is the construction of the cult in the 1090s, and the formulation of Knud the king and martyr in the textual production that followed. The primary focus of this chapter will therefore be the so-called Odense cycle or the Odense literature, a small group of texts composed to formulate the textual image of Saint Knud, as well as the application of these texts in the composition of the liturgy. My main goal is to see how the image of Saint Knud was refined in the format of the liturgical chants and – as far as can be ascertained – the lessons for the office.

The death of Knud and his posthumous reputation

Knud ruled Denmark from 1080 to his death in Odense in 1086 at the hands of rebellious subjects. He was killed in a wooden church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Alban, the English protomartyr, and in the course of his successor’s reign he and those who died with him on July 10 1086 remained buried within the earth-floored church, including his brother Benedict. Knud was succeeded by his brother Oluf, whose reign was marked by famine and dearth and thus earned him the epithet Hunger. Oluf himself died in 1095, and was succeeded by his brother Erik. In this year, Knud’s remains were unearthed from the church floor and put in a stone sarcophagus in the crypt of the still unfinished stone church.⁴⁷² According to *PK*, written sometime in the period 1095-1100 and presumably by one of the English clergymen in Odense, this *translatio* of Knud’s remains was done following a council of the Danish bishops and priests. *PK* further tells us that the bones of the dead king were put to the test of fire to check whether they belonged to a holy of God. When the bones passed this test of fire being put over them four times, the bones were placed in the crypt of the unfinished church.⁴⁷³

It is clear that a belief in the sanctity of the murdered king had by 1095 spread throughout the Danish clergy, and had perhaps also become rooted in the populace. We can see this from the fact that a *translatio* was performed the very year a new king was put on the throne, and from the speedy

⁴⁷¹ Gazzoli 2013: 71.

⁴⁷² Aelnoth 1984: 107.

⁴⁷³ Gertz 1907: 22-23.

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production of the first saint-biographical texts about King Knud. In both *PK* and *GS*, the famine and dearth which occurred during the reign of Oluf I were interpreted as God's punishment of the Danish people for the murder of their king. This was in tune with biblical history and biblical modes of historical interpretation which informed medieval historiography. According to the Roskilde Chronicle from c.1140, also known as *Chronicon Roskildensis*, bishop Svend of Roskilde had predicted the disasters following Knud's perceived martyrdom.⁴⁷⁴ This claim cannot be taken at face value due to the obvious hindsight of the source. However, that a connection between the death of the king and the troubles of the kingdom was being made by the clergy is only to be expected. Carsten Brengaard has suggested that the clergy's blaming of the reigning King Oluf for the disasters was a way to avoid that blame for the situation were placed at their feet, as the church was still at that time seen as something of an alien feature in Danish society and therefore more easily attracted blame.⁴⁷⁵ Regardless of the motive, we should expect there to have been an effort on the part of clergy to explain the hardships during King Oluf's reign as a divine reaction, and this can partly explain how the *translatio* of Knud's remains was carried out so quickly after the death of King Oluf.

King Erik was clearly also convinced of his brother's sanctity, and – possibly under the advisement of the Odense clergy – sent a delegation to Pope Paschal II for a papal acknowledgement of Knud's position among the holy of God.⁴⁷⁶ This delegation was issued after the *translatio* of 1095 which in the eleventh century – as we saw in the case of Saint Olaf – was commonly seen as sufficient for the proclamation of sainthood.⁴⁷⁷ That Erik, and presumably the Odense clergy, petitioned for papal acknowledgement is suggestive of a significant effort to solidify the view of Knud's sanctity. This should perhaps in part be understood as a move to unify the Danish kingdom after the troubled reign of King Oluf, but it might also be seen as an attempt to placate Saint Knud in order for him to be more willing to serve as their advocate in the celestial court. Whatever the motives behind Erik's delegation, it is worth noting that this was not a common move in the wake of an episcopal *translatio*. According to Eric Waldram Kemp, the case of the petition for Knud's canonisation “is an interesting example of the view, at a comparatively early date, that an episcopal translation was

⁴⁷⁴ Gelting 2002: 22.

⁴⁷⁵ Brengaard 1982:

⁴⁷⁶ Haki Antonsson has questioned the historicity of the canonisation of Knud, and the most recent summary of the debate can be found in Marchlewski 2012: 56ff.

⁴⁷⁷ John Bergsagel makes the point that when the Odense bishop organised the *translatio* this was a proclamation of Knud's sainthood (Bergsagel 2015: 73).

not really enough for an important saint, but needed to be supplemented by an appeal to Rome”.⁴⁷⁸ King Knud was enrolled in the canon of the saints as Canutus and his body was translated from the stone sarcophagus in the crypt to a golden shrine placed at the altar of the church that was now finished and was dedicated to him.⁴⁷⁹ This second *translatio* was performed in 1101.

The canonisation of Saint Knud and its significance

The unconventional nature of the petition for Knud’s canonisation should not be underestimated. Kemp points out that the term *canonizare* in the meaning to recognise a dead person’s sainthood seems to first appear first with the papal canonisation of Simeon of Padolirone in 1016, and Kemp says that he himself knew of no earlier occurrence of *canonizare*.⁴⁸⁰ (This was written in 1947-48, and I do not know if later research has located earlier instances of the term.) That it was the pope who became the canonising authority in the case of Simeon was a novelty. It must be seen in light of a centuries-long process by which the proclamation of sainthood was moved further and further up the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and like the case of Saint Knud, the canonisation of St. Simeon was a result of local concerns rather than a consequence of papal policy.⁴⁸¹ Although canonisations did become more common throughout the eleventh century, it was nonetheless neither a necessary nor a standard procedure in the proclamation of sainthood by the beginning of the twelfth century. Canonisation would become the norm during the papacy of Alexander III (1159-81) and required during the papacy of Gregory IX (1227-41), but by the papacy of Paschal II (1099-1118) papal acknowledgement was not a prerequisite for sainthood. It should also be noted that part of what makes the case of Saint Knud’s unconventional is the fact that he was a king. Of course, several kings, queens and other royal persons were venerated as saints throughout Western Europe by the end of the eleventh century – Edmund and Olaf both being cases in point – but a king canonised by the pope was not common.⁴⁸²

That Knud was canonised by the pope should also not exaggerate our understanding of his importance beyond Denmark. The canonisation should probably be understood as a papal response to a local concern and as a favour granted to a remote and fairly recently included member of Latin

⁴⁷⁸ Kemp 1948: 70.

⁴⁷⁹ Aelnoth 1984: 107-10.

⁴⁸⁰ Kemp 1948: 1; 58.

⁴⁸¹ Kemp 1948: 58.

⁴⁸² For the story of the canonisation of the Hungarian saint-kings, see Veszprémy 2006: 231).

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Christendom. We might also understand the canonisation in light of the attitudes expressed by Gregory VII in the letter to King Olaf Kyrre in 1079, namely that Denmark was in a precarious state as far as politics and the position of the church were concerned, and as such the canonisation of Knud might have been granted in the hope of bringing more stability to the kingdom. Whatever the reasons for Pope Paschal II's acknowledgement of Knud's sanctity, it should be emphasised that Knud was a saint of regional importance by the time of his canonisation.

A final point to be made here is also that the papal acknowledgement of Knud's sainthood merely constituted a form of recognition from the peak of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. As Michael Gelting correctly points out, when the bones of Saint Knud were tested by fire and translated to the new crypt in 1095, this was itself a regional proclamation of sainthood whose authority was sufficient to ensure the validity of the cult of Saint Knud.⁴⁸³ Consequently, while the novelty of the petition for papal acknowledgement should not be underestimated for its historical importance, neither should it be overestimated for its effect on the cult of Saint Knud.

The early cult and literature in Odense – the Odense cycle

As stated, the canonisation of Knud is a testament to local concerns, and perhaps most clearly a testament to the concerted effort on the part of the Odense clergy to strengthen the institutional framework of the cult whose primary ministrants and caretakers they were. In addition to the speedy organisation of the first *translatio* and the appeal for a papal acknowledgement of Knud's sainthood, there is also another testimony to the Odense clergy's eagerness to solidify the understanding of Knud's sanctity, namely the so-called Odense cycle. The Odense cycle, or the Odense literature, is a collective term applied to those texts written roughly in the period 1095-1120 by monks at the Benedictine cloister in Odense. The Odense cycle is comprised of four texts of varying length, namely the *Tabula Othoniensis* (hence *TO*), *PK*, *Epitaphium Sancti Kanuti* (hence *EK*) (all of which are anonymous), and Aelnoth of Canterbury's *GS*. These texts had as their primary function to formulate the image of their patron Saint Knud, and to provide the foundation for the later liturgical texts, the eventual production of which undoubtedly informed the composition of the *passio* accounts. They have all been edited by Martin Clarentius Gertz in his

⁴⁸³ Gelting 2011: 36. This was the same authority wielded by Bishop Grimkell sixty-four years earlier in the case of Saint Olaf, as we saw in chapter 4.

Vitae Sanctorum Danorum from 1908-12, and the three shorter texts have also been translated by him in a festschrift from 1907.

Tabula Othoniensis

The arguably oldest textual testimony to the cult of Saint Knud is an inscription on a copper tablet, *TO*. The tablet was discovered on January 22 1582 and is now lost, but the text was written down and has since been disseminated in four different printed and handwritten works all catalogued by Gertz in his edition of *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*.⁴⁸⁴ The text of *TO* is best preserved, according to Gertz, in those copies which Ole Worm published in *Fasti Danici*, book 1, chapter 9, first edition from 1626.⁴⁸⁵ The author of *TO* is believed to have been a clerk or monk from England,⁴⁸⁶ presumably belonging to the contingent brought to Denmark by Knud himself. The traditional account of *TO*'s history, as laid out by Gertz, runs accordingly: The text of *TO* was based on accounts of Knud's martyrdom which the clerks drew up shortly after the event, and this information was then engraved onto the copper plate and put into the stone sarcophagus into which Knud's own body was translated in 1095. Upon the new *translatio* following the papal canonisation in 1101, the copper tablet followed the relics of Saint Knud and was placed in the new shrine placed before the altar of Saint Knud's Church, where it remained until its rediscovery in 1582.⁴⁸⁷ *TO* was accompanied by a versified inscription which has also been claimed to have been engraved on the same tablet, but I will treat this in further detail in the section on *EK*.⁴⁸⁸

According to Gertz, whose opinion on this point is followed by subsequent scholars, *TO* contains the earliest written record of Knud's martyrdom. The best argument in favour of this statement is the fact that the text of *TO* contains a list of those seventeen men who died together with Knud and Benedict. This list follows the description of Knud's martyrdom.⁴⁸⁹ The first individual to be mentioned is Benedict, Knud's younger brother, and after him follow the seventeen others. These seventeen are referred to as the *commilitones*, fellow soldiers, of Knud and Benedict, and also their

⁴⁸⁴ Gertz 1912: 31-33. I give the number of catalogued sources as four, thus omitting Gertz' own inclusion of the later printed breviaries as sources for the text of *TO* (Gertz 1912: 34). Gertz' assertion that the text of *TO* is retained in the *lectiones* of the office for Saint Knud is a claim to which I am deeply sceptical, and which will have to await further analysis. I will discuss the liturgical texts and their sources in greater detail later.

⁴⁸⁵ Gertz 1912: 31.

⁴⁸⁶ Gertz 1912: 29.

⁴⁸⁷ Gertz 1912: 29-30.

⁴⁸⁸ Albrechtsen 1984: 11.

⁴⁸⁹ Gertz 1907: 2-5.

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socii passionum martyrii, i.e. companions in the passion of martyrdom. In short, these seventeen named individuals were also seen as martyrs, but of a less importance than that of Knud.⁴⁹⁰ Benedict occupies a middle position here, since he is not included in the narrative's primary section yet at the same time is placed before the list of the seventeen. Since the names of the seventeen fellow martyrs are not found in any other of the Odense texts, it is likely *TO* testifies to a first recording of the martyr narrative, and for this reason I share Gertz' statement that *TO* is the oldest of the texts. It is also important to keep in mind that although I find it most likely that the narrative of *TO* is drawn from the memory of the Odense clerics, this is not to say that it is inherently a less biased and more truthful account than those of the *PK* or *GS*.

Although Gertz has presented the claim that *TO* provided a textual foundation for later liturgical productions, we should be careful with such an assessment.⁴⁹¹ It is clear that from the inception of the textual production in connection with the cult of Saint Knud there was a liturgical endpoint in view. However, *TO* is not very well suited for further liturgical developments. Its narrative is short and very simple, and although it has the same obviously commemorative quality of saints' texts it does not translate easily into chants and readings. The function of *TO* is perhaps better understood as a record of the events intended to be preserved for posterity, rather than as a proto-liturgical text. However, it is also important to note that although *TO* was placed in the stone sarcophagus and later in the shrine, it should not be understood as a text that was inaccessible or designed as not having an audience. The text could easily be brought out of the shrine at feast days if it ever came to serve a liturgical function, and should thus be understood as a historical and saint-biographical document. Part of its text does feature in ML1 in *BO*.

Passio Sancti Kanuti Regis et Martiris

PK survives in one single manuscript, which by the time of Gertz' edition belonged to the Gymnasialbibliothek in Köln as "codex Coloniensis G. B. no. 203, chartaceus" and dated by Gertz as not written before 1500.⁴⁹² It is now in the Köln Stadtarchiv, and its date is given as mid-

⁴⁹⁰ It is not uncommon for larger groups of saints to be identified by way of their leading figure who often appears as separate from the rest.

⁴⁹¹ Gertz 1912: 34.

⁴⁹² Gertz 1912: 35-36.

sixteenth century.⁴⁹³ This manuscript is a collection of saints' lives, and *PK* is the last inclusion in the codex. The title *Passio Sancit Kanuti Regis et Martiris* is given in the codex,⁴⁹⁴ but as always with titles of saints' lives it is difficult to say whether this is a descriptive title added some time after the composition of the text itself. The use of Kanutus rather than Canutus (which is how the name is given in *GS*) does suggest that the title at least is written in a late orthography, although the title itself might be older. According to Gertz' estimate, *PK* is written in a different hand than the preceding *vitae*.⁴⁹⁵ Despite this late-surviving text witness, Gertz suggests that the text was written by one of the English clerks at St. Alban's Church in Odense sometime between 1095 and 1101 – although Aidan Conti favours 1100 as a *terminus ante quem*⁴⁹⁶ – and that the author of the text had witnessed the *translatio* of Knud's relics to the stone sarcophagus in St. Alban's Church.⁴⁹⁷ Gertz' assessment of date and provenance has been accepted by later scholarship, and there is no reason to disagree with this. *PK* ends with the *translatio* and is therefore likely to have been written prior to the second *translatio* following the papal canonisation of 1101. That the author should be an English clerk in Odense is the most likely alternative given the dominance of English clergy at Saint Alban's at this time.

Gertz' edition of *PK* renders the orthography of the Köln manuscript exactly.⁴⁹⁸ The organisation of the text in the edition, however, is Gertz' own invention, and it is based on his supposition that the text was intended to serve as the basis for the liturgical *lectiones* of the office for Saint Knud to be performed on his *dies natalis*.⁴⁹⁹ Consequently, Gertz has divided the text into nine chapters. This division is not arbitrary and, as Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn has pointed out, it also seems to correspond to internal changes in the text itself.⁵⁰⁰ I agree that *PK* must have been composed to serve as a text for reading in the monastic community of Saint Knud's Church, and as a foundation for the later liturgical texts, and the text must also be understood in light of this. Gertz suggests that the author of *PK* has based his text on the *TO*.⁵⁰¹ This is a possibility, but it is not the only possibility.

⁴⁹³ I am indebted to Irene Bischoff of the Köln Stadtarchiv for this information. http://historischesarchivkoeln.de:8080/actaproweb/archive.jsf?id=Vz+++++90002978PPLS#Vz_90002978PPLS – accessed 09.03.17.

⁴⁹⁴ Gertz 1912: 36.

⁴⁹⁵ Gertz 1912: 35.

⁴⁹⁶ Conti 2010: 190.

⁴⁹⁷ Gertz 1912: 34-35.

⁴⁹⁸ Gertz 1912: 36.

⁴⁹⁹ Gertz 1912: 36-37.

⁵⁰⁰ Sønnesyn 2016.

⁵⁰¹ Gertz 1912: 35.

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To further examine the possible relationship between the two texts, I will sketch out some of the features shared by both. *TO* and *PK* alike state that Knud died in the Church of St. Alban whose relics he himself had brought from England, they both refer to his sacrament of confession before dying (respectively using *delictorum* and *delicti* to describe it),⁵⁰² and they both state that he died with his arms outstretched in the shape of a cross. They also contain the details of the date and year of the martyrdom, and both texts emphasise the christological aspect of Knud's death. It is clear that both *TO* and *PK* were composed as a part of a concerted effort to preserve the memory of Saint Knud, and it is likely that they were both commissioned by the abbot or the bishop. In short, the authors were part of a collective memorial tradition nurtured at the Church of St. Alban's and intended to be preserved and perpetuated through these texts. The shared features between *TO* and *PK*, however, are only to be expected in texts centred on the death of a saint, and are themselves not conclusive evidence for one text depending on the other. As stated above, I accept Gertz' suggestion that *TO* is the older of the two. However, when we look closer at the vocabulary used to describe the shared features of the texts, we note some discrepancies which might be significant. First of all, even though both texts affirm – of course – that Knud died in St. Alban's Church, we should note that *TO* says *in basilica sancti Albani martyris*, whereas *PK* says that Knud went *ad ecclesiam sanctissime uirginis Marie et beati martiris Albani*.⁵⁰³ The joint dedication is not mentioned by *TO*, and although the terms *basilica* and *ecclesia* are in practice interchangeable the difference is nonetheless noteworthy. Secondly, when referring to the fact that Knud himself brought the relics of St. Alban to Odense, *TO* uses *transuecti*, transporting, whereas *PK* uses *aduecti*, bringing.⁵⁰⁴ Again the difference does not alter the meaning to any important degree, but is nonetheless ostensible. Thirdly, and most importantly, *TO* refers to Knud as *protomartyr Danorum*, protomartyr of the Danes, whereas this immensely important epithet is not found in *PK*.⁵⁰⁵ The similarities between the narrative of Knud's martyrdom in *TO* and *PK* clearly suggest that they are products of the same milieu, both serving to transmit the Christological meaning and the historical details of the saint's death, but the differences suggest they have been written some time apart and by different authors.

⁵⁰² Gertz 1908: 2; 20.

⁵⁰³ Gertz 1908: 2; 18.

⁵⁰⁴ Gertz 1908: 2; 18.

⁵⁰⁵ Gertz 1908: 2.

Epitaphium Sancti Canuti

EK is a poem comprised of nine verses in the Leonine hexameter.⁵⁰⁶ Like *TO*, *EK* was found in the casket of Saint Knud in 1582, and a transcript of the now lost original text was printed by Ole Worm in *Fasti Danici* in 1623.⁵⁰⁷ The details concerning the recovery of *EK* are somewhat obscure. In his preface to the edition of the poem, Gertz provides the details of an excerpt from a history of Denmark written in German, contained in the manuscript Ny Kgl. Samling 4to, 889. This excerpt gives an account of the opening of Saint Knud's casket in 1582 and names some of the key persons involved.⁵⁰⁸ The German text also contains a transcript of *EK*, and records that this poem was found in the casket, written on white vellum.⁵⁰⁹ The enshrinement of *EK* is recorded in *GS*, where a transcript of the poem can be found in chapter 36.⁵¹⁰ Aelnoth records that an *epitaphio* was placed in the shrine of Saint Knud at the *translatio* of 1101, and this is presumably how the poem has received its modern title. However, Aelnoth gives no further details as to how the text was recorded, whether on vellum or on a copper plate such as *TO*. Neither does he make any reference to *TO* itself.⁵¹¹ Since the term *epitaphium* means “funeral oration”, there are no clues in the term as to the medium of its transmission.

Gertz has suggested that Aelnoth is the author of *EK*.⁵¹² Although this will remain uncertain, it is a very reasonable suggestion, both due to the fact that Aelnoth wrote several short poems which were inserted into the narrative of *GS*, and due to the fact that the poem is recorded in *GS* itself. The arguments for the attribution of *EK* to Aelnoth are detailed by Gertz (see Gertz 1912), and I will not enter into these here. But it should be pointed out that in the preceding chapter of *GS*, Aelnoth does insert a poem of his own making which describes the new casket into which the bones and *EK* were placed. This poem is comprised of four verses which are also in Leonine hexameters, although the rhythm is slightly less fluent here than in *EK*. This shows that Aelnoth had some experience in composing hexameters. However, as is evidenced by the composition of *TO* and *PK*, there were

⁵⁰⁶ Gertz 1912: 38. The Leonine hexameter is a verse with internal rhyme, meaning that the first half of the verse ends on a word rhyming with the ultimate word of the entire verse. The internal rhymes of *EK* are: *tutus-Canutus*, *aurata-arca*, *iusticie-inique*, *vita-ipsa*, *proprio-ministro*, *potum-ictum*, *latus-eius*, and *sacris-astris*.

⁵⁰⁷ Gertz 1912: 39.

⁵⁰⁸ Gertz 1912: 40.

⁵⁰⁹ Gertz 1912: 40. As pointed out by Gertz, it is unlikely that the vellum has retained its whiteness after centuries in a casket, and this particular detail must owe to some confusion in the transmission of the story of the text's recovery.

⁵¹⁰ Gertz 1912: 134.

⁵¹¹ Erling Albrechtsen points out that it is unclear whether *EK* was engraved on the backside of *TO*, or whether the poem was written on a separate plate. Albrechtsen 1984: 11.

⁵¹² Gertz 1912: 38-39.

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monks and clerics other than Aelnoth in Odense who were able to compose Latin narrative texts. We should, therefore, be open to the possibility that Aelnoth was not the author of *EK*. If he was not, Aelnoth's transcript of the text in *GS* suggests that the poem existed in a copy from which Aelnoth transcribed the text when writing *GS* ten to fifteen years after *EK* had been placed in Saint Knud's casket.

Despite its brevity, a constriction intrinsic in its textual category, *EK* is a very important text in that it helps us map the development of the formulation of Saint Knud's image.⁵¹³ This development can be divided into two stages, the first represented by *TO* and *PK*, the second represented by *EK* and *GS*. As pointed out by Gertz, the legend of Saint Knud as found in *EK* can be said to be at the same stage as *GS*.⁵¹⁴ This can be seen in two new details to the legend provided by *EK* and also included in *GS*. The first detail is that of the king's man who betrayed him, just as Christ himself was betrayed. The second detail is that of Knud *petiens potum*, asking for a drink, before his death in the manner of Christ on the cross.⁵¹⁵ These details are also included in *GS*, which is what Gertz meant by saying that *GS* and *EK* belong to the same stage in the development of the legend of Saint Knud. The relationship between *EK* and *GS* is highly significant because they both convey the same version of the legend. This was the latest version, and arguably also the most stable since the new details remained in place for the ten-fifteen years between the *translatio* of Knud's relics in 1101 and the composition of *GS*. This stability was of course partly due to the fact that Aelnoth followed the text of *EK* and as such could only be expected to provide the same legend in his own narrative. In other words, *EK* and *GS* have a closer relationship than have *TO* and *PK*.

The discrepancies between *PK* and *EK* are likewise of great interest. Whereas *GS* was possibly written more than a decade after the composition of *EK*, *EK* was most probably composed within five years of the date of *PK* as it was composed for the *translatio*. Despite this proximity in time, *EK* nonetheless shows a refinement of the legend from its rendition in *PK*. The Christological iconography of Saint Knud is heightened by the introduction of the Judas figure – later identified as Pipero by Aelnoth and Blacco by Saxo Grammaticus⁵¹⁶ – and also by Knud asking for a drink in his

⁵¹³ Gertz 1912: 38.

⁵¹⁴ Gertz 1912: 38.

⁵¹⁵ Conti 2010: 194.

⁵¹⁶ Saxo Grammaticus 2015: 852.

time of dying.⁵¹⁷ Due to the brevity of *EK* and the narratological constrictions imposed upon it by its poetic form, the comparison between *EK* and *PK* cannot be extensive. Nonetheless, the inclusion of these two novel, Christological details is enough to identify a refinement of the typological connections from *PK* to *EK*.

When we consider the differences between the four texts that comprise the Odense cycle, what we see very clearly is that within the first half-decade of the formal cult – which began with the *translatio* of 1095 – there was a remarkably speedy development of the legend of Saint Knud. This can be understood as a testament to the effort of the monks to formulate an image of their patron that would emphasise his typological connections and which would provide a proper account of his life, his death, his qualities, and the miracles God performed for him. Aidan Conti speaks of a mythopoiesis when describing Aelnoth's development of the legend, drawing on Lars Boje Mortensen's use of this term to describe the earliest historical literature in Denmark.⁵¹⁸ As seen by comparison of the three earliest texts of the Odense cycle, however, this construction of a legend was at its most dynamic and malleable in the first five years of the cult. We see that *TO* establishes the foundation for the story and sets out the fundamental outline of Knud's *imitatio Christi*, in addition to the formulation of Knud as the protomartyr of the Danes. We then see that the legend is elaborated in *PK*, but also that *PK* omits the protomartyrium and therefore suggests a slight revision of the legend. Written about the same time as *PK*, we see *EK* introducing two further details which comprise a revision of *PK*'s revision of *TO*. All this change took place within five-six years, and it is likely to have been overseen by the abbot of Saint Knud's Church. The revisions, small but important as they are, are therefore the results of a very conscious effort to formulate the legend of Saint Knud, and we detect an eagerness to elaborate the typology and the narrative, presumably to emphasise the Christological features of Saint Knud and possibly also intended as a way to find a suitably flattering way to address their celestial advocate.

When we talk about this rapid development of the legend, we need to keep in mind that the revisions of the narrative and the typology do not constitute any form of fictionality as the monks

⁵¹⁷ Erich Hoffmann notes that the emergence of a Judas figure in lives of royal saints seems to have become something of a *topos* in Anglo-Saxon *vitae* (Hoffmann 1975: 209.). In light of this, it is tempting to suggest that the Pipero figure is introduced into Knud's passion story because it fits with Anglo-Saxon conventions, but this might be suggesting too clear a division between Anglo-Saxon conventions and those from the Continent, especially France, which are those conventions known to Abbo of Fleury.

⁵¹⁸ Conti 2010: 189ff; Mortensen 2006B: 247ff.

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were firm in their belief of Knud's holiness, and had – at least several of them – been themselves witnesses to some, if not all, of the details of Knud's passion story. We need to understand this early malleability of the legend as a sign of the increasingly comfortable position within the Danish society that Knud's cult centre could enjoy throughout the reign of Erik Ejegod. Whereas the position of the monks at Odense was precarious at best during the aftermath of Knud's murder, and while the cult could not blossom during the reign of King Oluf, the situation changed significantly with the accession of King Erik. As a consequence, the Odense monks could now freely engage in the development of the legend of Knud, they could calmly recollect the details of the events nine years earlier, and as a consequence of what seems to have been a period of collective collaboration and creativity, new details came into place and revisions were made accordingly.

Gesta Swenomagni

As stated, *GS* represents the same stage of the legend as is outlined in *EK*. However, *GS* is also in itself a development of the legend in that further details are provided, new iconographic connections are made, and an embellishment of the narrative itself and its historical horizon is added. The full title of the work, *Gesta Swenomagni Regis et Filiorum eius et Passio gloriosissimi Canuti Regis et Martyris*, is found in thirteenth-century manuscripts and has now become standard use. From information in the text itself, we know that the work was authored by an English monk Aelnoth of Canterbury who had, at the time he composed *GS*, lived twenty-four years in Denmark, ostensibly in a kind of exile from the Norman rule to which he expresses a deeply hostile view. The exact date of the work has been a matter of much debate, and we only know for certain – through Aelnoth's dedication of the work – that it was written in the reign of King Niels (reigned 1104-34), one of Knud's younger brothers. Scholars have been in disagreement about the more precise dating. Erling Albrechtsen, in his 1984 translation of *GS*, argues that the work was most likely written in the 1120s, and he singles out 1122 as a possible year.⁵¹⁹ Recently, Michael Gelting has suggested that the *terminus ante quem* for the composition must be 1117, which was “when Pope Paschal II confirmed the King's privilege to the Church of Odense”.⁵²⁰ Gelting argues for further narrowing down of the date, and suggests 1110-13 as a timeframe, he himself favouring 1111-12.⁵²¹ That Aelnoth himself was a witness to the *translatio* of 1101, however, is suggested by himself in *GS*, as he refers to the

⁵¹⁹ Albrechtsen 1984: 15.

⁵²⁰ Gelting 2011: 38.

⁵²¹ Gelting 2011: 38-39.

crowd of witnesses as “we”.⁵²²

As the title suggests, *GS* is not solely a saint-biographical account of the life of Saint Knud, it also contains a brief, introductory account of the reigns of Svend Estridsson and his son and successor Harald Hen. That it is Knud who is the focal point of the narrative, however, is beyond question. The reigns of Svend and Harald comprise a historical preface to the reign of Knud. In this way, Aelnoth emphasises the tradition of the dynasty’s royal support for the church, a line also continued by King Niels,⁵²³ and does not only praise the good qualities of Saint Knud but also of his family to which Aelnoth’s dedicatee King Niels belonged. In addition to a family history of the reigning dynasty, *GS* is also fashioned as a historical account of the history of Christianity in Denmark. This account begins in chapter 1, which provides a general overview of the spread of Christianity in the northern reaches, i.e. among the Danes, the Swedes, the Geats, the Norwegians, and the Icelanders. Aelnoth explains why Christianity has had difficulties in establishing itself in this part of the world by pointing to the lack of resources and the hostility of the northern peoples. In the far north, Aelnoth states, only Denmark is temperate enough for Christianity to flourish. Aelnoth’s conclusion is that the Danes are the truest Christians of the north, and he finishes his first chapter with an exhortation that the warm southern wind – drawing on the Song of Solomon 4:16⁵²⁴ – should overcome the coldness of sin and torpor brought on by the northern wind.⁵²⁵ This is Aelnoth’s holistic perspective of the history of Christianity in the north, and in the account of King Svend and King Harald, Aelnoth hones in on the specific case of Denmark and the history of its church, and although he does include references to the early Danish church prior to the reign of King Svend, it is with Svend and his sons that the church is strengthened in its organisation by erection of new buildings and the introduction of the tithe. Michael Gelting has pointed out that Aelnoth’s historical introduction only briefly alludes to a distant pagan past.⁵²⁶ Aelnoth positions the history of Knud in the wider vista of the Danish Christian history by thus practically ignoring the pagan past, and this should be understood as a way of connecting Denmark to the universal history of Christianity, similar to *HM* and *HA*.

⁵²² Aelnoth 1984: 107.

⁵²³ Christensen 1979-84.

⁵²⁴ Aelnoth 1984: 31, n.27.

⁵²⁵ This imagery bears a strong resemblance to the account of Saint Olaf’s life in *PO*, where the missionaries are described as the southern wind thawing the ice of sin. It is possible that this imagery in *PO* is inspired by *GS* (Mortensen and Mundal 2003).

⁵²⁶ Gelting 2011: 48-49.

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Another important feature to note in *GS* is Aelnoth's engagement with classical history. In the prologue, ostensibly addressed to King Niels, Aelnoth acknowledges that he does not write classical history, and this acknowledgement is done as part of the *apologia* so typical of medieval historical writing. Aelnoth nonetheless provides a classical dimension to his overview of the history of Christianity in Denmark. He states that after Julius Caesar had conquered almost all the Western kingdoms, these kingdoms submitted to Christianity. It then took a longer time for the northern peoples, situated beyond the Gauls and the Saxons, to accept Christianity, and when they did the Danes were the ones who most perfectly adhered to the Christian faith. It is noteworthy that Aelnoth connects the Christianisation of Western Europe with Caesar's military expansion in this way. Caesar is of course not identified as a Christianising factor – which would be a chronological impossibility – but Aelnoth's elliptic synthesis of Roman and Christian history invokes the sense of the Christian Church as the continuation of the Roman Empire. By presenting this connection prior to his treatment of Denmark's Christian history, I would argue that Aelnoth not only connects the Roman Empire with the Christian Church, but that he also extends this classical affiliation to include Denmark since Denmark also became a part of the Christian territory.⁵²⁷

The classical aura of Denmark's history is further suggested by Aelnoth comparisons between his Danish protagonists and figures of classical history. The first of these comparisons is that of King Svend with Priam of Troy by way of their shared estimation of worthy behaviour over execution of power. This parallel is also given a distinct Judaeo-Christian tinge since the comparison with Priam is also mixed with a comparison to Job and his wisdom, to the effect that Knud's ability to protect his people is not only resonant of Priam but also of Job.⁵²⁸ The balance between classical and Christian history is also expounded by way of negative comparison between Knud and a range of classical and biblical tyrants. Following the murder of Knud, Aelnoth upbraids Denmark for revolting against such a model of Christian kingship when the tyrants Agamemnon, Hannibal, Herod and Nero were all endured by their respective subjects.⁵²⁹ The iconographic significance of this comparison will be dealt with in the next section, but suffice it to say that in this way Aelnoth creates a comparison between Denmark and various historical empires and kingdoms, a comparison from which the Danish royal house emerges as superior to the selected leaders of this imperial

⁵²⁷ A similar desire to connect native history with classical history, and establish typological connection between a Christian kingdom and the Roman Empire can also be seen in Theodoricus Monachus' *HA*.

⁵²⁸ Aelnoth 1984: 32-33.

⁵²⁹ Aelnoth 1984: 85-89.

catalogue.⁵³⁰ The inclusion of these classical references and the exposition of the reigns of King Svend and King Harald complicate the narrative and structure of *GS*, and also the question of how to understand *GS* as a text. It is evident from its content that *GS* is a saint's life whose primary purpose is to expound the history, death, characteristics, and typology of Knud. Yet the historical scope of *GS* is unusual when compared with other saints' lives of a similar type. It is worth noting that the saint's life, as stated in the introduction, is a remarkably flexible literary category.

We should also note how *PK* and *GS* differ in their accounts of Knud's life and death. These differences – which will be elaborated in the next section – are in many ways striking in that they both originate from the same intellectual and literary milieu. It should be expected that Aelnoth had read *PK* before writing his own saint-biography. It is also possible that he had conferred with *PK*'s author if he was still alive. One can conjecture at length about the reasons why the legend of Knud is so differently presented in the two works, composed within twenty or twenty-five years of each other, but I will not venture into this here. As for the reason of why a new *vita* was composed in the first place, I will suggest that the answer lies in the fact that the texts were written during the reigns of different kings. While *PK* was composed during the reign of King Erik Ejegod, with the reign of King Oluf in fresh memory, *GS* was composed during the reign of King Niels. Judging from the historical scope of *GS*, it seems that Aelnoth had a greater dynastic concern in his narrative, and this might go some way to explain why a new *vita* was written. It might also simply be that *PK*, perhaps composed rather quickly following the *translatio*, was seen as a bit old-fashioned or lacking in some stylistic or narrative respect. The discrepancy between *PK* and *EK* could also be interpreted as illustrating two conflicting views of the legend coexisting within the Odense milieu, and *GS* might thus be understood as the result of an authoritative decision as to how the legend should be presented. This is also conjecture, but one which goes some way to explain the difference between the two.

Just as *PK* was composed with view towards liturgical use, so we should expect Aelnoth to have had similar concerns in mind when writing the *Gesta*. As has been demonstrated by Roman Hankeln – and which I will return to in the section on liturgy – *GS* was used as the source for the

⁵³⁰ The comparison of a royal saint as a positive counterpoint to historical tyrants is not unique to *GS* in the writing of saints' lives. In his *Vita Beati Edwardi Regis et Confessoris* from c.1138, Osbert of Clare compares Edward the Confessor as a positive contrast to the tyranny of Dionysius of Syracuse and the covetousness of Midas (Bloch 1923: 67-68).

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composition of chant texts for the office of Saint Knud.⁵³¹ We might also conjecture whether *GS* was commissioned in order to provide basis for more sophisticated liturgical texts, but this will be properly addressed later.

Summary remarks

Having outlined the early cult of Saint Knud, the first texts composed for his memory, and the relationship between these texts, we can see that within the first thirty years following the death of King Knud there was much activity put in motion for the purpose of providing a textual foundation for the cult of the new saint. Judging not only from the number of texts produced in Odense, but also from what seems to be a more or less continuous rewriting - or revising – of the legend, we understand that the superiors of the community at Saint Knud’s Church were actively and diligently concerned with formulating the image of Saint Knud in the way they deemed most suitable – by which criteria we can only surmise – for the veneration of their patron, and for the presentation of their patron to the wider range of venerators beyond the confines of their monastery. I will now move on to consider how these texts formulate Saint Knud and his legend. From this discussion, I wish to address the questions of how the monastic community at Saint Knud’s Church sought to address their patron. It is therefore time to turn to an examination of the textual iconography of Saint Knud.

The image of Saint Knud in the Odense literature

The image of Saint Knud in Tabula Othoniensis

The first part of *TO* begins with the year and the place of the martyrdom, 1086 *in ciuitate Othensya*, in the city of Odense. We are told that the glorious king and protomartyr of the Danes was killed for his zeal for the Christian religion and just works.⁵³² This happened in the church of St. Alban who had been brought shortly beforehand by Knud himself from England to Denmark.⁵³³ The martyrdom occurred after Knud had confessed his transgressions and been strengthened by – or

⁵³¹ Hankeln 2016.

⁵³² Gertz 1907: 2, *gloriosus rex et protomartyr Danorum Cantuus pro zelo Christiane religionis et iusticie operibus*.

⁵³³ Gertz 1907: 2, *in basilica sancti Albani martyris per eum Paulo ante de Anglia in Daciam transuecti*.

received – the sacrament of the body of Christ.⁵³⁴ It occurred before the altar with his arms outstretched in the shape of a cross on the ground, and he was pierced in the side by a lance.⁵³⁵ This happened on July 10 in the sixth day of the week, and Knud suffered death for Christ and went to rest in Him.⁵³⁶ The image of Saint Knud as presented in *TO* contains five features of major importance, here presented in the order in which they appear: 1) Knud as protomartyr of the Danes; 2) Knud as a champion of the faith and thus a *rex iustus*; 3) Knud's relationship with St. Alban; 4) Knud receiving the sacraments; and 5) Knud's *imitatio Christi*

Firstly, Knud's depiction as protomartyr of the Danes is a highly significant feature. In Christian iconography, the title protomartyr is associated with St. Stephen who was the first Christian martyr, and he is therefore the antitype to all later saints who somehow earn the title of protomartyr. This is a common title in medieval saint-biography, and is seemingly always connected to the territory of a kingdom or of an ecclesiastical region, or to a people as in the case of Knud. As we saw in chapter 4, there existed an idea in twelfth-century Norway linking Saint Olaf with St. Stephen, which thus suggests Olaf was understood as the protomartyr of Norway. Similarly, as I will elaborate on shortly, St. Alban was understood as the protomartyr of England. This image is one that is not found in the first *vita*, *PK*, but it reappears in *GS* written around twenty years after *TO*. It is impossible to say whether this image of the protomartyr was deliberately omitted from *PK* or whether it was merely not included. What is interesting, however, is that it is found in *GS*, a point to which I will return.

Secondly, the text of *TO* identifies precisely the reason why Knud became a martyr: he died for the zeal of religion and for good works. Although we do not find the term *rex iustus* explicitly mentioned here, it is nonetheless in this way we should understand this reference to Knud as a champion for the Christian faith, and as one who does good works. Although it is not stated outright what kind of good works the author has in mind, we can expect this to be a reference to the strengthening of the Danish church.

Thirdly, Knud's connection to St. Alban is significant for various reasons. The mention of St. Alban's basilica could be understood as a mere inclusion of historical fact. But although it is a

⁵³⁴ Gertz 1907: 2, *post confessionem delictorum sacramento munitus dominici corporis.*

⁵³⁵ Gertz 1907: 2, *ante aram manibus solo tenus expansis in modum crucis latere lanceatus.*

⁵³⁶ Gertz 1907: 2, *mortem pro Christo passus requieuit in ipso.*

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historical fact that specifies the site of the martyrdom, this is not all there is to it. The author has namely found it pertinent to specify that it was Knud himself who had brought the relics of St. Alban to Odense not too long ago. I see two possible reasons why the reference is included. On the one hand, the reference to Knud's relationship to St. Alban could be understood as a way to solidify the image of Knud as the protomartyr of the Danes, since St. Alban was known as the protomartyr of the English. Since the author of *TO* most likely belonged to the contingent of English monks which were brought to Odense by Knud, he was probably well familiar with the status of Alban as protomartyr and therefore found the connection between the English and the Danish protomartyrs significant enough to mention. On the other hand, we might also understand this reference to the relics of St. Alban as an example of Knud's good works for the church. By personally bringing the relics of a saint to whom the church was consecrated Knud has shown himself as a Christian king and as a patron of the church.

Fourthly, the reference to Knud confessing his sins and receiving the Eucharist might on the one hand be understood as a statement of a historical fact (although we might be sceptical about whether anyone survived to bear witness to this). However, it is also possible that this is not simply a historical fact but a way for the author to emphasise that Knud met his death cleansed of sins and therefore worthy to become a martyr. It is an example of the king's Christian conduct and his zeal for the Christian religion, and it heightens the sense of Knud as a holy man.

Fifthly, Knud's imitation of Christ is both explicitly explained and iconographically expounded. Knud is depicted in death as lying on the ground with his arms extended in the shape of a cross, an obvious reference to the crucifixion of Christ. This imagery is further emphasised by the statement that a lance pierced Knud's side. The words used by the author of *TO*, *latere lanceatus* are based on the description of Longinus piercing the side of Christ in John 19:34, which in *Vulgata* is given as *lancea latus ejus*, a lance pierced his side. Thus, the *imitatio Christi* of Knud is made explicit. At the end of the section concerning Knud this is further emphasised where the author states that he suffered death for Christ and went to rest in him.

The second part of *TO* is predominantly dedicated to Knud's brother Benedict and the seventeen men who died with them. This is a part of the legend of Knud that in the Latin texts received less attention than in *TO*, and the second part also contains some interesting iconographic details worth

commenting on. Benedict is described by a pun on his name as *nomine et gratia martyrii Benedictus*, i.e. blessed both in name and by the gift of martyrdom, thus emphasizing Benedict's martyrdom.⁵³⁷ Furthermore, the seventeen other men are referred to as *sui commilitiones*, i.e. Knud's fellow soldiers.⁵³⁸ This is important, since it means that these men are understood as *milites Christi*, i.e. soldiers of Christ. That they are the fellow soldiers of Knud also means that we should understand this passage as representing Knud as a *miles Christi* as well. Moreover, as in the case of Benedict, we should also understand this passage to mean that the seventeen named individuals were also thought of as martyrs, but as with Benedict they were inferior martyrs to their king.

The image of Saint Knud in Passio Kanuti

As stated above, Gertz' division of *PK* into nine chapters was intended to imitate its hypothetical division for the office of Matins. A division into nine chapters would mean that the office followed the secular *usus*, not the monastic one. This problematises Gertz' hypothesis since the cult centre at Odense was tended by a monastic community, and this can be seen in the fact that the liturgical office for Knud as it survives in later sources originally was organised according to a monastic cursus.⁵³⁹ I therefore question Gertz' division of *PK*, but in the following analysis I have made use of it for practical purposes. The narrative of *PK* and its division can be seen in the following table:

Chapter	Content	Iconographic details
1	On veneration of martyrs and their relics; purpose of the book	Martyr
2	Knud's childhood; Knud's qualities; the devil prevents him from becoming king	Royal bloodline; piety; precocious in studies; prudence in youth
3	Knud not elected as king; exile into Sweden; Knud becomes king; Knud as <i>rex iustus</i> ;	Knud as Joseph and Jacob (exile); Knud as David; <i>rex iustus</i> (supporting the poor, building churches, caring for the clergy)
4	Knud tries to increase the Danes' zeal for God;	Piety

⁵³⁷ Gertz 1907: 4. Gertz translates *gratia martyrii* as the mercy or grace of martyrdom, "Martyriets Naade". The translation of *gratia* as grace in martyr stories is common but imprecise, and I have therefore rendered the term as "gift" instead.

⁵³⁸ Gertz 1907: 4.

⁵³⁹ Hankeln 2015: 166ff.

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5	Preparing the attack on England; its cancellation; prudence; his brother Oluf is sent into exile	Piety; prudence; prince of qualities/strength;
6	First part of the passion story; the insurrection; the flight to Odense; seeking sanctuary in Saint Alban's church	His love of justice and holy religion; the mob as counterpoint to Knud's kingship; piety; seeking martyrdom; patient
7	Climax of the passion story; Knud tries to calm the mob but fails; takes confession and the eucharist; the mob bursts into the church; his death	Justice; leader and glory of the Danes, rejecting earthly glory; <i>imitatio Christi</i> ;
8	The scandalous nature of the regicide; God's punishment; divine visions; the reburial of the dead;	King and martyr
9	The elevation of the bones; three miracles performed by God (unharmed bones; Oluf is set free; dispelling of darkness)	Blessed king and martyr

We see here the general outline of the narrative. The opening is a general exhortation to venerate the martyrs by celebrating their feasts and imitate their lives, stating that the martyrs are particularly honoured in their locations, due to the close relationship to those who live in those places, and because of the presence of their relics.⁵⁴⁰ The narrative itself tells of Knud's childhood, depicting him as a precocious child who learned quickly, who was prudent, pious and of a royal bloodline. The author comments that the Danish bloodline was more Christian than what was common for Danes.⁵⁴¹ Knud's embrace of the four principal qualities, i.e. the cardinal virtues, made him avoid stupidity and disdain laziness.⁵⁴² This made the devil feel envious and he intervened to prevent Knud from being elected king (compare the devil's envy of Edmund in *PE*). Having been denied the throne, Knud goes into exile in Sweden like Joseph was forced into exile in Egypt by envious brother, and in doing so he exhibits the wisdom of Jacob. Knud goes into exile to retain his innocence and yield for his brother's benefit, and stayed until he was called back by divine power.⁵⁴³ After his return from exile, Knud was elected king and governor of the people by the aid of God, and Knud put his trust in God like David with a reference to Psalm 10:2.⁵⁴⁴ The author describes Knud's kingship as that of a *rex iustus*, stating that he supported the poor and comforted

⁵⁴⁰ Gertz 1907: 6, *in singulis tamen locis*. A reference to the listeners of the story is a good reminder of how this text and others like it were disseminated.

⁵⁴¹ Gertz 1907: 6.

⁵⁴² Gertz 1907: 8.

⁵⁴³ Gertz 1907: 10. I follow Gertz's translation of *virtus* as "power" since I find it evident that the author refers to God's power.

⁵⁴⁴ Gertz 1907: 10.

the weeping, loved and supported the bishops and the priests, visited the churches and the community of the holy, i.e. the saints and their shrines, and bestowed donations upon them.⁵⁴⁵ Furthermore, as *rex iustus* Knud shunned what was perverse and empty as the Devil's handiwork, and he set about to ensure the Danes were educated in the Christian religion. He did this partly through the preaching of his priests and bishops, but also by himself. This is a feature we also find in *PO*, although it is important to note that unlike Olaf Knud is not an apostle, because while Olaf converts, Knud only strengthens what is already in place. For this reason, Knud introduces the tithe and first fruits, but the Danes are an ignorant people.⁵⁴⁶ Knud also circumscribed the traditional rights of the nobles, and sought to compel the Danes with the authority of the saints 1) to obey God and the saints, 2) to choose justice and honesty over transitory pleasures, 3) not to despise Christians as migrants and foreigners but rather as belonging to the society of the holy and of the household of God. In order to put the fear of God into the Danes, Knud decided to launch an attack against England, so that by the military power, the Danes are brought out of the yoke of their servitude. This scheme was opposed by his brother Oluf who out of envy and a snake-like mind,⁵⁴⁷ begrudged the honour and distinguished quality/strength, of Saint Knud, who is referred to as "prince".⁵⁴⁸ Knud's prudence made him understand Oluf's betrayal and Oluf is exiled in Flanders lest Oluf is enticed to betray his own brother.⁵⁴⁹

We are then told the passion story, beginning with how Knud, God's anointed (a *rex iustus* reference), was persecuted by the Danes who drove the holy king through Jutland to Slesvig and then to Odense, a persecution which Knud patiently endured.⁵⁵⁰ Knud was persecuted out of his love of religion, but also of his love of justice, and we see that his patience in persecution also

⁵⁴⁵ As historical proof of this pious practice, the author refers specifically to his patronage of the churches in Roskilde, in Dalby and in Lund. In particular, the author states, it was the church of St. Laurentius in Lund to which Knud proved himself to be *constructor, pater ac cultor*, i.e. builder, father and venerator (Gertz 1907: 10). Knud is also listed in the *necrologium* of Lund as follows in the entry for July 10: *Kanuti regis et martiris. qui primus fundavit hanc ecclesiam*, "Knud king and martyr, who first founded this church" (Weibull 1923: 81).

⁵⁴⁶ Gertz 1907: 12, *gens insipiens*. Cf Psalm 13:1; Psalm 52: 1.

⁵⁴⁷ Gertz 1907: 14, *liuida et serpentina mente*.

⁵⁴⁸ Gertz 1907: 14, *honor et egregie uirtuti*. We can understand *uirtuti* as pertaining to either quality or strength here. This reference to envy should be seen in light of the *iaculis* or spear of envy employed by the Devil against Knud's brothers in chapter 2.

⁵⁴⁹ Gertz 1907: 16. The author quotes 1 Corinthians 2:15, stating that the spiritual man can judge everything and is not judged by anyone. To this citation is added the remark that this makes the spiritual man *prestantior ceteris animalibus*, surpassing other animals, possibly to be understood as a depiction of Oluf as beastly. Knud's prudence is further emphasised through a citation from Psalm 48:13. In this passage, which the author overtly makes into a reference to David and thus links David and Knud yet again, it is said that when man was in honour he did not understand, and his thus likened to senseless beasts. This pits the folly of Oluf against the prudence of Knud.

⁵⁵⁰ Gertz 1908: 18.

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features as an important characteristic and aspect of his image. The mob surrounds the royal residence in Odense. Here, inspired by the saints, the most pious Knud, Benedict and their closest men go to the Church of SS Mary and Alban because Knud wanted in this time of trial to give himself over to fasts and holy prayers, something he did often. Knud desired to deserve that Christ who is the prince of martyrs would allow him to share the lot of the beloved martyr Alban, whom Knud himself had brought from England and whom he loved above the rest.⁵⁵¹ It is in this case interesting, however, that despite Knud's love for Alban, the author of *PK* does not call Knud protomartyr as does *TO*, even though Alban was the protomartyr of England. Instead, Knud is depicted as eager for martyrdom, patient, just, and devout. It is also important to emphasise how the image of Saint Knud is both formulated by his own qualities, but also in contrast to the persecuting mob. The description of the mob as arrogant, as beastly, growling and gnashing their teeth together, and as a whirlwind who considers Knud a tyrannic king, all serves to show what Knud is not, namely patient, calm and just king. The imagery of the whirlwind has Old Testament connotations,⁵⁵² while the gnashing of teeth resembles Adam of Bremen's description of Northern Norwegians.⁵⁵³

At the climax of the passion story, Knud – leader and glory of the Danes – attempts to calm the mob out of love of just lest innocent people die because of him. The mob does not listen and tries to break into the church and also to put fire to it. Knud then embraces the imminent martyrdom, because he wants to exchange the transitory kingdom for the stable kingdom of Heaven, not valuing the temporal reign more than a wisp of wool, and therefore putting down the worldly weapons lest they bring him ruin.⁵⁵⁴ Knud then performs the sacrament of the confession and receives the Eucharist, and after this the mob starts throwing stones and spears into the church. Knud is hit with a lance, and with his arms extended in the shape of a cross at the altar of the holy martyr Alban he was pierced through the side by the sharp point of a spear (cf. John 19:34).⁵⁵⁵ The text then goes on to summarise that thus on the sixth ides of July, i.e. July 10, he piously shed his blood at the altar of Christ, with the aid and guidance of our lord Jesus Christ. This is Knud's *imitatio Christi*.

⁵⁵¹ Gertz 1907: 18.

⁵⁵² Cf. Job 3:6 which refers to a darksome whirlwind, *tenebrosus turbo*; Isaiah 28:2 where God is likened to a destroying whirlwind, *turbo confringens*; Hosea 8:7 where it says that he who sows wind will reap the whirlwind.

⁵⁵³ Adam 1876: 180 (book 4, chapter 31). Compare *fremens ac frendens* (*PK*) with *ad invicem frendere* (*GH*).

⁵⁵⁴ Note the – unsurprising – similarity with Saint Olaf's dismissal of earthly riches. Ultimately drawn from Saint Paul.

⁵⁵⁵ Gertz 1907: 20: *nam crucis in modum manibus expansis ad altare sancti Albani martiris transfixus est in latere cuspidis mucrone*.

Following Knud's death, the author states that there is no record of any king having been killed in such a shameful fashion, and for this reason God punished Denmark with famine and plague. These calamities lasted until the time when many visions and revelations demonstrated to the people that Saint Knud's bones should be elevated from their grave in the earthen church floor and be honoured among the saints. There is arranged a synod with other bishops, and it is decided that the bones should be exhumed and translated with dignity.⁵⁵⁶ There follows the obligatory three-day fast before a *translatio*, during which there was a performance of prayers, almsgiving, hymns, and spiritual songs. Then the body of the king, which, the author assures us, was already holy, *iam sacratum*, was exhumed. God performed three miracles as proof of Knud's sanctity: 1) The monks in Odense, "we" as the author says, threw fire over the bones four times but the bones were unharmed, 2) Knud's brother Oluf, who was in exile in Flanders at the time of Knud's murder, was liberated from his imprisonment when Knud's body was put in the ground in Odense. Later, during the translation of the blessed martyr Knud, Oluf died. 3) When the monks in Odense were praying on the Saturday before the *translatio* there was a terrible rainfall and darkness until the third hour. But when the holy relics had been uncovered and the finding of the bones had pleased God, the air was filled with a great light and calm. The author states that this sign made us happy, and that this sign was due to the merit of the blessed king and martyr Knud. In this miracle, God showed His mercy and called people to penitence. The text then ends with an exhortation that God may show his mercy always, thanks to Knud's supplications, emphasizing Knud's role as patron for Odense (and perhaps a wider geography).

The most important part of the textual image of Saint Knud is of course his likeness to Christ, his *imitatio Christi*, due to his symbolic crucifixion, and his role as a *rex iustus* who cares for the church and the poor, who is prudent, patient and just, who contributions to the building of churches, and who was a precocious youth of a royal lineage. It is, again, noteworthy that Knud is not rendered as protomartyr. He is, however, likened to Joseph and Jacob through the *topos* of exile, and to David in his role as *rex iustus*

⁵⁵⁶ Gertz 1907: 22. It is of particular interest here to note that the author twice refers to "us" when talking about this council, *ad nos* and *nobiscum*.

The image of Saint Knud in Epitaphium S. Canuti

EK opens with a reference to Knud’s current place in Heaven, then proceeds to a retrospective summary of the events of the martyrdom itself, and concludes with a return to his present position. The epitaphium’s textual image of Saint Knud is naturally in line with the iconography established by the two previous texts of the Odense cycle. Knud is referred to by his standard epithets martyr and king, and he died for the cause of justice, professing his faith in Christ in both life and death. Like Christ he was betrayed, and while he asked for a drink he was assaulted by spears and beatings, ultimately pierced in the side by a lance like Christ, shedding his blood before the holy altar, and he is now residing among the stars with the souls of the saints. *EK* follows the narrative of *PK*, but adds that Knud was betrayed, and by referring to Knud asking for a drink (an allusion to the Roman soldiers giving Christ vinegar mixed with gall when he was crucified in Matthew 27:34). These two new features are continued by Aelnoth, and serve to enhance the Christological imagery of Knud. These features also suggest that we have now entered the second stage of the legend of Knud Rex.

The image of Saint Knud in Gesta Swenomagni

Due to the length of *GS*, both in terms of its pages and chapters but also in terms of its elaboration of Knud’s story, I have divided the narrative of *GS* into eight main sections for the sake of convenience. My division can be seen in the table below.

Part	Content	Chapters
1	Introduction	Introduction
2	Historical background	1-4
3	Knud’s characteristics	5-10
4	The turning point of the narrative	11-16
5	The insurrection	17-24
6	The passion	25-30
7	The aftermath	31-36
8	The epilogue	The epilogue

The introductory material

In the first chapters, King Svend is presented as a *rex iustus*: He is wise and strong (with a reference to Job 9:4), he favoured worthiness over strength in government (like Priam of Troy) he protected his people from attacks, he had some learning of holy reading, he ensured his children's education, he built churches, made donations to them, and brought clerics and monks to fill them. He also helped widows, orphans, foreigners and poor priests, all with the hope of being accepted into Heaven. Svend is also likened to King David, but by way of his many sons.⁵⁵⁷ Erling Albrechtsen has suggested that Svend is rendered as a forerunner for Knud,⁵⁵⁸ and this is strengthened by the fact that Aelnoth himself explains how King David is an image or antitype of Christ.⁵⁵⁹ Since Knud is typologically connected to Christ through his *imitatio Christi*, Svend is to Knud what David is to Christ. After presenting the qualities of King Svend, *GS* describes Harald Hen as a man who sought to accommodate his people and who was elected because he was both older and milder than Knud. He made several laws under the advisement of the people, and these laws are still in use today, we are told.⁵⁶⁰ Aelnoth records that Knud was disappointed with Harald becoming king, but he decided, by his sharp intelligence, to forego any quarrel lest it result in a civil war of Theban proportion. Aelnoth does not refer to any exile.⁵⁶¹

Knud himself is described in accordance with the established tradition. Already in the preface, Aelnoth states that he is undoubtedly a saint, and as he excelled in power, *potencia*, among mortals, he now excels among the blessed in *uirtutum*, probably to be understood as divine power working through him. Knud is now able to help his people to an even greater degree than in his mortal life, as he can now supplicate God to bring about the healing of Knud's people.⁵⁶² Knud is also praised as a mediator, a fellow of the angels, and a fellow citizen of the martyrs.⁵⁶³ Aelnoth seems to use Knud's twin role as king and saint to dwell on the issue of kingship. He praises Niels' mild kingship where mercy is above justice, and he defends the sainthood of a king by comparing it with previous wondrous works that God can perform, namely allowing the rod of Aaron to bring water from a

⁵⁵⁷ Gertz 1912: 85-90.

⁵⁵⁸ Albrechtsen 1984: 131.

⁵⁵⁹ Gertz 1912: 88.

⁵⁶⁰ Gertz 1912: 89-90. Cf. Olaf as lawmaker.

⁵⁶¹ Gertz 1912: 90.

⁵⁶² Gertz 1912: 79-81. The people healed are the blind, the leprous, the deaf, the mute, the lame, and the feverish. This corresponds well to the catalogue of wonders in Matthew 11:5, drawing on Isaiah 35:5.

⁵⁶³ Gertz 1912: 81. Knud is *aduocatum*, *angelorum socium*, and *martyrem conciuem*.

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rock (Exodus 17), and being able to raise sons for Abraham from stones (Matthew 3:9). In light of this, Aelnoth states that it is no wonder God elected a martyr who was also a pious prince on earth.⁵⁶⁴ This defense of a king being venerated as a saint should probably not be understood as there being doubt among the people of Denmark or in the Danish court about Knud's sanctity. Instead, we might understand this meditation on the possibility of kings to be saints in part as an expression of the reformist view on kingship as contradictory to holiness (to be expressed in *PO* decades later), and also as a form of encouragement to King Niels to perform his kingship in a similar vein.⁵⁶⁵

Knud's characteristics – before the passion story

Aelnoth follows the established iconography of Knud, and the saint is described as follows: He exhibits innate prudence, his good works are a monument to himself, and he stands out among his brothers like a carbuncle among other gems.⁵⁶⁶ Moreover, he combined the honest manners of prudence with the gift of charming youth, he was intelligent, he had a face of worthy authority as well as lively eyes, strenuous of mind and in use of arms, and eloquent in speech (similar to Edmund in *PE*).⁵⁶⁷ All these are typical qualities of a saint. Aelnoth also points out that it is not up to the runner (cf. 2 Timothy 4:7, *athleta domini*) but to God, meaning that despite these qualities Knud is only a saint because God elected him from the beginning, and shaped in Knud a fine companion for himself, seeking to turn him from the dignity of kingship to a member of the heavenly assembly and a martyr. This shows that Knud's martyrdom was predestined, which is always the case with martyrdoms, and it relies on the idea of God knowing a person before that person is even conceived (Jeremiah 1:5). Aelnoth also states that Knud was given the name Canutus – which happened at the canonisation and to which Aelnoth returns later – because it signifies three things: 1) his *sensus caniciem*, i.e. that he had the wisdom of a grey-haired man; 2) his *candorem*, purity; 3) and that he was *in canone sanctorum connumerandum decernebat*, enrolled into the canon of the saints.

⁵⁶⁴ Gertz 1912: 77-78.

⁵⁶⁵ This resembles the *speculum princeps* genre in which kings are presented with models for emulation. Saint-biographies always serve as providing models for emulations, as we also saw the author of *PK* exhort his listeners to do.

⁵⁶⁶ Gertz 1912: 92. The carbuncle imagery is important, as it is mentioned in Ezekiel 28:13 among the stones that make up the wonders of God's paradise.

⁵⁶⁷ Gertz 1912: 92.

After becoming king, Knud is described as a *rex iustus*, feeding the poor and the hungry, dressing the naked, taking care of orphans and widows, supporting strangers and pilgrims with money, respecting the clergy, bestowing gifts to churches, attending church daily.⁵⁶⁸ What he learned in church he hid in the treasure-chest of his heart, and the divine spirit incited him never to forget what he had learned. Knud is also chaste, contrary to many kings, and Aelnoth invokes Solomon as a counter-example.⁵⁶⁹ Knud also consulted wise men to understand the state of the kingdom, in the manner of blessed Job. Aelnoth goes on to offer a further comment on kingship, and he has Knud state that to govern is to serve God. To therefore dominate his vices, he has two chaplains give him physical punishment in accordance with Paul's words that chastising one's body is a metaphorical crucifixion (2 Corinthians 4:16 and Galatians 5:24). This was done secretly (cf. Matthew 6:3). In addition, he only drank water and ate bread with salt, and he only pretended to eat the dishes of the royal table, but instead he sent them on to the poor.⁵⁷⁰ Knud's fame is then increased among the northern peoples, in keeping with the parable of the lamp in Matthew 5:14. He furthermore sets out to purge the Danes from many of their customs, something the Danes resented, and Aelnoth compares their unwillingness to the unwillingness of the Jews to listen to Christ.⁵⁷¹ This imagery of the Danes as the Jews and Knud as Christ is a recurring feature in *GS*, particularly in the description of the insurrection.

In his account of the insurrection, Aelnoth provides a different rationale for the cancelled expedition to England than does the author of *PK*. Knud is said to have been invited by the English to end the Norman reign. As a most pious hero and excellent prince, Knud consents to intervene to end the Norman tyranny.⁵⁷² The attack never happened, and Aelnoth suggests that God prevented the attack either to punish the Normans later, or because he wanted to "a patron out of the prince, and a protomartyr out of the king".⁵⁷³ Because of the delay, however, the Danes become resentful, like the

⁵⁶⁸ Aelnoth states that what he learned in church, he hid in the treasure chest of his heart, *preciosi pectoris armario recondebat* by the incitement of the Holy Spirit. This is strongly reminiscent of Luke 2:19 where Mary preserves what she has learned in her heart, *conservabat (...) in corde suo*. Cf. Matthew 6:3.

⁵⁶⁹ King Solomon is often used as a model for peacemaking, wisdom, or wealth in saint-biographies, and the use of him as a negative counterpoint is uncommon. This might be due to Aelnoth's use of David as a comparison for Knud's father Svend, so that Knud is compared with David's son, Solomon.

⁵⁷⁰ Gertz 1912: 95-96.

⁵⁷¹ Gertz 1912: 94-95.

⁵⁷² Due to his description of the Norman rule, scholars have suggested that Aelnoth himself had left England to escape the Normans (Albrechtsen 1984: 50, n.81).

⁵⁷³ Gertz 1912: 98, *de principe patronum, de rege prothomartyrem efficere disponebat*. Aelnoth states that *nulla antiquorum relatione*, no ancient account, tells of a previous Danish martyr. This is in contrast to Adam of Bremen's report in *GH* where he claims that Denmark has more martyrs than can fit in one book (Adam 1876: 70, book 2, chapter 41).

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Israelites in Exodus 32 when Moses stayed too long on Mount Sinai. As in *PK*, Knud understands that Oluf is a driving force behind the resentment and sends him into exile in Flanders. Following the failed attack, Knud seeks to increase the Danes' piety, and he sets out a royal decree concerning the feasts and fasts. Moreover, he acknowledges the liberty of the slaves and the manumitted, he gave foreigners the same rights and native Danes (provided they committed no crime), and he increases the privileges of the clergy, to the detriment of the aristocrats. He is described as a devout leader and a religious prince.⁵⁷⁴ As with *PK*, the devil is also here said to incite the insurrection, but Aelnoth goes a bit further and compares the Danes with the Pharisees by a reference to Matthew 25:41. The breaking point, however, is the abuse of power by the king's officials, and *GS* goes on to describe the insurrectionists in terms similar to *PK*, except with a continued comparison between the Danes and the Hebrews, which perhaps culminates in Aelnoth's lament for Jutland, modelled on Christ's tears for Jerusalem.⁵⁷⁵ This is not only shown in their opposition to Knud, but in a scene during the rebellion Aelnoth also describes how they refuse to listen to Bishop Henrik, like the Jews refused to listen to St. Stephen.⁵⁷⁶ Moreover, Knud's escape through Denmark is cast in a typological mould by reference to Matthew 8:20 and 10:23, both passages that describe the coming persecution of the apostles.⁵⁷⁷ Knud is referred to as religious prince, glorious king, and famous hero throughout this narrative.

The Christological imagery of Knud is heightened during the siege of the royal residence in Odense. Here, Aelnoth introduces Pipero, the Judas figure, who is allowed inside the residence and sits down to eat with Knud, and who afterwards betrays him. Pipero is described as more evil than Annas, more degenerate than Caiaphas, and more cruel than Pilate.⁵⁷⁸ As we saw, the betrayal was introduced in *EK* and thus belongs to the second stage of the development of the Knud legend. In addition to the Judas figure, Aelnoth also enhances the Christological aspects of Knud's passion story in his description of the assault on the royal manor, where the crowd is said to cause the earth to quake beneath their feet, and it whirls up dust that covers the sun with a nightly darkness, *nocturnas tenebras*.⁵⁷⁹ This sequence of earthquake followed by an eclipse of the sun should be understood as imitating an important part of Christ's passion drama, namely the day of Christ's

⁵⁷⁴ Gertz 1912: 101-02: *deuoti ducis, and religiosum principem*.

⁵⁷⁵ Gertz 1912: 109-10. Cf. Matthew 23:37-39.

⁵⁷⁶ Gertz 1912: 106-07.

⁵⁷⁷ This is the only instance in *GS* where we see Knud's iconography in a somewhat apostolic light. However, Knud can never be the apostle of Denmark, because he did not introduce Christianity there.

⁵⁷⁸ Gertz 1912: 115: *Anna peior, Caipha deterior, Pilato crudelior*.

⁵⁷⁹ Gertz 1912: 116.

death (cf. Matthew 27:45 for the darkness, cf. Matthew 27:51 for the earthquake).

The iconography of Knud in the passion story

Although *GS* follows both the typological interpretation and the established narrative of the passion story, there are also certain added details. During the assault on the church, Knud is described as praying with the humility of David, and not with deceit of Herod, which thus contrasts the two opposite forms of kingship, the *rex iustus* against the worldly-minded king. Aelnoth also gives more space to the men who followed Knud, calling them most invincible novices as well as most outstanding heroes.⁵⁸⁰ The death of Knud follows the established pattern, but when describing how Knud was assaulted by stones and arrows, he connects these two weapons typologically to other saints. The stones connect him to St. Stephen, whereas the arrows connect him to St. Sebastian (as we saw with Edmund). This allusion is partly what made Erich Hoffmann connect *GS* with *PE*.⁵⁸¹ Furthermore, Aelnoth states that the precious martyr-blood of Saint Knud consecrates the church a second time, *iterato consecrator*. This means that they were holy, since the shedding of blood would normally require a re-consecration of a church-space. Knud's action during the assault were done so that the devout king could become an imitator of Christ's passion.⁵⁸² Therefore, Knud asked for a drink like Christ did when he was placed on the cross between two criminals. Someone from the outside took pity on the king and brought him a cup of water, but another man threw a spear and knocked the water out of their hands. Similar to how Christ refused to drink the vinegar wine mixed with gall, so Knud was prohibited from drinking water.⁵⁸³ Another added detail, moreover, is the statement that not only did the church contain relics of Alban, but also of King Oswald. These relics were knocked over, as part of the subsequent desecration of the holy space (likened to the desecration of the temple in Psalm 79).

The death of Knud is described as in previous texts, namely that he is pierced by a lance and lies down with the arms outstretched, consecrating the church with his blood. This was done, Aelnoth states, so that Christ, as the "heavenly bridegroom", could make Knud the "partaker of his

⁵⁸⁰ Gertz 1912: 119, *inuictissimi tirones*, and *insignissimis heroibus*.

⁵⁸¹ Hoffmann 1975.

⁵⁸² Gertz 1912: 118, *ut passionum Christi rex deuotus imitator efficeretur*.

⁵⁸³ The man who offered the water, however, received a reward later, we are told, possibly akin to the robber who asked Christ to remember him in Heaven.

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secrets”.⁵⁸⁴ Aelnoth also describes Benedict as his colleague in the race, and the other men as Knud’s fellow-soldiers.⁵⁸⁵ Having described Knud’s passion, Aelnoth rebukes the Danes for their regicide, since rebelling against the divinely ordained king is a rebellion against God. He then bursts into a lamentation which serves to present this historic moment in a wider scope of biblical and classical history, where he compares the brevity of Knud’s good rule with a catalogue of historical tyrants. Denmark did not suffer their religious prince to reign, whereas Greece suffered Agamemnon, Spain suffered Hannibal, Judea suffered Herod, and Rome suffered Nero.⁵⁸⁶ The Danes are then once more likened to the Israelites, this time with a reference to Isaiah.⁵⁸⁷ Aelnoth then goes on to list the calamities that befell Denmark as punishment for Knud’s death, with a reference to Lamentations 2:19. These calamities continued until God declared Knud’s holiness in divine signs, and Oluf Hunger, the enemy of the divine power, had died.

Knud’s iconography in the aftermath

Aelnoth’s description of the events following the death of Knud is expanded from the narrative of *PK*. Like the author of *PK*, Aelnoth tells of how, after the eight years of Oluf’s reign, an increase in the strength of miracles caused the bones to be exhumed and translated. Aelnoth adds that the bones were exhumed from the earthen floor of the church and carried to the south of the church where a new church was being built in stone, which was not yet finished, and which was subsequently consecrated to Knud. Before describing these events, however, Aelnoth tells of a first miracle, which happened when Knud’s widow Ethel went into the church at night before leaving Denmark, to say farewell to her husband’s remains. She found the church bathed in light, which made her understand the sanctity of the dead king. This story is first introduced by Aelnoth, and it should be understood in light of his enhancing of Knud’s Christological iconography. The first witness to Knud’s holiness is a woman, in the same way that the first witnesses to the resurrected Christ were women. Knud’s holiness is shown by a miraculous light, whereas Christ’s empty tomb was guarded by an angel shimmering in celestial light (Matthew 28:1-3).

⁵⁸⁴ Gertz 1912: 120, *celesti sponso*, and *secretorum suorum*.

⁵⁸⁵ Gertz 1912: 120, *certaminum collega*, and *commilitiones*. As for Benedict, Aelnoth describes his death later on, and he describes it as a *spectaculum mundo* (cf. 1 Corinthians 4:9), and that Benedict was torn apart limb by limb. The term used for this, *membratim*, is also applied by Abbo to describe the death of Edmund.

⁵⁸⁶ Gertz 1912: 121-22. For a similar, but shorter, catalogue of negative counterexamples of a royal saint: Osbert of Clare’s *Vita Edwardi Regis et Confessoris*.

⁵⁸⁷ Gertz 1912: 123. Isaiah 29:13, Matthew 15:8.

After Oluf's death Erik became king, and he ushered in a peaceful era similar to the reign of Solomon. It was in this time an increase in God's great works. Aelnoth provides an overview of the type of healings that were performed, and states that they were done by God to increase the fame of his soldier, Knud. From far and wide, people came to seek Knud's patronage, and those who had persecuted him now came to beg for forgiveness. King Erik then sends a delegation to Rome to have Knud's sanctity recognised by the papacy, and here Aelnoth repeats the symbolic significance of his latinised name, saying once more that a similar thing happened to the name of Abraham (thus connecting Knud with one of the biblical patriarchs). The delegation returned from Rome and was protected and guided by the merits of the blessed Knud, and God was praised for having provided a patron to these remote parts of the world. Aelnoth also describes the incipient cult in Odense, and he gives an account of how Ethel sent gifts to Knud's shrine, and Erik and Bishop Hubald of Odense commissioned a casket, which Aelnoth describes in a quatrain.⁵⁸⁸ This causes a second *translatio*, and Aelnoth describes how Hubald wrapped the bones and placed them in the stone sarcophagus.⁵⁸⁹

All in all, *GS*'s depiction of Saint Knud is one which puts his story in a wider historical scope. This scope confers a grander historicity on the ruling dynasty, while it also positions the cult of Knud within the wider history of Creation, as well as within Denmark itself, through its reference to the many people who approach Knud's shrine to ask for his patronage. Aside from this, Aelnoth also enhances the Christological dimension of Knud by elaborating on certain aspects of his reign and his passion story. This is done in part by adding more details that connect his story to the story of Christ in the gospels, and in part by developing an elaborate rhetoric about the Danes as typological Jews.

The iconography of Saint Knud in the Odense office

The surviving sources

Texts for the liturgical office of Saint Knud survive predominantly in a handful of late-medieval printed breviaries. Two of these breviaries were in use in Odense, and these have therefore provided

⁵⁸⁸ Gertz 1912: 133.

⁵⁸⁹ Gertz 1912: 133. The bones are described as being white as snow, *niuis candidas*. Snowy whiteness is a common symbol for purity and holiness in medieval saint-biographies (Hope 2012: 67).

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the basis for the present analysis. The eldest *Breviarium Othoniense* (hence *BO*) was printed c.1482 in Odense (København Kongelige Bibliotek LN 29 quarto). In this breviary we find three sections of chants and readings for Saint Knud, namely *In feriis quintis* which was performed on Thursdays⁵⁹⁰ (ff.286v-289r), *Translatio* (f.289r-v), and the *Passio* which was performed July 10 (f.289v). Since the section *In feriis quintis* contains the most substantial and coherent repertoire of chants and readings, this is the main source for the iconographic analysis. The breviary of c.1482 contains a lacuna at the end of the office, meaning that folio 288r-v is completely blank. For this reason, I have also relied on *BO* from 1497 which was printed in Lübeck (København Kongelige Bibliotek LN 30). This breviary also contains the sections *In feriis quintis* (ff.262r-264r), *Translatio* (ff.264v-265r), and *Passio* (ff.265r-267). These two editions of *BO* are concurrent in their versions of the office for Saint Knud's *dies natalis*. Since the office cycle in these two editions is the same, I will in the following talk about *BO* when I deal with features that are common for both these editions. If I address issues that are unique to one specific edition, I will specify which one. In addition to these two editions, there is also a later edition of *BO* which was printed in 1510, possibly in Basel (København Kongelige Bibliotek LN 31). This also contains the sections *In feriis quintis* (f.196r), *Translatio* (f.198v), and *Passio* (f.199v). The 1510 edition is also incomplete, as the opening of the office (f.196r-v) is missing.⁵⁹¹ As for the remaining printed breviaries, these are the breviaries for Aarhus, Lund, Nidaros, and Roskilde. The Aarhus breviary is printed in Aarhus in 1519 and is known as *Breviarium iuxta lectura ordinaria chori Arhussiense* (København Kongelige Bibliotek LN 25 quarto). Its version of the Knud office is found in folios 283vff.⁵⁹² The *Breviarium Lundense* is extant in two editions. The oldest is from 1477 (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, C 447), whereas the most recent was printed in Paris in 1517 (København Kongelige Bibliotek LN 27 octavo). The office for Saint Knud is found in ff.303rff.⁵⁹³ *BN*, as we seen in chapter 4, was printed in Paris in 1519, and a facsimile was printed in Oslo in 1964. The office for Saint Knud is found in f.bbb viii (verso).⁵⁹⁴ The *Breviarium Roschildense* (København Kongelige Bibliotek LN 32 octavo) was also printed in Paris in 1517, and the office for Saint Knud can be found in f.cccxxixff.⁵⁹⁵

Since this thesis is concerned with the question of identity construction at the saint's cult centre, I

⁵⁹⁰ Hankeln 2015: 165.

⁵⁹¹ Hankeln 2015: 161, n.13.

⁵⁹² Hankeln 2015: 161, n.10.

⁵⁹³ Hankeln 2015: 161, n.11.

⁵⁹⁴ Hankeln 2015: 161, n.12.

⁵⁹⁵ Hankeln 2015: 161, n.14.

have here focussed almost exclusively on the office as retained in the two earliest editions of *BO*.⁵⁹⁶ I have chosen this as the basis for my analysis because even though the surviving sources are far removed from their presumable twelfth-century origins I argue that these editions most likely provide a stronger link to the original repertoire by virtue of its continuous use at the cult centre itself. It must also be emphasised that the office for Saint Knud as it has survived today is a redacted office. The original office, most likely composed in the twelfth century, was a monastic office, and this office cycle was more extensive than the surviving material which follows the secular *usus*.⁵⁹⁷ The editions of *BO*, however, contain redactions intended for the secular *usus* following the transformation of the Odense cathedral from a monastic to a secular cathedral chapter after the dissolution of the Odense monastery by King Christian I in 1474.⁵⁹⁸ This change in the original repertoire is important to keep in mind when analysing the liturgical texts for Saint Knud within the framework of this thesis. The surviving liturgical image of Saint Knud is an incomplete image. In addition to the versions of the office, materials for the mass of Saint Knud, such as hymns and sequences, can also be found in three printed missals, one for use in Slesvig (printed in 1486), one for use in Lund (printed in 1514), and one for use in Copenhagen which then followed the use of Roskilde (printed in 1510).⁵⁹⁹ These sources have been examined by John Bergsagel, but have not been utilised in the present study as I focus on the Odense material

The tentative dating of the Odense liturgy

It is important to note that we have no surviving manuscript material from before the fifteenth century that might allow for a comparison, as was possible in the case of Saint Olaf. The link between the texts contained in the breviary and the twelfth-century liturgical office is therefore fraught with uncertainty. However, there are a few points which allow us to do away with some of this uncertainty, and arrive at a somewhat more secure foundation for the rough dating of the texts. The surviving office cycle for Knud is an abbreviated form of an older monastic cycle. Since some of the chants which were left out of the Odense redactions have appeared in the redactions of other breviaries, we can be certain that what we find in *BO* is not a new composition from the fifteenth-

⁵⁹⁶ For the similarities between the office cycle as retained in the editions of *BO* and the other breviaries mentioned here: Hankeln 2015: 162ff.

⁵⁹⁷ For a comparative overview of the difference between monastic and secular chant cycles: Harper 1993: 93ff.

⁵⁹⁸ Bergsagel 1980: 154; Hankeln 2015: 166.

⁵⁹⁹ Bergsagel 1980: 154.

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century.⁶⁰⁰ Instead, what we have is a repertoire which has been used in the monastic cathedral chapter, and it is likely that the chants of this repertoire have been used for a long time before the change from monastic to secular *usus*. Moreover, the chants of Saint Knud's office cycle contain examples of two different styles of composition. The majority of the antiphons are composed in syllable counting, rhymed verse, a liturgical form that emerged in the twelfth century and gradually became very popular. This new form superseded to some extent – but not completely – the traditional hexameter form. However, some of the chants in the breviary retain the hexameter form, which was popular in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.⁶⁰¹ There are also some antiphons which are in prose. In other words, the office cycle for Saint Knud contains both traditional and modern chants by the twelfth-century standard. John Bergsagel suggested that the first office for Knud was composed c.1100,⁶⁰² while Roman Hankeln suggests that it might have been composed in the 1120s. In light of the history of the cult of Saint Knud, Hankeln's is the most likely suggestion. Whether a second office was ever composed prior to the conversion of the monastic cycle into a secular cycle in the fifteenth century, is not known.

Due to the prose nature of the lessons they are less impervious to change than the chants. Moreover, since the lessons were not included in antiphonaries, the renewal or substitution of readings would not require that these antiphonaries would have to be altered, as would be the case with a renewal of the chants. We have, therefore, the same situation with the lessons for Saint Knud in *BO* as we had with the lessons for Saint Olaf in *BN*, namely that they cannot be trusted to provide us with material for the understanding of Saint Knud's twelfth-century liturgical iconography. This issue is further complicated by the fact that the responsories for Saint Knud do not show any clear relationship in content with their preceding lessons, as they are found in the breviaries. This suggests that the lessons might not be taken from the twelfth-century repertoire. It is not unlikely that the lessons are in fact from the twelfth-century office cycle, but in lieu of concrete evidence, I will not include the lessons in the iconographic analysis.

Sources for the liturgical office for Saint Knud

Saint Knud's office takes some of its material from the *commune sanctorum*, and the first

⁶⁰⁰ For an overview: Hankeln 2015: 163-64.

⁶⁰¹ Hankeln 2015: 165.

⁶⁰² Bergsagel 1980: 158.

responsory for Vespers (item [4]) is either from the *commune* material or taken from the office for Saint Edmund since it can also be found there.⁶⁰³ The legend as it is presented in the antiphons and the responsories contains material common to both *PK* as well as *GS*. However, I believe that only *GS* has been the source for the office cycle for the following reasons. 1) The third antiphon for Matins (item [18]) refers to Knud as *athletam dei*. This epithet is common to several martyrs, but in the two *vitae* of Saint Knud it can only be found in *GS*. Furthermore, the fourth and fifth responsories (items [25] and [27]) make reference to a Judas figure, which is an element not included in *PK*, but which is found in *GS*. 2) The seventh responsory (item [39]) compares Knud with St. Stephen, which is also a feature which – as we saw above – is not included in *PK*. 3) Due to the diversity in poetic form within the selection of chants in Saint Knud’s office, it is possible that the surviving office contains elements from two separate offices, one originally featuring hexameter chants, the other displaying the modern rhymed verse. However, when we look at some of the chants which are in hexameter, we see that the aforementioned fifth and seventh responsories – which contain elements taken from *GS* and not from *PK* – belong to the selection of chants written in the old style. This suggests that even if there were an older office with hexameter chants, this office seems nonetheless to have been relying on *GS*. Consequently, if we accept Michael Gelting’s suggestion that *GS* was completed as early as 1112,⁶⁰⁴ it is possible that the hexameter chants in *BO* are from that first office cycle hypothesised by Bergsagel, but that this cycle must be moved about fifteen years forward in accordance with Hankeln’s dating.

The chants for Vespers

The Vespers antiphons

In the office for Knud’s *dies natalis* in *BO*, only one of the antiphons for Vespers is included (item [1]). This is a result of the abbreviation of the original monastic cycle, which has included a total of five antiphons, as we have seen in the cases of both Olaf and Edmund. The four monastic antiphons are retained in the office for the translation in *BO*, and they are also found in what is likely their

⁶⁰³ This is the responsory *Miles christi gloriose* (CID: 007155). In the office for Saint Edmund, this is also the first responsory for Vespers (item [24]), and in the CANTUS database the responsory is only found in the office for Edmund.

⁶⁰⁴ Gelting 2011: 39.

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original sequence and place in the office for July 10 in the Lund breviary.⁶⁰⁵ In the present analysis I will also engage with the iconography of Saint Knud contained in these four antiphons.

The first antiphon for Vespers (VA1, item [1]) refers to Knud as *martir precipue*, especial martyr, and *rex insignissime*, outstanding king. The antiphon goes on to state that Knud is triumphing in Heaven, and that he is a mirror for his merits. This antiphon is written in syllable-counting rhymed verse.

The second antiphon (VA2, item [2]) presents Knud compared to the rising sun. Knud is also referred to as renowned king, *Rex celebris*, and he is beseeched to absolve the ministrants from the darkness of their accusation. The antiphon is written in hexameters. As demonstrated by John Bergsagel, this antiphon is only otherwise known from its use in the offices of the royal martyrs Oswald and Edward.⁶⁰⁶ It might therefore have been introduced into the office of Saint Knud by the monks of Evesham brought to Odense by King Erik around 1100.⁶⁰⁷

The third antiphon (VA3, item [3]) is an exhortation to praise Knud in chants or in singing. This antiphon continues the play on the contrasts of darkness and light which we see in item [1], and which might ultimately hail from the miracle of the clouded day turning bright.⁶⁰⁸ This contrast is invoked by a repetition of the supplication to absolve from the accusation of darkness, preceded by a reference to the heavenly lamps. Knud is also termed a most strong witness for Christ, and the antiphon ends with an exhortation that the supplicants might merit to go together with Knud to the stars. The antiphon is written in hexameters.

The fourth antiphon (VA4, item [4]), is taken almost verbatim from Ecclesiasticus 31:8-9. The only change being that the original *dives*, rich man, is substituted with *vir*. This change ties this passage together with Psalm 1, *Beatus vir*. The passage hails the man who does not put his riches in money and treasures. This Bible passage provides the text for two antiphons and one responsory from the common of one martyr (CID: 001675), the common of one martyred bishop (CID: 200607), and the common of one confessor (CID: 006230) respectively. Of these chants, only the common of one

⁶⁰⁵ Hankeln 2015: 163.

⁶⁰⁶ Hughes 1993: 398.

⁶⁰⁷ Bergsagel 1980: 155.

⁶⁰⁸ Gertz 1907:22-25.

martyred bishop retains the text completely as is the case in antiphon VA4.⁶⁰⁹ This antiphon is written in prose.

The fifth antiphon (VA5, item [1D]) is taken verbatim from Wisdom 10:10, in which it is stated that Wisdom guided the just man who fled the wrath of his brother and taught him holy things. This antiphon belongs to the common of confessors (CID: 003542), and can for instance also be found in the – possibly later – office for Edward the Confessor, but there it is used as a versicle.⁶¹⁰ This antiphon is written in prose.

The Magnificat antiphon

In the Magnificat antiphon (item [12]), it is stated that Knud was decorated with the holy gift of the name of martyr. Interestingly, this reference to the name of martyr is then followed with a reference to the emperors of old, i.e. the pagan Roman emperors, who also produced martyrs. Knud is thus loosely connected to the martyrs of the early church. Knud is then called famous martyr, *Inclite (...)* *martir*, and asked to protect the supplicants. The antiphon is written in hexameters.

The Vespers responsories

The office of Vespers as contained in *BO* contains two responsories for Vespers. One is found in section *in feriis quintis*, the other is found in the section for the passion. The first responsory (VR1, item [8]) is an antiphon beginning *Miles Christi gloriose*. This is an incipit found in several offices, both as an antiphon and as a responsory, and of particular interest to us here is its appearance in the office for Edmund as the first responsory for Vespers (item [24] for Edmund). It is possible that this chant is borrowed directly from the office of Saint Edmund. This is likely both because of the English provenance of the Odense monks, but also because of its identical placement in the office cycle. This latter point, however, should not be exaggerated as in the Aarhus breviary we find this chant as the ninth responsory of Matins.⁶¹¹ In this antiphon, Knud is portrayed as a glorious soldier of Christ whose intercession washes away the sins of the people. The antiphon is written in syllable-counting rhymed verse. That an antiphon which is attested as written in verse from a source from

⁶⁰⁹ <http://cantusindex.org/id/200607>. – accessed 09.05.17.

⁶¹⁰ Hope 2012: 82; VIII; XV; XXI; XXIII; XXIV.

⁶¹¹ Hankeln 2015: 164.

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the 1120s or 1130s – i.e. the Edmund office in MS Pierpont Morgan 736 – suggests that it might not have taken that long for rhymed verse to have been used to in Denmark. The second responsory for Vespers (VR2, item [9]) has as its incipit *O felix*, which is a common incipit found in several other offices and used for many different chants. The only other chant I have found with an identical text, except for the name, is in *The Processional of the Nuns of Chester*. Here, this text is found in a responsory for the feast of St. Benedict, and in the notes John Wickham Legg also points to its appearance in the so-called Coldingham Breviary (BL MS Harley 4664, f.242) from the thirteenth century.⁶¹² This means that the responsory is not proper to Knud, but adapted to fit his office. The responsory addresses the saint as *felix kanute*, happy Knud, who is now in glory, and who is beseeched by the performers of the chant to guide them to Heaven. The responsory is written in prose.

The Vespers hymn

The Vespers hymn (item [10]) is a hymn from the common of martyrs (CID: 008294). In this hymn, God is praised for his crowned martyrs, but nothing can be said to add anything to the liturgical image of Saint Knud.

The chants for Matins

In the following analysis I will not be able to compare the antiphons with the psalmody, since the psalmody is not provided in the surviving sources. While it is likely that the sequence of psalms follows the same pattern as other martyrs, the lack of concrete proof means that I choose not to engage with this issue here.

The Invitatory antiphon

The Invitatory antiphon, item [14], is ostensibly proper to Knud, and contains little in terms of iconography for the saint. It exhorts the listeners to rejoice in Christ who gave Knud the gift of the heavenly kingdom. The antiphon is written in syllable-counting rhymed verse.

⁶¹² Legg 1899: 4; 36.

The antiphons for the first nocturne – items [16], [17], [18]

The first antiphon, MA1, states that Knud was raised from a royal line, and that he, the famous boy, *puer inclitus*, instructed himself for the Lord and applied his heart to humility. Here we see the familiar *topos* of a saint being of noble stock, a feature that was often universally connected to sainthood in the Middle Ages. We also see the *topos* of being devoted to God from his childhood, and in this imagery we might also glimpse, through the use of the word *preceptis*, instructed, the *topos* of the precocious youth, the so-called *puer senex*. Finally, Knud's humility is emphasised. Roman Hankeln suggests that this antiphon is based on *GS* due to its lexical similarity between the reference to *Stirpe regali editus* and Aelnoth's text.⁶¹³

The second antiphon, MA2, presents Knud as having prudent manners combined with the gift of youth. For this reason, it is stated, God allowed him to rise to kingship. We have here moved from boyhood to his accession to the throne, but in such a way that the circumstances around his first attempt to become king is omitted. Instead, the narrative of the *Historia Kanuti* goes from a pious boyhood to a prudent youth and to kingship. Prudence and youth are the key iconographic features, and the reference to youth once more contains a possible allusion to the *topos* of the *puer senex*.

The third antiphon, MA3, presents Knud being surrounded by thousand commoners, *plebis millia*. The text addresses him as a brave athlete of God, *athletam dei forcia*, who prays fervently to God. In this way, the antiphons of the first nocturne condense the narrative the Knud legend by going straight from the accession to the throne to the threshold of his martyrdom. Knud is represented as pious, and as an athlete of God. As we have seen before, this is a common title for martyrs, but it is of particular importance to us here. I mentioned earlier that the term *athleta dei* is a term which in the so-called Odense cycle is only found in *GS*.

These antiphons are all written in syllable-counting rhymed verse. Together they present the *Historia Kanuti* going from his boyhood to him being surrounded by hostile commoners, and they thus provide a significant abridgement of the early years and the actual kingship of Knud. We see that the characteristics of piety and humility are retained, his precociousness is alluded to, his study of religion, and also his royal lineage are both included. Moreover, since his accession to the Danish

⁶¹³ Hankeln 2015: 171. It should be mentioned that *stirpe regali* is also found in *PK*, but for reasons mentioned above I agree with the conclusion that the text is based on *GS*.

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throne is ascribed to the judgement of God, it is demonstrated that God either intervened in or had predestined Knud's life, a common feature in saint-biography.

Antiphons for the second nocturne – items [26], [27], [28]

The fourth antiphon, MA4, continues the narrative from MA3. In the third antiphon, Knud turned to God in prayer, in the fourth antiphon it is stated that God heard the cry from servant, *sui (...) serui*. When God hears this cry, he gives Knud constancy or endurance so that he can serve justice. It is possible that the imagery of the servant crying for God draws on Psalm 26:7. Beyond the parallel imagery, the antiphon might have borrowed its opening *Exaudit* from the hortative *Exaudi* in the psalm. Other parallels between the antiphon and the psalm are as follows: 1) its reference to he who prays as *seruo* in the psalm and *serui* in the antiphon; 2) the use of *dominus*; 3) the reference to the crying as *clamavi* in the psalm and the cry as *clamorem* in the antiphon. If these connections do point to a deliberate connection between the antiphon and the psalm, we should also understand the iconography of Psalm 26 – a psalm of hope in the Lord for deliverance – as lending some of its connotations to the image of Saint Knud. This does not add anything new to Knud's liturgical image, but it can be understood as strengthening one of the features of that image.

The fifth antiphon, MA5, continues the passion narrative and states that the fury of the impious, *impii*, increased against Knud, who is once more referred to as the servant of God. The remaining antiphon is then dedicated to a description of the mob's bloodthirst and deceitful tongues. In this way, MA5 mostly adds to Knud's liturgical image by way of contrast. We have already seen how important the description of the mob was for the authors of the *vitae*, and this description also serves in some way to emphasise what Knud is not. In MA5 in particular, we might see that the chant of the deceitful tongues contrasts – and thus casts in stronger relief – the pious clamouring of Knud in MA4.

The sixth antiphon, MA6, returns to and continues the depiction of Knud as a pious man. Knud is depicted as continuously praising the wonderful, *mirabile*, name of God while standing in the sanctuary with a fearless heart.

These antiphons are all written in syllable-counting rhymed verse. Knud's piety is here underscored

by the reference to him as a servant of God – maybe further strengthened by the possible reference to Psalm 26 – as well as the contrasting image of the impious mob.

Antiphons for the third nocturne – items [35], [36], [37]

The seventh antiphon, MA7, continues the passion narrative and describes how javelins from the impious pierced the holy king, *regem sanctum*, in the highest temple. This is the first instance in the antiphon series in which Knud's kingship is directly connected to holiness. We should also possibly understand the reference to spears as an anticipation of the Christological imagery, despite the fact that spears are here in plural. The word "temple" for the church space might also echo the psalms. The eighth antiphon, MA8, intensifies the martyr scene and also emphasises the Christological imagery. While the preceding antiphon refers to several spears, MA8 only talks about one single lance which pierces the flank of Knud in the likeness of Christ. Knud then dies in a flow of blood beside the wonderful, *mirifice*, altar.

The ninth antiphon, MA9, describes how God rejoices in the martyrdom of Knud and rewards him with the martyr's garland and precious stones. The first line contains the line *in uirtute domini*, which might be understood as a reference to Psalm 20:2, which opens *Domine in virtute tua*, in thy strength, O Lord. In a Christian context, this psalm is often interpreted as a prefiguration of Christ's passion, and as such adds strength to the Christological imagery of the antiphons of the third nocturne.

These antiphons are all written in syllable-counting rhymed verse. They contain few iconographic features, but they emphasise the *imitatio Christi* of Knud, both through the direct comparison with Christ's side being pierced by a lance, and also through the possible reference to Psalm 20. Knud is here holy king and a martyr who dies in the likeness of Christ. Although he is not given the epithet martyr in the antiphons of this nocturne, the image of Knud as a martyr is nonetheless conveyed by the comparison to Christ in MA8 and the possible reference to Psalm 20 and the overt reference to the garland – typically awarded the martyrs – in MA9.

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Responsories for the first nocturne – items [21], [23], [25]

The first responsory, MR1 begins with Knud's accession to the Danish throne, and is primarily concerned with his deeds as a king. Knud is addressed as *Princeps pius et insignis*, pious and distinguished prince, and it is stated that he elevated the famous kingdom, *egregius regni*. The notion that it was God's will that Knud should become king – as has already been stated in MA2 – is repeated in MR1. The responsory then states that in Knud's life, his works were decorated with divine prudence. This is further elaborated in the verse, in which the nature of these works is spelled out in greater detail: Knud sustained the weak and refreshed the poor, and he did so to prepare for himself a seat among the nobles or the highest, meaning here the highest of the saints in Heaven. In MR1, Knud's kingship is intrinsically connected to his prudence and his piety, and also his good works for the poor and the weak. In this way, MR1 presents Knud as a *rex iustus*. The responsory is written in syllable-counting rhymed verse.

The second responsory, MR2, is focussed on Knud's piety. It is stated that the powerful king, *rex potens*, frequented the church with awe. He concealed what he learned of the sacred law in his chest, a formulation that might be intended as a reference to the Virgin Mary in Luke 2:19, where it is stated that the Virgin preserved what she had learned in her heart. Luke 2:19 bears little lexical similarity with MR2, however, but the image of placing knowledge of the holy in the heart or in the breast is similar. It might also be understood as an allusion to Christ's dictum about not demonstrating one's faith in public (Matthew 6:3). MR2 then continues by stating that Knud gave many gifts to the holy house of God. The verse then explains his donations, saying that this was done in order for the memory of him to serve as a mirror – presumably of royal holiness – for the centuries to come. This echoes the main subject of the verse in MR1, which also served to provide an explanation for why Knud performed his good deeds. MR2 continues the presentation of Knud's character as presented in MR1, but the text narrows in and elaborates on one specific aspect, namely his piety. This piety is expressed by his visits to the church, by his concealment of his knowledge of the holy law – possibly drawing on Luke 2:19 and Matthew 6:3 – and by his donations to the church. Since the responsory refers to him as powerful king, these expressions of piety are all connected to Knud's kingship. Thus, MR2 also contributes to the formulation of Knud as a *rex iustus*. The responsory is written in syllable-counting rhymed verse.

The third responsory, MR3, continues from MR2 by an allusion to the merits, which might be understood as the charity expounded in MR2. From its opening, MR3 creates a causal link between the merits and the Danes' persecution of Saint Knud. He is here referred to as a man of noble fostering – a reference to his lineage – and a wise king. The wisdom of Knud is contrasted by the foolish people who persecutes him, and whose weapons are guided by their ferocity. The word *insipiens* is a common term for “foolish”, but it is also connected to unbelief through Psalm 13, in which it is stated that the foolish man, *insipiens*, says that there is no God. The same terminology can be found in *GS*'s description of the insurrection. The composers of the liturgy would be very well familiar with this lexical connection, and might have intended to equate the rebellion of the Danes with the foolishness of unbelief. After all, they were rebelling against a pious king whom God had ordained to rule over them, as has been stated in MA2 and MR1. The verse of MR3 puts further emphasis on the ferocity of mob by describing the people as untamed by that law which subdues the arrogant. In this way, MR3 continues the practice which we have seen in some of the antiphons, namely to describe Knud by presenting that which he is not. Just as MR2 focussed on one aspect of Knud's character, namely his piety, so MR3 focusses on his wisdom. However, while MR2 focussed on Knud's piety by enumerating his good works, MR3 formulates the wisdom of Knud mostly as a contrast to the unwisdom of the mob that rebelled against him. Knud is described as a wise king, and in this way his wisdom is used to further contribute to his image as a *rex iustus*. The responsory is written in hexameters.

The responsories of the first nocturne begin the narrative of the responsory with the accession of Knud to the throne. This narrative progresses somewhat differently from the narrative of the antiphons, and so the *Historia Kanuti* can be said to contain two levels, which is common and which we also saw in the case of Saint Olaf. Together, the responsories of the first nocturne combine to elaborate on some of the characteristics of Saint Knud. These characteristics – prudence, piety, wisdom – are all tied up with his kingship and thus contribute to an exposition of Knud as a *rex iustus*.

Responsories for the second nocturne – items [30], [32], [34]

The fourth responsory, MR4, provides a description of how the mob – here described as the northern crowd, *plebs aquilonis* – came south to where the king was. This is a summary description

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of the rebellion, which began in the northern part of the country. The crowd is called impious and its progression through Denmark is likened to a whirlwind. The emphasis on the crowd is retained in the verse, where the mob is said to have given up their heavenly banquet just as Judas traded the peace of the masters, possibly meaning the saints, for his proper wages. This provides Knud with a Christological imagery by virtue of contrast. Those who persecute him are like Judas, he himself is like Christ. Knud is only referred to by the title king. MR4 is written in hexameters.

The fifth responsory, MR5, contains the climax of the passion narrative with the description of Knud's death. The martyrdom is described as the devout king, *rex deuotus*, praying to obtain a place in Heaven and then being killed by the cruel commoners, *plebs crudelis*, who were thirsting for blood, *siciens (...) sanguinem*. In the description of the martyrdom, the text of the response describes how the innocent, Knud, fell. The verse emphasises the traitor, described as a second Judas, *alter iudas*, who walks among bloodthirsty mob like the prince of crimes, a term for the traitor we find used in *GS*. Through the imagery of *alter iudas* the verse repeats the Christological connotations of Knud's death which we saw in MR4. MR5 depicts Knud as devout and innocent, and his *imitatio Christi* is presented as a contrast to the *alter iudas* who betrayed him. Although this responsory emphasises a presentation of Knud's characteristics, the mob is also being described with some poignant imagery. The reference to the bloodthirst of the crowd is perhaps particularly significant, as the cannibalistic overtones of this imagery provide an unholy dimension to the otherness of the mob. MR5 is written in syllable-counting rhymed verse.

The sixth responsory, MR6, is in effect a retrospective description of how the mob broke into the church – described as the holy temple, *sacras edes* – and tried to burn it down, but the fire would not take hold of the building. It is important to note that the crowd is also here rendered as bloodthirsty, but by the word *cruento* rather than *siciens sanguinem* as in MR5. The verse of MR6 describes how rocks and arrows were thrown through an aperture. MR6 is written in hexameters. This responsory provides next to no iconographic information about Saint Knud. He is not mentioned by name or by reference, and the only iconographic detail that can be said to be given to him is again the implicit contrast between him and the bloodthirsty mob that is willing to destroy the holy church. It is worth repeating that MR6 provides a retrospective stage in the narrative of the responsory. This is not unheard of in a liturgical office. However, when we consider that this responsory is found as the fifth and fourth responsories of the Lund and the Aarhus breviaries

respectively,⁶¹⁴ it opens up for the question whether MR6 had a different position in the monastic office cycle before it was transformed into a secular cycle. The arguments in favour for this is the fact that its description of the situation just before the martyrdom fits better before its preceding responsory than in the place it currently holds in *BO*. Moreover, since MR6 is written in hexameters, it is possible that it belongs to the hypothetical older chant cycle and as such was not written to follow the text that in *BO* has the position of MR5.

The responsories of the second nocturne together present the climax of the passion story of Saint Knud, but the responsories do not provide an extensive iconographic description of the holy protagonist. Knud is depicted as devout and innocent, but in the responsory narrative of second nocturne as a whole the most important iconographic feature, namely Knud's Christological typology, is provided mostly by way of contrast and the description of the *alter iudas* and the extensive description of the ferocity of the mob.

Responsories for the third nocturne – items [39], [41], [43]

The seventh responsory, MR7, is also set in the part of the passion story which precedes the martyrdom itself. MR7 describes how Knud – the excellent leader, *precibus / dux* – was undisturbed by the detestable mob, *execrabile uulgus* while his spirit was fortified by the holy mysteries. MR7 is written in hexameters. Its description of Knud's last Eucharist suggests that it originally has belonged in a different position than the placement it has in *BO*. This suggestion is further strengthened by the fact that in *Breviarium Arosiense* this responsory serves as the fifth responsory.⁶¹⁵

The eighth responsory, MR8, describes how Knud stood between stones and arrows patiently, *patientis*, in the shape of Christ – i.e. with arms outstretched in a cruciform manner – and how he, the holy king, *sancto regi*, extended his arms to receive a cup to relieve his thirst. The verse describes how the cup was stricken from Knud's pious hands by the blow of a lance. The verse is followed by the first indication in *BO* of a responsory's repetenda. Here we see that the repetenda reiterates how the king stretched out his arms for a cup of water. MR8 is written in syllable-counting rhymed verse. It presents Knud as patient, as pious, and as a holy king, thus tying into the imagery

⁶¹⁴ Hankeln 2015: 164.

⁶¹⁵ Hankeln 2015: 164.

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of the *rex iustus*. Furthermore, Knud's *imitatio Christi* is emphasised very strongly, both by stating that he was standing in the cruciform shape of Christ on the cross, but also by describing how Knud received a last drink. The last drink is important because it invokes Christ asking for a drink while he hung on the cross, and thus the crucifixion scene is transposed onto Knud's own passion story. That the scene of the drink is important in MR8 is demonstrated both by its continuation in the verse, but also due to its treatment in the *repetenda*.

The ninth *responsory*, MR9, follows the ninth lesson. This *responsory* describes the death of Knud, and he is called glorious martyr of God and invincible king, *Gloriosus dei martir kanutus et rex inuictissimus*, a formulation that invokes the Christian paradox of victory through a pious death making the conquered invincible by being conquered. It is described how he was injured on every side my savage wounds, *saucius uulneribus*,⁶¹⁶ and that in the end his side was pierced by a lance in the manner of Christ, *ut christus*. The *respond* ends by stating that he died next to the altar, crowned by his precious blood. The *verse* describes how the holy house, i.e. the church, is flooded by the blood of the murdered, while the pious prince and martyr is killed. MR9 provides the most extensive iconographic description of Knud in the narrative of the *responsory*. The opening line emphasises his twin status as both king and martyr, connecting his role as *rex iustus* with his *imitatio Christi*. Knud's Christological iconography is emphasised by the statement that he died from a lance piercing his side in the manner of Christ. His role as a martyr is repeated three times – presumably four with the *repetenda* – both through the exact reference to his title as martyr, and also the statement that he is crowned by his precious blood, a formulation that can only be understood as the crown of martyrdom. MR9 is written in syllable-counting rhymed verse.

Altogether, the *responsories* of the third nocturne present the immediate moments before the martyrdom and then the martyrdom itself, displaying the climax of the passion story with even greater force and stronger Christological emphasis than we could glimpse in the *responsories* of the second nocturne. The iconographic details of Knud here encompass his patience, his piety, his role as a king – he is even called holy king in MR8 – his likeness to St. Stephen, his role as a martyr, and of course his Christological features.

⁶¹⁶ The choice of *saucius uulneribus* does bring to mind the lament of Dido in book 4 of *Aeneis*, in which her *saucia cura/vulnus* is described (Book 4, 1-2).

The chants for Laudes

The Laudes antiphons

The first antiphon (LA1, item [44]) states that wonders, *miranda*, occurred or were performed at Knud's tomb after his death, in order to demonstrate the merits of the famous king, *inclitum (...)* *regis meritum*. The second antiphon (LA2, item [45]) describes one particular miracle in which a withered hand was healed at the tomb. Of particular interest here is the reference to *hic*, here, when the place of the miracle is given. When read on the page this *hic* appears to refer back to LA1 and the *tumulum* of Knud. In the context of the performed office, it is likely to have also followed the second chanting of LA1, the first being sung before the psalm. However, LA2 must also be understood in the context of the psalm that it both precedes and succeeds, and as such its text might not have intended to refer back to the previous antiphon. If this interpretation is correct, what we have in LA2, then, is the first reference to the connection of the liturgical office with the place of its performance. In other words, when the liturgists perform LA2, they most likely refer to the very place in which this commemorative chant is being performed. The third antiphon (LA3, item [46]) states that here, *Hic*, the mutes speak following divine visions, and that this is done so that the holy king, *rex sanctus* is understood by the name of *martir dei*, God's martyr. Again we see the conjunction of kingship and holiness as we saw in MR9. Knud is both a holy king and a martyr of God. The *hic* should probably be understood as in LA2. The fourth antiphon (LA4, item [47]) presents a more general catalogue of miracles, stating that the blind received their eyesight, the lame could walk, and those who rejoiced blessed the magnificent works of God.⁶¹⁷ The fifth antiphon (LA5, item [48]) states that here, *hic*, the weak go out healed, the deaf can hear, and the leprous are cleansed. The catalogue of miracles in the Laudes antiphons corresponds largely to the catalogue of miraculous works of Isaiah 35:5 and Matthew 11:5. In this way, the wonders, *miranda*, referred to in the antiphons contribute to emphasise the Christological aspect of Knud's sanctity. Knud himself is not extensively referred to, but he is noted as a famous king (LA1), a holy king (LA3) and a martyr of God (LA3). The Laudes antiphons seem to be based on the extensive catalogue of healing miracles in *GS*. The antiphons are all written in syllable-counting rhymed verse.

⁶¹⁷ We see here a clear understanding of God being the one performing the miracles and wonders.

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The Benedictus antiphon

The Benedictus antiphon (item [49]) is written in syllable-counting rhymed verse. It is a condemnation of the murderers of Knud, stating that the authors of the impious death, *Auctores necis impie*, are punished by God's fury and dropped into the abyss. The term for abyss is here *gurgite*, a term used by several classical authors but which does not occur in *Vulgata*, and which refers to the abyss of a whirlpool, or a watery deep. The choice of *gurgite* over the more biblical *abyssus* might have to do with matters of rhyme, since *gurgite* is the end rhyme of its line. This reference to the abyss might refer to the demons of the Gadarene swine (Luke 8:30) who likewise were sent to the abyss for their evil.

The chants of the second Vespers

The Vespers antiphon (item [52]) takes its text from Psalm 111:5 and is only noted by its incipit and the note *cum ceteris*, i.e. with the rest of the psalm. The Magnificat antiphon of second Vespers (item [53]) is written in hexameters. This antiphon refers to the trial by fire of Knud's bones and the dissipation of the darkness before the translation. The text of the antiphon refers to the eminent bones and the fire that twice was poured upon them, and it states that the night was driven away to allow for the arrival – i.e. the enshrinement – of the sacred limbs, *sacros (...) artus*. The text further states that *hic*, here, the crowd praises God's martyrs for his merits. This passage is of significance both because of its reference to *hic* which unites the text of the office with the place of the office's performance – in a clearer way than we see in the Laudes antiphons – but also because Knud is here referred to again as God's martyr. Knud's holiness is emphasised by him being God's martyr, by his merits which cause God to perform these miracles, and the statement that his limbs are sacred. The last antiphon (item [54]) is a votive antiphon. It is written in hexameters. Here Knud is addressed directly by the singers as king and martyr of Denmark, *rex et martir dacie*, and as famous victor, *victor inclite*. The singers here address the saint on behalf of the entire crowd and as such refer to themselves as Knud's faithful, *tuis fidelibus* and the sons of Eve, *filios eue*. Knud is beseeched that he might obtain the palm of glory for the ministrants, and that he can lead the sons of Eve through the darkness and to the gift of light, an imagery of light and dark that we find in the

antiphons of the first Vespers. Since this is a general plea for the saint's intercession and aid, there is no particular textual source for this text. The emphasis on Knud's role of king and martyr is a familiar one, but it is noteworthy that the term *famous victor* is in and of itself a new phrase in the context of the surviving office, although it does tie in well with the reference to invincible king in MR9.

The liturgical image of Saint Knud

In his 2015 study of the chants of Saint Knud, Roman Hankeln identifies three main themes in the surviving chant cycle: 1) Protomartyrdom; 2) the ideal virtues of the king; and 3) Saint Knud's likeness to Christ. As Hankeln points out, these are themes that saturate both the chants and the *vitae*.⁶¹⁸ In the present section I follow Hankeln's tripartite thematic overview, and I seek to elaborate on the ways in which these three themes are formulated. I have already noted that one of the primary iconographic features of the office material is the presentation of Saint Knud's twin role as both king and martyr. These two features are laden with different typological expectations. This means that Knud's dual role is inextricable from his status as a saint. But it also means that each individual role is tied up with other features specific to that role. To clarify: 1) Knud's role as a king is tied up to Christian kingship, meaning that he is also expected to be a *rex iustus* figure; 2) Knud's role as a martyr is also connected to the idea of protomartyrdom. Although each role is not always mentioned with the full set of connotations at each point, these connotations might still be in play by association. In the following I will present an overview of the three main features of Saint Knud's liturgical image in the surviving office chants. This overview is based on the chants alone, since these are the only texts whose twelfth-century provenance is fairly secure. The readings, on the other hand, I have not engaged with here due to the uncertainty surrounding the time of their inclusion in the office cycle, and whether the extant lessons have at some point supplanted an older selection. It should, however, be remembered that the responsories function as reactions to the lessons and as such might – but need not – engage with the same iconography as has been presented in the readings. We might therefore surmise about the twelfth-century lessons by way of the responsories, but nothing can be said for certain in this particular matter. The three main features are calculated from how frequently they are addressed in the chants, and these features are – in descending order – as follows: 1) Knud as *rex iustus*; 2) Knud as martyr; 3) Knud as a Christ figure.

⁶¹⁸ Hankeln 2015: 169-70.

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Saint Knud as rex iustus

In the *vitae* of Saint Knud we see how the circumstances preceding his accession to the Danish throne was an element of some embarrassment to the early saint-biographers. Their challenge was to reconcile the fact that his brother Harald had been elected over Knud, while still maintaining that as a saint it was Knud who was God's vessel. *PK* blamed the devil for having filled Knud's brothers with envy and for making the brothers vote against him. In so doing, the saint-biographer presents Knud's retreat to Sweden as an exile in the manner of Joseph's forced exile into Egypt.⁶¹⁹ *GS* suggests that the nobles elected Harald because he was older and seemingly more mild-mannered. Knud's retreat to Sweden is here depicted as a willing exile which was done in order to avoid a Theban situation where brothers fought against brothers.⁶²⁰ In light of the historical event of Harald's election to the throne, it is understandable that Knud's kingship became a primary concern for the saint-biographers, both those who wrote his epitaphs and his *vitae* and those who distilled the narratives of these works into liturgical chants. As stated, Knud's kingship was understood by his saint-biographers as a Christian kingship, one that emulated the model of the *rex iustus* of the Bible, and one that contained those qualities established by typological tradition. As mentioned in previous sections, these qualities include wisdom, prudence, humility, charity to the sick and to the church, humility and justice. In the office cycle, Knud's role as a king is mentioned thirteen times. The adjectives applied to his role as king differ. Three chants emphasise that he was a holy king, namely MA7 (item [35]), MR8 (item [41]), and LA3 (item [46]). He is also addressed as: outstanding king, *rex insignissime*, in VA1 (item [1]); noble king, *Regum primate*, in VMagA (item [12]); a pious prince, *princeps pius*, in both MR1 (item [21] and MR9 [item 43]); powerful king, *rex potens* in MR2 (item [23]); wise king *regem (...) sapientem* in MR3 (item [25]); devout king, *rex deuotus*, in MR5 (item [32]); and as most invincible king, *rex inuictissimus*, in MR9 (item [43]). Together, these chants demonstrate the importance of Knud's kingship to the liturgists, since this is the single feature most often referred to in the chants by sheer number. Secondly, the chants put together illustrate the extent of the presentation of Knud as *rex iustus*. He is not only a king, he is a holy king, a wise and a pious king, all of which are aspects important to the *rex iustus* figure. In

⁶¹⁹ Gertz 1907: 8-9.

⁶²⁰ Gertz 1912: 89-91.

addition to these overt references to his role as king, his *rex iustus* kingship is also demonstrated by reference to the qualities exerted by Knud which fall within the purview of this biblical ideal king. The *rex iustus* qualities included in the office cycle are his wisdom and his piety, as we have seen mentioned in some of the chants already. His piety is closely linked to his kingship, but it is also mentioned in chants that do not address his kingship directly, and so I will deal with his piety separately below. As for wisdom, we also see this quality referenced to in his learning in MA1 (item [16]), and his precociousness in MA1 and MA2 (items [16] and [17]). Among qualities not mentioned in the chants listed above, we find his justice referred to in VA5 (item [5]). Although this antiphon takes its text from Wisdom 10:10 and as such is not proper to Knud, its inclusion among the antiphons nonetheless places its imagery of the just man at the forefront of Knud's iconography in the Vespers material. This antiphon might also be understood as pointing to his wisdom as well. A proper chant referring to Knud's role in the service of justice can be found in MA4 (item [26]) in which God gives Knud endurance to serve justice. Furthermore, Knud's prudence is referenced in MA2 (item [17]) and MR1 (item [21]). Although prudence is closely allied to wisdom, it is consistently treated as a separate quality throughout the office. Knud's charity towards the poor and towards the church is also noted in MR1 and MR2 (item [23]). Knud's humility is mentioned in MA1 (item [16]). Knud is demonstrated to have some of these qualities already before his accession to the kingship, such as his humility and his prudence. But since he is of royal stock, and since he was predestined to the kingship by God, these qualities nonetheless become parts in the composite image of the *rex iustus*.

Saint Knud as martyr

As we have seen earlier in this chapter, and as Hankeln points out in his 2015 study, Saint Knud's role as a martyr is connected to the image of Knud as the protomartyr of the Danes. In the office chants, we find a reference to Knud as the martyr of Denmark in 2VA – votive (item [54]), while the antiphons of second Vespers are taken from the office of St. Stephen.⁶²¹ Furthermore, there is a comparison with Stephen Protomartyr – which shows a typological connection to protomartyrdom – in the verse of MR7 (item [39]). In addition, chants MR6 (item [34]) and MR8 (item [41]) refer to the stones hurled at Saint Knud and make an indirect comparison to the lapidation of Stephen. Four chants contain some form of reference to Knud as the protomartyr of Denmark, although the word

⁶²¹ Hankeln 2016: 157.

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protomartyr is not used in either. In comparison, there are eleven chants in which Knud's role as a martyr is mentioned – the chants referring to Stephen included – and of those eight only one, the aforementioned item [54] connects his martyrdom to Denmark. Consequently, Knud's role as a martyr in the office is not predominantly that of a protomartyr. In the office chants, Knud as a martyr is referred to in the following ways: Especial martyr, *martir precipue*, in VA1 (item [1]); famous martyr, *Inclite (...) martir*, in VMagA (item [12]); glorious martyr of God, *Gloriosus dei martir*, in MR9 (item [43]) and also martyr of God in LA3 (item [46]) and 2VMagA (item [53]); and finally as martyr of Denmark in the aforementioned votive antiphon of item [54]. In addition, Knud described as being martyred in MA8 (item [36]) and in MA9 (item [37]), not by the use of the title itself but by describing his death in a flowing of blood, MA8, and by reference to the garland given to martyrs, MA9. As mentioned above, Knud's martyrdom is usually seen in connection with his role as a king.

Saint Knud as a Christ figure

Knud's likeness to Christ has been an important feature of his saint-biographies since the very beginning. Already *TO* makes the comparison between Knud's death by a lance and Christ being pierced by a lance on the cross. This imagery is retained in both the *vitae*. In the office cycle, there are five chants in which Knud's likeness to Christ is being addressed, all of them found in the chants for Matins. In two of these, the likeness to Christ is formulated by way of contrast. These chants are MR4 (item [30]) and MR5 (item [32]), and in the verses of the chants there are references to a Judas figure. While MR4 makes a comparison to Judas' betrayal, MR5 is more overt and calls the traitor figure – the figure whom Aelnoth refers to as Piperio – *alter iudas*, a second Judas, emphasizing the typological connection between Christ's passion and Knud's passion. As for Knud's direct *imitatio Christi*, this is depicted in the following chants: MA8 (item [36]), where Knud is perforated by a lance in the right flank in the manner of Christ; MR8 (item [41]), where Knud is portrayed as standing amidst stones and arrows, patiently, in the shape of Christ, i.e. with extended arms in the form of a crucified man; and in MR9 (item [43]) which contains the same imagery as MR8. The image of Knud dying by a lance while he either stood or lay with his arms in the shape of a cross has followed the iconography of Saint Knud since the very beginning, and with its three references in the liturgical chants it is clear that it has also been important to the composers of the liturgy.

Summary remarks

Saint Knud's liturgical image, the most refined and distilled image drawn from the *vitae*, is an image that displays three dominant features. Firstly – by virtue of number of references – there is the role of Knud as king, a feature which is mostly tied up with the second most important feature, namely his role as a martyr. The kingship of Knud was, in other words, something the liturgists found particularly important. Secondly, his role as martyr was – as mentioned – tied up with his kingship, but it appears that the idea of him as protomartyr was of less importance by the time of the composition of these chants. Thirdly, Knud's likeness to Christ presents a vivid image of Knud in his moment of dying, with arms extended in imitation of Christ on the cross, emphasizing his typological connection to the Saviour.

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CHAPTER 6 – COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Introduction

As stated in chapter 1, the three saints of the present thesis were selected because they share certain traits that facilitate an in-depth comparison, and from this comparison it might be possible to formulate some general ideas concerning saint-kings and their cults in Northern Europe. In the present chapter, my aim is to examine the finds of the three case studies and highlight the similarities and differences between them. I will first go through the finds for each of the saints in question, then I will evaluate this find in light of the question of identity construction. The present thesis has two main objectives. First of all, I wish to examine how the composition of a liturgical office with proper items changes the formulation of the saint as contained in the saint-biographical material, such as *vitae* and miracle accounts. Secondly, I wish to examine the way the saint is formulated at their cult centre in order to see whether that formulation allows us to understand how the cult centre constructed its institutional identity. In order to achieve both these objectives, it is necessary to not only examine the liturgical images, but also to compare it with the image found in the saint-biographical material. In order to understand the liturgical material, it is necessary to compare with the saint-biographical material to see what is added in the liturgical office. Similarly, when looking at the construction of identity, it is not enough only to focus on the liturgical image since this is just the most refined formulation of the saint. It will also be necessary to see how aspects of identity are brought out in the saint-biographical material as well. Moreover, where it is possible I have also added historiographical material, and also any other feature available within the scope of this thesis to allow for any tentative conclusion regarding the construction of identity.

Edmund Martyr

The saint-biographical image

If we begin with *PE*, we see that it provides a geographical and historical setting of the legend of Saint Edmund which positions him more firmly in the history of Christendom. Edmund's characteristics and qualities are those of a typical *rex iustus*, namely humility, generosity, prudence, justice, and piety. *PE* casts him as a Christological figure in a passion drama that echoes the scale of

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the passion of Christ. The Danes are henchmen of the Devil and Edmund's refusal to bend to their threats might be understood as being modelled on the temptation of Christ (Matthew 4:1-11), while the torture of Edmund is explicitly compared to the torture and crucifixion of Christ. Moreover, *PE* strengthens the depiction of Edmund as an ideal king by Edmund's soliloquy to his bishop about the nature of Christian kingship. *PE* also establishes the basic details of the aftermath: how his decapitated head cried out among the bushes, how it was guarded by a wolf, and how the head was later miraculously fused with the body after it had been interred in a wooden chapel (an intactness that signified his virginity). The body was translated to Beodricsworth, later Bury St Edmunds, and in the miracle stories we are told how Edmund protected his own shrine, and how he punished those who transgressed against him. In *PE* Abbo effectively establishes an origin story for Bury St Edmund, although *PE* was not written specifically for Bury.

At the time of *HM*, Bury was a monastic house in recurring conflicts with episcopal authorities, and Bury could also look back at hundred years of accumulated history unfolding after the events described in *PE*. Herman's rendition of the story continues and also amplifies some of the features established in *PE*, most important of which is Edmund's vengeful protection of his community. The most important difference between *HM* and *PE* on this point, is that in *PE* Edmund is protective of his shrine and his relics, whereas in *HM* he extends his protection to the community of Bury in general, including their privilege of tax exemption. He becomes the *defensor*, a term not used by Abbo. Herman also provides Edmund with the titles of *Orientalis Anglie procuratoris*, guardian of East Anglia, and *Estengle protector*, protector of the East-Angles.⁶²² Another feature of importance in *HM* is Edmund's role in healing miracles. In several chapters, Herman recounts how Edmund appears and carries out God's miracle of healing, and refers to him as "physician". This is a new feature in the iconography of Saint Edmund, and may be understood in light of Bury's reputation as a house of medicine during the abbacy of Baldwin. In sum, *HM* portrays Edmund as a patron and defender for a monastic house, its people, and its privileges, and as we shall see in the next section, the office of the vigil – possibly authored by Herman – includes a reference to the household, *familia*, of Edmund in the second antiphon for the Matins of the vigil (item [5]). This is a formulation that ties the community of Bury St Edmund even more strongly to its inadvertent founder. We can see this use of the Roman patriarchal *familia* in light of *HM*'s reference to Bury as *uilla Beodrici*, which also contains a similar resonance of the Roman patriarchal structures which

⁶²² Herman 2014: 2; 40.

underlies *familia*.⁶²³

The liturgical image

Since a liturgical office usually cannot contain everything that is contained in a saint-biography, we can see from the office material which features of the saint-biographical image – as it was formulated towards the end of the eleventh century – were the ones that were used to make the liturgical image. It should, however, be noted, that when we talk of a liturgical image, we mean an image that has come into existence through an accumulation of texts. The office for *dies natalis* was composed before the office for the vigil, while the Vespers antiphons of the *dies natalis* office were composed by Warner of Rebais, an abbot from Normandy visiting Bury in the 1080s. As such, there might not be a unified purpose of the construction of the liturgical image itself, but these chants and lessons nonetheless combined to make a liturgical image that became the high-canonical formulation of Edmund in the minds and in the memory of the community at Bury St Edmunds.

To begin with one of the changes, we should note that the lessons for *dies natalis* are selected from *PE* in such a way that the readings begin with Edmund's qualities and characteristics *in medias res*, and the historical and geographical stage prepared in *PE* is taken away. Why this is done is not clear, but what it achieves is that it sets the focus on the figure of Edmund right from the start. The qualities of Edmund, naturally, remain the same as in *PE*, and Edmund's role as a *rex iustus* is continued in the liturgical *historia*, and perhaps also amplified through one of Warner of Rebais' antiphons, (item [21]), where Edmund's martyrdom is described as "purple", i.e. "royal-blooded". Aside from the omission of the topography and history of East Anglia, there is another important change in the liturgical *historia*, namely that the bishop whom Edmund lectured on the duties of Christian kingship in *PE*, is omitted and the lecture abbreviated and instead given to the Danish messenger. Again it is impossible to say why this is done, but what it does is to focus on the figure of Edmund and create a more straightforward narrative which only has two characters: the messenger and Edmund. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that the liturgical office both amplifies existing features and adds new ones. Most importantly, Edmund's role as *miles Christi* is referred to more often in the chants than in the lessons, and naturally the chants enhance the details of the passion itself and its parallels to the passion of Christ. Of the new features, however, we find

⁶²³ Herman 2014: 40.

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for instance the theme of exile, as Edmund refuses to choose exile over death. *PE* does not refer to exile in any form, but it is mentioned in three chants, possibly as a way to strengthen Edmund as the unrelenting ideal king, but possibly also to invoke the exile *topos* with its Christological connotations. Secondly, Edmund is depicted as shepherd and father, characteristics that invoke the patriarchs of the Old Testament as well as Christ as shepherd. Edmund becomes a protector of the flock through imagery not found in *PE*. In the office of the vigil, the same tendency can be seen: Edmund is the protector of Bury, and both the readings from *HM* and the chants based on it introduce and play on the notion of the community at Bury as Edmund's household, his *familia*. This bond between the patron, pious father and shepherd on the one hand and the community on the other is also invoked in the vigil office by the references to the monks at Bury themselves, the cultivators of Edmund's cult, [*c*]ultores *beodricenses*. Even though the narrative containing this reference is set in the past, the performance of the text is continued every year on the same day, and the phrase is a perennial reminder of the community about their communal and particular relationship to Edmund. *HM*'s formulation of Edmund as physician is not retained in the vigil office.

Another new feature of the liturgical image is the idea of Edmund as a saint for the entire English people. The probably oldest instance of this that we find in the office for Saint Edmund, is in the Magnificat antiphon (item [25]), in which the holy church of the entire English people, *totias gentis anglie*, is encouraged to exult Saint Edmund, the illustrious king and invincible martyr. The antiphon does not present Edmund as a patron of entire England,⁶²⁴ but it certainly states that Edmund was a saint to be venerated by the entire English church. This idea of Edmund as a saint for the entire English people was then exported to France, and this is the first liturgical item in the version of the office for Saint Edmund which is retained in the manuscript København Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1588,⁶²⁵ and which had been given to Saint-Denis where Baldwin had been a monk before becoming physician to Edward the Confessor and then abbot of Bury.⁶²⁶ In addition to the Magnificat antiphon, we also find Edmund depicted as *rex gentis anglorum* in the first Vespers antiphon of the *dies natalis* office (item [20]). This Vespers antiphon is positioned before the

⁶²⁴ Tom Licence has argued that saintly patronage of regions emerged only as an idea in 1090s (Licence 2014: 116-17). I do not know whether such an idea only emerged then.

⁶²⁵ København Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1588, f.25r.

⁶²⁶ The musical notation of the office is in Anglo-Saxon neumes (Parkes 2014: 138), which suggests that the office was composed in England before reaching Saint-Denis (as is to be expected). That the manuscript has been at Saint-Denis is evidenced by "press-mark of the abbey of Saint-Denis from the early thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and it was evidently there even earlier" (Thomson 1984: 191).

Magnificat antiphon in the office as it is contained in Pierpont Morgan M.736, but the Vespers antiphon itself is likely younger since it is not included in MS GKS 1588. This antiphon is one of the four antiphons composed by Warner of Rebais, and it is probable that his formulation of Edmund as king of the English people is influenced by the formulation of the Magnificat antiphon, which Warner would have heard either in France or at Bury St Edmunds. That the Magnificat antiphon seems to have made an impact on the understanding of Edmund in France is further borne out by an episode recounted in *GM*, where we are told that Abbot Lambert of Saint-Nicholas in Anger was a frequent visitor to Bury. Goscelin quotes him as referring to Edmund as *totius Anglie patronum gloriosissimum*, the most glorious patron of all of England.⁶²⁷ The lexical echo of the Magnificat antiphon, cf. *totias* and *anglice*, is probably not a coincidence, and it is likely that this formulation was based on the Magnificat antiphon itself.

Edmund and the institutional identity of Bury St Edmunds

In the latter decades of the eleventh century Bury St Edmunds was the scene of an increased textual production centred on the cult of Saint Edmund. This was also a period in which Bury was in recurring conflict with the episcopal authorities, and it was a period in which Bury was increasingly connecting itself to the wider world of Latin Christendom. These two developments – of Bury’s embroilment in regional ecclesiastical politics as well as its connection to the world beyond East Anglia – were connected to each other. It was the fear of episcopal seizure of abbey properties and privileges that caused Abbot Baldwin to go to Rome in 1071 to ensure Bury’s exemption from episcopal control, and *HM* tells us that Baldwin brought with him contact relics of Saint Edmund on this journey, some of which he deposited in Lucca.⁶²⁸ Baldwin also made sure to bestow a relic on the visiting Abbot Warner,⁶²⁹ and it is also likely that it was Baldwin who had introduced the cult of Edmund at his former abbey of Saint-Denis.⁶³⁰ The pressure from regional controversies and the pull from the international stage of Latin Christendom seem to have affected the institutional identity of Bury St Edmunds to the effect that the figure of Saint Edmund serves two simultaneous

⁶²⁷ Goscelin of Saint-Bertin 2014: 300.

⁶²⁸ Herman 2014: 80.

⁶²⁹ Herman 2014: 84.

⁶³⁰ Licence 2014: 108-09. The altar of Saint Edmund at Saint-Denis is recorded, and singled out among the other altars in the basilica of Saint-Denis Abbey, by Guibert de Nogent (1053-c.1124) (Guibert de Nogent 1996: 212). Anne Walter Robertson also points out that Edmund was included in the liturgical celebration at Saint-Denis during Baldwin’s abbacy, and that Edmund’s importance at Saint-Denis was strengthened during the abbacy of Suger (r.1122-51) who dedicated an altar to him in the crypt of his new basilica in 1144 (Robertson 1991: 46; 71).

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roles. On the one hand, Edmund was a regional figure, the protector of the East-Angles and the guardian of East Anglia, the father and shepherd of his *familia*, the healing physician who administered God's curative miracles at his shrine, and who protected his shrine and his abbey with vengefulness. The invading King Svend, the arrogant Osgod Clapa, the insolently sceptical Abbot Leofstan, all were punished in various ways for not respecting the authority of Saint Edmund. In this way, the images of Edmund in both saint-biography and liturgy serve as reminders of Edmund's patronage of Bury. On the other hand, we see that abbots from France, Warner of Rebais and Lambert of Anger understood Edmund as a king of all the English, not merely the East-Anglians, and his fame – and Guibert de Nogent noted Edmund was *non ignobilis*, not unknown⁶³¹ – seems to have been built on a combination of his status as a king and defender, but also as a patron or intercessor for entire England. The idea of Edmund as king of all the English stems ultimately from the liturgical office composed at Bury, with the Magnificat antiphon as the bearer of the idea and as the probable inspiration for the antiphon by Warner and the formulation by Lambert.

In this way we see that during the abbacy of Baldwin, the monks at Bury St Edmunds employed the cult of Saint Edmund to establish for themselves a position as a regional cult centre independent from episcopal interference within the English ecclesiastical landscape. Additionally, they also established themselves as a member of the wider Christian ecclesiastical landscape beyond England, and in this wider landscape they were not understood as a regional entity but the cult centre of a saint who represented all of England.⁶³² This double role of Edmund as protector of East-Anglia and king of all the English was consciously cultivated at Bury, and it was deliberately and carefully disseminated to ecclesiastical centres beyond England, which solidified Bury's identity as the house of Saint Edmund, not of East Anglia but of England.

Olaf Haraldsson

The saint-biographical image

The most notable feature of *PO* is how it establishes an entirely new formulation of Saint Olaf that

⁶³¹ Guibert de Nogent 1880: col. 628.

⁶³² I am indebted to Doctor Sebastián Salvadó for reminding me that even a regional abbey like Bury would also understand itself in a more international context, not just a regional one.

goes contrary to the low-canonical formulation found in previous texts. In the *vita* of *PO*, the geographical scene is established with reference to the biblical typology of the north, and Olaf is described as a newly converted man, and as a *rex iustus* who inhabits the typical qualities, namely justice, humility, generosity, piety. By going straight from the geographical presentation of Norway to Olaf's kingship and baptism, his past as a raider and warrior is omitted. The perhaps most spectacular feature of *PO* is that Olaf is explicitly described as an apostle. This makes him stand out as an ideal king who is more a monk than an actual king. Olaf's apostolicity also has ramifications in the wider historical vista, as Norway is provided with an apostle and as such can be understood as having a place alongside other kingdoms of Christendom. That this is significant to the authors of the *vita* can also be seen in the formulation *novo rerum ordine*, a new order of things, which is how Olaf's apostolicity is described. In this way, Olaf's role as an ideal-king and counterexample to worldly kingship is emphasised. The martyrdom itself, however, is described very briefly, and seems to be cast as a Gethsemane scene in that Olaf is assaulted by surprise while preparing for his preaching. Olaf's *imitatio Christi* is shown in his persecution for being a preacher, his exile in Russia, and his martyrdom which is prefaced by his vision of Heaven on the night before the battle.

The *miracula* section of *PO* is both longer and less unified than the *vita*. Analysis of the *miracula* is complicated by how little we know of its history of composition, but it is now accepted that the oldest part predates the book of *PO* as a whole by decades. From the selection of miracles it is clear that Olaf's patronage is one that extends over Norway as a whole, which is also how we can understand the geographical staging of the *vita*. What is noteworthy in the so-called "core miracles" of the *miracula*, however, is that the geographical range is much more extensive than in the later miracles, in that Olaf intercedes on behalf of people in Ireland, Byzantium, Denmark and the Slavic countries, although mostly for the sake of Norwegians in these localities. These miracles are the only ones providing material for the liturgy as contained in *BN*, and this might be a testament to the antiquity of the miracle stories and perhaps also to an older liturgical layer in the surviving office material.⁶³³ As for the later miracle stories, however, these present Olaf's patronage as extending throughout the Norwegian church province (although no reference are made to the minor Atlantic islands or Greenland), but it also fixes the primary *locus* of God's intervening on behalf of Olaf at

⁶³³ A comparable case is the office of St. Sunniva, whose Lauds antiphons contain some texts which refer not to Sunniva but to the holy of Selja. This means that the antiphons were composed before Sunniva herself became the figurehead of this group of holy men and women. Even though these antiphons differ from the rest of the antiphons, they are nonetheless kept as a part of the office (Ommundsen 2010: 87).

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the shrine in Trondheim itself. While the core miracles could take place far outside Norway but practically only to Norwegians, the later trend is that God works miracles on behalf of Olaf mostly at the shrine but to a wider range of ethnicities. This might suggest that Olaf's shrine as the mystical centrepiece of Norway is being emphasised, and a selection of miracles is made that showcases the wide geographical range of recipients of Olaf's help, setting the shrine as a locus of healing on a pan-Christian stage, rather than a provincial or regional stage only.

The liturgical image

The liturgical image of Olaf is practically based on the *vita* alone, with the exception of the Lauds antiphons which contain some of the core miracles. As both *PO* and the liturgical office appear to have been part of the same concerted effort to formulate a high-canonical image of Saint Olaf at the cult centre in Trondheim, it is only to be expected that there are no notable differences. In the liturgical office for Vespers and Matins, Olaf's role as an apostle, as a just king, as a martyr, and as an adult convert are the four key features, going from most frequently mentioned to least frequently mentioned. This is the exact same tendency as in the *vita*. Among the important differences between the *vita* and the *historia*, however, is the lack of references to his exile in Russia, and also the fact that the names of Rouen and England – in the baptism narrative – are not included. Why this is done is impossible to say, but it has the effect on concentrating the narrative as a whole on Norway. This is perhaps to be understood as an accentuation of Olaf's patronage of Norway in its entirety. Because *PO* and the *historia* were composed so relatively close in time and as part of the same intellectual milieu, the difference between the saint-biographical and the liturgical images is not substantial, as the brevity of Olaf's *vita* in *PO* already ensured a condensed image. It is important to note that this image is probably best understood as a corrective of a previously existing image, and both *PO* and the office serve to solidify a new, high-canonical image. This is done by omitting Olaf's past as a warrior, and also by rendering his kingship as that of a typical saint-king, namely as a mirror image of secular kingship and instead as a blueprint of the idea *rex iustus*.

Olaf and the institutional identity of the metropolitan see of Nidaros

The cult of Olaf was the centre point of the newly established archbishopric of Nidaros, and the cult had its focal point at the shrine of Saint Olaf in the Church of Christ in Trondheim. Due to the

recent establishment of the Norwegian church province, the cult of Saint Olaf also served to construct the institutional identity of the metropolitan see on a regional as well as on an international level. Unlike the case of Saint Edmund, however, who was a regional saint in England but a representative of England on the Continent, Saint Olaf's patronage is the same regardless of whether we explore the regional or the international level of the institutional identity of Nidaros.

On the regional level, Olaf is the patron of all of Norway who provides his intercessory aid throughout the church province, but most efficiently at the shrine in Trondheim as that is the *locus* of the highest number of miracles in the revised *miracula* (as opposed to the core miracles). In addition, we also know that Saint Olaf was known, at least among the upper echelons of the Norwegian society, as the eternal king of Norway, meaning that the legitimacy of the king was dependent on his relationship to the metropolitan church, since the metropolitan church was the custodian of Saint Olaf's shrine. In this we see the Gregorian reformist ideals of Archbishop Eystein and the attempt to make the Norwegian kingship an ideal Gregorian kingship. That this project was ultimately unsuccessful is not important here. It is also important to keep in mind that the aforementioned breach between the ecclesiastical image and the low-canonical image is one that should perhaps be understood primarily on a regional level, since the low-canonical image was contained in the Norwegian and Icelandic literary traditions. The high-canonical image, therefore, was formulated not merely to provide a formulation of the patron saint of Norway, but also to correct and replace a province-wide image. That this project largely failed is not important here. It should be noted also that due to Olaf's long-standing position in the Norwegian cultural memory at the inception of the Norwegian archbishopric, the figure of Olaf already conferred authority onto the metropolitan see. The changes in the formulation should therefore be understood not as a way to construct that authority, as it was already in place.

On an international level, Saint Olaf as the patron and apostle of Norway was a way for the newly-established metropolitan Norwegian church to demonstrate its place in the apocalyptic history of Christendom. Olaf provides Norway with an apostle, the geographical position of Norway was explained in light of biblical typology in the long *vita* and the office (in the Invitatory antiphon, item [17]), and in this way the Norwegian church province was shown as a member of Latin Christendom. It is in this regard interesting to note that Olaf's role as Norway's protomartyr, which we saw formulated in *HA*, and which is suggested by his links to St. Stephen as expressed in the

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joint dedication of an altar to Olaf and Stephen in Trondheim cathedral, is not included in either *PO* or the liturgical *historia*. It is not clear why this is so, but it might be understood in light of the emerging figure of St. Sunniva as the patron of Bergen and as a figurehead of the group of martyrs known as the holy of Selja.⁶³⁴

That Eystein Erlendsson sought to export the cult of Olaf throughout Latin Christendom is unquestionable, as many forms of evidence testify to this. First of all, we should probably understand the existence of two contemporary versions of *PO*, one long and one short, as a way to facilitate more easily the spread of the legend of Saint Olaf. Even so, manuscripts of both the long and the short versions are found outside Norway (and not of Norwegian provenance),⁶³⁵ while no manuscript containing *PO* is found in Norway. The spread of these manuscripts to Sweden, Flanders and England suggest a very deliberate dissemination and exportation of the cult of Saint Olaf, and the same can be said for the dissemination of the liturgical office to the neighbouring church province of Uppsala. In addition, that the *miracula* section of *PO* has undergone several stages of editorial activity also testifies to a continuous reworking and propagation of the cult at Nidaros, and Lenka Jirousková has made the convincing point that the editorial enlargement of Saint Olaf's *miracula* was "aimed at propagating not only the saint but also the archbishopric of Nidaros and, ultimately, Norway at home and abroad".⁶³⁶ This is perfectly in keeping with the testimonies of others sources covered in the present analysis.

In addition to the dissemination of saint-biographical and liturgical material outside Norway, another clue as to the international outlook of Archbishop Eystein can be seen in the musical borrowings in the office for Saint Olaf's *dies natalis*. As pointed out by Roman Hankeln, several of the chants for Olaf's *historia* borrow their music from the offices of SS Augustine and Victor.⁶³⁷ These two saints demonstrate Archbishop Eystein's affiliation with the Augustinian order who followed the Rule of St. Augustine, as well as Eystein's connection with the Abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris, an Augustinian abbey and intellectual centre where Eystein is believed to have been educated. By borrowing music from the offices of Augustine and Victor, the link between these

⁶³⁴ Ommundsen 2010: 82ff. Since the saints of Selja were older than Olaf, the emergence of a leader of martyrs, Sunniva, antedating the martyrdom of Olaf would make the claim of Olaf's martyrdom as a protomartyrdom problematic.

⁶³⁵ Jirousková 2010: 223-24.

⁶³⁶ Jirousková 2010: 236.

⁶³⁷ Hankeln 2012: 139.

saints and Saint Olaf would become a part of the collective memory of the community of clerics in Nidaros. Since, in the course of the liturgical year, the same music would be chanted on the feast of Saint Olaf as the feasts of Augustine and Victor, those who performed the music would be able to recognise the musical links between those feasts. Furthermore, this link would be a way to show to visiting clerics or monks, or papal legates, the links between Olaf and these two Augustinian saints, and in this way Olaf's place within the larger vista of Christian history of salvation would become apparent. It should be noted that the office for Olaf also borrows music from the office of Vincent, protomartyr of Spain, and Vincent is one of the joint dedicatees of the first chapel of the new cathedral in Trondheim. I have as yet been unable to find any answers as to why Eystein sought to strengthen the links between Olaf and Vincent.

In sum, we see that through the cult of Saint Olaf, Archbishop Eystein and his men sought to construct their new institutional identity as the metropolitan see of the Norwegian church province. Their institution was the resting-place of the patron, eternal king and apostle of Norway, and Olaf extended his patronage throughout the church province, while his links to other saints were expressed through musical borrowings. Olaf's role as apostle and *rex iustus* was important for Nidaros' regional as well as international institutional identity, and his cult material was deliberately disseminated throughout parts of Christendom.

Knud Rex

The saint-biographical image

The group of texts composed in Odense around Saint Knud in the early stage of the veneration of Knud's cult, testify to an active early period in which the high-canonical image of the saint was being shaped in an ongoing process for several years. This process can be understood as effectively consisting of at least two stages, possibly more: The first stage is the composition of *TO* and possibly *PK*. While the latter might be better understood as a stage of its own,⁶³⁸ these two texts are nonetheless composed in relatively close proximity to each other. The second (or third) stage is the writing of *EK* and *GS*, which took place five to fifteen years after the writing of *PK*. In this early

⁶³⁸ This depends on the gap in time between the composition of *TO* and *PK*. It is possible that *TO* was placed in Knud's casket at the time of his burial, i.e. in 1086. *PK*, however, was composed in the aftermath of the *translatio* in 1095. With so many years between these two texts, it is perhaps most logical to see them as two separate stages.

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process of the Knud cult, the formulation of Saint Knud underwent certain changes, which can be seen perhaps most clearly in the fact that we have two saint-biographies being composed within a period of twenty or twenty-five years, and that these two saint-biographies differ in some details in the way they formulate Saint Knud. For this reason, it is difficult to talk about Knud's saint-biographical image.

If we consider the features of Saint Knud that are shared between the texts of the Odense cycle, we see that he was a *rex iustus* who supported the Danish church and who suffered martyrdom for the sake of justice and for his love of Christ. The iconography of his martyrdom is strongly Christological in its similarity to Christ's crucifixion, with references to the drink of water, the lance in the side, and the saint dying in the shape of a cross. The differences are predominantly expressed in the interpretation of the events surrounding the election of Harald Hen as a king, the cancelled assault on England, and Knud's role as a martyr. The anonymous author of *PK* describes in biblically redolent terms how Knud went into exile in Sweden following the election of his brother, while Aelnoth makes no mention of this at all. The anonymous author suggests that Knud sought to attack England in order to let the terror of battle subdue the arrogant minds of the Danes, while Aelnoth states that the English invited Knud to become their liberator and cast off the Norman yoke. The anonymous author makes no reference to Knud as the protomartyr of the Danes, while Aelnoth describes him with this epithet. In addition to these references, we see that Aelnoth provides a more elaborate Christological iconography of Knud through the description of the Danes as Jews and the description of the Judas figure, and we see that Aelnoth places Knud's reign and martyrdom within a wider historical vista which is unmistakably dynastic in its outlook. Knud's reign is the centre point of the history of Denmark and the dynasty of King Niels, to whom Aelnoth dedicated the book. The disparities between these two saint-biographies suggest that the first two-three decades of the cult of Saint Knud was one of great activity and changing historical circumstances. These changes might be explained by the change in kings, meaning that *PK* was composed during the reign of King Erik Ejegod, while *GS* was composed during the reign of King Niels. How these two different reigns can be reflected in the representation of Knud in the respective saint-biographies is impossible to assess. What these changes mean, however, is that when we talk about the high-canonical image of Knud, we need to keep in mind that this has undergone two stages of formulation before entering into the surviving liturgical office. Although the two stages retain a set of basic iconographic details – the *rex iustus*, the Christological features –

it is through the surviving liturgical material that we can best see what was the high-canonical image of Saint Knud that became the prevailing version at the cult centre in Odense.

The liturgical image

As we have seen, the office chants take their material from *GS* and as such continue the image of Knud formulated by Aelnoth: Knud is a *rex iustus* but with an emphasis on his learning in religion rather than his justice and ecclesiastical munificence. Most of the chants, however, present a lengthy description of Knud's passion story with his elaborate *imitatio Christi*, and here we see that the elements found only in *GS* are in place, namely Knud as athlete of God, the use of the Judas figure, the comparison with St. Stephen, and the protomartyrdom of Knud which is suggested both by the comparison with Stephen and also in the reference to Knud as the martyr of the Danes in the votive antiphon for second Vespers (item [54]). Furthermore, the Lauds antiphons provide a list of miracles performed by God at the shrine of Knud. These antiphons emphasise the *locus* of these miracles by repeated reference to *hic*, so that even though Odense is not mentioned by name, the monks performing these chants will find themselves referring both to the historical and the present shrine of Saint Knud as the place of miracles.

Knud and the institutional identity of the abbey church of Saint Knud in Odense

As stated above, the cult of Saint Knud Rex underwent a period of great activity in the promotion of the cult in the first decades. However, due to the eclipse of this cult in the aftermath of the murder of Knud Dux in 1131 and his canonisation in 1169, the cult of Knud Rex did not sustain this promotional activity for a long period. For this reason, we have a rather limited repository of sources for the construction of the institutional identity at Saint Knud's Church in Odense. Nonetheless, as with the other two saints considered here, we can also see that there is a regional level as well as an international level to this identity. What is special about the case of Saint Knud Rex, however, is that here we see clearly that the royal dynasty in the persons of King Erik Ejegod and possibly also King Niels are actively engaged in the promotion of the cult. In short, the institutional identity of Odense is formed not only through the activity of the monks at the abbey, but also through the investment of the dynasty in promoting the cult.

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The regional level of the institutional identity can be seen in part through the reconciliation of Denmark that takes place around the *translatio* of Saint Knud in 1095, where representatives of the Danish bishoprics, especially those in Jutland, come together to prepare for the exhumation and to serve as witnesses to the miracles related to the *translatio* described by both the anonymous author and also by Aelnoth. In Aelnoth's rendition of the events, this aspect of the regional identity is strengthened by the repeated presentation of the Danes as the antitypes of the Jews in the new Christological passion drama with Knud as the antitype of Christ. The presence of the Jutland bishops at the *translatio* ensures that those who formerly persecuted Knud now come to ask forgiveness and be reconciled with their patron. Moreover, the catalogue of miracles from Aelnoth that can be seen in the Lauds antiphons are also contributing to the regional identity in that the miracles occur at Knud's tomb, (item [44]), and that the repeated use of the word *hic*, here, invokes Odense as the place of healing. This *hic* would take on a particularly literal meaning in the performance of the office, since the monks in Odense would be referring both to the shrine as a historical *locus* of healing, but also as the setting of their performance. Aelnoth also goes to some length in describing the shrine of Knud and its adornment, including that Knud's widow Ethel sent a woven textile to cover his bones. It is possible that this should be understood as a way to embellish the status of Odense as a rich cult centre.

On the international level, the identity of Odense can be seen constructed in the way *GS* describes the canonisation of Saint Knud. This canonisation was instigated by King Erik, and as such this is an expression of the desire to boost the identity of the Danish royal dynasty more than the institution of the abbey in particular. However, in *GS* the focus of the story is how the fame of Knud spreads across Christendom, which might be seen exemplified by the reference to the silk cloth sent by Knud's widow Ethel, possibly best understood as a statement about Knud's *fama sanctitatis* being brought far and wide, similar to the canonisation embassy. *GS* also states that God has now provided a patron for the regions at the edge of the world. This formulation portrays Knud as not only the protomartyr of Denmark – an epithet found in *GS* – but also the first saintly patron in the northern regions. This statement is particularly interesting in light of the existing and already well-known cult of Saint Olaf in Norway, and it effectively reconfigures the holy history of the north by making Knud the first saintly patron of the region. This might be understood in light of the recent establishment of the archbishopric of Lund in 1104, and as such Aelnoth's formulation might be understood more precisely as a way to mark Knud's special place within the new church province.

Even so, this would still entail an attempted eclipse of the cult of Saint Olaf, since Norway was also part of the province of Lund.

Comparative overview – the cult of royal saints in Northern Europe

The institutions covered in the present thesis, and the medieval countries to which they belong, all differ in several aspects. Bury St Edmunds was a Benedictine abbey independent from episcopal control, and although it was one of the most important abbeys of eleventh- and twelfth-century England its conflict with episcopal and lay authorities were predominantly regional. Bury maintained a good relationship with the English kings throughout our period. Trondheim became the centre of the church province of Nidaros, which covered the Norwegian mainland, the Atlantic islands, Iceland and Greenland. The church and its shrine was under the direct control of the Norwegian archbishop and his court, which allowed for an easy dissemination of cult material both within the Nidaros province as well as to neighbouring archbishoprics. Furthermore, the cult centre had a strong connection to the Augustinian order. Although Archbishop Eystein and his successors were in conflict with King Sverre of Norway, the cult of Olaf itself never seems to have suffered from this tension and Olaf's status as patron of Norway was unquestioned.⁶³⁹ Saint Knud's Church in Odense was an abbey church of the Benedictine order, but with a strong connection to, and not independent from, the Odense bishop. Odense was furthermore a bishopric under the Danish church province of Lund. The cult also had strong ties to the Danish royal dynasty.

The high-points of these cults also came about in different historical circumstances, and they were all marked by events and concerns that were individual to their respective countries. Bury St Edmunds had to contend with the ecclesiastical politics following the Norman Conquest where Norman bishops sought to control English abbeys and in some cases to reform the English cult of saints (though to what degree is uncertain). Trondheim saw its position as the centre of a Gregorian ideal kingdom challenged and ultimately done away with in the course of the war between King Magnus and the pretender to the throne, King Sverre. It was during this period that the most intensely active formation of the high-canonical image of Saint Olaf seems to have taken place, with the composition of *HA*, *PO* and the liturgical office. Odense established the cult of Knud Rex in the wake of the insurrection that killed the king and after the death of an ostensibly unpopular

⁶³⁹ Cf. Brégaint 2016: 148ff.

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king who was the murdered king's brother. The cult was supported by King Niels whose son became the antagonist in the passion drama of the new cult of Knud Dux, and the inter-dynastic conflict which followed Knud Dux's death also saw the end of Knud Rex's popularity throughout Denmark. Despite these differences, the three institutions had one very important thing in common, namely that they were all housing the shrine of a saint-king and consequently constructed their institutional identity with that shrine at its centre. This means that although there were many different elements that contributed to the construction of institutional identity, the cult of the royal saint provided the centre point. In the present section, my aim is to demonstrate the similar ways in which the institutions in question constructed their institutional identities around their saint-kings.

First of all, there is the issue of how to reconcile the saint's joint title as saint and king. In medieval Christian thought, worldly kingship was seen as inherently inimical to a proper Christian living as that living was exemplified by monks and ascetics who were removed from worldly pleasures, temptations and violence. For this reason, having a saint-king as the institutional patron was an extraordinary thing, but one that needed to be justified. Susan Ridyard has pointed out that the saint-biographers combined "conventional description of conventional virtues [i.e. qualities]" with "careful analysis of the relationship of those virtues [i.e. qualities] to inherited royal status".⁶⁴⁰ Therefore, in their formulations of their patron saints, the institutions studied in this thesis go to great lengths in ensuring the audience that this king deserves to be a saint because he relinquished the pleasures of the secular kingship and instead devoted himself to a pious life. This turned him into a *rex iustus*, the Old Testament ideal king, and this in turn facilitated his embrace of martyrdom at the crucial moment, thus making him a holy man. But such a trajectory from a good king to a holy man was not a given, not even for kings who were killed, and therefore we see that in all the three cases the composers of the texts go to great lengths in describing the details of how their king behaved more as a monk than as a king, and that his death was an imitation of Christ. For the institutions in question, we see that this is particularly prominent in the offices, and also those saint-biographies that were composed at the cult centre. The figure of the *rex iustus* is not only described through his execution of the kingship, but also through his unanimous approval among the people (most prominently for Edmund and Knud, for Olaf only in *HA*), and his appearance, following the idea prevalent in saint stories that the inward saintliness could be glimpsed outwardly in behaviour and physical traits.

⁶⁴⁰ Ridyard 1988: 235.

In the case of Edmund, we see this expressed very elaborately in ML1, MR1, ML2 and MR1: He comes from a line of kings, he is authoritative and just, but mild-mannered, gentle in speech, kind, humble, a just judge, and pious from a young age. When he became king, he shone like a pillar of light to his people (which invokes imagery from Exodus). This is taken verbatim from *PE*, but also elaborated in the responsories. In the case of Olaf, *PO* and the office state that he was a good-natured man, honest and noble of mind despite being a pagan. He is described as a king, but his lineage is not mentioned. After he embraced Christianity he spent time contemplating Christian teaching, he eschewed the pomp of royalty, and he took an active part in preaching. Olaf is described as just, fearless like a lion, and like Job he was not frightened by the multitude. He raised churches, he had priests ordained, he was a good lawmaker, and he sustained the poor. That Olaf is a convert is something that sets him apart from Edmund and Knud, and as we have seen in chapter 4 this feature is extensively used in the office. The *conversio* also adds strength to the resonances of imagery from Paul's epistles, and Olaf is not only a *miles Christi* or *athleta domini* but also a convert, and later on king who takes up the apostle's lot. Olaf's role as an apostle is also something that sets him aside from Edmund and Knud, because the latter two were kings of already Christianised kingdoms, while Olaf is the one credited with turning all of Norway to Christ. The novelty of this is also emphasised in MA8. As for Knud, he is also described as coming from a royal line, he is humble and prudent, he is instructed in religion, he sustains the weak and the poor, he went frequently to church (with a formulation invoking the Virgin Mary in Luke 2). He was also wise, patient, and a lover of justice. His ecclesiastical munificence is also a significant feature in the saint-biographies – though not in the office – and it is mentioned how he was the patron of the churches of Roskilde, Lund and Dalby. Furthermore, all three achieved their royal status by the approval of the multitude, showing how popular they were: Edmund was elected by the people (presumably the nobles) but against his own will, with intertextual echoes of the election of St. Martin of Tours. Olaf, according to *HA*, was appointed king by his soldiers in the manner of the old Romans, *more antiquorum romanorum*. Knud was elected by the nobles, and that his brother Harald was chosen first is neatly glossed over and omitted in the liturgical office. In all these three cases, therefore, we see the similar pattern of features, but with individual differences, partly owing to differences in the individual *vitae*, such as Olaf being a convert unlike the other two, and therefore not being taught religion as a boy. It should also be emphasised that both Edmund and Olaf are described as handsome men in miracle stories where they appear in dreams. Moreover, they are all

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formulated through patriarchal imagery. Edmund is as a pious father, a defender of a region, and as a punitive protector of his *familia*, the abbey of Bury St Edmunds. He is also compared with Job. Olaf is likewise punishing those who transgress against him, such as the Danish lord and the disrespectful man in Trondheim (*miracula* no. 5 and 12), he is wise as Job, and a versicle (item [11B]) invokes the ways of God, often associated with the patriarch Jacob. Knud has his name changed like Abraham, and goes into exile like Joseph and Jacob.

Secondly, we see that in each of the three cases, the construction of institutional identity had two levels. The first level is the regional level and identified the institution in relation to the immediate geographical landscape, either a part of the country (as in the case of Bury with East Anglia as the remit), as the centre of a church province (as in the case of Trondheim), or as an episcopal centre within a wider archbishopric (as in the case of Odense). On the regional level, the location of the shrine, the regional origin of pilgrims, the performance of miracles, and the relationship to regional political agents – kings, bishops, local noblemen – all contribute to carve out a space for the institution in a regional political, ecclesiastical and geographical landscape. In the case of Edmund, we see this in how Edmund punished disrespectful noblemen (the young Leofstan and Osgod Clapa), thieves or invaders threatening the property of the shrine (the eight thieves and King Svend), and an abbot who doubted Edmund's intactness (Abbot Leofstan). In the case of Olaf, we see the regional identity in the wide geographic range of the miracles performed by God on Saint Olaf's request (Iceland, the White Sea, throughout the Norwegian mainland), the multiple references to the metropolitan see and the cult practice in the *miracula* (as Jirousková has pointed out),⁶⁴¹ and the establishment of the shrine as the focal point of the healing miracles. In the case of Knud, we see this in the synod of the translation of Knud's bones (which included bishops from outside Odense), we see it in the narrative of reconciliation put forth in *GS* in which the Danes seek expiation for their sins, and – also here – in the establishment of the shrine as the focal point of the healing miracles.

The second level of institutional identity is the international level. Here, we see how the institutions sought to establish themselves within the wider fabric of Latin Christendom. The geographical position was still an important aspect in this identity, but differently from how it functioned on the regional levels. What mattered was to demonstrate how the saint in question and the institution

⁶⁴¹ Jirousková 2010: 232ff.

housing his shrine belonged within the apocalyptic world history of Christianity. This could be done by emphasising the way the saint-king belonged in the Christian history of their respective geographies. In the case of Edmund, we see how the liturgical office that was exported to the Continent contained the formulation of Edmund as a patron of England, thus connecting the figure of Edmund to how people outside England understood the holy history of England. In the case of Olaf, we see how he is formulated as the apostle of Norway which provides the Christian history of Norway with a starting point and a figurehead, similar to other countries within Christendom. In the case of Knud, we see how he is described as a patron of the distant parts of the earth and how this is tied in with his canonisation, and also how the passion story of Knud pits the Danes like the Jews against Knud the new Christ. We also see how *GS* positions Denmark as the most Christian kingdom of the north. Another way to construct an international identity is to show that the saint is not merely a patron for his local people, but also how he is available to others and therefore belong among the saints shared by all of Christendom. In the case of Edmund we see how he is connected to the aid of travellers in the manner of St. Nicholas according to *GM*. In the case of Olaf we see this in the numerous miracles which benefit non-Norwegians (although at the shrine in Norway) such as Danes, Frenchmen, Galicians, Englishmen, and so on. In the case of Knud, this is done by presenting Knud as the only patron of the distant regions of the North, and by stating how widely the fame of Knud spread, in addition to the claim in *GS* that Knud was enrolled into the Roman canon of saints, which would make his cult universal.

A third point of similarity between the three saints is in the way in which they were formulated. This is of course only to be expected, since they belong both to the same saint-type – martyrs – and to the same profession, as it were, namely kings. These similarities nonetheless deserve some brief attention here, since it provides some insight into how kings could be reconciled with the ideals of sainthood. It is necessary to keep in mind, however, that these epithets are not specific to king-saints – since that was not a type of its own – but belong more generally to martyrs, and also to other saints. These epithets are based on motifs from the Biblical tradition. For instance, there is the motif of the *miles Christi*, the soldier of Christ, which has its foundation in the epistles of Paul. In the case of Edmund, we see him described as a soldier of the king of angels, *miles regis angelorum*, in the first Vespers antiphon (item [20]), a soldier of Christ in the fourth responsory (item [47]), and as a veteran soldier in the fifth responsory (item [62]), to mention only some. In the case of Olaf we see this motif most strongly in the fourth responsory (item [42]), where Olaf is said to take up the

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shield of faith and the helmet of salvation, and more strongly in the passage in *PO* where Olaf returns from his exile in Russia. In the case of Knud, this motif is not as prominent as in the two others, but it is present by way of the first responsory of Vespers (item [8]) which is interestingly taken from the office of Saint Edmund. Another motif is that of the athlete of God, also based on the epistles of Paul. In the case of Edmund, this can be seen in the seventh antiphon for Matins (item [48]) where he is called *dei adletam*. In the case of Olaf, this can be seen in the hymn for Matins (item [20]) which refers to the the martyred king as victor in the stadium, demonstrating the athletic connotations of the imagery. In the case of Knud, this can be seen for instance in the third antiphon of Matins (item [18]) where Knud is referred to as *athletam dei*. These are both very common motifs in the stories of the saints and are typical of martyrs. In the cases of these saint-kings, we might also understand them as means to emphasise the saintly qualities of these kings, hailing them not only as true saints but also as extraordinary kings.

A fourth and final point of similarity is the Christological imagery of these three case studies. Although their imitation of Christ is formulated in ways that do not always overlap, or through motifs that are not shared by all three, the emphasis on similarities with features of Christ's passion is perhaps more prevalent in the legends of the saint-kings than in many other types of martyrs. In the case of Edmund, his *imitatio Christi* is formulated through the very detailed comparison between his torture and the scourging and crucifixion of Christ in *PE*, where he is overtly compared to Christ and Hingwar overtly compared to Pilate, and as Christ was bound to a pillar and then a cross, Edmund combines these two motifs in that he was bound to a tree (wood often being a metonymy for the cross). Edmund is also likened to Christ through the reference to exile, which is a feature of the Edmund iconography that occurs for the first time in the office. In addition, there is a pastoral imagery in the Edmund iconography which also should be understood in Christological terms: In *PE* he is called the ram of the flock of the elect, invoking the sacrificial ram of Abraham, probably to be understood as a typological forerunner of the sacrificial lamb, whereas in *MA9* and *MR8*, he is addressed as good shepherd (cf. John 10). In the case of Olaf, the *imitatio Christi* is also formulated by way of exile, but perhaps most strongly by emphasis on Olaf as a preacher and an apostle, which dominates both the *vita* and the office, and which renders Olaf's death as a consequence of a surprise attack, similar to that of Christ's arrest in Gethsemane. In the case of Knud, his death is described in Christological details which include dying with his arms outstretched like a cross, being pierced by a lance, asking for a drink but not drinking it, and being

betrayed by a Judas figure. In addition, as martyrs they are all pitted against an antagonistic force, and although the emphases are different in each case, they all have a Christological dimension. In the case of Edmund, the Danish Vikings are described as ministers of Satan, and Hingwar as a new Pilate. Olaf is described as being ambushed by enemies who opposed to his preaching, pitting the enemies as Romans in Gethsemane. Knud is being persecuted by the Danes who are described as similar to the Hebrews reviling Christ, and the figure of Pipero is overtly called *alter Judas*. That these features become so dominating in these stories should perhaps be understood not only as these being standard motifs in saint stories, but rather that as kings they need to be presented in a way that leaves no doubt as to the Christological dimension of their passion stories. It should also be emphasised that in all three cases the king relinquishes his earthly life without putting up a fight for himself. Because although Saint Olaf leads his army against the enemy, this is formulated as a defence of his men, while he himself accepts death.

Summary remarks

We have seen how the three saints have been formulated by the overseers of their respective cult centres, and we see that there are certain shared features and strategies that can be found among them. In some cases, we can speculate whether these similarities owe solely to the fact that these saints are all saint-kings, or whether it also speaks to a stronger connection between these three cults. We know that the three cults shared a cultural and literary geography in which the stories of saints were part of what travelled between the countries. For instance, we know that a responsory for the Vespers of Knud is taken from the office of Saint Edmund, presumably brought from England by the English monks at Odense, and we know that both of them were by some of their saint-biographers compared to St. Sebastian. We know that the cult of Saint Olaf was started by the English bishop Grimkell who might have been familiar with the cult of Saint Edmund, and we also know that Archbishop Eystein of Norway went into exile at Bury St Edmunds, and that a manuscript containing *PO* from England also includes *PE*, suggesting that these two saints were understood as being close to one another. These connections either show clearly or suggest strongly that these cults did not exist in isolation, but were influenced by and did influence similar cults within the geographical and literary geography of Northern Europe.

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CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUSIONS

In chapter 1 I presented the two main objectives for my thesis, namely 1) to analyse the texts for the three selected case studies and see how the formulations of them change in the transition from one type of text to another, and 2) to explore how the texts about these saints helped their cult centres in constructing an institutional identity centred on these saints as the patrons of the institutions. Since we have just seen, in chapter 6, the detailed results for each of the case studies and how they compare with each other, it is time to look at the more general conclusions that can be drawn from my research, and how the results of my two thesis objectives can serve as a starting point for future investigations.

The first objective

The first thesis objective is centred on the figure of the saint-king. This figure was not a type of its own, and the three saints I have researched have all been martyrs, one of the foremost of the saint-types in the early Christian and medieval catalogue of saints, the *sanctorale*. As noted several times throughout this investigation, the saint-king was a paradoxical figure. His sainthood was all the more impressive because in medieval Christian thought there was a significant gap between contemplative Christian living and the many violent and indulgent aspects of worldly kingship. For this reason, a king whom God had predestined for sainthood was a king who relinquished the pleasures and the potential sins of worldly kingship, and therefore a saint-king relinquished more than most other saints. Because of this, however, the sanctity of a departed king needed to be convincing. Consequently, one of the main points of my research is the – unsurprising – conclusion that the need for conviction led to a stronger insistence on the king's sanctity in the textual formulations of the saint-king's life, characteristics, passion story and associated miracles. These were the four key points in the formulation of a saint's story through saint-biographies, miracle collections and the liturgical offices.

We have seen that the challenge of presenting the saint-king as convincingly as possible has been solved in very similar ways in all the three case studies. Firstly, in all the cases the respective saints have been positioned within a wider historical and geographical vista, which is done by tying the

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saint-king and the geography of his patronage to aspects and episodes from biblical history, Roman history, and early Christian history. This provides typological connections between past and present which confers historical importance on the saint, and which gives the cult centre a place within the history of Christianity.

Secondly, we see that in all the cases the textual images of the saints are assembled from many different features, meaning that the saint-king fulfils several roles at the same time. There are the features of the *rex iustus*, the good king who relinquishes earthly pleasures out of devotion to God. There are the features of the patriarch which make the saint resemble the patriarchs of both the Bible and of Roman history, such as Jacob, Job, Abraham, Moses, or of the *paterfamilias* of Roman society. There are the features of the *patron*, which is a figure that combines both the role as ambassador for his earthly subjects in the celestial court of God, and also the protective patron who will intervene personally to administer help to his devotees and punishment to those who transgress against him in one way or the other. There are the features of the good Christian, based on the epistles of Paul and which provide important epithets for the saints as apostles, preachers, soldiers of Christ, and athletes of God, all of which are ways for the saint-king to express his Christian living. Then there are the features of the martyr whose death is an *imitatio Christi* which is the clearest proof of the king's holiness. This *imitatio Christi* serves to describe how the saint-king is an antitype of Christ, and the *imitatio* can be formulated in many different ways. Most importantly, the *imitatio* is formulated through descriptions of the saint-king's death, and we have seen how all the three case studies invoke important episodes from Christ's passion story, although interestingly they have all done this differently from each other. In addition, there are other ways of emphasising a saint's likeness to Christ. One way, as we have seen in all these cases, is the *topos* of exile through which the saint comes to resemble Christ's exile in Egypt, or the forty days in the desert. Another way is to formulate the antagonists of the saint-kings in ways that invoke the antagonists of Christ in the passion story. Together, these several forms are applied to strengthen the respective saint-kings' case for sainthood.

Thirdly, the saint-kings were typologically connected to other saints or other important biblical figures. This serves to confer greater typological and historical significance to the saint-kings, and it also suggests that the saint-kings are associated with other saints and can therefore provide help in cases where another saint traditionally would have been invoked. This way of demonstrating the

saint-king's sanctity has proved to be the issue solved with most variety in the selection of saints with which the saint-kings have been connected. The three saints in my study have all been connected to Stephen Protomartyr at some point or another in the formulation of their images, but the remaining saints with whom they have been connected are more disparate. To a great degree this disparity can be explained by the concerns, preoccupations and tastes of the individual writers or the individual cult centres, or simply by the differences in the saints venerated at the various institutions, or within various historical circumstances. We can see this in the comparison of Edmund with St. Cuthbert for the incorruption of his body, we can see this in the musical borrowings from St. Augustine in the office for Saint Olaf, and we can see it in the references to St. Alban in the case of Knud Rex. In other cases, the same saint can be connected to several of the three saints studied here. We see this in references to St. Sebastian in both Edmund and Knud, and this is most likely because of direct textual borrowings. Other times it might be because some saints are so universal that they are obvious choices for typological connections, as with John the Baptist (shared by Edmund and Olaf). Despite the variation in this way of solving the problem of presenting a king as a saint, the basic principle remains the same: By connecting the saint-king to other, senior and often more universal saints, some of the aura and authority of the senior saints are borrowed by the saint-kings, thus enhancing their sanctity. This has also shown how malleable the images of saints can be, and how drastically they can be changed in the course of a concerted programme to reformulate or change them.

These three strategies for emphasising a saint's sanctity are not unique to saint-kings, and the same points can be made in several other cases. The question is, however, whether in the cults of saint-kings, these three strategies became more emphasised, more pressing, on account of the possible doubts about the sanctity of kings inherent in medieval Christian thoughts concerning the worldly life. The selected case studies demonstrate that these three strategies seem to be shared within the cultural geography of the North Sea, encompassing England, Norway and Denmark. Future studies might assess how universally common these strategies are, and to what degree they are executed similarly or differently within cults of saint-kings throughout Latin Christendom. So far, however, I have demonstrated that in order to explain the phenomenon of the saint-king, it is necessary to approach it from several perspectives, not only of the dynasty, for instance, or of the institution, but to see each individual case from several angles. In this I have aimed to challenge some of the existing scholarship which has tended to focus on one particular perspective, even though that

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perspective has differed among various scholars.

The second thesis objective

The second objective is concerned with the role of the saint-king in the construction of institutional identity, and to see whether any common aspects can be found in the way these cult centres apply the figure of the saint-king in formulating their history. One important element here has been to investigate how the formulations of the saint-king changes from one type of text to another. The formulations of the saints become more concentrated within the framework of the liturgical office as the textual structure of the chants allow for less space in formulating the saint's liturgical image. For this reason, the liturgical image is the purest formulation of the saint as it presents the most important aspects of the saint's life, characteristics, death and associated miracles, and this shows how the cult centre sought to address the saint-king. It was important for a cult centre to formulate their saint correctly, both so that the members of their own clerical or monastic community would learn the correct history of the saint, but perhaps most importantly because the saint was the primary audience when performing the liturgical office, and for that reason the saint ought to be addressed correctly and with due reverence. The liturgical image, however, is merely the final stage in the distillation of texts pertaining to the saint. Consequently, the cult centre formulated its saint and its own place in history through a wide range of texts, both historiographical and saint-biographical, to formulate the saint in what I have termed a high-canonical version. For this reason, we need to talk about several images of the saint, bearing in mind that the liturgical image was not necessarily the most widely accessible image. We should also bear in mind that the formulation of the saint's images was a process that took time and that new formulations could replace old ones, meaning that the construction of institutional identity around a saint was something that came into being over time.

In addition, we have seen that the institutions investigated here have all constructed their institutional identity on two levels, one regional and one international. On the regional level, the institution fleshes out its identity within a regional or local framework, demonstrating how the saint's shrine is a centre of regional importance, and referencing – in the saint texts for their patron saint – local features and local entities such as cities, villages, districts, or local historical persons. On the international level, the institution fleshes out its identity within the framework of Christian

history, demonstrating how the saint venerated at their institution is situated within a wider historical vista, for instance as a representative of a kingdom (Edmund), the apostle of a kingdom (Olaf) or the protomartyr of a people (Knud). This international level could also be demonstrated through intertextuality and through the association of the saint with other, senior saints as we saw above. In this we see that historiography, saint-biography and liturgy all belong to history writing and – in the case of liturgy – history re-enactment through ritual, all of which sought to embed the memory of the saint and the institution into the minds of the members of the institution, as well as those who came from outside the institution to venerate the saint. In all the three case studies we see how the institutions operate on the regional and the international levels, and this suggests that no matter whether the institution was an abbey, a metropolitan see or an episcopal abbey church, they all saw themselves within both a regional and an international matrix. Future studies might assess to what degree medieval ecclesiastical institutions sought to formulate themselves on both these levels.

A final point to be made regarding the construction of institutional identity is that this was done not only through the formulation of the saint-king, or through the composition of history writing. The construction of institutional identity was a complex web of intertextuality and multi-modality. This web encompassed not only the patron saint but all saints who were venerated at that institution throughout the liturgical year. Furthermore, the construction of institutional identity and the embedding of this identity into the minds of its members was done through the employment of the various senses. Sound was invoked through the music of the liturgical ritual and the reading of sermons. Sight was invoked through the use of vestments, through the art and architecture of the church space, through the decoration of the saint's shrine, and through the performance of pageants. Smell was invoked through the use of incense and the burning of candles. This shows that in order to assess the full depth of a medieval institution's formulation of its identity, a wide range of scholarly disciplines need to be in play. I have in this thesis focussed chiefly on the textual aspects of the formulation of institutional identity and as such I have managed to present ideas pertaining to one central aspect of this identity. For future studies, however, an in-depth investigation of music history, art history, and architecture need to be employed to flesh out the full extent of the institutional identities constructed by the three cult centres of this thesis.

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APPENDICES

Summary of the thesis

The present thesis takes at its starting point the cults of three royal saints in the period c.1050-c.1200. These saints are Edmund Martyr of East Anglia (d.869), Olaf Haraldsson of Norway (d.1030) and Knud Svendsson of Denmark (d.1086), who were venerated as patron saints at the locations of their respective shrines, namely Bury St Edmunds in East Anglia, Trondheim in Norway, and Odense in Denmark. Furthermore, each shrine was housed by a different type of institution. Bury St Edmunds was a Benedictine abbey independent of episcopal control; Trondheim was the centre of the archbishopric of Norway and it was the archbishop and the Augustinian canons who were in charge of the cult of Saint Olaf; the Church of Saint Knud in Odense was administered by Benedictine monks but under the auspices of the Odense bishop. In my thesis I have examined texts that were written about these saints and at these cult centres within the aforementioned timeframe, with a particular focus on saint-biographical texts and liturgical texts. My research has been driven by two thesis questions. First of all: How do the presentations of the saints change when the story is moved from one type of text to another type of text with different formal constrictions? By investigating this change, my purpose is to see which features of the saint are retained in the transmission of the story from saint-biographies to liturgical texts. This is founded on the idea that since liturgical texts are more constrictive than saint-biographies, it is in the liturgical texts that we find the formulation of the saint that contains the most important aspects to those who administered the cult at the saint's cult centre.

The second thesis question is to what degree we can see how the cult centre constructed its institutional identity through the texts pertaining to its patron saint. This question is answered in part by looking at the changes that result from the transition of the saint's story from one text to another, to see how the cult centre appears in the liturgical texts. The question is also answered by seeing the textual output as a whole, in order to see how the cult centre places itself within the history of its immediate geographical region, and also within the history of Christianity as a whole. This positioning is shown by the use of intertextuality and editorial intervention in the textual corpus centred on the saint.

Chapters 1 and 2 provide an introduction to the thesis, an overview of previous scholarship, and an outline of the methodological considerations that have been the foundation of my investigation. The

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three case studies of my thesis are covered in chapters 3, 4 and 5. I have structured the case studies chronologically according to the year of the saint's death. Each chapter has been organised according to the same structure. First I provide a historical overview of the contemporary sources of the saint before he was killed, then I sketch a historical outline of the establishment and development of the cult. After that, I engage in an in-depth analysis of how the saint is formulated according to historiographical, saint-biographical, and liturgical texts from the cult centre. The number of texts varies from saint to saint. Each chapter has as its main focus how the saint is formulated in the liturgical material. After a thorough exposition and analysis of each of the three case studies, I provide a comparative overview in chapter 6 where I summarise my findings in each of the cases, before I bring them together in a more holistic comparison. In chapter 7, I provide an overview of my findings and point to possible venues for future research.

As stated, my research has been centred on two types of primary sources, namely the saint-biography, and the material for the liturgical office which was composed in order to be performed on the saint's feast-day (commonly the anniversary of his death on earth). These two types of sources shared a fundamental function, namely to provide an outline of the saint's life, characteristics, death, and the miracles that God performed for the purpose of proving the saint's holiness. Despite their shared purpose of facilitating the veneration of a saint, saint-biographies and liturgical texts are subject to different formal constraints, and are also aimed at different audiences.

My investigation of the material for the three cases has allowed me to arrive at some general conclusions. First of all, I have demonstrated how the process of formulating the saint-king has been similar in all the three cases. This shows that even though the three cults were administered by three different types of institutions, in three different countries, within different historical circumstances within a period of 150 years, the strategies and solutions by which the saint-king was formulated were all similar. This is because the figure of a saint-king was something of a paradox in medieval Christian thinking, where the worldly king was seen as antithetical to holy Christian living. For this reason, those who administered the cult of a saint-king had to be persuasive in their formulation of the king's holiness, and this persuasion was through an intense intertextuality and typological matrix that sought to show how the saint-king resembled other saints and other figures from the history of salvation, most importantly Christ.

My research has also led me to the conclusion that in the construction of institutional identity, all

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the three institutions in question shared the same aims for the construction of identity. First of all, the institutions sought to formulate their place within the wider history of their region. For Bury St Edmunds this meant the region of East Anglia; for Trondheim this meant the church province of Nidaros which covered Norway, Iceland, Greenland and the Atlantic islands; for Odense this meant Denmark as it was a bishopric within the archbishopric of Lund. Secondly, the institutions sought to formulate their place within the wider history of Christendom. For Bury St Edmunds this resulted in Edmund becoming a representative of all of England; for Trondheim this meant that Olaf became the apostle of Norway; for Odense this meant that Knud became the protomartyr of the Danes. Each of these formulations ensured the respective institution a place in the Christian salvation history.

In my research, I have also challenged previous scholarship, which has tended to approach the issue of the cult of royal saints through one particular perspective which has then been challenged by scholars through another particular perspective in order to explain the phenomenon of the cult of the saint-king. I have sought to demonstrate that the emergence of cults of king-saints can not be explained only by considering the perspective of a royal dynasty, or by considering the perspective of one religious institution. Instead, the various perspectives need to be considered in conjunction in order to provide a sufficiently wide scope for explaining how a king could come to be venerated as a saint within various and different historical circumstances.

In sum, my thesis has demonstrated and emphasised the common features in the way a medieval religious institution has formulated their patrons and their own place in history through the mediums of saint-biographies and liturgical offices. I have found that despite individual differences the general trends are shared among all the three case studies. The present work has limited its scope to a certain timeframe and a certain selection of source material, which have made it possible to undertake a comparative study within the framework of a PhD thesis. As such, I have only uncovered a section of how the institutions formulated their saints, and how they constructed their institutional identities. In order to undertake a more comprehensive study of the institutions in question, it would be necessary to bring into play a wider range of source materials from other disciplines, such as art history, architecture, musical history, and so on. It would also be necessary to expand the timeframe. However, in my present thesis I hope to have facilitated the starting-point for further investigations.

Sammendrag

Denne afhandling tager som sit udgangspunkt de helgenkulturer der opstod rundt tre helgenkonger i perioden ca. 1050 – ca. 1200. Disse helgenkonger er Edmund Martyr af East Anglia (d.869), Olaf Haraldsson af Norge (d.1030) og Knud Svendsson af Danmark (d.1086), og de blev æret som skytshelgener ved de institutioner hvor deres graver var lokaliserede, nemlig Bury St Edmunds i East Anglia, Trondheim i Norge, og Odense i Danmark. Endvidere, hver af disse institutioner havde ulige roller fra hinanden. Bury St Edmunds var et benediktinerkloster der var uafhængig af biskoppernes myndighed; Trondheim var sete for den norske ærkebisppestolen og kulten rundt Hellig Olaf var administreret af ærkebiskoppen og augustinerkannikkerne; Knudskirken i Odense var administreret af benediktinermunke der var under Odense-biskoppens myndighed. I min afhandling har jeg undersøgt tekster der blev skrevet om disse helgenkonger og ved disse kultcentre inden afhandlingens tidsramme, med et specielt fokus på helgenbiografier og liturgiske tekster. Min forskning har fulgt to hovedspørgsmål. Først og fremmest: Hvordan ændrer fremstillingerne af helgenkongen sig når fortællingen om ham bliver flyttet fra en type tekst til en anden der har forskellige formale krav? Ved at undersøge denne ændring har mit formål været å se hvilke aspekter ved helgenen der er bevaret i overførslen fra helgenbiografi til liturgisk tekst. Dette er baseret på tanken om at eftersom liturgiske tekster er mere restriktive i sin form end helgenbiografier, så er det i de liturgiske tekster man finder de formuleringer af helgenen der indeholder de aspekter der var vigtigst for dem der administrerede helgenkulten.

Mit andre hovedspørgsmål er i hvilken grad man kan se hvordan kultcentret konstruerede sin egen institutionelle identitet gennem de tekster der havde med sin skytshelgen at gøre. Dette spørgsmål er besvaret delvis ved at se på de ændringer i helgenfortællingen der kommer som følge af overgangen fra en type tekst til en anden, for at se hvordan kultcentret selv fremstår i de liturgiske tekster. Spørgsmålet er også besvaret ved at se institutionens tekstlige produktion som en helhed, for at se hvordan kultcentret placerer sig selv indenfor sin umiddelbare geografiske region, og også indenfor kristenhedens generelle historie. Institutionens placering kan ses gennem brugen af intertekstualitet og redaktionel indgriben i de tekster der handler om skytshelgenen.

Kapitlene 1 og 2 giver en introduktion til afhandlingen, en oversigt af tidligere forskning og en ramme af de metodologiske hensyn der har været fundamentet for min forskning. De tre case

Sammendrag

studier i min afhandling er behandlet i kapitlerne 3, 4 og 5. Jeg har struktureret disse kronologisk efter året for helgenens død. Hvert kapitel er organiseret efter en og samme struktur. Først giver jeg en historisk oversigt over de samtidige kilder om helgenen inden hans død, og derefter skitserer jeg op helgenkultens historie fra dens etablering og dens videre udvikling. Derefter udfører jeg en dybdeanalyse af hvordan helgenen er formuleret ifølge historiografiske, helgenbiografiske og liturgiske tekster fra kultcentret. Antallet tekster varierer fra helgen til helgen. Hvert kapitel har som sit hovedfokus hvordan helgenen er formuleret i det liturgiske materiale. Efter en grundig gennemgang og analyse af hvert af de tre case studier, giver jeg en komparativ oversigt i kapitel 6 hvor jeg sammenfatter mine fund i hver af de tre case studier, før jeg så fører dem sammen i en mere holistisk sammenligning. I kapitel 7 giver jeg en oversigt over mine fund og peger mod mulige retninger for fremtidig forskning.

Som sagt har min forskning været centreret på to typer primærkilder, nemlig helgenbiografien og materialet for det liturgiske officium der var komponeret for fremførelse på helgenens festdag (vanligvis årsdagen for hans jordiske død). Disse to kildetyper deler en grundlæggende funktion, nemlig at give en ramme for helgenens liv, karaktertræk, død, og de mirakler der Gud udførte for at bevise helgenens hellighed. På trods af at de deler det formål at lægge til rette for helgendyrkelse, så har helgenbiografier og liturgiske tekster forskellige formale retningslinjer, og de er også rettet mod ulige typer publikum.

Min forskning af materialet for de tre case studier har ladet mig komme til nogle generelle konklusioner. Først og fremmest har jeg demonstreret hvordan formuleringen af helgenkongen har været lig i alle de tre tilfælde. Dette viser at selv om de tre kulterne var administrerede af tre ulige typer institutioner, i tre ulige land, indenfor ulige historiske omstændigheder, og indenfor en ramme af 150 år, så har strategierne og løsningerne for formuleringen af helgenkongen været de samme. Dette skyldes at helgenkongen som figur var noget af et paradoks i middelalderens kristne tænkning, hvor den værdsatte konge var regnet for at være en antitese til det rene kristne liv. Af denne grund var de der administrerede kulterne rundt om helgenkongen nødt til at være overbevisende i deres formulering af kongens hellighed. Denne overbevisning skete gennem en intens intertekstualitet og et netværk af typologier der havde som formål at vise hvordan helgenkongen lignet andre hellige og andre figurer fra frelseshistorien, først og fremmest Kristus.

Sammendrag

Min forskning har også ført mig til den konklusion at i konstrueringen af institutionel identitet, delte de tre institutioner de samme mål for sin identitetskonstruktion. Først og fremmest søgte de tre institutioner at formulere deres plads indenfor den større historie til deres regioner. For Bury St Edmunds var denne regionen East Anglia; for Trondheim var denne regionen den norske kirkeprovincen Nidaros der inkluderede Norge, Island, Grønland og de atlantiske øer; for Odense var dette Danmark eftersom det var et bispedømme underlagt ærkebiskoppen i Lund. For det andre, så søgte hver af de tre institutioner at formulere sin plads indenfor kristenhedens historie. For Bury St Edmunds resulterede dette i at Edmund blev en repræsentant for hele England; for Trondheim resulterede dette i at Olaf blev Norges apostel; for Odense resulterede dette i at Knud blev protomartyr for danskerne. Hver af disse formuleringer sikrede de ulige institutioner en plads i den kristne frelseshistorie.

I min forskning har jeg også udfordret tidligere akademisk arbejde. Tidligere forskning har som oftest tenderet til at undersøge fenomænet kongehelgener ved at se på kulterne med et specifikt perspektiv for at forklare dette fenomæn. Dette perspektivet har bagefter blevet udfordret af forskere der bruger et andet, men fortsatt ett specifikt perspektiv, for at forklare kongehelgener og deres kulte. Jeg har prøvet at demonstrere at fræmveksten af kulte rundt helgenkonger ikke blot kan forklares ud fra perspektivet til et kongelig dynasti, eller ved at betragte perspektivet til en enkelt religiøs institution. I stedet trænger man ulige perspektiver som må betragtes sammen for at give et tilstrækkelig bredt felt for at forklare hvordan en konge kunne blive æret som en helgen inden flere og ulige historiske omstændigheder. Alt i alt, så har min afhandling demonstreret og lagt vægt på de aspekter der de middelalderlige religiøse institutioner delte i sine formuleringer af deres skytshelgener og deres egen plads i historien, gennem helgenbiografier og liturgiske officier. Jeg har fundet at på trods af individuelle uligheder, er de generelle trender delte mellem alle de tre case studier. Det herværende arbejde har afgrænset sit omfang til at gælde kun en specifik tidsramme og et begrænset udvalg af kildematerialet, som har gjort det mulig at gennemføre en komparativ studie indenfor rammerne af en doktorgradsafhandling. Af den grund har jeg kun afdækket den del af hvordan institutionerne formulerede deres helgener, og hvordan de konstruerede sine institutionelle identiteter. For at gennemføre en mere omfattende studie af institutionerne, vil det være nødvendig at bruge flere typer kildemateriale fra andre discipliner, så som kunsthistorie, musikhistorie, arkitektur, og så videre. Det vil også blive nødvendigt at udvide tidsrammen. Jeg håber i alle fald at have lagt grundlaget for videre forskning med denne afhandling.

Notes on the translations

There are many challenges to translating texts from Latin into modern English. Several modern English words are etymologically based on Latin terms, but have very different meanings and also very different cultural connotations. This becomes perhaps particularly evident when working with texts about saints, because this adds the challenge of bridging the gap between the cultural connotations of the medieval lexicon and the lexicon of modern English being shaped by post-Reformation history. Translating Latin Christian terms into modern English is made even more difficult by the fact that the Latin terms are themselves translations of the lexicon of the Greek New Testament.

Some terms typical of the medieval cult of saints have traditionally been translated in ways that obscure the cultural gap that exists between the Latin Middle Ages and the post-Reformation Anglophone world. Consequently, my translations are aimed at contributing to a reassessment of how to translate these terms into a modern lexicon, and this is one of my minor thesis objectives as mentioned in chapter 1. In doing so, I am building on previous work by Giselle de Nie in her translations of texts by Gregory of Tours, and I aim to continue this discussion in my own translations.

The traditional problem of translations of saint texts has been that some terms are translated one way in every single instance. This practice belies the complexity of these terms. My fundamental principle for my own translations has therefore been that a word must be translated differently according to the context of the passage. The primary example is the word *virtus*, which has traditionally been rendered in English as “virtue”. This practice simplifies the complex matrix of meaning that belongs to *virtus*. The challenge of *virtus* is that in translations of the Bible this is the Latin equivalent of the Greek *doonamis* which has a wide range of meanings, including “power”, “potential”, and “quality”. This is different from the Greek term *arete*, which comes closer to what modern English usually means by “virtue”. For this reason, translating *virtus* as “virtue” is not clarifying. In my translations, therefore, I have used different terms to translate *virtus*, chiefly “power” in the sense of divine power or God’s power, and “quality”.

For the present translations and editions, I have relied on various sources. For my translation of *Passio Eadmundi* (appendix I) I have relied on the edition of the Latin text by Michael Winterbottom in his *Three Lives of English Saints* from 1972, which takes BL MS. Cotton Tiberius B.ii as its foundational text. I have followed Winterbottom’s division of the *Passio*, but I have also consulted the text as it appears in København Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1588 quarto and Pierpont Morgan MS. M.736. For my edition of Edmund’s offices of *vigilia* and *dies natalis* (appendix II), I have relied exclusively on Pierpont Morgan MS. M.736, and I have transcribed the text from scans of the manuscript. The text for Edmund’s office can also be found in the CD cover of *Historia Sancti Eadmundi – De la liturgie dramatique au drame liturgique* by La Reverdie from 1996. I have not relied on this text for my edition. For my edition of Olaf’s office (appendix III), I have used three manuscripts in which the office material survives incompletely. These are København

Note on the translations

Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Add 47, Oslo, and Unnumbered fragment, Þjóðskjalasafn Íslands, Reykjavík. I have checked these sources against a facsimile of *Breviarium Nidrosiensis*, and the transcription of *BN* in Jakob Langebek's *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*. A translation and edition of the office for Saint Olaf in the Skara Breviary (MS SK *A96) by Roman Hankeln has been published in the booklet for the CD recording of a performance of the office by Consortium vocale Oslo and Graces & Voices, released by LAWO Classics, 2016. I have consulted this edition for my own edition of the Nidaros material. For my edition of Knud's office (appendix IV), I have used *Breviarium Othoniense* in its editions from 1482 and 1497, checked against the transcription of its texts by Langebek. As far as possible, I have retained the spelling of the original sources, and where the text has been illegible I have transcribed according to the standard spelling of the sources in question. The translations are my own.

Appendix I – Passio Eadmundi with translation

Prologus

[Domino sanctae metropolitanae] Dorobernensium aeccliesiae archiepiscopo Dunstano uere moribus et aetate maturo, Abbo Floriacensis monachus leuita, etsi indignus, a Christo Domino irriguum superius et irriguum inferimus.⁶⁴²

Postquam a te, uenerabilis pater, digressus sum cum multa alacritate cordis et ad monasterium quod nosti festinus redii, coeperunt me obnixe hi cum quibus, fraterna karitate detentes, hospitando hactenus degui pulsare manu sancti desiderii ut mirabilium patratoris Eadmundi regis et martyris passionem litteris digererem, asserentes id posteris profuturum, tibi gratum, ac meae paruitatis apud Anglorum aeccliesias non inutile monumentum.

Audierant enim quod eam pluribus ignotam, a nemine scriptam, tua sanctitas ex antiquitatis memoria collectam historialiter me praesente retulisset domon Rofensis aeccliesiae episcopo et abbati monasterii quid dicitur Mealmesbury ac aliis circum assistentibus sicut tuus mos est, fratiribus quos pabulo diuini uerbi Latina et patria lingua pascere non desinis.

Quibus fatebaris, oculos suffusus lacrimis, quod eam iunior didicisses a quidam sene decrepito, qui eam simpliciter et plena fide referebat gloriosissimo regi Anglorum Aethelstano, iureiurando asserens quod eadem die fuisset armiger beati uiri⁶⁴³ qua pro Christo martyr occubuit.

His assertioni quia in tantum fidem accommodasti ut promptuario memoriae uerba ex integro reconderes quae postmodum iunioribus mellito ore eructares, creperunt fratres instantius meae pusillitati incumbere ut eorum feruenti desiderio satisfacerem ac pro uirium facultate tantorum operem seriem perire non sinerem.

Quorum petitioni cum pro sui reuerentia nollem contradicere, posthabitis aliquantulum secularium litterarum studiis quasi ad interiorem animae phylosophiam me contuli dum eius qui uere phylosophatus est in throno regni uirtutes scribere propui: Maxime tamen eas quae post eius obitum saculis inauditate factae sunt, quibus nemo crederet nisi eas tuas assertationis irrefragabilis auctoritus roborasset.

Siquidem tu, qui nix capitis credi compellit, quando referebas de ea quae nunc est incorruptione regis, quidam diligentius requisiiuit utrum haec ita esse possent.

Cuius questionis ambiguum uolens purgare, tu, uastae peritiae sacrarium, pro exemplo adiecisti quod multo magis audientium attonita corda concussit, quia Sinctus Domini Cuthbertus incomperabilis confessor et episcopus, non solum adhuc expectat diem prime resurrectionis incorrupto corpore sed etiam perfusus quodam blando tempore.

Quod ego admirans pro argumento habui quo tandem ad sancti regis gesta elucubranda certior accessi, fidens de eius et tuis incomparabilibus meritis, cui princitias mei laboris consecrans suppliciter obsecro ut uel una die uertas michi tuum otium in honesto negotium, resecando hinc superflua, supplendo hiantia, quoniam ex ore tuo praeter seriem ultimi miraculi omnia ueracem secutus uerax digessi, exortans omnes ad amorem tanti martyris.

Uale pater in Christo

⁶⁴² Judges 1:15.

⁶⁴³ Cf. Psalm 1.

Prologue

To Archbishop Dunstan, of true morals and of mature age, Lord of the metropolitan holy church of Canterbury, the deacon Abbo of Fleury, although unworthy, [dedicates this book because] to Christ belongs “both the upper and the nether watery flow”.⁶⁴⁴

After I visited you, venerable father, I departed with much cheerfulness of heart and returned to the monastery [of Romsey] in haste. The brethren there began exhorting me strenuously to stay here with those with whom I have lodged till this moment, detained by the brotherly love which beats the hand of holy desire, so that I would arrange in letters the marvellous passion of Edmund king and martyr, asserting it is beneficial for posterity and acceptable to you, and, notwithstanding my insignificance, that it is a not useless monument among the English churches. The brethren had heard indeed that Edmund’s story was by many unknown, by no one written about. Your Holiness had related it from the memory of ancient history, in my presence, for the bishop of the church of Rochester and the abbot of the monastery which is called Malmesbury and other attendees, brothers whom you will not cease, as is your custom, to feed the fodder of divine words in Latin and the mother tongue. To which you averred, your eyes filled with tears, that as a younger man you had learned about Edmund from some feeble old man who had told about it with simplicity and great faith to the most glorious king of the English, Athelstan, and affirmed by way of oath that he that very day had been the arms-bearer of that blessed man who had died as martyr for Christ. Whose assertions which you had devoted yourself to with so much faith that you had put away complete in your receptacle of verbal recollection, so that after a while they could be brought up as from the sweet mouth for younger men. The brethren then instantly began to press my insignificant self so that I satisfied their fervent request and by the capacity of my strength I should not permit so great a sequence of works to disappear.

With reverence to them whose petition I was unwilling to contradict, esteeming as little the study of worldly letters - as if I directed myself to the inner philosophy of the soul while I proposed to write the mighty works of him who is true philosophising [i.e. God] in the kingdom of angels: Yet especially those works which were wrought after Edmund’s death and would be unheard of for centuries, which nobody would believe except that it had been reinforced by the irrefutable authority of your assertions. Accordingly, you, whose snow-haired head compels belief, when you recounted of him who now is king in incorruption, certainly most diligently asked whether this could be done. Wanting to clarify the uncertainty of this matter, you, of vast knowledge of the shrine, added as an example which shook the stupefied heart of the audience with greater force, that the incomparable confessor and bishop Cuthbert, a holy of God, not only currently awaits the first day of resurrection, but already in this seductive age is imbued with an incorrupt body. Which I admiring, in the end, working late hours, considered as evidence to the holy king’s deeds, agreeing more surely and trusting in his and your incomparable merits. I, in the manner of a suppliant, entreat you, dedicating the first fruits of my labours, so that one day at your leisure you will turn this into honest work for me, trimming the excess from it, filing the gem, seeing that it is contrary to the sequence coming from your mouth, each latest truthful miracle following as I truthfully arranged, exhorting all towards love for such a martyr.

Farewell, father in Christ.

⁶⁴⁴ Judges 1:15.

Capitulum 1

Asciti aliquando in Britanniam praecario munere in perniciosum auxilium tres Germaniae populi, hoc est Saxones, Iuti et Angli, primum Britonum interdiu fuere praesidii. Qui cum sepius bello lacessiti se et suos defensarent fortiter, illi uero ignauiae operam dantes quasi proletarii ad solam uoluptatem domi residerent, fisci de inuicta fortitudine stipendianorum militum quos conduxerant, ipsos miseros indigenas domo patriaue pellere deliberant factumque est.

Et exclusis Britonibus statuunt inter se diuidere uictores alienigenae insulam, bonis omnibus fecundissimam, indignam iudicantes eam ignouorum domino detineri, quae ad defensionem suam idoneis posset prebere sufficientem alimoniam et optimis uiris.

Qua occasione inducti orientalem ipsius insulae partem, quae usque hodie lingua Anglorum 'Eastengle' uocatur, sortito [nomine] Saxones sunt adepti, Iutis et Anglis ad alia tendentibus in quibus suae sortis funiculo potirentur, ne esset cum sodalibus ullum de possessione litigium, quibus suppeteret amplitudo terrae ad regrandi emolumentum. Unde contigit ut, per regiones et prouincias diuisa, plurimis primum ducibus, deinde regibus sufficeret una eademque Britannia.

Chapter 1

At some point were received into Britain three Germanic peoples, summoned into service as destructive aid. This is the Saxons, the Jutes and the Angles. At first they were the daytime guard of the Britons. When they often bravely defended the Britons in battle, the Britons, however, surrendering to the work of idleness and, like proletarians, settled only for the pleasures of home, trusting in the invincible bravery of the mercenaries whom they had assembled; these considered to drive out the natives from house and fatherland, and it was done.

And driving out the Britons, they set out to divide between themselves, the foreign-born visitors, the island - fertile with each and every good thing - judging it shameful to be kept back from the dominion by the ignoble, when they were able to provide for their defense adequate nourishment and noble men.

Which occasion being brought about, by drawing strings, the eastern parts of this very island - which even to this day is called 'East Anglia' in the English tongue - was gained by those named Saxons, the Jutes and Angles spreading out to other parts which they acquired as their lots by strings, nor was there any quarrel with companions about possessions, which bulk of land was sufficient for the benefit of governing. From whence it happened, by the division of regions and provinces, at first several chieftains and then kings was sufficient for one and the same Britain.

Capitulum 2

At predicta orientalis pars cum aliis tum eo nobilis habetur quod aquis pene undique alluitur, quoniam a subsolano et euro cingitur oceano, ab aquilone uero immensarum paludum uligine, quae exorientes propter aequalitatem terrae a medi-tullio ferme totius Brittannica per centum et eo amplius milia cum maximis fluminibus descendunt in mare.

Ab ea autem parte qua sol uergitur in occasum ipsa prouincia reliquae insule est continue et ob id peruia; sed ne crebra irruptione hostium incursetur aggere ad instar altioris muri fossa humo praemunitur. Interius ubere glebae satis admodum loeta, ortorum nemorumque amoenitatae gratissima, ferarum uenatione insignis, pascuis pecorum et iumentorum non mediocriter fertilis.

De piscosis fluminibus reticemus, cum hing eam, ut dictum est, lingua maris allambit, inde paludibus dilatatis stagnorum ad duo uel tria milia spatiosorum innumerabilis multitudo preterfluit. Quae paludes prebent pluribus monachorum gregibus optatos solitariae conuersationis sinus, quibus inclusi non indigeant solitudine heremi; ex quibus sunt sancti monachorum patris Benedicti calibes coenobitate in loco celebri hac tempestate.

Chapter 2

But the aforementioned eastern part is considered not only different but also noble, which food flows through the waters on all sides since it is encircled by the east wind, the southeast wind and the ocean. To the north begins truly immense swamps of marshland due to the evenness of the interior of nearly all of Britain through which hundred, nay, more than thousand big rivers flow into the sea.

Moreover, that province is connected to that part of the rest of the island in which the sun is lying at its setting, and from it East Anglia is traversable; but not to be repeatedly attacked by the assault of enemies it is fortified by a rampart in the form of high walls and a ditch in the ground. The interior has a fertility of soil sufficiently and exceedingly lush, the most pleasing charms of orchards and forests, distinguished by the hunting of wild beasts, pastures – not moderately fertile – for cattle and beasts of burdens.

Of the fish-teeming rivers we keep silent, since from here as has been said the water touches the tongue of the sea, thence it flows past a countless multitude of swamps widening into spacious pools of two or three miles. These swamps provide for several flocks of monks the desired solitary way of life in folds of the swamps, which is not lacking the enclosing solitude of the desert; among which are the holy monks of the father Benedict, the celibates and monks in this famous place of our time.

Capitulum 3

Sed ut at propositum reuertamur: huic prouinciae tam feraci quam diximus Eastengle uocabulo nuncupari, praefuit sanctissimus deoque acceptus Eadmundus, ext antiquorum Saxoni nobili prosapia oriendus, a primeuo suae etatis tempore cultor ueracissimus fidei Christianae. Quo atavis regibus aeditus, cum bonis polleret moribus, omnium comprouincialium unanimi fauore non tantum eligitur ex generis successione quantum rapito ut eis praeesset sceptrigera potestate. Nam erat ei species digna imperio, quam serenissimi cordi iugiter uenustabat tranquilla deuotio.

Erat omnibus blando eloquio affabilis humilitatis gratia precluis, et inter suos coaeuos mirabili mansuetudine residebat dominus absque ullo fastu superbiae. Iamque uir sanctus praeferebat in uultu quod postea manifestatum est diuino nutu: quoniam puer toto conamine uirtutis arripuit gradum, quem diuina pietas praesciebat martyrio finidendum.

Chapter 3

So that we are brought back to our objective: this province of such fertility – which we said to be called East Anglia in its language – was governed by the most holy and by God accepted Edmund, descended from a lineage of Saxon nobility, from the time of his earliest age a worshipper of the most true Christian faith. He came from elevated forefathers, kings, he exerted power with good morals; of all born in the same province he was, with unanimous favour, not as much elected – from his ancestry – but seized so that he was in charge of the sceptre-bearing rule. Already, his appearance was worthy of authority, that most serene heart which was adorned with quiet zeal.

He was mild-mannered to everyone with gentle speech, distinguished by kindness of humility, and as lord among his contemporaries he settled cases with marvellous gentleness and without any pride of arrogance. And already the holy man had displayed in his looks which was afterwards made manifest in godlike command. From when he was a boy he seized the steps of virtue with all effort, at which time his divine piety came to learn beforehand of the ending martyrdom.

Capitulum 4

Nactus uero culmen regiminis, quanta fuerit in subiectos benignitatis, ante in peruersos districtio non est nostrae facultatis euoluere qui eius minima quo conueniret sermone non possumus expedire.

Siquidem ita columbinae simplicitatis mansuetudine temperauit serpentinae colliditatis astutiam ut nec antiqui hostis deciperetur simulatione fraudulentia, nec malignorum hominum reciperet contra iustitiam sententias, rem quam nesciebat diligentissime inuestigans; gradiensque uia regia nec declinabat ad dexteram, extollendo se de meritis, nec ad sinistram, succumbendo uitii humanae fragilitatis.

Erat quoque egentibus dapsilis liberaliter, pupillis uiduis dementissimum pater, semper habens prae oculis dictum illius sapientis: “Principem te constituerant? Noli extolli, sed esto in illis quasi unus ex illis.” Cumque tam conspicuis in Christo et aeclesia emereret bonorum actuum ornamentis, eius patientiam sicut et sancti Iob, aggressus est experiri inimicus humani generis, qui eo bonis iustius inuidet quo appetitu bonae uoluntatis caret.

Chapter 4

Truly obtaining the height of government, how great was his kindness to his subjects, how great was his severity towards the wicked, is not our ability to explain, him whose least quality was in such harmony that we cannot describe it.

Accordingly therefore, he combined a dove-like simplicity of gentleness with a serpent-like shrewdness of cunning so that neither was he deceived by the fraudulent deceit of the old enemy, nor listened to spiteful men against the opinions of justice, searching most diligently for that thing of which he was ignorant; walking the way of kings he swerved neither to the right by praising himself too much in his own merits, nor to the left by succumbing to the frailty of human vices.

He was graciously abundant to those who were needy, a most clement father to the widows and orphans, always having before his eyes this wise saying: “They elevated you as prince? Refuse to be praised, but be among them as one of them.” And this was seen to such degree that he excelled in the ornaments of good acts for Christ and the church, his patience – in the manner of holy Job – being attacked, put to the test by the enemy of the human race who envies the good work of he just and lacks appetite for good works.

Capitulum 5

Quocirca unum ex suis membris ei aduersarium inmisit, qui omnibus quae habuerat undeque sublatis ad impatientiam (si posset) erumpere cogeret, ut desperans Deo in faciem bene diceret. Fuit autem idem aduersarius Hinguar uocabulo dictus, qui cum altero Ubba nomine, eiusdem peruersitatis homine, nisi diuina inpediretur miseratione conatus est in exterminiam adducere totius fines Britanniae.

Nec mirum, cum uenerint indurati frigore suae malitiae ab illo terrae uertice quo sedem suam possuit qui per elationem Altissimo similis esse concupiuit. Denique constat iuxta prophetae uaticinium quod ab aquilonalium gentium experti sunt seuitiam: quas certem est adeo crudeles esse natural ferocitate ut nesciant malis hominem mitescere, quandoquidem quidam ex eis populi uescuntur humanis carnibus, qui ex facto Greca apellatione Antropofagi uocantur.

Talesque nationes abundat plurimae infra Scithiam prope Hyperboreos montes, quae antichristum, ut legimus, secuturae sunt ante omnes gentes, ut absque ulla miseratione pascantur hominum cruciatibus qui characterem bestiae noluerint circumferre in frontibus. Unde iam inquietando Christicolae pacem cum eis habere nequeunt: maxime Dani, occidentis regionibus nimium uicini, quoniam circa eas piratycam exercent frequentibus latrocinis.

Ex eorum ergo genere predicti duces Hinguar et Hubba Nordanimbrorum primitus aggressi expugnare prouinciam graui depopulatione totam peruagantur ex ordine. Quorum pessimis conatibus nullus resistere potuit ex perouincialibus quin multarentur merita supernae indignationis ira, agente ministero iniquitatis Hubba: quem praeda facta Hingwar reliquit ibi crudelitatis socium, et a boreali parte orientali subito astans cum magna classe ad eius quandam ciuitatem latendo appulit.

Quam ignauis ciuibus introgressus ignibus cremendam dedit, pueros senes cum iunioribus in plateis ciuitatis obuam factos iugulat, et matronalem seu uirginalem pudicitiam ludibrio tradendum mandat. Maritus cum conjuge aut mortuus aut moribundus iacebat in limine; infans raptus a matris uberibus, ut maior esset heulatus trucidabatur coram maternis obtulibus. Furebat impius miles lustrata urbe, ardendo ad flagitium quo posset placere tyranno, qui solo crudelitatis studio iusserat perire innoxios.

Chapter 5

Wherefore the Enemy sent on one of his members who collected from every side each those who had kept back enduring impatiently – if he could – to spring forth for the despairing of he who is called upon by God to do good works. Moreover, this same enemy was called Hingwar, who with another one – Ubba by name – a man of similar perversity who could be hindered only by divine pity in trying to lead every end of Britain into destruction.

Nor is it strange, when they came – their evil hardened by the cold – from the summit of the world that their seat was placed where through elation [the Devil] sought to be like the Most High. Indeed this agrees closely with the predictions of the prophet, which are proven by the rage of the northern tribes. It is indeed certain for them to be cruel from natural savageness so that they don't know how to tame the evil of men, since some of these people feed on human flesh and are therefore called by the Greek name Anthropophagi.

And many such nations abound below the Scythians near the Hyperborean mountains which will, as we read, follow the Antichrist before all peoples, so that were it not for any pity they would feed on the tortures of men who refused to carry around branded marks on their foreheads like beasts. Whence already they are disturbing the Christians who are unable to keep peace with them: especially the excessive neighbouring Danes, since they are exercising their frequently piratical robberies in the Western region.

Thus, these of the aforementioned people, the dukes Hingwar and Hubba, at first attacked the Northumbrians. They conquered the province through an oppressive depopulation, and they spread in succession throughout the entire province. No one of the provincials could withstand these most wicked efforts without being punished, having incurred the indignation of heavenly wrath, driving the servant of iniquity Hubba. The plunder being done, Hingwar left behind his ally in cruelty, and from the northern part he secretly drove with a big navy towards a certain city in the eastern part.

Who, advancing, gives over the unprepared citizens to be consumed by fire, boys old and young who are opposing had their throats cut in the streets of the town, and he commands the married as well as the virginal purity to be submitted to mockery. Husband and wife, dead or dying, lay at the threshold [of their house], the child is taken from its mother's breasts, and with much wailing is killed before the maternal gaze. The impious soldier raged in the city illuminated by flames, left to the shame which can please tyrants who only through eagerness of evil had ordered the harmless to be destroyed.

Capitulum 6

Cumque iam multitudine interfectorum Achimeniam rabiem non tantum exsaturasset quantum fatigatus in posterum distulisset, euocat quosdam plebeios quos suo gladio credidit esse indignos ac ubi rex eorum tunc temporis uitam degeret sollicitus perscrutator inuestigare studet.

Nam ad eum fama peruenerat quod idem rex gloriosus uidelicet Eadmundus, florenti aetati et robustis uiribus bello per omnia esset strenuus: et idcirco festinabat passim neci tradere quos circumcirca poterat repperire, ne stipatus militum agmine ad defensionem suorum posset rex sibi resistere, qui monebatur eo tempore ab urbe longius in uilla qua lingua eorum Haegilisdun dicitur (a qua et silua uicina eodem nomine uocatur); existimans impiissimus, ut se rei ueritas habebat, quia, quantos suos funestus satelles praoccuparet ad interitum perducere tantos, sic dimicandum esset regius occursum in exercitu contraheret minus.

Classem quoque absque ualida manu non audebat deserere, quoniam, uelut lupis uerspertinis mos est clanculo ad plena descendere, repetitis quantotius natis siluarum latibulis, sic consueuit eadem Danorum et Alanorum natio, cum semper studeat rapto uiuere, numquam tamen indicta pugna palam contendit cum hoste, nisi praeuenta insidiis, ablata spe ad portus nauium remeandi.

Chapter 6

And when already the killing of such a multitude had not so sated his Persian rage as postponed his exhaustion to the future, he summons some plebeians whom he deemed to be unworthy of his sword, and desires to search and find where their king at that point was anxiously biding his time.

For when he had come by this information about this glorious king, Edmund, of course, in the prime of his life and powerful of arms, who was the most vigorous of all warlike men: and therefore he hastened everywhere to deliver death from all sides to those whom he was able to find, nor could soldiers of an army pressing close together for their defence be able to resist the king, who at this time stayed behind at his longhouse in a town which in their tongue is called Haegilisdun (and from which the nearby forest takes its name); the most impious one, holding this to be true, judged to conduct as many of his destructive followers as anticipated to the interior so thus fighting the royal army would be less in their meeting.

Likewise, were it not for the strong army he was not willing to abandon the fleet, since in the manner of wolves in the evening, secretly descending unto the plain at night, returning all the quicker to their familiar hiding-place in the woods, as was the custom of the Danes and the Alans, who always desire to live by rapine, yet nevertheless, declaring open battle Hingwar advanced with his men lest an anticipated ambush had taken away their hope of returning to the ship's port.

Capitulum 7

Quapropter circumspetus plurimum, accito uno ex commilitionibus eum ad regem huiusmodi curarum tumultibus expeditum dirigit, qui exploret quae sit ei summa rei familiaris, inproisum, ut contigit, querens subiugare tormentis si eius nollet obtemperare ferialibus edictis. Ipse, cum grande comitatu succenturiatus lento pede subsequitur, et iniqua legationis baiulo imperat ut timoris periculo nudus ita incautum adoriatur:

Terra marique metuendus dominus noster Hingwar, rex inuictissimus, diuersas terras subiciendo sibi armis, ad huius prouinciae optatum litus cum multis nauibus hiematurus appulit; atque idcirco mandat ut cum antiquos thesauros et paternas diuitis sub eo regnaturus diuidas. Cuius si aspernaris potentiam, innumeris legionibus fultam, tuo praeiudicio et uita indignus indicaberit et regno. Et quis tu, ut tante potentiae insoleter audeas contradicere?

Marinae tempestatis procella nostris seruit remigiis, nec remouet a proposito directae intentionis quibus nec ingens mugitus caeli nec crebri iactus fulminam umquam nocuerunt, fauente gratia elementorum. Esto itaque cum tuis omnibus sub hoc imperatore maximo, cui famulantur elementa pro sibi innata clementia: quoniam nouit piissimus in omni negotio parcere subiectis et debella superbos.

Chapter 7

Wherefore, as he was surveying the multitude, summoning one of the fellow soldiers he directs him to the king with an office in his manner so that he searches out that which is to him his most precious of property, without warning, and if it happened that he protesting should not comply, to subjugate him to tortures if he would not follow these fierce proclamations. This very man, when reinforced with a great escort who follows closely on slow feet, he orders the messenger of this iniquitous embassy, so that he is stripped of the fear of danger, is addressed incautiously:

The earth and the sea stand in fear of our lord Hingwar, invincible king, who has subjugated various lands with his arms, to the shore of this chosen province he brought with him many ships for his winter camp; and therefore he orders that you share with him your ancient trasure and your paternal lot under his lordship. Which if you reject his power - he who is supported by numerous soldiers - you will be – as an example to others – judged as unworthy of life and reign. And will you dare to contradict insolently such power?

The season of storm of the sea served our rowing, neither does it put us away from our design steered by our purpose, which neither vast thundering skies nor constantly hurled lightnings at any time hurt us, supported as we are by the goodwill of the elements. All this will also be for you under this greatest commander, whom the elements attend with natural kindness: since he knew that you are most pious in all dealings, he who submits himself will be spared and the proud will be subdued.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴⁵ Virgil, *Aeneis*, 6.853.

Capitulum 8

Quo audito rex sanctissimus alto cordis dolore ingemuit, et accito uno ex suos episcopis qui erat ei a secretis, quid super his respondere deberet consulit. Cumque ille, timidus pro uita regis, ad consentiendum plurimis hortaretur exemplis, rex obsutpuit et capitis defixo lumine in terras paululum conticuit, et sic demum ora resoluit.

“O episcopo, uiui ad id peruenimus quod numquam ueriti sumus! Ecce barbarus aduena districto ense ueteribus nostri regni colonis imminet, et quondam felix indigena suspirando gemens tacet. Et utinam impresentiarum uiuendo quique gemerent ne crudentu caede perirent quatinus patriae duclibus aruis, etiam me occumbente, superstites fierent et ad pristinae felicitatis gloriam postmodum redirent!”

Cui episcopus: “Quos?” inquit “optas esse superstites patriae cum iam hostilis gladius uix aliquem reliquerit in plena urbe? Hebetatis securibus tuorum cadaueribus, te destitutum milite ueniunt loris constringere. Quapropter, rex, dimidium animae mea, nisi jugae praesidio aut deditiois infausto patrocino praecaueas, hic statim aderunt tortores, quorum nefando obsequio poenam lues.

Ad haec rex beatissimus: “Hoc est,” ait “quod desidero, quod omnibus uotis antepono, ne supersim meis carissimus fidelibus quos cum liberis et uxoribus in lecto eorum animas furando perdidit pyrata truculentus. Et quid suggeris? Ut in extremis uitae, desolatus meo satellite, fugiendo inferna crimen nostrae gloriae? Semper delatoriae accusationis calumniam euitatui, numquam relictas militiae probra sustinui, eo quod honestum mihi esset pro patria mori: et nunc ero mei uoluntarius proditor, cui pro amissione carorum ipsa lux est fastidio?”

“Omnipotens rerum arbiter testis assistit quod me seu uiuum seum mortuum nullus separabit a caritate Christi, uiuus in confessione baptismatis suscepi anulum fidei, abrenuntiato Satana et omnibus pompis eius. Qua abrenuntiatione contigit ut ad laudem et gloriam aeternae trinitatis tertio mererer consecrari, delibutus ob compendium perennis uitae sanctificati christi perunctione: primo quidem accepta stola lauacri salutaris, secundo per confirmationem exhibitam maiusculo pontificali signaculo, tertio ubi uestra et totius populi communi acclamatione usus sum hoc regni perfunctoria potestate.

“Sique unguento mistiae consecrationis tripliciter irroratus Anglorum reipublicae decreui plus prodesse quam praeesse aspernando subdere colla iugo nisi diuino seruitio. Num simulata beniuolentia pretendit callidus suae machinationis muscipulam, qua seruum Christum irretiri deliberat, maxime cum promittit quod nobis largitas superna concessit.

“Uitam indulget, qua necdum careo; regnum promittit, quod habeo; opes conferre cupit, quibus non egeo nunc incipiam seruire duobus dominis, qui me sub Christo solo uiuere, sub Christo solo regnare, presentibus palatinis deuouerim?”

Chapter 8

When the most holy king heard this he groaned in a deep grief of the heart, and summoned one of his bishops who was one of his advisers, and asked for advice about what he should respond to this. And when this bishop worried about the life of the king, and gave the king, on the agreement of many advisers, a warning, the king was astounded and, fixing the light of his eyes on the earth a little, he fell silent, and at last released his speech thus:

“O bishop, alive we arrive at this, we are never fearing! Behold the barbarous newcomers, having spread out and with the sword they threaten the old farmers, and our kingdom is silent and the formerly happy natives are sighing and lamenting. If only for the present, each who grieved were living, nor was slain, bleeding as they died, and moreover, how long, sweet soil of the fatherland, am I meeting with death, witnessing as it took place, and how long before they afterwards return to the former happiness and glory?”

And the bishop said to him: “Who,” he said, “do you desire to be witnessing, when already the hostile sword has hardly left anyone behind in every city of the fatherland? You will weaken your sovereignty through your corpse, the army will abandon you when they come to tighten the reins. Wherefore, king, half of my soul, beware, either by avoidance of battle or surrender of the unfortunate patronage, since torturers will immediately arrive, by whose wicked servitude you will suffer punishment.”

To this the most blessed king: “This is,” he said “what I desire, what I set above all other vows, not to survive my beloved faithful whom, when freemen and wives have their souls stolen in their bed, destroyed by a ferocious pirate. And what do you suggest? That at the end of my life I abandon my subjects, that by shunning this I impart stains to our glory? I always avoid the denunciatory accusations of calumny, never did I sustain disgrace by abandoning the army, it is this which is honourable to me, to die for the fatherland: And now I will be a volutnary traitor, who is fearful of the deprivation of the dear light?”

“The almighty judge of things attends as witness that either I live or die, nothing separates me from Christ’s love, whom I accepted in the confession of baptism and received the pledge of faith, renouncing Satan and all his vainglories. Which renunciation took place so that to the praise and glory of the eternal trinity I vowed, so that thrice I would merit being anointed by the unction of the sanctifying oil for the benefit of life everlasting: firstly by indeed accepting the clothing of the life-giving bath, secondly by being furnished at the confirmation by the greater pontifical seal, thirdly when by your and the entire people’s public acclamation, by custom, I am the power of this transitory kingdom.

“Thus being besprinkled by the unguent of mystical consecration in three ways, I decided to be both of use and to be in charge of the affairs of the English, despising to place my neck in the yoke of any but the service of God. Now a false endearment extends its skillful mousetrap of artifice, which the entangled servant of Christ ponders and which promises greatly what the kindness of Heaven relinquished for us.

“What life grants but not yet, I abstain from; what power promises I hold; whoever wishes to gather wealth, I don’t need. And for this I now begin to serve two masters? I who will live under Christ only, reign under Christ only, as I vowed in the presence of the palace?”

Capitulum 9

Tunc conuersus ad eum qui de conditione regni locuturus ab impiissimo Hinguar fuerat missus: “Madefactus [sic],” inquit “crurore meorum mortis supplicio dignus extiteras; sed, plane Christi mei exemplum secutus, nolo puras commaculare manus, qui pro eius nomine, si ita contigerit, libenter paratus sum uestris telis occumbere. Ideo pernici gradu rediens festinus, domino tua responsa perfer quantotius:

“Bene filius diaboli patrem tuum imitaris qui superbiendo intumescens caelo corruit, et, mendacio suo humanum genus inuoluere gestiens, plurimus suae poenae obnoxios fecit. Cuius sectator pracipuus me nec minis terrere praeuales nec blandae perditionis lenociniis illectum decipies, quem Christi institutis inermem repperies.

“Thesaurus et diuitas quas nobis hactenus contulit propitia diuinitas sumat consumat tua insatiabilis auiditas: quoniam, etsi hoc corpus caducum fragile confringas uelut uas fictili, uera libertas animi numquam tibi uel ad momentum suberit. Honestius enim est perpetuam defendere libertatem, si non armis, saltem iugulis, quam reposcere amissam lacrimosis quaerimoniis: quoniam pro altero gloriosum est mori, pro altero uero opponitur contumacia seruilis. Quippe seruum quascumque domini conditiones accepit acceptas seruare conuenit.

“Si eas quamlibet iniquas respuit, reus maiestatis adiudicatur seruilibus suppliciis. Sed esto, grauis est huius seruitutis usus: at grauior exulceratio qua solet nasci ex huiusmodi infortunio. Siquidem, ut nouerunt qui frequentibus ratiocinando forensibus causis intersunt, ex repugnantibus facta complexionis consequentia, certum est quia, si libertas petitur, procul dubio dominus suo contemptu laeditur.

“Idcirco seu sponte seu inuitus de carcere suo meus ad caelum euolet liber spiritus, nulla emancipationis aut abalienationis specie contaminatus: quia regem dimnutum capite numquam, Danus, uidebis ad triumpham superuiuere. Sollicitas me spe regni, interfectis omnibus meis, ac si michi tam dira sit cupido regnandi ut uelim praeesse domibus uacuis habitatore nobili et pretiosa supellectile.

“Ut copeit tua saeua feritas, post famulos regem solio diripiat, trahat, expuat, colaphis caedat, ad ultimum iugulet. Rex regum ista miserans uidet, et secum, ut credo, regnaturum ad aeternam uitam transferet. Unde noueris quod pro amore uitae temporalis Christianus rex Eadmundus non se subdet pagano duci, nisi prius effectus fueris compos nostrae religionis, malens esse signifer in castris aeterni regis.”

Chapter 9

He then turned to him who had been speaking about the state of the realm, who had been sent by the most impious Hingwar: "Soaked in blood" he said "you have appeared so that to me death seems a worthy punishment, but, since it follows clearly to me from Christ's example, I will not pollute pure hands as for his name I am happily prepared to meet death by your spear. Therefore, returning to your lord quick and with swift step, announce my response, the sooner the better.

"You imitate your father well, son of Satan, who swelling with pride fell from Heaven and being eager to envelop mankind in your lies, made many guilty of your crime. Whose particular you will pursue, you will not prevail by frightening me with threats, nor will you trap me by coaxing me into the ruin with the alluring of flattery, whom you will find unarmed according to Christ's custom.

"The treasures and riches God has gathered for us hitherto he accepts favourably what your insatiable greed destroys. Since even if you break this brittle, perishable body like a claypot, true freedom of the soul will never, nor at any moment, be near to you. For it is honourable to defend eternal liberty, if not with arms then at least by the neck, which, if it is lost, will deserve tearful complaints, since it is either glorious to die or to be opposed to contumacious slavery. As you see, the servant has accepted the terms of the Lord, submit yourself and come to serve.

"If, however, the plaintiff of the majesty rejects them unjustly, he is put to servile punishments. But it will be heavy, his custom of servitude, but it is heavier for the unhealed who becomes accustomed to live in misfortune in this way. Accordingly, so that they know – which is repeatedly inferred in cases that concern the public – the consequences of the dilemma being drawn from conflicting evidence – it is certain that if he begs for liberty because of a remote danger, he will be hurt by the disdain of his lord.

"Therefore, if of one's own will or reluctantly he flies from his dungeon to heaven, free of spirit, with me, no price or sale of any kind will defile him, because, O Dane, if you diminish a king by capital punishment you will never outlive your triumph. You disturb me, as all of my people have been disturbed, through your hope for power, so that to me it is so loathsome to be so desirous of ruling that one wishes to rule a household vacant of nobles and precious furniture.

"So begins your fierce wildness, after it plunders the serving king's seat, it drags, spits out, smites by beating and in the end decapitates. The King of King sees this, pitying, and, as I believe, transfers the one reigning to himself in life everlasting. From whence you will know that the Christian king Edmund will not place himself under a pagan yoke for love of life temporal, unless he first shares our religion, and prefer to be the standard-bearer in the castle of the eternal king."

Capitulum 10

Uix sanctus uir uerba compleuerat et renuntiaturus miles pedem domo extulerat cum ecce Hinguar obuius iubet breuiloquio ut utatur, ulli pandens per omnia archana regis ultima. Quae ille dum exequitur, imperat tyrannis circumfundi omnem turbam suorum interius solumque regem tenebat, quem suis legibus rebellem iam cognouerat.

Tunc sanctus rex Eadmundus in palatio ut membrum Christi proiectis armis capitur, et uinculis artioribus artatus constringitur atque innocens sistitur ante impium ducem, quasi Chrsitus ante Pilatum praesidem, cupiens eius sequi uestigia qui pro nobis immaltus est hostia. Uinctus itaque multis modis illuditur, ac tandem fustigatus acri instantia perducitur ad quandam arborem uicinam. Ad quam religatur flagris dirissimis diutissime uexatur, nec uincitur, semper Christum inuocando flebilibus uocibus.

Quare aduersarii in furorem uersi quasi ludendo ad signum eum toto corpore sagittarum telis confodiunt multiplicantes acerbiter cruciatus crebris telorum iactibus, quoniam uulnera uulneribus imprimebant dum iacula iaculis locum dabant. Sicque factum est ut spiculatorum terebratis aculeis circumfossus palpitans horreret, uelut asper herecius aut spinis hirtus carduus, in passione similis Sebastiano egregio martyri.

Cumque nec sing Hinguar furcifer eum lanistis assensum prebere conspiceret, Christum inclamantem iugiter, lictori mandat protinus ut amputet caput eius. Ille seminecem, cui adhuc uitalis calor palpitabat in tepido pectore, ut uix posset subsistere, auellit cruento stipiti festinus, auulsumque relectis costarum latrebris praefunctionibus crebris ac si raptum equuelo aut seuis tortum unguis iubet caput extendere, quod semper fuerat insigne regali diademate.

Cumque staret mitissimus, ut aries de toto grege electus, uolens felici commertio mutare uitam saeculo, diuinus intentus beneficiis, iam recreabatur uisione interna lucis, qua in agone positus satiari cupiebat attentius: unde inter uerba orationis eum arrepto pugione spiculator uni ictu decapitando hac luce priuauit. Atque ida duodecimo Kal. Decembr. Deo gratissimum holocaustum Eadmundus igne passionis examinatus cum palma uictoriae et corona iustitiae rext et martyr intrauit senatum curiae caelestis.

Chapter 10

Barely had the holy man finished announcing these words and the soldier had exited the house on foot, when lo Hingwar stood nearby, and ordered the soldier to use a concise speech when spreading out to all the king's last missive. While this soldier rehearses these words, the tyrant orders each in his crowd to surround the house and only to hold the king within, whom the rebellious had recognised by his condition.

When the holy king Edmund is seized by arms in the palace with outstretched limbs like Christ, and is bound tight in tightened chains, the innocent is then put up before the impious leader, like Christ before the governor Pilate, wishing to follow the path of him who was given as sacrifice for us. Therefore, bound he was mocked in many ways and in the end battered sharply with eagerness and lead to some tree nearby, to which he was tied and harassed for a long time with a cruel whip but not conquered; he was continually invoking Christ in a doleful voice.

Wherefore the enemies in fury were taking turns as if mocking his sigil, and they pierced his entire body with arrow darts, increasing the severity of torture by repeated throws of darts, seeing that wounds upon wounds were impressed upon him while darts upon darts gave room for more. And thus it was done so that bored through with surrounding throbbing spines of arrows, he bristled like a sharp hedgehog or the shaggy stem of a thistle, similar in his passion to the glorious martyr Sebastian.

When he did not even seem to notice this, the scoundrel Hingwar, approving to a trainer while continually reviling Christ, he ordered an attendant to cut off his head. This one, half-dead, who yet pulsed with life-giving heat in his warm breast, barely before he could stop he wrests the bleeding stake swiftly, and having been wrenched, it discloses the hiding-place of the ribs thickset as fruit with punctures and whether snatching torture-device or torturing with fierce tortures, he commands him to extend his head, which always had been the crowned royal insignia.

And when he, the most meek, stood firm, like the ram of the flock of the elect, wishing in happy exchange to move from temporal life, eager for the blessings of God, already revived by a vision of inner light, which he who was put in agony desired diligently: and during the works of his prayers a dagger was seized and in one blow he was decapitated, that light deprived. On the twelfth kalends of December [November 20] Edmund gave this most pleasing sacrifice to God, considering the fire of his passion, with the palm of victory and the crown of justice the king and martyr entered the assembly of the heavenly court.

Capitulum 11

Talique exitu crucis mortificationem quam iugiter in suo corpore rex pertulit, Christi Domini sui secutus uestigia consummauit. Ille quidem purus sceleris in columna ad quam uinctus fuit sanguinem non pro se sed pro nobis flagellorum suorum signa reliquit; iste pro adipiscenda gloria immarcescibili cumentato stipite similis poenas dedit.

Ille integer uitae ob detergendam rubiginem nostrorum facinorum sustinuit benignissimus immanium clauorum acerbitatem in palmis et pedibus; iste propter amorem nominis Domini toto corpore grauibas sagittis horridus et medullitus asperitate tormentorum dilaniatus in confessione patienter perstitit, quam ad ultimum accepta capitali sententia finiuit.

Cuius cirous ita truncum et aculeis hirsutum relinquentes cum suco auctore Dani, ministri diaboli, illud caput sanctum, quod non impinguauerat peccatoris oleum sed certi misterii sacramentum, in siluam cui uocabulum est Haeglesdun recedentes asportauerunt, ac inter densa ueprium frutecta longius proiectum occuluerunt, id omni sagacitate elaborantes ne a Christianis, quos uix paucos reliquerant, sacratissimum corpus martyris cum capite pro tumultantium modulo honestae traderetur sepulturae.⁶⁴⁶

Huic autem spectaculo tam horribili quidam nostrae religionis delitiscendo interfuit, quem subtractum, ut credimus, paganorum gladiis diuina prouidentia ad manifestandum huius rei indaginem reseruauit, licet omnino ignorauerit quid de capite facit esset, nisi quod cum eo carnifices Danos interiorem siluam petere conspexisset.

⁶⁴⁶ This precaution by the Danes resembles that of pagan Roman officials in classical hagiographies, when wanting to destroy the bodies lest a cult be established around them.

Chapter 11

In such a way the king endured the tortures of the cross constantly in his body and, following the Lord Christ in his bath, consummated [through] death. This one [Christ] who was free of sine, yielded his blood by the marks of their whips at the pillar to which he was bound, not for himself but for us; this one [Edmund] for gaining undying glory surrendered to similar tortures at the blooded stake.

This one [Christ] sustained the severity of huge nails in hands and feet for our crimes, so that the blight of [our] life will be removed entire; this one [Edmund]⁶⁴⁷ – for the love of the name of Christ – patiently persisted in confession, his entire body heavy with bristly arrows, and inwardly being torn to pieces by the severity of the torments, he who ended at the last accepting capital punishment.

Whose body full of bristly spines they thus left behind at the tree trunk while taking this holy head, the king's authority, which had not been anointed with the oil of the sinners but by a fixed mysterious sacrament. They took it away unto the forest whose name is Haeglesdun and by throwing it away far off between dense thickets of thornbushes they concealed it with all shrewdness, taking pains lest Christians – a few of which remained – would give the body of the holy martyr together with his head in a grave in the manner of decent burial.

However, as this was in the midst of such a terrible spectacle, someone of our religion was taking shelter, whom – as we believe – was, by the sword of divine providence, spared from the pagans carrying off, to make known this matter, beset with snares, although entirely ignorant of what was being done with the head, nor what the murderous Danes did with it when he had observed them leave for the interior of the forest.

⁶⁴⁷The use of *ille* for both Edmund and Christ might be seen as a subtle way to show their similarities, since they are not mentioned by name, just by deeds, both referred to as “this one”.

Capitulum 12

Quamobrem, quantulacumque reddita aecclesiis pace, coeperunt Christiani de latibulis consurgere, diligenti inquisitione satagentes ut caput sui regis et martyris inuentum reliquo corpori unirent et iuxta suam facultatem condigno honore reconderent. Siquidem paganis abeuntibus et depopulationi quoquo locorum operam dantibus, illud coprus sanctissimum, adhuc sub diuo positum, facillime est repertum in eodem campi ubi rex occubuit, completo cursu sui certaminis.

Quo propter antiquam beneficiorum memoriam et ingenitam regis clementiam populi undique gratuito confluentes coeperunt mesto animo grauius ferre quod caruissent tanta corporis portione. Quorum animis superna inspirauit benignitas, postquam audierunt illius uerba utilia qui tantae uisionis, ut dietum est, particeps astiterat, ut collecta plurimorum multitudine quaqua uersum inuia siluarum experientur, si ad id loci deuenire contingeret quo uiri sancti caput iaceret.

Pro certo etenim omnibus uere sapientibus inerat quod alienae sectae cultores, inuidendo nostrae fidei, sustulissent caput martyris, quod non lingius infra densitatem saltus abscondissent, aut uili cespite obrutum aut auibus et feris deuorandum. Cumque inuito consilio omnes pari affectu ad id concurrerent decreuerunt ut cornibus uel tubis ductilibus singuli contenti essent, quatinus circumcirca peruagantes uocibus aut tubarum strepitu sibi mutuo innuerent, ne aut lustrata repeterent aut non lustrata desererent. Quod ut factum est, res dictu mirabilis et saeculis inaudita contigit.

Quippe caput sancti regis, longius remotum a suo corpore, prorupit in uocem absque fibrarum opitulatione aut arteriarum precordiali munere. Uispillonum sane more pluribus pedetentim inuia perlustrantibus, cum iam posset audiri loquens, ad uoces se inuicem cohortantium et utpote socii ad socium alternatim clamantium “Ubi es?”, illud respondebat designando locum patria lingua dicens “*Her, her, her*” quod interpretatum Latinus sermo exprimit “Hic, hic, hic!” Nec umquam eadem repetendo clamare destitit, quoad omnes ad se perduxit.

Palpitabat mortuae linguae plectrum infra meatus faucium manifestans in se Uerbigenae magnalia, qui rudenti asellae humana conpegit⁶⁴⁸ uerba, ut increparet prophetae insipientiam. Cui miraculo rerum conditur aliud annexit dum caelesti thesauro insolitum custodem dedit.

Quippe immanis lupo eo loci diuina miseratione est repertus, qui illud sacrum caput inter brachia complexus procumbebat humi, excubis impendens martyri, nec sibi depositum permisit ledere quampiam bestiarum, quod inuiolabile, solo tenuis prostratus oblita uoracitate seruabat attentus. Quod stupefacti uidentes qui confluxerant, beatissimum regem et martyrem Eadmundum illi uiro desideriorum iudicauerunt meritis similem qui inter esurientium rictus leonum illesus spreuit minas insidiantium.

⁶⁴⁸ It should be *compegit*.

Chapter 12

For which reason, when peace – however briefly – was restored to the churches, the Christians began to come out of their hiding places, busying themselves with a diligent search so that the head of their king and martyr could be found and they could unite it with the rest of the body so they could hide it with worthy honour according to their ability. Accordingly, with the pagans departing and surrendering work to whatever sacking of the places, this most holy body was easily found as it still was placed in the open air in the same field where the king was killed, having finished the race of his contest.

For the reason of the old memory of the king's inborn clemency, people gathered freely from everywhere, and sad in spirit they began to be vexed that they were lacking such a part of his head. Heaven inspired kindness in their souls after they had heard the useful words of him, who, as it is written, was the partaker of such a vision as he had stood by, so that many were gathered to a multitude so that they searched every part of the inaccessible forest, so that they could happen to arrive at that place where the head of the holy man was lying.

Certainly, since everybody who belongs to the true wisdom, knew that the worshippers of a foreign sect, envying our faith, had taken the head of the saint which they not long ago had hidden among the density of the woodland, either buried in the worthless earth or it would be devoured by birds and wild beasts. And when entering the counsel, all agreeing to this with mutual accord, they decided that horns and trumpets would be guiding everyone, blasting aloud, while they were ranging about the noise of voices or trumpets beckoning to each other, not so that they would return from seeking, nor that they would leave places unexplored. Which as it was done, there happened something wonderful to relate and unheard of for ages.

Indeed, the head of the holy king, long removed from its body, broke out in a voice without the help of entrails or the service of arteries of the heart. Cautiously, many undertakers of the healthy custom were scrutinizing the inaccessible, when already one could hear speaking, and companion to companions, by turns in tones exhorting and alternately shouting "Where are you?", thus responded from its location, choosing the language of the fatherland, saying "*Her, her, her*" which is translated in Latin speech as meaning "Hic, hic, hic". Nor did it ever cease to shout repeating these, which drew everyone at him.

The tip of the dead tongue throbbed within the passages of the throat of the throat, revealing in it the great work of the Word-born, who joined human speech to a braying small she-ass in order to chide an unwise prophet. The mover of all things added one more to this miracle while he gave the heavenly treasure-chest an unusual warden.

As you see, a huge wolf is discovered in this place by divine compassion, which lay down on the ground the sacred head at its chest between his paws, devoting its watches to the martyr. Nor did it allow itself or any beast to hurt its ward, which was sacred to that pious beast. It only lay prostrate on the ground, forgetful of its restrained voracity, protecting it attentively. Seeing which, the stupefied who had gathered, judged the most blessed king and martyr Edmund to have merited to be a man among the favourites, similar to him unharmed among the jaws of hungry lions who spurned the menaces lying in ambush [i.e. Daniel].

Capitulum 13

Assumentes ergo unanimi deuotione quam inuerenat inestimabilis pretii margaritam, cum profusis pre gaudio lacrimarum imbribus retulerunt ad suum corpus, benedicentes Deum in hymnis et laudibus, prosequente usque ad locum spulchri lupo, earundem reliquiarum custode et baiulo. Qui eis a tergo imminens et quasi pro perduto pignore lugens, cum neminem etiam irritatus laederet, nemini inportunus existeret, nota dilectae solitudinis secreta illaesus repetit, nec ulterius in illis locis lupus specie tam terribilis apparuit.

Quo tandem reedente, cum summa diligentia et omni sagacitatis studio aptantes, quibus creditum est, caput corpori sancto, pro tempore tradiderunt utrumque pariter iunctum competenti mausoleo. Qua etiam, edificata uidi opere desuper basilica multis annis requieuit humatus, donec sedatis omnimodo bellorum incendiis et ualida tempestate persecutionis, coepit respirare religiosa pietas fidelium, erepta de pressuris tribulationum.

Quae ubi tempus oportunum inuenti, deuotionem quam erga beatissimum regem et martyrem Eadmundum habuit operum exhibitione multipliciter propaleuit. Idem namque sanctus, sub uili tugurio sanctificate domus, cuius esset apud Deum meriti crebris manifestabat miraculorum signis.

Quibus rebus permota eiusdem prouinciae multitudo, non solum uulgi sed etiam nobilium, in uilla regia quae lingua Anglorum Bedricesgueord dicitur, Latina uero Bedricicurtis uocatur, construxit permaximam miro ligneo tabulatu aecclesiam, ad quam eum ut decebt transtulit cum magna gloria.

Chapter 13

Therefore when they had discovered this inestimably precious pearl, beginning of one accord with profuse rains of tears of joy, they brought it back to his body, praising God in hymns and praise. And escorting them to the place of burial was the wolf, the custodian and steward of the relics, who was following them closely from the rear, as if grieving a broken pledge. When nobody provoking would offend, no rude person appeared, he returned uninjured to the delightful solitude of his secret haunt, nor did ever in that place again appear a wolf of such a dreadful size.

When he at last withdrew, with highest diligence and applying every acuteness of eagerness, as it is believed, they delivered the head to the body of the holy in time, joining both together in a suitable mausoleum. Over which was built a chapel of mean work where he lay buried for many years, until settling after all the conflagration of war and the strong storm of persecutions, faithful religious piety began to breathe out, escaping from oppressing tribulations.

When this suitable time appeared, the devotion which the most blessed king and martyr Edmund had held, was made visible through the display of numerous works. And this saint, under a mean cottage which he was sanctifying as a house, whose merit before God was made manifest by repeated signs of miracles.

Which matter was stirring up a multitude in that same province, not only common folk but nobles too, to construct a church of wood panels most extraordinary, in the king's residence which in the tongue of the English is called Bedrichsworth and in proper Latin called Bedricicurtis, to which he was, as is fitting, transferred with greatest glory.

Capitulum 14

Sed mirum dictu, cum illum pretiosum corpus martyris putrefactum putaretur ob diuturnum spatiam transacti temporis, ita sanum et incolume est repertum ut non dicam caput redintegratum et compactum⁶⁴⁹ corpori sedomnino in eo nichil uulneris, nichil cicatrix apparuerit. Sique cum reuerentia nominandus sanctus rex et martyr Eadmundus integer et uiuenter simillimus ad praedictum oculus est translatus, ubi adhuc in eadem forma expectat beatae resurrectionis gaudia repromissa.

Tantum in eis collo ob signum martyrii rubet una tenuissima riga in modum fili coccinei, sicut testari erat solita quaedam beatae recordationis femina, Oswen uocabulo dicta: quae paulo ante haec nostra moderna tempora apud eius sacrosanctum tumulum ieiuniis et orationibus uocans multa transaegit annorum curricula.

Cui uenerabili feminae aut diuina reuelatione aut nimia deuotione mos inoleuit ut, putefacto beaitu martyris sepulchro quotaminis in Dominica caena, eius attendendo precideret capillos et unguis. Quae omnia diligenter colligens et in capsella recondens non neglexit, quamdiu uixit, excolere mira affectione, posita super altare eiusdem aeccliesiae, ubi adhuc reseruantur debita ueneratione.

Chapter 14

But a marvel it is to tell, when the body of the precious martyr was estimated to be putrefied on account of the long-lasting interval of time having passed, this body is found whole and unscathed, lest I say that the head was revived and joined to the body, but that in it no wound, no cicatrice appeared. For which reason the reverently called holy king and martyr Edmund, intact and looking as if alive, was translated to the aforementioned place where he in this same form expects the blessed resurrection that has happily been promised.

The only sign of his martyrdom was a minute crease in the neck, in the manner of a thread of purple-dyed cloth, as it was the habit to testify of a certain woman of blessed memory, called by the name Oswen: who shortly before these our modern times who performed her fasts and prayers at his sacred grave through the passing of many years.

Which venerable woman, either through divine inspiration or through excessive devotion grew into the custom of disclosing the blessed martyr's tomb every year on Maundy Thursday, clipping she cut short hairs and nails, collecting and hiding all of these diligently in a box, not forgetting for as long as she lived to improve her marvellous affection, positing them upon the altar in that same church where they were kept with due veneration.

⁶⁴⁹ It should be *compactum*.

Capitulum 15

Sed et beatae memoriae Theodredus, eiusdem prouinciae religiosus episcopus, qui propter meritorum prerogatiuam Bonus appellabatur, quod de incorruptione sancti regis diximus tali ordine est expertus. Cum, ut narrare adorsi sumus, prefato loco martyris tumulatione congruo a quibusque religiosis multa conferrentur donaria et ornamenta in auro et argento pretiosissima, quidam malignae mentis homines, omnis boni inmemores, agressi sunt sub nocturno siletio eandem infringere basilicam latrocinandi studio.

Fuerunt autem octo, qui absque ulla reuerentia sancti decreuerant satisfacere suae uesanae uoluntati rapiendo furtim omnia quaecumque inuenissent sibi utilia infra eiusdem monasterii septa. Unde sumptis machinis et quibuslibet utensilibus quibus ad id perficiendum habebant opus, quadam nocte aggrediuntur premeditatum facinus, et stantes in atrio aecclesiae diuerso conatu unusquisque instat conceptae nequitiae.

Quorum altus postibus scalam applicat, ut per insertam fenestram se ingerat; alius cum lima aut fabрили malleo instat serae aut pessulo; alii cum uangis et ligonibus suffossionem parietis machinatur. Sicque disposito opere, cum singuli certatim insudant pro uirium facultate, sanctus martyr eos ligat in ipso suo conamine, ut nec pedem loco possent mouere nec arreptum officium deserere, sed alius palam incuruus fossor fieret, qui ad id operis furtiuus uenissent.

Interea quidam matriculariorum, qui infra basilicam iacebat, somno excitus lecto procumbebat inuitus, quem martyris potentia suo conatu uinxerat, ne, suis obuius factus mirabilibus, sonus fragoris creber custodis pulsaret aures interius. Sed quid dicam non posse surgere quando nec in uocem poterat erumpere? Tandem mane adhuc persistentes fures in cepto opere comprehensi a pluribus traduntur uinculis artioribus, et tandem predicti sancti episcopi Theodredi iudicio subduntur. Qui impremeditatus sententiam dedit quam se dedisset postea omni tempore uitae suae penituit.

Nam omnes simul iussit affigi patibulis, eo quod ausi fuissent atrium sancti Eadmundi martyris furtiue ingredi, non reducens ad memoriam quod Dominus per prophetam admonet: “Eos qui ducantur ad mortem eruere ne cesses,” factum quoque Helisaei prophetae, qui latrunculos de Samaria pastos pane et aqua remisti ad propria, dicens regi, uolenti percutere ilico, quod non eos coepisset in gladio et arcu suo: Apostoli etiam preceptum quo dicit: “Saecularia negotia si habueritis, contemptibiles qui sunt in aecclesia” (id est, uiros saeculares) “constituite ad iudicandum.”

Unde canonum auctoritas prohibet ne quis episcopus aut quilibet de clero delatoris fungatur officio, quoniam satis dedecet ministros uitae caelestis assensum prebere in mortem cuiuslibet hominis. Quam ob rem predictus episcopus in se reuersus grauiter indoluit, et sibi poenitentiam indicens diutus se in grauibus lamentis dedit.

Qua tandem peracta poenitentia, populos suae dicoeseos mandat, mandando conuocat, conouocando suppliciter persuadet ut triduo ieiuno a se diuinae indignationis iracundiam remouerant, remouendo auertant: quatinus sacrificio spiritibus contribulati placatus, Dominus illi suam gratiam concederet, qua corpus beati martyris tangere et lauare accideret, qui, licet tantis uirtutibus floreret in mundo, uili tamen et sibi incongruo continebatur mausoleo; factumque est, et illud sanctissimi regis corpus, ante dilucratum et truncum, ita ut iam retulimus unitum et incruptum repperit, tetigit, lauit et rursum nouis et optimis uestibus indutum ligneo locello reposuit, benedicens Deum qui mirabilis est in sanctis suis et gloriosus in omnibus operibus suis.

Chapter 15

Also Theodred of blessed memory, bishop over the religious of this same province, who for his merits earned the right to be called the Good, experienced the incorruption of the holy king, as we say, to such a degree. When as we are beginning to narrate, as he was preaching suitably at the place of the martyr's interment to some devotees, many donations and ornaments in precious gold and silver were brought together, for which men of wicked mind, forgetful of all things good, were advancing under the silence of the night to break into that same church, engaging in robbery with eagerness. They were, moreover, eight, who were undiminished by any reverence for the holy to satisfy their frenzied desire for secretly pillaging everything which they could find useful for themselves within the enclosing of that same monastery. From there they were taking up any schemes useful for accomplishing that work which they were doing, for which they are advancing in the night, premeditating the crime and standing in the atrium opposite the church with the impulse of anybody who pursues conceived wickedness.

One of whom applied a ladder to another doorpost for entering by forcing himself through the window, another stands by the rail or the bolt with a file or a carpenter's hammer; others plot to cover the walls with spades and hoes. And thus organizing the work, they are each of them sweating with eagerness by the ability of their strength, the holy martyr binds them in their work, so that they could neither move their feet from that place, nor leave off the work they had begun, but also made his spade crooked, who had come there for that furtive work.

In the meantime a certain of the novices, lying inside the basilica, unwilling to get out of bed as the repeated noise of sound came to the inner ear of the custodian, was roused out of sleep and saw whom the force of the martyr bound with its impulse so that he was exposed to that marvel which was done. But who says "I cannot arise" when the voice can burst neither? Finally, in the morning the thieves were caught in the act by someone checking, and being seized by many they are delivered in tight chains and in the end brought before the judgement of the aforementioned Bishop Theodred, who consigns them to the unpremeditated sentence that they should die, which he afterwards regretted for the rest of his life.

He ordered them all in the like manner to be fastened to the gibbet, these who had ventured to furtively break into the hall of the holy martyr Edmund, not calling to mind what the Lord admonished through the prophet: "Those are led to be destroyed, be not hesitant to free them", or doing as Elisha the prophet when he gave bread and water to the thieves of Samaria to feed on when it was given back to him, as is said in the Book of Kings [2 Kings 6:18ff], when wishing to strike him on the spot and had not begun on them with his sword or bow; the Apostle likewise has a lesson which says, "Worldly business should you hold loathsome, you who are in church" (meaning men of the secular order) "you should institute as judgement." By which canonical authority it is prohibited that neither bishop nor any of the clerics can perform the office of the accuser. Since that is enough to bring dishonour to the servants of the heavenly light to assent to exposing themselves

Appendix I

in death as men. For which reason the aforementioned bishop grieved heavily time and again, and surrendered to declaring publicly his penance for which he lamented heavily that he would submit himself to.

Finishing the penitence at last, he commands the people of his diocese, commanding he convokes, convoking he entreatingly persuades a three-day fast in order that they can remove the anger of divine indignation, so removing it they would avert it: and to such an extent did the sacrifice appease the troubled soul, that the Lord granted his gift to him who prepared to touch and wash the body of the holy martyr which although blossoming with such powers in the world is now enclosed within a tomb so cheap it is unsuitable for him. And so it was done, and that body of the most holy king, after being torn to pieces to the tree and cut in half, so that when we restored it was discovered whole and incorrupt, touched, washed and placed in new and most fine garments, restored to a house covered with wood, praising God who is marvellous in his holy, and glorious in all his works.

Capitulum 16

Nec piget referre de quodam magnae potentiae uiro, Leofstano uocabulo, qui, iuuenilis aetatis impetum non referens, ad id flagitii lasciuiendo prorupit ut sibi quadam singularis potentiae auctoritate preciperet ostendi corpus tanti martyris. Cumque inhiberetur a pluribus, maxime tamen a suis fidelibus, preualuit eius imperium, quoniam propter arrogantiam suae nobilitatis omnibus erat terrori. Reserato ergo locello astitit, aspexit, et eodem momento in amentiam uersum tradidit illum Dominus in reprobum sensum, ac poena sua didicit quia praesumpsisset quid non licuit. Quod audiens pater eius, uir religiosus admodum, cui erat Aelfgarus uocabulum, exhorruit facinus flagitiosissimum, ac martyri gratias retulit, filiumque a se remouit. Qui tandem ad summam inopiam perductus, iudicio Dei uitam finiuit, uermibus consumptus.

Sicque sanctus rex et martyr Eadmundus omnibus innotuit non se esse inferiorem meritis Laurentii beati leuitae et martyris, cuius corpus, ut refert beatus pater Gregorius, cum quidam seu digni seu indigni leuare uolentes conspicerent, contigit ut septem ex eis ibidem subita morte perirent. O quanta reuerentia locus ille dignus existit qui sub specie dormientis tantum Christi testem continet, et in quo tantae uirtutes fiunt et factae esse referuntur, quantas hac tempestate apud Anglos nusquam alibi audiuimus!

Quas ego breuitatis studio pretereo, ne alicuius fastidiosi offensam incurrerem iusto prolixior, credens ista posse sufficere quae dicta sunt ardenti desiderio eorum qui preter Deum huius martyris patrocinio nil preferunt. De quo constat, sicut et de aliis sanctis omnibus iam cum Christo regnantibus, quod licet eius anima sit caelesti gloria, non tamen per uisitationem die noctuque longe est a corporis presentia, cum quo promeruit ea quibus iam perfruitur beatae immortalitatis gaudia.

Nam dum aeterna patria ei iungitur qui ubique totus est, de eo habet posse quicquid habuerit et uelle, preter id solum quod infatigabili desiderio concupiscit ut per resurrectionem circumdetur stola demutatae carnis, quoniam tunc erit perfecta beatitudo sanctorum cum ad id fuerit Christo largiente peruentum.

Chapter 16

Nor is it irksome to report about a certain man of great power called Leofstan, who, not curbing the wildness of young age, rushed forth to this sporting of disgrace that he ordered on account of the power of singular authority the body of such a martyr to be shown to him. And when restrained by many, yet still with his most loyal men he executed his authority, seeing that everyone was afraid on account of the arrogance of his nobility.

So, as the shrine was opened he stood by and observed, and in that moment he was changed into madness, the Lord delivered him into a base sense, as his punishment he learns he had dared what was not permitted. When hearing this his father, a very religious man who was called Aelfgar, he trembled at this shameful act, and to restore the martyr's goodwill he distanced himself from his son. Who was therefore led into the height of deepest poverty, and on the verdict of God ended his life, consumed by worms.

And thus the holy king and martyr Edmund became known to all as not being inferior in his merits than the blessed deacon and martyr Laurentius whose body, as blessed father Gregory reports, when some observed it either worthy or unworthy wishing to lift it up, it happened that seven of those in that place were overtaken by sudden death. O in what reverence does this worthy place appear where under the appearance of sleeping contains such a witness of Christ and in which which so many deeds of power happen and being made to be reported, so great that to this day we have heard nowhere else among the English of such great occurrences.

Which I, in the pursuit of brevity, omit, lest I meet with just offense as prolix from anyone disdainful, believing these things to be sufficient which are burning with the desire of those who give preference to nothing – except God – save the patronage of this martyr. Of which it is agreed that like all the other holy who are already reigning with God, it is permitted for his soul to be in heavenly glory, yet still present day and night in the body through frequent visit and not long between each, which is merited for him who already enjoys the pleasure of immortality of those blessed.

For while in the eternal fatherland he is united with He who is everywhere, Anything which he wishes is allowed him, except this only, i.e. that which one desires with indefatigable longing that through the resurrection one is enclosed in a garment of transient flesh, because then it will be the perfect blessedness of the holy, when that one will be arriving lavishing at Christ.

Capitulum 17

Sed de hoc sancto martyre estimari licet cuius sit sanctitatis in hac uita, cuius caro mortua prefert quoddam resurrectionis decus sine sui labe aliqua quandodicem eos qui huiusmodi munere donati sunt extollant catholica patres suae relationis indiculo de singulari uirginitatis adepto priuilego, dicentes quod iusta remuneratione etiam hic gaudent preter morem de carnis incorruptione qui eam usque ad mortem seruauerunt, non sine iugis martyrii ualida persecutione. Quid enim maius sub caritate Christiane fidei quam adipisci hominem cum gratia quod habet angelus ex natura?

Unde diuinum oraculum quasi singulari quodam dono repromittit quod uirgines sequentur agnum quocumque ierit. Considerandum igitur quis iste fuerit, qui in regni culmine, inter tot diuitias et luxus aeculi, semet ipsum calcata carnis petulantia uincere studuit, quod eius ostendit incorruptibilis. Cui humano obsequio famulantes satagunt illi ea placere munditia quam ei perpetuo placuisse manifestant membra incorrupta, et si non possunt uirgineo flore pudicitiae, saltem expertae uoluptatis iugi mortificatione.

Quoniam si illa sanctae animae inuisibilis et illocalis praesentia alicuius famulantium spurcitia offendatur, timendum est quod propheta terribiliter comminatur: 'In terra sanctorum iniqua gessit, et ideo gloriam Domini non uidebit.' Cuius terrore sententiae permoti huius sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris imploremus patrocinium, ut nos cum sibi digne famulantibus expiet a peccatis quibus meremus supplicum, per eum qui uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Chapter 17

But of this holy martyr it is estimated that it was permitted for him to become holy in this life, whose flesh is displayed in death without any blemish as in the glory of the resurrection, since those who are given this kind of reward the Catholic fathers extol by the proof of their reports of those gaining the privilege of virginity, saying it is a fair recompense and they also rejoice before the custom of incorrupt flesh which they continuously preserve for themselves until death, not without the yoke of strong suffering. For what is as great for a man than to gain with grace under the charity of Christian faith that which an angel holds from nature?

Which divine prophecy guarantees it as a remarkable gift that virgins follow the Lamb wherever it goes. Contemplating these, therefore, one will be like Edmund, who at the height of royal pomp, amidst all worldly delight and pleasures, he strove to conquer the immodesty of the flesh, trampling it underfoot, which is seen of him in the incorrupt flesh. Those who are attending human affairs in subservience ought to fuss rather to satisfy those manners of that which to continually satisfy they reveal by incorrupt members, and, if they cannot take the virginal flower of chastity, at least trying to put desire to the yoke of mortification. Since, if any of the invisible and in no place corporeally present holy souls is offended by anyone's filthiness, he is dreading that with which the prophet Isaiah most terribly threatens: 'He brought iniquity into the land of the holy, and will therefore not be seen in God's glory.' Being aroused by the terror of this sentence we implore this holy Edmund king and martyr for his patronage, so that we suppliants with him are worthy the merit to be expiated from attending to our sins, by him who lives and reigns from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

Appendix II – Office for Edmund, *vigilia and dies natalis*

In uigilia sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris.

Ad uesperas.

In euangelio

[1] VVMagA

Prepollens magnifice rex eadmundus martyr q[uem?] edelredi regis tempore atributo Suuein pessimo colonos eruit suos diuino usus brachio quod suis sit defensio

Very strong and magnificent King Edmund Martyr who, in the time of King Ethelred bestowing unto the wickedest Svein, he destroys – as with his farmers – the use of his breast which is his divine punishment.

Magnificat

Matutin

Invitatorium

[2] VIA

Preuenientes festum ueneremur eadmundum et in eo adoremus regem regum

The feast of Edmund is arriving, let us venerate and in him we adore the king of kings

[3] Ps.94

Venite exultemus domino

In primo nocturno

[4] VMA1

Siquidem peruasor anglie ethelredi suis tempore eo fugato ab inde tributum ponit ubiq[ue?] quod malum infortunium eadmundus dat in prosperum ualet enim apud Deum.

Accordingly, in his time Ethelred putting to flight from him the invader of England who claimed taxes everywhere. Which Edmund – who prevails triumphantly, namely with God – gave wicked punishment.

[5] VMA2

Perturbat omnes fama mali dolent se principe frustratum proformidine tyranni sed recusat tributaria eadmundi martyris familia sui sancta potens auxilia.

Rumour of the evil disturbs everyone. They suffer out of dread for the leader, but he recuses the tribute from the household of Edmund Martyr, by the help of holy power.

[6] VMA3

Cultores uero beodricenses erga sanctum eadmundum non pigritantes hoc malum in properii remouerit uirtute dei quibus adest iam solita quam deus clementia

Truly, the cultivators of Beodricsworth did not hesitate before the shrine of Edmund, this evil withdrew quickly [due to] the power of God which is always present, as is the custom of God's mercy.

[7] VML1

Appendix II

Quem querentibus fidei mente nusquam deest sed affluit largitio dominice miserecordie. Cultores beodricenses hoc utilimum prouidentes et in calamitate lugubri conmanentes, ante sanctum martyris corpus inuocando nomen domini singultuosius precum effusionibus animis inuigilantes exorant patrem Eadmundum diri sueyn remoueri tributum. Cuius necessitatis interuentus apud sanctum fit medius egeuuinus monachus. Ipse enim sancti famulus nocturne reuelationis mutuis allocutionibus ut ore ad os loquebatur sibi sepius. Qui in habitu laicali despecta dudum pompa seculari in eadem ecclesia ad amorem sancti contulerat se primus monastico ordini sub constitutione regulari desiderantissime cucullatus inibi a deo spiritualium exercitationi insudans operum, ut deuotus erga sanctum seruilem exhibens cultum, incorrupta sancti corporis membra pura sepe super fundebat aqua, capillos capitis sancti corporis componens dentibus pectineis, quos detraxerat cum pectine, diligens reliquiarum more seruabat in buxide. Hac excellentia prerogatiue singularis ditatus, martyris consecratis cubicularius a suis uocabatur agnitoribus, omnimodis debitum impendendo seruitium, ut uiuenti in carne solet quis hominum.

[8] VMR1

Animis inuigilantes cultores beodrices ordenses exorant patrem eadmundum diri suem remoueri tributum cuius interuentus apud sanctum sit medias consecratis egeuuinus monachus.

V. Ipse enim sancti famulus ut ore ad os loquebatur sibi sepius.

[r] Egeuuinus

[9] VML2

Huius rei gratia pro diuersis oppressionibus sancto colloqui solitus ut amico amicus per noctis silentia uiam leuaminis ac consilii salubrioris responsa crebro capiebat utilia. Inter hec prefato monacho querela populi conmanentis eo notificata sancto meruit sincera cordis eius fiducia iuxta quod petierat exaudiri, et ab ingruenti oppressionem per opace noctis silentia deditus sopori ut humanus expetit usus releuari. Tunc felix eadmundus suorum misertus uerba cum minis regi sueyn mittit. Dicens in meos quid furis, quid tributarios facis, cessa cessa tributum exigere quod nullo dederunt sub rege nec requisitum uel persolutum fuit post me eorum aliquorum tempore quia si te ab hac infestatione non remoues, prope cognosces quod deo michique pro populo displices.

[10] VMR2

Felix eadmundus suorum misertus uerba cum minis regis sueyn mittit dicens in meos quid furis quid tributarios facti cessa cessa

To those who complain with a faithful mind, the generosity of God's mercy is nowhere missing, but abounds. The cultivators of Beodricsworth, making this useful provision and in grievous calamity, remaining constantly before the holy body of the martyr, invoking the name of the Lord groaning in profusion of prayers, with waking souls entreated Edmund the father for the tribute of the cruel Svein to be removed. Intervening before the saint for which necessity to be done, the monk Aelfwine was the mediator. Indeed, this servant would often speak in nightly revelations with the saint in mutual address, as were they mouth to mouth. Who had formerly been in lay clothing, but disdainingly worldly pomp had conveyed himself to this church for the love of the saint. [He was] in the first order of monks, among the regulars, but was ardently seeking the hood in that place, sweating in the training for spiritual works for God, and in order to show servile honour towards the saint, he often poured water over the clean members of the incorrupt holy body, the hairs of the head he arranged with the teeth of a comb, and those [hairs] which he dislodged with the comb he preserved in a diligent manner in a box as relics. Because of this excellent privilege enriching him particularly, he was called – by those who vouched for him – the martyr's initiated chamber-servant, devoted to every form of appropriate service, just as is customary for a man living in the flesh.

With waking souls, the cultivators of Beodricsworth crowd together, they entreat Edmund the father for the tribute of the cruel Svein to be removed. Intervening before the saint, the monk Aelfwine was the mediator

[V] Indeed, this servant would often speak with the saint as were they mouth to mouth

[r] Aelfwine

Whose gift for which [treatment], was to converse to the saint alone about diverse things that oppressed him as in the manner of a friend to a friend in the silence of the night and often he found ways to alleviate them and [also] responses of wholesome counsel. Amidst these [conversations], the monk uttering the complaint of the people standing by, he merited the attention of the saint for the trust of his sincere heart and that he had asked for was heard, [so that] while in the silence of the dark night he was given over to sleep, which is demanded of humans, they were delivered from the oncoming oppression. Then happy Edmund, pitying his people, sent threatening words to Svein, saying: Why do you steal from my people, why do you take tribute? Cease, cease to exact this tribute which was never surrendered under the king, neither requested nor was paid after me or in any other time, if you don't remove this harassment, you will know for yourself that you displease God and me on behalf of the people.

Happy Edmund, pitying his people, sent threatening words to Svein, saying: Why do you steal from my people, why do

tributum exigere quod nullo dederunt sub rege.
V. Prope namque cognosces quod deo michique displices
[r] cessa.

[11] VML3

Sic famulus dei iniuncta per soporem tenaci memorie commendans ad sui populi releuationem, sub designato termino uiam hilaris arripit pro posse suo, tandemque meta uie finita regis diu quesiti utitur presentia. Quo stipato danorum miserorumque anglorum satellite plurimo, necnon perorata salutatione eloquio egeluino ut decebat luculentissimo, legationis causa cur uenerit palam prosecuta miscendo duris blanda sed et mitissimis demulcendo aspera, mandatum martyris indicat et edocet, uidelicet ne suos cultores pondere tribute ullatenus oneret, sin autem interminationem ueram affuture inconmoditatis sentiet. Tum magis magisque martyris mandato sollicitatur ab egeluino secretario trux sueyn et frendens ut leo, ad geynesburch in generali placito, sed martyr sanctus spretus eum nuncio, instat interminationis negotio, nuntium contumeliis uerborum lacessitum spretum ac pulsum muniens diuine securitatis clipeo. Ipse longe positus et deo proximus hostem proterit inimicum perimit tributum minuit.

[12] VMR3

Martyris mandato sollicitatur ab egeluino secretario trux sueyn ad geynesburch in generali placito sed martyr sanctus spretus cum nuntio instat interminationis negotio.

[V] Longe positus et deo proximus hostem proterit inimicum perimit

[r] Interminatio

[13] VML4

Sed ne claritas miraculi martyris eadmundi obumbraretur raritati testimonii, uoluit omnipotens proferri in propatulo quod inuictus martyr egerit pro suo populo. Contigit autem in uicecomitatu estsexisse in domo cuiusdam uille eadem nocte qua sueyn malo periit homine,⁶⁵⁰ quendam sic infirmitatis mole depressum, sic sola facie, sic pectore uiuente paululum morituro simillimum, ut uiribus negatis nulli asstantium uideretur esse uitalis. Ad signum uero triumphis insignis eadmundi hic encliticus⁶⁵¹ morti contiguus triduo in agonia positus, sic in medium ab amicis uicinisque custoditus in uerba prorumpens pandit astantibus, sueyn sancti perfossum cuspede uitam male perdidisse, dei pro sancto ultione. Quod ut aperuit uirtute oris residens in medio

you take tribute? Cease, cease to exact this tribute which was never surrendered under the king

[V] You will know for yourself that you displease God and me

[r.] Cease

The servant of God thus, entrusting to steadfast memory what had been enjoined to him in sleep about the relief of his people, in the allotted time he assails the road, cheerful, as [soon as] he is able, and at last reaching the endpost of the journey, he enjoyed the long-sought presence of the king. Where there were gathered together many Danish and wretched English attendants, he had not even concluded his greeting when he adorned in a most brilliant manner the cause of embassy for which he had come, describing in plain details and mixing hard words with flattery, and yet softening most gently the rough edges, Aelfwine recounted and instructed about the command of the martyr, namely that he should not oppress his cultivators with the burden of tribute in any way, lest he would experience the misfortune of the threat that would come. Then the fierce Svein is increasingly disturbed by the command of the martyr given by the pleading sacristan Aelfwine, and he rages like a lion at the general assembly at Gainesborough. But the holy martyr, spurned along with his messenger persevered in his threats of pain, protecting the messenger who had been harassed by insults of words, scorned and beaten with the shield of divine safety [cf. Psalm 5:12-13]. This one, although in a distant position and [situated] next to God, oppresses and destroys the hostile enemy to reduce the tribute.

The fierce Svein is disturbed by the command of the martyr given by the pleading sacristan Aelfwine at the general assembly at Gainesborough. But the holy martyr, spurned along with his messenger persevered in his threats of pain

[V] This one, although in a distant position and [situated] next to God, oppresses and destroys the hostile enemy

[r] threats

So that the clarity of the martyr Edmund's miracle would not be concealed due to the sparsity of witnesses, the omnipotent willed to uncover in the open what the invincible martyr could carry out for his people. So it happened in a certain house in a town in the district of Essex, in the same night when Svein was destroyed by a bad sign, that a certain man was weighed down by the trouble of his illness, thus his face and thus his chest were only faintly alive, resembling a dying many, so that he had not the strength to stand up, he did not seem able to survive. Truly, as a sign of the triumph of the eminent Edmund, this bedridden, nearing death, having struggled for three days, placed in the midst of friends and

⁶⁵⁰ The scribe of the vigil office in Pierpont Morgan MS 736 has here written *homine* for *omine*. See Licence 2014: 24-25.

⁶⁵¹ Tom Licence suggests this is a word invented by Herman. See Licence 2014: lxxxviii.

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lectuli dono dei omnipotentis eo signo uerum affirmat quo se moriens ut prius in stratu collocat, datque fidem uerbis faciem morem morientis. Iam nunc uiget ueridici effectualiter sententia pauli, docens romanos dei inuisibilia per ea que facta sunt a mundi cognosci creatura ut superius de suein relata ultio peregit diuinia scilicet per egrotum subito locutum moxque defunctu quod erat ignotum fit proculdubio notissimum ad conditoris laudem, cui totis orbis redemptus dicit amen.

[14] VMR4

Ad signum triumphi insignis eadmundi quidam encliticus morti contiguus triduo in agonia positus in uerba prorumpens pandit astantibus sueyn sancti perfossum cuspide uitam male perdidisse de ultione.

[V]Datque fidem uerbis faciens morem mortentis.

[r] Pandit.

In laudibus

[15] VLA1

Deuotus egeluinus circa sanctum eadmundum seruilem exhibens cultum incorrupta sancti corporis membra pura sepe super fundebat aqua cuius consecratalis cubicularius a suis uocabatur agnitoribus.

[16] VLA2

Ipsae capillos sancti capitis componens dentibus pectinens quos detraxerat cum pectine diligens seruabat in buxide. Orta tempestate danorum res inuadentium anglorum christi testis eadmundus cum locello uehiculo super positus ab egeluino circumcirca deducitur ne tantum thesaurum manus deprehendat malorum.

[17] VLA3

Cuius cum deo meritum fit pluribus notissimum dum pernoctant aforis presbiteri domo sanctus in uehiculo ductorque sub eo sic sanctus est tugurium et nocte lumen lucidum.

[18] VLA4

Dum peruenit sanctus et auriga eius ad aque transitum fit ibi dubium quomodo sancti gleba transierit in hreda [rheda]⁶⁵² sed facit uirtus diuina pro sancto laudabilia.

neighbours who watched over him, he, standing up, bursting out in words and spreading out that Svein was stabbed by the saint, his evil life destroyed by the speartip by God in revenge on behalf of his saint. So that that which was uncovered by the strength of words, the gift of the omnipotent God was confirmed by this sight, that sitting down in the middle of the bed, he lay himself down on the sheet, withering away as before, and gave himself over to faith with words and appearance in the manner of a dying man. Even now flourishes effectively the decree of truthful Paul, teaching the Romans: “The invisible things of God, since the creation of the world, is recognised by that which is done”, as was reported about Svein who was destroyed by divine revenge, as one might know by the sick man suddenly speaking and afterwards died, so that which was unknown to happen was known far off, to the praise of the creator to whom the entire redeemed world says “Amen”.

As a sign of the triumph of the eminent Edmund, this bedridden, nearing death, having struggled for three days, bursting out in words and spreading out that Svein was stabbed by the saint, his evil life destroyed by the speartip in revenge

[V] And gave himself over to faith with words and appearance in the manner of a dying man

[r] Spreading out

Devoted Aelfwine, near holy Edmund to show servile honour towards the saint, he often poured water over the clean members of the incorrupt holy body for which he was called – by those who vouched for him – the martyr’s initiated chamber-servant.

These same hairs of the holy he arranged with the teeth of a comb, which when dislodged with the comb he preserved diligently a box. The storm of the Danes arriving, invading the realm of the English, Edmund the witness of Christ, was placed on a vehicle by Aelfwine and conducted around in the territory so that such a treasure would not fall into the hands of the wicked.

Whose merit with God is made well-known to many, while they spent the night outside a priest’s house, the saint in the cart and its conductor under it, the saint is a bright light to the cottage in the night.

While the saint and his charioteer⁶⁵³ arrived at the water-crossing, the charioteer became doubtful as to in what way he could cross on that turf in the wagon, but it is done by praiseworthy divine power for the saint.

⁶⁵² Parkes 2014: 159, n.99.

⁶⁵³ 4 Kings 2:12.

Office for Edmund, *vigilia and dies natalis*

In eu[an]g[e]l[ia]

[19] VLA5

O sanctissimi meritum eadmundi per quem benedicitur filius dei cuius rote uehiculi dantes certa uestigii super flumen cucurrit dextra eque super pontem sinistra more petri calcantis equor nutu domini benedictus deus per omnia.

O merit of most holy Edmund, by whom the son of God is praised. Whose wheels produced sure tracks, the right moving over the river, just as the left did over the bridge, in the manner of Peter treading the level sea on God's command. God is praised by all.

[Dies eadmundi]

AD VESPERA ANTIFONA

[20] VA1

Aue rex gentis anglorum
miles regis angelorum
o eadmunde flos martyrum
uelut rosa uel lilum
funde preces ad dominum
pro salute fidelium.

Ave, king of the English people,
knight of the king of angels.
O Edmund, flower of the martyrs,
like the rose or the lily,
pour prayers unto the Lord
for the prosperity of faith.

[21] VA2

O purpurea martyrium
gemma rex eadmunde
martyr pie esto semper
propitius et placabilis huic familie tue.

O purple martyrdom,
gem, king Edmund,
pious martyr, be always well-inclined
and easily appeased [towards] this your family.

[22] VA3

Gaudes honore gemino
rex et martyr cum domino
hostis sine remedio
digno perit incendio
tu ergo nobis subveni in tremendo iudicio.

Rejoice in the dignity of the twinned
king and martyr [who] passed away to the lord of hosts
without the proper medicine,
through the passion, you therefore
will assist us at the terrible judgement.

[23] VA4

Princeps et pater patrie
eadmundi nobillissime
in agone nouissimo
bellator inuictissime
precinctus fortitudine
castra uicisti satane
fac nos tue uictorie
participes et glorie.

Prince and father of the fatherland,
most noble Edmund,
invincible warrior,
girded with courage,
in the last struggle you
will conquer the fortress of Satan.
Make us participants
of your victory and glory.

[24] VR1

Miles Christi [gloriose Edmund sanctissime tuo pio interuentu
culpae nostrae ablue].

[V] Ignis et ferrum [super me et fauum mihi est iucundum]

[Glorious] soldier of Christ [most holy Edmund, with your
pious intervention you wash our guilt away]

[V] Fire and iron [is more pleasant to me than honey and
honeycomb]

IN EVGL

[25] VMagA

Exulta sancta ecclesia totias gentis anglice ecce in manibus est
laudatio eadmundi regis inclyti et martyris inuictissimi qui
triumphato mundi principe celos ascendit uictoriosissime sancta
pater eadmundo tuis supplicibus intende.

Rejoice, holy church of the entire English people, behold in
[whose] hands is Edmund praised, the illustrious king and
invincible martyr, who triumphing over the prince of the
world ascended victoriously in heaven. Holy father Edmund,

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hold out your prayers.

Matutin

INVITATIO

[26] MIA

Regem regum adoremus in milite suo eadmundo gloriosam per quem ecclesiam suam mirificauit et celi senatum letificauit

We adore the king of kings in his glorious soldier Edmund, through whom he exalts his church and enriches his heavenly senate

[26B] Psalm 94

[27] MA1

Sanctus eadmundus
clarissimus natalibus
oriundus a primero iuuentitis tempore
christum toto secutus est pectore

Holy Edmund,
descending from the most noble origins,
from the earliest time of youth
he is following Christ with all his heart.

[28] Psalm 1

[29] MA2

Cum iuuenitas adolesceret cum gratia
eum in regni solio dei sullimauit prouidentia
ecclesie sue statuens defensorem
pro qua usque ad sanguinem de certaret.

When the youth had matured, he rose with the favour of God to the throne of the kingdom, with providence establishing a defender for His church for which he continuously fought until bleeding.

[30] Psalm 2

[31] MA3

Legem dedit rex crudelis hinguuar
ut eadmundus exilio relegarent
aut capite potius detruncarent
si eum suis legibus inclinare aut subdere non possent

The cruel king Hingwar gave the condition so that Edmund would be banished into exile or else decapitated, if he could not bend to his laws and place himself under them.

[32] Psalm 3

[33] MA4

Ait autem eadmundus sed et spiritus per os eius non me terrent
exilii mine nec inclinant regis amicitie iocundum est pro deo
mori ecce contingat me deo sacrificium fieri.

But Edmund said then, and the Spirit through his mouth: They do not move me with the threats of exile, nor do they incline me into friendship with a king; it is pleasing to die for God. Behold, it is granted me a sacrifice for God to be done.

[34] Psalm 4

[35] MA5

Uinctus ferro lamentabilibus alluditur
modis atque stipites relegauit flagris exuritur
tum uarias mortis species pro Christo letus amplectitur

Bound by doleful iron, he was mocked in [many] ways and removed [to] a stake and was destroyed by a scourge, then he embraces gladly for Christ the different appearances of death.

[36] Psalm 5

[37] MA6

Quo amplior esset mercedis Gloria acreuit
et pena ad signum positus telis obruitur
et mille mortis species amplectatur
christumque sereno uultu precatur.

What is greater, he attained the reward of glory and revenge by the sign that he was covered in darts and embraced a thousand appearances of death, and with a clear face he prays to the Lord.

[38] Psalm 8

[39] Versicle [?]

Scuto bone [voluntatis tuae coronasti domine]

[40] ML1

Sanctissimus deoque acceptus rex orientalium anglos Eadmundus ex antiquos saxonum nobili et sapia oriundus a primeuo sue etatis tempore. Cultor extitit uersacissimus fidei Christiane qui atavis regibus editus. Cum bonus polleret moribus omnium coprouincialium unanimes fauore. Non tantum eligitur ex generis successione quanti rapitur ut eis preesset scepterigeram potestate. Nam erat ei species digna imperio quam serenissimi cordi iugiter uenustabat tranquilla deuotio. Erat omnibus blando eloquio affabilis humilitatis gratia preclusis et inter suos coeuis mirabili mansuetudine residebat dominus absque ullo fastu superbiae. Iamque uir sanctus preferebat in uultu quod postea manifestum est diuino quem puer toto conamine uirtutis arripuit gradum quem diuina pietas presciebat martyrio finiendum.

The most holy and by God accepted Edmund, descended from a lineage of Saxon nobility, from the time of his earliest age a worshipper of the most true Christian faith. He came from elevated forefathers, kings, he exerted power with good morals; of all born in the same province he was, with unanimous favour, not as much elected – from his ancestry – but seized so that he was in charge of the sceptre-bearing rule. Already, his appearance was worthy of authority, that most serene heart which was adorned with quiet zeal. He was mild-mannered to everyone with gentle speech, distinguished by kindness of humility, and as lord among his contemporaries he settled cases with marvellous gentleness and without any pride of arrogance. And already the holy man had displayed in his looks which was afterwards made manifest in godlike command. From when he was a boy he seized the steps of virtue with all effort, at which time his divine piety came to learn beforehand of the ending martyrdom.

[41] MR1

Sancte indolis puer eadmundus ex antiquorum personis regum natiuitatis sumpsit exordium quem sue milicie informauit rex celestis ut sibi coheredem transferet in celis.

[V] Cuius infantium illustrauit spiritus sancti gratia quoniam complacuit sibi in illo anima domini iesu

[r] ut sibi.

With inborn holiness, the boy Edmund, born from old royal lineage, was taken from the beginning, whom the heavenly king shaped [into] his soldier so that as His coinheritor He could transfer him to heaven.

[v] Whose childhood shone with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, since it was acceptable to him in this soul

[r] so that

[42] ML2

Beatus eadmundus consecutus culmen regiminis. Quante fuerit in subiectos benignitatis quante in peruersos districtio non est nostre facultatis euoluere. Qui eius minima quo conueniret sermone non possumus expedire. Siquidem ita columbine simplicitatis mansuetudine temperauit serpentine calliditatis astutia ut nec antique hostis deciperetur simulatione fraudulencia nec malignos hominum reciperet contra iustitiam sententias. Rem quam nesciebat diligentissime inuestigans. Gradiensque uia regia nec declinabat ad dextera extollendo se demeritis nec ad sinistram succumbendo uitas humane fragilitatis. Erat quoque egentibus dapsilis liberaliter pupillis et uiduis clementissimus pater semper habens preoculis dictum illius sapientis. Principem te constituerunt noli extolli sed esto in illis quasi unus ex illis. Cumque tam conspicuis in Christo et ecclesia emereret bonos actuum ornamentis eius patientiam sicut et sancti iob aggressus est experiri inimicus humani generis qui eo bonis iustius inuidet quo appetite bone uoluntatis caret. Quo circa unum ex suis membris ei aduersarium immisit qui omnibus que habuerat undeunde sublatis ad in patientiam si posset erumpere cogeret ut desperans Deo infaciem benediceret. Fuit aute idem aduersaries

The blessed Edmund obtaining the height of government, how great was his kindness to his subjects, how great was his severity towards the wicked, is not our ability to explain, him whose least quality was in such harmony that we cannot describe it. Accordingly therefore, he combined a dove-like simplicity of gentleness with a serpent-like shrewdness of cunning so that neither was he deceived by the fraudulent deceit of the old enemy, nor listened to spiteful men against the opinions of justice, searching most diligently for that thing which he was ignorant; walking the way of kings he swerved neither to the right by praising himself too much in his own merits, nor to the left by succumbing to the frailty of human vices. He was graciously abundant to those who were needy, a most clement father to the widows and orphans, always having before his eyes this wise saying: "They elevated you as prince? Refuse to be praised, but be among them as one of them." And this was seen to such degree that he excelled in the ornaments of good acts for Christ and the church, his patience – in the manner of holy Job – being attacked, put to the test by the enemy of the human race who

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hinguar uocabulo dictus qui cum altero hubba nomine eiusdem peruersitatis homine nisi diuina impediretur miseratione conatus est in exterminum adducere totius fines brittannie.

[43] MR2

Egregium decus et salus magna fuit quod in solio regni princeps dei eadmundus surrexit cum in templo dei ut columpna lucis et fulsit.

[V] Uita eius gloriosa uirtutibus distincta fuit sanctitate et pietate de cora.

[r] Cum in templo.

[44] ML3

Prediti iniqui duces hinuar et hubba nordanimbros primitus aggressi expugnare prouinciam graui depopulatione totam peruagantur exordine. Quorum pessimis conatibus nullus resistere potuit ex prouincialibus quin multabantur merita superne indignationis ira. Agente ministro iniquitatis hubba. Quem preda facta hinguar reliquit ibi crudelitatis sociam et a boreali parte orientali subito astans cum magna classe ad eius quondam ciuitatem latenter appulit quam ignauis ciuibus introgressus ignibus cremandam dedit. Pueros senes cum iunioribus in plateis ciuitatis obuiam factos iugulat et matronalem seu uirginalem pudicitiam ludibrio tradendum mandat. Maritus cum coniuge aut mortuus aut moribundus iacebat in limine infrans raptus a matris uberibus ut maior [e]sset heulatus trucidabatur coram maternis obtulibus. Cumque iam multitudine intersectos achameniam rabiem non tantum exaturasset quantam fatigatus in posterum detulisset euocat quosdam plebeios quos suos gladio credidit esse indignos ac ubi rex eos tunc temporis uitam degeret sollicitus persecutor inuestigare studet. Nam adeum fama peruenerat quod idem rex gloriosus uidelicet eadmundus florenti etate et robustus uiribus. Bello per omnia esset strenuus et idcirco festinabat passim neci trader quos circumcirca poterat reperire ne stipatus militum agmine ad defensionem suos posset rex resistere qui morabatur eo tempore ab urbe longius in uilla que lingua eos hegilsdun dicitur aqua et silua uicina eodem nomine uocatur. Existemans impiissimus ut se rei ueritas habebat. Quia quanto suos funestus satelles preoccuparet ad interitum perducere tanto si dimicandum esset regius occursum in exercitu contraheret minus.

[45] MR3

envis the good work of he just and lacks appetite for good works. Wherefore the Enemy sent on one of his members who collected from every side each those who had kept back enduring impatiently – if he could – to spring forth for the despairing of he who is called upon by God to do good works. Moreover, this same enemy was called Hingwar, who with another one – Ubba by name – a man of similar perversity who could be hindered only by divine pity in trying to lead every end of Britain into destruction.

It was with exceptional glory and in great prosperity that Edmund, the prince of God, rose to the throne of the kingdom when in the temple of God, and shone like a pillar of light.

[v] His life was marked by glorious powers, holiness and piety of the heart

[r] when in the temple

The aforementioned dukes Hingwar and Hubba, at first attacked the Northumbrians. They conquered the province through an oppressive depopulation, and they spread in succession throughout the entire province. These most wicked efforts no one of the provincials could withstand without being punished, having incurred the indignation of heavenly wrath, driving the servant of iniquity Hubba: which spoils Hingwar left behind with his ally in cruelty, and from the northern to the eastern part with a big navy which he had secretly brought with him secretly to certain towns. Who, advancing, gives over the unprepared citizens to be consumed by fire, boys old and young who are opposing were put to slaughter in the streets of the town, and he commands the married as well as the virginal purity to be surrounded by mockery. Husband and wife, dead or dying, lay at the threshold [of their house], the child is taken from its mother's breasts, and with much wailing is killed before the maternal gaze. And when already the killing of such a multitude had not sated his Persian rage, he summons some plebeians whom he deemed to be unworthy of his sword, and desires to search and find where their king at that point was anxiously biding his time. For when he had come by this information about this glorious king, Edmund, of course, in the prime of his life and powerful of arms, who was the most vigorous of all warlike men: and therefore he hastened everywhere to deliver death from all sides those whom he was able to obtain, nor could soldiers of an army pressing close together for their defence be able to resist the king, who at this time stayed behind at his longhouse in a town which in that tongue is called Haegilsdun (and from which the nearby forest takes its name); the impious [Hingwar], holding this to be true, judged to conduct as many of his destructive followers as anticipated to the interior so thus fighting the royal army would be less in their meeting.

Office for Edmund, *vigilia and dies natalis*

Exiti edictum crudelis tyranni ut eadmundum exiliarent uel tormentis laniarent aut certi capite punirent sed unde hostis triumphare credidit eadmundus uictoriam tulit.

[V] Propositas sibi tyranni minis regisque amicitas omnia constanti corde conculcauit

[r] sed unde.

Issuing an edict, the cruel tyrant, so that they would exile Edmund or tear him apart in torment and certainly punish his head, but from what the enemy thought to triumph, Edmund was brought to victory.

[v] Displaying to him the threats of the tyrant and the friendship of the king, he despised it with all constancy of heart.

[r] but from

[46] ML4

Dirigit impius hingwar dux ad sanctum eadmundu accito uno ex commilitationibus qui exploret quesite ei summa rei familiaris in prouisum ut contigut querens subjugare tormentis si eius nollet obtemperare feralibus edictis. Ipse cum grandi comitata succenturiatus lento pede subsquit et inique legationis baiulo imperat ut timoris periculo nudus ita incautaum adoriatur. Terra marique metuendus dominus noster hingwar rex inuictissimus diuersas terras subieciendo sibi armis ad huius prouinciae optatum litus cum multis nauibus hiematurus appulit utque iccirco mandat ut cum eo antiquos thesauros et paternas diuitas sub eo regnaturus diuidat. Cuius si aspernaris potentiam innumeris legionibus fultam tuo preiudicio et uita indignas uidicaberis et regno. Quo audito rex sanctissimus alto corde dolore ingemuit et directo nuncio ait. Omnipotens rerum arbiter testis assistis quod me seu uiuum seu mortuum nullus separabit a caritate Christi, cui in confessione baptismatis suscepi annulum fidei abrenuntiato satana ut omnibus pompis eius. Qua abrenuntiatione contigit ut ad laudem et Gloria eterne trinitatis tercio mererer consecrari delibutus ob compendium perennis uite sanctificati chrismatis per unctione. Primo quidem accepta stola lauacri salutaris. Secundo per confirmatione exhibita maiusculo pontificali signaculo. Tercio ubi uestra et totius populi communi acclamatione usus sum hac regni perfectoria potestate. Sicquidem unguento mystice consecrationis tripliciter irroratus anglorum rei publice decreui plus prodesse qua preesse aspernando subdere colla iugo nisi diuino seruitio. Et ait ad eum qui de conditione regni locuturus ab impiissimo hingwar fuerat missus. Madefactus [sic] cruore meos mortis supplicio dingus extiteras sed plane Christi mei exemplum secutus. Nolo commaculare manus qui pro eius nomine paratus sum accumbere. Ideo ueloci gradu rediens festinus domino tuo hec response prefer quantotius.

The impious duke Hingwar directed one of the soldiers to the holy Edmund with an office in his manner who so that he searches out that which is to him his most precious of property, without warning, and if it happened that he protesting should not comply, to subjugate him to tortures if he would not follow these fierce proclamations. This very man, when reinforced with a great escort who follows closely on slow feet, he orders the messenger of this iniquitous embassy, so that he is stripped of the fear of danger, is addressed incautiously: The earth and the sea stand in fear of our lord Hingwar, invincible king, who has subjugated various lands with his arms, to the shore of this chosen province he brought with him many ships for his winter camp; and therefore he orders that you share with him your ancient trasure and your paternal lot under his lordship. Which if you reject his power – he who is supported by numerous soldiers – you will be – as an example [to others] – judged as unworthy of life and reign. When the most holy king heard this he groaned in a deep grief of the heart, and turned to the messenger he said: The almighty judge of things attends as witness that either I live or die, nothing separates me from Christ's love, whom I accepted in the confession of baptism and received the pledge of faith, renouncing Satan and all his vainglories. Which renunciation took place so that to the praise and glory of the eternal trinity I vowed so that thrice I would merit being anointed by the unction of the sanctifying oil for the benefit of life everlasting: firstly by indeed accepting the clothing of the life-giving bath, secondly by being furnished at the confirmation by the greater pontifical seal, thirdly when by your and the entire people's public acclamation, by custom, I am the power of this transitory kingdom. Thus being besprinkled by the unguent of mystical consecration in three ways, I decided to be both of use and to be in charge of the affairs of the English, despising to place my neck in the yoke of any but the service of God. And he said to him who had been speaking about the state of the realm, who had been sent by the most impious Hingwar: "Soaked in blood" he said "you have appeared so that to me death seems a worthy punishment, but, since it follows clearly to me from Christ's example, I will not pollute pure hands as for his name I am happily prepared to meet death by your spear. Therefore, returning to your lord quick and with swift step, announce my response, the sooner the better."

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[47] MR4

Miles Christi eadmundus spiritu sancto plenus dixit ad regem non metue incuruant amicitie nec tormenti terrent mine gloriosum est enim mori pro domino.

[V] Ignis et ferrum super mel et fauum michi est iocundum gloriosum. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto

[r] gloriosum.

The soldier of Christ, Edmund, full of the Holy Spirit, said to the king that he would not bend for friendship out of fear, nor would they move him with threats of torture, for it was glorious to die for the Lord.

[v] Fire and iron is more pleasant to me than honey and honeycomb. Glory to the Father and Son and Holy Spirit

[r] glorious

In secundo nocturno

[48] MA7

Misso spiculatore de creuit tyrannus dei adletam eadmundus dum capite detruncari sicque ymnum deo personuit et animam celo gaudens intulit.

The thrown stabs increased by the tyrant, the athlete of God, Edmund, when his head was cut off, and thus resounded with hymns for God and brought the soul rejoicing to Heaven

[49] Psalm 10

[50] MA8

O martyr inuincibilis
o eadmunde testis indomabilis
hic te dies terris exemit
cum triumpho in senatu celi recondidit
intercede pro nobis in celis
qui post te suspiramus in terris.

O invincible martyr,
O Edmund, indomitable witness,
here the time on earth was released from you,
when in triumph he was put away in the heavenly senate.
Intercede for us in Heaven,
[us] who sigh after you upon the earth.

[51] Psalm 14

[52] MA9

Refectum ergo de corpore capud [sic] plebs deuote requisitum pergit illacrimans et dicens heu pastor bone heu pater pie eadmunde ubi es

Thus restoring the head to body, the devoted common people proceed, seeking weepingly and saying Oh good shepherd, Oh pious father, Edmund where are you?

[53] Psalm 20

[54] MA10

Admirabile fuit quod caput inuocem erupit lacrimibile quidem qui hoc audire pro meruit uere gloriosam quod spiritus sanctus mori eadmundi insonuit ecce me patrem ecce inquiens filii mei regem uestrum.

Wonderful it was indeed, those who heard this that the head broke into calling tearfully, for he merited glorious truth which the Holy Spirit sounded in the death of Edmund, saying "My son, behold me father, your king."

[55] Psalm 23

[56] MA11

Qui prophete quondam coruum
prebuit ministrum posuit
et lupum martyri suo custodem
procumbens fouit ac doluit

Which prophet once was
provided with a raven as servant,
and a wolf was set for the martyr as his custodian,
sinking down it guarded and grieved.

[57] Psalm 63

[58] MA12

Office for Edmund, *vigilia and dies natalis*

Translato thesauro signum diuinum
in corrupti et redintegrati corporis enituit uena tantum
resplenduit sanguinea quo daret indicium
illo sanctum pertulisse martyrium

[59] Psalm 91

[60] Versicle

Gloria et honore

[61] ML5

Sanctus uir et rex uix uerba compleuerat et renuntiaturus miles iniquus response gloriosi regis suo iniquo domino pedem de domo extulerat cum ecce obuius iniquissimus iudex hinguar iubet breuiloquo ut utatur. Illi pandens per omnia archana regis ultima. Que ille dum exequitur. Imperat tyrannus circumfundi omnem turbam suorum interius solumque regem sanctum teneant quem suis legibus rebellem iam cognouerat. Tunc sanctus rex eadmundus in palatio ut membram Christi proiectis armis capit et uinculis artioribus artatus constringitur atque innocens sistitur ante impium ducem. quasi christus ante pilatum presidem. Cupiens eius sequi uestigia qui pro nobis immolates est hostia. Uinctus itaque multis modis illuditur. Ac tandem fustigatus acri instantia perducitur. Ac quondam arborem uicinam ad quam religatus flagris dirissimus diuitissime uexatur nec uinctur. Semper christum inuocando flebilibus uocibus. Qua propter aduersarii in furore uersi quasi ludendo ad signum eum toto corpore sagittarum telis confodiunt. Multiplicantes acerbiter cruciatus crebris telos iactibus. Quem uulnera uulneribus imprimebat dum iacula iaculis locum dabant. Sicque factum est. ut spiculos terebratis aculeis circumfossus palpitans horreret uelut asper hyrcius aut signis hirtus earduus in passione similis Sebastiano egregio martyri.

[62] MR5

Crescit ad penam sanctus dei positus ad signum confoditur nimbo uerberum et per omnia manet martyr inuictus et miles emeritus.

[V] Riuus sanguinis membratim decurrit iam super est locus uulneri

[r] et per omnia.

[63] ML6

Casi autem sanctus dei martyrem eadmundus[?] conspiceret iniquus hinguar nec sic prebere lanistis assensam. Sed uiua uoce iugiter in clamantem christum lictori mandat protinus ut amputet caput eius. Ille seminecem cui adhuc uitalis calor palpitabat intepido pectore ut uix posset subsistere auellit cruento stipiti festinus auulsumque relectis costarum latebris prepunctionibus crebris ac si raptum eculeo aut seuis tortum unguis iubet caput extendere quod semper fuerat in sique regali diademate. Cumque staret mitissimus ut aries de toto grege electus. Uolens

In the translation of this treasure, as divine sign the incorrupt head and reintegrated body shone and a blood-red vein radiated so much so as to give an indication of this holy one who had suffered martyrdom.

The holy man and king had barely finished announcing these words and the soldier exited the house on foot when lo Hingwar stood nearby, and ordered him to use a concise speech when spreading out to all the king's last missive. While this soldier rehearses these words the tyrant orders each in his crowd to surround the house and only to hold the king within, whom the rebellious had recognised by his condition. When the holy king Edmund is seized by arms in the palace with outstretched limbs like Christ, and is bound tight in tightened chains, the innocent is then put up before the impious leader, like Christ before the governor Pilate, wishing to follow the path of him who was given as sacrifice for us. Therefore, bound he was mocked in many ways and in the end battered sharply with eagerness and lead to some tree nearby, to which he was tied and harassed for a long time with a cruel whip but not conquered; he was continually invoking Christ in a doleful voice. For which reason the enemies in fury were taking turns as if mocking his sigil, and they pierced his entire body with arrow darts, increasing the severity of torture by repeated throws of darts, seeing that wounds upon wounds were impressed upon him while darts upon darts gave room for more. And thus it was done so that bored through with surrounding throbbing spines of arrows he bristled like a sharp hedgehog or the shaggy stem of a thistle, similar in his passion as the glorious martyr Sebastian.

The punishment increased against the holy of God, being set at the stake, stabbed by a cloud of lashes, and through [them] all he stayed, the invincible martyr and the veteran knight.

[V] A stream of blood ran [down] member by member, it was already over [covering] the place of the wound

[r] and through [them] all

But falling, holy Edmund, martyr of God, attracted the attention of iniquitous Hingwar who saw that his trainers could not make him submit in any other way. But continuously with a living voice called upon God, he ordered an attendant to cut off his head. This one, half-dead, who yet pulsed with life-giving heat in his warm breast, barely before he could stop he wrests the bleeding stake swiftly, and having been wrenched it discloses the hiding-place of the ribs thickset as fruit with punctures and whether snatching

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felicium commercio mutare uitam seculo diuinis intentus beneficium iam recreabatur uisione interne lucis. Qua in agone positus faceri cupiebat attentius. Unde inter uerba orationis quam fudit cum arrepto pugione speculator uno ictu decapitando hac luce priuato.

[64] MR6

Martyri adhuc palpitanti sed christum confitenti iussit hinc caput auferri sicque eadmundus martyrdom consummauit et ad deum extulit uadit.

[V] Caput sanctitate plenum decollatum resiliit [sic] inter uerba orationis

[r] sicque.

[65] ML7

Sanctus itaque dei martyr eadmundus duodecimo kalendas decembris deo gratissimi holocausti igne passionis examinatus cum palma uictorie et corona iusticie rex et martyr intrauit senatum curie celestis. Talique exitu crucis mortificationem quam iugiter in suo corpore rex pertulit Christi domini sui secutus uestigia consummauit. Ille quidem purus sceleris in columna adquam uinctus fuit sanguinem non pro se sed pro nobis flagellorum suos signa reliquit iste pro adipiscenda gloria inmarcescibili cruentato stipites similes penas pro eius amore dedit. Ille integer uita ob detergendam rubiginem nostrorum facinorum sustinuit benignissimus immanum clauorum acerbitate in palmis et pedibus. Iste propter amorem nominis domino toto corpore grauibus sagittis horridus et medullitus asperitate tormentorum dilaniatus in confessione patienter perstitit. Quam ad ultimum accepta capitali sententia finiuit. Cuius corpus ita truncum et aculeis hirsutum reliquentes cum suo auctore damini ministri diaboli. Illud caput sanctum quod non impinguerat peccatoris oleum, sed certi mysterii sacramentum in siluam cui uocabulum est haeglesdun recedentes asportauerunt ac inter densa ueprum fructecta longius proiectum occulerunt. Id omni sagacitate elaborantes ne a christianis quos uix paucos reliquerant sacratissimum corpus martyris cum capite protumulantium modico honeste traderetur sepulture.

[66] MR7

Quo uictoriosissimo derogaret triumpho martyris iussit hostis in profundo sylvarum demergi caput regis quod christus celitus mirabiliter pro[didit].

[V] Ni sus tollere signum glorie et titulum martyri insidias tetendit capiti

[r] quod christus

torture-device or torturing with fierce tortures, he commands him to extend his head, which always had been the crowned royal insignia. And when he, the most meek, stood firm, like the ram of the flock of the elect, wishing in happy exchange to move from temporal life, eager for the blessings of God, already revived by a vision of inner light, which he who was put in agony desired diligently: and during the works of his prayers a dagger was seized and in one blow he was decapitated, that light deprived.

Thus far throbbing in martyrdom but confessing Christ, Hingwar ordered the head to be removed and thus Edmund consummated the martyrdom and went exulting to God.

[V] Head full of holiness rose in the beheading amongst words of prayers.

[r] and thus

The holy martyr Edmund thus On the twelfth kalends of December [November 20] Edmund gave this most pleasing sacrifice to God, considering the fire of his passion, with the palm of victory and the crown of justice the king and martyr entered the assembly of the heavenly court. In such a way the king endured the tortures of the cross constantly in his body and, following the Lord Christ in his bath, consummated through death. This one [Christ] who was free of sin, yielded his blood by the marks of their whips at the pillar to which he was bound, not for himself but for us; this one [Edmund] for gaining undying glory surrendered to similar tortures for his love at the blooded stake. This one [Christ] sustained the severity of huge nails in hands and feet for our crimes, so that the blight of our life will be removed entire; this one [Edmund] - for the love of the name of Christ - patiently persisted in confession of faith, his entire body heavy with bristly arrows, and inwardly being torn to pieces by the severity of the torments, he who ended at the last accepting capital punishment. Whose body heavy with bristly spines they thus left behind at the tree trunk, taking this holy head, the king's authority, which had not been anointed with the oil of the sinners but by a fixed mysterious sacrament. They took it away unto the forest whose name is Haeglesdun and by throwing it away far off between dense thickets of thornbushes they concealed it with all shrewdness, taking pains lest Christians - a few of which remained - would give the body of the holy martyr together with his head in a grave in the manner of decent burial.

[After] the most victorious triumph of the martyr, [the head] he had deposed, he ordered the warriors to bury the head of the king in the depth of the forest, which Christ gloriously revealed.

[V] Unless he exerted his men to destroy the sign of glory and fame of the martyr held by snares.

[r] which Christ

[67] ML8

Quidem autem christiane religionis delitescendo interfuit predicto horribili spectaculo quem subtractum ut credimus paganos gladius diuina prouidentia ad manifestandum huius rei indaginem reseruauit. Licet omnino ignorauerit quid decapite factum esset nisi quod cum eo carnifices danos interior silua petere conspexisset. Quam ob rem quantulumcumque reddita ecclesus praeceperunt christiam de latibulis consurgere diligenti inquisitione satagentes ut caput sui regis et martyris inuentum reliquo corpore unirent cum digno honore reconderent. Siquidem paganis abeuntibus et de population quiquo locorum operam dantibus illud corpus sanctissimum ad huc sub diuo positum facillime est repertum in eodem campo ubi rex occubuit complete cursu sui certaminus. Qua propter antiquam beneficiorum memoriam et ingenitam regis clementiam populi unduque gratuito confluentes ceperunt mesto animo grauiter ferre caruissent tanto corporis portione. Quorum animis superna inspirauit benignitas postquam audierunt illius uerba utilia qui tante uisioni ut dictum est particeps astiterat ut collecta plurimorum multitudine quaqua uersum per inuia siluarum experirentur si ad id loci deuenire contingeret quo uiri sancti caput iaceret. Procerto et enim omnibus uera sapientibus inerat quod aliene [sic] secte [sic] cultores inuidendo nostre fidei sustulissent caput martyris quod non longius infra densitatem saltus abscondissent aut uili cespite obrutum aut auibus et feris deuorandum. Cumque inito concilio omnis pari affect ad id concurrerent decreuerunt ut cornibus uel tubis ductilibus singuli contenti essent quatinus circumcirca peruagantes uocibus aut tubarum strepiti sibi mutuo innuerent ne aut lustrate repeterent aut non lustrata desererent. Quod ut factum est res dictum mirabilis et seculis inaudita contigit quippe caput sancti regis longius remotum a suo corpore prorupit inuocem absque fibrarum opitulatione aut arteriarum precordiali munere. Uispiilonum sane more pluribus pedetentim inuia perlustrantibus cum iam posset audiri loquens aduoces se inuicem cohortantium et utpote socii ad socium alternatim clamantium ubi es. Illud respondebat designando locam patria lingua dicens. Her. Her. Her. Quod interpretatu Latinas sermo exprimit hic. Hic. Hic. Nec unquam eadem repetendo clamare destitit quo ad omnis ad se perduxit. Palpitabat mortae lingue [sic] plectrum infra meatus faucium manifestans in se uerbigena magnalia qui rudenti asellae humana compegit uerba. Ut increparet prophete insipientiam. Hec magnalia christe suo concessit martyri primum et multa post alia contulit et confert adhuc qui uiuit in secula seculorum.

But indeed one of the Christian religion, hiding in the midst of the aforesaid spectacle, whom – as we believe – was spared by the sword of divine providence from the pagans carrying off, to make known this matter, beset with snares, although entirely ignorant of what was being done with the head, nor what the murderous Danes did with it when he had observed them leave for the interior of the forest. For which reason, when peace – however briefly – was restored to the churches, the Christians began to come out of their hiding places, busying themselves with a diligent search so that the head of their king and martyr could be found and they could unite it with the rest of the body so they could hide it with worthy honour according to their ability. Accordingly, with the pagans departing and surrendering work to whatever sacking of the places, this most holy body was easily found as it still was placed in the open air in the same field where the king was killed, having finished the race of his contest. For the reason of the old memory of the king’s inborn clemency, people gathered freely from everywhere, and sad in spirit they began to be vexed that they were lacking such a part of his head. Heaven inspired kindness in their souls after they had heard the useful words of him, who, as it is written, was the partaker of such a vision as he had stood by, so that many were gathered to a multitude so that they searched every part of the inaccessible forest, so that they could happen to arrive at that place where the head of the holy man was lying. Certainly, since everybody who belongs to the true wisdom, knew that the worshippers of a foreign sect, envying our faith, had taken the head of the saint which they not long ago had hidden among the density of the woodland, either buried in the worthless earth or it would be devoured by birds and wild beasts. And when entering the counsel, all agreeing to this with mutual accord, they decided that horns and trumpets would be guiding everyone, blasting aloud, while they were ranging about the noise of voices or trumpets beckoning to each other, not so that they would return from seeking, nor that they would leave places unexplored. Which as it was done, there happened something wonderful to relate and unheard of for ages. Indeed, the head of the holy king, long removed from its body, broke out in a voice without the help of entrails or the service of arteries of the heart. Cautiously, many undertakers of the healthy custom were scrutinizing the inaccessible, when already one could hear speaking, and companion to companions, by turns in tones exhorting and alternately shouting “Where are you?”, thus responded from its location, choosing the language of the fatherland, saying “*Her, her, her*” which is translated in Latin speech as meaning “*Hic, hic, hic*”. Nor did it ever cease to shout repeating these, which drew everyone at him. The tip of the dead tongue throbbed within the passages of the throat of the throat, revealing in it the great work of the Word-born, who joined human speech to a braying small she-ass in order to chide an unwise prophet. This wonder Christ conceded to his martyr as the first, and many others were later conferred

Appendix II

by him who live in everlasting to everlasting.

[68] MR8

Resectum ergo de corpore caput plebs deuote deo requisitum
pergit illacrimans et dicens heu pastor bone heu pater pie
eadmunde ubi es.

[V] Exaudiuit dominus clamorem pauperum et suscepit gemitum
seruorum

[r] heu pastor.

The head thus reaped from the body, the devoted common
people beseeching God proceeded, weeping and saying “Oh,
good shepherd, Oh, pious father, Edmund, where are you?”

[V] The Lord heard the clamour of the poor and received the
sighs of his servants

[r] oh [good] shepherd

[Third nocturne]

[69] Antiphon

Adiecit dominus oswen uenerabilem testem miraculis nam
ungues diminuit et crines ipsa detonsit iam mortui sed incorrupti
hominis ante resurrectionis gloria in cena dominica.

The Lord added miracles by the testimony of venerable
Oswen, for she, that same tonsured [woman], cut nails and
hairs of the already dead but incorrupt man before the glory
of the resurrection at the Lord’s Supper [i.e. Holy Thursday].

[69B] Versicle

Posuisti domine super caput eius.

[70] ML9

Conditor rerum precioso martyri eadmundo aliud annexit
miraculum dum celesti thesauro custode dedit insolitum quippe
in manis lupus eo loci diuina miseratione est repertus qui illud
sacrum caput inter brachia complexus procumberbat humi
excubias [sic] in pendens martyri. Nec sibi depositum permisit
ledere quem piam bestiarium quod inuiolabile solo tenus
prostrates oblita uoracitate seruabat attentus. Quod stupefacti
uidentes qui confluxerant beatissimi regem et martyrem
eadmundum illi uiro desiderios iudicauerunt meritis similem qui
inter esurientium rictus leonum illis spreuit minas
insidiantium. Assumentes ergo unanimi deuotione quam
inuenerant inestimabilis preti margaritam cum profusis pregaudio
lacrimarum imbribus retulerunt ad suum corpus benedicentes
dominum in ymnus et laudibus prosequente usque ad locum
sepulchri lupo earundem reliquiarum custode et baiulo. Qui eis a
tergo imminens et quasi pro perduto pignore lugens cum
neminem etiam irritates lederet nemini importunes existeret nota
dilecte solitudinis secreta illesus repetit nec alterus in illis locis
lupus specie tam terribilis apparuit. Quo tandem recedente cum
summa diligentia et omni sagacitatis studio aptantes quibus
creditum est caput corpori sancto pro tempore tradiderunt
utrumque pariter uinctum competenti mausoleo. Quo etiam
edificata uili opere desuper basilica multis annis requieuit
humatis donec sedates omnimodo bellorum incendus et ualida
tempestate persecutionis cepit respireare religiosa pietas fidelium
erepta de pressuris tribulationum. Que ubi tempus oportunitum
inuenit deuotionem quam erga beatissimum regem et martyrem
eadmundus habuit operum exhibitione multipliciter propalauit
[sic]. Idem namque sanctus sub uili tugurio sanctificate domus
cuius est apud deum meriti crebris manifestabat miraculorum
signis. Quibus rebus permota eiusdem prouincie multitudo non
solum uulgi sed etiam nobilium in uilla regia que lingua
anglorum bedricesqueord dicatur lati uero bedricicurtis uocatur
construxit per maxima miro ligneo tabulatu ecclesiam adquam

The mover of all things added one more to this miracle while
he gave the heavenly treasure-chest an unusual warden. As
you see, a huge wolf is discovered in this place by divine
compassion, which lay down on the ground the sacred head
at its chest between his paws, devoting its watches to the
martyr. Nor did it allow itself or any beast to hurt its ward,
which was sacred to that pious beast. It only lay prostrate on
the ground, forgetful of its restrained voracity, protecting it
attentively. Seeing which, the stupefied who had gathered,
judged the most blessed king and martyr Edmund to have
merited to be a man among the favourites, similar to him
unharmful among the jaws of hungry lions who spurned the
menaces lying in ambush. Therefore when they had
discovered this inestimably precious pearl, beginning of one
accord with profuse rains of tears of joy, they brought it back
to his body, praising God in hymns and praise. And escorting
them to the place of burial was the wolf, the custodian and
steward of the relics, who was following them closely from
the rear, as if grieving a broken pledge. When nobody
provoking would offend, no rude person appeared, he
returned uninjured to the delightful solitude of his secret
haunt, nor did ever in that place again appear a wolf of such a
dreadful size. When he at last withdrew, with highest
diligence and applying every acuteness of eagerness, as it is
believed, they delivered the head to the body of the holy in
time, joining both together in a suitable mausoleum. Over
which was built a chapel of mean work where he lay buried
for many years, until settling after all the conflagration of
war and the strong storm of persecutions, faithful religious
piety began to breathe out, escaping from oppressing
tribulations. When this suitable time appeared, the devotion
which the most blessed king and martyr Edmund had held,
was made visible through the display of numerous works.
And this saint, under a mean cottage which he was

eum ut decebet transtulit cum magna gloria.

[71] MR9

Caput martyris uerba edidet ecce quem queritis inquit adsum fili ecce regem quondam uestrum ecce me nunc patronum nobis ad deum.

[V] Condoluit pater pius caris suis quos benigno confortabat alloquio

[r] ecce.

[72] ML10

Sed mirum dictu cum illud pretiosum corpus martyris putrefactum putaretur obdiuturum spatium [sic] transacti temporis ita sanim et incolume est repertum ut non dicam caput redintegratum et compaginatum [sic] corpori sed omnino in eo nichil uulneris nichil cicatricis apparuerit. Sicque cum reuerentia nominandus sanctus rex et martyr eadmundus integer et uiuenti [sic] simillimus ad predictum locum est translatus ubi ad huc in eadem forma exspectat beate resurrectionis gaudia repromissa. Tantum in eius collo ob lignum martyri rube tuna tenuissima riga in modum fili coccinei sicut testari erat solitu quedam beate recordationis femina oswen uocabulo dicta que paulo ante hec nostra moderna tempora apud eius sacrosanctum tumulum ieiunis et orationibus uacans multa transegit annos curricula. Cui uenerabili femine aut diuina reuelatione aut nimia deuotione mos inoleuit ut patefacto [sic] beati martyris sepulchro quot annis in dominica cena eius attendendo prediceret capillos et ungues. Que omnia diligenter colligens et in capsella recondens non neglexit quam diu uixit excolere mira affectione positu super altare eiusdem ecclesie ubi adhuc reseruantur debita ueneratione.

[73] MR10

Admirabilis fuit et in illo digitus dei quia ad excubias martyris lupus pro cubuit fouit ac doluit.

[V] Ex iocunditate signi in lacrimis proruperunt corda populi.

[r] quia

[74] ML11

Sed et beate memorie theodredus eiusdem prouincie religious episcopus qui propter meritos prerogatiuam bonus appellabantur [sic] quod de incorruptione sancti regi diximus tali ordine est expertus. Cum ut narrare adorsi sumus prefato loco martyris tumulatione congruo a quibusque religious multa conferrentur

sanctifying as a house, whose merit before God was made manifest by repeated signs of miracles. Which matter was stirring up a multitude in that same province, not only common folk but nobles too, to construct a church of wood panels most extraordinary, in the king's residence which in the tongue of the English is called Bedrichsworth and in proper Latin called Bedricicurtis, to which he was, as is fitting, transferred with greatest glory.

The head of the martyr spread [these] words: "Behold whom you seek", it said, "I am near, my son. Behold your once king, behold me your now patron before God.

[V] The pious father grieved his dear beloved whom he reinforced with this kind address.

[r] behold

But a marvel it is to tell, when the body of the precious martyr was estimated to be putrefied on account of the long-lasting interval of time having passed, this body is found whole and unscathed, lest I say that the head was revived and joined to the body, but that in it no wound, no cicatrice appeared. For which reason the reverently called holy king and martyr Edmund, intact and looking as if alive, was translated to the aforementioned place where he in this same form expects the blessed resurrection that has happily been promised. The only sign of his martyrdom was a minute crease in the neck, in the manner of a thread of purple-dyed cloth, as it was the habit to testify of a certain woman of blessed memory, called by the name Oswen: who shortly before these our modern times who performed her fasts and prayers at his sacred grave through the passing of many years. Which venerable woman, either through divine inspiration or through excessive devotion grew into the custom of disclosing the blessed martyr's tomb every year on Maundy Thursday, clipping she cut short hairs and nails, collecting and hiding all of these diligently in a box, not forgetting for as long as she lived to improve her marvellous affection, positing them upon the altar in that same church where they were kept with due veneration.

Wonderful it was and thence God's finger [directed them] to the guard of the martyr, a wolf lay outstretched, guarded and grieved.

[V] From the pleasantness of that sign, the people rushed forth, tearful of heart

[r] thence

Also Theodred of blessed memory, bishop over the religious of this same province, who for his merits earned the right to be called the Good, experienced the incorruption of the holy king, as we say, to such a degree. When as we are beginning to narrate, as he was preaching suitably at the place of the

Appendix II

donaria et ornamenta in auro et argento pretiosissima quidam maligne mentis homines omnis boni immemores agressi sunt sub nocturne silentio eandem infringere basilicam latrocinandi studio. Fuerunt autem octo qui absque ulla reuerentia sancti decreuerant satisfacere sue uesane uoluntati rapiendo furtim onia quecumque inuenisset sibi utilia infra eiusdem monasterii septa. Unde sumptis machinis et quibuslibet utensilibus quibus ad id perficiendum habebant opus quadam nocte aggrediantur premeditatum facinus et stantes in atrio ecclesie diuerso conatu unusquisque instat concepte nequitie. Quorum alius postibus scalam applicat ut per insertam fenestram se ingerat alius cum lima aut fabрили malleo instat fere aut pessalo alii cum uangis et ligonibus suffossionem parietis machinantur [sic]. Sicque disposito opera cum singuli certatim insudant pro uirium facultate sanctus martyr eos ligat in ipso suo conamine ut eandem loco possent mouere nec arreptum officium deferere sed alius cum sua scala penderet sublimis in aere alius palam incuruus fossor fieret qui ad id operis furtiuus uenisset.

[75] MR11

Pretiosum martyris egregii corpus dum transferretur astigmate passionum refulsit illesum et per omnia uiuenti similis apparuit. [V] Tantum in collo ob signum martyrii rubuit uena subtilis in modum fili aurem [r] et per omnia.

[76] ML12

Interea quidam matriculariorum qui infra basilicam iacebat somno excites lecto prolubebat inuitus quem martyris potentia suo conatu uinxerat ne suis obuius factis mirabilibus sonus fragoris creber custodis pulsaret aures interius. Sed quid dicam non posse surgere quando nec inuocem poterat erumpere. Tandem mane adhuc persistens fures in cepto opera comprehensi pluribus traduntur uinculis artioribus et tandem predicti sancti episcopi theodredi iudicio subduntur. Qui impremeditatus sententiam dedit quam se dedisse postea omni tempore uite sue penituit. Nam omnis simul iussit affigi patibulis eo quod auli fuissent atrui sancti edmundi martyris furtiue ingredi non reducens ad memoria quid dominus per prophetam admonet. Eos qui ducuntur ad mortem eruere ne cesses. Factum quoque elisei prophete qui latrunculos de samaria pastos pane et aqua remisit ad propria dicens regi uolenti percutere ilico quod non eos cepisset in gladio et arcu suo. Apostoli etiam preceptum quod dicit secularia negotia si habueritis contemptibiles qui sunt in ecclesia idest uiros seculares constituite adiudicandum. Unde canonum auctoritas prohibet nequis episcopus aut quilibet de clero delatoris fungatur officio quoniam satis dederet ministros uite celestis assensum prebere in morte cuiuslibet hominis. Quam

martyr's inerment to some devotees, many donations and ornaments in precious gold and silver were brought together, for which men of wicked mind, forgetful of all things good, were advancing under the silence of the night to break into that same church, engaging in robbery with eagerness. They were, moreover, eight, who were undiminished by any reverence for the holy to satisfy their frenzied desire for secretly pillaging everything which they could find useful for themselves within the enclosing of that same monastery. From there they were taking up any schemes useful for accomplishing that work which they were doing, for which they are advancing in the night, premeditating the crime and standing in the atrium opposite the church with the impulse of anybody who pursues conceived wickedness. One of whom applied a ladder to another doorpost for entering by forcing himself through the window, another stands by the rail or the bolt with a file or a carpenter's hammer; others plot to cover the walls with spades and hoes. And thus organizing the work, they are each of them sweating with eagerness by the ability of their strength, the holy martyr binds them in their work, so that they could neither move their feet from that place, nor leave off the work they had begun, but also made his spade crooked, who had come there for that furtive work.

The distinguished body of the precious martyr when it was translated it glowed from the wounds of the passion, inviolate and to all it appeared in the likeness of someone living.

[V] All that was in the neck as a sign of the martyrdom was a reddened subtle vein in the manner of a golden thread [r] and to all

In the meantime a certain of the novices, lying inside the basilica, unwilling to get out of bed as the repeated noise of sound came to the inner ear of the custodian, was roused out of sleep and saw whom the force of the martyr bound with its impulse so that he was exposed to that marvel which was done. But who says "I cannot arise" when the voice can burst neither? Finally, in the morning the thieves were caught in the act by someone checking, and being seized by many they are delivered in tight chains and in the end brought before the judgement of the aforementioned Bishop Theodred, who consigns them to the unpremeditated sentence that they should die, which he afterwards regretted for the rest of his life. He ordered them all in the like manner to be fastened to the gibbet, these who had ventured to furtively break into the hall of the holy martyr Edmund, not calling to mind what the Lord admonished through the prophet: "Those are led to be destroyed, be not hesitant to free them", or doing as Elisha the prophet when he gave bread and water to the thieves of Samaria to feed on when it was given back to him, as is said in the Book of Kings [2 Kings 6:18ff], when wishing to strike him on the spot and had not begun on them with his

Office for Edmund, *vigilia and dies natalis*

ob rem predictus episcopus in se reuersus grauitur indoluit et sibi penitentia indicens diutius se in grauibus lamentis dedit. Qua tandem per acta penitentia populos sue dioceseos mandando mandando conuocat conuocando suppliciter persuadet ut triduo ieiunio a se diuine indignationis iracundiam remouerant remouendo auertant quatinus sacrificio spiritus contribulati placates dominus ille suam gratiam concederet qua corpus beati martyris tangere et lauare accideret. Qui licet tantis uirtutibus floreret in mundo uili tamen et sibi incongruo continebatur mausoleo. Factumque est et illud sanctissimi regis corpus ante dilaceratum et truncum ita ut iam retulimus unitum et incorruptum repperit tetigit lauit et rursus nouis et optimis uestibus indutum ligneo locello reposuit benedicens deum qui mirabilis est in sanctis suis et gloriosus in omnibus operibus suis.

sword or bow; the Apostle likewise has a lesson which says, "Worldly business should you hold loathsome, you who are in church" (meaning men of the secular order) "you should institute as judgement." By which canonical authority it is prohibited that neither bishop nor any of the clerics can perform the office of the accuser. Since that is enough to bring dishonour to the servants of the heavenly light to assent to exposing themselves in death as men. For which reason the aforementioned bishop grieved heavily time and again, and surrendered to declaring publicly his penance for which he lamented heavily that he would submit himself to. Finishing the penitence at last, he commands the people of his diocese, commanding he convokes, convoking he entreatingly persuades a three-day fast in order that they can remove the anger of divine indignation, so removing it they would avert it: and to such an extent did the sacrifice appease the troubled soul, that the Lord granted his gift to him who prepared to touch and wash the body of the holy martyr which although blossoming with such powers in the world is now enclosed within a tomb so cheap it is unsuitable for him. And so it was done, and that body of the most holy king, after being torn to pieces to the tree and cut in half, so that when we restored it was discovered whole and incorrupt, touched, washed and placed in new and most fine garments, restored to a house covered with wood, praising God who is marvellous in his holy, and glorious in all his works.

[77] MR12

O martyr inuincibilis o eadmunde testis indomabilis hic t[a]edus terris exemit et cum triumpho in celestis curie senatu recondidit intercede pro nobis in celis qui post te suspiramus in terris.

[V] Collucens ante thronum dei stola insigni oramus pater pie intercede.

Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto

[r] qui post[t]e

O invincible martyr, O Edmund indomitable witness, who released the weariness of the world and in triumph takes to the court of the heavenly senate, intercede for us in Heaven, [us] who sigh after you on earth.

[V] Shining before the throne of God in outstanding garment intercede [for us] pious father, we pray. Glory to the father, the son and the holy ghost.

[r] who[sigh] after you

In laudibus

[78] LA1

Quidam maligne mentis homines aggressi sunt nocturne tempore infringere sancti basylicam sed eos in ipso conatu operis ligauit uirtus martyris.

Certain men of wicked mind were advancing in the night-time to break into the holy church, but these in this same attempt was bound in the power of the works of the martyr.

[79] LA2

Facto ante mane alius cum scala sua eminus pependit alius tortis brachiis dirigit quidam incuruus fossor stupuit et ita quodquisque incepti habuit uersa uice sibi pena fuit.

Making, before the morning, one with his ladder hang from a distance; another, twisting his arm so it became numb; some digger was astounded crooked; and thus that which they in the beginning had managed, turning, was changed into a punishment for them.

[80] LA3

Quidam magne potentie uir leofstanus dum iuuenilis non refrenauit impetum animi in temeritatem incidit accedens ad tumbam sancti [iussit sibi ossa martyris ostendi]

A certain man of great power, Leofstan, during his youth, did not restrain the vigour of the spirit and in temerity it happened that he, approaching the tomb of the holy [and ordered that the bones of the martyr be shown to him].

Appendix III

Appendix III – Office for *dies natalis*, Saint Olaf

In natalicio s[an]cti olai regis et martyris

ad primas uesperas

[1] VA1

Sancte martyr Domini Olaue, pro nobis, quesumus, apud Deum intercede, ut concedat nobis delictorum ueniam, et uite eterne largiatur premia.

Holy martyr of the Lord, Olaf, for us, we who are here, intercede before the Lord so that He permits for us the pardon of crimes and grants the reward of life everlasting.

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[2] Ps. 112

Laudate pueri

[3] VA2

Sancte martyr Olaue, tua Deo placita prece nos semper et ubique protege.

Holy martyr Olaf, plead your prayer before God and protect us always.

Isl.fr./
KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[4] Ps. 116

Laudate Dominum

[5] VA3

Sancte martyr Olaue, te humiliter deprecamur, ut a peccatorum nostrorum colluuiionibus tuis sacris nos expurges orationibus.

Holy martyr Olaf, we humbly entreat you to cleanse the filth of our sins through your sacred prayers.

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[6] Ps. 145

Lauda anima mea dominum

[7] VA4

Sancte Olaue martyr domini preciose adesto nostris precibus pius et propitius.

Holy Olaf, precious martyr of the lord, pious and well-disposed, attend to our requests.

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[8] Ps. 146

Laudent Deum omnes

[9] VA5

O beate pater Olaue, pium dominus Jesum pro impietatibus nostris deposce.

O blessed father Olaf request to the pious lord Jesus on behalf of our impieties.

Isl.fr./
KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[10] Ps. 147

Lauda Hierusalem

[11] Capit. Unius martyris non episcopi

O quantus fidei feruor inuictissimi martyris pectus accenderat, qui in medio gentium efferarum constitutus, non cessabat tamen salutis uerbum cunctis predicare.

O with such fervour of faith was the heart of the most invincible martyr inflamed, who, placed in the midst of a savage people, did not cease to preach entirely about the word of salvation.

KGL. Add
47

[11B] Versiculus

Multos habebat aduersarios, qui uias domini rectas conabantur euertere. Non cessa.

He has many adversaries who seek to overturn the right paths of the Lord. He did not cease.

Office for *dies natalis*, Saint Olaf

12]VHymn

Rex Olauus gloriosus, sanctus martyr Domini,
Agonista preciosus dat honorem numina,
Spe constant copiosus offertur certamini.

Lumen uite dat paganis, sulcat agros cordium,
Seminatur uite panis in fulcis gentilium,
Extirpatis cunctis uanis, spes crescit fidelium.

Omne malum aquilonis aufertur de medio,
Gentem dure regionis mollit predicatio,
Trinum laudat in personis gentilis confessio.

Christi fidem confitentes, in fonte baptismatis,
Late credunt Christo gentes, dono sancti pneumatis,
Quos confortat Rex credentes novitate dogmatis.

Tu confirmes spem tuorum fidei constantia,
Uim feramus tormentorum pari patientia,
Ut speremus angelorum sempiterna gaudia.

Sit laus honor patri Deo, dilectoque filio,
Sancto flamini cum eo et ejus imperio,
Super martyris tropheo letetur hec concio.

Amen

Glorious king Olaf, holy martyr of the Lord,
Precious fighter gives honour to God
Rich in hope he stands, offering [himself to] the
combat.

He gives the light of life to the pagans, he
ploughs the fields of the hearts,
He plants the bread of life to support the
gentiles,

Rooting out everything false, the trust in faith
increases.

Every evil of the north withdraws from the
centre

The people of a hard region is softened by the
preaching

The triune God approves the confession of the
gentiles.

Confessing the faith of Christ in the baptismal
font

Far and wide the people believe in Christ and
the gift of the Holy Spirit

Which comforts the king, believing in the new
teaching.

You confirm your trust by the constant faith

We receive strength to endure the torments with
equal patience

So that we hope for the eternal joy of the angels.

The honour and merit of God the father and the
beloved son, be,

Holy priest with him and his reign

Over those assembled here in joy by the
martyr's trophy.

Amen

[13] Versiculus

Gloria et honore

[14] MagA

Adest dies letitie,
laudis adest materia,
Resultet uox ecclesie
pulset hymnis celestia,
Martyr insignis hodie
palme ferens insignia,
Feliciter ex acie
traductus in palacia.
Per coronam uictorie
uera migrans ad gaudia,
Stolam suscipit glorie,
Olauus Regum gloria.

The day of happiness is near,
The occasion of praise is near,
The voice of the church resounds
Beating in celestial hymns,
Today the outstanding martyr
Is receiving the emblem of the palm,
Happily from the battle
He is taken to the palace.
Through the crown of victory
He is moving to the true happiness,
He receives the garment of glory,
Olaf, king in glory.

KGL. Add
47

[15] Magnificat

[16] VOratio

Deus, qui es regum omnium corona et martyrum
uictoria, annue nos beati Olai regis et martyris apud

God who is king of each crown and martyr's
victory, grant us blessed Olaf king and martyr to

Appendix III

te experiri patrocina, ut per tuam, quam in ejus glorificamus passione magnificentiam, coronam uite diligentibus te percipiamus repromissam. Per dominum.

prove his patronage by you, so that through you – whom we glorify in the greatness of his passion – we diligently gain the crown of life that is promised in you.

[17] MIA

Magnus Dominus et laudabilis ualde, qui regis Olai industria in lateribus aquilonis fundauit ciuitatem suam.

Great and very praiseworthy Lord, who through the diligence of King Olaf founds his city in the sides of the north.

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[18] Ps. 94

Venite

[19] Aliud Invitat. Per Annum

Regis mirifici Olai ad gloriam,
laude multiplici peragemus memoriam

To the glory of wonderful king Olaf
We complete many praises in his memory

[20] MHymn

Tardi quidem ad credendum noua jura fidei,
Christum negant confitendum, suntque corde saxei,
Sic conspirant ad perdendum plantatorem fidei.

Those who are slow in believing the new law of the faith

And who refuse to confess in Christ and are stone-hearted

Multitudo adunatur, et bellum indicitur,
Iniquitas dominator, in Regem erigitur,
Leo fortis uictimatur et Justus conteritur.

They conspire thus the ruin of the planter of faith.

The multitude unite and declare war,

The lord of iniquity is roused by the king

The strong lion is made a sacrifice, the just is crushed.

Christiani mox ceduntur, Rex truncatur gladio,
Quorum anime creduntur clariores radio,
Sede sacra disponuntur uictores in stadio.

Soon the Christians fall back, the king is cut by a sword,

Whose spirit they commit in a clear light

They ordain the sacred seat, the victors in the stadium

Cecus lapsus casu bono, aqua tangit pupillam,
Uisum capti aque dono, uisus perdit maculam,
Christum Laudat dulci sono, lucis uidens faculam.

A blind man slipping by accident, water touched his pupils

The captive sight was given water, the sight lost its stain

Lingua cuidam amputatur, et mutus efficitur,
Opem Sancti deprecatur, martyr prece flectitur,
Usus lingue reformatur, adolescens loquitur.

He praises Christ in sweet sounds, seeing light like little torches.

A tongue that had been amputated and made him a mute

Beseached the help of the holy man, the prayer softened the martyr

Sacerdotis detruncate membris truncus uehitur
Regis aram ad beati, et ibidem ponitur,
Restauratur sanitatis et sospes regreditur.

The use of the tongue was restored, the youth could speak.

A priest with cut-off limbs was conveyed

To the altar of the blessed king and in the place where he was put

His health is restored, and he returned safe

Give praise of honour for God the sweet father

Sit laus honor patri Deo dilecto.

In primo nocturno

[21] MA1

Regnante illustrissimo rege Olavo apud Noruegiam, uenerunt illic precones uerbi Dei.

The most illustrious king Olaf is reigning among the Norwegians, they come to that place, the heralds of the words of God.

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

Office for *dies natalis*, Saint Olaf

[22] Ps. 1

Beatus vir

[23] MA2

Rex autem ille, licet gentilis, natura benignus erat, et ad honesta queque sequenda quadam mentis ingenuitate promptissimus.

Although this one was a king and although pagan, he was of a good nature and he observed what was honest most eagerly through the nobility of his mind.

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[24] Ps. 2

Quare fremuerunt

[25] MA3

Hic euangelice ueritatis sinceritate comperta, ad baptismi gratiam deuota alacritate conuolauit.

Here he learned the purity of the evangelical truth, and he rushed to the gift of baptism with devout eagerness.

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[26] Ps. 3

Domine quid

[27] Versiculus

Gloria et honore.

[28] ML1

[29] MR1

In regali fastigio constitutus, spiritu pauper erat rex Olauus, ac licet regni negociis implicatus, mentis deuote libera contemplatione meditabatur celestia.

[V] Sordebat ei omnis vana spes et terreni regni gloria ac voluptas vilescebat.

[r.] Ac licet.

Placed on the royal summit, King Olaf was poor in spirit, and although he was entangled in the trouble of royal power, with a free mind he reflected upon heaven in devout contemplation.

[V] He deemed unworthy every vain hope and the glory and pleasure of earthly reign was vile to him.

[r.] And although

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[30] ML2

[31] MR2

O quantus fidei feruor [inuictissimi martyris pectus accenderat, qui in medio gentium efferarum constitutus, non cessabat tamen salutis uerbum cunctis predicare].

[V] Multos habebat aduersarios, qui uias domini rectas conabantur euertere.

[r.] Non cessa.

O with such fervour of faith [was the heart of the most invincible martyr inflamed, who, placed in the midst of a savage people, did not cease to preach entirely about the word of salvation.

[V] He has many adversaries who seek to overturn the right paths of the Lord.

[r.] He did not cease.

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[32] ML3

[33] MR3

Justus uero ut leo confidens absque terrore erat, et iuxta exemplum sancti Job, non expauescebat ad multitudinem nimiam, nec despectio propinquorum terrebat eum.

[V] Offerebat se sponte periculis, martyrium suscipere non recusans,

[r.] non.

Just, and trusting in the truth, and fearless like a lion, and according to the example of holy Job, he was not frightened by the great multitude, nor did the disdain of the neighbouring people deter him.

[V] He offered himself of his own free will to danger, not refusing to receive the martyrdom.

[r.] nor.

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

Appendix III

In secundo nocturno

[34] MA4

Purificatus igitur lauacro salutari, repente mutatus est in alium uirum.

Purified, therefore, in the health-giving bath, suddenly he was changed into another man.

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[35] Ps. 4

Cum invocarem

[36] MA5

Consepultus Christo per baptismum in mortem, in nouitate uite religionis, quam susceperat perfectissimus obseruator ambulabat.

Buried together with Christ in death through baptism, in the new life of religion, which he undertook to walk as a most perfect observer.

KGL. Add
47/ ORA
1018

[37] Ps. 5

Verba mea

[38] MA6

Caebat uehementer quidquid fieri lex uetat diuina, quicquid autem precipit ardentissimo complectebatur affectu.

He strongly avoided anything that was forbidden in the divine law, but whatsoever it instructs he embraces with burning affection.

ORA 1018

[39] Ps. 8

Domine Dominus noster.

[40] Versiculus

Posuisti Domine super.

ORA 1018

[41] ML4

[42] MR4

Itaque deuotissime perficiens officium euangeliste, indutus lorica fidei et galea salutis. Circuibat ciuitates, uicos et uillas, salutarem doctrinam ubique disseminans.

[V] Jesu bone quantos labores sustinuit, antequam populum incredulum conuertere posset.

[r.] Cir.

And therefore he is executing most devoutly the office of an evangelist, the shield of faith is girded on him, and also the helmet of salvation. He wandered through the cities, the villages and the farms, everywhere spreading the health-giving doctrine.

[V] So many labours he put up with for the good of Christ, until he could convert the incredulous people.

[r.] He wandered.

Isl.fr./
ORA 1018

[43] ML5

[44] MR5

Confluebant ad baptismum certatim populi, et in multis Noruegie partibus. Propter fidelium multitudinem omnis iniquitas opilabat os suum.

[V] Confusi erant confidentes in sculptili, et numerus credentium augebatur indies.

[r.] Propter fidelium.

The people eagerly gathered for baptism, and in many parts of Norway. Because of the faith of the multitude, every iniquity was [washed away?] by his speech.

[V] Those who were trusting in idols were confounded, and the number of believers increased daily.

[r.] Because of the faith.

Isl.fr./
ORA 1018

[45] ML6

[46] MR6

Florebat fides et ubertim germinabat uerbi Dei noua

Faith flowered and the words of God sprouted

Isl.fr./

Office for *dies natalis*, Saint Olaf

plantatio. Fabricandis ecclesiis offerebant dona
populi deuoti et alacres. abundantly through the new grafting. Churches
[v.] Exultabat rex plusquam credi potest, iam laboris
sui suauissimos fructus pregustans. devoutly and eagerly. ORA 1018
[v.] The king was exulted by how many came to
believe, and he could taste in advance the most
sweet fruits of his labours.

[r.] Fa[bricandis].

[r.] Churches were constructed.

In tertio nocturno

[47] MA7

Nec propria salute contentus populos, quibus preerat,
ad fidem conuertere uigilanti nitebatur instantia.

Nor was he content with his own salvation and
he strove with watchful earnestness to convert
the people of whom he was in charge to the
faith.

ORA 1018

[48] Ps. 10

In Domino confido

[49] MA8

Nouo rerum ordine rex apostoli uicem gerens, ipse
dux uerbi Christi gratia passim omnibus predicabat.

In a new order of things, a king bears the
apostle's lot, and he himself conducted the
words of Christ's gifts and proclaimed it
everywhere and to all.

ORA 1018

[50] Ps. 14

Dominus quis habitabit

[51] MA9

Predicationis gratia, que diffusa erat in labiis ejus,
plurimos a demonum nephandis cultibus ad ueri Dei
cultum reuocabat.

The gift of preaching which poured forth from
his lips, recalled many from to the cult of the
true God from the abominable cult of demons.

[52] Ps. 20

Domine in virtute

[53] Versiculus

Magna est gloria

[54] ML7

[55] MR7

Deuenerat martyr Christi in locum, ubi corpus eius
sanctissimum modo requiescat. Huius loci incole
obstinate in malicia, ueritatis hostes erant
inexorabiles.

The martyr of Christ arrived in the place where
his body is resting in the most holy manner.
Which place lived in obstinate wickedness, the
enemies of truth were merciless.

Isl.fr.

[V] Hi ergo, collecto exercitu, conuenerunt in unum
aduersus Dominum et aduersus Christum.

[V] And so these, gathering an army, convened
as one against the Lord and against Christ.

[r.] Ueritatis hostes erant.

[r.] The enemies of truth were.

[56] ML8

[57] MR8

Egregius martyr Olauus nocte precedente diem sue
passionis, splendore amictum contemplator Jesum
astantem sibi ac dicentem ueni chare meus, tempus
est, ut laborum tuorum dulcissimos percipias fructus.

Distinguished martyr Olaf, on the night before
the day of his passion, he observed Jesus in a
garment of brilliance waiting for him and saying
"come my dear, it is time that you learned the
most sweet fruits of your labours.

Isl.fr.

(cf. 1 Cor.
11:23

[V] In admiratione aspectus illius attonitus, celeste
percepit oraculum.

[V] In admiration his astonished face perceived

Appendix III

[r.] Ueni chare meus.

this heavenly oracle.

[r.] Come my dear.

[58] ML9

[59] MR9

Rex inclytus Olauus, martyr Domini preciosus, claritate confortatus diuine uisionis, exultans accessit ad locum passionis. Et per effusionem sanguinis peruenit ad palmam eterne iocunditatis.

[V] Felici commercio pro celesti regnum commutans terrenum. Regem rex uidet in decore suo, et in salutari regis magna gloria regis.

[r.] Et per effusionem.

Famous king Olaf, precious martyr of the Lord, comforted by the clarity of the divine vision, arrived exulting at the place of his passion. And by the effusion of blood he came to the palm of eternal joy.

[V] A happy trade to change the earth for the heavenly kingdom. He saw the king of kings in his glory and in the salvation of the king who reigns in great glory.

[r.] And by the effusion.

[60] Ps.

Te Deum

[61] Versiculus

Corona aurea.

Ad laudes

[62] LA1

Post mortem martyris aqua mixta sanguine qui de uulneribus fluxerat, lauans cecus oculos, lumen recepit.

After the death of the martyr, water mixed with blood which flowed from his wounds, washing the eyes of a blind, recovered the light.

[63] LA2

Implorata ope martyris Dux Guttormus, cum parua manu ingentem fudit exercitum.

Imploring the aid of the martyr, Duke Guthorm with few men routed the innumerable army.

[64] LA3

Ad sepulchrum Sancti pernoctans enormiter contracta mulier, integre reddita sanitati, leto uultu et alacri animo ad propria remeauit.

Spending the night at the sepulchre of the holy, an enormously contracted woman was wholly restored to health, and she returned with a happy face and keen spirit in her.

[65] LA4

Adolescens, qui, lingua precisa, loquendi officium amiserat, ad sepulchrum martyris ueniens, recepto li[n]gue usu recessit cum gaudio.

A young man whose tongue was cut off, had lost the ability to speak, he came to the sepulchre of the martyr, and receiving the use of his tongue went away with joy.

[66] LA5

Quidam sacerdos, truncatis membris exanimis, implorauit opem gloriosi martyris, mosque sanctus in somnis ei apparuit, et subito pene sospitati restituit.

A certain priest, lifeless with his limbs mutilated, implored the aid of the glorious martyr and soon in a dream the holy man appeared to him, and suddenly his member was restored to health.

[67] Capitulum unius martyris. LHymnus.

Grecus cesar constitutus in arto certamine,
Poscit opem sancti tutus non tardo laudamine,
Barbarorum sic adiutus, uictor redit agmine.

The caesar of the Greeks was placed in close combat,

He begged for the help of the holy man and not slowly was he safe

Thus aided, the victor fell back on the barbarian army.

Therefore we implore Christ to give help to the miserable

Ergo Christum imploremus, opem ferre miseris,

Ut tyrannum superemus et ministrum sceleris,

Et in celis conregnemus, reducti ab inferis.

Office for *dies natalis*, Saint Olaf

Sit laus honor patri Deo.

So that we overcome tyrants and ministers of
sin
And in heaven be co-regents, saved from hell.

Give praise and glory to God the father.

[67] Versiculus

Letabitur iustus.

[68] BenA

Imperator Grecus, oppressus in prelio et attritus ab
exercitu barbarorum deposcit opem martyris gloriosi,
cum repente sanctus christianis apparet, atque illos
precedens insignis signifer, hostilem profudit
exercitum.

The emperor of the Greeks, oppressed in battle
and pressed by the army of the barbarians,
implored for the aid of the glorious martyr,
when suddenly the holy man appeared to the
Christians, and going before them as a
distinguished standard-bearer, he squandered
the enemy army.

ORA 1018

[69] Benedictus

[70] Oratio

Deus qui es regum

Appendix IV – Office for dies natalis (attempted reconstruction), Saint Knud Rex

Sequitur historia sancti Kanuti regis

Ad uesperas in quintis feriis super psalmos feriales.

[1] VA1

Aue martir precipue
 aue rex insignissime
 Kanute cum principibus
 triumphans iam celestibus
 ecce tuum per speculum
 refulget clare meritum
 E u o u a

Hail especial martyr
 Hail outstanding king
 Knud who with the princes
 is already triumphing in Heaven
 Behold, by the mirror of your example
 Your merit is reflected

[2] VA2 [trl.]

Sol oriens nec deficiens de uirgine stella
 Luciflua pietate sua te sancta coronat,
 Rex celebris nos de tenebris absolue reatus,
 Luce cluis, lux esto tuis kanute rogatus

Nor does the rising sun grow weak from the virgin star,
 Its light-streaming piety crowns you as saint
 Famous king, absolve us from the accusations of darkness
 Purified by light, we ask for your light, Knud.

[3] VA3 [trl.]

Laude pia sancte iam decantande kanute
 Lampas celestis Christi fortissimo testis
 Iam domino gratus nostros absolue reatus,
 Ut tibi cum iustis iungi mereamur in astris.

Chanting in pious praise, already holy Knud,
 The heavenly lamps [show?]
 Christ's most brave witness,
 Already pleasing to the Lord, absolve our guilt
 So that we deserve to be joined with you and the just in the stars.

[4] VA4 [trl.]

Beatus uir qui inuentus est sine macula qui post aurum
 non abiit, nec sperauit in thesauris pecunie quis est hic et
 laudabimus eum, fecit enim mrabilia in uita sua.⁶⁵⁴

Blessed is the man that is found without blemish: and that
 hath not gone after gold, nor put his trust in money nor in
 treasures. Who is he, and we will praise him? for he hath done
 wonderful things in his life.

[5] VA5 [trl.]

Iustum deduxit dominus per uias rectas et ostendit illi
 regnum Dei et dedit illi scientiam sanctorum, honestauit
 illum in laboribus et compleuit labores illius.⁶⁵⁵

She conducted the just, when he fled from his brother's wrath,
 through the right ways, and shewed him the kingdom of God,
 and gave him the knowledge of the holy things, made him
 honourable in his labours, and accomplished his labours

[6] VCap1

[7] VCap2

Beatus uir qui suffert tentationem

Blessed is the man who suffers temptation

[8] VR1

Miles christi gloriose kanute sanctissime tuo pio
 interuentu culpas nostras ablue
 [V] Ut celestis regni sedem ualeamus scandere⁶⁵⁶

Glorious soldier of Christ most holy Knud, with your pious
 intervention you wash our guilt away
 [V] So that we prevail to climb to the seat of the heavenly
 king

⁶⁵⁴ Ecclesiasticus 31:8-9.

⁶⁵⁵ Wisdom 10:10.

⁶⁵⁶ CID: 007155 (responsory for Saint Edmund).

Office for *dies natalis* (attempted reconstruction), Saint Knud Rex

[9] VR2 [pass.]

O felix kanute iam de tua gloria secure nostris miseriis
curam impende per christum excusa mala que fecimus et
[V] ut cruciatus infernorum possimus euadere et de dei
conspectus tecum gaudere
Per dominum

O happy Knud, already safe in your glory,
Devote a cure for our miseries through
Christ exempt us from the evil we make and
[V] so that we can evade the tortures of hell
and rejoice in the face of God with you
By the Lord

Gloria et honore

[12] VMagA

Magnificet plebis deuocio sancta fidelis
Regum primatē cum summis yma regentem
Cuius kanutum decorauit gratia sanctum
Nomine martirii sicut prius imperiali
Inclite deuotos tibi martir protege cunctos

The devotion of the common people extols
Noble king, guiding with the highest,
Who decorated Knud with the holy gift
Of the name of martyr, like the emperors of old
Famous martyr, we consecrate ourselves to you, protect us

Magnificat

[13] Collecta

Deus qui beatum kanutum regem et martirem tua pietate
coronasti ipsius meritis et intercessione concede nobis
ueniam omnium delictorum nostrorum et in omnibus
temptacionibus et periculis tuum auxiliium et gaudium
sempiternum Per dominum nostri ihesus

God who crowns in your tenderness blessed Knud king and
martyr, concede to us through his merits and intercession
pardon for all our transgressions and in every temptation and
danger [concede] your aid and joy everlasting.
By Jesus Christ our Lord.

Collecta

Da nobis quesumus omnipotens deus

[14] MIA

Cristo uenite dulcibus
iubilare uocibus
cuius kanuto gracia
regna dedit celestia
uenite

Come to rejoice in Christ with sweet voices
Who gave Knud the gift of the heavenly kingdom

[15] MHymn

Psalmus et uersiculi[?] de uito martire

In primo nocturno

[16] MA1

Stirpe regali editus
kanutus puer inclitus
preceptis sese domini
corde subdebat humili

Raised from a royal line
Knud the famous boy
Instructed himself for the Lord
He applied his heart to humility

[17] MA2

Crescit morum prudentia
cum iuuentutis gracia
unde dei suffragio
processit rex imperio

He attains prudent manners
With the gift of youth
From whence by the judgement of God
He advances to the authority of a king

Appendix IV

[18] MA3

Circumdant plebis millia
athletam dei forcia
ipse deuotis precibus
deum orat attentius

Surrounded by thousand commoners
The brave athlete of God
Devoting himself to prayers
he pleaded diligently to God

[19] Versiculus

Gloria et honore coronasti eum domine

[20] ML1

[21] MR1

Princeps pius et insignis kanutus
egregius regni sublimatus
deo disponente fascibus.
In diuinis uitam prudens ornabat operibus.
[V] Sustentabat inopes et refouebat pauperes
Ut pararet iter summos sedem sibi proceres

Pious and distinguished prince Knud,
Elevating the famous kingdom
God appoints you the authority
In your life your works were decorated with divine prudence
[V] He sustained the weak and refreshed the poor
To prepare for himself the road to highest seat among the
nobles

[22] ML2

[23] MR2

Frequentabat reuerenter rex potens ecclesiam
et deuoto sacra iussa recondebat pectori.
Preciosis ditans donis domum sanctam domini.
[V] Ut memoria eius permaneret in speculum seculi

The powerful king frequented with awe the church
And faithful concealed the sacred law in his breast
By precious gifts enriching the holy house of God
[V] So that the memory of him should endure as a mirror for
the centuries

[24] ML3

[25] MR3

Quo fieret meritis
uir magnificentior almis
insipiens regem
plebs persequitur sapientem
et feritate sua
post illum dirigit arma
[V] legibus indomitos
quia comprimit atque superbos

For which merits it happened
Man of noble fostering
The wise king the foolish
People persecuted
and their ferocity
after this directed their weapons
[V] untamed by the law
which subdues also the arrogant

In secundo nocturne

[26] MA4

Exaudit sui celitus
clamorem serui dominus
et dat illi constantiam
ad seruandam iusticiam⁶⁵⁷

From Heaven God heard
the cry from his servant
and gave him constancy/endurance
in the service of justice

[27] MA5

Accrescit furor impii
in dei seruuum populi
cruorem corde siciunt
et linguis dolum concinunt

The fury of the impious people
Increased against the servant of God
thirst for blood in the heart
they chant with deceitful tongues

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. Psalm 26:7.

Office for *dies natalis* (attempted reconstruction), Saint Knud Rex

[28] MA6

Nomine dei mirabile
Laudat sanctus assidue
eius corde interrito
persistens in sacrario

The wonderful name of God
The saint praises continuously
His heart fearless
He stood in the sanctuary

[29] ML4

[30] MR4

Turbinis ut uentus furit impia plebs aquilonis
uiribus intendens totos australibus oris
rex ibi promissis seducitur insidiosis
[V] Ut iudas proprium tradebat pace magistrorum sic a
conuiuia traditur ipse suo

The impious northern crowd raged like the whirlwind
Their strength reaching all the southern shores
Where the king was, seduced by insidious promises
[V] Just as Judas relinquished harmony of the teachers
and so gave up the banquet for himself

[31] ML5

[32] MR5

Cum diuinis rex deuotus intenturus laudibus
se sacratis oraturus intulisset edibus.
Ecce ruit innocentem
siciens plebs crudelis sanguinem
[V] Inter quos alter iudas discurrit sublimis uelut
princeps criminis.

When the devout king reaching for the divine praise
Beseeching for himself to obtain the holy dwelling
Behold, the innocent fell
The cruel commoners thirsting for blood
[V] Among whom the second Judas walked about elevated
like the prince of crimes

[33] ML6

[34] MR6

Ignibus et ferro
fera plebs armata cruento
circumdat sacras
edes subuertere temptans
sed nequeunt ignes
sacros exurere postes.
[V] Et petris mixte
uolitant per aperta sagitte

[With] fire and iron
The bloodthirsty crowd was armed
it surrounded the holy
temple, trying to destroy it
but the fire could not
devastate the holy doorposts
[V] And rocks mixed
With arrows flew through the opening

In tertio nocturne

[35] MA7

Intendunt arcus impii
secus edem altissimi
et regem sanctum iaculis
perfodiunt mortiferis

Straining the impious bow
Beside the highest temple
And death-bringing javelins
Pierced the holy king.

[36] MA8

Perfossus telo lancee
ut christus dextro latere
occumbit fuso sanguine
secus aram mirifice

Perforated by the dart of the lance
In the right flank like Christ
He died in a flowing of blood
Beside the wonderful altar.

Appendix IV

[37] MA9

Hic in uirtute domini
letatur nunc altissime
coronam ferens capite
et precioso lapide⁶⁵⁸

Here God in power
Rejoices now in the highest
Bringing the garland to the head
And precious stones

[38] ML7

[39] MR7

Cum furit exterius
trans execrabile uulgus
interius precibus
dux uacat eximius
misteriisque sacris
munitur spiritus eius
[V] Ut stephanus sanctus saxorum sustines ictus

When outside rages,
The standing detestable mob
Inside with prayers
The excellent leader is undisturbed
And by the holy mysteries
His spirit is fortified
[V] You sustained the blow of stones, like holy Stephen

[40] ML8

[41] MR8

Inter saxa stanti dira et tela stridentia
in figuram patientis ihesu christi domini
porrigebant sicienti sancto regi poculum
[V] Cumque piis gustaturus accepisset manibus
mox excussum decidebat lancearum ictibus.
[r] Porrige[bant]

Standing amidst the cruel stones and the whistling arrows
patiently in the shape of Jesus Christ our Lord
Thirsting the [arms] of the holy king extended for the cup
[V] And when his pious hands had received the taste
Soon the blow of a thrown lance made it fall
[r] Thirsting

[42] ML9

[43] MR9

Gloriosus dei martir kanutus et rex inuictissimus
iam cruentis circumquaque saucius uulneribus
tandem ut christus lancea [lancea?] perforatus latere.
Occumbit secus aram precioso laureatus sanguine
[v] Sancta domus occisorum crurore perfunditur
dum cum suis princeps pius et martir perimitur

Glorious martyr of God and most invincible king Knud,
now injured on every side by savage wounds
In the end his side is perforated by a lance in the manner of
Christ.
He died next to the altar, crowned by his precious blood
[v] The holy house is flooded by the blood of the murdered
While its pious prince and martyr is killed

Laudes

[44] LA1

Ad declarandum inclitum
preclari regis meritum
miranda sunt post obitum
ad eius gesta tumulum

For the declaration of the famous
Merit of the king, splendid
Wonders were, after his death,
Carried out at his tomb

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Psalm 20:2.

Office for *dies natalis* (attempted reconstruction), Saint Knud Rex

[45] LA2

Herebat manus arida
ad pectus uiro dextera
sed gaudet de remedio
hic sumpto salutífero

The dry hand clung
To the right side of the man's chest
But he rejoices in the cure
Obtaining healing here

[46] LA3

Hic mutum fari uisio diuo iubet imperio
ut rex sanctus censeretur martir dei uocabulo

Here mutes speak by the command of the authority of divine
visions
So that the holy king is counted the name of God's martyr

[47] LA4

Receptis ceci uisibus
claudi solutis gressibus
benedicunt magnifica
dei gaudenter opera

The blind received their eyesight
Untying the feet of the lame
The magnificent works of God
Bless the rejoicing

[48] LA5

Hic sospes redit languidus
surdus exaudit auribus
leprosus ab ulceribus
mundatus uacat laudibus

Here the weak go out healed
Deaf ears can hear
The leprous from the wounds
Cleansed in praise, is free.

[49] LBenA

Super benedictus antiphona
Auctores necis impie
uexat furor terrifico
nam quidam linguis moribus
iam detruncatis propriis
quidam delapsi gurgite
periere pro scelere
hinc israhel altissimus
sit benedictus dominus

The authors of the impious death
Vexed by terrifying fury
For now in the habit of the tongue
Already cut off from its own
Which are dropped into the abyss
To perish for its sin
Hence Israel in the highest
Is blessed by the Lord.

Ad secunda uespera

[50] 2VCap

Iste sanctus pro lege dei sui certamine [??] ad mortem et
a uerbis impiorum non timuit fundatus enim erat supra
firmam petram

This saint for the law of God in his battle to the death [??]
and of the words of the impious is not scared, for it is founded
on a firm rock.

[51] 2VCap2 [??]

Iustus si morte preoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio erit⁶⁵⁹

But the just man, if he be prevented with death, shall be in rest

[52] 2VA

Jocundus homo cum ceteris⁶⁶⁰

Acceptable is the man, with the rest

[53] 2VMagA

⁶⁵⁹ Wisdom 4:7.

⁶⁶⁰ Psalm 111:5.

Appendix IV

Ossibus egregiis
duplex superadditur ignis
mox est extinctus
ut sacros attingit artus.
Laudibus hic omnis
pulset plebs astra fidelis.
Magnificando deum
martiris ob meritum

Magnificat

[54] 2VA – votive

O rex et martir dacie kanute victor inclite
posce tuis fidelibus palmam glorie
et duc de
mortis tenebris ad lumen gratie filios eue.
[V] Corona aurea

The eminent bones
Were twice poured fire upon
Night is driven away
So that the sacred limbs can arrive
Here every praise
Pulsates from the crowd to the stars in faith
Praising God's
martyr for his merit

Magnificat

O king and martyr of Denmark, famous victor Knud
Ask for your faithful for the palm of glory and lead through
The darkness of night to the gift of light the sons of Eve
[V] The golden crown