

FROM OBSCURITY TO SANCTITY:
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE LIVES OF ST DUNSTAN OF CANTERBURY

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ABSTRACT

Vitae Sanctorum, the lives of the saints, constitutes a distinct historical and literary genre with its own rules and dynamics. This genre provides the historian with valuable data concerning the historical basis behind the life of the saint. Moreover, these lives of the saints have become important sources for understanding the ecclesiastical politics of the times in which these *vitae* were composed and also for comprehending the concerns of the hagiographers.

This dissertation discusses the life of St. Dunstan of Canterbury who was a leading monastic reformer in tenth-century England through the works of hagiographers, anonymous B., Adelard of Ghent, Osbern of Canterbury, Eadmer, William of Malmesbury and the anonymous author of the Early South English Legendary. These *vitae* were composed both in Latin and in Middle English before and after the Norman Conquest and emphasized different aspects of the life of St. Dunstan. The successive authors rewrote the life of the saint, and inserted new materials to satisfy the needs of contemporary clergy and laity. Concisely, this dissertation investigates these Lives to elucidate the important events and changes in the points of emphasis in the life of the saint varying in degrees which paved the way for the creation and development of the cult of St. Dunstan.

Keywords: life, *vita*, monasticism, hagiography, Dunstan, Glastonbury, Canterbury.

ÖZET

Vitae Sanctorum, azizlerin hayatları, kendi kuralları ve dinamikleri olan farklı tarihsel ve yazınsal bir tür oluşturmaktadır. Bu tür tarihçiye azizin hayatı ile ilgili değerli tarihsel bilgiler sağlar. Ayrıca, bu hayatlar, yazıldıkları dönemlerdeki kilise politikalarını ve bu hayatları yazanların kişisel düşüncelerini anlamamızı sağlayan önemli kaynaklar haline gelmişlerdir.

Bu tez, anonim B, Ghent’li Adelard, Canterbury’li Osbern, Eadmer, Malmesbury’li William ve Güney İngiliz Efsanelerinin anonim yazarlarının eserleri vasıtasıyla ortaya çıkmış olan ve 10. yüzyıl İngiltere’inde manastır reformunda önemli bir rol oynayan Canterbury’li Aziz Dunstan’ın hayatını tartışmaktadır. Bu hayatlar Norman İstilasası öncesinde ve sonrasında Latince ve Orta İngilizce’de yazılmış olup herbiri azizin hayatındaki farklı yönleri vurgulamışlardır. Bu yazarlar azizin hayatını yeniden yazmışlar,ve buldukları zaman içerisindeki ruhban sınıfının ve toplumun ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak amacıyla yeni materyaller koymuşlardır. Kısaca bu tez, Aziz Dunstan’ın kültürünün yaratılmasına ve gelişimine yol açan bu hayatlar içerisindeki önemli noktaları, önem dereceleri farklılaşan vurguları ve bunların değişimlerini incelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler : Hayat, vita, manastır, azizlerin hayatları, Dunstan, Glastonbury, Canterbury.

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List of Abbreviations

ASC: Anglo Saxon Chronicle

DA: De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae

EHD: English Historical Documents

GR: Gesta Regum Anglorum

SEL: The South English Legendary

S: Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters. An Annotated List and Bibliography

Chapter 1:

Introduction

This thesis discusses the function of medieval English hagiography as an important genre of primary source from the Medieval Latin West both as evidence for the Lives of individual saints as well as evidence for the later claims and aspirations of the churches where the *vitae* were composed. In this respect, hagiography demonstrates the ecclesiastical ideology and propaganda of the times, which gives useful information to the historian. In particular, the period which will be examined in this thesis covers the tenth to the fourteenth centuries for which the importance of literature about the Lives of Saints cannot be denied. Specifically, this thesis will focus on the different narrations of St. Dunstan's life. Furthermore, the later Lives of Dunstan will demonstrate whether there was continuity or change in ecclesiastical ideology and perception in the English church during these centuries.

In the introduction of this dissertation, hagiography is to be explored through the Lives of St. Dunstan and how this genre functioned as an important mirror of history. Apart from its main purposes (edification of the faithful and sanctification of an individual), hagiography provides important data about historical events. The medieval hagiography of St. Dunstan constitutes a great example of this literary genre and gives clues about its significance in medieval times. Secondly, the historical cycle of the works of all biographers will be briefly introduced in order to outline the history of the saint's cult and its whereabouts and how it evolved through different time spans. In the third section of the introduction, St. Dunstan, his career and his image will be introduced briefly. Dunstan's life and career composed in different time spans shaped his role within English ecclesiastical history. These Lives

of St. Dunstan will also illuminate the question of change or continuity in hagiographical tradition through the analysis of the texts, which reflect the minds of the authors and their times.

The introduction will also discuss the tenth-century monastic reform movement, which manipulated the ecclesiastical *vita* with the influence of St Dunstan. An analysis of the tenth-century will assist us in comprehending the historical facts of the period. The tenth-century monastic reform movement was a turning point in the religious history of England. This reform movement restored the powers of English church through the efforts of Dunstan of Canterbury, Æthelwold of Winchester and Oswald of Worcester. Dunstan and his friends revitalized the Benedictine rule in the monasteries of England. Dunstan's role in this reform was fundamental. He dedicated himself to the restoration of church discipline, supervised bishoprics, synods and maintained canonical order. Therefore, this chapter will examine the role of St Dunstan as a great religious leader of the times who influenced both the religious and political spheres.

The second chapter of the dissertation will discuss the pre-Conquest Life of Dunstan, which was composed in Latin around 1000 A.D. by an anonymous author known only as 'B'. This text is the earliest version of his Lives and William Stubbs mentions the discussions on the author's probable names with references to the three editions in the three MSS. of the Arras, S. Gall, and Cottonian libraries.¹ Furthermore, Stubbs gives detailed information about the background of the text in the introduction. The text is edited by Stubbs from the earliest surviving manuscript. The pre-Conquest Life of Dunstan will define the role of the hagiographical texts in

¹ William, Stubbs, ed., *Memorials of St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Rolls Series, 63 (London, Longman, 1874). All page references in the dissertation from the Latin Lives will be from Stubbs. *Vita Sancti Dunstani Auctore B.*, in Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 3-52. These latin texts are from the original edition and translations are in footnotes which will give the meaning of Latin passages and these are not necessarily literal translations, word by word.

Anglo-Saxon England and how they functioned in religious and political spheres. In this chapter, I will examine ‘B.’ and his narrative and explore the purposes and thoughts of the hagiographer and how he interpreted the events, which may demonstrate the political and ecclesiastical circumstances of tenth-century England.

The third chapter of the dissertation will focus on the early post-Conquest Lives of Dunstan and especially that written by William of Malmesbury. This life of Dunstan was also edited by Stubbs. The comparison between the pre-Conquest and post-Conquest Lives will help us to determine the changes or continuities in hagiographical tradition before and after the Norman Conquest. Therefore, Dunstan’s Lives will illuminate the religious and political concepts of the times through these texts. I will argue that William of Malmesbury aimed at correction rather than making significant changes in the life of the saint. He criticised the mistakes of Osbern of Canterbury and emphasized Dunstan’s struggle for monasticism.

The fourth chapter of the dissertation will examine two Middle English versions of the life of St. Dunstan, which survive as a part of the large collection known as the ‘South English Legendary’ (*circa* 1280-90). The purpose of studying the Middle English versions is aimed at conveying the question of change or continuity in hagiography to the later centuries.

The final chapter of the dissertation will discuss the conclusions drawn from the close investigations of the Lives of the saint and how these documents provide a wider perspective on the events and on the important individuals, both from the times in which these works were composed as well as those to whom they refer.

Hagiographies as Historical Sources

From the beginnings of Christianity, hagiography, the Lives of the saints, has been the centre of attention for the faithful to learn the pious way of living and has constituted a very important literary genre, which reflected the historical facts interpreted through the mind of the hagiographer for the current needs of the church and the laity.² This may weaken the reliability of the hagiographical documents as historical sources since there is a perceptible intersubjectivity resulted from the interaction of the hagiographer and the audience. For this reason, it may help us to define and investigate how hagiographical documents were produced.

Saints' Lives are the products of different circumstances to satisfy the religious needs of church and laity. The worship of the saints, which may in a sense be regarded as the continuous worship of Jesus Christ under different names but similar events, which resemble or imitate his life, has given the chance to create a distinguished literary style which was increasingly favoured by the individual

² Some important books which deal with the general themes in hagiography are Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Afterlives of the Saints, Hagiography, Typology, and Renaissance Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987); Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head, eds, *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995); T. J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography, Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); R. M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (London: Methuen & Co., 1970); Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, eds, *Saints and Society, The two World of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: University Press of Chicago Press, 1982), Paul. E. Szarmach, ed., *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saint: Lives and their Contexts* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996); C. W. Jones, *Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1947); G. Duchet-Suchaux and M. Pastoureau, *The Bible and the Saints* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994); Julia M. H. Smith, 'Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles and Relics in Brittany, c.850-1250', *Speculum*, 65/2 (1990), 309-43.

authors and church authorities. There occurred the stories of martyrdoms and the biographies written by contemporaries in memory of the individuals whom the Church celebrates. In addition, there are accounts composed by writers who lived in a different time period from the events recorded, and whose objective was to edify the faithful or satisfy a pious curiosity.

Hagiography should not be considered only as a means of understanding the historical realities behind a saint's life (a *vita*), but also these works written by the hagiographers must be investigated closely to find out the concerns – political, economic, and religious – of the times they were composed. Moreover, hagiography has its own distinct literary genre with its own rules and dynamics, which needs closer linguistic analysis. This analysis of hagiographies as literary forms is another field study. The objective of the historian should be the investigation of what these documents and their authors are telling. Are they simply the stories and the storytellers of the Christian world or is there more within?

Hagiography tells more about the time it was composed than that of the time of the saint and more about the mind of the hagiographer than of the mind of the saint. In addition to this, Hippolyte Delehaye stated that the legend develops through the continuity of the *cultus*: 'It is the repetition of the story, the celebration of the liturgy, and the pattern around tombs and other shrines that leads to the development of the hagiographical myth.'³ This cultic reproduction plays an important role in the development of the religious world that produces *vitae* with all their marvels.

Hagiography was not primarily concerned with what the reader should regard as biography, but rather with the saint as a model of the holy life for others to imitate, and with his or her career as a key to the understanding saint's spiritual development.

³ Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1962), p. 11.

The aim, in short, was to teach spiritual lessons. Most of the lessons offered by the hagiographical texts written in England seem to concern the life of the church and of monks and hermits in particular.⁴

Delehaye and Alison Goddard Elliot both asserted that the hagiographical document must have a double goal: the celebration of the legendary life of a particular saint as well as edification: ‘The genre... has two objectives: the one, devotional, to honour the saint; the other, instructive, to explain to the hearer or the reader the significance for Christian truth of the saint and his life. If only one of these objectives was present, the narrative would become history, or biography, or allegory, homily, or treatise, but not legend.’⁵

Hagiography was a means of reflecting the true Christian morals and values and its purpose was to convey men to the love of God.⁶ This objective came before other considerations such as truthfulness. However, this did not constitute the whole reality when one category of hagiographers was taken into consideration. The hagiographers can be divided into two categories: Those who wrote what they heard from other people or were inspired to write by the writings of the others; and secondly those who wrote what they witnessed physically.⁷ So these works became both authentic memoirs and works of edification.⁸

A hagiographical document contain three parts: biography, panegyric, and a moral lesson. Hagiographers were very careful while bringing together these three vital elements and they had to conform to the strict requirements of the genre in

⁴ David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 84.

⁵ Charlotte D’Evelyn in a review of Wolpers, ‘Die Englishche Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters’, cited in Alison Goddard Elliot, *Roads to Paradise: Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* (London: University Press of New England, 1987), p. 3.

⁶ Elliot, *Roads to Paradise: Reading the Lives of the Early Saints*, p. 6.

⁷ Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, p. 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

which they were engaged.⁹ The textual validity of a hagiographical document as a historical source is a crucial point in discussing the reflections of historical realities since a considerable number of hagiographers were not the eyewitnesses of the events they told but acted as if they were. Functional analysis of a hagiographical text might be useful due to the fact that the hagiographer, for his own concerns, may invent or distort documents even names for the justification of his narrative.

Apart from its distinct literary forms, hagiography digs into the past to obtain the necessary materials for the justification of its narratives. These sources intersect with that of history. The classification of historical sources can be applied to hagiography. Hagiographer makes use of tradition and the remains of the past. Tradition includes written documents such as narratives, annals, chronicles, memoir, biographies,¹⁰ but due to the hagiographers' purpose these documents could easily be distorted in order to conform to the needs of people or to fulfil the panegyric character of the text. Oral tradition was the second category, which included the testimonies of contemporaries and eyewitnesses, events told by indirect witnesses, stories present among people.¹¹ 'The hagiographer was always being confronted by fanciful stories, and they were often the only ones that oral tradition could supply.'¹² Pictorial tradition was the last category, which the artists inspired by the stories told, and gave back new inspiration sources to the hagiographer.¹³ The physical remains of the past were another source for them such as saints' relics, their shrine, and their own writing.¹⁴ These may give to the writer an idea of a Saint and these sources were enough for him to create a legend out of it.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

While using *vitae sanctorum* as historical sources directly, the data, which we extract, must be analysed in an eclectic manner. Other available sources should be investigated closely because in our case the ambiguity in the Life of Dunstan started at the very beginning of his life which will be discussed in Chapter Two (date of birth and genealogical facts). The problem emerges when the information provided from the text cannot be controlled due to the lack of other sources. In this case, not only political and ecclesiastical circumstances and influences but also personal deeds of the hagiographer must be intensively studied to grasp a portion of rationality in our interpretations of the life of the saint and his times. In addition, the lack of prosopographical and topographical evidence within these texts may easily lead to obscurity, which can only be prevailed over through understanding the mind of the author and all the aspects of the genre.¹⁵

St Dunstan and his Biographers

In the second half of the nineteenth century, William Stubbs, who was a professor of Modern History and fellow of Oriel College at Oxford, presented a masterpiece in which he edited all Latin Lives of the saint together with many related documents which has served as a guide for researchers and historians. These Lives were available in different libraries and these works of the hagiographers were not edited before Stubbs. Therefore, Stubbs appeared as main editor of these Lives.

The first of the biographers of St Dunstan was the anonymous 'B'.¹⁶ B wrote his biography *Vita Sancti Dunstani* around 1000 and he dedicated his work to Ælfric

¹⁵ For further discussion about the use of vitae as historical sources, see Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982), pp. 1-20.

¹⁶ There is a forthcoming edition by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, which will contain the translation of the Life written by B.

who was the archbishop of Canterbury from 996 to 1006. This version was copied and revised around 1004 and then it was sent to France.¹⁷ Despite the general beliefs about anonymous ‘B’, Stubbs rejected the idea that he was a monk due to the character of the text.¹⁸ Furthermore, historians have argued about the identity of B. but Stubbs rejected the idea that he was Byrhtferth of Ramsey, and he suggests that he was a kinsman or pupil of Ebrachar the Saxon Bishop of Liege, possibly living in exile in England during the time of Dunstan’s death.

There are three surviving manuscripts of B’s text in the Arras, S. Gall, and British libraries. The Arras manuscript is supposed to be the original text from which the other two editions derived. The earliest edition of the *Vita Sancti Dunstani* is in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, IV (1685), pp. 346-58, based on a single manuscript, Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale 1029 (812). The S. Gall manuscript contains the Prologue and the poetical parts of the original text but on the other hand, there are some grammatical corrections and some sentences are paraphrased.¹⁹ The manuscript in the Cottonian collection in the British Library did not contain the Prologue and the hexameters but it is closer to the Arras manuscript.²⁰ Consequently, B’s *vita* will form the subject of chapter two below.

Adelard was a monk of Bladinium at Ghent who composed the second Life of Dunstan²¹ and it was dedicated to Archbishop Ælfege (1006-1012).²² This text was

¹⁷ William Stubbs gives detailed information about ‘Auctor B.’ in the introduction of his book *Memorials of St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, pp. x-xxx. See also Michael Lapidge, ‘B. and the Vita S. Dunstani’, in Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1066* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993) pp. 279-91 (first publ. in Tim Tatton-Brown, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks, eds, *St Dunstan His Life, Times and Cult*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992, pp.251-63) Christine Elizabeth Fell, ed., *Dunstanus Saga* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard-Editioes Arnamagnaeanae, 1963), p. xiv. *Dunstanus Saga* is edited pp. 1-30. Fell in this book gives brief information on B and Adelard of Ghent and she refers to Stubbs as her primary source of the Latin Lives of St Dunstan. The text of the *vita* occurs in Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 3-52.

¹⁸ Stubbs indicated that the text did not have any strong bias towards monastic institutions and it did not mention a lot about monastic reformation, Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. xi.

¹⁹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. xxvii.

²⁰ For the historical background of the three MSS see *ibid.*, pp. xxvi-xxx.

²¹ All the references from Adelard’s text will be from Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 53-68.

probably written between 1010-1012. Adelard used the text of B as his source and added some more material. Besides, he presented his work in the form of a series of lessons, which basically aimed at the edification of the devout. His *vita* can be found in many continental libraries without great changes between the copies. The copies of Adelard's which Stubbs used are found in London, British Library, Cotton MS. Nero C.7., Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, MS. 3, and a copy of Nero C. 7 in Lambeth MS. 159.²³

The works of B and Adelard of Ghent are followed towards the end of the eleventh century by the *Vita et Miracula Sancti Dunstani* of Osbern²⁴ He was a native Englishman and the precentor of Christ Church, Canterbury and he grew up in the monastery.²⁵ He wrote Dunstan's life by making use of that written by Adelard but both Eadmer and William of Malmesbury subsequently felt they had to revise it because of its historical defects.²⁶ Osbern's work was issued twice by the author himself and the second edition was the result of the criticism by Eadmer, the author of the fourth life below.²⁷ The significance of Osbern and his works is that they marked the starting point of post-Conquest Canterbury hagiography. The Lives of St. Ælfheah and St. Dunstan belonged to this period.

Eadmer, who was a precentor of Christ church like Osbern, wrote the fourth Life of Dunstan.²⁸ He was the last member of the Canterbury circle of hagiographers and he intended to correct Osbern's mistakes.²⁹ He is primarily known as the

²² Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. xxx-xxxii.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. xli-xlii.

²⁴ Osbern and his work is included in Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 69-161.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

²⁶ A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo Latin Literature, 1066-1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 21.

²⁷ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

²⁸ Eadmer's *vita* in Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 169-249.

²⁹ R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-1130* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 281-83.

biographer of Anselm and the author of *Historia Novarum*.³⁰ He was active between the years 1090 and 1120. The possible date of Eadmer's work is 1109. The earliest manuscript is at Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 371 and the other is Loan, Public Library MS. 163. These two manuscripts contain the full work of Eadmer.³¹ Both R. W. Southern and Stubbs stated that Eadmer intended to correct and criticise the work of Osbern after his death. Despite the rhetorical elaboration of Osbern, Eadmer wrote his Life in much clearer Latin and he depicted the inner experiences of the saint in a realistic way.³²

The fifth Latin Life was written by the twelfth-century historian William of Malmesbury.³³ His exact date of birth is not clear but it was probably around 1090-6 of Norman and English parentage and died around 1142, and spent his life at Malmesbury Abbey.³⁴ He visited Glastonbury after 1129 and he wrote the Lives of the saints Patrick, Dunstan, Indract, and Benignus. Furthermore, William explored the foundation of Glastonbury Abbey in *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* (hereafter *DA*), which gave useful data about the life of Dunstan and his contributions to the abbey.³⁵ Apart from one MS. of the *Vita* he gave a lengthy account of Dunstan in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (hereafter *GR*).³⁶ He based his Life of Dunstan on a MS. by B, which he found at Glastonbury.³⁷ He also made use of the Miracles found in Eadmer's collection. His Life of Dunstan is probably dated

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

³¹ Fell, *Dunstanus Saga*, pp. xv-xvi.

³² Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 281-82.

³³ William of Malmesbury's text is included in Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 250-324. For a detailed discussion on the life of William of Malmesbury and his accomplishments, see Rodney Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1987).

³⁴ Rigg, *A History of Anglo Latin Literature, 1066-1422*, p. 21.

³⁵ Frank Lomax trans., *The Antiquities of Glastonbury* (Felinfach: Llanerch Enterprises, 1992).

³⁶ R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thompson, M. Winterbottom, eds and trans., *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998-1999).

³⁷ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. xxxv-xxxvii.

soon after 1120. The only surviving manuscript of William's text is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. 263.³⁸

Last of the Latin Lives is written by John Capgrave who was the provincial of Augustinian friars. He was both a historian and a theologian. He is mainly known as the compiler of *Nova Legenda Angliae*,³⁹ the first comprehensive collection of English saints' Lives. This text belonged to the fifteenth century but no exact dating of the text is available and only the year of Capgrave's death is known and that is 1464. His Life of Dunstan is reprinted from this compilation by Stubbs. The text, which is used by Stubbs, is found in MS. Tanner 15. In his *Vita et Miracula Sancti Dunstani*,⁴⁰ Capgrave mainly made use of Osbern's version of the Life of the saint.

Apart from the Latin Lives of Dunstan, the South English Legendary (hereafter *SEL*) contains both broad collection of the Lives of the saints and material for church festivals. The South English Legendary originated in Southwest of England around 1270-80 probably in the diocese of Worcester and its intention was the desire to present in easier and more popular form readings for individual feast days of the *sanctorale* (which the compiler probably found already collected with other liturgical matter in a Latin *legenda*), with a few legends added from longer *vitae*.⁴¹ Both M. Görlach and Klaus P. Jankofsky have argued that there has been a lack of theory to define exactly *SEL*'s author, purpose, and audience due to the fact that it spread rapidly to other regions and the characteristics of the texts were easy to imitate.⁴² The two versions of Dunstan's life have slight differences in their literary

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. lii.

³⁹ M. Görlach, 'Middle English Legends 1220-1530', in Guy Philippart, ed., *Corpus Christianorum Hagiographies I* (Brepols: Turnhout, 1994), pp. 429-85. In this article Görlach gives brief information about the works associated with Capgrave, p. 468.

⁴⁰ This Life is also edited in Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 325-53.

⁴¹ M. Görlach, ed., *An East Midland Revision of the South English Legendary* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1976), p. 8.

⁴² Görlach, *An East Midland Revision of the South English Legendary*, p. 8, see also Klaus P. Jankofsky, ed., *The South English Legendary: A Critical Assessment*, (Tübingen: Francke, 1992).

and orthographical forms.⁴³ These two MSS. contain the miraculous events, which occur in the longer Lives of Dunstan written in Latin. The two versions are collected from the anonymous sources and edited by different authors.⁴⁴

The last biographer of Dunstan is Árni Laurentiusson and his work is in Old Norse and is called *Dunstanus Saga*.⁴⁵ Christine Elizabeth Fell edited his work but she did not argue about the dates concerning the life of the author and the chronological evidence related to the text. However, in the introduction of the book, she made an analysis of the Norse version in comparison with the early Latin Lives of St. Dunstan. Mainly. As Fell asserted, Árni used Adelard's *Vita Sancti Dunstani* as his main source and the others accept the one written by B. Fell gives references to her conclusion that primarily Árni used Adelard throughout his *Saga*.⁴⁶

Dunstan and His Image

Tenth-century England, when compared to the ninth century, was relatively peaceful and Dunstan grew up in these circumstances providing him with the opportunity to

⁴³ Carl Horstmann, ed., *The Early South English Legendary or the Lives of Saints* (Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint, 1987), pp. 19-24; Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill, eds, *The South English Legendary*, I (London: Oxford University Press, 1967) pp. 204-11. Horstmann in this book makes use of the earliest edition of the SEL MSS, which is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud, 108 (c. 1285-95) whereas D'Evelyn and Mill make use of London, British Library, MS. Harley 2277 (c. 1300). Thomas R Liszka in his article 'Manuscript G (Lambeth Palace 223) and the Early South Legendary' in Jankofsky, ed., *The South English Legendary*, pp. 91-101, discusses the chronology of the original collection which is entitled as 'Z' by Manfred Görlach in *The Textual Tradition of the SEL* (Leeds: Leeds University Press, 1975), and argued that MS Laud (which Horstmann ascribed to as the earliest of all the SEL MSS) may have entered to the 'Z' stage in a later period, p. 92. It may be possible to assert that the relationship between the various SEL MSS remains ambiguous since there are more than fifteen affiliations of the major SEL MSS. The original SEL MSS and all of its redactions, confluents, and contaminations are still discussed by these historians and linguists. On the other hand, it may be suggested that the 'L' text stands independent from all the other versions of SEL, whereas MS. Harley 2277 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Vernon (S. C. 3938-42) (c. 1380) (which are later versions used by Horstmann due to a lacuna in MS. Laud 108) are later redactions of the earlier SEL MSS.

⁴⁴ Horstmann, ed., *The Early South English Legendary*, pp. 19-24; D'Evelyn and Mill, eds, *The South English Legendary*, I, pp. 204-11.

⁴⁵ Fell, *Dunstanus Saga*, pp. 1-30.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. ix-xliii.

pursue his works. Alfred the Great was largely responsible for delivering this peace to the tenth century,⁴⁷ as he tried to revitalize the monastic institutions and learning and stopped the Vikings for almost a hundred and fifty years.⁴⁸ The birth of the saint in different sources forms a point of discussion.⁴⁹ His family forms another basis of obscurity since we have only the names of his father and mother; namely *Heorstan* and *Cynethryth*.⁵⁰ Dunstan's career was –as all of the hagiographers stressed- shaped by the education he took from one of the most ancient schools in England; namely Glastonbury, which provided him with the necessary equipment for his future career in both ecclesiastical and political realms.

Dunstan's Glastonbury years (909-924) as a child offered him a chance of experiencing the monastic way of life and a broad knowledge of literature and arts, which helped him to exceed the others. On the other hand, his childhood was troubled with serious illnesses⁵¹ and these troubles seemed to haunt him in all the periods of his life. Despite his sufferings during childhood this talented young man attracted King Æthelstan when Dunstan's uncle Æthelm, archbishop of Canterbury, introduced him to the court around 924. In the court, the courtiers, for his abilities and pious living, envied Dunstan and he was expelled from the court. This might

⁴⁷ Douglas Dales, *Dunstan, Saint and Statesman* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1988), pp. 3-8.

⁴⁸ D. H. Farmer, 'The Progress of the Monastic Revival' in David Parsons, ed., *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (London: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 10-19. For the outline of the history of Anglo-Saxon England of ninth and tenth centuries see Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 239-393; and for the Viking impact and the progress in the royal administration see Barbara Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), pp. 94-131.

⁴⁹ G. N. Garmonsway, trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1990), p. 104 (hereafter *ASC*). The F-text of the Chronicle stated that the birth date of Dunstan was born in 924. On the contrary, Dales asserted that the saint was born around 909, which seemed more possible due to the chronology of the saint's life, Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 9. For a further discussion on this subject see chapter 2 below

⁵⁰ These names are not included in *ASC*. Nicholas Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan' in Tim Tatton Brown, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks, eds, *St Dunstan His Life, Times and Cult* (Woodbridge: The Boydell, 1992), pp. 1-23. Brooks investigated all the names related to the saint. In addition, Chapter Two also deals with the names and chronology concerning the life of the saint intensively.

⁵¹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 8.

simply indicate that his abilities and interest in arts such as writing, music, and literature could have been perceived as having an interest in occult knowledge and might have given an opportunity to the courtiers to accuse Dunstan.

Then, he joined Ælfheah the Bald who convinced him to become a monk after a serious illness. Despite being a monk, he was always present in the courts of the kings who succeeded Æthelstan till the end of his life which implicated his relations with the royal family and actually resulted in a very effective cooperation with almost all the kings except Eadwig in the revitalization of monasticism in England. Eadmund, the successor of Æthelstan, granted the abbacy of Glastonbury to Dunstan around 940⁵², which marked the beginnings of this monastic movement in England.

Dunstan enjoyed the rich benefactions of king Eadmund and Eadred for sixteen years (c. 940-956) but his troubles were yet to come. Dunstan appears once more as a tormented figure who was expelled from the court of Eadwig⁵³ for his actions which was beyond his powers at that time and was sent to exile at Ghent (c. 955-956)⁵⁴ where he had the opportunity to observe the Benedictine way of life for almost three years. This event seemed to be the last occasion of Dunstan's sufferings. Eadwig's reign did not last long and Edgar, who was educated by Æthelwold (one of Dunstan's pupils during his abbacy in Glastonbury and one of the leaders of the monastic movement), came to the English throne and restored the powers of Dunstan immediately and appointed him to Canterbury in 960.

Dunstan's Canterbury signified the climax of the reform movement because he appointed his most trustworthy friends to crucial positions in order to secure the

⁵² See Dales, *Dunstan*, pp. 25-29, for the discussion of Dunstan's appointment to Glastonbury as an abbot.

⁵³ *ASC*, p. 113. The reign of Eadwig started in 956 according to the chronicle.

⁵⁴ J. A. Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 86.

progress of the movement. After this important step, he was portrayed as an invisible guide behind the works of other reformers. Dunstan died in 988 and he was succeeded by Æthelgar (988-990).⁵⁵ All of his hagiographers stressed his role as a teacher of monastic life, his talent in arts and literature, his devotion to monastic life and his loyalty to the Benedictine way of life. His image became a source of inspiration for the monastic writers who looked back for an ideal representative of monasticism and a soldier of Christ. Since almost all the medieval world was retrospective and perceived the present time as decadent and corrupt, it may be possible to assert that Dunstan's life, with all his miracle stories set a good exemplar for the ecclesiastics and the laity.

Among the hagiographers of Dunstan, Osbern of Canterbury has a crucial role since his story of Dunstan's encounter with the devil shaped his representation. He began to be portrayed with his tongs seizing the devil by the nose⁵⁶ in the churches throughout the centuries.

Tenth-Century Monastic Reform

In this section I will try to explore the roots of the tenth century monastic reform that can be traced back to the political, social, and religious events in the ninth-century in England and the Benedictine reform movements on the Continent. Besides, the role of Dunstan in this monastic reform will be investigated through sources of the period; primarily and most importantly through the life written by anonymous B. In the ninth-century, England was constantly under the attack of Vikings. Danish raids reached London by 842 and in the second half of the century, Danes passed to

⁵⁵ ASC, p. 125.

⁵⁶ Osbern in Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 85.

Mercia, and Æthelred, the king of Wessex, and his brother Alfred fought against the Danish army. However, the Danish army invaded East Anglia. Alfred resisted at Reading and at Ashdown. When king Æthelred died in 871, Alfred succeeded to the West Saxon throne. Dunstan was born and grew up in a Wessex, that had been united by Alfred the Great.⁵⁷

From 871, until 878, Alfred fought nine battles against the Danish, and in 879 signed a treaty with Danish chieftain Guthrum. Guthrum was baptised by Alfred, and from then onwards, the Danish settlers in the Eastern Midlands, in the North East, and in East Anglia, were gradually converted to Christianity.⁵⁸ When Danish raids were no longer threatening, but still existing, Alfred began to take measures for the welfare of the country. His efforts were to bring back order and discipline in matters of intellectual, moral, and religious. Two reasons lay behind this: externally, the havoc worked by the vikings, in the destruction of buildings, in the slaughter of priests, monks, teachers, and other men of learning; and internally, the lapse in Church discipline, due largely to the same causes....⁵⁹

Apart from Alfred's policy of burghs, and fortified towns his commitment to the reform of the Church arguably formed the basis of the 10th century revival.⁶⁰ The key figure in Alfred's reform efforts was Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury from 890 to 923, who had been appointed by Alfred. He was famous for his learning, and his greatest achievement came in 910. He created five new bishoprics by dividing the two sees of Winchester and Sherborne. Furthermore, Crediton, Ramsbury and Wells

⁵⁷ For a complete but controversial survey of Alfred's reign and his life see Alfred P. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), a chronology of Alfred's reign pp. 3-50.

⁵⁸ Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Saint Dunstan Of Canterbury* (London: Collins, 1996), p. 6.

⁶⁰ Smyth, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 527-66. Smyth basically questioned the authenticity of the surviving texts of the ninth-century which are ascribed to Alfred and he investigated how these texts functioned as a means for the later religious revival in the tenth-century.

were formed. Æthelm, who became the first bishop of Wells, was Dunstan's uncle.⁶¹ He had a remarkable influence over Dunstan for his future career. Alfred also founded two religious houses, Athelney and Shaftesbury. Shaftesbury was a nunnery directed by Alfred's daughter, Æthelgifu, and it continued to serve the church of England throughout tenth century. This action of Alfred showed that he and probably some of his bishops regarded the revival of regular religious life as vital to the integrity and welfare of the church as a whole.⁶²

The parallels between ninth and tenth century reforms were their respective efforts to diminish the power of laymen over monastic property. Hence, lay dominion, for the reformers of both centuries, was perceived as a threat to the integrity and spiritual vitality of the church. The lay benefactors, founders of the parish churches, which were built by the local thegns, and married clergy claimed hereditary rights for the endowments of the Church. From the time of Bede onwards, the reformers and idealists had reinforced the undermining of lay dominion.⁶³ This process of the replacement of individual clerks and their endowments to monastic communities shaped the characteristics of tenth century revival.

Secondly, Alfred's own efforts provided the revival of learning and education. Alfred attracted many bishops notably Werferth at Worcester for this revival and from his familia came three learned man to assist the king at court; namely Æthelstan, Werwulf, and Plegmund.⁶⁴ The king's cooperation with these learned men resulted in the translation of books from Latin into English. *Pastoral Care*, *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great and the *Soliloquies* of Augustine were among

⁶¹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 55. Adelard connects Dunstan and Athelm. Athelm introduces Dunstan to the court of Athelstan. Moreover, Barbara Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of Tenth-Century', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence* ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: The Boydell, 1988), pp. 65-89, p. 67 states the significance of kinship in Dunstan's career.

⁶² Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 4.

⁶³ Farmer, 'The Progress of the Monastic Revival', p. 12; and Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 5.

⁶⁴ See both Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 4, and Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan*, pp. 1-15.

them. The dialogues included the hagiography of St Benedict, whose rule and cult were pivotal for the subsequent renewal of monasticism in the tenth century.⁶⁵ Besides, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* was translated into English. Alfred's emphasis on learning increased the number of young men ready to serve the church and the state.

Thirdly, Alfred contributed to the flowering of the arts in the last decades of the 9th century and apparently influenced two great reformers of tenth-century; Dunstan and Æthelwold. Anonymous B depicts Dunstan's interest in the arts and learning in his vita thus:

Hic etiam inter sacra litterarum studia, ut in omnibus esset idoneus, artem scribendi; necnon citharizandi: pariterque pingendi peritiam diligenter excoluit, atque ut ita dicam, omnium rerum utensilum vigil inspector effulsit.⁶⁶

Dunstan's interest in arts may well have been related to the strong tradition provided by Alfred and his contributions to art literature, and learning. In Alfred's reign a new script, artistry in metalwork and jewellery and elaborate decoration in stone and ivory carving were improved.⁶⁷

Finally, the collaboration between the king, bishops and archbishops prompted a Christian vision of monarchy and society both in the Carolingian kingdoms on the continent and in England during the reign of Alfred. As a consequence, the bishops, and especially the archbishops of Canterbury, stood at the heart of the political and judicial process.⁶⁸ The archbishops of Canterbury in the tenth century emerged as both statesmen and religious leaders of the realm.

⁶⁵ Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 5.

⁶⁶ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 20. 'Among his sacred studies of literature, he also cultivated the art of writing, that he can be adequate in all matters, in the art of harp playing and skilful in painting, and he investigated all other useful things'.

⁶⁷ Dales, *Dunstan* p. 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Dunstan's role as a reformer arguably proves this vision of highly powerful archbishops.

The continental reform movements of the ninth and tenth centuries were other stimulating forces behind the tenth century reform in England. At the very beginning of the ninth century, two reform councils of 816 and 817 at Aachen declared a new series of regulations for monks, canons, and canonesses, later known as 'Aachen Decrees'. These decrees were basically the product of the ideas of Benedict of Aniane. He advocated the revival of the Rule of St Benedict of Monte Cassino in a stricter way. 'One of the major objects of the Aachen decrees had been to enforce stricter rules of enclosure'.⁶⁹ However, when Benedict of Aniane died in 821, the ninth century turbulences, Vikings, Arabs, the civil war between the sons of Louis the Pious, and lay exploitation, brought about the collapse of the first reform movement, and in fact all ninth century reform efforts suffered from these turbulences.⁷⁰ 'The Carolingian reform schemes of Benedict of Aniane were largely blocked from the mid-century onwards by the raids of Northmen, as in England: but in the early tenth century fresh efforts were made to secure reform, both for monks and canons.'⁷¹

Cluny was the citadel of the reform movement and Benedictine revival on the continent. The movement started when Duke William donated Cluny to Berno of Baume for its reform in 910 for a stricter observance of the Benedictine rule.⁷² Cluny was the first and the most important house of the revival which inspired the other

⁶⁹ C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 81.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

⁷¹ M. Deansley, *An Ecclesiastical History of England: The Pre-Conquest Church in England* (London, 1961) p. 287. See also D. A. Bullough, 'The Continental Background of the Reform', in Parsons, ed., *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (London: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 20-36.

⁷² The course of the event, Duke William's charter, Berno's career, which was influenced by the ideas of St Benedict of Nursia, and St Benedict of Aniane, is told in Eleanor Duckett, *Death and Life in Tenth-Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), pp. 195-218.

houses to be reformed especially during the abbacy of Odo (927-942). He encouraged reform at Fleury-on-the-Loire. The significance of the Cluniac houses and their reformers was their strong political stance against lay abuses and lay investiture.⁷³ The tenth century kings in England followed this tradition and supported the reformers against anti-clerical nobles.

In addition to Cluny, Gerard de Brogne of Lower Lorraine, and John of Gorz in Upper Lorraine reformed several houses and secured a strict observance of the *vita canonica*. St Peter at Bladinium at Ghent, which was reformed by Gerard, gave shape to Dunstan's ideas of Benedictine observance when he was sent into exile by King Eadwig. Apart from Gerard, John of Gorz founded a house in the province of Trier and his reformed house influenced mainly the canons of cathedrals and collegiate churches. This movement, started in Upper Lorraine was also influential in England. The constitution adopted for the see of Crediton later followed the ideals of John of Gorze and this movement in Upper Lorraine.⁷⁴

The emphasis of the revival of the tenth century on the continent and in England indicates the sharp separation between the secular world and the world in which the monks were living. Clerical and lay benefactors obtained remission of sins only through confraternity. With this form of association, different monastic communities granted one another. The monks of two houses linked in this way prayed for another, and deceased members were commemorated in both establishments.⁷⁵ If the lay applicants for confraternity were accepted by the community in chapter, they benefited from all the spiritual benefits of the monastery.

⁷³ For a further discussion on the rise of Cluniac houses see, Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 98-103.

⁷⁴ Deansley, *An Ecclesiastical History of England*, pp. 290-91. For the progress of these movements on the Continent see Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 103-04.

⁷⁵ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 99.

Obviously, the reform was rooted in the Rule of St Benedict and St Benedict of Aniane with its time table for the monks and liturgical practices.

Fundamentally, the tenth century reform movement was the result of these strong movements on the continent. Cluny, Upper and Lower Lorraine represented three distinct interpretations of the Benedictine Rule with slight differences when observed from a general spectrum because they all adopted the Benedictine rule from the reform of Benedict of Aniane and from the Aachen decrees of 817. Monasticism, despite these revivals on the continent, was almost extinct in the early decades of tenth-century. Monastic lands were pre-empted and occupied by married secular clerks. The revival was the work of individual ascetics who were constantly cooperating with the kings. They were the chief courtiers of the kings of the tenth century.

The tenth-century English monastic and clerical reform movement was dominated by St Dunstan, St Æthelwold, and St Oswald.⁷⁶ Before their appearance, Archbishop Oda, who had taken the monastic habit at Fleury and had been consecrated to the see of Canterbury in 942, influenced the process of the reform movement by sending his nephew Oswald to Fleury, an ancient abbey on the Loire.⁷⁷ Oswald became the first man to be connected individually with the continental reform. Oswald became the bishop of Worcester in 961. And then he called a monk Germanus from Fleury to be the first abbot of newly founded Westbury-on-Trym.⁷⁸

Among the three great reformers, historians such as William Stubbs, Dean J. Armitage Robinson and Dom David Knowles attributed a significant role to St Dunstan as the leader of the movement. It is possible to assert that the movement

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-08. Lawrence remarks the important figures of tenth-century monastic reform movement in England.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

started when Dunstan was given the abbey of Glastonbury where Dunstan as a boy had been educated, by king Eadmund after certain miraculous events in 940,;

Igitur post haec servus Dunstanus jam dictam dignitatem jussu regis regendi gratia suscepit; et hoc praedicto modo saluberniam sancti Benedicti sequens institutionem, primus abbas Anglicae nationis enituit: sicque spontaneum ex affectu cordis famulatum Deo reddere devovebat. Tunc ergo perprudens opilio, primum scepta claustrorum monasticis aedificiis caeterisque inmunitationibus...⁷⁹

Before his years in Glastonbury, Dunstan as a young man was taken to the court of Æthelstan by his uncle Æthelm. Dunstan as a young cleric would have seen the foreign embassies that visited Æthelstan's court, the Frankish refugee Prince Louis d'Outremer, the Breton prince Alan, king Æthelstan's godson, and the young Haakon from Norway.⁸⁰ Dunstan's first continental contacts may have given him ideas about the continental reform movements and shaped his ideas about Benedictine observance. While he was serving in Glastonbury, he revived the rule and built new monastic buildings. His friend and pupil Æthelwold was also with him as his disciple for a few years. Æthelwold learnt arts, metrics, and divine books, and received the monastic habit from Dunstan:

Ac postmodum Glastoniam perueniens magnifici uiri Dunstani, abbatis eiusdem monasterii, discipulatu se tradidit. Cuius magisterio multum proficiens, tandem monastici ordinis habitum ab ipso suscepit, humili deuotione eius regimini deditus.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 25, (Ch. 15). 'Therefore this servant of God, Dunstan, undertook the management of the aforesaid office with king's order, and he followed the rule of St. Benedict in the aforementioned way, he shone as the first abbot of the nation, then with all his heart he began to serve God. Then he, as a very careful shephard, fortified the precincts of the monastery on every side.' In the previous chapter, B tells how Eadmund gave Dunstan the abbey of Glastonbury after the event at Cheddar when the king almost died during a stag hunt and was rescued miraculously from death.

⁸⁰ Deansley, *An Ecclesiastical History of England*, p. 257.

⁸¹ M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, ed. and trans., *Wulstan of Winchester: The Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 1-69, (p. 14). 'Then he went to Glastonbury and became a disciple of distinguished Dunstan, abbot of that monastery. He profited greatly by Dunstan's teaching, and eventually received the habit of the monastic order from him, and devoted himself humbly to his rule.', p.15.

14-15. See also Dorothy Whitelock, ed., *English Historical Documents c. 500-1042, 2nd edn* (hereafter *EHD*) (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 905 (Ælfric's Life of St Æthelwold),

Later, Æthelwold desired to go abroad for the perfection of his monastic studies at Fleury, but he was not permitted due to king Eadred's fear of losing such a brilliant man. Afterwards, Abingdon where he was appointed as an abbot, became one of the leading English monastic communities together with Glastonbury.⁸² Oswald also joined Dunstan at Glastonbury. Both king Eadmund and Eadred supported Dunstan and his works in Glastonbury. Dunstan taught his monks in every aspect of community life and sent them to other houses for the revival of the rule of St Benedict.

The premature reform suffered a setback when Dunstan was sent into exile by the young king Eadwig.⁸³ When Eadwig died in 959, Dunstan was immediately recalled and consecrated bishop of Worcester and then of London. After king Eadgar's accession, Dunstan was made archbishop of Canterbury. King Eadgar's accession marked the beginning of a rapid increase in the number of monastic communities. He favoured monks rather than married clergy as a consequence of his education in Abingdon when Æthelwold was its abbot (955-63). Both Æthelwold and Dunstan received rich endowments in this period. Dunstan's role became more significant and this is emphasized in different sources.

After he had been amended himself, he began zealously to set monasteries in order widely throughout his kingdom, and to set up the service of God. By the supporting grace of God, it was performed thus: he availed himself continually of the counsel of his archbishop, Dunstan; through his admonition he constantly inquired about the salvation of his soul, and not that only, but likewise about all the religion and welfare of his dominion.⁸⁴

⁸² For Æthelwold's contribution to monastic revival and Abingdon's role, see *EHD* pp. 903-11.

⁸³ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 32-34. B tells the course of the events during the coronation ceremony of Eadwig and its aftermath including Dunstan's sailing to Gaul, to Bladinium, at Ghent, on the other hand his exile years are blurred in the vita. B did not give details for the exile years.

⁸⁴ *EHD*, p. 921 This is an old English account of King Edgar's establishment of monasteries between the years 975-984. The second source is an extract from the Life of St Swithin which describes Dunstan as such: 'At that time also there were worthy bishops, the resolute Dunstan in the archiepiscopal see, and the venerable Æthelwold, and all the others but Dunstan and Æthelwold God, and established every good thing to the satisfaction of God.' *ibid.*, pp. 927-28.

The three houses of the reformers, Glastonbury, Abingdon, and Oswald's Westbury-on-Trym became the schools for monks. These houses provided monks for new foundations including Ramsey, Peterborough, Ely, Shaftesbury, Bath, Wilton, Croyland, and the two Winchester minsters. The conversion of Winchester into a monastic community, and the dismissal of the married clergy by the reformers and their supporters is described as such:

Now at that time in the old Minster, where the Episcopal seat is situated, there were evil-living clerics, possessed by pride, insolence and wanton behaviour, to such an extent that several of them scorned to celebrate mass in their turn; they repudiated their wives whom they had married unlawfully, and took others, and were continually given over to gluttony and drunkenness. The holy man Æthelwold by no means put up with this, but when King Edgar's permission had been given, he very quickly expelled the impious blasphemers of God from the minster, and bringing monks from Abingdon, placed them there, being himself both their abbot and their bishop.⁸⁵

The work of these distinguished bishops was crucial for the strict observance of the rule and for the revival of learning. Besides, the main objective of the reformers was to divert the prebendal and the hereditary possessions to monastic funds and to create a new class of landholders and administrators in the abbots of houses endowed with private hundreds and sokes.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the primary concern of the leading figure of the reform, St Dunstan, was the revival of learning. During Dunstan's abbacy (940-56)-that is, at the period when most historians would place the beginnings of the English tenth-century reform movement- there was a general revival of learning at Glastonbury which included a concerted policy of book acquisition and the establishment of a productive scriptorium.⁸⁷ So Dunstan was

⁸⁵ *EHD*, p. 907.

⁸⁶ Deansley, *An Ecclesiastical History of England*, p. 305.

⁸⁷ James P. Carley, 'Two Pre-Conquests Manuscripts from Glastonbury Abbey', *Anglo Saxon England*, 16 (1987), pp. 197-212, (p. 197).

primarily concerned with education for raising the standards of bishops and the clergy by providing them the necessary means.

Dunstan was apparently not only concerned with the revival of learning. His different Lives prove that he was carefully dealing with the foundation and endowment of monasteries.⁸⁸ Dunstan, himself was connected to five monasteries including Muchelney, Æthelney, Westminster, Malmesbury, and Bath:

Erat namque vir venerandus in amore Dei, ut diximus, semper accensus, et propterea loca sacrorum coenobiorum ob animarum aedificationem circuibat sollicitus. Venit etiam ex hac salubri consuetudine ad locum thermarum, ubi calida de abyssi latibulis guttatim vaporando ebullit, quem incolae locum sub paterna lingua Bathum soliti sunt appellare.⁸⁹

Dunstan's consecration to Canterbury, in addition to his previous works, was a corner stone for the whole movement. He was becoming like an invisible hand over the course of the events with his crucial appointments. Both Æthelwold and Oswald were appointed to Winchester and Worcester soon after he became the archbishop of Canterbury. These churches played decisive roles with their affiliations in the transformation of the life of the Church, and landholding system with royal support. This reached its climax during the reign of king Edgar. In the year 964, at Easter the king ratified the formation of the monasteries.⁹⁰

The culmination of the movement came shortly after Easter synod of 964. In 973, a great synod was summoned in Winchester, and a code of monastic law was issued and entitled *Regularis Concordia Anglicae nationis monachorum sanctimonialiumque*. Although contemporary historians have ascribed this monumental document to certain individuals like Dunstan and Æthelwold at the

⁸⁸ B., Osbern, and William of Malmesbury all emphasized his great interest in foundation and endowment of the monasteries, Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 46, 89, 301-02.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46. 'For instance, that venerable man who was in love of God, therefore, always travelled around the sacred monasteries (buildings) and he went to the monastery called, in our father's language, Bath, famous with its hot water baths.'

⁹⁰ Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 67.

expense of the work of others, and discussed the leading figure behind it, it seems possible to assert that this document was the result of a long quest of determined individuals with their communities for reform of the Church together. This does not mean ignoring the political role of Dunstan as an archbishop or the determination of Æthelwold to expel the ‘decadent’ married clergy from the churches, and Oswalds’ care for his communities.⁹¹ Besides, the council had some foreign visitors from Fleury and Ghent who represented the two main streams of the continental reform and they may have asserted certain features into the document as well.

Eventually, the *Regularis Concordia* was born out of the need for the unification of the individual houses, which needed a common link. It was to be a consensus, built around the Rule of St Benedict, but drawing also in an eclectic manner upon the customs of the continental reform movement, notably the two great houses with which Æthelwold, Oswald and Dunstan had direct connections: predominantly Fleury, but also Ghent.⁹² The document was authorised and issued with the approval of the king. He was entitled the ‘Good Shepherd’ of monks and queen Ælfthryth as the protectress of the communities of nuns. Abbots and abbesses were to be selected with king’s approval; therefore the king was regarded as having a quasi-sacerdotal power. Other secular persons were deprived of their rights of lordship over the monastic communities.⁹³

⁹¹ For counter arguments, see Dales, *Dunstan*, pp. 81-86, Robinson, pp. 143-58; for a similar interpretation, see Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. cix-cx.

⁹² D. J. Dales, ‘The Spirit of the *Regularis Concordia* and the Hand of Dunstan’, in Tim Tatton-Brown, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks, eds, *St Dunstan His Life, Times and Cult* (Woodbridge: The Boydell, 1992), pp. 45-56, p. 49.

⁹³ *The ordo* of King Edgar’s coronation which is also known as ‘*Ordo* of St Dunstan’ is another document which privileged the king as the ultimate secular authority with quasi sacerdotal character. This coronation rite practised by Dunstan himself is fully analysed in P. L. Word, ‘The Coronation Ceremony in Medieval England’, *Speculum*, 14 (1939) 154-69, (pp. 162-64); H. G. Richardson, ‘The English Coronation Oath’, *Speculum*, 24 41-52 (pp. 45-46); Deansley, *An Ecclesiastical History of England: The Pre-Conquest Church in England*, p. 323.

The *Regularis Concordia* gives a full description of Benedictine life in the tenth century including detailed regulations about the performance of *opus Dei*. The *Regularis Concordia* consists of a proem dealing with the history of the monastic reform and the work of the Council of Winchester, followed by twelve chapters describing the monks' daily life through the year, the liturgy of the more important seasons and feasts, certain special features of claustral discipline, the reception of guests, the daily Maundy, the care of sick brethren and the rites accompanying the death and burial of a monk.⁹⁴ The history of the monastic reform confirms the idea that the tenth century reform was not independent of the works of Alfred and his famous archbishop of Canterbury, Plegmund, and it was most probably Dunstan who did not forget the name of archbishop Oda the Good for his ecclesiastical reforms as his predecessor.

J. A. Robinson has made an intrinsic analysis of the text in which he has illustrated the role of the king in the ecclesiastical sphere, and the need to establish the customary use of the rule through all the individual monasteries scattered around the country.⁹⁵ In the *Regularis Concordia* the king and royal intercession was constantly repeated for the use of denouncing the lay dominion. Furthermore, this document clarified the complexity of the whole 10th century movement, stating clearly the relation between the laity and monastics and demonstrated the role of the great reformers. The proem to the *Regularis Concordia* concludes with various provisions, all of which reflect the lives and the characters of the three great reformers, Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald.⁹⁶ Dunstan's political role as the

⁹⁴ Thomas Symons, 'Regularis Concordia: history and derivation', in Parsons, ed., *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (London: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 37-59, (p. 43), for the critical analysis of the text and its history see Robinson, *Times of Saint Dunstan*, pp.143-58

⁹⁵ Robinson, *Times of Saint Dunstan*, pp.144-45

⁹⁶ Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 83.

archbishop of Canterbury, the zealous reforms of Æthelwold ‘ the father of the monks’ and Oswald’s activities in western Mercia brought this document into being.

The revival of learning was an inevitable aspect of the 10th century reform because the newly founded monasteries needed more learned men than ever. Dunstan was well aware of this fact. Throughout his life he encouraged his disciples in learning. He not only favored old Latin learning but also English prose writing. These treatises were used to educate the lay people. It was probably this circumstance that linked the spread of Benedictine monasticism with the pastoral care of monastic people.⁹⁷ Benedictine monks provided English homilies, English scriptures for the edification of the laity. The Blickling homilies and those by Wulfstan and Ælfric were the most important works of the tenth century together with saint’s lives and other books composed during this period. Bryhtferth, who was another Benedictine educated in Ramsey, wrote many scientific treatises and four Latin treatises for the monks. He is also famous with his *Manual*, and on Bede’s *De Temporibus*.⁹⁸

The reform movement emerged as a cooperative work accomplished by the contributions of the individuals discussed above and the investigation of different sources indicated that Dunstan has a crucial political role since he was the chief counsellor of the king and played an important role in the appointments of his pupils and friends to critical positions therefore securing the monastic revival. Frankly, B.’s narrative does not give any evidence of his saint’s involvement in this movement. However, the information provided by the other sources strengthens Dunstan’s position. Apart from these issues, it is also possible to argue that English

⁹⁷ M., Deansley, *Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1962), p. 38.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-65, Deansley elucidates the tenth-century literary flowering and revival in learning and lists the books and their authors who were mostly belonging to the famous schools founded or reformed in this period.

monasticism, at least for the period examined, was under the strong influences of the continental reform movements.

Consequently, this dissertation will discuss the changing ecclesiastical history of England as reflected in the different Lives of Dunstan and the differences between the Lives. The purpose of the question of ‘Change or Continuity’ is to determine the function of medieval hagiography, which was generally used as a religious propaganda and its reliability as historical evidence through primary and secondary sources. In this sense, Dunstan’s hagiography is worth examining since his hagiographers wrote his life from distant times, with the exception of the anonymous B. whose work, reliability, and identity are still subject of debate. However, as the title of this dissertation would suggest, the obscurities of the first *vita* paved the way for the elevation of Dunstan to sanctity since his Life attracted and inspired the later hagiographers to rewrite and expand the Life according to their own purposes.

Apart from these questions, the comparison of the pre-Conquest and post-Conquest Lives may lead us to certain conclusions, which would assist us in understanding the minds of the hagiographers and their responses to the events around the times in which the works were composed, and clarify how these hagiographers interpreted the past through the life of a saint. Finally, I will argue that within the hagiographies of Dunstan there is an obvious continuity of form and content and changes in emphasis, which reflect the concerns of the individual hagiographers.

Chapter 2:

Auctor B. and *Vita Sancti Dunstani*

In this chapter, I will attempt to analyse the first life of St Dunstan written by anonymous B., which arguably formed the basis for the other Lives of the saint written before and after the Norman Conquest since this may illuminate the changes and continuities within the Lives and the church history. For this purpose, I will give a brief account of the career of B. In this way, the relationship between B and the saint may be clarified as well. Furthermore, the features, which arise in the text, may also contribute to our understanding of the times in which the work was written and in the times of the saint through the mind of the author. Therefore, tenth-century political and ecclesiastical circumstances may also be explained through these features. In particular, I will argue that B. wrote this *vita* out of self-interest, to try to provide himself with a shelter in England for his old age. Secondly I will argue that his description mainly focuses on the saint's acquaintance with the kings which is also evident in some of the saints' Lives that occurred on the continent. Lastly I will investigate B's description of the saint, which is complicated, and his insufficient information concerning the Canterbury years as archbishop and his old age.

B. dedicated his work to Archbishop Ælfric (996 x 1006) but no exact dating is available for his work.⁹⁹ In addition to this problem of dating, B's name has been the centre of attention by the historians. At the very beginning of his narrative he gives only the initial letter of his name and claims that he was a Saxon priest.¹⁰⁰

William Stubbs offered various suggestions for the probable names of B. but could not

⁹⁹ All the references for the earliest life of St Dunstan written by B. will be from Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 3-52. For a further discussion of the dating of the text see Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. x-xi.

¹⁰⁰ 'omnium extimus sacerdotum B. vilisque Saxonum indigena': *ibid.*, p. 3

ascribe any of them to B for various reasons.¹⁰¹ The word ‘Saxonum’ is another question, which needs answering. The word is ambiguous because in this period it may refer both to English and continental Saxons at the same time. Evidently, it is possible to argue that he was a native Englishman due to the fact that he uses many Old English names correctly such as Ælfheah (7, 8), Ælfsige (35), Æthelstan (3, 10, 13, and 31) and the list continues throughout the text.¹⁰²

B.’s personal acquaintance with Dunstan covers the period from the beginning of Dunstan’s appointment to Glastonbury around 940 until he received the *pallium* from Rome in 960 and he was probably a member of Dunstan’s personnel as Lapidge asserted.¹⁰³ His fuller descriptions of the events occurring during the reigns of Edmund, Eadred and Eadwig which covers the abovementioned period may support this idea. Moreover, B. at certain points claimed that he was an eyewitness to the events he narrates (e.g. ch. 1: *vel videndo vel audiendo, licet intellectu torpentis, ab ipso didiceram*, ch. 37: *quae vel egomet vidi vel audivi*).¹⁰⁴ These statements refer to the early career of Dunstan. Lastly, he seems to have accompanied Dunstan to Rome to receive the *pallium* which is described in ch. 27 in a detailed way.

B.’s deficiencies start from the point when Dunstan returned from Rome and became the Archbishop of Canterbury. The reason why he lacks information about Dunstan’s archbishopric is evident because B. most probably went to the continent and put himself under the patronage of Bishop Ebrachar of Liege (959 x 71) as a

¹⁰¹ Stubbs argued that the initial letter B. might stand for Byrhtferth who was among the most famous scholars at the turn of the tenth century. However Bryhtferth was a benedictine monk educated in Ramsey and his patron was Oswald. B. did not mention Ramsey or Oswald even once. The second probability is Beda, as Stubbs asserted, but there is no evidence for an individual priest known as Beda in the times of Dunstan. For detailed information see Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. xviii-xxv.

¹⁰² For a more critical interpretation and linguistic analysis of the text see Lapidge, ‘B. and the Vita S. Dunstani’, pp. 280-82. He discusses that the word ‘hearpa’ was evidently an Old English form of the word and which might be another indication that B. was an Englishman, Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 21; ch. 12: ‘sumpsit secum ex more citharam suam quam lingua paterna hearpam vocamus’, and Old English expression ‘sapientium conuentus’ (ch. 25) may also be counted the evidences for B.’s origins.

¹⁰³ Lapidge, ‘B. and the Vita S. Dunstani’, p. 291.

¹⁰⁴ Lapidge, ‘B. and Vita Sancti Dunstani’ p. 280.

secular canon.¹⁰⁵ The evidence for his departure from England is a letter by B. to Æthelgar in which he expresses his desire to return to England and requests a secure place in Winchester or in Canterbury.¹⁰⁶

In another letter, the author tells how he received intellectual nourishment from a good bishop, but after the latter's death he was seeking for the mental food he used to get and then B. places himself at Æthelgar's service and begs to be useful. However, he did not get any response from his homeland and most probably, as a last opportunity, wrote the life of St Dunstan and dedicated the work to Ælfric. Consequently, B.'s purpose may have been arguably to satisfy the archbishop of Canterbury and to prove that he was the first-hand authority to demonstrate the saints' early career. Despite the lack of information for the saints' later years in Canterbury, the work of B. generated new ideas about the saint and his times.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Brooks, 'The Career of Dunstan', p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ Æthelgar was appointed to New Minster, Winchester as an abbot in 964 then was elected bishop of Selsey in 980. Lastly, he became the archbishop of Canterbury in 988, and died in 990. The author of the letter describes himself as 'B. omnium faex Christicolorum' and starts his *vita* with describing himself almost in the same way 'omnium extimus sacerdotum B. vilisque saxonum indigena', Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. xxi. Stubbs also discussed two other letters and their authorships. The first one is addressed to Archbishop Dunstan and the author begs for Dunstan's help: 'Jam mea cura permit, quo me quod nescio vertam, Anxia mens mihimet curarum fluctuat aestu. Ad te confugio D. dignissime praesul, domne pater miserere, tui miserescito servi. Sola salus in te; per te confide juvari, Regis ut almiflui merear pietate potiri, quo donet retitum patriae praestetque reversum, meque simul domino qui vult legata remandet'. 'The author thinks that Dunstan was his only choice for help and he sees Dunstan as a means to secure his return to his country and Dunstan is the only one to mediate between the king.' The third letter is addressed to an anonymous N. by an unnamed writer but it is difficult to ascribe this letter to B. under any circumstance for the reason that he asks for help for his debts from N., *ibid.*, p. 390.

¹⁰⁷ Parem igitur lugubris infortunii moestitiam, quam patulo relatum de praedictis inopibus perstrinxi, in mei miseri comperi congressisse miseriam. Non ea admodum ratione ut essem divae reginae, sanctae scilicet sapientiae, idoneus conviva, introductus tamen a devoto Deoque digno, sacrarum videlicet eruditionum aedituo, et permissus lambere sum vescentium abjectas uti catellus esuriens miculas. Quem quippe beatae memoriae aedituum, sanctae siquidem sedis Leodii Praesulem, dempsit pro dolor, dulcissimum amarissima leti conditio. Qui peritiae panem non solum mihi, ast mecum plurimis ministravit. Ex ea etenim die huc usque ignorantur quid injurii, quid mali, quid angoris, quidve fastidii meum perpersum sit cardian, moerens, dolens, esuriens, sitiensque sedulo, post praegustatas saluberrimae doctrinae miculas; ut etiam ex tantilli adtestatione veridica agiae sophiae firmiter comprobetur assertio. Ait namque per stoma Salomonis, viri siquidem sagacissimi, "Qui edunt me adhuc esuriunt, et qui bibunt me adhuc sitiunt." Ergo, domine mi dilecte, soletenus vestris advolutus pedibus, cernuaque cervice, vestram imprecor benivolam pietatem, nullis licet meis exigentibus meritis, de vestris tamen fisis beneficiis, quatenus esuriatis et sitis praenotatae pius potatur vel fautor, sacro inbuimine adesse dignemini. Ego vero, ut necessitatis vis cogit, prompta voluntate concurrere pareo, quocumque vestra deliberaverit iussio, etiamsi sit cis vel sitra imi aequoris, et si qua

In the opening chapters of the *vita*, B. clarifies his main purpose of writing and makes excuses for his mistakes, and then gives a brief account of the beginnings of Christianity in England and how the English people were converted to Christianity.¹⁰⁸ When B. begins to relate the life of the saint, problems begin to emerge for the precise dating of Dunstan's birth:

Inter hos praecipuos regiae praelationis viros, quem Christianissimi et orthodoxi multi regnado praecesserant, quorum nunc nomina difficultas non sinit rimare per singula, gloriosus rex Æthelstanus annis succedentibus est rex Anglorum ad numeratus. Hujus igitur imperii temporibus oritur puer strenuus in Westsaxonum finibus, cujus pater Heorstan, mater vero Cynethrydis.¹⁰⁹

Æthelstan succeeded to the English throne in 924 and if this date is accepted as the year of birth for Dunstan the subsequent chronology of the saints' life becomes

sanae doctrinae flore odrifluo dulci anima adgregavero libens in vestrum paternitatis alvearium, veluti apis obediens, praepeti volatu revehere et conderecurabo. Hoc tamen difficultatis onus nolo me exiguum audaci rogatu petisse putetis vobismet imponere, sed quodammodo vestris quibus pridem panem doctrinae ipse constanter adtribuistis. Nam ferarii forcibus ea lege utuntur, ne eorum digiti ignetenus concremantur. Pergam igitur, si placet dulcedini vestrae, Wintoniam, uno tantum contentus comite, ut Ealdelmi ibidem permi, quae usui necessaria fore videntur. Haec est enim nostri nuntii summa. Hic in praesenti titulatione, quoniam vitia obviantur innumera, aut aequo animo patientur, aut justo precor insinuamine corrigantur.' The author of the letter tells about his intellectual activities in Liege under a good bishop and he tells that after the death of this good bishop he wants to return to England and to have a secure place in one of the monasteries or churches. This letter is edited in Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 385-88. The letter is entitled as '*Epistola B. Ad Æthelgarum Archiepiscopum*'. At the end of the letter B. asks for Æthelgar's permission to go to Winchester to study. B. wrote this letter to Æthelgar due to the fact that B. had known him probably from Glastonbury; he was a monk in Glastonbury before he was appointed abbot of the New Minster. For the significance of this letter and B.'s career on the Continent see Lapidge, 'B. and the Vita S. Dunstani', pp. 283-89. 'Leodii Praesulem', as Stubbs asserted, was the bishop of Liege who preceded Notker, namely Ebrachar.

¹⁰⁸ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 3-6.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6. 'Between these distinguished men of kingdoms displayed, who preceded the most Christian and orthodox of many kingdoms, whose difficult names donot allow to investigate each, in the succeeding years the most Glorious King Æthelstan is reckoned the King of the English. Consequently, in the times of this emperor, a vigorous boy was sprang to light in the boundaries of West Saxony, whose father was called Heorstan, good mother Cynethrydis.' The word 'oritur' may also mean 'sprang to light', see also Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 9. and the traditional and accepted date for Dunstan's birth is probably around 909 or 910 at Baltonsborough which is few miles from Glastonbury. And it is suggested that Baltonsborough had been Glastonbury's possession from the mid-eighth century up until the reformation. For Baltonsborough's Glastonbury connections, see Lesley Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 53-54.

erroneous. Therefore the word *'oritur'* which means arose may also be explained as the first time when Dunstan appeared in the public eye.¹¹⁰

B. constantly emphasized Dunstan's parentage and his family connections with the royal house of Wessex. Thus, among his high ecclesiastical and royal connections were: Æthelm, who was Heorstan's brother, was the first bishop of Wells and later elected archbishop of Canterbury (923-25), Ælfheah the Bald, bishop of Winchester; and lastly Cynsig, bishop Lichfield, together with some of the courtiers of Æthelstan whose names are not mentioned in any of the Lives of the saints. Dunstan's probable birthplace Baltonsborough, was quite close to Cheddar where the royal court was summoned in those times.¹¹¹ As a matter of fact B. makes the connections with the royal house through Glastonbury and claims that Glastonbury was a 'royal island':

Erat autem quaedam regalis in confinio ejusdem praefati viri insula, antiquo vicinorum vocabulo Glaestonia nuncupata, latis locorum dimensa sinibus, piscosis aquis stagnisque circumducta fluminibus, et plurimis humanae indigentiae apta usibus, atque sacris, quod maximum est, Dei dicata muneribus.¹¹²

According to B., Dunstan spent his childhood in Glastonbury, took the tonsure of the clerical office and his parents associated him to the monastery of the church of Glastonbury; the church of St Mary. There he was educated by the Irish pilgrims serving in Glastonbury. By the tenth century, at the latest, there are reports of an 'Irish school' at Glastonbury, famous for its learning and books, and B. relates

¹¹⁰ For a similar interpretation of Dunstan's birth date, see Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 9.

¹¹¹ For the family connections and kinsmen of Dunstan see Mary R. Price, *Bede and Dunstan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 37-60, and Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 9.

¹¹² B., p. 6-7. 'And thus, boy grew up and cherished by God and his beloved men, moreover he was in the boundary of a royal island of the same abovementioned men, called Glastonbury, restored by the neighbours, filled with broad hollow places, surrounded by sluggish rivers, whose waters are filled with fish and suitable to serve many human needs, and best of all consecrated to sacred offices.' Abrams discusses the term 'insula regalis' through the Glastonbury's charters and argues that it is obscure to decide whether it was a royal proprietary church or not due to the fragmentary survival of the sources and states that much of the evidence from pre-Conquest Glastonbury has been lost, pp. 7-9.

that Dunstan himself studied with the Irish at Glastonbury.¹¹³ This may also indicate that B. was also well aware of this school and its history:

Porro Hibernensium peregrini locum, quem dixi, Glestoniae, sicut et caeterae fidelium turbae, magno colebant affectu, et maxime ab beati Patricii junioris honorem, qui faustus ibidem in Domino quievisse narratur. Horum etiam libros rectae fidei tromitem phylosophantes, diligenter excoluit, aliorumque prudentum, quos ab intimo cordis aspectu patrum sanctorum assertione solidatos esse persensit, solubili semper scrutamine indagavit.¹¹⁴

In *DA*, William of Malmesbury mentions the names of Irish and Welsh saints such as St Indract, St Bridget, St David, and their relics and remains in Glastonbury; and how it became a fixed habit for the Irish to visit there.¹¹⁵ Thus, Glastonbury became center of learning and teaching with the contributions of Irish pilgrims who brought their books and sources together as indicated by B. and William of Malmesbury.

The course of the events according to B. continues with Dunstan's first experience at the court of Æthelstan but B. does not tell us who introduced him to the court. The second biographer of Dunstan, Adelard of Ghent, fills the gap and relates how Dunstan was introduced to the court by his *patruus* archbishop Æthelm around 924¹¹⁶ whereas Æthelm's name is not mentioned by B., but he states that Dunstan was accused of occult knowledge and expelled from the court through the efforts of his

¹¹³ Carley, 'Two Pre-Conquest Manuscripts from Glastonbury Abbey', p. 197.

¹¹⁴ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 10-11. 'Moreover, the Irish pilgrims and the faithful filled this place of Glastonbury with great love and affection in the honour of Blessed Patrick the younger who is resting there. Dunstan studied their books and meditated true faith explored the books of wise men. He perceived a deep vision from the teachings of holy fathers.' B. also narrates detailly about Dunstan's various studies in p. 10.

¹¹⁵ *DA*, p. 25. William of Malmesbury reveals the history and significance of Glastonbury Abbey and illuminates the years of Dunstan's abbacy, see also J. A. Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 1-47. Robinson explores the history of Glastonbury Abbey through the text of William of Malmesbury.

¹¹⁶ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 55. Adelard of Ghent was a monk at Bladinium and wrote his work around 1010-11 and dedicated his work to Ælfege, archbishop of Canterbury from 1005 to 1012. The word '*patruus*' was used most probably on purpose to strengthen the Canterbury connections of the saint and his high nobility.

envious kinsmen (*consanguineorum*).¹¹⁷ This was a turning point in the young Dunstan's career. Soon afterwards, he joined the entourage of Ælfheah the Bald who changed the mind of Dunstan. B. reports that he was provoked by the devil with the temptation to marry (ch. 7). Ælfheah the Bald tries to convince him to become a monk:

Interea propinquus ipsius Ælfheagus, cognomine calvus, praesul quoque fidelis, petitionibus multis et spiritualibus monitis eum rogavit ut fieret monachus. Quod ille instinctu praefati fraudatoris renuncians, maluit sponsare juvenulam cujus quotidie blanditiis foveretur, quam more monachorum bidentinis indui pannucilis.¹¹⁸

With Ælfheah's efforts and the effect of a sharp illness he chose to become a monk.¹¹⁹

The narrative continues with an episode, which informs the audience about lady Æthelflæda. She is said to have been a widow of royal lineage and who had received grants of land from Æthelstan and Edmund to the monastery at Glastonbury.¹²⁰ She led an ascetic life and lived in a house she established to the westside of the church of Glastonbury. Dunstan was her constant companion and he was with her during her last illness. Æthelwynn was the second noble lady associated with Dunstan and the noblewoman who asked Dunstan to design a stole.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 11-12.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13. Ælfheah the Bald was bishop of Winchester (934-51). 'Among his relatives, Ælfheah whose other name is 'the bald', who was trusted by Dunstan proposed him to take the monastic habit and encouraged him to wear the monastic costume (to renounce other things which he had in mind before).'

¹¹⁹ Duckett, *Saint Dunstan of Canterbury*, p. 45. It is around the years 935-36 when he took the monastic vow together with Æthelwold in Winchester. B. does not suggest a date for this important stage in the saint's life only narrates the event.

¹²⁰ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii. Stubbs discussed the identity of this lady and suggested that she could both be the daughter of an ealdorman Ethelwold and his wife Brithwina, then asserted that the only information about the identity of this lady was derived from the testimony of the Saxon priest who determined his relationship with Dunstan and Æthelstan whose name is not mentioned by Stubbs. For the exact relation between Æthelfleda and Æthelstan the only source we are dependent on is B.'s narrative but he, too, does not mention her association with the king. Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 17-20 accept the word '*Neptis*' which is used as a general term for kinswoman. For a similar interpretation of this relationship see Barbara Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of Tenth-Century', p. 66

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

The significance of these two noble ladies together with the other kinsmen of the saint was that they were somehow connected with the royal house and attached to ranking ecclesiastical officials; and B. closes the circuit of relatives with these two ladies in which Dunstan secured his progress to the higher ranks of the ecclesiastical sphere. Nevertheless, the scarcity of the documents for the royal connections of Dunstan and his kinsmen may lead us to ask about the importance of this emphasis of the author which can be related with the tenth-century politics, influenced by the current Continental movements. Furthermore, this circle of noble relatives and friends may be an exaggeration of B., to prove that Dunstan left all the riches of the secular world and adopted the monastic life and this fits well into the hagiographical genre and is also necessary for the elevation of the individual into sanctity.¹²²

The events told by B. and his emphasis on the royal connections of Dunstan become apparent when Dunstan was appointed to Glastonbury and then finally to Canterbury.¹²³ In fact, the royal connections of saints were not to be found only in tenth century England. The Continental counterparts of the saints were also associated closely with kings. For example Adalbert, the martyred bishop of Prague (d. 997), and most significantly Bruno of Cologne (d. 965) were connected with royal house. His life was written after a few years after his death by Ruotger who was supposedly thought to be a monk from the saint's foundation at Pantaleon.¹²⁴ Bruno of Cologne was the son of the King Henry I, and he was taken to the court by his brother who was to become Otto I. Like Dunstan, he encouraged reform and

¹²² Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', p. 5 argues these relations of Dunstan, p. 6-7, and see Barbara Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of 10th Century', pp. 66-68. She claimed that although the exact relationship is unknown, the success of the family of Dunstan as a whole was their close connections with King Æthelstan.

¹²³ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 24-25, and p. 38.

¹²⁴ Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 169.

founded monasteries. He anointed his nephew Otto and he was always close to the kings.

Although Dunstan was not associated with the Wessex kings genealogically as close as Bruno of Cologne, the kings' involvement in church affairs and their close ties with the leaders of reform, may well have led some of the hagiographers to focus on this subject together with other issues such as the authority of the saint and ascetism. Therefore, this tendency may have shaped B.'s ideas about the *vita* if we take into consideration of B.'s years in Liege. He may also have heard or read the stories of the saints from the continent. In addition to the life written by B., Wulfstan of Winchester, almost in a same manner, but less repeatedly mentions St Æthelwold's close connections with kings from the beginning of his adolescence.¹²⁵

For the author, the Glastonbury years of the Saint and his accomplishments at Glastonbury were undoubtedly of primary importance. Besides, Dunstan's abbacy, is accepted as the beginnings of tenth-century monastic reform in England by contemporary historians. It is also possible to assert that Dunstan was the teacher of the other two great reformers of the time, St Æthelwold and St Oswald for a while.¹²⁶ Evidently, his appointment to Glastonbury was a major step in his career. When King Æthelstan died in 939, Dunstan became the counselor to King Edmund:

De inde autem defuncto rege Æthelstano et statu regui mutato, regis succedentis, Edmund: scilicet, sublimitas beatum Dunstanum, qui vitae probabilis et linguae extiterat eruditae, conspectibus egus adesse praecepit, ut etiam ipse inter regios proceres et palatinos principes annumeratur electus.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. and trans. by M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). pp. xxxix-xcix. Like Dunstan, Æthelwold stayed at King Æthelstan's household from 924 till 937-38 and joined the entourage of Ælfheah the Bald around 935-36.

¹²⁶ See Chapter 1, p. 23.

¹²⁷ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 21. 'After the death of King Æthelstan, the kingdom's condition changed, namely Eadmund succeeded and Dunstan was ordered to be a courtier in the palace and appear with the king among the other courtiers.'

At King Edmund's court, Dunstan spent some time and led a Godly life. However, he both made friends and enemies at the court, which was similar to the events that had happened at King Æthelstan's court.¹²⁸ He was again tortured and tormented by the jealousy and intrigue of others.¹²⁹ The jealous courtiers turned the king against him. Then Edmund stripped him of every office and honor:

Tamdiu enim circa illum torserunt funiculum iniquitatis eorum, scipsos potius in eo nexuri quam illum, ut ipsum regem infectum vitiis ipsorum attaminarent, et credulum fallaciis eorum efficerent; qui continuo, ut prio fuerat ab iniquis instructus magno furore permotus, iussit eum ablata dignitate etiam omni honore privari, et sibi senioratum obi velet sine se suisque conquirere.¹³⁰

This troublesome situation and illnesses indicate that Dunstan (following the hagiographical genre, and imitations of the life of Christ who was also tortured) is to overcome certain situations through God's providence as the later evidence may arguably prove this idea when Edmund miraculously escaped death at Cheddar while hunting a stag alone. Then he interpreted the event as a sign of divine displeasure of Dunstan's maltreatment.

Similiter autem et rex sequens cervum et canes, cum magno volantibus equi impetu venit et statim viso praecipitio cursum accelerantis equi quantum quibat viribus retinere conatus est. Sed quoniam colli contumatis et rigidae cervicis erat non potuit. Quid multa? Omni sipe vitae suae ablata in manus Dei sui animam commendavit dicens tamen intra se, "Gratia Tibi ago Altissime, Quod me non meministi aliquem his diebus laesisse, nisi solum Dunstanum, et hoc prompta voluntate et vita servata reconcilians sibi emandabo. Ad quod dictum, beati viri meritis equus, quod jam horret dicere, in ultimo praecipitii cespite, ubi pedes priores equi ipsius pene fuerant in ima voracinis ruituri."¹³¹

¹²⁸ See Chapter 2, pp. 36-37.

¹²⁹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p.21.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23. 'The courtiers intrigued him with their iniquities and they deceived the king with their own deceptions, and the king directed his anger to him and with his order he was stripped of every honour and office.'

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24. 'The king was on his horse moving towards death and he was almost ready to confess his wrong doing to Dunstan but the horse miraculously stopped and the king attributed this event, his escape to holy man Dunstan that his merits stopped the horse at the time of fear.'

Edmund immediately repented and summoned Dunstan back and appointed Dunstan to the abbacy of Glastonbury:

Esto sedis istius princeps potensque insessor, et praesentis aecclesiae fidelissimus abbas; et quicquid tibi ad divini cultus augmentum vel ad sacrae regulae supplementum de propria adminiculatione defuerit, ego illud regia largitate devote supplebo.¹³²

This appointment may indicate two things: firstly, it would have been a political decision taken by the king to end the disputes at the royal court; secondly to secure the support of this renowned man with his prayers. Obviously, for the author the appointment was the result of God's intervention and an indication of divine justice. Moreover, this was the justification for young Dunstan's visions and dreams of new monastic buildings at Glastonbury abbey. (ch. 3, p.7: 'viditque mentis excessu quendam senem niveo candore vestitum per amoena se sacri templi atria ducentem, as monastica aedificia, quae post per ejus postoratum aedificanda fuerant, demonstratem eo ordine quo nunc statuta referentur fuisse').

The exact years of Dunstan's abbacy are not known. It is impossible to rely on B.'s account of his appointment on account of his frequent chronological mistakes. William of Malmesbury in *DA* confirms that Edmund had granted land to Dunstan:

He, in the year of the Incarnation 940 gave to Dunstan Cristemuleford 20 hides, Kingestane 8 hides, Wudefune 5 hides, Watelea 4 hides, and restored Wringtone 20 hides.¹³³

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 25. 'The king ordered as such : Be a very strong prince and possessor of this seat and the faithful abbot of this church and whenever you feel a lack to fullfill the sacred rule, I will supply with royal gifts.'

¹³³ *DA*, p. 93. Moreover, William of Malmesbury criticizes B. and especially the later life written by Osbern for being far from the truth in saying that Dunstan was the first abbot of Glastonbury, p.93. On the other hand, William of Malmesbury asserted that he was abbot of Glastonbury for twenty-two years which is also erroneous for the suggested chronology of the life of the saint, which is not precise due to the various suggestions which occur in different primary sources. On the other hand, Robinson makes a comparison between the dates which occur in '*DA* and ancient list of the abbots contained in the Cottonian MS Tiberius B. 5, which was edited by Stubbs in his *Memorials* for the first time: Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays*, pp. 42-43; and Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. lxxxii.

The second source of evidence for Dunstan's abbacy is also contradictory. Wulfstan of Winchester narrated that Dunstan had preceded Æthelwold to Glastonbury while Æthelstan was still alive, so this assertion indicated probably the year 939.¹³⁴ Charters may also be useful to determine a precise date. 'The earliest charter purporting to represent a grant to Dunstan abbas from King Edmund survives only in the Great Cartulary but there seem to be no obvious diplomatic grounds for rejecting it.'¹³⁵

Lastly, B. tells us about Wulfric and introduces him as Dunstan's brother who seems to be the only one who had a secular career and Dunstan appointed him as the reeve to secure the monastic estates around Glastonbury:

Erat namque huic eidem viro Dei ex humana parentum propagatione quidam germanus frater, nomine Wulfricus, quem sibi forinsecus in villarum suarum negotiis potentem praepositum, ne vel ipse vel quispiam ex monastica professione foris vagaretur, inepta rei saecularis discursione, constituit.¹³⁶

Charters which are preserved in Glastonbury cartularies mentions a certain Wulfric who received lands from Edmund in 940 and from Eadred in the later years who arguably be identified with the same Wulfric in B.:¹³⁷

940 Edmund grants Wulfric 25 hides at Grittleton, Wiltshire (S 472)
940 Edmund grants Wulfric 30 hides at Langley, Wiltshire (S 473)
944 Edmund grants Wulfric 20 hides at Nettleton, Wiltshire (S 504)
947 Eadred grants Wulfric 5 hides at Idmiston, Wiltshire (S 530)
948 Eadred grants Wulfric a further 5 hides at Idmiston, Wiltshire (S 541)
949 Eadred grants Wulfric 20 hides at Metron, Surrey (S 551).¹³⁸

¹³⁴ *Wulfstan*, p.15-7.

¹³⁵ Sarah Foot, 'Glastonbury's Early Abbots,' in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey*, eds, L. Abrams and J. P. Carley (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 163-89 (p. 179).

¹³⁶ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 28. 'Wulfricus was the brother of Dunstan from the same parentage and he was the reeve of the buildings and estates around Glastonbury abbey and he was running after unimportant matters around the village.'

¹³⁷ Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', p. 8.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8, Brooks discusses that Wulfric was a common name and that more than two Wulfrics appeared in tenth century royal diplomas during the reigns of Eadmund and Eadred. He suggested that among the Wulfrics the one who did not attend court after 951 is the most probable one (probably died in the same year) and this fits into B.'s account that Wulfric died during the abbacy of Dunstan

These dates and the name may be related with B.'s Wulfric who was the reeve of the monastic estates but as Brooks has suggested 'the problems of disentangling the thegns named Wulfric are typical of the difficulties of tenth-century English prosopography'.¹³⁹

During his Glastonbury years, Dunstan, appears as a very strong abbot, who encouraged teaching and served the monastic ideals of the community at Glastonbury with the king's rich benefactions and constant support. Consequently, Glastonbury became the most famous school for the Benedictine monks and attracted many child oblates who later held many high offices in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the description of B. for Dunstan's abbacy can also be used as a means to support the idea that he was together with the saint during the Glastonbury years.

Tunc ergo perprudens opilio, primum scepta claustrorum monasticis aedificiis caeterisque inmunitationibus, ut jam olim a quodam sene sibi denotatum per revelationem fuerat, ex omni parte firmiter munivit; ubi oves Dominicas longe lateque gregatim collectas, ne a lupo invisibili dilanierentur, includeret. Deinde idem Dei dogmatizator adgregatum coenobium sibique commissum divini verbi coepit fomento nutrire, et fonte superno, sacrae scilicet Scripturae mellifluo documento potare, docens per angoreas hujus vitae semitas ad aeternas delicias epularum coelestium esse transiendum. Patet namque omnibus pene circumquaque fidelibus, quod post paucorum annorum intercapedines, discipuli quos ipse teneros in verae fideivitem, Christum videlicet Dominum sudando inseruerat, ubertim crescebant, et fructum boni operis morigena venustate ferebant; quodque post haec plurimi ecclesiarum pastores documentis illius et exemplis instructi, ad diversas jam civitates vel ad alia sanctorum loca petebantur, electi ut essent inibi sacri regiminis et normae justitiae imbutores, praepositi videlicet, decani, abbates, episcopi, etiam archiepiscopi, caeteris ordinibus praestantissimi. Quicumque autem de discipulatu ipsius, isdem temporibus corporeis nexibus fine tenus enodati, necem subierant inevitabilem, alta polorum gaudia procul dubio petierunt.¹⁴⁰

whereas the others continued to appear in the royal diplomas: *ibid.*, pp. 9-10, and for a survey of the economy of Somerset in relationship with Dunstan and Glastonbury see Michael Costen, 'Dunstan, Glastonbury and the Economy of Somerset in the Tenth Century' cited in Brown, Ramsay, and Sparks, eds, *St Dunstan His Life, Times and Cult*, pp. 25- 44.

¹³⁹ Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', p. 10.

¹⁴⁰ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 25-26. 'Then he, as a very careful shepherd, fortified the precincts of the monastery on every side and this was revealed to him by an old man in a dream. These buildings were built to protect the sheep from the wolf. Then the teacher of God began to teach the Holy Scripture and the community began to be encouraged by him and showed them from this troublesome life to the

Moreover, the quotation above may reflect the significance of Glastonbury for the tenth century Benedictine revival and Dunstan's role as the great teacher of the monks who then became the stimulators of the movement. Glastonbury, with Dunstan's efforts became the powerhouse and citadel of the religious revival under the Rule of St Benedict.¹⁴¹ Glastonbury was the greatest centre of learning in the tenth century and many Latin texts were probably copied there. 'Dunstan doubtless composed works himself letters, treatises and certainly poems but virtually none of these survive. But what have come down to us are a number of manuscripts which, it has quite recently been shown, were corrected or glossed (annotated) by Dunstan himself.'¹⁴² And for the next decade, during the reign of Eadred (946-55), Dunstan and Glastonbury continued to receive grants of land from the king and Dunstan became a counsellor of the king:

Hic itaque in sublimitate roboratus beatum patrem Dunstanum, tanto caritatis dilexit, ut nullum poene ex primatu sibi carissimum solita appellatione regem acclamavit. Ex hac quippe caritatis fiducia commisit illi rex optima quaeque suorum suppellectilium, quamplures scilicet rurales cartulas, etiam veteres pregum thesauros, necnon et diversas propriae adeptionis suae gazas, sub munimine monasterii sui fideliter custodiendum.¹⁴³

eternal life. His students with his teachings became priors deans abbots and even archbishops and they enjoyed delights in heaven.' Æthelgar (988-90) and Sigeric (990-94) had been monks in Glastonbury, the evidence for these two archbishops and information for their early careers is provided from William of Malmesbury, *DA*, p. 110, see also W. F. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1875), I, 428-40.

¹⁴¹ H. R. Loyn, *The English Church: 940-1154* (London: Longman, 2000), p. 11. This view of Glastonbury's primary role as the greatest school is also emphasized by Adelard of Ghent as the 'school of monks': *Memorials*, p. 56.

¹⁴² Nigel Ramsey and Margaret Sparks, *The Image of Saint Dunstan* (Canterbury: Oaten Hill Press, 1988), p. 7. Ramsey and Sparks presented the history of a manuscript 'which came via Thomas Allen (d. 1632) to the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS. Auct. F.32)' which is also called '*Grammatica Euticis, liber olim S. Dunstani*', which is now called the 'Classbook of St. Dunstan', p. 6.

¹⁴³ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 29. 'The king and the abbot had mutual affection with each other and they respected each and both saluted each other and the king endowed the monastery with regal treasures and they were kept in custody within the monastery. All of them were protected in the monastery.' William of Malmesbury informs us once again what king Eadred granted to Dunstan: 'King Eadred, the brother of Edmund, granted to Dunstan for the price of 50 golden solidi, *Baddebiri*, 26 hides, and close to the town of *twina*, i. e., *Cristescirce* (Christchurch) 1/2 hide and fishing rights', *DA*, p. 98. See also P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters. An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968), no. 568.

For almost sixteen years Dunstan enjoyed a relatively privileged status under the reign of these two kings, but once again troubled years were to occur in the life of the saint related to the events which took place during the coronation ceremony of the young king Eadwig, Edmund's eldest son, who was about fifteen.

Eadred died in 955 and Eadwig succeeded to the English throne. According to the charters, Eadwig, as Douglas Dales pointed out, was a remarkable benefactor of the monasteries such as Bath, Abingdon and New Minster.¹⁴⁴ However, B.'s image of Eadwig does not fit with this view of the young king because Eadwig dismissed Dunstan both from the court and from his office at Glastonbury since he was under the influence of two malevolent noblewomen, namely Æthelgifu and her daughter Ælfgifu. Eadwig was taken to his room by these two ladies at a time when he was supposed to be at the royal feast with his courtiers and nobles after his coronation ceremony and the event continues:

Et cum vidisset summus pontificum Oda regis petulantiam, maxime in consecrationis suae die, omni per gyrum consedenti senatui displicer, ait coepiscopis suis et caeteris principibus, "Eant, oro quilibet ex vobis ad reducendum regem quo situsorum satellitum, ut condecet, in hoc regali convivio jocundus consessor." At illi molestiam regis vel mulierum querimoniam incurrisse metuentes, singuli se subtrahentes recussare coeperunt. Ad extremum vero clegerunt ex omnibus duos quos animo constantissimos noverant, Dunstanum scilicet abbatem, et Cynesium episcopum ejusdem Dunstani consanguineum,¹⁴⁵ ut omnium jussu obtemperantes regem volentem vel nolentem reducerent ad relictam sedem. Et ingressi juxta principum suorum jussa, invenerunt regiam coronam, quae miro metallo auri vel argenti gemmarumque vario nitore conserta splendebat, procul a capite ad terram usque negligenter avulsam, ipsumque more maligno inter utrasque, velut in vili suillorum volutabro, creberrime volutantem; et dixerunt, "Nostri nos proceres ad te rogitando miserunt, ut eas quantocius ad condignum sessionis tuae triclinium, et ne spernas optimatum tuorum laetis interesse conviviis." At Dunstanus primum increpitanis mulierum ineptias, manu sua dum nollet exurgere, et extravit eum de moechali

¹⁴⁴ Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 41.

¹⁴⁵ Cynsige or *Kinsige* was the bishop of Lichfield between 949-63, and as B. tells us that he was a kinsman of Dunstan who was both a bishop and a member of the royal court.

genearum occubitu, inpositoque diademate duxit secum, licet vi a mulieribus raptum, ad regale consortium.¹⁴⁶

After this event, Dunstan's property was seized and his pupils were turned against him, and his friends were also punished. The two 'voluptuous' ladies provoked and influenced the decisions of the young king.¹⁴⁷ Dunstan, as an expected consequence of this event, had no other choice, but to sail to Gaul. It seems that B. did not accompany his Saint during his exile years because his account for those years is not in detail whereas Adelard of Ghent tells us that Dunstan was welcomed by Count Arnulf of Flanders, and stayed in the monastery of St. Peter's at Ghent (Bladinium).¹⁴⁸ Furthermore Adelard's account is more convincing and trustworthy than that of B. Adelard of Ghent was monk of that monastery and a letter from Count Arnulf to Dunstan strengthens the accuracy of Adelard's description for Dunstan's years in exile.¹⁴⁹ The exile years of Dunstan may probably have contributed to his ideals of monastic life and his future contributions to monasticism in England which largely followed the continental traditions with some variations.

¹⁴⁶ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 32-3. 'On the day of the coronation of the king, the king leaves the court disrespectfully, leaving all the courtiers, to join the two women and Oda makes a request from the courtiers to bring him back and two brave men amongst the courtiers abbot Dunstan and his relative Cynesige to bring back the king to the court whether willingly or not. Then they went to the room of the king and found the crown on the ground and Dunstan fetches him and brings him back to the feast.'

¹⁴⁷ Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', p. 15. Brooks identifies the origins of the two ladies, informs us about their family backgrounds and asserts that Ælfgifu who soon married Eadwig was recognized as queen in Abingdon and in Winchester. On the other hand, their marriage did not seem to last long than a year due to the fact that they were closely related to each other; Ælfgifu being the third cousin of the king and this was a canonical prohibition 'which forbade the marriage of the fourth cousins or anyone more closely related', thus Archbishop Oda separated them; *ibid.*, p. 15. Therefore, Brooks suggests that his account of the court scandal was a polemic which derived from his memory of the character assassination that attended a disputed marriage.

¹⁴⁸ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 59-60.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 359-61. The letter 'Epistola Arnulfi ad Dunstanum Archiepiscopum' was written around 961 in which he wishes the continuance of the archbishop's friendship: 'Summo archipontificatus amplificato honore Dunstano Arnulfus marchisus saluatorian mitto a famina, quietiam devotissima mando obsequia. Grates habeo quod nulla vobis piguit ratione memor esse mei; unde quasi quoddam jubilum laetitiae sic a me excipitur familiaritas vestri...', p. 359. Count Arnulf was a renowned man of his times for reforming monasteries of Flanders, most probably following the traditions of Gerard of Brogne and John of Gorze who looked back to Benedict of Aniane.

Meanwhile, in England, Edgar, the younger brother of Eadwig, succeeded to the Mercian throne and the boundary between the kingdoms of the two brothers was the river Thames. B. narrates that Eadwig was deserted by the northern people and later by all for his misgovernment. Thus, Edgar succeeded to the English throne and B. interpreted this event as the sign of divine justice, which was punishing Dunstan's enemies.¹⁵⁰ The unification of the kingdoms was an important political improvement both for the king and his chief counselor to exercise their powers over the whole nation and to implement a strong monasticism in the heart of English nation.

When Edgar succeeded to the throne of the Mercians, he recalled Dunstan from exile immediately. Edgar restored the lands of his own grandmother, Eadgifu together with Dunstan. A great council was summoned at Brandanford by the king and with the agreement of all the participants Dunstan was promoted as bishop of Worcester.¹⁵¹ Then, in 959, he was appointed as bishop of London to hold the see in

¹⁵⁰ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 37-38. 'Interea Germanus ejusdem Eadgari, quia justa Dei sui judicia deviando dereliquit, novissimum flatum misera morte expiravit; et regnum illius ipse, velut aequus haeres ab utroque populo electus, suscepit, divisaque regnorum jura in unum sibi scetrum subdendo copulavit. Hic iterate beatum Dunstanum in ademptum pristinae dignitatis honorem restituit...', meaning 'Eadgar brother of Eadwig who gave his last breath, was the elect of the people succeeded to the throne and called back Dunstan and give back the honour he deserves..'. For anonymous B. this seemed like the work of God, considering that any simple event was completely the 'opus Dei' for the hagiographer's main purposes, especially punishment for the evil-doers and unjusts. Historical facts lead us to another direction that Æthelwold and Dunstan together were the teachers of Edgar at Glastonbury and at Abingdon and it can be asserted that the young king may have wanted to elevate his teacher to a status which he deserved. Lastly, Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', (pp. 18-19) illuminated us from another source, *ASC* that there was no hint of a coup or revolt in favour of Edgar and for the confirmation of this fact see *ASC* p. 113. Moreover, Douglas Dales asserted that Eadwig did not have any hostility towards the monasteries and a man like Æthelwold, a zealous reformer of the monasteries was present at the court throughout the reign of Eadwig, p. 46. As a result, this interpretation of the events by the hagiographer may be justified due to the fact that it was Edgar who promoted Dunstan to the see of Canterbury and it was Eadwig who forced Dunstan to leave the country and it should be kept in mind that he was writing at a time which was almost forty years after the events.

¹⁵¹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 36. 'Postea factus est magnus sapientum conventus in loco qui locatur Brandanford, et eo in loco omnium ex electione ordinates est Dunstanus ad episcopum, eotenus maxime quo regali praesentiae propter provida prudentiarum suarum consilia jugiter adfuisset.' This council in Brandanford chose Dunstan as the bishop of Worcester with the consent of majority and the king. Just before that certain councillor Cynewald (Cynewaldus) died and this office was suitable for his later appointments. The date for Dunstan's appointment is probably 957 since Edgar was called the king of Mercia from that time onwards.

plurality with the former.¹⁵² Then B. clarifies how Dunstan was elected by the king to the see of Canterbury which was obviously the most remarkable political move of Edgar to secure his policies by consecrating his beloved man to Canterbury. When Oda the Good died Eadwig nominated Ælfsige to the see who died on his way to Rome to receive the pallium. The second nomination of Eadwig was Byrthelm who was the bishop of Wells in 959.¹⁵³

The last significant event that is told by B. is Dunstan's journey to Rome to receive the pallium from Pope John XII. The Pope granted him the papal pallium. Thus his position was regularized both by the king and the pope. Dunstan's is the only English tenth-century *pallium*-privilege that survived, because it was multiplied as the opening text in his pontifical, the so-called 'Sherborne Pontifical', which may prove that Dunstan was concerned to preserve the authority for his metropolitan rank.¹⁵⁴ As soon as he returned from Rome, he appointed Oswald, his former pupil from Glastonbury, and who had been educated in Glastonbury and Fleury, to the vacant see of Worcester. Ælfstan was his second appointment to the see of London

¹⁵² Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', p. 21. He argues that although the canon law prohibited pluralism (holding more than one see, and the translation of a bishop from one see to another), neither Edgar nor Dunstan, nor indeed B. seemed to have been concerned with the canon law.

¹⁵³ Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), pp. 237-43. He clarifies that the appointments were made by Eadwig and gives a similar interpretation that the appointment of Dunstan to the archiepiscopate was a rapid political move by Edgar soon after he became the king of all England. When Eadwig died Byrthelm had no other choice but to leave his seat to Dunstan and B. describes Brythelm as a 'mild, modest, humble, and benign' man (et erat vir iste mitis et modestus et humilis, et benignus...), at p. 38, this may mean that he was not a man to object against the decision of the king or he was not the suitable person to fill in such an important office whereas Dunstan appears as a powerful ecclesiastic who even dared to take the king from his private room. Then B. describes how an ecclesiastic ruler should be: 'Est namque jus rectorum ut bene bonos custodiant, et ad meliora quantum queunt viribus universes informant; reprobos autem et rebelles sub asperitatis correctione redarguant, donec eos a viis vanitatum avertant.', B tells that he should be sufficient in dealing with the problems like rebels and while correcting them he should be firm, *ibid.*, p. 38. Furthermore, *DA* William of Malmesbury mentions the name Brythelm who was once a monk in Glastonbury then became the bishop of Wells around the same years, who may be identified with the Brythelm who was nominated by Eadwig, p. 112. This may lead us to think that Brythelm may have respected his former abbot to become the archbishop of Canterbury without any dispute. For a further discussion of Brythelm's identity see Dorothy Whitelock, *History, Law and Literature in Tenth and Eleventh Century England* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), IV, pp. 232-47.

¹⁵⁴ Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', p. 21.

in the same year. With these two appointments, he secured the two important sees, which arguably played significant roles during the golden years of monastic reform.

Evidently, there are only two references by B. to Dunstan's Canterbury years where he describes the saints' accomplishments without giving references to specific dates or events:

Et cum venisset summus Anglorum pontifex, spiritali charismate affectus, coecepit primum, ut sublimior caeteris sacerdotum ordinibus, sublimioribus Christi servitutibus se subjugare; ne cum aliis verae fidei fomenta ministraret, vel iter rectum ad coelestia verbo salutifero monstraret, ipse, ut ait apostolus, reprobis efficeretur, propriaeque praedicationi contrarius. Deinde autem destructa renovare, neglecta quaeque justificare, loca sancta ditare, justos amare, errantes ad viam revocare, Dei aecclesias fabricare, nomenque veri pastoris in omnibus adimplere.¹⁵⁵

Although B. was away from his homeland, he might have heard of Edgar and Dunstan's constant cooperation in 'enriching the holy places' and 'building the churches of God' and this reference may be the only clue in B.'s narrative for the monastic revival which was accelerated after the succession of Edgar to the English throne and his chief counselor Dunstan's consecration to Canterbury. The obscurity of the hand of Dunstan in the monastic revival may be relieved from other sources, which indicate the authority of the saint on the ecclesiastical affairs.¹⁵⁶

B.'s narrative is blurred for Dunstan's old age due to an evident lack of information. The second evidence for his later years in Canterbury fits with the whole narrative that B. describes the saint as the teacher of those who were seeking the true faith:

¹⁵⁵ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 40. 'After his coming as archbishop, he firstly started to put everything in order, maintained the hierarchy among the ecclesiastics and he renewed the destructed, built new churches and he became the shepherd of truth, provided the necessary means to heal the truth of the faith, enriched the local churches corrected the errors.'

¹⁵⁶ See Chapter 1, p. 22.

Huic etenim dum taediosum hujus vitae incolatum laboriose incoluit, summum studium fuit ut videlicet sacris in orationibus et in Daviticis decem chordarum psalmodiis jugi frequentia insisteret, aut in vigiliis suavem somnum superando pernoctaret assiduis, aut in ecclesiasticis fervidus semper insudaret operari operibus; aut etiam mendosos libros, dum primam orientis diei lucem contueri potuit, erasa scriptorum falsitate corrigeret; aut ut vera et falsa inter virum et virum sagaci ingenio judicando discenderet; aut impacatos quosque vel rixantes placido sermone concordem efficeret et quietos; aut viduis, orphanis, peregrinis et advenis in suis necessitatibus pio profuisset amminiculo; aut ut justa sequestratione inepta vel injusta dissociaret conjugia, aut omnem humanum ordinem trifarie paratum in proprio soliditatis proposito verbo vitae firmaret vel exemplo, aut de justo conquisitionis suae sensu, vel citra, ecclesias Dei placida probitate sublevaret ditantas; aut enim utriusque ordinis inperitos, viros videlicet vel foeminas, quosque die noctuque pot erat coelesti sale, id est, salutaris sapientiae documento condiret. Ideoque omnis haec Anglica terra doctrina ejus sancta repleta est, fulgens coram Deo et hominibus, sicut sol et luna....¹⁵⁷

Frankly, it is really obvious that he was not an ascetic in the sense that he constantly devoted himself to the education of the others. Besides, he was constantly present at the courts of the kings he was closely associated with, dealing with both ecclesiastical and secular affairs. Nevertheless, B. justifies his view that his saint, even at the royal court, was leading a contemplative life according to the rule.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, the stories of Dunstan's struggle with the devil who tried to tempt him in different forms (bear, dog, and fox) are reminiscent of the Lives of the early ascetics who constantly fought with devils in the Egyptian desert.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 50. 'Dunstan spend his life in this tiresome way and devoted himself to prayers, without sleeping, concerned with Church affairs, corrected errors of books and scribes, gave judgements on certain occasions between men and try to separate right from wrong, brought peace to the feuds and helped the widows, orphans and pilgrims etc... refused the wrongful marriages enriched the churches with many sources, and therefore England was filled with his holy teaching; he shone like sun and the moon.'

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23. 'Sic namque quamvis laboriose, una cum sublimes in regali palatio diu degebat, binas habenas sacro moderamine tenes, legis videlicet et theoricae necnon et practicae vitae.' See also D. W. Rollason, 'The Concept of sanctity in Dunstan's England', in *Dunstan*, ed. by Ramsay *et al.*, pp. 261-72. At p. 68, Rollason makes a striking comparison between B. and Ruotger who wrote the life of Bruno of Cologne. There he suggested that Ruotger's description was almost the same with that of B.'s description telling that Bruno lived virtuously and simply, almost like a hermit, even in the midst of the royal court, p. 268.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 268

B.'s simultaneous representation of his saint's characteristics in a subtle way makes the *vita* a complicated text to interpret and to comment on. However small hints may lead us to come to certain conclusions. The question of the reliability and value of B.'s narrative, since it was not only the primary source of the other authors of the saint's life but also the primary source for the contemporary historians, does not require an answer. Rather, the question is how B. represented such an important figure in tenth century England. For B., Dunstan made a career through the help of his kinsmen with the aid of divine justice, namely it was the God's work, which assisted him in obtaining holding one of the highest offices in England.

Throughout the text Dunstan is represented as an all-powerful ecclesiastic both in religious and secular spheres connected with powerful kinsmen and ecclesiastics in an obscure way. The tenth century sources especially for certain names which occur in different texts do not allow us to come up with a precise suggestion as to how Dunstan was connected with the names mentioned by B. Those names may have been connected to Dunstan on purpose to indicate that Dunstan was closely associated with the royal family. On the other hand, with the help of the other sources, B.'s text, can arguably prove that his connection with the royal family was strong and their relationship was reciprocal. The kings who cooperated with Dunstan secured their rich properties and their souls. Dunstan secured his position as the leader of the church and the monastic revival. Edgar was the king who benefited most from the works of Dunstan. He unified his country through the efforts of his chief counsellor (by securing the important sees with his appointments) and began to be called the ultimate lay authority over the English church in the tenth century. The lands of the churches were no more the property of the landed aristocracy nor the

property of the married clergy who lacked discipline and religious ethics for the zealous monastic reformers.

The text also illuminates Glastonbury and Dunstan's connections with this very important religious house. Glastonbury, by the end of the tenth century, became the richest religious house in England when compared to the others and it is also probable that during Dunstan's archiepiscopacy, Glastonbury was still under his influence for almost another decade. All Dunstan's hagiographers claim this relationship and clearly assert that Glastonbury was the citadel of the monastic reform, as being the first religious house reformed by the leader of the movement and being a 'school for monks' which satisfied the needs of the derelict monasteries and newly founded ones. Therefore, Dunstan, for B., emerged as the greatest teacher of the century whose pupils encouraged the Rule of St Benedict all around the country.

B.'s description of the course of the events illustrates how power politics of the tenth century shaped to the career of Dunstan. Although he was closely related with the political circumstances of the times among the secular and ecclesiastical aristocracy, for the lay society he was the patron saint of craftsmen and of goldsmiths. He is mostly represented with the pair of tongs with which he seized the devil by the nose.¹⁶⁰

As a result of the circumstances discussed above, it is possible to argue that Dunstan's image is blurred in the sense that B. was silent on important matters such as monastic reform and he interpreted all the political events in favour of Dunstan and the kings who rewarded the saint. He, for the sake of the saint, established connections with the royal family. Despite these strong connections, he suffered from the actions of his envious kinsmen, this raises questions about the reliability of these

¹⁶⁰ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 85.

relationships. Lastly, the text was most probably created out of necessity for personal needs out of reverence for his former patron.

Chapter 3:

Post-conquest Life of St Dunstan by William of Malmesbury

The works of Eadmer and William were composed with the intention of correcting some of the mistakes in Osbern's work. Although there was adverse criticism by the later writers, it is arguably possible that it was by the work of Osbern that the cult of St Dunstan became much more popular through the miracle stories which appeared for the first time in Osbern's narrative.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, Osbern appears to have been the first author to emphasize Dunstan's position as the leader of the tenth-century monastic reform movement.¹⁶² However, William was not satisfied with the work of Osbern whose primary source was the work of Adelard of Ghent. Moreover, William criticized the work of Osbern as being ignorant of the antiquities of Glastonbury and containing some other historical mistakes. William's work shows that the continuation of the cult and Dunstan's hagiography did not undergo a significant change. William's *vita* was intended to emphasize Dunstan's monastic struggle and his connections with Glastonbury and Malmesbury. Since William spent all his life in the monastery as a librarian, his interest in the life of Dunstan is expected because Dunstan, apart from his religious identity, emerged as a man of literature and arts. Moreover, the saint was closely associated with many monasteries including Malmesbury. It can be suggested that William, together with the additional miracles, repeated what the previous authors (B., Adelard, and Osbern)¹⁶³ narrated.

¹⁶¹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 84-85. This refers to Dunstan's struggle with the devil and how he seized the devil with a pair of tongs. Dunstan's iconography was shaped by this miracle story in the later centuries.

¹⁶² For a similar interpretation see Jay Rubenstein, 'The Life and Writings of Osbern of Canterbury', in Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe, eds, *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066-1109* (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), pp. 27-40.

¹⁶³ Stubbs argued that William did not use the *vita* written by Eadmar. For further discussion on this matter see Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. xxxv-xxxvii.

Under these circumstances, it may be illuminating to make an attempt to investigate the life written by William as the last of the three works written between 1090 and 1130. This investigation may give an insight into whether there was a significant change in the hagiography of Dunstan after the Norman Conquest. Furthermore, it is important to notice that William, as he himself stated, had access to the first life written by B., which he had seen in St Augustine's and to the work of Adelard in St Edmund's.¹⁶⁴ From the beginning of his narrative, William criticized Osbern for being historically erroneous but 'conversely, he liked Osbern of Canterbury and Faricius of Abingdon as Latinists but thought their accounts of Dunstan and Aldhelm unsatisfactory because insufficiently based upon the early sources.'¹⁶⁵ Lastly, the other works of William such as *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* may provide some essential data to make a comparison of the consistency of the information concerning the life and the times of St Dunstan.

William composed his work *circa* 1125-30 just after he paid a visit to Glastonbury and it was in about the same years he completed his *DA*. In his works, William was primarily concerned with 'accuracy and completeness.'¹⁶⁶ The historical realities and the reflections of these realities constituted the basis of his works. The time span in which he was writing his major works was quite far from the chaotic atmosphere of the Norman Conquest which had affected the religious sphere

¹⁶⁴ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 252. 'Quod ut fidentius facerem, scripta mihi tam Latina quam Anglica in antiquissimo armario vestro reperta exhibuistis, e quibus sicut e speculo rerum mihi resultaret veritas. Quae falsa nullo modo crediderim, quia calente adhuc gestorum memoria, ad Eluricum, qui tertio anno post decessum patris Dunstani successit in archiepiscopatu, sunt edita'. William refers to the work of B. dedicated to Ælfric. William narrates 'The monks supplied me with scriptures in Latin and in English which were in a very old chest which would help him to display the truth and which would result in the truth and this life/scripture was written for the memory of Dunstan and dedicated to Ælfric who succeeded Dunstan on the third raw.'

¹⁶⁵ Rodney Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), p. 19.

¹⁶⁶ Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 19.

and its organizational structure.¹⁶⁷ In *GR* William of Malmesbury refers to the king and archbishop as in constant cooperation arguably resembling the times of Dunstan and Edgar. This constant co-operation resulted in the reformation of the decadent clergy and founding of the monasteries. Although it is not obvious, William's words may well be referring to the same type of relation with the king and the archbishop. He might have read the Lives of Dunstan even before he began to write his life of the saint and at one point in his narrative he gave a reference to his own *Gesta Regum*.¹⁶⁸ It is also asserted that the archiepiscopal office of Lanfranc was one of the most fruitful terms ever experienced in English history, the same quality may also be attributed to the archiepiscopacy of Dunstan in tenth-century England.¹⁶⁹

Although the Norman Conquest seemed to have created a great chasm between two worlds of different cultures and to have suppressed the Anglo-Saxon traditions, after a few decades, some of these traditions began to converge with the

¹⁶⁷ H. R. Loyn, *The English Church: 940-1154* (London: Longman, 2000), pp. 70-79, and H. R. Loyn, *The Norman Conquest* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1967), pp. 151-65. In these books Loyn suggested that during the time of Lanfranc (1070-89) through the ensurance of appointments of skilful bishops and clergy, holding regular councils and issuing new decrees was the most effective ways to put ecclesiastical realm of England in line with the reform movements in Normandy in between 1060-1070. Lanfranc questioned the sanctity of some of the Anglo-Saxon saints such as St Elphege and reduced the number of the Anglo-Saxon saints in the liturgical calendar. However, William of Malmesbury favoured his reforms due to the fact that Lanfranc dealt with simony, parish arrangements, and monks without discipline. In *GR* III.245 (Vol.I. p. 459), William tells 'But zeal both for learning and for religion cooled as time went on, not many years before the coming of the Normans. The clergy, content with a mere smattering of knowledge, scarce mumbled the words of the sacraments; a man who knew any grammar was a marvel and a portent to his colleagues. Monks, with their finely-woven garments and their indiscriminating diet, made nonsense of their rule.' In contrast to this situation William described the achievements of Lanfranc as such: '... such the way in which in which the whole Latin-speaking world was encouraged by his scholarship to pursue the liberal arts; such the zeal with which the votaries of monasticism toiled at the religious life, following his unique example or through fear of him. In those days bishops made no progress by ambition, and abbots none by bribes; the highest reputation and the warmest welcome in the eyes of king and archbishop were reserved for him who had a name for the most unshaken holiness of life.', *ibid.*, p. 493. Additional data can be found in David Knowles, *The Monastic Orders in England: 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1963), cited in Rigg, *History of Anglo Latin Literature*, p. 9. Knowles stated that between 1066 and 1135 over sixty overseas abbots were appointed to some twenty English houses and by the end of William's reign in 1100 English abbots held only three abbeys whereas their Norman counterparts held thirty-five abbeys. These replacements of the English abbots came from nine Norman monasteries and Bec was the most influential among these monasteries since it was Lanfranc's own house.

¹⁶⁸ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 305. In *GR* William narrates stories of the saint which were existent in the previous Lives of the saint almost with the same words.

¹⁶⁹ H. R. Loyn, *The English Church*, p. 71.

newly reinforced values and traditions of the Norman world. ‘Local saints and festivals, Latin writings such as Bede’s, vernacular records such as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and royal Law-Codes began to return to legitimacy and even prominence by the late eleventh century’.¹⁷⁰ Even at the very beginning of the Norman period Dunstan was the strongest religious and political figure from the Anglo-Saxon period and Lanfranc did not question the cult of Dunstan. When the church at Canterbury was reconstructed after the great fire of 1067 the relics of Dunstan together with the other Anglo-Saxon saints were removed carefully with great respect and honour. As Margaret Gibson has suggested: ‘Dunstan was an essential bridge between two worlds - the pre-Conquest community and its modern successor - and Lanfranc was far too experienced and conservative a monk to think of removing him.’¹⁷¹ However, it was obvious that there was hostility between the two communities of Canterbury Cathedral where the relics of the saint were kept and also at St Augustine’s.¹⁷² Since the primary concern of this chapter is to investigate the changes in Dunstan’s hagiographical image in the work of William of Malmesbury, the effect of the first years of the Conquest seemed not to have been so disastrous for the cult of the saint. However, William praised the coming of the Normans and depicted the Norman

¹⁷⁰ Thompson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 1.

¹⁷¹ Margaret Gibson, ‘Normans and Angevins, 1070-1220: The Alien Archbishops, Lanfranc (1070-1089)’ in Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks, eds, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 44. Furthermore Gibson gave examples from the Life of Lanfranc that Dunstan posthumously helped Lanfranc himself in two occasions, *ibid.*, p. 44; see also Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 144, 151, 152. In his *vita*, Osbern wrote a section on the posthumous miracles (as in the case of the blind woman who cried at the tomb of Dunstan and miraculously cured; Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 134-35) and narrated stories which seemed like an effort for the reconciliation of the two worlds. Therefore, his miracle stories set the best examples of the hagiographical genre since they are most probably created out of necessity. Osbern’s silence on Lanfranc’s ecclesiastical policies supports this idea. William did not mention Lanfranc in his *vita* but in *GR* he narrates his own view of Lanfranc as follows: ‘...and at Canterbury Lanfranc, of whom I have already spoken, who by God’s grace dawned upon England “as when the Daystar routs the fleeting stars and brings with blushing face the light of day”: so freely did his energy make monasticism flower, so much did Episcopal discipline mature in his lifetime’, p. 497.

¹⁷² Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 246-52.

Conquest as the agent of God for reviving religion and the English church which was seen as decadent:

The standard of religion, dead everywhere in England, has been raised by their arrival: you may see everywhere churches in villages, in towns and cities monasteries rising in a new style of architecture; and with new devotion our country flourishes, so that every rich man thinks a day wasted if he does not make it remarkable with some great stroke of generosity.¹⁷³

William's words explaining the coming of the Normans may give some clues related to the life of Dunstan because William was acquainted with the monastic way life and its preservation under the Benedictine rule. Dunstan may have easily become the ideal image to be followed as an exemplar for the clergy and the laity. Thus, William also glorified in Dunstan's life of struggle for the monastic revival of the tenth century.

William's Life of Dunstan consisted of two books; *Liber Primus* and *Liber Secundus*. In the first book William narrated the life of the saint from his birth until the saint was sent to exile by Eadwig and how he was welcomed by count Arnulf. The second book covers the period from the death of Eadwig and ends with the defence of his work. In the prologue he dedicates his work to the monks of Glastonbury.¹⁷⁴ From the beginning William was concerned with correcting the mistakes of Osbern; firstly mentioning the doctrinal errors:

Primo cum de miraculo luminis in templo exhibiti sermonem adoriretur, maternis inquit, 'sinibus sacro puerperio intumescitibus' egrerie et pulchre dictum si esset catholicum. Non enim recte dicitur sacrum puerperium quod, iniquitati originali obnoxium, nondum est

¹⁷³ GR, p. 461.

¹⁷⁴ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 250. 'Dominis suis venerabilibus et fratribus patribusque in sancta Glastoniensi ecclesia Deo famulari gratulantibus. Guilelmus vester devotione servus, commilitio frater, dilectione filius. In beatissimi patris vestry Dunstani amore et onore celebrando nostra, sanctissimi patres, cum omni Anglia devotion aemulo decertat exemplo.'

sacro bapismo dilitum. Cujus dicti mei rationem in fine vitae sancti Deo iuvante persolvere meditor.¹⁷⁵

Secondly he accused him of putting in some unnecessary material,¹⁷⁶ and lastly blamed him for being ignorant of the antiquities of Glastonbury:

Tertio quod Glastoniam regali fisco addictam, et Dunstanum ibi fuisse primum abbatem dicendo, non mediocriter in historiae veritate delinquit. Quod quantum a vero exulet testantur abbatum vestrorum nomina, qui annis ccccliii., sicut ex consequentibus liquebit, ante nativitatem Dunstani fuere in Glastonia.¹⁷⁷

Then he concluded his section on the mistakes of Osbern with that of his misrepresentation of King Edgar as the founder of Shaftesbury.¹⁷⁸ This religious house was actually founded by Alfred. After dealing with the errors of Osbern, he begins to narrate the story of the life of the saint but before that he informs the reader how he was supplied with the materials in English and in Latin.¹⁷⁹ *Liber primus* starts with the story of the birth and parentage of Dunstan.¹⁸⁰ The childhood of the saint is

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 251. 'Firstly concerning the candle/light miracle happened in the temple, Dunstan's mother told the news of the sacred birth of the child, this is extraordinary if this was true but if not it needs to be explained and thought carefully on this matter in the life of the saint.' This is related to the miracle occurred before the birth of the child and William accused Osbern to attribute a heretical language to saints' mother which would implicate heresy.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 251: 'Secundo cum de indole studiorum puerilium loqueretur, sensum secundi prologi de arithmetica penetotum induxit, loquens de philosophorum scientia de rebus quae sunt et quae aliter esse non possunt, ut sunt magnitudines et aliae earum sibi adhaerentes, aliae separatae, multitudinesque aliae per se, aliae in relatione positae. Videtis, domini, quantos fumos excitavit, cum potuisset simpliciter dicere puerum arithmeticae et cognatis artibus invigilasse'. Here William accuses Osbern who put some editorial materials which were not necessary for the life of the saint, these materials were from different texts.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 251. 'Thirdly, he mentions that Osbern's information concerning the antiquities of Glastonbury was not sufficient and William stated that Osbern was wrong in saying that Dunstan was the first abbot of Glastonbury and gives an account of the dates of abbots succeeding each other.' The list is in Summerset historical essays and in Stubbs. And for the list of abbots of Glastonbury see *ibid.*, p. lxxxii.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 252. See also Joseph Stephenson trans. *William of Malmesbury: The Kings before the Norman Conquest* (Felinfach: Llanerch Enterprises, 1989), p. 105. In this book William mentions Shaftesbury and how it was filled with nuns during the reign of Alfred.

¹⁷⁹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 252.

¹⁸⁰ In the narrative of B., king Æthelstan is called as 'gloriosus rex Anglorum', Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 6, whereas William did not attribute such titles to any of the kings in the vita which may arguably indicate that he was devoid of the Englishness of B., not to the same degree. On the other hand, Thomson argued that William had a great interest in Old English and authors such as Ælfric and King Alfred and this interest in English writers implicated William's pride in his half-English descent, Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 45.

exactly told in the same chronological order as B.'s narrative. Glastonbury once again (B. was the first of the authors to connect the saint primarily with this abbey) and more significantly is emphasized by William.¹⁸¹ His family relations and how he was introduced to the court of Æthelstan by his uncle Æthelm gives the exact notion that Dunstan was closely surrounded with the high officials of the time.

William of Malmesbury related the main events of Dunstan's life with few modifications and insertions such as the paragraph giving information about Dunstan's pupil Æthelwold¹⁸² and represents Dunstan as a constant courtier to the succeeding kings Æthelstan, Eadmund and Eadred.¹⁸³ As told by B. before, William narrates that Dunstan became 'the chief adviser and treasurer of Eadred during his reign:

Quapropter Dunstanum, qui eum primus in regem acclamaverat, et aliis et sibi praefecit, ut pro scientia imperitaret regno, pro religione mederetur incommode. Praeterea quicquid pretiosissimum mortales opinantur ejus delegavit tutelae, thesaurus ab antecessoribus elaboratos et sibi haereditario jure transfusos.¹⁸⁴

After the death of Eadred there came the most doubtful and controversial story in Dunstan's life related to the events during the coronation day of Eadwig.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 255-57.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 272. 'Unum pro exemplo Ethelwoldum advoco, quia de pluribus dicere in immensum esset pergere.' Then continues to tell about his scholarly works in Glastonbury, Dunstan's ideas and visions about him.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-81.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 277; 'Dunstan was both the protector of the religion and the treasures of the king and he was of primary importance and he was appointed to this posts by the king to rule the religion and protect the treasures.' B., p. 29. Furthermore in *DA* William gives us the information how Eadred endowed Dunstan and his abbey with certain gifts in 954, see Chapter two.

¹⁸⁵ For the discussion of this subject see ch. 2, p. 16. Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 283-84, and in B., pp. 32-33. William narrates the same story in *GR* II.147. (Vol.I. p. 237) : 'This shameless conduct was universally resented, and there was subdued protest; only Dunstan, as the rocky element in his name would suggest, thought nothing of the king's contemptuous air, dragged the lecherous youngster by main force from the bed-chamber, and obliged him through Archbishop Oda to dismiss his concubine, thus earning for himself the king's undying enmity.' This narration may arguably imply that even after almost one hundred and fifty years Dunstan was perceived as a strong and effective saint in the political sphere despite all the intrigues and dangers of this realm since it becomes a recurring theme in almost all the narratives in Dunstan's hagiography and he was constantly accused, and tortured by the courtiers for being skilful, talented until the reign of Edgar which was a rather peaceful episode in Dunstan's life.

William's account of this event is followed by the exile years of the saint and this episode is closer to the narrative of Adelard of Ghent who gave detailed information about Dunstan's years at Ghent. This is due to the fact that Adelard of Ghent may have seemed more reliable to William since Adelard was a monk at Ghent and William probably knew that B. did not accompany his saint during his exile years.¹⁸⁶ *Liber primus* ends with the vision of Dunstan that Eadwig was dead and Dunstan prays for the king whose spirit has been taken away by evil spirits.¹⁸⁷ Whereas B.'s narrative continues here with the misgovernment of Eadwig and he attributed the northern people's rebellion to this reason, William asserts that the rebellion was provoked by Eadwig's persecution of his grandmother¹⁸⁸ and therefore Edgar succeeded to the Northumbrian throne. After a short while he recalled Dunstan from the exile.

The prologue of the second book opens with the annunciation of the birth of Edgar by a heavenly voice to the Holy Father Dunstan and continues with the emphasis on the works of these two devoted monastic reformers:

Sub ipso enim momento quo eum mater effundebat in lucem, audivit Dunstanus tum abbas vocem de coelo dicentem 'Pax Anglorum ecclesiae, exorti nunc pueri et nostri Dunstani tempore.' Audivit ille facienda, nos audivimus et vidimus facta, nam quanta fuit eis viventibus pax in Anglorum ecclesia non est in promptu dicere. Caeterum Edgardo defuncto per aliquanta monasteriorum membra pax elanquit, sed Dunstano excedente hic fax bellorum aeterna, illic febris interna malorum per omne Angliae corpus excanduit.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 285. William of Malmesbury gave a detailed account of Dunstan's years at Ghent and he told that Dunstan was welcomed not as a stranger but as if he was an inmate and a father-in-God: 'Siquidem eo iubente in praedicto exceptus monasterio, non mansitabat ibi ut exul et incola, sed colebatur ut domesticus et abba.' On the other hand, there is no clue of a rebellion of the northern people in the other works of William.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 287. 'Et ecce mirabile dictum videt cominus transeuntes piceae fuliginis formam indutos daemones.' This is a good exemplar of the moral lesson which is expressed by the hagiographer that the evil-doers and unjust rulers against the faithful would soon be in the hands of the divine justice.

¹⁸⁸ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 290. 'Nam praeter insaniam, quam retuli superius, in ecclesiam et Dunstanum, etiam in aviam suam Edgitham crudelitatem anhelavit et evomit...'

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 290. 'Dunstan heard an heavenly voice which said that there will be peace in England as long as this king lives as the king of England and our Dunstan lives and they struggled for the peace in England and its monasteries.' This story of the angelic voice heard by Dunstan is firstly told by Adelard of Ghent, *Memorials*, p. 56, and Osbern, *ibid.*, p. 93. This story does not exist in the narrative

The career of Dunstan after his consecration to the see of Canterbury is much more informative and detailed than that of B.'s narration due to the fact that William had more sources and he had other Lives written before him. Dunstan's effectiveness is emphasized both in the *vita* and in the other books of William. He struggled with the excesses of the secular clergy:

Namque, ut a sanctuario Dei exordiar, eo tempore omnium ecclesiarum in Anglia clerici omnino a canonum regula desciverant, nudinis negotiorum dediti; aleae lusores studiosi, fluxu vestium, voluptatum luxu, laicis vel pares vel praeminentes; cibo intenti ad gulam, potui ad vomitam; litterarum perinde nescii, quasi dedecus esset si clerici essent literati; usitata officia citra intellectum verborum vix aegreque balbutientes.¹⁹⁰

After this illustration of the corrupt clergy William gives the picture of how Dunstan ordered them to live canonically (aut canonice vivite aut ecclesiis exite').¹⁹¹ Other works of William may confirm this image of the saint as a powerful character in both public and ecclesiastical matters¹⁹² as it was expressed in many ways in most of the Lives of the saint. William emphasized not only the saint's devotion but also Edgar's early intentions of a monastic revival:

Edgarus, per incrementa temporum in pueritiam provectus, crebro adhuc privates monstrabat indicio, cui se in regno applicaturus esset

of B. See also *GR* II.148. (Vol.I. p. 239), and Stephenson, *William of Malmesbury: The Kings before the Norman Conquest*, pp. 129-30. These books contain the same miraculous story concerning the birth of Edgar.

¹⁹⁰ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 300. Here William tells the excesses of the secular clergy that they were greedy and they were not educated and they were decadent and their morality was low and they did not know literature.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

¹⁹² *GR* II.149 (Vol.I. p. 241): '... a man of great influence in the world and of much grace in the eyes of God, who showed himself a Martha in one field and a Mary in the other. He was himself a wonderful stimulator of the liberal arts in the whole island, second only to King Alfred; he himself was a generous restorer of places where the Rule was observed; his thunders against the kings and delinquent magnates could be terrible; his relief of the poor and humble was justly measured.' In *DA*, (p. 100) William narrates that king Edgar was a devoted benefactor and protector of the Church of England: 'whilst he administered the cares of the kingdom excellently, he neglected not the peace of the Church. For no single one of the kings of Anglia could ever compete for praise with Edgar, than all of whom he was in peace more confirmed, in riches more abundant, and in piety to God more excellent.'

studio. Spirabat enim tenera aetas illustris et prudentis pueri, robustiores anni mirifico dedere affectui. Denique, ut in cujusdam prologo legi, qui regulam Benedicti Anglico enucleabat fuso, dum quadam die ludubundibus sagittis exerceret animum, animadvertit procul aedifica magna, sed situ et ruinis deformia; consuluit ergo socios quid esset, indaginem veri sollicita mente rimatus” dictum est ab eis fuisse ibi monasterium olim magnificum, nunc, vel bellica hostium clade vel tyrannical regum destructum, raro incolis habitatore. Tum ille levatis in altum oculis huic se voto fecit obnoxium, ut si unquam regnaret, et istud et alia in staum pristinum excitaret, per haec Deo, Qui scrutatur interna, et hominibus qui praesentem indolem future boni viderent interpretem, carus, statim ut anni tulere ascitus est in regnum magna hominum felicitate.¹⁹³

Then William indicated that king was both a supporter of the reforms of his archbishop and a mediator between the secular clergy and his archbishop when Dunstan ordered them to live canonically. This emphasis of the saint’s involvement in ecclesiastical affairs during his Canterbury years is filling the gap created by B. This was also a natural part of the process of sanctification since the hagiographer would often present his saint as a strong and firm image. Dunstan in William’s *vita* possibly indicated that William favored such strong ecclesiastics as an ideal type:

Verumtamen nunquam ille ullis precibus adduci potuit ut canonicos sumptus haberent qui canonice vivere nollent. Quapropter rex rei aequitate et archiepiscopi voluntate permotus, cessavit ultra illis suum exhibere favorem, qui turpiter viventes antistitis non mererentur absolutionem, quia vulnerarent mentem.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 290. ‘William narrates that the king was educated in a monastic way and he narrates an event: William tells that he read the story in a prologue who wrote the Benedictine rule in English: when the king was exercising with arrows, he saw great buildings in ruins and asked to his guards about them then he learnt that it was the remain of a monastery destroyed by wars and cruel kings and he promised to restore all the monasteries in the country.’ The certain writer to whom William was referring is not clear. On the other hand, the story gives clues about the previous condition of the monasteries and that the future king was to restore the monasteries either destroyed by the wars or by the tyranny of the kings.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 300. ‘The king firstly tried to mediate between the archbishop and the clergy but later he agreed with Dunstan and compelled them to obey to the archbishop.’ For Dunstan’s influence and participation in Edgar’s legislation, see Dales, *Dunstan*, pp. 87-97 and Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. cv-cvii. Both Dales and Stubbs discussed the share of Dunstan during Edgar’s reign and suggest that he was a powerful statesman. If we are to assume that Canterbury was the center of the religious sphere of England in those times and no other authority was accepted as the ultimate source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction apart from Rome, than it is arguably possible to assert that Dunstan was powerful enough to change or preserve the traditions which were necessary for the monastic reform and he had two other influential bishops who emerged as the leading figures of the movement under the consent of the king and the archbishop.

This might arguably imply two things. Firstly the king was worried that Dunstan's severity might lead to an upheaval of the clergy who should rather be replaced gradually and carefully. Secondly, it may be suggested that the saint's severity and fearsome acts in dealing with the ecclesiastical matters found support on the king's side. On the other hand, on certain matters concerning the king Dunstan did not tolerate the king's promiscuous acts. The story of the nun of Wilton who was removed out of the convent and violated by Edgar, aroused the anger of the saint and gives a good example of Dunstan's pious devotion and influence over such matters. This event, as Osbern¹⁹⁵ had described resulted in a seven-year penance. This story of the saint is not included in William's life of the saint.¹⁹⁶ William probably omitted this on purpose since there was a constant and harmonious relationship between the king and the archbishop.

Osbern was the first author to emphasize the leadership of the saint and his cooperation with Edgar in the monastic revival of tenth century.¹⁹⁷ 'Dunstan's role

¹⁹⁵ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 111-12.

¹⁹⁶ In *GR*, William asserted some related stories concerning the king's unlawful relations with the women and other stories such as the foundation of a monastery called Werewell and William depicts the story similar to the narration of Osbern: 'Hearing of the beauty of a nun under vows, he removed her by violence from her convent, and having done so violated her, and force her more than once to sleep with him. When this reached the ears of St Dunstan, he was severely rebuked by the saint and did not refuse seven years penance.' (p. 259). The king's approval of the punishment confirms that the saint was highly respected and Edgar, as William suggested as a chronicler, did not blemish this harmonious relationship. Stubbs also discussed this issue of seven years penance and the story about a veiled lady at Wilton. He asserted that there was such 'a tradition of foundation of an expiatory monastery' both from the story of the murder of a certain noble named Æthelwold married to a beautiful woman Ælfthryth by Edgar in the forest of Werewell and from the life of St Edith, Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. xcix-c.

¹⁹⁷ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 110: 'Propter haec igitur sanctissimae instituta disciplinae tantus in regno Anglorum divinitatis cultus excrevit, ut et nobilissimi quique aut in saeculo praepotentissimi, spretis omnibus mundi pompis, ad divina confugerent servitia; et hii quos jam ecclesiasticus ordo admiserat de virtute contenderent, scientes neminem ad honorem posse pertingere quem non virtutum merita juvarent. Ob hujus quoque disciplinae excellentiam tanta pacis Constantia, tanta rerum extitit opulentia, ut omnia mundi elementa Ipsum quoque elementorum Creatorem Deum regis temporibus arridere putares. Sic pontificis sapientia dictabat Regis justitiam; Regis justitia obtinuit Dei misericordiam, Dei autem misericordia omnium rerum praestitit abundantiam'. This passage basically refers to the monastic revival of tenth-century and how Dunstan renewed and restored the monastic

in introducing monks must have seemed especially crucial if, as Eadmer suggests, Christ Church's monastic status was under attack during Lanfranc's archiepiscopate'.¹⁹⁸ This suggestion sounds logical since most of the hagiographers were monks (including Dunstan's) who praised monasticism above all types of religious life. And for Osbern, it was necessary to emphasize the former monastic status of Christ Church and significantly increase the role of the saint as monastic reformer where as for B. and Adelard of Ghent the image of the saint was not so strong. They emphasized the saints' artistic skills and lifetime struggle in the kings' court with the jealous courtiers rather than his efforts for monastic reform. This was due to the fact that they, for political reasons, did not need to assert such an episode for monastic leadership of the saint because at that time monasticism was relatively in its golden age. Besides, neither authors were not present at the time when the king and his ecclesiastical reformers were at work.

Secondly, it was William of Malmesbury who asserted the saint's active participation in the monastic reform and gives a detailed description concerning the acts of the two other zealous monastic reformers; namely Æthelwold and Oswald.¹⁹⁹ William gave an account of the monasteries founded by Dunstan and how he endowed the monastery of Malmesbury with certain gifts:

Nam si Osberno credimus, quinque monasteria de suo patrimonio fecit; Glastoniense vero monachis, praediis, aedificiis ampliavit. Antiquum id quidem, ut dixi, et multum ejus anticipans tempora, sed quod, ut prioribus veterem foundationem, ita Dunstano novam sublimitatem debeat. Certe quod procul ambiguo et exacta fide dico, coenobium Malmesberienense, clericis ejectis quos Edwius intruserat illuc, ad pristinum statum, id est ad monachorum habitationem reparavit. Multa ibi largitus inpotuerunt eluctari. Mirae magnitudinis signa, non quidem, organa quae concentu suo in festivitibus laetitiam populo excitarent,

buildings and how he maintained order within the ecclesiastics and that there was a constant harmony between the king and the archbishop.

¹⁹⁸ Rubenstein, 'The life and Writings of Osbern of Canterbury', p. 39.

¹⁹⁹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 303-04. Here William narrates that these two reformers founded monasteries and replaced the clerks with monks in their cathedrals.

in quorum circuitu hoc distichon litteris aeneis affixit, ‘Organo do sancto praesul Dunstanus Adhelmo; Perdat hic aeternum qui vult hinc tollere regnum.’²⁰⁰

Then William turns to the relationship between Dunstan and Edgar and how Dunstan affected the king positively. In this way, it can be suggested that Dunstan was closely associated with the king on certain matters and that he was a respected counselor:

Postremo in Edgari regis pectore, quantam Dunstani doctrina frugem tulerit, grave cogitatu, nedum non facile dictum. Nam praeter severitatem in improbos quam superius explanavi, bonis dulcis, religiosus acclivis, monachis affabilis erat.²⁰¹

These counsels of Dunstan may not imply a strong influence of the archbishop over the king but they may refer to a close relationship and association between the two. Within the narrative of B., this relation was much more explicit than in any other Life of the saint. William did not neglect this co-operation of the saint with the king but he did not focus on this matter. His main point in the narrative was to make the history of the cycle of the saint’s life more accurate.

The later years of Dunstan lacks evidence and B. does not supply any information about the saint’s last thirteen years in the reigns of the successors of Edgar (Edward and Æthelred) and B. does not give detailed information about Edgar’s reign. B. was rather interested in the saint’s own actions and his saintly devotion to enrich the monasteries, to secure the observance of the Benedictine rule. It was Adelard who attempted to give a picture of the saint during the reign of Edward and

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 301-02. ‘William wished that Osbern also emphasized the same fact that Dunstan was the founder of monasteries and he had certain ties with Glastonbury and that the saint had given gifts to Malmesbury abbey such as an organ and some others.’ Since William was a monk of Malmesbury it may be possible to suggest that he tried to make connections with the saint through such stories to strengthen his narrative and to accomplish his duties both for the saint and his monastery. Apart from Malmesbury, in *DA* William also mentions how Dunstan enriched the Glastonbury abbey with certain gifts, p. 41.

²⁰¹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 304. ‘In the later years of Edgar’s reign, Dunstan had a good effect on Edgar with his thoughts and councils.’

Æthelred and described that the saint anointed both of them.²⁰² Osbern is also giving the information from the Adelard's version but nothing is mentioned related to the death of Edward and concerning the reign of Æthelred.²⁰³ However all the writers (including William) indicated that Dunstan was still powerful when king Edward succeeded Edgar and how he was chosen by Dunstan's advice:

Successit ei Edwardus filius annitente Dunstano quamvis obnitentibus proceribus et maxime noverca, guae vixdum septem annorum puerulum Egelredum filium provehere conabatur, ut ipsa potius sub nomine eius imperitaret.²⁰⁴

During the reign of Edward the clerks, who had been expelled from the churches in Edgar's reign, began to revive the feuds to regain their privileged status. The noblemen also helped the clerks to regain their possessions and status back within the realm of the church. As William relates, there were two councils held during the reign of Edward.²⁰⁵ There, at the council of Calne, another miracle occurred which provided further evidence of Dunstan's sanctity and his strong opposition to the clerks and noblemen who tried to restore their previous positions in the church:

Sed adhuc non sedatis animis Calnae consilium edictum, ubi cum in coenaculo, absente propter aetatem rege, insidentibus totius Angliae senatoribus, magno conflictu res ageretur, et validissimum illum ecclesiae murum, Dunstanum dico, multorum jacula impeterent convitiorum, nec quaterent suas partes, cujusque ordinis viris summo studio tuentibus, solarium totum repente cum axibus et trabibus dissiluit et concidit. Omnibus ad terram elisi, solus Dunstanus stans super unam trabem quae superstes erat probe evasit. Reliqui vel

²⁰² Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 61: 'Eadgarum regem pacificum et filium ejus sanctum Eadwardum martyrem, cum rege Æthelredo, in throno patrum suorum sacra unctione perfusos collocavit.' 'Dunstan succeedingly anointed the sons of Edgar, namely Edward the Martyr and Æthelred the Unready.'

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 306. William in *GR II.161* (Vol.I, p. 263) narrates the events in the same way that the saint, with the counsel of the bishops, had supported Edward to succeed to the throne: 'In the year of our Lord 975 Edward, Edgar's son, began to reign, and he held the throne for three and a half years. He was raised to the royal dignity by Dunstan in agreement with the other bishops, against the wishes (so the story goes) of certain nobles and of his stepmother, who tried to promote her son Æthelred, a child barely seven years old, in order that she might reign herself in his name.'

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 307-08. These councils were held at Winchester and at Calne in between the years 975-978. For the dates of these two councils see William of Malmesbury, *The King Before the Norman Conquest*, pp. 142-43.

exanimati vel perpetui langoris compede detenti. Hoc miraculum archiepiscopo exhibuit pacem de clericis, omnibus Anglis tunc et deinceps in ejus sententiam concedentibus.²⁰⁶

This miracle was essential to all of the hagiographers starting from Osbern as a means of emphasizing and glorifying the saint's struggle against the intruders into monastic life. William, both as a monk and a historian, exalted Dunstan as much as the previous authors did in their narratives for being the great defender of monasticism and of its rule, in both ecclesiastical and political realms which were not independent from each other. Lastly William depicted Dunstan's care for the monasteries:

Ædificia labantia et veteran restituens, nova nec ignave aggrediens, nec avare ab solvens, provisioni monasteriorum curam suam in patria exponere, nec transmarine maximeque in Flandria negligere.²⁰⁷

The last episode of William's narrative is descriptive and he narrates the saint's daily activities at nights and how he devoted himself to learning and literary works. William follows B.'s narrative in the same pattern and depicts the saint's last days almost in the same way. He adds the new miracles from the narratives of Adelard, Osbern, and Eadmer.²⁰⁸ These new miracles added and new stories told by the later hagiographers were a necessary means for the continuity of the cult and making the saint's life more popular.

The changes in the cult of the saint did not disturb the image of the saint. Besides, these changes in the form of new miracles and new marvel stories were

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 308. This miracle first appeared in Osbern's *vita* in Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 114. In *GR*, the event is told with the same tone and with the same words: 'In the midst of this, the whole storey with its posts and beams suddenly came to pieces and collapsed; everyone was thrown down headlong and only Dunstan, standing on one beam which had remained intact, escaped safe and sound.' (p. 265). It can be suggested that William revised some of the passages of *GR* and inserted these passages into his *vita*.

²⁰⁷ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 315. 'He took care of the monasteries both in his homeland and in Ghent and supplied with the necessary provisions.'

²⁰⁸ Dunstan during his last days saw a vision of angels as Adelard tells us. Adelard in Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 64-65. This also appears in Osbern, *ibid.*, pp. 120-21, Eadmer, *ibid.*, pp. 217-18, and *ibid.*, p. 318.

necessary. Osbern as the first post-Conquest author of the life of the saint, without any doubts, tried to glorify the English past without disturbing the new inhabitants of his church and country. He tried to insert new miracles which would help to keep the cult of the saint vivid and safe. Therefore, he both praised Lanfranc and Dunstan at the same time but he is silent about the consequences of the conquest.²⁰⁹

William, on the other hand, was writing more than sixty years after the conquest and the traumatic years for the monks were far behind and everything arguably seemed to settle down. Moreover, his attitude as a hagiographer is combined with his dedication to accuracy in historiography which may contradict the hagiographer's purposes since it may be possible to assert that he may sometimes distort the reality or come up with certain events which are only fulfilling the necessities of the hagiographical genre. Therefore William justified his narrative through the sources, which were relatively more reliable than Osbern's. The other works of William are consistent with his life of the saint and obviously he utilized almost all of the Lives of the saint for being accurate and precise.

Lastly, through the investigation of William's narrative, it may well be suggested that the image of the saint and his life, even after the conquest, did not change significantly due to the fact that Dunstan's life echoes the glorious revival of Benedictine way of life and Dunstan emerges as a strong political and religious character to be called into attention for those who needed such a personification to be followed. William may have been well aware of the fact that Dunstan's portrayal as a great reformer was essential for the needs of the church and society. His narrative did not bring any controversy to the life of the saint, but there were changes in the points which each hagiographer emphasized in their own narratives. William was much

²⁰⁹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 144. At one time soon after the Conquest Lanfranc seeks help from Dunstan and Dunstan once again gives his helping hand to Lanfranc.

more concerned about the monastic reform, whereas B. was concerned about the events in the kings' court. This may arguably signify a change in church politics but at various points William gave examples of Dunstan's presence at the kings' courts and how he influenced the decisions of the kings. The degree of emphasis on certain issues varies in all of the narratives, but this did not make great changes in the Dunstan's life.

Chapter 4:

St Dunstan in the Early South-English Legendary

In this chapter, I will attempt to investigate the characteristics of the Middle English Life of St Dunstan, which may provide us with a different perspective for the hagiographical genre. For this reason, I will discuss the primary concerns of the author and what he might have had in mind and how these texts served certain purposes. In particular, I will discuss whether this version of the life of the saint provides biographical information on the saint and in many cases a number of other figures. In this sense, these writings may contribute to our knowledge of the important individuals (mostly of St Dunstan) who lived in tenth-century England.

The Middle English Life of the saint will be examined as a historical framework, which locates the plot in its historical context, in many cases by illustrating the reigns of the kings, in our case with whom our saint was associated with, during which he lived, and it may also illustrate the major political, religious, and economic events of his time. Thus, it becomes necessary to give a brief account of the historical development of *The South English Legendary* and the features, which may lead us to some assumptions. It can be stated that the compilers of the legends or the individual authors were aware of the main issues of Dunstan's *vitae* written in Latin and therefore, the legend of the saint is in perfect harmony with the previous Lives, giving the brief outline of the saint's life in a simplified language.

The history of the legends may be traced back to that of the homilies from Anglo-Saxon times. It may be said that Medieval English literature both in Anglo-Saxon and medieval times, was mainly clerical in nature and for the most part was produced by the clergy for the edification of the laity until the end of the thirteenth

century. 'As the number of saints' days increased and the legend grew in popularity as a regular part of ecclesiastical worship, accompanying or replacing the sermon, the convenience of having extensive books of saints' lives, which could be used by the rank and file of the clergy on the festivals duly appointed, became so manifest that in the last quarter of the thirteenth century two native legendaries arose, one in the south and the other in the north of England.'²¹⁰ Moreover, both the Latin and Middle English versions of saints' Lives may well have served not only for the edification of the laity but also for liturgical activities: namely the night office. This consisted of a single nocturn, which contained three lessons, either from the Bible, from a homily, a sermon, or from a saint's life.²¹¹

As a matter of fact, it is possible to suggest that the legendaries represented sanctified short narratives or the abbreviated forms of the old legends which were collected and put together in a standardized form like that of *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus à Voragine.²¹² The SEL and *Legenda Aurea* are similar to each other in the sense that they both contain saints' Lives in abbreviated forms, the former in verse, and the latter in prose. On the other hand, we can possibly relate the development of the legendary form in England, which reached its climax at the end of the thirteenth century, to the revival of preaching in the vernacular at the end of the twelfth century. The preacher orders such as the Franciscans tried to diffuse religion into all

²¹⁰ William Henry Schofield, *English Literature: From the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (London: Macmillan, 1906), p. 393.

²¹¹ Rosalind C. Love, ed. and trans. *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives: Vita S. Birini, Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi and Vita S. Rumwoldi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. xxx. For the liturgical function of the legendaries, see pp. xxix-xxxiii. Love suggested that the basic function of a legendary was the ordering of Lives according to the liturgical calendar and it was a means to control such a large body of material.

²¹² See Granger, Ryan, and Helmut Ripperger, trans., *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine* (New York and London: Longmans, 1941), for a comparison between the legendaries.

layers of society.²¹³ This may well have led to the translations of the Latin Lives of the saints into English.

It is obvious that the change of the profile of the audience is quantitative and actually broadened in the SEL when compared with the Latin Lives of the saints. Notably, Bede's metrical life of St Cuthbert in Latin constitutes a good example. Moreover, not only Bede's metrical life of St. Cuthbert but also many other saints' Lives (including the life of St Dunstan written by B.) belonging to the Anglo-Saxon period may indicate that the profile of the audience was restricted to ecclesiastics who were able to understand Latin. While analyzing the literary characteristics of Bede's metrical version of St Cuthberts' life, Michael Lapidge has asserted that 'because of its allusiveness and compression it is often extremely difficult, and was clearly intended to be so'.²¹⁴ On the other hand Bede's intention while writing and inserting hagiography into his narratives did not serve only for a small number of people. This was also against the nature of its purposes. As Pete Hunter Blair suggests 'whatever their form, the lives of the saints, both foreign and native, provided a considerable body of what would have been regarded as suitable reading within the monastic precinct, as well as a source of instructive discourse for the unlettered outside'.²¹⁵ However, it was again an indirect meeting of the works with the laity through the interpretations and comments of the clergy. On the other hand,

²¹³ For a similar interpretation see W. F. Bolton, *The Penguin History of Literature: The Middle Ages* (Penguin, 1993), pp. 112-13. For the history of the Friars and their integration into the society see C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars* (London: Longman, 1994).

²¹⁴ Lapidge 'Bede's Metrical *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*', in David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 86

²¹⁵ P. H. Blair, *The World of Bede* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 280. For a further discussion of the lives of the saint in Bede's works see *ibid.*, pp. 272-81 and also see Karl Lutterkort 'Beda Hagiographicus: Meaning and Function of Miracle stories in *Vita Cuthberti* and the *Historia Ecclesiastica*' in L.A.J.R. and A. A. Macdonald, eds, *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk & Northumbrian* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1996), pp. 81-107. Both the the prose and metrical lives of St Cuthbert can be found in Bertram Colgrave, ed., *Vita Sancti Cuthberti auctore Beda : Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940).

the works in the native tongue may reach a greater audience without the aid of the ecclesiastics.

Consequently, St Dunstan's metrical life contained in the SEL may give clues about the general themes in the legendary. His life in the legendary begins with a section, which at the very beginning emphasizes the identity of the saint and creates a different mood, which may be called as Englishness or 'Englishing',²¹⁶ which is simply addressing to the English audience. Then the legend begins with a typical miracle preceding the birth of the saint:

Seint Dunston was of enguelonde: i-come of guode more.
Miracle ore louerd dude for him: þe 3uyt he was un-bore.
For þo he was in his moder wombe: In a candel-masse day,
þat folk was mucche at church: ase hit to þe tyme lay,
As huy stoden alle with heore lisht: rist also men stondest 3uyt nou,
Heore list queincte ouer-al: þat no mon nuste hou ;
Here þat list barnde swiþe wel : and here it was al oute.
þat folk stod al in gret wonder: and weren in grete doute,
And bispeken ech to oþur: in 3wuche manere it were
þat it queinte so sopdeinliche: al þat list þat huy bere.
Also huy stonden and þarof speken: in gret wonder ech-on,
Seint Dunstones moder taper: a-fuyre werth a-non
þat heo huld in here hond: heo nuste 3wannes it cam.
þat folk stod and þat bihuld: and gret wonder þar-of it nam;
No man nuste fro whannes it cam: bote þoru ore lourdes grace.
þarof hut tenden halle heore list: þat weren in þe place.²¹⁷

The miraculous events preceding and during the childhood of the saint is a typical hagiographical feature which occur in most of the narratives of the genre, and signify

²¹⁶ Klaus P. Jankofsky, 'National Characteristics in the Portrayal of English Saints in the *South English Legendary*', in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szelle ds., *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe* (London: Cornell University Press, 1991) p. 83. This idea of 'Englishing' can also be supported when the other English saints' Lives included in the SEL are taken into consideration. In the life of *St. Oswald* þe King the beginning of the legend is identical with that of St. Dunstan: 'Seint Oswald þe holie king: of þe on ende of enguelonde', Horstmann, *The Early South English Legendary or Lives of Saints*, p. 45, and the same style is used for *St. Wolfston*: 'Seint Wolfston, bischop of wyrecestre: was here of engulonde', *ibid.*, p. 70.

²¹⁷ Horstmann, *The Early South English Legendary or Lives of Saints*, p. 19. In MS. Harley 2277 Dunstan's parentage is also included which may implicate that this anonymous compiler of the version felt a need to insert this information for a better understanding of who Dunstan actually was and to strengthen his Anglo-Saxon identity. 'His moder het Kynedride is fader het Herston', *The South English Legendary*, ed. by D'Evelyn, and Mill, p. 205.

the starting point of the sanctification process. This story was most probably derived from the narrative of Adelard of Ghent which was repeated constantly by the later biographers of the saint but this miraculous event does not take place in B. The author of the SEL might have had access to one of these versions of the life of the saint. Adelard may have heard the story from the monks of Ghent who spent some time with the saint during his exile years. There are also two more probabilities, that he may have invented the story himself or by the time Adelard was writing his life of the saint, the legend of the saint had created the story itself. Since there was eight or ten years intervened between B's and Adelard's works, this time span may have left enough room for creation of such stories.²¹⁸

Then the narrative follows the traditional pattern and underlines the education of the saint, where he was taught, which was also stressed firstly by anonymous B.

Do þis child was i-bore: his freond nomen þer-to hede,
 Huy leten hit to do Glastingburi: to norischi and to fede,
 And to techen him his bileue al-so: his pater noster and crede.²¹⁹

And the saint devoted himself to learning and as a faithful Christian learnt the whole knowledge which should be learnt by all the faithful. The name Glastonbury is worth noticing not only because it was repeated by the earlier authors but also it is a significant indication which tells the reader the whereabouts of the origins of the saints' cult. Moreover, the story announces the future career of the saint and differentiates the saint from ordinary folk with the sign of divine intervention. (p. 20: zat was þat, þat ore louerd crist: fram heouene þat list sende).

²¹⁸ For a similar commentary on the creation of this marvel see Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. lx. The story can be found in *Memorials*, p. 54 and it is as follows 'Ipsa autem maternis adhuc retento visceribus, de praesentato puero Jesu in templo dies illuxit celebris. Cumque mater ejus et plebs Christicola cereis et lampadibus, ut eo die moris est, in templo staret corusca, ecce cunctorum pariter luminaria nutu Dei repente exticta sunt. Attonitis autem de novitate prodigii omnibus, miraculum accessit miraculo. Ut enim Dominus revelaret quid per hoc signum indicii daret, solam duntaxat matrem ejus per ignem respexit, per quem cereus quem manu tenebat priori subito luce incanduit.' This story is also found in the works of Osbern, Eadmer, and in William of Malmesbury.

²¹⁹ Horstmann, *The Early South English Legendary or Lives of Saints*, p. 20.

The story continues in a similar manner to that of B. and constructs the relations of the saint with certain individuals who were influential in the life of the saint and in the administrative structure of tenth-century politics:

Do he coupe mannes wit: to his vnclē he gan go,
þe Erchebischoþ of caunterburi: Aldelm þat was þo.
With him he maude ioye i-nov3: and eure þe leng þe more,
þo he i-sei of his guodnesse: and of his wise lore.
For gret deinte þat he hadde of him: he dude him sone bringue
To þe prince of Engeland: Aþelston þe kyngue.²²⁰

Without doubt, the legend of the saint went far beyond what B. and the others had in their minds concerning the life of the saint. The author of the SEL referred to Æthelm as the uncle of the saint and this ambiguous relationship which is discussed in chapter two, has come to be one of the important features in the life of the saint even two hundred years after the first life was written. Although the genealogical relationship is ambiguous, Æthelm became the subject of the hagiographer or the compiler of the legend as an important individual in the life of Dunstan. On the other hand, this ambiguous relationship seemed to resolve in itself and became a natural part of the legend through repetition.

Before Dunstan was introduced to the court of Æthelstan by his ‘uncle’, in his childhood he had other miracles told by his biographers which are skipped in the legendary such as the visions he had of the monastic buildings of Glastonbury long before they were built by the saint himself,²²¹ or how he was rescued through divine intervention while he was delirious with fever, and how he was brought down,

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²²¹ *Memorials*, p. 7, ‘...viditque mentis excessu quondam senem niveo candore vestitum per amoena se sacri temple atria ducentem, ac monastica aedificia, quae post per ejus pastoratum aedificanda fuerant, demonstrantem eo ordine quo nunc statute referuntur fuisse.’

without being hurt, from the roof of the church.²²² This also indicates that the legendaries were the abbreviated forms of the earlier Lives and by giving one miraculous story the compiler possibly did not need other stories to insert in for the proof of the sanctity of the saint.

The legendary continues with Dunstan's appointment to Glastonbury by Eadmund and how he was respected by both kings (Eadmund and Æthelstan) and how he performed as the Abbot of Glastonbury:

Sone he was Abbot of þe hous: and gret couent to him nam.
He makede þare goes seruise: studefast and stable i-nov3;
Pat couent zare-inne was : to alle guodnesse drou3.
Þis Holi Abbod seint Dunston: hadde gret power
With þe king Eadmund, þo he was king: he was is conseiller.²²³

The above verses locate our saint in a very important political status as being the counselor of the king and praise the saint as a great abbot. However, many significant events²²⁴ which occurred in Latin Lives of the saint are missing and the life of the saint is told in episodes. These episodes open with the accession of the new kings to the English throne and the ways they treated this holy man are told in chronological order with one exception.²²⁵

As discussed above, the SEL can be used as a guide for church and national history and also be a good exemplar of the glory of the faith and faithful subjects who are personified in the image of the saints. The battles were fought with devils which are represented in many ways and shapes. One of the best stories related to Dunstan is the miracle which tells us how the saint seized the devil by the nose with

²²² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

²²³ Horstmann, *The Early South English Legendary or Lives of Saints*, p. 20. The dispute in the court of Eadmund is not included because the compiler probably omitted all the political disputes remained from the earliest narrative to have an immaculate image of the saint.

²²⁴ Dunstan's expulsion from the courts of Æthelstan and Eadmund which are mentioned in the Latin Lives of the saint.

²²⁵ This is namely the reign of Eadred which is not mentioned in the legendary, most probably the compiler found his reign not worth mentioning because there was no sign of a significant event concerning the life of the saint.

a pair of tongs. The struggle with the devils is a recurring theme in the hagiographical genre and, in this story the devil is presented as a powerless creature:

He biþoʒte him ho hit was . he droʒ forþ his tonge,
Leide in þe hote fur. & spac faire longe,
Forte þe tonge was al afure . & sipþe, stille ynouʒ,
þe deuel he hente bi þe nose . & wel faste drouʒ;
He tuengde & schok hire bi þe nose . þat þe fur out-blaste;
þe deuel wrickedede her & þer . & he huld euere faste.
He ʒal & hupte & drouʒ aʒe . & makede grislich bere,
He nolde for al his bizete . þat he hadde icome þere.
Mid his tonge he snytte hire nose . & tuengde hire sore,
For hit was wiþ-inne þe nyʒte . he ne miʒte iseo nomore.
þe schrewe was glad & bliþe ynouʒ . þo he was out of his honde
He fleʒ & gradde bi þe lifte . þat me hurde in-to al þe londe:
Out! What haþ þe calewe ido . what haþ þe calewe ido!
In þe contrai me hurde wide . hou þe schrewe gradde so.
As god þe schrewe hadde ibeo . atom, ysnyt his nose,
He ne hizede no more þiderward . to hele him of þe pose.²²⁶

The legendary contains a lot more of these stories and it is a general fact that these stories constitute the folklore of the Lives of the saints. Almost the same events happen to all saints and this makes the whole pattern seem quite alike in the sense that the saints are stripped of their individuality and become exemplars of righteous and true believers of the faith, who should suffer in the way Christ did and overcome all difficulties both natural and supernatural. Dunstan's case is typical of this pattern.

²²⁶ Richard Morris and Skeat, eds, *Specimens of Early English*, pp. 21-22. This story is included in London, British Library, MS. Harley 2277, 51, but Hortmann's edition does not contain this story which is edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud, 108. The story is also contained in D'Evelyn, and Mill, eds, *The South English Legendary*, I pp. 206-07. Actually D'Evelyn and Skeat used Harleian MS. Most probably Horstmann used the earlier adaptations of the various SEL MSS. For the relationship between these texts see ch. 1, pp. 12-13. Görlach in *An East Midland Revision of the South English Legendary* investigates 'the later adaptations of the SEL, the excerpts used by Robert of Gloucester and the prose versions incorporated into some *Gilte Legende* MSS, *ibid.*, p. 7. For a further discussion on the variations of the SEL MSS see Manfred Görlach, *The Textual Tradition of the SEL* (a manuscript study, Leeds, 1975). The story of Saint Dunstan's encounter with a devil which was in the shape of a 'womman' is also discussed in J. A. W. Bennet, *Middle English Literature*, ed. by Douglas Gray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 60-68. The author discusses the significance of devil stories through the legendaries especially the ones in the lives of the Scottish Saints contained in a Northern counterpart of the SEL, which appeared at the end of the fourteenth century in Scottish dialect and octosyllabic couplets.

As our hagiographers and later narrators described how he suffered all his life, but through God's grace was elevated to sainthood despite all the obstacles. In the SEL, his years of exile are mentioned briefly and the reason, expressed by B., is not mentioned:

Bis Edwyne hadde ful vuel red: and þare-aftur he drov3.
With seint Dunston he was wroth: and with wel gret wov3
Of his Abbeie he drof him out: and dude him schame i-nov3;
þe more schame þat he him dude: þe more þe guode man lov3.
He let driue him out of Enguelonde: and let crien him fleme.
Bis guode man wende out wel glad: net ok he none zeme.
To þe Abbeie of seint Amaunt : bi-3eonde se he drou3,
And soriornede þare longue: and ladde guod lijf inov3.²²⁷

The absence of the reason may imply that the compiler did not intend to damage the image either of Eadwig or of the saint himself. However a second option may constitute a more reasonable fact that the saint was left alone and driven away from his homeland. Although he suffered, he endured and was brought back to England by Edgar and he was appointed to higher offices than he held previously.

The highlights of the saint's career fit with the earlier texts and constitute the biographical part of the hagiographical text. However the legend-writer fails to provide the moral lesson, which is necessary for the edification of the laymen. This is partly because of the compact narration, which omits some characteristics of the hagiographical texts. On the other hand, the text serves well for the panegyric character of hagiography and repetition of the saint's virtuous and good behaviours confirm to this context:

Men speken mucche of his guodnesse: wel wide feor and ner.
Ji Hit bi-fel þat þe Bischof: of wyrecestre was ded:
þe kyng and þe Erchebischof Eode²²⁸: þar-of nomen heore red
And þene holie Abbod seint Dunston: Bischof huy maden þere.²²⁹

²²⁷ Horstmann, *The Early South English Legendary or Lives of Saints*, p. 21.

²²⁸ Archbishop Oda of Canterbury (942 x 957).

²²⁹ Horstmann, *The Early South English Legendary or Lives of Saints* p. 21.

The metrical life continues with other appointments of the saint which led the way to the see of Canterbury and there is a remarkable point in the narrative when the saint held two offices at the same time, which was also clear in B. (of londone and of wyrecestre: and heold boþe to).²³⁰ Pluralism was an important matter both before and after the Norman Conquest and it was always questioned and judged by the high ecclesiastical offices. Although it was erroneous, there were examples of pluralist bishops and archbishops who held more than one office both before and after the conquest.²³¹ And in our case, it may be possible to suggest that the pluralism was still existent at the time the work was written, as in the previous centuries and the legend-writer did not hesitate to underline this stage in the life of the saint and did not consider this as an issue which would damage the image of the saint.

Consequently, the saint is appointed to the see of Canterbury and the leaders of the monastic reform are mentioned and how they worked together with the king to reform the churches of England:

Seint Athelwold was þulke tyme: Bischoþ of winchestre;
 And Oswold, þe guode man: Bischoþ of Wurecestre,
 þeos twei Bischoþes with seint Dunston: weren al at one rede,
 And Edgar þe guode king: to done þat guode dede.
 þeos þreo Bischoþes wenden a-boute: þoru3 al Enguelonde
 And euerech luþer person casten out: heom ne mi3hte non atstonde;
 Heore churchene and heore oþer guod: clanliche heom bi-nome
 And bi-setten as on guode men: þoru3 þe popes graunt of rome.
 Ey3hte an fourtie Abbeies²³²: of Monekes and of nonnes
 Of þat tresur huy a-rerden in Enguelonde: þat of persones was so i-wonne.²³³

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²³¹ Loyn, *The English Church: 940-1154*, pp. 9, 60, 65, 69, 73, 95, 117. Loyn argues the matters in question which were existent before and after the Conquest and pluralism was one of the major issues. He gives the example of Stigand who was disposed by the papal legates for holding the major sees of Canterbury and Winchester and many other offices: *ibid.*, p. 69. And Dunstan was the pre-Norman Conquest figure who held two sees at the same time.

²³² This number is not available in any of the former lives of the saint and the legend-writer may well be giving us an approximate number of the monasteries and nunneries, which were reformed and founded by the zealous reformers.

²³³ Horstmann, *The Early South English Legendary or Lives of Saints*, p. 22. From this verse onwards Horstmann stated that a leaf was torn out in the MS and only some of the words of the following lines were preserved on a fragment of the leaf and stated that he continued the legend from another MS which is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Vernon (c. 1380) which is known as 'V' text and this text is a redaction of MS Laud 108. See the references in pp. 13-14 for further discussion on this problem.

This quotation informs the reader by whom the monasteries and nunneries were founded and reformed and clearly asserts the king's involvement in ecclesiastical affairs.²³⁴ Moreover, it becomes clearer that the tenth century monastic reform was dependent on three ecclesiastics who were, with their different ecclesiastical concerns, the stimulators of the reform movement and gave shape to tenth-century monasticism and inspired many others in the later centuries.

The last part of the legend relates the last days of the saint in a very striking tone and style: the saint deserved to be elevated to heaven long before he was dead and his parents were also in heaven. Dunstan saw the visions of his mother and father because the Lord gave so much grace to the saint:

Vr lord 3af seint Dunston: on eorþe so feir grace
 þat on a tyme, as he was: in a priue Place,
 His ffader and his Modur ek: in þe Ioye of heuene an-heih,
 Aftur þat heo weoren dede: wel aperteliche he hem seih.
 Gret loue vr lord him kudde: whom he him schewede þere
 So mucche of his priuyte: ne while he alyue were!²³⁵

The saint then in his rest hears the angels singing, which is also a recurring hagiographical feature. The saints are always acquainted with the heavenly spirits either assisting, warning, revealing, or singing to the beloved ones of the Lord. With the help of the angels the saints defeat the Devil. This somehow created in the minds of both the authors and their readers the idea that the saints have heavenly messengers or assistants:

As he lay a nonur time: in his reste a niht,
 He sayh þe Ioye of heuene: and þe place þer-inne wel briht;

²³⁴ Horstmann, *The Early South English Legendary or Lives of Saints*, p. 21. The legend writer emphasized that the king was a devout Christian and was well acquainted with the religious affairs: 'Swyþe guod man he bi-came: and louede wel holi churche.'

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22. The symbolism of the visions in all types of legendary and the significance of the visions within hagiographical texts is discussed in a detailed way in Schofield, *English Literature: From the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1906), pp. 397-403.

Aungels he herde syngen also: a Murie song þer-inne,
 þat me singeþ in holy Chirche: whon me þe Masse bi-ginne:
 Kyrie leyson xpe leyson: was þat Murie song
 þe holi Mon þat þis I-herde: hit ne þouhte him no-þing long.²³⁶

Then another miracle story follows which tells that his harp plays an anthem by itself.²³⁷ Dunstan was famous with his harp and tongue from the beginnings of his cult and he was remembered as an artist and craftsmen,²³⁸ and the legend writer should have been well aware of saint's acquaintance with these items both by means of old narratives and oral stories told about the saint. The latter should not be ignored in the sense that the legend-writer may well have used these stories to enrich the cult and justify the sanctity of the saint. Apart from these, Dunstan had important literary labours. Besides this, he cared for the poor, for everyone who was in need of help. Moreover he fought to break up false marriages, he taught his knowledge to others, and dedicated churches and altars.²³⁹

Harpe he louede swiþe wel: for of harpe lie coupe i-nouh.
 A day in his solas: and a lay þer-on he drouh.
 þe harpe he heng up bi þe wouh: þo hit was tyme to ete;
 þo hit was redi þer-to ibrouht: he sat down to his mete.
 Of heuene he gon þenche sone: of iote þat was þer,
 Of þe Ioyful blisse þat þer was: among halewen þat þer were.
 He sat as þei3 he weore i-nome: so mucche þer-on he þouhte.
 His harpe, þat heng so bi þe wouh: of whom he luyte Rouhte,
 Heo gan to kuiþe his holi þouht: ded treo þei3 hit were,
 Also it ovr lordus wille was-: hire herden alle þat weoren þere.
 Al bi hire-self heo gon harpen: a Murie Antempne iwis.²⁴⁰

²³⁶ Horstmann, *The Early South English Legendary or Lives of Saints*, p. 23.

²³⁷ This miracle story is not found in any of the previous lives of the saint but there is a similar story in the narrative of B. that lady Æthelwynn asks Dunstan to design a stole and while he was working for it Dunstan's harp plays an anthem by itself; Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 21: 'Tunc quipped quadam die post prandium, dum ad iterate opera tam ipse quam praedicta matrona cum suis operatricibus reverenterentur, ex eventu mirabilis contigit ut haec eadem beati tyronis cithara, pendens in cubilis pariete, audentibus cunctis, sponte sua sine tactu cujusquam jubilationis modulum alta voce personaret.'

²³⁸ Mildred Budny, 'St Dunstan's Classbook and its Frontpiece: Dunstan's portrait and Autograph', in Tim Tatton Brown, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks, eds, *St Dunstan His Life, Times and Cult*, pp.103-42. She gives detailed information about the book and the hand of the saint himself in its front piece and how the saint was portrayed as author, corrector, artist and craftsman.

²³⁹ Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 49-50 (ch. 37). These attributes and other specialties included in B. and others also attributed many virtues and pious acts to the saint.

²⁴⁰ Horstman, *The Early South English Legendary or Lives of Saints*, p. 23.

After all, miracle stories, which should not be treated merely as errors and inconsistencies but rather should be treated as the essential part of the hagiography that has become the manifestation of sainthood. The legend-writer finishes the narrative telling of the death of the saint but obviously, the SEL writer lacks the colorful style of the earlier authors who vividly picture the miracle stories which occurred just before the saint was dead but it is not fair to judge the legend-writer from this point of view due to the intrinsic character of the narrative.

He lette clepe þe Saturday þe ffreres bi-foren him alle
And bad hem alle haue god day: and seide what him sholde bi-falle;
And wende out of þis world: and to heuene wel sone com.
Now, swete lord seint Dunston: þat vre Erchebischoþ were,
Bring vs to þe Ioye of heuene as Angles þi soule bere. Amen.²⁴¹

The SEL versions of the lives of saints and martyrs were most probably the product of a co-operative work by clergy out of necessity. Saints were often appealed to for aid in times of emergencies of daily life since they set the ideal examples of the acts and attitudes of the faithful. 'Their example actuated men and women to lives of austerity and renunciation, to noble self-sacrifice and heroic courage in the performance of duty, at home and abroad, 'for Christ and the Church'.²⁴² Moreover the legends revitalized the heroic past of a nation, harvested through religious perceptions. The continuation of the cult was dependent upon the fact that the miracle stories and the brief biographical sketches of the saint had to be repeated. This repetition popularised the life of the saint by means of the mother tongue or made it easier to be read and understood by the laity.

The basic difference between the SEL version and the previous Lives of the saint in Latin is that many parts of the life of the saint are omitted; notably some long

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁴² Schofield, *English Literature: From the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 397.

theological passages and the parts that contained insignificant information and events concerned with the life of the saint. The changes in the text are few and the omissions are encumbered. The events are mostly in right chronological orders, which are satisfactory for the average reader to learn about the life of the saint. The historical progression of the life of St Dunstan is almost the same as in the former Lives.

The political events of the tenth century that are closely related with Dunstan are often omitted and since the writer of the legendary would not want to associate the saint with political disputes which would disturb the minds of the readers about the image of the saint. In this sense, SEL version of Dunstan's life may be treated as a religious romance containing some basic data from the tenth century including the names of the kings and high ecclesiastics. Also there are some place names where these ecclesiastics served for the country.

In fact, the development of SEL meant that the process of sanctification was still in progress but this time the profile of the audience was wider than it was before. On the other hand, the aims of the hagiographical text are still existent in the SEL varying in degrees. It can be suggested that from such a short narrative it is almost impossible to derive some ideas about the political circumstances of the times when the work was written and about the mind of the author whereas through a orthographical and linguistic study the text itself may give some clues about the times it belonged to.

Obviously, B.'s narrative and its impact on the creation of the saint's cult and legend are apparent but the figure of Dunstan within the *legendary* is more peaceful and unsophisticated. In this sense, the *legendary* served well for its basic purpose: that is to inform and edify the laity. Secondly, it did not clash with the former Latin

narratives, which emphasized his role as a teacher, an important religious person, and a reformer.

Chapter 5:

Conclusion

The obscurity and the turbulence created in the ninth century by the Vikings were declining when Dunstan appeared in the history of England. The religious flowering, which was enlivened in the times of Alfred the Great, cultivated the roots of a strong religious literary tradition in tenth century England. This atmosphere reached its culmination at the end of the tenth century just after the death of the saint (988). The extant information concerning the life of the saint is primarily dependent on the products of revival in religion and literature of the tenth century and they are categorized and explored as hagiography.

The dissertation began with the explanation of hagiography as a distinct literary genre, which may also serve as a historical source. However, while treating hagiographical documents as historical sources, it was argued that the political, religious, and even personal concerns of the hagiographers must be investigated closely since there is a strong possibility that the authors may easily and in many cases consciously distort the historical facts and blur our vision of the past. These peculiarities generate a more intensive study of these texts and their authors in order to reach to a better view of the periods in which they were engaged. In the case of Dunstan, since his biographers wrote his Lives in different periods, the objective of the dissertation emerged clearly: that is to trace congruency, changes and/or continuities in the cult of the saint within the selected documents. As far as these documents proved, it is possible to argue that there is a continuity of content and form in these Lives of Dunstan and change in the emphasis which reflects the concerns of the individual authors in writing the life of the saint.

In the second part of the first chapter, the tenth-century monastic reform and the role of Dunstan in this movement was discussed. Three assumptions emerged from this discussion through the observation of the primary sources: Firstly, the ninth-century circumstances, the reform movements on the continent and achievements of Alfred the Great arguably shaped the reform movement in England; secondly the first hagiographer namely anonymous B. lacked information concerning the political and ecclesiastical role of Dunstan in this movement; thirdly and lastly, other sources helped us to identify the stimulators of the movement that the monastic reform was a cooperative work of Dunstan, Æthelwold, Oswald, and chiefly king Edgar. On the other hand, it is supposedly possible to assert that Dunstan's role was crucial in the sense that his influence as a teacher on Æthelwold and Oswald and, as counsellor on Edgar, led us to ascribe him a key role within the movement.

The second chapter of the thesis attempted to analyse the first life of the saint written by anonymous B. closely. As the evidence arguably proved, his *Vita Sancti Dunstani* was a self-manifestation of the author, which was intended to prove his close acquaintance with the saint. This was both a tribute to the cult of the saint and a necessary means to provide the author a secure place under a monastic house.

Throughout the course of the events, the recurring theme was the close association of the saint with the royal house, which sometimes resulted in agony and suffering for the saint. Soon afterwards, as the genre required, divine justice punished those who caused these troubles. His royal connections were provided by means of the saint's relatives who held important offices in the ecclesiastical sphere. Nevertheless, these connections of the saint remain ambiguous since there is no concrete evidence to establish such relationships. However, it is possible to argue

that the saint should have had some associations with the royal house and high ecclesiastics to have such a triumphant career.

Consequently, B. emphasized the saint's role as a teacher who devoted himself to learning, arts, music, and literature. The years which Dunstan spent in Glastonbury during his childhood and his abbacy, strengthened this role of Dunstan since Glastonbury was one of the earliest English centres of learning. On the other hand, B., most probably, did not accompany the saint in his years in Canterbury because he paid no attention in his *vita* to monastic reform and to the involvement of Dunstan in this religious revival.

Finally, B. described Dunstan as a complicated hero who suffered but endured despite many obstacles, who led an ascetic life even at the court of the king. Despite his physical illnesses, his strong personality and bravery brought him into trouble with the king. His interest in arts and music was respected in the abbey and envied even by his relatives at the court. Evidently, the narrative of B. triggered the creation of the cult of saint Dunstan and paved the way for cultic reproduction.

The objective of the third chapter was to determine and investigate the hints of changes and/or continuities through the work of William of Malmesbury whose works are mostly praised for being historically accurate. However, his text should also be treated as a hagiographical document since hagiographers' aims change for a variety of reasons. William wrote his *Life of Dunstan* to correct the mistakes of Osbern and to praise the saint's struggle for monasticism and care for monasteries. Moreover he felt the need to emphasize the saint's relationship with monasteries such as Glastonbury and Malmesbury in order to justify his main interest in writing the *Life of Dunstan*. Despite the new miracles added after Osbern, together with Eadmer and William, it may be suggested that the narrative of anonymous B. still formed the majority of the

sketch of the life of Dunstan. On the other hand, these new Lives of the saint contributed greatly to the popularity of the saint in the later Middle Ages. As a result, I propose that continuity and consistency is supposedly supplied by the changes of degree of emphasis in these texts written before and after the Conquest.

The fourth chapter of the dissertation focused on the versions of Dunstan's life included in the South English Legendary. The comparison between the two versions suggested that the author later version felt a need to include the parentage of Dunstan and his most common miracle story for both popularity and benefit of Dunstan's cult. It is also possible to assert that the SEL version of the saint's life is refined from the complexities of Latin Lives and became more didactic. Obviously, the author did not need to apply his rhetorical skills in this version to conform to the general mood of the Legendary. This probably enabled the Legendary to become more popular within the society. Despite the additional miracles inserted from Adelard and Osbern, the traces of the B.'s narrative is still existent in Legendary different versions which are cleansed of the political disputes narrated by B.

Finally, through the Latin and vernacular Lives of Saint Dunstan, it is likely that the hagiographers emphasized what they regarded as necessary for the time being; sometimes praised the saint for personal manners, sometimes for the ecclesiastical needs, and lastly for the laity. Despite these different concerns of the authors and the progress of time, Dunstan has become an ideal at which all the hagiographers predominantly aimed in their works.

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