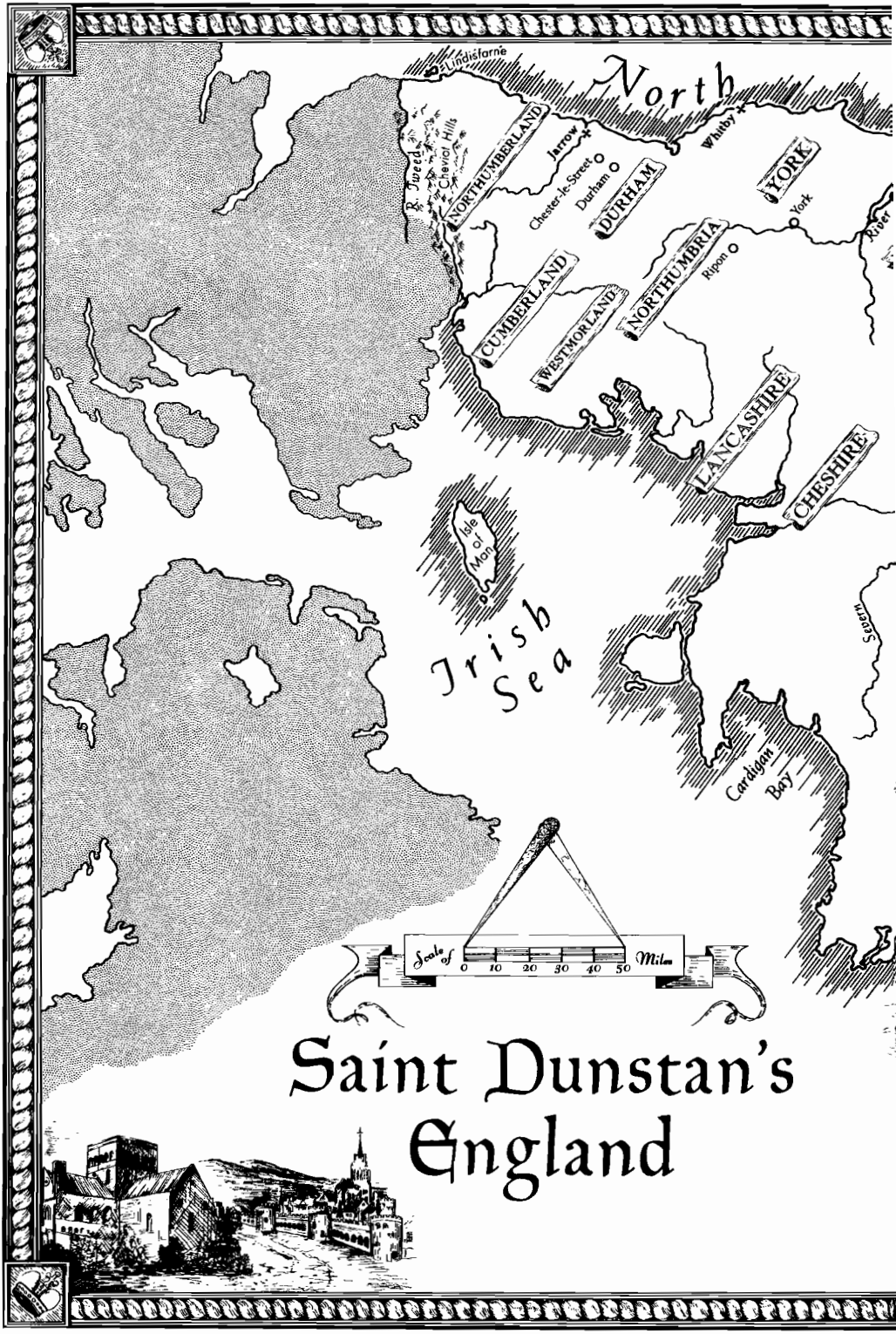
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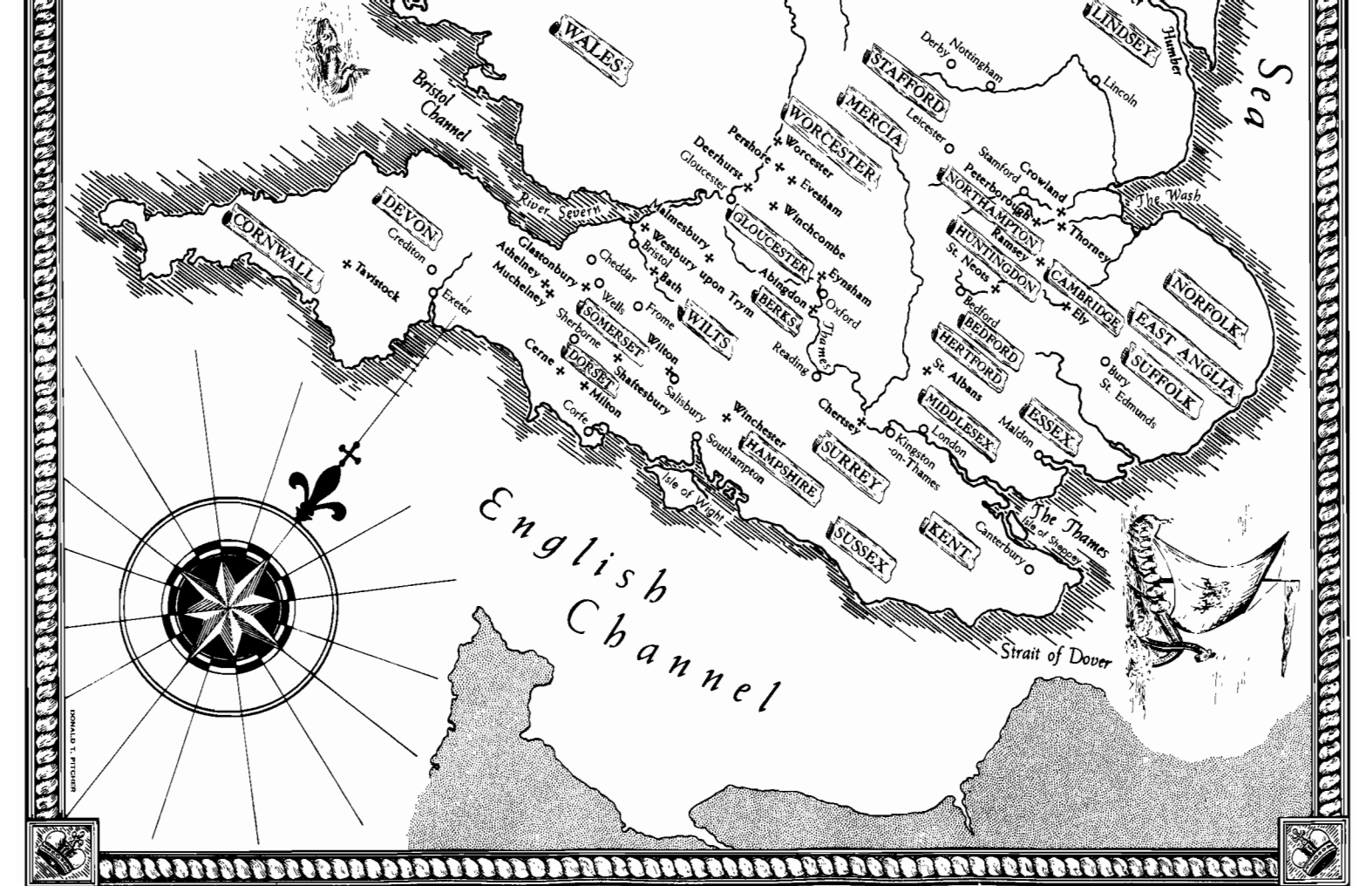
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Bury St. Edmunds
ESSEX
Maldon
The Thames
Isle of Sheppey
Canterbury
KENT
SUSSEX
English Channel
Strait of Dover
DONALD T. PITCHER

Saint Dunstan
OF CANTERBURY

By Eleanor Shipley Duckett

THE GATEWAY TO THE MIDDLE AGES

ANGLO-SAXON SAINTS AND SCHOLARS

ALCUIN, FRIEND OF CHARLEMAGNE

SAINT DUNSTAN OF CANTERBURY

Saint Dunstan

OF

CANTERBURY

A STUDY
OF MONASTIC REFORM IN
THE TENTH CENTURY

by

ELEANOR SHIPLEY DUCKETT

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TO

BRUCE DICKINS

Contents

Foreword

THIS BOOK is offered both to college students and to general readers. It has two aims. First, it attempts to describe the life and work of Saint Dunstan, in connection with his colleagues and against the background of his world, for the many people who are interested in the churches and the societies which bear his name. Secondly, it tries to give a general picture of monastic reform in the tenth century, not only in England, where Saint Dunstan led this movement, but on the Continent, since all monastic reform of this time, however individual in origin, rose from a common motive, was linked in many places and points by intercourse and influence, and presents a most fruitful subject for comparison and contrast.

The details of this picture, concerning men and their movements, rest here upon the primary sources left to us, in Latin and in Old English. At the same time, its author must gratefully rejoice, *felix opportunitate scribendi*, in the light that in recent years has been thrown upon the various paths of this dark century: upon its monastic history, in England, by Dom David Knowles, by Dom Thomas Symons; on the Continent, by Dom Ursmer Berlière, by Dom Philibert Schmitz, by Dom Kassius Hallinger, by E. de

Moreau, S. J., by Philip Grierson, by Emile Amann, and Auguste Dumas: upon its character, political, social, and literary, in England, by Sir Frank Stenton, by Dorothy Whitelock, by D. J. V. Fisher, by F. E. Harmer; on the Continent, by Ph. Lauer, by Ch. Pfister, by R. Parisot, by Gustav Glotz: upon its art, by A. W. Clapham, by D. Talbot Rice, and by Francis Wormald. Among the names of earlier days, no student of Dunstan can progress without constant reading of the books of Bishop Stubbs, and of the former Dean of Wells, J. Armitage Robinson; no reader of mediaeval monastic history of the Continent can omit to acknowledge his debt to Sackur and to Hauck. Space is lacking in which to print the multitude of names that might well find place here. Those that come most readily to mind will be recognized in the footnotes and in the necessarily brief list given on the last pages of this book.

Once again most gladly I give thanks to those who have directly aided me in my work: to Storer B. Lunt, President of the house of W. W. Norton and Company, and to his generous and friendly Staff; to the scholars and experts of both countries of my home. In America, to Mary Ellen Chase, to Edna R. Williams, to Sidney R. Packard; to the Librarian and Library Staff of Smith College, of the Forbes Library in Northampton, of the Widener Library at Harvard, and the Sterling Library at Yale. In England, in the University of Cambridge, to Nora Kershaw Chadwick, for her aid in matters of Anglo-Saxon history and literature, to Philip Grierson, for his authority in the mediaeval history of the Netherlands, to Arthur Tillotson, Secretary of the Cambridge University Library, and to Harold Pink, of its Department of Western Manuscripts; in the University of Oxford, to Dorothy Whitelock, for her direction in problems of this tenth century; in the University of Durham, to

Bertram Colgrave, for his knowledge of the mediaeval *Lives* of Saints.

For my book and its statements and theories I alone am responsible; its errors are mine. I have been bold, however, to inscribe on its page of dedication the name of the Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in my own University of Cambridge, moved thereto by a lively sense of gratitude for that lightening of darkness which he so often has given me in the company of so many other students beset by problems of books, Latin and Anglo-Saxon, ancient, mediaeval, and modern.

E. S. D.

Northampton, Massachusetts

Saint Dunstan
OF CANTERBURY

1

The Ninth Century

SAINT DUNSTAN was born in Wessex about the year 909.[1] If his work for monastic reform, if the work of his contemporaries in England and on the Continent is to stand out, clearly and logically understood, it is necessary to trace briefly the events, the movements, which gave to these labours their first impulse and their continued necessity.

For behind Dunstan and his work lay a century of invasion, ravaging, and conquest by the Vikings from northern Europe. From Norway to his own West Saxon shore raiders had first come to draw blood in the days of Beorhtric, who ruled Wessex from 786 to 802; in 793 northern England had been struck by Norwegian descent on Lindisfarne, in the following year on Jarrow, monasteries hallowed by the memory of Cuthbert, of Benedict Biscop, and of Bede. Forty years later, in 835, the Danes, grown to great strength under their King Horik, turned from worrying the coast of Frisia to land on the isle of Sheppey off the shore of Kent. From this time onward, year after year saw Danish raids, aided by

[1] Leslie A. St. L. Toke, *Bosworth Psalter*, ed. Gasquet and Bishop, 1908, 133ff.; Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, IV, 1918, 34ff. (Reference in these notes, unless otherwise indicated, is made to pages; abbreviations are explained on pp. 231f., below.)

Celtic men who willingly rose against their Saxon lords. Egbert, King of Wessex, fought the pirates in Somerset and in Cornwall; the men of Hampshire and of Dorset marched against them, but in vain. By 841 devastation and slaughter had reached Lincolnshire, East Anglia, and Kent; a year later London and Rochester met their force.

These were scattered swoopings. In the mid-ninth century, in 850, the Danes stayed to encamp, and spent the winter on the isle of Thanet. Soon hundreds of Danish ships sailed to the Thames; from them Danish men fell upon London and Canterbury, bringing panic and rout to Beorhtwulf, King of the Mercians, and his army. Once again a King of Wessex, Æthelwulf, came out against them and for a while held them at bay; yet in the time of Æthelberht, his son and successor, Danish pirates laid Winchester in ruins. About five years later, in 865, the men of Kent were glad to promise money in exchange for peace, but their promise availed them nothing. In 865–66 a vast and permanent army began its work of conquest of England. Sons of the great Viking, Ragnar Lodbrok, brought their host to winter among the East Angles; from thence they marched north to occupy York on the first of November, 866, and to dwell there until spring, when the English rallied in multitude to the attack and broke into the city. The attack failed. It cost them immense slaughter of their men, the lives of two English kings, and ended only in a necessary peace.

South of Northumbria there was no peace. From York this Danish army passed to Mercia, and we find the Mercian King and his counsellors begging Æthelred, ruler of Wessex, and Alfred, his brother, to come speedily to their aid. From York, too, the sons of Ragnar overran East Anglia and in the winter of 869 killed treacherously its king, held in future ages as Saint Edmund the Martyr. But bravely the two princes of

Wessex resisted, now in their own land, at Reading and at Ashdown in Berkshire. In this same year of 871 King Æthelred died, and Alfred came to the West Saxon throne.

The seven years now opening saw the height of the struggle. In 871 alone nine battles were fought by Alfred's men. From their control of Northumbria, plundered far and wide, the Danes again came southward, to subdue much of Mercia and to set up there a king of their own naming. By 878 Yorkshire was occupied by Danish farmers, Danish Mercia had come into being, East Anglia was held by Danes, and the hope of England depended on Alfred, holding out desperately in Wessex against the Danish chieftain Guthrum. Already many of the West Saxons had yielded or had fled by sea from evil too great to face.

But from his strong refuge in the marshes of Athelney, near Taunton, Alfred constantly raided the invaders; from there he marched to lead the men of Somerset, Wilts, and Hampshire against the Danes in Wiltshire, to bring them by heroic endurance to treaty of peace, and their King, Guthrum, to Christian baptism at Aller, a victory honoured by high feasting there and at Wedmore on the moorlands of Somerset. At last the worst was over, and the Vikings who still longed for active war departed in quest of fresh booty across the Channel to Flemish and French shores.[2]

Danish settlers still remained, however, possessors of the soil in the eastern Midlands, in the Northeast, and in East Anglia, those regions of England which were known later as the Danelaw. All English people outside these regions looked to Alfred of Wessex as their head, their hope for liberty, independence, and decent living; and, as all know, Alfred's re-

[2] For Alfred see Asser, ed. W. H. Stevenson, 1904; Stenton (*Anglo-Saxon England*, 1947); R. H. Hodgkin; Charles Plummer, *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, 1902.

sponse was worthy of their hope. London in 886 was his own, entrusted by him for rule and safekeeping, in that western middle England which we call English Mercia, to an ealdorman named Æthelred, who eventually became the King's son-in-law by marriage with his eldest daughter, Æthelflæd.

To these realms of his, Wessex and English Mercia, Alfred turned all his thought and power of action. First, for defence. Fortresses were carefully placed at strategic points; some kind of fleet was gradually assembled. But never while Alfred lived was his English land at rest from attack by those same Danish enemies, striking in raids from the Continent, more grievously in frequent assault of the settlers inside, on the north and the east and in the middle region.

When once, however, Danish conquest was no longer threatening his own Wessex and Mercia, Alfred was free to take measures for their inner welfare. He faced a scene of ruin, decay, ignorance, lack of discipline and order, in matters intellectual, moral, and religious. Two reasons lay behind this: externally, the havoc worked by the Northmen, in destruction of buildings, in slaughter of priests, monks, teachers, and other men of learning; internally, a lapse in Church discipline, due largely to these same causes, but in some measure also to the constant tendency of human nature to relax from its appointed rigour of standard. About 894 Alfred was lamenting to his bishops of Wessex and English Mercia that when he attained the kingship "there were very few on this (south) side of the Humber who could understand their (Latin) service-books in English, or even translate a message from Latin into English; not many, I think, beyond the Humber. So few there were that I cannot call to mind even one person south of the Thames when I came to the throne. . . . When I thought on this, I thought also of what I once had seen, the churches throughout all England standing full of

treasures and books, before all was ravaged and burned down." [3]

Doubtless in his depression Alfred made his picture too dark, especially in regard to Mercia. Yet early in the eighth century the Venerable Bede had counselled Egbert, bishop of York, to provide translations of the Creed and the Paternoster for those who knew no Latin, and among them clergy and monks, declaring that he himself had done the same for many unlearned priests.[4]

Not only ignorance, but disruption of Church life had followed close upon the sacrilege of the Northmen. Much of England was now possessed by Danes who must gradually be won to the Faith. In Christian England the see of Danish York suffered much by distance from that of English Canterbury; there was no bishop at Hexham after 821; the bishop of Lindisfarne and his younger clergy wandered in exile with the relics of their Saint Cuthbert for seven years, until in 883 they found rest at Chester-le-Street. In Danish Mercia the see of Lindsey disappeared; the bishop of Leicester fled and his successor held his seat at Dorchester in Oxfordshire; in East Anglia the line of bishops at Dunwich was lost in permanence, at Elmham for a long season. Those bishops who did hold fast their cathedrals were largely called from their proper duties to function in the field of battle, to give of their capacity in secular council and administration, to organize the defence and succour of their people.

Far more did the constant warring cast havoc into the monastic life of England of this ninth century. It is true that the later tradition of Abbo of Fleury in his Life of Saint Edmund, the narrative of Symeon of Durham, of Roger of

[3] Preface to his A.-S. trans. of Gregory, *Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet, *EETS*, 2ff.; Francis P. Magoun, Jr., *Medieval Studies*, Toronto, X, 1948, 93ff.

[4] Plummer, ed. Bede, I, 409.

Wendover, telling of wholesale destruction and massacre, should be read with caution.[5] In regard to the monasteries of eastern England, among others: "The post-Conquest historians here fill in the scanty record of the contemporary Chronicle by painting the horrors endured at this time by these monasteries of the Fen country. They describe, for instance, how at Medeshamsted (afterwards Peterborough) the heathen came and burnt and broke everything, slaying the abbot and the monks, and all that they found in the place; 'and that which was formerly full rich they reduced to nothing.' Bardeney, Crowland, Ely, all had their later traditions of destruction and martyrdom. But all that can be recorded as authentic history is the great silence which now descends on this region. The Danes sweep across eastern Mercia and the district of the Fens; and for two generations Christianity in these parts seems to be withered and lifeless." [6]

Nevertheless, strict monastic observance needed in any case new vivifying and tightening from time to time. Anglo-Saxon monks had themselves been conscious of this. In the seventh century Aldhelm had hurled scorn upon monks and nuns who decked themselves in unseemly finery; Bede had warned his friend Egbert of heathen living among English people; Boniface had reproached an Archbishop of Canterbury for the vices and waywardness of English bishops and religious; Alcuin, who, it is true, remembered his friends in order to admonish them, yet doubtless not without cause wrote his fears to the English monks he loved so well.

Now, in this time of Alfred, we read of letters of Pope John the Eighth to Æthelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, exhorting him to keep the marriage-laws of the Church in

[5] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, I, *RS*, XCVI, 9f.; Sym. Dun. I, *RS*, LXXV, 51f.; Rog. Wend. *Flores Hist.* I, Eng. Hist. Soc. 302f.

[6] R. H. Hodgkin, II, 531.

force;[7] to Burgred, King of Mercia, brother-in-law of Alfred, declaring that solemnly dedicated women were marrying, and within the forbidden degrees of kinship.[8] Fulk, Archbishop of Reims, wrote to King Alfred and to Plegmund, who held the see of Canterbury from 890 to 923, concerning rumours that English bishops and their clergy were wantoning with women and that perverse preachers were upholding the same;[9] Formosus, Pope from 891 to 896, is said to have rebuked the bishops of England for "keeping silence, like dogs unable to bark," while unmentionable heathen rites flourished around them.[10]

But the words of Asser, bishop of Sherborne in Dorset and biographer of Alfred, tell us to what pass the religious calling had come when Alfred set to work in England: "Now," he wrote, "for many years past the desire for monastic life has utterly been lost to all this people, and also to many other peoples. Many monasteries, it is true, still remain standing. Yet no one keeps in due order the Rule of monastic life, and I know not why. Perhaps the cause lies in these raidings by men of foreign race, who very often make assault by land and by sea, perhaps in the superabundance of wealth of every kind in England."[11]

Another reason may also be recalled: the increase and spread of the canonical life for clergy formulated by Saint Chrodegang of Metz in the eighth century. This had encouraged many priests and deacons to live together under rule, yet unbound by Benedictine vow, free to possess property and, if they desired, to live apart from their brethren in separate houses. Community life, not of monks but of clergy, as

[7] J. W. Nos. 2995, 3125; *PL*, CXXVI, coll. 745f.
[8] J. W. No. 2993; *PL*, LXXX, coll. 607f.
[9] Flodoard, *Hist. Rem. Eccl.* IV, ch. 5; *SS*, XIII, 566, 568.
[10] J. W. No. 3506; Birch, No. 573.
[11] Ed. Stevenson, 80f.

Theodore of Tarsus knew it at Christ Church, Canterbury, and Alcuin at York, had now been generally accepted in place of that Benedictine monasticism, of Jarrow and Ripon and Malmesbury and countless other abbeys, which men like Bede and Wilfrid and Aldhelm had followed in early eighth-century England.

Much has been written of Alfred's making of laws for England, of his zeal, first for his own educating, and then for that of his people, especially the young; of his desire that all who could should learn Latin and read the Fathers in the original, but that translations also should be generally available for the unlearned; of his own making of translations and of his entrusting this same work to other hands; of his calling scholars to his aid, among them Werferth, appointed bishop of Worcester, Plegmund, raised to be Archbishop of Canterbury, both from Mercia, and Asser, who came from St. Davids in Wales. On the other hand, his sincere desire for the restoration of regular monastic life in England led in his own experience to relatively little. The fullness of time had not yet come.

In the marshes of Athelney from which he had crept forth to conquer he built a new monastery as mark of his thanksgiving. Doubtless he hoped that its utter solitude would foster meditation. It covered but two acres of land, surrounded by fen, swamp, and pools of water through which no man could pass except by boat and one single bridge. Its building —we are not sure whether it was of stone or of timber— radiated from a rounded centre with four supporting pillars, driven deep into the earth; from them rose four rounded arches, framing screened recesses, probably used as shrines or chapels. The workmanship was unusual in England, of beautiful design, seemingly borrowed from Eastern and Carolingian sources. But Englishmen would not dwell on this island

in the marsh, and Alfred had to bring monks from France, with child oblates who might be inured to this discipline from their early years. At its head he placed as abbot one of the Old Saxon race of the Continent, named John. John's strict ruling put the last touch to the miseries of his desolate community. Two of his Gallic monks bribed assassins to murder him as he prayed in the church at dead of night, and he barely escaped with his life.[12]

For women Alfred also made a monastic home, on the cliff at Shaftesbury. Here his daughter Æthelgifu was abbess, and the nunnery was well known for many years.[13] A third foundation, of infinitely greater importance, was for him but a thought: [14] of a New Minster at Winchester, to adorn this, his royal city, and to be the centre of his work for the Church in the west country. In Winchester there already stood its Cathedral; tradition was to hold it as built by King Cenwalh of Wessex in the middle of the seventh century and hallowed in the name of Saint Peter.[15] There, in his little "clergy-house" was now living Grimbald, once monk of Saint Bertin's Abbey at Saint-Omer in Flanders, whom Fulk of Reims at the King's wish had sent to Alfred, declaring his fervent hope that "ecclesiastical rule, now sorely impaired in England, as you say, whether by heathen invasion or by lapse of time or by negligence of bishops or by ignorance of men, may soon be mended and furthered." [16]

In 899 Alfred died, and was buried in his old Cathedral of Winchester, where, so legend declared, his wandering ghost

[12] Will. Malm. *Gest. Pont. RS*, LII, 199; Clapham, *Eng. Rom. Arch. before the Conquest*, 147f.; Asser, chs. 92, 95ff.; T. Hugo, *PSAS*, 1897, ii, 94ff.

[13] Asser, ch. 98.

[14] *Liber Vitae, New Minster*, ed. Birch, 215.

[15] *A.-S. C.* (F), *ann.* 648.

[16] *Liber de Hyda, RS*, XLV, 31ff.; Birch, No. 556. For Grimbald see P. Grierson, *EHR*, 1940.

disturbed the clergy at their nightly prayers. More seriously, the encouragement of Grimbald aided Edward the Elder, Alfred's son and successor, in the first years of the tenth century to raise a New Minster near the Old one. Here Alfred's relics were finally laid, and the group of buildings at Winchester was completed when his widow, Queen Ealhswith, founded the Nunnaminster, a house for religious women.[17]

Yet religious life in England was now secular, led by clerks who followed a round in common that lacked both monastic discipline and depth. Grimbald himself had been trained in no strict school at Saint-Bertin.[18] Alfred knew little of the letter of Benedictine living; he not only presented to Grimbald as a Christmas gift the two "minsters, filled full of all good things," of Congresbury and Banwell, "with all that they contained," but readily distributed of his substance to many cloisters, which we may safely believe were distinctly relaxed in rule, throughout Wessex and Mercia.[19]

We cross the Channel to the Continent of this ninth century. Here monastic life had run at the last into its own eclipse. Charles the Great, it is true, had worked hard to ensure a faithful text of the Benedictine *Rule* in the monasteries throughout his realms; [20] he had passed in repeated Councils enactments for its observance,[21] had in fact recognized no other *Rule* for monks.[22] He had officially supported the

[17] *Liber de Hyda*, 83.
[18] Guérard, ed. *Cart. de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, 1840, xxxviiff., 74ff.
[19] Asser, ch. 81. For a full discussion of life in English religious houses before the reform under Dunstan see Dom David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 1949, 31ff., 695f.
[20] Albers, III, 51ff.
[21] *Cap. reg. Fr.* I, 105, 107ff.
[22] *Ibid.* 162.

Frankish Church in the endeavour to drive out vice, disorder, luxury, ignorance, and lack of discipline from Frankish abbeys.[23]

But many factors made here, too, for laxity. Charles himself, devout churchman as he was, had little natural sympathy with the strictly ascetic life, and was highly tolerant of the many houses of canons throughout his lands. The new monasteries which he built were viewed by him as means of converting heathen enemies to Christian and loyal subjects of his throne. Under him laymen ruled abbeys, bishops held abbeys in rule together with their sees, abbeys in number were granted to one man, were neglected for long seasons while their superiors, lay or priest, were far away, busy with secular matters, even on military service. Frequently a rich cloister, or cloisters, with herds and flocks, vineyards and fields of grain, fell in fief as reward or as bait to some useful servant of the Court, who found his abbey's great hall and wide park convenient for the entertaining of his many guests.[24] Moreover, in one of five Councils held for reform in matters of the Church during 813, the Frankish bishops gathered at Tours rebuked abbots for living "rather as canons than as monks." [25]

The quarrels of the descendants of Charles after his death in 814, during the rule of his heir, Louis the Pious, who followed him as Emperor until 840, the hideous slaughter of the field of Fontenoy, where the sons of Louis fought one another in 841, the dividing of the Empire between them by the Treaty of Verdun in 843, all cast their tragedy upon spiritual life in Frankland. "The crown of our Empire is fallen,"

[23] K. Stosiek, *Das Verhältnis Karls des Gr. zur Klosterordnung*, 1909.
[24] K. Voigt, *Die karol. Klosterpolitik*, 1917, 55ff.; Hauck, II, 578; H. Fichtenau, *Das karol. Imperium*, 1949, 196ff.
[25] *MGH, Conc.* II, 290.

wrote Florus of Lyon, "trodden under foot by all; for King now have we kinglet, our kingdom split in three." [26]

Each faction strove to attract and to hold men of promise, whether priest, monk, or lay. "Many, and oh! the shame of it," mourned Raban Maur to Bishop Haymo, "many men are found now, ordained to office in the Church, who forsake their duty of preaching and spiritual living for the ambition of secular business. Often they are present at worldly conferences, presiding as judges and arbiters of conflicts. Surely it is a bishop's work to teach the word of God for the cure of souls entrusted to him, rather than to discuss and define civil points, to spend his time on the disputes of greedy and covetous squabblers." [27]

Even the stream of scholars in the Frankish kingdoms of the ninth century: the Palace circle, the Irish, the heads of monastic Schools, the experts in theology and in the nascent scholasticism of the early Middle Ages, brilliant as they were —John the Scot, Raban, Hincmar of Reims, Paschasius Radbert, Amalarius of Metz and his opponent, Florus of Lyon, Heiric of Auxerre and his pupil, Remigius, with so many others—concentrated their inexhaustible energy on disputing of points, on annotating problematic passages, on extracting matter from the accepted bases of secular and spiritual learning, on contending in Church Councils for the extirpation of heresy, far more than on the daily practice of the Benedictine chapters in their individual monasteries. In general, the ninth century among churchmen on the Continent was an age given to theological argument rather than to inner monastic life. Its hallmark might well be those words written to Einhard from the monastery of Fulda by the young Lupus, studying under Raban: *Mihi satis apparet propter se ipsam*

[26] *Poet. lat. aevi Car.* II, 559ff.
[27] *PL*, CXI, coll. 13f.

appetenda sapientia: "Knowledge, to my mind, is its own end and goal." [28]

The scholars, it is true, in their eager search into texts had not neglected the *Rule* of Saint Benedict. In the eighth century Paul Warnefrid, the Deacon, the friend of Charles the Great, had illustrated its chapters in the lectures which he wrote in a monastery near Milan; [29] in the ninth, Hildemar of Civate followed in his steps, and Smaragdus, abbot of Saint-Mihiel, near Verdun, made his careful explanation of the *Rule*, badly needed, he declared in his preface, by a multitude of monks.[30]

The work of Smaragdus was called forth by the one great concerted effort for the re-establishing of Benedictine life amid the confusion of this ninth century, an effort destined both to fail in its immediate effect and to give of its fruit for Dunstan's aid. Under Louis the Pious, Benedict of Aniane became dominant in monastic administration, first in Aquitaine and, after 814, throughout the Frankish Empire. Two events of high importance marked his long, intense endeavour to bring the monasteries of Frankland into conformity with Benedictine use. In the valley of the river Inde, a few miles from Aachen and therefore near the Palace of his spiritual son and fervent supporter, King Louis, whose treasury was ever open to his need, this second Benedict founded the abbey of Kornelimünster, a model for all Frankish abbots and heads of regular communities. To this house Frankish Fathers in God, in anxious fear lest the *missi*, the spiritual inspectors appointed by the King, should on their rounds discover among them somewhere a lack in Benedictine spirit or prescription, sent as their envoys monks who were instructed

[28] Ed. Levillain, I, 6.

[29] Ed. at Monte Cassino, 1880.

[30] Schroll, *Bened. Monasticism as reflected in the Warnefrid-Hildemar Commentaries*, 1941; *PL*, CII, col. 691.

to mark, learn, digest, and report to their brethren all that daily life on the Inde entailed.[31]

The second event occurred when Benedict called together two Councils at Aachen: one in 816, which drew up provisions as a preliminary measure; [32] the other in July 817, the famous assembly of abbots and monks which gave to the Benedictine communities living under Louis the seventy-five chapters of that *Capitulare Monasticum* by which they were henceforth, one and all, to be guided and governed.[33]

The passion of this Benedict of Aniane was uniformity: "that, as all Benedictine monks profess one and the same monastic calling, so there may be one and the same Use for their souls' health." His contemporary and friend, the monk Ardo, tells us that in this Council of 817 "Benedict's work was perfected and prospered through grace of the Divine Mercy; one Rule was appointed in general for all monks, and all monasteries were constrained to the form of unity, as though ruled by one master and in one and the same place. One and the same measure of food and drink, one and the same practice of common prayer at the Hours of day and of night, was henceforth to be the common tradition." [34]

Under this same prevailing principle Benedict sought to banish the evils which were corrupting Benedictine houses. Throughout Frankland monks henceforth were to keep constant silence, to remain steadfastly within their cloister, to teach in their schools none save those offered for training in

[31] Ardo, *Vita Bened. An.: SS*, XV, i, 215f.; Ermoldus Nigellus, ed. Faral, lines 1180ff., 1209ff.; Albers, III, 104ff.; *MGH, Epp.* V, 301ff., 305ff. (reports of Grimald and Tatto, monks of Reichenau, to their abbey). On Benedict of Aniane see Narberhaus, *BGMB*, XVI, 1930; Schmitz, *DHGE*, VIII, 1935; Hilpisch, *Gesch. d. Bened. Mönchtums*, 1929, 117ff.; Koschek, *Die Klosterreform Ludwigs des Frommen*, 1908; Hauck, II, 588ff., 613; Fichtenau, 197ff.; Dom David Knowles, *EHR*, 1954, 139f.

[32] Represented for us in the *Statuta Murbacensia*, Albers, III, 79ff.

[33] *Ibid.* III, 115ff.; *Cap. reg. Fr.* I, 343ff.

[34] Ardo, ch. 36 (50).

the monastic life, to refuse obligations, even of a spiritual nature, such as that of godfather, which might bring them into touch with the world, to have only strictly necessary dealings with business outside the monastery. Monks who must journey abroad were to travel with companions; if away for the night, they were to sleep apart from their hosts, in a room near the oratory, and to talk to none save "learned brethren," lest their conversation turn to matters of unseemly gossip. None might be accepted as novice because of wealth or rank; no layman might be abbot, no monk be elected to this office who had not passed through his due probation. Simplicity of dress and food were to be in strict keeping with the monastic profession, and the abbot was to fare no better than his monks; only within the walls of the monastic church might splendour and costly apparelling be allowed. Nor might the abbot show favour to his friends, within or without the cloister, against the judgment of his community. Obedience was to be immediate and entire; a special promise of subjection was required before the novice might be tonsured, and this in addition to the regular vow of profession.

It is of interest to note here, too, the beginning of a change in monastic tradition which was to influence in the future the practice of Dunstan and his colleagues. More and more in these Frankish monasteries of the ninth century manual work was being transferred to lay servants, leaving members of the choir free for prayer, in common or in private, for intellectual work, for painting, drawing, script. This tendency is shown in the adding by Benedict of Aniane of special devotions to the ordinary round of the Offices of the Church directed under Benedict of Nursia for his monks.[35]

[35] Berlière, *Mémoires, Lettres, Acad. roy. de Belgique*, 1931, 5, 12f.; Knowles, *DR*, 1933, 711f.

At the signals for Night Office, Benedict of Aniane prescribed, the brethren were to rise from bed, bless themselves with holy water, and hasten in reverence to all the altars of their church for the first offering of the *trina oratio*, the "threefold prayer." Then, when they had taken their places in choir, before the Office began, each monk was, furthermore, to chant the fifteen gradual psalms: five for all the faithful yet living on earth, five for all the faithful departed, five for all recently departed, whose names might not yet be generally known. Each group of five psalms, moreover, was to be individually offered to the Lord in a prayer at its end, preferably with prostration of the suppliant on the floor of his stall. Again, before Prime, the monks were to visit all the altars, again to offer the "threefold prayer." When, after Prime and Chapter, they dispersed to the work of the house, as they laboured, alone or in couples, in the kitchen, the bakery, or the cellar, psalms were to be on their lips. Ten psalms after Compline in winter, five in summer, were prescribed; then once more a visit was made to all the altars, once more the *trina oratio* was offered, and so to bed. Even the prayers made during these three visits to the altars were carefully defined: during the first, the monks said the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, during the other two the Lord's Prayer with confession of sins. "This triple visit," writes Benedict's biographer, "he instituted for two reasons: to compel the lazy and disinclined to do what they would not do freely, and to restrain the too enthusiastic from spiritual indiscretion." [36]

The high undertaking failed in its immediate aim. Benedict died in 821, before his energy and devotion could foster its ripening. Asceticism was here, indeed, tempered with reason and with sympathy; but the prescription of regularity was

[36] Ardo, ch. 38 (52).

too severe for the times, the silence, solitude, and other-worldliness were alien to the monk who desired to live comfortably with his vows. Above all, monasteries resented this new emphasis upon conformity in things lesser as well as greater, physical and material as well as spiritual, this exact precision which marked out the details of their daily life, which dictated as before, but imposed more strictly than before, the amount and the fashion of the clothing to be worn, the food to be consumed, the implements to be used, identical in all monasteries of Frankish lands. Already in the assembly of 817 opposition had raised its head, and gradually, without this leader and mainspring of reform, under an Emperor vexed and distracted by dissension which his weak hand could not control, the fervour of early response died away.

Apart from this internal conflict, moreover, Benedictine life of the second half of the ninth century on the Continent was sadly planted, amid the turmoil of politics which worked unceasingly for the disintegration of the Frankish Empire after the death of Louis the Pious in 840. The ambition of his son, Charles the Bald, King of what we call France, to grasp the German lands ruled by his kinsmen was ended only by his death in 877. Strife equally strong continued in the time that followed, until, in 884, all the realms of the Franks, east, middle, and west, were in the hands of a grandson of Louis the Pious, known as Charles the Fat. His Empire had come to him endowed with a history of seventy years of constant quarrel. Three generations of Frankish men had seen the passing of its various parts from one ruler to another, the waning of the power of its thrones, the growing menace of the strength of its vassal lords, lay and spiritual.

Into this confusion of Frankish politics there marched, year after year, that same oncoming of the Northmen which was devastating England. Already the beginning of the ninth

century had seen Charles the Great taking measures to defend his lands, building ships and fortifications at Boulogne and at Ghent against the assault of Godfred, King of the Danes, upon the French and the Frisian shores. By its middle years the assault had reached floodtide. In 841 the Vikings were on the Seine, moving to attack Rouen; the year 843 found them working havoc on the Loire, the following year on the Garonne. As they went they burned Nantes and murdered its bishop; then they stayed to seize the abbey of Noirmoutier on its island near the mouth of the Loire and to encamp there for the winter. In 845 Paris met their ravaging force. At the same time King Horik the Dane sent his ships along the river Elbe for the destruction of Hamburg. "For his cowardly sloth," declared the annals of Xanten against this year, "Charles the Bald gave the Northmen many thousands of pounds of gold and silver as bribe to depart from France, which they did. Yet monasteries of very many saints were plundered, many Christian men were taken captive." Four years later these annals take on a darker colour: "Stronger and stronger has waxed this heathen evil from the North," they now record. "It provokes one to sickness to tell the tale." [37]

Monasteries were naturally among the first objects of raid, for their treasures were joy to the hunters. As the years rolled on in their increasing panic the roads of France, of Germany, of Holland and Belgium were crowded with monks in search of refuge, carrying in their flight the bones of their own special Saints and Patrons, destined, so they declared afterward in those many narratives of *Miracles* which we still possess, to work innumerable deeds of healing as they were

[37] For these ravagings see the *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. Kurze; *Ann. Bertiniani*, ed. Waitz; *Ann. Vedastini: SS*, I, 516ff.; *Ann. Xantenses: SS*, II, 217ff.; W. Vogel, *Die Normannen und das fränk. Reich*, 1906; Lot and Halphen, *Charles le Chauve*, 1909, 130ff.

borne from place to place. "Deliver us, O Lord, from the fury of the Northmen," the churches prayed, while King Charles the Bald still poured money into Viking coffers.

Nor was Charles the Fat superior to this uncle of his in the yielding to bargain with the prevailing terror. In the year 885 this terror rose in France to its crest, when a host under the Viking Sigfred, in strength far surpassing anything the Franks had seen hitherto, advanced along the Seine to the siege of Paris, and for the fourth time the city broke into flame. The story of its long defence under two heroes, Joscelin, abbot of Saint-Germain, bishop of Paris, and Odo, or Eudes, Count of Paris, has been eloquently told both in prose and in verse.[38] Fire, flood, and battle mark Frankish records from November 885, until October 886. King Charles the Fat did little or nothing. At last, his heart failing him utterly, he gave the Northmen that leave to pass to the plunder of Burgundy for which they had fought his men so long.

Twelve months later he was deposed, and again France and Germany came to separate rule. That gallant defender of Paris, Count Odo, was elected King of France. Brave soldier though he was, he was, however, no member of its traditional Carolingian line, and for ten years many of his nobles rose in revolt, until he died and they could rejoice in seeing as their King one already crowned as rival of Odo five years before, one of their own royal house, Charles the Simple. He was holding the throne of France when Dunstan was born in England; when Dunstan was about fourteen years old this Charles the Simple was to lose his crown to another and to begin to spend his last years in prison, the captive of determined enemies among his vassal lords.

Germany fared not much better, although here the crown

[38] *Ann. Vedast. ann.* 884ff.; Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, *Bella Paris. Urbis,* ed. H. Waquet, *CHF,* 1942.

of Charles the Fat passed in succession to two princes illegitimate in descent but of Carolingian blood: Arnulf, a great-grandson of Louis the Pious; and Arnulf's son, Louis the Child. And now further terror was falling upon the Germans, from a flood of invaders who outdid the Vikings in their deeds. Year after year their annals now tell of slaughter and ravage wrought by the Hungarians from the east; for more than sixty years they harried German lands.[39] In 911, as Dunstan's life was beginning, the Carolingian line came to an end in Germany with the death of Louis the Child, who had worked without success to withstand the coming of the barbarians in their fury, and their coming to stay.

It is not surprising, after so many years of disruption and assault, that in the latter years of the ninth century a monk of Corbie, the theologian and Biblical scholar, Paschasius Radbert, wrote in his *Commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah:* "Now scarcely is there any undertaking of secular life which the priests of Christ do not take in hand, any worldly business in which the ministers of the altar are not busy, any dishonest affair in which the monastic order is not implicated, any of life's pleasant seductions by which the purity of nuns is not stained." [40] About the time of Dunstan's birth a great assembly of bishops of the Frankish Church, debating at Trosly near Soissons in the reign of Charles the Simple, thus solemnly recorded their sense of present evil: "You see how manifest is the anger of the Lord, His hand stretched out to strike. Lo! every year our land we see sick and barren, daily are people dying. Our cities are devastated, our monasteries destroyed by the axe and by fire, our fields

[39] Hauck, III, 150ff.
[40] *PL*, CXX, col. 1199.

brought to desert wastes; truly has the sword entered even into our soul. Through our sins and the sins of all our people, the people we ought to guide and govern, do these things come to pass; surely our iniquities are multiplied above our heads, our transgressions rise to the heavens. Fornication and adultery, sacrilege and manslaughter have covered our land; the tide of blood rolls on without cease. In all the world we see plunder of the poor, robbery of the Church; hardly one order, one rank among churchmen, that is not come into disorder and pollution. Touching the condition, the falling away of monasteries, we scarce know what to say, what to do. For the mass of our crimes and the oncoming of judgment from the Lord, our cloisters have been burned and destroyed by the heathen, have been robbed and brought almost to nothing; and if, in some, aught still remains of their building, no customs of monastic Rule are still kept in use. Monks, canons, nuns, lack their own rightful rulers, are subject, contrary to all law of the Church, to prelates not of their body, and thus are brought to dire need, to sin and to confusion. They have forgotten their vocation for the things of this earth; some, driven by hunger, have left their cloisters and have gone back to life in the world. As gold that has lost its colour cannot be restored to its former brightness unless the jeweller polish it anew, so how shall our monks be reformed without the care of a Father of true religious calling? Now in our monasteries laymen live as lords and masters, presiding over religious life and conversation as though they were professed abbots; their monks give themselves to greed and luxury indecent even for godly layfolk. Nay more, in consecrated houses of God lay abbots are living with their wives, their sons and their daughters, with their soldiers and their dogs. It is written that abbots shall read, interpret, and study

their holy Rule with their communities. Who now shall interpret this? Who shall read, who understand? For should you offer these 'abbots' the book of their Rule, they will answer you in the words of Isaiah, 'I know not how to read.' " [41]

[41] Mansi, XVIII, coll. 265f., 270ff.

2

Dunstan at Glastonbury

"WHILE the history of Western Christendom in the ninth century is mainly concerned with destruction and disintegration, in the tenth century there is a cessation of destruction and a revival of order." [1]

Through the clouds which hung over the years preceding Dunstan's birth, some light now began to break. In France Rollo, chieftain of the Northmen, turned from attack to conference with Charles the Simple in 911, received holy baptism, King Charles as his suzerain, Gisela, daughter of Charles, as his bride, and lands between the river Epte and the sea for the occupation of his warriors. Peace at once followed. The Northmen now had their own state; France was secure on one side; and Rollo's fierce ambition found content in this preparation for the future Dukes of Normandy.

In Germany, bereft of Carolingian succession by the death of Louis the Child this same year, there ruled inefficiently from 911 until 918 a King, Conrad of Franconia, whose reign was marked by some achievement through the support of his bishops but by deepening failure through continual opposi-

[1] Z. N. Brooke, *History of Europe, 911–1198*, 1938, 14f.

tion from his secular nobles. In 919, however, a new and incomparably happier era opened in the election of Henry the Fowler, first of a line of Saxon kings in Germany. Henry was, indeed, descended from Louis the Pious, but his election was due entirely to his own excellence. Under him German dukes were held in control, Hungarian invaders in abeyance; and the Church received much aid for her needs.

In England, under Alfred's eldest son, King Edward the Elder, the tide was at last turning against the Danish settlers. In 910 Edward defeated them decisively near Tettenhall in Staffordshire; henceforth English towns and countryside began to pass from Danish to English hands. English Mercia, growing steadily in extent, was held for the King by his sister, Æthelflæd, widow of its ruler, Æthelred, and now "Lady of the Mercians" in her own right. As she built fortress after fortress for the protection of her midlands, Edward moved year after year against the Danes, in London, in Oxford, in Essex, in the shires of Bedford and of Huntingdon. By the end of 919 all Mercia was his, all England as far north as the Humber. At this point his rule yielded. In Northumberland, Danes were still independent of England, ruled by the Viking chieftain Rægnald, who by force of arms in 919 had made himself King of a Norse realm of York. Yet the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* declares that, before Edward died, Rægnald, with all who dwelt in Northumbria, chieftains and people, English, Danes, Northmen, and others, with the King of Scots and the King of the Strathclyde Britons and all their peoples, chose him "as father and as lord." Their action does not, of course, imply feudal homage, but is nevertheless remarkable as witness of deep respect and desire for alliance of friendship.[2]

So much for political matters on the Continent and in England when Dunstan was a child in Wessex.

[2] *A.-S. C.* (A), ed. Earle-Plummer, I, 104.

On the side of religion, new life, new growth, were still more marked. In France for a long time a young man, Odo, unhappy in his life among the canons of Saint Martin's at Tours, had been trying, with his friend Adhegrin, to find some place where monastic regularity was to be seen in its Benedictine ideal. Finally, in the year 909, at Baume, a monastery hidden among the Jura Mountains, they came upon what they wanted—constant silence, regular chanting of the Hours, a life entirely ascetic in its simplicity, obedience, humility—in short, the spirit of Benedict of Aniane, embodied in an abbot named Berno. In the year following, 910, William, Duke of Aquitaine, troubled in conscience, was bidden by Abbot Berno to replace the cry of his hunting dogs in the pleasant valley and hills of his estate at Cluny on the Saône by psalms of Benedictine monks interceding for his soul.[3] During the next twenty years, while Dunstan was growing toward young manhood, this monastery of Cluny, first under Berno, then under Odo, appointed its abbot shortly before Berno's death in 927, was steadily gaining that power and precision which was to make it the earliest source of tenth-century Benedictine reform throughout France.

But not yet in England. The chief event in the life of the English Church at this time, in addition to the founding of the Minsters for men and for women at Winchester, was the division by Edward the Elder of his two dioceses of Winchester and of Sherborne (the latter of which had existed since the eighth century) into five. From Winchester was carved out a new episcopal district centered at Ramsbury in Wiltshire; from Sherborne two new prelates took their sees, one as the first bishop of Crediton in Devonshire, the other as the first bishop of Wells in Somerset.

[3] For Cluny see Sackur, Hilpisch, Schmitz, Berlière; Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny, 910–1157*, 1931; *Vita S. Odonis*, by John of Salerno: *AA. SS. OSB*, V, 148ff.; *Bibl. Clun.* ed. Marrier, 1915; Bernard and Bruel, *Chartes de Cluny*, I, 124ff.; *DHGE*, s.v. *Cluny*, 1953.

This brings us directly to Dunstan. We still possess the substance of a letter, written, it would seem, by Dunstan himself, to King Æthelred the Second, mentioning this division of sees.[4] Dunstan, moreover, was born but a few miles from Wells, and this first bishop of Wells, Athelm, was his uncle.

Two villages in the heart of Somerset, Edgarley and Baltonsborough, claim the honour of his birth. Both lie near Glastonbury in a wide valley, from which here and there rise rounded hills. Turf moors and cider orchards now cover the plain; through it run long and narrow waterducts, fringed by the same withies and rushes which grow so densely at Athelney, some eleven miles distant. In this early tenth century all was one vast marsh, as solitary and unapproachable around Dunstan's home as around King Alfred's abbey of Athelney. But travellers often crossed it, as Dunstan did, keeping before his eyes the hill that seemed to rule it far and wide, Glastonbury Tor. His family was of wealthy substance and high rank, related to the reigning King, Edward the Elder. We read of his father, Heorstan, of his mother, Cynethryth, and of a brother, Wulfric. They were devoutly Christian, and frequently took the rough and perilous path through the swamp to keep fast or feast within the ancient abbey that stood below the Tor.

Tradition, from the thirteenth century, was to make Glastonbury the home of ancient tales, of Saint Joseph of Arimathea, of Arthur's grave.[5] Of these legends of Glastonbury Dunstan knew nothing save perhaps some vague popular story. The abbey held for him its wonder as the most an-

[4] *Crawford Charters*, ed. Napier and Stevenson, 1895, 18f., 102ff.; Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, IV, 1918, 18ff., 27f.

[5] See Armitage Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends*, 1926.

cient, the most revered monastery of his people; the very land on which it stood was as full of mystery as the clouds that hung over the head of the Tor. Here the British of its earliest days had lived in their lake-village; here when Julius Caesar invaded Britain in 54 B.C. they were practicing their Celtic arts and crafts in clay and bronze and iron; here, before the Saxons conquered Somerset, stood the "Old Church" of Our Lady, woven of wattles, a church still reverenced in the days of Dunstan as raised by hands of heaven rather than of mortal men.[6] To this church in the sixth century Saint David, the Saint of Wales, had added a chapel, or chancel; in the seventh century Paulinus, the missionary bishop of the Northumbrians, had built for it a roof of wood after he had fled south from the fury of Cadwallon, King of Gwynedd, and had been made bishop of Rochester.[7]

Dunstan also held, with all who worshipped here in his time, that Saint Patrick of Ireland had founded the first monastic house at Glastonbury and had been buried here; day by day he saw the pilgrims come to say their prayers at Saint Patrick's tomb.[8] Here British monks were keeping their vows in the sixth and the seventh centuries; tradition gave the names of three of their abbots, Worgret, Lademund, and Bregored. Here, after Glastonbury had passed from British to Saxon hands, the abbey had received its first Saxon abbot, Berhtwald, later on head of the monastery of Reculver in Kent, and in 692 successor of Theodore as Archbishop of Canterbury. From the time of Berhtwald, Glastonbury had followed for very many years the *Rule* of

[6] *Memorials*, 7.

[7] Will. Malm. *De Antiquitate Ecclesiae Glastoniensis*, ed. Gale, 299f.; *PL*, CLXXIX, coll. 1687, 1691; *Gest. Reg. RS*, XC, i, 24, 28.

[8] James F. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, I, 1929, 606f.

Saint Benedict, passing from the Celtic to the Roman use and to the obedience of Canterbury. To this abbey of Glastonbury King Centwine in this same seventh century had given land in the Quantocks, near Taunton; [9] and Ine, King of Wessex from 688 to 726, had built a larger church, of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, east of that ancient church of Mary, Mother of God.[10]

When we come at last to the reign of Edward the Elder, we find Somerset still much in the King's mind. Cheddar, twelve miles by road from Glastonbury, often saw him and his Court in residence; and Glastonbury itself, with its famous abbey, was probably largely under his control, "a royal isle." But its community had not escaped the blight and slackening which had fallen upon English abbeys in the ninth century. Now its buildings were in need of repair, of new work; in its choir were clergy living more or less as seculars; and the practice now followed in its walls had fallen far from the "reasonable" strictness of Benedict of Nursia.

Yet here lay the means of learning, such as it was, spiritual and secular; and as a royal house this seemed the fitting place for the educating of a child of the royal kin, born within its vale. About 918, then, when Charles the Simple, King of France, was marrying Eadgifu, daughter of Edward the Elder, the boy Dunstan was living under the care of Glastonbury's brethren in their abbey, learning from Irish pilgrims who had made this shrine of Saint Patrick their home. He read the books they had brought there, pored over the Bible and texts that explained its teachings, wrote his Latin exer-

[9] Robinson, *Som. Hist. Essays*, 28; *De Ant. Eccl. Glast.* col. 1701; *Gest. Reg.* I, 29; Birch, No. 62.

[10] *A.-S. C.* (A, margin), *ann.* 688; *De Ant. Eccl. Glast.* col. 1704; *Gest. Reg.* I, 36.

cises, gained enough mathematics for the computing of the Church's year according to the sun, moon, and stars, discovered much of detail in the lives and histories of saints, Irish, English, Continental, and traced much of the history of his own land from the writings of Gildas, of Aldhelm, and of Bede. Here in course of time he received the tonsure and became one of Glastonbury's brethren; but this tonsuring does not mean that he now entered upon a life truly monastic.

In 923 Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, died and was succeeded by that bishop of Wells, Athelm, Dunstan's uncle. By this time uncle and nephew were well acquainted; Wells was but six miles from Glastonbury, and Athelm himself was probably of its training. He was proud of this boy, already at thirteen or fourteen showing much promise in his lessons; and now he invited him to exchange Somerset for Kent, to stay a while at Canterbury in the Archbishop's house.[11] Dunstan went, we do not know exactly when. Perhaps he was already there when in the following year King Edward the Elder died and his throne passed to Athelstan, his eldest son; very possibly he was one of the great congregation at Kingston-on-Thames that fourth of September, 925, when his uncle, Athelm, anointed and crowned Athelstan as King.

Athelstan was now in his early thirties, spare in build, we are told, and of average height, his hair reddish yellow, with a glint of gold. Long ago his grandfather, King Alfred, had seen in him the future King, had made him knight, child though he was, had dressed him in scarlet mantle and jewelled baldric and hung at his side a Saxon sword sheathed in gold. He had seen in him the future lord of Mercia, as

[11] *Memorials*, 55f., 258; Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, IV, 6.

of Wessex, and had sent him to be brought up by his aunt, Æthelflæd, and her husband, its Ealdorman and ruler.[12]

To this young King the Archbishop naturally presented his nephew. Athelstan so readily welcomed him that when in 926 Athelm died, Dunstan, although doubtless holding his home and duty in his abbey of Glastonbury, was frequently with the Court during the next eight or nine years, from about the age of seventeen until he was twenty-six, and especially when it was in residence at Cheddar, so near that abbey.

Now he followed with a young man's interest the various doings of Athelstan, and first of all his action in the North. Northumbria was in the hands of Sihtric, cousin of Rægnald, and Rægnald's successor as Norse King of York. Edward the Elder had allowed Norse rule there, and Athelstan had continued the allowing; in January 926, he had given one of his sisters to Sihtric as wife. Sihtric died shortly afterward, leaving as his heir Olaf, his son by a former marriage; the chance of gaining rule over Northumbria tempted Guthfrith, a brother of Sihtric, in 927 to invade the land from his Irish holdings. Athelstan drove both Olaf and this uncle of his into flight, received the submission of chieftains of the Scots and of Strathclyde, and made Norwegian Northumbria and its city of York his own. When Guthfrith, weary of wandering, appealed to his clemency, the King entertained the Norseman in sumptuous style for four days at his Court; but to no effect. For Guthfrith, once dismissed, returned to his raids, "a pirate of old, as familiar with salt water as a fish." [13]

Dunstan, no doubt, heard of this Guthfrith, feasting in the North with his conqueror. Perhaps at some time he saw the

[12] *Gest. Reg.* I, 145f., 148.
[13] *Ibid.*, 146f.

Welsh princes whom, it was said, Athelstan compelled at Hereford to promise him tribute: every year twenty pounds of gold, three hundred of silver, twenty-five thousand oxen, as many dogs and hawks for his hunting as he would.[14] At many places these Welsh chieftains met King Athelstan in later years, as the Old English charters tell: at Exeter, Kingston, Winchester, Nottingham, Frome, and Dorchester. Their leader was Hywel Dda, Hywel "the Good," King of Dyfed, who admired England and its kings immensely, who followed the example of King Alfred in journeying as pilgrim to Rome, and before he died in 950 as supreme chieftain of Wales had gathered and defined in a great written code the many laws and customs of his land. Others from Wales who also came on visits but less frequently were Idwal, King of Gwynedd, and Morgan of Morgannwg, and Tewdwr of Brycheiniog.[15]

Of equal interest to a young onlooker at Athelstan's Court must have been the visitors from across the Channel. England and the Continent had long been related by intermarriage. Two kings of Wessex, Æthelwulf and Æthelbald, father and brother of Alfred, had married in succession the girl Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald; Alfred's daughter, Ælfthryth, had been given as wife to Baldwin the Second, Count of Flanders. Now, in 926, the younger son of Ælfthryth and Baldwin, Adelulf, Count of Boulogne, came to the English Court of Athelstan to ask for his cousin, Athelstan's sister Eadhild, as bride for Hugh, known to history as Hugh the Great, Duke of the Franks.

In the records of early mediaeval France this Hugh holds a place of high import, both for his family and for his own

[14] *Ibid.*, 148.

[15] J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, I, 1911, 333ff., 353; Rachel Bromwich, *Studies in Early British History*, ed. Nora K. Chadwick, 1954, 99f.

influence. He was both nephew and son of kings of France. His uncle, Count Odo, we have seen elected King in 888, after his gallant defence of Paris; his father, Robert, Marquis of Neustria and brother of Odo, had been raised to the throne in 922 by the nobles of France, hot with rebellion against Charles the Simple. King Charles had fled, had gathered an army, had come back to fight his rival at Soissons the next year, had heard with triumph of Robert's death on the battlefield. His joy had been brief; his nobles had rallied to give his crown to another man. Probably it might now have come to Hugh, had he not perhaps preferred to enjoy his power behind a throne. The election, at all events, had fallen upon Raoul, Duke of Burgundy, brother-in-law of Hugh through his marriage with Hugh's sister, the intrepid Lady Emma.

Soon the dethroned King, Charles the Simple, had been seized and thrown into prison by the treachery of one who pretended to be his friend, Herbert of Vermandois, also brother-in-law of Hugh. Then Eadgifu, wife of Charles, had fled for protection to England, to her father, Edward the Elder, in terror lest this same Herbert should also lay hands upon her little son, Louis, then about three years old.[16] Louis "d'Outre-mer" they called him henceforth, and Dunstan must often have seen him with Athelstan after King Edward's death in 924.

Now, in 926, Hugh was eager to gain King Athelstan of England as his ally, and the ally of this Raoul whom he had allowed to gain the throne of France. No doubt he feared a rising in favour of the Carolingian, Charles the Simple; hence his quest for a wife of Athelstan's line.[17] Probably Dunstan saw the magnificent gifts presented by Count

[16] Lauer, *Louis d'Outre-mer*, 9f.; ed. Flodoard, 212 (Hugh of Flavigny).
[17] Flodoard, ed. by Lauer, 36, note 5.

Adelulf to the King when they met at the abbey of Abingdon in Berkshire. There were perfumes, "such as England had never known"; jewels, especially emeralds, winking brilliant with green light; race horses, gorgeous in golden trappings; an onyx vase, on which peasants, cunningly engraved, seemed actually to move in their corn fields and vineyards. Other offerings were even more precious: a sword, declared to be that of Constantine the Great, bearing in its hilt, men said, a nail from the very Cross of the Christ; thorns from His crown, set in crystal; a lance famed as that with which the soldier pierced His side, long held as the lance of Charlemagne; the standard of blessed Maurice, the Martyr of Valais. Part of this splendour Athelstan kept for himself; the most sacred relics he gave to enrich Aldhelm's abbey of Malmesbury, where he himself was to be laid to rest.[18]

The Lady Eadhild departed with Count Adelulf to her wedding with Hugh in France, and three years later, in 929, Charles the Simple died there, still a prisoner. His son, Louis d'Outre-mer, the boy "from overseas," was still in school at the Court of Athelstan, his uncle, while his land of France went through crisis after crisis. King Raoul fought incessantly against enemies within and without: against that same Herbert of Vermandois, ever veering from one side to another; against the chieftains of Lotharingia, now turning their allegiance from France to Germany; against the Northmen and the Hungarians.

In 928 another envoy appeared at the English Court in search of a bride. He came from the King of Germany, Henry the Fowler, to ask of Athelstan another of his sisters, for Henry's son Otto, afterward Otto the Great, now a youth of sixteen. Fear of a movement in support of the Caro-

[18] *Gest. Reg.* I, 150f.; Laura H. Loomis, *Speculum,* 1950, 437ff.

lingian line lay also behind this mission. Two sisters were sent for German inspection; the elder one, Edith, was chosen, and became Otto's wife.[19]

The name of this ambassador from Germany has come down to us as Count Hoolf. A happy suggestion imagines young Dunstan, at the age of twenty, entertaining him at Court in England with the story of the British girl Ursula and her many Virgin Martyrs. Then—so the reasoning argues—the Count passed the story on to his friends, the nuns at Cologne, and eventually at their request the tenth-century narrative of her *Passion* was written.[20] The theory itself is well supported, and is, indeed, in keeping with Dunstan's delight, from youth to age, in stories of spiritual adventure. Another glimpse of this time, equally attractive and based on excellent authority, shows him at this same Court of Athelstan, listening with the King and his nobles to an old soldier who told of that day nearly sixty years past when as his armour-bearer he had seen King Edmund, the Martyr of East Anglia, killed by invading Danes.[21] Dunstan himself as an old man retold this tale.

Scholarship in another matter has connected Dunstan with the preparations for the marriage of this Princess Edith to Otto of Germany. In 929, the year of the marriage, Cenwald, bishop of Worcester, was travelling in the kingdom of Henry the Fowler, possibly as envoy from England on this business. If so, he did more than arrange a wedding. He visited many churches, among them that of Saint-Gall in Switzerland, where he established a Confraternity of Prayer with England. On the list of those in England for whom

[19] *Gest. Reg.* I, 117, 137; R. L. Poole, *Studies in Chronology and History*, 1934, 115ff. (*EHR*, 1911).

[20] W. Levison, *Bonn. Jahrb.* CXXXII, 1927, 71.

[21] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, I, *RS*, XCVI, 15ff.; *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, 378f.

henceforth the brethren of Saint-Gall offered their intercession appear still the names of King Athelstan, of Wulfhelm, who in 926 had succeeded Athelm as Archbishop of Canterbury, and of one Keondrud, thought perhaps, as one well known to the royal household, to have been Cynethryth, Dunstan's mother.[22]

In Athelstan's Court, Dunstan not only talked, we may think, with young Louis d'Outre-mer from France, but with the young Alan who was to be known to history as Alan of the Twisted Beard, who bore in pride the name of his grandfather, Alan the Great, the renowned Lord of Brittany. His father, Mathuedoi, Count of Poher, had escaped with him to England from the raids of the Northmen upon the Breton coast; Athelstan had been godfather at his baptizing, and always afterward held him in special affection. The description given of him in Breton annals is heroic: "strong in body and bold of spirit, disdaining to kill wild game of boars and bears with weapon of iron, hunting only with branches of trees cut from the forest." It would seem that he, like Louis d'Outre-mer, had been in England as a child under Edward the Elder, that he had returned to his own land of Brittany, and had once again crossed the Channel, this time to live under English protection for years, until 936.[23]

Probably, too, Dunstan met a third young prince from overseas who made Athelstan's household his home. His name was Hákon, and he was son of that Harold Fairhair who bound all the Viking chieftains of Norway together under his supreme rule as their King.

[22] Piper, ed. *Libri Confrat. S. Galli* (*MGH*), 136 and 100; *Memorials of Saint Dunstan,* lxxv; Armitage Robinson, *BASP,* IV, 41.

[23] For differing theories see *La Chronique de Nantes,* ed. R. Merlet, 1896, 82; A. de la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne,* II, 1898, 361, 387.

A common need of defence against Viking raiders encouraged overtures of friendship between Harold and Athelstan; and to the English King at York came two envoys, Helgrim and Osfrid, escorting as gift a ship with golden prow and purple sail, overlaid with gilded shields. Norway under Harold was growing fast in renown; Athelstan received the gift gladly and gave its escort a magnificent welcome.[24] Norse tradition told that a son born to Harold in his old age of a bondwoman named Thora was brought up by King Athelstan at his Court and was called Hákon Athalsteinsfóstri. After his father Harold was dead, Hákon returned to Norway, was made King by its chieftains in place of his half-brother, Eric Bloodaxe, and ruled long and victoriously there as "Hákon the Good." [25]

The ambassadors from the Continent, their talk, and especially the treasures they brought with them, were of deep interest to young Dunstan, who was now growing into that skill of arts and crafts always connected with his name. Tapestries, metalwork, paintings, were already his joy. He was learning to draw, to limn portraits; he was poring over poetry, Latin and Old English, the songs and verse, the legends and history of his ancestors; he was practicing his hand and his mind in music, interpreting the thoughts of others and working hard to create his own. Most of all, as appealing both to his feeling for art and his reverence for his Faith, he delighted in King Athelstan's gifts to various communities: the treasures from France offered to Abingdon, to Malmesbury; books, magnificently written and illuminated, to Saint Cuthbert's shrine at Chester-le-Street, to

[24] *Gest. Reg.* I, 149.

[25] Cf., on the problems connected with Hákon, Kendrick, *Hist. of the Vikings*, 108f., 121, 253; for sagas, Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 1911, 65ff.; trans. Erling Monsen and A. H. Smith, 1932, 71ff.

Christ Church, Canterbury, to Bath; relics to Glastonbury, to Exeter, to Winchester.

He doubtless talked often with the priests at Court. Two of these we know by name, the same name. One was Ælfheah, "priest," the other was Ælfheah, "priest and monk," [26] generally described as "the Bald"; both were chaplains and secretaries to the King. Ælfheah "the Bald," as cousin in some degree of Athelstan, was also related to Dunstan and held him especially in his thoughts. Both these priests became bishops. Ælfheah, "the priest," was consecrated to Wells in 926, and frequently came from his Cathedral to the royal Court at Cheddar; Ælfheah, "priest and monk," was not appointed bishop until 934, when he received the see of Winchester.

On the surface, then, all seemed well in Dunstan's life. As time went on, however, trouble began to rise, simmering in quiet for many months. Dunstan's companions in the royal household were, like himself, connected with the ruling line of Wessex; but most of them looked on him as an alien to their minds. Many of them found him bookish, given to reading rather than sport, delighting in talk with older men; some of them envied him the praise and notice which his various skills brought to him. Dislike and envy begot secret slander. It was whispered that he was deep in study of magic verses, heathen spells and legends. This was a serious matter, for magic was of the devil, and surely the royal Court must be beyond reproach of such offence.[27]

Gradually the whispers became such open talk that the King could no longer refuse to listen. He ended the trouble, as he thought, by dismissing Dunstan from his presence and

[26] Birch, No. 641.

[27] Against sorceries and spells see II Athelstan, No. 6; I Edmund, No. 6; F. L. Attenborough, 130; A. J. Robertson, *Laws*, 6.

company. Directly this was made known, the worst of Dunstan's enemies seized their chance. They fell upon him in a band, tied him hand and foot, threw him into a bog and beat and kicked him there until they were tired. Then they ran away and left him, covered with filth, to make for the house of a friend he could trust. Even the hounds in its yard rushed to worry this strange apparition until they recognized a familiar voice. How much kinder are dogs than these cousins of mine, Dunstan thought bitterly, as he scraped away the mud.

All this took place about the year 935, and he spent the next months partly in Glastonbury, partly in Winchester at Bishop Ælfheah's house. It was a difficult and depressing time. What was he to do with his life?

Long and hard he thought in the quiet of Glastonbury; now and then at Winchester he talked with its bishop. Within the mind of Ælfheah, "priest and monk," a desire, a hope, had long been stirring, that once again in the monasteries of England Benedictine *Rule* might be followed with the vigour it had once held; above all, that this vigour might rise anew in Glastonbury, England's ancient and holy house. Already he himself was doing as much as was then within his reach. He was practicing faithfully a strict round of prayer and discipline with some who felt as he did, and making this round as monastic as he could. More he could not venture at the moment. So long a time of falling away, of destruction, could not, it seemed, be brought suddenly into regular monastic course by a concerted attack, by order of bishops or King; for bishops and King in England were not yet ready. But could not Dunstan, this student of marked gifts, could not he find within him energy to kindle into new vigour the monastic *Rule* which had once been followed far and wide in England? One day as they talked, Ælfheah

put this question before his young kinsman's troubled mind. Could he, for himself and for others, give the years that lay before him to the renewing, if this might be, of monastic life at Glastonbury in the true Benedictine sense?

The question found no welcome in this young man of twenty-six. Dunstan at heart was a lover of thought, maturing in silent peace, rather than of many words, of struggle and contention; he had not yet forgotten the unhappy ending of his bond with Athelstan's Court. He had loved his days there at the centre of England, the constant discussion of politics, of books, of art, the meeting with men of learning from France, from Germany, from Flanders, the hope of progress in his studies. The society of cultured and attractive women, too, had been pleasant—more than pleasant. Perhaps, he had even thought, the best way for him was to marry, to work for the Church amid the ignorant and unchurched world. In contrast with this picture, that of himself as a would-be Benedictine monk upholding the cause of regular discipline among his variously minded colleagues in the marshes of Glastonbury was neither appealing nor, in his mind, even possible.

It must be remembered that there was no definite movement or organization at hand for his support. In France, indeed, the spirit of monastic reform had now been twenty-five years at work, since the foundation of Cluny in 910. Its second abbot, Odo, had filled his days well. Always following the path marked by Benedict of Aniane, he had brought this reform to abbeys of Frankland north and south, supported by Papal authority. About 930 his aid had been sought for the monastery of Fleury on the Loire, founded in the seventh century and famed as guardian of the relics of Saint Benedict of Nursia. Its brethren, once scattered in fear of the Northmen, had by this time gathered there once

more. But they were not united in spirit; quarrels were constantly arising. The story was told that Benedict himself, their Patron, appeared one day to one of them: "Go," he said, "tell those brothers that I am leaving this house since they will not let me rest in peace; and say that I shall not come back until I bring here from Aquitaine a man after my own heart." Like other cloisters, Fleury had fallen into lay hands; King Raoul had presented it to a leading noble of France, Count Elisiern. Fortunately Elisiern's conscience began to work, until finally he begged Odo to take this abbey into his keeping and discipline. When Odo approached its gates he saw the brethren of Fleury assembled on the roofs of its buildings, standing grimly at its doors, stones and swords in their hands. For three days arguments flew back and forth; the community threatened appeal to the law, to the King. In a last hope Odo rode to their great gate, sitting humbly upon a donkey. In peace, he said, he had come. Let him only be allowed to work for the ending of confusion and the restoring of order, and no one should suffer harm. Then Fleury yielded.[28]

Naturally the names of Cluny and of Fleury, homes of renewed Benedictine life, were known to Englishmen of this time; but their influence, especially that of Fleury, upon spiritual life in England was to mature later. There is no evidence that their example was directly driving forward Ælfheah of Winchester as he talked with Dunstan. And Dunstan might then and there have decided for secular life had he not fallen now into critical sickness, which kept him long unable to work and in great pain.

In his fear and torment his mind slowly changed. Now, little by little, he began to discern, as it seemed, the hand of the Lord which was leading him inexorably toward that

[28] *PL*, CXXXIII, coll. 8off.; *Bibl. Clun.* 52.

decision he had long refused to make. It was perhaps in 936 that he at last came to his resolve. He would try to settle down at Glastonbury and learn the life of a Benedictine monk so far as he then could, say the Divine Office regularly night and day, and follow ascetic discipline with as many of the abbey's brethren as were awake, or could awaken, to the same call.

Directly he recovered he made known at Glastonbury his purpose and desire. Doubtless all was as hard as he had foreseen. But Ælfheah was still at Winchester, and to Winchester Dunstan was able now and then to ride in hope of encouragement and counsel. His earliest biographer tells of a visit on a day when the bishop was dedicating a new church near the west gate of the city. Many were present; and after the ceremony Ælfheah and Dunstan enjoyed a feast in its honour with their friends, both men and women. At last, as night was coming on, the bishop rose, gave thanks for all, blessed all the company, and left with his young novice from Glastonbury. As they were walking back to the episcopal House they came to Saint Gregory's Church. "Let us say our Compline here," said Ælfheah, "in this place of prayer of our father Gregory." So they did, and in its course, while the bishop was saying the words of absolution after the *Confiteor* a huge stone fell from the high roof, crashing to the floor so near to these two heads that it even touched their hair. "If I mistake not," the writer notes, "it was the hand of the Enemy of all good work. But, thanks be to God, no harm was done." [29]

All we hear of these earlier years of Dunstan's life points to a mind quick and intense. One of his friends, a deacon named Wulfred for whom he cared very much, died about this time. Soon afterward Dunstan dreamed that Wulfred

[29] *Memorials*, 14f.

came from the world beyond to tell him of his future. Like many persons practical and active yet blessed with vivid imagination, all his life he was given to dreams while he slept. As a little boy, we are told, sleeping near his father on a visit from his home to Glastonbury, his child's vision full of the Night Office he had just attended in that ancient, crumbling abbey of the marsh, he had dreamed of a venerable old man in gleaming white alb who showed him a new monastery, beautiful in its chapel and cells. In the years after his father had left him to his books in that old abbey he had worked so hard that he came down with fever and, if the tale be true, seems to have walked in his sleep to the church and to have climbed by a ladder to its roof. So, at any rate, Glastonbury declared, and added that he was found next morning fast asleep between two watchmen inside the church. The man who could see visions of new buildings, of new and regular life in the disordered abbeys of England, might well have dreamed dreams as a boy.

There were women, too, whom he held his friends at Glastonbury. One of these, the Lady Æthelflæd, was related to the royal family and to Dunstan, a widow of strongly religious bent and possessed of earthly wealth. She lived with her household in cottages near the abbey, on its western side; to her the brethren frequently came to give and to find aid and solace. King Athelstan came, too, to enjoy his niece's hospitality. To Dunstan the years of her presence meant much, and at last it was joy to him that he himself could give her the Holy Eucharist at her departing from this world; for by that time Ælfheah of Winchester had ordained him priest. Another woman, one Æthelwynn, also of noble birth, took great interest in his artistic work, still practiced by him in the intervals of Office, reading, and solitary prayer. At her asking he drew a design for a stole which she was to

embroider with her needle, and sometimes he carried his harp to her house near by, for her delight in his music.

The days passed quietly at Glastonbury, as he prayed and worked in his little cell, built apart for greater solitude, against the abbey walls. For the world outside they were full of unrest, and Dunstan must have listened with all eagerness to those who brought him news concerning men whom he had known at Court.

In 936, about the time when Dunstan had yielded himself to the monastic life, King Raoul of France had died. By the aid of Henry the Fowler of Germany, to whom he repeatedly gave homage, and through the enormous power of Hugh the Great, he had held his throne amid the perpetual feuds and intrigues of Frankish nobles, stranger though he had been to the Carolingian house of Frankish tradition.

Raoul left no child, and the destiny of France lay at the will of the two great rivals, Hugh the Great and Herbert, Count of Vermandois. Hugh was now Count of Paris and Marquis of Neustria, lord of the lands between the Loire and the Seine, with the exception of Brittany and of those districts of Normandy given to Rollo by Charles the Simple. His holdings within the Church extended far and wide. He was lay abbot of the "monasteries" of Saint-Martin of Tours and of Marmoutier, of Saint-Denis, of Saint-Riquier, and of Saint-Germain of Auxerre, all now largely given to canons and secularized clerics. But he was not of Carolingian descent. On the other hand, Herbert of Vermandois was directly in the line of Charlemagne, and he, also, was in control of wide regions of France.

Bitter strife at length prevented choice of either. To Hugh the only expedient seemed to be to recall Louis d'Outre-mer to the throne of his father, Charles the Simple. Hugh's policy

prevailed; envoys were sent to England, and found Athelstan with this nephew, now about fifteen years old, at York. After exacting from those who sought him an oath of allegiance to Louis, the King allowed him to depart with an escort of English bishops and secular lords. They landed at Boulogne, where French nobles, gathered there, knelt on its sands in homage, then brought their new King to Laon for his crowning by Artaud, Archbishop of Reims.[30]

Joy was high throughout France in this return of the Carolingian line to rule. The eagerness of all men is seen in a story of a vision, appearing to a monk at Baume. Saint Martin of Tours himself, it was said, suddenly stood by this brother as he knelt at prayer. In his confusion of surprise he could only stammer, "Whence comest thou?" "From Rome," replied the Saint. "Louis is being hallowed as King of France today, and I must be here." [31]

Among those who escorted Louis to France was a bishop named Oda, who was to be highly revered by Dunstan in later days. He was a Dane, very probably from the eastern Danelaw; [32] his father, it was said, had come to England with the Northmen Hubba and Inguar. But Oda had left father and home at an early age for the household of an Englishman of military service, who taught him well in things Christian and secular. His religious fervour had carried him to priesthood, then on pilgrimage to Rome. Some ten years before this time of 936, Archbishop Wulfhelm had consecrated him bishop, the second in line, of the recently founded see of Ramsbury in Wiltshire.

This same year of 936 also saw Alan of the Twisted Beard

[30] Flodoard, *Annales*, *ann.* 936.

[31] *AA. SS.* I Jul. 339f.

[32] On Oda see *Vita Odonis*, *Anglia Sacra*, II, 78ff.; Langebek, ed. *Script. rer. Dan.* II, 401ff.; *HCY*, I, 404ff.; Dorothy Whitelock, *Saga Book of the Viking Society*, 1941, 169ff.; Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, V, 44.

leaving his refuge in England for the cause of his native land. Aided by Athelstan, he now gathered together his fellow-exiles and led them back to chase the Northmen from his Breton shore. Year after year he fought them, especially at and around Nantes, until they fled and his name was praised throughout Brittany.[33]

In 936, too, Henry the Fowler died. His crown passed to his son, Otto, and thus Edith, Athelstan's sister, became queen in Germany. Three years later, in 939, Louis d'Outremer, King of France, was struggling bravely against the ambition of this young Otto, seeing with bitterness his own French vassals deserting him for Germany's rising power. Athelstan had to choose between his brother-in-law in Germany and his nephew in France. He chose France, and sent a fleet to aid Louis; but it only achieved a few ineffective raids.

Meanwhile Athelstan was ruling an England now generally his own, through conquest and wise governing. One last effort of his enemies was made in 937, when Olaf, son of that Guthfrith whom as a conquered pirate Athelstan had welcomed to his Court ten years before, came sailing from Ireland in the hope of gaining back a Norse kingdom of Northumbria. In the famous battle "at Brunanburh," a place now located only in the suggestions of scholars, Athelstan utterly defeated him, with his hopeful allies, those old enemies from the Scots and Strathclyde. Now the way was made ready for England's freedom in years to come.[34]

It was Athelstan's last victory in the field. In 939 he died at Gloucester, and was buried in Malmesbury Abbey with pomp and procession of those holy relics which he had brought from abroad. His throne passed to the half-brother

[33] Flodoard, ed. Lauer, 63.
[34] Alistair Campbell, ed. *The Battle of Brunanburh*, 1938.

who had fought under him at Brunanburh, Edmund, son of Edward the Elder and his third wife, Eadgifu. Edmund was to rule only a short time; but in that short time he brought both misery and joy to Dunstan.

The new King was only eighteen. He had known Dunstan, some twelve years his senior, at Athelstan's Court, had, indeed, cherished a deep and admiring affection for him. He now speedily revoked the sentence of banishment which Athelstan had given; and frequently hereafter summoned Dunstan from Glastonbury to give his counsel, at Winchester, at Cheddar, on weighty matters of state. On his side, too, Dunstan hoped for much from this young man, for he had heard already of his courage in battle.

Edmund needed wise advice. Early in the new reign the defeated Norseman, Olaf Guthfrithson, thought to see his chance. He marched upon York, was hailed there as King of Northumbria, and then led his men south, ravaging as he went, to plunder Tamworth in Staffordshire and to encamp at Leicester. At last the English troops under King Edmund came up to blockade the city's gates, but Olaf forced his passage through their camp.

Then that Oda, who as bishop of Ramsbury had served Athelstan well, now Archbishop of Canterbury in Wulfhelm's place, united with Wulfstan, first of that name as Archbishop of York, to bring about such peace as was possible. In 940 it was made, at heavy loss to Edmund's rule.[35] Five Danish boroughs captured by Olaf—Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby—were left in his possession; Watling Street was henceforward to be a boundary between two rival kingdoms in England.

Yet the victory, after all, was brief; Olaf lived only until 941. Then, to the good fortune of the English Crown, he

[35] M. L. R. Beaven, *EHR*, 1918, 1ff. and note 11.

was succeeded by his cousin, Olaf Cuaran, a man of far less force. Edmund took new hope, marched upon the Norsemen in 942, "redeemed the five boroughs," and recovered for his own English people land at least as far north as the Humber. Olaf received Christian baptism and in honour of the occasion the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* burst out into a rare paean of verse.[36]

In the midst of all this excitement trouble was again brewing for Dunstan, the same trouble that had driven him from Athelstan's Court. More and more of late he had been giving time to Edmund, especially at Cheddar, where the King frequently stayed. Here once again his happiness in solitude, his reserve, his hours with his books and his pen, his lack of interest in lighter things, brought charges of evil against him; once more these charges persisted, until the King, weary of tales, finally lost his temper and told Dunstan to depart and to find his friends elsewhere.

To hear these words twice from an English king was more than Dunstan could bear. It happened just at this moment—the year 940 or one following not long afterward—that ambassadors from the "kingdom in the east," possibly of Otto of Germany,[37] were in Cheddar with letters to the English Court. To them he now turned and amid the deep concern of his friends told them of his disgrace and asked whether he might travel back with them to their land. Gladly they assured him all welcome and comfort.

Edmund was already repenting his hasty action. A few days later he rode to hunt with his nobles over the moors and forest land around Cheddar. Suddenly, as he followed fast and furiously after his stag, he outstripped his escort

[36] Allen Mawer, *EHR*, 1923, 551ff.

[37] Cf. *Memorials*, xvii, lxxixf.; Birch, No. 752; Stenton, *A.-S. England*, 440.

and found himself alone. For miles he continued the chase, too excited to notice where he was riding. Then in the distance he saw the stag take a flying leap over the precipice into Cheddar's gorge, the dogs tearing after it. His horse was entirely out of control, death seemed certain, and all he could think of in this second of time was that if only the Lord would somehow save him he would surely atone to Dunstan for his recent angry words. Just then, instinct sensing danger, the horse brought its rider to a stop on the outer edge of the cliff.

The King returned to his Manor House in Cheddar and immediately sent for Dunstan. "Make haste," he said to the wondering priest. "Get ready a horse, for you go with me today on a journey of our own." With a few attendants they rode across the marsh to Glastonbury, halted, and walked into the abbey church. There Edmund took Dunstan by the hand, and with reverence led him to the seat of honour and rule. "Thine henceforth be this seat, and thine its power, and be thou its faithful Abbot," he said as he placed him in it. "Whatever shall be lacking to thee for the increase of Divine worship or the furthering of holy Rule, that will I diligently supply in royal abundance."

It is not surprising that in their forgetfulness of the past, men came to look upon Dunstan as "the first abbot of the English nation." [38]

He himself did not forget. Patiently he read and meditated, and, so far as he was able at this time, led his community in the discipline of the *Rule* of either Benedict, of Italy and of France, in the English tradition of Bede, of Cuthbert, of

[38] *A.-S. C.* (A; F, insertion) *ann.* 943 (on the word "afterwards" see Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, IV, 40; Flor. Worc. gives 942); *Memorials*, 251. For theory in regard to the abbot who ruled at Glastonbury before Dunstan see Armitage Robinson, *Som. Hist. Essays*, 43.

Aldhelm and his monasteries at Malmesbury, at Bradford-on-Avon, and at Frome. We are not, however, to look upon Glastonbury as now suddenly Benedictine in the sense held by the later tenth century. Clerics of more or less "secular" standard were still mingled here with monks in the making, and much study, much experience, both at home and on the Continent, remained to come from the future.

Progress was soon visible on the material side, at least. Dunstan did much to enlarge the buildings at Glastonbury, as skilled excavation is now gradually revealing. To the church of Ine and of the days following Ine, of very simple plan, he added another chancel, or a prolongation eastward of its existing chancel, placing this addition of his above the crypt of earlier date; secondly, he built aisle chapels (*porticus*), to the north and south of his chancel, that on the north dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, that on the south, it would seem, to Saint Andrew; thirdly, he erected a tower, probably above his chancel. From this point a monk of Dunstan's time would walk westward through the older chancel down the nave and beyond to reach the ancient church of Saint Mary. West of this, Dunstan built also a new chapel of Saint John the Baptist. Outside the church buildings he placed new houses for menial labour and for work in arts and crafts. The graveyard he enclosed by a wall and "raised it into a mound," making of it "a pleasant meadow removed from the noise of passers-by, a place of peace for those who rest there for a season." [39]

At Glastonbury he ruled for the next thirteen years, per-

[39] *Memorials*, 25, 48, 182, 271f.; Knowles and St. Joseph, 28f. For Dunstan's building at Glastonbury as revealed by recent excavation, see, in order of date, Armitage Robinson, *PSAS*, 1928, 40ff.; Peers, Clapham, and Horne, *ibid.* 1929, 1ff., and *Antiquaries Journal*, 1930, 24ff.; Clapham, *Eng. Rom. Arch. before the Conquest*, 1930, 48f., 91f.; C. A. Ralegh Radford, *Antiquity*, C, 1951, 213; CV, 1953, 41.

haps longer. Edmund fulfilled his promise by gifts and endowment, as did his Queen, Æthelflæd.[40] To free himself and his community from much of the secular business of the abbey Dunstan made his own brother, Wulfric, comptroller of its various properties.

Meanwhile he eagerly sought after books. The boys and young men under Dunstan's rule were carefully and widely taught in subjects both sacred and secular: the Bible, and its interpretation by the Churchmen of former centuries; grammar and literature, Latin and English; history and geography; such science and mathematics as were available.

Nor again did Dunstan fail to keep as before in constant touch with events at Court and in his world, so far as he could through his own journeys and through the many visitors, messengers, and guests, who came to his abbey. Thus he learned that Edmund had again marched north, that in 944 he had defeated Norsemen anew beyond the Humber and made York his own. The following year the intrigue of conflicting parties in France came to a climax. Louis d'Outremer, now for nine years King Louis the Fourth, had seen Hugh the Great, Duke of the Franks, change gradually his friendship and support into determined opposition. On the one hand, Hugh's wife, that sister of Athelstan, had died, and Hugh had made a bid for German favour in marrying Hedwig, a young sister of Otto, King of Germany; on the other, Louis was of too independent a spirit to please Duke Hugh. Now the old rivals, Hugh the Great and Herbert of Vermandois, joined in a common cause against their King, until in 945 Louis, taken captive by the men of Normandy, was delivered over to Hugh as his prisoner. Edmund sent a mission to France for the aid of his nephew, but it met with no success.[41]

[40] Birch, No. 752; Whitelock, *A.-S. Wills*, 34f.
[41] Lauer, *Louis d'Outre-mer*, 140.

No time was left him to do more. On the twenty-sixth of May 946, he was murdered at Pucklechurch in Gloucestershire, a martyr to his own rash courage. He was there at a feast in honour of Saint Augustine of Canterbury, when suddenly at the height of its noise and merriment he saw in the company a man named Liofa, banished from England six years before, now enjoying a place at table next to an ealdorman, his own special guest. Immediately the King determined to drive this outlaw from the hall, and during the tumult which followed died by a thrust of Liofa's dagger.[42]

In the King's company as they rode to this feast was Dunstan, side by side with Athelstan, Ealdorman of East Anglia, a loyal friend, perhaps a kinsman, of the Royal House of Wessex, owner of wide lands, so powerful that he was commonly spoken of as "the Half-King." As they rode they both admitted a strong foreboding of evil to come, so vivid that it seemed as though announced by an emissary of the Evil One himself.[43]

The King's body was carried to Glastonbury, and he was buried, as he had wished, in its church; Dunstan, as abbot and intimate friend, chanted his requiem. The house where he had died at Pucklechurch was set apart as a chapel of intercession for his soul.

The Lady Æthelflæd had been Edmund's second wife; and she was still living at this time. His two sons, Eadwig and Edgar, were born of his earlier marriage with Ælfgifu, who in later days was held a saint, since record declared that "miracles numberless" honoured her tomb in Shaftesbury Abbey.[44] These sons were both too young to rule, and the English crown now came to Edmund's brother, Eadred. A specially strong affection bound this Eadred to the abbot of

[42] Will. Malm. *Gest. Reg.* I, 159f.; Flor. Worc. *ann.* 946.
[43] *Memorials*, 44f.
[44] Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, *MHB*, I, 520.

Glastonbury; and Dunstan cared for him perhaps more than any other of the young kings of his country whom he, one after another, advised, restrained, and loved. All the nine years of his reign Eadred struggled against painful and humiliating sickness; yet he carried on his kingly tradition. Dunstan followed him, if not in person, with anxious spirit as he led his army in the North of England to quell a final burst of enthusiasm for the Scandinavian cause. Northumbria's leading men, among them Wulfstan the First, Archbishop of York, protested to him their dutiful loyalty when he met them in 947. Shortly afterward they welcomed openly to the kingship at York that Eric Bloodaxe, son of Harold Fairhair, whom his brother Hákon had driven from his throne. In retaliation they saw during the next year their fields ravaged by Eadred's men, the Minster of Ripon afire; they heard, too, before long that Eadred had it in mind, did they not submit, to lay waste all their land. This was too much; they broke with Eric and he disappeared from sight.

Still the Northumbrians were not crushed. They received as King once again that son of Sihtric, Olaf Cuaran, who now came back to hold for nearly three years, from 949 until 952, his seat in York. But their adherence again proved fickle. In 952 they changed their minds, drove him out, and called Eric once more to be their ruler. Now Wulfstan was accused before Eadred of disloyalty to the English Crown, presumably as supporter of Eric. For two years Eric once more held York with his Norse warriors; in 954 he was banished afresh by the Northumbrians, who now again gave their allegiance to the English King. From this day Eadred ruled York and the North in peace.[45]

It was during his reign that his nephew, King Louis the Fourth of France, Louis d'Outre-mer, found peace in death.

[45] *A.-S. C.* (D, E), *ann.* 947–54; Alistair Campbell, *EHR*, 1942, 91ff.

His former enemy, Otto the Great, had become his friend; the King of Germany was, indeed, brother-in-law of Louis as well as of Hugh, Duke of the Franks. Otto had compelled Hugh to release Louis from captivity and, also, to yield homage to him as rightly due. But the homage was only superficial, and death for Louis in 954 was release from trouble within his borders and trouble from the Hungarians without.

Goings and comings in the Church also filled Dunstan's mind during this reign. Daniel, a monk of Glastonbury, was consecrated to the see of St. Germans, provided by Athelstan for the British in Cornwall. Dunstan himself was eagerly pressed by the King to accept a bishopric. His second biographer, Adelard, tells of an offer of Winchester, made in 951, on the death of that well-loved bishop, Ælfheah, who had received Dunstan's profession as Benedictine monk. More reliable is the record of the first *Life:* that Eadred asked him in 953 to accept the vacant see of Crediton in Devonshire. When he persistently refused, busy not only at Glastonbury but in the King's service, and not yet prepared, he said, for so grave a responsibility, Eadred begged his mother, Eadgifu, to add her prayers. But neither her efforts nor his could move the abbot from Glastonbury.

There, such was Eadred's confidence, much of the royal treasure was in his keeping. In 955 the King's chronic sickness became critical, and, feeling that the end was near, he asked Dunstan to bring to him the possessions he prized most, that he might make gift of them before he died. Dunstan was on his way from Glastonbury to Frome in Somerset, where the King was lying ill, on Saint Clement's Feast, the twenty-third of November, when through one of those premonitions which all his life gave him knowledge of his friends he knew that Eadred was already dead. At Frome, according to Adelard, all the royal courtiers and servants had fled from the

place of death: [46] a story which, if true, might have its reason in terror of the plague. The King was laid to rest by Dunstan in the Old Minster of Winchester; in his will he left two hundred pounds to him and to succeeding abbots of Glastonbury as a trust fund for relief of the people of Somerset and Devon.[47]

Edmund's elder son, young Eadwig, now was King. Wessex, Mercia, and the men of the North of England accepted him as ruler. He was about fifteen, extremely good-looking, ready to carry out such royal duties as did not entail too much trouble, yet showing little of the early sense of responsibility, the courage and tolerance of duty, which had marked his father and his uncle. Mercifully England was not vexed by troubles from without during the four brief years of his reign. He certainly gave much to the Church; in the number of his charters there are records of benefactions for the brethren of Abingdon, Bath, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Winchester, and Worcester, for the communities of Wilton and of Shaftesbury, as well as gifts of land for the aid of the sees of Canterbury and York.

But he cared lightly for his realms, far and wide, for their political well-being, for the reviving of monastic life. Indifference was his evil, not deliberate wrong-doing; his private affairs, his own friends, absorbed his days. It was, we may imagine, interference with these private interests which turned his respectful but unenthusiastic acceptance of Dunstan, chief friend and adviser of his father, into strong personal hostility. Already in the first months of his reign he was deeply under the influence of the young woman named Ælfgifu who a year or so afterward was to become his wife, and perhaps even more deeply under the influence of her

[46] *Memorials*, 58; *A.-S. C.* (A), *ann.* 955.
[47] *Gest. Reg.* I, 162; F. E. Harmer, *Eng. Hist. Documents*, 1914, 34.

ambitious mother, the Lady Æthelgifu. Both were constantly at Court. Ælfgifu was related in blood kinship to Eadwig, we are told; we read, too, that Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury, was opposed to the marriage for this reason.[48] Dunstan may have provoked ill-feeling by following his Archbishop here.

Certainly some kind of crisis occurred when, late in 955 or at Epiphanytide 956, Oda crowned Eadwig at Kingston [49] in a long and elaborate ritual, followed, according to ancient custom, by an equally long and magnificent banquet. For hours young Eadwig sat at this feast in the great Hall, with his bishops and nobles assembled to honour him. Suddenly he rose and disappeared. For some time all in respectful wonder awaited his return. When he did not come, the Archbishop, embarrassed and concerned, bade Dunstan, kinsman of Eadwig's family, and Cynesige, bishop of Lichfield, a relative of Dunstan, go to find out what had happened. They found the King, his crown cast carelessly and happily aside, enjoying relief from solemnity with the girl Ælfgifu and her mother. Perhaps Dunstan acted too forcibly; probably there was nothing but force for him to use. The King, it was said, flatly refused to move; Dunstan seized him bodily, put back his crown upon his head, and dragged him forth. Eadwig returned to his lords and bishops at the feast; but neither he nor the two women ever forgot that hour.

Some time in 956 Dunstan left England. We do not know whether or not he was expressly sent into exile. Anger of these ladies of high favour, anger of the King, already in no way warmly attracted toward this earnest counsellor; rebellion against control, steadily rising in the sons and daughters of noble families, Eadwig's familiar companions; hostility of bishops and clergy who foresaw stricter discipline in sees and

[48] *A.-S. C.* 958 (D).
[49] Flor. Worc. ed. Thorpe, I, 136.

monasteries if Dunstan's influence were to continue; fear of those high in State who desired favour from the King and from the women he made his queen and his mother-in-law—any or all of these factors may well have added new weight to feeling so often aroused against Dunstan by his austere, aloof manner. Now once more there spread exaggerated and untrue words throughout the land.[50] Now Eadwig's grandmother, Eadgifu, who had worked hard for the Church with Dunstan, was stripped of lands and honour.[51] Now Dunstan doubtless felt that his work at Glastonbury, at the Court, was ended, at least for the time; and he crossed the Channel to refuge under Arnulf, Count of Flanders.[52]

[50] *Memorials*, 32ff., 100f.
[51] Birch, No. 1064; Kemble, No. 499.
[52] *Memorials*, 59f.

3

Experience in Exile

THE YEAR or more spent in Flanders at this stage of Dunstan's life was to influence very deeply his work for monks and for monastic reform.

Three elements of inspiration were to be active later on in the reviving of Benedictine discipline in England, each of them spontaneous of origin in its individual country: the new and original impulse given by Ælfheah at Winchester and furthered by Dunstan at Glastonbury; that given by Berno and by Odo at Cluny and transmitted to Fleury; that given by Gerard of Brogne and by John of Gorze to the Netherlands, in the mediaeval duchy of Lotharingia. In this mid-tenth century those Englishmen who had begun at home in their own lives their own movement toward reform turned to seek from Fleury the stimulus and training they needed. Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury from 940 to 958, one of the early workers in the cause, at some time, we do not know exactly when, received the Benedictine habit from the abbot of this monastery on the Loire.[1] From Dunstan, first and especially, was to come the influence upon England of the corresponding but independent movement for reform in the Netherlands, seen and closely studied by him during these

[1] R. R. Darlington, *EHR*, 1936, 387; Beaven, *ibid.* 1918, note 11.

months in Flanders.[2] To understand this movement for reform in the Netherlands we will look first at Lotharingia, at its own need of monastic renewal, and at the lives of the men concerned in this.

The mediaeval state of Lotharingia at this time embraced the lands of the Meuse and the Moselle; in other words, Belgium, with parts of Germany, France, and Switzerland, with the cities of Cologne, Aachen, Liège, Namur, Cambrai, Trèves, Verdun, Toul, and Strasbourg. Its history since its birth had been one of marked unrest, of a country continually swaying between the ambitious hands of rulers of France on the one side, of Germany on the other. Born as a kingdom in the mid-ninth century, under Lothar the Second, grandson of Louis the Pious, upon Lothar's death it had been seized by Charles the Bald, who was crowned its King at Metz. It had been divided, at Meersen, between Charles and his half-brother, Louis the German; had been disputed by Charles and his nephew, Louis the Younger, who gained it after Charles was at last dead; had been grasped by Charles the Fat when in 884 he became Lord of all Frankland; had passed from him to Arnulf, King of Germany; and had finally risen in critical revolt when Arnulf made gift of its rule to a son of his, Zwentibold, born out of wedlock.

Lotharingia was now to change from a kingdom to a feudal duchy. Among the Lotharingian nobles contending against Zwentibold, the leader was Régnier au Long-Col, or Reginar Long-Neck, who allied his power with that of France and fought until Zwentibold fell on the field of battle in 900. Thereafter, whoever the Lord of Lotharingia might be in name, Charles the Simple of France or Louis the Child of Germany, it was Reginar who ruled here, and after him his young son Gilbert.

[2] Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 79; Symons, *DR*, 1941, 264ff.

From evil sometimes rises good. Out of this hot political strife in Lotharingia was to come a new spirit in religion, begotten of utter discontent and the hunger of spiritual need. Here, as in France and in Germany, monasteries which had survived the coming of the Northmen and the Hungarians lay imprisoned, reward of feudal service, in the grasp of nobles who fleeced them of their revenues and left the remnants of their once vigorous communities in want, famine, and apathy; here, also, bishops had bestowed rich cloisters on their friends and kinsmen; here, according to the frequent record, monks were fighting, quarrelling, hunting, and feasting, living with a Rule kept but in name. Some of this record, again, is exaggeration; but it is surely not altogether the lament of a later, more devout, time.[3]

It was in the hearts of the fighting, plotting, intriguing nobles of Lotharingia in this tenth century that the renewal of spiritual life of the monasteries of their land took its rise. They might, and they did, contend for their own political ends and accept the rich gifts of abbeys offered them; but now and then the disordered state of these abbeys struck the conscience of one who held a house once dedicated to the Lord, and held it, as he well knew, against the precepts and the tradition of the Church he himself acknowledged and in theory obeyed.

Such a one was this Gilbert, Duke of Lotharingia.[4] The historian looks upon him, and truly, as ambitious, unscrupulous, always turning his allegiance this way or that, as he judged well for his advantage, now to France, under Charles the Simple, under Robert and Raoul, now to Germany, under

[3] Parisot, *Le royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens*, 1898, 722f.; *Hist. de Lorraine*, I, 173ff.

[4] For Duke Gilbert see Lauer, ed. Flodoard, *Annales*, *ann.* 920ff.; A. Eckel, *Charles le Simple*, 1899, 110ff.; G. Tellenbach, *Königtum und Stämme*, 1939, 90f.

Henry the Fowler. In 925 Henry entered Lotharingia to stay; by 928 its duchy was a permanent part of his realm. It looked for a while as though the allegiance which Gilbert as Duke now rendered to this King of Germany might be lasting; he even received Henry's daughter, Gerberga, in marriage.

The honour of the first arousing of Duke Gilbert's conscience in regard to his monastic holdings apparently falls to one of the two great reformers of this time in the Netherlands, Gerard of Brogne.[5] The birthplace in Belgium of this pioneer whose work was to interest Dunstan so keenly was once called Brogne, but is now known as Saint-Gérard. It lies on the edge of the forest of Marlagne, south of Charleroi. There the Merovingian nobles rode to hunt, and there, when Gerard was a boy, stood the ruins of a little chapel of Our Lady, of Saint Peter, and of Saint John the Baptist, built, it was said, by Pippin of Heristal. Gerard's father was of high rank and considerable wealth; and to this son, now a young man, he passed on as inheritance the land on which these ruins were still standing. Already Gerard was possessed by a hungry desire for things of the spirit, since the world, he had decided, was not for him, enjoyable as he had found it in the household of one of the nobles of his district. In or about 913 he had begun what he had long had in mind, the raising of another church in this same forest glade, the restoring of its once holy ground.

The little church was almost ready for its dedication when Gerard bethought him that for its sanctifying it must certainly hold within its walls some sacred relics, just as those

[5] W. Schultze, *Gerhard von Brogne, Forsch. z. deutsch. Gesch.* XXV, 2, 1885, 221ff.; Berlière, *Mess. des Fidèles,* 1888; *RB,* 1892; *Mon. belge,* I, 28ff.; *BLB,* 1932, 141ff.; Hauck, III, 345ff.; Baix, *s.v. Brogne, DHGE;* Hallinger, *passim;* P. Grierson, ed. *Ann. de S.-Pierre de Gand;* de Moreau, II, 142ff. The *Vita Gerardi* (*SS,* XV, 2, 654ff.) is not reliable.

other cloisters which he knew by name guarded in reverence and pride some link with the earthly life of their special Saint. He had no idea where to seek such. But nothing daunted, he set out on his search, and at last to his joy gained as gift from Saint-Denis relics of Eugenius, Saint and Martyr of Toledo. Back he hastened with his treasure and asked leave of Stephen, bishop of Liège, for its translating. On the eighteenth of August, of a year varying in the opinions of scholars from 915 to 919, it was triumphantly borne, escorted by a multitude of priests, clerics, and layfolk, into the church it was to honour.[6]

Gerard, however, wanted monastic life for himself and for others even more than he wanted holy relics in his church. At some time and in some place—Saint-Denis has been both suggested and denied—he himself made his profession. The work of establishing regular discipline at Brogne progressed, no doubt, very slowly, and dates are here very uncertain; but some time between 920 and 928, we may think, while Dunstan was growing from boy to man, a community of Benedictine monks, inspired by the tradition of Benedict of Aniane, were learning the routine of their Office in this church of Brogne, dedicated to Saint Peter and Saint Eugenius. Their abbot was Gerard himself, now in priest's Orders.

As time went on, his courage, enthusiasm, and single-mindedness, the austere and devoted life of his community, drew to him the notice and the respect of the Catholic nobles of Lotharingia, among them Duke Gilbert. About 931 Gilbert was hearing again and again what he already knew well, that his abbey of Saint-Ghislain at Mons in Hainaut was in dire straits.[7] Here, fifty years before, the Northmen had

[6] *Anal. Boll.* III, 1884, 29ff.; V, 1886 (Morin), 385ff.

[7] *Ibid.* V, 209ff.; VI, 1887 (Poncelet), 209ff.; *Mirac. S. Gisleni: AA. SS. B.* IV, 385ff.; Berlière, *Mon. belge*, I, 274; de Moreau, II, 145f.

worked their wonted devastation; its monks had fled, and a narrative, dated with good reason in this same tenth century, tells that its deserted altar was now being served by a priest, Teutfrid, who had found lodging near by: "So dreadful was the desolation within its walls that no one could live there."

It may be that then the Duke had filled his abbey with secular clerics, of whom we hear in other tradition, and that their loose living disturbed his peace of mind. At any rate, during an assembly in Dinant he told Gerard that he was greatly troubled by the state of things at Saint-Ghislain. Episcopal sanction, he said, had been granted for work there; he himself had talked with the bishop, Stephen, who held the see of Cambrai from 911 to 934. Would not Gerard, he asked, go speedily to this abbey and use his power and energy for its renewing? Gerard both would and did.

Duke Gilbert had other abbeys in the same state of negligence and disorder. In years past he had laid a heavy hand of requisition upon his monastery of Saint-Maximin at Trèves, itself ravaged in that *annus miserabilis* of 881. In vain its half-starving brethren had appealed against Gilbert to their King, Henry the Fowler. At last, also here, Gilbert's conscience came to life. The mediaeval monastic narrative proudly asserts that in indignation the abbey's Patron Saint visited him one night and beat him black and blue for his callous cruelty. Whatever the immediate stimulus, the Duke certainly hurried to Trèves to make amends, to restore decent living and order. This time, however, he obtained help from the monastery of Gorze.[8]

The abbey of Gorze is known to history as the home of its monk John, the mainspring of monastic reform of this cen-

[8] On Gorze see *Vita Joh. abb. Gorz.*: *AA. SS. OSB*, V, 363ff.; *SS*, IV, 335ff.; Hallinger, 51ff.; Lager, *Stud. und Mitt. aus dem Benediktinerorden*, 1887, 32ff., 181ff.; Hauck, III, 349ff.

tury in Upper Lotharingia, in the dioceses of Metz, Trèves, Toul, and Verdun. He was born in Vandières on the Moselle, went to school at Metz, studied grammar with little zeal under Berner, deacon of the Cathedral at Toul, and, as he grew up, threw himself avidly into reading and prayer, urged on by the example of a nun of Saint Peter's at Metz. But no monastery could he hear of in which he could attain his longing: practice of the regular life in all its fullness. There were others among his friends who felt the same need; they met with him, now in one home, now in another, to discuss and plan what they might do. Among those mentioned by name are Rotland, cantor of Saint Stephen's Church in Metz, and Warimbert of Saint Saviour's, who allowed John to try his soul as anchorite in a tiny cell near his church. But this was in the middle of the city and altogether too noisy. Then report reached him of a holy and learned hermit named Humbert, living in solitude at Verdun. To him John hastened, and from him to another recluse, who had no learning but an inhuman appetite for abstinence and mortification. His name was Lambert, and he was praying hard in the depths of the forest of Argonne. For a while John was happy here in quietness. Visitors, indeed, came, but they brought necessary food and asked for instruction. Humbert, his friend, came to confer; a deacon, Bernacer, came from Metz; there also arrived in need of counsel a certain Andrew, who had fled from the Northmen raiding Britain to the hospitality of Dado, bishop of Verdun.

All were seeking a life under monastic rule, but the question remained: Where? One has to eat, even in a forest cell, and practical difficulties seemed almost impossible. For long the friends debated, and now they were joined by one Einold, who had been asking himself the same question in his cell at Toul, urged on by the sympathy of Toul's bishop, Gauzlin.

No stone was left unturned. John and Bernacer even ventured as pilgrims on the dangerous and painful journey to Italy, hopeful of aid from Rome and from the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino.

At long last a possible home was proposed, in the desolated abbey of Gorze, near Metz. This had been founded in the eighth century by Saint Chrodegang, but by this time most of its brethren had fled from the Hungarians, carrying as they went the relics of their Patron, Saint Gorgonius, to the shelter of Saint Saviour's Church in Metz.[9] Their abbey had fallen into lay ownership and was now held, for whatever could be squeezed out of its land, by a secular lord, entirely opposed to its passing into Benedictine usage and tenure.

John and his friends, nevertheless, sought out Adalbero, bishop of Metz, to put forward their petition. The bishop was a good and conscientious ruler, not unsympathetic with the urgent need of restoration of monasteries and of monastic life in his diocese. Story declared that as a young man, just ordained, he had visited the ruins of Gorze and then and there had vowed that, if ever he should become a bishop, he would restore this profaned sanctuary to dignity and honour.

Now, however, when the chance was his, he found himself in a most embarrassing situation. The present possessor of the abbey of Gorze was one of his own supporters, a man of high standing and importance, whose aid he badly needed for his own episcopal work in these stormy times. How was he to tell him to yield this property?

A compromise was made. In 933 the abbey was yielded; but little of its revenue went with it. Thus, in poverty and strictest austerity, monastic reform began in Upper Lotharingia. Adalbero consented to clothe these postulants—John,

[9] *Mirac. S. Gorgonii: SS,* IV, 239ff.; *Cart. de l'abbaye de Gorze,* ed. A. d'Herbomez, 1898, 1ff.

Einold, Bernacer, and a few others—with the monastic habit, according to the *Rule* of Saint Benedict. They thereupon elected Einold as their abbot and gave the care of buildings, money, and providing to John. At first the lack of practical necessities made John's work extremely difficult; and the reproaches, even insults, of his hungry brethren almost brought him to despair. The bishop had too much on his mind to give thought to his new little congregation; and it took a vision of Saint Peter himself in terrible wrath, so at least the *Life* of John of Gorze declares, to bring him to serious consideration of its need.[10]

From this *Life*, written by John's friend of the same name, abbot of Saint-Arnoul at Metz, we learn some details of the daily and nightly round of service at Gorze. Evidently it, also, was inspired by Benedict of Aniane. We read that "in number and length psalms, prayers, and lections were increased." Here was found again the *trina oratio:* "The threefold prayer at night after the signal had been given for Vigils was much longer than before." Moreover, while all sat in choir, awaiting the Night Office, "thirty psalms, from the hundred and nineteenth to the end of the Psalter, were said by each monk in silence, divided into three groups: ten for the departed, ten for friends and kinsfolk, ten for men in general. On the shorter nights of summer, and on Feast Days, only the gradual psalms were said, divided in the same way into three. The lections at Vigils in the winter were lengthened so greatly that the Books of the Prophets were ended in about two weeks; only one lection was needed for the whole Book of Daniel." [11]

Little by little, very largely through John's practical skill and energy, the abbey of Gorze developed its resources: its

[10] *SS*, IV, 241, 364, 367. See, however, d'Herbomez, 169ff., 174ff., 177ff.
[11] *SS*, IV, 359f.

farm, its fields of grain, poultry yard, mill and bakery, vineyard and wine press. His courage and devotion gradually induced secular hands to give up property which rightly belonged to the monastery. As time went on, aspirants came to its doors, and the fame of the venture spread abroad.

It was this abbey of Gorze, then, that aided the old and well-known monastery of Saint-Maximin at Trèves when Duke Gilbert was moved in 934 to renew its life by the devoted work of a new abbot, Hugh.[12] In the same year Gorze and Fleury shared in the reforming of the monastery of Saint-Évre at Toul, to which Gauzlin, bishop of Toul, who had visited Fleury, gave his help and blessing; [13] from Saint-Évre the movement spread to the abbey of Saint-Mansui, also in Toul.[14] By this time Bishop Adalbero had become more enthusiastic, and at his request Gorze sent out Ansteus to restore the buildings of Saint-Arnoul in Metz, to plant trees and vines in its ruined orchards while he stirred up the will of its community for Office and reading.[15] The influence of Gorze spread further in Metz to the abbey of Sainte-Glodesind, where Adalbero placed his kinswoman Himiltrud as abbess, and, near Metz, to the cloisters of Saint-Martin, Longeville, and Saint-Félix.[16] The renewing of this last monastery—like the others, entirely run to seed—was entrusted by the bishop to a monk from Ireland, or Irish Scotland, named Kaddroe.[17] In Lower Lotharingia, in the diocese of Liège, under its bishop, Richer, Kaddroe and his fellow-countryman, Maccalan, were the first rulers of the abbey of Waulsort, Dinant,

[12] *Ann. S. Max. Trev. ann.* 934: *SS*, II, 213; *SS*, IV, 6, 231f., 364.

[13] *Mirac. S. Bercharii: SS*, IV, 487; *Gesta episc. Tull.* ch. 31: *SS*, VIII, 639; Hallinger, 60ff.; Hauck, III, 360, note 3.

[14] *Mirac. S. Mansueti: SS*, IV, 510; Hallinger, 62f.

[15] Hallinger, 67f.; *Vita Joh. Gorz.: SS*, IV, 355f.; Hauck, III, 357f.

[16] *Mirac. S. Glodesindis: SS*, IV, 238; Hallinger, 71, 74f.; Amann-Dumas, 334f.

[17] For his *Life* see *AA. SS. OSB*, V, 482ff.; *SS*, XV, 2, 689ff.

founded in this tenth century. Kaddroe had been trained at Fleury, Maccalan at Gorze. In 938 Duke Gilbert, impelled by the energy of Richer, carried further his action at Trèves four years before. The twin monasteries of Stavelot and Malmédy, standing in Lower Lotharingia and under his control, had also sunk into irregular ways; for their restoring he called from Gorze its monk Odilo.[18]

But now this Lotharingian Duke of so curiously mixed character came to his tragic end. In 936 he had renewed his oath of allegiance to Germany and to its King, Otto the First. The oath was soon broken. With Otto's younger brother and other powerful nobles, vassals of the King, Gilbert rose in revolt, invaded Germany in 939, was defeated, and—so writes the chronicler—as he fled from death or capture leaped on horseback into the river that barred his way and was drowned.[19]

For long afterward his feudal duchy of Lotharingia remained unsettled. At last, in 954, some two years before Dunstan came to the Continent, Otto found for it a strong governor in his own brother, Bruno, lately elected Archbishop of its see of Cologne. In 955, the year before Dunstan arrived in Ghent, this same Otto mustered strength for a supreme effort against barbarian invaders. On the bank of the river Lech near Augsburg, he put the Hungarians completely to rout and delivered his realms, including Lotharingia, from their long night of terror and destruction.[20]

When we turn for a moment to compare the monastic revival in Lotharingia with that which was rising in the same tenth century from Cluny in France, we find a situation both

[18] Halkin and Roland, *Chartes de Stavelot-Malmédy*, I, 1909, iii, Nos. 54ff., 57f., 62f.; Berlière, *Mon. belge*, II, 76f.; Hallinger, 64f.

[19] Flodoard, ed. Lauer, 73; J. Depoin, *Le Moyen Age*, 1907, 82ff.

[20] Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis: SS*, IV, 258f., 261f.; Widukind, ed. 5, 1935: *SRGS*, 97, 123ff.

similar and unlike. Similar, of course, was the practice of the Benedictine *Rule* as norm, in its devotion to prayer, silence, obedience, poverty, self-denial. But severe austerity and asceticism were especially characteristic of Lotharingian monks; in this respect, indeed, Gorze went markedly further than the Cluniac practice. Secondly, Gorze in Lotharingia never saw itself as head and mother of a vast multitude of daughter-houses, all held from the centre in one obedience and administration. It sent out monks constantly for the aid of monasteries in need; but these monasteries remained notably individual in their working under the common *Rule*. Thirdly, the bishops of Lotharingia in these years—Adalbero of Metz, Gauzlin of Toul, Richer of Liège, and their colleagues—when once they had put their hand to reforming the abbeys under their control, did not relinquish this control, much as they encouraged individuality. Their episcopal authority remained in force, to oversee, to counsel, and to command both the agents who started and the abbots who continued the work.[21]

From Lotharingia in general we pass to consider Flanders in particular, the land of Dunstan's refuge. With it were associated in this tenth century the adjacent regions of Artois and Saint-Omer. Flanders was geographically connected with Lotharingia and shared in its work for monastic reform at this time. But Flemish men looked back upon a history of their own, and the choice of their county by Dunstan is easy to understand.[22]

From an early date English travellers had crossed the Channel to its coast, conveniently near; and Flemish fugi-

[21] Hauck, III, 354ff.

[22] F. L. Ganshof, *La Flandre sous les Premiers Comtes*, 1949; H. Pirenne, *Hist. de Belgique*, I, ed. of 1948.

tives had escaped to England from the northern menace. Englishmen, like Alcuin and Fridugis, had visited, taught, or ruled monasteries in Flanders; in Saint-Omer had lived for long that Grimbald whom King Alfred had called to his aid.[23]

Moreover, history itself had intertwined the course of the ruling houses of England and Flanders. In 862 Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, once queen of two kings of England, had horrified her father and her Church by escaping from duress hand in hand with one Baldwin, known for his warring against the Northmen as Baldwin Bras-de-fer, Iron-arm. He was the first Count of Flanders. The next year her father saw them duly married. Their son, Baldwin the Bald, the second Count, we have seen married to King Alfred's daughter, Ælfthryth; we have seen, too, the younger son of this marriage of Ælfthryth arriving as envoy at the English Court of King Athelstan, his cousin.[24]

It was to the elder son that Dunstan now fled in Flanders; he had succeeded his father as Count Arnulf the First, "Arnoul le Vieux" or "le Grand." Like Gilbert of Lotharingia, he was a man of twofold character. He was driven by that passion which had possessed his father for enlarging his County of Flanders; and he fulfilled the striving of Baldwin the Second through which their title of "Count" grew into that of "Marquis." As Vermandois had stood in his father's way, so Normandy's ambition conflicted with his, and he saw to it that death removed his rival, the Scandinavian-Norman William Longsword, its second Duke. Ardently he coveted the fortress of Montreuil-sur-Mer in the Pas-de-Calais as a convenient base for his ambition. Many years he contended with its lord, Count Herluin, and Montreuil passed to and

[23] P. Grierson, *TRHS*, XXIII, 1941; J. M. Toll, *Hist. Stud.* 145, 1921.
[24] *Ann. Bertin. ann.* 862f.; see page 33 above.

from each by alternate seizure. In 939, when he had captured it by the work of treachery, he found there Herluin's wife and sons and sent them across the Channel to his royal kinsman Athelstan, perhaps in a bid for Athelstan's friendship. At last Herluin was dead, and Arnulf was seeking the help of Louis d'Outre-mer against Roger, one of those sons of Herluin whom he had sent into exile in England. For long Arnulf had been the ally of this cousin, Louis, from the day when he had stood at Boulogne to welcome him to France. Three years after that welcome his feeling for England had grown cool when the fleet sent by Athelstan to help Louis turned aside to harry the Flemish shore. Perhaps some memory of this old affront made Arnulf the more ready to receive a fugitive from the English Court.[25]

Like Duke Gilbert, Count Arnulf, in spite of all his worldly lust, reverenced deeply his Church. His ambition had brought him enormous wealth, and his gifts to various abbeys were magnificent. Especially he enriched the sanctuaries of Reims, the city which in 945 his own soldiers aided King Louis to besiege; we read that fourteen years later he offered to its Cathedral of Notre-Dame great weight of silver for the making of shrines, and a Book of the Gospels, splendid with silver and gold.[26]

It was he who owned and ruled the twin abbeys of Ghent, of Saint Bavo and of Saint Peter, to which Dunstan now came. These had both been founded in the seventh century by Amand, Saint of Flanders, and were constantly disputing between themselves which had been founded first. They were neighbours, Saint Bavo's, named after Bavo, disciple of Amand and monk of this same cloister, standing where the

[25] Flodoard, *ann.* 939, 943f., 947f., 951; Lauer, *Louis d'Outre-mer*, 276ff., 283, 319ff.; J. Lair, *Etude sur la vie et la mort de Guill. Longue-Epée*, 1893, 61ff., 66ff.; Grierson, 89.

[26] Flodoard, *ann.* 945, 959.

river Lys meets the Scheldt, Saint Peter's a little further south, on the height called Mont-Blandin.

Their history is of interest.[27] In the ninth century Einhard, friend of Charles the Great, held them both as lay abbot. He brought into them secular clergy in place of monks; but, unlike many lay possessors of these mediaeval abbeys, he conscientiously made efficient provision here for decent living.[28] From time to time he himself stayed in retreat at Saint Bavo's.

After his death we are for long uncertain regarding the rule of the two abbeys. In 850–51, when the Northmen plundered Saint Bavo's, its clergy fled, first to Saint-Omer and then to Laon, where they settled and stayed. But at last the Viking peril seemed to have ebbed, and those of the community who were still living decided to return home. A dreadful sight met them as, bearing the relics of their Patron, Saint Bavo, they came once more to their deserted abbey. "It looked like a wilderness; the ruined walls, half-destroyed by fire, were buried in dense growth of thistles and briars." No one could say Mass here, no one could even live; and for many days a church near by gave a bare shelter to those who had the courage to stay. The chronicler of Saint Bavo's tells a story of Heaven's pity upon their wretchedness, a story which also perhaps points toward a bond between Britain and Flanders. For in Britain a radiant being appeared at this time, men said, to an old man, so old he could scarcely walk. "The abbey of

[27] See list of books pp. 239f., under Fayen, Grierson, Schmitz; C. P. Serrure, *Cart. de S. Bavon*, 1840; A. van Lokeren, *Chartes et Documents de l'abbaye de S. Pierre*, 1868; O. Oppermann, *Die älteren Urkunden des Klosters Blandinium*, I, 1928; Et. Sabbe, *Etudes dediées à Henri Pirenne*, 1937, 299ff., and *RB*, 1935; G. Des Marez, *Compte Rendu*, *BCHB*, V, 6, 1896, 219ff.; *Vitae S. Bavonis: Script. rer. Merov.* IV, 527ff.; *Mirac. S. Bavonis: AA. SS. OSB*, II, 389ff.; *AA. SS.* I Oct. 293ff.; O. Holder-Egger, *Hist. Aufsätze* (for G. Waitz), 1886, 622ff.; F. L. Ganshof, *Bull. de la Soc. d'Hist. et d'Arch. de Gand*, 1926.

[28] E. Lesne, *L'Origine des Menses*, 1910, 23, 87f.

Saint Bavo is in miserable state," said the messenger from on High. "Get thee up and cross the sea to build again its walls, and the strength of thy youth shall return to thee." The old man thereupon hurried to Ghent, to work there for the remainder of his days.[29]

During the later ninth century the House of Robert the Strong, Marquis of Neustria, and the House of Flanders, in the person of Baldwin, its first Count, held in turn lay rule in one or other of these abbeys. In the tenth century that Robert, son of Robert the Strong, who died at Soissons in 923 as King of France and rival of Charles the Simple, held Saint Peter's as lay abbot; and it is after his death that we find both houses under the rule of this Arnulf the First, grandson of Baldwin, the first Count. Arnulf's father, Baldwin the Second, was never, it would seem, lay abbot in Ghent; [30] but he maintained close connection with Saint Peter's, and was buried there. The story was told that his wife, the English-born Ælfthryth, stoutly refused that he be laid to rest in the chief cloister of his inheritance, that of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer, Pas-de-Calais, "because she wanted to lie beside him, and no woman might cross the threshold of Saint-Bertin." Record of charter has led scholars to believe that she made gift to Saint Peter's of estates in England, at Lewisham, at Greenwich, and at Woolwich; recent criticism, however, has skilfully attacked this belief and referred the donation to an act of King Edgar.[31]

For many years Arnulf did nothing for Saint Peter's and Saint Bavo's. Then at last, inspired by reports of the work which Gerard of Brogne was doing elsewhere, and realizing that these abbeys of his were in grievous need, material and

[29] *Mirac. S. Bavonis: SS*, XV, 2, 593f.

[30] See Philip Grierson, *RB*, 1939, 310ff.

[31] Folcuin, *Cart. de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Guérard, 1840, 140; *SS*, XIII, 627; J. Dhondt, *BCHB*, CV, 1940, 117ff.

spiritual, he took counsel with Transmar, bishop of Noyon-Tournai from 937 to 950. Both men decided to ask Gerard to give his aid. We are not sure of the time when Gerard came to Ghent, but it was in or about the year 941, according to the date given by tradition.[32]

Here he worked some twelve years,[33] and gradually he replaced irregular discipline by firm maintenance of the Benedictine *Rule* in houses and choirs. Count Arnulf became deeply attached to these monasteries, especially to Saint Peter's. He steadily increased its treasure of holy relics until the monks of Saint Bavo's were seized by jealousy. The abbey of Saint Peter on the Mount held mortal remains of Saints Amalberga, Wandregisil, Ansbert, Wulfram, whereas they themselves could boast only of fragments of Saint Pharaildis and that body of Saint Bavo which they had carried to Laon and back with such care.

Gerard did not, however, spend all these years in continual stay at Ghent. Other abbeys were equally in need of reform. We hear of him at work, also by petition of Arnulf, in the North of France at Saint-Amand,[34] and at Saint-Bertin, Arnulf's most prized heritage.

This latter monastery had been held by the Counts of Flanders as their rightful possession in fief since the day when Charles the Simple had legalized its seizure by Baldwin the Second. When Gerard arrived there the secular clergy who filled it stoutly refused to change their way of life. He then ordered them to submit or to depart, and most of them departed, with loud accusations against Gerard, Count Arnulf, and the Benedictine monks who were being brought there in their place. In their wrath they took ship for England, where

[32] *Ann. Bland. ann.* 941; Des Marez, 238; Fayen, 54f.

[33] See Grierson, ed. *Ann. de S.-Pierre*, 19, *ann.* 953, and *RB*, 1939, 315, note 1.

[34] de Moreau, II, 145; *Saint Amand*, 1927.

King Edmund, remembering the kindness of Saint-Bertin in giving burial to his brother, drowned at sea, and thinking little about Benedictine reform, gave them the abbey of Bath for their home. The year was 944. The newly established monks of Saint-Bertin were placed by Gerard, as himself their chief authority, in charge of Womar, of Saint Peter's, Ghent, and of Agilo, who came from Toul.[35] After some years Womar returned to Ghent. Eventually, in 953, he was appointed abbot of Saint Peter's and Gerard went back happily to his own monastery at Brogne.

Dunstan, then, knew Womar as abbot of Saint Peter's while he stayed in Ghent. He knew him, too, as a man deeply interested in the history and traditions of his abbey and working hard to add to its archives. Saint Bavo's, though nominally also under his rule, seems in practice during this time to have been ruled by Wido, a nephew of Gerard. As a young man this Wido had been installed abbot of Saint-Bertin but had failed to live up to his responsibility. He had been "too keen on the empty joys of youth," we are told, and he had been sent by the angry Arnulf to do better in Saint Bavo's. Here doubtless he did well, for on the death of Womar in 980 he was elected abbot of both Saint Bavo's and Saint Peter's.[36]

We know nothing by direct tradition of Dunstan's life in Saint Peter's, which held at the time a small but thriving community of at least twenty monks. Naturally he concerned himself much with the story of all this reform, led by Brogne, by Gorze, under Gilbert, under Arnulf, in Lotharingia, in Flanders. Certainly he studied the ritual, the sacramentaries, the prayers in use on the Continent, of the past and the pres-

[35] Folcuin, ed. Guérard, 144ff.; *SS*, XIII, 628ff.; de Moreau, II, 150ff.; *Ann. Bland. ann.* 945f.

[36] Folcuin, 145f.; Holder-Egger, 625.

ent, and talked with Womar and with Wido of things political and monastic. Relations between Saint Peter's and Saint Bavo's were uneasy at times, for the old rivalry rose now and again in a bubbling of wrath that threatened to boil over.[37]

These months of exile must often have been hard in their lessons of patience and perseverance. Sixty miles from Ghent stood the abbey of Lobbes, near Charleroi, still full of disorder and irregularity while Dunstan was at Saint Peter's. Erluin, monk of Gorze, abbot of Gembloux, Namur, was asked by the lay owner of Lobbes—Reginar, Count of Hainaut—to come from Gembloux on a crusade of reform. He came, but failed. In 957, the year of Dunstan's return to England, the monks of Lobbes seized this would-be reformer in their dormitory at night, dragged him outside the cloister, hacked out his eyes, tore at his tongue, and sent him, blind and stammering, back by boat to Gembloux.[38]

Then, too, Dunstan was homesick for Glastonbury, "remembering how high a degree of holy religion he had left in his own monastery." His earliest biographer tells a story which may well have come from Dunstan himself. Long and sadly, it relates, he thought of his abbey in Somerset, especially of the evening hour of Vespers when he had sung *Magnificat* with his brethren there in choir. Then one night at Ghent while he was thus thinking, he fell asleep, and in his sleep, as so often, a dream came upon him. He seemed to be listening at Vespers to his monks as they sang the antiphon from the Book of Job:

Why have ye taken away from the words of truth, why do ye put together words to rebuke, and strive

[37] Grierson, *Ann. de S.-Pierre*, xxf.; Berlière, *RB*, 1929, 239; Fayen, 89, note 1.

[38] de Moreau, 158f. The monks of Lobbes, however, had cause for irritation, if Folcuin writes truth; see *Gest. abb. Lobien.*: *SS*, IV, 68.

to overthrow your friend? Nevertheless, finish what ye have purposed. . . .

But in his dream the choir at Glastonbury stopped at the word "Nevertheless"; they could get no further. As he wondered why, he heard a voice from heaven, speaking to him in Flanders: "For this reason the monks at Glastonbury cannot sing the last words, because those who have tried to drive you from that monastery shall never finish what they purpose."

Then Dunstan awoke, knew that the words were true, and gave thanks to the Most High, the Comforter.[39]

[39] *Memorials*, 34f.

4

Dunstan in the Reign of Edgar, 959-75

MEANWHILE Eadwig, King of England, continued to neglect his more remote lands for the society of his young companions at the Court in Wessex: "losing the shrewd and wise who disapproved of his folly and eagerly annexing ignorant men of his own kind."[1] Gradually this indifference alienated many of his subjects. Finally, in 957, the men of Mercia and Northumbria threw off their allegiance and elected his brother Edgar, a boy of fourteen, as their King.

At once Edgar recalled Dunstan from exile. The act was judged wise by the King's advisers on political grounds, for Dunstan stood in their minds as worker for that discipline in Church and State which had meant comparatively little to King Eadwig and the young nobles of his Court. In the years to come, from this recall was gradually to develop a partnership of King and minister in the governing of people, of clergy, and of monks. It was during these eighteen years that Dunstan, wholeheartedly supported and encouraged by the royal enthusiasm, confidence, and power, wrote a new chap-

[1] *Memorials*, 35f.

ter into the history of Benedictine rule and life in England.

A new spirit was rising among the ealdormen who had held office under Eadwig and who were now turning to Edgar, men such as Æthelwold of East Anglia and Brihtnoth of Essex. Æthelwold was the eldest son of Dunstan's friend Athelstan, "the Half-King," and of one Æthelflæd. He was married to Ælfthryth, daughter of Ordgar, Ealdorman of Devon, and he had three brothers: Ælfwold, Æthelsige, and Æthelwine. The father of the family, Athelstan, apparently laid aside his great power and lived his last years as a monk at Glastonbury; and his sons were to stand firmly in support of the coming monastic movement.[2] So, too, stood their uncle, Brihtnoth, brother of their mother, Æthelflæd, and hero of the battle of Maldon in 991, a fighter as bold for his Church as for his country. His wife, who was named Ælflæd, was a sister of that other Æthelflæd, the wealthy Lady of Damerham, who was King Edmund's wife at the time of his death. On the other hand, Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia, was to use his influence against monks in England after Edgar's death.

Among the first questions which now, in 957, came for decision before Edgar's supporters in this divided kingdom was that of the place and position which Dunstan was to hold in England. Glastonbury was still, we may suppose, under control of Eadwig, ruler in southern England.[3] At a gathering of Edgar's Witan [4] it was decided that Dunstan should be appointed bishop, "above all, in order that he might constantly be at hand to aid the King with his sage and foresighted coun-

[2] *HCY*, I, 428f.; *Chron. Rames. RS*, LXXXIII, 12; *Lib. Eliensis*, 183; *Crawford Charters*, 84. The last follows *Chron. Rames.* 11 in holding Athelstan's wife to be Ælfwen, foster-mother of King Edgar; cf. Whitelock, *A.-S. Wills*, 138. For Æthelflæd see E. D. Laborde, *Byrhtnoth and Maldon*, 1936, 14; E. V. Gordon, *The Battle of Maldon*, 1937, 15f.

[3] Birch, No. 933.

[4] *Memorials*, xc, 36f.

sels." Archbishop Oda consecrated him; Metropolitan of England at Canterbury though Oda was, he apparently sympathized with the lords who stood for Edgar and, especially, with Dunstan's desire for reform. It was remarked that he did not name, as was usual at the time of consecration, the see to which Dunstan was appointed; and it may be that at first Dunstan was regarded as a bishop at large, free at any moment for Edgar's call. If so, the thought was short-lived, for in this same year, 957, Dunstan became bishop of the see of Worcester, vacant through the death of Cenwald.[5]

The consecration of Dunstan was one of Oda's last acts as Archbishop; the next year, 958, he died. Dunstan had known him active in business of the State, the Chief Pastor who at Kingston-on-Thames had crowned Eadred and Eadwig; energetic in organization, a worker for reform, a lover of Benedictine living, a prelate who delighted in adding to the dignity of his Cathedral Church. His *Constitutions*, put forward for the exhorting of all under his charge, bishops, priests, monks, secular clergy, and lay people, and his "ordinance," prescribed at a Council held in London during or after 942 in conjunction with King Edmund and Wulfstan the First, Archbishop of York, show his high ideals, his vigorous dealings with sin and negligence. He was buried in his Cathedral at Canterbury, where Dunstan was to honour his shrine and to speak of him as "Oda the Good," a name which lived on among the English people.[6]

Now King Eadwig transferred to this see of Canterbury Ælfsige, bishop of Winchester. As was customary, Ælfsige before long set out from England on a journey to Rome to obtain the pallium, the little vestment which was to symbolize

[5] *Ibid.* xci, 60.

[6] *HCY*, I, 401ff.; Wilkins, *Conc.* I, 212ff.; Robertson, *Laws*, 6f.; Will. Malm. *Gest. Pont.* 23f.; Darlington, *EHR*, 1936, 386f., 415; Stenton, *A.-S. England*, 431; *Memorials*, 203.

Papal confirmation of his election. But his fellow-travellers returned without him; he had died, they reported, through cold in the Alpine snows. Then Eadwig transferred to Canterbury a bishop from Wells. To the kings of England in this tenth century Wells, so near their royal residence at Cheddar, was a see of high interest, continually filled with men whom they themselves knew and admired. Athelm and Wulfhelm had gone from Wells to Canterbury; now, early in 959, Brihthelm, bishop of Wells, became Archbishop there.[7]

This year of 959 was to be eventful in Dunstan's life. First of all, the bishop of London, another Brihthelm, left his see, probably through death. This see, as under Mercia, was in the hands of Edgar. He and his advisers promptly offered it to Dunstan with their earnest urging; and he thus became bishop of London as well as of Worcester. Then, in early October of this year, Saint Gerard died at Brogne. Finally, the same month saw the death of King Eadwig, which meant that Edgar, henceforth King of England, was now ruler over Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria.

The respite from invasion and war which had marked Eadwig's reign continued throughout this rule of England by Edgar, "the Peaceful." His praise meets us from many sources, particularly the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*, which in his honour again broke into verse:

God gave it him that he dwelt in peace . . .
He lifted up God's glory wide,
He loved God's law and furthered the people's peace . . .
And God also aided him, that kings and earls
gladly to him bowed,
and were subject to his will.[8]

[7] *Memorials*, xcvf., 37f.; Flor. Worc. ed. Thorpe, I, 138f.; Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, IV, 64.

[8] *A.-S. C.* (E), *ann.* 959.

In one thing only, "one misdeed," this praise is sullied by reproach. Men said that Edgar loved overmuch "heathen ways, and brought in outlandish people." [9] This accusation refers to his really salutary recognition of the tenure of the Danes in the society of England, to whom, in his own hopeful words, he left the responsibility for their own governing:

> *That among the Danes there stand fast the best laws, as they shall decide upon them. I have always granted this, and will, as long as life is mine, for the loyalty which you have ever made known toward me.*[10]

His private life, on the other hand, has been attacked by evil narrative of murder and lust. Of this the only detail worthy of notice is that which makes him, by an irregular union of his early youth, father of Saint Edith of Wilton, who was to be a close friend of Dunstan. The name of Edith's mother has come down to us as Wulfthryth, a girl of noble family, compelled by Edgar's desire to leave the convent of her choice. Eventually, preferring the life of a nun to his offer of marriage, she retired to Wilton Abbey, near Salisbury in Wiltshire, taking her little daughter with her.[11]

Later on, the King married the daughter of one Ordmær, Æthelflæd "the White," whom men compared to a wild duck for her grace and beauty and of whom Edgar's son Edward was born. In 964, after her death, we find him taking as his second wife a Lady Ælfthryth, said to be that same Ælfthryth, daughter of Ordgar, whom his friend Æthelwold of East Anglia had now left a widow. Two sons were born to

[9] *Ibid.;* Will. Malm. *Gest. Reg.* I, 165; Henry of Huntingdon, *MHB,* I, 747.

[10] Robertson, *Laws,* 36; Stenton, *The Danes in England,* 1927, 44f.

[11] Goscelin, *Vita S. Edithae: AA. SS. OSB,* V, 623ff.; *Gest. Pont.* 188ff.; *Memorials,* 209.

her and Edgar; one died early and the other lived to be King Æthelred the Second. The reputation of this queen we shall find chequered in light and in deep shadow.[12]

Very early in his reign the young King resolved to confer yet further power and honour upon Dunstan, his counsellor. Brihthelm, whom Eadwig had sent from Wells to be Archbishop of Canterbury, was a man of gentle, kindly, and humble character; yet—so the King and his advisers decided—he lacked the stern hand needed for Church discipline in these difficult times. Edgar and his wise men accordingly sent him back to his former see of Wells, not yet reoccupied. In his place they zealously raised Dunstan to the highest seat in England.

It was now 960. Tradition, in the form of church calendars, of Worcester, of Exeter, and of Canterbury, gives the day of the *Ordinatio* of Archbishop Dunstan as the twenty-first of October. This may, indeed, refer to the day of his consecration as bishop in 957 rather than of his enthroning in Canterbury; but in either case the date is of interest. It is the Feast of Saint Ursula, whose story Dunstan may have told at Athelstan's Court to the envoy from Germany. Perhaps this Maid Martyr of British legend held a special attraction for him.[13]

Probably the same year, 960, saw him leaving England on his own journey to Rome for the pallium. His port of landing on the Continent would doubtless have been Wissant, Sombres.[14] From there one chronicle, which may be true in this detail, relates that he went to visit the abbey of Saint-Bertin, Pas-de-Calais, then once more coming upon stormy days. Its

[12] Will. Malm. *Gest. Reg.* I, 180; Flor. Worc. *ann.* 964.

[13] Levison, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 1927, 68f.; *HBS*, LVI, 598, XXXVIII, 442; *Bosworth Psalter*, ed. Gasquet and Bishop, 110f.; *Anglia Sacra*, I, 54.

[14] *Memorials*, 38ff., 395; Grierson, *TRHS*, 1941, 79ff.; Flor. Worc. *ann.* 960.

abbot from 954 to 961 was Regenold, who had had a hard fight to win the liking and respect of his community. About the time of Dunstan's coming, if he did come, Regenold was attacked by leprosy, but continued to rule as best he could, living in a cell apart from his monks. But when Count Arnulf, its lay Patron, arrived for a short stay at the monastery and learned what had happened, he was horrified and at once made Regenold resign.[15]

The Pope, John the Twelfth, who blessed Dunstan as Archbishop by conferring upon him the pallium of office, did in this one of the better deeds of his life. Declared Pope in his youth by the compelling power of his father, Alberic, who for many years had held Rome in his hand, he crowned as Emperor at Rome in 962 Otto the First, the Great, in gratitude for Otto's aid in his need. In the end his ambition was his undoing. To gratify it he broke his pledge to Otto and joined cause with Otto's enemy, Adalbert, was defeated in the struggle that followed, was deposed, against canon law, by a Synod acting at the will of the Emperor, was reinstated, and struck by sudden death. The dark picture of his life given by Liutprand of Cremona is no doubt exaggerated; but of the unworthy character of this Pope no historian has any doubt.[16] Yet good words clothed his recognition of Dunstan, words written in the last years of this same tenth century in Anglo-Saxon script into a Pontifical attributed to the Cathedral Church of Sherborne, Dorset:

> *If shepherds of sheep are content day and night to endure sun and frost for the guarding of their flock, looking with watchful eyes that none be lost in straying*

[15] John of Ypres: *SS*, XXV, 777; Grierson, 91f.; Folcuin, ed. Guérard, 148, 152f.

[16] Liutprand, *Hist. Ottonis; Lib. Pont.* ed. Duchesne, II, 246; Horace K. Mann, *Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, IV, 1925, 241ff.

or be seized and torn by wild beasts, with what toil, with what care, ought we to watch for the health of souls, we who are called their shepherds! Let us therefore strive to keep guard over the Lord's sheep. Let us not flee in terror when the wolf as it were comes to spoil; lest in the day of Divine Judgment, for our sloth, for our negligence, we stand in utter distress before the Chief Shepherd by Whom we now are appointed to receive higher honour and reverence than the rest of mankind. . . .

And so, my brother, as is the custom, we commend to you the pallium for the celebrating of the solemnity of the Mass, in the manner of our predecessors . . .[17]

A story, human enough to be true, is told by Dunstan's earliest biographer of his journey to Rome. The steward who travelled with him in charge of necessary supplies was worried. "What have we to eat tonight?" the Archbishop asked. "Not a thing," the man replied in wrath; "you have given it all away." "Don't worry," said Dunstan; "the Lord looks after His own." "You wait," snapped the steward, "and see what your Christ will give you to eat tonight." It was time for Vespers, and Dunstan went off to say his Office. "There you go," the steward shouted after him. "All you care about is Church! You don't even think about my troubles." Before Vespers came to an end, of course, messengers from a certain abbot of the neighbourhood arrived, proffering with all courtesy every kind of sustenance and refreshment for this reverend pilgrim. Every one had a wonderful evening, and the steward sat over his supper in silence.[18]

[17] Paris, B. N. MS. lat. 943; Steffens, *Lat. Pal.* 1909, 71; Birch, No. 1069; *Lib. Pont.* II, 246; G. Ellard, *Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 A.D.*, 1933, 78f.; Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, 1946, 201, note 4.

[18] *Memorials*, 39.

Once at home in Canterbury, Dunstan looked to his Cathedral for peace amid the distractions of the life now opening before him. Here, day by day and night by night, he kept the Office of his Benedictine calling; here he said and chanted his Mass; sometimes, when he had come to the altar tired out, irritated and vexed by the quarrels of men, those who watched would see his face first relax, then, as the Liturgy came to its climax, grow tense in rapt absorption, "as of one speaking with God Himself face to face." Here he preached against the deviations from the Faith that crept upon men unaware. Here, and in the abbey of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, when his days were full of people and their problems, he would come to pray in the secret hours of the night when he could be alone. One night, we read, he was standing at the entrance of the little church of Our Lady to the east of the abbey, lost to the world and its worries, when suddenly he seemed to hear the victory song of those whose relics rested near him. The song went on to tell the praises of Christ, and as Dunstan listened he wept for the beauty of its music.[19]

Here, too, he walked in contemplation of his Cathedral Church as Oda, his predecessor, had left it, and rejoiced in the rebuilding which Oda had carried out: in the new roof which Oda had made, in the added height he had given to the walls, "that they might rise nearer Heaven." The east end was rounded in an apse. In the sanctuary, hard by the east wall, was the old, the High Altar; a little distance in front of this was the Altar of the Christ, and on the south side of the Christ-Altar was Oda's tomb. From this higher level, steps led downward to the morrow-altar, at which the first Mass of the day was said; beyond this morrow-altar and on its level was the choir, divided by a screen from the nave.

This nave, as Dunstan looked upon it, was long, bordered

[19] *HCY*, I, 458; *Memorials*, 48, 50, 119; Bede, *H. E.* II, 6.

by an aisle on both the north and the south. Halfway down the walls of the Church on either side rose a tower. The lower part of the tower on the south side formed a porch-chapel, with an altar of Saint Gregory the Great; there the Archbishop and his priests sat to judge and to decide such cases and questions of legal dispute as were outside the jurisdiction of the courts of the King, or of the hundreds and shires. The tower opposite, on the north side, was sacred to Saint Martin; on its floor novices of the Cathedral House assembled for instruction in the Offices of their breviary throughout the Church's year.

From the nave, as one walked westward, another flight of steps led upward to the Lady-Altar; and behind this in the west end, probably also shaped into an apse, stood the Archbishop's throne.[20]

Below the Cathedral, reached by steps from the sanctuary in the east, lay the crypt, the resting place of relics of the Saints. Probably Dunstan saw here, or elsewhere in his Cathedral, the magnificent shrines of relics brought by Oda for its honouring. Canterbury tradition afterward ascribed to Oda's initiative the bringing from Rouen of relics of its Archbishop, the great Saint Ouen of the seventh century. A letter among existing documents is addressed to King Edgar by the abbot and community of Saint-Ouen in Rouen, assuring him of their constant prayers, and petitioning for aid in the restoration of their abbey. From Ripon in England, too, men said, Oda had brought relics of Saint Wilfrid the First, abbot of Ripon, bishop of York, and restorer of Benedictine life in northern England. The tradition of York, however, main-

[20] Eadmer, *Vita Odonis*, *Anglia Sacra*, II, 83; Gervase of Canterbury, *RS*, LXXIII, i, 7f.; Willis, *Arch. Hist. of Canterbury Cathedral*, 1845, 20ff.; Woodruff and Danks, *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral*, 1912, 10f., 19ff.; Clapham, *Eng. Rom. Arch. before the Conquest*, 85ff., 94, 98, 122; Talbot Rice, 62.

tained that the relics lying at Canterbury were those of the second Wilfrid of its see.[21]

From delight in his Cathedral Church, Dunstan turned to serve its clergy. For their instruction he pored night after night over writings on the doctrine and history of the Church at large; dawn often found him working to correct errors in the manuscripts he loved for their beauty and their learning.[22]

We may believe that monastic life was still persisting at Canterbury under him within the abbey of Saint Augustine, founded by Gregory's mission at the end of the sixth century in the names of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The Cathedral Church when Dunstan ruled in Canterbury was doubtless still, as it long had been, served by clergy more or less secular. There is no evidence that he tried to remove these, either here or in other churches and communities under his immediate direction. We read that Canterbury's Cathedral received new installing of Benedictine monks toward the end of this tenth century from its Archbishop of that time, Ælfric. It is, however, entirely reasonable to think that Dunstan would and did accept and gladly welcome any who wished so far as was possible to follow the Benedictine *Rule* as he himself was doing, and that under his own personal enthusiasm monks were found in Canterbury's Cathedral to leaven in some measure its less than monastic discipline.[23] So far as we can tell, he believed in the sowing of the seed, in its growth amid patient waiting, rather than in forceful transferring of the plant full grown. At Worcester he had not been bishop long enough in any case to bring about a transition from the secular character of his Cathedral priests to the monastic. As bishop of Worcester and of London, however, evidence

[21] *HCY*, I, 106, 224f., 462; *Gest. Pont.* 245; *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, 363f.

[22] *Memorials*, 49.

[23] Knowles, *Mon. Order*, 50, 696f.; *JTS*, 1938, 131; *Memorials*, 316.

which may well be accepted states that he had established in 958–59 a "little monastery of twelve monks" at Saint Peter's Church, Westminster, a refounding of a house known to history since the time of Offa of Mercia in the eighth century. There later on he made Wulfsige its abbot.[24]

From Canterbury he worked hard for the abbeys of southern England, firmly encouraged and aided by his King. It was said that as a boy, out hunting with his companions of the Court, Edgar had caught sight in the distance of a group of buildings noble in architecture but unsightly through ruin and decay. He had asked what they were, and had been told that once a famous monastery had flourished in this place, but that war and the greed of kings had brought it to this state. Then and there he had vowed that if ever he became King he would restore this house of God, with others, to active life.[25]

Among the abbeys which he now endowed with many gifts Edgar "loved always Glastonbury above all"; [26] indeed, tradition places his birth in the little hamlet near by, still named Edgarley. Dunstan as Archbishop frequently visited Glastonbury to encourage its abbots: first, Ælfric, his successor there, then Sigegar. There, as of old, he prayed before its altar of Saint George the Martyr and in the "little lighthouse" of Saint John the Baptist, that square chapel which he himself had built. His counsel, too, was constantly sought by its monks. We read of the Prior of Glastonbury journey-

[24] *Gest. Pont.* 178; Armitage Robinson, ed. Fletc, *Hist. of Westminster Abbey*, 1909, 79; *BASP*, IV, 67f. It is of significance that seculars continued in Dunstan's time in the Cathedral Church of Rochester, Kent: R. A. L. Smith, *EHR*, 1945, 289ff.

[25] *Memorials*, 290; Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, *RS*, XXXV, 433ff. The story is, however, assigned to the eleventh century by Armitage Robinson, *Times of St. Dunstan*, 164f., 167f.

[26] *Gest. Reg.* I, 167f.

ing to Bath when Dunstan was there, to confer with him "as usual" concerning its brethren and their needs.[27]

From this ancient abbey men went out to work throughout the south of England. The earliest *Life* of Dunstan tells that "very many pastors of churches, trained by his teaching and example there, were sought after for various cities and for other monasteries . . . priors, deans, abbots, bishops, even Archbishops." [28] From Glastonbury came Æthelgar, abbot of the New Minster at Winchester, bishop of Selsey in 980, Archbishop of Canterbury upon Dunstan's death in 988; Sigeric, whom Dunstan made abbot of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury, and consecrated bishop of Ramsbury in 985, destined to follow Æthelgar in 990 as Archbishop; Æthelwold, abbot of Abingdon, whom Dunstan consecrated as bishop of Winchester in 963; Sigegar, abbot of Glastonbury, appointed bishop of Wells in 975; Ælfwold, bishop of Crediton in 988; Wulfsige, installed by Dunstan as abbot of Westminster, bishop of Sherborne in 992, Saint of the Church under the name of Wulsin.[29]

Elsewhere in Somerset the abbey of Athelney, founded by King Alfred about 888 in the marshes near Glastonbury, had quickly died through lack of novices. Now it came to life again. Monks, few and poor though they might be, were there at the time of the Conquest, were still there in the twelfth century, surrounded by the alder thickets and withies, in the home of the deer and the roe, "comforting their poverty with welcome quiet and solitude." On another island in these marshes stood the monastery of Muchelney, also near Langport. Its tradition gives us no certain evidence of the

[27] *Memorials*, 27, 47f., 471.

[28] *Ibid.* 26.

[29] *De Antiq. Glast. Eccl.* ed. Gale, 325; *Gest. Reg.* I, 224f.; Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, IV, 48; Knowles, *Mon. Order*, 65, note 3.

date of its founding, but points to the earlier years of the eighth century. It, too, by the time of this tenth century, had fallen into decay; the fresh vigour Dunstan had given to Glastonbury as its abbot flowed out in turn to both these houses of its neighbourhood.[30]

And so to Bath.[31] Its abbey of Saint Peter was in the hands of Offa of Mercia in the eighth century, and was property of the Crown when King Edmund gave it to the clergy exiled from Saint-Bertin. It was then no Benedictine cloister. Later on, through Dunstan's energy, it attained repute of monastic living. Ælfheah, who in 984 was appointed bishop of Winchester, the second of that name, and in 1006 was transferred to become Archbishop of Canterbury, as a young man left the monastery of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire to seek stricter discipline in this abbey of Bath. There he lived in a cell a little apart from its community, and "many goodly monks were joined to it because of him." It was Dunstan who made him bishop of Winchester, knowing him to be a man "shrewd in business of this world, simple in God, careful of external things, not neglectful of the inward"; of such abstinence that he was thin to emaciation but never making a parade of it, and always of his courtesy "just touching the bowl of wassail with his lips." [32]

In northern Wiltshire, on the river Avon, the tradition of Malmesbury Abbey, told by William, its chronicler and monk in the twelfth century, held that Dunstan replaced the secular clergy he found there with regular monks, such as it

[30] *Gest. Pont.* 199; E. H. Bates, ed. *Two Cartularies of Muchelney and Athelney*, 1899, 4, 115.

[31] *Memorials*, 46; Levison, *England*, 31; *Gest. Pont.* 194. For a foundation of an abbey for nuns at Bath in 676 by Osric, a prince of the Hwicce, see W. Hunt, *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath*, 1893, xxxiv, 6f.

[32] *Gest. Pont.* 169f., 30; *Gest. Reg.* I, 225; *Memorials*, 62, 217.

had known in Aldhelm's seventh century. From the same source we hear that Dunstan gave the abbey many rich gifts, some of them still to be seen in the twelfth century; that he made one Ælfric its abbot, a man holy and learned, and in 977 sent him to Devonshire as bishop of Crediton, where he was "very energetic in raising buildings, as he had been at Malmesbury in disciplining the clergy." [33]

All in all, extant evidence in detail of fact for Dunstan's personal working for the Benedictine *Rule* in individual monasteries is largely lacking. But the great and comprehensive movement of this tenth century for the reform of English abbeys was nevertheless primarily his, and primarily in its twofold sense. He was the first English abbot who in this tenth century openly revived Benedictine discipline in his own country through the monastery at Glastonbury; he taught and trained there monks who were to carry and establish its customs; he, with others, brought knowledge of monastic working from the Continent; he strove mightily with English kings for the achieving of reform; he supported as Archbishop the spreading of new life from cloister to cloister; he chose, ordained, and consecrated the men who could bring this discipline once again into established use.

Often Archbishop Dunstan was travelling here and there in England on the general business of its Church. We read of Councils of King Edgar's advisers at Andover and at Wulfamere (perhaps Woolmer Forest), in Hampshire; also at "Wihtbordestane," a place unidentified. Here more dili-

[33] *Ibid.* 301f. Cf. among Will. of Malmesbury's angry and exaggerated accusations against King Eadwig (*Gest. Reg.* I, 163): *Malmesbiriense coenobium, plusquam ducentis septuaginta annis a monachis inhabitatum, stabulum clericorum fecit;* see also Faricius, *Vita Aldhelmi: Patr. Eccl. Angl.* (Giles), I, 370f.

gent observance of Church duties was urged upon layfolk.[34] Parishes and parish priests were the Archbishop's daily concern; all sorts and conditions of layfolk, men and women, opened to him their griefs and grievances. Disputes were settled, quarrels died down under his quiet words; counsel was given to those purposing unwise marriages, prohibition broke up unlawful unions; vocations and employments of various sort were planted and confirmed; widows, orphans, foreigners, strangers, received help according to their needs; churches were aided in building, furnishing, functioning; and all, from the students in abbey schools to the churls and serfs, ignorant and unchurched, were fed, to the extent of Dunstan's power and their own will and understanding, on "the salt of wholesome knowledge." [35]

Furthermore, as Archbishop and as counsellor of his King, Dunstan was frequently at Court. His was no small part in the organizing of that legislation which kept England and its two peoples, English and Dane, in quietness and harmony during these years. More and more, men's feeling for the King and his royal office was deepening, for the King as the head of social order, the court of last appeals, the source of law and discipline and redress. Not idly did a royal proclamation of 1014 declare: "A Christian king is Christ's representative among Christian people"; "in the assemblies . . . after the days of Edgar, the laws of Christ and of the King have been drained of power for us." [36]

The King was thus the head and apex of a society organized for the responsibility of its adherent parts. Under

[34] Liebermann, II, 279, III, 139; Robertson, *Laws*, 5, 30; Birch, Nos. 1140, 1265; Eilert Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 1936, 508.

[35] *Memorials*, 49f.

[36] VIII Æthelred, 2, i; 37; D. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 53.

him each man owed loyalty to his chosen and appointed lord: the great ealdorman to the King himself, the lesser nobles to their ealdorman, churls to their thegns, serfs to their masters. Every man not only rendered service to his lord, but looked to him for protection in time of trouble, as surety in cases of accusation and of expiation of crime. Hand in hand with this bond went the natural tie of kinship, also responsible for a man's defence and safety, for the avenging of his murder or injury. Each man's life was assessed at its own *wer*, its own value, to be paid in atonement for his harming; every accused man looked to his sureties, of social or of blood relationship, one or several or many, according to the prescription of the law, to swear in the courts the oath which should deliver him from further necessity of proof. At the lower end of the ranking stood the peasants who worked on the soil for their living; and at the very bottom were the slaves, creatures who had lost all freedom through guilt of crime or helpless poverty.

But in these days all men, high and low, bound together by English law of the State, were also baptized members of the Church in England, bound by the law of the Church Catholic. Thus over all this complicated social order Dunstan as Chief Bishop watched with the King and the King's secular advisers in Council: over the issuing of laws, secular and spiritual; over finance, coinage and taxes and fines; over trade, barter, exchange, measures and weights; over national defence and provision; over international diplomatic correspondence. Now and again an emergency arose, as in the outbreak of plague and the great fire in London recorded of the year 962, when Saint Paul's Cathedral was burned to the ground.[37] The ordinances issued shortly afterward appeared in the name of State and Church:

[37] *A.-S. C.* (A), *ann.* 962.

I, then, the King declared, *and the Archbishop* (Dunstan) *bid you that you do not provoke God to anger, that you do not, by holding back what is due to God, earn as your due either this sudden death in this present life or in truth the future death of eternal hell. Nay, but let him who holdeth any fruits of his labour, be he poor or rich, render to God his tithes with all joy and willingness.*

Among the tithes and taxes levied at this time under the general oversight of Archbishop Dunstan were the plough-alms, paid at Eastertide for each team at work; the tithe of the yearlings, to be delivered by Pentecost; the "hearth-penny" or Rome scot, that offering for Rome due by the first of August, the feast of Saint Peter *ad Vincula;*[38] the tithe of the fruits of the earth, to be brought in during the autumn; the Martinmas scot, payable in November; the alms for the souls of the dead.

Moreover, administration of English justice now concerned so wide an area that much of its burden was falling into the hands of the King's representatives, ealdormen, shire-reeves, bishops, sitting to deliver judgment for their counties or boroughs in local matters of both ecclesiastical and secular law. Often it was a bishop's better knowledge and experience which in the end decided some difficult case.

These matters, then, Dunstan watched and meditated. He knew well the penalties for the crimes in practice around him: treason, murder, assault, cattle-stealing, arson, church-breaking, perjury, insubordination, witchcraft and sorcery. He knew that for grievous offenders, whose lords or relatives could not or would not make compensation (pay in

[38] IV Edgar, 1, iv; II Edgar, 4; N. Neilson, *Customary Rents,* 1910, 200f.

kind or in money for their redemption), for men whom the King could not pardon, the penalty was exile and outlawing or death or excommunication, the last a fate often held worse than death. And this code the Archbishop held to be the law not only of the State but of God and His Church. In the tradition of Canterbury of the eleventh century it was told that once on the morning of Pentecost, Whit-Sunday, three coiners who had been caught making base coins were awaiting their punishment, of losing the guilty right hands. Dunstan on his way to Mass asked whether the sentence had been carried out, and was told, "No, not on so high a Feast-day." "Never," he is said to have answered. "Coiners who deliberately make bad money are thieves, and I know of no worse crime, for it robs and confuses all men, rich, middle-class, and poor. I cannot, must not, offer the Holy Sacrifice with hands that hold in them the guilt of justice unsatisfied." He waited, with the tears running down his face. When word came that justice had been done according to the law of the land, he rose, washed his face, and quietly walked to the altar.[39]

In nothing is this stern and intimate bond between the Church and secular law in regard to crime and its punishment seen more vividly than in the ordinances, inherited by Dunstan from older days, of the fourfold Ordeal, the *Judicia Dei*, by which men, Frankish and Anglo-Saxon alike, believed that Divine wisdom answered for them the question of a man's guilt or innocence. Dunstan knew well the awful scene and its ritual.[40] The wretched man, accused of often repeated crime, who had no sureties or no sufficiency of sureties to swear to his innocence or to make satisfaction for him, after three days begun by holy Mass

[39] *Memorials*, 202f.
[40] Liebermann, I, 401ff.; II, 601ff.

and sustained on bread, water, herbs, and salt, now stood before the priest as the solemn Mass of the Ordeal was chanted, with his witnesses arrayed in a line on either side. Now he received the consecrated Host, now he came forward to take and to carry in his bare hand the red-hot iron, of one or three pounds in weight, for three or for nine paces, according to the gravity of the charge against him. He knew well that, however at this time he might endure, his guilt would be held as proven, should the burned hand refuse promptly to heal. Or, did his accuser so decide, the accused, in like lack of sureties, must be thrown into icy water and swiftly sink, or plunge his hand to the wrist or to the elbow into boiling water in search of a stone. Dunstan may well have seen, also, one of his own clergy struggling in vain to win Heaven's witness to his innocence by swallowing with throat paralyzed by terror the *corsnæd*, the *offa consecrata*, the ounce of dry, hard bread or cheese prescribed by law and blessed by the Church. No doubt the Archbishop had listened to the special Collect, Epistle, and Gospel of the Mass of the Ordeal and had heard the priest as he called upon the accused by his Christian name at the altar:

> *I require you, N., by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, by the Christian Faith you have received, by the Only-Begotten Son of God, by the Holy Trinity, by the sacred Gospels and the holy relics abiding in this church, by your baptism and rebirth into God's life, that you in no wise dare to receive this communion or draw near God's altar if you have done this thing or know by whom it was done.*[41]

In the matter of ecclesiastical law directly under his own jurisdiction the Archbishop was equally firm. A story,

[41] Cf. Bouquet, IV, 201ff.

resting on the authority of Adelard, shows him in collision with the Pope himself for his principles. A man of high rank in England had married within the degrees of kinship forbidden by the Church and refused to forego his unblessed union. After repeated admonitions Dunstan excommunicated him. The angry earl went straight to Rome, laid his case before the Pope, and obtained from him written order to the Archbishop, requesting him to allow the marriage. Dunstan, writes Adelard, was true to his name, immovable as a stone, square and embedded in its setting. His fourth *Life*, written by Eadmer early in the twelfth century, declares that he also refused to submit his conscience to King Edgar in this matter. At last the earl, alarmed for his own soul, came to public penance in Dunstan's presence, was kept standing by him with feet bare and in penitent's shirt, taper in hand, for an hour in front of a great assembly, and only then delivered from his ban of exile.[42]

The last years of Edgar's reign brought to Dunstan as Archbishop a work of the greatest interest to us who read of it some nine hundred and eighty years after its accomplishing by him in patient labour for Church, King, and State: the Coronation of Edgar in 973, on the Feast of Pentecost, Whit-Sunday, May the eleventh, at Bath in Somerset. Its ritual, drawn up by Dunstan himself, gave England its first "Coronation Service, properly to be so called." In substance, in its chief features, it was celebrated after the following manner.[43]

[42] *Memorials*, 67, 200f.

[43] Ratcliff (see below), 8. For Dunstan and the history of Coronation ritual see A. Taylor, *The Glory of Regality*, 1820; F. E. Warren, ed. *The Leofric Missal*, 1883; H. A. Wilson, *JTS*, 1901, 481ff.; L. G. Wickham Legg, ed. *English Coronation Records*, 1901; Armitage Robinson, *JTS*, 1917, 56ff.; G. Ellard (note 17, above); P. E. Schramm, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, LIV, *Kan. Abt.* XXIII, 1934, 117ff.;

At Bath a vast assembly gathered from all parts of England. There were present Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury; Oswald, since 972 Archbishop of York; bishops, abbots, abbesses, priests, ealdormen, military men and men of law and administration, officials of Court and State. Two bishops, one on either side, led the King into the church, while the choir, with two bishops acting as Precentors, sang the antiphon in the Latin which was, of course, the language of this ritual from beginning to end:

> *Let thy hand be strengthened, and thy right hand exalted; justice and judgment are the preparation of thy throne; mercy and truth shall go before thy face;*
>
> *Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost; As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end, Amen.*[44]

The King, with his escort, walked up the church to the High Altar, took off the circlet he was wearing on his head, and lay prostrate as Archbishop Dunstan chanted the first words of the *Te Deum*, which was then taken up by the whole choir. At its end the bishops raised the King from the ground and, at Dunstan's bidding, he declared before the congregation his threefold oath:

> *These three things to the Christian people subject unto me do I promise in the Name of Christ:*
>
> *First, that the Church of God and all Christian peo-*

ibid., LV, *Kan. Abt.* XXIV, 1935, 309ff.; *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. L. G. Wickham Legg, 1937; *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, XV, 1937–38, 3ff., 305ff.; P. L. Ward, *Speculum*, 1939, 160ff.; *EHR*, 1942, 345ff.; E. C. Ratcliff, *The Coronation Service of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II*, 1953; B. Wilkinson, *The Coronation in History*, 1953.

[44] See Schramm, *Zeitschrift*, LIV, 221ff.

ple under my dominion in all time shall keep true peace;

Second, that acts of greed, violence, and all iniquities in all ranks and classes I will forbid;

Third, that in all judgments I will declare justice and mercy; so to me and to you may God, gracious and merciful, yield His mercy, Who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever:

And all the assembly cried "Amen."

After this the following prayers were said, in part by Dunstan, in part by Oswald:

We beseech Thee, Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Eternal God, that this Thy servant, whom by the providence of Thy Divine Will Thou hast made to grow from birth in the joy of youth unto this present time, may in the sight of God and of men day by day, endowed with Thy care and filled with Thy truth, so increase in grace that he may enter with gladness upon his rule as our Lord Supreme, and, defended on all sides by the bulwark of Thy mercy, may be found meet to govern in kindly peace and strength of victory the people committed to his charge.

God, Who of Thy goodness dost take thought for Thy peoples and dost govern them with Thy love, give to this Thy servant EDGAR *the spirit of wisdom with the exercise of discipline; that, devoted in all his heart to Thee, he may ever be found apt in the ruling of his realm. Of Thy grace grant that in his days the peace of Thy Church be directed in safety, and in tranquillity the faith of Christian men stand firm; that, abiding in good works, he may be led of Thee at last to the kingdom without end.*

In his days may justice and mercy arise for all men, aid for our allies, hindrance for our enemies, solace for the lowly, rebuke for the proud, learning for the rich, loyalty for the poor, friendship for the alien, peace and security for our own in our Fatherland. May he govern in discretion each man according to his measure, may he learn zealously to know himself; so that, with conscience given by God for his quickening, he may hold up to all his people the pattern of a life well-pleasing to Thee, and, walking with his flock in the way of truth, may reap harvest of plenteous fruit, may receive in all things the health Thou givest of body and of soul. So may he conceive in Thee every counsel of the mind, may ever appear in peace and in wisdom just deviser of rule for his people; so by Thy help may he attain length of days in this present life, through a goodly course come to full count of age; and when this frailty has reached its end, may he find release from all bonds of sin and receive unending reward in the joyous company of angels for evermore.

Then followed the Consecration of the King, clothed in words which recall the Old Testament:

Almighty, Everlasting God, Creator and Ruler of heaven and earth, Maker and Governor of angels and of men, King of kings and Lord of lords, Who madest Abraham Thy servant to triumph over his enemies and didst give manifold victory to Moses and to Joshua, the leaders of Thy people: Thou Who didst raise David Thy child to the height of kingship, didst free him from the lion's mouth, from the hand of wild beast and of Goliath, from the cruel sword of Saul and of all his enemies: Thou who didst enrich Solomon with treasure

of wisdom and of peace passing words: Look, we ask of Thee, upon the prayers of our humility; multiply upon this Thy servant EDGAR, *whom with humble and single heart we have chosen for the realm of Angles and Saxons alike, the gifts of Thy blessings; gird him about ever and everywhere with the right hand of Thy power, that with the faith of Abraham, the mildness of Moses, the strength of Joshua, the high humility of David, the wisdom of Solomon, he may find favour with Thee in all things and may walk without stumbling evermore. May he so foster and teach, defend and provide the Church of this whole realm and people, so administer strongly and royally against all enemies visible and invisible the ruling of Thy power, that he forsake not the royal throne, the sceptres of Angles and Saxons; that of Thy grace he bring his people again to their faith and peace of old; that, upheld by their due subjection and exalted, as is meet and right, by their love, he may establish in unity and guide through long space of life the splendour of his father's glory. Guard him ever with the helmet and shield of Thy protection, fence him around with heavenly armour; that he win victory over his enemies, that he cast the terror of his might upon the faithless, and bring joy of peace to those who fight for Thee. Honour him, O Christ, with the merits of Thy faithful ones, with the manifold glory of Thy blessing; place him high in the rule of his realm and anoint him with the oil of grace of Thy Holy Spirit.*

Now the choir sang the antiphon of the Anointing:

Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon King in Gihon;

and this was followed by the joyful cry, "Long live the King, for evermore!"

The Prayers of the Anointing followed, and the holy oil was poured upon the King. After this began the ritual of the investiture. Dunstan, Primate of England, chanted the prayers made for each detail as he placed the ring upon Edgar's finger, girded the sword at his side, raised and laid the crown of England on his head, gave the sceptre and the rod into his hands. Then came the last lingering blessings and the solemn charge in which was declared the meaning of the consecrated kingship: [45]

> *Stand and hold henceforth the place which hitherto thou hast held of thy father's bestowing, the place now given to thee, his heir, by the authority of Almighty God, and by this present conferring through ourselves, through all the bishops and other servants of God. In as much as thou dost see the clergy stand nearer the holy altars, in so far be thou mindful to give them the greater honour in the places where this is theirs; so may the Mediator between God and men make thee strong upon this thy throne to mediate between thy clergy and thy people, and give it thee to reign with Him in the eternal kingdom. . . .*

Then the ritual of the Queen's blessing was solemnized, in far briefer manner: her anointing and consecration, her investing with her own ring and crown. After this Dunstan proceeded to chant the High Mass of Consecration. When

[45] Cf. the "Mainzer Ordo": Schramm, *Zeitschrift*, LV, 320. The words (given, of course, by Dunstan in Latin) from "In as much" onward are omitted in the Order of 1953. See the correspondence in *The Tablet*, 1953 (H. P. R. Finberg and others), May 23, 30, June 13, 20, July 4, 11, 18, 25.

this, too, came to its end, secular rejoicing followed, and the Coronation banquet opened its long ceremony in the Hall near by, where the King, with Archbishops Dunstan and Oswald on either side, looked down for hours from his raised throne upon his lords and leaders. Meanwhile the Queen, in a gown of silk sewn with pearls and precious stones, gave her own feast to the abbots and abbesses of England.

Thus, in substance, was unrolled the Coronation ritual celebrated by Dunstan in 973 and of so deep an influence upon crownings of the future, both in England and on the Continent. A few words should be given to its various sources and texts.

Its sources were: first, the Bible; secondly, the Frankish and Gregorian Sacramentaries; [46] and, thirdly, the "Leofric" Coronation Order, a very simple rite of "Benedictions upon the King newly elected," consisting of seven prayers and "three precepts."

These "precepts" were in substance similar to the King's oath of the Edgar-ritual, but stood in this "Leofric" Order at the end of the rite instead of at the beginning, and were there declared by the newly elected King as a "mandate" to his people, endorsed by their threefold answer of "Amen." In the Edgar-Order, as we have seen, the King took upon himself an oath for fulfilment of service. The "Leofric" Order is so called because it is found in *The Leofric Missal*, a Service Book containing rites used in Lotharingia and, also, in the Cathedral of Exeter when one Leofric was the first bishop of this see, 1050–72 A.D. Leofric's native land was Lotharingia, and he probably brought the Book with

[46] H. A. Wilson, ed. *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, 1894; ed. *The Gregorian Sacramentary*, *HBS*, XLIX, 1915.

him when he came to England at the instance of Edward the Confessor. On account of the special honour given in the Litany of Saints contained within this book to the name of Saint Vaast (Vedastus), inscribed in different script and with special ornamentation, we may believe that this *Leofric Missal* was compiled and written in or near the monastery of Saint-Vaast, in the diocese of Arras. Its Coronation rite would probably represent Continental use as known in Flanders in the early tenth century.[47]

A fourth source was a West Frankish *Ordo* of c. 900,[48] which had itself drawn some of its matter from two earlier Frankish Orders: that of the Coronation at Metz of Charles the Bald as King of Lotharingia in 869 by Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims,[49] and that of the Coronation of Louis the Stammerer at Compiègne in 877 by the same Archbishop.[50] And, as a fifth source, the Edgar-ritual owed some detail to a German Coronation Order, drawn up on the basis of the Aachen use about 961 in the monastery of Saint Alban, Mainz, for inclusion in a Pontifical of the Roman-German character.[51]

The extant versions of the Edgar-*Ordo* derive both from

[47] Warren (note 43 above), xxff., xxxviiiff.; Ward, 162f. For the text of the "Leofric" Coronation ritual see Warren, 230ff.; Schramm, *Zeitschrift*, LIV, 209ff. (columns on left side). The so-called "Egbert" *Ordo*, representing Frankish practice of the tenth century, ed. Wickham Legg, *Eng. Cor. Rec.* 3ff.; ed. also Schramm, *Zeitschrift*, LIV, 209ff. (columns on right side); and the *Ordo* contained in the *Pontificale Lanaletense*, now assigned to the tenth-century use of St. Germans, Cornwall, ed. G. H. Doble, *HBS*, LXXIV, 1937, are amplified versions of this "Leofric" *Ordo*. Schramm (*ibid.* 162, 172, 176, 233; *Hist. Eng. Coron.* 19) regards the "Leofric" and the "Egbert" recensions as made under the inspiration of Dunstan.

[48] Schramm, *Zeitschrift*, LIV, 201ff.

[49] *Cap. reg. Fr.* II, 456ff.

[50] *Ibid.* 461f. The investiture with the ring, the sword, the sceptre, and the rod was in each case part of Frankish ritual.

[51] Schramm, *Zeitschrift*, LV, 309ff.

England and from the Continent. Made in England were two versions. One is found in three manuscripts of c. 1000: Brit. Mus. Cott. Claudius iii;[52] Paris B. N. lat. 943;[53] Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 146.[54] The other comes from an English Service Book of the later tenth century, of the Winchester school, called *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*.[55] Of the Continental versions the most interesting at present is that copied at the abbey of Saint-Vaast at Arras in Flanders for the use of Ratold, abbot of Corbie, who died in 986.[56]

All these versions agree in substance, but differ here and there in detail. We do not know what is the exact dating of each in its relation to the others; we do not know yet whether Dunstan made or used one of these, or some other version, for his crowning of Edgar in 973. The agreement of the description of this ceremony given by the monk who wrote the *Life* of Saint Oswald [57]—a writer who seems to have been present himself at the Coronation of Edgar and certainly had before him some copy of its ritual as he was writing—with the version found in the manuscripts Claudius iii and C. C. C. C. 146 points to his use of this version.[58] The monk, who belonged to Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire, named Dunstan and Oswald as the chief celebrants of the ritual. But he was writing about 1003, thirty years after the crowning. His description is short, and he may have used another version as his guide. The early date of the Ratold-Order, made by an English hand and found

[52] Taylor, 395ff.

[53] Not printed. This is the "Sherborne Pontifical," once without due reason known as the "Pontifical of Saint Dunstan."

[54] Wickham Legg, *Eng. Cor. Rec.* 15ff.

[55] Rouen Y 7; ed. H. A. Wilson, *HBS*, XXIV, 1903; see page 229 below.

[56] For its text see Ward, *EHR*, 1942, 347ff.

[57] *HCY*, I, 436ff.; Schramm, *Zeitschrift*, LIV, 231ff.

[58] *Ibid.* 178; Armitage Robinson, *JTS*, 1917, 56ff.

in copy at Corbie before 986, only thirteen years after Edgar's crowning, suggests that its text is of great importance in tracing the ritual of this ceremony.[59]

Flanders and Lotharingia have been mentioned more than once in this brief discussion of a king's Coronation. Undoubtedly there were stages of growth in the construction of the Anglo-Saxon Coronation ritual. The "Leofric" rite, an important source of the Edgar-*Ordo*, of whatever version, was written and used in Flanders; another source of this *Ordo* was the text of the Coronation of Charles the Bald, a special friend of the abbey of Saint-Vaast in Flanders; the Ratold text of the Edgar-*Ordo* was connected with that monastery. Dunstan, a monk deeply concerned with Church ritual, had lived in Flanders more than a year. He was himself connected with the abbey of Saint-Vaast as one of the Flemish monasteries reformed by his friend, Arnulf the First, Count of Flanders; and we know that he was a friend of Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Vaast toward the end of the tenth century.[60] The suggestion is reasonable that he was working on the ritual of the consecration of kings during his stay in Flanders; that he brought to England on his return a text of the "Leofric" ritual in use in this tenth century; that he himself compiled a Coronation Order, one of the versions of the Edgar-*Ordo* mentioned above, from material which he found on the Continent, and especially in Flanders, and that he and Archbishop Oswald were using this when they crowned Edgar at Bath in 973.[61]

The words of the Edgar-*Ordo* seem to express a thought entirely in harmony with what we know of Dunstan's mind

[59] Armitage Robinson, *ibid.* 61, 68, and Ward, *EHR*, 1942, 345, note 2, both regard this Ratold text as representing "the earliest stage in the development of the Edgar *ordo*."

[60] *Memorials*, 383.

[61] Cf. P. Grierson, *TRHS*, 1941, 92f.; Ellard, 82.

and his work. As he would bring his novices into the full stature of the Christlike ideal of Benedict of Nursia, as he would order Christian discipline in Church and State, so he desired to see a reflection of the Lord Incarnate, Christ the Anointed, standing as Mediator between God and men, in the Christian king, consecrated to stand as Mediator between the clergy and the lay people of his land. In this thought we may perhaps discern a reason for the long postponing of King Edgar's Coronation, until 973, more than thirteen years after he came to the throne of England. By that time he had reached that age of thirty at which the Church judged her young men to be ready and prepared, by learning and by experience, for the laying on of hands and the anointing of consecration to her priesthood. In the mind of Dunstan, who on the Continent had thought deeply on the office and function of a king, as in the mind of Edgar himself, who deeply revered Dunstan, it may well have seemed that no briefer time of proving was meet for one who by consecration and by anointing was to be set apart from his people that he might more nearly draw them into the obedience of his and of their Church.[62]

What the reign of Edgar meant to Dunstan may be summed up in the words of Ælfric, monk of Cernel, Dorset, at the end of Dunstan's tenth century:

> *And we say truly that the time was happy and pleasant among the English when King Edgar furthered Christianity and raised up many monasteries. And his kingdom dwelt in peace; one did not hear of any fleet, save of one's own people, holding this land. And all the kings which were on this island, of Cambrians and of*

[62] Cf. Schramm, *Hist. Eng. Coron.* 118f.; Stenton, *A.-S. England*, 363.

Scots, came to Edgar once on one day, eight kings were they, and they all bowed to Edgar's rule.[63]

This homage was rendered in 973 and not long after Edgar's Coronation. Some two years later, on July the eighth, 975, Edgar died. He was buried with kingly honour by Dunstan in the cloister he had loved and enriched, Glastonbury Abbey, near the place of his birth. There, in days to come, pilgrims were to revere him as a Saint.[64]

For thirteen years thereafter Dunstan was still to rule at Canterbury; but they ran a far more uncertain course than he had known in England under his patron and friend, Edgar the Peaceful.

[63] Ælfric, *Lives of the Saints*, ed. Skeat, I, 2, 468; *A.-S. C.* (D, E, F), *ann.* 972, in error for 973; W. H. Stevenson, *EHR*, 1898, 505f. The exact detail of the ceremony is not known and the number of kings is variously given.

[64] *Gest. Reg.* I, 180; *Memorials*, 306f.

5

Aethelwold of Winchester

THAT caution which in Dunstan moved slowly to make changes of deep influence upon the lives of men found both its contrast and its complement in the character of those who shared his work. Of these, two above all stand out in history as his fellows in initiation and in achievement: Æthelwold of Winchester and Oswald of Worcester.

Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester from 963 until his death in 984, was a man full of rushing energy, impetuous, driven by a single purpose, unencumbered by scruple of policies to be weighed and balanced. To him the cause dominated all; and to this cause the individual should bow, spirit and body, for the good of the whole. Those who submitted and followed his ideal knew him as tender, considerate, ready for their aid to sacrifice both himself and all things outside himself which he could lawfully yield. He wrecked his health, not only by his rigid abstinence from food and sleep, but by his incessant work; he spent his fortune—and he was a man of much wealth—on gifts to churches, to monasteries, and to individuals. We are even told that in a time of great famine in England, when funds for relief were exhausted, he ordered the treasures of the Church, its silver vessels and

properties of fine workmanship, to be broken up and melted down in order to make money for the starving poor. What was lifeless metal, compared with bodies and souls created and redeemed by God? [1]

To those who resisted the course he held necessary and right, he was fearsome; in his wrath, men said, he leaped like a raging lion, like a bolt of thunder from heaven. And his standard of obedience, his ideal for his monks, was extremely high. If we are to believe tradition, we find him as abbot applying the discipline of the Ordeal itself to the most innocent among them. The man who wrote his *Life*, a pupil of his and a devoted religious, relates that Æthelwold in making the rounds of his monastery of Abingdon found one of his community, whose name was Ælfstan, hard at work in the kitchen, his place of duty. The kettles and pans were shining; the floor was swept and scoured. The abbot was surprised to find that Ælfstan was working alone, carrying out these daily labours without the help of the servant allowed by the *Rule*. He was pleased. But all he said, with a smile, was: "My brother, you have stolen this obedience from me unawares. Let us see now what sort of soldier of Christ you really are. Suppose you dip your hand deep down into that cauldron of boiling water and draw me out one of your dumplings, one right at the bottom!" Without a word Ælfstan obeyed, then held out his hand with the boiling dough. The hand was unharmed; the ordeal had been passed; the brother lived to be bishop of Ramsbury.[2]

Æthelwold and Dunstan were born about the same time. Both were of Wessex; and all their lives they read, thought,

[1] Wulfstan, *PL*, CXXXVII, col. 94.

[2] Ælfric, *Chron. Abing.* II, 259; *ibid.* I, 128; Will. Malm. *Gest. Pont.* 181; Flor. Worc. *ann.* 970; R. R. Darlington, *EHR*, 1936, 390, note 6.

and worked together as friends. Æthelwold's birthplace was the royal city, Winchester. He grew up under the shadow of the Old Minster of King Cenwalh and saw as a boy the New Minster not long after its building and consecration, proud in its guarding of the relics of Saint Josse which had been carried from France. His parents were lovers of the Church and people of standing and substance. In childhood he learned eagerly from every source open to him; in youth his bright promise brought him, also, to the Court of King Athelstan. There he came to know Dunstan, and with Dunstan shared the teaching of that Ælfheah who from 934 was bishop of Æthelwold's Winchester. When they were of the right age King Athelstan encouraged the desire of both for the priesthood; and on the same day Ælfheah laid hands upon them in this Ordering.

Æthelwold, too, listened with Dunstan as Ælfheah spoke of the *Rule* of Saint Benedict, followed in the monasteries of England in the days of Bede. For years he read and gathered all the knowledge he could find. At last, when Dunstan was already abbot of Glastonbury, Æthelwold entered its cloister to learn the Benedictine life, and in time received its habit under him, his friend and his Superior.

Few men in his later years could turn Æthelwold from his determined purpose. But to Dunstan, once his abbot, afterward his Archbishop, he yielded in the sickness which then came upon him and at Dunstan's bidding for three months took the meat which his strict abstinence forbade.[3] Now at Glastonbury he threw himself into all the work of the abbey: Mass, Office, private prayer, fasting, study, labour in house and garden. He delighted in the learning which Dunstan was opening to his novices; and constantly, as he pushed

[3] Ælfric, *Chron. Abing.* II, 263.

himself forward, he would try to pull others with him, especially when at last Dunstan for his energy made him Prior.[4]

Then came a time when he ceased to be content. Glastonbury, it seemed to him, had given him all that was possible in its present knowledge of Benedictine practice. Now men were talking of Benedictine life across the sea in France, in the abbey of Fleury on the Loire.[5] To Fleury, we may think, he proposed to ask leave to go in search of the deeper knowledge for which he longed.

What Dunstan said we do not know. But Dunstan's friend Eadred, now King of England, was also the friend of Æthelwold. So was the Queen-Mother, Eadgifu, who was as anxious to keep Æthelwold at home in England as she was, about this time, to send Dunstan to be bishop of Crediton. Both Eadred and Eadgifu, once they had heard this disturbing decision of Æthelwold, knew that something must be done and at once. Eadgifu told her son: "You cannot possibly allow a man like Æthelwold to leave your kingdom." And Eadred rose to the occasion. With admirable shrewdness and understanding of Æthelwold's character he decided to offer him the rule and charge of a monastery, small and in great need, at Abingdon in Berkshire.[6]

Abingdon Abbey, we may believe, had been founded late in the seventh century on land given by a prince of Wessex named Cissa. We still have a description of its church, built by Heane, or Hæha, its first abbot: "It was one hundred and twenty feet long, and was rounded at either end, both west and east . . . Outside it in a circle were twelve cells in which twelve monks ate and drank and slept. The monastery

[4] *Ibid.* 257; Wulfstan, col. 87.

[5] Mary Bateson, *EHR*, 1894, 690f.

[6] *Chron. Abing.* II, 268ff., 272f.; Stenton, *The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon*, 1913; Clapham, *Eng. Rom. Arch. before the Conquest*, 33, 36f.

had no cloister at that time, but was protected by a high wall." The double apse appears here at an early date for England and points to foreign, perhaps Eastern, influence.

In the late eighth century, in 779, when King Offa gained a sweeping victory over Wessex, Abingdon Abbey had passed to Mercia. In 871, a century later, the raiding of the west country had scattered its monks and left its walls broken and scarred by fire. In the tenth century it was in the King's hands, a royal demesne; here Athelstan had received the envoy of Hugh, Duke of the Franks. Now, about 954, when King Eadred offered its rule and charge to Æthelwold, its desolation was crying for restoration and repair.[7] Its estate was very small, its buildings unworthy of their purpose, here and there crumbling into ruin, its professed monks few and ignorant, its novices lacking, its sanctuary and choir poor and badly served. Æthelwold was longing for deeper knowledge and experience in his own life, but he could not bring himself to refuse this call from his own land. The King, and even more readily the King's mother, gave and promised their support; and with Dunstan's blessing he set out for Berkshire as abbot of Abingdon.[8]

Here during nine years, from 954 until 963, he slowly brought into stern reality of practice the immature Benedictine life which Dunstan had fostered anew in Glastonbury. From that Glastonbury there came with him to Abingdon some members of Dunstan's community. We know their names, and they are described as "clerics," which may well mean that they were still only halfway on the road to a discipline fully regular. King Eadred granted the new abbot freedom of action, and he trained his novices with all his driving power: Osgar, Foldbriht, and Frithegar from Glas-

[7] *Chron. Abing.* I, 120f., 123f.; *Gest. Pont.* 191.
[8] Ælfric, *Chron. Abing.* II, 257.

tonbury, Ordbriht from Æthelwold's own Winchester, and Eadric from London.[9] At the same time he set them to work upon walls and roof and outhouses. Eadred came to inspect progress and himself paced out the stakes for new buildings. That was, indeed, all he had time to do. Before this church which he had so generously planned was rising from the ground, death gave to him release from his misery of sickness, and his nephew Eadwig came to the throne.

Under Eadwig, as we have seen, monks fared less well. Gifts still arrived, but their giving held less zeal; enthusiasm from the Court waned; Dunstan went into exile; and at last England's hold on Benedictine life rested squarely on Æthelwold's shoulders.

Far from yielding to discouragement, he decided to advance. Now again he was sure that wider knowledge was needed if English monks were to pray and work aright. He himself could not leave Abingdon; but he sent to Fleury his leading pupil, Osgar, to learn and to bring home the necessary details of Benedictine practice. In due course, therefore, upon Osgar's return, the Hours of Office and the other monastic customs of Abingdon received a sharpening and correcting of their round. The manner of reading and of chant still worried Æthelwold; and for its aid he sent a petition to the abbey of Corbie in France, held chief authority in these matters. Its abbot promptly gave him the service of expert monks, who taught Abingdon's ragged and stumbling choir the seemly rendering of lessons, hymns, and psalms.[10]

In regard, then, to details of food, sleep, and the *Opus Dei*, the prayer in choir, we may believe that, so far as was possible, Æthelwold and the brethren of Abingdon under his di-

[9] *Ibid.* 258.

[10] *Chron. Abing.* II, 259; I, 129. See Dom David Knowles, *Mon. Order*, 553, on the Worcester *Antiphoner*.

rection followed the Benedictine prescription of Fleury.[11] No doubt, in the urgent need of building and repair in a cloister still small, considerably more time and effort were given at this period of its history to manual labour than was considered ideal on the Continent in these days, and in England itself later on.

Under Edgar, Æthelwold's burden was lightened. Active encouragement was now once more at hand from the King. Soon Dunstan returned from exile, bringing the knowledge and experience he had gained in Flanders; after a while he was giving his support as bishop, and then as Primate of England. Meanwhile the work of building at Abingdon was making rapid progress, led by Æthelwold himself. His eager sharing of toil with his monks and masons almost proved his undoing, for one day a beam fell suddenly from the height of scaffolding above and hurled him into a deep ditch. For a long time thereafter he lay in bed with broken bones.

When he could walk once more, his new church, of unhewn stones plastered together with earth and clay, was nearly ready for its consecration and its dedication in honour of Saint Mary, Mother of God. "Its chancel was round, and round, also, was its nave, twice as long as its chancel; round, too, was its tower." The east end formed an apse; the tower rose either above the centre of the round nave or at the west end.[12]

By this time, 963, men were flocking to Æthelwold in their desire for that regular life which had reawakened to force in southern England. It was time, thought Dunstan as Archbishop, and Edgar as King, that the spirit of Abingdon

[11] For strict abstinence under Æthelwold (against *Chron. Abing.* I, 345f., II, 279, and Edmund Bishop, *DR*, 1925, 184ff.) see Knowles, *Mon. Order*, 458f., 716ff.

[12] *Chron. Abing.* II, 277f.; Clapham, 148f.

and of its abbot should be carried into a wider field. As they were pondering ways and means, word arrived of the death of Brihthelm, bishop of Winchester. Now, at the urging of Dunstan, Edgar called Æthelwold to hold that see.

Æthelwold did not hesitate to obey. Winchester was his old home; and he himself was keen "to spread his wings" for further effort.[13] All was going well at Abingdon; and he gladly approved the election of Osgar, trained at Glastonbury, at Abingdon, and at Fleury, as his successor in its abbot's chair. He soon saw the wisdom of his act. Under Osgar, Abingdon progressed happily, and its church of Saint Mary was completed, hallowed, and enriched by many offerings.[14]

Meanwhile the bishop-elect, now about fifty-four years of age, had arrived at his city of Winchester. He was consecrated in its Cathedral by his friend and Archbishop, Dunstan, on November the twenty-ninth, the eve of Saint Andrew's Feast. In this year of 963 it was also the first Sunday in Advent.[15]

The Old Minster, this Cathedral of Æthelwold, had fallen from the rising level of the days of his ordination there as priest by Ælfheah "the Bald." Ælfheah had been followed as bishop of Winchester in 951 by that Ælfsige who had died eight years later on his way to Rome to receive the pallium as Archbishop of Canterbury. After his death most unpleasant stories were told of him, of his rudeness and unscrupulous ambition; and probably they held something of truth. Brihthelm, the next bishop of Winchester, has come down to us a mere shadow, often confused with his gentle colleague of the same name at Wells. Episcopal rule seemingly for twelve years had done nothing for the inspiration of this royal

[13] *Chron. Abing.* II, 261.
[14] *Gest. Pont.* 191.
[15] *A.-S. C.* (A, E), *ann.* 963; Wulfstan, col. 90.

city.[16] On the material side, it is true, kings in England one after another had lavished gifts upon its church. Eadred, especially, was said to have been devoted to it, to have been purposing, when he died, the adorning of its eastern porch-chapel with tiles lacquered in gold.[17] But the years of the Danish onslaught here, too, had weakened religious fervour. Contemporary record painted a melancholy picture of his Cathedral community as it was found by Æthelwold in 963: "There were at that time in the Old Minster, the seat of its bishop, clerics of evil habits, so lost in pride, arrogance, and indulgence that some of them refused to celebrate Mass in their order. Wives they had taken unlawfully, and these they cast off to take others. Constantly they gave themselves to gluttony and drunkenness." [18]

It is perhaps the safer course to believe that the writer of these words, Ælfric of Cernel, though he was a contemporary of Æthelwold and his pupil, was nevertheless somewhat exaggerating the evil. Perhaps we may think in rather milder terms that Æthelwold found here a body of secular clerics, careless of regular prescription, of the fulfilment of Mass and prayer in choir, negligent of solitude, of abstinence and fasting, probably in some cases living as married men in homes of their own. Even so, such a state of things as this in the Cathedral of his diocese, sacred to Saint Peter, the place in which Æthelwold himself had seen his teacher Ælfheah begin the great movement for reform, was more than Æthelwold in his enthusiasm could bear. He had come fresh from his success at Abingdon; the King was at his side in Winchester, more than ready to support him in his desire for better things, even to urge him on; Dunstan as Archbishop would

[16] Armitage Robinson, *Times of Saint Dunstan*, 113; *HCY*, I, 408f.; *Gest. Pont.* 25f.

[17] *Memorials*, 278f., quoting from Wulfstan, col. 88.

[18] *Chron. Abing.* II, 260; cf. Birch, No. 1159.

not condemn stern measures, however reluctant he might feel; and if we may trust ancient record, Pope John the Thirteenth was to give his consent to radical change.[19]

As a newly installed bishop of Winchester, Æthelwold however held patience for some months, exhorted, and hoped. When nothing happened and his clergy "kept on saying that it was impossible to change their ways at the moment, indeed they would do so tomorrow," he broke into action. With Osgar and a number of his monks from Abingdon, with one of King Edgar's official representatives, Wulfstan of Dalham in Cambridgeshire, at his side to enforce his action by royal authority, he appeared before the door of his Cathedral on Saturday, on the eve of the first Sunday in Lent, 964.[20] The choir of clergy was singing the antiphon for the Communion:

Serve the Lord with fear,
and rejoice unto Him with reverence;
Take hold upon discipline,
lest ye perish from the right way.

The monks from Abingdon held in their hands monastic cowls. These the bishop bade them throw upon the floor in front of the choir. Then, to the startled priests, "Do you know," he cried, "what you have been chanting?" "We do know," they stammered. "Then," answered Æthelwold, "if it is good to serve the Lord with fear and to rejoice in Him with reverence, take hold now upon discipline—and discipline means this monk's habit—lest you do perish, as you were singing, from the right way!"

They heard, but they were in no state of will or readiness

[19] *Memorials*, 211, 364f. and Stubbs' note; J. W. No. 3753.
[20] *A.-S. C.* (A), *ann.* 964; Ælfric, *Chron. Abing.* II, 260f.; Wulfstan, coll. 90f.; *Memorials*, 211f.

to cast away, then and there, clothes, possessions, homes, wives, even their whole way of life. "*Cras! Cras!*" they cried. "*Tomorrow* surely we will do as you bid us!" Then Æthelwold declared judgment, while the royal officer stood by him, nodding approval. "Now understand me," he said in a clear, firm voice. "No longer will I listen to this *cras cras* cawing about 'tomorrow'! Either you take hold of discipline here and now, or here and now you leave your stalls in this Cathedral Church!" All marched out in fury. Three after a while repented and returned to follow Benedictine life; the rest vigorously debated the next step in rebellion.

At last they decided to go directly to Court, to appeal to the King's justice. So, twenty years before, had the secular clergy of Saint-Bertin fled to an English king to ask help against the same Benedictine conformity, imposed by a ruler in mediaeval Flanders. But now King Edgar referred these seculars of Winchester to Dunstan as Archbishop, since this, he was sure, was a matter for the Church to decide. Dunstan thereupon requested Edgar to summon a Council at Winchester. It met in the refectory of the Old Minster, and here in the presence of the King and Queen and nobles, spiritual and temporal, the Archbishop gave decision. "This Old Minster," he declared, "was founded as a habitation for monks. Let those who benefit from its revenues live henceforth as true and regular religious." Legend afterward told that Dunstan was inspired in his declaration by the image of the Crucified Lord, who looked down upon the assembly from the refectory wall in anger at a plea put forward for leniency.[21]

From the Old Minster, Æthelwold moved, probably in 965, to the reform of the New, the Minster built by Edgar's grandfather, Edward the Elder. Here, too, he now replaced

[21] *Lib. Eliensis*, 160f.; *Memorials*, 113.

seculars by novices and professed monks; here, too, monks of Abingdon came to give him aid. The bishop placed over this house as abbot one of these, Æthelgar, who had first learned his work at Glastonbury.[22] At the house for nuns at Winchester, the Nunnaminster, he imposed the same tightening of discipline. Here Eadburg, sister of Kings Edmund and Eadred, had lived and died in great fame of sanctity; and here Æthelwold now installed one Æthelthryth as abbess, a woman of advanced age and wide experience whom he had known all his life.[23]

The three abbeys stood on adjoining lands, the New Minster a little to the north of the Old, the Nuns' Minster on the east. Trouble was constant among them. They were jealous of possessions; they disputed the line of their boundaries; they declared respectively that they could not sing in proper manner their Office because of the noise of chanting from their monastic neighbours. King Edgar at Æthelwold's petition issued order for exact division among them and even tore down the houses of private citizens near by in order that space might be given to the monks of Winchester "for living more peacefully in God's service, removed from the clamour of townspeople." [24]

Such action was hard for the townspeople, yet Æthelwold in the end also did them untold good. With extraordinary imagination and practical skill he made his engineers and their workmen conduct a sorely needed supply of water by channels through the streets of Winchester to cloisters and to private homes alike.[25]

His keenest endeavour was given all the rest of his life to

[22] Will. Malm. *De Antiq. Glast. Eccl.* ed. Gale, 325; *Gest. Reg.* I, 224; Liebermann, *Ungedruckte anglo-norm. Geschichtsquellen*, 1879, 69.

[23] *Nunn. Codex*, 7, 3ff.; Wulfstan, col. 92; *Gest. Pont.* 174.

[24] Robertson, *A.-S. Charters*, 102ff., 348; Kemble, Nos. 582, 594; Birch, Nos. 1163, 1302; ed. *Nunn. Codex*, 129ff.

[25] *Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, ed. Alistair Campbell, 1950, lines 35ff.

the rebuilding of his Cathedral, still in progress at Edgar's death and his own. During this rebuilding his eyes naturally fell upon the tomb of his predecessor, Swithun, who as bishop of Winchester had guided his King, Æthelwulf, father of Alfred the Great, in matters both spiritual and secular, and who, for his holiness, his learning, and his able administration, was held among the Saints of his Church. Through his own desire of humility he had been buried outside the walls of his Cathedral, then the only Minster at Winchester; there "this pearl of God had lain hidden, unregarded, some hundred years." Now, Æthelwold decided, at last Swithun should receive due honour; and surely, too, his presence within the Cathedral would make for the glory of God and for reverent wonder among men.

Many stories have gathered around this decision. The holy Swithun himself, it was said, had appeared in all the splendour of sainthood to one of the workmen of Winchester. "Go and tell the priest Eadsige," he had ordered, "that Swithun, the bishop, bids him go to Æthelwold, now bishop here, and tell him himself to open my grave and to bring my bones inside the church, for so shall great enriching come upon him and his people."

The workman was greatly perturbed in mind by this command from heaven. Eadsige had been one of the clerics so rudely thrust out of the Old Minster by Æthelwold. Never since that day had he spoken a word to the bishop or to any of the monks who now sat in the Cathedral stalls, and this, too, although he was kinsman to Æthelwold. What was a humble workman to do in this predicament? Then one day a happy chance brought him face to face with one of Eadsige's servants in Winchester's market place and promptly he passed on Swithun's command. The servant did as he was begged to do, and Eadsige did not dare to disobey. He pocketed his pride, asked audience of the bishop, and related

the whole story. It ends very pleasantly. The exiled cleric returned home to the Minster, offered his vows in due course, and died in monastic grace.

On Saint Swithun's Day, the fifteenth of July 971, an illustrious company gathered in the Cathedral. King Edgar and Æthelwold, with Ælfstan, now bishop of Ramsbury, and friend of both Æthelwold and Dunstan, with Æthelgar, abbot of the New Minster, followed by all their monks and lay people, brought the relics of Saint Swithun to a magnificent shrine at the east end, near the High Altar. At once, the mediaeval record continues, so many miracles of healing and rescue came to pass that people could scarcely push their way inside the Cathedral for Mass and prayer because of the hundreds waiting their turn to get near blessed Swithun's tomb within. After a while hardly any sick or unhappy folk were left in Winchester; all the distress, indeed, had fallen upon the monks of the Cathedral. They complained bitterly that now they got no sleep; three or even four times in a night they were being called from their beds to sing *Te Deum* in joy over some new marvel in their church. At last they simply refused to get up. Then, of course, Saint Swithun appeared again. All this healing, he threatened, would stop immediately if monastic praises did not follow each miracle. Horror seized Æthelwold; and he sent peremptory word to the Old Minster that any monk who let slip *Te Deum* when the good news of another marvellous cure was declared should repent his sloth in a whole week of fasting! So wrote Ælfric, his pupil, and added:

> *Then ever afterward they held this as custom,*
> *as we ourselves have often seen,*
> *And have ofttimes sung Te Deum with them.*[26]

[26] Lantfrid, *Trans. et Mirac. S. Swithuni: Anal. Boll.* IV, 1885, 372ff.; Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, I, 2, 440ff., 458; *Gest. Pont.* 162, 167f.

Æthelwold, like Dunstan, was not only pastor and monk. When King Edgar was in residence at Winchester, as he frequently was, the bishop came to Court to offer counsel in problems confidential, delicate, and manifold. Often, also, he shut himself away from people in his study in the Cathedral to pore over the books he loved all his life. Day by day he taught his young novices and monks. For them he turned into their own English words many learned works written in Latin, and with friendly encouragement, spiced with jest, spurred them on to new endeavour.[27] From Winchester, as from Glastonbury and Abingdon, men rose to an abbot's chair or a bishop's throne.

From Winchester, too, Æthelwold went out to bring its new life into other abbeys. Most probably it was he who acted at Milton in Dorset. Reliable record states that King Edgar in 964 replaced the seculars of the abbey of Middleton, afterward Milton Abbas, by monks under an abbot named Cyneweard, who had been taught by Dunstan at Glastonbury and who, in later years, as bishop of Wells from 974 to 975, earned the description of "Cyneweard the Good." We do not know with certainty when Milton Abbey was first founded, although tradition connects it with King Athelstan and the year 933. Time has disposed of the legend that Athelstan built it in penitence because he had driven his brother Edwin to his death by shipwreck off the coast of France; but he may have raised the abbey in memory of Edwin, lost in 933 while crossing the Channel in a storm. Wondrous treasures were said to have been given by Athelstan to this house of religion, obtained from Rome and from Brittany: "a fragment of the True Cross, a great cross of gold and silver, set with precious stones, an arm of

[27] *Chron. Abing.* II, 262f.

both Saint Branwalader and Saint Samson of Dol, and many other relics, in five cases securely closed." [28]

Connected with the reforming of Milton by King Edgar was a similar reformation made in the community of Chertsey in Surrey. Chertsey Abbey had been founded in the seventh century by Eorconwald, afterward bishop, at London, of the East Saxons; he had induced Frithewald, a chieftain of Surrey under Wulfhere, King of Mercia, to give land for its use. Here the community now newly constituted received as abbot that Ordbriht whom Æthelwold had brought from Winchester to aid him at Abingdon.[29]

But the full measure of monastic harvest under Æthelwold, from the sowing in Abingdon, the proving in Winchester at a price which only he and his King would have dared to pay in England at this time, was gathered by him in the Fenlands of the eastern shires, of Cambridge, Northampton, Huntingdon, and Lincoln. Far and wide in this tenth century these lands lay in a waste like that of Athelney, of swamps and meres, broken here and there by islands rising in the fog and thickly filled and fringed with reeds and sedge. Around these islands sluggish streams of water wound incessantly, flooding out into deep, dark pools. Winds on days of storm tore across islands and streams unhindered, whipping up the water into angry waves. More often there was silence, disturbed only by the crying of the many birds which built their nests in the reeds or amid the alders and willows of the marshes. Fearful stories were whispered of

[28] *A.-S. C.* (*ann.* 933, 964, 975, A); *Liber Vitae, New Minster*, 94, 162, note 16; Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, IV, 47f.; Robertson, *A.-S. Charters*, 44ff., 300f.; Flor. Worc. *ann.* 964, 975; Dugdale, *Monast.* II, 349f.; *Gest. Pont.* 186, 199, 400; Sym. Dun. II, 124, *ann.* 933; Stenton, *A.-S. England*, 351; *VCH, Dorset*, II, 58.

[29] Bede, *H. E.* IV, 6, and Plummer's note; *Gest. Pont.* 143; Kemble, No. 987; *A.-S. C.* (A), *ann.* 964.

the monsters and other terrors which lurked in these solitudes to menace the hunters who dared to venture into their depths.

Here was ideal settling for the hermit who feared the world and the flesh more than devils, who longed to worship his God in contemplation far from the busy noise of men. Here in the seventh century had lived and prayed Æthelthryth, virgin queen of two kings, who left her crown in Northumbria to make a cloister for monks and nuns upon the Isle of Ely, her marriage gift, perhaps, or her paternal inheritance. Here, early in the eighth century, had lived that Guthlac who had found for himself a home upon the marsh of Crowland in Lincolnshire and had spent his days and nights wrestling with temptations and curses of demons from hell.[30] Hidden within these fens lay here and there the ruins of houses which once had been devoted to holy religion but were now almost or altogether deserted.

About 966 Æthelwold turned to break this fresh ground of endeavour at Medeshamstede, on the meadows through which ran the river Nene in Northamptonshire. Here in the seventh century Peada, Christian king in Mercia, had enabled one Saxulf to build and to fill with monks a cloister named from these meadows and dedicated to Saint Peter. Long afterward, in 870, the Danes had made their way through the swamps, urged on by hope of plunder, to search eagerly amid its buildings and to scatter in flight its community.[31] For nearly a hundred years Medeshamstede lay desolate, and now, when Æthelwold looked upon its ruins, he saw nothing but "old walls and wild woods." Under his

[30] Bede, *H. E.* IV, 17; Felix, *Vita Guthlaci*, ed. Birch, 17, 25f.; *Lib. Eliensis*, 16ff.; H. C. Darby, *The Medieval Fenland*, 1940, 8ff.; Edward Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, 1951, 8ff.

[31] *A.-S. C.* (E), *ann.* 675, 870, 963, embodying Peterborough legends; Bede, *H. E.* IV, 6; *Gest. Pont.* 317; Rositzke, *Peterborough Chronicle*, 15, 42.

energetic direction the walls were repaired, the trees were cleared away, new buildings rose, and an abbot, Aldulf, came to rule monks in a restored monastery. The twelfth century writes that this restoration was generously aided by Edgar's Queen, presumably his second wife, Ælfthryth. It also reports that Aldulf, once a secular noble of King Edgar and a married man, gave as a penitent of his means to the same end. Through his indulgence in wine he had caused the death of his only son, and he had planned to make atonement in the familiar way, by pilgrimage to Rome. Æthelwold, his confessor, practical as ever, counselled him instead to avoid peril for himself and to give inspiration to many by helping to reconstruct Medeshamstede. So, we are told, he did, and in course of time after his wife's death became its abbot and greatly enriched its community. Of this narrative we may at least believe that one Aldulf was abbot here. Eventually in 992 he was consecrated bishop of Worcester and, as Oswald before him, held this see together with the Archbishopric of York. A later abbot of Medeshamstede, Cenulf, bishop of Winchester in 1006, built a high wall around the monastery, which henceforth was known as Saint Peter's abbey of Burh, Borough, the fortified place, and so, finally, as Peterborough.[32]

Little is known of the church built here by Æthelwold, though excavation has revealed under the present Cathedral evidence of its walls, transept, and presbytery.[33] An interesting list has come down to us of lands, church vessels, and

[32] *Chron. Abing.* II, 262; *A.-S. C.* (E), *ann.* 963, 992; Hugo Candidus, *Chronicle,* ed. Mellows, 28ff. Hugo states that Æthelwold began first to rebuild the monastery of Oundle, also in ruins, but was directed by the Lord to proceed to Medeshamstede, where he found *in ipsa ecclesia stabula facta iumentorum et pecudum.*

[33] Cf. J. T. Irvine, *Journal, Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 1894, 45ff.

vestments, with many books, said to have been presented to this abbey by Æthelwold himself. Among the books of this list, the earliest detailed record of Peterborough's monastic library, are writings of Cyprian of the third century; of Augustine, Paulinus of Nola, Alcimus Avitus, and Martianus Capella of the fifth; of Isidore of Seville of the seventh; of Bede of the eighth. There is, too, that verse in which Abbo, monk of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, described so vividly the siege of Paris by the Northmen in 885–86; also a work on medicine; the well-known writing, "On the Twelve Evils"; and a Bestiary Book.[34]

We read that Æthelwold bought the site and ruins of Medeshamstede from King Edgar and certain leading men of its shire. Even more appealing to his purse, however, was the sight of the ruins of that Ely where Æthelthryth had ruled her monks and nuns. A few secular clergy were still there. Land and ruins now lay in the hands of the King, who himself is said to have first suggested restoration to Æthelwold. In any case, Æthelwold made petition to Edgar for their purchase. According to tradition, trouble followed, for two men prominent in the royal Court, Sygedwold, described as a bishop of Greek race, and Thurstan, a Dane, were trying hard to buy the land. It was, it seems, that friend of monastic renewal in the Old Minster of Winchester, Wulfstan of Dalham, who finally brought about the purchase of Ely by Æthelwold. As minister of the Crown and a loyal churchman, Wulfstan told Edgar bluntly that it was his duty to see to it that this ancient and famous house of God was returned to its proper and monastic honour. Edgar

[34] Birch, No. 1128; Robertson, *A.-S. Charters*, 72ff., 325ff.; M. R. James, *Lists of MSS. formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library, Trans. Bibliog. Soc.* Suppl. V, 1926, 19f.

was prevailed upon not only to listen, but to agree with Wulfstan. With the sale to Æthelwold went the King's promise of gifts in land and money, of protection, and of freedom for the administering of Ely's inner affairs.

By 970 monks were once more chanting the Hours in Ely's choir. Over them Æthelwold placed Brihtnoth, trained by him at Abingdon.[35] New building went on steadily until at last Archbishop Dunstan blessed Ely's sanctuary for the glory of God and Saint Peter, its south chapel in the name of Mary, Virgin Mother, and its shrine of Æthelthryth, the Founder, for veneration by monks and pilgrims alike. Abbot Brihtnoth made for his church four statues of holy Virgins, fashioned from wood, overlaid with gold and silver, enriched with jewels, and placed them beside the High Altar, two on either side.[36]

The abbey properties and household offices Brihtnoth put in charge of a monk named Leo. Leo was a valiant worker. Not only did he plant a kitchen garden of vegetables and an orchard of fruit trees and bushes, but he laboured hard to define the exact area of the monastery's land holdings on this Isle of Ely. He also enlisted the energy of many fellow-toilers in the digging of a great ditch, known in later days as "Abbotsdelf," for the guarding of the abbey's boundaries and for the draining away of some of the water which surrounded it on every side.[37]

Gifts came in great number, especially from the King, from Brihtnoth, and from Æthelwold himself, whose dona-

[35] *Lib. Eliensis,* 105ff., 110ff.; *Chron. Abing.* II, 261f.; Robertson, 98ff., 345ff.

[36] *Lib. Eliensis,* 114f., 162f.; *VCH, Cambridge and the Isle of Ely,* ed. Ellis and Salzman, II, 1948, 200; *DNB,* s. v. Ethelwold.

[37] *Lib. Eliensis,* 167f.; Darby, 74; Miller, 12f., note 5; *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire,* 1943, ed. P. H. Reaney, 209.

tions to Ely make an extraordinary catalogue of lands, both of large estates and of small holdings. "No transaction was too small to be beneath his notice. Side by side with the acquisition of great manors like Northwold or Stoke, we also read how he bought seven acres from a bishop's son and five acres from a poor widow." [38] Other benefactors to Ely were Wulfstan of Dalham and that other Brihtnoth, the Ealdorman of Essex, whose praises were sung in gratitude by Richard and by Thomas, the twelfth-century historians of the *Book of Ely*. This Brihtnoth owned lands of wide extent in eastern and middle England. With him his wife, Ælflæd, and her sister, Æthelflæd of Damerham, and their father, the Ealdorman Ælfgar of Essex, gave to Ely richly of their properties.[39]

One benefaction has an interest all its own. King Edgar promised his enthusiastic bishop Æthelwold a manor at Sudbourne in Sussex if he would make for the monasteries he was reviving a translation into Anglo-Saxon of the Latin *Rule* of Saint Benedict. Since Æthelwold obtained the manor and straightway gave it to Ely, we may believe that the translation was duly made and used.[40]

With all his power, then, Æthelwold worked for Ely. Yet perhaps a little monastery, which he restored from ruin on the isle of Thorney, once known as Ancarig, "hermit island,"

[38] Miller, 17.

[39] *Lib. Eliensis*, 170f., 183; Birch, Nos. 1288f.; Whitelock, *A.-S. Wills*, 34f., 38ff., 138, 141; E. D. Laborde, *Byrhtnoth and Maldon*, 1936, 22f., 33ff.

[40] *Lib. Eliensis*, 153; A. Schröer, ed. *Die angels. Prosabearbeitungen der Benedictinerregel* (Grein-Wülker II), 1885, I, v, 1ff., II, 1888, xiiiff.; Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mitt.* II, 675; F. Tupper, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1893, 347. I follow Armitage Robinson (*Times of St. Dunstan*, 159ff.) in holding that Saint Æthelwold was not author of the narrative (of monastic reforms in K. Edgar's time) contained in the "Postscript" printed by Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, *RS*, XXXV, 406ff., 432ff. It is ascribed to Æthelwold by Cockayne, Schröer, Keim, Manitius, and Tupper.

in Cambridgeshire,[41] meant more to him than any other house of religion in these wild fens. When William of Malmesbury visited Thorney in the twelfth century, he was delighted by the "Paradise" which its fertile soil under constant care had brought to life. Yet William himself traced its name to the thorns and briars which in the tenth century were choking its land and which had caused Æthelwold's labourers such tremendous effort to clear away.

This "Isle of Thorns" in the midst of the waters of the great marsh had once been, it was said, the home of three hermits, Tancred and Torhtred, brothers, and their sister, Tova, who settled to her prayer a little distance from them, in the heart of its thickets.[42] They were following, we may think, in the line of a few adventurers in religion who had come in the seventh century from Medeshamstede, having gained permission from their abbot, Saxulf, to retreat into this deeper solitude. In the time of these brothers and their sister the Danes arrived to destroy. The tradition of Æthelwold relates that he bought the ruins the Danes had left from their owner, Æthelflæd, that he installed some monks—the number is given as twelve—and built for them in 972–73 an abbey with its church, dedicating the altar at the east end to Our Lady, the west end to Saint Peter, and a chapel in the north transept to Saint Benedict. This account points to an altar at either end, after Carolingian custom.[43]

It would be pleasant to believe, also, a story that Æthelwold built a chapel in honour of Saint Tova in the place where legend laid her dwelling. More certainly true is the statement that he began to buy lands in the neighbourhood

[41] P. H. Reaney (see note 37 above), 280.

[42] *Liber Vitae*, ed. Birch, 284ff.; Levison, *Bonn. Jahr.* 1927, 55f.; Le Prevost, ed. Orderic Vitalis, *H. E.* IV, 280f.

[43] Birch, No. 1297; Clapham, 90.

for Thorney's endowing, important among which was the isle of Whittlesey with its mere on the bank of the river Nene. He greatly desired, however, to keep this abbey small, remote, and tranquil. According to William of Malmesbury: "Vast solitude made there for peace among its monks; women, should they appear at its gates, were looked upon as monsters, their husbands were hailed as angels." In his heart Æthelwold held a hope that some day he himself might leave the world for Thorney's peace; as an earnest of that dream he once spent a happy Lent in its retreat. William goes on: "He brought there the relics of the saints who had dwelt in this lonely place, and those of others, too, so many that nearly every corner in Thorney's church was filled. I really cannot write their names, for they sound too barbarous. Some silly people, and we have so many of them these days, might laugh at these sounds, and that would be so rude to holy saints. I will only venture to name Benedict, abbot of Bede, as one whose relics rest here." [44] Probably for a while Æthelwold kept Thorney's community under his own guidance. Eventually, however, he entrusted it to an abbot called Godeman, who came from Abingdon or from Winchester, a scribe, it would seem, renowned for his work in art.[45]

Life was hard in the Fen Country at this early time. The desire of its monks for solitude was amply granted, since they could be reached only by boats upon its streams and meres. Causeways were a work of the future. Frequently those who travelled these winding courses fell upon misadventure; storms blew up, or fog and rain blotted out all

[44] *Gest. Pont.* 326ff.; Dugdale, II, 593ff.; Birch, ed. *Liber Vitae*, 285f., 290; *Red Book of Thorney*, Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. MS. 3020; R. Hyett Warner, *Hist. of Thorney Abbey*, 1879.

[45] *Chron. Abing.* II, 262; page 228 below.

that lay ahead and around. Even peril from fellow-Christians was not unknown; for jealous rivalry between monasteries was not confined to Ghent or Winchester.

Once, a lively story tells, Abbot Brihtnoth and his monks of Ely longed to possess the mortal remains of Saint Wihtburg, sister of their Founder, Queen Æthelthryth. These were resting in Norfolk, where now East Dereham stands, and were the joy and pride of a little monastery lately given into the wardenship and keeping of Ely itself. Surely, argued Brihtnoth, it were only just and meet that our renowned and ancient house of Ely should own this treasure! Were we not the joy and pride of holy Wihtburg's sister? Accordingly, duly prepared by fasting and by prayer to these hallowed saints, monks from Ely journeyed to Dereham, invited Dereham's community to a magnificent feast of brotherly love, and in the dead of night carried off their precious relics. Twenty miles they carried them by land, then took boat and rowed for their lives. But even so they were overtaken by the enraged layfolk of Dereham, who loved their abbey and its saint and who rushed in pursuit directly the alarm was given. They lined the banks of the stream on either side, rousing the night with their curses and threats as they hurled stones at Ely's monks, panting in their boat. Only, we are told, a miraculous light in the skies and the unperturbed orders of their abbot brought the "pious defrauders" safely home with their stolen prize.[46]

Another tradition of somewhat similar kind is connected with the founding under Edgar, about 974, of an abbey at Eynesbury on the bank of the Ouse in Huntingdonshire. There, it is said, a noble of the shire and his wife built and endowed a house for monks, placed it under the protection

[46] *Lib. Eliensis*, 164ff.; *Gest. Pont.* 324f.

of Æthelwold, of Brihtnoth, and of Ely, and gained for its service monks from Ely and from Thorney. As usual, these monks wanted treasure of relics for the honouring of their chapel. They did not ask any questions when the body of Neot, held in story as a renowned anchorite of Cornwall in the ninth century, was brought thence and offered to their empty shrine. They accepted the offering with great joy, and their land and tenants were eventually formed into a separate township of St. Neots.[47]

In winter the Fen waterways were extremely inhospitable. One February, during the next century, King Cnut could not get to Ely by water to keep there, as was his custom, the Feast of the Purification and the remembrance of the abbey's refounding, "because the meres and streams were everywhere frozen." He won the admiration of all men when he dared to cross the wastes of ice on a sledge. "All is possible to him who believes," Ely's historian remarks here.[48]

Sickness, too, of ague and malaria fell constantly upon these dwellers in the marshes. The older brethren were crippled by rheumatism from its damp and cold. But food was abundant, even before the monks planted their trees and vegetables and vines. The streams were full of fish; the eels were so plentiful that to them from early days was traced the name of Ely; [49] berries hung in clusters at their season; birds of one kind and another yielded their eggs to those who might not feast upon their flesh. In later years the fowling, eeling, and fisheries of the Fens, when duly

[47] Dugdale, III, 460ff.; *Lib. Eliensis*, 143f.; *The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, ed. Mawer and Stenton, xlii; *VCH, County of Huntingdon*, I, 385f., II, 337.

[48] *Lib. Eliensis*, 202f.

[49] O. E. ēl-gē, "eel-district": Ekwall, 159; Bede, *H. E.* IV, 17.

organized, were to provide ample maintenance and even wealth for the abbeys which saw in them their pride.[50]

Thus Æthelwold brought to fulfilment his practice under Dunstan at Glastonbury. After his death men looked back upon him as "the father of monks." In 993 King Æthelred declared that he was moved to make restitution of lands to the abbey of Abingdon by the memory of this "most beloved bishop, whose diligence and pastoral care worked under God for my good and for the good of all men in this country, high and low." [51]

[50] On these industries see *Lib. Eliensis*, 4; Darby, *Medieval Fenland*, 22ff.

[51] *A.-S. C.* (E), *ann.* 984; *Chron. Abing.* I, 360; cf. *Crawford Charters*, 121, note 3.

6

Oswald of Worcester

MENTION has been made of the service rendered to England by Oda as bishop of Ramsbury under Athelstan, as Archbishop of Canterbury under Edmund. We have also seen him as "Oda the Good," who consecrated Dunstan bishop and knew with him the appeal of life under monastic rule. Remembrance no less grateful is due him for his early training of his nephew, Oswald, who was to be the third of the great monastic reformers in England of this tenth century.

In some respects Oda was to Oswald what Ælfheah of Winchester was to Dunstan and to Æthelwold. Oswald, however, shared with his uncle a heritage of Danish race, a heritage which perhaps worked to draw him from sharing with Æthelwold a preparation under Dunstan in the English Glastonbury and brought him at an earlier period of his life into contact with a wider Benedictine tradition on the Continent.

His family is described as one of substance and rank in the Danelaw of England; his parents were converts from paganism to Christianity and brought their son to his baptism. To the care of Oda he passed for education and training in the studies which he, too, loved and followed all his days.

Frithegode, the learned monk of Canterbury, who wrote at Oda's request a *Life of Saint Wilfrid* in hexameter verse, is named as his teacher.[1]

At his own keen desire he was ordained and in due course attained the priesthood. Then his uncle thought that he discerned within this young man a "spark of the Divine fire," a calling toward that Benedictine life of religion which was his own ideal. With funds generously provided from Oda's purse Oswald purchased a "monastery," a common enough practice in those days, and went off to live in it. The "monastery" was a small one, at Winchester.[2]

We hear no word at this time of the Ælfheah of Winchester who had taught Dunstan and Æthelwold. Although the date of Oswald's birth is not known, we may think of him as some ten years younger than they; and, if this assumption is true, the see of Winchester would now have been under the rule of that Ælfsige, its bishop from 951 to 959, of whom "no good is recorded." [3] Here at Winchester, then, life in a religious community was very much as Æthelwold was to find it in 963. The choir of Oswald's "monastery" was filled with young clerics of aristocratic birth and ample means, who kept an excellent table, were tailored to the utmost in the quality and cut of their cloaks and cassocks, and lived in houses of their own.

For a time young Oswald fell in with these social amenities. His nature held neither the deep reserve of Dunstan nor the impetuous driving toward the goal so characteristic of Æthelwold. His was, rather, a spirit of warm and genial

[1] *HCY*, I, xxxixf., 105ff., 401, 410ff.; II, 5ff.; Will. Malm. *Gest. Pont.* 22; *Chron. Rames.* 21ff.; Armitage Robinson, *Times of St. Dunstan,* 128.

[2] This was, of course, neither the Old nor the New Minster, but some separate foundation: Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, V, 1919, 12ff.

[3] Armitage Robinson, *ibid.* 13; *Times of St. Dunstan,* 113.

friendliness; his spontaneous greeting of welcome to his fellow-men won for him ready response from all with whom he lived and worked. His fervour for religion in its stricter ways was no less than that of Dunstan and of Æthelwold, his practice as sincere and faithful; but his mind seems to have lacked something of the austere temperament of the one, the stern quickness of the other.

At last, however, his conscience awoke in Winchester to worry him. This, he realized, was not the life of devoted men of which Oda had told him. After a while he returned to Canterbury and asked his uncle if he might go to study Benedictine monasticism in France. It was exactly what the Archbishop himself wanted, and with joy he saw Oswald leave for Fleury-on-the-Loire.

The monastery of Fleury at this time was ruled by Abbot Wulfald. To him and his monks Oswald presented gifts sent by Oda and quickly settled down to learn. His enthusiasm for books was so keen, we are told, that he constantly spent the interval between the Night Office and the first Hours of the Day in study, absorbed in the Bible and in the writings of the Fathers. He was vigorous in all things and of abounding health; he read the Lessons and chanted the Psalms in choir in a voice of extraordinarily beautiful tone; he learned the *Rule* of Saint Benedict and the various parts of his breviary by heart, for his use in the future; he was received into monastic fellowship and clothed with the Benedictine habit; he was as happy to be at Fleury as its community, professed monks, novices, aspirants, were to have him there. Probably he saw there a boy, a child-oblate under Wulfald, who as a man was to be his friend and colleague in work: Abbo of Fleury. There were also others from Oswald's own country who were learning the *Rule*

with him at Fleury, one named Germanus, who had followed him from Winchester, and Osgar, sent by Æthelwold from Abingdon.[4]

Deep in these occupations Oswald hardly noticed the passage of days; but Oda missed him sorely and wrote from time to time, suggesting his return. His answer was always the same: "I have still so much to learn." At last, in 958, when five or six years had slipped by, messengers arrived from Canterbury. The Archbishop was very ill, they said, and Oswald must come at once. With a word to his friends, now his fellow-monks, "I shall always remember you in love and in the joy of your blessing," he hurried on his way. At Dover he heard that his uncle had already died, and his first impulse was to return at once to Fleury. Second thoughts, however, sent him travelling north, to another kinsman of Danish race and another Archbishop, Osketel of York.[5]

Osketel had come from the see of Mercian Dorchester to succeed Wulfstan at York, where he was to rule until 971. Before long he brought the young, friendly, and attractive Oswald to the notice of Dunstan, who saw in him and in his experience of Fleury just what he needed at this moment for some place of influence and power in England. King Edgar was of the same mind. In 961, shortly after Dunstan had left the sees of Worcester and London to become Archbishop of Canterbury, Worcester received Oswald as his successor there.

The Cathedral at Worcester was dedicated to Saint Peter.

[4] *HCY*, I, 413ff., 419, 422; *Chron. Abing.* I, 129, 344; *Gest. Pont.* 247f.; Aimoin, *Vita Abbonis*, *PL*, CXXXIX, col. 389.

[5] Eadmer (*HCY*, II, 14), followed by Hunt (*DNB*, XLII, 323), states that Oswald, after a journey to Rome with Osketel, visited Fleury a second time, with Germanus as companion. According to Eadmer, Osketel was seeking the pallium.

Since it was very small, it soon could not hold the people who came flocking to hear this new Pastor preach. Outside it, on a wide, level tract of ground, stood a little stone shrine, with a cross on top, marking the burial-place of Wiferd and his wife Alta, benefactors of Saint Peter's. To this open space Oswald moved his congregation and taught as best he could, standing beside the old tomb. Soon the crowds compelled the building of a new and larger church; and when at last this was ready, the bishop consecrated it in honour of Mary, Mother of God. Then the little Saint Peter's, which before Oswald's coming had seen secular clergy in its choir, offered its service in union with this more splendid Cathedral. Both churches were dear to Oswald, both for him held his "bishop's stool." [6] Gradually, however, Saint Mary's gained renown as Worcester's Cathedral Church.

This practical need once on the road to satisfaction, Oswald quietly and slowly, like Dunstan, worked for the establishing in Worcester of Benedictine discipline. It was a difficult undertaking, for Worcester held no monastic tradition. As we have seen, Dunstan had lacked time in which to use his influence. Now Oswald encouraged his deacons and priests toward the Benedictine way, taught them its Counsels, and at last received at least some of them under Benedictine profession. He did not see professed monks in all his Cathedral stalls; the names of non-monastic clergy still remain in number in the evidence of Oswald's charters throughout the time of his episcopate at Worcester. But the signature as "priest" or as "deacon" occurs more often as the years go on, and some of those who thus describe themselves sign elsewhere as "monk." When Saint Mary's Cathedral Church was finally completed at Worcester in

[6] *Hemingi Chart. Eccles. Wig.* ed. Hearne, II, 341f., 515f.; Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, V, 4ff.; *Times of St. Dunstan*, 130.

983 we may confidently believe that in it were heard Benedictine Offices, were seen Benedictine customs, as Oswald, its bishop, had learned and practiced them at Fleury. We may be equally sure that there was here no summary expulsion of non-conforming clerics.[7] The picture left of Oswald to a later day was of a Father who worked in holy shrewdness and skill; who impressed his less than monastic clerics by the delight with which he shared the Hours with his religious and by the love and reverence which the people of Worcester openly showed toward this monastic bishop of theirs.

The zeal of Oswald for this Benedictine life, tempered with patience and understanding as it was, clearly appears in the fact that directly he was appointed bishop he sent to recall his friend Germanus from France and put him straight to work at Worcester in teaching the discipline of Fleury to those of his clergy who would listen and to others who came there to learn. So many did come that not long after his consecration he had to seek another place of training. He thereupon transferred twelve of his novices, under Germanus as Prior, and Æthelnoth, a priest of high character and

[7] The evidence, as given by cartularies and chronicles, is very difficult to trace. The two most interesting documents are (1) a charter of the year 977 (Kemble, No. 615), in which the word "monk" is applied to ten of its twenty-seven witnesses from the *familia* of Bishop Oswald at Worcester; this charter was regarded with suspicion by Dr. Armitage Robinson, although he held that monks were certainly there by that date; (2) a statement, found in a report by Wulfstan (Saint), bishop of Worcester, of the proceedings of a Synod held at Worcester in 1092, that Archbishop Oswald, acting by the authority of King Edgar and Archbishop Dunstan, had replaced irregular clerics in his Cathedral stalls at Worcester by regular monks. The date of this change is here given as 969, but this would seem both too early, and indicative of abrupt action. For this report see Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, I, 542, trans. *Eng. Hist. Documents*, II, ed. David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway, 1953, 624f. For discussion of the problem see Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, V, 16ff., and *Times of St. Dunstan*, 124ff., 128ff.; Sir Ivor Atkins, *Antiquaries Journal*, 1937, 383ff.

practical ability, as Assistant Prior, to Westbury-on-Trym, on the outskirts of Bristol, which was then part of his diocese in Mercia.[8]

Still more aspirants arrived, and soon Oswald knew that he must find some larger, more enduring home for his monks of the future, a home that would live on under his successors. Where to find it he did not know. At last he went to talk the matter over with sympathetic men, nobles of high standing in Church and State, at the Court of King Edgar, and ended by appealing to the King himself. Edgar offered him a choice of three abbeys in immediate need of restoring: Saint Albans in Hertfordshire, Ely in Cambridgeshire, and Benfleet in Essex, where the West Saxons once had beaten the Danes. Oswald went to look at these, but chose none. Ely was already in the mind of Æthelwold; Benfleet was not the right place. Neither was Saint Albans, an old foundation said to have been built by Offa of Mercia. Oswald, however, seems to have taken Saint Albans in hand as an auxiliary house shortly before 970; one of his biographers, Eadmer, the twelfth-century Precentor of Canterbury, states that he placed it under rule of Ælfric, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. This Archbishop Ælfric was a monk of Abingdon and, as we have noted, brought Benedictine monks into his Cathedral at Canterbury shortly before the year 1000.[9]

Yet this visit of Oswald to Edgar's Court was to give him at last what he sought. While he was still there one of the King's nobles died, and with all the royal company Oswald went to his funeral at Glastonbury Abbey. When it was ended and he was about to leave Glastonbury, that Ealdorman of East Anglia, Æthelwine, the fourth son of

[8] *Gest. Pont.* 248.; *Chron. Rames.* 29.

[9] *HCY*, I, 427ff., II, 21f.; R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory*, 1943, 2; Whitelock, *A.-S. Wills*, 160f.; H. S. III, 469f.

Athelstan, "Half-King," came up to ask his blessing. They fell into conversation, and presently Oswald spoke of his problem. "My brother," he said, "I have men in my diocese who are called to the monastic life and I am worried about keeping them there. Would Your Excellency have any place where I might house them properly? If I might buy from you a site for a house, I would gladly pay anything you might ask." At once Æthelwine answered that he did have such a place, but that he would not hear of payment, for this was just what he, too, wanted. Three men, aspirants for the same profession, were already settled there, he said, and Oswald's direction was precisely their own need.

In a few days Oswald went to see this place, at Ramsey, another isle of the Fen Country, in Huntingdonshire. It did, indeed, hold all that he was asking for his monks, level land and rich soil, fresh water, all kinds of fish and fowl, deep solitude. Without hesitation he accepted it, sent to Westbury for Æthelnoth, and put him in charge of building and repair.

A small chapel was already there. This with the aid of a force of carpenters and craftsmen Æthelnoth first enlarged and then surrounded with the necessary monastic additions, refectory, dormitory, kitchen. All through the summer he toiled. At last at harvest time Oswald decided he could transfer here his twelve men in training at Westbury. On August the twenty-ninth, the memorial of the beheading of the great ascetic, Saint John the Baptist, and in the presence of the donor, Æthelwine, they were duly established in this house of the Fens, with Germanus, once again, as Prior and Æthelnoth as steward.[10]

During the winter—it was now 969 or 970—Oswald was busy gathering masons and skilled artisans. The trees which stood in dense growth around the monastery gave timber,

[10] *Chron. Rames.* 36, 39f.; *HCY*, I, 430f., 433.

and stone was found in plenty. In the following spring work was started on the foundations of a permanent church, dug deep and strongly packed because of the marshy soil. At last it stood ready, of cruciform shape, with two towers. The larger of these rose from the centre of the crossing and was upheld by four pillars, joined in their turn, one to another, by arches for their firm support. The smaller tower, at the west end, always by its beauty delighted the visitors who from it caught their first sight of the abbey.[11]

The building took years to complete. Tradition gives November the eighth, the Feast of the Four Crowned Martyrs, 974, as the day on which Oswald, now Archbishop of York as well as bishop of Worcester, solemnly dedicated Ramsey, monastery, church, and grounds, to the glory of Our Lady, of Saint Benedict, and of all holy Virgins. Many rich gifts were offered, especially by Oswald and by Æthelwine, the Founder.[12] Among the earlier fruits of Ramsey's work was the monk, Wynsige, who went there for his training and returned to be head of the rising community of religious at Oswald's Cathedral of Saint Mary in Worcester.[13]

It was said that Oswald as bishop of Worcester founded or refounded seven monasteries, in the shires of Worcester,

[11] *HCY*, I, 434; *Chron. Rames.* 4of.; Clapham, *Eng. Rom. Arch. before the Conquest*, 90, 96f.

[12] *Chron. Rames.* 43f.; *Cart. Rames.* ed. Hart and Lyons, *RS*, LXXIX, iii, 170. It does not seem necessary to describe the narrative of this consecration as "probably a pure invention" (Armitage Robinson, *BASP*, V, 37, note 2) and to consider the consecration in 991 after the repair of the church (see page 215 below) the "real" one. Oswald, it would seem, would hardly have waited from 974 until 991 for a "real" consecration of the church of Ramsey; and he might well have thought proper to celebrate further consecration in 991 after the rebuilding.

[13] It is this coming of Wynsige from Ramsey to lead the work at Worcester which makes the date 969 appear too early for the distinct change from cleries to monks amid its *familia;* Armitage Robinson, *ibid.* 33ff.

Gloucester, and Huntingdon. We cannot tell, however, in every case, whether restoration was due to him or to Æthelwold. Westbury-on-Trym, having served a temporary purpose, soon faded out of sight, its life absorbed by Ramsey. Most probably it was Oswald who gathered monks anew at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire. Here they met for prayer in a church of great interest for its architecture, of cruciform plan, bearing the mark of Carolingian character, with a nave, with two transepts containing chapels, and with an east end in shape of an apse, polygonal instead of smoothly rounded. At the west end rose a tower with a double opening high in its wall. The font, adorned with two bands of design in stone, one a double spiral, the other a vine pattern, has been thought to date from the early years of this tenth century. So also has its winged angel, in which experts see influence both Celtic and Byzantine.[14]

Probably it was before the days of renewal under Oswald that the young Ælfheah, who in 984 was to become the second bishop of that name in Winchester, left Deerhurst for a sterner retreat at Bath. But the revived monastic life of Deerhurst Abbey lasted only a short while, and in the twelfth century William of Malmesbury saw in it only "an empty echo of the past." [15]

About 972 we find Oswald at work in Gloucestershire on a far larger undertaking, the restoration of the abbey of Winchcombe, near Cheltenham. The abbey at this time was living "on little beyond its name"; but it already had the making of a legend which was to flourish exceedingly throughout the high Middle Ages and be told by William

[14] W. H. Knowles, *Archaeologia,* 1927, 141ff.; Clapham, 92, 99f., 119, fig. 23, pls. 33, 34; Talbot Rice, 65, 92f., 124, 148, pls. 8b, 30a.

[15] *Gest. Pont.* 169; F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs,* 1952, 293; Osbern, *Vita S. Alphegi: PL,* CXLIX, coll. 376f.

of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, Matthew of Westminster, and many others.[16] In its full flowering this tradition declared that King Offa of Mercia had first founded a house for nuns here about 787, that this was enlarged and endowed as an abbey for monks by Cenwulf, King of Mercia from 796 to 821, that in 811 Cenwulf held festival for its dedication by Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of twelve other prelates, and marked the joy of this event by setting free at the High Altar his captive, the rebel priest Eadberht Præn, "King of Kent." Winchcombe Abbey in Cenwulf's purpose was to be a place of burial for himself and his family; and its monks were to pray constantly for his peace.

This Cenwulf, the story goes on, had three children: a son, Kenelm, and two daughters, Quendrida, or Cwenthryth, and Burgenhild. To Cwenthryth, the eldest, he gave the charge of his heir, her little brother. But she herself was eager to rule Mercia as Queen and ordered one of her household, Ascebert, to remove the boy quietly from her path. Ascebert took Kenelm out hunting, murdered him at Clent, a lonely spot in the Cotswolds, and left his mutilated body lying hidden in a wood. For long no one knew what had become of him; then suddenly at Saint Peter's, Rome, a white dove flew down to the altar, bearing a parchment inscribed with words in Old English characters of gold. Unfortunately none of the priests of Saint Peter's could read Anglo-Saxon; then marvellously an interpreter appeared and the writing was revealed; meet, as Milton long afterwards put it, "to be sought by such as are more credulous than I wish my readers":

[16] On Winchcombe's legend and history see *Gest. Pont.* 294f.; H. S. III, 572ff., 594f., 596ff.; Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea;* Levison, *England,* 249ff.; Gordon Haigh, *History of Winchcombe Abbey,* 1947.

Low in a mead of kine under a thorn,
Of head bereft, lieth poor Kenelm kingborn.

The Pope immediately sent off the dreadful news to England; the body was found and carried for honourable burial to the royal abbey of Winchcombe. The wicked sister, Cwenthryth, from a window looked down with eyes of malice upon the funeral procession as it chanted Psalm 108, *Deus, laudem meam.* At the words, *This is the work of them who detract me before the Lord,* both her eyes leaped out from her head upon the page of her open Psalter. "This Psalter can still be seen," wrote Matthew of Westminster, "bound in silver and stained with blood."

When we come to the core of all this astonishing matter, we find reason to believe that King Cenwulf did have a son Cynhelm, who lived to grow up but who never became King and probably died before his father; that Cynhelm did have a sister Cwenthryth, about whom nothing worse is known than that as a reverend abbess she was accused by that same Archbishop Wulfred of wrongful possession of lands and by the Councils held at Clovesho in 824 and 825 was commanded to yield these properties, both as head of her cloister and, in her own person, as heir to the abbey of Winchcombe through family heritage.[17]

Kenelm, nonetheless, was already renowned as a child martyr when Oswald came to Winchcombe. The bishop filled its choir from Ramsey and made Germanus its abbot, raising Æthelnoth to hold charge over Ramsey's monks. Year by year on Saint Kenelm's Day, the seventeenth of July, we may think of Winchcombe under Germanus keeping feast around Kenelm's shrine.

In Worcestershire the work of both Oswald and Æthel-

[17] Levison, 251f.; H. S. III, 594ff.

wold united about this same time, the year 972, for the progress of the abbey of Pershore, eight miles from Worcester, founded, it would seem, late in the seventh century and, according to William of Malmesbury, "brought to perfection" while King Edgar ruled, by the zeal of Æthelweard, "duke of Dorset." Here we may discern a reference to the well-known Ealdorman of the Western Provinces, the friend of Ælfric of Eynsham, who signed charters from 975 to 998, and is believed to have made for his kinswoman, Matilda of Essen, an early rendering into Latin of records from the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle:* a rendering of much interest, but, as William of Malmesbury put it, "running its author into shipwreck on the rocks of tinkling and highly scoured words." Perhaps it was this Æthelweard who begged from the Nunnaminster at Winchester relics of its abbess, Saint Eadburg, daughter of Edward the Elder, and thereby brought Pershore high renown as scene of many a miracle.[18]

Oswald installed as abbot of Pershore Foldbricht, of Glastonbury and of Abingdon. His monks were to find him "a hard man, but they judged from the outward appearance, not from the heart." A very human story was told by his community concerning his last hours on earth. When on his bed of sickness at Pershore he knew that death was near, he sent for Abbot Germanus of Winchcombe and for another abbot named Ælfheah, a great friend of his. From them he received the last Sacraments and departed in peace. His body was placed with all due ceremony in a chantry of his abbey church, a cross was laid upon it, and monks were appointed to recite the Office of the Dead for his happy re-

[18] *Gest. Pont.* 298; *Gest. Reg.* I, 1, 3, 137, 268f.; *Crawford Charters,* 118ff.; Dugdale, *Monast.* II, 410; *Annales Monastici, RS,* XXXVI, iv, ed. Luard, 369.

pose. Early the next morning Germanus said a Requiem Mass for his intent. The last collects were being recited when suddenly—so Pershore declared—a monk hurried breathless to the altar. "Abbot Foldbriht," he panted in the priest's ear, "Abbot Foldbriht *is alive again!*" In a moment, hardly remembering to take off his vestments, Germanus ran to the door of the chantry, where the panic-stricken monks were gathered. "We were saying the Psalms," they said, "very diligently around the bier, when all at once we saw his breast moving up and down. The cross was knocked off, he was palpitating so violently; then, before we could think what to do, he sat right up, as angry as could be, and threw aside his funeral pall. At this we all fled, here and there, terrified that he might come after us."

Germanus had often heard, of course, of miracles of rising from the dead, but the actual experience was new and very upsetting. He decided to send for Abbot Ælfheah; Ælfheah knew Abbot Foldbriht better than he did. When Ælfheah arrived Germanus invited him to enter the chantry, a preferring in honour which he firmly declined. A long argument followed. At last "that true Christian," Germanus, plucked up courage and, with Ælfheah trembling behind him, walked in. Foldbriht was sitting upright on his bier. "Come here, if you please," said the dead Abbot of Pershore, "and tell those monks of mine to take me off this bier and put me on a couch." Germanus, signing to the monks to stay outside, sat down as near as he dared. "Reverend Father," he said, "this return of yours is most sudden and astonishing. Would you deign, I humbly pray, to tell us where you have been, what you saw, who was with you?" "After I died," answered Foldbriht, "I saw the Lord, and He mercifully forgave me all my sins." At this Germanus burst into tears, but managed to ask, "What did He look

like?" "Fairer than the sun, greater than all the world, shining brighter than gold." "O truly happy Foldbriht!" cried Germanus. "But who was your guide?" "Blessed Benedict, naturally," replied the Abbot, "and after him there followed a whole multitude, not only monks but nuns, too, and I *saw* it, *all* of it!"

No more could be wrung from him. He lived six hours, again received Viaticum, and once more departed to his vision of the Lord.[19]

About 970 monastic life revived in another old monastery of Worcestershire, the abbey of Evesham, near Pershore. Men told of it that it had been founded early in the eighth century by Ecgwine, bishop of Worcester; they added a legend that Ecgwine had purchased from Æthelred, King of Mercia, a meadow for the pasturing of cattle, that one of his herdsmen, Eoves, saw there a vision of Our Lady, that when Ecgwine was told this he promptly fasted, prayed, and got him to the meadow in hope of the same joy, that it was granted him, and that at once he planned a monastery of Saint Mary, in course of time duly built and consecrated there. In the region of Edmund, we read, a certain "most wicked" noble, Alchelm, obtained from his King, "too young to know better," the possession of this house and "as a devouring wolf" drove out its monks, took much of its land for himself, and established secular clergy on what was left. This date for its secularizing is doubtless too late. After long neglect its reform and restoration were brought about by King Edgar, acting through Oswald or Æthelwold or both. It lay in Oswald's diocese, but Æthelwold is given as its reformer in the *Chronicle of Evesham*. He is said to have confirmed election of one Osward as abbot. Later on we find in the seat of rule Frithegar, another monk taught

[19] *HCY*, I, 439ff.

by Dunstan and by Æthelwold, at both Glastonbury and Abingdon.[20]

One more instance of the combined influence of these reformers may probably be seen late in the tenth century in its action upon the abbey of Crowland, where the hermit Guthlac had lived among the marshes of Lincolnshire long before the abbey's time. Its tradition relates that after Guthlac's death in 714 King Æthelbald of Mercia, whom Guthlac had encouraged at a time of trouble, built a monastery on the isle of Crowland in his honour and richly endowed it. This was brought to ruin by the Danes in 870. For many years its shell remained forlorn, with hardly a priest to minister at its altar, until Thurketel, a friend of Dunstan, of Æthelwold, and of Oswald, and very possibly a kinsman of Oswald, came to its rescue. We are told that he was related to Osketel, Archbishop of York, a theory supported by his Danish name, and that upon Osketel's death at Thame, Oxfordshire, in 971, "he carried his body to Bedford, because he was abbot there at that time." Later on he was expelled from Bedford and petitioned Ælfstan, bishop of London, and his clergy for fellowship in their common life, a privilege at first refused, but eventually granted when Thurketel made gift to Saint Paul's of land at Milton. Thurketel was a man of great wealth, and in his eagerness to use it for the Church, seemingly after consultation with his monastic friends, he purchased the ruined abbey of Crowland from the King, its owner. Then he proceeded to revive its inner life, to endow it with estates in the shires of Lincoln, Northampton, and Cambridge, and finally to rule it himself as abbot by election.

In this tradition much is uncertain. But the renewing of Benedictine custom and practice in Crowland sometime after

[20] *Chron. Evesham*, 8ff., 77ff.; cf. Knowles, *Mon. Order*, 34, 52.

971 by one Thurketel, friend of our reformers, may well be a fact.[21]

Here, then, and doubtless in many other neglected houses of religion, reformation went forward. Record has left a vivid picture of King Edgar, presiding at a great Easter Council which was called for the furthering of this work and ordering there its planning in "more than forty monasteries," a number, indeed, not now to be proved in literal meaning. The King went at the sound of the monastic bell to hear Vespers in this assembly of bishops, abbots, monks and priests, abbesses and their nuns; "and, looking around upon so many distinguished Fathers and reverend Mothers with their sons and daughters, he declared before them all: 'I give Thee thanks, O Christ, High King, Who rulest those Thou lovest, Who hast set me over Thy people and given it me to gather together so many of Thy servants, men and women, to render to Thee Divine Praises for Thine honour.' " [22]

Like his friends of Canterbury and of Winchester Oswald gave constant thought to the seculars, the parish priests, the laity, of high and low estate, under his charge. Continually he was making the round of his diocese, preaching in village after village to the peasants, giving aid to the many poor and destitute whom he met on his way.

The King was quick to use this energy. In 971, before the monastic effort had reached its height, the see of York was vacant through the death of Osketel. For a short while it was held by one Æthelwald, but "since he preferred a quieter life" he resigned, and Edgar followed Dunstan's counsel in appointing Oswald. He was bidden to hold this

[21] *A.-S. C.* (B), *ann.* 971; *Lib. Eliensis*, 145f.; Orderic Vitalis, *H. E.* ed. Le Prevost, II, 281ff.; Dorothy Whitelock, *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, 1941, 174f.; Rose Graham, *VCH, County of Lincoln*, II, 105.

[22] *HCY*, I, 425ff.

Archbishopric together with his see of Worcester "lest the recent increase of monks at Worcester should fail through lack of support." As it was now but 972 and Oswald's monks give their most satisfactory evidence of establishment in Worcester five years later, there may well have been reason for this fear.

His earliest biographers tell us that at Edgar's desire Oswald made his journey to Rome following his appointment as Archbishop and came back with the Papal blessing on his work.[23]

The North of England had naturally been slower in conversion to Christianity than the South because of withstanding by Danes. The Cathedral of York was not served from a monastery; and perhaps for this reason Oswald still spent much of his time in Worcester. The renown of the Church in Northumbria had largely waned in the troubled years of the Danish kingship; much of its property had passed into lay hands, and only the shrine of Saint Cuthbert still now commanded in any considerable measure the veneration and the offerings of men of wealth. Soon Oswald was drawing up a list of manors of which Saint Peter's see of York had been robbed, manors in number, from Otley, from Ripon, from Sherburn in Elmet, manors once granted in the time of Osketel, his predecessor, and those granted under his own tenure. It was, no doubt, largely by reason of such grievous loss that Oswald was allowed to combine his holding of the wealth of Worcester with the present need of York.[24]

In this matter of land belonging to the Church it was a happy thing for both sees that Oswald developed an extraordinary skill, amounting to genius, in the profitable use of

[23] *Ibid.*, 420f., 435f., II, 27, 340; *Gest. Pont.* 248f.

[24] Stenton, *A.-S. England*, 430; Robertson, *A.-S. Charters*, LIV, 110ff., 357ff.

land attached to this Church of Worcester, of manors, fields, tracts large and small, in the shires of Worcester, Gloucester, Oxford, and Warwick, and, above all, in that tract of some three hundred hides in Worcestershire bestowed by King Edgar on the community of Worcester Cathedral and known afterward as Oswaldslow.[25]

Leases, then, were granted by Oswald, as bishop and Warden of this community, to all kinds of persons during nearly thirty years, from 962 onward. We can still read more than seventy of these, written in Latin or in Anglo-Saxon, often in a mixture of both.[26] The lessees include "a great peer of this realm," noble thegns and free men of simple birth, men in the service of the bishop or the King; priests; a deacon (*levita*); a cleric; a "fellow-father" (*compater*, perhaps "son's-godfather"); kinsmen of Oswald himself, including his two brothers, Osulf and Athelstan; men in various relationship to him, soldier, client, craftsman. Often loyalty to the bishop is given as ground for the issue of the lease, suggested by the words "for faithful service," "to my true men," "for humble obedience and diligence." Usually the tenure of the lease is to run for three lives, and the first lessee is at liberty to choose to whom it shall be extended after his death. Occasionally it is to run for two lives or even only for one; or special conditions of reversion are laid down: the land is to revert to a lessee's mother, if surviving; or to a lessee's child, then to his wife, and afterward to one of his wife's two brothers, whichever she shall choose; or to one of the bishop's knights and then to one of two brothers of this second lessee; or, in more elaborate detail of descent, "to the lessee's wife, if she remain a widow; if she marry again, then to her husband, who shall be subject

[25] Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 267ff.
[26] See Kemble, charters ranging from No. 494 to No. 683.

to the bishop of the Church of Worcester; thirdly, to her son, if any, by her first husband, and failing this, to a son of the second marriage." Women, too, receive land on lease from the bishop: Ælfhild, a kinswoman of Oswald, and Wulfgifu, who will share it with her husband.[27]

The terms of service prescribed in return for such lease of land are given in a letter which Oswald wrote to King Edgar when his leasing had been some time in practice. Apparently the bishop, by mediation of his friends Archbishop Dunstan, Bishop Æthelwold, and Brihtnoth, the ealdorman, had made some complaint to the King, and this had now been given redress to his satisfaction; perhaps it concerned some lack of the service due from his tenants, perhaps some uncertainty as to his own right of jurisdiction. At any rate, Oswald decided for the informing of his King and of the bishops who should follow him at Worcester to put into writing the terms under which these leases were issued by him.[28] They were as follows.

First: Each lessee shall fulfil the whole law of riding in all its obligation for riding men.[29] (This means that the lessee was to act as mounted escort in the bishop's retinue on journeys and on visits of importance.)

Secondly: He shall pay all dues justly owed by him to the Church, such as Church scot, toll, fee for pasturing swine, unless excused by the bishop.

Thirdly: He shall swear to remain in humble obedience to the bishop as long as he shall hold this land.

Fourthly: He shall always be quick with all diligence to supply the need of the bishop, in lending horses, in riding for his service, in readiness to burn lime for the service of

[27] *Ibid.* Nos. 496, 530, 557, 625, 637, 645.

[28] Birch, No. 1136; Kemble, No. 1287; Maitland, 304ff.; Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066–1166*, 1932, 122ff.

[29] Stenton, *ibid.* 124f.

the Church, to build bridges, to make a fence for the bishop's use when hunting, to lend hunting-spears at his desire, as well as to fulfil other duties at the call of the bishop or the King.

These, wrote Oswald, are the services to be rendered by my lessees for the lands granted them, greater or smaller services, according to the will of the bishop and the measure of land granted to each. When the prescribed three lives shall all have ended it shall be in the power of the bishop of Worcester in each case to renew the lease for whomsoever he will or to recall the land for the use of his Church. Whosoever shall fail to render the service prescribed as due to Church, bishop, and King in return for land leased to him shall suffer penalty according to the bishop's judgment, or shall be deprived of his holding.

Three copies were made of these rulings: one for Worcester, one for Dunstan, and one for Æthelwold. Oswald was most careful to act under due authorizing as a landlord for his Church. His leases regularly begin with a statement of consent on the part of the King, and also of Ælfhere and after Ælfhere of Ælfric, as Ealdormen of Mercia.

Sometimes a special clause is found inserted in regard to terms of service due for lease of land. One lessee is commanded to plough every year two acres of the land allowed him and to sow on it grain for his Church scot; another is bidden to contribute manual labour for the Church diligently twice a year, at times of haymaking and of harvest; another, in addition to "humble obedience" in general, is required to render two pounds of pure silver, thirty ewes with their lambs, four oxen, two cows, and a horse.[30]

Immunity from taxation is regularly mentioned in these leases. The two forms occurring most frequently are: "Im-

[30] Kemble, Nos. 508, 511, 675.

munity from all taxation except Church dues," and "Immunity from all taxation except for military expeditions and for maintenance of bridges and of fortifications." This latter taxation was centuries old and so generally imposed that it was called the *trinoda necessitas*, "the triple obligation." Occasionally we find a special concession granted to the lessee. The man who was bidden plough his two acres for grain might enjoy twelve cartloads of wood every year from the bishop's timber; the man who must work at haymaking time and at harvest was given the right of cutting wood in the common copse; others might feed a hundred pigs for a season every year upon the land allotted them; to another were to come the proceeds of penalties incurred by dwellers on the land leased to him.[31]

This practice of leasing followed by Oswald as bishop of Worcester, in union with his King and with the Ealdorman of Mercia for the benefit of the Church and the prospering of his people, high and low, has been compared with the feudal system of post-Conquest years. In some way Oswald's service was a forerunner of that system; but, as expert research has shown, it differs sharply from feudal tenure by the lack of definition, of prescription, and of precision which marks its method.[32]

It was the practical mind revealed in these leases which distinguished Oswald, even among his able colleagues. Æthelwold marched boldly to his work; Dunstan watched over, instructed, and inspired the Church at large; Oswald asked, "What of the monks of the future? How in these dangerous times shall we ensure that our labour shall not perish when we are no longer here? What enduring fruits of our toil shall we pass on to those who follow us?" It was

[31] *Ibid.* Nos. 498, 508, 542; Birch, No. 1110; Maitland, 289.
[32] Stenton, *A.-S. England*, 478f., 672f.

Oswald who set on foot the Easter Council of which mention has been made, an assembly convoked for the furthering of monastic reform. Very possibly that Council was the one which brought forth in this tenth century the *Regularis Concordia*. In that case it was the action of Oswald which prompted and pushed forward his friends to those deliberations which gave form and lasting life to their work, an action entirely in keeping with his character.[33]

[33] See Knowles, *Mon. Order*, 42, and note 1.

7

The Regularis Concordia

WHILE all this work for revival and reform of abbeys was in progress, when once again the pulse of Benedictine life had begun to beat strongly in England, a second problem in matters monastic rose before Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald. Abbeys had been, were being, rebuilt and repaired; monks were being professed, novices trained, aspirants accepted. Wherever religious life was now in renewed vigour, its monks were faithfully following the prescriptions of Saint Benedict of Nursia. In practice, however, monastic customs varied widely in individual English abbeys. Liberty to Dunstan and his colleagues was highly important; yet for its true enjoyment it must rest, they felt, upon a firm basis of common order and discipline. Both for the abbeys already revived into regular function and for those still to be aroused some definite pattern was urgently needed, a pattern in essence and in spirit that put forward by Saint Benedict in the sixth century, yet including such modifications and additions as changing times, in general, and English tradition, in particular, made necessary or permissible. Once wisely and deliberately prepared, this pattern would stand, with due allowance for individual liberty, as a norm and a con-

sensus of custom for all English houses of Benedictine following.

This compiling of one general Code for English Benedictines Dunstan and his two fellow-workers were naturally anxious to carry out with the aid of King Edgar's authority and support. At their desire, then, while Æthelwold was bishop of Winchester, at some time between 965 [1] and Edgar's death ten years later, the King convoked a great Council in that city. To it came in multitude bishops, abbots, and abbesses of England; monks of Fleury from France; monks of Saint Peter's from Ghent in Belgium. Long and thoroughly they pondered, weighed, and debated this problem of reasonable uniformity, of reasonable liberty. They discussed routine in winter, in summer, on days of feast, feria, and fast; customs in the administration and the reception of the holy sacraments; the fulfilment of the "Work of God," the Hours of prayer in choir as practiced down the ages; the additions to this, now generally followed in all monasteries, Continental and English, that were alive to their charge; the regulating of private devotions; the discipline of the common life of abbots and monks, of abbesses and nuns, of novices, of boys in abbey schools; the hours for reading, for manual work, for work in arts and crafts; the guarding of silence and of remoteness from the calls of the world outside. The harvest of their deliberations was gathered into a document which is still read in its original Latin and has recently found translation into English: *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonaliumque*, or *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*.[2]

[1] In 964, probably, Edgar made Ælfthryth his queen. See however *A.-S. C.* (D), *ann.* 965; *Reg. Concordia*, ed. Symons, 2.

[2] Ed. and trans. by Dom Thomas Symons, 1953, from Cott. Faustina B III, folios 159a–198a, and Tiberius A III, folio 177a, b (late tenth century);

Let us follow briefly, according to this prescription, a monk's weekday in an English Benedictine abbey of the latter years of this tenth century. The prescription is here laid down for the month of October, but, if not exactly in timetable, yet in its main features it is typical of ordinary days throughout the year.[3]

Shortly after two in the morning the monk rose from his bed, made the sign of the Cross, invoked the Holy Trinity, and said the versicle, *O Lord, Thou shalt open my lips*,[4] and the psalm, *Make haste, O God, to deliver me*, with the *Gloria* at its end. Then he recited another psalm, *Unto Thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul*, as he went toward the church, moving quietly when he entered lest he should disturb others already there. Kneeling in the "usual and proper place," [5] he offered privately and in silence the *trina oratio*, the "threefold prayer." First, for his own intention, he said three of the seven penitential psalms, the Lord's Prayer, and a prayer for grace and guidance in the coming day; secondly, for the King, the Queen, and all Benefactors of his monastery, two more of the penitential psalms, the Lord's Prayer, and a collect; thirdly, for the faithful departed, the last two penitential psalms, again the Lord's Prayer, and

and Cott. Tib. A III, folios 3a–27b (second half of the eleventh century). In his edition the older text is used for the first time. The best of the former editions was that of W. S. Logeman, who included the Anglo-Saxon glosses: *Anglia*, XIII, N.F. I, 1891, 365ff. For all matters relevant to the *Regularis Concordia*—authorship, sources, character, customs, prescriptions, references—see the writings of Dom Thomas Symons, both his edition of 1953 and his many articles in the *Downside Review*, listed under Monastic History at the end of this book, especially *DR*, 1922 and 1941.

[3] For the timetables of the *Regularis Concordia*, winter and summer, see Dom David Knowles, *Mon. Order*, 714f., 450f.

[4] Mass, Offices, and other devotions, offered in common or in private, were recited or chanted, of course, in Latin.

[5] Very possibly outside the choir, as under Benedict of Aniane; see Symons, *DR*, 1924, 69f.

another collect. The first signal for Nocturns was then heard, and the boys of the abbey—the child-oblates, offered by their parents for training in the monastic life—entered the church with their master. The monk continued his prayer in the darkness, only relieved by the uncertain, wavering rays of candles or torches in the choir, while the boys in their turn said the *trina oratio*. When they had ended, the second signal bade all, monks and boys, in their appointed places in choir begin to chant the fifteen gradual psalms. After each five psalms all rose to genuflect. Then came the third and final signal, followed immediately by Nocturns, the Night Office of psalms, lessons, and prayers.[6] At its end once more intercession, in two psalms and three collects, was made for King, Queen, and Benefactors.

There was now a very brief interval. The boys went out with their master; the monks also went out, if they wished, or remained in their stalls. Then all reassembled for the Office of Matins,[7] followed by the psalm, *Have mercy upon me, O God,* by two other psalms and three prayers for King, Queen, and Benefactors, and by three antiphons, one of the Holy Cross, one of Our Lady, one of the Patron Saint of the abbey church in which the monks were chanting. After these had reached their end all rose, to walk in due order to one of the chapels of the church, chanting as they walked an antiphon in honour of the Saint to which this chapel was dedicated.

In this chapel Matins of All Saints and Matins of the Dead were recited or sung. Meanwhile the darkness had slowly been lifting, and when day at last dawned the community began the Office of Prime. At its end came a psalm, two

[6] The present Office of Matins.

[7] Here called Lauds, as in modern use; but cf. Symons, ed. *Regularis Concordia*, page 22, line 12.

versicles, and a collect for aid in temptations of the flesh, then another psalm, a collect, and a brief prayer for brethren departed this life; after these, chanting of all the seven penitential psalms and the psalm, *Bow down Thine ear, O Lord.* Finally at another signal all prostrated themselves for a litany, followed by the Lord's Prayer, the psalm, *In Thee, O Lord, have I put my trust,* and concluding versicles and collects.

At this point, shortly after seven o'clock, the monks had been some five hours at their devotions. For about half an hour they were now busy in reading and study. Then all went to change their night slippers for stout daytime shoes and to wash, the boys singing psalms during their washing, the monks moving their lips in prayer, each as he willed, or meditating in silence.

Once again all filed into church, and once again the "threefold prayer" was said privately by the monks and by the boys. Again the signal sounded, and the Office of the third hour, Tierce, began, ending with the usual two psalms and three collects for King, Queen, and Benefactors.

The first Mass, the Morrow Mass, next was said, with intention for the King or some immediate need. At its close the abbot gave a signal and led his brethren to a room in the monastery appointed for the holding of the daily Chapter. All as they entered the room turned to the east and bowed before the Cross, then bowed to each other. They then sat down and listened to Commemoration of Martyrs and other holy dead, which was followed by a short Office of prayer and response. The abbot on ordinary days now read from the *Rule* of Saint Benedict; on Feast days he read the Gospel of the day and said some words of his own as to its meaning. Next, if there were occasion, came confession of sins and negligence in regard to the *Rule* and customs, made in presence of all by the guilty, either on their

own initiative or at the accusation of a superior. When the abbot had made judgment and all was ended, five psalms were recited for brethren departed this life on earth.

At the close of this Chapter the monks went their different ways to work with their hands, with their various skills and powers, in the kitchen or bakery or scriptorium or cloister, with tools, pots, pans, pens, brushes, parchment, and manuscripts. All took part in the preparation and serving of food; but leisure for arts and crafts, for reading learned books, and for writing on intellectual matters was given to those monks who were able and prepared to use it. This turning of the ideal norm, for such portion of the monk's day as was spent outside his church, away from ordinary manual labour toward artistic and intellectual work in the service of his religion, a trend inherited from the time of Benedict of Aniane, was active in England during the tenth century; and no doubt because of it a greater share of household tasks fell to those who had neither intellectual nor artistic gifts. Now, therefore, at a signal the abbot recited three times, *O God, make haste to help me;* three times the monks answered with the same, adding the *Gloria,* the Lord's Prayer, and *Our help is in the Name of the Lord.* Then they dispersed. It must often have seemed that a very brief while had fled—in reality it was not much more than two hours—when the signal once more was heard, the tools, the pens, the books were laid aside, and all rose to go again to the church, repeating thrice as they entered, *Blessed art Thou, O Lord, for Thou hast holpen me and comforted me,* then again adding the *Gloria,* the Lord's Prayer, and the *Adiutorium,* with *The Almighty Lord be gracious to us.*

Once more the signal, and Sext was said, once more two psalms and three collects for King, Queen, and Benefactors, then a Litany. There followed directly the Conventual Sung

Mass. After this came a signal for brief prayer, and then those whose week it was to serve the refectory filed out to break their fast, since their own dinner came late and only when they had ended all their serving of others. When they returned to the church the community fulfilled the Office of None, closing with the customary prayers for the Royal House.

Immediately after this ended and about two in the afternoon, dinner, the only meal of the day, was served in the refectory. We know from other sources that English monks at this time lived on fish, eggs, cheese, vegetables, fruit, porridge, bread, with butter and honey; their drink was generally beer, with mead and wine in less frequent use. Meat was allowed to those sick and under special care, and, it would seem, to the boys of the abbey school.

Dinner was followed by another period of work of various kinds, intellectual or manual. Vespers came shortly before five o'clock, with again the usual little Office for King, Queen, and Benefactors; with, also, the same antiphons, of the Holy Cross, of Our Lady, and of the Patron Saint, which had been chanted early in the morning. Then came Vespers of All Saints and Vespers and Vigils of the Dead.

From the church the monks went to change into their night slippers, thence to the refectory for an evening cup of refreshment; then they gave their thought to the *collatio*, the reading from some religious book. After this the last Hour of the day, Compline, was recited, with psalms and prayers for the Royal House. Finally for the third time the "threefold prayer" was said, first by the boys, afterward by the monks; it now included thanksgiving for the blessings of the day that had passed and prayer against harm during the coming night.

All were then blessed with holy water by one of the priests

of the week and, warm in tunic, cowl, and hood, went silently to bed in the common dormitory, itself protected from the assaults of evil by the same ministry. A monk who desired to pray longer in the church was free to do so until it was cleared by signal from the sacrist. For the main body of the brethren the regular bedtime in October, shortly after six o'clock, gave a rest of some eight to nine hours.

As one reads this prescription for English religious of the tenth century the first thought may well be of its careful planning of its full day of prayer; the second and third thoughts perhaps would note its constant remembrance of the English Royal House and of the souls of those departed hence.

But the *Regularis Concordia* contained much more detail of regulation, instruction, and exhortation, concerning special days and special matters. Daily communion at Mass was strongly encouraged. A priest—the abbot himself, so far as might be, as the Father of the community—was at hand to administer the Sacrament of Penance every Sunday before Tierce, and on Monday morning also, if time on Sunday had not sufficed; its seeking by all, on the appointed days or at any time of need, was held an integral part of regular discipline. The Liturgy on certain days followed the pattern which appears in Alcuin: on Sunday the monks heard Morrow Mass of the Holy Trinity; on Friday the principal Mass was of the Holy Cross; on Saturday, of Our Lady; unless these days marked special Feasts. On Sunday, after the Morrow Mass, the cloister of the abbey was blessed with holy water in the ritual of the Asperges. The day's routine, indeed, on Sundays and other Feasts was markedly different from that of ordinary weekdays. Everything was done to give more time for the soul and the mind; no words were

spoken except on some material necessity and on things of the spirit; the brethren stayed longer in church and gave more thought to sacred books. On the other hand, dinner on these days of rejoicing was served earlier, after Sext; there was a second meal, supper, after Vespers, and, except from Martinmas, November the eleventh, until Candlemas, a cup of refreshment was given after None. Every week priests in the community, and normally not a few of its numbers were priests, entered upon their turn of officiating for seven days at Mass and the Hours; every week, also, a fresh company of readers, cooks, bakers, servers of tables, was called from the community in general and blessed for its work. Every day, in a place set apart for the purpose, three of the poor peasants of the neighbourhood were honoured by washing of feet and a full meal from the monks' kitchen. On each Saturday the community held its own washing, when feet were bathed and shoes were cleaned; after this ceremony all went to the refectory for the rite of fellowship, the *caritas*, in which abbot and monks shared a loving-cup of wine.

When the year turned to November and December and the days grew shorter and colder, shorter hymns were sung at Office, and on very cold and stormy days the monks carried on their work near a fire kept burning in its own special room. This indulgence was the more needful as, except upon Feast days, when Advent set in all butter, oil, and lard were excluded from the daily fare in the refectory. On Christmas Eve, when the lesson in Chapter told of the Birth of Christ, all rose from their seats to bow the knee in thanksgiving for the redemption of mankind. From the Day of the Holy Innocents to the Octave of Christmas, at the time of Mass, of the Night Office and of Vespers, all the bells of the monastery rang out in honour of the high

Feast. This ringing of bells at Christmastime was an old Anglo-Saxon custom, as the *Regularis Concordia* notes: "And we have decided by no means to cast away the honourable tradition of this country of ours, but everywhere to confirm it."

Another mark of English tradition was seen in the out-of-door processions held at Candlemas and other times. On the morning of February the second, Feast of the Purification, the monks after changing into their day shoes walked in procession through the streets to a church outside their buildings, wearing white albs if the weather allowed. In this church their abbot, vested in stole and cope, blessed the candles of the Feast with holy water and incense. While all sang the appointed chants the sacrist handed to each of the brethren a candle which he lighted. Then they returned in procession to their abbey church for Tierce and Mass, still holding their lights as Mass was celebrated; at the Offertory each offered his candle to the priest before the altar.

Septuagesima brought again the prohibition of fats at the monastic table; on and after Ash Wednesday Lenten fasting was in full force, with forbidding not only of fats but of milk and eggs. On this day after None the abbot blessed the ashes of penitence and placed them on the head of each one of his community. There followed a procession, as at Candlemas, to another church for prayer and chanting. In Lent this procession was held every Wednesday and Friday until Maundy Thursday, and the brethren walked slowly and solemnly back to their abbey church for Sung Mass and Vespers. After Vespers a supper was served, the only meal on days in Lent except those of Feasts. From Ash Wednesday until Maundy Thursday, moreover, on each day that was not a Feast in the calendar two psalms after every Hour of Office were added to the day's fulfilment by

the community, said by each monk prostrate on the floor of the church.

Palm Sunday, also, was marked by solemn procession to another church, after the Morrow Mass; by the blessing and distribution of palms in that church; by the singing of the verses of Theodulf of Orleans by the boys of the school and the answer, *All glory, laud, and honour*, from monks and people (people of the village or town were present on these occasions); by the return home of all the brethren, bearing their palms, for the Sung Mass in their abbey church; and by the offering, at the time of the Oblation, by each monk of the palm which he was holding. On the last three nights of Holy Week, after the gradual extinguishing of the candles had brought darkness to the church, two boys on the right side of the choir sang *Kyrie, eleison*, and two on the left side answered with *Christe, eleison;* then two more, at the west of the choir, chanted *Domine, miserere nobis*, and the whole choir followed with *Christus Dominus factus est oboediens usque ad mortem.* This was done three times, and prayer in silence closed the ritual. The *Concordia*, however, expressly ordered that this symbolizing of the darkness of the world in the hour of the Lord's Passion should be entirely at the will of each community.

On Maundy Thursday, after Chapter, monks washed the pavement of the church, while priests of the abbey washed its altars with holy water. After Sext and the Morrow Mass the *Maundy* was fulfilled, when the brethren washed the feet of a number of poor men, fed them, and gave them money. Then came None, and after it the community walked in procession from the cloister, wearing white albs, to the doors of the church. In their midst was carried a staff fashioned into the form of a serpent bearing a candle in its mouth. At the church doors this candle was lighted from new fire now

struck from a flint and blessed by the abbot; then the lighted candle, still in the serpent's mouth, was solemnly borne within. After all the monks were in their places in choir another candle was lighted from the same newly kindled fire; from this candle in turn new light of Easter was given, that night and the two following, to the Lenten darkness of the church.

The Conventual Mass now followed, sung with its proper ceremony; the Eucharist was reserved; if a bishop was present he blessed the holy oils to be used during the year in baptism and in the anointing of the sick and dying. After Vespers and supper, a most frugal meal, came the ceremonial washing of the feet and the hands, scrupulously clean for the rite, of all the community, carried out by the abbot for his monks, by the senior monks for the abbot himself. Another procession then formed, led by acolytes bearing tapers, by the thurifer, and by a deacon vested in dalmatic who bore the Book of the Gospels. It walked to the refectory, and there, as on Saturdays but with deeper solemnity, the abbot and monks shared the *caritas*, the cup of brotherly love, while the deacon read at the lectern from the thirteenth chapter of Saint John's Gospel. Then all went to Compline.

The ceremonies of Good Friday are described in this *Concordia* in full detail: the lessons from the Old Testament; the reading of the *Passion of the Lord according to Saint John;* the stripping away of the cloth from the altar at the words *Partiti sunt vestimenta mea;* the Proper Prayers, interceding for the Church and for all men; the *Populo meus*, answered by the *Trisagion*, chanted in Greek by two subdeacons, by the choir in Latin; the Adoration of the Cross; the singing of the *Pange, lingua* of Venantius Fortunatus; the seven penitential psalms and the prayers of veneration; the wrapping of the Cross in its winding sheet and its burial

at the altar in its "sepulchre," a recess hidden by a curtain; the watch over the Cross, thus entombed, from this moment until Easter morning; the procession of deacon and subdeacon bearing the Body of the Lord and a chalice of unconsecrated wine; the communion, in deep silence, of abbot and monks.

Holy Saturday saw the lighting of the Paschal candle from the new fire blessed on Maundy Thursday; the reading of the Lessons and the singing of the Litanies; the blessing of the font; the ritual of the first Mass of Easter: the cry of the cantor before the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, the cry of *Accendite!* and the lighting of all the lights in the church; the pealing of all the bells while the *Gloria* was sung.

This day, Easter Eve, saw also a humbler rite, carried out in preparation for the morrow. Monks and boys took a bath. It is the only mention of this ceremony in the *Regularis Concordia;* in some abbeys the number of baths required made it necessary to begin its fulfilment after the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday.

Easter Day brought a special touch of drama in addition to all its prescribed ritual. In the darkness of very early morning the Cross was taken from its "sepulchre" and returned to its usual place. Then during Nocturns, while it was still dark, one of the monks, vested in an alb, walked with calm and quiet approach to the "sepulchre" at the altar, still hidden behind its curtain, and sat down near it, holding a palm in his hand, in full view of his brethren in the choir. Soon three more monks, all wearing copes and carrying censers, also approached, but they seemed uneasy, hesitating and looking here and there as if in search of something. They were, of course, playing the part of the holy women bearing spices, and the first monk was the angel sitting at the open tomb of the Lord. When he saw the three hesitating

and looking about as if in puzzled search, he began to chant in a low, sweet voice,

Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, christicolae?

They answered together,

Jhesum Nazarenum.

Then, following his part, the "angel" gave them words of comfort,

Non est hic. Surrexit sicut praedixerat.
Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis.

At once the three who were the holy women turned to their brethren in choir and said,

Alleluia. Resurrexit Dominus.

At this the one who was sitting at the tomb, as the angel, called to them, saying,

Venite et videte locum.

Thereupon he rose and drew aside the curtain before the "sepulchre" to show them that the place was bare except for the linen in which the Cross had been wrapped. Then the three "holy women" laid their censers in the "sepulchre," and raised the linen and held it out to the monks in choir, as though showing them that it no longer was wrapped around the Lord, that He indeed was risen. At this showing they also sang the antiphon,

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro,

and at its ending they laid the linen on the altar. Lastly, the abbot began to intone *Te Deum*, and, as the monks took up the chant, all the bells of the monastery rang out again in a

joyous peal. Then a complete verse of *Surrexit Dominus*, and it was time for Matins.[8]

The discipline of an English religious community, as we see it in the spirit of the *Concordia*, was intended to be kindly but firm. Silence even on workdays was general for the avoidance of distraction and gossip; necessary words of instruction were spoken in a low voice; prayers and psalms were said or chanted clearly, without hurry or slurring; the words of the Psalter were prescribed constantly for thought: in choir, in the dormitory, at manual labour. Demonstration of feeling for others, marks of affection, were rigidly forbidden, and temptation to particular friendship as far as possible was removed. Monks on a journey might accept the hospitality of private homes only in an emergency. The "Circa," whose office was part of monastic tradition from the eighth century, continually made his rounds for the detecting of any brother "given to apathy or frivolous behaviour of any sort"; and the brother found guilty confessed his sin at Chapter on the following day. Any books or articles of clothing seen by the "Circa" lying about after Compline were carried by him to Chapter, also for the penance of the careless. At night he went on his tour of inspection with a lantern, and during Nocturns in the dark church he passed down the choir. Should he come upon any brother who had dropped asleep he thrust the full light of his lantern into the sleeper's face, saw him stir, and then returned to his own stall. The erring brother rubbed

[8] See, for the *Quem quaeritis* trope, W. H. Frere, *HBS*, VIII, 1894, xviff., 17; Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, I, 1933, 201ff.; he suggests (205) the friend of Notker, Tutilo of Saint-Gall (died c. 912) as possible author. For the *Visitatio Sepulchri* see K. Young, *op. cit.* 239ff., 249f., 582f.: "the general probability would seem to be that these ceremonies were brought into the *Regularis Concordia* from the Continent; but of this there is no proof."

his eyes, pulled himself to his feet, went across to the "Circa" to ask forgiveness on his knees, seized the lantern, and himself moved about the choir until he discovered another weary sinner to take the duty in his stead.

If a brother fell seriously ill he reported this to the abbot and with his superior's blessing entered the infirmary, where, as the *Concordia* commanded, he received all care and attention. Should his illness approach the danger point the priest of the Morrow Mass brought him the holy oil of anointing and the Communion of the sick, escorted by acolytes bearing candles and incense and followed by the whole community chanting the penitential psalms and litany and prayers. If the monk who had the sick brother under his care held him likely to die, every day the priest brought him Viaticum from the altar. At his last hour a signal gathered all the brethren to "guard his going forth" and to commend his soul to the Lord. After death his body, clothed in the monk's habit, or in habit and stole as monk and priest, was borne into the church to the sound of psalms and tolling. If he had died in the small hours of the morning, burial was given on the same day; if this was not possible, early on the next day, after watch had been kept over his body continually, day and night. For seven days all the community offered for him the Morrow Mass in their intention, said the Office of the Dead in its fullness, and after each regular Hour of Office sang for him one of the penitential psalms, prostrate on the floor. For thirty days Nocturns of the Dead pleaded for him, and every priest in the monastery said Mass for him in private. The deacons in the community said for him the whole Psalter, the subdeacons fifty psalms; and a note asking for intercession on his behalf was sent to all the abbeys in the neighbourhood. When, in turn, notice was brought to an abbey of the death of some member of a monastery

connected with it by bond of friendship, tolling of bells brought the community together in the church to chant for this brother in Christ the seven penitential psalms and to offer the collect prescribed:

> *Accept, O Lord Our God, for the soul of our brother N. the intercession of Blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, Mother of God, of Saint Peter Thy Apostle, of Saint Benedict Thy Confessor, and of all Thy Saints. Accept the devout supplication of Thy family here present, that he may obtain that pardon of all his sins for which we entreat. Suffer not the pains of Hell's fire to encompass that soul which Thou hast redeemed by the glorious blood of Thy Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ: Who with Thee and with the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth for all eternity.*

This intercession was offered in full on the first, the third, the seventh, and the thirtieth day. On the intervening days briefer prayer was made; the year's remembrance was marked in the monastery's calendar. The monks of this tenth century in England took careful thought for their dead, as they did for their poor.

What of the children in these abbeys? Some light is thrown on their daily life by a *Colloquy* written in Latin for the instruction of schoolboys by that same Ælfric, pupil and biographer of Æthelwold and head of the school of Cernel Abbey in Dorset at the close of the tenth century.[9] In this *Colloquy* the master teaches his pupils their Latin by questions and answers relating to this daily round, written in Latin and rehearsed in class:

[9] Ed. G. N. Garmonsway, 1939; ed. W. H. Stevenson, *Anecd. Oxon.* 1929, 75ff. (with additions by Ælfric's pupil, Ælfric Bata).

"You, boy, what did you do today?"

"Many things and different ones, I did. In the night when I heard the signal I got up from bed and went to the church and sang Nocturns with the brothers. Then we sang Matins of All Saints and Prime and seven psalms with litanies and the first Mass; then Tierce and the Mass of the day and Sext; then we ate and drank and slept; then we got up again and sang None, and now here we are with you, ready to hear what you say to us."

"When will you sing Vespers and Compline?"

"When the proper time comes."

"Were you whipped today?"

"No, because I was careful to behave well."

"What do you have to eat?"

"I am still allowed meat, for I am a boy, living under the rod."

"What else do you eat?"

"Vegetables and eggs, and fish and cheese, and butter and beans, and all clean things, with giving of thanks."

"And what do you drink?"

"Ale, if there is any; if not, water."

This is clearly a picture of life in the summertime, when the Morrow Mass came before Tierce, when the heat of midday brought a pause for a siesta, when two meals were served daily—dinner after Sext and supper after Vespers—and a cup of beer or mead was allowed after None.

In this manner, then, after "the filth of negligent clerics" had been swept away and from about 970 onward, monks were to live and pray at Glastonbury, Winchester, Abingdon, and Ramsey, and nuns, with necessary adaptations, in the Nunnaminster, at Shaftesbury and at Wilton—in-

deed, all the reformed abbeys of English monastic life.

The discipline here prescribed was markedly English in its character. It was English in its simplicity, in its refusal to import from abroad elaboration of ceremonial held there to be for the glory of the Church's ritual.[10] It was English in that its prescribed practice was based, wherever possible, upon existing English monastic customs. Repeatedly its directions coincide with those of English service-books, as the *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*[11] and the Canterbury Benedictional,[12] both written for English use before the Conquest. Already, though not in the same constant frequency, English monks and nuns were praying for their Royal House. The prayer prescribed for Good Friday at the Adoration of the Cross had appeared already in the *Book of Cerne* of the eighth century. We have seen the love of this ancient English usage expressed in the *Concordia* in connection with the ringing of all the bells at Christmas-time; and the reverencing of the Holy Rood, so marked in Old English devotion, points to the same fellowship, fulfilled here in the daily chanting of antiphons of the Holy Cross. So, too, the little drama of Easter morning looks toward the Mystery plays; it was not imposed here of necessity, we are expressly told, but left to the will of individual communities as helpful "for strengthening the faith of the ignorant and of those newly born into religion."

Of course, English practice held fellowship with that of the Continent in this *Concordia*, as it had always held it through the common foundation, the *Rule* of "our Father, Benedict." It held fellowship, also, with Continental prac-

[10] Cf. Edmund Bishop, *Liturg. Hist.* 1918, 274.

[11] Ed. H. A. Wilson, *HBS*, XI, 1896; see Symons, *DR*, 1922, 20; Tolhurst, *Archaeologia*, 1933, 27ff.

[12] Ed. R. M. Woolley, *HBS*, LI, 1917.

tice in regard to changes and additions made since Saint Benedict's time, some of them already an integral part of English monastic use, some now to be made such part. Chief among these additions were the two daily Masses and the frequent offering of private Masses by the priests of the community, who in distinction from the practice of the sixth century now, if years and powers allowed, received their Ordering in normal course; the daily Office of the Dead, consisting of Vigils (Nocturns), Matins, and Vespers; the daily Office of All Saints, composed of Matins and Vespers; the daily saying of the fifteen gradual psalms before Nocturns, of the seven penitential psalms and a litany after Prime; the *trina oratio*, said three times every day; prayers for Benefactors, royal and other, recurring after every Hour except Prime; the daily Chapter.[13]

Of what legislation and practice down the years, then, after Saint Benedict first established his *Rule* in the sixth century, was the English Benedictine *Regularis Concordia* now the heir, in common with monks on the Continent? [14]

First, it was the heir of the earliest writings connected with Saint Benedict's *Rule*, especially of the Commentary on that *Rule* written by Paul Warnefrid, seemingly before 774. In this Commentary we read of the Chapter of Faults, of the "Circa," called here the "Circator," of the chanting of psalms beyond the prescription of the Hours.[15]

Secondly, it bore the marks of the *Ordo Qualiter*, a Rule probably drawn up in Italy or Provence, also about 770. In

[13] Bishop, "The Origin of the Prymer," *EETS*, Orig. Series, 109, 1897, II, i, xxiff.; P. Lejay, *Revue du clergé français*, XL, 1904, 113ff.; Berlière, *L'Ascèse bénéd.* 1927, 40f., 48f., 156; Knowles, *DR*, 1933, 708ff.

[14] See *Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons, xlviiiff., and Symons, *DR*, 1941.

[15] Ed. at Monte Cassino, 1880; Schroll (see Ch. 1, note 30, above), 115f., 146, 158f.

the beginning of the *Regularis Concordia* we find actual words excerpted from this *Ordo*.[16]

A third influence, if for the greater part indirect,[17] was the reform of Benedict of Aniane, from which spread in the general practice of Europe, including England, the devotions of the *trina oratio* and of the fifteen gradual psalms. As Benedict of Aniane had looked to Louis the Pious for the protection and endowment of Frankish monasteries, so did Dunstan and Æthelwold in tenth-century England place English monasteries under the wardenship of King Edgar, and English nunneries in the keeping of his Queen, Ælfthryth. No other persons, however rich and powerful, might exercise secular dominion over these English cloisters, for men or for women.

In a fourth respect, the *Concordia* owed much to the Cluniac discipline as practiced at Fleury and experienced by Oswald of Worcester and the monks from Fleury present at this Council in Winchester. Similarities can be seen between the code drawn up now at Winchester and the discipline laid down in the *Life* of Odo of Cluny, as well as in the earlier *Customs of Cluny* still extant and dating from the late tenth or the early eleventh century.[18]

A fifth source of material was the Lotharingian practice, as derived from Ghent, Gorze, Trèves, and Verdun, and

[16] Albers, III, xiiif., 26ff.; Armitage Robinson, *Times of St. Dunstan*, 150ff.

[17] For a note of caution in regard to the influence of 817 on the *Reg. Conc.* see Symons, *DR*, 1947, 273f. It must always be remembered that the *Reg. Conc.* inherited as a matter of course general Benedictine practice, common to monasteries and by this time of the tenth century not distinctly to be traced to one particular source of introduction. In the precising and the formulating of this practice Benedict of Aniane had held, of course, a primary part.

[18] The earliest Customs of Fleury extant (Albers, V, 135ff.) are both late and briefly told: Symons, *DR*, 1922, 21f. For Cluny see Albers, II, 1ff. (B and B′), 31ff. (C).

experienced by Dunstan in his months of exile. The searcher here can turn to the *Life* of John, second abbot of Gorze from 959 to 974, and to extant monastic *Customs* connected by tradition with the practice, in the later tenth century, of Einsiedeln in Switzerland, of Trèves, and of Verdun.[19] Lotharingian tradition may be traced, among other details, in the ritual of Holy Week, in the remembrance of the dead, in the daily blessing of holy water after Compline. But the exact balance of this influence, from Cluny on the one side and from Lotharingia on the other, is a matter that has been vigorously in dispute.[20]

As a sixth contribution, there was embodied here practice from the "Roman" service-books. The "Antiphonary of Pope Gregory" is mentioned in the *Regularis Concordia* as a source for its ritual of Easter Day, and much of that for Holy Week corresponded with this Roman usage.

Lastly, some details may have had their source in other monasteries connected in some way with Dunstan, with Æthelwold or with Oswald, as, for example, the monastery of Corbie, from which monks had come to drill Æthelwold's choir at Abingdon.

The question now arises: who actually wrote this *Regularis Concordia*, this "Monastic Agreement" of English monks and nuns? Obviously all the three great reformers of this time had part in its shaping. To Oswald, as we have seen, may have been owed the first impulse which started it on its way; he, also, could speak of the need of northern England, of the training he had received in Cluniac Fleury.

[19] *SS*, IV, 335ff.; Albers, V, 1ff., 71ff., 111ff. No Book of Customs of Ghent has come down to us.

[20] E. Tomek (*Stud. und Mitteil.*, Vienna, 4, i, 1910, 298ff.) vigorously emphasizes Cluniac influence on *R. C.*, and is criticized by K. Hallinger (*Gorze-Kluny*, 273, 959ff.), who vigorously supports Lotharingian influence here.

Dunstan as Archbishop of Canterbury was concerned and troubled by the difference of customs in individual English abbeys, concerned "lest," as the Preface to the *Regularis Concordia* itself warns, "the unequal and varying monastic practice of one Rule and one land should bring shame and censure upon its holy profession." [21] Dunstan also, no doubt, passed on to Winchester what he had learned in Flanders; he is expressly named as author of two provisions guarding the security and the liberty of religious women; tradition of a later time seems to show that the *Concordia* was then held as his work; [22] very possibly he as Primate presided over the deliberations which gave it material. But general consent has attributed its drafting and composing to Æthelwold. He had always been the most active outwardly, so far as our evidence tells, in the work of monastic reform, and Winchester, the scene of the document's birth, was his episcopal seat. There is, moreover, written evidence which might support the claim. In or after 1005 Ælfric, Æthelwold's friend and pupil, now abbot of Eynsham, made an abridged edition of this *Regularis Concordia.* As a preface he wrote a Letter [23] to his spiritual sons of that house, saying that, since they had only recently been clothed as religious, he felt it needful to instruct them in monastic ways, by word both spoken and written. He has, therefore, made excerpts from the *Liber Consuetudinum,* the "Book of Customs," "which holy Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, with his fellow-bishops and abbots in the time of Edgar, most blessed King of the English, gathered from all sources and prescribed for the observance of monks."

[21] Cf. Symons, *DR,* 1947, 268f.

[22] Saint Anselm, *Opera omnia,* ed. Dom Francis de Sales Schmitt, III, 1946, 151; Symons, ed. *Reg. Conc.* lii.

[23] See Mary Bateson, *Obed. Rolls of St. Swithun's,* ed. Kitchin, 1892, 174ff.

With this, perhaps, agrees the statement made at the beginning of the *Regularis Concordia*, that King Edgar had been greatly aided in his spiritual life "by the exhortation of a diligent abbot." The name of this abbot is not given, and he may have been Dunstan. But Æthelwold, also, was of deep import in the counsels of this King, and mention of him here was natural if he did put together in writing the prescriptions given at Winchester.

The fact that Ælfric gave only part of these prescriptions to his uninstructed community at Eynsham seems to show that they were not rigidly followed as essential in all details and in all English abbeys. But the *Regularis Concordia* did draw together English monastic practice of this tenth century in an established norm, at least for the while; and before the Conquest, Anglo-Saxon glosses were made for the due understanding of its words by the many monks and nuns who lived according to its discipline.

8

The Later Years of Dunstan and His Friends

WHEN Dunstan turned from the last rites for King Edgar to face his world of England in July 975, trouble was at hand, breaking upon him in two waves. One was political. Edward, Edgar's son by his first wife, Æthelflæd "the White," was now about thirteen; and the boy Æthelred, the one child surviving from his later marriage to Ælfthryth, Ealdorman Ordgar's daughter, was nine or ten years old. Immediately upon Edgar's death his nobles divided in sharp dispute concerning the succession. Reason for this division is a matter of conjecture.[1] The story that certain men of power in the kingdom were opposed to Edward because he had a vile temper and vented his rage on members of his household, that they preferred for this reason his younger half-brother, a pleasant and gentle child, no doubt has its importance here but scarcely as the primary factor.[2] The Queen-Mother, Ælfthryth, we may well believe, was working for her son; Dunstan, Archbishop of

[1] For the strife of this time, political and monastic, see D. J. V. Fisher, *Camb. Hist. Journ.* 1952, 254ff.

[2] *HCY*, I, 449.

Canterbury, and leader in matters of State, was supporting Edward, elder of the two boys. A reasonable ground of strife may be found in the deep personal ambitions of nobles, ranged on either side rather as opponents of other rival ealdormen than as supporters of this or that prince because of his own right or merit.

Into the tumult of this immediate quarrel was thrown another, much easier to analyze, arising from the monastic situation. Now that Edgar, that royal enthusiast for monastic reform, was dead, a surge of rebellion rose against this reform. In Edgar's reign many estates had passed into the possession of the newly revived abbeys, by gift of the King and of many wealthy churchmen; many an heir had been frustrated, deprived of his natural expectation and legacy; monastic owners and landlords were gaining power, influence, and privilege, to a degree which fathered deep envy and discontent; secular statesmen feared for their own standing in the country; secular priests, dispossessed in favour of monks, nursed resentment; private citizens were angry at interference with their properties and holdings; the pulling down of houses at Winchester to give peace of prayer to monks had been only one among many minor vexations. All in all, the disturbance caused by these two intercircling currents of discord is thus vividly described by the biographer of Saint Oswald of Worcester: "Strife threw the kingdom into turmoil, moved shire against shire, family against family, prince against prince, ealdormen against ealdormen, drove bishop against people and folk against their pastor." [3]

The nobles prominent in this strife appear differently in the differing lights thrown upon them. One of these nobles was Æthelwine, that Ealdorman of East Anglia who had founded Ramsey Abbey for the monks of Oswald, and who

[3] *Ibid.* 448f.

for his piety was held a leading worker for the Church, as he was a leading statesman, in England at this time; "Friend of God," monastic record calls him.[4] Yet the *Chronicle* of Ramsey proudly declared that in his "noble wrath" he would have thrust his sword through a man who claimed part of the abbey's domains by right of heritage, had not Ramsey's Prior prudently restrained him.[5] According to Ely's chronicle its brethren repeatedly brought accusation against Æthelwine. He disputed with them the tenure of land, they declared, he did not keep his word, he dealt dishonestly.[6]

Another was Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia. We know that he acted with violence against monks and monasteries after Edgar's death; as monastic wrath vehemently put it, "casting out sheep and shepherds with the support of the people, with shouts of applause from the mob, and driving monks from many churches, a most wicked lord and great in tyranny over this land." [7] The abbeys which he attacked lay in Mercia. Yet the leases issued by the monastic bishop Oswald in 977 for the benefit of his Church of Worcester, now under monastic leadership, bore the authorization of Ælfhere, his Ealdorman.[8] Ælfhere had consistently supported Edgar as ruler in Mercia and in England, and Edgar, the great friend of monks, had especially entrusted to Ælfhere his last royal ordinances of law.[9] Perhaps, therefore, the motive driving Ælfhere against these abbeys was not so much hostility to the monastic life as it was this rivalry in politics. In that case, his rivals were the sons of Athelstan, "the Half-King," especially Æthelwine of East Anglia, and

[4] *Ibid.* 446.
[5] *Chron. Rames.* 50.
[6] *Lib. Eliensis,* 141, 159, 170f.; Fisher, 267.
[7] *HCY,* I, 443ff.; *A.-S. C.* (E), *ann.* 975; *Chron. Evesham,* 78f.
[8] Kemble, Nos. 596, 612–17. No. 616 is in favour of Wynsige, *fratri meo monacho.*
[9] Robertson, *Laws,* 38.

he drove out monks in opposition to them, the chief supporters of monks. They were on the side of Dunstan and claimed Edward, the elder son, as King. Ælfhere, as politically opposed to them, might reasonably be regarded as adherent of the younger son, Æthelred, and a fellow-worker for his cause with Æthelred's mother, Queen Ælfthryth.[10] Yet for some reason Ælfhere was to show marked honour to Edward after Edward's death. By this time, indeed, Æthelred had gained the throne; but there is no proof that this honouring was due, as monastic chronicle hints, to Ælfhere's desire to atone for a grievous sin of his against Edward.[11] Ælfhere, again, the enemy of monks, in working hand in hand with Ælfthryth would be aiding one who as Edgar's Queen had been blessed night and day by the nuns of England as their special protector. We shall find, however, her character even more marred in tradition than his; yet without convincing evidence.

For the time, according to good witness, it was Dunstan who resolved the conflict of the succession to the throne, who induced consent of statesmen in Council and, with Oswald, Archbishop of York, crowned Edward as King of England in this same year, 975.[12]

But, with all his power and influence, Dunstan could not quell the action of Ælfhere of Mercia against the monasteries of Mercia. Nor could Oswald, bishop in Mercia though he was. Ælfhere marched to Evesham, expelled its monks, gave gifts from its lands to his kinsmen and friends, and left its choir to a few secular clergy; from Winchcombe, Germanus, its abbot, fled across the Channel to Fleury, and eventually

[10] This is stated in a late source: *Liber de Hyda, RS,* XLV, 206; Fisher, 260f.

[11] *HCY,* I, 451; Fisher, 269.

[12] Kemble, No. 1312; *Memorials,* 61, 214; *HCY,* II, 341; *Chron. Rames.* 73.

came back to his old home in Ramsey. Doubtless it was at this time, also, that destruction fell upon Deerhurst in Gloucestershire.[13]

The leaders of monastic revival under Edgar were not inactive under Edward. We read of three Councils in this reign; one met at Kirtlington in Oxfordshire during Eastertide 977, another at Amesbury in Wiltshire, a third in 978 at Calne in this same shire. The meeting at Calne was thought by many to have been marked by a sign of heaven's favour toward the monks. It was held in an upper room; the floor broke and hurled the whole gathering to death or to injury. Only Dunstan, clinging to a beam, remained safe and sound.[14]

Fierce argument naturally broke out over the monasteries. "Never while I live," declared the Ealdorman Æthelwine, "will I stand by and allow the monks who keep the Christian Faith in this kingdom to be driven out of it!" Shouts of dissent arose from the crowd listening. Up at once jumped Ælfwold, brother of Æthelwine, even more fiery in defence of monastic life and property than Æthelwine himself. He drove to death a man present with him at this same Council because, so he said, the man was wickedly trying to get land away from the monastery of Medeshamstede. With this blood on his hands Ælfwold went off to Winchester and appeared barefoot as a penitent before its bishop. Æthelwold, man and monk as well as saint, held Medeshamstede in his special charge. He walked to meet the sinner with procession of book, candle, holy water, and incense, gave him absolution, and bade him put on his shoes and go in peace.

The next speaker for the monks, after Ælfwold had re-

[13] *Chron. Rames*, 72f.; *Chron. Evesham*, 78f.; *A.-S. C.* (E), *ann.* 975.
[14] *A.-S. C.* (C), *ann.* 977; (E), *ann.* 978; Flor. Worc. *ann.* 977; *Memorials*, 114.

duced the hostile element to silence, was Brihtnoth, who some thirteen years later was to die in battle for his country. Now he stood among nobles and simple men, towering above them all, and called again for silence. "Hear you, old and young," were his brief words. "What this great man has said, that is the will of us all. See you to it!" [15]

In 978 the conflict between the two royal princes, still simmering under the surface, reached its tragic end. On the evening of March the eighteenth, King Edward rode to the Isle of Purbeck in Dorset to visit his stepmother, Ælfthryth, at her house at Corfe, where ruins, of a later time, still stand high within a cleft or "gate" of the Purbeck Hills. Few men were with him, for this was but a family greeting, and no fear apparently had entered his mind. Record describes him as sturdy and brave. He was well informed, too, for his eighteen years, taught by Sidemann, bishop of Crediton in Devonshire, who had died while attending the assembly at Kirtlington and by order of the King and of Dunstan had been buried in Saint Mary's Abbey of Abingdon. Edward was looking forward, also, to a welcome from his half-brother, Æthelred, now at Corfe with his mother. Perhaps he was unaware of that fierce jealousy which for long, it seems, had been tempting certain members of the Lady Ælfthryth's household to action in the cause of this younger son, their own master.

Now they streamed out of the house as if to greet their King. One of them offered him the stirrup-cup of welcome; another held fast his right hand, bending over it as in reverence; a third seized his left hand roughly and struck at him. With a loud cry, "What do you, breaking my hand?" Edward fell from his horse and died. His body was carried to a churl's cottage. Some one flung over it an old blanket, and

[15] *HCY*, I, 445f.

there it lay neglected until, "with no kingly honouring," men buried it at Wareham, the walled town some miles distant.[16]

Over a year had passed when Ælfhere of Mercia came with many of his men to give it new and honourable resting, with Requiem and all rites of the Church, in King Alfred's convent on the cliff at Shaftesbury. A note, pleasant but unconvincing, adds that Dunstan was at Ælfhere's side on this mission of the year 980. Perhaps it was an act of expiation on Ælfhere's part. Miracles again came to honour Shaftesbury, and soon Edward was venerated there, together with his grandmother Ælfgifu, the saintly wife of King Edmund. The church at Corfe Castle bears the name of Saint Edward the Martyr; and calendars from the eleventh century onward have given him remembrance, as Martyr, or as King and Saint of the West Saxons, on March the eighteenth, the day of his death, and on June the twentieth, the Feast of his translating.[17]

No trial of the murderers meets us, no awarding of punishment. Cautious and reasonable argument suggests as authors of this crime those thegns and followers who willed to see Æthelred on the throne. The popular tale, which threw its guilt upon the Queen-Mother Ælfthryth, declaring that she brought death to her stepson for the sake of herself and her child, finds mention first in the eleventh century from Osbern, a notoriously untrustworthy source; and before the end of the twelfth has grown into the well-known tradition related by William of Malmesbury. Ælfthryth may, it is true, have been privy to the plot, may even have encouraged it. No doubt she was content, at least at the time, for she raised no outcry, so far as we know, made no ac-

[16] *Ibid.* 449f.; *A.-S. C.* (E), *ann.* 979; (A, C), *ann.* 978.

[17] *HCY*, I, 450; *A.-S. C.* (E), *ann.* 980; (F), *ann.* 980, Latin version: *cum beato Dunstano;* Wormald, *HBS*, LXXII, i, 32, 74, 102, 116; LXXVII, 73.

cusation, showed no concern for the murdered stepson and his fate. The twelfth century declared that she founded nunneries at Wherwell in Hampshire and at Amesbury in Wiltshire for the expiating of sin. These houses date in tradition from the reign of her son and her own lifetime; but, as already remarked, their origin in penitence for this particular sin is not proved. Stepmothers, indeed, often suffer in tradition.[18]

There is, we should note, another similar tale, surely of the nature of legend. In this story Ælfthryth is again accused of murder, by the *Book of Ely*. Here she is a worker of spells and witchcraft and is accidentally caught at her evil sport in the New Forest by Brihtnoth, the abbot of Ely, journeying through England on his monastic business. She tries to tempt him, finds no response, and he dies in torment at her hands. The date is placed in 981.[19]

She and her family warmly befriended the monasteries of England. Her husband, King Edgar, gave into her care its restored nunneries, with no recorded protest from Dunstan or Æthelwold or the unnumbered monks who day by day offered their prayers for her within these abbeys. From Æthelwold himself she received fifty mancuses in gold, a gift of gratitude, we are told, for her aid to his monks in Winchester. Her brother, Ordulf, is named as founder of Tavistock Abbey; her son, Æthelred the Second, was to endow the convent of Wherwell with land as offering for

[18] *Memorials*, 114f., 308f., 423; *Gest. Reg.* I, 183ff.; *Gest. Pont.* 175, 188; *HCY*, I, 450f.

[19] *Lib. Eliensis*, 171ff.; K. Sisam, *Medium Ævum*, 1953, 24; C. E. Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga in A.-S. England*, 1939, 146ff. For the legend that she founded Wherwell Abbey in penitence for the death of her husband Æthelwold, brought about by King Edgar in his desire for her, see Wright, 157ff.; *Gest. Reg.* I, 178f.; Gaimar, *Estorie des Engles*, *RS*, XCI, i, lines 3601ff. Gaimar pictures the indignation of Dunstan at the sin of their love, and the lady's wrath (lines 3939ff.).

her departed soul; and Æthelred's son left in his will land and money to Winchester, to Canterbury, and to Ely "for the soul of Ælfthryth, my grandmother, who brought me up." [20]

King Edward had not had time to prove his worth to his country; we are expressly reminded that he had been too young to preside over his Witan at Calne. But his death gave birth to a martyr, and general unrest was feared. Within a month, on April the fourteenth, 978, the second Sunday after Easter, Dunstan and Oswald crowned Æthelred in the customary place, the church of All Hallows at Kingston. One record of the year of his Coronation states that "a cloud red as blood and shot with fire was often seen at midnight." [21]

Perhaps over the mind of Æthelred a cloud was to brood darkly through all his reign of nearly forty years, from 978 until 1016.[22] The deed of 978 was none of his, child as he was. But, as he grew to a man's realizing, his enemies may have kept alive for him the truth that the price of his throne had been blood; and the order of his Witan that Saint Edward's Mass Day be observed throughout England on the eighteenth of March may well have lain bitter in his mind.[23]

Archbishop Dunstan required from Æthelred the threefold pledge which he had required also from his father and his elder brother: of peace for the Church, of safe and tranquil living within the English land, and of justice and mercy within English law. The Archbishop also upon this occa-

[20] *Reg. Conc.* ed. Symons, 2; Robertson, *A.-S. Charters*, 94; H. P. R. Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey*, 1951, 1ff.; Kemble, No. 707; Whitelock, *A.-S. Wills*, 62, 123.

[21] *A.-S. C.* (A), *ann.* 978; (C, E), *ann.* 979; *HCY*, I, 455; *Chron. Abing.* I, 356.

[22] Stenton, *A.-S. England*, 368f.

[23] VI Æthelred. 23, i; Robertson, *A.-S. Laws*, 98.

sion bade the young King to lay upon the altar of the Lord this pledge, the one and only one he was to make, clearly written in Old English words for the understanding of his own mind and of his unlearned subjects. The King was now at most but thirteen years old.[24]

Into the keeping of this pledge there soon broke two major hindrances. The first came through attack from a foreign land. In 980 the Northmen ended their long inactivity and began anew to raid the English coast. The time for the invaders was propitious. The English had forgotten that old enemy of the North from which their fathers had prayed to be delivered; they had long enjoyed peace within their borders. Of late they had been occupied with the rivalry of princes and with their own struggle for the tenure of land, monastic and lay. Nor was their situation strengthened by the fact that now a mere boy was holding the reins of kingship.

There were in Danish minds more potent reasons for their new invasions. Those who now came, came gladly, spurred on by discontent at home. Some ten years before this date the chieftain Harold Gormsson, known as Bluetooth, had done for the Danes what Harold Fairhair had done for Norway; he had united them in one kingdom of Denmark. As their King he ruled with force, carrying the power of Denmark northward over the Norsemen and eastward over the Wends on the south coast of the Baltic. He built near the mouth of the river Oder his great fortress and harbour of Jómsborg; under him Denmark grew strongest of all the lands in the North. But his yoke pressed heavily upon his people. He drove them from their pagan ritual to Christi-

[24] For the Anglo-Saxon text see Robertson, *A.-S. Laws*, 42f. Liebermann, III, 144, dates it c. 973–978, and thinks it might also refer to the Coronation of Edward the Martyr.

anity; Danish warriors, ambitious for their own cause, could find under him no chance to rise, and even his son, Swein Forkbeard, openly faced him in revolt. For these reasons Danish Vikings sailed away south in quest of fame and plunder.[25]

During the years which remained to Dunstan, raids from the north, Danish or Norwegian, like the earlier ones on England in the ninth century, were swooping attacks without permanence. In 980 the Vikings plundered Southampton and the Isle of Thanet; the next year they harried the seacoast of Cornwall and Devon; in 982 three ships brought havoc to Portland in Dorset, and London suffered from Viking fire. Then came five years of quiet. But once more, in 987, the onset began; Watchet in Somerset was robbed of all that the pirates could carry off. In the following year the men of Devon under the thegn Goda fought bravely for victory "at the cost of many of their own, but of more of the enemy." [26]

The second evil for Æthelred and for his country was his lack of good counsel. From 978 onward, for the last ten years of his life, Dunstan withdrew so far as was possible from political activities. He was soon seventy years of age and more, and the work of Primate of England, the care of dioceses, churches, and monasteries, needed all his strength. It was, then, a serious loss to this King that as he grew from boy to man he did not have at hand the full energy of that support upon which the young Edmund, Eadred, and Edgar had relied. Moreover, as Æthelred grew up, it became clear that he resembled his uncle Eadwig rather than these. He

[25] Kendrick, *Hist. of the Vikings*, 101ff., 116, 179ff.; Allen Mawer, *The Vikings*, 37f., 71f.

[26] *A.-S. C.* (C), *ann.* 980ff.; (E), *ann.* 987f.; *HCY*, I, 455f.

lacked the steadfast purpose, the driving enthusiasm, the courage in battle, of his forerunners; and in the years of renewed Danish assault England under him was finally to give way. Dunstan's heart was full of misgiving over his King and the future of his country in his latter days; but, perhaps happily, he did not live to see the end.

Now he went about his own work as before. A monastic chronicler of the fourteenth century records that Dunstan in 978 blessed again the abbey of Saint Peter and Saint Paul at Canterbury "in honor of the holy apostles Peter and Paul and of Saint Augustine." The statement, if true, points to work of reconstruction there.[27] Certainly Dunstan was present on the twentieth of October, 980, when Æthelwold held high festival in Winchester for the consecrating of the new structure added to his Cathedral. On that day King Æthelred led the procession. Next walked Archbishop Dunstan, "commanding and venerable with his snow-white hair, like an angel to look upon," followed by Æthelwold and seven other bishops, of London, Dorchester, Selsey, Lichfield, Hereford, Sherborne, and Ramsbury.[28] Æthelwold, however, was no longer there to see the work of building and adornment in its completion, or its celebration by further ritual and feast of consecrating when the tenth century was in its last years.

An awe-inspiring picture has been left us of the Cathedral of Winchester when it stood then in its full Saxon glory. Below ran a labyrinth of crypts and chapels, con-

[27] Peers and Clapham, *Archaeologia*, LXXVII, 202, 210f.; William Thorne, *Chron. of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, trans. A. H. Davis, 1934, 38 (col. 1780).

[28] Wulfstan, *Narr. metr. de S. Swithuno*, ed. A. Campbell, lines 31ff.; *PL*, CXXXVII, coll. 100f.; Willis, *Arch. Hist. of Winchester Cathedral*, 1846, 10ff.

nected by winding passages and sacred with relics of the saints, the darkness lightened by windows through which the sun cast rays aslant; above, Æthelwold had remade the entrance court of the old church. On this ground level were now seen lofty walls and new roofs; on the north and the south sides were supporting recesses, framed by arches of varied kind. Here were chapels, each with its altar; indeed, the visitor on first entering the forecourt was bewildered, as entering into a maze of architecture. Here, too, thundered in his ears the swell of the great organ. Seventy stalwart men supplied its wind as they toiled at twenty-six bellows placed in two lines, twelve above and fourteen below. Two monks, masters of music, worked in happy harmony upon its forty slides, each monk in command of twenty. Each slide was marked by a letter denoting a musical sound; this sound was released when the slide was pushed along its groove into the mechanism, to fall silent again when the slide was allowed to return to its place of rest. Every slide, moreover, controlled ten pipes; which made four hundred pipes in all. As these ten pipes gave out their full sound every time a slide was worked, in quick succession, the music of Winchester deafened all who came near and reverberated through the city. At the west end of the church was the tower, rising in five stages, with open windows through which the wind rushed in all four directions. The tower caught the sun and reflected its light from golden pinnacles. Above it was a rod from which shone golden balls, and on its highest point stood a weathercock, proudly holding within its feet the sceptre of majesty, lord of all it surveyed as it turned with the winds.[29]

[29] Ed. Campbell, lines 121ff. For the Winchester organ see Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, 1911, 218; W. Apel, *Speculum*, 1948, 205f.

The settling of conflict regarding the succession was followed by peace between monks and their accusers. The rededicating of Winchester's Cathedral in 980 by Æthelwold saw a general reconciliation of those who had contested monastic properties: "the nobles of high secular power, ealdormen and judges, all who hitherto had seemed to stand in the way of Æthelwold as in the way of God, now were made as sheep from wolves in reverence and love." Ælfhere may have repented in his last years; in any case, his death in 983 worked for peace in the future.[30] Meanwhile new monasteries had been rising. According to tradition, in 981 Ordulf, "chieftain of Cornwall," probably high reeve, and brother of Queen Ælfthryth, received the charter of Tavistock Abbey, his gift to his land; in 997 the abbey was burned by the Danes, but its life went on.[31] Dorset gained an abbey about 980, at Cranborne.[32] The nunnery of Chatteris in the fens of Cambridgeshire may date from these years.[33] Oswald visited Ripon to honour the memory of Saint Wilfrid and perhaps renewed the vigour of Wilfrid's abbey there.[34] In 983 Dunstan rejoiced with Oswald and his monks in the completing at Worcester of the great Cathedral of Saint Mary.[35]

But the years were passing on, and death began to claim Dunstan's friends. During 980 he heard of the loss of Womar, who as abbot had welcomed him at Saint Peter's, Ghent, nearly twenty-five years before. Since that time Womar had come on a visit to England, had stayed at the New Minster

[30] *A.-S. C.* (A, C, E), *ann.* 983; *Chron. Evesham*, 79; Kemble, No. 639; Wulfstan, *PL*, CXXXVII, col. 101.

[31] *A.-S. C.* (E), *ann.* 997; *Crawford Charters*, 122; H. P. R. Finberg, *EHR*, 1943, 190ff.

[32] Dugdale, II, 60; *VCH, Dorset*, II, 70.

[33] Dugdale, II, 614; *VCH, Cambridge*, II, 220, gives, however, 1006–16.

[34] *HCY*, I, 462.

[35] Kemble, No. 637.

in Winchester, and had been admitted into its fellowship of prayer.[36]

Writings still in existence show that Dunstan kept up his friendship with Flanders. While King Edgar was yet ruling it was Dunstan, we may believe, who in gratitude to Saint Peter's for its hospitality to him in exile induced Edgar to give to this Flemish abbey those lands in England, at Lewisham, Greenwich, and Woolwich, once said to have been the gift of King Alfred's daughter Ælfthryth, wife of Baldwin the Second, Count of Flanders. As we have seen, Womar was followed in office at Ghent by Wido, nephew of Gerard of Brogne.[37] During his time of rule, from 980 to 986, Wido sent a letter of appeal from Ghent to Dunstan as Archbishop. "I would scarcely venture to seek your great generosity, Father," he wrote, "especially since one of our senior monks, Leofsin, has so recently carried our greetings to you in England. Yet, as in frequent experience we know well the kindness of your heart, we now turn to you in our deep need. Our harvests this year, as in many years past, have been a complete failure. Would you send us help, by Leofsin, if he is still with you, if not, by the bearers of this letter?" [38]

Nor did the House of Flanders forget Dunstan. The death of its Count Arnulf the First, "Le Vieux," in 965 had left only a little child, his grandson, to succeed him as Arnulf the Second. Promptly Lothar, King of France since the death of Louis d'Outre-mer in 954, fell upon Flanders with his army and seized the territory of Artois. When Arnulf was

[36] *Liber Vitae*, ed. Birch, 24; P. Grierson, ed. *Ann. de S. Pierre de Gand*, 21, note 4.

[37] A. van Lokeren, 41; Dhondt, 123, 128f.; see also Ch. 3, notes 27 and 31, above.

[38] *Memorials*, 380f.; cf. 315; de Moreau, II, 151.

at an age to assume rule as Count, his dominion was impaired by the power of his cousin Arnulf, lord of the Boulonnais and of Ternois; the young Count was compelled, also, to pay homage to Lothar. He lived until 988, and it was probably he, rather than his grandfather, who wrote to Dunstan at Canterbury to thank him for his continued friendship, to promise him any service he might desire, and to ask that Dunstan use his influence at the English Court for the maintaining of that alliance which had so long united its King with Flanders.[39]

In 984 came the first rent in the long weaving of work in common by Dunstan and his two fellow-bishops and colleagues. Æthelwold, after years of failing health, died on the first day of August at Beddington in Surrey. His friends brought his coffin home to his Cathedral of Winchester and laid it in the crypt among the relics of the saints.[40] "I cannot easily tell," his pupil Ælfric wrote, "in greatness or in degree, the things which holy Æthelwold suffered for monks and with monks; how kindly he was toward the zealous and the obedient, how hard he worked on the building of his monastery, on the restoring of its church and on the raising of other houses; how he watched unto prayer, how good-humouredly he encouraged his brethren on their way to penance." Two little pictures have been kept for us of Æthelwold's last days. In one we see him, as the same Ælfric tells, reading late at night as was his custom, stooping over his candle, absorbed in trying to make out with his bad eyesight the words of the manuscripts he loved so well. In the other he is lying sick

[39] Ganshof, *La Flandre sous les Premiers Comtes*, 1949, 29f.; *Memorials*, 359ff.; Grierson, *TRHS*, 1941, 91, note 5.

[40] *A.-S. C.* (C), *ann.* 984; *Chron. Abing.* II, 265; *PL*, CXXXVII, col. 101.

in bed at Winchester and Dunstan has come from Canterbury to see him. Near his bed are Æthelgar, abbot of the New Minster, with his prior and other monks, and monks, too, from the Old Minster, Wulfstan, its precentor, and many more. As they all stand, sit, and kneel there, the old monk Boia from the New Minster comes forward, kneels before the bed, and prays Æthelwold that he will make peace and good will between the two Minsters, the Old and the New; and Æthelwold declares that so shall it be and calls down the curse of God on him who shall break it. Whether the text of this story comes from the eleventh or the twelfth century, whether the story itself is authentic or a fictional reflection backward of an agreement made in later days, it is at least true in spirit.[41]

A third story, which also may or may not be true, shows this bishop of Winchester on his sterner side. It is a story of that daughter of King Edgar, Edith, the nun of Wilton Abbey. There she had received the veil from the hands of Æthelwold, and there, it was said, she delighted to hide her rough underclothing beneath a habit of soft, shining silk. Æthelwold, the warden, was horrified when one day he came to visit the abbey. "Not in such array as this, my daughter," he warned, "does His bride draw near the Christ!" To which the young nun answered, for she had known him in her days as a child at Court: "Father, if God be with it, I think my mind will get on no worse under silk than under goat's hair. The Lord I serve does not bother about clothes, only the spirit beneath them!" The bishop "ventured no more to find fault with God in her." Dunstan loved her greatly, her story goes on to tell. He was with her when she died at the age of twenty-three; and he buried her

[41] *Chron. Abing.* II, 265; *Liber Vitae*, 96ff.; Harmer, *A.-S. Writs*, 387ff., 401ff.; R. R. Darlington, *EHR*, 1953, 432.

in the church which from her dowry she had built at Wilton and dedicated to Saint Denys.[42]

The see of Æthelwold came now by Dunstan's appointing to Ælfheah, monk of Bath, second bishop of that name at Winchester. Twelve years later Ælfheah transferred Æthelwold's relics, now glorified by repute of miracle, to a shrine in the Cathedral choir for the reverent prayer of pilgrims.[43] In the first half of the eleventh century remembrance of the death of Saint Æthelwold, on August the first, and of his translation, on September the tenth, appears in calendars of the New Minster at Winchester; in the same century both days are marked in extant calendars of Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk and of Sherborne in Dorset. Later times have handed down evidence of a double remembrance of burial and translation at Abbotsbury in Dorset and at Chertsey in Surrey. Abingdon Abbey kept the first of August with an octave; Ely held three commemorations, on August the second, September the tenth, and October the eighth.[44]

After Æthelwold's death, four years remained to Dunstan; but we see little of his life during them. The times were evil and men's minds were set on survival rather than progress. The tradition of Malmesbury Abbey, as related by Faricius, abbot of Abingdon from 1100 until his death in 1117, in earlier years a monk at Malmesbury, and by William, Malmesbury's monk in the twelfth century, tells that in his fear of the ravaging Danes, Dunstan "after long and anxious thought" transferred the relics of Saint Aldhelm, reverently

[42] Goscelin, *Vita S. Edithae: AA. SS. OSB.*, V, 624f.; *Memorials*, 310f.; *Gest. Reg.* I, 269f.

[43] *Gest. Pont.* 170; Earle-Plummer, ed. *Two Saxon Chronicles*, II, 1899, 170; *Memorials*, 61f.

[44] Wormald, *HBS*, LXXII, 121f., 135f., 191f., 247f.; LXXVII, 9f., 91f., 26; LXXXI, 15ff.

wrapped around in scarlet and fine linen, from their familiar shrine, an obvious temptation to robbers in its jewelled adorning, to a plain stone tomb at the right of the High Altar of the abbey's church of Saint Mary. Between them these chroniclers give a date, the fifth of May, 986, for this mournful ceremony.[45]

Doubtless much of the time he could spare from his pastoral duties Dunstan now gave to his own solitary communing with life beyond this earth. The reader of even the earliest and most trustworthy *Lives* of Dunstan notices inevitably the amount of space given to miracles, visions, portents, dreams. Some of these narratives reflect the tradition of hagiography: the dove descending from heaven, Satan appearing under the form of bear, dog, and fox. The stone hurled at Dunstan comes from an evil spirit because in Dunstan's mind all harm was traced directly to Satan's craft; the vision of Saint Andrew cudgelling him with a stick tells vividly of a struggle with his conscience, behind which stood the saint, his special Patron. The dream of new buildings at Glastonbury, of the antiphon to the *Magnificat*, unfinished in choir at Glastonbury as a sign that his exile would not last—these are the outcome of intense desire and hope prolonged into the time of sleep. So, too, the constant receiving of music from no mortal hand or voice, in his sleep or in his waking hours, was told as true of himself by one who cared little to make distinction between sleep and waking, to whom music and all art were of the essence of dreams.[46] His vision at Bath of the death of a boy of Glastonbury's school, his intuition at Glastonbury of the coming of death to his monk, his sudden awareness as he rode toward Frome that King Eadred was already dead, his re-

[45] Faricius, ed. Giles, 372; *Gest. Pont.* 407f., 425.
[46] *Memorials*, 7, 15, 19, 21, 26ff., 28, 30f., 35, 40ff., 48.

peated sight of the spirit that "in likeness of a black man" ran and leaped amid the royal train riding to Pucklechurch, that haunted the royal Court just before the death of King Edmund—all these warnings have found their parallel again and again among men of inner sight.[47] We need not forget that the roots of Dunstan's life ran down deep into the Celtic West of England.

Nor should we forget the words written concerning the miracle stories told so joyfully and so often by another saint, the Venerable Bede: "Perhaps it is the natural reaction of the twentieth century to ask whether after all it may not be possible that there is something more in these strange stories than the earlier editors of Bede believed, and that these holy men, living lives of incredible hardships and asceticism, actually reached a state of being in which they possessed powers—hypnotism, clairvoyance, telepathy—call them what you choose—which are not perhaps miraculous in the strict sense of the term but would certainly be considered so in the early middle ages." [48] Allow to Dunstan an intense, a mystic awareness of God, here and beyond, a spirit of feeling which brought tears to his eyes as he offered his Mass, laid his hands on men for their priesting, spoke the words of hallowing for churches and altars, a constant absorption in prayer, clothed in words or wordless, and these stories fall into their place. "One thing at least of my own knowledge can I declare," his earliest biographer wrote of him not more than sixteen years after his death, "that although he had spent his years here below under the veil of flesh, yet in spirit, whether awake or asleep, he lived always above this world, for 'his conversation was in heaven.'" [49]

[47] *Memorials*, 31, 44ff., 46ff.

[48] Bertram Colgrave, *Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, 1935, 201f.

[49] *Memorials*, 40, 50. Cf. Edmund Bishop, *Dublin Review*, 1885, 142.

Naturally at times Dunstan turned from pastoral duties, from prayer, to relaxation among his friends. A hint of this indulgence is given in a letter written to him in these last years by Abbo, the monk of Fleury-sur-Loire:

"After I left you, Reverend Father Archbishop, in great joy to return at once to that monastery which you know, the brethren who had entertained me so hospitably at St. Edmunds Bury begged me to write the story of their Patron, Edmund, King and Martyr. They said this would profit men of future days, would please you, and would serve well the memory of my humble self in the churches of England. The story is unknown to most people and has never been written. They had heard that you had told it once to a gathering at which I was present, with the bishop of Rochester and the abbot of Malmesbury and other people sitting round, and that you told it in Latin and in your own English, just as you so often tell your tales to the brethren. You said then that as a lad you had heard it from a very old man, who was telling King Athelstan about it; he had been, he said, with King Edmund as his armour-bearer on the day he suffered as martyr. You were so struck with the old man's description that you remembered every detail. He had given it very simply, you said, and in a way that carried conviction. You told it all to your young friends afterwards, Reverend Father, and it brought tears to your eyes. So they begged me to write the *Life* of Saint Edmund, and in writing it I do want to describe the miracles due to him, especially those which are still unknown, those which have happened down the years since his death. No one would believe my story if your authority—and no one can deny that—did not lie behind it. Your snow-white hair gives conviction to your words. I remember that when some one asked you whether you really meant that Edmund's body had never seen cor-

ruption, you met him most skilfully with a far more astonishing statement, that Saint Cuthbert's body is not only unspoiled and whole, but even pleasantly warm to the touch! This declaration of yours about Saint Edmund encouraged me to undertake the work. I shall dedicate it to you, and I hope that some day you will spare time to read it for me, to cut out unnecessary details and add anything I have failed to note. After all, Father, I did get the story from you." [50]

One can imagine Dunstan, his hair white against his black habit, sitting in the centre of a crowd of children, of ordinands and students, of clergy and monks, as he told many such tales of the saints of England, of the Netherlands, and of France, stories of martyrs, as of Ursula of Cologne and her maiden companions, tales of Satan and his wiles, tales of the visions of his old age and the dreams of his youth. To his own words, no doubt, much was owed in the narratives of those who later on described his life.

Then came 988, and his last days. On Ascension Day, May the seventeenth, he chanted Mass in his Cathedral at Canterbury and spoke during it three times to his priests and his people: after the Gospel, as was usual; after the episcopal blessing; and after the *Agnus Dei*. It all left him very tired, but he went to dinner with his Cathedral family and then lay down to rest, his custom when the days of spring were turning to summer. He never rose again from his bed. All day on Friday he remained quietly in his cell, his mind far away, speaking only to reassure those who tended him. Saturday morning after Matins he called the priests of the Cathedral Church to his side. One of them said Mass there and he received the Eucharist for his last journeying, then went forth with the words of the Psalmist on his lips: *The merciful and*

[50] *Memorials*, 378ff.; cf. Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, vol. II, part iv, *EETS*, 314ff.

gracious Lord hath made remembrance of His wonderful works; He hath given food to them that fear Him.

He died on the nineteenth of May, the day on which his fellow-countryman Alcuin had died in France nearly two hundred years before. He was buried in his Cathedral, in the place which he himself had desired, deep below the ground, with the sanctuary steps at his feet and the morrow-altar at his head.[51]

Letters still existing tell what Dunstan meant to his world. "Blessed be God, who has made you so able a counsellor, a very Daniel of the Israelites, to the English people amid so many dangers of these quaking times," wrote one man while Dunstan still lived. Another, a foreigner, declared: "When I was utterly forlorn and destitute, you received me wellnigh as a son of your adopting. You raised me from the mire and made me one with your highborn friends, you brought me to the royal court and to your own dwelling." Another, writing from Fleury in trouble after his own abbey's library had been destroyed by fire, added: "You were a Father to me when I was in great need in your country. I would do anything for you." Æthelgar, once abbot of the New Minster at Winchester, from 980 bishop of Selsey, and now elected Archbishop of Canterbury in Dunstan's stead, also heard Dunstan's praise. From Arras, Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Vaast, wrote to him: "Dunstan was my great friend. May you be a worthy successor to him." [52] A Saxon from the Continent in his admiration and gratitude wrote the first *Life* of Dunstan; its best manuscript belongs to Saint-Vaast. Shortly afterward a monk of Blandinium who knows so much about Dunstan that it seems he must have been

[51] *Memorials*, 50ff., 65f.; Ps. CX, 4f.
[52] *Memorials*, 372, 374f., 376f., 383; cf. 370f.; Levison, *England*, 293.

with him in Ghent or in Canterbury or in both wrote on Dunstan for the community at Canterbury. From its Cathedral, Canterbury carried on the tradition.[53]

Not only English monks, but all ranks of English men and women inherited what Dunstan left to them: [54] the King, as maker of legislation, as the guardian for whom Dunstan ordered the constant intercession of English abbeys, the authority from whom he required confirmation of the election of English abbots; the peers, spiritual and secular; the judges and sheriffs of English shires, who knew in him one who worked for moderation, for harmonious agreement rather than for constraint; the people, whom he served in his Cathedral and taught in his journeyings. For his associates and companions in general, apart from his familiar friends, he had not, it is true, either that lovable charm of manner so characteristic of Æthelwold wherever Æthelwold's conscience did not forbid, or the buoyant heart of Oswald delighting in his fellow-men. Dunstan's desire, and it was eager, to fulfil his duty to his neighbour was fenced around by a reserve, by a craving for that solitude in which alone he could find what his soul, his mind, his hands, offered him. It was hard for him to suffer fools gladly; hence, in part, those repeated times of exile.

But, if not many knew him to the full, Englishmen honoured him. No sooner was word of his death carried from Canterbury than people began to revere him as Saint both of their Church and of their land. In the eleventh century King Cnut and his Witan decreed that his Feast Day should be celebrated throughout England on the nineteenth of May. The *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, written in England very

[53] *Memorials*, xff., xxiiff., 385ff., 390; see also, below, List of Sources, under Saint Dunstan.

[54] G. Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter*, II, 1926, 211f.

early in the same century, holds the Mass of his Feast. The Preface, indeed, declares, *Cui quae sit gloriatio, ostendit concursus ad tumulum:* "*And of what degree is his fame, the thronging to his tomb makes known.*" So, also, a charter of the time of King Æthelred the Second shows that before 1016 his name was held holy. "This he gave," it states of a donor, "for the love of Christ and Saint Mary and Saint Dunstan and all the Saints of Christ's churches." The same eleventh century heard in its churches the cry rising to Dunstan against the evil of the Danes:

Oves tuas, pastor pie,
Passim premunt angustiae,
Mucrone gentis barbarae
Necamur en Cristicole!
Offer sacerdos hostias
Christo precum gratissimas,
Quibus placatus criminum
Solvat catenas ferreas;
Per quas Anglorum terminis
Ecclesiaeque filiis
Et nationes perfidae
Pestesque cedant noxiae.[55]

Thy sheep, O gracious shepherd, see
By anguish far and wide oppressed,
Driven by heathen arbalest
To death, Christ's lover, ruthlessly.
Offer, O priest, that sacrifice,
Those prayers so dear they may suffice
To win the grace of Christ anew
And free us from the chains of vice.

[55] I Cnut, 17, i: Robertson, *Laws*, 168; *HBS*, XI, ed. H. A. Wilson, 175f.; Kemble, No. 704; *Publ. Surtees Society*, XXIII, 98f.; *Memorials*, 442ff.

Thus soon through all our borderland,
Wherever church and churchmen stand,
These faithless hordes, this evil pest,
No longer shall our shores infest.

In the time of Anselm [56] Dunstan's tomb lay on the south of the High Altar of Canterbury Cathedral, opposite that of Ælfheah, second bishop of that name at Winchester, in 1006 translated to Canterbury and finally in 1012 gaining by his death at the hands of the Danes his fame as Saint Ælfheah, or Alphege, the Martyr. In the twelfth century, controversy was rife between Canterbury and Glastonbury as to which of them possessed the relics of Dunstan. Eadmer, Precentor of Canterbury Cathedral and himself author of a *Life* of Dunstan, wrote with intense indignation and scorn to the monks of Glastonbury who so falsely were saying that Saint Dunstan's bones had been carried to their abbey after Canterbury Cathedral was sacked by the Danes in 1011: "For God's sake, I entreat you, could anyone help laughing at such absurdity? My reverend brothers, do use the reason which God has given you and stop this silly tale of arrogant youth!" The dispute went on through the centuries, however, until on the twenty-second of April, 1508, the famous "Scrutiny" of the tomb of Dunstan was made at Canterbury by order of its Archbishop, William Warham. In the tomb relics of a man clothed in pontifical vestments were found, with an inscription, *Hic requiescit Sanctus Dunstanus Archiepiscopus.* The Archbishop sent a formal report of this "most clear evidence" to the abbot of Glastonbury, bidding him, if he still believed that Glaston-

[56] Against the genuineness of Anselm's prayer to Dunstan (*Memorials*, 450ff.; Eadmer, ed. Rule, *RS*, LXXXI, 427f.), see Dom André Wilmart, *RB*, 1924, 69f.

bury held the holy relics, to present himself with his proof at Canterbury, "for this claim of yours, honourable brother, is bringing very great scandal to the Church of God." Glastonbury declared itself unconvinced; doubtless, the abbot wrote back, both communities held relics of the Saint, and Glastonbury the larger and more important ones.[57]

The passing of time ended even at Glastonbury the urging of this legend by its zealous brethren. But time has found it even harder to unravel all the pattern of fiction spun by serious critics around Dunstan's life and character in days mediaeval to modern: the story of a dreamy, hysterical youth, of an unscrupulous and tyrannical middle age, of last years spent in stagnant inaction. Happily in comparatively recent years scholarship has been busy in clearing away the debris. Folklore, more romantic and therefore less dangerous, has also left its mark here. It would seem that Dunstan has found a place in men's minds beside Saint George, as Saint of England and of Englishmen. At any rate, Devonshire folk used to say that Saint Dunstan was the patron of brewers of beer. So keen was he for beer, they said, that he offered his own soul to the devil if Satan would bring about a cold snap every spring, long enough to spoil the apple blossom in Devon orchards and so end the yearly harvest of cider, a grievous competitor with Dunstan's beer. The devil joyfully agreed, and henceforth Devon farmers always looked for a frost of three days in May, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth, Saint Dunstan's Day! [58]

Side by side, too, with those Latin *Lives* of Dunstan which told so much of legend concerning him, there stands

[57] *Memorials*, 412ff., 426ff.; Woodruff and Danks, *Memorials of Cant. Cath.* 213f.

[58] E. L. Hawke, *Buchan's Days: A Modern Guide to Weather Wisdom*, 1937, 109f. This story, together with other details, of interest and of scholarship, I owe to Professor Dickins.

an Icelandic Saga, *The Saga of Saint Dunstan*. This is written in an exuberant translating from these Latin *Lives* by a Benedictine monk born in Norway but dwelling in Iceland, Arni by name, a natural son, by a Norse mother, of Lawrence, bishop of Hólar in the fourteenth century. Arni's pious pen, however, belonged to a most unsatisfactory user; for he eventually left his monastery and caused his father immense trouble by equally exuberant worldliness and dissipation.[59]

When we return to reality we find churches dedicated in past centuries to Dunstan in England: four in Middlesex, at Cranford, at Feltham, and two in the City of London, Saint Dunstan's-in-the-East and Saint Dunstan's-in-the-West; five in Kent, at Canterbury, Cranbrook, Frinsted, West Peckham, and Snargate; one in Sussex, at Mayfield; one in Essex, at Wendon Lofts; one in Surrey, at Cheam; one in Bedfordshire, at Bolnhurst; one in Buckinghamshire, at Monks Risborough; one in Somerset, at Baltonsborough. He shares a dedication, dating also from older days, with All Saints in Stepney, Middlesex; and tradition, now obscure, has connected him with churches of Celtic dedication in Cornwall, at Lanlivery, at Lanreath, and at Manaccan or Minster.[60] Modern times have honoured him with dedications at East Acton, Middlesex, and at Edge Hill, Lancashire; dedications, also, too numerous to tell, in Canada and in the United States. Other churches doubtless have followed Saint Paul's Cathedral, London, in setting apart a chapel in his name. English windows show him at Wells and at Cothelstone, Somerset, at Ludlow, Shropshire, at Cockayne-Hatley, Bedfordshire,

[59] G. Vígfusson and G. W. Dasent, ed. and trans. *Icelandic Sagas, RS*, LXXXVIII, ii, 385ff.; iv, 397ff.; cf. Vígfusson, ed. *Sturlunga Saga*, I, cxxxiiiff.

[60] F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, I, 1899, 336f.; *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, 204.

at Oxford, in the Bodleian, in the library of Trinity College, and in All Souls; he appears also on the screen of Great Plumstead Church in Norfolk, on a boss in Exeter Cathedral, and, possibly, at Worcester.[61] Men have loved to picture him in the famous act of plucking Satan's nose with the tongs which he carried for his beloved work in metal.[62] But by far the most interesting figure, and it has the merit of coming from Anglo-Saxon times, is seen in a manuscript of the Bodley, where Dunstan lies at the feet of the Christ in a drawing traditionally attributed to the Saint himself.

Oswald lived and worked at York and at Worcester for nearly four years longer. Much of his time was spent in Ramsey Abbey, to which in 986 he had called Abbo of Fleury as teacher. Abbo had laid the foundation of his great learning at Fleury, at Paris, at Reims, under Gerbert, and at Orleans. Then he had returned to Fleury as head of its School, and on the death of its abbot, Amalbert, about 985, many expected him to succeed to the office. But one Oybold, supported by King Lothar, became abbot, and Abbo at Oybold's bidding answered the call of Oswald to Ramsey.

Aimoin, who wrote a *Life* of Abbo, has drawn a vivid picture of Abbo's crossing the Channel. He left Fleury, splendidly provided by his abbot with all he could need or desire, reached his port of sailing, and sat there a whole month because of rough seas. Then his patience, he considered, had been sufficiently tried. "If," he told the ship's captain, "by intercession of Saint Benedict I shall be able to sail tomor-

[61] Philip Nelson, *Ancient Painted Glass in England, 1170–1500*, 1913, 51, 165, 170, 176, 181, 186; Bates Harbin, *PSAS*, 1916–17, LXII, 24f.; Cave, *Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches*, 1948, 53, fig. 285; Leland L. Duncan, *Testamenta Cantiana*, 1906, xi, 48f., 86ff., 134f., 197, 245, 314f.

[62] As in the south transept of Wells Cathedral; see *Memorials*, 84f. (Osbern).

row, well and good; if not, I shall start for home." He returned to his lodging, said his Office, invoked Saint Benedict, and went to bed. At dawn next morning the captain was shouting at his door. He embarked. Storm rose again, and six of the nine ships of the little company were lost, but Abbo reached Ramsey in safety. This story may, of course, be legend; yet Abbo himself writes feelingly of delightful calm after tempest, in the *Questions of Grammar* which he wrote at Ramsey for his English students, none too well informed, it would appear, since English studies were still at a low ebb.

Nevertheless, Abbo loved Ramsey and described with great enthusiasm of elegiac verse the fascination of its pools and marshes, teeming with eels and fish, of its trees, of the stars in the wide sky overhead, of the moon amid the shadows of the night. He loved, too, his friends, the monks of England, especially Dunstan, to whom he wrote three poems, two of them in triple acrostic form, and to whom he sent for criticism that *Life* of Saint Edmund, also written at Ramsey. His work of teaching and of writing comforted him at times when he was homesick for France. He stayed at Ramsey for two years, and when Oybold called him back to Fleury he carried with him from Dunstan "magnificent gifts in silver, offerings for Saint Benedict," and from Oswald his priesting and his priest's vestments and vessels.

When Oybold died, Abbo was at last, in 988, elected abbot of Fleury. His name is remembered not only for his writings on mathematics and on science and grammar and for his collection of the canons of the Church, but for his bitter struggle in his abbey's behalf against Arnulf, bishop of Orleans, a struggle described by him in his *Apologeticus* and in his letters to Hugh and Robert, Kings of the House of Capet in France. Most of all he loved the Benedictine life.

In 1004 he died of a wound received in a brawl which broke out while he was trying to inject fresh devotion and discipline into La Réole, a priory of Gascony.[63]

One by one Oswald's friends of Ramsey disappeared in death. Brihtnoth died in August 991 fighting the menace of Olaf Tryggvason, grandson of Harold Fairhair, and his Norsemen at the estuary of the river Blackwater, near Maldon, Essex. It was probably the long list of lands named in the *Book of Ely* as given by Brihtnoth to Ely which gave thread for the weaving of the well-known fiction describing his last visit to Ely's abbey. This told that Brihtnoth started out in pursuit of the Norse raiders and on his march came to Ramsey. There he asked of its abbot, Wulfsige, a night's lodging and food for himself and his men. The answer came that Ramsey could not possibly provide for an army. The abbot did not want, however, to be rude; he could offer hospitality to Brihtnoth himself and to seven others. "Tell the Lord Abbot," replied Brihtnoth, "that the men who fight with me also eat with me." He turned straight for Ely and found Ely's abbot delighted to entertain any number he chose to bring. Next morning in Chapter he thanked the monks assembled and offered to their community rich manors, with other treasure, and the prayer that if he fell in the coming battle he might lie at peace in their holy place.

We return to reliable story and find Brihtnoth facing the Blackwater. Its passage was controlled by the tide. When this had ebbed, with chivalrous but rash daring he allowed the Vikings to cross unmolested, by the causeway from Northey Island in the estuary, to meet him in battle on the main-

[63] On Abbo of Fleury see *AA. SS. OSB.*, VI, i, 27ff.; *PL*, CXXXIX, coll. 387ff., 419ff., 461ff., 473ff., 519ff., 534; *Memorials*, 378ff., 409ff.; *HCY*, I, 431f., 459ff., II, 22f.; *Chron. Rames.* xxviif., 42f; *Gest. Pont.* 249, 406; Berlière, *DHGE;* Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. des Mitt.* II, 664ff.; Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, I, 274ff.; A. Van de Vyver, *RB*, 1935, 125ff.

land. There, we are told, he stood taller than all his men, forgetful of his white hair, fighting until he fell and his army fled. All day the abbot and monks of Ely waited for word; when it came they hastened to Maldon, gained possession of his body lying headless and brought it back for burial. Ely also told, whether truly or not, that in place of the head they laid in his coffin a round ball of wax and that long afterward his relics, identified by this wax, were enclosed in a splendid shrine.

The poet who wrote of Brihtnoth's courage to death in his *Battle of Maldon* was doubtless lifting high its praise in bitter contrast to the weakness and failure of the days which immediately followed, marked by repeated offer of much money from the English to the invading Danes as bribe for peace.[64]

That same year Æthelwine, its Founder, came to Ramsey for a renewed consecrating of its church, made necessary by long rebuilding. Its monks, coming into church one morning for Office, to their horror and dismay had found the greater tower cracked from top to bottom and threatening any moment to collapse. Once more they had set to work, and once more Æthelwine's generosity had come to their aid. Now again, as in 974, high festival was held. Everyone was astonished at the energy and high spirit of Archbishop Oswald, now past seventy, as Mass and the Hours, elaborate music of organ and of choir, feasting, speech and song, passed in their long course.[65]

The next day was given to conference. On its morrow,

[64] *Chron. Rames.* 116f.; *Lib. Eliensis*, 181ff.; J. R. R. Tolkien, *Essays and Studies*, 1953, 1ff.

[65] *Chron. Rames.* 85ff. It seems that a second, younger Æthelnoth became in 992 the first abbot of Ramsey, was consecrated bishop of Dorchester in 1006 and was killed ten years later in Cnut's battle of victory at Ashingdon, Essex. See *Chron. Rames.* 109f., 115; Flor. Worc. ed. Thorpe, I, 178 (Lincoln is an error); Earle-Plummer, II, 190.

early in the morning after Office and Mass, before the altar of the church Oswald knelt to ask blessing from its monks. Then with tears in his eyes the Father blessed his sons of Ramsey and left them with the kiss of peace and his last words: "May the Lord bring us together in Paradise!"

The Lent following, that of 992, saw him at Worcester, his seat and home. On its third Sunday, as gay as always and feeling much better after a long time of sickness, he bade his monks drink a cup of wine for their love of him. Then he slept in peace and rose early next morning as usual. It was the last day of February. He fulfilled his Office; he washed the feet of twelve poor men, as was his custom throughout Lent, chanting as he did this the fifteen psalms of degrees; he died as the rite came to its end and he was bending the knee for the *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.*

The brethren of Saint Mary's gave his body its last care, clothing it in vestments entirely new. Then word spread through the city that the Father had gone. "Merchants left their markets, women their looms, all hurrying to his door; orphans and widows, strangers, peasants, monks and clerics, all wept and mourned in their grief." All night long a sad procession filed through the Cathedral; at dawn Requiem Mass was sung and he was laid to rest. Soon afterward men raised for him a worthy memorial, "for they loved him in life and honoured him in death." [66]

His friend Æthelwine did not long survive him; he was buried at Ramsey. No one, we are told, heard him laugh or jest again as he so often had done with Oswald.[67]

Worcester remembered her genial, hard-working monk and Saint. Dedications down the ages have probably almost all, if not all, been offered in reverence of that other Oswald,

[66] *HCY*, I, 467, 469ff.
[67] *Ibid.* 474.

King and Martyr in Northumbria three centuries before. It is good to recall that Aldulf, once abbot of the renewed monastery of Peterborough, then himself bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York, with high ritual and amid a great congregation, shortly before his own death in 1002 honoured the relics of his predecessor, this second Saint Oswald, by placing them in another splendid shrine within his Cathedral Church.[68]

[68] Flor. Worc. *ann.* 1002.

9

The Legacy to Future Years

THE influence of the monastic revival in the tenth century was to send its currents through the years that remained to Anglo-Saxon England, and in various channels: of regular life and training; of tortuous mediaeval Latin, reminiscent of Aldhelm, and of the Old English vernacular in its mature beauty; of art in its various aspects, architecture, drawing, painting, music, and skilled craftsmanship. This varied influence has been so well described in detail by experts that only a few words are needed here.

For many years the friends and followers of Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald carried on their work, at Winchester, at Worcester, at Canterbury, and in other sees, so far as they were able.[1] Their monasteries sent forth the men who were to be leaders in the life of the Church and of

[1] For the monastic Cathedrals note the influence of the decision of the Council of Winchester which drew up the *Regularis Concordia:* that monks serving a Cathedral shall at time of election choose, preferably from their own number, a bishop for their Cathedral and for its diocese who shall live the regular life as faithfully as an abbot—Pref. *Reg. Conc.* ed. Symons, 6; Knowles, *Mon. Order,* 45f., and cf. for Winchester Levison, *England,* 196. After the death of Oswald, however, the only instances in our evidence of a general change from clerics to regular monks in the stalls of a Cathedral before the Conquest are at Sherborne, under Wulfsige (c. 992) and at Canterbury, under Archbishop Ælfric (c. 997): *Memorials,* 304; Armitage Robinson, *JTS,* 1926, 240.

the State in England. Not even the constant assaults of the Danes could stay the forming of new religious communities. Chief in interest among these are the two established by Æthelmær, son of that Æthelweard who was Ealdorman in the southwest country; one founded at Cernel, now Cerne Abbas, Dorset, shortly before Dunstan's death, the other in 1005 at Eynsham in Oxfordshire.

At Eynsham we have seen Ælfric, its abbot, selecting early in the eleventh century from the great Benedictine code of "Æthelwold and his fellowship" the most important parts of its instruction for his ill-educated community. "I admit," he wrote to his novices, "that I have deep misgivings about this cutting down of the work. But the original you do not know, and I do not dare to put before you all the things I learned concerning customs and ways Benedictine during my many years in the school of Æthelwold. I am afraid that they would seem too strict, too detailed for you and that you would not listen. But I do ask you to study what I have chosen for you from that sound teaching, some of it not included in our *Rule* here." [2]

This instruction was written and reproduced by Ælfric in Latin, as was proper for monastic students who heard their Mass and recited their Offices in Latin. The monks of this time followed Dunstan and his colleagues in holding as high as they could the standard of education for their young men. Ælfric himself, a monk at Cernel before he became abbot of Eynsham, wrote for his pupils in the school of Cernel a *Grammar* of Latin, as well as the *Colloquy* we have already noticed. "Now must the servants and monks of God be earnestly warned," he wrote in the English Preface to this *Grammar*, "that holy learning grow not cold nor fail in our days, as came about in England only a few years ago,

[2] Ed. Mary Bateson, 171ff. (see Ch. 7, note 22, above).

so that no English priest could write or understand a Latin letter until Archbishop Dunstan and Bishop Æthelwold again took counsel for learning in monasteries," and, in the Latin Preface to the same textbook: "If, nevertheless, some one disapprove my understanding of my subject, let him say what he will. For myself, I am content with the way I learned it in the school of Æthelwold." [3]

So, too, Byrhtferth, who as monk of Ramsey Abbey listened there to the learned Abbo, wrote in 1011 for "lazy clerks," "young priests," and novices a Manual of instruction in the science of his time, gathered from Isidore, Bede, Helperic, Raban Maur, and a variety of other sources. "Let us now put forward," he wrote in this Manual, "what is clearly understood by monks, in a way in which it may be learned by clerks." "Lazy clerks, saving their reverence, we admonish to study those things of which they are ignorant, and afterwards to teach them to others. Those who refuse to know and those who refuse to teach will be alike held guilty in the eyes of the just Judge." And again: "This mustard poultice, and a good-sized one, I have applied to clerks to help them to turn from dice-playing to the learning of computation." Byrhtferth himself set his pupils a sound example of diligence. The mysteries of the *saltus lunae*, he declared, "burned him cruelly" before, thank God, he understood it enough to teach it.[4]

From secular subjects, then, Benedictine monasteries climbed the ladder of learning to grasp and to teach the words and ways of the liturgy, the canons and councils, the

[3] Ed. J. Zupitza, 1880, I, 1, 3. On Ælfric see Eduard Dietrich, *Zs. f. die hist. Theologie*, Gotha, 1855, 487ff.; 1856, 163ff.; M.-M. Dubois, *Ælfric, Sermonnaire, Docteur et Grammarien*, 1943; Dorothy Whitelock, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* 1943, 122ff.; K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, 1953, *passim*.

[4] Ed. S. J. Crawford, I, 1929, *EETS*, Orig. Series, CLXXVII, 10, 58, 94.

doctrine and ritual of the Church. To Wulfstan, bishop of London, afterward bishop of Worcester, and, as Wulfstan the Second, Archbishop of York from 1002 to 1023, "Brother Ælfric" wrote concerning these high matters in answer to his request for enlightenment. Here, again, Ælfric looked back to Winchester and his master, Æthelwold. "One Mass a day is enough for a priest to celebrate," he wrote in his Latin to Wulfstan. Once Bishop Æthelwold celebrated a Requiem Mass, and an hour later one of his monks asked him if he were going to say the Mass of the Day. "Have I not offered Mass today?" said the bishop. "Yes, but that was a Requiem," replied the monk. "Enough for me," was the answer.[5]

Humility and desire to learn were among Wulfstan's many virtues.[6] In later days he knew his Latin Fathers well. He was renowned as an expert in law both ecclesiastical and secular, a worthy follower of Dunstan as Archbishop in the Church and statesman of the realm. His, we now believe, was the compiling of that code of Church legislation once known as the "Canons of Edgar" and wrongly held the work of Dunstan; his, also, was the constructing of laws under his King, Æthelred the Second.[7]

After the special training of priests and monks and clergy these monastic reformers of the late tenth and the earlier eleventh century took thought and action for the conversion and the enlightening of English people at large. Here, naturally, they turned to the native Old English as medium. Already while Dunstan and his colleagues still lived, the Blickling Homilies poured out toward this end the learning

[5] B. Fehr, ed. *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, 1914, 225.

[6] On Wulfstan see Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, 1950; Dorothy Whitelock, *EHR*, 1937, 460ff.; 1941, 1ff.; 1948, 433ff.; *TRHS*, 1942, 25ff.; Dorothy Bethurum, *PMLA*, 1942, 916ff.

[7] Jost, *Anglia*, 1932, 288ff.; *Wulfstanstudien*, 116.

of many sources. From Cernel, in the years 990 to 994, Ælfric, "monk and mass-priest," "pupil of Æthelwold," as here, too, he describes himself, sent out the two books of his *Catholic Homilies*, of Christian doctrine drawn by him from the Latin Fathers and given here, "not word for word, but sense from sense in simple English for the instruction of souls that cannot be taught save in their own tongue." [8] From Latin sources Ælfric culled also and sent out in English the *Lives* of saints that should have been, but were not, familiar to the folk who kept their Feasts in church; later on he made for monks, also in English, a book of the *Lives* of those saints especially honoured by religious. Archbishop Wulfstan, as is likewise well known, not only compiled his own homilies for the teaching of lay people under his jurisdiction, but thundered in the ears of all Englishmen his rebuke for their many sins, sins which were bringing upon them their present anguish of Danish assault by the righteous judgment of God.[9]

To homilies in the English vernacular was added translating into English from the Latin Bible. Study of the Bible in England had been greatly furthered by the relationship fostered in this tenth century between Fleury and English abbeys. Through this connection the text of the Vulgate Bible, as used by scholars on the Continent, had once more become familiar to students in England. Ælfric made translations of the Book of Genesis and other parts of the Old Testament for uninstructed laymen, and used here the same method of free choosing and omitting which he had followed in his homilies. This he did lest the simple folk who listened to the words of the Vulgate in his English render-

[8] Ed. and trans. Benjamin Thorpe, I, 1844, 1f.
[9] *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, ed. 2, 1952.

ing should, did he give all that was in the Latin, grow weary of names and details; nay, worse, find harm to their souls by hearing what scholars alone could interpret aright. For this selection and adaptation he has merited high praise: "In his theory of translation, Ælfric is more enlightened than any translator before Tyndale. The fault of Bible versions generally was that they kept too close to the original. Instead of translating like free men they construed word for word, like the illiterate in all ages . . . Ælfric works on principles that would have been approved by Dryden; and there is no better evidence of the humanities in those early times than this." [10]

Thus the Old English language, constantly enriched by these writers of homilies in their need of new words from Latin origin, and constantly emboldened and invigorated in their endeavour to drive home clearly and directly the necessities of Christian truth to simple minds, rose from the brave immaturities of King Alfred and Werferth of Worcester, through the drilling in grammar given by Dunstan at Glastonbury, by Æthelwold at Winchester, by Abbo at Ramsey, through the translating of the Benedictine *Rule* by Æthelwold, to that full stature which was the glory of these distracted years in England. "It was precisely during this period of greatest political and military disaster that Old English prose most obviously flourished." [11] We may believe, moreover, that as Ælfric's long training in Latin brought his English writing to its richness and beauty, so on the other hand his ceaseless endeavour to write his English clearly for his lay and ignorant people brought indirectly a

[10] W. P. Ker, *English Literature: Medieval*, 1912, 55.

[11] R. W. Chambers, in Harpsfield, *Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, ed. Hitchcock, *EETS*, CLXXXVI, 1932, lxviii; F. P. Magoun, Jr., *Medieval Studies*, Toronto, X, 1948, 101, note 16.

like clearness and simplicity into his Latin *Life of Æthelwold*.[12] In sad contrast the Latin of the *Lives* of Dunstan and of Oswald carries the reader wading, struggling, sinking, among mazes of digression—allegorical, Biblical, hortatory —as if through swamps bright in their purple and among rocks of ponderous nouns and imported words.

Embedded in the literary tradition of this Benedictine revival lie the names of many other writings for which the date is still subject to dispute and discussion. Undoubtedly in the later tenth and the earlier eleventh centuries much work was done in the Anglo-Saxon vernacular for the translation and the paraphrase of Latin liturgical texts. Our present tradition of the translating of the *Rule* of Saint Benedict done by Æthelwold rests, according to Schröer, upon a text made for nuns, and he believes that its ancestor, the original version made by Saint Æthelwold for monks, has been lost. Armitage Robinson, however, suggests that Æthelwold may have made his translation expressly for English nuns at the desire of Queen Ælfthryth, their Patron, and that this was afterward adapted for men.[13] Other versions naturally followed.[14] Furthermore, in the *corpus* of Anglo-Saxon writings connected with these times we find matter of ecclesiastical law and prescription, borrowed from Latin Continental sources, such as Raban Maur, Amalarius of Metz, Benedict of Aniane; ordinances for penitents; hymns and metrical versions of the Psalms; litany and prayers; verses that exhort men to live the Christian life, to practice Christian fasting; verses that describe the Church's calendar; verses that paraphrase and seek to explain

[12] See Rose Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 1929, 162f.

[13] See Schröer, *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benedictinerregel*, I, 1885; II, 1888, xviii, xxxiv; Armitage Robinson, *Times of St. Dunstan*, 122.

[14] Cf. H. Logeman, *EETS*, XC, 1888.

the Creed and the Lord's Prayer; prayers and precepts, in prose and in verse, of the Benedictine Hours. The missionary spirit of the Reform worked hard to make its message known among English people, monastic and lay.[15]

The missionary impulse of this time reached out beyond England. Record, sadly incomplete, from the Continent tells of English preachers and teachers who now went from home to convert and bring into Christian life the Northmen, of Sweden, of Norway, and of Denmark.[16] The intellectual impulse also reached out in the writing of Old English prose beyond strictly religious and missionary projects. For it was the monastic writers of Winchester, of Abingdon, of Peterborough, who kept alive the tradition of the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*.

If these Benedictine reformers saw the necessity of teaching their novices, their parish priests, and their people in England, they also saw the need of building. For their monks they raised churches in their own Saxon style, inspired indirectly by the Byzantine, directly by the Carolingian Romanesque of the Rhineland and the abbeys of northern France. From this building of monastic churches went forth strong encouragement for the creating of parish churches throughout the land.

Treasures of many kinds came to adorn the churches built by the monks. In Dunstan we have seen a youth devoted to design and craftsmanship. This devotion he held all his

[15] See Brandl, 1073ff., 1089ff., 1098ff.; Mary Bateson, *EHR*, 1894, 690ff., 1895, 712ff.; Jost, *Anglia*, 1932, 267ff.; Dorothy Bethurum, *PMLA*, 1942, 916ff.; Dobbie, ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, 1942, lxv, lxxiii, lxxvff., lxxviii, lxxxi, lxxxiiif., xciv; Feiler, *Das Benediktiner-Offizium*, 1901; Fehr, *Englische Studien*, 1913, 337ff.; Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, 1953, 48ff., 99, 106f.

[16] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, *PL*, CXLVI, coll. 527, 540f., 650f.; Knowles, *Mon. Order*, 67f.; Lucien Musset, *Les Peuples Scandinaves au Moyen Age*, 1951, 127ff.

days. We read of his gifts of organs, of holy-water stoups, of bells "made by his own hands" to Glastonbury, Abingdon, and Malmesbury. With full reason goldsmiths and others who fashion things of beauty with their hands have in later years chosen him as their Patron. To the abbey of Ramsey Æthelwine is said to have given its organ, and to have placed before its high altar a frontal screen of solid silver, enriched with the varied light of jewels. We have seen Brihtnoth, abbot of Ely, making statues for his church; so, also, Leo "the Prior" worked with his hands for Ely in silver, and Ælfsige, Brihtnoth's successor as abbot, made of silver and gold for its church a Madonna and Child "marvellously wrought"; so, too, worked Æthelnoth, abbot of the New Minster at Winchester.[17]

But it is the name of Æthelwold which is connected, above all, with the creating and assembling of beauty for his cloisters. Tradition tells of him that he made for Abingdon its organ, its golden wheel that bore twelve lamps and many bells, its crosses of gold and silver; that he endowed its sanctuary with its great golden chalice, its censers and basins and candle-supports, cunningly devised and moulded, and that he made for its altar a retable on which were figures of the twelve Apostles, exquisitely fashioned from the same silver and gold.[18]

While buildings were thus raised and adorned in due honour, the Benedictine reformers naturally also turned their energy to the pages of books. It was in the days of Dunstan and Æthelwold that the knowledge and the patterns learned by English scribes from Continental sources sent them eagerly to the use of the Caroline minuscule in their own

[17] *Memorials*, 20, 169f.; *Chron. Rames.* 90; *Liber Eliensis*, 114, 168, 247; Will. Malm. *Gest. Pont.* 407; *PL*, CLXXIX, col. 1721; Talbot Rice, 177, 237f.

[18] *Chron. Abing.* I, 344f., II, 278; cf. his gifts to Ely: *Lib. Eliensis*, 108.

Latin scripts, content to leave the old Insular English hand to those who wrote in the native language.[19] It was in these days that Anglo-Saxon script found that revival of mature splendour which brought forth in the second half of the tenth or the early eleventh century the script of the Exeter Book.[20] From the Continent, very possibly by way of Fleury, had also come the inspiration of the Carolingian schools of Aachen, of Reims, of Metz, to produce in English drawing of these centuries the clear, strong outline, the draperies that seem to flutter in the wind, the nervous excitement and energy of men in action, fighting, shooting, running, praying. Such art was now conceived in the imaginations, and brought forth in the hands, of monks of Glastonbury, of Winchester, of Canterbury, of Peterborough, Abingdon, and Ely, of Winchcombe, Ramsey, and Worcester.[21] It may well have been Dunstan who brought from Lotharingia and who practiced and taught at Glastonbury this manner of drawing in outline, these touches of colour, inherited from men who had illustrated their manuscripts at the command of Charles the Great, a manner seen in that figure of the Christ so long attributed to Dunstan's skill. From the Continent, too, Englishmen caught the spirit of the Utrecht Psalter and the Ebbo Gospels, and Anglo-Saxon art came to its full beauty and genius.[22] The new impulse of religious renewal, confirmed by the *Regularis Concordia*, gave birth to a multitude of missals, to Books of Hours and Pontificals, made in Benedictine centres of learning and of art.

[19] Wolfgang Keller, *Palaestra*, XLIII, 1906, 28f.

[20] Robin Flower, *The Exeter Book of O. E. Poetry*, 1933, 83ff.

[21] On the influence of the monastic reformers in England upon English art see Wormald, 23ff.

[22] *Ibid.* 21, 33; A. Boinet, *La Miniature carolingienne, Planches*, 1913, Nos. LXIff.

So rose what we know as the "Winchester" School, born perhaps in Glastonbury, nourished at Abingdon, flowering at Winchester.[23] Among its earlier fruits was the illuminated text of the Great Charter of King Edgar to the New Minster. Best known of all was the *Benedictional* which bears Æthelwold's name, made between 975 and 980, possibly by that Godeman whom he installed as abbot of Thorney.[24] But we linger perhaps longest over later works of Winchester, especially over the drawings of its *Liber Vitae*, the Roll of monks associated with the New Minster, and find delight in its faces and figures. Here are King Cnut and his Queen; here are those who show forth the dreadful drama of the Last Judgment, the angels who thrust the souls of the lost into Hell and lock with that huge key its door upon them; the little soul that stands in its fear between Saint Peter, towering for its defence, between the angel who holds up its record of good deeds, and the raging, hungry Satan

[23] Warner, ed. *Benedictional of Saint Æthelwold*, xxxiv.

[24] Warner and Wilson, its editors, place the writing of this *Benedictional* at Winchester, and prefer Godeman of Thorney as maker of part, possibly of the whole: xi, xiii, lvf. These theories have been generally held. For the theory that it was the work of Godeman, a monk of Ely, and produced at Ely, see J. B. L. Tolhurst, *Archaeologia*, 1933, 44; cf., however, Talbot Rice, 188f. For the suggestion that the *Bosworth Psalter*, a Canterbury book, was made while Dunstan was Archbishop, see Gasquet and Bishop, ed. *Bosw. Psalt.* 126ff.; against this, Talbot Rice, 196. For a similar suggestion in regard to the *Sherborne Pontifical*, see Warner, ed. *Bened. of St. Æthelwold*, xxxix; against this, Wormald (25, 78), who dates it c. 992–95. For the theory that MS. Harley 2904, the well-known tenth-century Psalter of the British Museum, was produced at Ramsey between 974 and 986, and for the suggestion that it was a *Psalter of Saint Oswald*, see Charles Niver, *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, II, 1939, 667ff., 687, and cf. Wormald, 71 and 32: "a Psalter from one of the Fen monasteries"; Talbot Rice, 208f., 210. For the thought that the York Gospels (late tenth century) were written partly on the Continent, partly at Winchester, and were taken by Oswald to York, see H. H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England*, 1933, 134; for the suggestion that the manuscript was partly written at York under Oswald, see Talbot Rice, 211.

who brandishes with joy its book of sins. Here, indeed, breathes in its vigour this new Anglo-Saxon monastic life.[25]

Some of the fruits of this Old English art crossed the Channel in return for what it owed to Carolingian influence. The Norman Robert, friend of Edward the Confessor, as bishop of London (from 1044 to 1051) sent to his beloved abbey of Jumièges the gift of an illuminated Missal of the "Winchester" School, made, it would seem, in one of the monasteries of the English Fen Country.[26] It was either he, after Edward had appointed him Archbishop of Canterbury in 1051, or Robert, Archbishop of Rouen from 990 to 1037, who sent from England to Normandy a "Benedictional" resembling that of Saint Æthelwold and probably made about the same time, at the New Minster. From England also, probably from Winchcombe, late in the tenth century, and from Ramsey, early in the eleventh, went offerings of manuscripts to that abbey of Fleury to which they owed so much.[27]

Nor did these monks forget their music. We have seen Dunstan's love for the music of the Church; tradition has assigned to him, with reason, the making of that melody so famous among the English, the *Kyrie Rex Splendens sine versibus*, heard on his Feast day in the Sarum ritual.[28] Abingdon, as we have also seen, was taught its chanting under Æthelwold by choirmasters from Corbie. Æthelwold gave the same exacting care to Winchester; and surely other ab-

[25] Wormald, 72f. (dated 1020–1030); Talbot Rice, 217f. (dated 1016–1020).

[26] Ed. H. A. Wilson: *Missal, HBS*, XI, 1896; *Benedictional, HBS*, XXIV, 1903. Tolhurst gives the Missal to Ely: *Archaeologia*, 1933, 27ff.; Sir Ivor Atkins assigns it to Peterborough: *ibid.*, 1928, 219ff. Wilson (xxxixf.) prefers Winchester.

[27] Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires*, I, 1924, No. 35; Levison, *England*, 249, 258, note 2; Niver, 678; Talbot Rice, 40, 189f.

[28] Dom Cuthbert Butler, *DR*, 1886, 49ff.

beys, inspired by these, hastened to amend their songs of praise and supplication.[29]

It is a chapter of contrasts and blendings, this Benedictine reform in the tenth century: a story of the mystic and the statesman; of the artist and the hard-headed man in authority; of the monk devoted to prayer and the maker of secular contracts and deeds; of the gift of tears and the execution of barbarous justice; of visions and dreams and building of aqueducts; of lavish Latin outpourings and formal phrases of the law; of the daily discipline of monks and the care for all one's world; of the love of men and the yearning for solitude. Its first-fruits were at last spent, its buildings were destroyed, its art scattered, by renewed invasion of the Danes and, later on, by those Norman conquerors who, bent on eclipsing in splendour whatsoever the Saxons of pre-Conquest days had achieved, replaced these fruits by their own. Some men, like Saint Wulfstan of Worcester, wept over the change.[30] Yet much lived on, in tradition and in learning; [31] Wulfstan himself followed in the path of Oswald. And much was built anew on the old foundation. In England, Dunstan's work of renewing was renewed by Lanfranc; in Lotharingia, Richard of Saint-Vanne and Poppo of Stavelot-Malmédy were to reform afresh; in France, Cluny itself was eventually to know the new energy of Cîteaux, of Clairvaux. Thus wave after wave succeeds, here as elsewhere, now ebbing, now carrying forward the tide, in a sea that remains the same.

[29] Dom David Knowles, *Mon. Order*, 552f.
[30] *Anglia Sacra*, II, 262f.
[31] Francis Wormald, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* XXX, 1944, 127; Lady Stenton, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages*, 1951, 230f.

Abbreviations

AA. SS.:	*Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana.*
AA. SS. B.:	*Acta Sanctorum Belgii Selecta*, ed. Ghesquière and Smet.
AA. SS. OSB.:	*Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, ed. Mabillon.
Anal. Boll.:	*Analecta Bollandiana*, Brussels.
A.-S. C.:	Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle.*
BASP:	*British Academy, Supplemental Papers*, London.
BCHB:	*Bulletins, Commission royale d'Histoire*, Brussels.
BEHE:	*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, Paris.
BGMB:	*Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens*, Münster.
BLB:	*Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, Acad. roy. de Belgique*, Brussels.
CHF:	*Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age*, ed. L. Halphen.
DHGE:	*Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. A. Baudrillart and others.
DNB:	*Dictionary of National Biography.*
DR:	*Downside Review.*
EETS:	*Early English Text Society.*
EHR:	*English Historical Review*, London.
HBS:	*Publications, Henry Bradshaw Society.*

HCY:	*Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, I–III, *Rolls Series*, LXXI, 1879–94.
Hist. Stud.:	*Historische Studien*, Berlin.
H. S.:	A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, III, 1871.
JTS:	*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford.
J. W.:	P. Jaffé and W. Wattenbach, ed. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, I, 1885.
Memorials:	*Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, LXIII, 1874.
MGH:	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*
MHB:	*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, I, ed. H. Petrie and J. Sharpe, 1848.
PL:	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne.
PMLA:	*Publications, Modern Language Association of America.*
PSAS:	*Proceedings, Somerset Archaeological and Nat. Hist. Society.*
RB:	*Revue bénédictine*, Abbaye de Maredsous, Belgium.
RLM:	*Revue liturgique et monastique*, Abbaye de Maredsous, Belgium.
RS:	*Rolls Series.*
SRGS:	*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, MGH.*
SS:	*Scriptores*, ed. Pertz, *MGH.*
TRHS:	*Transactions, Royal Historical Society.*
VCH:	*Victoria County Histories.*

Sources

SAINT DUNSTAN

Mediaeval Latin *Lives*

The following were edited by Bishop Stubbs, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, RS*, LXIII, 1874.

1. *Vita Sancti Dunstani: Memorials*, xff., 3ff.

Written c. 1000 A.D. by "Auctor B." of name unknown. For this writer as an Old Saxon from the Continent, a secular priest (not a member of the community of Christ Church, Canterbury), possibly living in exile in England about the time of Dunstan's death in enjoyment of his friendship, possibly the writer, also, of three Latin letters still extant, see Stubbs, *Memorials*, x–xxx, 374, 385, 390.

G. H. Gerould (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1911, 129ff.) suggests that this "Auctor B." brought the Old Saxon *Genesis* to England from the Continent and that the translation from its poetry into Old English, incorporated into the Old English *Genesis B*, was made in the last quarter of the tenth century; R. Priebsch (*The Heliand Manuscript Cotton Caligula A VII*, 1925, 47) thinks that perhaps "Auctor B." aided this translator from O. S. *Genesis*.

C. W. Kennedy remarks (*The Earliest English Poetry*, 1943, 162) that the Old English *Genesis B* "is usually dated

about the middle of the tenth century;" G. P. Krapp (ed. *The Junius Manuscript*, 1931, xxvi) allows for the translation from Old Saxon into Old English a possible date in the second half of the ninth century; B. J. Timmer (ed. *The Later Genesis*, 1948, 43) places its making c. 900.

Sir Israel Gollancz (*The Cædmon Manuscript*, 1927, liv) holds that this translation may have been made in either the later ninth or the tenth century, and that our evidence will not allow us to conclude that either a friend of King Alfred, such as John the Old Saxon or Grimbald, on the one hand, or that "Auctor B.," on the other, carried out this work.

This *Life* by "Auctor B." is the best we possess; it is dedicated to Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury from 995 to 1005. Its oldest text extant in modern times (Arras 1029: 812), of the late tenth or the early eleventh century, was given in the later eleventh century to the Abbey of Saint-Vaast, Arras, by Sæweald, or Seiwold, who was abbot of Bath in 1065. Very probably it was a copy made at Bath. For Seiwold and this MS. see Philip Grierson, *RB*, 1940, 96ff.; Stubbs, *Memorials*, xxvif., xxxviiif.

Wulfric, abbot of Saint Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, sent this *Life*, in a text largely rewritten and corrected, to Abbo, then abbot of Fleury, with the request that he turn it into verse. Abbo died in 1004; no metrical *Life* by him is known in record: *Memorials*, xxviif., 409.

2. *Vita Sancti Dunstani: Memorials*, xxxf., 53ff.

Written before 1011 A.D. by Adelard, a monk of Saint Peter's Abbey, Ghent, as Lessons to be read at the monastic Hours of Dunstan's Feast Day. It gives some details not found in No. 1, and was composed for Ælfheah, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1006 to 1012, and his clergy.

3. *Vita Sancti Dunstani: Memorials*, xxxif., 69ff.

Written between c. 1080 and 1090 A.D. by Osbern, Precentor of Christ Church, Canterbury. Unreliable.

4. *Vita Sancti Dunstani: Memorials*, xxxiiff., 162ff.

   Written early in the twelfth century by Eadmer, Precentor of Christ Church, Canterbury, to correct errors made by Osbern.

5. *Vita Sancti Dunstani: Memorials*, xxxvff., 250ff.

   Written after 1120 A.D. by William of Malmesbury, also a critic of Osbern.

Pontifex, Dom Dunstan: "The First Life of St. Dunstan," *DR*, 1933, 20off., 309ff.
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Robinson, J. Armitage: *Somerset Historical Essays*, 1921.
———: *The Times of Saint Dunstan*, 1923.
———: *Two Glastonbury Legends: King Arthur and St. Joseph of Arimathea*, 1926.
———: See also *PSAS*, 1917, 1928; *JTS*, 1917; *BASP*, IV, 1918.

SAINT ÆTHELWOLD

Mediaeval Latin *Lives*

1. *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi:* ed. J. Stevenson, *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, II, *RS*, 2, 1858, 253ff.; trans. S. H. Gem, 1912.

   Written in 1004–5 by Ælfric, from 1005 abbot of Eynsham, Oxfordshire, once a pupil of Saint Æthelwold at Winchester; offered at the end of 1005 or in 1006 to Cenwulf, Bishop of Winchester.

2. *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi:* ed. *AA. SS. OSB.* V, 594ff.; *PL*, CXXXVII, coll. 79ff.

   Written, according to reliable evidence, at the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh, by Wulfstan, Precentor of Winchester Cathedral. In his *Times of Saint*

Dunstan, 106ff., 168ff., Dr. J. Armitage Robinson opposed this attribution: "This longer *Life* . . . was written at least a generation later" (i.e., than that of Ælfric) "and indeed quite probably by a Norman monk of Winchester at the end of the eleventh century" (page 107). Dr. Robinson's arguments here have in my view been refuted by the reasoning of D. J. V. Fisher in his "The Early Biographers of St. Ethelwold," *EHR*, 1952, 381ff. It is quite clear that one of the writers of these two *Lives*—the *Life* by Ælfric and that here attributed to Wulfstan—copied consistently from the other; but the differences are of great interest, especially the details given by Wulfstan alone. Mr. Fisher tempts one (by his argument from the reference to a *Life* of Saint Æthelwold in the first *Life* of Saint Oswald: *HCY*, I, 427) to agree with him that "it may appear more probable that Aelfric summarized Wulfstan than that Wulfstan inflated Aelfric." Manitius (*Gesch. d. lat. Lit. des Mitt.* II, 1923, 442ff., 679) not only held Wulfstan as author of this *Life* of Saint Æthelwold but definitely held it as written earlier than that of Ælfric.

Wulfstan was also author of a *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno:* ed. Alistair Campbell, 1950.

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SAINT OSWALD

Mediaeval Latin *Lives*

The following were edited by James Raine in his *Historians of the Church of York*, *RS*, LXXI, 1–3, 1879–94:

1. *Vita Sancti Oswaldi, auctore anonymo: HCY*, I, 399ff.
   This makes a reference to the *Vita S. Dunstani* by "Auctor B." (see *HCY*, I, 457); and (*HCY*, I, 452) to Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, 995–1005 or 1006, as still living. It was therefore written about the beginning of the eleventh century, very possibly by Byrhtferth, monk of Ramsey; see S. J. Crawford, *Speculum Religionis* (Essays for C. G. Montefiore), 1929, 99ff. For criticism of this theory of authorship see Armitage Robinson, *JTS*, 1929. D. J. V. Fisher suggests that this *Life* of Oswald was based on a *Life* originally written by Byrhtferth which suffered interpolation at a later time: *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 1952, 258f.

2. *Vita Sancti Oswaldi: HCY*, II, 1ff.

   Written by Eadmer, Precentor of Christ Church, Canterbury, who died in 1124.

Worcester: J. Armitage Robinson, "St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester," *BASP*, V, 1919; Sir Ivor Atkins, "The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century," *The Antiquaries Journal*, 1937, 371ff.; 1940, 1ff.

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